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NEO-LITHICS 1/16
The Newsletter of Southwest Asian Neolithic Research
On several occasions we co-editors of Neo-Lithics have discussed a peer-reviewed and open access format of the newsletter, encouraged by repeated appeals from our colleagues to provide a publication opportunity that also serves the need to promote careers, e.g. by collecting impact points. We hesitated: We didn’t want to be just another peer-review network, with problems in transparency, with manipulation opportunities by selecting reviewers, for helping mainstream research topics and strategies, and the like. Knowing our capacities, we also wanted to avoid the immense administrative and moral work related to the organization of peer reviews. Rather we wanted to continue being a 1) direct gate to quickly publish information on important new findings from the Neolithic fields and labs with just a lighter editor-based reviewing, 2) an alternative for Neolithic topics not easily placed in other journals, 3) a place for field reports often considered not reviewable, and 4) especially a chance for young researchers – especially from the Middle East - outside existing research networks to launch their first publications under less severe conditions, to promote regional expertise. How to maintain these goals when introducing peer review?

The discussion is still ongoing and we seek your comments, advice, and collaboration. We can imagine to be an open access newsletter by applying testable standards of transparency, organizing a non-anonymous peer reviewing for our sections Field Reports and Contributions while keeping the “documentary” sections of reports on conferences, news on books and thesis, etc. unreviewed. Our sorrow is, however, that this might lead to the exclusion of worthy information presented by younger colleagues who do not meet advanced standards of research presentation and analysis. But this might become the chance for another type of reviewing, understanding it as coaching authors and raising the discursive levels of contributions by adding - in one way or another - the reviewers’ points of view? By reaching high quality contributions through strong acceptance hurdles, resulting from an intense transparent negotiation of results between the author and sponsoring or even nursing non-anonymous reviewers, we can make peer reviewing in Neo-Lithics an interactive motor for high quality Neolithic research, and an investment into the academic offspring as well. It would mean that we would need a much larger community of peer reviewers (or peer coaches), ready to be committed to this future format of Neo-Lithics. It even can result in a paradigm of another type and culture of peer review. Is this idea beyond academic reality, too much idealistic or even naïve?

Upon the publication of this editorial, we will launch this discussion also into the mailing list Forum Neo-Lithics, to open a broader discussion on a potential change of the Neo-Lithics format.

The co-editors Hans Georg K. Gebel, Marion Benz, Dörte Rokitta-Krumnow, joined by Gary Rollefson.
A Decorated Bone ‘Spatula’ from Göbekli Tepe. 
On the Pitfalls of Iconographic Interpretations of Early Neolithic Art

Oliver Dietrich and Jens Notroff

Introduction

Göbekli Tepe is well known for the monumental architecture of its older Layer III which dates to the Pre-Pottery Neolithic (PPN) A (Schmidt 2012; for radiocarbon data cf. Dietrich et al. 2013). Up to 4 m high monolithic T-shaped pillars were arranged in circle-like enclosures around two taller (> 5.5 m high) central pillars (Fig. 1). The pillars are interconnected by walls and stone benches and are decorated with various animal motifs, but also with highly abstract symbols. In some cases arms, hands and items of clothing demonstrate unambiguously that the pillars represent stylized anthropomorphic beings (Fig. 2). There is clear evidence to see the site in the context of Early Neolithic cultic ritual (e.g. Dietrich and Notroff 2015). A younger phase (Layer II, early and middle PPNB) consists of smaller rectangular buildings, often featuring just two small central pillars or none at all. Besides the architecture, every excavation at Göbekli Tepe has produced a large amount of remarkable iconographic finds, such as reliefs, sculptures, decorated shaft-straighteners, and plaquettes. One of these finds, a rather enigmatically decorated bone artefact, lies at the focus of this short contribution. It highlights the manifold challenges when engaging with the archaeological interpretation of images.

A Find and Many Questions

In 2011 a special object was discovered at Göbekli Tepe in one of the excavation trenches in the tell’s northwestern depression (area K10-45, Locus 7.2; Fig. 3). Excavation had just proceeded into layers undisturbed by modern ploughing, but there were still no traces of architecture, when the fragment of a bone object was found (Fig. 4). The artefact was described preliminarily as a ‘spatula’ made from a rib bone. It measures 5.3 x 1.9 x 0.3 cm and carries a carved depiction that is only partially preserved. The image is unclear, however the upper part features two hatched T-shaped forms, one of which is completely preserved, the other only fragmentarily. These T-shapes rapidly led to associations with Göbekli Tepe’s most prominent architectural feature, and to a vivid discussion within the research team focusing on the probability of this interpretation and our comprehension of Neolithic art in general. Indeed, due the complexities of the find the decision was made in 2011 to refrain from any form of premature interpretation. In the meantime, the object was put on display in the Şanlıurfa Museum, where it has since attracted the attention of visitors. Although their interpretation generally follows the same line as ours in 2011, it has since taken on more speculative and esoteric slants (Collins 2016). For this reason, it is essential that we return to this object to discuss in more detail the question of its ‘readability’ and the nature of the Neolithic depiction.

Fig. 1 Enclosure D at Göbekli Tepe. (photo: DAI, Orient Department, N. Becker)
A Framework – or Limits – for the Interpretation of Prehistoric Art

There is an ongoing discussion about the possibilities and pitfalls of interpreting art in archaeology. One aspect of this debate is the potential use of iconological approaches. Among the most influential models is Erwin Panofsky’s concept which he presented in the 1930s (1934, reprinted in 1982). Panofsky identifies “three strata of subject matter or meaning” (Panofsky 1982: 28, 40-41), e.g. levels of inference on the intentions and messages encoded in images by the artist. His ideas have influenced generations of art historians and have also been used widely in Classical Archaeology. In Prehistoric Archaeology they do not seem to have reached a similar impact, although some examples of successful application exist (e.g. Orrelle and Kolska Horwitz 2016). This limited use of Panofsky’s ideas is obviously related to his basic assessment of interpretational possibilities (e.g. Schulz 2010: 84-86).

The first level of meaning is the “primary or natural subject matter”, the perception of basic forms as representations of natural objects, e.g. humans, animals, plants or inanimate objects and their spatial setting or possible interactions. On this level, interpretation

Fig. 2 Pillar 31, one of the central pillars of Enclosure D. (photo: DAI, Orient Department, N. Becker)

Fig. 3 Göbekli Tepe, excavation areas on the northwestern hilltop. (plans and drawings: DAI, Orient Department, by excavation team, digitalization N. Becker)
in Panofsky’s view does not reach beyond the natural meaning of things; it is a basic pre-iconographical description that can be reached without further cultural knowledge.

On the second level, basic motifs are combined and identified with cultural-specific themes or concepts (Panofsky 1982: 29-30). Panofsky’s most often cited example for this stratum is to recognize a group of persons seated at a dinner table in a certain arrangement as a representation of the last supper. This iconographical interpretation or understanding needs additional information. If one lacks the acculturation in a society for which these topics are understandable, written sources or other means of information are needed for a correct interpretation.

The third level of interpretation, the iconology, targets the “intrinsic meaning or content”, i.e. the intentions of the artist in displaying an image just in that way, the messages he wanted to send about his subject, or the historical and political context in which the work was made. The iconological analysis thus tries to elucidate the symbolic values of images. In Panofsky’s (1982: 41) words, what is needed to achieve this is “synthetic intuition, a familiarity with the essential tendencies of the human mind, conditioned by personal psychology and Weltanschauung”. And of course all the insights gained from interpretation levels 1 and 2.

That in mind, the challenges in reading and interpreting prehistoric art become obvious. As soon as such depictions cross the line to abstraction and symbolism, familiarity with their proper cultural context and knowledge of their connotations is inevitably necessary to perceive and understand these codes.

In particular, this includes us today. Without the cultural intimacy with narratives and concepts linked to these depictions and symbols we could at best guess what is a) depicted and b) meant. Unfortunately, this presents a large probability of misconception, much like discovering the symbol of the cross in a Christian church, yet lacking any knowledge of the whole Passion narrative for which it stands but which is perceived without further explanation by members of most occidental cultures and even beyond.

To be useful for Prehistoric Archaeology, Panofsky’s thoughts must be adapted to the specific sources of this discipline. The need for a broad understanding of the cultural setting of images for an iconographical analysis (Level 2) is a requirement hard to fulfil completely, especially when only material remains are available without written sources. But to some extent, this lack can be compensated for by find contexts on a macro (site-) and micro (deposition-) level, and through analogical reasoning (e.g. Eggert 2010: 69-70; Orrelle and Kolska Horwitz 2016). Although there are several more theoretic approaches to images, mostly derived from semiotics or communication theory (e.g. Belting 2001; Juwig and Kost 2010; Sachs-Hombach 2003; with special reference to the Neolithic: Morenz 2014), Panofsky’s model has the advantage that it addresses the ‘readability’ of an image as a key factor for a successful analysis. It thus seems appropriate to analyse the possibilities of understanding an ambiguous prehistoric depiction like the one on the ‘spatula’ from Göbekli Tepe.

Pre-Iconography and Iconography: Architecture, an Animal, or Something Completely Different?

Göbekli Tepe is a special site that lacks domestic architecture as known from contemporaneous sites so far (Dietrich and Notroff 2015). The circular enclosures of the earlier (PPNA) layers feature a rich iconography, mostly based on zoomorphic motifs, depicted in flat and high reliefs, as well as in the form of three-dimensional sculptures and of incisions in smaller objects that in some cases seem to have no other function than to carry these signs (especially small stone plaquettes - Morenz and Schmidt 2009). Depictions of humans are scarce in reliefs and on small objects, but are more common among sculptures. So far there is only one case in which possibly inanimate objects are depicted (see below).

The archaeological context of the bone spatula is rather uncertain. It was found immediately below the plough horizon within a deposit without architectural
remains or walking levels. There are however two fragments of comparable ‘bone spatulae’ from Göbekli Tepe with clear proveniences. Both objects have incised geometric decorations. One was found in a deep sounding excavated for the construction of a permanent shelter above the site, north of Enclosure D (area L9-69, Locus 163.5; Fig. 5a). As this sounding had limited dimensions, the stratigraphic relation of the reddish sediment (rich in charcoal and animal bones) with Enclosure D cannot be established with certainty at the moment. The second piece (Fig. 5b) stems from an area with wall debris, probably of Layer II-buildings, in the south of the main excavation area (area L9-58, Loc. 55.2). Besides the insight that objects of this kind may span the whole duration of the site, the contexts of the intra-site analogies are unfortunately rather uninformative.

A pre-iconographical description can thus only be reached by use of intra- and offsite analogies for the decorations, which is made difficult by the ambiguous execution of the depiction. Panoński (1982: 33) saw this issue as a main problem in describing an image correctly. He adds that our practical experience must be the basis for any recognition of an object matter, but can also be an obstacle that leads to a false interpretation. This is exactly the case with the bone spatula. From the moment of its discovery some colleagues were convinced that the T-shaped objects on the spatula must be representations of the iconic find category of Göbekli Tepe’s archaeological record: the T-shaped pillars. In adherence to this line of thought, a roughly human shaped figure was interpreted as standing in front of the pillars, while in the bottom left corner of the spatula the enclosure walls were thought to be represented.

Notably, there are some problems with this interpretation. The perspective of the depiction is not easily understandable, as inside the real enclosures the central pillars stand side by side, not facing each other. An explanation might be sought in the artist’s intention to display the T-shape of the pillars, which was obviously important to Göbekli Tepe’s builders. Furthermore, one of the visible ‘pillar shafts’ is depicted very slender, curved and narrowing in the lower part. An explanation for this could lie in the abilities of the artist to depict a perspective view, or it was not important to them to show these details in a realistic manner.

On the other hand, it is rather difficult to explain why the pillars, the presumed walls, and the potential human are interconnected by lines. At Göbekli Tepe, animals and humans are normally depicted individually and not interwoven. Pillar 56 in Enclosure H is to some degree a remarkable exception to this rule (Fig. 6a). It presents extensive animal depictions on its southwestern broadside – about 55 animals are rendered here so tightly that the outline of one animal also marks the contour of the other.

Yet there is another important point regarding the mode of depiction on this bone spatula. If we are really confronted with a depiction of the enclosure walls, they would very much look like the modern, excavated state. Today, the walls end below the pillars. Whether this was the prehistoric appearance of the enclosures remains unclear for the moment; there is the possibility to reconstruct the buildings as semi-subterranean and roofed structures (e.g. Kurapkat 2015). In this case, the depictions of very small walls would not make much sense. Another enigmatic motif, the only possible case of depictions of inanimate objects from Göbekli Tepe mentioned above, further complicates the discussion. On the uppermost part of Pillar 43, a row of three rectangular objects with cupola-like ‘arches’ on their tops can be seen (Fig. 6b). Each of these objects is accompanied by an animal added on the ‘arch’. The meaning of these images is hard to fathom, but they might represent the enclosures during their time of use, seen from the side. The rectangular part would represent the perimeter walls, while the cupolas may indicate roofs. As usually depictions of one animal species seem to
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It is an intriguing thought that buildings of different groups are depicted here with the emblematic animals of these groups added for recognition. Following this line of argument, one would also have to assume that the enclosures were depicted here rather schematic, i.e. in an almost technical sectional view – this would be highly unusual when compared to the other naturalistic representations from Göbekli Tepe. Be this as it may, a final decision on the meaning of these images is not possible. To conclude, there are a few difficulties with a pre-iconographic interpretation of the image on the spatula as an architectural representation.

Furthermore, there is another way of understanding the depiction. The people who built Göbekli Tepe had a very distinct concept of depicting their world. On reliefs, animals were usually represented in the way humans see them during a real-life confrontation. Snakes, spiders, and centipedes were thus depicted in flat relief and from above; larger animals like wild cats, foxes, gazelle etc. are shown from the side. A very interesting exception from this rule is associated with depictions of cattle. The body of aurochs is depicted in side elevation, the head however is seen from above. The special way of depicting the aurochs’ head could have a distinct meaning. It is possible that the animal is shown with its head lowered for an attack, the sight a hunter sees in the moment the animal charges towards him (Schmidt 2012: 164; Benz and Bauer 2013: 14). Notably, the cattle head is one of the few animal depictions also transformed into a possible ideogram at Göbekli Tepe. Bucrania can be found on several pillars and other elements of architecture (like so-called porthole stones). It is obvious that the mode of representing animals in Neolithic art is far from arbitrary. Starting from here, another interpretation of the spatula appears possible.

Two larger stone slabs from Göbekli Tepe show high reliefs of animals in a crouched position, probably ready to pounce (Figs. 7a-b); another depiction of that type can be found on the front-side of Pillar 6 (Fig. 8). The animals’ limbs lie stretched besides head and body, a long tail is bent to one side. Schmidt (1999: 10-11, nr. A12-13) suggested an interpretation as reptiles, while Helmer, Gourichon and Stordeur (2004: 156-157, Fig. 7) see them as felids, more exactly panthers, and compare them to depictions from Tell Abr´ 3 and Jerf el Ahmar. Meanwhile, two more examples of squatted animals can be added from Göbekli Tepe, one on a fragmented stone slab (Fig. 9a), the other one on the shaft of Pillar 27 in Enclosure C (Fig. 9b). Irrespective of the depicted species, it is important that the special mode of showing certain types of animals is in any case not restricted to Göbekli Tepe, but a characteristic of Early Neolithic art in southwestern Asia in general.
Nevertheless, the image on the spatula does not fit exactly the intra- and offsite analogies presented here. Design and realization appear slightly awkward, which as mentioned above leads to the interpretational uncertainties. We could be dealing with an *ad hoc* engraving here that only superficially abides to the artistic conventions of displaying animals and at the same time overemphasizes certain aspects of the image. Maybe the artist wanted to emphasise the dangerous parts of the animal, its claws. However, a deeper understanding must fail in this case, as, to get back to the starting point and Panofsky, a clear pre-iconographical description is not possible.

The Object

If the decoration of the find from Göbekli Tepe remains enigmatic, the object itself could be more revealing. The ‘spatula’ is elongated in shape, the preserved end is curved. This feature makes it doubtful that this is the active part of a tool we commonly would describe as spatula (*i.e.* a tool with a flat blade used to spread or lift substances). The parallel, only slightly converging rims show that the piece was originally much longer. Fortunately, there are some very similar objects from other sites that give additional insight into the original form and possible functions (Appendix 1).

Besides the two aforementioned additional small fragments from Göbekli Tepe, a total of eight comparable finds are known from Körtik Tepe (Özkaya and Coşkun 2011, 2013; Özkaya *et al.* 2013), and from Hasankeyf Höyük (Miyake 2013). Outside Turkey, two comparable finds come from Nahal Hemar Cave in Israel (Bar-Yosef and Alon 1988). The more complete finds have an elongated leaf-shaped form with a flattened end and flattened to sharp edges all around. The narrow end is perforated, allowing the objects to be fixed to a cord. Of the 13 finds, eight are decorated...
graphic data offers a wide variety of possible uses of bullroarers ranging from cultic ritual to more profane tasks, like scaring away animals from plantations (Morley 2003: 33, with bibliography).

In the archaeological record, bullroarers have been identified since the Palaeolithic. In many cases, however, their function has been open to doubt (Fischer 2009: 3-4). Prominent, sometimes richly decorated items with a likely bullroarer function stem from important French Palaeolithic sites, inter alia from La Roche de Bioril, Dordogne (Magdalenian), Abri de Laugerie Basse (Magdalenian), Lespugue (Solutrean), Badegoule (Morley 2003: 34-35, Fig. 3.1-2). Experimental work by Dauvois (1989) has proven the sound-making capabilities of these pieces. An example of the late Upper Palaeolithic is known from Stellmoor in northern Germany (Ahrensburg Culture: Maringer 1982: 129), and there is a larger list of possible bullroarers from Mesolithic contexts (e.g. Fischer 2009: 12).

To get back to the Near East, PPN use of bullroarers is substantiated by bullroarer type pendants in bone from Çatalhöyük (Russell 2005: 351, Fig. 16.14a). Russell tentatively discusses a function as bullroarers for them, however they are rather small.

A group of objects with a similar general form well known from archaeological and ethnographical contexts are bullroarers, i.e. musical instruments, usually made of wood, that produce a noise when swung on a long cord (e.g. Seewald 1934; Zerries 1942; Maringer 1982; Morley 2003: 33-37; Fischer 2009). Ethno-
seem to have been of high value for their users, as they appear as grave goods at Körtik Tepe. An experimental reproduction of the presumed PPN bullroarers of hard wood serves its function very well and produces a deep vibrato sound (Fig. 10).

Conclusion

The point of the present contribution is not to show that Neolithic art in general is not understandable. But there has to be a basic awareness of the fact that not every depiction is ‘readable’ beyond doubt, and that such depictions naturally should not be used as evidence for far-reaching interpretations. Panofsky’s thoughts can be a powerful instrument in determining the degree of interpretational potential in an image. The detailed comments in this paper are meant to prevent the start of an unfruitful dispute. Without further analogies, an exact understanding of the image on the spatula is not possible. Nevertheless, arguments to see an animal instead of T-shaped pillars cannot be ignored.

Appendix 1: List of elongated bone objects with one perforated end

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Context</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Göbekli Tepe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>immediately below plough</td>
<td>See above.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>in a deep sounding north of</td>
<td>Terminal fragment, decorated with hatched triangular geometric shapes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>in building debris, probably</td>
<td>Axial fragment, decorated with hatched triangular geometric shapes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hasankanî Höyük</td>
<td>unspecified</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Elongated bone plaque, trapezoidal, tapering towards one end. Single terminal perforation at smaller end. Not completely preserved. Carving of geometric forms and lines, interpreted as depiction of a scorpion (Miyaæ 2013: 45, Fig. 3).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Körtik Tepe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>funeral</td>
<td>Rectangular bone plaque, not completely preserved. Geometric carvings: multiple wavy lines ending in triangular shape, interpreted as depiction of a snake, accompanied by more geometric but less clearly identifiable designs (Özkaya and Coşkun 2011: 99 Fig. 37 right).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>funeral</td>
<td>Elongated bone plaque, trapezoidal, tapering towards one end. Single terminal perforation at smaller end. Not completely preserved. Carved depiction of a goat and another animal (probably also a goat) in profile on top of each other: outlines and body hatchings by carved lines, eye and centre of body left blank (Özkaya and Coşkun 2011: 99 Fig. 37 centre).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>funeral</td>
<td>Elongated bone plaque, trapezoidal, tapering towards one end. Single terminal perforation at smaller end. Not completely preserved. Carved geometric depiction: concentric circles and a more complex design interpreted as depiction of a spider or an insect, probably a scorpion or centipede, object bears traces of ochre. Özkaya and Coşkun 2011: 99, Fig. 37 (left); Özkaya, Coşkun and Soyukaya 2013: 68 (lower right).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>funeral</td>
<td>Rectangular bone plaque, lower part not preserved. Decoration in form of repeated diagonal lines, the space between them filled with triangular shapes – creating a more complex pattern. Decoration not carved but painted (lines in red, triangular shapes in black), larger shapes composed by smaller triangular / trapezoid shapes, possibly stamped onto object (Özkaya et al. 2013: 68 centre right).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>funeral</td>
<td>Rectangular, elongated bone plaque, lower part not preserved. Carved decoration in form of geometric designs and lines. Shape in upper part interpreted as scorpion with curled tail, followed by more ovoid motifs without clear interpretation, depiction at lower part may be interpreted as another scorpion due to iconographic similarities. Band consisting of lines, curved lines and concentric rings to the left, apparently repetition of the same complex design. In the centre, between these shapes there are two elongated, pointed forms compiled from carved lines and triangles, with one pointed end towards one side and two towards the other. Interpreted as depiction of insects and catfish (?) (Özkaya et al. 2013: 68 No. 1 upper right).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>funeral</td>
<td>Rectangular, elongated bone plaque, not completely preserved. Carved decoration, curved, wavy lines forming three parallel bands consisting of five rhomboid designs each, filled with hachures, interpreted as depiction of three snakes. Each band finishing in two lines at one end and two smaller curved lines at the other end (Özkaya and Coşkun 2011: 99 Fig. 36 right).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nahal Hemar Cave</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Dump layer inside cave.</td>
<td>Elongated bone plaque, trapezoidal, tapering towards one end. Single (terminal?) perforation towards smaller end. Simple carved decoration consisting of almost parallel lines running horizontally and slightly downwards from both sides of the bone object towards the centre (Bar-Yosef and Alon 1988: Fig. 12.2, Pl. III(2)).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Dump layer inside cave.</td>
<td>Fragment of a flat bone object. Carved decoration consisting of lines running towards each other from both sides diagonally, forming chevron-like designs (Bar-Yosef and Alon 1988: Fig. 13.10).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Endnotes

1 This paper has greatly benefitted from discussions and scientific resources provided within the project „Our place: Our place in the World“, funded by the John Templeton Foundation.

2 There is one more find from Wadi Faynan 16 in Jordan that may be attributable to this group (Finlayson 2007: 321, Fig. 10/1, nr. SF98). As the hole of this ‘spatula’ is located more to the centre of the object, and thus its function may have been different, it has not been included here.
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