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DOI: 10.2307/j.ctvvh865z.12

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Anthropomorphic Imagery at Göbekli Tepe

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Abstract: The present contribution reviews the corpus of anthropomorphic imagery from the Pre-Pottery Neolithic site of Göbekli Tepe in south-eastern Turkey. The intentional fragmentation and selective deposition of fragments, especially heads, are highlighted as social practices connected to this find group.

Keywords: sculpture; anthropomorphic; Göbekli Tepe; Pre-Pottery Neolithic; T-shaped pillars

In 1965, during an excursion from Friedrich Karl Dörner's excavations at Arsameia, an enigmatic, approximately 80cm-high statue was acquired from a farmer.[4] It has a long head which towers over a highly abstract, curved body. If the arms and hands which were holding the head of another figure on the narrow front side of the sculpture had not been clearly depicted, its anthropomorphic character would have been hard to guess. At the time of discovery, the statue remained a mystery and perhaps would have been disregarded altogether as some kind of oddity had not Harald Hauptmann`s excavations at Nevalı Çori (1983–1991) and Klaus Schmidt's work at Göbekli Tepe (1995–2014) proven that this 'Kilisik-statue' was, in fact, a prime example of one of the ways in which early Neolithic people represented the human body. The anecdote shows the enormous influx of knowledge our understanding of early Neolithic imagery has undergone in the last few decades.[5] We currently possess a fairly large and still growing corpus of three-dimensional human and animal images from that period that mostly awaits thorough study.

The site that has produced the most extensive record of imagery so far is Göbekli Tepe. Its late excavator, Klaus Schmidt, has published a general review of the site which includes many comments on the imagery[6] as well as several papers on the sculptures[7]. He also initiated a catalogue[8]. This current contribution sets out to give an overview of the anthropomorphic sculpture of Göbekli Tepe and its current interpretation which has been roughly outlined in a previous German language contribution.[9]

Göbekli Tepe

Göbekli Tepe is situated about 15km north-east of Şanlıurfa on the highest point of the Germuş mountain range. With a height of 15m, the mound measures 300m in diameter. The site is best known for its monumental circular buildings, formed of often richly decorated T-shaped limestone pillars interconnected by walls with bench-like structures along the inner mantles. The pillars in the circular walls stand up to 4m high and are always arranged around two even bigger central pillars. Five monumental buildings have been excavated in the lower lying areas of the tell so far (Buildings A-D

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[4] Hauptmann 2000.
[5] For a summary: Hansen 2007; Hansen 2014.
[6] Schmidt 2006.
[7] Hauptmann – Schmidt 2007; Schmidt 2008a; Schmidt 2009; Schmidt 2010.
[8] Schmidt 1998a; Schmidt 1999.
[9] Becker et al. 2012.

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in the southeastern depression, Building H in the northwestern depression), several more have been detected by georadar. [10] During excavations, these buildings had been summarized as an older layer (III) of site occupation and dated to the PPNA (Fig. 1). [11]

A younger layer is superimposed on this monumental architecture in some parts of the mound, but mainly concentrates in the higher-lying areas of the tell. [12] This layer (Layer II) was dated to the early and middle PPNB during excavations and is characterised by smaller rectangular buildings of about 3 × 4m (Fig. 2). Some of them may be understood as smaller versions of the older monumental buildings as they share a common element – the T-shaped pillars. However, their number and height are considerably reduced: often only two small central pillars of up to 2m are present. There are also rooms which are without any pillars. Layer I is the topsoil.

Meanwhile, it has become evident that the clearly multi-phased monumental buildings were very long-lived and possibly reached the younger PPNB and thus Layer II-times.[13] This corresponds well with the fact that, at least in the area in the south-eastern depression where excavations have concentrated so far, the older buildings where spared deliberately from younger construction activities. The area occupied by the monumental buildings was encircled by a terrace wall. The younger buildings show long and complicating biographies themselves, including the extensive use of spolia.[14]

Intentionally buried buildings: the limits and possibilities of inference

The monumental buildings known to date were at least partially intentionally backfilled.[15] The refilling/burial of special purpose buildings has been observed in several sites and seems to have been an integral part of the biography of some of these buildings.[16] At Göbekli Tepe, the filling consists of limestone rubble supposedly from the quarry areas on the adjacent plateaus, large quantities of animal bones, flint debitage as well as artefacts and tools.

The backfilling is a limiting factor for our understanding of the function of the monumental buildings, as very few in situ deposits connected to their time of use remain. Backfilling, however, was a structured process that included the deposition of artefacts and sculptures, often next to the pillars. One must also consider the buildings themselves, their layout and the richly decorated pillars as starting points.

Human imagery at Göbekli Tepe

There are several categories of human imagery at Göbekli Tepe.[17] The most prominent of these are the pillars. The T-shape is clearly an abstract depiction of the human body seen from the side. Evidence for this interpretation are the low relief depictions of arms, hands and items of clothing on some of the central pillars. There is a clear hierarchy of pillars inside the monumental buildings. The central pillars are up to 5.5m high. The surrounding pillars are smaller but more richly decorated with animal reliefs.

[10] Cf. Schmidt 2008b; Schmidt 2006 for an overview.
[11] Dietrich et al. 2013 with bibliography.
[12] Schmidt 2006; Kurapkat 2015, 18-22.
[13] Pöllath et al. 2018, 31-32, with bibliography.
[14] Kurapkat 2015, 19, 29-47.
[15] Pöllath et al. 2018, 31-32.
[16] Özdoğan – Özdoğan 1998.
[17] Schmidt 2010.

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They always 'look' towards the central pair, and the benches further amplify the impression of a gathering of some sort. All pillars share this abstract T-form. This abstraction is not due to limited artistic skills; it is a deliberate choice that has a meaning, as is demonstrated by the other important group of anthropomorphic depictions: naturalistic sculptures. A total of 149 sculptures have been found to date at Göbekli Tepe. Of these, 86 depict animals, 38 humans, four anthropomorphic masks,[18] three phalli, nine are human-animal composite sculptures and a further nine are indeterminable.

Intentional fragmentation and the importance of heads

Most anthropomorphic sculpture is fragmented. Of the 38 human-shaped depictions, only seven can be securely regarded as complete, fitting fragments were found in only one case (List 1, A97). The fragments preserved in the highest numbers are heads (Fig. 3) rather than (often larger) torsos. Some of them may have belonged to large sculptures in the shape of the 'Urfa Man': the oldest life-sized human stone sculpture currently known discovered during construction work at Urfa-Yeni Mahalle.[19] The large number of broken off heads and the regulated fractures speak in favour of intentional fragmentation. Fragmentation of sculpture or figurines has been pointed out as a regular social practice throughout the Old World Neolithic.[20] Although the reasons may differ through space and time, it seems that the habit of intentionally breaking images formed part of the Neolithic package, the bundle of innovations that travelled from the Near East to Europe. Due to its early date, Göbekli Tepe could have been one of the places where the ideas behind that special treatment of material culture first evolved. However, as most sculptures were found on the surface of the tell, more proof is needed to exclude a severe modern distortion of the archaeological record.

Although some finds already pointed in that direction, final proof came only in 2009,[21] when two limestone heads were discovered in situ near Building D's western central Pillar 31 (Fig. 4). A check of the find locations of other sculptures – zoomorphic as well as anthropomorphic – revealed that the in situ pieces were generally not randomly discarded.[22] They were deposited carefully in the building fillings, often next to pillars. However, the zoomorphic imagery shows no evidence for the intentional breaking off of heads. So, while deposition patterns for zoomorphic and anthropomorphic images are similar, pre-deposition treatment is not.

A special role for separated human heads is also visible in Göbekli Tepe's reliefs. Immediately behind the eastern central pillar of Building D, a fragmentary depiction on a stone slab included a human head among several animals (a vulture and a hyena can be clearly identified). Another example is found on Pillar 43, also in Building D (Fig. 4). There, a headless ithyphallic body is depicted among birds, snakes and a large scorpion. The interaction of animals with human heads is even clearer from the composite sculptures discovered at the site (List 2; Fig. 5). They show birds as well as quadrupeds either sitting on top of human heads or apparently carrying them away.

[18] Dietrich et al. 2018.
[19] Schmidt 2010, 247–249. It has to be noted that sculptures of different types (cf. List 1, A02; Fig. 6.1) feature similar heads. However, they are smaller.
[20] Hansen 2007, 351–354.
[21] Schmidt 2010, 249.
[22] Becker et al. 2012, figs. 19, 21.

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Neolithic death ritual carved in stone?

There is one sculpture that could illustrate an aspect of what was occurring at Göbekli Tepe. It shows a kneeling individual holding what appears to be a human head in his/her hands (List 1, A51; Fig. 6.2). Another severely fragmented sculpture could be a repetition of the same motif (List 1, A53; Fig. 6.3). It is not clear whether this is an offering scene/a depiction of depositing human heads, but the sculptures are certainly thought-provoking, even more so, as tentative evidence for a 'scull cult' has been published from Göbekli Tepe.[23]

The meaningful deposition of material culture and a hierarchy of symbols is not only discernible in the monumental buildings. Although the pillars in the rectangular buildings are smaller and the decorations far less frequent, what remains important is anthropomorphic characterisation through the arms-/hands-motif on the pillars and the deposition of sculpture. For example, a large room in the south-western hilltop area was subdivided at some point by two newer walls. In one of the resulting two small chambers, a large pillar fragment was discovered. In a face-down position next to it was an anthropomorphic sculpture (List 1, A66; Fig. 2). In another room with two pillars, two anthropomorphic depictions were found in the filling. One (List 1, D10) is a headless small figurine, the other is a limestone head (List 1, A05; Fig. 5.1). It seems that there was a constant tradition at Göbekli Tepe of fragmenting and depositing anthropomorphic sculpture. The abstract pillars, on the other hand, were not fragmented. They were the loci around which the deposition of sculptures took place.

The point has already been made that this practice is integrated into an iconography related to Neolithic death rites.[24] The removal of skulls is well attested in the PPN. A prime example is the skull building from Çayönü, a site at which the emphasis is clearly on burials, while only a few anthropomorphic depictions exist.[25] At Nevalı Çori, burials with separated skulls (and in one case a burial with a large flint dagger under the skull[26]) were discovered alongside an imagery that is very similar to that at Göbekli Tepe, including the animal-on-head-motif and separate human heads.[27] For Jerf el-Ahmar, an interesting dichotomy has been highlighted: skeletons in the special buildings are missing their heads, while only the head is depicted in sculpture.[28] The list of further examples is long and could, of course, include the plastering of human heads in many southern Levantine sites as well as at Köşk Höyük and Çatalhöyük.[29] At Çatalhöyük, many elements observable at Göbekli Tepe were still in place within a much later context. This included the iconography of birds carrying away human heads, the special treatment of heads in burials and figurines with intentionally broken off heads or with heads which were designed from the start to be taken off.[30]

At Göbekli Tepe, burial rites seem to have been applied to anthropomorphic sculpture, but exclusively to the smaller, naturalistic depictions. Only naturalistic anthropomorphic sculpture was intentionally fragmented. During the backfilling of the stone circles, a selection of fragments, mostly heads, was placed inside the filling, most often near the central pillars. The abstract, but nevertheless also clearly anthropomorphic pillars of the monumental buildings on the other hand were not intentionally fragmented.

[23] Gresky et al. 2017.
[24] Schmidt 1999, 7–8.
[25] Özdoğan 2011.
[26] Schmidt 1998c, 682–683, fig. 1; Notroff et al. 2016.
[27] Hauptmann – Schmidt 2007.
[28] Stordeur – Abbès 2002.
[29] Bonogofsky 2005.
[30] Hodder 2006.

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It seems that the abstract pillar-sculptures represent a different sphere compared to the naturalistic ones. The connection to death rites could indicate that the pillars belonged to that sphere. Whether the naturalistic sculptures are guardians[31] for the pillars, depictions of ancestors (of a different category than the pillars?), or something entirely different and whether or not the deposition of heads visualised the fact that the stone figures were perceived as animate and were, thus, treated like humans upon their death remains a question for future studies.

The present contribution has concentrated on only one aspect of the human imagery from the site. Further insights may derive from a closer examination of gesture/posture, as types are not limited to those similar to the 'Urfa Man'. Schmidt has, for example, highlighted the similarities in gesture of pieces from Göbekli Tepe (such as the piece on List 1, A66; Fig. 2) with Neo-Sumerian '*Beterstatuen*'.[32] Whether or not the gestures had a similar meaning must remain an open question for now. Another interesting group of sculptures is one where the arms were bent unnaturally behind their backs (List 1, A24, A39, A40; Fig. 7.1–3) which could imply the depiction of persons whose arms were tied. While the mediocre preservation of the sculptures renders a secure interpretation difficult, the motif is also repeated on a fragmentary relief, on which an apparently kneeling person is depicted in the same way (Fig. 8).[33]

Within the limited space of this contribution, we wanted to show that all imagery from Göbekli Tepe is part of a complex system of signs and narratives. The ideas highlighted here are starting points that will be followed by an in-depth study of the complete iconographic evidence.

Appendix: Anthropomorphic sculpture from Göbekli Tepe

The 'A' and 'D' numbers refer to the system established by Schmidt[34] for cataloguing sculptures from Göbekli Tepe. The bibliography is limited to the most detailed publication of each piece. A differentiation between high-reliefs and sculptures is often not possible due to poor preservation.[35] Consequently, no such differentiation is made here. If no further information is provided, the material under discussion is limestone. No attribution to a layer has been given for recent finds which are still under evaluation.

List 1: Depictions of the human body

A02. Ithyphallic man, complete, height 40.5cm (Fig. 6.1). Surface find.[36]
A03. Sitting figure, possibly ithyphallic, complete but badly preserved, height 32.5cm. Surface find.[37]
A04. Torso, height 15.8cm. Area L9-56, Locus 10, Layer II.[38]
A05. Head, from a larger sculpture, height 23cm (Fig. 3.1). Area L9-56, Locus 63, Layer II building. Locus 38, see also D10.[39]

[31] Schmidt 2010, 246–249.
[32] Schmidt 2010, 249.
[33] Schmidt 1999, 18, no. C1.
[34] Schmidt 1999.
[35] Schmidt 1999, 7.
[36] Schmidt 1995, 9–10, fig. 1c.
[37] Schmidt 1999, 9, pl. 1.1.
[38] Schmidt 1999, 9, pl. 4.3–5.
[39] Schmidt 1999, 9, pl. 2.1–2.

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A19. Badly preserved fragment; after Schmidt,[40] perhaps the head of an animal, after more recently found analogies (e.g. A66), probably a figure with bent arms and lower part in form of a conical tap, height 38.5 cm. Surface find.[41]

A23. Probably human figure[42] with high, conical hat, height 30.1cm. Area L9-80, Locus 30, Layer II.[43]

A24. Torso with bent arms (or arms on the belly?)[44], height 41cm (Fig. 7.1). Area L10-51, Locus 25.2, Layer II building.[45]

A27. Torso with a V-shaped necklace(?), badly preserved, height 30.5cm. Area L9-76, Locus 55.2, debris layer behind the third ring of Building C.[46]

A32. Head, badly preserved, from a larger sculpture, height 26.7cm (Fig. 3.2). Area L9-85, Locus 43, found face-down in wall debris, stratigraphic position unclear, to the east of the 'dromos' leading to Building C.[47]

A33. Two-faced head, badly preserved, from a larger sculpture, height 31cm (Fig. 3.3). Area L9-67, Locus 3, cobble layer above Layer II architecture.[48]

A39. Person with arms bent behind back(?)[49], head missing, lower part in form of a conical tap (type similar to A24, A40), height 19.6cm (Fig. 7.2). Area L9-87, Locus 66, in the upper part of the inner wall of Building C, next to Pillar 26. Unpublished.

A40. Upper part of a sculpture depicting a squat person with arms bent to the back, lower part missing, height 40cm (Fig. 7.3). Area L9-79, Locus 49.1, Layer II. Unpublished.

A41. Head, from a larger sculpture, possibly hair depicted, badly preserved, height 25cm (Fig. 3.4). L9-87, Locus 52, Building C, within 'looter's pit'. Unpublished.

A44. Head, from a larger sculpture, worn, height 23.4cm (Fig. 3.5). Area L9-87, Locus 68.1, unclear debris in eastern part of Building C. Unpublished.

A47. Head, from a larger sculpture, left side with nose preserved, height 15.5cm (Fig. 3.6). Surface find. Unpublished.

A50. Long-necked head, from a larger sculpture, heavily worn, height 46cm (Fig. 3.7). Surface find.[50]

A51. Kneeling person holding an object, most likely a human head, heavily worn, damaged, height 26cm (Fig. 6.2). Surface find.[51]

A53. Torso, judging by the posture, possibly of a kneeling person not unlike A51, height 24cm (Fig. 6.3). Surface find. Unpublished.

A66. Complete sculpture of a standing person, with bent arms and hands at the belly, wearing a cap, height 66cm (Fig. 2). Area L9-17, Locus 12, found face down inside a Layer II room.[52]

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[40] Schmidt 1999, 12.
[41] Schmidt 1999, 12.
[42] K. Schmidt pointed out that there were no good analogies to definitely identify the image as anthropomorphic at the moment of discovery (Schmidt 1999, 12); meanwhile tentative evidence has appeared in the form of sculptures A40 and A66.
[43] Schmidt 1999, 12, pl. 1.2–4.
[44] Schmidt 1999.
[45] Schmidt 2000, 30.
[46] Hauptmann – Schmidt 2007, 70.
[47] Becker et al. 2012, 26-27, fig. 17b.
[48] Becker et al. 2012, 26–27, fig. 17e.
[49] The other possibility, more unlikely considering on-site analogies, would be an animal head.
[50] Becker et al. 2012, 26–27, fig. 17d.
[51] Schmidt 2006, fig. 69.
[52] Becker et al. 2012, fig. 18.

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A67. Torso, worn, limestone, height 30cm. Area L9-70, Locus 5.4, inside a Layer II room. Unpublished.
A69. Head, from a larger sculpture, damaged, height 29.5cm (Fig. 3.8). Surface find in Area L9-87, eroded from a wall of Building C. Unpublished.
A75. Head, from a larger sculpture, height 23cm (Fig. 4). Area L9-68, immediately next to Pillar 31 in Building D.[53]
A76. Head, from a larger sculpture, height 24cm (Fig. 4). Area L9-68, immediately next to Pillar 31 in Building D.[54]
A81. Torso, badly preserved, height 16cm. Area K10-54, Locus 1.2, surface layer without architecture. Unpublished.
A84. Head, from a larger sculpture, height 34cm (Fig. 3.9). Area L10-41, Locus 2. Unpublished.
A87. Head, from a larger sculpture, height 22cm (Fig. 3.10). Surface find. Unpublished.
A91. Torso of a standing person, indication of ribs and a garment (?), height 25.6cm (Fig. 7.4). Eastern baulk of Area L9-56, Locus 161.1, Layer II?[55]
A93. Head, wearing a cap or depiction of hair, from a larger sculpture, damaged, height 31cm (Fig. 3.11). Area K10-36, Locus 5.1, in front of a wall, Layer II? Unpublished.
A94. Sitting person (similar to A03), damaged, badly preserved, height 44cm (Fig. 7.5). Area K10-55, Locus 21.2. Unpublished.
A96. Head, long-oval, from a larger sculpture, moderately preserved, height 33cm (Fig. 3.12). Area K10-55, Locus 67. Unpublished.
A97. Standing person, arms on chest and belly, broken in two parts in the neck area, lower part forming a conical tap, height 60cm (Fig. 6.4). Fragments found next to each other in Area K10-23, Locus 9. Unpublished.
A98. Head, slightly amorphous, from a larger sculpture, preservation mediocre, height 28cm (Fig. 3.13). Area K10-55, Locus 69. Unpublished.
A100. Torso, badly preserved, height 19.5cm. Area L9-47, Locus 500, probably Layer II. Unpublished.
A101. Head, badly preserved, from a larger sculpture, height 31cm. Area K10-05, Locus 83. Unpublished.
D08. Miniature head with part of torso, fragment, height 7.8cm. Surface find. Unpublished.
D10. Standing person, head and feet missing, arms in front of chest, height 3.2cm. Area L9-56, Locus 38.2, Layer II building.[56]
D11. Head and right shoulder of person looking up, height 3.9cm (Fig. 3.14). Surface find. Unpublished.
D39. Roughly worked and damaged head and torso (fragment?), height 7.0cm. Area L9-55, Locus 1.1, Layer I/II. Unpublished.

List 2: Human-animal composite depictions

A08. Predator ‘sitting’ on a pillar, probably holding a head, unfinished, height 120cm.[57]
A09. Bird on a head, badly preserved fragment, height 34cm. Surface find.[58]

[53] Becker et al. 2012, 26–27, fig. 17f.
[54] Becker et al. 2012, 26–27, fig. 17a.
[55] Dietrich et al. 2014, 15, fig. 11.
[56] Schmidt 2000, 33, fig. 14b; Müller-Neuhof 2006, 34–35, fig. 4.
[57] Beile-Bohn et al. 1998, 66–67, fig. 30.
[58] Beile-Bohn et al. 1998, 67–68, fig. 31.

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A10. Animal on head, badly preserved fragment, height 40.4cm (Fig. 5.1). Area L9-75, Locus 8.1, Building A, next to Pillar 3.[59]
A20. Probably person with snakes, badly preserved fragment, height 92cm. Surface find.[60]
A77. So-called 'totem pole' figure with head of a wildcat and humanoid arms on top of two anthropomorphic depictions (the lower depicted giving birth/presenting a phallus?), at the narrow sides snakes, damaged, height 192cm (Fig. 5.6). Area L9-46, Locus 30, Layer II building.[61]
A82. Quadruped sitting on head, well preserved, height c. 45.5cm (Fig. 5.2). Area L9-87, immediately east of Pillar 39 in Building C, Layer III. Unpublished, stolen in 2010.
A85. Seated person or bird sitting on head like A88, damaged and worn fragment, height 25cm (Fig. 5.3). Area K10-44, surface find from the northern baulk. Unpublished.
A88. Bird holding head, fragment, height 50cm (Fig. 5.4). Area L9-84, Locus 4.[62]
D34. Sitting person with animal (felid) on the back, complete, nephrite (?), height 4.5cm (Fig. 5.5). Surface find.[63]

List 3: Masks

A01. Large mask, complete, height 42cm. Surface find.[64]
D12. Miniature mask, slightly damaged, height 5.7cm. Area L9-78, Locus 4.6, high in the filling of Building D.[65]
D32. Miniature mask, flint cortex, height 4.7cm. Area K10-25, Locus 8.1, next to Pillar 51 (perhaps in 'looter's pit') in Building H.[66]
D44. Miniature mask, flint cortex, height 4.5cm. Area L9-87, Locus 116.1, next to eastern central pillar of Building C.[67]

List 4: Phalli

A07. Phallus, broken at shaft, height 24cm (Fig. 6.5). Surface find.[68]
A26. Phallus (?), broken at shaft, height 54cm. Area L9-66, Locus 67, western profile through Building B, Layer III. Unpublished.
A99. Phallus, broken at shaft, height 83cm. Area K10-55, Locus 32. Unpublished.

Acknowledgements: We are grateful to the General Directorate for Cultural Heritage and Museums of the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism for permission to excavate this important site in cooperation with the Museum of Şanlıurfa. Work at Göbekli Tepe is funded by the German Archaeological Institute (DAI) and the German Research Foundation (DFG). Thanks are due to Samantha Reiter for language corrections.

[59] Schmidt 1998a, 2, fig. 1.
[60] Schmidt 1998b, 25, fig. 6.
[61] Köksal-Schmidt – Schmidt 2010.
[62] Dietrich et al. 2014, 15, fig. 9.
[63] Dietrich – Schmidt 2017.
[64] Schmidt 1996, 2–3, fig. 1.
[65] Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe 2007, 275, Nr. 29, fig. 29.
[66] Dietrich et al. 2018, 8, fig. 6.
[67] Dietrich et al. 2018, 8, fig. 7.
[68] Schmidt 1999, 9, pl. 2/3–4.

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DOI: 10.2307/j.ctvvh865z.12

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Captions

Fig. 1 The main excavation area at Göbekli Tepe, Building D and one of its central pillars (photos: N. Becker, E. Kücük; 3D-scan of P 18 by HS Karlsruhe, © DAI).

Fig. 2 Layer II features on Göbekli Tepe's south-eastern hilltop with findspot of sculpture A66 (photos: K. Schmidt, D. Johannes; drawings/plans project team, © DAI).

Fig. 3 Limestone heads from Göbekli Tepe: 1. A05; 2. A32; 3. A33; 4. A41; 5. A44; 6. A47; 7. A50; 8. A69; 9. A84; 10. A87; 11. A93; 12. A96; 13. A98; 14. D11. For A75 and A76 see Fig. 4 (photos: N. Becker, D. Johannes, K. Schmidt, © DAI).

Fig. 4 Imagery related to human heads/headless humans from Building D (photos: N. Becker, E. Kücük, K. Schmidt, © DAI).

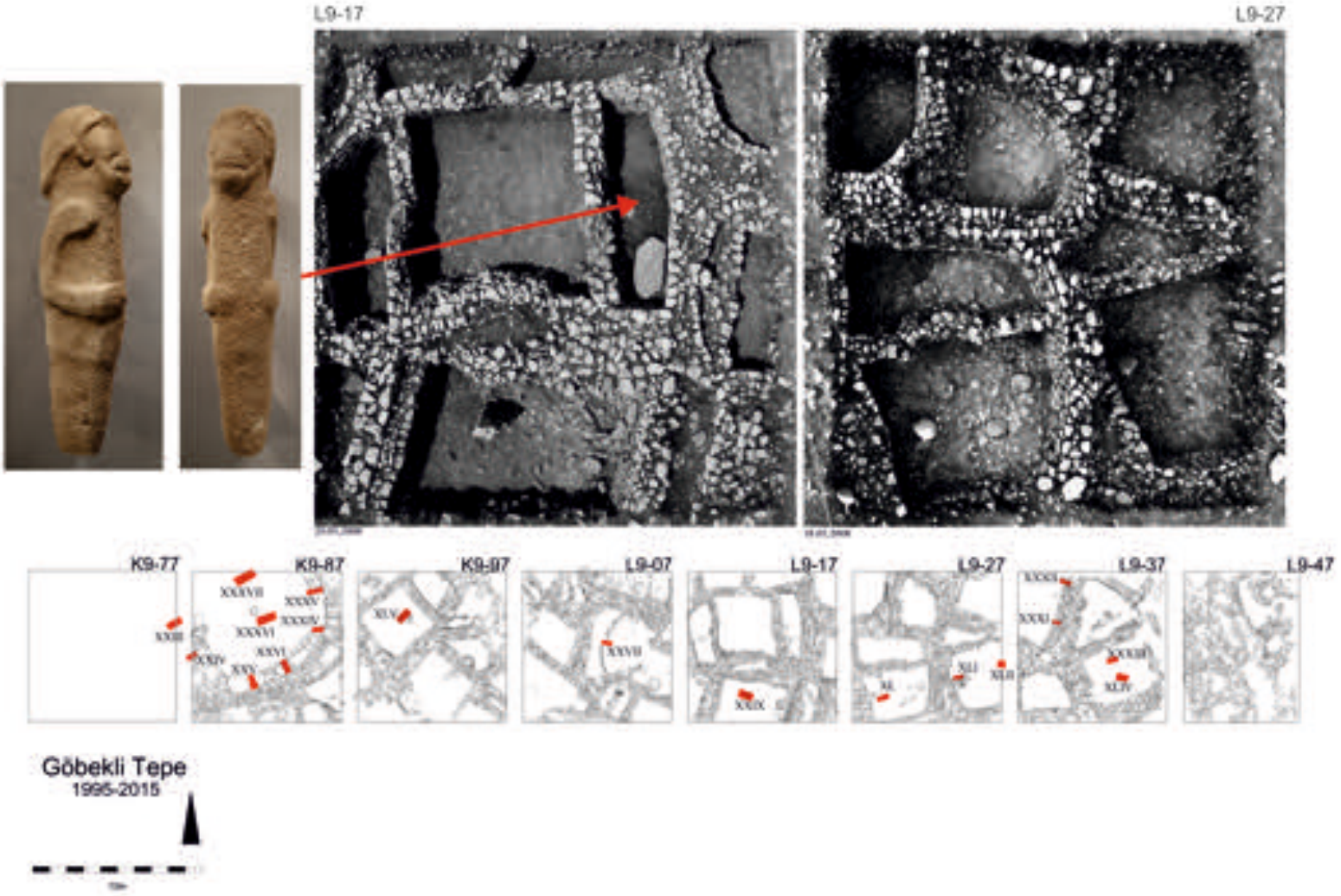
Fig. 5 Human-animal composite sculptures from Göbekli Tepe: 1. A10; 2. A82; 3. A85; 4. A88; 5. D34; 6. A77 (photos: N. Becker, D. Johannes, © DAI).

Fig. 6 Human imagery from Göbekli Tepe: 1. A02; 2. A51; 3. A53; 4. A97; 5. A07 (photos: N. Becker, T. Goldschmidt, D. Johannes, K. Schmidt, © DAI).

Fig. 7 Human imagery from Göbekli Tepe: 1. A24; 2. A39; 3. A40; 4. A91; 5. A94 (photos: N. Becker, D. Johannes, K. Schmidt, © DAI).

Fig. 8 Limestone relief fragment probably showing a kneeling person with arms bent behind the back, height 27cm (photo: T. Goldschmidt, © DAI).


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Göbekli Tepe
1995-2015


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