3

THEATER OF PREDATION: BENEATH THE SKIN OF GÖBEKLI TEPE IMAGES

Dušan Borić

Introduction

> Neither in their painting nor in their carving do people seek to reconstruct the material world they know, through their mundane subsistence pursuits of hunting and gathering, on a higher plane of cultural and symbolic meaning. Whether their primary concern be with the land or its non-human inhabitants, their purpose is not to represent but to reveal, to penetrate beneath the surface of things so as to reach deeper levels of knowledge and understanding. It is at these levels that meaning is to be found.
>
> *(Ingold 2000:130)*

Can the enclosures of Göbekli Tepe be seen as examples of the earliest recognized shrines, even temples, that completely exclude domestic functions? What was the social organization of the community that gathered their efforts to carve out large pillars, up to 7m tall, and occasionally to dress them with elaborate images of mainly wild and male animals? To what end was such a large labor pool mobilized? How big was the area around the site from which people were drawn in order to construct and/or visit this particular place? Was there a connection between broadly contemporaneous examples of intentional intensification in the use of wild plant resources across the area of the Fertile Crescent, eventually leading to their domestication, and aspects of life and ritual that surrounded what was going on at Göbekli Tepe during its earliest phases?

Over the past two decades, the excavator of Göbekli Tepe, Klaus Schmidt, has attempted to answer some if not most of these questions (e.g., Schmidt 2005, 2006, 2009, 2010). Very recently, however, other authors have also started questioning certain basic assumptions we have come to cherish about Göbekli Tepe, such as the site's role as a place for sacred ritual gatherings and the use of enclosures as shrines

rather than houses (Banning 2011). But as many other scholars would agree (e.g., Belfer-Cohen and Goring-Morris 2011; Kuijt 2011; Verhoeven 2011), we may still be far from a comfortable place in answering many of these key questions. Despite years of hard work, significant surprises at this important site are still possible. This suggestion in particular refers to future excavations of the lowermost levels at the site, more refined absolute dating of its numerous features, and the opening of floors and stone benches, which potentially store numerous human remains. These inevitable future research efforts at Göbekli Tepe, and continuing work at other regional, broadly contemporaneous sites (Figure 3.1), should help to better inform future discussions about the site's place in a constellation of other sites, the nature of its use, and changes that affected it over the several phases represented by its stratigraphy.

While current evidence from Göbekli Tepe might be insufficient to address the changing nature of the site and the activities taking place therein, the rich repertoire of animal and other non-figurative depictions to be found carved onto large stone pillars and into sculptures using the same type of locally available stone,

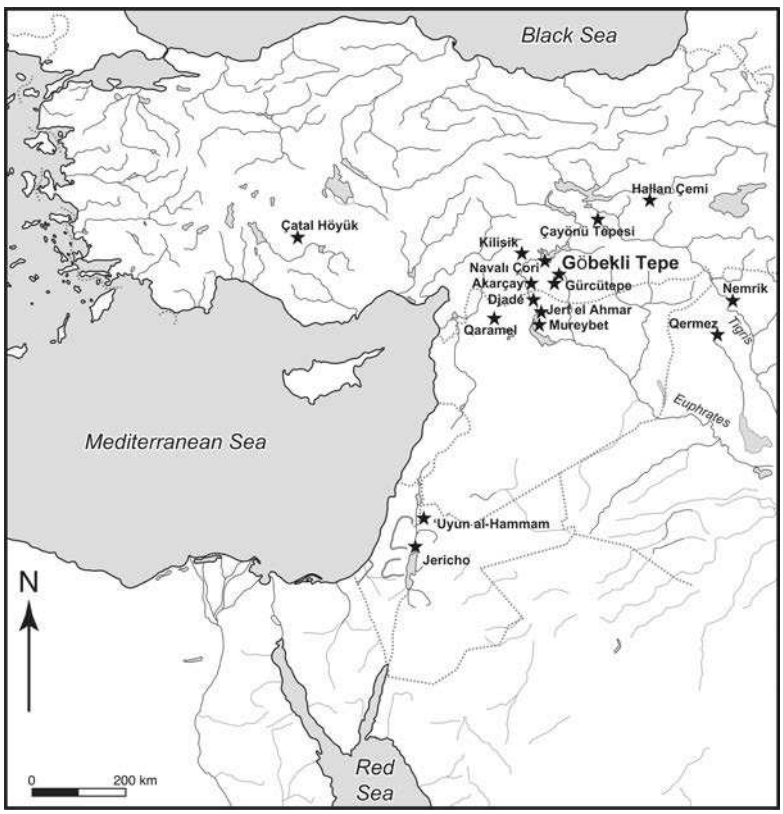

FIGURE 3.1 Map of Göbekli Tepe with the location of other related and contemporaneous sites in Upper Mesopotamia.

invites us to attempt an analysis of this imagery. This striking imagery already has provoked interpretations by the site's excavator and his collaborators (e.g., Peters and Schmidt 2004; Schmidt 2005, 2006, 2009, 2010 and references therein) as well as other scholars (e.g., Hodder and Meskell 2010; Verhoeven 2002).

In this chapter, I contextualize the imagery from Göbekli Tepe, firstly within its local ecological and cultural milieu, and secondly in relation to discussions regarding depictions of animals among hunter-gatherer societies world-wide. The latter goal will explicitly be connected to recent discussions about different non-Western ontologies (e.g., Descola 1996, 2005; Viveiros de Castro 1998, 2004) that explore the usefulness of some recharged labels of older ethnographies, such as totemism and animism, and the currency that the notion of perspectivism has gained in recent years. This chapter takes as its main goal to understand whether the iconography and narrative structure of animal depictions at Göbekli Tepe, with similarities in the visual vocabulary seen in other broadly contemporaneous sites, can be read through a particular ontological key, and how we should best understand the function of such depictions. It is argued that this can be achieved even before deciding whether the site was a ceremonial center, and whether its exceptional features provide clues as to the site's assumed sacred nature.

The cultural and symbolic ecology of Pre-Pottery Neolithic Upper Mesopotamia

> … in Marx I found the fundamental idea that one cannot understand what is going on inside people's heads without connecting it to the conditions of their practical existence …
>
> *(Lévi-Strauss and Eribon 1991:108)*

It remains very difficult to fully contextualize Göbekli Tepe and its extraordinary features due to a lack of any substantial trace of human occupation in the wider region of Upper Mesopotamia prior to the earliest structures being built at the site. Current dating suggests that the earliest phase at Göbekli Tepe can probably be traced to the mid-10th millennium BC (Schmidt 2006), which marks the beginning of the Pre-Pottery Neolithic (PPN) period across the Levant (cf. Kuijt and Goring-Morris 2002).

The site is found on a large limestone ridge, some 800m asl, and consists of several large mounds; the location is somewhat unexpected as it is neither close to water nor arable land (Peters and Schmidt 2004; Schmidt 2001, 2003, 2006, 2009, 2010; Schmidt and Hauptmann 2003). To date, at least six semi-subterranean 'ritual' structures have been exposed (Figure 3.2), while geophysical survey has determined the existence of at least another 15 enclosures. The estimated number of enclosures is around 25. Documented 'ritual' structures contained numerous T-shaped pillars of different sizes. Over 45 of these pillars have been at least partially exposed with an estimate that the site may contain over 200 such pillars of different sizes. There are two main PPN phases distinguished at the site: the earliest

FIGURE 3.2 The main excavation area at Göbekli Tepe with features exposed up to 2009 (adapted after Schmidt 2009:Figure 3).

is represented by Layer III, attributed to the PPNA period, and dated to between 9100 and 8500 BC. This is followed by Layer II, assigned to the PPNB period, and dated to between 8700 and 8000 BC. At the moment, such dating remains confined to largely re-deposited materials from the backfilling of enclosures rather than

primary deposits that may in the future yield more accurate and feature-specific chronological determinations.

While there are clear continuities between the two main phases in the use of T-pillars, the construction of enclosures, and the range of depicted images at the site, diachronic changes can also be detected. Such changes primarily relate to a reduction in the size of pillars from more than 5m in height (Layer III) to the 1.5m tall pillars found associated with Layer II. There is also a move from circular to rectangular enclosure plans. In Layer III circular enclosures, two large pillars were free-standing in the centers of the enclosures, while other pillars were partly encased by stone walls, with only the 'front' parts being visible, often with depictions of animals.

The shape of the T-pillars has been interpreted as anthropomorphic, and this interpretation is supported by engravings of human arms on the wide sides of some pillars, and of fingers on the narrow sides (Figure 3.3). The shape of these pillars, with large pronounced heads, has also been seen as phallic (Hodder and Meskell 2010:36). As well, many of these pillars are decorated with zoomorphic images,

FIGURE 3.3 T-pillar 18 with the carvings of human arms, Enclosure D, one of the two central pillars, Göbekli Tepe (photograph by Irmgard Wagner, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut).

and to these animal depictions we can add the existence of a large number of limestone sculptures. Wolves, boars, dogs, aurochs, goitered gazelles, wild Asiatic ass, lions/leopards, hyenas, snakes, scorpions, spiders, and several species of birds, including vulture, are all portrayed. If such an anthropomorphic understanding of these pillars is accepted, carvings of animals would have thus been inscribed on, or in, human/ancestral bodies. Anthropomorphic elements, however, are also found, including a schematic human body shape (in one case headless), arms, fingers, and a giant phallus, as well as pictograms in the shape of the letter 'H' (Figure 3.3), which are sometimes associated with a belt feature. Regarding these T-pillars, it is not clear if the idea was to represent a stylized human body at the outset, or if this shape became anthropomorphized through the interpretive acts of carving human arms, fingers, and so on. Excepting the clear representation of a woman engraved, rather than sculpted, on a stone slab from the later phase (Layer II) of the rectangular-shaped 'lion pillar' enclosure (Schmidt 2006:Figure 10.4), the remaining depictions of animals, apart from birds, can be gendered as male.

Peters and Schmidt (2004) provide information on the number and kind of faunal remains found at the site between 1996 and 2001 (Figure 3.4a). Only wild fauna is documented at Göbekli Tepe, indicating intensive hunting in the environments surrounding the site. Based on the number of identified specimens (NISP), gazelle is by far the most represented food animal, followed by aurochs, equids, wild sheep, and wild boar. It has been estimated, however, that aurochs might have contributed close to 50 per cent of the diet. The number of fox remains is also relatively large, and their presence may suggest a possible economic and/or symbolic significance (see below).

If one compares the range and frequencies of animal remains with the range and frequencies of animals depicted on T-pillars or those carved in stone (Figure 3.4b), there are obvious differences between these cultural and symbolic ecologies (cf. Descola 1992, 1996). Gazelle, for example, is found in only one depiction, and while more frequently depicted than either gazelle or wild sheep, aurochs seem less important in this symbolic ecology than what their subsistence role suggests. On the other hand, one finds a large number of snake depictions, followed by fox, wild boar, cranes or ducks (?) and various larger, predatory animals such as lion/leopard, bear, wolf and hyena. Comparable T-pillar forms or depictions are found at the PPNB sites of Nevalı Çori (Hauptmann 1993, 1999, 2002, 2007), Adiyaman-Kilisik (Hauptmann 2000; Hauptman and Schmidt 2007), downtown Urfa-Yeni Mahalle (Hauptmann 2003), Jerf el Ahmar (Stordeur 2000; Stordeur and Abbès 2002; Stordeur et al. 2000), and other sites in southeastern Anatolia (see Figure 3.1).

These examples suggest that a common set of iconographic rules might have stemmed from a shared symbolic ecology over a large area. There are also striking similarities between the depictions at Göbekli Tepe and certain contemporaneous sites in Upper Mesopotamia, and many parallels can be observed across southwest Asia over the several millennia that the PPNA and PPNB periods cover (cf. Hodder and Meskell 2010). It would be wise, however, to resist for the moment dehistoricizing the meanings established by particular communities that inhabited certain

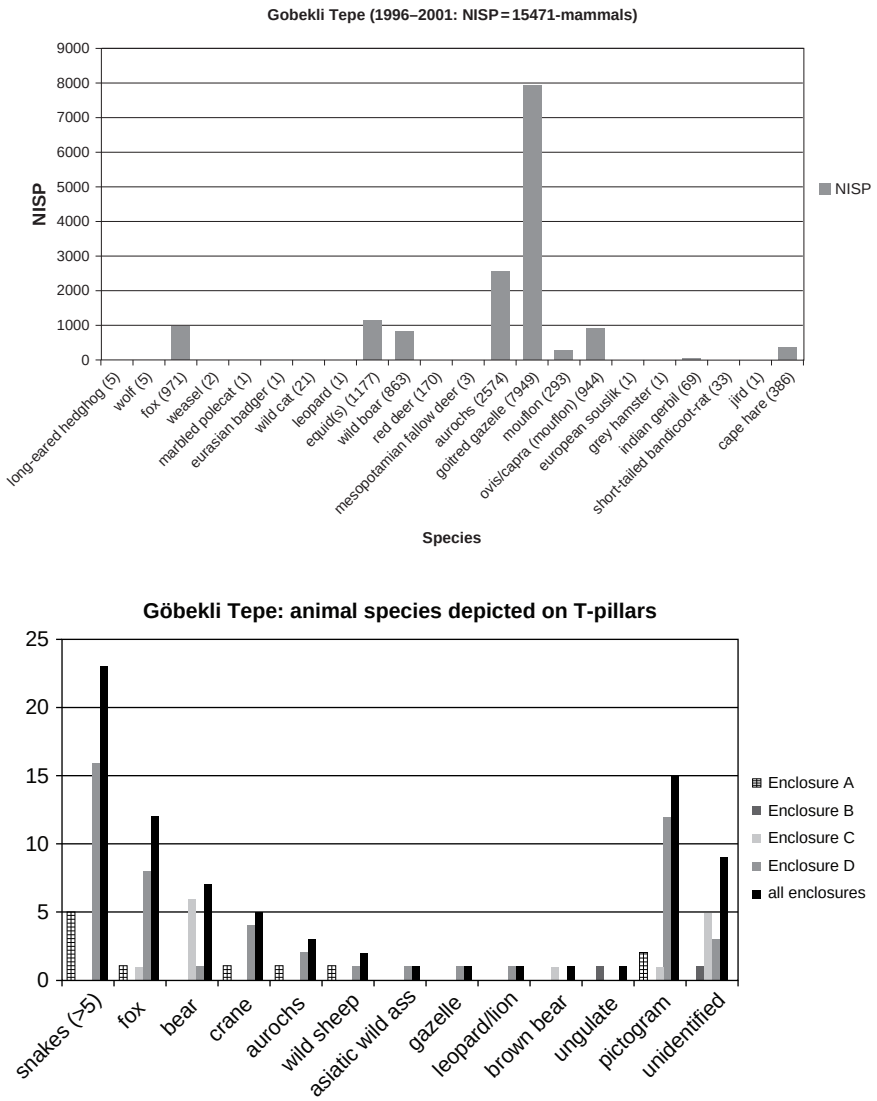

FIGURE 3.4 (a) Frequency of hunted animals at Göbekli Tepe; (b) frequency of depicted animals at Göbekli Tepe (appended after Peters and Schmidt 2004).

sites in the region by extrapolating some vague transhistorical similarities. Instead, a suggestion could be made that aspects of any symbolic ecology established at a particular site may differ significantly from other sites in the wider region, even when elements of the same cultural vocabulary or existing natural affordances are shared (cf. Descola 1996). Indeed, as Phillipe Descola (1992:124) points out, we should be reconstructing "localized systems of interrelations." Before I address the

underlying characteristics of the symbolic ecology of the community or communities that were using/inhabiting Göbekli Tepe, I turn to the wider theoretical context of discussions regarding the transformation from hunting and gathering to farming societies and the concomitant modes of relations that might have characterized these differentiated past contexts.

Domestication as master narrative and other ontologies

The idea that the domestication process is part of a progressive move from 'nature' to 'culture' has often been emphasized (e.g., Cauvin 2000; Hodder 2006, 2007; Verhoeven 2002; Voigt 2000) and only rarely challenged (e.g., Boyd 2004). As the foundation of modernist epistemology, it is often assumed that nature is given and acted upon (e.g., mastered, tamed, etc.), whereas culture is something that becomes an exclusive property of humans in an ever-progressive advance of rationality and reason. In recent anthropological discourse, the abandonment of such a dualist position and the adoption of a monist perspective has been, in large part, triggered by both an internal questioning of Western metaphysics and epistemology (e.g., Latour 1993; cf. Descola 1996:82) and ethnographic fieldwork in non-Western contexts where the nature-culture dichotomy in the conceptualization of the world is meaningless (Descola and Pálsson 1996:7; see also Descola 2005). Rather than assuming an abstract and absolute realm of nature or 'wilderness' from which a particular culture or society is detached, these ethnographic cases indicate that the definitions of 'culture' or 'nature' are always highly contextual and that 'wild-tame' dimensions rarely work as a dichotomy (Hviding 1996; cf. Hodder 1990). And while it is true that Lévi-Strauss used the nature-culture distinction for native societies of the Americas, as Descola emphasizes, "the nature-culture distinction is little more than a blanket label under which Lévi-Strauss has conveniently organized contrasted sets of sensible qualities which may be ethnographically relevant, although Amerindians do not feel the necessity to subsume them, as we do, under two different ontological domains" (1996:84).

Let us take the taxonomy of 'human' vs. 'non-human' bodies. The very distinction that we draw between these labels may in itself appear problematic. What lurks behind this difficulty in naming is the question of our own ontological positioning, of what goes without saying in our universe when the concept of human is contrasted with the concept of non-human: we equate human with 'culture' and non-human with 'nature.' Aparecida Vilaça (2005) stresses that being human or non-human should not be considered in terms of *states* and *substances* but rather in terms of *processes* and *relations* (cf. Descola and Pálsson 1996:12). In such an ontological universe, the potential for transformation/–metamorphosis is acknowledged as an inherent capacity of all beings. To gain or preserve a particular position along the human/non-human spectrum requires a constant negotiation and construction of identity. For instance, Eduardo Viveiros de Castro quotes the ethnographic example of Shokleng community myths, "that the original Shokleng, after sculpting the future jaguars and tapirs in araucaria wood, gave these animals

their characteristic pelts by covering them with the diacritical marks pertaining to the clanic-ceremonial groups: spots for the jaguar, stripes for the tapir." In other words, continues Viveiros de Castro, "it is social organization that was 'out there,' and the jaguars and tapirs that were created or performed by it. The institutional fact created a brute fact" (2004:13). A similar inversion of our own conceptual categories can be found in the domain of relatedness and kinship – instead of sharing something in common as the main postulate for the existence of relations in our own society, Amerindian perspectivism would emphasize relations based on difference, seeing affinity as 'given' and consanguinity as constructed.

But where does this leave us? Is it possible to "challeng[e] universalistic models" while providing for a common discourse and "meaningful comparisons" (Descola and Pálsson 1996:16)? In his book *Par-delà nature et culture* (*Beyond Nature and Culture*), Descola (2005; see also Descola 1992, 1996) suggested schemes of praxis reflecting specific types of relations (between a finite number of elements) that each society establishes with its environment. By using the criteria of physicality, referring to the body, and interiority, which applies to self, personhood, and mind, Descola proposes a four-fold taxonomy of ontologies based on principles of identity and difference: animism, totemism, analogism, and naturalism (see also Watts, this volume; Shapland, this volume; Latour 2009). This typology is based on the varied relationships between humans and non-humans along the axes of interiority (mind and soul) and exteriority (body): (1) *totemism* sees the continuity between humans and non-humans both in terms of their bodies and souls; (2) *animism* sees humans and non-humans as having the same 'culture,' while differing according to their respective bodies; (3) *analogism* is equated with the Ancient Greek and Chinese worldviews where the discontinuity between humans and non-humans on both physicality and interiority axis can be demonstrated, and; (4) *naturalism*, defines the current scientific Western ontology that sees continuity between humans and non-humans along the physicality axis, assuming the same biological basis of life, while discontinuity is postulated along the interiority axis in the assumption that what differentiates humans from other animals is the fact that the former have culture. One should note that Descola's four-fold typology of ontologies still allows that along with a dominant ontology, in any given society, one may find residues of other ontologies, opportunistically surviving in heterogeneously composed assemblages. Descola (1992, 1996) also suggests that there can be several different ideologies or modes of relation present within these dominant ontologies (cf. Lloyd 2006), such as the ideologies of predation, reciprocity/exchange or protection. These different modes of relations can also be linked to particular types of social organization: totemic systems are more frequently found in segmentary societies with descent groups, while animism is more often present in cognatic societies (Descola 1996:88). I will return to some of these issues below with reference to the imagery from Göbekli Tepe.

This particular emphasis on distinctions between the bodies and souls of humans and non-humans as a way of providing clues about particular ontologies invites us to examine the imagery of Göbekli Tepe in the hopes of defining the ontological

world of PPN communities in Upper Mesopotamia more closely. In the remainder of this chapter, I review a discussion by Tim Ingold (2000:111–31; cf. Descola 2010) of differences in depictions between what he identifies as totemic vs. animic hunter-gatherer contexts (for the preference in using the term 'animic' over 'animist,' see Descola 1992:125, n5). The suggestion that styles of depiction as human expression are cross-culturally indicative of underlying ontologies has most recently been explored further by Descola through the exhibition entitled 'La Fabrique des Images' held in Musée Quai Branly in Paris (Descola 2010; cf. Descola 2006). After briefly reviewing aspects of totemic and animic depicitions, an analysis of the iconography of Göbekli Tepe imagery follows.

Totemic and animic depictions among hunter-gatherers

In discussing animic and totemic cultural traditions of Aboriginal Australia and the circumpolar North, Ingold (2000) questions the common understanding of indigenous art and animal depictions, conventionally seen as symbolic representations of 'hunting magic' and asserts that these artworks should be understood as engaging with the plane of immanence, "probing more deeply into it and […] discovering the significance that lies therein" (Ingold 2000:112). The artworks of both cultural traditions are thus not representational but serve to reveal this world of immanence, which the animal's gaze conceals (cf. Borić 2005). There are important differences between these different modes of depicting animals as defined by Ingold (2000) and Descola (2010).

Totemic depictions

In the totemic tradition of Aboriginal Australia, animals and humans share the same ancestral land. All living beings descend from the era of the 'Dreaming,' when the ancestral figures shaped the features of the land, impressing it through their movements and in this way shaping it. The relationship that all living beings have with the land can be described as *essential* – that is, these beings are *consubstantial* – and this is key to Ingold's definition of a 'totemic' context. When it comes to depicting animals and humans in Aboriginal Australia, one can often find images of kangaroos, some with the use of the so-called 'X-ray' style of painting, which shows the internal layout of organs and lines along which the body parts are partitioned during butchering. Describing examples of depictions from Western Arnhem Land, Ingold stresses the static, non-narrative portrayal of the animals, in this way conveying a message about the inanimate character of the depicted being. Ingold goes further to emphasize that the very body of the depicted kangaroo he describes can be seen as the ancestral, immobile landscape in its totality. Through this kind of painting, the ancestral presence is revealed to humans.

On the other hand, in the Kimberley region of northwestern Australia, one finds rock paintings in certain caves with the depiction of *Wandjina* figures, anthropomorphic ancestral beings with a halo-like band around their heads, large rounded

eyes, and no other orifices. Such figures are often accompanied by similarly inanimate depictions of animal forms. According to Ingold (2000:121), these ancestral beings "did not picture themselves *on* the rock, they painted themselves *into* it" and thus, "[i]n the painting, they metamorphosed into their own depictions" since their "depiction is a mode of being." Similarly, in an essay about the iconography of artworks by the Walbiri of central Australia, Nancy Munn (1973:198) emphasizes that artworks can be seen as a process of revealing and opening up that which lies beneath the surface, and understood as efforts to 'pull out' an ancestral force from the immanent reality of Dreaming that lies beneath the surface of the earth.

Animic depictions

On the other hand, in the circumpolar North communities that Ingold discusses as an example of animic ontology, a vital force exists in human exchange with the animal world. Here, one emphasizes the importance of 'cooperation' between hunter and prey, since the meat that can be eaten comes only from the animal that "intentionally offers itself to the hunter" (Ingold 2000:121). In the animic system, hunting is the very activity that enables the flow of vital force between human and non-human beings. Human life "is here predicated on the mortality of animals" (Ingold 2000:114). If totemic ontologies are described as essential, with animal and human beings sharing the same ancestral substance, animic ontologies can be portrayed as *dialogical*. Worldly balance and human life are conditioned by a constant exchange between animals and humans. As well, body form is seen as permanently in flux: "[b]orne along in the current, beings meet, merge and split apart again, each taking with them something of the other" (Ingold 2000:113). What matters in this dialogue and exchange is taking up the point of view of the other, that is the 'relative positioning' of the two sides: "upon 'crossing over' to the animal side, a man will see his hosts as creatures like himself, while to the people back home he will now appear in animal form" (Ingold 2000:114; cf. Viveiros de Castro 1998). This ability to change perspectives is also credited to certain animals (e.g., bear; see Saladin D'Anglure 1994). But it is shamans in particular who can at will change their perspective and journey to the communities of animals in order to uncover the vital force and cure illness (cf. Willerslev 2007). In fact, a shaman in animic systems is seen as possessing a permanently unstable body, and is said to be "chronically ill" (cf. Vilaça 2005). On their journeys, shamans "negotiate with the spirit masters" the release of lost vital force: "[a]nimals of various kinds, known as his 'helpers', carry his inner being aloft on this journey, yet all the while his corporeal body remains where it stands" (Ingold 2000:115).

In examining the mode of depiction with regard to an animic system, Ingold uses an example of the Inuit of northern Québec. In the first narrative scene described by Ingold, a caribou encounters a hunter ready to send an arrow in his direction. In the described drawing, the caribou behaves suspiciously by holding a branch in its jaws and the hunter does not shoot. Yet, in another drawing coming

from the same cultural context, again the encounter between a hunter and a caribou is shown, but this time one sees the caribou with arrows that have penetrated its body, while on the other side, the hunter who shot the arrows looks directly at us and appears terrified. Moreover, the skin and fur of the wounded animal are pulled back and the true face of an inner being is revealed with a dangerous wolf-like snout and sharp, threatening teeth. The scene with the 'hoodless caribou,' shows a danger that may await the hunter if the animal does not give itself up intentionally, that is when there is a violation of the subtle balance and vital exchange between animals and humans. In such instances, killing the prey may cause potential danger to the hunter and even lead to his own death in the encounter with the animal's *real* face, that is, its inner being: " … the possibility of metamorphosis expresses the […] fear of no longer being able to differentiate between the human and the animal, and, in particular, the fear of seeing the human who lurks within the body of the animal one eats … " (cf. Viveiros de Castro 1998:481).

In another instance, Ingold (2000) describes the intertwined worlds of animal and human beings as reflected in the recorded ethnography of the Ojibwa of central Canada. Here, the constitution of the human self is perpetually threatened by the possibility of 'slipping' into the animal realm. For Ojibwa hunters and trappers, the ability to metamorphose is left to very powerful persons, such as sorcerers and shamans, and for most other humans it would mean death (Ingold 2000:93). Importantly, Ingold asserts that it would be misleading to view the process of metamorphosis among the Ojibwa only as a way of clothing or masking the unchanged core of a being since this apparent surface is the actual body. Hence, "[t]he metamorphosis is not a covering up, but an *opening up*, of the person to the world" (Ingold 2000:94). For the Ojibwa, one's personhood and self are in continuous movement – of becoming in relation with other humans and 'other-than-human' beings. The concept of metamorphosis is seen as a way to bridge the distance between one's self in becoming the 'other' through the faculty of empathy. Thus, Ojibwa animism (cf. Bird-David 1999; Descola 1992), or their notion of animacy, enables metamorphosis into those classes of animal beings that are closest to them, animals with whom these humans are genealogically related (Ingold 2000:106–9).

Degrees of danger and predatory moves: the meaning of bared teeth at Göbekli Tepe

So far in my discussion, following Ingold and Descola, I have challenged the dominant mode of seeing Neolithic depictions abundantly found across southwest Asia as abstract statements about symbolic and practical aspects of past societies from the Western dualist perspective. Informed by the discussions of Ingold and Descola regarding different styles of depictions in two different (ontological) systems, labeled totemic and animic, it is now time to turn our attention to an interpretation of the Göbekli Tepe animal imagery. The first question that comes to mind is whether

we can determine if the depictions at Göbekli Tepe come from the totemic or animic systems, according to the logic previously outlined.

The fact that many of the images depicted at Göbekli Tepe can be seen as having a narrative structure – even in the absence of hunting activities, the lack of an 'X-ray' style, and a sense of movement associated with the portrayal of animal forms – could perhaps be considered important clues about the animic, rather than totemic, logic behind the depictions. What is particularly striking here, however, is the similarity between the previously described depiction of a 'hoodless caribou,' which reveals a dangerous inner being underneath its skin by showing its teeth, and the depiction of a certain number of animals at Göbekli Tepe with similarly dangerous bared teeth. In my opinion, this formal similarity is not serendipitous and may point to an animic system behind the animal depictions at this site. But before making conclusions about certain cross-cultural invariants or universals in the use of particular corporeal affordances, such as using teeth of wild predator animals to indicate danger, let us take a closer look at the inner logic of such imagery and try to understand if this formal similarity in depicting certain animals with bared teeth can be seen as having the same underlying function as the caribou depicted by the Inuit.

On T-pillars at Göbekli Tepe, animals often shown with their teeth include wild boar (Figure 3.5), fox (Figure 3.6), lion or leopard, and hyena. Several other predatory animals such as wolves and bears (and a possible reptile) are likely depicted in sculptures found in the backfill of enclosures, attached to some of the T-pillars (e.g., the sculpture on Pillar 27 from Enclosure C [Schmidt 2009: Figure 3]), or as protrusions intentionally inserted in the stone walls of some enclosures. The animate character of these protrusions can also be related to T-pillars encased by stone walls (e.g., a canid and a bird depicted on Pillar 43 from Enclosure D [Schmidt 2009:Figure 8]) and these depictions may have been intended to create a dramatic, theatrical appearance of animals popping up 'alive' from another, parallel world or reality. As such, the stone walls of these structures may have been conceptualized in a similar way to the mudbrick walls of Çatalhöyük buildings: as membranes separating different worlds (cf. Lewis-Williams 2004:38). Associated depictions and sculptures can perhaps be interpreted as a way of releasing these animals or hybrid beings onto the surface that represented the interface between different realities.

That the main intention of depicting these animals in such a way was to underline strong, dangerous spirits lurking beneath the skin of the depicted animals is further strengthened by the display of enlarged canines and erect penises, as well as likely attack postures with raised heads and front legs in relation to the main body axis of a quadruped. Indeed, in certain instances where foxes are shown, we could even speculate that the raised posture of the body, as if the animal is standing on two legs, can possibly be connected with an attempt to mimic a human stance. If this interpretation is correct, it would further emphasize the underlying humanity of the depicted animals (cf. Sahlins 2008; Viveiros de Castro 1998). But before developing the theme of predation in relation to these images, let us dwell a bit longer on the choice of animals showing dangerous teeth (Table 3.1).

FIGURE 3.5 T-pillar 12 with the carvings of birds in a landscape (?), wild boar and fox, Enclosure C, Göbekli Tepe (photograph by Dieter Johannes, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut).

FIGURE 3.6 T-pillar 33, with the carving of a fox, Enclosure D, Göbekli Tepe (photograph by Irmgard Wagner, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut).

TABLE 3.1 Iconography, taxonomy and categorization of Göbekli Tepe animal depictions based on the danger principle.

Dangerous, bared teeth, raised front legs and (attacking?) body posture	*Dangerous (chthonic?), no teeth shown*	*With horncores (danger?)*	*Not obviously dangerous (celestial?), upright posture*
Fox	Scorpion	Aurochs	Duck
Wild boar	Snake	Goitered gazelle	Crane
Lion/leopard (?)	Spider	Wild sheep	Bird (?)
Reptiles (?)			Asiatic ass
Wolf (?)			Vulture
Unidentified canid			
Bear (?)			
Hyena			

While we might expect large predators (e.g., lion, brown bear, or wolf) to be portrayed with bared teeth, as well as potentially dangerous animals such as snakes, scorpions, and spiders,[1] it is curious that such a striking pattern of depiction is also found with animals such as fox and wild boar. Neither of these two animal species could be considered inherently dangerous (even though wild boar can present considerable danger if encountered by humans under particular conditions), and it might be that showing sharp, bared teeth in the depictions of both fox and wild boar (certainly not a characteristic of suids apart from their canines) is intended to remove any doubts about the character of the inner being that lurks beneath the skin. In this way, the potentially ambiguous position of fox and wild boar is laid bare and the message conveyed about both depicted animal species is consistent: these are wild, male, and dangerous beings. To judge by the meanings given to particular animals among the Inuit of the Canadian Arctic, the predatory character of certain species might have been mixed with the idea of scavenging, which may have been connected to various species of birds and perhaps also fox and wild boar (Saladin D'Anglure 1994:179). As mentioned before, a relatively high number of fox bones at the site gives us some idea about both the practical and symbolic uses of fox at Göbekli Tepe. The antiquity of beliefs related to fox and its importance in the wider regional context is supported by the recent discovery of fox bones associated with a human burial found at the Middle Epipalaeolithic site of 'Uyun al-Hammam in northern Jordan (Maher et al. 2011).

In contrast to the previous groups of animals, no bared teeth are shown in depictions of aurochs or several kinds of birds (likely cranes, ducks, and vultures). Yet, on several T-pillars, one finds a juxtaposition of these different groups of animals. Similar to aurochs, depictions of goitered gazelles, Asiatic wild ass, and wild sheep or mouflon also remain 'toothless.' As well, there is a recurrent practice of depicting aurochs by showing the skull with horn cores *en face* and never in profile. Here, we can only speculate as to whether the emphasis on showing

auroch, gazelle and wild sheep horn cores in this way might relate to the danger of this particular body part or to a host of other significations that might have surrounded horn cores in this cultural context (see Hodder and Meskell 2010 and references therein regarding the importance of horn cores from aurochs and other animals at Çatalhöyük).

Finally, the group of animals that is not in any obvious way implicated with predatory intentions is birds, such as cranes and ducks (Figure 3.5). In several instances, there are multiple depictions of their body form, as if to create an illusion of movement (a similar style of depiction is found in Upper Palaeolithic Franco-Cantabrian parietal art; see Lewis-Williams 2002 and Lewis-Williams and Pearce 2005 for an interpretation based on altered states of consciousness). It is probably no accident that only avian fauna is shown in this way. The ambulatory behavior of some birds, for example, such as crane or even duck, might have been understood as human-like (Russell and McGowan 2003), making them closer to humans in this classificatory universe or betraying their underlying humanity (cf. Lévi-Strauss 1966:204, 207).

In contrast to predatory, scavenging, and dangerous animals, birds might not have expressed any threat and, while this is speculative, may even have been understood as shamans under their feathers and skin. To emphasize this humanity, the bird depicted on Pillar 43, Enclosure D (Figure 3.7) at Göbekli Tepe also has incised neck ornamentation similar to the one depicted on the sculpture of the Urfa

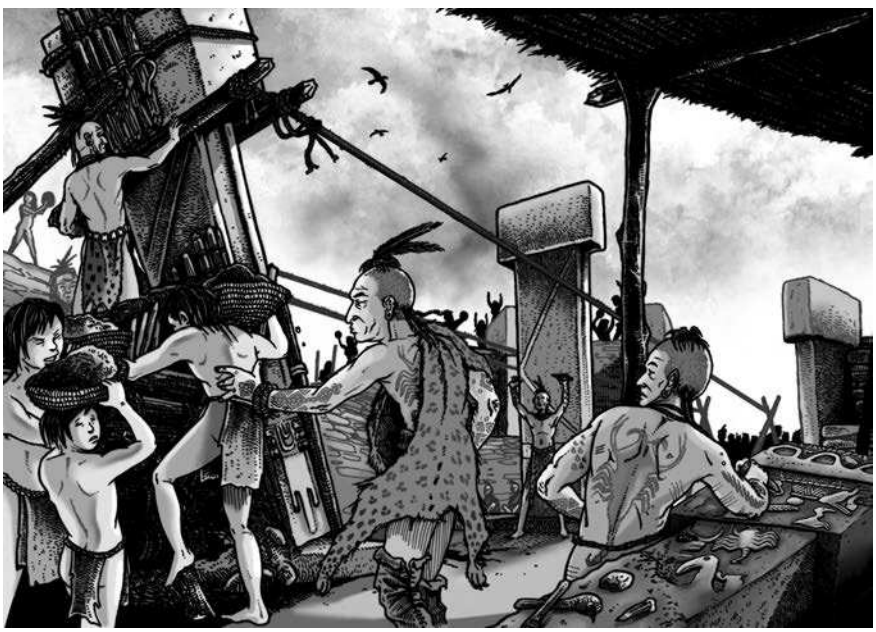

FIGURE 3.7 An artistic reconstruction of construction works in enclosure D (Layer III) at Göbekli Tepe (drawing: John Gordon Swogger).

Man (cf. Hauptmann 2003). The depiction of the headless human riding this bird could perhaps be interpreted as a moment of shamanic transformation. Shamanistic journeys are often seen as temporary deaths of these individuals, and the perspective taken in this scene might have been from the point of view of the spirit world, or birds themselves, rather than that of ordinary life and the human world.

As we find many animal depictions at Göbekli Tepe which can be understood to display a predatory stance, we may ask in what types of ontological contexts would these intentions have been emphasized? In order to answer this question, we should return to the point stressed by Ingold when discussing the hunting scene in the Circumpolar North, in which a wounded caribou reveals its predatory intentions towards the hunter:

> For not only does the hoodless caribou, its predatory intentions revealed, pose a direct threat to life and limb, but also the very sight of it casts a pall of uncertainty over [the hunter's] existential status as a human being. In short, the faces of animals are visible only to humans who have taken up the subject positions of the animals themselves, and who have therefore – in the eyes of other humans – actually *turned into* animals. Only shamans have the power to do this intentionally and with relative impunity.
>
> *(Ingold 2000:123)*

Following this passage, the imagery depicted at Göbekli Tepe on T-pillars and three-dimensional sculptures suggests an arena in which one is removed from the everyday conduct of the world. Here, it would seem, one encounters the parallel worlds of powerful animal communities, which are revealed by their release from T-pillars or by the intentional installations of dangerous animals that protrude from stone enclosure walls. Following the logic of an animic or perspectival system (cf. Latour 2009), the construction of such an animate theater might have presented considerable danger for those who were involved in such an undertaking (Figure 3.7). As Ingold (2000:126) notes, the act of carving, as opposed to painting, is closer to the animic system as "carving is not the wilful imposition of preconceived form on brute matter, but a process in which the carver is continually responsive to the intrinsic qualities of the material, to how it wants to be." It is again the dialogue with the very material being carved that might have enabled the release of vital force embodied in the animals depicted at Göbekli Tepe. Here, one is tempted to agree with Lewis-Williams and Pearce (2005) that the existence of ritual practitioners/specialists might have been a necessary condition for this type of social context. Such shamans may have mediated between what is perceived as everyday human existence and the perspectives taken up by the communities of depicted spirit animals. Such shamans may have been exactly those people whose hard labor went into the release of dangerous and predatory animals through the very acts of carving, suggesting horizontal, rather than vertical, shamanism in this context (cf. Hugh-Jones 1994).

So far, I have attempted to identify a grid of internal logic behind depictions of animal imagery at Göbekli Tepe with the help of ethnographic comparisons and the alignment of these artworks with animic or perspectival thought, rather than totemic ontological contexts. We still know little about the nature of activities that were taking place at Göbekli Tepe, partly due to the (likely intentional) demolition of certain sculptures and their deposition in secondary contexts, the intentional backfilling of enclosures by occupation refuse, and the still unexcavated lower levels and stone benches which may hide key pieces of evidence in this particular archaeological puzzle. It seems possible, however, to sketch a particular ontological system that might have perceived the human world as full of powerful beings, some with threatening, predatory powers. Such a world likely necessitated constant negotiations with humans and non-humans, as well as the living and the dead, for the retrieval of vital forces upon which the life of all beings is conditioned. One could also speculate that these animic or perspectival ontological systems might have brought together ethnically or culturally diverse communities that shared the same ontological outlook (Miracle and Borić 2008). It has been noted by Peters and Schmidt (2004:210) that a number of flint arrow points from different PPN regional traditions across Upper Mesopotamia (e.g., Aswad, el-Khiam, Helwan, Nemrik, and Nevalı Çori) are found at the site, suggesting to the authors that Göbekli Tepe may have served as a nodal point for supra-regional gatherings. Exploring each other's differences with predatory intentions of emulating and becoming the other might have been key elements of the general tendency for "transferability and intercultural validity" (Sherratt 1995:16–17) across the PPN world.

Conclusion

While I have attempted to give meanings to a range of depictions at Göbekli Tepe, it is clear that the spectrum of themes that these carvings reveal is far from singular. In other words, while depictions within totemic and animic systems have previously been discussed primarily in relation to the practice of hunting and relations between humans and animals established in such contexts, it becomes apparent that depictions at Göbekli Tepe can hardly be subsumed under the rubric of reflections on hunting. This extraordinary site suggests many other themes when it comes to the nature and range of its imagery: the question of metamorphosed anthropomorphic and schematized beings depicted on T-pillars, schematization in the depiction of bull heads in particular, the depiction of highly schematized carved symbols of unknown significance, such as H-signs positioned on particular parts of the T-pillar body, and the schematization of snakes in the creation of geometric non-figurative net-like patterns, among others. Moreover, one could argue that there is little obvious association between snakes, spiders, and scorpions on the one hand, and hunting on the other. And, there is no need for us to expect that the very activity of hunting was ever intended to be depicted here (or for that matter at the much later site of Çatalhöyük, where one indeed finds schematically depicted miniature human figures 'teasing' larger-than-life animals).

In accord with Ingold's and Descola's discussions of the nature, function, and meaning of depictions in animic and totemic contexts of hunter-gatherer societies, the portrayals at Göbekli Tepe do not show everyday aspects of hunting practices in relation to particular animals or provide statements about the human overpowering of the wild, as implied through the metanarratives of domestication so often evoked in archaeological interpretations of the Early Holocene symbolic ecology. Such narratives can only be read as our own impatient anticipations of the neatly assembled 'Neolithic packages' with domesticated plants and animals as key goodies. The depictions at Göbekli Tepe, rather, release the power of the predator and more ambiguously positioned animals. They might have come from a human desire and hunger for the vital force that particular animals harness beneath their volatile and changing skins. Surely, this release of vital force, power, and danger is hardly haphazard and, at Göbekli Tepe, it is not that only certain animals can be trusted and expected to release such powers, but it seems that the very choice of animals and their occasionally spatially structured depictions reveal the logic of their own, a particular classificatory system constructed through accumulation of 'wild thinking' (cf. Keck 2009) and by socializing particular animals and the powerful inner beings they embody. What seems to pervade in this particular ontological system is the notion of predation. At the same time, it is quite likely that the very existence of such a complex construction, with the concomitant mobilization of work that it entailed, represents a statement about socially complex ways of relating. And perhaps already at this historical moment it was becoming difficult to think about the multiplicity of existing relations among emerging singularities of the world without developing and resorting to modes of thinking involving analogical relations (*sensu* Descola). Yet, the question that has been posed before remains: was it an underlying animality or humanity that is being depicted here? Who is the hunter and who is hunted in this theater of predation?[2]

Notes

1 Apart from their dangerous character, perhaps this group of animals can be linked to the world below, that is, to the chthonic stratum of a tiered cosmos. For instance, in North American mythology, Spider has "a magical power he had received from the Thunders … . The Nighthawk (a goatsucker) stands halfway between the Thunders and, masters of the celestial world, and Spider, master of the terrestrial world: he bears the responsibility for the conflict between these powers" (Lévi-Strauss 1988:68).

2 I am grateful to Klaus Schmidt for his warm welcome to the site of Göbekli Tepe in the fall of 2008, his generous tour of the site, and images reproduced here. I would also like to acknowledge the support of the Cambridge-based, Leverhulme-funded programme "Changing Beliefs of the Human Body: Comparative Perspective," during which a field trip to the site and the exhibition in Karlsruhe, as well as some thinking and writing about Göbekli Tepe, took place. I am also grateful to Alasdair Whittle and Chris Watts for their comments on earlier drafts of the paper, and to Chris Watts for his meticulous editorial help.

Bibliography

Banning, Edward 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):619–40.

Belfer-Cohen, Anna, and Nigel Goring-Morris 2011. Comment on So Fair a House: Göbekli Tepe and the Identification of Temples in the Pre-Pottery Neolithic of the Near East. *Current Anthropology* 52(5):642–43.

Bird-David, Nurit 1999. 'Animism' Revisited: Personhood, Environment, and Relational Epistemology. *Current Anthropology* 40(S):67–91.

Borić, Dušan 2005. Body Metamorphosis and Animality: Volatile Bodies and Boulder Artworks from Lepenski Vir. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 15(1):35–69.

Boyd, Brian 2004. Agency and Landscape: Abandoning the Nature/Culture Dichotomy in Interpretations of the Natufian. In *The Last Hunter-Gatherer Societies in the Near East*, edited by Christophe Delage, pp. 119–36. British Archaeological Reports International Series 1320. Archaeopress, Oxford.

Cauvin, Jacques 2000. *The Birth of the Gods and the Origins of Agriculture*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Dietrich, Oliver 2011. Radiocarbon Dating the First Temples of Mankind. Comments on 14C-dates from Göbekli Tepe. *Zeitschrift für Orient-Archäologie* 4:12-25

Dietrich, Oliver, Manfred Heun, Jens Notroff, Klaus Schmidt, and Martin Zarnkow 2012. The Role of Cult and Feasting in the Emergence of Neolithic Communities. New Evidence from Göbekli Tepe, South-eastern Turkey. *Antiquity* 86:674-695.

Descola, Philippe 1992. Societies of Nature and the Nature of Society. In *Conceptualizing Society*, edited by Adam Kuper, pp. 107–26. Routledge, London.

——(1996). Constructing Natures: Symbolic Ecology and Social Practice. In *Nature and Society: Anthropological Perspectives*, edited by ?Philippe Descola and ?Gísli Pálsson, pp. 82–102. Routledge, London.

——(2005). *Par-delà Nature et Culture*. Éditions Gallimard, Paris.

——(2006). La Fabrique des Images. *Anthropologie et Sociétés* 30(3):167–82.

——2010. *La Fabrique des Images*. Musée Quai Branly, Paris.

Descola, Philippe, and Gísli Pálsson 1996. Introduction. In *Nature and Society: Anthropological Perspectives*, edited by Philippe Descola and Gísli Pálsson, pp. 1–22. Routledge, London.

Hauptmann, Harald 1993. Ein Kultgebaude in Nevalı Çori. In *Between the Rivers and Over the Mountains: Archaeologica Anatolica et Mesopotamica Alba Palmieri Dedicata*, edited by Marcella Frangipane, Harald Hauptmann, Mario Liverani, Paulo Matthiae, and Machteld Mellink, pp. 37–69. University of Rome, Rome.

——(1999). The Urfa Region. In *Neolithic in Turkey: The Cradle of Civilization: New Discoveries*, edited by Mehmet Özdoğan and Nezih Başgelen, pp. 65–86. Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayinlari, Istanbul.

——(2000). Ein Frühneolitisches Kultbild aus Kommagene. In *Gottkönige am Euphrat – Neue Ausgrabungen und Forschungen in Kommagene*, edited by Jörg Wagner, pp. 5–9. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz.

——(2002). Upper Mesopotamia in its Regional Context During the Early Neolithic. In *The Neolithic of Central Anatolia*, edited by Frederick Gerard and Laurens Thissen, pp. 263–71. Ege Yayınları, Istanbul.

——(2003). Eine Frühneolitische Kultfigur aus Urfa. In *Köyden Kente: Yakindoğu'da ilk yerleşimler – From Village to Cities: Early Villages in the Near East*, edited by Mehmet Özdoğan, Harald Hauptmann, and Nezih Başgelen, pp. 623–36. Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, Istanbul.

——(2007). Nevalı Çori. In *Vor 12000 Jahren in Anatolien. Die ältesten Monumente der Menschheit (Gebundene Ausgabe)*, edited by Clemens Lichter, pp. 86–87. Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe.

Hauptmann, Harald, and Klauss Schmidt 2007. Anatolien vor 12000 Jahren: Die Skulpturen des Frühneolithikums. In *Vor 12000 Jahren in Anatolien. Die ältesten Monumente der Menschheit (Gebundene Ausgabe)*, edited by Clemens Lichter, pp. 67–82. Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe.

Hodder, Ian 1990. *The Domestication of Europe*. Basil Blackwell, Oxford.

——(2006). *The Leopard's Tale: Revealing the Mysteries of Çatalhöyük*. Thames and Hudson, London.

——(2007). Çatalhöyük in the Context of the Middle East Neolithic. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 36:105–20.

Hodder, Ian, and Lynn Meskell 2010. The Symbolism of Çatalhöyük in its Regional Context. In *Religion in the Emergence of Civilization: Çatalhöyük as a Case Study*, edited by Ian Hodder, pp. 32–72. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Hugh-Jones, Stephen 1994. Shamans, Prophets, Priests, and Pastors. In *Shamanism, History, and the State*, edited by Nicholas Thomas and Caroline Humphrey, pp. 32–75. University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor.

Hviding, Edvard 1996. Nature, Culture, Magic, Science: On Meta-language for Comparison in Cultural Ecology. In *Nature and Society: Anthropological Perspectives*, edited by Philippe Descola and Gísli Pálsson, pp. 165–84. Routledge, London.

Ingold, Tim 2000. *The Perception of the Environment: Essays in Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill*. Routledge, London.

Keck, Frédéric 2009. The Limits of Classification: Claude Lévi-Strauss and Mary Douglas. In *The Cambridge Companion to Lévi-Strauss*, edited by in Boris Wiseman, pp. 139–55. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Kuijt, Ian 2011. Comment on So fair a house: Göbekli Tepe and the identification of temples in the Pre-Pottery Neolithic of the Near East. *Current Anthropology* 52(5):646–47.

Kuijt, Ian, and Nigel Goring-Morris 2002. Foraging, Farming, and Social Complexity in the Pre-Pottery Neolithic of the Southern Levant: A Review and Synthesis. *Journal of World Prehistory* 16:361–440.

Latour, Bruno 1993. *We Have Never Been Modern*. Harvester Wheatsheaf, New York.

——(2009). Perspectivism: Type or Bomb. *Anthropology Today* 24(2):1–2.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude 1966. *The Savage Mind*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

——(1988). *The Jealous Potter*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude, and Didier Eribon 1991. *Conversations with Claude Lévi-Strauss*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Lewis-Williams, David 2002. *The Mind in the Cave: Consciousness and the Origins of Art*. Thames and Hudson, London.

——(2004). Constructing a Cosmos: Architecture, Power and Domestication at Çatalhöyük. *Journal of Social Archaeology* 4(1):28–59.

Lewis-Williams, David, and David Pearce 2005. *Inside the Neolithic Mind*. Thames and Hudson, London.

Lloyd, Geoffrey 2006. Pint for the Cat. *The Times Literary Supplement* 17 March:22–23.

Maher, Lisa A., Jay T. Stock, Sarah Finney, James J. N. Heywood, Preston T. Miracle, and Edward B. Banning 2011. A Unique Human-Fox Burial from a Pre-Natufian Cemetery in the Levant (Jordan). *PLoS One* 6(1):e15815.

Miracle, Preston, and Dušan Borić 2008. Bodily Beliefs and Agricultural Beginnings in Western Asia: Animal-human Hybridity Re-examined. In *Past Bodies: Body-centered Research in Archaeology*, edited by Dušan Borić and John Robb, pp. 101–13. Oxbow Books, Oxford.

Munn, Nancy 1973. The Spatial Presentation of Cosmic Order in Walbiri Iconography. In *Primitive Art and Society*, edited by Anthony Forge, pp. 193–220. Oxford University Press, London.

Peters, Joris, and Klaus Schmidt 2004. Animals in the Symbolic World of Pre-Pottery Neolithic Göbekli Tepe, South-eastern Turkey: A Preliminary Assessment. *Anthropozoologica* 39:179–218.

Russell, Nerissa, and Kevin J. McGowan 2003. Dance of the Cranes: Crane Symbolism at Çatalhöyük and Beyond. *Antiquity* 77(297):445–55.

Sahlins, Marshall 2008. *The Western Illusion of Human Nature: With Reflections on the Long History of Hierarchy, Equality, and the Sublimation of Anarchy in the West, and Comparative Notes on Other Conceptions of the Human Condition*. Prickly Paradigm, Chicago.

Saladin D'Anglure, Bernard 1994. Nanook, Super-male: Polar Bear in the Imaginary Space and Social Time of the Inuit of the Canadian Arctic. In *Signifying Animals: Human Meaning in the Natural World*, edited by Roy Willis, pp. 178–95. Routledge, London.

Schmidt, Klaus 2001. Göbekli Tepe, Southestern Turkey. A Preliminary Report on the 1995–99 Excavations. *Paléorient* 26(1):45–54.

——(2003). 'Kraniche am See'. Bilder und Zeichen vom frühneolithischen Göbekli Tepe (Südosttürkei). In *Der Turmbau zu Babel. Ursprung und Vielfalt von Sprache und Schrift, Eine Ausstellung des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien für die Europäische Kulturhauptstadt*, edited by Wilfried Seipel, pp. 23–29. Band IIIA, Graz.

——(2005). 'Ritual Centers' and the Neolithisation of Upper Mesopotamia. *Neo-Lithics* 2(5):13–21.

——(2006). *Sie bauten die ersten Tempel: Das rätselhafte Heiligtum der Steinzeitjäger: die archäologische Entdeckung am Göbekli Tepe*. Beck, Munich.

——(2009). Göbekli Tepe: Eine Beschreibung der wichtigsten Befunde erstellt nach den Arbeiten der Grabungsteams der Jahre 1995–2007. In *Erste Tempel – Frühe Siedlungen: 12000 Jahre Kunst und Kultur. Ausgrabungen und Forschungen zwischen Donau und Euphrat*, pp. 3–39. Isensee Verlag, Oldenburg.

——(2010). Göbekli Tepe: The Stone Age Sanctuaries. New Results of Ongoing Excavations with a Special Focus on Sculptures and High Reliefs. *Documenta Praehistorica* 27:239–56.

Schmidt, Klaus, and Harald Hauptmann 2003. Göbekli Tepe et Nevalı Çori. *Dossiers d'Archéologie* 281:60–67.

Sherratt, Andrew, 1995. Reviving the Grand Narrative: Archaeology and Long-term Change. *Journal of European Archaeology* 3(1):1–32.

Stordeur, Danielle 2000. New Discoveries in Architecture and Symbolism at Jerf el Ahmar (Syria), 1997–99. *Neo-Lithics* 1:1–4.

Stordeur, Danielle, and Frédéric Abbès 2002. Du PPNA au PPNB: Mise en lumière d'une phase de transition à Jerf el Ahmar (Syrie). *Bulletin de la Société Préhistorique Française* 99(3):563–95.

Stordeur, Danielle, Michel Brenet, Gérard Der Aprahamian, and Jean-Claude Roux 2000. Les bâtiments communautaires de Jerf el Ahmar et Mureybet horizon PPNA (Syrie). *Paléorient* 26(1):29–44.

Verhoeven, Marc 2002. Ritual and Ideology in the Pre-Pottery Neolithic B of the Levant and Southeast Anatolia. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 12:233–58.

——(2011). Comments on So Fair a House: Göbekli Tepe and the Identification of Temples in the Pre-Pottery Neolithic of the Near East. *Current Anthropology* 52(5):649–50.

Vilaça, Aparecida 2005. Chronically Unstable Bodies: Reflections on Amazonian Corporalities. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 11:445–64.

Viveiros de Castro, Eduardo 1992. *From the Enemy's Point of View: Humanity and Divinity in an Amazonian Society*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

——(1998). Cosmological Deixis and Amerindian Perspectivism. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 4:469–88.

——(2004). Perspectival Anthropology and the Method of Controlled Equivocation. *Tipití* 2(1):3–22.

Voigt, Mary M. 2000. Çatal Höyük in Context: Ritual at Early Neolithic Sites in Central and Eastern Turkey. In *Life in Neolithic Farming Communities: Social Organization, Identity, and Differentiation*, edited by Ian Kuijt, pp. 253–93. Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, London.

Willerslev, Rane 2007. *Soul Hunters: Hunting, Animism and Personhood among the Siberian Yukaghirs*. University of California Press, Berkeley.