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Syrian Revolution and Its Impact on US Foreign Policy

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Abstract

This article offers a comprehensive examination of the Syrian Revolution (2011-present) and its profound impact on United States foreign policy. Specifically, this study delves into the military and economic involvement of the United States in the conflict, analyzing the responses of both President Barack Obama and President Donald Trump to the evolving crisis in Syria. Furthermore, the article critically compares and contrasts the implications and consequences of the Syrian Revolution to other post-9/11 conflicts, shedding light on the unique dynamics of this particular uprising. Through an extensive review of academic literature, policy reports, and primary sources, this study highlights the multifaceted nature of US engagement in the Syrian Revolution. It explores the strategic motivations behind the United States' military intervention, including its objectives to counter terrorism, protect regional allies, and address the humanitarian crisis. Moreover, the economic aspects of US involvement, such as sanctions and aid, are analyzed to provide a holistic understanding of the United States' role in shaping the trajectory of the Syrian Revolution. This article also presents a comparative analysis of the responses of President Obama and President Trump to the Syrian crisis, unveiling distinct shifts in US foreign policy approaches. It explores the diplomatic, military, and humanitarian strategies pursued by the two administrations and assesses their effectiveness in resolving the conflict and advancing US national interests. Finally, this study offers a nuanced comparison of the impact and ramifications of the Syrian Revolution in relation to other post-9/11 conflicts. By drawing on contextual factors, geopolitical considerations, and regional dynamics, it elucidates the unique challenges and opportunities that the Syrian Revolution has presented to US foreign policy. The findings of this article contribute to the scholarly understanding of the Syrian Revolution and its underlying implications for US foreign policy. They also offer policymakers and analysts valuable insights into the complex interplay between domestic and international factors shaping US responses to conflicts in the Middle East and beyond.

Keywords: US modern history, politics, foreign affairs, military, modern military history.

1. Introduction

The Syrian revolution began as a peaceful protest movement in March 2011, calling for democratic reforms, human rights, and an end to the authoritarian regime of President Bashar al-Assad. However, the government's brutal crackdown on dissenters and protesters quickly escalated into a full-scale civil war, drawing in a complex web of regional and global actors. The United States has played a pivotal role in the Syrian conflict, initially supporting anti-government rebels and calling for Assad's removal from power, and then shifting its focus to fighting ISIS while maintaining a limited military presence in the country. Considering these developments, this article seeks to examine how the Syrian revolution has impacted US foreign policy.

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2. Background

The Syrian revolution broke out in March 2011 as part of the broader wave of Arab uprisings known as the Arab Spring. It aimed to end President Bashar al-Assad's oppressive regime that had been in power for decades. The Syrian people were inspired by a wave of protests across the Middle East and North Africa, which resulted in the fall of longtime authoritarian leaders in Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya. However, the Syrian conflict proved more complex and intractable than others because of its sectarian and ethnic divisions, regional and international involvement, and the regime's ruthless response to peaceful protests.

2.1 *The Obama Administration response*

In the initial stages of the Syrian conflict, the Obama administration initially called for a political transition, expressing support for the Syrian people's aspirations for democracy and human rights. The administration provided non-lethal aid to opposition forces, such as communications equipment and medical supplies, and offered humanitarian support to alleviate the suffering of vulnerable populations affected by the conflict.

However, as the conflict escalated, the administration faced a difficult decision about how to intervene in the conflict. Direct military intervention was ruled out due to the lessons learned from the Iraq War, but the administration pursued a strategy of supporting moderate rebel groups and diplomatically pressuring Russia and Iran to put pressure on Assad to step down. The United States also condemned Assad's use of chemical weapons and supported efforts to hold him accountable for war crimes.

As the conflict in Syria continued, the Obama administration tried to use diplomatic channels to resolve the crisis. In 2012, the administration proposed the Geneva Communique, which called for a peaceful transition of power to a transitional governing body in Syria. The United States also worked with other countries, such as Russia and Iran, to try to find a political solution to the conflict.

However, the administration faced criticism for not taking more direct action to support the opposition and protect civilians. In 2013, when the Assad regime used chemical weapons against its own people, the administration considered military intervention but ultimately decided to pursue a diplomatic solution. The administration worked with Russia to broker a deal for Syria to relinquish its chemical weapons, which was seen as a diplomatic victory.

The administration also faced challenges in determining which opposition groups to support, as some rebel groups had ties to extremist organizations like al-Qaeda. In 2014, the administration launched a program to train and equip moderate opposition forces, but the program was widely criticized for its slow progress and lack of impact on the ground.

Ultimately, the Obama administration's response to the Syrian conflict was marked by a sense of caution and a reluctance to become too deeply involved in another military conflict in the Middle East. The administration's focus on fighting ISIS in Syria and Iraq was seen as a shift away from efforts to seek a political solution to the conflict in Syria. The administration's strategy proved ineffective, and Assad's forces regained ground as jihadist groups such as the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) gained more prominence. In 2015, the administration shifted its focus to fighting ISIS and formed a coalition with regional and global partners to conduct airstrikes against the group in Syria.

2.2 *Trump Administration's response*

The Trump administration took a more confrontational approach to Syria and Iran, aligning with Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates and withdrawing from the nuclear deal with Iran. The administration authorized military strikes against Assad's forces twice in 2017 and 2018, following allegations of chemical weapons use. In April 2017, the United States launched 59 Tomahawk cruise missiles against a Syrian airbase in response to a chemical attack. In April 2018, the United States, along with the United Kingdom and France, launched airstrikes targeting Syrian government facilities involved in the production of chemical weapons.

The Trump administration also took a more aggressive stance towards ISIS, increasing the number of US troops in the country, and pursuing a policy of maximum pressure against the group. The administration's revised strategy aimed to eradicate ISIS and other terrorist groups in Syria, establish safe zones for civilians, and create conditions for a political solution to the conflict. The administration also invested more resources in working with regional allies to counter Iran's influence in Syria.

In addition to the airstrikes authorized against Assad's forces, the Trump administration also increased its support for Syrian opposition groups involved in the conflict. The administration authorized the transfer of anti-tank missiles to rebel groups and pledged to provide them with more military aid. The administration also imposed economic sanctions on Syria and its allies, including Russia and Iran, to put pressure on the Assad regime. In 2018, the administration announced new sanctions on individuals and entities involved in the production and distribution of chemical weapons in Syria.

The Trump administration pursued a policy of "realpolitik" in Syria, prioritizing the defeat of ISIS over the ousting of Assad from power. The administration argued that removing Assad from power would create a power vacuum that could be exploited by extremist groups such as ISIS.

The Trump administration also engaged in diplomatic efforts to try to resolve the conflict in Syria. In January 2018, the administration hosted a summit in Sochi, Russia, between representatives from the Syrian government and opposition. The administration also worked with Russia and Jordan to establish a ceasefire in southern Syria in July 2017.

The Trump administration's policy towards Syria was criticized by some for being inconsistent and lacking a long-term strategy. Critics argued that the administration's focus on defeating ISIS and countering Iran's influence in Syria did not address the root causes of the conflict and the humanitarian crisis in the country.

Despite the differences in approach between the Obama and Trump administrations, the Syrian conflict remains unresolved, with millions of Syrians displaced, ongoing violence and human rights abuses, and a political stalemate. The impact of the Syrian revolution on US foreign policy illustrates the complexity of the Middle East's geopolitics and the challenges of balancing regional and global interests.

3. United States's military involvement in Syria

The United States' primary focus in the conflict was counterterrorism and the fight against ISIS. In 2014, the United States formed a coalition with several other countries, including the United Kingdom, France, and Saudi Arabia, to launch airstrikes against ISIS targets in Syria and Iraq. These airstrikes targeted ISIS command centers, training camps, and weapon storage facilities, as well as oil refineries, which were a key source of funding for the extremist group.

As part of its counterterrorism efforts, the United States also provided training and equipment to local Syrian rebels. The US government funded and trained the New Syrian Army, a group of moderate Syrian rebels who were fighting both ISIS and the Syrian government. The US also trained and equipped Kurdish fighters, who played a key role in the fight against ISIS.

The US military also provided logistical and intelligence support to Syrian rebel groups. This included providing communications equipment, ammunition, and medical supplies, as well as intelligence on the movement of enemy forces.

The US involvement was not limited to counterterrorism efforts. The US government and military also actively worked to promote democratic values and support the Syrian opposition. In 2012, the United States recognized the Syrian Opposition Coalition as the legitimate representative of the Syrian people. The US government also imposed economic sanctions on the Syrian government and individuals associated with the regime to put pressure on the Assad government to negotiate a political solution to the conflict.

The US military presence in Syria continued after the defeat of ISIS in 2019. The US maintained a small force of around 900 soldiers in the country, mostly focused on counterterrorism operations and advising local forces. In 2020, the US President at the time, Donald Trump, announced that he would withdraw all US forces from Syria, but the decision was later reversed, and some US forces remain in the country to this day.

The US involvement in the Syrian Revolution has been controversial. Critics have argued that the US government, and particularly the Obama administration, did not do enough to support the Syrian opposition and bring an end to the conflict. Some have also criticized the US for its role in the destabilization of the region, arguing that US intervention contributed to the rise of extremist groups such as ISIS. Others have argued that the US should have focused more on diplomacy and political solutions rather than military intervention.

US military intervention in the Syrian Revolution had significant effects on US foreign policy in the Middle East and around the globe.

Firstly, the intervention highlighted a shift towards counterterrorism as a key focus of US foreign policy. Following the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 (9/11), US foreign policy had gradually moved towards a focus on counterterrorism. The Syrian intervention continued this trend, with the US government and military prioritizing the fight against ISIS as one of its primary objectives. This focus on counterterrorism also led to the increasing use of drone strikes, special forces, and other covert actions in US military operations.

Secondly, the intervention raised questions about US policy in cases of regime change. The US government's initial support for the Syrian opposition indicated a stance in favor of regime change. However, the intervention's outcome ultimately was to maintain a status quo between the regime and the opposition forces, without any clear path towards resolution. The lack of a coherent strategy for post-conflict reconstruction in Syria highlighted concerns over the effectiveness of US policies focusing on regime change.

Thirdly, the US military involvement in Syria increased tensions with other global and regional powers. The intervention was complicated by the involvement of Russia, which supported the government of President Bashar al-Assad. It also raised concerns among Iran, another key regional power in the Middle East, as the US implicitly supported the Syrian Rebels who were backed by Iran's regional rivals, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. This complicated wider US foreign policy goals in the region, including the Obama administration's attempts to negotiate a nuclear deal with Iran while supporting Shiite forces in Iraq fighting ISIS.

In summary, the United States military intervention in the Syrian Revolution highlighted the country's emphasis on counterterrorism, brought to the forefront concerns about the regime change, and significantly affected US relations with various regional and global powers.

4. United States's economic involvement in Syria

The United States' economic involvement in the Syrian Revolution has primarily centered around imposing economic sanctions on the Syrian government and individuals associated with it. These sanctions aimed to pressure the Syrian government to end the conflict and negotiate a political solution.

The first wave of US sanctions on Syria were imposed in 2004 under the Syria Accountability and Lebanese Sovereignty Restoration Act, which targeted Syria for supporting terrorism, occupying Lebanon, and pursuing weapons of mass destruction. These early sanctions were relatively limited in scope and had minimal impact on the Syrian economy.

However, the US tightened sanctions in response to the Syrian government's actions during the Syrian Revolution. In 2011, the US government-imposed sanctions on Syrian officials, including President Bashar al-Assad, and entities involved in human rights abuses or supporting the government's crackdown on protesters. The US also sanctioned entities that were involved in Syria's oil and gas industry, which was a vital source of revenue for the Syrian government.

Over time, the US expanded its sanctions to target other sectors of the Syrian economy, including the banking and finance, energy, and telecommunications industries. The sanctions also targeted individuals and companies that were providing financial and material support to the Syrian government.

The economic impact of US sanctions on Syria has been significant. The country's economy has suffered from rising inflation, falling living standards, and increasing poverty. Many Syrian businesses and citizens have been cut off from the international financial system, making it difficult for them to trade with the rest of the world. The Syrian government has also faced difficulties securing international loans and foreign investment.

The US economic involvement in the Syrian Revolution has had broader implications for US foreign policy as well. The emphasis on sanctions as a tool for pressuring foreign governments has raised questions about the effectiveness of US sanctions policy and its impact on civilian populations. Additionally, the US sanctions on Syria may have indirectly benefited countries like Russia and Iran, which have been critical economic and military supporters of the Syrian government.

US economic involvement in the Syrian Revolution has had significant effects on US foreign policy in the Middle East and beyond.

Firstly, the use of economic sanctions as a tool for achieving foreign policy objectives established a precedent for the US. The expanded use of sanctions in the years following the Syrian Revolution indicated that the US government increasingly saw economic pressure as an effective means of achieving objectives in foreign affairs. This trend would continue in subsequent years, with the US government using economic sanctions against a variety of countries such as Iran, Venezuela, and North Korea.

Secondly, the use of economic sanctions in Syria highlighted questions about the impact of sanctions on local populations. As the sanctions were increasingly applied on a broad scale to the Syrian economy, humanitarian organizations raised concerns about the impact of sanctions on the Syrian civilian population. It also highlighted concerns about the use of sanctions as a tool of economic warfare and their effectiveness in achieving foreign policy objectives.

Thirdly, the economic sanctions imposed on Syria led to deeper entrenchment of other international actors in the conflict, particularly Russia and Iran, countries which have opposed Western sanctions regimes. These countries have used the levying of Western sanctions as justification for strengthening their strategic relationships with countries like Syria. The close political and economic relationships between these countries have complicated broader US foreign policy goals in the region.

In summary, the United States' economic involvement in the Syrian Revolution through the imposition of economic sanctions has established a model for the use of economic pressure in foreign policy decision-making. However, it has also raised concerns about the broader effectiveness of sanctions and their impact on civilian populations, and it has had broader implications for US relations with key actors in the Middle East such as Russia and Iran. The United States' economic involvement in the Syrian Revolution has centered around imposing economic sanctions on the Syrian government and associated individuals and entities. These sanctions aimed to pressure the government to end the conflict and negotiate a political solution. The sanctions have had a significant economic impact on Syria, but their broader effectiveness and impact on US foreign policy have been subject to debate.

5. Impact against other post-September conflicts

The impact of the Syrian Revolution and the subsequent civil war is significant when compared to other post-9/11 conflicts in terms of casualties, displacement, and regional stability.

In terms of casualties, the Syrian Revolution has been one of the deadliest conflicts of the post-9/11 era. While exact figures are hard to come by, estimates range from around 400,000 to over 500,000 people killed since fighting began in 2011. This death toll far surpasses that of other post-9/11 conflicts such as the Iraq War, which resulted in an estimated 186,000 to 200,000 deaths.

Displacement of Syrians has also been significant in comparison to other post-9/11 conflicts. According to the United Nations, more than 6.1 million Syrians are internally displaced and over 5.5 million have fled the country as refugees. This mass displacement has put a significant burden on neighboring countries, particularly Lebanon, Jordan, and Turkey, which have endured most of the refugee crisis. The displacement figures for the Syrian Revolution far exceed those of other post-9/11 conflicts, such as the Iraq War, which resulted in roughly 2 million internally displaced persons and 2.5 million refugees.

The impact of the Syrian Revolution on regional stability has also been significant. The conflict has exacerbated existing sectarian tensions in the region, with the Sunni-Shiite divide playing a significant role in the conflict. It has also contributed to the rise of extremist groups such as ISIS, which took advantage of the chaos to seize territory in Syria and Iraq. While ISIS has largely been defeated, the conflict and its consequences have also fueled the rise of other extremist groups in the region.

In comparison to other conflicts, the consequences of the Syrian Revolution have also had a significant impact on the global stage. The intervention of Russia to support the Syrian government, along with Iran's significant military and strategic support for Syria, has highlighted the importance of Syria as a strategic ally for these countries. It has also contributed to an increase in tensions between these countries and the United States.

The Syrian Revolution and its aftermath had a significant impact on US foreign policy in the Middle East and beyond.

Firstly, the Syrian Revolution highlighted the limitations of US policy focused on regime change and its potential consequences. The US government's support for the Syrian

opposition and advocacy of democracy in Syria collided with rising extremist groups and the humanitarian catastrophe caused by prolonged fighting. This complex situation highlighted to US policymakers that supporting regime change could lead to unpredictable and unintended outcomes, increasing the debate around the US's interventionist foreign policy.

Secondly, the Syrian Revolution contributed to the rise of ISIS, which presented a new and prominent threat to global security. The US military intervention in Syria was primarily focused on counterterrorism and fighting ISIS, which had taken control of significant portions of the country. ISIS's rise in Syria and the subsequent coalition to combat it raised questions as to the US' effectiveness in dealing with the terrorist group. Moreover, the threat of ISIS also called into question broader US policy in the region, including US support for autocratic governments in the Middle East.

Thirdly, the Syrian Revolution significantly affected US relations with Russia and Iran. Russia's intervention in support of President Bashar al-Assad highlighted the growing strategic importance of Syria for Russia and its commitment to protecting its interests in the region. Moreover, Russia's intervention raised concerns about the potential for direct military conflict between Russia and the United States. Iran's significant support for the Syrian government also raised alarms for US policymakers, as it highlighted Iran's regional ambitions and its role in fueling sectarian tension in the Middle East.

In summary, the Syrian Revolution has been significantly more deadly and has had a greater impact on regional stability and global affairs than other post-9/11 conflicts such as the Iraq War. The mass displacement of Syrians and the rise of extremist groups have also had a significant humanitarian impact. The intervention of Russia and Iran in support of the Syrian government has also contributed to heightened tensions in the region and globally.

6. Conclusion

The Syrian revolution has had a profound impact on US foreign policy, shaping the Obama and Trump administrations' responses to the conflict and altering US relations with key regional actors. While the Obama administration's policy was marked by hesitation and limited engagement, the Trump administration's policy was characterized by assertiveness and confrontation. However, the conflict in Syria remains unresolved, and the United States faces ongoing challenges in the region, including balancing its relationships with Saudi Arabia and Iran and preventing the resurgence of ISIS.

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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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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).

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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.

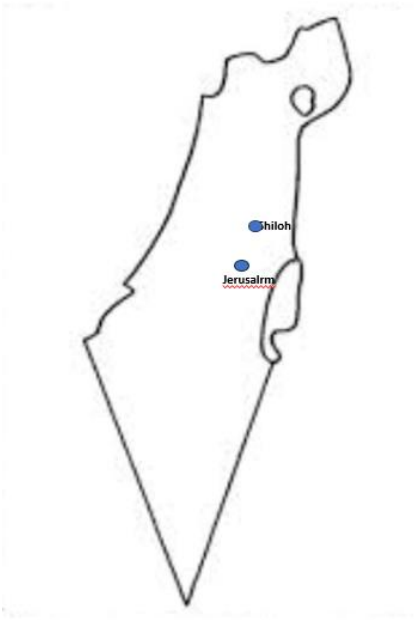

Image 1. Map of Israel and the location of Tel Shiloh

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).

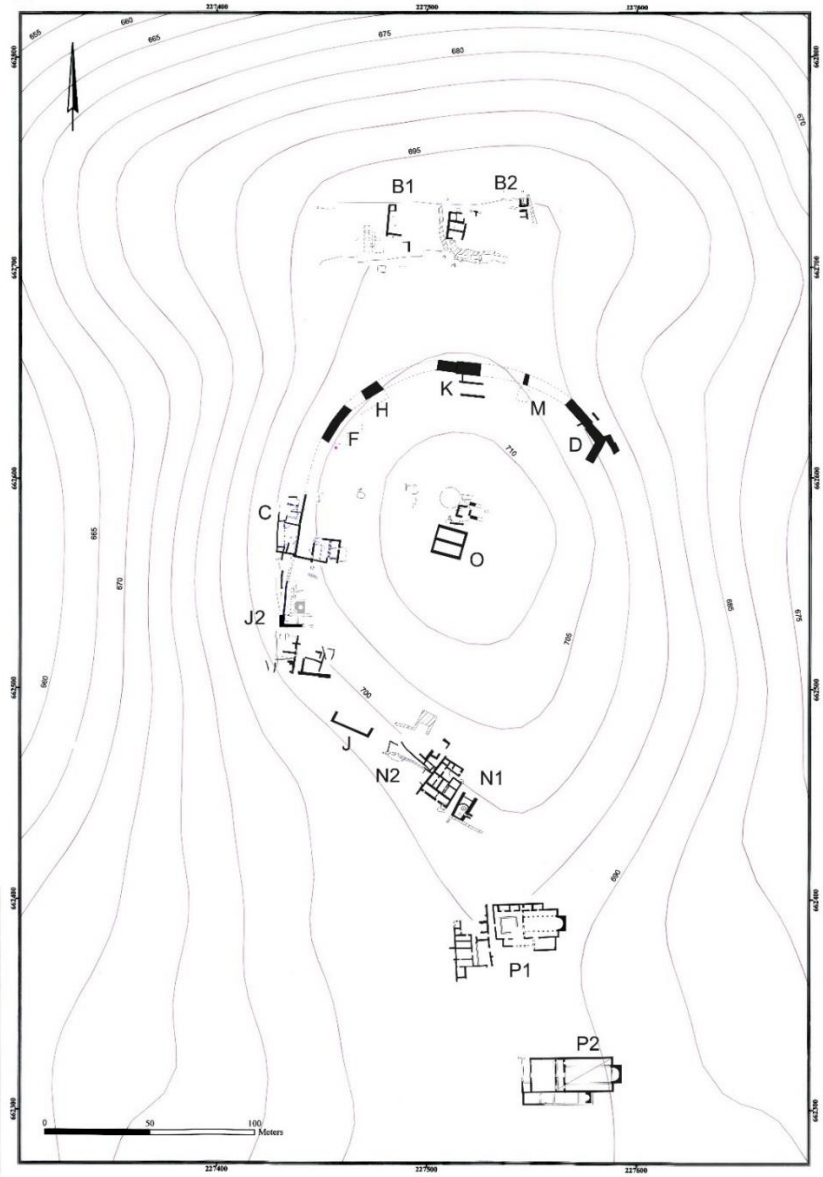

Figure 1. Tel Shiloh general plan

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.

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.

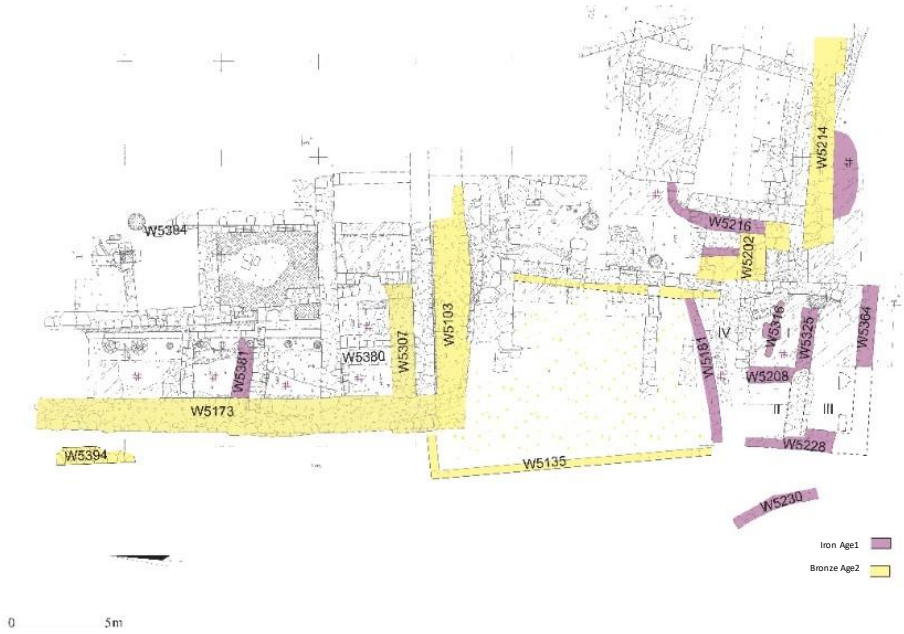

Figure 4. Area J2 Middle Bronze Age II and Iron Age I

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, 1993; 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 boundaries of the fortified settlement, to focus their settlement mainly in the areas 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.

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Enki's Seven Sages (Adapa/Oannes and the *Apkallu*): Humanity's Cosmic Guardians[1]

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Abstract

In contrast to the cruel and militant gods, who treated humans as pawns in their power struggle, Enki is remembered not just as a benevolent god who saved the human race from extermination, but who also imparted knowledge. Especially scholarly disciplines like divination, astrology, astronomy, lamentation and exorcism were considered a revelation by Enki. The *Catalogue of Texts and Authors* attests that a handbook of medical symptoms comes "of the mouth of Ea", "Adapa wrote them down at his dictation." Enki was helped by his Seven Sages – the *apkallu* (Adapa being the main one) – the cosmic guardians who disseminated his knowledge, and were remembered as teachers of humankind and laying the foundation of civilization. According to Berossus, "from that time nothing further has been discovered." Sometime around the Flood they disappeared, descending to the abode of Enki. This transition is reflected in the change from semi-divine sages or culture-heroes (*apkallu*) to scholars (*ummanu*).

Keywords: Enki, Adapa, *apkallu*, Oannes, *ummanu*.

1. The cruelty of the gods. Enki

Ancient religions are abundant with examples of the cruelty of the gods – obsession and hunger for power, complete lack of compassion and periodical annihilation of the human race. In *Atrahasis* mankind is presented as a labor-force created to serve the gods, to "bear the yoke," to "bear the load of the [Igigi] gods." Plato (*Phd.* 62b) presents a view of mankind as the gods' possession: "the gods are our guardians and we men are one of the chattels of the gods;" "I [Zeus] made them [humans] common property; they are at the service of every god" (Lucian *Prometheus* 14). Yet some gods clearly show benevolent attitude towards mankind. One of them is the Sumerian Enki.

In *Atrahasis*, after the Flood, Enlil notices the boat of Atrahasis:[2]

The warrior Ellil spotted the boat
and was furious with the Igigi.
"We, the great Anunna, all of us,

[1] I have borrowed the term "cosmic guardians" from Helge Kvanvig. He has used it numerous times to designate the role of the *apkallu* in human history. See Kvanvig, 2011: 83, 117, 145, 181, 452, 523.

[2] According to Irving Finkel (2014: 123-156), the boat was actually a coracle – the traditional river vessels still in use in 20th century Iraq.

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agreed together on an oath!
No form of life should have escaped!
How did any man survive the catastrophe?" . . .

Enki made his voice heard
and spoke to the great gods,
"I did it, in defiance of you!
I made sure life was preserved [...]"[3]

- It is dangerous for the cosmic order when humans possess the knowledge of Heaven and Earth.
- The Adapa Myth not only marks Adapa's initiation into maturity, into becoming a full-fledged human being, but further symbolizes the initiation of all humanity into civilization.
- There existed *ummanu* (guardians of the *apkallu* knowledge) of such a high rank that were included in a list of rulers.

In *Gilgamesh* XI.181-195, Ea chastises Enlil after the Flood, suggesting that the god should have employed more limited techniques of population reduction – ravenous lions and wolves, famine, and plague, i.e., some of the exact techniques that apparently failed in *Atrahasis*. In *Atrahasis*, in order to fulfill Enlil's commands of depopulation, instead of a global disaster, Enki introduces individual death to regulate the increasing population: barren women, celibate priestesses, and demons who kill children at birth should further reduce the number of human beings.[4] Following Enki's counsel, the gods had promised that there would be no more Floods, no more threat of wholesale extermination of the human race. In a late Babylonian fragment of *Atrahasis*, Enki concludes with a plea for a more secure future:

From this day no Flood shall take place,
and the human race [shall] endure for ever![5]

Enki not just saves mankind. He is also remembered as imparting knowledge. The earliest evidence shows Enki as the god of technical skills, organized planning, abundance, and knowledge.[6] After the middle of the 3rd millennium BC, Enki is equated with the Akkadian god Ea, who's benevolent attitude towards mankind firmly established his importance in incantations, purifying rites, and magic. Especially scholarly disciplines like divination, astrology, astronomy, lamentation and exorcism were considered a revelation by Ea, and described as secrets (*pirištu*, *nisirtu*) that should only be communicated within closed circles.[7] This concept of esoteric lore is already attested in 2nd millennium BC Babylonia, and in Old Babylonian texts Ea is called *bēl pirištim* "Lord of secret lore."[8] From that time on, the Mesopotamian scribal elite thought of themselves as guardians of secret knowledge that had survived from antediluvian times. Although the Flood story speaks of total destruction, there had been survivors like Utnapishtim (Atrahasis

[3] Transl. Dalley, 2000: 34.

[4] Kilmer, 1972.

[5] George, 2003: 527 (courtesy of W. Lambert).

[6] Early-Dynastic (c. 2900-2335 BC) royal inscriptions describe Enki as king of the Apsu and king of Eridu. He is mentioned to have given to the rulers of Sumer *g̃éštu* – "understanding", "knowledge", "wisdom". Old-Akkadian (2334–2147 BC) royal inscriptions associate Enki/Ea with Eridu and mention him in relation to irrigation canals and relate him to *g̃éštu*. Texts from the Second Dynasty of Lagash (c. 2260–2046 BC) portray him as a god who gives advice in temple construction (Espak 2006: 124-125). Sumerian mythological texts about Enki did exist during the 3rd millennium BC (Sallaberger 2004; Espak 2006: 49-52) but most of the compositions come from the scribal schools of the early 2nd millennium BC.

[7] Galter, 2015: 67, 72.

[8] Galter, 1983: 37; Pongratz-Leisten, 1999: 289-309.

or Ziusudra),[9] who preserved the revealed knowledge. Gilgamesh, who visited him, was one of the persons held responsible for the revival of civilization after the Flood, because "he brought knowledge from before the Flood."[10]

2. Enki's seven sages – The *apkallu*

Within the scholarly circles at the Assyrian court, the idea evolved that this knowledge comprised the disciplines mentioned above and that it was revealed through a group of (mostly seven) sages (*apkallu*) in the entourage of Ea.[11] It was put down in writing, survived the Great Flood, and was passed on as written texts intended to be kept secret.[12] The Great Flood had put an end to the primeval world, and a new one evolved. This transition is reflected in the change from semi-divine sages or culture-heroes (*apkallu*) to scholars (*ummanu*). The first were connected with divine revelations and the second with conserving the knowledge. Nothing new was invented during that period – the original revelation is only transmitted and unfolded.[13] Stone reliefs from the early 1st millennium BC show three groups of depictions of the *apkallu*: in the form of fish-man hybrids, bird-man hybrids, and fully anthropomorphic figures.[14]

[9] Ziusudra is mentioned in the Sumerian *Flood Story* (ETCSL 1.7.4; see Lambert & Millard, 1969: 138-139) and in the Sumerian creation myth *Eridu Genesis* (found on a single tablet from c. 1600 BC; see Kvanvig, 2011: 84-89).

[10] George, 2003: 538-539 (I.8), 526.

[11] Denning-Bolle, 1992: 48-64.

[12] Lenzi, 2008: 140-142. According to Berossus, all writings were preserved by being buried in Sippar (Eusebius *Chronography* 7, 10).

[13] Kvanvig 1988: 201.

[14] Wiggermann, 1994: 224. The first group of sages is rooted in 3rd millennium BC Mesopotamia, but the iconographic type was introduced only in the Kassite period (16th–12th century BC). The two other types are adopted by Assyrian iconography from a foreign source, and secondarily named "sages". In magic all three types of sages perform purifying and exorcising functions (Wiggermann, 1994: 224). *Apkallu* figurines are among the statues that ritual texts prescribe to manufacture and bury at the strategic points in the house as protective deposits, serving as apotropaic guardians against protruding evil. The same groups of protective spirits served the magical defense of Neo-Assyrian palaces in reliefs along the walls, and sometimes in free-standing sculptural works made of precious metals or stone (p. 222). The fish-*apkallu* seem to have particularly strong associations with the southern cities of Eridu, Bad-tibira, Larak and Sippar (McInerney, 2017: 260). For the most detailed study of *apkallu* history in text and iconography, see Wiggermann, 1992: 65-86.

Figure 1. Human-looking figure dressed in the skin of a fish, holding a bucket and (originally) a pine cone. Drawn from a monumental stone relief, one of a pair flanking a doorway of the temple of Ninurta in Kalhu (Assyria; modern Nimrud, Iraq), erected by King Assurnasirpal II (883-859 BC). Layard 1853: Plate 6

Figure 2. Eagle-headed and winged figure. From the same place. The British Museum

Figure 3. Human-headed and winged figure. From the same place. Museum of the Ancient Orient, Istanbul, Turkey

The earth in antediluvian time was inhabited by three different classes of creatures: the gods, the ordinary human beings who served the gods without being able to comprehend their purpose in the cosmos, and the sages, coming from Enki to instruct humankind – the *apkallu*. We learn more about the *apkallu* from the oldest source – tablet III of the early 1st millennium BC *Bīt Mēseri* ("protected house") – an apotropaic incantation with a list of the seven *apkallu* followed by another four *apkallu* which are of human descent.[15] The ritual involved hanging or placing statues of the sages on the walls of a house.

> Incantation: *Uanna*, who completed the plans of heaven and earth;
> *Uannedugga,* who is given broad understanding;
> *Enmedugga*, to whom a good fate is decreed;
> Enmegalamma, who was born in a house;
> Enmebulugga, who grew up on a river-flat;
> *Anenlilda,* the purification priest from Eridu;
> *Utuabzu*, who ascended to heaven;
> the pure carps, the carps from the sea, the seven;
> the seven *apkallus*, born in the river, who keep in order the plans of heaven and earth;
> *Nungalpiriggaldim*, the *apkallu* of Enmerkar, who brought down Ištar from heaven into the sanctuary;

[15] See Lenzi, 2008b: 144-153; Kvanvig, 2011: 107-158. The two other sources for *apkallu* are Berossus' *Babyloniaca* (291 BC) and the Uruk List of Kings and Sages (165-164 BC).

> *Piriggalnungal*, born in Kish, who angered the god Ishkur/Adad in heaven, so he allowed neither rain nor growth in the land for three years;
> *Piriggalabzu*, born in Adab/Utab, who hung his seal on a "goatfish" [16] and thereby angered the god Enki/Ea in the fresh water sea, so that a fuller struck him with his own seal;
> the fourth, *Lu-Nanna*, two-thirds *apkallu*, who expelled a dragon from *E-Ninkiagnunna*, the temple of Ishtar and Shulgi;
> the four *apkallus*, of human descent, whom the Lord Enki/Ea has endowed with broad understanding.[17]

There seems to be a connection in the cuneiform sources between the first *apkallu* from *Bīt Mēseri* and the Uruk tablet – Uanna, or Uan, "the light of An" (U-an) – and Adapa known from the myth *Adapa and the South Wind*.[18]

3. Adapa

The largest and most important *Adapa* tablet – Fragment B, written in Akkadian, found in 1887 at Amarna, Egypt – is dated to the 14th century BC. The oldest Adapa tradition is from the Tell Haddad tablets from the Old Babylonian period (1900-1600 BC), written in Sumerian. But the myth itself is probably much older, because of the location of the story at Eridu, which was a center only in the early periods of the Mesopotamian civilization. Reference to the Anunnaki in the context of Eridu (Fragment A 8) may further bear witness to the antiquity of the text.[19]

The story of *Adapa*, Fragment B, is as follows: Adapa is a sage from Eridu. Enki "perfected him with great intelligence . . . (and) wisdom" and "made him his follower (disciple)"; Adapa is "foremost in understanding of the Anunnaki" (Frg. A 3-4, 6, 8). He is fishing on his sailboat in the middle of the sea, when suddenly the South Wind blows and Adapa is thrown into the water.[20] In his rage he curses the wind, its "wing breaks", and does not blow for seven days.[21] This enrages king Anu and he calls Adapa into heaven. But before that Ea warns Adapa that he will be offered food and water of death, so he should refuse them; but he can accept garment and oil.

When Adapa arrives before Anu in heaven, Anu understands that Ea has revealed his full knowledge to Adapa, since Adapa had the power to paralyze the South Wind simply through

[16] The sacred animal of Enki/Ea.

[17] Kvanvig, 2011: 108. Transl. Borger, 1994: 230-231 with English edition of E. Reiner. For the relationship between the first and the seventh *apkallu*, see Kvanvig, 2011: 128-129.

[18] Reading the Adapa Myth from the Old Babylonian period clearly evokes the impression that Adapa was a proper name, and this proper name of the foremost wise among humans could very well have caused the use of the name as an epithet. There is a combined name that first seems to appear in the *Catalogue of Texts and Authors* (I. 6), *^{m}ūma-an-na a-da-pà,* which seems to play on both Uan and *adapa* in some mysterious way (Kvanvig, 2011: 117-118). Lambert (1962: 73) translates it Oannes-Adapa, while Kvanvig (2011: 148) prefers to use Uanadapa. For a summary of the occurrences of the name forms cf. Streck, 2003: 1-3.

[19] Izre'el, 2001: 47, 7, 67. Wiggerman (2004: 396) dates the "Eridu stage" c. 3500-2500 BC.

[20] Cf. the 1944 *Iraq and the Persian Gulf* report of the British Naval Intelligence: "The north-west winds . . . are occasionally strong, but more usually very light . . . sometimes followed by a strong south-westerly gale which lasts for a few hours and is dangerous to small crafts" (Izre'el, 2001: 68).

[21] The geographical and physical setting of the myth manifests intimate, firsthand knowledge of the location, since the role and behavior of the South Wind are very well known in the same area in the time before and up to our period. In a penetrating study, Roux (1961) has shown that the South Wind, when blowing "toward the land" (Frg. B 7), serves as a fertilizing means to the lands of southern Mesopotamia. It is a hot, humid, violent wind that brings most of the rain (Izre'el, 2001: 67).

his speech. Anu considers this as bad, because it is dangerous for the cosmic order when humans possess the same extensive wisdom as the Anunnaki, which Adapa clearly has demonstrated.[22]

> Why did Ea reveal to an imperfect human being
> that of Heaven and Earth,
> and endow him with an arrogant (*kabru*) heart?[23]

Anu's speech shows that *the way to operate nature* is the "secret of Heaven and Earth" ("secret" is implied by "reveal" in the previous line). Piotr Michalowski argued that Adapa's power to paralyze the South Wind is of esoteric nature – the art of magic.[24] Adapa's most potent weapon is language itself.[25]

Now that Adapa knows the wisdom of the gods, he lacks only one – eternal life. Anu offers Adapa the food and water of immortality, which Adapa refuses, because he was previously told by Ea that they are lethal. So Adapa returns "to his earth." But had Anu wanted Adapa die, he would have offered him only (lethal) food and drink, without garments and oil. Then why has Ea deceived its disciple? Because Adapa is "a seed of humankind" (Frg. D 12), he simply cannot have both wisdom and immortality – he is a symbol of humanity and its status on earth.[26]

Had Apada stayed in heaven, as attested in Fragment D, Anu would have "set Adapa at his service" (9), to be his protégé, introducing Adapa to the highest office any human was given, and establish "his freedom from Ea" (10). Apada would have remained completely separated from mankind. And Ea cannot afford to lose his most promising disciple. Especially now, when the highest Anunnaki God, Anu, has attested and institutionalized Apada's wisdom. Now Ea would need Apada, the future *apkallu*, even more, to further help him disseminate the knowledge of the gods to humanity.[27]

The Adapa Myth, structured as a rite of passage, describes Adapa's passage into full humanity, symbolizing humans becoming aware of their own knowledge. The Adapa Myth not only marks Adapa's initiation into maturity, into becoming a full-fledged human being, but further symbolizes the initiation of all humanity into civilization.[28]

Adapa and the other *apkallu* were sent to humankind in antediluvian time as "cosmic guardians" in order to teach them the basic cultural benefits.[29] That Adapa is the most important *apkallu* is attested in the *Catalogue of Texts and Authors* (c. 700 BC), found in the Neo-Assyrian library of Nineveh. It ascribes the authorship of many series of priestly wisdom to Ea:

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[22] Kvanvig, 2011: 126.

[23] *Adapa* Nineveh Fragment B 57-59, Wiggermann, 1999: 23, translation from Picchioni 1981. Preferred over Izre'el, 2001: 19 for the sake of simplicity.

[24] Michalowski 1980.

[25] Mesopotamian magic can be subdivided into four major categories: (1). Liminal – the ritual client or object is transformed and taken to another status. (2). Defensive – an evil that has (threatened to) beset the ritual client is removed and repelled. (3). Aggressive – the ritual client gains superiority, strength and attractiveness. (4). Witchcraft – an illegal and aggressive form of magic by which the ritual client has been harmed. (1) and (2) are white magic, (4) is black, (3) falls into a grey area in between (Schwemer 2014).

[26] Izre'el, 2001: 124, 121.

[27] Cf. Izre'el, 2001: 125-127 and the story of the Garden of Eden, where Adam and Eve ate from "the tree of knowledge-of-good-and-bad". The story resembles the Adapa story in significant respects, notably the shared essence of humans and gods with regard to knowledge or wisdom (Genesis, 3:5, 22). Both gods, Ea and Yahweh, lie to the humans. But for the opposite reasons – Yahweh wants to keep humanity in a state of ignorance.

[28] Izre'el, 2001: 143, 147.

[29] Kvanvig, 2011: 523.

> [The exorcistic] corpus, the liturgical series, the celestial omen series *Enuma Anu Enlil*, the physiognomic omens, the omens from monstrous births, the handbook of medical symptoms, [the interpretation] of utterances, the (Ninurta myths) of *Lugale* and *Angimdimma*: [all these] are of the mouth of Ea.[30]

An explanatory passage toward the end of the text implies that Ea spoke these texts and that "Adapa wrote them down at his dictation".[31] All of the following texts say that the professional literature of the scholars springs from the subterranean deep (*apsu*), the "house of wisdom" that is the home of Ea:[32] Sargon II (709-705 BC) refers to related calendars lore "which Niššiku [a name of Ea] the lord of wisdom wrote down on an ancient tablet"; a literary prayer to Marduk refers to an incantation for appeasing an angry god as "the writing of Ea;" a minor myth from the 1st millennium BC mentions Ea as the author of directions for preparing various medicinal poultices.[33]

4. Oannes

A later source of the *apkallu* tradition is Berossus. His *Babyloniaca* (291 BC) consisted of three volumes, one on cosmology, one on ancient history, and one on recent history. The original book is lost, but excerpts and quotes survived in the works of Eusebius of Caesarea and Josephus Flavius. Book one explains how Mesopotamian culture was revealed to mankind by the creature called Oannes that came from the waters of the Persian Gulf.[34] Oannes is another name for Adapa,[35] or Uan(na) in *Bīt Mēseri*, Uan in the Uruk List of Kings and Sages, and the revelation contains cosmology, astronomy/astrology, and probably also other domains of Babylonian wisdom. Book two deals with the antediluvian world, the Great Flood, and the early history of Mesopotamia showing how the revealed knowledge passed through critical and dangerous times.[36] It even survived the Great Flood being put down in writing and buried. According to Berossus, Oannes left a written account that contained all revealed knowledge. All later texts were just commentaries on this account.

> It [Oannes] gave men the knowledge of letters and sciences and crafts of all types. It also taught the founding of cities, the establishment of temples, and the introduction of laws and land-measurement, and showed them seeds and the gathering of fruits. In general, it taught men everything that is connected with a civilized life. From that time nothing further has been discovered (*FGrH* 680 F1b).

[30] Annus, 2010: 286, quoting Lambert, 1962: 64-65, 70. *Enuma Anu Enlil* forms the basis for the astronomical calculations in the astronomical work MUL.APIN and the *Astronomical Book* (*1 Enoch*). For commentaries on all mentioned texts, see Frahm 2011, 2018.

[31] Lambert, 1962: 66-68, VI.16. According to van der Toorn (2007: 207-208), "the *Catalogue* lists the works of the cuneiform tradition in their order of presumed antiquity . . . it distinguishes three successive eras in the literary production. The earliest group of texts are "of the mouth of Ea," the second group of texts are by sages before the Flood, most notably Adapa, and the third and the largest group of texts are by various postdiluvian scribes and scholars of great repute." See also Rochberg, 1999: 419-20; Lenzi, 2008b: 151-52.

[32] Van der Toorn, 2007: 208, quoting Lambert, 1980: 80.

[33] Mayer, 1983: 68; Lambert, 1959: 59, line 146 (*šitru ša ^{d}Ea*); Lambert, 1980.

[34] Haubold, 2013.

[35] See n. 16.

[36] Lang, 2013. See also Galter, 2005: 292-294.

5. The disappearance of the *apkallu*

After the flood the *apkallu* disappeared,[37] descending to the abode of the god of the subterranean waters, Enki. This is also somehow attested in the 9th century BC Babylonian epic *Poem of Erra* (also *Song of Erra* or *Erra and Ishum*), where Marduk is not only the chief god of the pantheon, but he also caused the flood.[38] A tradition that otherwise belongs to Enlil. When Marduk got his "image" (statue) renewed after the flood, he removed those responsible for the care of his image, here called the *ummanu*, but clearly being a designation for the primeval *apkallu*:

> I made those *ummanu* go down to the *Apsu*, and I said they were not to come back up. (I. 147)

Together with the *apkallu*, Marduk also removed all the objects and other craftsmen necessary to renew his statue. The sequence ends with yet an underlining: when the *apkallu* were gone, there was nobody to take care of his statue:

> Where are the Seven *apkallu* of the *Apsu*, the holy carp, who are perfect in lofty wisdom like Ea's, their lord, who can make my body holy? (I. 162)

The *apkallu* were under the domain of Ea, who was often at odds with the other gods.[39] From the Kassite Period (16th-12th century BC), Ea was more and more outshined by Marduk.[40] Any change in the political structure of the highest God also assumes change in his protégés. Perhaps it was uncomfortable for Marduk to rely on Ea's *apkallu*? It seems Marduk, just as Enlil before him, was like most of the gods and had no interest in mankind's wellbeing.

6. The *ummanu*

The disappearance of the semi-divine *apkallu* is marked by the emergence of the *ummanu*. The concept of *ummanu* changed over time. In the letters and administrative texts from the Assyrian empire, the term is specially applied to the scholars and experts that supported and advised the Assyrian king.[41] From the end of the 2nd millennium BC there was a broad tendency to classify the written compilations of scholarly skills, the secrets of heaven and earth. This was done by the *ummanu* in order to legitimize and guard the lore of their guild. They created a mythology of scribal transmission where this secret lore at the beginning rested with the gods, then was brought to humankind by the *apkallu*, and thereafter was transmitted by the *ummanu*, who were the contemporary guards of the secret lore. The *ummanu* provided the royal family with medical

[37] See n. 29 and Dalley, 2000: 5.

[38] "Once, long ago, indeed I grew angry, indeed I left my dwelling and caused the deluge!" (I. 132; Kvanvig, 2011: 161). *Erra* is based on the idea, foregrounded in *Enuma Elish*, that Marduk should be the champion of peace and stability, but presents the god as unable, or unwilling, to preserve them. *Erra*'s claim about Marduk bringing about the deluge is in complete contrast to everything that is said in *Enuma Elish*. Thus, according to Frahm (2010: 7), *Enuma Elish* is "a kind of counter-text to *Erra*, a somewhat farce-like sequel produced at a time of political insecurity and widespread violence".

[39] Yves Schemeil (1999: 121 ff) tried to define the ancient Mesopotamian divine hierarchy in similar terms to the modern functioning of a state. Anu is described as "president" or the nominal head of the pantheon, Enlil represents the executive power as "prime minister" and Enki is pictured as a leader of the parliamentary opposition.

[40] Successively most of Ea's functions were handed over to his son: the creation of man, the appointing of destinies and the saving of mankind. This is best documented in *Enuma Elish*, the Babylonian text narrating Marduk's rise to power. There Marduk plays the central role in creation – he shapes and organizes the universe and he creates mankind. Ea assists him like Ninmah had assisted Enki in the Sumerian tale (Galter, 2015: 71).

[41] Pongratz-Leisten, 1999: 15-16.

care (physicians and exorcists), protection against demons and angry gods (exorcists and chanters), and insight into the future (haruspexes and astrologers).[42] There existed *ummanu* of such a high rank that they were included in a list of rulers.[43]

There was no difference between pragmatic and speculative knowledge in Mesopotamia. Ea himself was the best example of how knowledge and understanding enabled proper and clever action. Therefore the Assyrian kings made use of the revealed knowledge and of the men guarding its secrecy.[44] Beate Pongratz-Leisten termed this knowledge *Herrschaftswissen* (knowledge of dominance) and showed how its monopole was a major instrument of Assyrian rule.[45] Ashurbanipal (669-631 BC), for example, praised himself being able to read inscriptions from before the Flood:

> I have learned the art of the *apkallu*, Adapa, (so that now) I am familiar with the secret storehouse of all scribal learning, (including) celestial and terrestrial portents. I can debate in an assembly of *ummanu* and discuss with the clever *apkal šamni* (oil diviners) (the treatise) "if the liver is a replica of the sky." I used to figure out complicated divisions and multiplications that have no solutions. Time and again I have read the cleverly written compositions in which the Sumerian is obscure and the Akkadian is difficult to interpret correctly. I have studied inscriptions on stone from before the Flood which are sealed, obscure and confused.[46]

Ummanu's access to the secret knowledge was hereditary, from father to son – "a veritable scholarly 'mafia', which monopolized these offices from generation to generation." During the reign of Assurbanipal there were sixteen *ummanu* forming the "inner circle" and only these few select "wise men" could be engaged in any sort of "regular" correspondence with the king.[47] No full exposition of the secret knowledge has survived for the simple reason that it was never committed to writing, except glimpses of it in a few odd esoteric texts defined as "secret of the great gods, for the initiate only."[48] It is debatable whether the knowledge that Ea and his *apkallu* revealed was not initially intended to be open to the masses or declared as secret by the later *ummanu* in order to guarantee their high rank and influence in the royal court.[49] Enki and

[42] In both Sargonid (722-606 BC) and Seleucid (305-364 BC) times existed a well-established "system" in which specialists in different branches of Mesopotamian learning cooperated for a common purpose, like medical doctors writing letters to the king jointly with exorcists. The scholars figuring in the Sargonid royal correspondence were not just any "soothsayers", "magicians" or "wizards". They represented the intellectual elite of their time (Parpola, 1993: 51-52).

[43] Kvanvig, 2011: 468; 103, 142-143.

[44] Parpola, 1993b: xiii-xxvii; Lenzi 2008: 70-77.

[45] Pongratz-Leisten, 1999: 286-320.

[46] Tablet L^4 obv. I, 10-18, Kvanvig, 2011: 139, transl. Sweet, 1990: 55 and Hurowitz, 2008: 73.

[47] Kvanvig, 2011: 105, 143.

[48] Parpola, 1993: 57.

[49] For the similarities of the crafts being thought to humanity from the *apkallu* and the Watchers (*Book of Watchers*) see Annus, 2010: 289-290. Both Amar Annus and Helge Kvanvig independently reach similar conclusions about some *apkallu* and Watchers correlations.

Annus 2010, 280: "Not only direct borrowings took place, but also creative reinterpretations, especially on the Jewish side. Some of these creative reinterpretations must have occurred as *deliberate inversions* of the Mesopotamian source material . . . with the intention of showing the superiority of their own cultural foundations. In Jewish reinterpretation, Mesopotamian antediluvian sages [*apkallu*] became illegitimate and wicked teachers of humankind".

Kvanvig. 2011, 527: "The Watcher Story was composed to refute the Babylonian imperial ideology. The writers do it in a subtle way by creating a different version of primeval history based on the main blocks of tradition in the Babylonian ideology. The primeval sages once securing the cosmic stability and laying the

his *apkallu* gave humanity hope that it could have a better future. Only through knowledge and wisdom it could eventually escape the cruelty of the gods.

7. Conclusion

In ancient times humans served the gods and were treated as "chattels", "common property," without being able to comprehend their purpose in the universe. Enki revealed the secrets of the gods to Adapa, marking his initiation into maturity, into becoming a full-fledged human being. The *apkallu*, the cosmic guardians, disseminated Enki's knowledge and were remembered as teachers of humankind, laying the foundation of civilization. But Adapa was not the only sage to arouse the anger of the gods. Shlomo Izre'el concludes that "one does not need to look for an act of revolt on the part of the sages against the gods; the mere existence of wise human creatures brings forth divine anger."[50]

According to Wiggermann, the fish-*apkallu* are rooted in 3rd millennium BC Mesopotamia. In magic rituals all three types of *apkallu* – fish, bird and human – performed purifying and exorcising functions. *Apkallu* figurines were buried at strategic points in the house as protective spirits and as magical defense of Neo-Assyrian palaces in reliefs along the walls, and sometimes in free-standing sculptural works made of precious metals or stone. After the Flood, the functions of the *apkallu* related to imparting knowledge and divine revelations were inherited by the *ummanu,* but they were limited to only conserving the knowledge and keeping it secret from the masses. They represented the intellectual elite of their time and were attached to the royal court to protect and advise the king.

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foundation of civilization did not bring humanity cosmic stability and cultural benefits, but false and destructive knowledge."

Hendel (2005: 24), although comparing a different set of similarities in the Hebrew Bible and the Mesopotamian civilization, called this process "appropriation, mimicry, and inversion" – ancient Israel knew that it was a relative latecomer in the ancient Near East, and that Mesopotamian civilization was far older and more glorious. The authority of origins had to be counterbalanced by a depreciation of the earliest era of human culture.

[50] Izre'el, 2001: 129-130. In *Bīt Mēseri* "Piriggalnungal, born in Kish, angered the god Ishkur/Adad in heaven, so he allowed neither rain nor growth in the land for three years."

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The Nazi Hospital in Thessaloniki and the Murals of its Air Raid Shelter

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Abstract

A preexisting general Hospital hosted the Nazi Hospital during the German occupation of Thessaloniki. In its courtyard, the Nazi Germans had built an underground air raid shelter. This study presents the available literature on the Ottoman and Greek history of the building and the Nazi Hospital operation with emphasis on the three murals found in the small-sized operating theatre of the air raid shelter. The potential identity of the Nazi writers and the period of inscription are obscure. The first mural admits that the enemy is better armed and has a reasonable degree of human desperation after a long-lasting war, realizing that victory could come via weapons of mass destruction rather than fighting on the battlefield. The two other murals referring to two distinct places in the Balkans, including the Varda Mountain and Demir Kapija Canyon, had been chosen by the Nazi writers as the most desirable places for future settlement after military retirement. They indicate the hope for victory, even if it means using biological weapons, and a sunny piece of the writers' nature, considering the potential desire for family life in a small home in the landscape of the idyllic rising sun among the mountainsides.

Keywords: Nazi Hospital, Thessaloniki, air raid shelter, murals.

1. Introduction

A systematic study of Nazi German history is valuable for future generations to comprehend the reasons for the devastating Second World War. A preexisting General Hospital in the city center of Thessaloniki hosted the Nazi Hospital during the German occupation. The Germans constructed an underground air raid shelter in its courtyard. The Hospital returned to regular activities soon after the Axis defeat. In 2017, the air raid shelter opened to the public to commemorate the Hospital's 100 years of operation. This study reviews the available bibliographic findings in the Ottoman and Greek history of the building and the Nazi German Hospital operation. However, the primary purpose of this work is to present the three murals found in the small-sized operating theatre of the air raid shelter and to discuss the potential desires and messages the Nazi writers intended to express.

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2. Method and results

2.1 *Historical notes*

The available information about the construction time of the main building and its usage comes from the newspaper *Νέα Αλήθεια*. The construction of the building took place at the intersection of Hamidiye Avenue, named for the incumbent Sultan Abdul Hamid II, and Midhat Pasha Avenue, named for the author of the Ottoman Constitution. After the Young Turk Revolution, Hamidiye was renamed Union Avenue. The construction began just opposite the cemetery of the Greek community at the end of the 19th century, while the foundation stone ceremony took place on May 1, 1909. It was built outside and close to the ruins of the eastern castle wall. The building had a central core with two lateral wings shaped like the Greek letter "Π". It housed the Trade School of the Turkish Committee Union and Progress, and its cost exceeded 13,000 Turkish liras. Its arrangement was to the latest requirements of pedagogy and modern sanitary regulations. It had electrical installation and central heating. It accommodated 200 internal and several external students, most of whom attended for free. Still, postcards of that era refer to the building as the Mounted Ottoman Gendarmerie School. This divergence of opinion does not necessarily mean that one of the views is mistaken since its use could have changed. After the liberation of Thessaloniki from Turkish rule in 1912, it hosted the first Greek Gendarmerie School. This information and the stables in the courtyard (Figure 1) reinforce the view of its potential use as a Gendarmerie School in the final Ottoman era. In 1915, the Greek Red Cross established in the building its first Hospital (Kolonas, 1992; Πολυζωίδης, 1998).

- An existing General Hospital in the city center housed the Nazi Hospital during the German occupation of Thessaloniki.
- The Germans constructed an underground air raid shelter in the hospital courtyard. In its small-sized operating theatre, they painted three murals.
- The first mural admits that the enemy is better armed; it also has a legitimate amount of human desperation due to the long-lasting war.
- The two other murals mention Varda Mountain and Demir Kapija Canyon; these locations were deemed the most desirable for future habitation.
- All murals express optimism for victory, even if it means using biological weapons and a positive aspect of the writers' personalities in light of the utopic pursuit of a return to a typical family life.

In early October 1915, the Allied Powers formed the Macedonian or Salonik(c)a Corp from divisions of the Gallipoli campaign to support the Serbian fight against the Central Powers and Bulgaria. In the summer of 1916, strong reinforcements from Allied forces disembarked in Thessaloniki (Mann & Wood, 1920; Falls, 1933; Moody, 2017; Salonika Campaign). Subsequently, the Greek Army established the "3rd Military Hospital" in the building, although it remained named "Red Cross Hospital" unofficially. The Hospital turned to full military operation in mid-February 1917 to serve the Allied Army of the Orient during the First World War. It was equipped by the British Army and reinforced with personnel from the French Red Cross. The increased combat casualties necessitated doubling its 200-bed capacity by deploying large tents in the neighboring eastern area. Its contribution during the great and destructive fire of Thessaloniki on 5 and 6 August 1917, was also invaluable. In October 1918, the capacity increased to 600 beds after two neighboring schools requisition. It was renamed "Central Refugee Hospital" after the "Asia Minor Catastrophe" of 1922 (Παντζίδης, 1987; Κωνσταντίνου, 2009).

In 1941, the German occupying troops commandeered the building, and the medical staff and patients moved to a new location, a long distance eastward. After the withdrawal of the Germans, the hospital staff and patients relocated to the former building in 1945, renamed

"Central Hospital." It received its recent name, "G. Gennimatas Hospital," in 1995 (Γερασιμίδης & Παπανικολάου, 2022).

2.2 *The Nazi Hospital and its air raid shelter*

The German Hospital had a capacity of approximately 300 beds. Most of the patients were ill or wounded German soldiers from the North African front, as well as prisoners. For security reasons, the occupying forces constructed a 3.5-meter high perimeter wall and an air raid shelter of reinforced concrete in the courtyard of the Hospital (Σούπαρης, 2022). The grounds of the air raid shelter included an operating theatre and patient rooms. According to unverified rumors and legends, an extensive network of underground corridors connected the air raid shelter with the nearby "Agios Dimitrios" Hospital, Hippodrome Square, and even the White Tower. It is not evident whether these corridors were German-built or ancient passageways (Figure 2). Unfortunately, the earthquake in 1978 and the reconstruction of the Hospital to increase its capacity destroyed most of the shelter and its underground corridors. Currently, two exits of the air raid shelter in the hospital courtyard are visible, but only one can go down the stairs. The Germans, during their evacuation, and the Greeks, after the liberation, destroyed most of the supplies and equipment. However, the heavy solid wooden doors sealed tightly with a rubber gasket on the frame case, one of the toilets, safety corridors above the shelter to blow out potential bomb explosion, dual power supply cables, plumbing and electrical installation, and the ventilation system are still evident (Μπούκα, 2016; Κιναλής, 2017; Σφαιρόπουλος, 2020; Φραγκούδη, 2020).

2.3 *The Nazi murals*

There were drawings and text in each of the three murals. They were all drawn with exquisite calligraphy, but the explanation of the texts was not easy because they were all written in an old Bavarian script. Nonetheless, the research yielded specific findings that provided crucial hints related to the German invasion of the Balkans during both World Wars.

2.3.1 *Mural 1 (Figure 3)*

"Bewaffnet sind wir alle sehr, die Banden jedoch besserer"

It means that we are all well-armed, but the gangs are more armed.

In April 1941, the German army invaded Yugoslavia and Greece, supported by Hungarian and Bulgarian forces (Pavlowitch, 2008). By the end of April, they occupied Athens and the whole mainland of Greece despite the brave resistance of the Greek and Commonwealth troops. Then, the German army attacked Crete in a massive airborne assault. According to General Kurt Student, commander of the invasion force, the fierce opposition from Allied soldiers and the Cretan people proved Crete "The graveyard of the German paratroopers" and a "Disastrous victory" (Yada-Mc Neal, 2018). The Cretan resistance altered the outcome of the Second World War since it was the most likely reason for the failure of the German invasion of the Soviet Union (Beevor, 2005; Blytas, 2009; Palazzo, 2017). Greece was the only nation to oppose both the dreaded Nazi and Fascist regimes of Hitler and Mussolini, as well as the "Pact of Steel" along with Great Britain. Adolf Hitler acknowledged that "The Greek soldier, above all, fought with the most courage" due to the brave Greek Resistance against the Axis Powers. Winston Churchill added, "Hence, we will not say that Greeks fight like heroes, but that heroes fight like Greeks" (Drez & Brinkley, 2009).

Soon after, resistance forces gradually emerged in the remote mountain regions of Yugoslavia and Greece. Two resistance groups developed in both occupied countries. In Yugoslavia, the Chetniks started as a resistance group that united Serb nationalist and royalist movements. However, they were soon embroiled in a brutal civil war against the communist partisans, led by Josip Broz, also known as Tito (Tomasevich, 2001; Bibb, 2009; War in the Balkans, 1941-45). The British, Americans, and Soviets supported the resistance groups in Axis-dominated territories by providing weapons and air-dropped supplies (Hogan, 1992; Nalmpantis, 2010; The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2021). The Greek resistance was among the strongest in Nazi-occupied Europe, seizing control of most of the country's highest mountain ranges (Woodhouse, 2002; Chatzistefanidou, 2020; Greek resistance 2023). One of the heroes of the Greek Resistance, Manolis Glezos, deserved to be called "The first partisan of Europe," according to General Charles de Gaulle (Souvlis, 2020). After the withdrawal of the German forces, the "Greek communist-dominated national liberation army" (EAM-ELAS) and the "National Republican Greek League" (EDES) entered into a disastrous civil war (Stassinopoulos, 2005; Sfikas, 2013; War in the Balkans, 1941-45).

It may be prudent to consider that this mural is referring to resistance fighters, also known as andartes (coming from the Greek word "αντάρω" meaning someone who revolted against a ruler) in Greece or partisans in Yugoslavia. It may also reveal that the resistance fighters received sufficient supplies to pose a significant threat to the Nazi German army.

2.3.2 *Mural 2 (Fig. 4)*

"Wenn man uns fragt wohin es geh; dann sagen wir nur A.D.W. (an den Warda)"

It means that whenever someone inquires, we respond that Warda is our sole destination.

The writer of this mural seems to refer to his first choice in terms of future settlement following the German victory in the war. The text, combined with the painted mountain, guided the research to the mountainous place of Warda. Varda (in German Warda) is a mountain on the Serbian border with Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Višegrad old Vlah area (Koykoudis, 2003, Varda). Fierce fighting erupted in the area during the Austro-Hungarian campaign against Serbia starting in August 1914. The Austro-Hungarian army captured Belgrade on 2 December 1914, but this was only for 14 days since its three efforts at the invasion of Serbia failed (Rothenberg, 1989; Fried, 2014b). The defeat of the Austro-Hungarian Empire by a small nation like Serbia questioned its legitimacy as a Great Power (Schindler, 2002). The failed invasion precluded the union of the Central Powers (or Germanic nations, including the German Empire, the Austrian Empire, and the Kingdom of Hungary) with the Ottoman Empire in the south, which had entered into the First World War (November 1914) on their side. A new Austro-Hungarian invasion with the help of German forces was attempted in 1915 from the north, while Bulgarians launched an eastward assault (Fried, 2014a; DiNardo, 2015). Although it started with formidable military forces, it finally failed due to the need to move large numbers of troops to the Carpathian front to confront the augmented Russian forces there (May to September 1915) (Tunstall, 2010; Buttar, 2015). Early in October, the Central Powers and Bulgaria attacked Serbia when Russia's menace on Austro-Hungary diminished. They conquered Serbia by the end of November 1915, driving their armies beyond its southern border with Greece. That allowed the Germans to send reinforcements to the Ottoman Empire via the Berlin-Constantinople railway (Various Authors, 2010; Hart, 2013; Green, 2014; Scudieri, 2016).

2.3.3 *Mural 3 (Figure 5)*

"Im Leben kommt's bald spät bald früher, wenns dämlich kommt geht's nach Kapija"

It means that ordinary living might return sooner or later, but when foolishness dominates, the time is right to go to Kapija.

This text indicates the Nazi writer's desire to shelter himself in Kapija, which is probably his best option for a permanent settlement in the case that the outcome of the war turned out to be unfortunate.

The search for the location led to Demir Kapija (meaning "The Iron Gate" in Turkish) Canyon or Gorge (meaning narrow, the name of the old Roman city was Stenae, "Στεναί" in Greek). Demir Kapija is a small town in Serbian Macedonia (modern-day North Macedonia) and the capital of the homonymous municipality. Situated roughly 50 kilometers north of Gevgelis town, it is traversed by the Vardar River (Vardar/Vardarios, meaning dark or black water, Wardar in German, Axios in Greek). The Iron Gates are two limestone rocks that dominate the Vardar River at almost 300 meters in height and mark the beginning of the 31 kilometer-long Demir Kapija Gorge at its southeastern entrance (Micevski, 2020; Demir Kapija, 2023). The Iron Gates, which lay south of Skopje and beyond Mount Skardos, now known as Babouna, marked the northern boundary line dividing Ancient Macedonia from Dardania. Philip II of Macedon drew this borderline, and the Roman and Eastern (Byzantine) Empires maintained it. Additionally, the Skardos mountain range was the western boundary between Illyria and Macedonia (Heurtley, 1926; Andriotis, 1960; Karathanassis, 1991).

The text from the internet, which follows, answers the question about the activity of the German Empire in the region during the First World War: According to historical data, on May 1, 1916, the technical platoon of the German army began the construction of a road with the simultaneous opening of tunnels, following the order of Wilhelm II, German Emperor and King of Prussia. After two months and eight days, the road opened to traffic on 8 July 1916 (Figure 6). The project was part of the German war plans during the fight against the "French Army of the East" for a potential advance on the Macedonian front and their unification with the Ottoman army. German and Bulgarian forces initially conquered the territory during the First World War, but then Serbian and British military corps liberated it. During the Second World War, a sizable contingent of German and Bulgarian troops established themselves there due to the geostrategic position of the area, transforming the hamlet into a new fortress (History of Demir Kapija, 2018; Micevski, 2020).

3. Discussion

It is most likely that different individuals inscribed the murals, considering the differences in their handwriting, although there are some similarities in murals 1 and 3. In addition, the writers' profession and the inscription's time are still unknown. Regarding their profession, it is more likely that they were German military officers or soldiers than medical staff and less likely patients. Considering the strict adherence to the duty of the staff working in an operating theatre, it may be difficult to accept the mural inscription in an active operating room of a German Military Hospital at war. It is more likely that it occurred during the final months of the German occupation when the air raid shelter was potentially underperforming due to a lack of supplies and personnel. On the other hand, the medical staff would have experienced high emotional feelings in the cramped room, where so many people had their lives saved or lost, to consider writing notes on the walls.

Mural 1 demonstrates a certain amount of desperation, although there is no evidence that the writer didn't fervently believe in the ultimate German victory. The scheme conveys the

hope that, eventually, the heavily armed enemy, even more than the Nazi Germans, will be destroyed through a type of chemical warfare by spraying a toxic substance. Murals 2 and 3 also express the hope that the war will turn victorious with the use of biological agents carried with mosquitoes. The mosquito drawing on murals 2 and 3 offers considerable help in estimating the inscription period. Heinrich Himmler, the leader of Schutzstaffel (SS) and Nazi German police, ordered the creation of the Dachau entomological institute in January 1942. In late summer 1944 and with great urgency, scientists looked into the life spans of various mosquito species for their life spans. They concluded that a particular anopheles mosquito, a genus well-known for its ability to transmit malaria to humans, could be kept alive long enough to be transported from a breeding lab to a distribution site (Reinhardt, 2013). Although there is clear proof that with the support of high-ranking Nazi officials, German scientists preceded forced sterilization, systematic euthanasia, human experimentation, and mass genocide programs, as well as active research on chemical or biological weapons, a Nazi German offensive biological weapons program never materialized (Cohen, 1998; Riedel, 2004). The drawing of the mosquitoes may indicate that the mural inscription took place during the last two months of the German occupation of Thessaloniki. It is most likely that it occurred during October 1944, considering that "late summer 1944" would more likely indicate September. In addition, this type of information could be available to German military and medical officers or even soldiers but was less likely to be available to patients.

German assault on North Africa coincided with the occupation of Greece. Soon after their arrival, the Nazis seized all food stocks, both public and private, along with clothing, medicine, military supplies, and transportation equipment to bolster the campaign in North Africa. In response, the Allies placed a naval blockade on Greece, preventing the import of necessities like grain. Thousands of people died daily in the major cities due to the severe famine that struck during the winter of 1941-1942 (Thomadakis, 1981; Kosmidis, 2016). Although starvation was not deemed a crime at the Nuremberg Trials, the concept of Starvation Genocide in Nazi-occupied Greece 1941-1944 has been recently promoted (Weisz, 2022).

The strategy of the Nazi Germans in Greece to respond to the fierce resistance of the population was to kill and destroy; their cruelty, as well as that of their Bulgarian allies, was superior to any previous foreign invader of Greece. Their economic exploitation led to hyperinflation, so the Greek people had to pay ten drachmas for a kilogram of bread in 1941 and 153 million drachmas in 1944. Properties, including land, houses, jewelry, and gold pounds, were traded for food or a liter bottle of olive oil (Mazover, 2001; Hionidou, 2004 and 2021; Georgoulas, 2023).

Despite the heroic resistance of the Greek people before and after the Nazi occupation, some Greeks collaborated with the occupying German forces. This controversial topic has remained taboo for nearly eight decades, but it has now been open to discussion. Research revealed an extensive degree and range of quisling. There were Greeks who sought collaboration with the Nazi Germans or offered it themselves directly for ideological, military, and economic reasons; some people were forced to cooperate, while others just tried to increase their prospects of survival (Dordanas, 2005; Vallianatos, 2014; Rigoutsou, 2018; Evangelidou, 2020; Zelepos, 2021; Χαραλαμπίδης, 2023).

A completely different way of collaboration involves several types of women's intimate relationships and emotional links with the occupiers. Research has revealed that for many women in Greece, intimate relationships with the members of the Axis occupation army were the only way to survive a severe famine (Gildea et al., 2006; Škodrić, 2015). The fate of German-fathered war children in Greece, the so-called "Wehrmacht children", has been ignored by historians (Muth, 2008).

Since the subject of Wehrmacht children is still taboo in Greece, we do not know much about them; however, it is evident that children fathered by German soldiers during World War II

suffered public humiliation. “German bastards” was a common moniker for them. Mothers faced discrimination as well, and the children suffered from having an unknown father and a stigmatized mother. There is no official record of the number of these children. However, scholars calculate that between 1941 and 1945, there were at least 200; nonetheless, this is an estimate and not an official count. Certain writers contend that poverty and mothers’ worries about discrimination prevented a large percentage of pregnancies from ending in births (van Versendaal, 2009). At the period, abortions were widely available in Greece, and there were rumors that the Orthodox Church supported women seeking abortions and promoted silence on the subject (Tzimas, 2006). Additionally, several German-fathered newborns and young infants could be left outdoors to perish after German evacuation from Greece, as detected on other occasions (War Children). Having been formally recorded as “father unknown”, German-fathered individuals have sustained years of ostracism and persecution. The Western European countries, now close allies, recently reached an agreement to provide dual citizenship and acknowledge their paternity (Expatica, 2009; Χρυσοστομίδου, 2018).

The Nazi Germans were the new owners of the land in the Balkans, with everything animate or inanimate on it. It is evident from the preceding remarks that some Germans, officers, or soldiers could have already started to live a new family life there. It is common sense that life in Yugoslavia or Greece would sound like paradise for most of them in the post-war period. These facts strongly support as reasonable the utopic quest that the calligrapher Nazi writers express in murals number 2 and 3 for a return to normalcy, away from the war and its attendant sufferings, and tranquil family life in these occupied territories.

The choice of the two specific areas (Varda and Kapija) by the Nazi writers of murals number 2 and 3 as desirable places of permanent future settlement was probably not made only because of their natural beauty. An equally important fact could be the events that took place and led to the loss of these regions by the Central Powers during the First World War. These areas, along with Greece, were already under the complete authority of Nazi Germany, and the writers expressed their conviction that the Balkans would be German territory in the future when the war would be a distant past!

4. Conclusions

The time of the murals drawing in the operating theatre of the Nazi German air raid shelter is assumed to be October 1944, the final month of the German occupation of Thessaloniki. It is more likely that different individual German military officers or soldiers inscribed the texts than the medical staff or patients, and they reflect the Nazi belief that the war would turn out to be victorious even with the deployment of chemical or biological warfare. However, they express a degree of desperation since they realize that the situation on the battlefields had passed beyond Nazi German control. It also reveals a sunny piece of their human nature, considering the utopic quest for a return to normalcy and the potential desire for family life in a small home, in the landscape of the idyllic rising sun among the peaceful mountainsides, in the occupied territories.

Notes

1. N. K. S. is orthopaedic surgeon in the 2nd Department of Orthopaedic Surgery, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, “G. Gennimatas” Hospital, Thessaloniki.

2. N. K. S. is the author of the book entitled “Ο Διπλός Ξεριζωμός από τον Πόντο και τη Ρωσία” published in 2020, in Greek (reference No. 8).

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Figure 1: The rescued rings for tying the horses on the western surrounding wall of the Hospital, behind the central core, indicate the localization of the stables in the initial building and that this part of the surrounding wall has remained unchanged through all these years. The space hosted the oil tank some years ago (top view). The Hospital wall is very close to the eastern castle ruins (black arrow). The tower connecting the eastern and northern castle walls is also visible (bottom left view). Viewing from the other side of Agiou Dimitriou (renamed from the Ottoman Midhat Pasha) Avenue (Street), it is evident that the western surrounding wall of the Hospital lies between the ruins of the castle and that of the outwork (white arrow), which strengthened the fortification (bottom right view).

Figure 2: Remains of an ancient underground corridor. It passes just a few meters below the ground floor of the Hospital. It runs parallel to Agiou Dimitriou Avenue and potentially leads far outside in an eastward direction. Its construction is similar to that of the castle. It is high enough for civilians, soldiers, and domestic animals to move along. The Nazi Germans probably used the arcade as an anti-aircraft shelter for personnel and patients during British air strikes and constructed the place to sit.

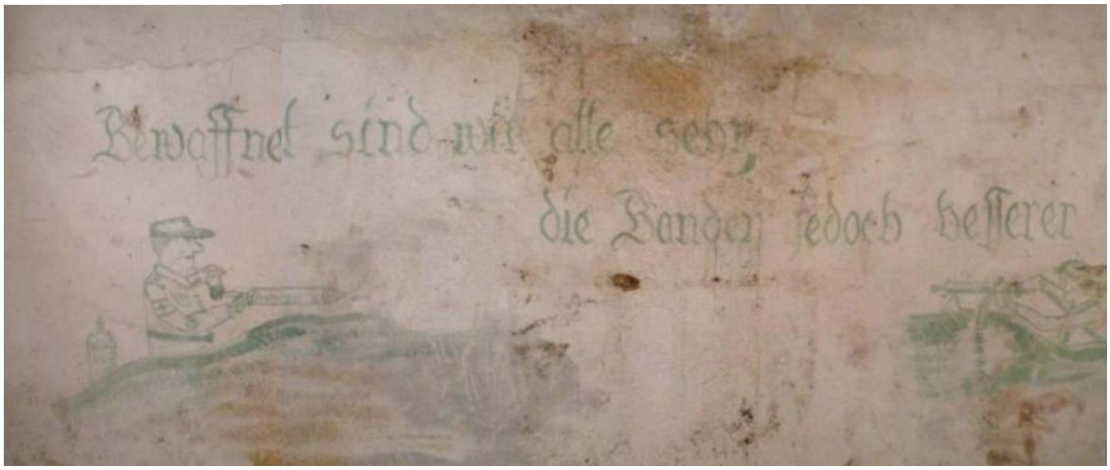

Figure 3: Mural 1: "Bewaffnet sind wir alle sehr, die Banden jedoch besserer"

Protargol, inscribed on the syringe, has been used for the treatment of gonorrhea since the 19th century. It can potentially cause asphyxia when inhaled.

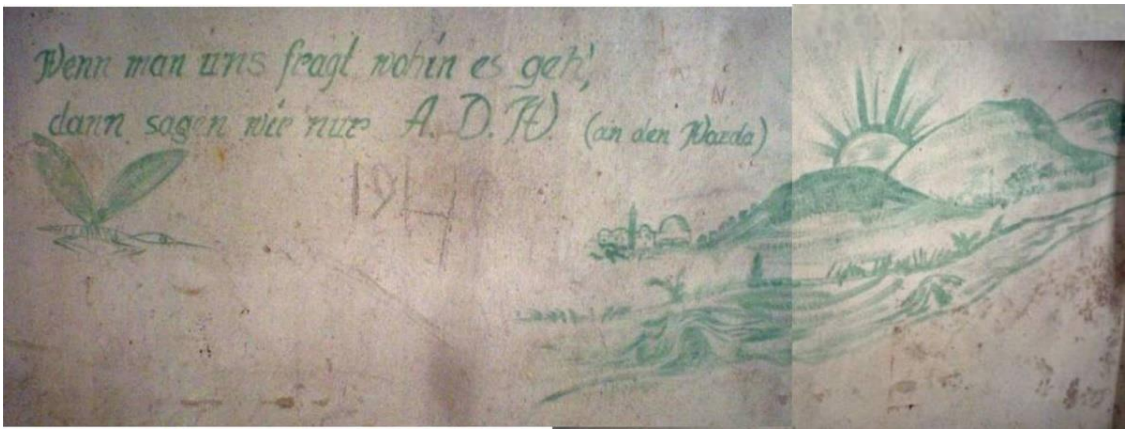

Figure 4: Mural 2 – "Wenn man uns fragt wohin es geh; dann sagen wir nur A.D.W. (an den Warda)"

Figure 5: Mural 3 – "Im Leben kommt's bald spät bald früher, wenns dämlich kommt geht's nach Kapija"

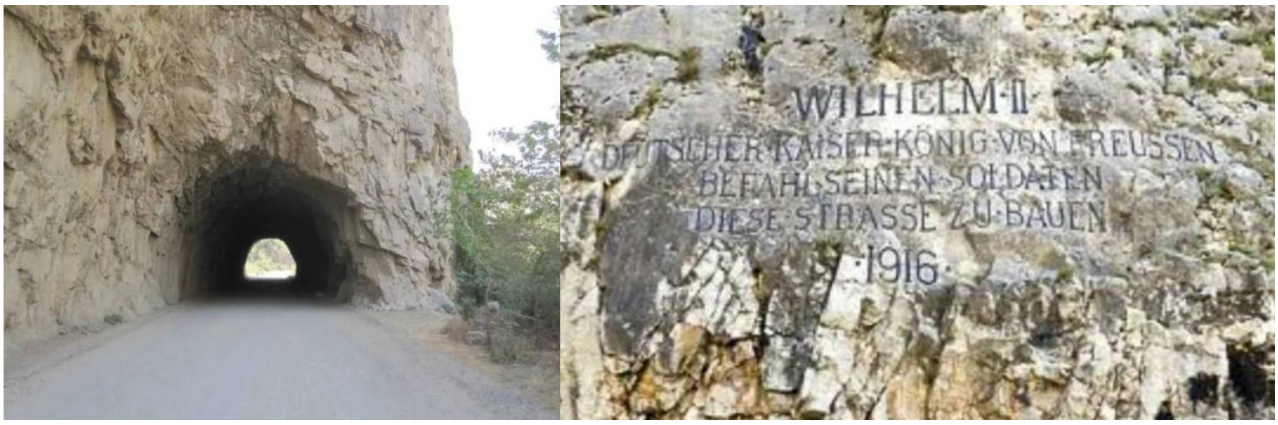

Figure 6: On the left, a view of the tunnel built during the First World War. On the right, the commemorative inscription on its entrance of the German tunnel builders carved on the rock: "Wilhelm II Deutscher Kaiser König von Preussen befahl seinen soldaten diese strasse zu

bauen 1916," meaning "Wilhelm II German Emperor and King of Prussia ordered his soldiers to build this road in 1916." The French army had extended the tunnel and added themselves to the inscription as contributors. However, during the Nazi occupation, the Germans blasted the French part away. https://mymacedoniablog.wordpress.com/sightseeing/south-east-macedonia/demir-kapija/.


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