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# Some Neo-Assyrian Sculptures from Şanlıurfa Province (Upper Balikh)

## Fikri Kulakoğlu\*

#### Özet

Şanlıurfa İli sınırları içinde yaptığımız yüzey araştırmasında, M.Ö. I. Bin'in ilk yarısına tarihlenen çok sayıda heykeltraşlık eseri bulduk. Bulduğumuz bu eserler, Geç Hitit siyasi sınırlarının ve etki alanının daha doğuya doğru genişletilebileceğini gösterdi. Yüzey araştırmasında bulduğumuz Geç Hitit eserlerinin yanısıra, Geç Assur sanatı etkisinde yapılmış çeşitli kaide, heykel, stel ve ortostad gibi heykeltraşlık eserleri de keşfettik. Ayrıca Acıgöz'de keşfedilen bir heykel taslağı da, sözkonusu bu eserlerin yerel olarak yapıldığını göstermesi bakımından önem taşımaktadır.

The province of Şanlıurfa in southeastern Anatolia extends along the southern flanks and plains of the Anti-Tauruses, which border the Fertile Crescent to the south. The region has an average altitude of 500 m making a step from the Syrian Desert. The Euphrates borders the province on the west. A few natural springs flowing through Urfa, such as Cullab Su, joining the Balikh River to the south, are not sufficient for agriculture. Karacadağ in the northeast of the province blocks the connection to the north in general, but the plain extending to Mardin on the east, and the Euphrates on the west forms a natural route from east to west and from south to north (Fig. 1). This partially mountainous region was vital for the powers dominating in the south and southeast thanks to the routes coming from Assyria and directed onto Central Anatolia. 1

The ancient sources mentioning Harran, *Huzirina* and Anaz/*Duru* do not provide us with much information on the history of the region. Excavations, such as those at Harran, Sultantepe and Aşağı Yarımca, of the mid 20th century, have also added greatly to our knowledge not only of the prehistory but also of the Assyrian culture in the region.<sup>2</sup>

N. Özgüç published a Late-Hittite orthostat from Kırıklıbayır, a product of local art with clear Assyrian influences, which was taken to the Şanlıurfa Museum, and informed the academic world about other contemporary sculptures in the Museum.<sup>3</sup> As a member of the expedition team, I had the opportunity to study these examples closely.<sup>4</sup> Beside the Late Hittite sculptures and inscriptions, many sculptures produced by local artists influenced by the Neo-Assyrian culture have also been discovered during our surveys in the region. The provenances of the artifacts at the Urfa Museum became the starting point for our surveys.

### **Results of the Survey**

A. The first village visited was Mehmedihan of Viranşehir (Fig. 2), where the two following bases at Urfa Museum are said to have come from.<sup>5</sup> The first double-bull base (100 x 95 x 85 cm) has the heads worked in the round while the outer sides of the animals together with the legs are in high relief (Fig. 3). The rear of the base is flat. The heads are destroyed

almost to the neck. The bulls are depicted as stepping forward, with the outer forelegs in advance.

This base is one of the two pieces from Mehmedihan at the Urfa Museum, which both show the clear Assyrian stylistic features of Late Hittite art. The most distinctive Assyrian feature here is the presence of five legs. This is the characteristic of the 9th and the 8th centuries B.C. of Assyrian gate animal sculpture.<sup>6</sup> The cover over the bull is another Assyrian element. The earliest example of such covers is seen on a basalt winged bull statue with a human head from Nimrud from the time of Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 B.C.).<sup>7</sup> This kind of ornamentation on some animals was also in fashion in the Urartian Land in the 7th century B.C.8 As marked out by T. Özgüc, examples of Urartian art with a rug or cover on the back of bulls indicate them as the sacred animals of deities. 9 By considering all these criteria and stylistic peculiarities, the Mehmedihan bull-base can be dated to the late 8th century B.C.

The second base looks unfinished but its style of execution is alike (Fig. 4).

In the centre of the village, some parts of ancient walls are also discernible. During the survey in this village, we found more traces of the ancient settlement and more carved stones. A fragment of a statue and almost half of a stele in the Assyrian tradition were reused in modern walls.

The fragment of a human statue, whose parallels are known from Neo-Assyrian sites, was used in the wall of a modern house (Fig. 5). <sup>10</sup> The statue is preserved only 35 cm in height, 60 cm in width and 40 cm in thickness. On the front, a sash with three rosettes hangs down (Fig. 5). On the rear, a line of rosettes and the fringed end of the long tunic can be seen.

The limestone stele from Mehmedihan ( $70 \times 55 \times 40 \text{ cm}$ ) is in poor condition (Fig. 6). A beardless figure without headgear seems to have a gesture of respect to the symbols of gods and to be in supplication.<sup>11</sup> The relief was carved in a style close to that of the Neo-Assyrian Empire and the figure may represent one of the local rulers.<sup>12</sup>

B. The second site visited was Aslanlı, which lies 19 km west of Siverek, to the north of Urfa. During construction

work on the mound in the village, a colossal sculpture of basalt was found (Fig. 7). The sculpture (205 x 45 x 90 cm) recalls the double colossal gate sculptures of Assyria. It is well known that the method of designing entrances with colossal and fantastic composite figures of winged bulls and lions with human heads was adopted as of the time of Ashurnasirpal II in Assyria. The similar bull or *lamassu* examples are known from Korsabad and especially from Arslantaş in the neighbouring region. The left side of the sculpture is worked roughly while there is a relief carved on the right side. The five legs, resulting from the combined front and side views are arranged in prescribed Assyrian manner.

C. On the old road from Karakeçi to Siverek, 1 km south of Acıgöz village, we discovered an unfinished lion figure of basalt ( $310 \times 226 \times 54$  cm). In the near vicinity, we also found traces of ancient settlement and unfinished examples or blocks cut for sculpting. This unfinished lion (Fig. 8) recalls the Assyrian lion sculptures of its time, like the one we discovered in Aslanlı.

Only a few sculpture quarries or workshops of the Late Bronze Age or Early Iron Age are known in the region to date, namely Yesemek and Domuztepe in southeastern Anatolia and Sikizlar in north Syria. Limestone was quarried near Carchemish while the basalt blocks were procured from Arappinari, 35 km northeast of Carchemish. However, no workshop has been identified in the region. Kebise, 6,3 km to the north of Tell Halaf, provided the basalt for Tell Halaf sculptures; however, no evidence of workmanship has been found there either, and this is the only other quarry known in the region. Thus, Acigöz adds a new site to the very limited number of open-air sculpture workshops or quarries of southeastern Anatolia-north Syria.

D. On the southwest flank of Karacadağ, north of Viranşehir, lies the Çıkrık village. This site is located on a strategic point, almost at an altitude of 1200 m, and controlling the entire plain of Viranşehir. We discovered two stelae here. One stele ( $75 \times 54 \times 26$  cm) bears the symbol of Sin, recalling the Aşağı Yarımca stele and the other stelae found in the region (Fig. 9). The second one ( $36 \times 32 \times 20$  cm), preserved partially, has the depiction of a human figure below the waist on it (Fig. 10). It seems plausible to expect a sanctuary dedicated to Sin here.

E. The limestone slab (56 x 58 cm) recently acquired by the Urfa Museum is said to have been found at Til Hınta, which is located in the vicinity of the Aşağı Yarımca, Harran and Sultantepe mounds (Fig. 11).<sup>20</sup> On the front side, there are two registers decorated in low-relief. The upper register is almost twice as large as the lower one. Unfortunately, the figures are much worn away due to weathering. It is almost impossible to identify most of the details. On the upper frieze, a servant is seen on the left, behind a figure enthroned. A table and three figures are seen before the seated figure. The table is full of dishes/food (?). The servant on the left seems to be holding a mirror. It is very unlikely that we could identify the three figures on the right. The first and the second figures from the left seem to be holding a fan. The third figure, who

wears a short tunic, in contrast to the others, seems to be holding an unidentifiable object (jug?).

In the lower frieze, there are two scenes. In the first scene on the left, two figures with short tunics are bringing an animal with hump (?). In the second scene, a composition similar to the one in the upper register is repeated.

The important point here is the composition of the main scenes, which recalls the "feast scenes" of the Late Hittite art.<sup>21</sup> However, we must also take note of the Neo-Assyrian artistic features.<sup>22</sup>

F. On the southeast of the Sultantepe mound, at Kap village, two basalt stelae were found and acquired by the museum. These stelae, are said to have been found in a field. However, during our survey in the field, we saw that the mound was entirely destroyed during the construction of irrigation canals.

On the first stele (79 x 39 x 16 cm), a male figure holds a cup in his right hand (Fig. 12). He has a long and rectangular beard. His hair is combed backward and piled at the nape of the neck. He wears a long tunic with short sleeves over which a fringed shawl is wrapped as seen on Assyrian high-ranking personages.<sup>23</sup> The fringes end in a straight line. On the second stele (68 x 36,5 x 16 cm), the same figure is repeated but with a servant holding a fan, depicted smaller in size before him (Fig. 13).

G. During construction work in the vicinity of the city of Şanlıurfa, an orthostat (110 x 75 x 23 cm) was discovered and brought to the museum (Fig.14). However, its exact location of discovery is not known. On the front side, a deity with a bow is depicted. He wears a polos with a (double?) horn and a long mantle over a short tunic. His fashion recalls the garments of the deities on the stele from Til Barsip and a relief from Ashur and the two genies on an ortostat from Sakçagözü.<sup>24</sup>

## Historical setting:

The earliest Neo-Assyrian activity in this region is known from the annals of Assur-dan II (934-912). His successor Adad-nirari II (911-891) also campaigned in the same areas and captured *Huzirina*, *Guzana* and *Nasibina*. Tukulti-Ninurta II (890-884), son of Adad-nirari II, opened the main route to Anatolia conquering *Bit-Zamani*. He turned north to *Shadikannu* and *Nasibina* after *Laqe*, and then hit west towards *Huzirina*.<sup>25</sup>

Several campaigns of Ashurnasirpal II targeted the north. The Assyrian hold was consolidated by colonizing *Tushan*. <sup>26</sup> In his 18th regnal year, during the *Kutmukhi* and *Zamani* campaign, he arrived in Sultantepe (*Huzirina*), camped there, and, conquering the surrounding kingdoms, received tributes such as from the Land of *Qipani*, *Kummuhi*, *Ašša*, *Habhu* and Land of *Adani* and its cities *Umalia* and *Hiranu*. <sup>27</sup> K. Köroğlu has already proposed that the land of *Adani*, which was attested in these Neo-Assyrian annals, should be identified and localized as Kabahaydar/Edene. <sup>28</sup>

Shalmaneser III (858-824), son of Ashurnasirpal, almost immediately on his ascension to the throne, faced a coalition

of the local kingdoms in the region. Shalmaneser III succeeded in defeating the coalition of *Carchemish*, *Pattina*, *Samal*, *Que* and *Hilakku*, and annexed *Bit Adini*. The importance he paid to the region is explicitly seen when Arslantaş near Şanlıurfa was selected as the site for a royal palace and functioned as a military base as well after its annexation to Assyria in 856 B.C. - the third regnal year of Shalmaneser III.

The interest and the respect of the Assyrian Kings to the Sin cult<sup>29</sup> and Şanlıurfa region, especially to Harran, continued during the reign of Asarhaddon as well. A letter, dated to the time of Asarhaddon, the father of Ashurbanipal and Shamash-shum-ukin, recorded that the statues of the princes would be placed before the symbol/statue of Sin.<sup>30</sup> In the early years of his reign, Ashurbanipal had the Sin Temple in Harran restored. He had not only restored the É.HÚL.HÚL of Sin but also repaired the Akitu,<sup>31</sup> the house of Sin. As a sign of his benevolence, he had also appointed one of his brothers as an *urigallu* priest.<sup>32</sup>

Finally, when Nineveh fell in 612 B.C., Harran acted as the capital city for the Assyrian Kingdom in 611-610 B.C. when Assur-uballit, the last Assyrian king, was in power. After serving as the capital for two years, the city passed into the hands of the Babylonians and the Medes.

## Concluding remarks

As described above and from the historical summary, it is not surprising to find in the Şanlıurfa region works of art in pure Assyrian style or made under Assyrian artistic influence. Şanlıurfa played an important role from the rise to the fall of this superpower, both as a ritual center and for a short time with an administrative identity.

The sculptures discovered in the survey present elements of Assyrian art or Assyrian motifs in the Late Hittite

composition, produced by local workshops. Before the Assyrian cultural and political domination in the region, the schools of Hittite sculpture produced locally Late Hittite artifacts. Examples of Late Hittite sculptures dating to the 10th or the early 9th centuries B.C. have been discovered in the region, for example at Kabahaydar, Gölpınar, Külaflı Tepe and Siverek. 33 These sculptures are the first direct evidence of the Late Hittite culture beyond the Euphrates. They show that some of the cities and the lands in the Şanlıurfa region, that were mentioned in the Late Assyrian records, could be in control of Hittite political power, or under the influence of Hittite culture in contrast to our previous knowledge.<sup>34</sup> With the Assyrian rule, the Hittite school of sculpture lost its importance. Assyrian motifs blended in the traditional Hittite composition, as observed on the traditional guilloche band of Aslanlı lamassu, or on the double-bull bases from Mehmedihan.

On the other hand, we must also take Aramaean artistic traces into consideration on these Late Hittite sculptures. As it is well known the Aramaean population in the Harran region is attested from the written sources. Besides, some Aramaean kingdoms are localized in the region: Bit Amedi in the north, Bit Zamani in the east and Bit Adini in the south. Kaprabi, which is one of the Aramaean cities within the territory of Bit Adini is placed by Lipinski at Mehmedihan, where the Assyrian and Late Hittite sculptures have been found during our surveys. <sup>36</sup>

The results of this survey encourage us to believe that further expeditions in the region, accompanied by decipherment of more inscriptions, will shed more light on the historical geography of the Şanlıurfa region.<sup>37</sup>

#### **Footnotes**

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- Kuhrt 1995, I: 480.
   See Kulakoğlu 2001, footnotes 6, 7 for detailed references.
- 3 Özgüç N.1986, 199-200.
- 4 Kulakoğlu 1999, 167-81.
- 5 Kulakoğlu 1999, 171-3 and also see Baedeker 1912, 421-2 for the ruins that were surveyed in Mehmedihan at the beginning of the 20th Century A.D.
- 6 Albenda 1988, 24-5.
- 7 Budge 1914, Pl. V.
- Burney and Lawson 1958, 211, 216, Fig. 2; Özgüç, T. 1966, 50-1, 56, Pl. XXXII, Fig. 20-3; Özgüç, T. 1969, 63; Fig. 2; van Loon 1966, 73.
- 9 Özgüç, T. 1966, 50-1, Pl. XXXII, Fig. 20-23.
- 10 cf. Strommenger 1970, 31, Pl. XXXII-XXXIII.
- 11 See Magen 1986, Taf. 7-11.
- 12 See the stele from Anaz: Unger 1928, 106, Taf. 14.
- 13 Madhloom 1971, 94, Pl. LXXI; Mahmoud 1992.
- 14 Albenda 1988
- 15 Madhloom 1971, 95.
- 16 Mazzoni 1986-87.
- 17 Woolley, C.L. 1921, p. 145; Alkım 1974, 6-7.
- 18 Alkım 1974, 5-7, 76.
- 19 Kohlmeyer 1992, 97-100.
- 20 Kulakoğlu 2002, 75; Schachner 2004. Two stelae were acquired by Şanlıurfa Museum in 2003 and 2005. Those stelae are also made of

- limestone and show the same artistic features with this stele. They will be studied and published in my coming articles.
- 21 Bonatz 2000, 56-7.
- 22 Schachner 2004, 664.
- 23 See Porter 2000, 167-9.
- 24 Thurreau-Dangin 1931, Pl. II, 1; Madhloom 1971, Pl. LX, 5; Orthmann 1971, Taf. 49a, 50c.
- 25 Kuhrt 1995, II: 480-2.
- 26 Kuhrt 1995, II: 483-484.
- 27 Luckenbill 1968, II: 167; Grayson 1972, 587.
- 28 Köroğlu 1998: 81, 84, 97. See also Kulakoğlu 1999, 171-3 for the Late-Hittite sculptures found here.
- 29 As was proposed by Saggs there could have been more than one site in the vicinity of Harran where the worship of the Moon-Good was practised: Saggs 1969, 166-9.
- 30 Pongratz 1995, 550.
- 31 Luckenbill 1968, II: 348, 353.
- 32 Pongratz 1995, 549-57.
- 33 Kulakoğlu 2002.
- 34 Hawkins 2000, 74.
- 35 Zadok 1995, 278, 281 and see also Lipinski, E. 2000.
- 36 Lipinski 2000a, 172-4.
- 37 One stele from Siverek and another double-bull base with hieroglyphic inscriptions from Acigöz were discovered in 2003 and 2004 and these inscriptions will be studied by Prof. Dr. M. Poetto.

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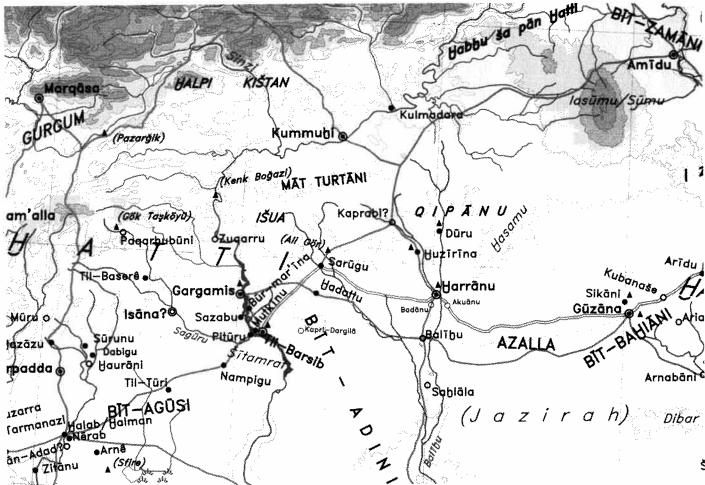
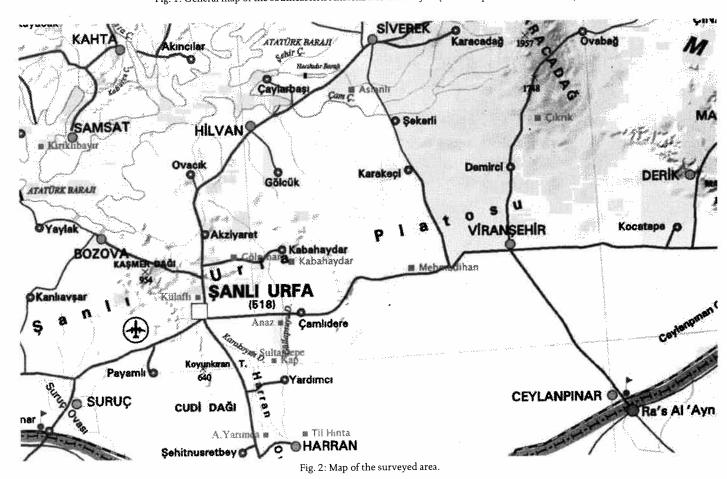


Fig. 1: General map of the southeastern Anatolia and north Syria (After Parpola and Porter 2001).



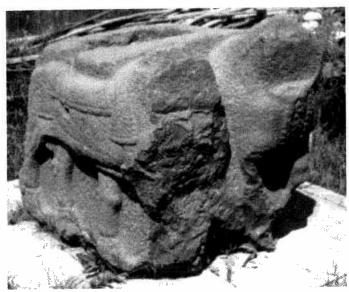


Fig. 3: Double-bull base from Mehmedihan.



Fig. 5: Fragment of a human sculpture from Mehmedihan.

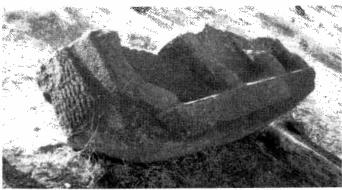


Fig. 7: Fragment of a lamassu from Aslanh.



Fig. 4: Second double-bull base from Mehmedihan.

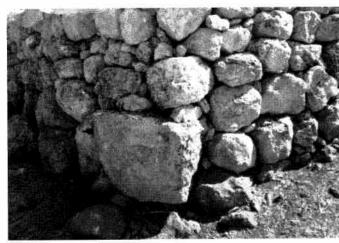


Fig. 6: Limestohe stele from Mehmedihan.



Fig. 8: Unfinished lion sculpture from Acıgöz.

520



Fig. 9: Fragment of a stele with Sin emblem from Çıkrık.

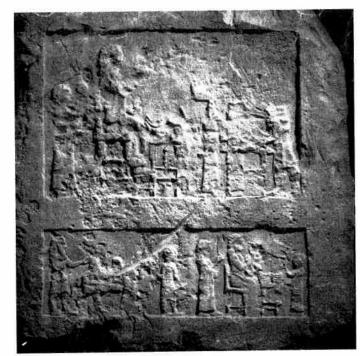


Fig. 11: Slab from Til Hınta.

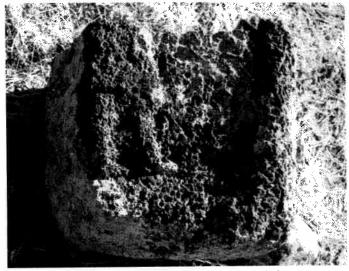


Fig. 10: Fragment of the second stele from Çıkrık.

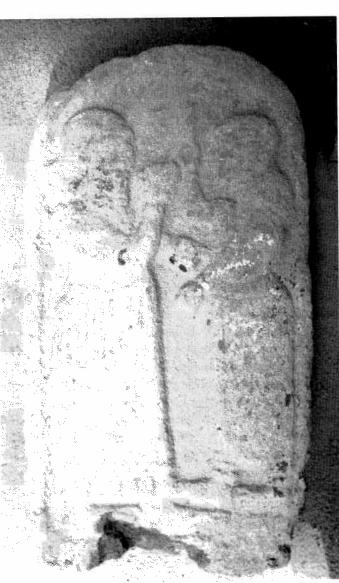


Fig. 12: Stele from Kap.

521

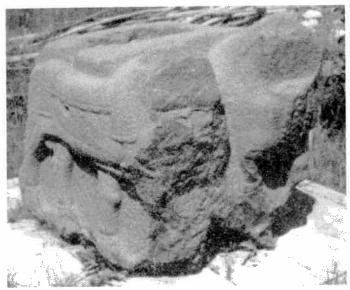


Fig. 3: Double-bull base from Mehmedihan.



Fig. 5: Fragment of a human sculpture from Mehmedihan.

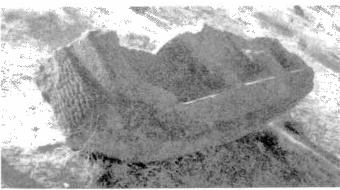


Fig. 7: Fragment of a lamassu from Aslanlı.



Fig. 4: Second double-bull base from Mehmedihan.

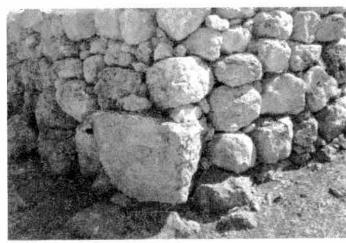


Fig. 6: Limestohe stele from Mehmedihan.

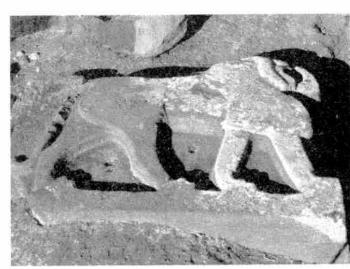


Fig. 8: Unfinished lion sculpture from Acıgöz.

520



Fig. 9: Fragment of a stele with Sin emblem from Çıkrık.

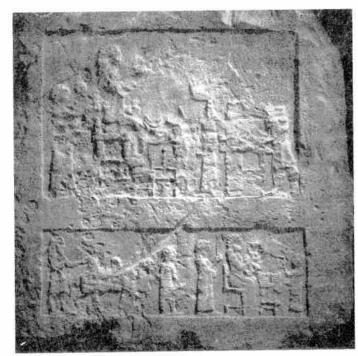


Fig. 11: Slab from Til Hınta.



Fig. 10: Fragment of the second stele from Çıkrık.



- Fig. 12: Stele from Kap.

521

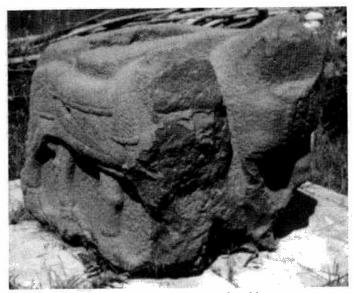


Fig. 3: Double-bull base from Mehmedihan.



Fig. 5: Fragment of a human sculpture from Mehmedihan.

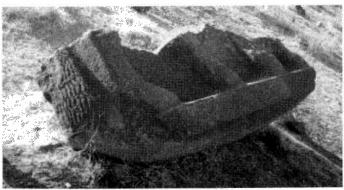


Fig. 7: Fragment of a lamassu from Aslanlı.



Fig. 4: Second double-bull base from Mehmedihan.

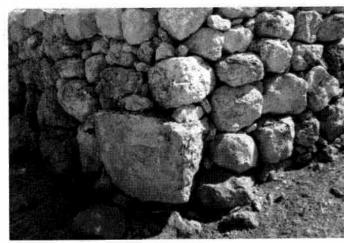


Fig. 6: Limestohe stele from Mehmedihan.

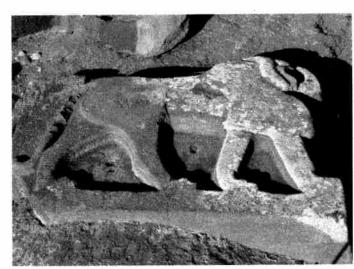


Fig. 8: Unfinished lion sculpture from Acıgöz.



Fig. 9: Fragment of a stele with Sin emblem from Çıkrık.

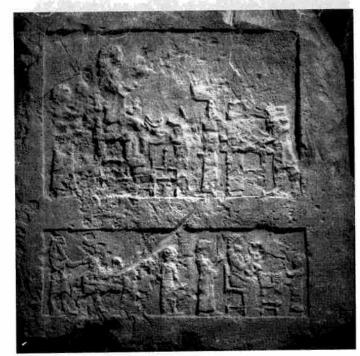


Fig. 11: Slab from Til Hınta.



Fig. 10: Fragment of the second stele from Çıkrık.



- Fig. 12: Stele from Kap.



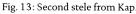




Fig. 14: Ortostat from Şanlıurfa.

## Gedanken zum Urbanisierungsprozess in Vorderasien

## HARTMUT KÜHNE\*

#### Özet

Paleolitik dönemlerde besinini doğadan karşılayan insan, Seramiksiz Neolitik dönemde birbirinden uzak step yerleşimlerinde yaşamış, Seramikli Neolitik dönemde ise Bereketli Hilal bölgesinde birbirinden uzak yeni yerleşimler kurmuştur. Bu yerleşimler çevresinde doğal alan tarım alanına dönüştürülmüş ve yerleşim dokusu zama içinde sıklaşmıştır. Ubeyd 3-4 döneminde bu yerleşimlerden bazılarının büyüyerek merkezi konumlara geldiği ilk yerleşim sistemi ortaya çıkmıştır. Uruk Çağı'nda ise bir merkeze bağlı uydu yerleşimlerden oluşan hiyerarşik yerleşim sistemi gelişmiştir. Hiyerarşik birimlerin tarım alanını kontrol edebilmesi ve genişletmesi ile bu birimleri birbirinden ayıran doğal alan daralmış ve artık sınır komşusu olan hiyerarşik birimler ortaya çıkmıştır. Neolitikleşme süreci içerisinde toplumsal gelişim yerleşim sistemlerinin merkezini oluşturan kentleri ortaya çıkatrmış ve devletin de kökenini oluşturmuştur.

Eine Betrachtung der Entwicklung vom Dorf zur Stadt, wie sie im Alten Vorderen Orient - im Gegensatz zu Ägypten archäologisch nachvollziehbar ist und in Anlehnung an den Begriff "Neolithisierungsprozess" "Urbanisierungsprozess" genannt wird, fehlt heute in keiner kulturgeschichtlichen Gesamtbetrachtung mehr. 1 Dennoch bereitet sie den Spezialisten weiterhin Probleme und hat in den letzten Jahren zu einer Anzahl bedeutender Beiträge geführt, die einen Erklärungsversuch für diesen wichtigen Schritt der Menschheits- und Gesellschaftsentwicklung anbieten. <sup>2</sup> Sie ist in ihrer Bedeutung kaum zu unterschätzen, weil mit der Entwicklung zur Stadt ein Formationsprozess der Gesellschaft einher geht, der im Kern unser Zusammenleben bis heute prägt. Die Entwicklung von den unverbundenen Formen des Nebeneinanders zu einer komplexen Gesellschaft ist darüber hinaus häufiger - meines Erachtens zu Recht - mit Gedanken zur Entstehung des Staates verbunden worden, denn der Weg zur Stadt führt in Mesopotamien zur Entstehung des "Stadtstaates" und ein paar Jahrhunderte später zur Entstehung des Zentralstaates.<sup>3</sup>

Im Folgenden soll in der vorgegebenen Kürze und ohne ausführliche Kommentierung der in der Bibliographie genannten Literatur auf eine Kausalität aufmerksam gemacht werden, die in der bisherigen Diskussion kaum eine Rolle gespielt hat.<sup>4</sup> Die Zeilen sind dem Kollegen Hayat Erkanal gewidmet, mit dem ich einst das Doktorandenzimmer teilte.

Die Diskussion, welche Merkmale eine Stadt definieren, ist umfangreich. Das wichtigste Merkmal besteht darin, dass eine Stadt den zentralen Ort eines Siedlungssystems<sup>5</sup> darstellt.<sup>6</sup> Eine Stadt kann nur bestehen, wenn die Spezialisierung ihrer Funktionen durch ein strukturiertes Umfeld existenziell abgesichert ist. Diese Spezialisierung ist in ökonomischen und administrativen Funktionen verankert und führt zur Bildung einer Elite, die ihrerseits einen Bedarf an Prestigegütern entwickelt, der die Voraussetzung für einen Fernhandel darstellt. Die Entstehung von Siedlungssystemen

ist daher immanent mit der Herausbildung von Abhängigkeitsverhältnissen und in deren Folge von Hierarchien verbunden. Obwohl reizvoll, ist es nicht das Anliegen dieses Aufsatzes zu untersuchen, welche Szenarien Abhängigkeitsverhältnisse erzeugt haben könnten. Es sei nur angemerkt, dass sich diese keineswegs auf die ökonomischen und administrativen Bereiche beschränken, sondern mindestens gleichwertig im psychologischen und intellektuellen Raum anzusiedeln sind.

Aber wie und ab wann sind Siedlungssysteme entstanden? Nach Nissen 2003 erlaubt der archäologische Befund den Nachweis erst ab der Späten Urukzeit und nicht schon zur Frühen Urukzeit; Stein 1994 stellt unter anderem auf der Grundlage einer Beobachtung von H. Wright fest, dass "at least as early as the 'Ubaid 2-3, south and central Mesopotamia have a two level settlement pattern hierarchy ...". Bie Frage, wann und unter Berücksichtigung welcher Kriterien Siedlungssysteme entstanden sind, soll hier nicht weiter vertieft werden. Unabhängig davon wird dabei nie thematisiert, welches Wechselspiel von natur- und kulturräumlichen Veränderungen erfolgt sein muss, um überhaupt Siedlungssysteme erfolgreich sich entfalten zu lassen. <sup>9</sup> Angesichts der archäologischen Nachweise über eine bereits erstaunlich hohe Kultur des akeramischen Neolithikums, wie sie sich in Fundorten wie Göbekli Tepe, Nevala Cori, Jerf al-Ahmar und anderen darstellt, muss man sich fragen, wie diese zum Teil sehr großen Orte<sup>10</sup> ohne Siedlungssystem auskommen konnten und warum dieser Schritt, die Gründung von abhängigen kleineren Siedlungen im Umland der großen Siedlung, nicht vollzogen wurde. Im folgenden soll versucht werden, ein Szenarium zu entwerfen, das den anthropogenen Veränderungen des Naturraumes Rechnung trägt, die zur Schaffung eines immer ausgedehnteren Kulturraumes geführt haben, in dem sich unverbundene Siedlungen zu einem Siedlungssystem ausdehnen konnten. Es steht ausser Frage, dass dies ein