Inspired individuals and charismatic leaders: hunter-gatherer crisis and the rise and fall of invisible decision-makers at Göbeklitepe

Lee Clare
German Archaeological Institute, Istanbul Department, Istanbul, TR; lee.clare@dainst.de

ABSTRACT - *Recent fieldwork at Pre-Pottery Neolithic (PPN) Göbeklitepe has revealed a life-size limestone statue of a wild boar in Special Building D, which, alongside discoveries from nearby contemporaneous sites, broadens our understanding of late hunter-forager communities, including the presence of (archaeologically speaking) invisible decision-makers. Evidence points to three groups from which these charismatic leaders could have emerged: storytellers, hunters and ritual experts. An important function of these leaders was to uphold traditional values in the face of changing lifeways in the Early Holocene, a period referred to here as the 'hunter-gatherer crisis'. This paper also includes a summary of recent excavation results from Göbeklitepe.*

KEY WORDS – *Göbeklitepe; Pre-Pottery Neolithic (PPN); social hierarchisation; adaptive cycles; hunter-gatherer crisis*

Navdahnjeni posamezniki in karizmatični voditelji: kriza lovcev in nabiralcev ter vzpon in padec nevidnih odločevalcev v Göbeklitepeju

IZVLEČEK – *Nedavno terensko delo je na najdišču predkeramičnega neolitika (PPN) Göbeklitepe v posebni stavbi D razkrilo apnenčast kip divjega prašiča v naravni velikosti. Skupaj z odkritji z bližnjih sočasnih najdišč širi naše razumevanje poznih skupnosti lovcev in nabiralcev, vključno s prisotnostjo (arheološko gledano) nevidnih odločevalcev. Dokazi kažejo na tri skupine, iz katerih bi lahko izšli karizmatični voditelji: pripovedovalci zgodb, lovci in vodje obredov. Pomembna naloga vodij je bila podpora tradicionalnim vrednotam ob soočanju s spreminjajočimi se načini življenja v zgodnjem holocenu, obdobju, ki ga tukaj imenujemo 'kriza lovcev in nabiralcev'. Članek vključuje tudi povzetek nedavnih rezultatov izkopavanj v Göbeklitepeju.*

KLJUČNE BESEDE – *Göbeklitepe; predkeramični neolitik (PPN); družbeno razslojevanje; prilagoditveni cikli; kriza lovcev in nabiralcev*

Introduction

Göbeklitepe is located in one of the primary zones of Neolithisation in Southwest Asia that covered the upper Euphrates and Tigris basins in southeastern Türkiye and northern parts of Syria and Iraq (most recently, *Özdoğan 2022; 2024*). Recent years have witnessed an increase in research in this region, with new results from Turkish sites such as Gusir Höyük (*Karul 2020*), Çemka Höyük (*Kodaş* et al. *2020*), Gre Fılla (*Ökse 2022*), and Boncuklu Tarla (*Kodaş 2023*) along the Tigris River in the east, and in the frame of the Şanlıurfa

 DOI: 10.4312/dp.51.16

Neolithic Research Project (*Taş Tepeler*) in the hills around the modern city of Şanlıurfa, to the east of the Euphrates (*Karul 2022a; Karul 2023a*). Meanwhile, the Taş Tepeler project encompasses continued work at Göbeklitepe (this paper), Karahantepe (*Karul 2021; 2022b; 2023b*), Harbetsuvan Tepesi (*Matsui* et al. *2022*) and Gürcütepe (*Erdalkıran 2023*), as well as initial excavations at the sites of Sayburç (*Özdoğan E. 2022; Özdoğan, Uludağ 2022; Özdoğan 2023*), Sefertepe (*Güldoğan 2021; 2023; Güldoğan, Uludağ 2022*) and Çakmaktepe (*Şahin 2023; Şahin, Uludağ 2023*) (Fig. 1).

Settled hunter-foragers

Sites with a clear continuity of occupation from the Younger Dryas to the Early Holocene have so far been discovered along the Tigris (Körtiktepe, Boncuklu Tarla, Çemka Höyük), though with emerging evidence now appearing in Şanlıurfa, where several find-spots featuring mixed Epipalaeolithic and Pre-Pottery Neolithic (PPN) assemblages are known from recent field surveys around the southwestern outskirts of the modern city (*Şahin* et al. *2023*). Additionally, renewed field investigations at Söğüt Tarlası and Biris Mezarlığı in the Bozova basin could reveal further evidence from this period (*Özdoğan 2020.424–425; Ekinci, İlci 2023*).

An increase in settled hunter-forager communities in the Early Holocene (from around the mid-tenth millennium cal BC) in the upper Tigris and Euphrates basins also witnessed earliest (PPNA) occupations at Göbeklitepe. Despite the increase in sedentary lifeways at this time, subsistence practices remained faithful to the Palaeolithic roots of these communities, and at the central site of Göbeklitepe there is still no evidence of morphologically domesticated plant or animal species in the subsequent EPPNB (*Neef 2003; Peters* et al. *2019.6*). Only at the EPPNB site of Nevali Çori is there evidence for human control over small numbers of sheep, goats and possibly pigs (*Peters* et al. *2017*). As for the other Taş Tepeler settlements now under excavation, the results from archaeobotanical and archaeozoological investigations are still pending.

Based on these observations, the emergence of food-producing strategies, at least in the Şanlıurfa region, appears to have occurred asymmetrically in space and time, suggesting that conscious choices were made at the community, group and even household levels, leading to a mosaic of different subsistence forms. Equally, it could be argued that such decisions were made by more privileged parts of society. Discussions around social hierarchisation during the transition to food-producing economies in Southwest Asia have been un-

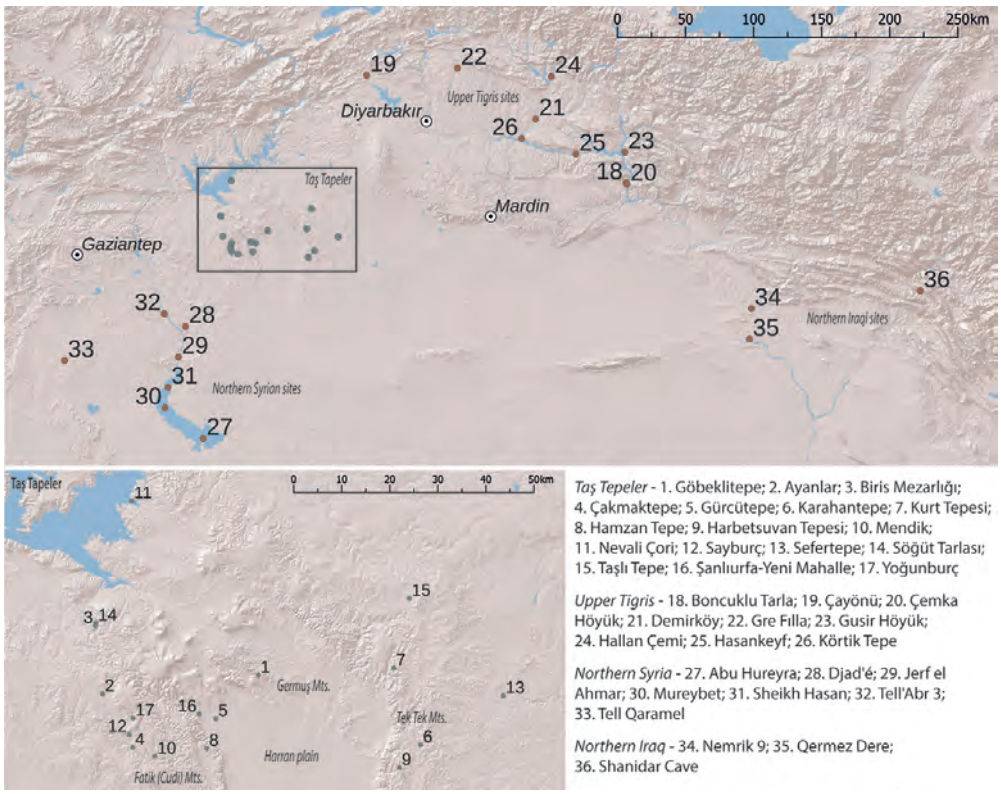

Fig. 1. Late Pleistocene and Early Holocene sites in southeastern Türkiye and northern parts of Syria and Iraq (upper Euphrates and Tigris basins) mentioned in the text (image L. Clare).

derway for decades, with some of the most notable contributions being the *transegalitarian feasting* model after Brian Hayden (*2014*), the *chief-led lineage* model after Christian Jeunesse (*2020*) and the *molar-molecular* model after Ian Hodder (*2022*). These different approaches will be discussed in more detail towards the end of this paper. Notably, perhaps the earliest reference to social hierarchisation in the PPN of Southwest Asia was made by Diana Kirkbride in the context of the Jordanian Early Neolithic site of Beidha, where differences in building sizes led her to propose an "*emerging village life* with *a hint at the presence of a privileged and not-so-privileged class*" (*Kirkbride 1967.8; cf. Özdoğan, Özdoğan 1998.587*).

Late Pleistocene and Early Holocene decision-makers: Who built Göbeklitepe?

Insights from first extensive excavations at a Neolithic site in the upper Tigris and Euphrates basins led Mehmet Özdoğan (*1997*) to propose the dominance of elite groups already in the PPNA at Çayönü. In support of his hypothesis, he noted the rigid order of the settlement, the intentional burial of houses, the construction of plaster floors and the organisation of extensive labour. He considered this societal system the forerunner of the *temple-controlled economy* of the later Syro-Mesopotamian historical cultures (*O.c.10–11*). Harald Hauptmann presented similar lines of interpretation in relation to the spatial organisation of Nevali Çori and Göbeklitepe, where, according to him, different areas of the sites were dedicated to tool production, sculpture and sanctuaries (Fig. 2); for Hauptmann, this was indicative of "*steps developmental to a central organisation in which the trade or barter of an elite class was restricted to sites with cult facilities*" (*Hauptmann 1999.82*). Meanwhile, Özdoğan (*e.g., Özdoğan 2001.316; 2018.36; 2024.39*) has continued to develop his line of interpretation, now placing the earliest *temple-controlled economies* (with priests who dictated the mode of living and economy) not in the historical cultures but, based on his interpretations of Göbeklitepe and Karahantepe, already in the Pre-Pottery Neolithic.

In line with the conclusions reached by Özdoğan and Hauptmann, Klaus Schmidt (*2000a.6*) wrote: "*It seems probable that the shamans of Göbekli Tepe had been 'at the edge'. The edge to cross the border from the animistic shaman to the established priest. Some motifs of the reliefs and of the sculptures are still the old ones, but they seem mixed with the dawn of representations of a new world, a world of temples with powerful rulers, a world of a classified society*". This statement expanded on a brief reference of Schmidt's from three years earlier in which he mentioned "*powerful people using religious imperatives to motivate*" (*Schmidt 1997.9*). Indeed, considering Schmidt's focus on the special buildings, this is not surprising. He was intrigued as to how the *cultic communities* (for this term, see *Schmidt 2005.16; 2006a.252–255; 2011.52–54; Dietrich* et al. *2012.684; Notroff* et al. *2015.72–73*) were motivated to build these monumental structures. In his 2006 monograph, '*Sie bauten die ersten Tempel*' (*Schmidt 2006a*), he still sought explanations for the amassed human resources in what he termed *spiritual driving forces*. He wrote: "*Quite obviously, the societal power – probably we will never know if it was a chief, a group of shamans or* [...] *priests, a council, or a collective* – [...] *was able to demand the workforce* [...] *fetched from the well of religious motivation* [...]" (German original, *Schmidt 2006a.247*; English translation, *Schmidt 2012.233*). This scenario defined his later writings and was also pivotal in contributions by members of his research team in the years following his death.

In an approach centred more on economic factors and reminiscent of the proposal by Hauptmann, Ofer Bar-Yosef stressed the role of prestige objects in attaining wealth, rank and position at Göbeklitepe (*Bar-Yosef 2014*). He described the site as "*a relatively short-lived social experiment in creating a chiefdom*" that incorporated "*kin-based lineages and alliances entailing ritual feasting through which prestige items were exchanged and accumulated resulting in the rise of individual entrepreneurs and creating a social ranking*" (*O.c.73–74*). So far, however, there is no evidence that *prestige items* were used to attain or mark wealth at Göbeklitepe, and recent years have also seen a clear overemphasis on the role of feasting in archaeological explanation (*cf. Bangsgaard* et al. *2019.443*), including its part in the construction of the special buildings at Göbeklitepe (*e.g., Dietrich* et al. *2012; 2017; Dietrich, Dietrich 2019*). Notably, one of the earliest formulations of the feasting hypothesis stemmed from Schmidt, who suggested that vast quantities of meat could have been consumed within the frame of large feasts as an incentive to the workforce, thus explaining the large amounts of animal bone recovered from the excavations of these structures, stemming from the time of their intentional burial (*e.g., Schmidt 2010a.18; 2011.53*). Not only does the feasting hypothesis at Göbeklitepe paint a dangerously over-simplistic picture, including a workforce control-

Fig. 2. Nevali Çori. The first ever discovered T-pillar structure ('Kultgebäude'). View from the southeast looking northwest, also giving an impression of the landscape around the site: excavations were undertaken by Hauptmann between 1983 and 1991. The site now lies submerged in the Atatürk Reservoir (photo M. Akman; German Archaeological Institute, Euphrates Archive).

led by its insatiable lust for meat, but it has lost much of its credibility in recent years following revelations that the animal bones from the special buildings came from midden accumulations displaced by erosion events from higher-lying parts of the mound (*cf. Clare 2020.86; Kinzel, Clare 2020.33; Breuers, Kinzel 2022.479*, and below).

Despite the occurrence of objects interpreted as prestige items and subtle differences in grave goods in some burials in the Upper Tigris Basin, *e.g.*, Körtiktepe (*Özkaya* et al. *2013; Erdal 2015*), Hasankeyf Höyük (*Uluçam 2021*) and Boncuklu Tarla (*Kodaş* et al. *2022a*), archaeological evidence for vertical social differentiation in the PPNA and EPPNB remains tentative. In the case of two EPPNB burials found at Göbeklitepe, these have also failed to provide any signs of the social status of the interred individuals (*Gresky* et al. *forthcoming*). There is also no clear indication of hierarchies in the architecture, unless we follow suggestions that the special buildings were the homes of clan leaders (*Banning 2011*). As for the '*dominant governance*' *by* '*spiritual leaders*' and the '*elite competition*' proposed by Özdoğan (*2024.39*) and the '*kin-based lineages*' of '*individual entrepreneurs*' suggested by Bar-Yosef (*2014.73–74*), these hypotheses are difficult to corroborate. Indeed, the available evidence for social elites, or rather the lack thereof, is more in line with a less rigid form of social differentiation, much like the one proposed by Jacques Cauvin in his seminal work *Naissance des divinities – Naissance d'agriculture*. In the context of the PPNB sanctuaries in the Southern Levant, he writes: "*The most primitive societies always find in their midst some* ***inspired individuals*** [...] *whose function simply results from a spontaneous recognition among their fellows of a 'natural' superiority that applies in certain defined circumstances, in the same way a war leader in certain paleo-Indian tribes only remained chief as long as the war continued. No more than for the sanctuaries in Palaeolithic caves does the specialisation of place imply some irregular and institutionalised specialisation of one element within the society, nor any 'power' other than that which results from the occasional exploitation of personal competencies, which must always have existed. We should not therefore attribute to the PPNB sanctuaries more than they speak for, nor because of them push back the date of the process of urbanisation. The concept of an egalitarian structure for Neolithic societies does not seem to us, therefore, to be threatened in the least*" (French original, *Cauvin 1997.163–164;* English translation, *Cauvin 2007.120*, emphasis added).

Cauvin's conclusion is as valid today as when it was written nearly three decades ago, especially if we consider the recent proposal by Ian Hodder (*2022.634*), who suggests that societal mechanisms at Göbeklitepe were in place to subconsciously preserve egalitarian social systems. Based on current insights, exemplified by the newly discovered wild boar statue in Special Building D at Göbeklitepe (this paper), the narrative scenes found in a special building at Sayburç (*Özdoğan E. 2022; Özdoğan, Uludağ 2022*), and some of the significant recent discoveries from Karahantepe (*Karul 2021; 2022a*), this paper seeks to identify some of Cauvin's '*inspired individuals*' who as a result of their skills, experience and charisma advanced to become influential in their respective communities, although these individuals never became an institutionalised ruling class, being held back by prevailing societal constraints, likely harking back to egalitarian Palaeolithic roots (*cf. Boehm 1993*). We return to this discussion following a short overview of recent excavation results from Göbeklitepe.

Göbeklitepe: Recent excavation results

Göbeklitepe is among the most significant archaeological discoveries of the 20th century (Fig. 3). Inscribed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2018, the Early Ho-

locene hilltop settlement lies 15km northeast of Şanlıurfa in the Germuş mountains (approx. 770m above sea level). It features commanding views over the Harran plain to the south, and the Eastern Taurus mountains and the Karacadağ are visible on the horizon to the north and east-northeast, respectively. Several monumental (special) buildings (labelled A to H) feature large, monolithic T-shaped pillars quarried from the local limestone, some adorned with depictions of wild animals, occasional humans, geometric patterns and symbols. Constructed by hunter-forager groups at the onset of the Early Holocene, these multiphase and long-lived structures are among the earliest megalithic buildings ever discovered (*Clare* et al. *2019a*). The topography of the artificial hill comprises three large low-lying basins (or hollows) in the southeast, northeast and northwest, separated by higher-lying knolls and their slopes, a topography dictated by the underlying bedrock formation (*Kinzel* et al. *2020*). The special buildings are generally located in the lower-lying basins, with the oldest phases of some structures (*e.g.*, special buildings A, B, C and D) constructed in the PPNA, with later phases attributed to the PPNB (*Kinzel, Clare 2020.Fig. 3.2*) (Fig. 4).

Available radiocarbon dates, combined with the results from lithic and building archaeological studies, show that the archaeological deposits accumulated upon the stepped limestone plateau over some 1600 years in the Pre-Pottery Neolithic A (PPNA; 9600–8700 cal BC) and Early/Middle Pre-Pottery Neolithic B (EPPNB/MPPNB; 8700–8000 cal BC), though a more prolonged duration could be indicated by the presence of chipped stones with gloss which could be obliquely inserted sickles from curved shafts that only appear in the M/LPPNB (*Breuers, Kinzel 2022.478*). Excavations at Göbeklitepe commenced in 1995 and have focused on the southeastern hollow of the site (*main excavation area*), which is meanwhile covered by a large permanent shelter (Fig. 3). Fieldwork has also been undertaken in the northwestern hollow, now covered by the second permanent shelter, and on the northwestern and western mounds (*cf. Clare 2020.Fig. 1*).

The discovery of dwellings and a domestic activity zone in the earliest (PPNA) occupation levels in the northwestern part of the site in 2015, combined with a re-evaluation of earlier excavation records, led to a reinterpretation of Göbeklitepe as a settlement rather than a purely ritual site, as initially suggested by Schmidt (*Clare 2020*). It is still inconclusive whether the earliest PPNA occupation was permanent; however, ongoing excavations of EPPNB domestic spaces from the mid-ninth millennium cal BC suggest that by this time Göbeklitepe had become a large and flourishing settlement, as testified by dense aggregations of rectilinear residential spaces in the main excavation area (Fig. 5). Unfortunately, as it is still unknown whether the entire mound was occupied simultaneously or whether occupation shifted to different parts of the mound at different times, even tentative estimations of population size can still not be made. As such, this question can only be approached when reliable radiocarbon dates on short-lived samples from residential buildings become available, but these are still not forthcoming. Indeed, even with a large and reliable number of radiocarbon dates any detailed reconstruction of the building history will not be quickly resolved, as highlighted, for example, by evidence of active rebuilding and conversion of round-oval PPNA-type structures into more trapezoid and rectangular EPPNB-type buildings (*e.g.*, Space 16, *Breuers, Kinzel 2022.472–474*). Be this as it may, it is still essential to emphasize the temporal overlap of the EPPNB domestic spaces on the slopes with the later phases of the long-lived special buildings in the lower-lying basins (*Kinzel, Clare 2020; Breuers, Kinzel 2022. 471–472*).

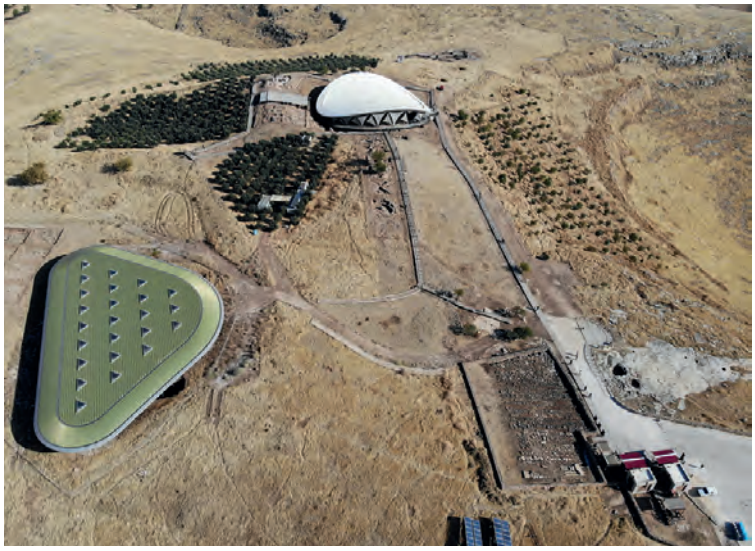

Fig. 3. Göbeklitepe. Aerial view from the west (looking east) showing the two permanent protective shelters. In the background, the white shelter covers the southeastern hollow ('main excavation area'); the second shelter (left foreground) stands over the northwestern hollow (photo German Archaeological Institute, Göbeklitepe Project 2019).

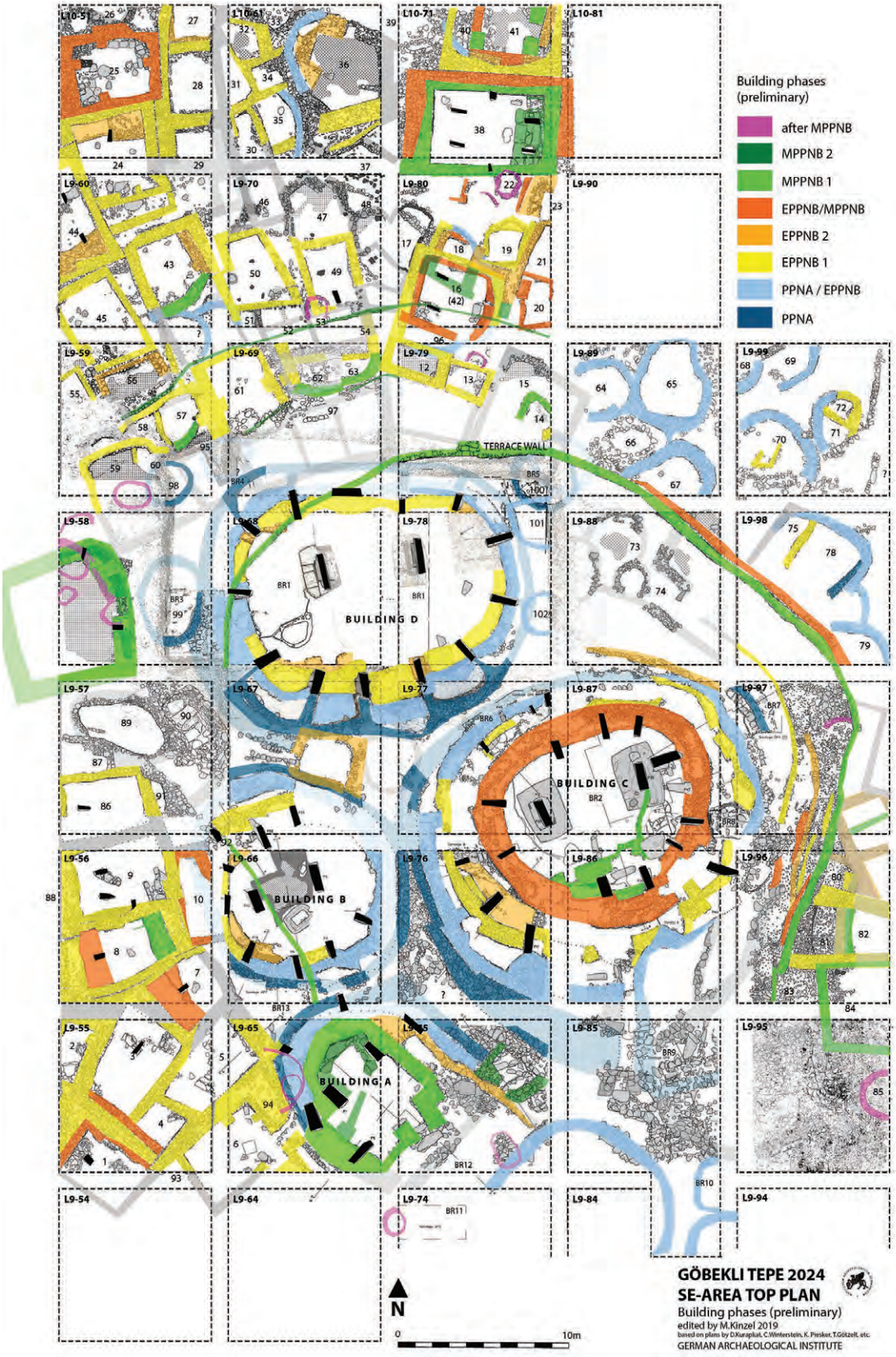

Fig. 4. Göbeklitepe. Plan of the southeast hollow (main excavation area) showing the (preliminary) building phases based on building archaeological research combined with available radiocarbon ages. N.b. the special buildings (A, B, C and D) are multi-phase structures that decrease in size over time, their latter phases being contemporaneous with the rectangular/trapezoid (residentual) structures located on the adjacent slopes to the north, west and east (image M. Kinzel, German Archaeological Institute, Göbeklitepe Project 2024).

Special Building D

In 2001, excavations in trenches L09-77 and L09-78 led to the discovery of Special Building D and the partial exposure of the eastern side of this structure (*Schmidt 2002a; 2002b*) (Fig. 6). Special Building D is among the most impressive of the discovered structures at the site, featuring two well-preserved quasi centrally placed T-shaped limestone pillars measuring some 5.50m in height and featuring low reliefs of arms, hands, and items of clothing (belts, loincloths) and bodily adornment (necklaces), thus highlighting their human identities (*cf. Becker* et al. *2012*). In addition to these two monoliths, smaller upright T-pillars occur at regular intervals incorporated into the innermost wall of the building. All these pillars were revealed between 2001 and 2005 (*Schmidt 2003; 2007*). Special Building D is one of three special buildings (C, D and E) erected directly upon the artificially smoothed natural limestone plateau; all feature low pedestals painstakingly carved from the natural plateau and into which the two quasi-central T-shaped pillars were slotted.

Fig. 5. Göbeklitepe. Overview of EPPNB residential structures on the slope to the north of Special Building D (trenches L09-60, L09-70; cf. Figure 4). In the middle ground are (from left to right) spaces 45, 43, 50 and 49, each characterised by plaster floors and grinding stones resting at floor-level; these are either* in situ *or fell from the roof or an upper storey when the building collapsed. In Space 50, a large limestone storage vessel is visible in the southwestern corner. Narrow corridor-like spaces separate the spaces. In the foreground, the remains of further residential buildings excavated in 2021 and 2022 are visible. View from the southeast looking northwest (image H. Yıldız, German Archaeological Institute, Göbeklitepe Project 2021).

Special Building D has still not been fully exposed. Indeed, this is the case with all the special buildings, except for Building E, which was discovered under a very thin layer of sediment and vegetation in 1995 on the plateau at the southwestern foot of the tell. The remains of this building comprised just its carved foundations in the natural bedrock (*Beile-Bohn* et al. *1998. 47–50; Schmidt 2006a.109; 2008a.66–67; Kurapkat 2015*).

The aims of fieldwork at Göbeklitepe in 2023 were twofold: firstly, through the continued excavation of Special Building D to increase knowledge of this structure (and special buildings in general) while at the same time rendering it more visually accessible to the growing number of visitors to the UNESCO World Heritage Site (*Souvatzi 2023.563–565*). In addition to exposing benches and walls in its northern and eastern interior, a focus of the excavations included a more careful analysis of the sediment deposits and the related fill processes that culminated in the excellent preservation of the architecture (Fig. 7).

In the southeast hollow (*main excavation area*), there is growing evidence of the unintentional inundation

Fig. 6. Göbeklitepe. Special Building D. Trench L09-78 (foreground) with the partially exposed eastern side of the structure. Architecture (now interpreted as predominantly residential) is visible on the slope in the northerly adjoining trenches (L09-79, L09-80; cf. Figure 4) (image German Archaeological Institute, Göbeklitepe Project 2001).

of the special buildings by slope slides issuing from adjacent and higher-lying slopes, where continuous building activities had led to tell formation (*Clare 2020.86; Kinzel, Clare 2020.33; Breuers, Kinzel 2022.479*). This model contradicts earlier proposed scenarios that envisaged an intentional (ritual) backfilling of the buildings in the frame of large-scale celebrations and feasts (*e.g.*, *Schmidt 2000b.37; 2000c.46, ft. 12; 2002b.8–9*; see also *Özdoğan, Özdoğan 1998* for Çayönü Tepesi). The destructive slope slide(s), perhaps triggered by periods of heavy rainfall, possibly combined with seismic activity, inundated the lower-lying special buildings with rubble from the superstructures of buildings located on the slopes, and mixed PPNA and EPPNB deposits, including middens and sub-floor burials. Therefore, earlier claims that particular objects were deposited on the floors of the buildings before or during an intentional filling process now appear untenable (*e.g.*, *Schmidt 2010b.249; Dietrich* et al. *2019.156*). If anything, these items were either already *in situ* at the time of inundation or they stem from buildings or deposits that became displaced and redeposited during the slope slide event(s).

Observations made in Special Building D in 2023 support the slope slide hypothesis; these include damage to its architectural structure, air pockets in the rubble, the discovery of negatives of wooden beams from its collapsed roof, and preserved areas of roof plaster in the rubble matrix (Fig. 7.1, 7.2, 7.3, and Fig. 8). Furthermore, evidence for rebuilding and modification in special buildings B and D could testify to attempts made to resolve structural inadequacies in the face of increasing slope pressure (for Building B, see *Kinzel, Clare 2020*; and for Building D, *Breuers, Kinzel 2022*). The discovery of hardened horizontal (walking) surfaces in the fill of Building D also suggests that more than one slope slide event led to the complete inundation of this building, with walking horizons becoming established within the half-buried structures in the interim phases.

The newly discovered wild boar statue

The fieldwork in the northern area of Special Building D that led to the discovery of the wild boar statue saw the removal of a sediment block measuring 5.0 metres in length (west-east), 2.0 metres in width (north-south) and with a depth of 1.2 metres from against the northern internal wall between two T-shaped monoliths, pillar 43 (P43) in the west and pillar 78 (P78) in the east (Fig. 7). A further pillar (P67) located behind the sediment block differs from others in that it stands with its broadside facing the interior, missing its T-shaped head, and with a round niche carved into its shaft (Fig. 9). Around the niche, a diffuse incised decoration is discernible, which, on closer inspection, could be the depiction of two seated individuals (missing their heads) facing one another and holding whatever object was placed in the niche in their hands (pers. comm. O. Torun). Removing the sediment block revealed not only the statue of the wild boar but also the lower part of P67 and the northern bench of the building.

Fig. 7. Göbeklitepe. Aerial view of Special Building D after the completion of fieldwork in 2023. The numbers mark the positions of features and finds excavated in recent years and discussed in the text:* 1 *slope slide deposits (*cf. *Fig. 8.1);* 2 *air pockets in the rubble (*cf. *Fig. 8.2);* 3 *negatives of wooden roof beams in the rubble matrix (*cf. *Fig. 8.3);* 4 *the newly discovered wild boar statue (*cf. *Figs. 9 and 10);* 5 *the bench beneath the statue (Figs. 9, 10 and 11);* 6 *the western extension of northern-central bench (*cf. *Fig. 12);* 7 *a decorated wall stone with H-shaped symbol (*cf. *Fig. 23. bottom right);* 8 *a pit-feature with adjacent incised H-shaped-symbol (*cf. *Fig. 25) (orthophoto B. Waszk, German Archaeological Institute, Göbeklitepe Project 2023/2024).

The wild boar statue is a near-life-size representation (1.35m long; maximum height 0.70m) (Fig. 7.4 and Fig. 10). Its forelegs are well-defined in low relief, bent at the elbow and with a strong shoulder. The eyes of the animal are small and close-set, and there is no indication that these had been inlaid with obsidian, as was the case with the roughly contemporaneous life-size human statue (the so-called *Urfa Man*) discovered in Şanlıurfa-Yeni Mahalle in 1993 (*Çelik 2014*) (Fig. 22). While the snout is elaborately carved, the nostrils are asymmetrical, one slightly higher than the other. Multiple horizontal incised lines represent skin folds running along the top of the snout towards the top of the head. Two small round ears are depicted. The jaw is open, and the tongue extends forward and upward, with a high level of detail given to the teeth and the tusks. The characteristic dorsal bristles are visible, running from just behind the head along the length of the spine. The rear extremities of the boar, including its hind legs (and phallus), are not depicted; instead, the hindquarters of the statue are rounded and reminiscent of a protome, a shape that decreases the height of the figure to the rear, raising the head and giving the impression that the animal is seated. The underbelly is slightly convex and rises slightly above the bench in a shallow arch. The boar holds what appears to be a sphere, perhaps a human head, between its front trotters. Numerous examples of this type of human-animal composition, with the head of a human clasped between the paws of a wild animal or the talons of a bird, are known not only from Göbeklitepe but also from other sites, such as Nevali Çori (*Hauptmann 2011.99, Fig. 14a-b; Dietrich* et al. *2019.157*) and more recently Karahantepe.

Fig. 8. Göbeklitepe. Evidence for slope slides discovered in 2023 in Special Building D includes:* 1 *damage to the architectural structure (*cf. *Fig. 7.1);* 2 *air pockets in the rubble (*cf. *Fig. 7.2); and* 3 *the negatives of wooden beams from the collapsed roof in the rubble matrix (*cf. *Fig. 7.3) (photos L. Clare (1, 3), M. Kinzel (2), German Archaeological Institute, Göbeklitepe Project 2023).

The occurrence of small drill holes and perforations in the shafts of some T-shaped pillars already suggested that materials and objects were attached to them, perhaps as decorative elements applied in the frame of ritual performances (*Schmidt 1998.42–43; 2006a.164; Becker* et al. *2012.25, Fig. 12*). Remnants of colouring on the newly discovered wild boar statue now confirm that pigments were also used for this purpose. While the colour red is evident around the mouth of the animal, small patches of black are visible on the torso. Analyses of the pigments are still in progress, but small fragments of red ochre (from so far unknown sources) occur frequently in the excavated deposits at Göbeklitepe, and studies of grinding stones at the site have already pointed to the use of these tools for processing minerals (*Peters* et al. *2019.5*).

The bench upon which the wild boar stands appears to be a re-used monolith with a maximum visible length of 2.80m and a maximum thickness of 0.31m; it extends 1.38m away from the wall of the building, though it is certainly wider, it continuing beneath the headless pillar (P67) for which it served as a base. The bench is adorned with numerous depictions in low re-

Fig. 9. Göbeklitepe. Special Building D. Northern interior wall of Special Building D following the completion of excavations in 2023. This section of the innermost enclosing wall features six vertical monoliths (from left to right): Pillar 42 (P42), Pillar 43 (P43), Pillar 67 (P67), Pillar 78 (P78) and Pillar 30 (P30). A further T-shaped monolith with an oval-shaped niche in its head lies horizontally between P78 and P30, constituting part of the wall of the building (photogrammetry B. Waszk, German Archaeological Institute, Göbeklitepe Project 2023/2024).

lief on its visible inward-facing narrow side. The motifs include an H-shaped symbol, a crescent, three snakes and four human faces or masks (Figs. 7.5 and 11). The upper surface of the bench features a cup mark and a circular-shaped incision. The front legs of the statue stood in a shallow round-oval depression and the statue was supported by the addition of stone wedges, one under its front left leg and two under its belly. Although it is unclear whether this was the original location of the statue, it was likely placed here in a late phase of the special building, in the second half of the ninth millennium cal BC (*cf. Kinzel, Clare 2020.Fig. 3.2*).

The westward extension of the decorated bench is formed by a smaller stone slab (Figs. 7.6 and 12). This slab features a sturdy diagonal perforation at its front upper edge, the function of which is unknown. Additionally, there is a stick-like depiction of a predator, most probably a leopard, incised into its upper surface, just several centimetres west of the perforation. The head of the leopard (length: 10.0cm; max. width: 6.0 cm) is formed by a round, shallow indentation (diameter: 2.0cm).

The opposite easterly adjacent section of the bench incurred visible damage from the slope slide; it remains unexcavated and still covered by rubble. The wall of the building in this area was wholly destroyed,

Fig. 10. Göbeklitepe. Special Building D. The newly discovered wild boar statue in Special Building D (cf. Figs. 7.4 and 9). The statue stood on a decorated bench (likely a re-used T-shaped pillar, Fig. 11) and in front of Pillar 67 (P67), which stands out from other monoliths in the building due to its orientation (broad side facing inwards) and the round niche in its shaft. The wild boar statue and P67 are a clear focal point of the building (photogrammetry B. Waszk, German Archaeological Institute, Göbeklitepe Project 2023/2024).

Fig. 11. Göbeklitepe. Detail of the bench beneath the wild boar statue in Special Building D (cf. Figs. 7.5, 9, and 10). This re-used limestone T-shaped pillar carries several images in low relief, including (from left to right) an H-symbol, a crescent, three snakes and four human faces or masks (photogrammetry B. Waszk, German Archaeological Institute, Göbeklitepe Project 2024).

and the adjacent T-shaped pillar (P78) was pushed inwards by the force of the inundation (Figs. 7.1, 8.1, and 9).

Other wild boar imagery at Göbeklitepe

A total of six further (complete and fragmented) limestone wild boar statues were previously known from Göbeklitepe. However, these are smaller and less skilfully crafted than the (seventh) newly discovered statue from Special Building D. Besides the statues, other depictions of wild boars are known from ten low reliefs, one incised depiction and one protome. Most of these images were discovered in special buildings, the majority in Special Building C, where four statues, eight low reliefs, and the protome were revealed; the comparatively high frequency of wild boar depictions in this structure led Klaus Schmidt (*2006a.146*) to refer to it as the '*Kreis der Keller*' ('*Circle of the Wild Boars*' in English). Further images of wild boars have undoubtedly been discovered over the years, though poor preservation may have led to their classification as '*unidentified quadrupeds*'.

Statues and statue fragments

The first of the six previously discovered wild boar statues was a large fragment (max. length: 68.0cm, max. height: 55.0cm, max. thickness: 23.0cm) found leaning against a wall on the eastern side of Special Building A in 1997 (Figs. 13.1 and 14.1). Its identification as a wild boar was based on the shape of the head and the poorly preserved but still visible tusks (*Schmidt 1999a.11; Peters, Schmidt 2004.184*).

An extension of fieldwork to the north in 1998/1999 led to the discovery of Special Building C in 1998/1999 and the first of four wild boar statues so far discovered in this structure (Figs. 13.2 and 14.2). Unearthed adjacent to pillar 12 (P12), the statue is completely preserved (max. length: 48.0cm) and was found in fill deposits close to the monolith and above the internal bench of the building. A fracture at its base suggests that it was originally part of a larger composition (*Schmidt 1999b.13–14, Fig. 18; 2000b.25–26; 2008b.64; Peters, Schmidt 2004.184, Fig. 115*). A second complete but

Fig. 12. Göbeklitepe. The continuation of the bench to the west of the newly discovered wild boar statue in Special Building D (cf. Fig. 7.6). The limestone slab used for this purpose features a large double-conical perforation and an incised leopard depiction on its top surface (bottom) (photos L. Clare, German Archaeological Institute, Göbeklitepe Project 2024).

less well preserved statue (max. length: 95.0cm, max. height 60.0cm high, max. thickness 25.0cm) was revealed in 2001, standing upright in a conglomeration of stones above (or upon) an outer enclosing wall (Figs. 13.3 and 14.3). In the following year, the well-preserved head of a third boar was discovered in the fill of the building, approximately 50cm southeast of pillar 24 (P24) (*Peters, Schmidt 2004.184, Fig. 116*); with a length of 53.0cm, this fragment is comparable in size to the head of the newly discovered statue in Building D (Figs. 13.4 and 14.4). Finally, a complete fourth statue (max. length: 48.0cm, max. height: 28.0cm) excavated in 2008 was one item in a group of objects (including two stone plates and a crude vessel) found arranged on the platform of Pillar 35 (Figs. 13.5 and 14.5); a fracture at its base suggests that it, too, was originally part of a larger composition (*Schmidt 2008c.28–29*).

A final wild boar statue was recovered from trench DR1 in 2018 (Figs. 13.6 and 14.6). This trench was excavated to install a rainwater drainage pipe from the

Fig. 13. Göbeklitepe. Spatial occurrence of wild boar depictions in special buildings A, B, C and D and adjacent areas. Numbered wild boar silhouettes refer to the statues, low reliefs, protome and incised depiction described in the text. The largest wild boar silhouette marks the position of the newly discovered statue in Special Building D (image M. Kinzel; changes and additions by L. Clare, 2024, German Archaeological Institute, Göbeklitepe Project).

then newly constructed protective canopy over the main excavation area. Although missing its head, the statue is otherwise complete, the shape of its body and legs mirroring other wild boar depictions. The statue fragment, which is 42.0cm long, with a maximum height of 27.0cm and a maximum width of 16.0cm, was discovered incorporated into a wall enclosing a rectangular space attributed to the EPPNB (*Kinzel 2023.226, Fig. 226*).

Low reliefs

Ten low reliefs of wild boars have been uncovered in special buildings at Göbeklitepe. Eight low reliefs of wild boars have been discovered in Special Building C, where seven adorn the surfaces of T-shaped pillars in the walls of the structure, and one a *portal stone* (a window-like frame carved from a limestone slab and associated with the construction of niches and entrances/exits of buildings). Two further low reliefs, both on T-shaped pillars, are known from Special Building D.

In Special Building C, the first relief of a wild boar was found on the southeast-facing broad side of pillar 12 (P12) (Figs. 13.7 and 15.7). While the second was discovered on the *portal stone* (Figs. 13.8 and 16), further depictions were found on pillars 23, 25, 26, 27, 28 and 36 (P23, P25, P26, P27, P28, P36) (Fig. 13.9–14).

In addition to the newly discovered statue in Special Building D, other wild boar depictions in this structure are limited to two low reliefs on pillars 20 and 38 (P20 and P38) (Fig. 13.15–16). Combined with the newly discovered statue, the wild boar images in this building form a triangular arrangement.

While some wild boar low reliefs are comparatively small and simple in their implementation, others are more elaborate, and in these cases particular attention is given to depicting the mouth and tusks. All low reliefs show the wild boar in profile, facing either to the left or the right and, in one case, facing downwards (P25). Examples of simpler representations are found on P25, P26 (Figs. 13.11 and 15.11), P27 (Figs. 13.12 and 15.12), P28 (Figs. 13.13 and 15.13),and P36 in Special Building C, and on P20 in Special Building D. Among these depictions, the wild boar on P27 stands out, positioned below the high relief of a leopard on the front narrow side of the pillar, in what appears to be a hunting scene. The body posture of the predator suggests that it is about to pounce on its prey.

Fig. 14. Göbeklitepe. Limestone wild boar statues:* 1 *a head fragment from Special Building A (A15);* 2 *a complete statue from Special Building C (A25);* 3 *a complete but poorly preserved statue from Special Building C (A29);* 4 *a head fragment from Special Building C (A34);* 5 *a complete statue from Special Building C (A62);* 6 *a headless statue from the wall of a rectangular structure in DR1. For details of find contexts and dimensions, see text. The numbers in the silhouettes refer to the find spots in Fig. 13 (all photos German Archaeological Institute, Göbeklitepe Project).

The more elaborate wild boar low reliefs on P12 (Figs. 13.7 and Fig. 15.7) (*Schmidt 1999b.13–14, Fig. 17; Peters, Schmidt 2004.184, Fig. 113*), P23 (Figs. 13.9 and 15.9) (*Schmidt 2006a.146*) and P38 (Fig. 13.16) (*cf. Schmidt 2006b. 344, Fig. 347*) are comparable in their implementation. The exceptionally well-crafted wild boar on

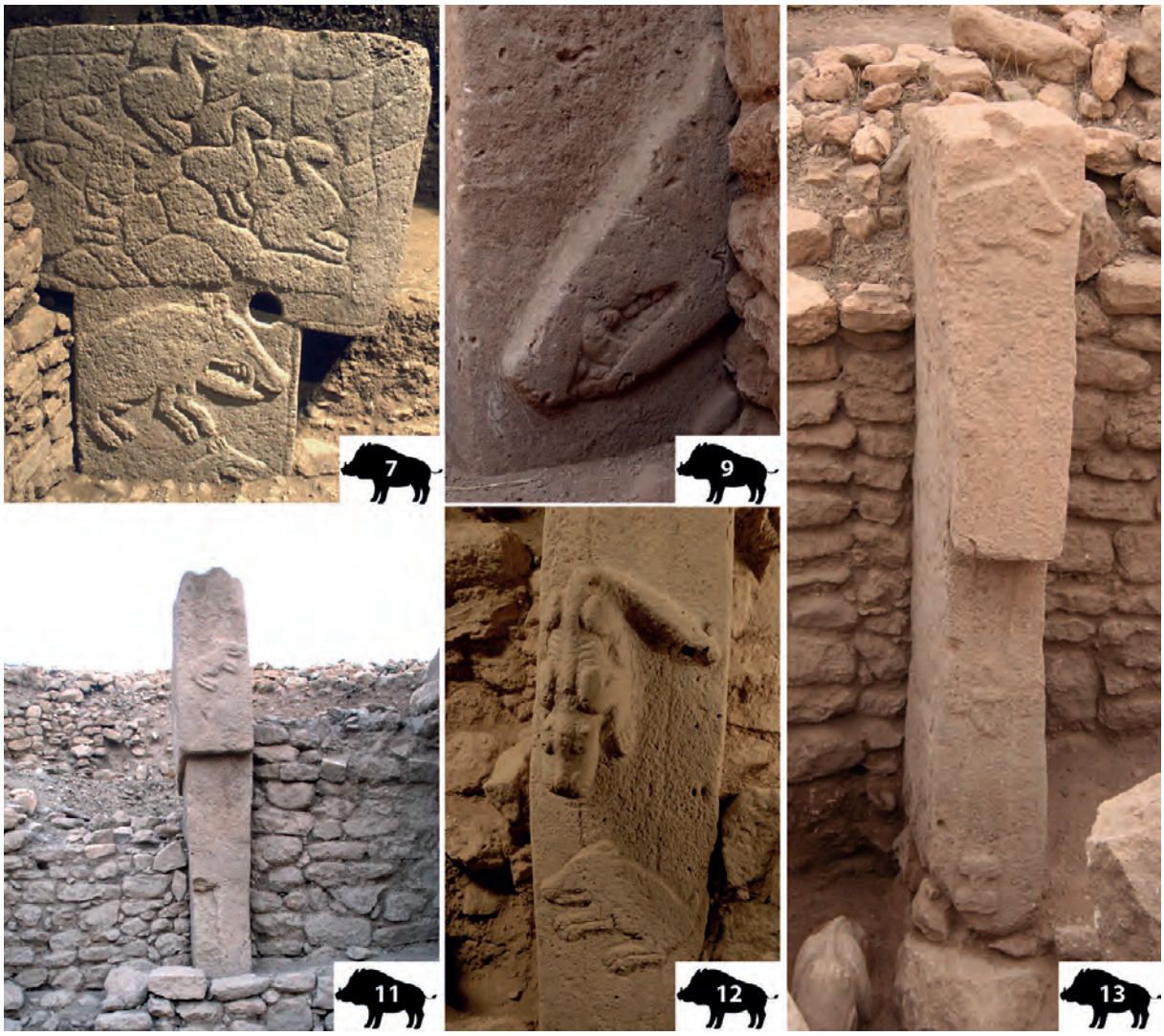

Fig. 15. Göbeklitepe. A selection of wild boar low reliefs in Special Building C:* 7 *an elaborate depiction on P12;* 9 *a partially visible representation of high quality on the broad side of P23;* 11 *a simple wild boar depiction on the front narrow side of P26;* 12 *a simple low relief of a wild boar on P27, possibly as part of a hunting narrative in combination with the high relief of a leopard;* 13 *a simple low relief on P28. The numbers in the silhouettes also refer to the find spots in Figure 13 (all photos German Archaeological Institute, Göbeklitepe Project).

P12 takes its place on the pillar shaft, below depictions of four vultures and above a fox. Finally, the low relief on the *portal stone* in Special Building C (Figs. 13.8 and 16) is unusual because the animal was positioned upside down, its trotters pointing upwards, perhaps symbolising death (*Peters, Schmidt 2004.184, Fig. 117; Schmidt 2006a.155, Fig. 67; 2010b.253, Fig. 226*).

A hunting scene in Special Building B

The only wild boar depiction in Special Building B is perhaps one of the most animated. It is a small and comparatively coarsely produced image incised into the broad eastern side of pillar 10 (P10), the westerly of the two quasi-centrally placed monoliths (Figs. 13.17 and 17). Revealed during excavations in 1999 below the more dominant low relief of an ithyphallic fox, the wild boar is part of a larger narrative scene that includes a small pack of dogs, identified by their tails bent forwards above the body. The dogs appear to be pursuing the boar (max. length: 20.0cm; height: 12.5cm) in what could be interpreted as a hunting scene with trained domesticated animals (*Schmidt 2000b.23, Fig. 10; Yeomans* et al. *2019*).

A protome from Special Building C

A protome featuring the front half of a wild boar is among the most impressive testimonies to the abilities of the prehistoric artisans at Göbeklitepe (Figs. 13.18 and 18). Produced by a highly skilled stonemason, the protome (length: 97.0cm, max. width: 28.0cm) was

found *in situ* between P28 and P39, protruding inwards from the bench in Special Building C (*Schmidt 2008c.29, Fig. 26*). Resembling Gothic-style gargoyles, complete and partially preserved examples of protomes of different animals have been discovered at Göbeklitepe. The cone-shaped rear part of the objects served the horizontal and vertical fixture of the carvings into the walls and benches of the special buildings.

Fig. 16. Göbeklitepe. The low relief of an upside down wild boar on the portal stone of the dromos in Special Building C. The number in the silhouette also refers to the find spot in Fig. 13 (photo D. Johanes, German Archaeological Institute, Göbeklitepe Project).

In summary, many of the depictions of wild boar (*Sus scrofa*) from Göbeklitepe emphasise the behaviours displayed by fighting animals, including, for example, an open mouth with tusks bared and the vertically erected dorsal crest of hair (*Barrette 1986*) which are also evident on the newly discovered statue in Special Building D. Another characteristic is the rearing up on the hind legs, a behaviour portrayed in some of the low reliefs (*e.g.*, Fig. 15.11–12). However, due to the lack of genital (phallus) depictions, it is impossible to ascertain whether all images show male individuals, especially as females can be equally aggressive, though the tusks in females usually do not protrude. Finally, in light of insights from archaeozoological studies, which have shown that goitered gazelle (*Gazella subgutturosa*) and Asiatic wild ass (*Equus hemionus*) were the most important quarry of the Göbeklitepe hunters, the abundance of wild boar depictions in the context of the special buidings might suggest that this animal, whilst also eaten, was of greater symbolic importance (*Peters, Schmidt 2004.209*). Indeed, the comparative absence of gazelle and wild ass depictions in the repertoire of images adorning T-shaped pillars underlines that the importance of animals as quarry was not a guarantee for their inclusion in the symbolic/ritual contexts. On the other hand, the prominent position of the wild boar in the Göbeklitepe symbolism could reflect the suitability of the species to be loosely controlled, ultimately leading to its domestication elsewhere (*Price, Evin 2019*).

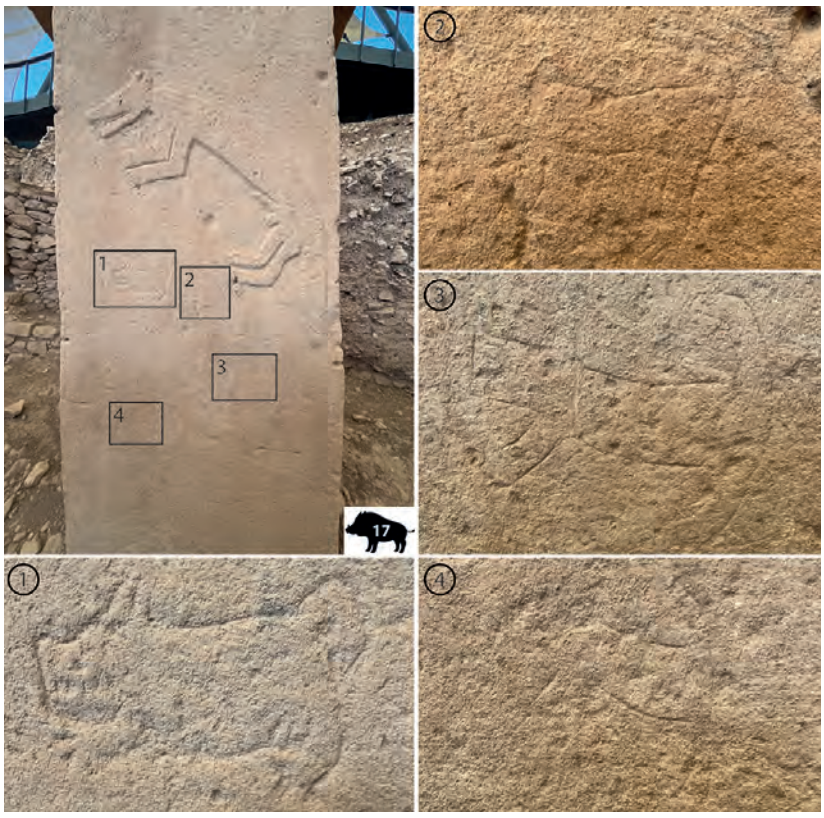

Fig. 17. Göbeklitepe. An incised depiction of a wild boar on P10 in Special Building B. The animal is being pursued by a small pack of dogs in a possible hunting scene. The number in the silhouette refers to the find spot in Fig. 13 (photos L. Clare, German Archaeological Institute, Göbeklitepe Project).

An invisible social elite

We now return to the discussion of social hierarchies at Late Pleistocene and Early Holocene sites in the upper Tigris and Euphrates basins. Based on insights from the available archaeological sources, it is proposed here that potential leaders ('*inspired individuals*' in the sense of Cauvin, see above) could have emerged from three groups in the settled hunter-gatherer communities: the storytellers, hunters and ritual adepts. We will approach each of these groups individually and consider the crucial parts they played in society. Finally, the rise and fall of late hunter-forager '*charismatic leaders*' will be addressed in the context of an adaptive cycle spanning the tenth and ninth millennia cal BC.

The storytellers

Ethnographical studies in traditional societies in different parts of the world have provided a wide range of insights into the multiple functions of oral narratives, ranging from the transmission of traditions that dictate social behaviour, *i.e.* the promotion of shared identities and values (*e.g.*, *Georges 1969.314–315; Sobel, Bettles 2000*) to '*sensemaking*', *i.e.* giving meaning to unusual and unexpected experiences (*Tonkin 1992.66–70; Nowell 2023.16–17*). Especially in societies lacking '*moralising high gods*', (oral) narratives (and therefore storytellers) are known to contribute to the long-term evolution and promotion of cooperative behaviour (*Smith* et al. *2017; Nowell 2023.14–15*). No less significant are other observations that highlight how storytelling can be used as a conditioning mechanism and as an instrument of social control, often implemented to serve the personal gains of the narrators. This is expressed in some indigenous societies by the status of storytellers as preferred social partners, sometimes resulting in their greater reproductive success (*Smith* et al. *2017.3–4*).

Fig. 18. Göbeklitepe. Limestone protome of a wild boar* in situ *in Special Building C (top) and following its removal (bottom). The number in the silhouette refers to the find spot in Fig. 13 (photos German Archaeological Institute, Göbeklitepe Project).

The Göbeklitepe narratives

The imagery adorning the Göbeklitepe small finds and T-shaped pillars goes far beyond the random and coincidental. The depictions of wild animals, humans and symbols represent '*petrified*' oral narratives, thus providing a unique record of the myths, beliefs and worldviews of hunter-forager society, the roots of which most likely pre-date Göbeklitepe itself. Previous studies have suggested that these narratives could have centred around the existence of a death cult (*e.g.*, *Schmidt 2006a. 125–127; Notroff* et al. *2015.73–78*) or be indicative of totemic systems (*e.g.*, *Schmidt 2006a.124; Becker* et al. *2012.37*). Alternativevely, they might show human actors attempting to harness the vital forces and power of nonhuman (animal) actors (*Borić 2013*), or just express the multifaceted nature of human-nonhuman relati-

ons (*Busacca 2017*), possibly in the form of predator-victim dichotomies (*Clare* et al. *2019b*). Whatever the case, a common characteristic of all these interpretations is that they are rooted in animistic belief systems. Indeed, there is an overwhelming consensus that animism was the prevailing ontology in the upper Euphrates and Tigris basins in the Late Pleistocene and Early Holocene (*e.g.*, *Yakar 2012; Benz, Bauer 2015; Fagan 2017; Benz, Bauer 2022*).

Animism is the belief that all *natural* things, such as plants, animals and even such phenomena as thunder, have intentionality (or a vital force) and can have influence on human lives. Animism is considered fundamental to human religion and was very likely present in the last common ancestor of present-day hunter-gatherers (*Peoples* et al. *2016.266,270*). Following the definition by Marshall Sahlins (*2014*), grounded on the work of Philippe Descola (*2013*), animism can be subdivided into three different types: communal animism ('*animism*'), segmentary animism ('*totemism*') and hierarchical animism ('*analogism*'). At the same time, these three types include elements of the others, and all types are versions of anthropomorphism, characterised by decreasing levels of personhood among nonhuman beings (*Sahlins 2014. Fig. 1*). It is beyond the scope of this paper to delve further into the Göbeklitepe imagery to debate the presence and absence of the different types of animism attested therein. However, earlier and recent discoveries from Göbeklitepe and other Taş Tepeler sites suggest the existence of communal and segmentary animism in these communities.

While communal animism sees all human individuals share essentially the same relationships to all nonhuman persons, segmentary animism ('*totemism*') identifies nonhuman persons with different human collectives, such as lineages or clans (*Sahlins 2014.282*). In the case of the Sayburç relief, communal animism is perhaps inferred by what appears to be the shared (revered) behavioural attributes (strength, speed, bravery) of the human and nonhuman actors (aurochs and leopards; see below and Figure 21). In the case of the wild boar statue from Göbeklitepe, a totemistic interpretation could be implied by its size, quality and central placement within Special Building D (*cf. Becker* et al. *2012.37*).

Evidence for hierarchical animism (*analogism*) appears absent or, at best, difficult to identify in the prehistoric imagery. Hierarchical animism refers to the "*plenitude of what there is* [beings and things] *encompassed in the being of cosmocratic god-persons*" (*Sahlins 2014.282*), who can also take on an anthropomorphic form. Human depictions from Göbeklitepe, and also the newly discovered human statue from Karahantepe (*Karul 2023a. Fig. 7*), do not appear to exude the profound powers of cosmocratic god-persons (*cf. Sahlins 2014.287–288; 2017*). Nevertheless, some of the features of the new find from Karahantepe might infer that elements of analogism existed, reflected, for example, in the visible ribcage combined with an erect penis, characteristics also observed on some animal statues (Fig. 19; *cf. Schmidt 2013*). Admittedly this evidence is highly tentative, but if true it could mark a significant break with earlier (Epipalaeolithic/PPNA) belief systems.

A focus of Göbeklitepe narratives was the role of the ancestors, as expressed in previous references to the existence of a death cult (*e.g.*, *Schmidt 2006a.125–127; Notroff* et al. *2015.73–78*). Notably, the communication between the dead and the living (sometimes referred to as ancestor worship or veneration) is considered a quasi-universal aspect of religion among indigenous societies, especially in kinship-based systems (*e.g.*, *Steadman* et al. *1996; Peoples* et al. *2016.266–267*). Communication with the dead can take on entirely different forms, but generally culminates in claims that the dead can aid or punish the living or that the living can invoke the dead to assist in earthly affairs. This shows that the universality of ancestor worship goes beyond the simple hypothesis that the belief in an afterlife fulfills the human need to reduce anxiety when confronted with death. Instead, ethnographic studies show that the role of the dead as a source of social traditions lies at the heart of ancestor veneration. It serves to strengthen not only kinship ties but also the traditions upon which they depend: "*no one questions the wisdom and authority of an ancestor*" (*Steadman* et al. *1996.73*). Notably, ancestor worship is congruent with animistic beliefs, which, as in some examples from modern hunter-gatherer societies, see the dead take on the forms of nonhuman persons (animals) (*e.g.*, *Steadman* et al. *1996*). Indeed, statue fragments from EPPNB Nevali Çori depicting human-bird combinations, have been previously interpreted as the metamorphosis of the human dead into nonhuman persons (*Morsch 2002.159*).

Material expressions for the practice of ancestor veneration at Göbeklitepe are manifold. One notable example is the existence of a skull cult, in the frame of which

the heads of some individuals were exhumed from burials, cleaned and displayed (*Gresky* et al. *2017*). Additionally, the T-shaped pillars in the special buildings have been interpreted as the embodiments of forebears (*e.g.*, *Schmidt 2000c.49; 2005.14*). Naturally, we cannot rule out that the human depictions from other Taş Tepeler sites, including the newly discovered human statue from Karahantepe, the human figure depicted in the Sayburç relief, as well as the so-called Urfa Man recovered from Şanlıurfa-Yeni Mahalle (*Çelik 2000*), are also in the image of ancestors or even representations of the same (mythological) ancestor individual (*cf.* Fig. 22).

Special buildings as 'narrative arenas'

The ground plan and internal arrangement of the special buildings underline the narrative act and the interpretation of these structures as *narrative arenas* (Fig. 20). Previous estimations have put the number of people who could comfortably fit into these buildings at around 25–30 individuals, with the entrance and exit regulated via one or more small openings (*portal stones*) in their roofs (*Kinzel, Clare 2020.44*). Based on the documentation of unique narratives in each of the special buildings, albeit with evident general underlying themes, these communal structures likely *belonged* to defined groups in the community. The oval-circular shape and the interior benches, upon which the radially arranged anthropomorphic T-shaped pillars appear to be seated, suggest performance and group participation. Furthermore, as the carved images are not visible from a single location, participants would have needed to move around the structure to view them all, perhaps indicating the incorporation of dance (and music) into the narratives or suggesting that individual pillars acted as different stations on a journey to be guided by the storyteller (*McBride 2013.54, Fig. 55*).

The impact of the narrated words and the carved depictions were likely enhanced by artificial lighting (lamps, torches, hearths). The archaeological evidence for roofs covering the special buildings at Göbeklitepe has increased in recent years (see above), suggesting that their interiors were places of (artificial) darkness even during daylight hours, and therefore comparable to situations encountered in natural cave environments. The emotional resonance of darkness is well known from studies investigating Palaeolithic cave art sites (*Nowell 2018*). Furthermore, ethnographic studies have highlighted the difference between '*day talk*' and '*night talk*' among hunter-forager societies, where the former generally involves gossip and economic issues, but where the onset of darkness sees people engage in qualitatively different forms of social communication with conversations that evoke the imagination, help people remember and understand others in their external networks and convey information about cultural institutions that generate regularity of behaviour and corresponding trust (*Wiessner 2014; Nowell 2018.32*).

Fig. 19. Limestone human statue (height: 2.30m) discovered at Karahantepe in 2023 (left) and the statue of a predator (length: 68.0cm) found on a wall in Special Building A at Göbeklitepe in 1996 (*Schmidt 2012.Fig. 42*). The visible rib cage and the erect penis are common to both the human and animal depiction (images L. Clare, courtesy of N. Karul (left); German Archaeological Institute, Göbeklitepe Project (right)).

The hunters

Although nothing is known about the ratio of plant to animal-based calorie input at Göbeklitepe, hunters would have played a crucial role in securing at least one part of the subsistence in this pre-farming community. Indeed, the success of Early Holocene societies in the upper Tigris and Euphrates basins was dependent on the expertise and knowledge of hunters, *i.e.* their abilities to provide sufficient meat and other animal products (bone, skin,

horn) to the populations of the ever-expanding settlements. The discovery of large-scale hunting traps, also called '*desert kites*', for which an Epipalaeolithic/PPN age is generally assumed, testify to this knowledge and expertise (for a critical review of desert kites, see *Shakhmuradyan 2020*). Numerous such structures are now known from locations close to many of the Taş Tepeler settlements, particularly in the mountains to the east (Tektek Dağları) and west (Fatik/Cudi Dağları) of the Harran plain (*Çelik, Tolon 2018; Çelik, Ayaz 2022.150–151; Şahin* et al. *2023; Şahin 2024*). Additionally, it is perhaps no coincidence that the first appearance of domesticated dogs in Southwest Asia coincides with the Late Epipalaeolithic (*Yeomans* et al. *2019*); indeed, these animals would have been an effective means of driving herds of gazelle into the '*kites*'. Evidence for the use of dogs in the hunt was already proposed in the context of the wild boar hunting narrative incised on the eastern broad side of P10 in Special Building B at Göbeklitepe (*Schmidt 2000b. 23, Fig. 10*) (Fig. 17).

In contrast to the crucial role of hunters in securing subsistence, their social roles (as with the storytellers) are less frequently discussed, particularly in the context of leadership. However, there are numerous indigenous societies around the globe in which hunters, significantly the better hunters, assume leadership functions under some circumstances, albeit the group would employ power-curbing mechanisms (sanctions) to subdue overly assertive individuals and those with leadership aspirations (*Boehm 1993*). The prehistoric hunters of the Late Pleistocene and Early Holocene in the upper Tigris and Euphrates basins likely constituted a distinct and tight-knit social group within their communities, underlined by shared experiences and instilled values, thus heightening their eligibility to slip into the role of a leader should the need arise. In this context, the recently discovered relief in Special Building AA at Sayburç is of special note, it perhaps being the first '*petrified*' narrative of hunter initiation rites (*Özdoğan E. 2022; Özdoğan, Uludağ 2022;* see also *Ayaz 2023a. 374; 2023b*).

Hunter initiation at Sayburç

The Sayburç relief is comprised of two frames (Fig. 21). The first frame shows a human interacting with an aurochs, while the second shows a male, probably the same individual, flanked by two leopards. In the first, the human figure faces the aurochs with both arms raised above his head, brandishing an object in his right hand, his legs bent at the knees. The aurochs faces the human figure and is depicted with its head turned to one side, its horns evident to the observer, and its body in profile. This twisted form is typical of depictions of aurochs adorning some T-pillars at Göbeklitepe and could indicate that it is charging (*cf. Benz, Bauer 2013.14*). The human figure appears to be taunting the aurochs through dance or gesture, although his raised arms are also suggestive of supplication, reminiscent of scenes from Saharan Neolithic rock art (*cf. Cauvin 2007.Fig. 22*). The item in his right hand has been interpreted as a rattle (*Özdoğan E. 2022.1601*), a snake (*Özdoğan E. 2022.1601; Özdoğan, Uludağ 2022: 21*), a sling (*Özdoğan, Uludağ 2022: 21*) or the tail of another animal (*Ayaz 2023b.197*). Alternatively, it could be the severed penis and testicles of this (or another) aurochs, an interpretation that would be in agreement with the sexual symbolism evident in the second frame, where the (same) human individual

Fig. 20. Göbeklitepe. Special Building D before the onset of excavations in 2023. The anthropomorphic T-shaped pillars in the encompassing wall are positioned as if seated on the bench, looking inwards, towards the two central monoliths; in combination with the manifold low reliefs and carvings adorning these pillars, this indicates that this (and other) special buildings served as narrative arenas. View from the southwest looking northeast (photo L. Clare, German Archaeological Institute, Göbeklitepe Project, August 2023).

appears to have attained higher status, most certainly through the actions depicted in the first. Subsequently, his successful initiation is implied by the two flanking leopards and his own erect penis, which he holds in his right hand as if masturbating.

In some indigenous societies, the first ejaculation (*thorarche*) is often taken to mark the passage of boys into adulthood (*Chad 2020*). In others, there is a strong association between hunting and sex, usually arising from the mimesis involved in seducing the prey (*cf. Lahelma 2019.5–9*). Initiation rites have already been discussed in the context of the 'phallus pit' at Karahantepe (*Karul 2021*), and masturbation has been proposed concerning the Kilisik statue from Adıyaman (*cf. Hodder, Meskell 2011.238*). The ubiquity of penis depictions at Göbeklitepe and culturally related sites has also led to speculation that society considered masculinity as a source of power or was obsessed with fertility (*e.g.*, *Uludağ* et al. *2018.23*), with some authors even suggesting ritual acts of sexual intercourse (*Verit* et al. *2005*). However, the phallocentrism (observable in humans and animals alike) was more likely an expression of complex animal-human relations (*cf. Hodder, Meskell 2011*). Humans were not the dominant actors in this deep-rooted animistic belief system; indeed, they considered themselves part of and undetached from the animal world (communal animism; see above). In the case of Göbeklitepe, Hauptmann and Schmidt (*2000.265–266*) already stressed the close connection between hunters and animals which they saw expressed in the pictorial repertoire at the site. In this context, one of the recent interpretations of the Sayburç relief by Eylem Özdoğan and Celal Uludağ (*2022.22*) as representing the human struggle against nature (man with aurochs) and emerging human domination over animals (man flanked by leopards), as a metaphor for Neolithisation, appears unlikely.

Ancestral huntsman or supernatural gamekeeper

The similarities between the high relief from Sayburç and human statuary from other Şanlıurfa sites are striking (Figs. 19 and 22). This observation begs the question as to whether these ithyphallic individuals are depictions of the same person, *i.e.* a revered ancestral huntsman or even a so-called *supernatural gamekeeper*. The latter is known among numerous indigenous societies on many continents and grants hunting success to those who perform specific rituals and adhere to various restrictions. Conversely, hunters who violate established restrictions may experience a loss of hunting luck, sickness, and, in some cases, even death (*Chacon 2023*). Notably, the belief in supernatural gamekeepers was likely a nearly universal step in the prehistoric past at the transition from animism to deism (*Smith 2023*) and has already been approached in a recent contribution by Diana L. Stein (*2023*).

The ritual adepts

Similar to the concept of '*feasts*' and '*feasting*', in recent years, '*shamanism*' has become a buzzword in prehistoric studies, including in the context of the Pre-Pottery Neolithic. Numerous contributions have already focussed on the archaeological evidence for shamans from Early Neolithic sites in Southwest Asia (*Benz, Bauer 2015; Mithen 2022; Dietrich 2023*). As such, yet another presentation of the same materials is superfluous, especially as even the best archaeological sources for these individuals are often ambiguous. This is best exemplified by the case of prehistoric human burials attributed to shamans (*e.g.*, *Grosman* et al. *2008*), where the wearing of shamanic attire and the presence of sacra do not necessarily mean that an individual was a shaman (*cf. Stépanoff 2015.171*). Indeed, "[...] *shamanism is not always the domain of a few special individuals, but can be communal. Anthropologically the best-known case of communal shamanism is probably the San shamanism of south-*

Fig. 21. Sayburç. The relief in Special Building AA is comprised of two related scenes. While the first features a human figure and an aurochs, the second shows the (same) human flanked by two leopards. It is proposed that this relief recounts either a hunter's initiation or the heroic deeds of an ancestor or a supernatural gamekeeper (photo B. Köşker, courtesy of E. Özdoğan).

ern Africa [...]*, but it occurs also in Northern Eurasia, such as among the Siberian Itelmen, who have no specialised shamans with elaborate paraphernalia; instead, almost anyone with the skill of falling into trance can be a shaman*" (*Lahelma 2019.10*).

Despite the uncertainties connected with the archaeological evidence of shamans, the collation of potential material expressions for their existence remains a worthwhile exercise. This process is undoubtedly aided by a broader understanding of shamanism itself, making it possible, for example, to better identify the activities undertaken by ritual adepts in prehistoric societies. Shamanism might be defined as a family of traditions whose practitioners focus on voluntarily entering altered states of consciousness in which they experience themselves or their spirit(s), travelling to other realms at will and interacting with other entities to serve their community (*Walsh 1989.5*). It follows that the essential function of these individuals is to provide information about uncertain outcomes, and in this context, they typically undertake tasks such as divination, healing, and weather control (*Singh 2018. Fig. 3*). Based on insights from the Late Pleistocene and Early Holocene in the upper Tigris and Euphrates basins, additional functions could have included overseeing rituals, including rites of passage (initiations), acting as mediators between the living and the dead, or as human counterparts of the aforementioned supernatural gamekeeper.

Newly available archaeological evidence for activities undertaken by ritual adepts at Göbeklitepe stems from the excavations in 2023, specifically in the context of the bench on the northern side of Special Building D, upon which the wild boar statue was discovered. In addition to the cup mark and a circular-shaped incision on the upper-facing surface of the slab, and the drilled diagonal incision with accompanying leopard depiction on its westward extension, there was the unexpected find of the jawbone of a young wild boar (pers. comm. Stephanie Emra) in the rubble matrix just 1.5 metres to the east of the statue and just above the level of the bench. It cannot be ruled out that the jawbone was originally lying on the surface of the bench and became displaced by the slope slide that led to the (partial) inundation of the special building (see above). This being the case, questions must arise as to the original context of this object: Was it a food offering, or could it be evidence of animal sacrifice? Notably, according to anthropologists and historians of religion, sacrifice only begins with the domestication of plants and animals, and so animal sacrifice does not exist in hunter-forager societies (*cf. Hénaff 2012.332; Beriain 2020*). In pre-farming communities *sacrifice* occurs in the frame of the hunt (*Valeri 1994*). However, if some form of sacrifice in the special buildings at Göbeklitepe had been required for the appeasement of the ancestors (*cf. Steadman* et al. *1996; Peoples* et al. *2016.266*), this would suggest that crucial changes were occurring in religious and ritual spheres, perhaps marking the gradual transition from communal and segmentary animism (totemism) to hierarchical animism (analogism), as already tentatively suggested in the context of the human statue from Karahantepe (see above). The ritual adepts would have been key players in this process.

Fig. 22. A selection of Pre-Pottery Neolithic human depictions; from left to right: The so-called Urfa Man (Şanlıurfa-Yeni Mahalle, height: 1.93m); a seated figurine with phallus and animal on the left shoulder (Göbeklitepe, height: 5.1cm); a statue with phallus but without limbs (Göbeklitepe, height: 38.0cm); and a human protome (Göbeklitepe, height 60.0cm) (photos I. Wagner, D. Johannes, and N. Becker, German Archaeological Institute, Göbeklitepe Project).

Finally, in contrast to the storytellers and hunters, ritual adepts are more commonly thought of as natural leaders of indigenous societies. However, this assumption is not supported by comparative ethnographic evidence. Based on data from 21 indigenous societies compiled by Michael Winkelman and Douglas White (*1987*), shamans only irregularly contributed to certain aspects of social life, outside of providing information about uncertain outcomes (*Singh 2018Fig. 3*). Therefore, although they sometimes assist in various life cycle activities, including births, funerals and initiations, and enjoy leadership roles, shamans serve these roles much less frequently. According to Manvir Singh, in only 14% of the indigenous societies did shamans take on the role of a *charismatic leader* (see below). Other decision-making domains fulfilled by shamans included *judiciary power* (52%), *economic power* (29%), *military power* (38%) and *political power* (29%).

Inspired individuals as charismatic leaders

Supposing then that individuals, be they storytellers, skilled hunters, or ritual adepts (including healers and medicine-persons), were part of an archaeologically invisible group of decision-makers at Göbeklitepe in the late tenth and ninth millennia cal BC, what can anthropological discourse tell us about the roles played by these individuals or groups of individuals in their communities? Were they larger-than-life leaders, perhaps comparable to the famous 'medicine men' of the American Plains Indians (*e.g.*, Sitting Bull of the Lakota Sioux; *cf. Dunbar 2022*)? Did they wield authority over their devotees, having them construct monumental buildings with limestone monoliths and statues in the likeness of the ancestors? And if so, how did they achieve this? Indeed, some storytellers, hunters and ritual adepts could have possessed a high level of what is termed '*charisma*' in the sociological and anthropological literature, and referred to by Charles Lindholm (*2013.1*) as "*the most important driver of religious transformation and certainly one of the most powerful emotional relationships possible in human life*". Lindholm continues, "*It can inspire true believers to renounce family and friends and embrace suffering, degradation, and ostracism for the sake of their beloved redeemer. In extreme cases, devotees may even be willing to die – or kill – at their leader's command*". As such, charisma allows us to go beyond the paradigm of our modern (capitalist) understanding of leader-follower relationships, which sees these as comparable to an economic transaction, whereby the follower attains a goal (*e.g.*, financial advantage or status) by supporting the leader, and the leader deploys his followers to gain more influence in society. The concept of '*charisma*' allows us to consider such aspects as the emotional appeal of spiritual authority.

Charisma has been a focus of studies by sociologists and later by anthropologists ever since the pioneering work of Max Weber, with other models also formulated, for example, by Émile Durkheim and Sigmund Freud. However, it is the Weberian theory of charisma that has been the most influential among modern anthropologists (for a comprehensive review, see *Lindholm 2013*). Weber divided political power into three types of action orientations: '*traditional*' (an unthinking adherence to custom), '*legitimate*' (rational-legal) and '*charismatic*' (commitment to a specific person), each of which corresponds to three primal motivations for action: '*habit*', '*cognition*' and '*emotion*'. Notably, Weber describes charisma as the most potent and dangerous of the three action orientations, whereby the '*emotional*' attraction of followers to '*charismatic*' individuals, such as shamans, prophets and revolutionary leaders, stems from religious experience and the affective commitment of devotees to the leader's supernatural powers. Weber also refers to this category of charisma as '*genuine*' or '*pure*', in contrast to a second sense used in the context of '*transformed*' and '*routinized*' charisma: The flame ignited by a charismatic figure is likely to burn out following death, and the few cults that endure do so only if surviving devotees can turn the pure charisma of their leader into the secondary charisma of the '*institution*'.

The most common modes for transitioning from primary to secondary charisma are genealogy (blood offspring), appointment (designation of a disciple as successor) and magical signs; such charismas are found in all societies, irrespective of their levels of complexity (*Greenfield 1985; Lindholm 2013*). However, in the Pre-Pottery Neolithic (PPN) it is proposed that any attempts made to institutionalise charismatic leaders may have been curbed by social mechanisms designed to uphold egalitarian social systems (*e.g.*, *Hodder 2022*); in other words, *genuine* and *pure* charisma never became *transformed* and *routinised* charisma (*cf. Flannery, Marcus 2012; Çilingiroğlu 2023*).

The H-symbol

Despite the general absence of archaeological evidence associated with PPN decision-makers, one symbol does exist which should be discussed in this con-

text: H-shaped low reliefs found adorning architectural elements, including T-shaped pillars, at Göbeklitepe. In Special Building D there is an especially rich repertoire of this particular symbol, for example as low relief depictions on numerous T-shaped pillars and as elements incorporated into the accessories (necklace, belts) of the two quasi-centrally placed anthropomorphic T-shaped monoliths in Special Building D (Fig. 23) (*cf. Becker* et al. *2012*). In recent years, this assemblage has increased in number, with further examples found on a wall stone on the eastern side of this building (Figs. 7.7 and 23.bottom right), incised into its artificially smoothed limestone floor (Figs. 7.8 and 24) and adorning the bench below the wild boar statue (Figs. 7.5 and 11).

A unique and very notable object in this context is a syenite sceptre found at Göbeklitepe in 1997 with two H-shaped motifs incised into its narrow proximal end (Find-Nr.: GT97-27; Fig. 24). The object, from an undocumented context, is 25.5cm long, with a maximum diameter of 3.0cm and an oval cross-section. Polished stone sceptres, some with carved animal heads, have been found at numerous PPN settlement sites in Southwest Asia, including Göbeklitepe. These objects are among very few items commonly thought of as symbols of power brandished by social elites (*Köksal-Schmidt, Schmidt 2007.99*). As such, this particular example, with its two incised H-shapes, is of unprecedented significance for the interpretation of this motif as a symbol that was potentially associated with inspired individuals and charismatic leaders.

Following the removal of sediment from Special Building D in 2021, one of two H-symbols incised into the floor of Special Building D was revealed easterly adjacent to a round pit-like feature (94.0x98.0cm) that was covered by a trapeze-shaped limestone slab, held in place by several stone wedges (one of basalt, one of flint and the rest of limestone). The northern edge of the feature showed the last remnants of red colouring, attesting to its significance, as already indicated by its central position in the special building (Figs. 7.8 and 25). The excavation of the feature in 2022 revealed an extremely shallow pit (max. length: 40.0cm, max. width: 21.0cm), not much deeper than the covering slab (5.0cm), though with a deeper, apparently natural cavity in its northern part into which fist-sized fragments of limestone rubble had been inserted. The sediment directly beneath the slab was an extremely loose silt void of finds (except for one small flint blade). Following the removal of this sediment, the cavity appeared as an area with a hardened and crumbly white deposit resembling plaster, and it is unclear whether this sealing had resulted from natural processes or was intentional. From a pragmatic standpoint, this feature appears to have been the repair of a natural fault encountered in the otherwise flawless limestone bedrock; however, the remnants of red pigment and the adjacent incised H-symbol could equally attest to a quite different (ritual) function.

Inspired individuals in the context of PPN social organisation models

Any discussion of the social fabric of PPN society at Göbeklitepe, and the place of inspired individuals and charismatic leaders therein, must first come to terms with what was originally considered to be the great paradox of the archaeology at the site, namely megalithic structures constructed by a hunter-forager community. At the time of the initial discovery of the special buildings in the mid-1990s, it was this ambiguity which sparked so much wonder, ultimately culminating in Schmidt's hypothesis that the ritual activities at Göbeklitepe were the *smoking gun* of Neolithisation (domestication of plants and animals) in Southeast Anatolia: "*A major driving force behind the process of plant and animal domestication may have been provided by the spiritual concept of these PPN people, in particular the investment of effort by generations of PPNA groups in the materialization of their complex immaterial world.*" [...] "*For the construction of one of the megalithic enclosures several hundreds of people must have gathered for many weeks. Without doubt one can expect that these meetings were arranged as extended feastings. It seems inescapable that for non-food producing communities such meetings meant a big logistical problem. Could the need to feed many people for weeks be the reason for the invention of farming, especially of cereals, in order to provide a huge amount of food just in time?*" (*Schmidt 2011.53*).

Meanwhile, several models have been proposed with which we can approach the social fabric of PPN societies (some have already been mentioned above). These models are also consistent with the realisation of *construction projects* (special buildings) by a hunter-gatherer community. The first of these is the *transegalitarian feasting* model after Hayden (*2014*), which, despite the absence of sound archaeological evidence for large-scale feasting at Göbeklitepe and the oversimplified picture it paints of the processes involved (see

Fig. 23. Göbeklitepe. Selection of H-symbols adorning architectural elements in Special Building D. Top left: on the shaft (inward-facing narrow side) of Pillar 33 (P33); top right: incorporated into the belt of the eastern central pillar 18 (P18); bottom left: on the head (inward-facing narrow side) of Pillar 30 (P30); and bottom right: on a wall stone revealed in the southeastern part of the inward-facing enclosing wall in 2021 (Fig. 7.7). For pillar positions in Special Building D, see Fig 7 (photos L. Clare, German Archaeological Institute, Göbeklitepe Project).

my criticism above), still provides some tantalizing insights. Complex (transegalitarian) hunter-gatherers are described as non-egalitarian as they allow, under some circumstances, expressions of aggrandising behaviour by individuals. Aggrandisers use surplus resources to try to benefit themselves and create social hierarchies. Of all the schemes devised and widely used by aggrandisers, feasting is perhaps the most widespread and is a powerful means of attracting people and converting surpluses into other desired goods or relationships (*Hayden 2014.49*). However, the presence of aggrandizers ultimately leads to the emergence of competing factions (kin-based corporate groups) within communities, bringing with them new ideological concepts, such as private property, debt obligations and the importance of ancestors, leaving weaker parts of the community (*i.e.* less-wealthy and with weaker networks) open to abuse and violence, especially at the hands of despots (*O.c.50–52*). Indeed, the construction of the special buildings at Göbeklitepe would fit well with Hayden's model, especially if each special building were built by a competing faction within the community (*cf. Peters, Schmidt 2004.210; Flannery, Marcus 2012.130*). What speaks against this scenario is the apparent absence of archaeological evidence for warfare in the PPN (*Clare* et al. *2019b*) and, to a certain extent, the missing material evidence associated with more affluent parts of society, especially storage facilities.

Similar to Hayden, Jeunesse (*2020*) bases his ***chief-led lineage*** model on ethnographical observations of traditional societies. Focussing specifically on Göbeklitepe, he sees the construction of the special buildings occurring in a stratified community with hereditary chiefs from different descent groups whose prestige is probably linked to divine ancestry or proximity to the supernatural. Material expressions of this social fabric are architectural and intra-village variability, true megalithic architecture and sophisticated art, differences in the wealth of grave goods (*memorialising*), the production of precious (prestige) objects, and genealogical anchoring (*ancestor house model*) (*cf. Clare, Kinzel 2020.Fig. 7.1*). This model is reminiscent of the scenario proposed by Bar-Yosef (*2014*; see above) and again proves difficult to substantiate owing to the lack of corroborative archaeological evidence for *chiefs*.

Assigning the inspired individuals and charismatic leaders discussed in this contribution to any of the models presented here is problematic. Indeed, the presence of chiefdoms (*Jeunesse 2020*) at Göbeklitepe is far less convincing than the *transegalitarian feasting* model of Hayden (*2014*). However, for the reasons already stated, there remains some doubt as to whether Göbeklitepe was the settlement of a truly transegalitarian community comprised of contesting kin-based corporate groups. Certainly, some aspects of transegalitarian (complex) hunter-gatherers ring true for

the archaeological record, *e.g.*, the community lived in an area with presumably high resource abundance, exhibited seasonal or full sedentism and group sizes were typically larger than those of *simple hunter-gatherers* (*cf. Hayden 2014*). On the other hand, there is no evidence of the private ownership of food resources, long-term storage facilities or private wealth items. Therefore, we could also expect behaviours that align with those of *simple hunter-gatherers*, *i.e.* where there is an egalitarian ethic concerning food resources. Indeed, Göbeklitepe might even mark the tipping point between the two constellations, *i.e.* from *simple hunter-gatherers* to transegalitarian (complex) hunter-gatherers.

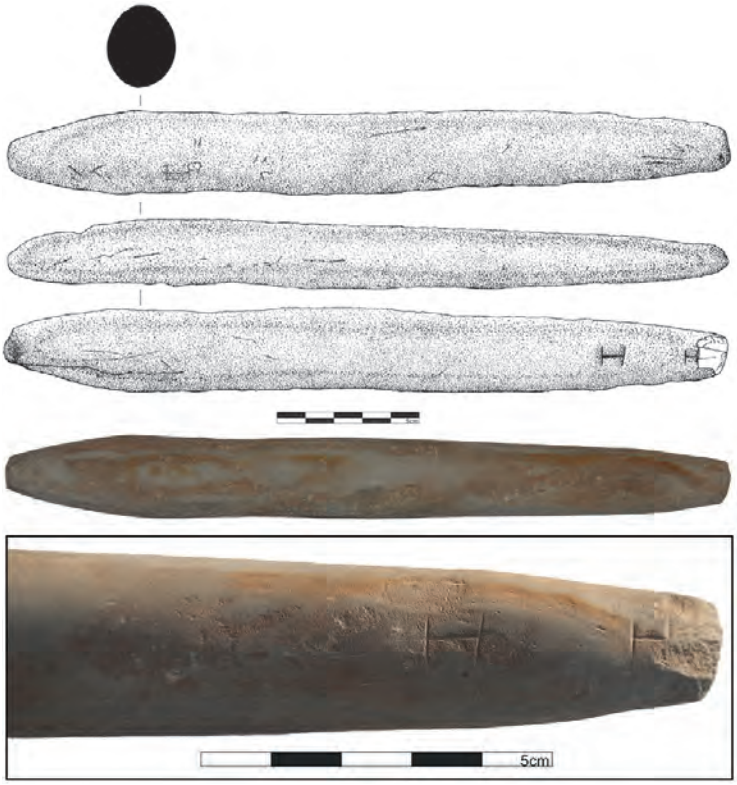

Fig. 24. Göbeklitepe. Sceptre (length: 25.5cm) with two incised H- shaped symbols at its proximal end (drawing and photos O. Torun, G. Kaynak, German Archaeological Institute, Göbeklitepe Project. Courtesy of O. Torun).

Of particular interest at this point is the *molar-molecular* hypothesis, recently formulated by Hodder (*2022*), where he uses these two terms to describe the ways by which egalitarian and hierarchical impulses were brought into play to combat inequalities in Neolithic society (*O.c.633*). Molar and moelcular refer to modalities of community participation, either with a highly complex and burdensome overlay of demands on the constituent individual units (*molar*) or as a mode of articulation allowing greater independence and autonomy of parts (*molecular*). In the frame of his *molar-molecular* hypothesis, Hodder suggests that Göbeklitepe is a candidate for an early molar mode gradually shifting into a more molecular version, as testified by "*the tension between the social differentiation that presumably lay behind the organizational feat to construct the circles* [special buildings] *and the evidence for multiple circles and their 'internal' layout (radially segmented benches)*" (*O.c.634*). Potentially, this shift could reflect the transition from *simple hunter-gatherers* to transegalitarian (complex) hunter-gatherers, with the inspired individuals and charismatic leaders as a further testimony to the molar and molecular impulses used to combat inequalities in this PPN community.

Inspired individuals and the hunter-gatherer crisis (HGC)

The emergence of archaeologically invisible decision-makers from the ranks of inspired and charismatic individuals, their changing role in society over time, and their fall from grace in the late ninth millennium cal BC can only be understood when considered in the context of broader socio-environmental processes spanning the Late Pleistocene and Early Holocene.

The first sedentary hunter-gatherer settlements in the upper Tigris and Euphrates basins appear in the Late Pleistocene (Younger Dryas) at sites on these two major rivers (Fig. 26). Especially in the course of salvage excavations in the frame of the Ilısu dam construction project, the number of excavations at earliest residential sites along the Tigris has increased. Additionally, archaeological surveys have led to the discovery of further localities with Epipalaeolithic assemblages in Şanlıurfa (*Şahin* et al. *2023*) and Mardin (*Kodaş* et al. *2022b*). It is posited that the roots of the non-institutionalised charismatic leaders might be sought in this period, perhaps as a reaction (conscious or unconscious) to increasingly settled lifeways and changing demographics. Ever-decreasing levels of direct contact between demographically expanding communities may have been exacerbated by pressures on locally available natural resources, leading to increased competition between groups, culminating in higher

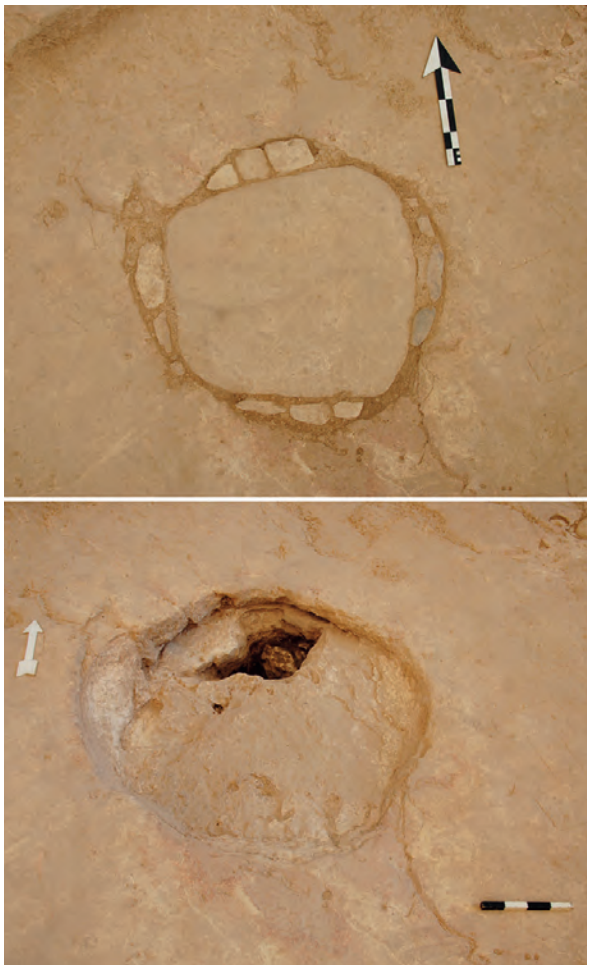

Fig. 25. Göbeklitepe. The pit-like feature in Special Building D (Fig. 7.8) before and during excavation. The H-shaped symbol engraved into the floor of the building is visible to the southeast of the feature (photos L. Clare, German Archaeological Institute, Göbeklitepe Project).

levels of territoriality and conflict potential. On the other hand, the comparative absence of inter-group conflict in the archaeological record testifies to the existence of some mitigating instances.

The continued increase in the number of sites in the PPNA testifies to the success of the late hunter-forager communities in dealing with the initial challenges of sedentary life and changing environmental conditions associated with Holocene climate amelioration (*Emra* et al. *2022*) (Fig. 27). However, in the centuries on either side of 9000 cal BC, the upper Euphrates and Tigris basins appear to have experienced a period of upheaval, a development that is reflected in the decrease of radiocarbon data from Late Pleistocene and Early Holocene sites (*Clare, Kinzel 2020.Fig. 7.1*). Already in the late PPNA, several long-lived permanent settlements had become abandoned (Körtik Tepe and Hallan Çemi on the Tigris; Abu Hureyra on the Euphrates), with the settlement focus shifting to a few central places (Çayönü Tepesi, Gusir Höyük, Boncuklu Tarla and Çemka Höyük on the Tigris; Sheikh Hasan, Jerf el Ahmar and Tell Qaramel on the Euphrates), some of which were already in state of decline (*cf. O.c. 62–63*). At the same time, the Şanlıurfa region witnesses a relative explosion of settlements, albeit that the majority of these sites are unexcavated and their assignment to the EPPNB is based on analogies with excavated sites such as Sayburç, Harbetsuvan Tepesi and Sefertepe (Fig. 28). Previously, I have referred to this period as the '*hunter-gatherer crisis*' (HGC) (*O.c.*).

Although the processes leading to the abandonment of sites along the Tigris and Euphrates in the late PPNA plausibly lie in the continued adaptation of communities to the challenges connected with increasing sedentism and changing demographics, a further causal factor could be rapid climate change (RCC). While the Holocene amelioration ushered in more favourable environmental conditions, with the gradual return of oak woodland to southeastern Anatolia following a stark reduction during the Younger Dryas and an expansion of local waterways (*Rössner* et al. *2018. Fig. 6*), this amelioration was by no means constant. The Holocene has been punctuated by a whole series of so-called Rapid Climate Change (RCC) intervals, some lasting several centuries (*Weninger* et al. *2014; Clare 2016.34–47; Weninger 2017; Budja 2023*). RCC intervals are associated with extreme winter conditions, linked to phases with prolonged and intense Siberian High pressure, as documented by higher concentrations of non-sea-salt potassium in Greenland ice (storminess over the North Atlantic, GISP2, *Mayewski* et al. *1997*), and a cooling in the Aegean Sea (infiltration of cold air masses into the Eastern Mediterranean), as inferred by changing ratios of deposited foraminifera species in marine sediments (LC21, *Rohling* et al. *2002*). Notably, a short RCC signal is visible in these proxies around 8800/8700 cal BC and also in a more recent speleothem record (LoNAP514) from a cave located in a tributary of the Tigris River in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq, where cooler and drier conditions appear to have prevailed at around this time (*Regattieri* et al. *2023*).

Notwithstanding the tentative evidence for a short-lived period of climate instability (RCC) at the PPNA-EPPNB transition, climate, environment and socio-cultural mechanisms are deeply intertwined and can never be thoroughly disentangled. Climate change can be

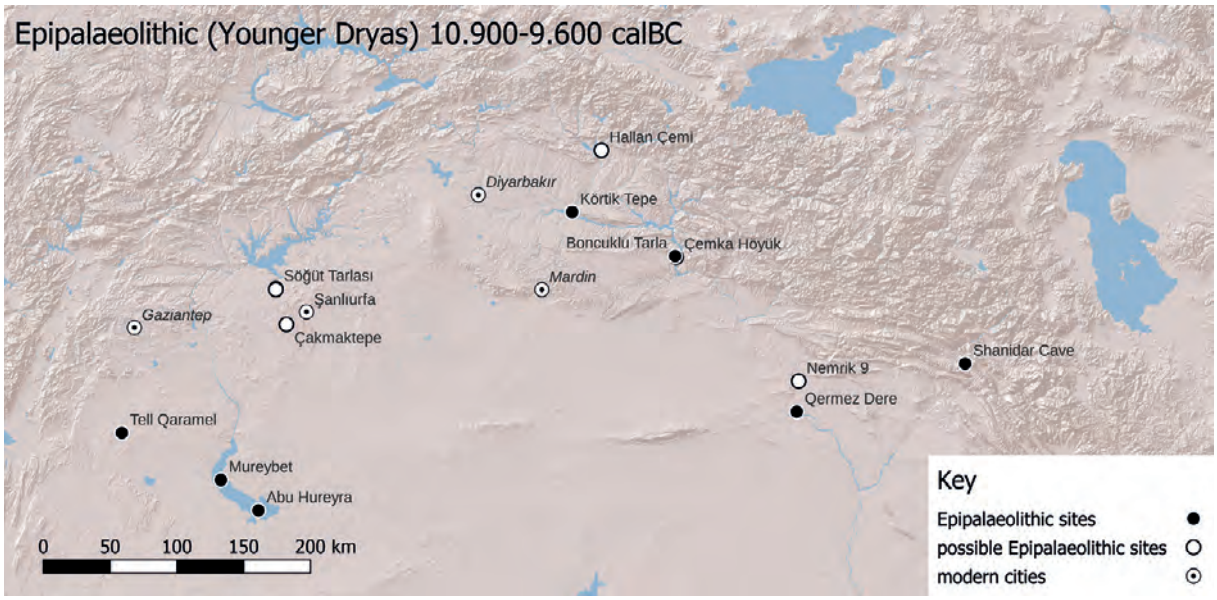

Fig. 26. Map showing Epipalaeolithic settlements in the upper Tigris and Euphrates basins. A small number of sites show continued occupation from the Younger Dryas into the Early Holocene (*cf. *Fig. 27) (image L. Clare, German Archaeological Institute, Göbeklitepe Project).

long and gradual or short and abrupt, and it can affect the environmental conditions of local geographies quite differently. The impacts of climate change on socioeconomic systems also varies according to the biophysical and social vulnerability of an affected society (*Clare, Weninger 2010*). In other words, the individuals and groups at higher risk are usually those already living risky lives in dangerous locations (*Clare 2016. 52–53*). In any case, any continued discussion of RCC impact during the HGC must be adjourned until additional (local) palaeoclimate data becomes available.

The mechanisms behind the apparent explosion in the number of settlements in the Şanlıurfa (Taş Tepeler) region in the first half of the ninth millennium cal BC (EPPNB) remain elusive. It is unclear whether the human influx resulted from migration from the nearby Tigris and Euphrates valleys (or elsewhere) or local population growth, or even a combination of these factors. A lack of well-preserved burials and human remains from the new Taş Tepeler sites also means it is too early to seek answers from genetic and stable isotope studies. Whatever the causes were, the increase in

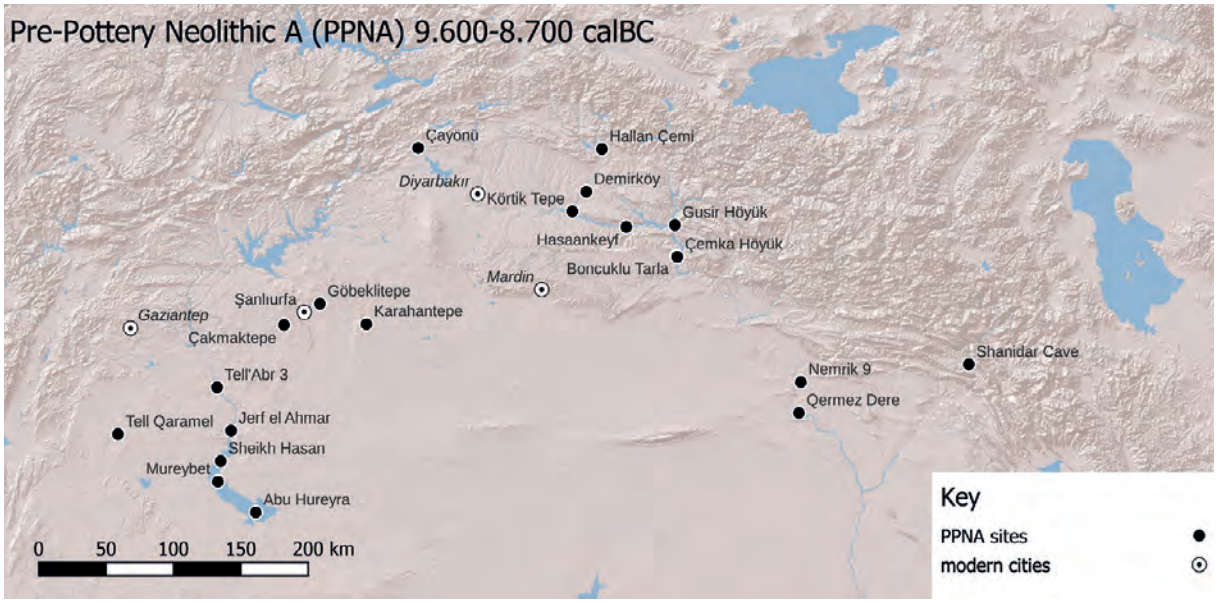

Fig. 27. Map showing Pre-Pottery Neolithic A (PPNA) settlements in the upper Tigris and Euphrates basins (image L. Clare, German Archaeological Institute, Göbeklitepe Project).

settlements around modern-day Şanlıurfa went hand in hand with the construction of the later phases of the special buildings at Göbeklitepe, when many of the monolithic T-shaped pillars and examples of large statuary were incorporated into these structures. However, it would be an oversight to interpret this explosion of creativity as an expression of Neolithic innovation. As already noted, morphologically domesticated plant and animal species are still unknown at the Taş Tepeler sites, except for Nevali Çori, suggesting that the late hunter-gatherer population at Göbeklitepe, and perhaps at other sites too, placed more value on deep-rooted Palaeolithic traditions instead. This hypothesis is in line with results from earlier studies, which have interpreted Göbeklitepe as the pinnacle of Palaeolithic culture rather than connected with the emergence of new ideas (*Goring-Morris, Belfer-Cohen 2002.73; Schmidt 2005.18; Clare, Kinzel 2020; Zimmermann 2020*).

Against this background, it is helpful to consider the different phases of the socio-cultural development of settled hunter-forager communities in the upper Tigris and Euphrates basins in the context of adaptive cycles (*Holling, Gunderson 2002; Redman, Kinzig 2003*) and boom-bust dynamics (*Tainter 1988*). In the absence of *big data* from this region, and as a simple alternative, the more readily available archaeological demographic proxies (radiocarbon data and settlement counts) can illustrate some basic trends. Certainly,

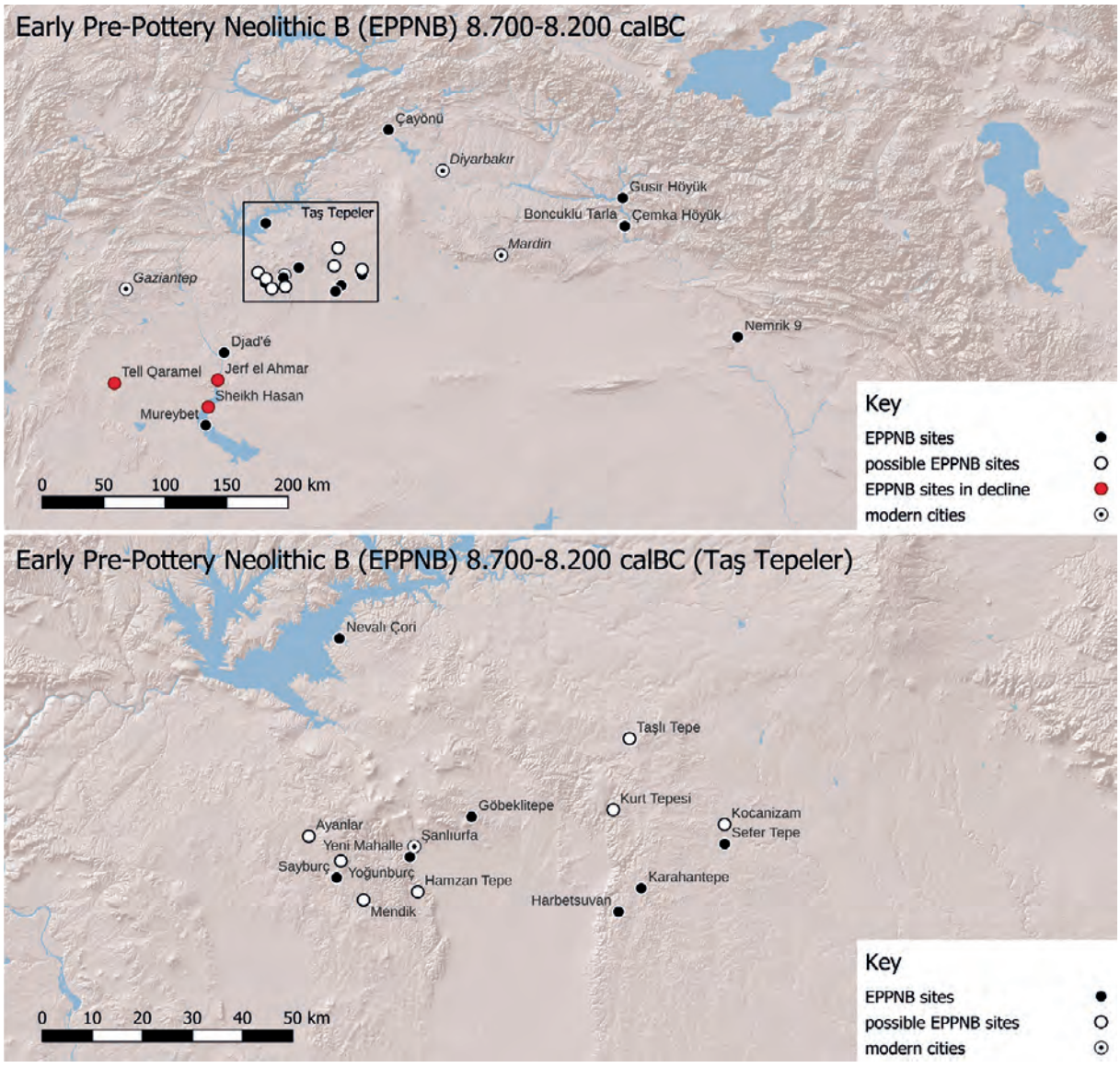

Fig. 28. Maps showing Early Pre-Pottery Neolithic B (EPPNB) settlements in the upper Tigris and Euphrates basins (top) and the Taş Tepeler region around Şanlıurfa (bottom) (images L. Clare, German Archaeological Institute, Göbeklitepe Project).

the realisation that regional population *boom and busts* have been detected elsewhere, especially in the context of Neolithisation, and that these have been pro ven to be influenced by underlying socio-environmental forcing factors, is encouraging (*Shennan* et al. *2013; Kondor* et al. *2023*). Therefore, it is proposed that the Epipalaeolithic (Younger Dryas) be equated with the reorganisation (a) phase of the adaptive cycle, the PPNA with the growth/interaction (r) phase, and the EPPNB with the rigidity (K) phase. Accordingly, the post-EPPNB period coincides with the cycle's release (Ω) phase (*cf. Redman, Kinzig 2003. Fig. 1*).

Whereas the reorganisation (a) phase (Epipalaeolithic/ Younger Dryas) is characterised by spatial dispersal, the establishment of new residential rules and the construction of new traditions, the growth/interaction (r) phase (PPNA) witnesses demographic expansion, emerging cultural homogeneity, and the distribution of surplus through new hierarchical systems and kinship groups. The subsequent rigidity (K) phase (EPPNB) is the period preceding the decline and is characterised by stagnation and specialisation, expressed in low vertical social mobility, culminating in social tensions (due to reduced access to resources) and with rigid references to traditions (*conservative values)*. Moreover, compared to the previous (r) phase it is associated with increasing regionalisation due to the gradual disbandment of cultural homogeneity.

Following this model, the inspired individuals and charismatic leaders could have emerged in the Younger Dryas (a -phase), gaining traction in the course of the PPNA (r-phase), and finally being entrusted with upholding conservative values in the EPPNB (K-phase). Their influence on society in the latter phase could be reflected in the *petrification* of orally transmitted myths and legends in the context of the monumental *narrative arenas* (special buildings). The rigid reference to tradition, characteristic of this phase, might even explain the absence of domesticated plants and animals at Göbeklitepe, at a time when first morphologically domesticated species might even be expected (Nevali Çori). In this context, special buildings and rituals were used to reinforce hunter-gatherer identities, whereby the differences observed in the motifs of some sites (*e.g.*, more animal depictions at Göbeklitepe and more human depictions at Karahantepe) could be linked to an increasing regionalisation characteristic of a pre-decline system. Remarkably, recent bioarchaeological analyses on human and animal bone from nearby Nevali Çori have suggested a decline in mobility at this site around this time, likely associated with a growing reliance on domesticates, a development that coincided with the site's increasing social detachment from Göbeklitepe and its underlying system of living and associated worldviews (*Wang* et al. *2023*).

Ultimately, the settled hunter-forager communities of the Early Holocene collapsed (Ω-phase). Although relatively little is known about the final settlement phase at Göbeklitepe, a few small circular structures superimposing EPPNB buildings have been found and documented (Fig. 29). These have so far failed to produce organic remains for absolute dating, meaning that, for the time being, only a post-EPPNB age can be proposed. The inundation of the special buildings (A-D) in the southeastern part of the site by slope slides was perhaps not the end of the occupation sequence; nevertheless, it marked a crucial turning point, ultimately leading to the abandonment of the settlement and the disappearance of its invisible elite.

Fig. 29. Göbeklitepe. The remains (northeastern quarter) of a small circular-oval structure (diameter: ~ 1.80m) excavated on the western slope of the southeastern hollow (main excavation area; trench L09-58) in 2022. This structure superimposes (i.e. post-dates) the EPPNB architecture at this location; as such, it is among the last known prehistoric structures ever constructed at the site (image L. Clare, German Archaeological Institute, Göbeklitepe Project, June 2022).

Summary

This contribution has discussed the evidence for archaeologically invisible decision-makers in the late Pleistocene and Early Holocene communities in the upper Tigris and Euphrates basins. Despite many decades of excavations at an ever-growing number of sites, evidence of social elites is not forthcoming. Of course, an absence of evidence is not evidence of absence, and one potential explanation for the lack of archaeology associated with such individuals over some two millennia of settlement history could lie in the nature of the leadership system itself. Following a proposal by Cauvin (*2007.120*), leadership could have been realised by *inspired individuals* who, through their skills, experience and charisma, advanced to become influential in their respective communities. It is proposed that these individuals emerged from particular social groups, including storytellers, hunters and ritual adepts (shamans). However, their leadership roles never became institutionalised, most likely due to power-curbing mechanisms inherent to the deep-rooted egalitarian hunter-forager social systems founded on animism and ancestor veneration.

The discussions around inspired individuals and charismatic leaders have also touched on some broader topics relating to late hunter-gatherer communities and highlighted the roles of archaeologically invisible leaders in historical processes during a proposed adaptive cycle spanning the late Pleistocene and Early Holocene. It is proposed that the inspired individuals and charismatic leaders considered above were a product of the unprecedented demographic changes linked to increasingly settled lifeways in the tenth and ninth millennia cal BC. This leadership system, the roots of which were securely anchored in the Palaeolithic past, needed to adapt to the challenges faced by growing settled hunter-forager communities in a core zone of Neolithic genesis while at the same time preserving older traditions (at least in appearance). They were part of a mechanism which sought to combat inequalities in Neolithic society, as expressed by concerted attempts to reinforce *simple hunter-gatherer* beliefs and worldviews. This period, roughly at the transition from the late PPNA to EPPNB (*c.* first half of the ninth millennium cal BC), has been termed the *hunter-gatherer crisis*. The subsequent disappearance (in the late ninth millennium cal BC) from the prehistoric stage of the motifs, symbolism, monumental structures and narratives which defined the identities of the leaders and their respective communities coincided with the widespread acceptance of domesticated plants and animals. It is hoped that the hunter-gatherer crisis will be a focus of future research in the frame of the expanding Taş Tepeler project.

Acknowledgements
Research at Göbeklitepe would not be possible without the support of the General Directorate of Cultural Assets and Museums, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Turkey, the excavation director of Göbeklitepe and Karahantepe, Necmi Karul (Istanbul University), and the Şanlıurfa Museum with its director Celal Uludaı. Furthermore, I most gratefully acknowledge the funding of excavations and research at Göbeklitepe by the German Research Foundation (DFG) in the framework of the long-term funding project The Prehistoric Societies of Upper Mesopotamia and their Subsistence [EI438/12-4]. I would also like to thank Mihael Budja for inviting me to participate in the Neolithic Seminar in Ljubljana in 2023. Further, I am extremely grateful to Onur Torun for giving me spectacular insights into the symbolism and small finds from Göbeklitepe from his ongoing research and for allowing me to publish Figure 24, which is taken from his ongoing PhD thesis. I thank Benny Waszk for his continued support in the documentation process and preparing the photogrammetry images used in this paper, and Necmi Karul and Eylem Özdoğan for allowing me to reproduce Figures 19 and 21, respectively. Finally, I am indebted to Çiler Çilingiroğlu and an anonymous reviewer for helpful remarks which have helped to improve key aspects in this paper.

References

Ayaz O. 2023a. An Alternative View on Animal Symbolism in the Göbekli Tepe Neolithic Cultural Region in the Light of New Data (Göbekli Tepe, Sayburç). *Iğdır Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi 33: 365–383*. https://doi.org/10.54600/igdirsosbilder.1252928

2023b. Self-Revelation: An Origin Myth Interpretation of the Göbekli Tepe Culture: An Alternative Perspective on Anthropomorphic Themes. *Van Yüzüncü Yıl Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi 60: 191–208*. https://doi.org/10.53568/yyusbed.1233144

Bangsgaard P., Yeomans L., Darabi H., Gregersen K. M., Olsen J., Richter T., and Mortensen P. 2019. Feasting on Wild Boar in the Early Neolithic. Evidence from an 11,400-year-old Placed Deposit at Tappeh Asiab, Central Zagros. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal 29(3): 443–463*. https://doi.org/10.1017/S095977431900009X

Banning E. B. 2011. So Fair a House: Göbekli Tepe and the Identification of Temples in the Pre-Pottery Neolithic of the Near East. *Current Anthropology 52(5): 619–640*. https://doi.org/10.1086/661207

Barrette C. 1986. Fighting Behavior of Wild *Sus scrofa*. *Journal of Mammology 67(1): 177–179*. https://doi.org/10.2307/1381018

Bar-Yosef O. 2014. The homelands of the Cyprus colonizers: selected comments. *Eurasian Prehistory 10(1–2): 67–82*.

Becker N., Dietrich O., Götzelt T., Köksal-Schmidt Ç., Notroff J., and Schmidt K. 2012. Materialien zur Deutung der zentralen Pfeilerpaare des Göbekli Tepe und weiterer Orte des obermesopotamischen Frühneolithikums. *Zeitschrift für Orient-Archäologie 5: 14–43*.

Beile-Bohn M., Gerber C., Morsch M., and Schmidt K. 1998. Neolithische Forschungen in Obermesopotamien Gürcütepe und Göbekli Tepe. *Istanbuler Mitteilungen 48: 5–78*.

Benz M., Bauer J. 2013. Symbols of Power – Symbols of Crisis? A Psycho-Social Approach to Early Neolithic Symbol Systems. *Neo-Lithics 2(13): 11–24*.

2015. On Scorpions, Birds and Snakes – Evidence for Shamanism in Northern Mesopotamia during the Early Holocene. *Journal of Ritual Studies 29(2): 1–23*.

2022. Aligning People: The Social Impact of Early Neolithic Medialities. *Neo-Lithics 21: 7–26*. https://doi.org/10.48632/nl.2021.1.87992

Beriain J. 2020. The Endless Metamorphoses of Sacrifice and Its Clashing Narratives. *Religion 11(12): 684*. https://doi.org/10.3390/rel11120684

Boehm C. 1993. Egalitarian Behavior and Reverse Dominance Hierarchy. *Current Anthropology 34(3): 227–240*. https://doi.org/10.1086/204166

Borić D. 2013. Theatre of predation: beneath the skin of Göbekli Tepe images. In C. Watts (ed.), *Relational Archaeologies. Humans, Animals, Things.* Routledge. Abingdon, Oxon: 42–64.

Breuers J., Kinzel M. 2022. "[...] but it is not clear at all where all the [...] debris had been taken from [...]": Chipped Stone Artefacts, Architecture and Site Formation Processes at Göbekli Tepe. In Y. Nishiaki, O. Maeda, and M. Arimura (eds.), *Tracking the Neolithic in the Near East. Lithic Perspectives on Its Origins, Development and Dispersals. The Proceedings of the 9th International Conference on the PPN Chipped and Ground Stone Industries of the Near East, Tokyo, 12th–16th November 2019.* Sidestone Press. Leiden: 469–486.

Budja M. 2023. Archaeology, rapid climate changes in the Holocene, and adaptive strategies. *Documenta Praehistorica 50: 36–67*. https://doi.org/10.4312/dp.50.19

Busacca G. 2017. Places of Encounter: Relational Ontologies, Animal Depiction and Ritual Performance at Göbekli Tepe. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal 27(2): 313–330*. https://doi.org/ 10.1017/S095977431600072X

Cauvin J. 1997. *Naissance des divinités. Naissance de l'agriculture. La Révolution des Symboles au Néolithique.* CNRS éditions. Paris

2007. *The Birth of the Gods and the Origins of Agriculture.* Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

Chacon R. J. 2023. Introduction to Supernatural Gamekeepers. In R. J. Chacon (ed.), *The History and Environmental Impacts of Hunting Deities. Conflict, Environment, and Social Complexity.* Springer. Cham: 1–8. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-37503-3_1

Chad J. A. 2020. The First Ejaculation: A Male Pubertal Milestone Comparable to Menarche? *The Journal of Sex Research 57(2): 213–221*. https://doi.org/10.1080/00224499.2018.1543643

Clare L. 2016. *Culture change and continuity in the Eastern Mediterranean during Rapid Climate Change. Assessing the vulnerability of Late Neolithic communities to a "Little Ice Age" in the seventh millennium cal BC*. Verlag Marie Leidorf GmbH. Rahden/Westf.

2020. Göbekli Tepe, Turkey. A brief summary of research at a new World Heritage Site (2015–2019). *e-Forschungs-*

berichte des DAI, Faszikel 2: 81–88. https://doi.org/10.34780/efb.v0i2.1012

Clare L., Weninger B. 2010. Social and biophysical vulnerability of prehistoric societies to Rapid Climate Change. *Documenta Praehistorica 37: 283–292*. https://doi.org/10.4312/dp.37.24

Clare L., Tuna Yüncü Z., and Uludağ C. 2019a. Göbekli Tepe. In N. Ertürk, Ö. Karakul Türk (eds.), *UNESCO World Heritage in Turkey*. UNESCO Türkiye Milli Komisyonu. Ankara: 522–547.

Clare L., Dietrich O., Gresky J., Notroff J., Peters J., and Pöllath N. 2019b. Ritual practices and conflict mitigation at Early Neolithic Körtik Tepe and Göbekli Tepe, Upper Mesopotamia: a mimetic theoretical approach. In I. Hodder (ed.), *Violence and the sacred in the ancient Near East: Girardian conversations at Çatalhöyük.* Cambridge University Press. Cambridge: 96–128.

Clare L., Kinzel M. 2020. Response to comments by Ian Hodder and Christian Jeunesse with notes on a potential Upper Mesopotamian 'Late PPNA Hunter-Crisis'. In G. A. Birgitte, L. Sørensen, A. Teather, and A. C. Valera (eds.), *Monumentalising Life in the Neolithic. Narratives of Change and Continuity.* Oxbow Books. Oxford & Philadelphia: 61–68.

Çelik B. 2000. An Early Neolithic Settlement in the Center of Şanlıurfa, Turkey. *Neo-Lithics 2–3(00): 4–6*.

2014. Şanlıurfa – Yeni Mahalle Höyüğü in the Light of Novel C14 Analysis. In A. Engin, B. Helwing, and B. Uysal (eds.), *Armizzi. Engin Özgen'e Armağan. Studies in Honor of Engin Özgen.* Asitan Kitap. Ankara: 101–107.

Çelik B., Tolon K. 2018. Şanlıurfa'dan Neolitik Dönem Tuzak Alanları. *Karadeniz Uluslararası Bilimsel Dergi 37: 28–36*. https://doi.org/10.17498/kdeniz.401311

Çelik B., Ayaz O. 2022. Rise of Göbekli Tepe Culture: 'Hunting Ground Economy' and the Role of Speculative 'Knowledge'. *Karadeniz Uluslararası Bilimsel Dergi 56: 143–160*. https://doi.org/10.17498/kdeniz.1189781

Çilingiroğlu Ç. 2023. Güneydoğu Anadolu Çanak Çömleksiz Neolitik Döneminde Sosyal Farklılaşma: Alternatif Bir Yorum. In M. Uzdurum, S. Yelözer, and E. Sezgin (eds.), *TAG-Türkiye 3 Bildirileri: Arkeolojide Kimlikler*. Ege Yayınları. Istanbul: 81–97.

Descola P. 2013. *Beyond nature and culture.* University of Chicago Press. Chicago.

Dietrich O. 2023. Shamanism at early Neolithic Göbekli Tepe, southeastern Turkey. Methodological contributions to an archaeology of belief. *Prähistorische Zeitschrift 99(1):9–56.* https://doi.org/10.1515/pz-2023-2033

Dietrich O., Dietrich L. 2019. Rituals and Feasting as Incentives for Cooperative Action at Early Neolithic Göbekli Tepe. In K. Hockings, R. Dundbar (eds.), *Alcohol and Humans: A Long and Social Affair*. Oxford University Press. Oxford: 93–114. https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198842460.003.0007

Dietrich O., Heun M., Notroff J., Schmidt K, and. Zarnkow M. 2012. The role of cult and feasting in the emergence of Neolithic communities. New evidence from Göbekli Tepe, southeastern Turkey. *Antiquity 86(333): 674–695*. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003598X00047840

Dietrich O., Notroff J., and Schmidt K. 2017. Feasting, Social Complexity, and the Emergence of the Early Neolithic of Upper Mesopotamia: A View from Göbekli Tepe. In R. J. Chacon, R. G. Mendoza (eds.), *Feast, Famine or Fighting? Multiple Pathways to Social Complexity*. Springer. Cham: 91–132. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-48402-0_5

Dietrich O, Dietrich L., and Notroff J. 2019. Anthropomorphic Imagery at Göbekli Tepe. In J. Becker, C. Beuger, and B. Müller-Neuhoff (eds.), *Human Iconography and Symbolic Meaning in Near Eastern Prehistory. Proceedings of the workshop held at the 10th ICAANE in Vienna, April 2016.* Austrian Academy of Sciences Press. Vienna: 151–166.

Dunbar R. 2022. *How Religion Evolved: And Why It Endures*. Oxford University Press.

Ekinci A., İlci İ. 2023. 15 Bin Yıl Öncenin Mesajı: Biris Mezarlığı ve Söğüt Tarlası. *ŞURKAV. Şanlıurfa. Kültür, Sanat, Tarih ve Turizm Dergisi 45: 6–11*.

Emra S., Benz M., Siddiq A. B., and Özkaya V. 2022. Adaptions in subsistence strategy to environment changes across the Younger Dryas – Early Holocene boundary at Körtiktepe, Southeastern Turkey. *The Holocene 32(5): 390–413*. https://doi.org/10.1177/09596836221074030

Erdal Y. S. 2015. Bone or Flesh: Defleshing and post-Depositional Treatments at Körtik Tepe (Southeastern Anatolia, PPNA Period). *European Journal of Archaeology 18(1): 4–32.* https://doi.org/10.1179/1461957114Y.0000000072

Erdalkıran M. 2023. Harran Ovası'nın İlk Çiftçileri. Gürcütepe. *ŞURKAV. Şanlıurfa. Kültür, Sanat, Tarih ve Turizm Dergisi 45: 28–35*.

Fagan A. 2017. Hungry architecture: spaces of consumption and predation at Göbekli Tepe. *World Archaeology 49 (3): 318–337.* https://doi.org/10.1080/00438243.2017.1332528

Flannery K., Marcus J. 2012. *The Creation of Inequality: How Our Prehistoric Ancestors Set the Stage for Monarchy, Slavery, and Empire*. Harvard University Press. Cambridge.

Georges R. A. 1969. Toward an Understanding of Storytelling Events. *The Journal of American Folklore 82(326): 313–328*.

Goring-Morris A. N., Belfer-Cohen A. 2002. Symbolic Behaviour from the Epipalaeolithic and Early Neolithic of the Near East: Preliminary Observations on Continuity and Change. In H. G. K. Gebel, H. B. Dahl, and C. Hoffmann Jansen (eds.), *Magic Practices and Ritual in the Near Eastern Neolithic.* ex Oriente. Berlin: 67–79.

Greenfield L. 1985. Reflections on two charismas. *The British Journal of Sociology 36(1): 117–132*. https://doi.org/10.2307/590409

Gresky J., Haelm J., and Clare L. 2017. Modified human crania from Göbekli Tepe provide evidence for a new form of Neolithic skull cult. *Science Advances 3(6): e1700564*. https://doi.org/10.1126/sciadv.1700564

Gresky J., Clare L., and Dorn J. forthcoming. *First burials give insights into mortuary rites of Göbekli Tepe, Neolithic Türkiye*.

Grosman L., Munro N. D., and Belfer-Cohen A. 2008. A 12,000-year-old Shaman burial from the southern Levant (Israel). *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences 105(46): 17665–17669*. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.0806030105

Güldoğan E. 2021. Sefertepe. In N. Karul, G. Kozbe, and A. Yavuzkır (eds.), *Şanlıurfa Müzesi. Arkeolojik Eser Kataloğu*. Kültür Varlıkları ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü. Istanbul: 40–41.

2023. Taş Tepeler Projesi: Viranşehir İlçesi Sefertepe Kazıları 2021–2023. Sefertepe. *ŞURKAV. Şanlıurfa. Kültür, Sanat, Tarih ve Turizm Dergisi 45: 44–49*.

Güldoğan E., Uludağ C. 2022. 'Taş Tepeler' Projesisin Doğudaki Sınır Yerleşmesi Sefertepe: İlk Sonuçlar. *Arkeoloji ve Sanat 171: 13–26*.

Hauptmann H. 1999. The Urfa Region. In M. Özdoğan, N. Başgelen (eds.), *Neolithic in Turkey. The Cradle of Civilization. New Discoveries.* Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları. Istanbul: 65–86.

Hauptmann H. 2011. The Urfa Region. In M. Özdoğan, N. Başgelen, and P. Kuniholm (eds.), *The Neolithic in Turkey. New Excavations and New Research. Volume 2, The Euphrates Basin.* Archaeology and Arts Publications. Istanbul: 85–138.

Hauptmann H., Schmidt K. 2000. Frühe Tempel – Frühe Götter. In Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (ed.), *Archäologische Entdeckungen. Die Forschungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts im 20. Jahrhundert*. Verlag Philipp von Zabern. Mainz am Rhein: 258–266.

Hayden B. 2014. *The Power of Feasts: From Prehistory to the Present*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107337688

Hénaff M. 2012. Three Crucial Aspects of Religion in Human Evolution: Shamanism, Sacrifice and Exogamic Alliance. *European Journal of Sociology 53(3): 327–335*. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003975612000197

Hodder I. 2022. Staying Egalitarian and the Origins of Agriculture in the Middle East. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal 32(4): 619–642*. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0959774322000063

Hodder I., Meskell L. 2011. A "Curious and Sometimes a Trifle Macabre Artistry". Some Aspects of Symbolism in Neolithic Turkey. *Current Anthropology 52(2): 235–263*. https://doi.org/10.1086/659250

Holling C. S., Gunderson L. H. 2002. Resilience and Adaptive Cycles. In L. H. Gunderson, C. S. Holling (eds.), *Panarchy. Understanding Transformations in Human and Natural Systems.* Island Press. Washington, Covelo, London: 25–62.

Jeunesse C. 2020. Elite houses or specialised buildings? Some comments about the special buildings of Göbekli Tepe in relation to Chatpters 2 and 3. In G. A. Birgitte, L. Sørensen, A. Teather, and A. C. Valera (eds.), *Monumentalising Life in the Neolithic. Narratives of Change and Continuity.* Oxbow Books. Oxford, Philadelphia: 53–56.

Karul N. 2020. The beginning of the Neolithic in southeast Anatolia: Upper Tigris Basin. *Documenta Praehistorica 47: 76–95*. https://doi.org/10.4312/dp.47.5

2021. Buried Buildings at Pre-Pottery Neolithic Karahantepe. *Türk Arkeoloji ve Etnografya Dergisi 82: 21–31*.

2022a. Şanlıurfa Neolitik Çağ Araştırmaları Projesi: Taş Tepeler. *Arkeoloji ve Sanat 169: VII–XIV*.

2022b. Karahantepe Çalışmalarına Genel Bir Bakış. *Arkeoloji ve Sanat 169: 1–8*.

2023a. Büyük Dönüşümün Coğrafyası. Şanlıurfa Araştırma Tarihçesi ve Taş Tepeler Projesi. *ŞURKAV. Şanlıurfa. Kültür, Sanat, Tarih ve Turizm Dergisi 45: 12–17*.

2023b. Karahantepe Araştırma Projesi ve İlk Sonuçlar. Karahantepe. *ŞURKAV: Şanlıurfa. Kültür, Sanat, Tarih ve Turizm Dergisi 45: 19–23*.

Kinzel M. 2023. 25 Jahre Göbekli Tepe (1995–2000): Neues von der Bauforschung. In A. von Kienlin (ed.), *Sur Le Grand Tour – Reisende Architekten als Protagonisten des Europäischen Gedankens. Tagung vom 12. Mai bis 14. Mai 2021.* Thelem Universitätsverlag- und Buchhandlung GmbH & Co. KG. Dresden: 221–229.

Kinzel M., Clare L. 2020. Monumental – compared to what? A perspective from Göbekli Tepe. In G. A. Birgitte, L. Sørensen, A. Teather, and A. C. Valera (eds.), *Monumentalising Life in the Neolithic. Narratives of Change and Continuity.* Oxbow Books. Oxford & Philadelphia: 29–48.

Kinzel M., Clare L., Sönmez D. 2020. Built on Rock – Towards a Reconstruction of the Neolithic Topography of Göbekli Tepe. *Istanbuler Mitteilungen 70: 9–45*.

Kirkbride D. 1967. Beidha 1965: An Interim Report. *Palestine Exploration Quarterly 99(1): 5–13*. https://doi.org/10.1179/peq.1967.99.1.5

Kodaş E. 2023. The Younger Dryas layer at Boncuklu Tarla and the beginning of village life in the upper Tigris Basin. *Archaeological Research in Asia 35: 100460*. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ara.2023.100460

Kodaş E., Genç B., Çiftçi Y., Labedan-Kodaş C., and Erdem Ç. 2020. Çemka Höyük: A Late Epipalaeolithic and Pre-Pottery Neolithic Site on the Upper Tigris, Southeast Anatolia. *Neo-Lithics 20: 40–46*.

Kodaş E., Özer İ., Erdem Ç., Labedan- Kodaş C., Acar A., Çiftçi Y., and Sarı İ. 2022a. The Relationship Between Burials and Dwellings at the Pre Pottery Neolithic Boncuklu Tarla, Southeast Turkey. In D. Ackerfeld, A. Gopher (eds.), *Dealing with the Dead. SENEPSE* 23. ex oriente. Berlin: 40–53.

Kodaş E., Tümer H., Erdem Ç., Bilen A., Labedan Kodas C., İpek B., İpek M., Yildiz R., Genç B. 2022b. Mardin İli Derik, Mazıdağı ve Savur İlçeleri 2020 Yılı Yüzey Araştırması Tarihöncesi Dönem Buluntuları: İlk Gözlemler. *Artuklu İnsan ve Toplum Bilim Dergisi 7(2): 99–117*. https://doi.org/10.46628/itbhssj.1125110

Köksal-Schmidt Ç., Schmidt K. 2007. Perlen, Steingefäße, Zeichentäfelchen. Handwerkliche Spezialisierung und steinzeitliches Symbolsystem. In Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe (ed.), *Vor 12.000 Jahren in Anatolien. Die ältesten Monumente der Menschheit*. Konrad Theiss Verlag GmbH. Stuttgart: 97–109.

Kondor D., Bennett J. S., Gronenborn D., Antunes N., Hoyer D., and Turchin P. 2023. Explaining Population Booms and Busts in Mid-Holocene Europe. *Scientific Reports 13: 9310.* https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-023-35920-z

Kurapkat D. 2015. *Frühneolithische Sondergebäude auf dem Göbekli Tepe in Obermesopotamien und vergleichbare Bauten in Vorderasien.* Unpublished PhD thesis. Technical University Berlin. Berlin.

Lahelma A. 2019. Sexy beasts: animistic ontology, sexuality and hunter-gatherer rock art in Northern Fennoscandia. *Time and Mind 12(3): 221–238*. https://doi.org/10.1080/1751696x.2019.1645528

Lindholm C. 2013. Introduction: Charisma in theory and practice. In C. Lindholm (ed.), *The Anthropology of Religious Charisma: Ecstasies and institutions.* Palgrave-Macmillan. New York: 1–30. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137377630_1

Matsui T., Nishiaki Y., Shimogama K., +4 authors, and Arai S. 2022. Exploring a Pre-Pottery Neolithic Hill-top Site: The 2022 Investigations at Harbetsuvan Tepesi, Southeastern Anatolia, Turkey. *30th West Asia Excavation Survey Report Meeting*: 9–13. (in Japanese)

Mayewski P. A., Meeker L. D., Twickler M. S., Whitlow S., Yang Q., Lyons W. B., and Prentice M. 1997. Major features and forcing of high-latitude northern hemisphere atmospheric circulation using a 110,000-year-long glaciochemical series. *Journal of Geophysical Research: Oceans 102(C12): 26345–26366*. https://doi.org/10.1029/96JC03365

McBride A. 2013. Performance and Participation: Multi-Sensual Analysis of Near Eastern Pre-Pottery Neolithic Non-Domestic Architecture. *Paléorient 39(2): 47–67*.

Mithen S. 2022. Shamanism at the transition from foraging to farming in Southwest Asia: sacra, ritual, and performance at Neolithic WF16 (southern Jordan). *Levant 54(2): 158–189*. https://doi.org/10.1080/00758914.2022.2104559

Morsch M. G. F. 2002. Magic Figurines? Some Remarks about the Clay Objects from Nevali Çori. In H. G. K. Gebel, B. D. Hermansen, and C. Hoffmann Jensen (eds.), *Magic Practices and Ritual in the Near Eastern Neolithic. SENEPSE 8.* ex Oriente. Berlin: 145–162.

Neef R. 2003. Overlooking the Steppe-Forest: A preliminary report on the botanical remains from Early Neolithic Göbekli Tepe. *Neo-Lithics 2003(2): 13–16*.

Notroff J., Dietrich O., and Schmidt K. 2015. Gathering of the Dead? The Early Neolithic Sanctuaries of Göbekli Tepe , Southeastern Turkey. In C. Renfrew, M. J. Boyd, and I. Morley (eds.), *Death Rituals, Social Order and the Archaeology of Immortality in the Ancient World: "Death Shall Have No Dominion".* Cambridge University Press. Cambridge: 65–81.

Nowell A. 2018. Upper Paleolithic Soundscapes and the Emotional Resonance of Nighttime. In N. Gonlin, A. Nowell (eds.), *Archaeology of the Night: Life after Dark in the Ancient World*. University Press of Colorada. Boulder, Colorado: 27–44.

2023. Oral Storytelling and Knowledge Transmission in Upper Paleolithic Children and Adolescents. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory 30(1): 9–31*. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10816-022-09591-5

Ökse A. T. 2022. Gre Fılla: Yukarı Dicle Havzası'nda Ambar Çayı Kenarına Kurulmuş Bir Çanak Çömleksiz Neolitik Dönem Yerleşimi. *Arkeoloji ve Sanat 169: 25–46*.

Özdoğan E. 2022. The Sayburç reliefs: a narrative scene from the Neolithic. *Antiquity 96(390): 1599–1605*. https://doi.org/10.15184/aqy.2022.125

2023. Sayburç. Yerleşmesinde Neolitik Dönem Araştırmaları. *ŞURKAV. Şanlıurfa. Kültür, Sanat, Tarih ve Turizm Dergisi 45: 36–43*.

Özdoğan E., Uludağ C. 2022. Sayburç: Şanlıurfa'da Yeni Bir Çanak Çömleksiz Neolitik Dönem Yerleşimi. *Arkeoloji ve Sanat 169: 9–24*.

Özdoğan M. 1997. The Beginning of Neolithic Economies in Southeastern Europe: An Anatolian Perspective. *Journal of European Archaeology 5(2): 1–33*. https://doi.org/10.1179/096576697800660267

2001. The Neolithic Deity. Male or Female? In R. M. Boehmer, J. Maran (eds.), *Lux Orientis. Archäologie zwischen Asien und Europa. Festschrift für Harald Hauptmann zum 65. Geburtstag*. Verlag Marie Leidorf GmbH Rahden/Westf.: 313–318.

2018. Defining the Presence of an Elite Social Class in Prehistory. In Ü. Yalçın (ed.), *Anatolian Metal VIII. Eliten, Handwerker, Prestigegüter*. Verlag Marie Leidorf GmbH Rahden/Westf.: 29–42.

2020. 1964 Excavations at Söğüt Tarlası and the Reminiscences of an Uruk Related Assemblage. In F. Balossi Restelli, A. Cardarelli, G. M. Di Nocera, L. Manzanilla, L. Mori L., G. Palumbi, and H. Pittman (eds.), *Pathways through Arslantepe. Essays in Honour of Marcella Frangipane*. Sapienza Università Di Roma. Roma: 423–434.

2022. Reconsidering the Early Neolithic of Anatolia. Recent recoveries, some excerpts and generalities. *L'Anthropologie 126(3): 103033*. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.anthro.2022.103033

2024. Emergence and Dispersal of Neolithic Lifeways: From Core to Peripheries. In T. Richter, H. Darabi (eds.), *The Epipalaeolithic and Neolithic in the Eastern Fertile Crescent: Revisiting the Hilly Flanks.* Routledge. Abingdon, Oxon and New York: 35–56. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003335504-4

Özdoğan M., Özdoğan A. 1998. Buildings of Cult and the Cult of Buildings. In G. Arsebük, M. J. Mellink, and W. Schirmer (eds.), *Light on Top of the Black Hill. Studies presented to Halet Çambel/Karatepe'deki Işık. Halet Çambel'e sunulan yazılar*. Ege Yayınları. Istanbul: 581–593.

Özkaya V., Çoşkun A., and Soyukaya, N. 2013. *Körtiktepe: Uygarlığın Diyarbakır'daki ilk adımları/The First Traces of Civilization in Diyarbakır/Die ersten Stufen der Zivilisation in Diyarbakır*. Diyarbakır Valiliği. Diyarbakır.

Peoples H. C., Duda P., and Marlowe F. W. 2016. Hunter-Gatherers and the Origins of Religion. *Human Nature 27: 261–282*. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12110-016-9260-0

Peters J., Schmidt K. 2004. Animals in the symbolic world of Pre-Pottery Neolithic Göbekli Tepe, south-eastern Turkey: a preliminary assessment. *Anthropozoologica 39(1): 179–218*.

Peters J., Pöllath N., and Arbuckle B. S. 2017. The emergence of livestock husbandry in Early Neolithic Anatolia. In U. Alabarella, M. Rizzetto, H. Russ, K. Vickers, and S. Viner-Daniels (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Zooarchaeology*. Oxford Academic. Oxford: 247–265. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199686476.013.18

Peters J., Schmidt K., Dietrich L., Dietrich O., Pöllath N., Kinzel M., and Clare L. 2019. Göbekli Tepe: Agriculture and Domestication. In C. Smith (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Global Archaeology*. Springer. Cham: 4607–4618. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-30018-0_2226

Price M. D., Evin A. 2019. Long-term morphological changes and evolving human-pig relations in the northern Fertile Crescent from 11,000 to 2000 cal. BC. *Archaeological and Anthropological Sciences 11(1): 237–251*. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12520-017-0536-z

Redman C. L., Kinzig A. P. 2003. Resilience and Past Landscapes: Resilience Theory, Society, and the Longue Durée. *Conservation Ecology 7(1): 14*.

Regattieri E., Forti L., Dreysdale R. N., +4 authors, and Zerboni A. 2023. Neolithic hydroclimatic change and water resources exploitation in the Fertile Crescent. *Scientific Reports 13: 45*. https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-022-27166-y

Rohling E. J., Mayewski P. A., Abu-Zied R., Casford J. S. L., and Hayes A. 2002. Holocene atmosphere-ocean interactions: records from Greenland and the Aegean Sea. *Climate Dynamics 18: 587–593*. https://doi.org/10.1007/s00382-001-0194-8

Rössner C., Deckers K., Benz M., Özkaya V., and Riehl S. 2018. Subsistence strategies and vegetation development at Aceramic Neolithic Körtik Tepe, southeastern Anatolia, Turkey. *Vegetation History and Archaeobotany 27: 15–29*. https://doi.org/10.1007/s00334-017-0641-z

Sahlins M. 2014. On the ontological scheme of 'Beyond nature and culture'. *HAU. Journal of Ethnographic Theory 4(1): 281–290*. https://doi.org/10.14318/hau4.1.013

2017. The original political society. *HAU. Journal of Ethnographic Theory 7(2): 91–128*. https://doi.org/10.14318/hau7.2.014

Schmidt K. 1997. Snakes, Lions and Other Animals: The Urfa-Project 1997. *Neo-Lithics 3(97): 8–9*.

1998. Frühneolithische Tempel. Ein Forschungsbericht zum präkeramischen Neolithikum Obermesopotamiens. *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin 130: 17–49*.

1999a. Frühe Tier- und Menschenbilder vom Göbekli Tepe – Kampagnen 1995–1998. Ein kommentierter Katalog der Grossplastik und der Reliefs mit zoologischen Anmerkungen von Angela von den Driesch und Joris Peters. *Istanbuler Mitteilungen 49: 5–19.*

1999b. Boars, Ducks, and Foxes – the Urfa-Project 99. *Neo-Lithics 3(99): 12–15.*

2000a. Göbekli Tepe and the Rock Art of the Near East. *TÜBA-AR: Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi Arkeoloji Dergisi 3: 1–14*.

2000b. »Zuerst kam der Tempel, dann die Stadt« Vorläufiger Bericht zu den Grabungen am Göbekli Tepe und am Gürcütepe 1995–1999. *Istanbuler Mitteilungen 50: 5–41*.

2000c. Göbekli Tepe, Southeastern Turkey. A Preliminary Report on the 1995–1999 Excavations. *Paléorient 26(1): 45–54*.

2002a. Göbekli Tepe – Southeastern Turkey. The Seventh Campaign, 2001. *Neo-Lithics 1(02): 23–25*.

2002b. The 2002 Excavations at Göbekli Tepe (Southeastern Turkey) – Impressions from an Enigmatic Site. *Neo-Lithics 2(02): 8–13*.

2003. The 2003 Campaign at Göbekli Tepe (Southeastern Turkey). *Neo-Lithics 2(03): 3–8*.

2005. "Ritual Centres" and the Neolithisation of Upper Mesopotamia. *Neo-Lithics 2(05): 13–21*.

2006a. *Sie bauten die ersten Tempel. Das rätselhafte Heiligtum der Steinzeitjäger.* C. H. Beck. München.

2006b. Göbekli Tepe Excavations 2004. In K. Olşen, H. Dönmez, and A. Özme (eds.), *27. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı. 30 Mayıs – 3 Haziran 2005, Antalya, 2. Cilt.* T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı. Kültür Varlıkları ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü. Ankara: 343–352.

2007. Göbekli Tepe Excavations 2005. In B. Koral, H. Dönmez, and M. Akpınar (eds.), *28. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı. 29 Mayıs – 2 Haziran 2006, Çanakkale, Cilt 2*. T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları. Ankara: 97–110.

2008a. Die steinzeitlichen Heiligtümer am Göbekli Tepe. *Colloquium Anatolicum VII: 59–85*.

2008b. Die Zähnefletschenden Raubtiere des Göbekli Tepe. In D. Bonatz, R. M. Czichon, and F. J. Kreppner (eds.), *Fundstellen. Gesammelte Schriften zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altvorderasiens ad honorem Hartmut Kühne*. Harrassowitz Verlag. Wiesbaden: 61–69.

2008c. Göbekli Tepe – Enclosure C. *Neo-Lithics 2(08): 27–32*.

2010a. Göbekli Tepe – der Tell als Erinnerungsort. In S. Hansen (ed.), *Leben auf dem Tell als soziale Praxis. Beiträge des Internationalen Symposiums in Berlin vom 26.–27. Februar 2007.* Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH. Bonn: 13–23.

2010b. Göbekli Tepe – the Stone Age Sanctuaries. New results of ongoing excavations with a special focus on sculptures and high reliefs. *Documenta Praehistorica 37: 239–256*. https://doi.org/10.4312/dp.37.21

2011. Göbekli Tepe. In M. Özdoğan, N. Başgelen, and P. Kuniholm (eds.), *The Neolithic in Turkey. New Excavations and New Research. Volume 2, The Euphrates Basin.* Archaeology and Arts Publications. Istanbul: 41–83.

2012. *Göbekli Tepe – A Stone Age Sanctuary in South-Eastern Anatolia*. ex Oriente. Berlin.

2013. Von Knochenmännern und anderen Gerippen: Zur Ikonographie halb- und vollskelletierter Tiere und Menschen in der prähistorischen Kunst. In S. Feldmann, T. Uthmeier (eds.), *Gedankschleifen. Gedenkschrift für Wolfgang Weißmüller. Erlanger Studien zur Prähistorischen Archäologie. ESPA. Band 1*. Verlag Dr. Faustus. Erlangen: 195–201.

Shakhmuradyan M. 2020. The function of desert kites: an analysis of hunting theory. *American Journal of Near Eastern Studies XIV(1–2): 1–26*. https://doi.org/10.32028/ajnes.v14i1-2.969

Shennan S., Downey S. S., Timpson A., +4 authors, and Thomas M. G. 2013. Regional population collapse followed initial agriculture booms in mid-Holocene Europe. *Nature Communications 4: 2486*. https://doi.org/10.1038/ncomms3486

Singh M. 2018. The cultural evolution of shamanism. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences 41: e66*. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0140525X17001893

Smith B. 2023. Supernatural Gamekeepers: Conclusions from an Archaeological Perspective. In R. J. Chacon (ed.) *The History and Environmental Impacts of Hunting Deities. Conflict, Environment, and Social Complexity.* Springer. Cham: 355–361. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-37503-3_16

Smith D., Schlaepfer P., Major K., +6 authors, and Astete L. 2017. Cooperation and the evolution of hunter-gatherer storytelling. *Nature Communications 8(1): 1853*. https://doi.org/10.1038/s41467-017-02036-8

Sobel E., Bettles G. 2000. Winter Hunger, Winter Myths: Subsistence Risk and Mythology among the Klamath and Modoc. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology 19(3): 276–316*. https://doi.org/10.1006/jaar.2000.0365

Souvatzi S. 2023. Neolithic Cultural Heritage in Greece and Turkey and the Politics of Land and History. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal 33(4): 555–573*. https://doi.org/10.1017/S095977432300001X

Steadman L. B., Palmer C. T., and Tilley C. F. 1996. The Universality of Ancestor Worship. *Ethnology 35(1): 63–76*. https://doi.org/10.2307/3774025

Stein D. L. 2023. Humanoid Pillars and the Leopard's Paw: Thoughts on Animal Masters and Gamekeepers in the Ancient Near East. In R. J. Chacon (ed.), *The History and Environmental Impacts of Hunting Deities. Conflict, Environment, and Social Complexity.* Springer. Cham: 53–85. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-37503-3_4

Stépanoff C. 2015. Transsingularities: The cognitive foundations of shamanism in Northern Asia. *Social Anthropology/ Anthropologie Sociale 23(2): 169–185*.

Şahin F. 2023. Çakmaktepe. *ŞURKAV: Şanlıurfa. Kültür, Sanat, Tarih ve Turizm Dergisi 45:* 24–27.

2024. Kitlesel Hayvan Avı: Şanlıurfa Bölgesi Hayvan Tuzak Alanları/Avlaklar. In A. Aykurt, A. Akçay, M. Türkteki, +4 editors, and U. Oğuzhanoğlu Akay (eds.), *Savaş ve Şiddet.* Önasya *Arkeolojisi Toplantıları 1*. Bilgin Kültür Sanat. Ankara: 349–375.

Şahin F., Uludağ C. 2023. Çakmaktepe Kazısı 2021 Yılı İlk Sezon Çalışmaları. In A. Özme (ed.), *42. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı, 23–27 Mayıs 2022, Denizli.* Kültür Varlıkları ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü. Ankara: 339–356.

Şahin F., Uludağ C., Özçelik K, and. Sevindik Y. E. 2023. Şanlıurfa Merkez ve Çevresi Tarihöncesi Dönem Arkeolojik Yüzey Araştırması (Şaya) 2021 Yılı İlk Sezon Sonuçları. In C. Keskin (ed.), *38. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantası, 23–27 Mayıs 2022, Denizli, Cilt 1*. Kültür Varlıkları ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü. Ankara: 477–497.

Tainter J. A. 1988. *The Collapse of Complex Societies*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

Tonkin E. 1992. *Narrating our pasts. The social construction of oral history*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

Uluçam A. 2021. Hasankeyf Höyük Kazıları/Hasankeyf Mound Excavations. In A. Boran (ed.), *Hasankeyf: Arkeolojik Kazılar Işığında/In the Light of Archaeological Research.* Ege Yayınları. Istanbul: 170–209.

Uludağ C., Çelik B., and Tolon K. 2018. Harbetsuvan Tepesi'nden bir Erkek Heykelciği/A Male Figurine from Harbetsuvan Tepesi. *Karadeniz Uluslararası Bilimsel Dergi 38: 19–25*. https://doi.org/10.17498/kdeniz.423948

Valeri V. 1994. Wild Victims: Hunting as Sacrifice and Sacrifice as Hunting in Huaulu. *History of Religions 34(2): 101–131*. https://doi.org/10.1086/463385

Verit A., Kürkçüoğlu C., Verit F., Kafalı H., and Yeni E. 2005. Paleoandrologic genital and reproductive depictions in earliest religious architecture: ninth to tenth millennium BC. *Urology 65(1): 208–210*. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.urology.2004.09.037

Walsh R. 1989. What is a shaman? Definition, origin and distribution. *Journal of Transpersonal Psychology 21(1): 1–11*.

Wang X., Skourtanioto E., Benz M., +6 authors, and Ringbauer H. 2023. Isotopic and DNA analyses reveal multiscale PPNB mobility and migration across Southeastern Anatolia and the Southern Levant. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences 120(4): e2210611120*. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2210611120

Weninger B. 2017. Niche Construction and Theory of Agricultural Origins. Case studies in punctuated equilibrium. *Documenta Praehistorica 44: 6–17*. https://doi.org/10.4312/dp.44.1

Weninger B., Clare L., Gerritsen F., +4 authors, and Rohling E. J. 2014. Neolithisation of the Aegean and Southeast Europe during the 6600–6000 calBC period of Rapid Climate Change. *Documenta Praehistorica 41: 1–31*. https://doi.org/10.4312/dp.41.1

Wiessner P. W. 2014. Embers of society: Firelight talk among the Ju/'hoansi Bushmen. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences 111(39): 14027–14035*. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1404212111

Winkelman M., White D. 1987. *A cross-cultural study of magico-religious practitioners and trance states: Database. Hraf Research Series in Quantative Cross-Cultural Data. Volume III*. Human Relations Area Files. HRAF Press. New Haven.

Yakar J. 2012. The Nature of Symbolism in the Prehistoric Art of Anatolia. In M. Gruber, S. Aıituv, G. Lehmann, and Z. Talshir (eds.), *All the Wisdom of the East. Studies of Near Eastern Archaeology and History in Honor of Eliezer D. Oren.* Academic Press. Fribourg. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. Göttingen: 431–451.

Yeomans L., Martin L., and Richter T. 2019. Close companions: Early evidence for dogs in northeast Jordan and the potential impact of new hunting methods. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology 53: 161–173*. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jaa.2018.12.005

Zimmermann T. 2020. Ein Untergang im Morgenland? – Göbeklitepe als Fallstudie für die Vollendung und das Verlöschen einer späteiszeitlichen Jäger- und Sammlerkultur. *The Journal of the Oswald Spengler Society 3: 7–25*. http://hdl.handle.net/11693/76053