

# Archeology of Consciousness of Struggle, Resistance, and a Sense of Belonging to a Place: A Case Study – Iron Age I and II Findings in Area J2 in the Southwest of Tel Shiloh, Israel

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Received: 6 January 2024 • Revised: 13 March 2024 • Accepted: 17 April 2024

#### Abstract

The behavioral model that emerges from the spatial analysis and its architectural findings, dating to the Iron Age I at Tel Shiloh – associated with Israeli culture represents attitudes that originate in the struggle for place, relations of resistance and the material manifestations of these in spatial movement and re-constructive positioning. A prominent movement of this society is evident, which began life in temporary structures – cabins in the inner part of the city and continued in narrow strips of landscape, in the outer part of the city and residences that lean on the outer face of the wall and even hide it in relation to its surroundings. This analysis was done based on a spatial analysis based on a practice of reconstructing behavioral models called regional behavioral typo-morphology (Gat, 2013). This practice isolates mobile and stationary material categories that were discovered in the Mahrab, defining them into categories, describing and analyzing them with the help of external fields of knowledge from various fields such as sociology, anthropology and more. The main results deal with the construction of an established spatial record, which consolidates identity processes and a sense of belonging to a place. Another finding focuses on the image of space which represents a "struggle for place" and interrelationships of resistance on the one hand and a renewed – insurrectionary – only constructivist construction on the other.

*Keywords*: Tel Shiloh, Iron Age I, Iron Age II, Middle Bronze Age II, Middle Bronze Age II House of the Four Spaces, fortifications, wall, early wall and retreats, space, conflictual space, struggle for place, space dissident and insurgent, spatial consciousness, planning, architectural fossil.

1. A chronological review of the excavations of the site and the archaeological findings in the different periods

The first to sample Tel Shiloh was A. Schmidt, who in 1922 conducted the first test excavation in the area of the mound (Albright, 1923: 10-11). After that, there were three seasons of excavation at the mound which were managed by the Danish excavation expedition headed by H. Kjaer between the years 1926-1932 (Kjaer, 1927, 1930, 1931). In 1963 another excavation season was held under the leadership of Holm Nielsen and in 1969 the report summarizing the results of all excavation seasons was published (Buhhl & Holm Nielsen, 1969). In the years 1981-1984, four additional excavation seasons were held by the Department of Land of Israel Studies at Bar Ilan University headed by Y. Finkelstein (Finkelstein et al., 1993).

In the summer of 2011, the archaeological excavations were resumed at Tel Shiloh, "the first hyper-tribal center" of the Israeli population (Finkelstein, 1990: 102). These were concentrated on the southern edge of the Tell, where two adjoining areas were excavated: area N1 in the southeast – a residential building and a complex of a olive press were discovered in it, the final phase of which dates to the early Muslim period (Hizmi & Habar, 2014); Area N2 – was excavated by the author (not yet published) and findings from the Middle Bronze Age were discovered: the continuation of the southern wall of the wall and a fortified complex approaching the wall from the south, where ceramics from the Middle Bronze and Iron 1 periods were discovered. According to its characteristics, it is possible that this is the structure of the gate from the Middle Bronze Age. In addition, a residential building from the Roman period and architectural findings from the Byzantine and Muslim periods the ancient.

In addition, two excavations seasons (2012-2013) took place in areas J2 and B. Area B constitutes the "northern area" located outside the mound. This area was suspected as the possible location of the tabernacle, but today it is understood (suggest by the author) that this is not the case and the findings there do not confirm this concept at all. The main find that was discovered in it is residential complexes dating from the Iron Age 1, the Hellenistic period to the Byzantine period (Levithan Ben Aryeh & Hizmi, 2014). The location of the tabernacle should be sought in the extensive southern surface located south of the Tell, which contains a sacred concentration of religious service buildings such as a number of churches, a mosque and a fragment of a four-cornered altar dating to the Iron Age II (Gat, 2019).

According to the findings of the partial excavations that have taken place so far at Tel Shiloh, remains from the Early Bronze Age (currently represented by ceramic findings only) (Gat, 2015) to the late Muslim period were discovered there (see Figure 2). In some periods architectural remains are known, and in others only ceramic remains were discovered. From the Middle Bronze Age, the findings of fortifications such as walls are known, which were discovered in the south, west and north of the mound. Cellars were also uncovered in the inner space of the mound, which approach the wall of the wall and rely on the inner wall (area F-H) (Finkelstein et al., 1993); According to the findings known so far, the excavator (Finkelstein, 1987) put forward two possibilities: one - and in the absence of residential buildings from this period, that the residential quarters were located in the south of the unexcavated mound (the results of the later excavations do not confirm this assumption); The second – because in Shiloh during this period there was no civilian settlement but a religious center which was placed at the top of the hill surrounded by a wall or built on a raised podium supported by the massive walls of the wall (Finkelstein, 1987). Artifacts dating to the Late Bronze Age were also discovered; The main expression of these is in another ceramic and portable find which was discovered mainly in a large favisa near the top of the mound (area D). According to Finkelstein's opinion (Finkelstein, et al, 1993), by the favisa and in the absence of the architectural find, it is possible to testify that this constitutes the continuation of the religious center that existed on the site in the previous period, which continues the characteristics of the site in this period as well.

Iron Age 1 finds are known mainly from surfaces: D, C, N1 and J2 discussed here. According to the data from areas D, C and J2, these mainly represent a civilian settlement characterized by residential buildings and warehouses. Finkelstein (1987) relates the buildings and warehouses he uncovered in Western Area C as service buildings to the work of the Mishkan which he believes was located at the top of the mound. But it is evident from the results of the later excavations that the buildings and warehouses are part of a settlement that expanded to the southern and western parts of the mound. The known find from the Iron Age 2 is very fragmentary, and it is manifested in residences in the various parts of the area outside the mound area. From this period, a fragment of a four-cornered altar (Gat, 2019) was also discovered in use as a structure in the wall of the narthex of the early church in the south of the mound. During the Roman period, there was a settlement in Tel Shiloh, from which dwellings were discovered as areas N1 and J2, located to the south and west of the mound. Also, a large building and warehouses adjacent to it were discovered, the core of which was not excavated, also located in area J2. During the Byzantine period, a Christian religious center existed in Shiloh. So far, five churches have been discovered at the site (Dedon, 1997; Andersen, 1985; Magen & Aharonovich, 2012), all densely located south of the mound, and the remains of residential buildings on the southern and southwestern edges of the mound. From the Muslim period, residential buildings and agricultural facilities such as Beit Bad (dated to the early Muslim period) are known on Shelvia, which were built mainly on the southern slope of the mound.



Image 1. Map of Israel and the location of Tel Shiloh

## 2. The research method

The reconstruction of the behavioral model as shown by the findings of the archaeological excavations in area J2 in the southwestern part of Tel Shiloh – the place of the Mishkan – is done by the model called tipo – regional behavioral morphology (Gat, 2013, 2019). This model looks comparatively at expanding spatial circles. At the base of this model is the understanding that the cognition of our predecessors was not different but located at an earlier technological stage. This point of view makes it possible to anchor ancient phenomena in human perspectives in the present and formulate a discussion about them that considers the limitations of the missing data (the voice of those people). This behavioral reconstruction model refers to both a mobile material finds, and a stationary material find and seeks to examine it in relation to the general picture of the place and space. The observation process is accompanied by the creation of category isolation and their definition. With the definition of the categories, it is possible to go to the site of contemporary knowledge infrastructures that discuss similar phenomena and thus propose a new cognitive behavioral model.

## 3. The findings of the excavations in area J2

Area J2 located in the southwest corner of the Tell (see Figure 1) south of area C where the complex of warehouses (residential buildings according to the author's view) dating to the Iron Age 1 was discovered (Finkelstein et al., 1993). The topographical structure of the area is like three steps located on the south-north axis of symmetry, which are a forced product of massive architectural remains dating to the Middle Bronze II period: the northern upper step, the middle step, and the southern lower step. As mentioned, this methodological, graded topographical division is subject to the spatial separation that is a product of the ancient structure of the city from the Middle Bronze Age and describes its massive wall, the remains of which are visible in the southern and western part of the area and the slippery slope located west of the middle step and defining its border (Gat, 2015, 2016).



Figure 1. Tel Shiloh general plan

The representation of five periods emerges from the results of the excavation: Byzantine, Early Roman, Iron II, Iron I and the Middle Bronze Age II (see Figure 2) It is noticeable that the characteristics of the buildings from the different periods (late to the Middle Bronze Age) their location and their functional definition in each from the stairs is different. The difference in their structural definition stems from the "reciprocal relationships" that exist between them and the architectural dictate that preceded them – the city wall from the Middle Bronze Age II is an architectural fossil. The massive presence of these military architectural units defined the spatial and planning concept of the Iron Age builders, the nature of spatial planning and the nature of the building plan and their location.

It is worth noting that the bulk of the architectural finds at Tel Shilo from the Iron Age I and II were discovered outside the territory of the fortified city dating back to the Middle Ages. Along with this, it should be noted that the beginning of the settlement during this period was established in area D located in the north of the mound, near the top of the city wall and the huge slip that is located in this area. The remains of this primary settlement are numerous and dense silos and ceramic finds, and the absence of remains of permanent buildings is notable (Finkelstein, 1987, 1990). It is assumed that the first inhabitants lived in this area of the mound and lived in temporary buildings that left no remains. We may have three possibilities: chronological, class and functional: the first, the representation of two chronological phases, where the early phase is represented by the findings in area D and the later phase in that period is represented by the impressive findings from areas C (Finkelstein, 1986, 1993) and J2 which constitutes the area C from the south (Gat, 2015, 2016, 2019).

A second possibility is that the two centers of settlement from the Iron Age, in areas D, C and J2 existed at the same time, and we have a representation of different social classes which is reflected in the nature of the residential buildings. The third option – the functional one – refers to the concept of the general definition of the buildings that were uncovered as service warehouses as Finkelstein (1986) defined the buildings from area C, which were used in the work of the Mishkan (Finkelstein assumed that the location of the Mishkan was at the top of the Tell. An opinion that was not accepted and according to the assumption of the author of the article - its place should be located in the southern area outside the city wall based on the presence of a "holy" concentration of five Byzantine churches, a Muslim Mosque dating from the 10th century AD and a fragment of a four horned altar from the Iron Age II, which was discovered on the wall of the atrium of the early church (Gat, 2019). This assumption cannot refer to the architectural find that was discovered in area J2, since this is the residential building) it seems that the buildings are also in area C.

It appears that during the Iron Age I and II, the perception of the builders of this period of the infrastructure of the wall is like a foundation for their buildings through three representations: on top of the wall in the inner part of the city (area D), on the slipway after leveling or clearing and using the side of the wall The exterior of the wall as an "anchor wall" (Gat, 2015) on which the buildings (areas C and J2) rested. This use of the wall from the Middle Bronze Age by the builders of the Iron Age 1 that they encountered when they settled in the place "as an anchor wall" was done by relying on it with lateral construction leaning on it and using it as one of the structure's walls (Gat, 2016). This synchronous spatial perception, the continuation of which is the ability to express a diachronic spatial perception of a high cognitive order, which requires a high level of consistency (Cherkov, 2021) and the ability to plan a very complex space (Gat, 2019), dictated the main concentration of the buildings from this period, mainly in its outer parts of the Tell. O. Gat - Archeology of Consciousness of Struggle, Resistance, and a Sense of Belonging to ...



Figure 2. Area J2 General plan according to division into periods

#### 4. The finds of the Iron Age 2 period

The find from the Iron Age 2 whose identification is based on an architectural find and pottery, is very fragmentary and is known from the southwest corner of the excavation area only from the inside of the mound (see plan 2.). These are represented by the walls of the period that combine brick construction (walls: W-5262: east west and W-5263: which forms its corner towards the south) with "core walls" construction (W-5141) (a wall built in part from a shell of stones whose core filling with soil and bricks and that the continuation of its layers upwards is made of bricks. The core wall, which continued the brick construction, was built on top of the remains of the four-space house. Its walls were damaged by the later construction dating back to the early Roman period. Pottery fragments from this period were discovered between the terrace wall (the buffer wall that separates the section of the slipway and the Iron Age 1 residential building, W-5181) and the core wall to the south, these include a few pottery fragments and among them several bolt handles that are a characteristic feature of this period and typical cooking pots for the period (Amiran 1987: 242, 277).

It is evident that from the core wall continued a wall to the north (W-5201) which formed the eastern border of another parallel room to the north which took advantage of the route of the wall towards the north and was built on top of it. To the east of the aforementioned pair of rooms, a narrow room was discovered that also dates to this period. Its width is one and a half meters and its length, according to what has been excavated so far (its entire length has not been revealed and is stopped at the cut of the courtyard floor from the early Roman period) is about two meters and thirty centimeters. To the west, the area is bounded by wall W-5139 dating from the early Roman period which was founded on top of the wall from the Middle Bronze Age 2; To the south, the room is bounded by the wall of the wall (W-5202) and to the east, the complex is bounded by wall W-5235, which continued north and curves towards the east. The described space is approached by a floor on top of which only body fragments of pottery were discovered that may testify to this period (below the level of this floor another floor was discovered which, according to a ceramic find, dates to the Iron Age 1). The antecedence of this phase to the early Roman period is certain, but due to the scanty ceramic find that was discovered on the upper floor of the two that approaches the described walls, this dating is relatively doubtful, and it is possible that the aforementioned is in one of two phases that date to the Iron Age 1.

On the southern side of the retreat of the wall facing east (as mentioned, length 6.5 m), from the Middle Bronze Age in the northernmost square on the middle step, which is the northern part of the inner central courtyard of the residential building from the early Roman period, an industrial complex built from a sequence of Two pairs of parallel mugs. A northeastern pair and a southwestern pair (see plan 2); near them to the south, at half a meter, a cistern was discovered. The four cups were carved in the natural rock, their depth as mentioned varies due to the processing of the natural rock surface in later periods and ranges from 0.15 m to 0.30 m. Inside the cavity of the cups, fragments of pottery were discovered, most of which date to the early Roman period and a few to the Byzantine period, this is about the first layer dating to the early Roman period that existed on top of the level of the bedrock. Cups are known from the extensive archaeological chronological sequence starting from the Chalcolithic period, through the Middle Bronze Age, Iron Age 2, in the early Roman period and after. Therefore, it is difficult to date these to one stratigraphic stage or another. Typical settlement sites do not include an extensive representation of agricultural industrial facilities for producing food from olives and grapes (Zartal, in Rosen, 1990) and most of the documentation presenting the find of the mugs links it to the Iron Age 2. (For example: Dagan & Barda, 2009, Milevsky, 2008). Therefore, according to regional characteristics from the period in question, the industrial complex can be dated to the Iron Age 2. Also visible as part of the construction of the wall enclosing the south (W-5240) is the central courtyard of the residential building from the early Roman period, in use as an isolated secondary which can be attributed as part from this industrial system.

Iron Age 1 remains from the lower terrace.

The remains of this period are evident in different strengths in the three steps that represent the excavation area in question. The bulk of the known find from the excavated so far (in addition to understanding the findings of the last excavation season: 2013) is concentrated in its southwestern corner and in the southern part of the area – on the lower step (see Figure 4). In this area, a residential building with four spaces was discovered, dated, according to the ceramic find and Similar to what is known from area C, during the 12th century BC (Finkelstein, 1987). The building of the "Shilonian type" which represents an ancient one in its time, is subdivided by a partition into five different functional spaces, is evidence of an extensive architectural knowledge infrastructure in relation to its first stages in this period (Finkelstein, 1987). The builders of the Iron Age I in Shiloh were exposed to "fossilized remains" (Bonimovitz, 1996) belonging to earlier societies that lived and worked there, which were the source of their inspiration and their influence on the way they perceived the limited space in ancient architectural remains that outlined the characteristics of their construction. This is compared to single-tier sites. At the same time, the importance of observing the ethnographic construction rules that accompanied the implementation of the implementation of its construction stands out from the architectural features of the building and its inhabitants.

The current building was built on the west-east axis of symmetry. Describe it as an uneven square influenced by the contact dictated by the Canaanite wall to the east of it, which expands in its northeastern corner; The location and characteristics of its southeastern corner are not sufficiently known at this point. Its width from south to north: 7 m (in its western part) and 8.5 m (in its eastern part), its length from west to east: 7.5 m. The builders of the building cut off the southern part of the smooth part of the wall dating from the Middle Bronze Age which was founded on the north-south axis of symmetry and built next to it a kind of terrace wall that clings to and rests on the section which was intended to separate it from the living space (W-5181). A similar phenomenon is known in area C, which is about forty meters to the north, where the settlers of the early Israeli period "dug in" in the slippery estuary layer which was oriented east-west and built their buildings there (Finkelstein, 1987, 1993).

The entrance to the building was from the west through a slightly curved courtyard entrance that expands towards the northwest and is limited by a western curved wall (W-5230), which may be representative of another residential building from the same period and whose development was towards the west (this is sampled in the western part, and it appears that you approach it unmixed ceramics dating to the Iron Age 1; also, from the results of the excavations from the last season, these show that the Iron settlement expanded west and south, it seems that there is a basis for this assumption). An access yard that separates structural units is also known as area C, which separates the southern building 312 from the northern building 335 (see passage 611, Finkelstein et al, 1993). The current length of the access corridor is 8 meters; Its width from the south is about 2 meters and its width from the north is about 3.7 meters.

The architectural plan of the building and its division into four central spaces and five spaces in another subdivision was made by walls. This is different from the common structural type at that time, which usually creates its division by two rows of columns – monolithic (Faust, 2005); In the case before us, its internal division was made by a longitudinal wall (W-5325, west east) which crossed the building into two central areas: southern (room III) and northern (rooms I II). The northern space is further subdivided by a broken wall (W-5208, south north) into two additional spaces: western (room II) and eastern (room I). The eastern room I is divided into two additional sub-spaces by a partition that is approached on both sides by a column. The length of the width wall from south to north: 3.3 meters, it is perpendicular to the terrace wall but does not approach it and leaves a passage which is 1.7 meters wide.

At the northern end of the wall, on top of its upper course, an uneven rectangular stone was incorporated, noticeably larger than the other building stones of the wall; It seems that the said is in a kind of column base which was part of the ceiling support and the bearing of the second floor. Three vertebra bases were also discovered in the southern longitudinal room, along the length of its closing wall to the south. Vertebral columns were similarly discovered in Area C (Finkelstein, 1987). The vertebral columns, together with the internal wall division (W-5208) supported the building's ceiling and second floor. The pillar column in the northeast room has been preserved to more than a meter and is made of three pillars.

According to the strength of the ash layer (more than a meter thick) and the position of the vessels that were discovered inside it, which are divided into two main levels: fragments of vessels that were discovered on the upper level, which are covered in a layer of ash above and below and fragments of vessels that were discovered on the floors in Room I, it seems that this building had a second floor, which is the origin of the vessel fragments from the upper level of the landslides. This figure is an explanation for the presence of the said lateral wall. The prevailing premise today in the study of the four-space houses is that the second floor is weak over the space of the entire first floor and was even used as the main living area (Faust, 2005).

Room I: Its dimensions are not uniform since it is influenced by the stepped outline of the Canaanite wall and its diagonal construction extending to the northeast of the terrace wall: its length ranges from 4.3 m in its western part to 5.6 m in its eastern part. Its width ranges from 3.5 m in its northern part to 3.7 m in its southern part. This room is bounded by the longitudinal wall (W-5325) to the south and the lateral wall, at the northern end of which a column (W-5208) was incorporated to the west, the terrace wall to the north and the wall of the stepped Canaanite wall to the east.

In the southern part of the room, a column of vertebrae was placed, of which three survived; Its height has been preserved to about one meter. Flat stone slabs were attached to the said pillar from the west and east, which were placed on top of the narrow wall. To the west, adjacent to the pillar of the pillars, is one elongated stone (1x0.3 m), the rest of which is built of mud bricks; The row of stone slabs to the east is made of three stones (total length: 1.3 x 0.4 m), this one is adjacent to the natural rock line which was exposed in the northeast corner of the room;

The direction of the rock line is from north to south. This partition creates a spatial subdivision within the room which defined the different functional purpose of these two units: the northern spatial unit, the larger of the two, has a combined flooring of stone slabs and reclaimed earth, while the floor of the smaller southern unit is made of reclaimed earth only. In this case too, the uniformity of the architectural concept is known as manifested in area C in building 305 (Finkelstein, 1987). On the floors of the units, although on a larger scale in the northern one, which seems to be due to its relatively destroyed dimensions, many vessel fragments were discovered such as rimmed jugs, cauldrons, bowls, and cooking pots dating to the period in question (see plate). On top of the natural rock to the east of Room I and corresponding to its direction (north south), the remains of bricks arranged in a single line were discovered.

Room III, the southern room of the complex, is a longitudinal room (2.2x6.9 m). As mentioned, near the southern wall (W-5364) a row of three column columns was uncovered, of which only one column was preserved. The floors of the building are made in two ways, as shown in room I: small sections paved with uneven stone slabs (which were discovered in the northern part of the room approaching the boundary wall from the north) and large areas where the floor is made of a white, pressed material that is the remains of the slippery wall from the Middle Bronze Age (see also area C, Finkelstein, 1987).

Between the pair of northeastern and southern rooms of the building, at the eastern end of the wall separating them (W-5325), a plastered cistern was discovered (similar to area C, Finkelstein, 1987, 1993), which splits into two halls: a large eastern hall and a smaller western hall (the cistern is not excavated). This pit predates the early Roman period since the wall associated with this period (W-5139) closes it and was built on top of its opening. It is evident that this is late to the Middle Bronze Age, since according to the line of the wall and the outline of the slip, this area in the aforementioned period was outside the boundaries of the settlement on the one hand and was actually covered by the southern end of the slip of the wall on the other side, the remains of which can be seen in the section extending south to the mouth of the pit. Hence the cistern can be dated to the Iron Age 1.

The longitudinal wall (W-5325) which, as mentioned, crosses the building from west to east approaches the cistern; The width of the wall is about ninety cm and it approaches the edge of the pit at half the width of our western side. Water cisterns are, it seems, part of the characteristics of Iron Age 1 residential buildings in Shiloh, and as was also discovered in area C adjacent to the north in the northern building 335 (Finkelstein, 1987, 1993). It is possible that the location of the cistern between the rooms together with the row of vertebral columns that were discovered in the southern room II define the said space as a courtyard and a craft area.

The late wall delimiting the building from the east (W-5139) which is oriented from south to north, constitutes the southern part of the longitudinal wall of the residential building dating from the early Roman period, which was built on top of the middle step. The foundations of this were laid on top of the bedrock. The mud bricks that were discovered in the complex of the house of the four spaces are adjacent to it to the west and along the same axis of symmetry. This wall clings to the terraced part (southwest corner) of the wall from the Middle Bronze Age II and rests on it; the continuation to the north was built on top of the top of the wall. The presence of the wall indicates that the location of the wall delimiting the Iron Age 1 residential structure and its eastern border defined by it can be assumed. It is possible that the foundations of the wall from the early Roman period utilize the foundations of the wall from the Iron Age 1. The presence of the mud bricks arranged from north to south in the eastern part of the residential structure from the early Israeli period, the aforementioned rows parallel to the said wall, may indicate that part of the boundary of the building from the east was made by mud bricks which were attached to the stepped western wall of the wall from the Middle Bronze II period. Room II, constitutes the entrance of the building, its dimensions: 3.6x2.8 m. The floor of this one is made of light-colored rammed earth that contains the traces of the Canaanite wall embankment. It is evident that in the northwest corner of the room between the terrace wall (W-5181) which was oriented west-east and the western building wall (W5228) a corner entrance was established which led into the residential building. This is not represented by a clear threshold, but by the interruption of the continuation of wall W-5228 to the north (it is possible that the said is in the level of preservation of the wall, but with the addition of the data: the possible opening and the curved entrance corridor, it is very likely that this is an opening).

To the east of the residence house, at a distance of about 3.3 meters, adjacent to the southern wall of the middle bronze wall that ran west-east from the outer part of the Canaanite city, a narrow strip was uncovered which is about two meters wide and about six meters long, founded on top of the bedrock. This is characterized by many ash pits, burnt field stones, traces of a reddish clay material on top of the wall of the wall where traces of burning and fragments of pottery, cooking pots and jugs dating to the Iron Age 1 are visible. It is evident that this area was used as an area for daily activity such as cooking. The location of this everyday cooking space in relation to the space of the building's southern room and the water cistern may strengthen the assumption that the functional definition of room III is as a craft room. (The first findings of the excavation season that took place in the summer of 2013, along and to the west of the wall in the northern part of the area and on the lower southern step show that the settlement from the period in question expanded west and south and that the settlement's buildings were not only built adjacent to the line of the Canaanite wall).

## 5. Findings from the Iron Age 1 from the middle terrace

In the terraced southwest corner of the Middle Bronze II wall, in the inner space of the ancient city, fragmentary architectural remains dating to the period in question were discovered. These, in accordance with the structural remains of the city from the Middle Bronze Age, which dictated their character and layout they were discovered on the level higher than the level of the house of the four spaces adjacent to this part of the wall to the west. In this interior space, two floor levels were discovered; These are bounded to the west by wall W-5139 which represents a wall from the early Roman period which was founded on top of the wall from the middle bronze period; Its continuation to the north constitutes a wider wall that represents its construction from the period under discussion, which also utilized the eastern wall – facing the city of the Middle Bronze Wall. To the south the room is bounded by the wall of the wall (W-5202) and to the east the complex is bounded by wall W-5235 which continued north and curves towards the east.

As mentioned, the high floor is accessible to the walls dating to the Iron Age 2, although the ceramic find that was discovered on top of it is very scarce and hence its dating is difficult. The scope of the lower floor of the two is more limited; It is interrupted by the western and eastern walls that delimit the space. It appears that the said walls delimiting the said architectural space and the floor from the higher level that is accessible to them are later than the lower floor section and date to the Iron Age 2 while the lower paved level dates to the Iron Age 1. The section of the floor from the lower level is made of a tight yellowish calcareous material that was covered with a thin layer of ash. The circumference of this is 0.50x0.50 m, and only three fragments of pottery were found on it: a fragment of a handle, a fragment of the body of a pantry cooking pot, and a fragment of a hinged shoulder that may represent a jug of the collar rim type, extending the floor level to the Iron Age 1. On top of the high floor dating to the Iron Age 2, few ashes remain were discovered. It is possible that the later floor disturbed the ash layer from the Iron Age 1 and cleared most of it during its construction.

To the rounding of wall W-5235 (its direction is south north) another floor is approached from the north made of a yellowish chalky material and tight which was founded

directly on top of the natural rock; An uneven rectangular quarry was exposed to the west of it. A thin layer of ash was discovered on top of the floor. This is like the previously described floor from the southwest which is made of the same material. No pottery from the Iron Age was discovered on this floor section. These were apparently removed as part of the construction of the central courtyard of the later residential building dating to the early Roman period which was built at a level about half a meter higher than it. It is possible that the presence of the thin layer of ash as discovered on the floor from the lower level in the southwest corner and the absence of it from the higher floor dating to the Iron Age 2 from the same area may possibly indicate the dating of this floor to the Iron Age 1 although it is difficult to establish a date based on The same presence of an ash layer that is absent from a ceramic find, so it is not impossible that it dates to Iron 2.

#### 6. Findings from the Iron Age 1 from the upper terrace

The boundary of the upper step, as well as the higher level, four meters from the middle step, were defined and created regarding the presence of the Canaanite wall, its outline, and structural characteristics. As mentioned, and from what emerges from the description so far, the J2 area is highly stratified and represents a stratigraphic sequence of five periods. The architectural actions that took part in it throughout the periods interfered with the findings of the various chronological phases, leaving only a partial and fragmentary finding. As mentioned, the upper level of the excavation area in question is represented by a large structure that extends over the entire area of the upper step; It dates to the early Roman period and its foundations and different functional levels disturbed earlier layers and cleared some of them.

In the southwest corner, in the inner part of the retreat of the Canaanite wall, a thick layer of ash was discovered, in which pottery fragments dating to the period under discussion were discovered as fragments of the rims of rimmed jugs and cooking pots typical of the period. The ash layer, the excavation of which has not yet been completed, is bounded on the west by the wall of the wall and on the east, it adjoins a wall at a low level (lower than the floor level of the warehouse building from the early Roman period that is used as infrastructure) which was oriented south north (W-5380). The said wall is distant from the wall by four meters. The dating of wall W-5380 to the Iron Age 1. is uncertain. It is known, according to Finkelstein's (1993) excavations in areas H and F, that buildings approach the wall from the inner part, from which basement complexes dating to the Middle Bronze III period were discovered (Finkelstein, 1993). Against this, the Iron Age 1 finds in the inner parts of the mound are very partial and fragmentary, so it is not impossible that the ancient wall W-5380, dates to the Middle Bronze Age and that it was used secondary to the Iron Age 1.

The ash layer that was discovered in the southwest corner of the Canaanite wall continues at the same level to the north and was also exposed in two squares that continue the excavation sequence to the north (squares: D48 - D47). In this area, the degree of later disturbance is greater and within the ash layer, in addition to ceramics dating to the Iron Age 1, pottery fragments dating to later periods were also discovered: Byzantine and early Roman. In the northwest corner of square D47, the meeting point of wall W-5236 (west east) dating to the early Roman period with the middle bronze wall was discovered.

To the north side of wall W-5326 in the same orientation (west-east) another wall W-5381 is adjacent to it. Wall W-5326 late to Wall W-5381; This assumption is based on the relationships of the different walls and floors that approach them. It is evident that wall W-5381 is approached from the north by a floor located in square D47 made of a pressed yellowish chalky layer. The later wall W-5326 is approached from the south by a white plaster floor which formed a foundation for a mosaic floor dating from the early Roman period. This is visible in the eastern and southern part of the square in question and is at a higher level than the floor made of a pressed chalk layer which was exposed as mentioned in the adjacent square to the north. It also appears that the high plaster floor covers the top of wall W-5381 and thereby seals its use (the wall forms a southeast corner with another low wall - W5382). On top of the low floor level and near it, the fragments of pottery dating to the Iron Age 1 were also discovered. These were discovered together with the fragments of pottery from later periods: the early Roman and the Byzantine.

In this case as well, as appears from the findings in square D49, the stratigraphic sequence must be re-examined, and an attempt made to place the construction stages of the walls in question. Two possibilities stand to be tested: one, the dating of these architectural remains (walls W-5381 – West East and W5382 – North South) to the Middle Bronze Age and that they were also used in the Iron Age 1 and the construction of the yellow chalk floor corresponding to them or alternatively that the construction phase of these and the said floor The approach to them dates to the Iron Age 1 and that the inner city space in the western part of the mound was also used in this period and not just the outer areas of the city.



Figure 4. Area J2 Middle Bronze Age II and Iron Age I

## 7. Discussion

The dating of the structure that was discovered in area J2 dates to the Iron Age I, according to its architectural features that are similar in part to the plan of the houses of the four spaces and the houses of the three spaces known from the sites of the central mountain such as Tel a-Netzba (McCown, 1947; Wampler, 1947), Khirbat a-Doara (Mahmas) (Finkelstein, 1985, 1987, 1988); Ai (Marquet-Krause, 1949), Beit El (Kalso, 1986), Gila (Mazar, 1981), Beit Tzur (Seller, 1933, 1957), Tel Meshush (Aharoni et al., 1974), and more. In addition, it is similar in certain characteristics to the residential buildings (the warehouses or public buildings) that were discovered throughout the mound and in area C (Finkelstein et al., 1993; Bunimuvits & Finkelstein, 1987), also similar are the characteristics of the ceramic find consisting mainly of cooking pots, jugs, jugs, and jugs (jugs with a collar rim) for different sites (see details above) (Finkelstein, 1987). In both cases, Iron Age I builders "mined" the slippery material dated to the Middle Bronze Age IIa (according to the new dating proposal in area J2) (Gah, 2016) and made use of the "fossilized remains" (Bonimovitch, 1996) of the fortification system dating to this period. The outline of the Middle Bronze Wall was an influential factor that dictated the decision-making process of the Iron Age I and II builders regarding the location of

the residential buildings, and on the manner of their development, their orientation, and their planning in the space of the site and in relation to it (Gat, 2017).

As mentioned, the architectural findings from the Iron Age I at Tel Shilo constitute a unique case study in which the decision-making process of the builders of the period and the way the settlement was planned and built in relation to those "fossilized remains" stand out. The Iron Age builders chose or perhaps were forced to consider those remains and make them the starting point for the construction of the residential buildings. The ancient bronze wall is the one that dictated the concept of the spatial and planning document – to adjust their location in the settlement according to the dictates of the space it created by its very presence. Another aspect is the conscious choice of the Iron Age residents of Tel Shiloh or perhaps a compulsion imposed on them to leave the focus of the initial settlement and move outside the area of the mound, which raises questions about the inner content of the mound and its functional definition or what it is. In this way, to testify to the presence of previous residents – others who occupied the inner parts of the mound and the mutual ties of the two present populations.

This appears in a similar way in the two areas (C and J2) which constitute one sequence of settlements on the south-north axis of symmetry in the western part of the mound. In area C, the residences were built between two fronts that create two setbacks in the wall (E-401), and inside the "slippery box" so that the residential buildings actually rested on the setbacks of the wall that preceded them. It is evident that the main architectural mass of the Iron Age A buildings in this area (and similarly in area J2): the outer walls of the buildings and the main part of their walls that create their internal division were adapted to the location of the retreats of the wall and are used as a support. Area C is very close to the steep western slope and is located in a relatively narrow strip of landscape and is therefore limited in its urban development capacity. Finkelstein (1987) suggests that the nature of the buildings in Area C: the enormous effort that was invested in their construction, which involved mining the Middle Bronze Age, dealing with the steep slope to the west, the ceramic find, which includes many storage vessels, and the relative absence of cooking pots, and the orientation of the buildings on a southern axis North may teach about their public nature "as fraternity buildings" to the tabernacle.

The discussion that takes part here does not discuss the place of the tabernacle, but the exact symmetry axis on the north-south axis of the buildings does not indicate any connection to the tabernacle's place, but rather an ecological architectural concept that considers and utilizes an existing structural element (the wall of the wall built as fronts and dense retreats in this part). Also, the simplicity of the slide in this area, and its relatively low strength due to the utilization of the natural slope of the mound, compared to its tremendous strength in the northern part brought the the builders of the period cleared it in order to build their buildings (as mentioned, the author of this article suggests seeing the location of the tabernacle in the southern area outside the territory of the fortified city (Gat, 2019).

A similar picture in relation is also evident in area J2, where the residential building is erected at the southern end of the sliding box which was oriented north-south with a clear choice and use of the graded description of the wall and the utilization of this architectural strength point for the construction of the building and the implementation of its plan. It appears, and similar to the knowledge of surface C, that the residential building in question was designed in accordance with the structural dictates created by the wall and described. At the level point of this and in accordance with it is established the core of the architectural mass of the building which is expressed in its inner walls. It can also be assumed that the combination of the stepped wall and the slippery mass that served as a supporting shelf together formed a solid foundation for the construction of a second floor and its bearing. The planning of the internal space of the ground floor in many of the houses of the four spaces in Another evidence for the existence of a second floor in the said building is the row of three column columns (of which only their bases survived) which were discovered quite close to wall W-5364 which is the southern boundary wall of the building (at a distance of 0.4 m) and at a distance ranging from 1.3 m to 2 m between base and base. The row of columns together with the built wall formed a stronger infrastructure for carrying the ceiling of the space (Room III) and an open courtyard above it. The planning of the internal space of the ground floor in many of the houses of the four spaces in the Land of Israel was done in accordance with the need for the construction of a second floor which was carried above it (Netzer, 1987: 167). Another evidence for the existence of a second floor in the said building is the row of three column columns (of which only their bases have survived) which were discovered quite close to wall W-5364 which is the southern boundary wall of the building (at 0.4 m) and at a distance ranging from 1.3 m to 2 m between base and base. The row of columns together with the built wall formed a stronger infrastructure for carrying the ceiling of the space (Room III) and an open courtyard above it.

Validity for this claim, in choosing the location of the residential buildings from the Iron Age A, is obtained in terms of the architectural characteristics of the wall that continues towards the northeast in areas H and F (Finkelstein et al., 1993: 50, Figure 4: 1). In this area the wall of the wall is straight and continuous and there are no fronts and retreats. It is possible that this similarly informed choice in selecting the location of the buildings in the western areas of the mound: C the northern of the two and J2 which is its continuation from the south, even if it requires investment and the allocation of many human resources for the evacuation of the spillway waste, has two key aspects to it. One, the chronological aspect: it is possible that the western buildings at Tel Shilo represent, as mentioned, a later phase in the Iron Age I and the expansion of the settlement westward from the northeastern area D. These are characterized by a high level of construction and relatively sophisticated planning complexity compared to dealing with choosing a steep topographical location (in area C). At the same time, these are absent from silos, which are one of the characteristics of the settlements of the period (and this may be the explanation for the large presence of storage jars in room 335). On the other hand, in the northern area D in Tel Shiloh, on top of the top stone of the wall in the inner part of the mound, a rough stone floor was discovered on which the fragments of rimmed jugs were discovered. 14 silos scattered south of the floor were also discovered. According to the excavator's assumption (Finkelstein, 1987), it is possible that the floor was used as a base on which huts or temporary buildings were erected, since no evidence of permanent construction was discovered near it. From this it can be assumed that the development of the settlement in Iron Age A is from the east (area D), which represents the beginning of the settlement to the west (areas C and J2).

Another aspect deals with the diachronic exposure of Shiloh's settlers in the Iron Age I to its earlier remains. Assuming that the beginning of the settlement was in the northern part of the mound in area D, which lacks structural remains, the settlers who apparently lived in huts (Finkelstein, 1987) were exposed over time to architectural remains left behind by its inhabitants from earlier periods. This prolonged exposure created cognitive connections which can be assumed to have influenced the architectural perception of the builders of the second phase of the Iron Age A and whose product is the buildings from surfaces J2 and C. Renfrew (1984: 390) deals with the difference between invention and innovation. This indicates that the transition process of inventions and innovations in data time and space is an important aspect of geography, anthropology, and archaeology. It also creates a clear distinction between invention and innovation and emphasizes that an innovation is a new creation that has undergone an adaptive process that represents the cognitive perception of the efforts that have undergone a cognitive process of conscious choice (innovation choice). Another example that deals with the movement of a find across space and the continuation process of this phenomenon can be found in the "circular distribution model" which examined as a test case glass cup but can be applied to any type of find. This examined the core space where the find was made and its distribution to secondary distribution spaces and the continuation that characterizes this process (the time variable is not constant) (Gat, 2013).

Unlike what is known in Area C, which is limited by a narrow strip of landscape, the residential building in question was exposed in the southern part of Area J2 at the border between its middle and lower levels, which is a relatively large space (about 20 x 50 m) that allowed the development of the settlement in the Iron Age A to the south (its results The parts of the excavation season in the summer of 2013, which sampled parts of the southern lower step, showed that the settlement from the Iron Age A is developing west and south). The city wall from the Middle Bronze Age, which represents the northern border of the lower step, was built on top of the level of the natural rock – the bedrock, the slope of which is towards the south and west. The raised southern and southwestern part of the discussed step is artificial and is the product of layering processes that were blocked by construction remains (these have not yet been uncovered). Its upper layers close to the surface of the lower step are dated according to the ceramic find discovered in them to the Iron Age I, but it is not impossible that the builders of this period made use of structural remains dating to the Middle Bronze Age II. The outline of the step from west to east appears to be a moderate ramp which may be an indirect access ramp that led to the city gate in the Middle Bronze II period, one of the explanations being that it is located in the southern part (east of the ramp) of the mound. A similar example (so far defined as a single case from this period) is known from Megido (layers XII-XIIIA) (Kampinski, 1987: 111-112). What is said at this stage is only a suggestion.

Faced with the limited amount of data that has been collected so far, it is difficult to estimate the degree of urban planning of the settlement and its scope. One of the accepted criteria for defining the degree of urban planning is the definition of developed areas and street layout. From the Iron Age I, the variety of definitions dealing with urban planning is wide, ranging from sites where there are no streets at all and the ecological relationship between the built units is made by leaving open spaces that are not arranged and settlements with a high level of urban planning (Herzog, 1987). At this stage, as mentioned, it is difficult to estimate the extent and manner of planning (if any) of the settlement from the Iron Age I in Shiloh. A clue to urban planning may lie in the diagonal access passage facing the northwest leading to the residential building. As mentioned, the residential building is located on the level of the lower step, which has a large area that allows the expansion of the settlement from the period in question. The transition zone is gradually expanding from south-southeast to north-northwest. It is bounded to the west by a wall built with one row of stones W-5230 and to the east by the western wall of the residential building W-5228. It is paved by reclaimed land. A partial sample made in a limited area to the west of wall W-5230 showed that the ceramics approaching it dates to the Iron Age A and it is possible that the is in another structure from this period separated from the excavated structure to the east by a street.

8. Spatial consciousness and memory space: Moving from erasure to renewed constructive writing

The model of the development of the settlement at Tel Shilo from the Iron Age represents a unique spatial-axial process of consciousness that can be remarkably reproduced compared to other sites. Its main expression is in a chronological spatial movement (Gat, 2015) which reflects processes represented by intellectual physiological labor, social communication, environmental memories – accumulated and the construction of institutional life frameworks (Saadi, 2011). Before us, as mentioned, are two possible stages for the Israeli settlement in the mound, which begins in area D in the inner part of the mound on top of the wall. The characteristics of this are ephemeral structures – like huts (Finkelstein, 1987) that left no actual material remains and a dense complex of silos alongside a significant concentration of fragments of jars that were used for storage. The second stage of this process is represented by the massive - powerful construction of well-planned residential buildings, while dividing them into diverse, two-

story functional spaces (Gat, 2015; Finkelstein, 1990) that are clearly visible in their surroundings and even partially block the visibility of the fortified city wall from the Bronze Age the middle.

This process that represents a conscious construction of the transformation of a human environment to which the Israeli settlers arrived at the beginning of the Iron Age I (a foreign environment it seems) and its transformation into a home environment, upon their arrival and during their stay in the Tel and their settlement in it. This process takes shape over time and by virtue of their continuous presence in the mound, it has become their home. The change can be seen according to the form of residence: a transition from temporary buildings built of perishable materials to residential buildings built of stone, but it cannot be distinguished (so far) through the ceramic find. It is interesting to assume that the change of architectural structural traditions is seen chronologically faster than the change of ceramic traditions. This is perhaps due to the limitations of the ceramic material compared to the need to create environmentally adapted living spaces.

In this natural framework, two central processes are created: one, the formation of a sense of environmental familiarity, spatial intimacy and physical and human contact with objects and people (perhaps those who were present in the mound before the arrival of the new settlers and lived at the same time as them) By doing so, leaving a strong mark on the minds of those people (Gat, 2013; Saadi, 2015). A second process is the construction of a memory – a mental memory of previous fossil remains loaded with symbolic meaning – apparently alien and in contrast to the need to form a renewed (collective) social memory that carries previous environmental memories and the creation of updated memories in the current physical space. This kind of memory is not intrinsically essential but an essential component in social-cultural-local and perhaps even national construction (Azriyahu, 1995; Zerubavel, 1995).

These two processes consolidate loyalty and connection to the territory, and in the membership processes the interrelationships between the individual and the place, the environment, and the structural territorial unit change. Thus, this consciousness captures the awareness of the individuals and their consciousness towards the spatial unit (Agnew & Cambridge, 1995). It is possible that the manifestation of this process is the (so far) almost complete absence of Iron Age residential buildings in the inner part of the mound. This figure strengthens the assumption towards the establishment of environmental recognition and the creation of spatial intimacy in that the Iron Age builders avoided (or could not) build in the inner area of the city from the Middle Bronze Age or on the other hand and perhaps at the same time, they considered the buildings that were located in the inner part of the city or whether its area was dedicated and these were aware of it. It is possible that the two described processes took place at the same time.

Another aspect is the fascinating choice of the Israeli residents to build their houses in the narrow strip of landscape that characterizes the western – outer part of the mound. It is possible that this choice, as it appears to us today, represents an attempt to consolidate a local (collective) social memory and even an environmental one. The western part of the mound is the one that is exposed to the mountain road from west to east and in the construction of the houses that hide the Middle Bronze Wall (even if in their conscious functional choice, the wall of the wall was used as an anchor wall on which the residential buildings and their second floors rested), the fact of the settlement of the Israeli population was present. In this way, processes of interrelationships stand out in the sea, the individual and the place, between an environment and a structural territorial unit on its natural and human content. Thus, cultures actually mediate the social meaning of spaces (Foucault, 1991).

## 9. The fight for the place

It is evident that the layout of the Israeli settlement from the Iron Age I at Tel Shilo represents the settlement model that deals with the struggle for space. According to the picture of the find known so far, the distribution of the margins of the Israeli residential buildings from the Iron Age to the areas located outside the expanse of the walled city and within narrow and limited landscape strips stands out. The spatial movement arising from the layout of the Israeli settlement represents a process of a conflictual space of consciousness (Meishar, 2004). This concept can be substantiated by two aspects: spatial movement and structural characteristics: observing the transit movement of the Israeli settlers at the beginning of the period from Area D, located in the inner part of the city on top of the Bronze Wall at the northern end to Areas C and J2, located as mentioned outside the city wall; This is in addition to the characteristics of the temporary residential buildings in area D, which did not leave a material residue and hence were built from perishable materials. Also, it is possible that the thick layers of ash on the one hand and focused only on the buildings themselves, represent the product of this conflict situation.

This possible "struggle for place" that combines it seems, a social and material struggle might have consolidated a sense of place among the new Israeli residents. The social struggle is about the ability to settle in a place and establish a sense of place towards it (Aburabia, 2011). As mentioned, this was done in two ways: social and material: the social struggle was apparently done against other residents, probably prior to the Israeli residents, who lived on the site. The second way - the material, is the products of the social struggle, its expression in the prominent presence of the thick ash layers in the house complexes in areas C and J2 and the structural settlement of the Iron I residents outside the territory of the city (Gat, 2015; Finkelstein et al., 1993). This struggle, which reflects according to the material archeological find - resistance, and as stated above from the layout of the Israeli settlement and its spatial movement, established, so it can be assumed the sense of belonging of the Israeli residents to the place - to Shiloh and thus consolidated for them the construction of a sense of place (Barum & Sleznik, 1993). At the core of this feeling is an emotional human affinity that people feel towards a certain place as they subjectively experience it. This feeling is based on three dimensions of space: the physical space (the desire to settle in front of forces that represent resistance and pushing from place to place: settling in area D and moving to areas C and J2), the perceived space as planners and architects choose to design its representations, whether consciously or not (The non-random mapping) – the attachment to the spatial symbol of the city from the outside and its partial hiding in front of the landscape on the west side of the city, and the conceptual space that is a product of the mutual social and political context that exists between people, between groups, between communities and more (Ya'acobi, 2004).

These three dimensions of space that established a sense of place among the Israeli settlers from the Iron Age additionally created the formation of a local spatial identity concept that stems from the natural need of humans to belong to a certain place where they feel natural comfort, relative security, and refuge (Massey, 1995). As archaeologists we will not be able to isolate these perceptual dimensions and break them down into details in relation to the ancient space and the human and environmental relationships that existed in it, but the previous fossils left to us by those settlers outline the general lines of the products of this thinking: their choices, their thoughts that are given to us in a material and limited way, the relationships they experienced and more. To the formation of this concept of identity was added the meaning apparently given to the space in question by the Israeli settlers which gave the place an interpretation and representation. This process was created based on enough stay in the space (even if this stay is subject to pressure from external factors and perhaps thanks to those pressures it has become stronger); This space is defined as a contented, independent, and rebellious space whose expression is the resilience and re-construction of the Israeli settlement during the Iron Age (Meir, 2003, 2007). The day-to-day walking in it and the transition from the starting area to the following

areas, thus marking a territory. Added to these is the emerging memory in front of the events experienced and thus the acquisition of knowledge about the place: old and new (de Certeau, 1984).

#### 10. Summary

From the examination of the remains of the settlement dating to the Iron Age I in the northeastern and western parts of the mound, it appears that there was probably a conscious spatial movement. This cognitive concept represents sociological processes highlighted as the construction of a sense of spatial belonging and a struggle for place. Manifestations of these is through the establishment of a local spatial identity that originates from conflictual spatial relationships represented by oppositional and insurgent movement and planning. His outstanding product in the field is resistance to those opposing forces and vera – construction by holding on to the place and building in relation to ancient – symbolic architectural fossils (the city wall from the middle bronze). Another interesting expression, unique in relation to other sites of the period, that emerged from the Israeli settlement model in Shiloh is the axis of movement that represents two phases at the same time by moving from the inner D surface to the outer C and J2 surfaces. It is possible that a careful examination of the ceramic finds from these surfaces may give us a chronological division of the period. Representations of the spatial phase of the first settlement is characterized by the absence of architectural remains that express living in huts that were founded on a rough stone floor that was exposed at the top of the stone wall in area D (Finkelstein, 1987) and a slow developmental transition that represents exposure over time to fossil remains from earlier periods which influenced the architectural perception of the Iron Age I builders and their understanding of the relationships of the given space, its frozen findings as the city wall and their renewed construction. At this stage, as mentioned, it is difficult to assess the extent of the urban planning of the settlement from the Iron Age I, but there is no doubt that the settlement from this period developed according to the data from the excavation in area J2 towards the west and south and primarily for a possible orthogonal planning that rests on the diagonal passageway leading to the residential building and separating it so it seems from a unit Another structure located to the west of it.

## Acknowledgements

This research did not receive any specific grant from funding agencies in the public commercial, or not-for-profit sectors.

The author declares no competing interests.

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