

Distribution Agreement

In presenting this thesis or dissertation as a partial fulfillment of the requirements for an advanced degree from Emory University, I hereby grant to Emory University and its agents the non-exclusive license to archive, make accessible, and display my thesis or dissertation in whole or in part in all forms of media, now or hereafter known, including display on the world wide web. I understand that I may select some access restrictions as part of the online submission of this thesis or dissertation. I retain all ownership rights to the copyright of the thesis or dissertation. I also retain the right to use in future works (such as articles or books) all or part of this thesis or dissertation.

Signature:

Jennifer Ruth Butterworth

Date

Lower Nubian C-Group Figurines: Corpus and Context

By

Jennifer Ruth Butterworth
Doctor of Philosophy

Art History Department

Dr. Gay Robins
Advisor

Dr. Rebecca Stone
Committee Member

Dr. Eric Varner
Committee Member

Accepted:

Lisa A. Tedesco, Ph.D.
Dean of the James T. Laney School of Graduate Studies

Date

Lower Nubian C-Group Figurines: Corpus and Context

By

Jennifer Ruth Butterworth
M.A., University of Memphis, 2010
M.A., University of Alabama, 2008
B.A., University of Alabama, 1998

Advisor: Dr. Gay Robins

An abstract of
a dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the
James T. Laney School of Graduate Studies of Emory University
in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in Art History
2016

Abstract

Lower Nubian C-Group Figurines: Corpus and Context By Jennifer Ruth Butterworth

This dissertation examines and analyzes as fully as possible the surviving corpus of clay figurines produced by the Lower Nubian C-Group. These small sculptures were individually modeled in the form of livestock and predominantly female human beings. Archaeological teams from numerous institutions around the world excavated these figurines from cemeteries and settlement sites along the Nile Valley from the First to the Second Cataract over the course of the twentieth century. Dating from approximately 1850 to 1650 BCE, these figurines have not, to date, been examined as a discrete object class although they hold great potential for improving current knowledge of C-Group social life and relationships with neighboring cultures.

The reasons for the historical neglect of this artistic corpus are assessed and problems associated with their study are reviewed. To avoid subjective typological distinctions that could prejudice analysis, as well as resolving issues of diverse identification systems from multiple museums and issues of unpublished pieces, this dissertation introduces a novel alphanumeric identification system rather than developing a traditional typology. All figurines that were available for examination, or for which published images provide sufficient visual information, are included in two catalogs as appendices, organized for ease of visual legibility and reference.

A two-pronged approach is taken in analysis of the corpus. The figurines are first examined and analyzed in terms of their formal and stylistic properties, and then analyzed in terms of their archaeological context. Maps of sites, including thumbnail images of pieces from each site, are included in the appendices. Results of formal and contextual analyses allow for inferences to be made concerning the subject matter, represented activities, and some ways that the original owners may have used these objects. The concluding chapter summarizes these interpretations and goes on to compare C-Group figurines, in terms of subject, activities of subjects, and use values, with earlier, Neolithic Sudanese figurines, Predynastic Egyptian figurines, coeval Egyptian figurines, and coeval figurines from neighboring Kerma. A trajectory of influence is traced linking C-Group figurines to Upper Nubian prehistoric cultures rather than Egyptian prototypes.

Lower Nubian C-Group Figurines: Corpus and Context

By

Jennifer Ruth Butterworth
M.A., University of Memphis, 2010
M.A., University of Alabama, 2008
B.A., University of Alabama, 1998

Advisor: Dr. Gay Robins

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the
James T. Laney School of Graduate Studies of Emory University
In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
In Art History
2016

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to take this opportunity to acknowledge the support and assistance of many individuals without whom this dissertation could not have been completed, beginning with a heartfelt thanks to my academic advisor Dr. Gay Robins, who not only inspired me to study gendered representations in ancient Egypt, but also consistently challenged my ideas, made valuable suggestions, and patiently read drafts. I also want to give a special thanks to Dr. Peter Lacovara for the gift of his time, materials, unwavering optimism, moral support, and assistance in finding and gaining access to people in the institutions where I needed to research. The active support that I have received from the entire faculty of the Emory University Art History Department, in the form of encouragement and funding, has been phenomenal and I want to thank you each and every one! In addition, and at the risk of overkill, I want to thank the Art history Department staff: Kathleen Carroll, Becky Baldwin, Frank Jackson, Arinita Ballard, and Lisa Holmes. Each of you has helped me along the way and I hope you know how much you are appreciated.

Because my work required personal examination of the figurines, I am lucky to have had the cooperation of many individuals at various museums around the world. I would like to thank, in the order that I visited them, Helen McDonald and Susan Allison from the Oriental Institute Museum of the University of Chicago; Lawrence Berman, Rita Freed, and Caroline Warren from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Jen Houser from the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology; Dietrich Raue from the Ägyptisches Museum Georg Steindorff der Universität Leipzig; Regina Hölzl from the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; and the Director of NCAM in Sudan, Abdelrahman Ali Mohamed and Ekhlass Latief of the Sudan National Museum. I also want to thank Melinda Hartwig and Djodi Deutsch of the American Research Center in Egypt for assistance and support with my research project through trying and difficult circumstances.

Finally, I would like to dedicate this dissertation to my sweet and wonderful family: Gail Deason, Pick Deason, Ginger Deason, Luis Carrasco, Sayed Handok, and my faithful dog Hugo Butterworth.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1.	Introduction	1
	The Figurines	1
	Early Influences on C-Group Figurine Study	8
	Before WWI: Slaves, Toys, Wives	15
	Between the Wars: Concubines, Goddesses, and Childbirth.....	22
	In the Postmodern Age: Interpretive Unease	27
	The Egyptian Fertility Narrative	32
	Expanding Methodologies, Looking Southward	38
	Goals and Methods of this Dissertation	44
	Organization	46
Chapter 2.	Formal Properties and Technological Choices	51
	The Corpus	51
	Formal Consistencies	52
	Formal Variations	63
	Summary and Conclusions	88
Chapter 3.	Context	92
	The Archaeological Settings.....	92
	Data Sources and Current Limitations	92
	The Cemetery Sites	95
	The Settlement Sites.....	123
	Patterns and Variability in Style and Attributes	134
	Summary and Conclusions	139
Chapter 4.	Conclusions and Future Directions	142
	Summary and What the Data Suggests	142
	Integrating Results into Future Research	156
	Ancient Female Authority Roles as Prototypes for Figurines	193
Appendices		
	1. Catalog of C-Group Anthropomorphic Figurines	196
	2. C-Group Anthropomorphic Figurine Descriptions and Bibliographies....	270
	3. Concordances for Anthropomorphic Figurines	379
	4. Maps and Plans of Find Sites	385
	5. Graves and Contents	428
	6. Sites Dating to Phase II/a or II/b	437
	7. Excavation Reports by Site	439
	8. Catalog of Animal Figurines	440
Bibliography	446

ILLUSTRATIONS

List of Figures

- Fig. 1.1 2
Left, Map of Northeast Africa with lower Nubia Indicated, from Google Earth;
Right, Map of Lower Nubian Nile with C-group sites indicated drawn by author
- Fig. 1.2 4
Body decoration on F-28. Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the University of Chicago Oriental Institute Museum
- Fig. 1.3 4
White paste in incised lines on G-2. Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology
- Fig. 1.4 4
Painted collar on bovine V-10. Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology
- Fig. 1.5 6
Examples of A-Group, Neolithic, Predynastic, and C-Group Figurines. *Left to right*: Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the Sudan National Museum; Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the Sudan National Museum; Image from Brunton and Caton-Thompson, 1928: Pl. XXIV.1 [Made freely available online for noncommercial teaching and research by etana.org at: <http://etana.org/sites/default/files/coretexts/15271.pdf>] ; Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology
- Fig. 1.6 6
Comparative details on figurines from Egypt, C-Group, Kerma, with Kerma excavated belt. *Left to right*: Louvre Museum E 10952, Photo © Musée du Louvre, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Christian Decamps; Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien; Image from Bonnet, 1990: Fig. 117/1; Fiber belt image from Bonnet, 1990: Fig. 82
- Fig. 1.7 8
C-Group figurine C-11 showing male anatomy. Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the Ägyptisches Museum Georg Steindorff der Universität Leipzig
- Fig. 1.8 8

Comparison of breast type on C-3 and C-8. *Left*, image after Firth, 1912: Pl. 39.A.7; *Right*, image from Firth, 1927: Pl. 25.D.2 [Made freely available online for noncommercial teaching and research by SFDAS.com at <http://sfdas.com/publications/ouvrages-specialises-en-ligne-ouvrages/?lang=fr>]

Fig. 1.9 13
Imagery used by Petrie from Ballas and Malta. *Left*, from Petrie and Quibell, 1896: Pl. VI.2; *Right*, Venus of Malta, National Museum of Archaeology of Malta, from photo by Hamelin de Guettelet, CC SA

Fig. 1.10 19
C-Group figurine B-6 misidentified as male by Oric Bate. Image after Firth, 1912: Pl. 39.B.2 [Made freely available online for noncommercial teaching and research by SFDAS.com at <http://sfdas.com/publications/ouvrages-specialises-en-ligne-ouvrages/?lang=fr>]

Fig. 1.11 25
Egyptian figurine and inscription from left thigh. *Left*, Keimer, 1948: Pl. 18.1; *Right*, Schott, 1930: 23

Fig. 1.12 30
Anthropomorphic imagery on C-Group jar. Junker, 1926, Pl. XXVIII.496

Fig. 1.13 36
Figurines with little to no emphasis on sexual characteristics. *Left to right*, C-9, C-10, and C-21, all images by author from photograph by author, with permission of the Ägyptisches Museum Georg Steindorff der Universität Leipzig

Fig. 1.14 38
El-Kadada figurine, Neolithic Sudan. Images by author from photographs by author, with permission of the Sudan National Museum

Fig. 1.15 39
Figurine from Askut. *Left*, from Wenig, 1978: 123; *right*, from Badawy, 1965: 130

Fig. 2.1 53
Illustration of typical arm formation shown on A-4. Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the University of Chicago Oriental Institute Museum

Fig. 2.2 53
Fragmentary arms G-1 and G-2 initially identified as animal horns. Images by author from photographs by author, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology

Fig. 2.3 53

Illustration of short, straight arms shown on C-29. Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology

Fig 2.4 54
Anomalous arm formation shown on C-21. Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the Ägyptisches Museum Georg Steindorff der Universität Leipzig

Fig. 2.5 54
Anomalous hand formation from B-7. Photograph by Nubian Museum, Aswan

Fig. 2.6 54
Thighs with hand prints from B-7. After Steffen Wenig, 1978: 29, Fig. 9

Fig. 2.7 57
Arched back shown on E-1. Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the University of Chicago Oriental Institute Museum

Fig. 2.8..... 57
Typical posture shown on C-17. After Steindorff, 1935: Pl. 94.S.20

Fig. 2.9 57
Schematized posture on truncated figurine C-42. After Säve-Söderbergh, 1989: Pl. 61.3c

Fig. 2.10 58
Figurine C-23 standing with arched back. Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the Sudan National Museum

Fig. 2.11 58
Figurine C-5 with pronounced pelvic tilt. After Firth, 1912: Pl. 39.a.10 [Made freely available online for noncommercial teaching and research by SFDAS.com at <http://sfdas.com/publications/ouvrages-specialises-en-ligne-ouvrages/?lang=fr>]

Fig. 2.12 58
Male figurine C-11 as posed on museum display. Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the Ägyptisches Museum Georg Steindorff der Universität Leipzig

Fig. 2.13 58
Male figurine C-11 oriented vertically to show subtly tilted pelvis. Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the Ägyptisches Museum Georg Steindorff der Universität Leipzig

Fig. 2.14 59

Ambiguously posed figurine A-2. After Steindorff, 1935: Pl. 71.2.a.	
Fig. 2.15	59
Figurine A-2 overbalanced when seated. After Wenig, 1978: 127	
Fig. 2.16	59
Figurine A-2 posed standing. After Wenig, 1978: 127	
Fig. 2.17	60
Seated Figurine C-3. After Firth, 1912: Pl. 39.a.7 [Made freely available online for noncommercial teaching and research by SFDAS.com at http://sfdas.com/publications/ouvrages-specialises-en-ligne-ouvrages/?lang=fr]	
Fig. 2.18	60
Seated Figurine C-7. After Firth, 1912: Pl. 39.b.4 [Made freely available online for noncommercial teaching and research by SFDAS.com at http://sfdas.com/publications/ouvrages-specialises-en-ligne-ouvrages/?lang=fr]	
Fig. 2.19	60
Seated Figurine C-9. Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the Ägyptisches Museum Georg Steindorff der Universität Leipzig	
Fig. 2.20	60
Seated Figurine C-10. Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the Ägyptisches Museum Georg Steindorff der Universität Leipzig	
Fig. 2.21	60
Figurine C-32 with characteristic posture. Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the Ägyptisches Museum Georg Steindorff der Universität Leipzig	
Fig. 2.22	61
Figurine head D-2 without facial features. Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.	
Fig. 2.23	61
Figurine Upper Body B-1 without facial features. Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology	
Fig. 2.24	61
View of B-1 from above, showing hairline. Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology	
Fig. 2.25	61

Figurine upper body B-2 without facial features, B-2. Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology

Fig. 2.26 62
Figurine B-3 with crescent-shaped closed eyes. Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology

Fig. 2.27 62
Figurine head D-3 with closed eyes. Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Fig. 2.28 63
Figurine head D-10 with closed eye and eyebrow line. After Krauspe, 1997: 106 (no. 191)

Fig. 2.29 63
Applied eyebrows on figurine head D-8. Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the Ägyptisches Museum Georg Steindorff der Universität Leipzig

Fig. 2.30 63
Close-Up of eyelashes resting below closed eye of D-15. After photograph published by Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid

Fig. 2.31 65
Type 1 head on Figurine A-8. After Firth, 1912: Pl. 39.a [Made freely available online for noncommercial teaching and research by SFDAS.com at <http://sfdas.com/publications/ouvrages-specialises-en-ligne-ouvrages/?lang=fr>]

Fig. 2.32 65
Type 2 head D-5 showing cavity in base. Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology

Fig. 2.33 65
Long neck of figurine E-8 suitable for Type 2 head. Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien

Fig. 2.34 65
Unusually small Type 2 head on Figurine A-12. After Säve-Söderbergh, 1989: Pl. 61.5

Fig. 2.35 66
Type 2 Heads D-3 and D-4 retaining portions of neck tips. *Left*, Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston;

Right, Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology

- Fig. 2.36 66
Figurine C-26 with intact neck for Type 2 head. Body with Intact Neck for Type 2 Head. Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology
- Fig. 2.37 66
Figurine C-33 likely for Type 2 head but tip of neck broken off. From photograph by author, with permission of the Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien
- Fig. 2.38 66
Drawn map showing locations of excavated Type 1 heads, by author
- Fig. 2.39 68
Freestanding figurine F-8 with broad footing. Photograph by author, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology
- Fig. 2.40 68
Freestanding figurine A-9. After Firth, 1912: Pl. 39.b.1 [Made freely available online for noncommercial teaching and research by SFDAS.com at <http://sfdas.com/publications/ouvrages-specialises-en-ligne-ouvrages/?lang=fr>]
- Fig. 2.41 68
Comparison of Legs and Feet of F-2 and C-33. *Left*, Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; *Right*, Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien
- Fig. 2.42 69
Truncated figurines C-29, A-4, A-11, C-42. *Left*, Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology; *Second from left*, Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the University of Chicago Oriental Institute Museum; *Third from left*, After Emery and Kirwan, 1935: Fig. 83.5; *Right*, After Säve-Söderbergh, 1989: Pl. 61.3c
- Fig. 2.43 69
Semi-truncated figurine C-34. After Verwers, 1961: Pl. 2.c [Made freely available online for noncommercial teaching and research by SFDAS.com at <http://sfdas.com/publications/publications-de-la-sfdas/article/kush?lang=fr>]
- Fig. 2.44 69
Disproportionally short figurine C-19. After Steindorff, 1935: Pl. 94.S.34

Fig. 2.45	70
Legs of figurine C-27 terminating in blunted points. Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology	
Fig. 2.46	70
Legs of figurine F-1 with feet. Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston	
Fig. 2.47	70
Comparison of figurine F-22 bottom with cow track. <i>Left</i> , photograph by author, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology; <i>Right</i> , photograph used with permission of Kambumbi Emil Kambumbi, Okamatapati, Namibia.	
Fig. 2.48	71
Loincloth, apron, sash, belt on figurines C-8, C-19, C-13, and C-33. <i>Left</i> , after Firth, 1912: Pl. 26.d.2; <i>Second from left</i> , after Steindorff, 1935: Pl. 94.S.34; <i>Third from left</i> , by author from photograph by author, with permission of the Ägyptisches Museum Georg Steindorff der Universität Leipzig; <i>Right and second from right</i> , photograph by author, with permission of the Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien	
Fig. 2.49	72
Evidence of original wide belt on figurine C-11. Photographs by author, with permission of the Ägyptisches Museum Georg Steindorff der Universität Leipzig	
Fig. 2.50	72
Figurine F-6 with pubic mound and possible vulva slit. Pubic Mound with Possible Vulva Slit. Photograph by author, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology	
Fig. 2.51	72
Applied clay at pubic area on figurine C-25. Photograph by author, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology	
Fig. 2.52	72
Pubic mound of applied clay on figurine F-7. Pubic Mound with narrow Belt. Photograph by author, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology	
Fig. 2.53	73
Figurine C-17 with wide belt over skirt. After Steindorff, 1935: Pl. 94.S.20	
Fig. 2.54	73

Lower body of figurine F-8 with wide belt over skirt. Photograph by author, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology

Fig. 2.55 73
Apron- or sporran-like garment over skirt of figurine F-3. Images by author from photographs by author, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology

Fig. 2.56 74
Figurine C-13 showing back of thin belt. Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the Ägyptisches Museum Georg Steindorff der Universität Leipzig

Fig. 2.57 74
Figurines F-20 and A-9 with “Sporrans.” *Left*, After Bakr, 1967: Pl. 9; *Right*, After Firth, 1912: Pl. 39.B.1 [Made freely available online for noncommercial teaching and research by SFDAS.com at <http://sfdas.com/publications/ouvrages-specialises-en-ligne-ouvrages/?lang=fr>]

Fig. 2.58 75
Simple loincloths on figurines C-8 and C-40. *Left*, after Firth, 1912: Pl. 26.d.2; *Right*, after Firth, 1915: Pl. 37.d.2 [Made freely available online for noncommercial teaching and research by SFDAS.com at <http://sfdas.com/publications/ouvrages-specialises-en-ligne-ouvrages/?lang=fr>]

Fig. 2.59 75
Stitched or beaded loincloth on figurine C-20. After Steindorff, 1935: Pl. 71.5

Fig. 2.60 75
Loincloth with beaded belt on figurine F-9. Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology

Fig. 2.61 75
Embellished loincloths on figurines F-13 and F-14. Images by author from photographs by author, with permission of the Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien

Fig. 2.62 76
Belt-like garment with tabs on figurine F-10. Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology

Fig. 2.63 76
Undecorated figurines C-9, C-10, C-12, and C-32. Images by author from photographs by author, with permission of the Ägyptisches Museum Georg Steindorff der Universität Leipzig

Fig. 2.64	77
Figurines C-3, C-7, C-12, and C-21 with pendulous breasts. <i>Left</i> , after Firth, 1912: Pl. 39.a.7 [Made freely available online for noncommercial teaching and research by SFDAS.com at http://sfdas.com/publications/ouvrages-specialises-en-ligne-ouvrages/?lang=fr]; <i>Second from left</i> , after Firth, 1912 : Pl. 39.b.4 [Made freely available online for noncommercial teaching and research by SFDAS.com at http://sfdas.com/publications/ouvrages-specialises-en-ligne-ouvrages/?lang=fr]; <i>Right and Second from right</i> , Images by author from photographs by author, with permission of the Ägyptisches Museum Georg Steindorff der Universität Leipzig	
Fig. 2.65	77
Figurine E-14 with modeled breasts and horizontally incised nipples. Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the Sudan National Museum	
Fig. 2.66	77
Figurines E-9 and E-1 with breasts indicated with incised lines and impressed holes. <i>Left</i> , after Steindorff, 1935: Pl. 72.3; <i>Right</i> , Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the University of Chicago Oriental Institute Museum	
Fig. 2.67	77
Figurine B-6 nipples indicated with impressed dots in rosette pattern. After Firth, 1912: Pl. 39.b.2 [Made freely available online for noncommercial teaching and research by SFDAS.com at http://sfdas.com/publications/ouvrages-specialises-en-ligne-ouvrages/?lang=fr]	
Fig. 2.68	78
Figurine F-28 with lozenge motif on leg. Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the University of Chicago Oriental Institute Museum	
Fig. 2.69	78
Zigzag line motif on leg of figurine F-18. After Steindorff, 1935: Pl. 94.S.39	
Fig. 2.70	78
Hash line motif on torso of figurine C-16. After Steindorff, 1935: Pl. 72.6	
Fig. 2.71	79
Hanging strand necklaces on figurines C-31 and E-1. <i>Left</i> , Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; <i>Right</i> , Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the University of Chicago Oriental Institute Museum	
Fig. 2.72	79
Trident-shaped chest piece on figurine B-4. After Steindorff, 1935: Pl. 72.8	

Fig. 2.73	79
Trident-shaped chest piece with incised diagonal elements on figurines C-28 and E-14. Left, Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology; Right, Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the Sudan National Museum	
Fig. 2.74	80
Bandolier-style strands on chest and back of figurine E-3. Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology	
Fig. 2.75	80
Pendant on single strand crossing at the back on figurine C-21. Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the Ägyptisches Museum Georg Steindorff der Universität Leipzig	
Fig. 2.76	80
Possible crossing strands on back of figurine C-26. Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology	
Fig. 2.77	81
Figurine E-1 with bangles on arm. Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the University of Chicago Oriental Institute Museum	
Fig. 2.78	81
Choker-type necklace strands on figurine head D-2. Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston	
Fig. 2.79	81
Strands of beads at collar on figurines B-2 and C-18. <i>Left</i> , Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology; <i>Right</i> , after Steindorff, 1935: Pl. 94.S.26	
Fig. 2.80	82
Illustration of Steindorff's measurements of height versus length using figurine C-12. Images by author from photograph by author, with permission of the Ägyptisches Museum Georg Steindorff der Universität Leipzig	
Fig. 2.81	84
Tiny figurine A-6 with Type 1 head, shown to approximate human scale. Left, after Firth, 1912: Pl. 39.a.2 [Made freely available online for noncommercial teaching and research by SFDAS.com at http://sfdas.com/publications/ouvrages-specialises-en-ligne-ouvrages/?lang=fr]; Right, A-6 overlaid onto "Human Hand –Drawing	

Practice,” with permission from artist Jonas Jäger at <http://jonas-jaeger.deviantart.com/art/Human-Hand-Drawing-Practice-406626175>

Fig. 2.82 84

Tiny Figurine C-29 in truncated form, shown to approximate human scale. Image of figurine by author from photograph by author with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, overlaid onto “Human Hand –Drawing Practice,” with permission from artist Jonas Jäger at <http://jonas-jaeger.deviantart.com/art/Human-Hand-Drawing-Practice-406626175>

Fig. 2.83 84

Tiny figurine C-28, apparently pregnant. Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology

Fig. 2.84 85

Small Figurines A-12 and C-23 with Type 2 heads, shown to approximate human scale. A-12 after Säve-Söderbergh, 1989: Pl. 61.5, C-23 by author from photograph by author, with permission of the Sudan National Museum, overlaid onto “Human Hand –Drawing Practice,” with permission from artist Jonas Jäger at <http://jonas-jaeger.deviantart.com/art/Human-Hand-Drawing-Practice-406626175>

Fig. 2.85 85

Small Figurines C-14 and C-13, shown to approximate human scale. Figurine images by author from photograph by author, with permission of the Ägyptisches Museum Georg Steindorff der Universität Leipzig, overlaid onto “Human Hand –Drawing Practice,” with permission from artist Jonas Jäger at <http://jonas-jaeger.deviantart.com/art/Human-Hand-Drawing-Practice-406626175>

Fig. 2.86 85

Small Figurine A-8 with Type 1 head, shown to approximate human scale. Figurine image after Firth, 1912: Pl. 39.a [Made freely available online for noncommercial teaching and research by SFDAS.com at <http://sfdas.com/publications/ouvrages-specialises-en-ligne-ouvrages/?lang=fr>], overlaid onto “Human Hand –Drawing Practice,” with permission from artist Jonas Jäger at <http://jonas-jaeger.deviantart.com/art/Human-Hand-Drawing-Practice-406626175>

Fig. 2.87 86

Medium-Sized freestanding figurines A-11 and C-33, shown to approximate human scale. A-11 after Emery and Kirwan, 1935: Fig. 83.5; C-33 image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, overlaid onto “Human Hand –Drawing Practice,” with permission from artist Jonas Jäger at <http://jonas-jaeger.deviantart.com/art/Human-Hand-Drawing-Practice-406626175>

Fig. 2.88	86
Medium-Sized headless figurine C-16, shown to approximate human scale. C-16 after Steindorff, 1935: Pl. 72.7, overlaid onto “Human Hand –Drawing Practice,” with permission from artist Jonas Jäger at http://jonas-jaeger.deviantart.com/art/Human-Hand-Drawing-Practice-406626175	
Fig. 2.89	86
Medium-sized figurine A-3 with Type 2 head, shown to approximate human scale. A-3 after Krauspe, 1997: Pl. 120.4, overlaid onto “Human Hand –Drawing Practice,” with permission from artist Jonas Jäger at http://jonas-jaeger.deviantart.com/art/Human-Hand-Drawing-Practice-406626175	
Fig. 2.90	87
Large figurine A-1 shown to approximate human scale. A-1 after photograph by Dr. Peter Lacovara, courtesy of the Egyptian Museum Cairo, overlaid onto “Human Hand –Drawing Practice” modified by author with permission of artist Jonas Jäger at http://jonas-jaeger.deviantart.com/art/Human-Hand-Drawing-Practice-406626175	
Fig. 2.91	87
Large figurine E-3 shown to approximate human scale. Figurine image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology, overlaid onto “Human Hand –Drawing Practice” modified by author with permission of artist Jonas Jäger at http://jonas-jaeger.deviantart.com/art/Human-Hand-Drawing-Practice-406626175	
Fig. 2.92	87
Large figurine E-10 shown to approximate human scale. E-10 after Steindorff, 1935: Pl 71.4, overlaid onto “Human Hand –Drawing Practice” modified by author with permission of artist Jonas Jäger at http://jonas-jaeger.deviantart.com/art/Human-Hand-Drawing-Practice-406626175	
Fig. 2.93	87
Large figurine E-14 shown to approximate human scale. Figurine image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the Sudan National Museum, overlaid onto “Human Hand –Drawing Practice,” with permission from artist Jonas Jäger at http://jonas-jaeger.deviantart.com/art/Human-Hand-Drawing-Practice-406626175	
Fig. 3.1	96
Map of all Phase II sites. By author	
Fig. 3.2	96
Map of Phase II sites with sites that had figurines in red. By author	
Fig. 3.3	97

Two types of C-Group graves showing stone superstructures and different shaft types. After Steindorff, 1935: fig. 3, fig. 4.b

Fig. 3.4 104
Grave 66 from Cemetery 87, grave plan and figurines. *Left*, after Firth, 1912: Fig. 160; *Right*, after Firth, 1912: Pl. 39.a [Made freely available online for noncommercial teaching and research by SFDAS.com at <http://sfdas.com/publications/ouvrages-specialises-en-ligne-ouvrages/?lang=fr>]

Fig. 3.5 104
Figurines from Cemetery 87, Grave 152. After Firth, 1912: Pl. 39.b [Made freely available online for noncommercial teaching and research by SFDAS.com at <http://sfdas.com/publications/ouvrages-specialises-en-ligne-ouvrages/?lang=fr>]

Figure 3.6 105
Map of Koshtamna Cemetery 87 with children's graves in blue and graves with figurines in red. By author after Firth, 1912: Pl. 18 [Made freely available online for noncommercial teaching and research by SFDAS.com at <http://sfdas.com/publications/ouvrages-specialises-en-ligne-ouvrages/?lang=fr>]

Fig. 3.7 107
Figurines from cemetery at Nagaa el-Mahmoudiya Grave 1. From Bakr, 1967, Pl. IX, lower image

Fig. 3.8 107
Skeleton in Grave 1 at Nagaa el-Mahmoudiya. From Bakr, 1967, Pl. IX, upper image

Fig. 3.9 108
Figurine F-20 with sporran. After Bakr, 1967: Pl. IX, lower image

Fig. 3.10..... 108
Figurine A-9 with sporran. After Firth, 1912: Pl. 39.b.1 [Made freely available online for noncommercial teaching and research by SFDAS.com at <http://sfdas.com/publications/ouvrages-specialises-en-ligne-ouvrages/?lang=fr>]

Fig. 3.11 108
Figurines A-8, C-18, C-9, and F-3 with aprons similar to sporrans. *Left*, after Firth, 1912: Pl. 39.a.9 [Made freely available online for noncommercial teaching and research by SFDAS.com at <http://sfdas.com/publications/ouvrages-specialises-en-ligne-ouvrages/?lang=fr>]; *Second and Third from left*, after Steindorff, 1935: Pl. 94.S.26 and 94.S.34; *Right*, image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology

Fig. 3.12 110

Pair of figurines (A-3 and C-15) from Grave 390 at Aniba Cemetery N. After Krauspe, 1997: Pl. 120. 1 and 4; Pl. 119. 1 and 4

Fig. 3.13 113

Figurines C-9 and C-10 from Aniba Cemetery N not found together but stylistically matched. Images by author from photographs by author, with permission of the Ägyptisches Museum Georg Steindorff der Universität Leipzig

Fig. 3.14 114

Figurine C-32, linked stylistically to C-9 and C-10. Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the Ägyptisches Museum Georg Steindorff der Universität Leipzig

Fig. 3.15 114

Bovine figurine V-47 found loose in sand with C-9 and possibly related to C-32, C-9, and C-10 based on style. After Krauspe, 1997: Pl. 148.2

Fig. 3.16 114

Figurines likely belonging to same original deposit from Aniba N. All images after Steindorff, 1935: Pl. 72.6, Pl. 71.3, Pl. 71.4, Pl. 71.5, and Pl. 72.9

Fig. 3.17 118

Plan showing find-spot of male figurine and bovine figurine group. After Steindorff, 1935: Plan 3

Fig. 3.18 118

Bovine figurine group and human male figurine found in same location. *Left upper*, after Krauspe, 1997: Pl. 142.2; *Left lower*, after Krauspe, 1997: Pl. 141.4; *Center*, image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the Ägyptisches Museum Georg Steindorff der Universität Leipzig; *Right upper*, after Krauspe, 1997: Pl. 130.2; *Right lower*, after Krauspe, 1997: Pl. 140.4

Fig. 3.19 119

Group of eight bovine figurines found together. *Left upper*, after Krauspe, 1997, Pl. 140.1; *Left lower*, after Krauspe, 1997: Pl. 133.1; *Second from left upper*, after Krauspe, 1997: Pl. 139.1; *Second from left lower*, after Krauspe, 1997: Pl. 138.2; *Third from left upper*, after Krauspe, 1997: Pl. 137.3; *Third from left lower*, after Krauspe, 1997: Pl. 136.1; *Right upper*, after Krauspe, 1997: Pl. 144.1; *Right lower*, after Krauspe, 1997: Pl. 146.1

Fig. 3.20 120

Sacrificed sheep with spherical, feather headgear from Kerma. From Bonnet, 1990: Fig. 71

Fig. 3.21 120

Rock drawings of sheep and cattle with spherical headgear. From Huard, 1968. *Left upper*, Fig. 6.16; *Left lower*, Fig. 7.26; *Right upper*, Fig. 7.25; *Right lower*,

Fig. 7.19 [Made freely available online for noncommercial teaching and research by SFDAS.com at <http://sfdas.com/publications/publications-de-la-sfdas/article/kush?lang=fr>]

Fig. 3.22 123
Pair of heads D-9 and D-10 found together outside grave. From Krauspe, 1997: Pl. 124.1 and 2; Pl. 127.1 and 2

Fig. 3.23 127
Figurines found together in house at Nagaa el-Tahouna. From Bakr, 1963: Pl. 3.b

Fig. 3.24 128
Figurines found together at Aniba settlement area. All images after Steindorff, 1935: (left to right) Pl. 94.S.20, Pl. 94.S.26, Pl. 94.S.34, Pl. 94.S.33, Pl. 94.S.39, Pl. 94.S.87

Fig. 3.25 129
Unusually large example E-3 from Areika. Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology

Fig. 3.26 129
Figurines C-25, F-6, and F-7 from Areika with possibly exposed genitals. Images by author from photographs by author, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology

Fig. 3.27 129
Only surviving pregnant C-Group figurine, C-28, from Areika. Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology

Fig. 3.28 131
Bovine V-15 and figurine C-34 found at a settlement in Faras. From Verwers, 1961: Pl. 2.c [Made freely available online for noncommercial teaching and research by SFDAS.com at <http://sfdas.com/publications/publications-de-la-sfdas/article/kush?lang=fr>]

Fig. 3.29 131
Figurine F-27 from settlement site at Awandi. Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the Sudan National Museum

Fig. 3.30 132
Truncated figurine C-42 from settlement site. After Säve-Söderbergh, 1989: Pl. 61.3.c

Fig. 3.31 133

Single figurine E-18 found at Wadi es-Sebua fortified settlement. From Sauneron and Jacquet, 2005: Fig. 19 *Le bulletin de l' institut francais d'archéologie orientale* [made available online at <http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bifao/>]

Fig. 3.32 133
Stylized lozenge patterns on abdomens of C-8, F-17, and F-9. *Left*, After Firth, 1912: Pl. 39.b.3; *Second from left*, after Steindorff, 1935: Pl. 94.S.39; *Third from left*, from Randall-MacIver and Woolley, 1909: Pl. 8.4020. *Right*, image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology

Fig. 3.33 134
Figurine groups from Koshtamna and Mahmoudiya. *Left*, after Firth, 1912: Pl. 39.a [Made freely available online for noncommercial teaching and research by SFDAS.com at <http://sfdas.com/publications/ouvrages-specialises-en-ligne-ouvrages/?lang=fr>]; *Right*, after Bakr, 1967: Pl. IX lower

Fig. 3.34 136
Figurines C-16, F-28, A-12, and C-23, showing both lozenges and hash lines on abdomen. *Left*, after Steindorff, 1935: Pl. 72.6; *Second from left*, Image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the University of Chicago Oriental Institute Museum; *Third from left*, after Säve-Söderbergh, 1989: Pl. 61.5; *Right*, image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the Sudan National Museum

Fig. 3.35 137
Heads D-5, D-2, D-3, D-7 showing different ways of modeling hair. *Left*, photograph by author, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology; *Second and third from left*, photographs by author, with permission of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; *Right*, photograph by author, with permission of the Ägyptisches Museum Georg Steindorff der Universität Leipzig

Fig. 4.1 159
Images of A-Group figurines. *Left*, from Gatto, 2013; *Second from left*, from Firth, 1915: Pl. 11.c [Made freely available online for noncommercial teaching and research by SFDAS.com at <http://sfdas.com/publications/ouvrages-specialises-en-ligne-ouvrages/?lang=fr>]; *Third from left*, from Firth, 1915: Pl. 11.f; *Fourth from left*, Nordstrom, 1972: Pl. 197; *Right*, after photograph by the Brooklyn Museum

Fig. 4.2 164
Figurines from Kadruka. Images by author from photographs by author, with permission of the Sudan National Museum

Fig. 4.3 166

Figurine from Kadruka Cemetery 18. Images by author from photographs by author, with permission of the Sudan National Museum

Fig. 4.4 167
Sandstone figurine from Kadruka with incised closed eyes. Images by author from photographs by author, with permission of the Sudan National Museum

Fig. 4.5 168
Veined sandstone figurines from Kadruka and Jebel Uweinat, Libya. *Left four*, images by author from photographs by author, with permission of the Sudan National Museum; *Right two*, after Sukova, 2011: Fig. 1

Fig. 4.6 172
Neolithic Sudanese figurines with body decoration. *Left three*, images by author from photographs by author, with permission of the Sudan National Museum; *Fourth from left*, from Sadig, 2010: 212.b; *Third from right*, image by author from photograph by author, with permission of the Sudan National Museum; *Right two*, from Caneva, 1984: Fig. 5.4

Fig. 4.7 173
Neolithic figurines with belts or pubic covers. Images by author from photographs by author, with permission of the Sudan National Museum

Fig. 4.8 174
Neolithic figurines with closed eyes. *Left four*, Images by author from photographs by author, with permission of the Sudan National Museum; *Second from right*, Sadig, 2010: 212.c; *Right*, from Caneva, 1984: Fig. 5.3

Fig. 4.9 175
Badarian figurines from Predynastic Egypt. From Brunton and Caton-Thompson, 1928: (*left to right*) Pl. XXIV.1, Pl. XXIV.3, Pl. XXIV.2 [Made freely available online for noncommercial teaching and research by etana.org at: <http://etana.org/sites/default/files/coretexts/15271.pdf>]

Fig. 4.10 177
Early Naqada Period figurines from Badari. From Brunton and Caton-Thompson, 1928, (*Left to right*) Pl. LIII.47, Pl. LIII.46, Pl. LIII.48 [Made freely available online for noncommercial teaching and research by etana.org at: <http://etana.org/sites/default/files/coretexts/15271.pdf>]

Fig. 4.11 177
Naqada Period fat figurines. From Petrie and Quibell, 1896: Pl VI. 2, 3, and 4

Fig. 4.12 178
Naqada Period raised arm and tattooed figurines. *Left*, Petrie and Quibell, 1896: Pl. LIX.6; *Center*, photograph from Brooklyn Museum; *Right*, photograph from Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund 1907

Fig. 4.13	182
Paddle dolls. <i>Left</i> , photograph from Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund 1931; <i>Center</i> , photograph from Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund 1931; <i>Right</i> , photograph from Brooklyn Museum of Art, E 37.100	
Fig. 4.14	183
Egyptian Middle Kingdom faience fertility figurines. After Keimer, 1948: Pl. XII. 1-4; Pl. XIV.1; Pl. XIV.2	
Fig. 4.15	188
Hippopotamus figurines from Kerma. <i>Left</i> , Bonnet, 1990: 167, No. 83; <i>Right</i> , Bonnet 1996: Fig. 2.3; <i>Right</i> , Bonnet, 1990: 161, No. 57	
Fig. 4.16	188
Bovine figurine modeled without legs from Kerma. From Bonnet, 1990: 161, No. 57	
Fig. 4.17	189
Kerma figurines with closed eyes. <i>Left</i> , Bonnet, 1990: Fig. 117. 9 and 8; <i>Center</i> , Bonnet, 1990: Fig. 38; <i>Right</i> , Maystre, 1980: Fig. 28	
Fig. 4.18	190
Plan of Kerma village with figurine sites in red. After, Bonnet, 1990: 38-39, Fig. 30	
Fig. 4.19	191
Pair of figurines from Kerma Village, House 47. From Bonnet, 1990: 160, Nos. 54 and 55	
Fig. 4.20	191
Pair of figurines from Kerma Village, House 21. From Bonnet, 1990: 166, No. 79; 160, No. 53	
Fig. 4.21	192
Kerma figurines with belts. From Bonnet, 1996: Fig. 2.11, 12, 15, and 18	

List of Tables

Table 3.1	101
Reused pottery in C-Group graves. <i>Sources</i> : Reisner, 1910; Firth, 1912, 1915, 1927; Säve-Söderbergh, 1989; Nordström, 1972	
Table 3.2	112
Damaged graves with more than one figurine. <i>Sources</i> : Firth, 1912, 1915; Steindorff, 1935; Junker, 1926; Säve-Söderbergh, 1989	
Table 3.3	115-116

Single figurines from graves. Sources: Firth, 1912, 1915, 1927; Steindorff, 1935; Junker, 1926; Williams, 1983; Griffith, 1921; Nordström, 2014; Säve-Söderbergh, 1989

Table 3.4 121
Isolated heads from cemeteries. *Sources:* Firth, 1912, 1927; Steindorff, 1935; Williams, 1983; Nordström, 2014; Säve-Söderbergh, 1979

Table 3.5 124
Settlement Sites with Figurines. *Sources:* Sauneron and Jacquet, 2005; Emery and Kirwan, 1935; Randall-MacIver and Woolley, 1909; Stock, 1963; Steindorff, 1935; Bakr, 1963; Verwers, 1961; Säve-Söderbergh, 1989; Carlton and Sigstad, 1967-68

Table 3.6 136
All surviving heads with hair, showing style of representation. *Sources:* Firth, 1912, 1927; Randall-MacIver and Woolley, 1909; Steindorff, 1935; Bakr, 1963, 1967; Williams, 1983; Nordström, 2014; Säve-Söderbergh, 1989

Table 4.1 157
Excavated A-Group Figurines. *Sources:* Gatto, 2013; Reisner, 1910; Firth 1915, 1927; Nordström, 1972

Table 4.2 163
Radiocarbon Dates for Neolithic Sites with Figurines. *Sources:* Salvatori and Usai, 2007; Sadig, 2012

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 The Figurines

Small clay figurines in the form of human beings and livestock, associated with many ancient cultures in northeast Africa, comprise one of the least-studied artifacts of the Lower Nubian C-Group, so-named by George A. Reisner, the first archaeologist to identify this group.¹ Lower Nubia, the geographical region stretching approximately 300 kilometers from the First to the Second Nile Cataracts, formed an intermediary zone of shifting frontiers between the kingdoms of Egypt to the north and Kerma to the south from the Late Neolithic through the Bronze Age [Fig. 1.1]. The region during that period, however, supported the C-Group and an earlier population of indigenous pastoralists that Reisner designated Group A. Reisner identified a B-Group, positioned chronologically between the A- and the C-Group, but more recent research suggests that evidence associated with this group should be more properly considered as early A-Group rather than a separate culture.² The development of these cultures is not, to date, clearly understood as their economies and cultures were linked in multiple ways with their more powerful neighbors.

The Lower Nubian A-Group was archaeologically visible from approximately 3700 to 2800 BCE and disappeared with the formation of the Egyptian Old Kingdom state, leaving the region sparsely populated for around half a millennium.³ The C-Group appeared at approximately 2400 BCE with a

¹ G. A. Reisner, "The Archaeological Survey of Nubia." *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia Bulletin* 3 (1909): 5-6.

² H. S. Smith, "The Nubian B-Group." *Kush* 14 (1966): 69-124.

³ Dates given by László Török, *Between Two Worlds: The Frontier Region between Ancient Nubia and Egypt 3700 BC – AD 500* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009): 34.

distinct material culture that remained fairly stable for almost 1000 years, disappearing from Lower Nubia when Egypt conquered the region in approximately 1550 BCE.⁴ Both the A-Group and the C-Group produced clay figurines, although the surviving C-Group corpus is much larger. Over 140 individually sculpted anthropomorphic figurines and approximately 125 zoomorphic examples were excavated from settlement and cemetery sites throughout the C-Group territory in Lower Nubia.



Fig. 1.1 Left, Map of region showing Lower Nubia.
Source, Google Earth

Some aspects of the C-Group figurines are abstracted or schematized yet they are naturalistically portrayed in the sense that they clearly communicate their general subject matter. The anthropomorphic forms are easily read as human, although hands and fingers are never depicted, while the animal figurines represent cattle and sheep – at times with enough detail to suggest the

⁴ Dates from Török, *Between Two Worlds*, 63-64.

particular breed represented.⁵ Some of the anthropomorphic forms have plain surfaces but many are elaborately decorated with incised lines and impressed holes indicating hairstyles, jewelry, belts, or garments. Their limbs and torsos are often embellished with impressed motifs of lozenges or sets of parallel lines, and incised zigzags running down the legs along the outer thighs, as can be observed on fragmentary right leg and partial torso F-28 [Fig. 1.2].⁶

The impressed dots and lines on anthropomorphic examples were sometimes filled with a white paste that made these marks more visible, as can be seen in the incised lines on isolated left arm G-2 [Fig. 1.3]. The animal forms could also be impressed with dots or incised lines suggesting fur, harnesses, ropes, or perhaps ritual regalia, while a few examples survive with painted areas. For example, a black collar and spots have been painted on headless bovine figurine V-10, which faces to the viewer's left in this image [Fig. 1.4]. The specificity of these denotative details – jewelry, body decoration, coloring, or trappings– suggests that C-Group artists were not simply representing generic forms but imbuing these forms with specific identities, statuses, or roles.

⁵ Bakr made this claim about seven bovine figurines his team excavated from a single grave at Nagaa el-Madrassa. See Abd el Moneim Abou Bakr, “Fouilles de l’Université du Caire à Aniba (1961)” *Fouilles en Nubie (1959-1961)* (Cairo: Government Press, 1963): 122.

⁶ The alpha-numeric classification system introduced in this dissertation is based on the amount of body that survives, with complete figurines prefixed with an A, isolated body parts except for heads prefixed with a G, and animal forms prefixed with a V. This system is explained in Chapter 1, Section 1.8, page 46. A complete list of publications, explanation of the find spot, current location, and other information regarding each piece is available in the various appendices.

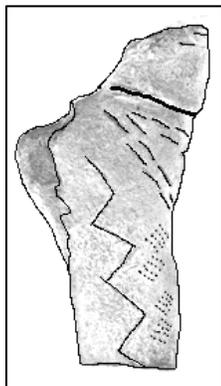


Figure 1.2: F-28

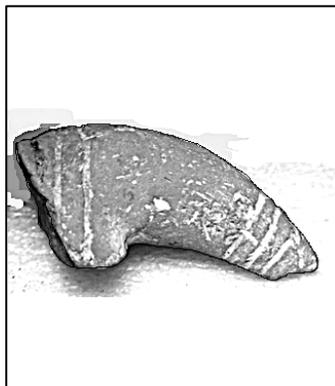


Figure 1.3: G-2

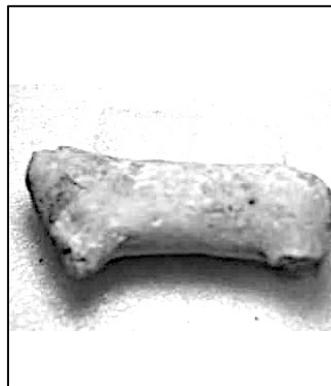


Figure 1.4: V-10

C-Group anthropomorphic and animal-form figurines were found in numerous settlement sites and cemeteries throughout Lower Nubia, but they are not ubiquitous in the region and they were not continuously produced. While many elements of C-Group material culture are present from the earliest appearance of the group around 2400 BCE, figurines are not evident until approximately 1850 BCE and appear to have been produced only until about 1650 BCE.⁷ Figurines were only found in about half of the sites known to date within this timeframe. In cemeteries where they occur, they are rare and are associated with only a small percentage of seemingly random graves.⁸ Graves with figurines are not obviously distinct from other graves in size, number or quality of grave goods, or sex or age of the deceased. Figurines excavated from

⁷ Manfred Bietak, *Studien zur Chronologie der Nubischen C-Gruppe: Ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte unternubiens zwischen 2200 und 1550 vor Chr.* (Vienna: Hermann Böhlhaus Nachf, 1968): 165.

⁸ Widespread plundering during antiquity and more recent times might partially account for the distribution in cemeteries, but this seems unlikely to have affected the overall archaeological record. Figurines tossed outside the grave during plundering, or perhaps placed there intentionally, were often subsequently covered by sand drifts which protected them; C. M. Firth, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia Bulletin* 4(1909): 9-10. Moreover, figurines have been found in the shafts of otherwise plundered graves, like Grave T51 at Adindan or Grave 88 from Cemetery 115 at Kubban, suggesting that these objects were not the targets of looters and were likely left behind; Bruce B. Williams, *C-Group, Pan Grave, and Kerma Remains at Adindan Cemeteries T, K, U, and J* (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1983): 136; C. M. Firth, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia: Report for 1910-1911* (Cairo: Government Press, 1927): 137

settlement areas tend to have been less clearly documented, thus the exact position of the figurines within domestic structures is unclear. What little information exists suggests that figurines, when present, were often confined to certain areas of settlement sites, possibly even to certain houses or rooms.⁹ The distribution patterns of figurines in domestic areas and cemeteries suggest a restricted context for their use as well as an association with certain individuals who are otherwise unremarkable in the archaeological record.

Further complicating an understanding of C-Group figurines is their similarity to anthropomorphic figurines from older civilizations in the region and from the coeval neighboring kingdoms of Egypt and Kerma. Examples from earlier figurine industries in Sudan and Egypt show some formal similarities to C-Group figurines and to each other, primarily in pose [Fig. 1.5]. Figurines contemporary with the C-Group from Egypt and Kerma, although formally dissimilar, demonstrate some overlap of specific iconographic details: C-Group and Kerma figurines share a specific type of belt, while C-Group and Middle Kingdom Egyptian figurines share lozenge shaped dot motifs [Fig. 1.6]. Elements such as zigzags on legs and patterns on the torsos recur across time and space, suggesting the possibility of a social or symbolic referent common to many cultural groups in the region. The similarities are compelling, but problematic for analysis. The approach pursued in this dissertation presumes that the C-Group

⁹ The settlement area at Areika, for example, yielded numerous anthropomorphic and animal form figurines from rectilinear rooms in sections A and B in the western area of the sprawling structure, while none were found in the much larger (and more typical rounded rooms) in the eastern part; D. Randall-MacIver and C. Leonard Woolley, *Areika* (Oxford: University Press, 1909): 8, Pl. 5. Similarly, excavations in the seven small domestic structures at Wadi el-Arab yielded only one figurine in one of the structures; Emery, W. B. and L. P. Kirwan. *The Excavations and Survey between Wadi Es-Sebua and Adindan 1929-1931* (Cairo: Government Press, 1935): 106.

corpus should be analyzed as thoroughly as possible from its place within C-Group material culture and only after its local specificity has been established can its relationship to other regional figurine corpora be clarified.

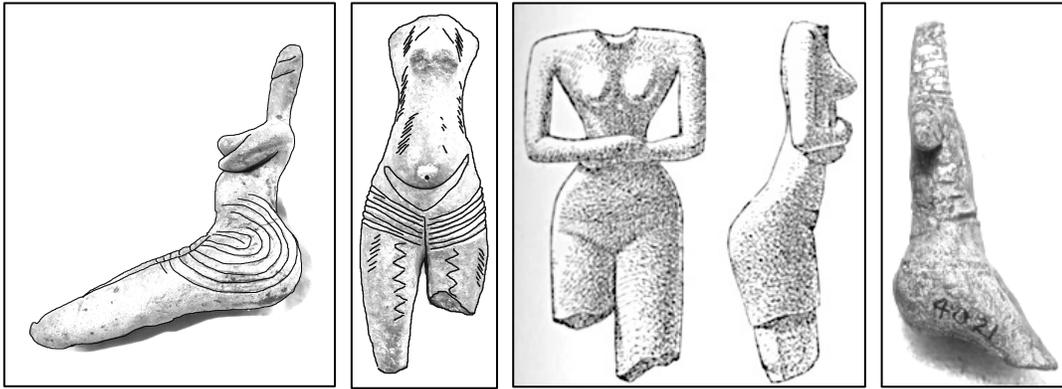


Figure 1.5: A-Group, Central Sudanese Neolithic, Egyptian Predynastic, and C-Group Figurines

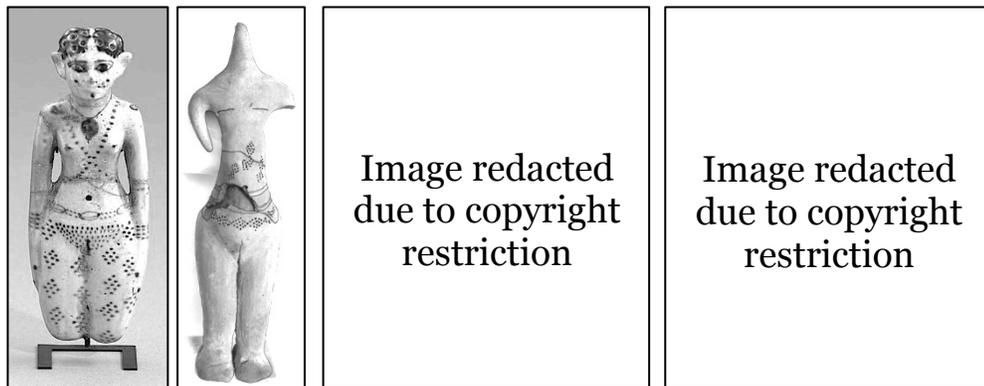


Figure 1.6: Egyptian figurine with tattoos, C-Group figurine with tattoos and belt, Kerma figurine with belt, Belt from grave at Kerma

This dissertation takes a contextual and culturally specific approach to the C-Group figurine corpus, necessary at this stage of research because so little is known of the corpus as a whole. This focus does not preclude an acknowledgement of some type of regional ties to other figurine industries but falls far short of positing strong universalist interpretations of specific meanings and functions that would account for every case of figurine use in ancient

northeast Africa. I propose instead that, a) the figurine industries in this region were linked through a shared understanding of the efficacy of images as technology, and b) figurine-using cultures in northeast Africa also shared, to different degrees, a Neolithic pastoralist heritage that provided a conceptual space for the female spheres of authority likely connoted in various figurine corpora.

My examination of as many as possible of the excavated C-Group anthropomorphic pieces allows me to establish and analyze the variability within the corpus and identify recurring forms and motifs that connect these pieces. I also examine and analyze the archaeological contexts of the figurines. This context includes not only the objects (or bodies from graves) found in association with the figurines, but the more general archaeological character of the areas of the sites in which they are found. Using this data I suggest that C-Group female figurines represented women and girls in positions of traditional power within the C-Group and other communities – ritual actors whose roles changed under differing political circumstances.

Since their discovery, C-Group figurines have received almost no attention on their own. They have been inconsistently documented in excavation reports, selectively included in museum exhibitions and catalogs, cursorily described in a few general reference works on Nubian civilizations, and haphazardly published as supplemental evidence in research on other topics. Although the full corpus of C-Group figurines has never been published together or studied as a group, scholars today generally accept that C-Group along with all other ancient northeast African female figurines functioned generically as “fertility figurines”-

magico-religious implements associated with birth and re-birth after death. This interpretation, based almost exclusively on research that focused on Egyptian figurines, limits the types of questions that can arise from a study of this object class. It mutes, for example, the question of why the C-Group (and, indeed, other northeast African people) produced figurines at the time they did and not before or later. It also presupposes that a female form is necessarily and inevitably linked to fecundity. The presence of at least one unquestionably male anthropomorphic figurine in the C-Group corpus [Fig. 1.7], the inclusion of female forms of apparently different ages and life-stages within the corpus [Fig. 1.8], and the concurrent and associated use of livestock figurines, calls for a more nuanced assessment of this object class.

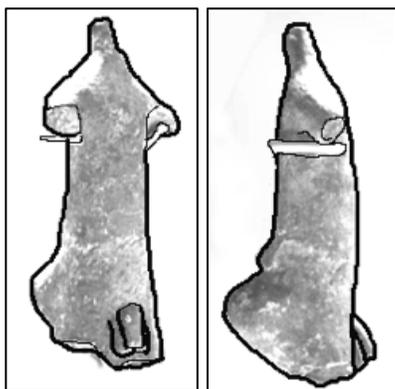


Fig. 1.7: Male figure (C-11)

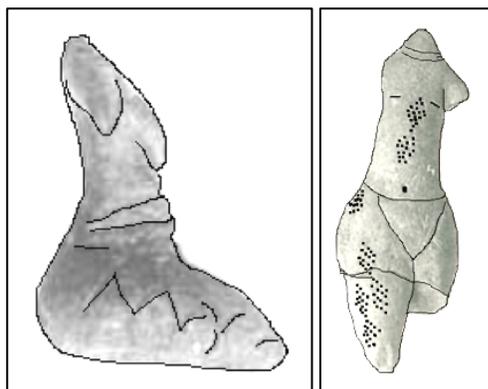


Fig. 1.8: Mature female with pendulous breasts (C-3), and female without developed breasts (C-8)

1.2 Early Influences on C-Group Figurine Study

The widespread current acceptance of C-Group figurines as fertility-related objects has interrelated material and ideological roots that can be traced through the shifting intellectual climates and racialized discourse that dominated the past two centuries of scholarship. Although the ideas and positions that formed the background of early scholarship have been largely discredited, their

legacies continue to affect the interpretation of figurines in subtle ways. The following section traces the historical currents of this scholarship in order to show how these approaches and biases affected the study of Northeast African figurines and incidentally blocked many potentially productive analytical methods.

1.2.1 Figurines and the Question of Race

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, largely due to Napoleon's invasion of Egypt, scholars and thinkers in Europe and America (primarily white, elite men) became aware of the artistic and technological achievements of the ancient Egyptians and the intellectual debt that they believed the West owed to that civilization. There was some speculation at the time that these early Egyptians might have been Black.¹⁰ At the same time, and continuing over the next century, the status of Black African people and their relationship to the rest of humanity became a topic of debate among Western White scholars, due to a combination of the immensely lucrative transatlantic slave trade, the industries based around it, the ideologies of European colonialist expansion, and post-Enlightenment Era concern with race. In this climate, deciding the racial makeup of the early Egyptians quickly came to dominate the aims and approaches of research on ancient northeast Africa. Painstaking arguments were crafted using the latest tools of the new sciences of archaeology, ethnography, and

¹⁰ The early abolitionist, Count Volney made this argument based on his personal observations of Egyptian Copts living at the time of his visit to the country in the late 1700s, as well as the physiognomy of the Sphinx of Giza: Volney, *Travels through Syria and Egypt 1783-1784-1785* (4th edition, Paris: Courcier, 1807): 73-75. Strong reactions against this suggestion quickly ensued, see for example, W. G. Browne *Travels in Africa, Egypt, and Syria from the Year 1792 to 1798* (London: Printed for T. Cadell Junior and W. Davies, Strand; and T. N. Longman and O. Rees, Paternoster-Row, 1799): 159.

anthropology to explain away any evidence of a significant Black presence in or influence on early Egyptian civilization. Human bodies from excavated cemeteries in Egypt and Nubia were studied by the top anatomists of the day - skulls were extensively measured, femur lengths were scrutinized, hair-type was documented.¹¹ Visual representations of foreigners in Egyptian temples were compared to anatomical material from cemeteries and skin color was discussed.¹² Linguists probed ancient texts and historically documented languages looking for connections between groups.¹³

1.2.2 The Hamitic Hypothesis¹⁴

¹¹ Fouquet, made extensive cranial measurements to decide that some bodies from predynastic Egyptian cemeteries compare typologically with those of Blacks from southern Africa: D. Fouquet, "Recherches sur les cranes de l'époque de la pierre taillée en Égypte," in Jacques de Morgan *Recherches sur les origines de l'Égypte (Vol 2): Ethnographie préhistorique et tombeau royal de Negadah 269-380* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1897): 378. One explicit goal of the first Archaeological Survey of Nubia was to determine the "race and ethnological affinities" of the early inhabitants of the area, thus the project included a team of anatomists working in the field and in labs to identify the age, sex, and race of excavated skeletons: H. G. Lyons "Preface" in George A. Reisner *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia: Report for 1907-1908 Vol. 1* iii-v (Cairo: National Printing Department, 1910): iv. G. E. Smith, an anatomist working at the Cairo School of Medicine in the early twentieth century, published grand narratives dealing with the racial makeup of the ancient Egyptians, based on his examination bodies from multiple excavations in Egypt and Nubia, identifying racial types based on skeletons and hair: G. E. Smith *The Ancient Egyptians and Their Influence Upon the Civilization of Europe* (London and New York: Harper and Brothers, 1911): 51.

¹² One early strategy for arguing that the ancient Egyptians could not have been black was to interpret Egyptian art as naturalistic when the figures appear white, but symbolic when they appear black: Browne, *Travels in Africa*, 162, 165. Petrie compared some predynastic Egyptian skulls to Egyptian temple reliefs to demonstrate that they represented foreigners: W. M. Flinders Petrie and J. E. Quibell, *Naqada and Ballas 1895* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1896): 35.

¹³ Browne's early theory hinged also on his interpretation of the "sonorous" Coptic language's relationship to Arabic and Syriac rather than to the "ineffably mendicant" languages native to Africa: Browne, *Travels in Africa*, 160-161. Junker's assertion that black people contributed nothing to civilization in Africa is based in large part on his interpretation of the Egyptian word *Nhsyw* as originally designating "typical Hamites" and not Blacks: Hermann Junker "The First Appearance of the Negroes in History," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 7 (1921): 124-125.

¹⁴ This section treats the effects of the Hamitic Hypothesis on the reception of figurines in Egyptian and Nubian archaeology. For a more general treatment of the effect of the hypothesis on issues of race in Nubia, and a clear refutation of its structuring ideas and usefulness in scholarship see Bruce G. Trigger, "Nubian, Negro, Black, Nilotic?" in *Africa in Antiquity: The Arts of Ancient Nubia and the Sudan, I. (The Essays)*, edited by Sylvia Hochfield and Elizabeth Riefstahl (Brooklyn: The Brooklyn Museum, 1978): 26-35.

By the end of the nineteenth century, Western scholars had developed a flexible framework that could theoretically accommodate the presence of multiple races in north Africa without admitting any significant Black or African influence on early Egyptian development: the Hamitic Hypothesis – an inventive narrative of racialized population movements loosely based on a story from the Bible.¹⁵ The most leveraged version of this now-discredited position, espoused by William Flinders Petrie, the first modern excavator in Egypt, posited an original inferior race of Stone Age black people being driven out of southern Europe and into Africa by a superior white race described as Hamitic and identified with Libyans. The Hamites, or Libyans, were theorized to have then pushed the earlier Blacks out of Egypt into southern Africa, only to themselves become subordinated to incoming Semitic migrants from Southeast Asia who were presumed to have been responsible for the rise of the Egyptian state.¹⁶ Predynastic Egyptian female figurines and, slightly later, Nubian figurines, first excavated in this intellectual climate, were quickly integrated into the racial discourse by scholars asking not what the figurines meant to their makers or how they were used, but what they might signal about the racial makeup of ancient northeast Africa.

In 1895 Petrie and J. E. Quibell excavated the first known clay female figurines from Egyptian predynastic cemeteries near Naqada and Ballas. Some of these figurines represented individuals who were much fatter than the slender

¹⁵ The Hamitic Hypothesis, largely discredited by the late 20th century, was adapted from Biblical traditions related to the sons of a character called Noah to accommodate various visions of racial status. The history of the hypothesis is summarized and the various political agendas of its proponents are analyzed in Edith R. Sanders “The Hamitic Hypothesis: Its Origin and Functions in Time Perspective,” *Journal of African History* 4(1969): 521-532.

¹⁶ Petrie first presented this view in his report of excavations at Naqada and Ballas: Petrie and Quibell, *Naqada and Ballas*, 34. Petrie maintained this theory throughout his career, with minor changes, publishing much the same narrative in 1939: Flinders Petrie *The Making of Egypt* (London: The Sheldon Press, 1939): 16.

Egyptian bodies represented in tomb and temple walls and stone sculpture.

Petrie and Quibell imaginatively identified these fat figurines as images of foreign slave women, captured by a conquering race and placed in the graves of men to serve them continually in the afterlife.¹⁷ These archaeologists presumed that the figurines represented slaves because they were female, and interpreted them as members of a vanquished aboriginal black race based on their supposed steatopygy – a now-antiquated nineteenth century quasi-medical term used to describe what, in the estimation of European men, was an abnormal amount of fat on the buttocks, attributed specifically to African women.¹⁸ Using steatopygy as a racial identifier, Petrie equated the fat figurines to other fleshy female figurines from southern France and the Mediterranean, linked these to the relief image of the Queen of Punt at Deir el-Bahri, and connected them all to the “Hottentot” people in southwest Africa [Fig. 1.9]¹⁹ whom he argued represented the last vestiges of a vanquished Black race. Scholars at the time failed to address the circularity of Petrie’s logic in using figurines as evidence of racialized

¹⁷ W. M. Flinders Petrie *Prehistoric Egypt* (London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1920): 9; Flinders Petrie *The Making of Egypt* (London: The Sheldon Press, 1939): 6, 16.

¹⁸ The term steatopyga was coined in 1822 by Burchell who argued against understanding this trait as a racial marker; William J. Burchell *Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa*, Vol. 1 (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, Paternoster-Row, 1822): 216-217 (note). Nevertheless, subsequent travel and scientific literature on racial types incorporated the term as a racial descriptor, particularly associated with women in southern Africa, see for example Georg Schweinfurth *The Heart of Africa: Three Years’ Travels and Adventures in the Unexplored Regions of Central Africa from 1868 to 1871* Vol. 1 translated by Ellen E. Frewer (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1874): 295-296; Charles Darwin *The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex* 2nd ed. (New York: A. L. Burt, 1874): 660; A. de Quatrefages *The Human Species* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1879): 52; J. Deniker *The Races of Man: An Outline of Anthropology and Ethnography* (London: Walter Scott, 1900): 93-94.

¹⁹ Hottentot is the name given to the Khoikhoi people of southwest Africa by early European travellers around the African Cape. Hottentot women were epitomized in the 19th century European mind by Sara Baartman, the so-called “Hottentot Venus,” who was exhibited in London during the early 1800’s as an ethnographic attraction and whose body – particularly her comparatively large buttocks and thighs - was marketed as an example of the Hottentot race. For an examination of this damaging process see Z. S. Strother “Display of the Body Hottentot,” in Bernth Lindfors, ed. *Africans On Stage: Studies in Ethnological Show Business* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1999) 1- 61.

population movements while using theories of racialized population movements to explain figurines, thus his views became entrenched in the early Egyptological literature and shaped the discourse of other Egyptologists concerning figurines.²⁰

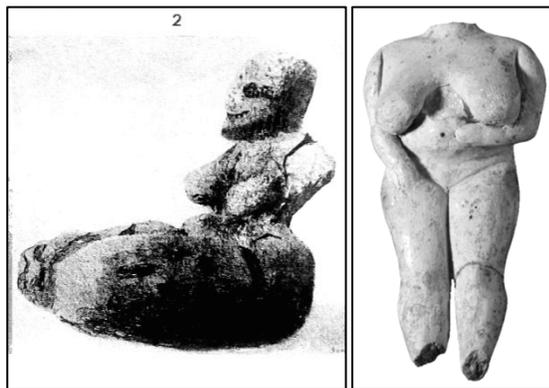


Fig. 1.9: Predynastic Egyptian figurine (left), Malta figurine (right)

The prevalence of painted or incised marks on many female figurines, interpreted as body painting or tattooing rather than scarification, formed a connected discourse. Tattooing came to serve as an important line of evidence in early postulations of the Hamitic Hypothesis, as most Egyptian art depicted body decoration on Libyans rather than Egyptians. Scholars were torn as to how to interpret the marks on figurines, and saw this as evidence for either tattoos or for body paint since Egyptian graves often contained cosmetic shells and pigments. The practice of tattooing was widely understood as taking place in Egypt only under Libyan influence and was associated with “primitive” groups who used it as protection from dangerous spirits.²¹ Tattoos and scarification were discovered in

²⁰ Guy Brunton and Gertrude Caton-Thompson, excavating at Badari, similarly identified figurines as mimetic representations of racial types based on a “tendency to steatopygy”: *The Badarian Civilization and Predynastic Remains near Badari* (London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1928): 29.

²¹ For example: J. de Morgan. *Recherches sur les Origines de l'Égypte: Ethnographie Préhistorique et Tombeau Royal de Négadah* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1897): 51-56; Alfred Wiedemann *Die Urzeit Ägyptens und seine älteste Bevölkerung* (Frankfurt: M. H. Bechhold,

1891 on the body of a female Egyptian Middle Kingdom mummy named Amunet, who was identified in her burial as a priestess of Hathor. Dr. Daniel Marie Fouquet, the physician who examined the mummy at that time, explained both the tattoos and the abdominal scarification as medical treatments, commonly used for abdominal inflammation in women.²²

1.2.3 Figurines and the Female Body

While the presumed Libyan origin of the Nubian and predynastic Egyptian populations provided a framework for the analysis of figurines, the feminine subject matter of these objects was not at first interrogated as to meaning or function. Scholars during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries presumed that women's roles were limited to serving men. Figurines were therefore uncritically accepted as functioning in the service of men in some capacity. Petrie at first assumed that figurines represented slaves but later expanded his interpretation when his excavations at Qurneh yielded slender female, non-tattooed, figurines on beds, leading him to argue that these represented wives for the deceased.²³ Similarly, A. Wiedemann argued from the sex of the figurines that marriage (and producing a son) was so important to the ancient Egyptians that if an unmarried man died, figurines of women were buried

1899): 765-766; Jean Capart *Les Débuts de l'Art en Égypte* (Brussels: Vromant & Co., 1904): 21-21, 30.

²² Dr. Fouquet, who examined the Middle Kingdom Egyptian mummy of Amunet at the time of its excavation, argued in an 1898 article that the scarification and tattooing apparent on the abdomen was medical, not decorative; Dr. Fouquet "Le Tatouage Médical en Égypte dans l'antiquité et à l'époque actuelle." *Archives D'Anthropologie Criminelle de Criminologie et de Psychologie Normale et Pathologique* 13(1898): 271-272. This argument was widely accepted – see for example: Charles S. Myers "Contributions to Egyptian Anthropology: Tatuing." *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 33(1903): 86.

²³ William M. Flinders Petrie, *Qurneh* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1909): 12.

with him in a *Totenhochzeit* (wedding for the dead) to act as wives in the afterlife.²⁴

1.3 Before WWI: Slaves, Toys, Wives

Since the first discovery of clay figurines in Lower Nubia, many Egyptologists have not hesitated to incorporate them, as a group or as selected pieces, into the dominant intellectual frameworks shaping research in Egypt. Archaeologists who excavated the first Nubian figurines, in contrast, focused surprisingly little analytical attention on them. David Randall-MacIver working with Charles Leonard Woolley in 1907 and George A. Reisner in 1908 did not fully document the figurines they excavated and did not offer interpretations of them. Randall-MacIver and Woolley, excavating for the University of Pennsylvania at Areika, found a large fortified structure that they believed to have been a Nubian castle, which contained thirty anthropomorphic and twelve animal-form figurines.²⁵ In their 1909 report of the excavation, Randall-MacIver and Woolley referred to these objects as simply “clay and pottery figurines,” offering no interpretation or even exact find-spots, although they did include images of twenty of them. These authors focused their analysis instead on the architecture and the pottery. They believed that the structure had been built by Nubians and had served as a “castle” housing a Nubian chief and his extended

²⁴ Alfred Wiedemann, *Das Alte Ägypten* (Heidelberg: Carl Winters, 1920): 89-90.

²⁵ The identification and description of the C-Group and other details of Lower Nubian groups and chronologies had not been published at the time of this excavation. MacIver and Woolley dated the structure and its occupation to the Egyptian eighteenth dynasty, a date that was later challenged by Wegner who placed the site in the Egyptian Middle Kingdom. Randall-Maciver and Woolley, *Areika*, 8, Pl. 5, Pl. 8. Josef W. Wegner, “Regional Control in Middle Kingdom Lower Nubia: The Function and History of the Site of Areika.” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 32 (1995): 127.

family.²⁶ Because the figurines were excavated from habitation areas rather than graves, it would have been difficult to argue, as did Petrie, that they represented Black slaves fashioned to serve the dead. It is possible that the excavators associated the figurines with everyday domestic life, although they did not specifically report this conclusion.

With a similar lack of attention to figurines, Reisner, working for the Harvard University – Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition for the first Archaeological Survey of Nubia (ASN),²⁷ found one A-Group female figurine among other burial goods in a grave for two dogs at Risqalla and described it as steatopygous with the arms broken off, but did not provide a photograph of it in the published report.²⁸ Reisner also found a C-group bovine figurine, V-13, in Grave 3 of Cemetery 14 at Khor Ambukol but did not mention it in any of his published reports. This piece is only known because it was awarded to the MFA, Boston in the division of the finds by the Egyptian government and, fortunately, the museum label specifies its excavation details. Although Reisner states that Grave 3 of Cemetery 14 dates to the B-Group, the form and style of the figurine with its pointed, slightly convex muzzle and applied bulging eyes, indicate C-Group work.

²⁶ This view was later modified by Josef W. Wegner, who re-analyzed the pottery and architecture of the site, deciding that it was originally an Egyptian fort: Wegner, "Regional Control," 127-160.

²⁷ When the decision was made in 1907 to raise the height of the dam to create a larger upstream reservoir for agricultural use, the Egyptian Government sponsored a series of archaeological surveys of the Nile Valley areas that would be submerged by the project. These surveys, known collectively as the Archaeological Survey of Nubia, were published in a series of Bulletins and as a series of reports: *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia Bulletin* Vols 1-6 (1908-1910); George A. Reisner, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia: Report for 1907-1908*, 2 Vols. (Cairo: Government Press, 1910); C. M. Firth, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia: Report for 1908-1909* (Cairo: Government Press, 1912); C. M. Firth, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia: Report for 1909-1910* (Cairo: Government Press, 1915); C. M. Firth, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia: Report for 1910-1911* (Cairo: Government Press, 1927).

²⁸ Reisner, *ASN 1907-1908*, 192.

Given his intellectual investment in Petrie's version of the Hamitic Hypothesis,²⁹ it is surprising that Reisner did not link the steatopygous figurine to his assessment of the racial makeup of the A-Group. It is instructive in this regard that Reisner described three figurines that he excavated from debris at an early Christian Nubian cemetery as "dolls," musing that they had "evidently been dropped in the cemetery during the burial ceremonies and at the great yearly feasts. The dolls, especially, remind us of the modern cemetery feasts of both Moslems and Copts."³⁰ Although Reisner did not explicitly interpret A- and C-Group figurines as toys, his opinion of the early Christian "dolls" indicates this possibility.

If MacIver and Woolley as well as Reisner interpreted figurines as children's playthings, it is easy to see how their female subject matter and domestic function might render them marginal in the eyes of early twentieth century scholars, to whom the household sphere held no potential to inform understandings of larger social processes. The fact that most of these objects were awarded to the foreign missions rather than kept by the Egyptian government in find divisions suggests that they also held little value for the Egyptian Antiquities Service, at the time headed by Gaston Maspero.³¹

²⁹ That Reisner did not question the established orthodoxy of the Hamitic Hypothesis is clear in his introduction to an article published later concerning the ancestry of the early Kushite Kings: George A. Reisner, "The Meroitic Kingdom of Ethiopia: A Chronological Outline." *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 9 (April 1923): 34.

³⁰ Reisner, *ASN 1907-1908*, 101.

³¹ All of the figurines and other objects from the Areika "castle" were taken to the University Museum in Philadelphia with the exception of two clay seals, while the bovine figurine from Khor Ambukol was sent to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. I have not been able to ascertain the current location of the A-Group figurine reported by Reisner, or the three clay, Christian-era "dolls" he recorded.

The next three expeditions of the ASN, led by Cecil Mallaby Firth, excavated a total of twenty-four anthropomorphic figurines and seven animal-form examples dated to the C-Group. Although the ASN included a team of anatomists working in the field and in labs to identify the age, sex, and race of excavated skeletons in order to fulfill the Survey's explicit mission of determining the "race and ethnological affinities" of the early inhabitants of the area,³² Firth did not interpret the anthropomorphic figurines as mimetic representations of racial types. Echoing Reisner, Firth instead argued that C-Group figurines were dolls belonging to the deceased children with whom they were buried. Significantly, Firth postulated that steatopygy should be understood as an artistic convention still visible in Nubian children's dolls of the twentieth century.³³

While Firth denied that steatopygy was a mimetic representation of racial characteristics, he did point out the resemblance of the tattoos preserved on the skin of one female C-Group skeleton that his team excavated to "the marks on the C-Group pottery dolls."³⁴ This skeleton was found in the 1910-1911 season but Firth's report was not published until 1927 due to the intervention of World War I. News of the tattooed Nubian mummy, and the figurines, however, spread through the archaeological community in Egypt, inspiring the incorporation of this material into the racial discourse of the time. Grafton Elliot Smith, Professor of Anatomy in the Cairo School of Medicine at the time, used the evidence of tattooing on Firth's Nubian mummy and the C-Group figurines to argue for an increasing Black presence in Nubian populations during the Egyptian Middle

³² Lyons, "Preface," iv.

³³ Firth, *ASN 1908-1909*, 17; Firth, *ASN 1910-1911*, 200.

³⁴ Firth, *ASN 1910-1911*, 54.

Kingdom.³⁵ Oric Bates, who had been present at the excavation of several C-Group anthropomorphic figurines during his work on the early ASN surveys with Firth, took the details as realistic representations of body decoration and costume. Bates thus argued that the C-Group people were Libyans. Bates offered no interpretation of the function or specific subject matter of the figurines, but is one of the few archaeologists who saw the figurines in the field, and one of the very few people to argue that at least one of the examples excavated by Firth, B-6 [Fig. 1.10], represented a male individual.³⁶

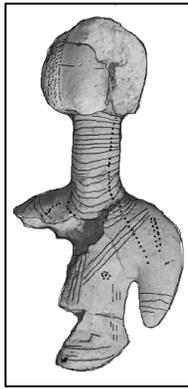


Fig. 1.10: B-6

Hermann Junker, working for the Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, excavated Cemetery C at Toshka in Lower Nubia from 1911 to 1912. Junker found four anthropomorphic and three animal form figurines and offered the first discussion of this object class that considered their contextual, formal, and chronological specificity. Comparing them with published figurines from predynastic Egypt, 12th Dynasty Egypt, A-Group and C-Group figurines excavated by Firth in Nubia, the figurines excavated at Areika by MacIver, and figurines

³⁵ Smith, *Ancient Egyptians*, 56.

³⁶ Oric Bates, *The Eastern Libyans: an Essay* (London: MacMillan and Co., 1914): 250.

from Kerma, Junker concluded that the practice, the types, and the treatment of these figurines constituted evidence of a shared regional tradition from Egypto-Nubian prehistory.³⁷ He questioned the likelihood, however, of figurines from vastly different time periods holding the same meaning – arguing specifically against Weidemann and Petrie’s views that they served as wives for the dead since they were found with children and in habitation areas.³⁸ He also took issue with the interpretation of figurines as children’s toys, noting that they were also recovered from graves of adult males, were made of breakable material that would not stand up to handling by children, and that, in his view, the steatopygous form seemed inappropriate for a child’s doll.³⁹

World War I interrupted work and publication in Nubia for some time, so the next excavation to find C-Group figurines was carried out in 1930 by Walter Bryan Emery and Laurence P. Kirwan at the C-Group settlement of Wadi el-Arab, near the Middle Kingdom Egyptian fortress of Kubban. The fortress itself contained numerous clay figurines of Egyptian type, but the C-Group settlement yielded only one Nubian figurine. Emery and Kirwan described this figurine only as a “clay figurine” and offered no interpretation of its subject matter or function. They did, however, provide a quarter-scale drawing of the figurine and identified it as coming from room five of the compound.⁴⁰

³⁷ Hermann Junker *Toschke. Bericht über die Grabungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien auf dem Friedhof von Toschke (Nubien) im Winter 1911/12* (Wein and Leipzig: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1926): 75-76.

³⁸ Junker *Toschke*, 76.

³⁹ *Ibid.* It is interesting that here, Junker, a strident proponent of the Hamitic Hypothesis, uses the term steatopygy to describe figurine bodies, but avoids the term when defining the “Black race” as characterized anatomically by what he describes as a flex in the lumbar vertebrae “accompanied by a marked inclination of the pelvis, so that the buttocks and thighs appear to be pushed backwards.” Junker, “First Appearance,” 122.

⁴⁰ Emery and Kirwan, *Survey Wadi Es-Sebua*, 106, fig. 83.5, 108.

The largest number of C-Group figurines found at one site was excavated in the winter months of 1912 and 1914 and the winter of 1930/31 by the Ernst-Sieglin expedition at Aniba for the ASN, led by Georg Steindorff. The intervention of World War One separated the two expeditions and delayed publication, however, until 1935. A total of thirty anthropomorphic and forty-one animal-form figurines from two cemeteries and a settlement zone were excavated from this site, including the only unambiguously human male example. Steindorff concentrated on the general archaeology of the site and devoted relatively little analysis to the figurines themselves. Although the large numbers of figurines from the Aniba excavations offered an unprecedented look at something of the variability and coherence of this object class, Steindorff paid more attention to the context and potential function of the figurines than to their subject matter.

Steindorff interpreted the designs on figurine bodies as realistic representations of tattooing, citing the tattooed mummy excavated by Firth,⁴¹ but rejected a racial interpretation of steatopygy. Steindorff argued instead that emphasis on the buttocks and hips, even in the male example, was simply an aesthetic choice made by many cultures.⁴² Steindorff did not attempt to explain the occurrence of female figurines in habitation areas, but did note that the standing examples with flat bases predominate in the habitation area but are seldom found in the cemetery.⁴³ Steindorff also noted that applying Egyptian religious interpretations to Nubian material was difficult, nevertheless he argued that the various figurines were similar in type to grave goods in Egypt and

⁴¹ Georg Steindorff, *Aniba I*. (Glückstadt and Hamburg: J. J. Augustin, 1935): 118-119.

⁴² Steindorff, *Aniba*, 117.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 215.

therefore likely served the same purpose: substitutes for the real thing to function for the dead in the afterlife as toys for children, servants or companions for women, and concubines for men.⁴⁴ This approach led to conclusions that possibly overstated the relationship in subject matter and function between the Nubian and Egyptian figurines.

1.4 Between the Wars: Concubines, Goddesses, and Childbirth

After World War One, the interpretive range of female figurine subject matter expanded somewhat. Scholars continued implicitly to assign social rank to the female subjects that they believed were represented in ancient art, using a Western paradigm of status – with slaves and prostitutes at the bottom of the scale and wives, queens and goddesses at the top. The tattoo patterns discovered on two female Egyptian mummies at Deir el-Bahri in the 1920s, for example, led the archaeologist in charge, Herbert Eustis Winlock, to interpret these individuals and the similarly tattooed faience figurines excavated from the same site as dancing girls.⁴⁵ Implicit in Winlock’s “dancing girl” interpretation was the assumption that tattooed women were of questionable morality, low social standing, and danced (and were sexually available) for a male audience.

The interpretation of tattooed Egyptian women and figurines as debased objects of male heterosexual desire was not generally applied to C-Group figurines or C-Group women with similar tattooing. I suggest that this split occurred because the white Western scholars who created the dancer/concubine narrative were inhibited by racist impulses. Nubians were not believed to have

⁴⁴ Ibid., 120.

⁴⁵ Herbert E. Winlock, “The Museum’s Excavation at Thebes.” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 18 (1923): 26.

been White like the Egyptians – although whether they were Black or Brown was still a cause for concern among many scholars – thus C-Group women, and figurines representing them, were not appropriate objects of desire for the western male gaze. Egyptian women and figurines were discussed as tattooed because of their status as concubines, while many of the same scholars argued that C-Group women and figurines were tattooed for decorative, ritual, or superstitious purposes.⁴⁶

An alternative to the “concubine” interpretation was offered in 1929 when George David Hornblower, an Egyptologist and collector working for the Egyptian Ministry of the Interior, looked at female figurines from predynastic and Pharaonic Egypt and saw in them not dancers, prostitutes, or concubines, but images of a primordial goddess. The “Great Goddess” theory espoused by Hornblower was ostensibly rooted in the evolutionary science of the day: human cultures universally evolve from a stage of matriarchy, rule of the mother, to patriarchy, rule of the father, and all ancient female figurines represent an earth or mother-type goddess.⁴⁷ Hornblower’s Great Goddess interpretation was based on his view of female bodies as naturally symbolic of twentieth century Western ideals of maternity and sexual function, in the form of birthgiving, sustenance, and protection. Hornblower dismissed Nubian figurines in a footnote, stating

⁴⁶ Wilhelm Hölscher, in his 1936 doctoral dissertation for the University of Munich, repeated Winlock’s dancing girl interpretation of Middle Kingdom Egyptian tattooed faience figurines but attributed the use of tattoos on C-Group figurines and C-Group women to ritual or decorative use rather than to a low social status: Wilhelm Hölscher, *Liber und Ägypter: Beiträge sur Ethnologie und Geschichte Libyscher Völkerschaftern nach den Altägyptischen Quellen* (Glückstadt, Hamburg, and New York: J. J. Augustin, 1955): 38. Bernard Bruyère similarly separated the use of tattoos on Nubian C-Group figurines and Egyptian faience figurines, arguing that only the latter indicated prostitutes or dancers.

⁴⁷ For a concise review of the history and politics of the Great Goddess theory, see Naomi Hamilton, “The Personal Is Political.” *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 6, 2 (1996): 282-284.

that they were “of the same nature as the Egyptian, but lag behind them in time.”⁴⁸ The Great Goddess theory provided a parallel discourse for figurine interpretation alongside the concubine interpretation, but both were problematic.

The following year, in 1930, Egyptologist Siegfried Schott published the first translation of an Egyptian text inscribed on the legs of a female Middle Kingdom Egyptian figurine in the Berlin Museum [Fig. 1.11].⁴⁹ The text is a strongly worded request, presumably addressed to a deceased man, asking that he help grant the birth of a child to his living daughter. For Schott and other scholars of the time who interpreted figurines as concubines, the association of this subject matter with a request for a “legitimate” birth was incongruent, thus Schott embellished his interpretation to resolve the perceived moral issue. Schott developed a brief, highly imaginative narrative in which he argued that the figurine represented a concubine of the deceased who had already had a child with the dead man. The family, he explained, were angry that the man’s legitimate daughter was childless when his concubine had successfully had children, thus used the concubine’s image to coerce assistance from the dead patriarch’s spirit. This creative solution, based on early twentieth century moral codes, offered the first tangible, if unlikely, link between the supposed concubine subject matter and human fertility. The implications of Schott’s translation of this figurine text, however, were impossible to ignore – at least some female figurines in Egypt were clearly linked to human fertility.

⁴⁸ G. D. Hornblower, “Predynastic Figurines of Women and their Successors.” *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 15 (1929): 35-36, footnote 3.

⁴⁹ Siegfried Schott, “Die Bitte um ein Kind auf einer Grabfigur des Frühen Mittleren Reiches.” *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 16 (1930): 23.



Fig. 1.11: Berlin Inv. No. 14517, inscription from left thigh

After World War Two, Dr. Louis Keimer published an influential monograph on tattooing practices in ancient Egypt that offered an alternative narrative to explain the connection between “concubine” figurines and requests for children. Keimer’s work repeated the Hamitic Hypothesis dogma of the C-Group as Libyan immigrants, based on what he interpreted as a shared steatopygy in figurines and in Nubian women, but his focus in this publication was on tattooing. He argued that tattooing had magical or curative functions for primitive people and that the magical function of tattoos would likely be favored by prostitutes and women of loose morals who were, in his personal experience and imagination, highly susceptible to superstition and magical charms.⁵⁰ Keimer added that prostitutes often had children and would be likely to use tattoos as a form of magical protection for themselves and their children. Unlike previous scholars, Keimer explicitly connected C-Group figurines and tattooed women with their coeval Egyptian counterparts, arguing that both group of women were of the same low social class. This extension of tattoo efficacy to include protection of prostitutes, dancers, concubines, and their children, offered an alternative to

⁵⁰ Louis Keimer, *Remarques sur le Tatouage dans l’Égypte Ancienne* (Cairo: l’Institut Francais d’Archéologie Orientale, 1948): 103.

Schott's explanation for the supposed subject matter and the unavoidable link of figurine function with child requests. Confronted with clay female bodies with minimal clothing and tattoos, it seems that Western men had a difficult time seeing anything but slaves, servants, dancing girls, or concubines.

In 1953, Christiane Desroches Noblecourt, curator of Egyptian antiquities at the Louvre Museum and the first woman to lead an archaeological expedition in Egypt, offered the first challenge to the male-generated interpretation of Egyptian and Nubian figurines as representations of concubines. Drawing heavily on Egyptian religious inscriptions, Noblecourt interpreted figurine subject matter as generically female, created to give form to a feminine essence that was necessary for the rebirth of the virility of the deceased in the afterlife. Specifically, Noblecourt argued that these were images of femininity itself, not fecundity, which sexually stimulated Osiris to reawaken.⁵¹ Noblecourt used Egyptian figurines, texts and imagery in her analysis, but discussed C-Group figurines as copies of Egyptian prototypes, made when Nubians (she presumed) adopted some aspects of Egyptian religious ritual during the Middle Kingdom Egyptian occupation of Lower Nubia. While Noblecourt, as other scholars of her time, understood the effectiveness of a generic female form only in terms of its sexuality, unlike other scholars she explicitly linked sexual activity to Egyptian funerary ritual, thus explaining the presence of figurines in graves of men, women, and children. Noblecourt's work was the last for the next fifteen years to

⁵¹ Christiane Desroches Noblecourt, "Concubines du Mort' et meres de famille au Moyen Empire. À propos d'une supplique pour une naissance." *BIFAO* 53 (1953): 18-19.

offer a comprehensive interpretation of Egyptian or Nubian figurine subject matter and function.

1.5 In the Postmodern Age: Interpretive Unease

Steindorff's final excavations at Aniba in 1935 completed the ASN project and no further excavations were undertaken in Lower Nubia until a second major push for salvage efforts started in 1959. The Egyptian Government's decision in 1954 to build the Aswan High Dam would result in a significant rise in the water level of the reservoir – renamed Lake Nasser – threatening several important temple sites. In anticipation of this additional submersion the governments of Egypt and Sudan, working with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), launched a massive campaign staffed by individuals and institutions from around the world to excavate and record hundreds of archaeological sites as well as to move endangered temples to higher ground. The campaign was active from 1959 until 1980 and over thirty more C-Group anthropomorphic figurines, but only a handful of C-Group animal form examples, were excavated from sites ranging along approximately 150 kilometers of the southern half of the Lower Nubian Nile Valley.

The initial published reports from this campaign rarely included detailed information concerning figurines and offered very few interpretations of their meanings and functions. A tendency to describe some female figurines as dolls suggests that the excavators might have interpreted them as toys, but the word was possibly used as a neutral description in some cases. Hanns Stock, excavating for the German Archaeological Institute in Cairo, found several figurines in settlement areas at Amada, but described these as “figurines” at one site and

“dolls” at another, without providing images, descriptions, or exact numbers.⁵² Similarly, Hans-Åke Nordström, working with the Sudan Antiquities Service at Cemetery 24-E-3 of Faras West, noted that his team found “heads of ‘dolls’ [and] a female clay figurine” but did not give the exact numbers in the first published report.⁵³ G. J. Verwers, excavating for the Sudan Antiquities Service, described finding “clay figurines, both of women and cows” in a house site in Faras,⁵⁴ but reported finding “part of a pottery doll” in a grave at Cemetery 24-M-6 in Serra West.⁵⁵

Descriptions from a few other excavators echo the theories of much earlier scholarship. The Spanish Archaeological Mission, excavating at Argin, found what they described as “a steatopygous Venus and fragments of two others,” suggesting the possibility that they connected the figurine, at some interpretive level, with the Paleolithic figurines cited in Petrie’s work.⁵⁶ Abd el Moneim Abou Bakr, excavating for the University of Cairo at Nagaa el Tahouna North near Aniba, found an unspecified number of figurines representing “femmes à croupes épaisses” and at least one terracotta cow in settlement areas.⁵⁷ Although Bakr offered no interpretation at that time, his report for the Cairo team’s second excavation season, which found several female figurines in one grave of a small cemetery at Nagaa el Mahmoudiya, echoed Weidemann’s *Totenhochzeit* idea,

⁵² Hanns Stock, “Excavations at Amada (Second Season, Spring 1960).” *Fouilles en Nubie (1959-1961)* (Cairo: Government Press, 1963): 103, 108.

⁵³ Hans-Åke Nordström, “Excavations and Survey in Faras, Argin and Gezira Dabarosa.” *Kush* 10 (1962): 38.

⁵⁴ G. J. Verwers, “Trial Excavations in the Faras Region,” *Kush* 9 (1961): 19, Pl. 2.C.

⁵⁵ G. J. Verwers, “The Survey from Faras to Gezira Dabarosa.” *Kush* 10 (1962): 25.

⁵⁶ M. R. Almagro, M. A. Blanco Caro, F. Garcia-Guinea, M. Presedo Velo, Pellicer Catalan, and J. Teixidor. “Excavations by the Spanish Archaeological Mission in the Sudan, 1962-63 and 1963-64.” *Kush* 13 (1965): 82.

⁵⁷ Abdel Moneim Abou Bakr, “Fouilles de l’Université du Caire à Aniba (1960),” in *Fouilles en Nubie (1959 – 1961)*, 111- 125 (Cairo: Government Press, 1963): 116-117, Pl. III (lower image).

arguing that these figurines were probably the property of an unmarried man that functioned in the afterlife as the wives he was deprived of in life.⁵⁸

1968 was a watershed year for C-Group scholarship with Manfred Bietak's publication of the first chronology of the C-Group pottery corpus. Still utilized as the standard C-Group chronology in Nubian studies, Bietak's system divided the C-Group into three major developmental phases based on pottery types. Absolute dates were based on associated, datable Egyptian pottery. Bietak established a timeframe for the circulation of the C-Group figurine corpus ranging from the period he termed Phase II/a through II/b, with the occasional survival turning up in a Phase III context.⁵⁹ According to Bietak's work, all C-Group figural art, in various media, appeared in the archaeological record at the same point in time, accompanied by a few dramatic changes in funerary ritual: grave orientation underwent a shift from east-west to north-south, vessels were buried beside bodies in the graves, and sheep burials began to accompany adult burials in graves.⁶⁰

To date, no scholars have considered the specificity of this production period in any analysis of figurines, nor has anybody specifically considered the co-occurrence of figurine production with other figurative art in the form of incised vases [Fig. 1.12].⁶¹ That the only surviving figural imagery produced by the

⁵⁸ Bakr, Abdel Moneim Abou. "Rapport Préliminaire sur les Résultats des Fouilles Entreprises par la Mission Archéologique de l'Université du Caire dans la Région d'Aniba en Nubie Saison 1961-1962," in *Fouilles en Nubie (1961-1963)*, 1-26 (Cairo: Government Press, 1967): 7.

⁵⁹ Bietak, *Studien zur Chronologie*, 104, 112.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 99-100, 107, 109

⁶¹ Brigitte Gratien analyzed the figural decoration of this corpus of C-Group pottery, noting that the female figurines had tattoos but the pottery images did not, but did not take this analysis further: Brigitte Gratien, "Le céramique à décor figuré du village fortifié du Groupe C à Ouadi es-Séboua Est." In *Artibus Aegypti. Studia in Honorem Bernardi V. Bothmer a collegis amicis*

C-Group was made in two different media that appeared together during the height of the Egyptian occupation of Lower Nubia seems important for understanding not just the figurines and their uses and meanings, but some aspects of the nature of the occupation and the relationships between these and neighboring cultures.⁶²



Fig. 1.12: Incised Nubian Jar with Anthropomorphic and Geometric Imagery

During the same year that Bietak established the C-Group chronology, Peter Ucko revolutionized figurine scholarship with the publication of an analysis of prehistoric figurines challenging the Great Goddess theory.⁶³ Ucko was the first to analyze multiple, finely differentiated and quantitatively defined characteristics of figurines in order to establish clear typologies based on the variation within the figurine corpora. Informed by a postmodern emphasis on pluralism and a rejection of master narratives, Ucko saw figurines as flexible objects with multiple potential and actual uses. He advocated the use of ethno-

discipulis conscripta, H. De Meulenaere and L. Limme (eds), 63-77 (Brussels: Koninklijke Musea voor Kunst en Geschiedenis, 1983): 69.

⁶² Rock art with figural imagery was possibly produced by the C-Group, but this is notoriously difficult to date and attribute with certainty to any specific group.

⁶³ Peter J. Ucko, *Anthropomorphic Figurines of Predynastic Egypt and Neolithic Crete with Comparative Material from the Prehistoric Near East and Mainland Greece* (London: Andrew Szmidla, 1968).

historical analogy to evaluate the possible range of ancient figurine practices against the archaeological context of excavated ancient figurines. Using these methods, he argued that Egyptian predynastic figurines had multiple functions that might have included toys for children, vehicles of sympathetic magic, votive objects, didactic examples for initiation rituals, substitutes for deceased twins, and sorcerers' agents.⁶⁴ Ucko's methodologies were highly influential in figurine studies around the world but were generally ignored by scholars interested in Lower Nubia who continued to see C-Group figurines in terms of their overwhelmingly female subject matter, presumably related to fertility and a domestic sphere of women and children, rather than an object class with broader analytic possibilities.

The only published analysis, to date, focusing exclusively on Nubian and Sudanese figurines was produced in 1977 by Inge Hofmann, an Austrian scholar of Meroitic language and culture. Hofmann's work pulled together many of the known figurines from the A-Group, Neolithic Sudanese groups, the C-Group, and Meroitic cemeteries and settlements to argue that this combined imagery

⁶⁴ Several scholars have rightly taken issue with various aspects of Ucko's work, although most acknowledge the value of his approach in offering new interpretive possibilities. Baumgartel criticizes Ucko's lack of familiarity with the Egyptian material he analyzes, arguing (among other things) that a better knowledge of Egyptian religious beliefs and practices would have kept him from concluding that figurines could have been used as twin substitutes or for puberty initiation rituals in Egypt: Elise J. Baumgartel "Review." *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 56 (1970): 198-201; Voigt took issue with Ucko's failure to distinguish between subject matter and function (for example, he assumed that toys could not represent deities) and his arbitrary distinction between magic and religion such that figurines identified as deities could not function magically: Mary Voigt *Hajji Firuz Tepe, Iran: The Neolithic Settlement* (Pennsylvania: The University of Pennsylvania Museum, 1983): 188; Hamilton points out that Ucko's work suffers "precisely the same short-comings as those for which he berates Mother Goddess theories – application of the same idea to widely differing contexts, use of historical analogies with a massive time gap and ethnographic examples from other geographic areas," notes that he failed to offer any significant criticism of problematic sexual theories so prevalent in figurine scholarship, and suggests that he backed away from his idea that figurines might represent wished-for babies because the prevalence of female forms would suggest that girls babies were more highly valued than boys: Hamilton, "Personal," 283.

represents a Black version of the “Great Goddess,” particular to Nubia.⁶⁵ Hofmann’s focus on her interpretation of the subject matter, however, circumscribed other possible uses of this material. Similarly, museum exhibitions that featured C-Group figurines offered very little visual analysis, focusing instead on these objects as evidence of Nubian cultural life.⁶⁶ Steffen Wenig, Deputy Director of the Egyptian Museum Berlin, who wrote the catalogue for the 1978 exhibition, *Africa in Antiquity: The Arts of Ancient Nubia and the Sudan*, expressed the pessimistic view that the stylistic variety of the corpus defied analysis, stating “it is impossible to determine whether variations reflect local tradition, stylistic development, or simply the idiosyncrasies of individual craftsmen.”⁶⁷ Wenig suggested multiple potential uses and meanings, based on Ucko’s work, but concluded vaguely that all of these figurines were used as burial equipment intended to fulfill some kind of magical purpose.

1.6 The Egyptian Fertility Narrative

Most scholars who mentioned C-Group figurines during the 1960’s, 1970’s, and 1980’s were generally hesitant to formulate strong ideas about them,

⁶⁵ Inge Hofmann, “Die Grosse Göttin des Ostmitteleerraumes im Meroitischen Reich.” *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 5 (1977): 79-121

⁶⁶ The first exhibition to feature C-Group figurines included three anthropomorphic and two bovine examples, describing them as figurines: Ägyptisches Museum, Institut für Ägyptologie der Humboldt-Universität Berlin, UNESCO. *Nubien und Sudan im Altertum. Führer durch die Sonderausstellung des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums* (Berlin: Staatliche Museen, 1963): 17, 18. A decade later, a traveling exhibition in Scandinavia featured two of these pieces – one human and one animal form, describing them as grave gifts: Amos Andersonin taidemuseo and Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. *Ikuinen Egypti Aegyptus Aeterna [Exhibition of objects from the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin DDR] 5.10 – 18.11.1973. Helsinki* (Berlin: The Museum, 1973): 98 (No. 70), 142 (No. 538); Staatliche Museen, Berlin and Ateneumin Taidemuseo, Helsinki Det Eviga Egypten. *Aegyptus Aeterna: Konstmuseet I Ateneum Helsingfors: Staatliche museen zu Berlin DDR 5.10 – 18.11.1973*. (Helsinki, 1973): 98 (No. 70), 138 (No. 538); Röhsska konstsöjdmuseet (Göteborg, Sweden) *Gudar och människor vid Nilen: utställning 18 mars – 20 kaj 1973* (Göteborg: Röhsska konstsöjdmuseet, 1973): 130 (Nos. 512 and 513).

⁶⁷ Steffen Wenig, *Africa in Antiquity: The Arts of Ancient Nubia and the Sudan, II. (The Catalogue)*. (New York: The Brooklyn Museum, 1978): 30.

although by this time almost 150 anthropomorphic figurines had been excavated. People still used singular or selected pieces as mimetic examples of racial or ethnic types in discussions of biological population or female bodies represented in rock art,⁶⁸ but most published work during this period simply attributed to them a generic notion of magic associated with the afterlife.⁶⁹ Bruce G. Trigger's 1965 study of the prehistory of Lower Nubia, based on the most recent finds in archaeology, stated that "clay models of cattle, sheep, and goats were commonly placed in [C-Group] graves" but for unknown reasons made no mention at all of anthropomorphic figurines.⁷⁰ Other sources describe them as objects of daily life

⁶⁸ In 1967-1968 Paul Huard cited several C-Group figurines, focusing on steatopygy and tattoos and comparing them to rock art, to demonstrate an origin of the C-Group in Chad: Paul Huard "Influences culturelles transmises au Sahara tchadien par le Groupe C de Nubie." *Kush* 15 (1967-1968): 84-124. In 1978 Pavel Červík implied that both the rock art and anthropomorphic figurines represented the same subject matter as they shared many formal properties and design elements: P. Červík, "Notes on the Chronology of the Nubian Rock Art to the End of the Bronze Age (Mid 11th Cent. B.C.)," in Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire (ed) *Etudes Nubiennes: Colloque de Chantilly, 2-6 juillet 1975*, 35-56. (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, 1978): 38, 42, 45. Similarly, Bruce B. Williams identified steatopygy and an abdominal scar on one figurine from Adindan – echoing nineteenth and early twentieth century scholarship – and linked the hairstyle of a male figurine head to Saharan rock art and Egyptian representations of foreigners: Williams *Adindan Cemeteries*, 97, 99.

⁶⁹ David O'Connor presumed that the A- and C-Group figurines had more than decorative significance and later proposed that, since some occur in habitation areas, they might have played some kind of cultic as well as funerary: David O'Connor, "Nubia before the New Kingdom," in Sylvia Hichfield and Elizabeth Riefstahl (eds) *Africa in Antiquity: The Arts of Ancient Nubia and the Sudan. 1. The Essays*, 46-61. (Brooklyn: The Brooklyn Museum, 1978): 53; David O'Connor, *Ancient Nubia: Egypt's Rival in Africa*. (Philadelphia: The University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology University of Pennsylvania, 1993): 49. Torgny Säve-Söderbergh published images of A- and C-Group figurines in a 1980 article for the UNESCO Courier in which he simply described the C-Group figurine head, but suggested that the A-Group figurines offered a magical assurance of life after death like some Egyptian funerary statuary: Torgny Säve-Söderbergh, "La Nubie Redécouverte: De la Préhistoire aux Temps Pharaoniques." *UNESCO Courrier* 33 (Feb.-Mar. 1980): 22. Dieter Gleisberg, in the 1989 guide for an exhibition in Vienna, published photographs of several C-Group anthropomorphic figurines but offered no interpretation, suggesting only that the bovine figurines were likely included in graves to provision the dead in the afterlife: Dieter Gleisberg, *Merkur & die Musen: Schätze der Weltkultur aus Leipzig: eine Ausstellung aus der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik im Künstlerhaus Wien, 21.9.1989-18.2.1990*. (Vienna: Das Künstlerhaus, 1989): 585-586.

⁷⁰ Bruce G. Trigger, *History and Settlement in Lower Nubia* (New Haven: Department of Anthropology Yale University, 1965): 97.

or small art.⁷¹ This collective marginalization of figurines as productive objects of study came to a gradual end after the 1993 publication of Geraldine Pinch's highly influential book, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*.

Pinch analyzed only excavated Egyptian female figurines from the Middle Kingdom through the Third Intermediate Period, exhaustively documenting the known examples and arranging them into six types divided on the basis of formal characteristics. She discussed every previous interpretation of these pieces, eliminating most of the earlier theories of function based on the characteristics visible in the corpus and their archaeological contexts. Pinch concluded that all varieties should be interpreted as related to fertility – but only if the term is widened to include birth of children, reinvigoration for the king, and rebirth after death. Pinch saw the subject matter as human rather than divine, and interpreted the individuals represented as possibly Hathoric dancers, priestesses, midwives, or generic bodies communicating a “feminine principal” of essentialized female sexuality. She noted the connection between C-Group and some Egyptian figurines in the form of similar tattoos, but dismissed any substantive connection as a fashion trend introduced into Egypt from Nubia.⁷²

While Pinch's conclusions only applied to Egyptian figurines, which she analyzed within their Egyptian cultural and physical contexts, the interpretation of C-Group and all other female figurines in northeast Africa as fertility objects

⁷¹ Piotr Scholz, “Kusch, Meroë, Nubien.” *Antike Welt* 17 (1986): 14; Renate Krauspe, “Das Ägyptische Museum der Universität Leipzig.” *Antike Welt* 23.2 (1992): 95.

⁷² Geraldine Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, 1993): 212-213.

quickly became embedded in scholarship.⁷³ A few scholars avoided the terminology, describing C-Group figurines in less leading ways,⁷⁴ but since Pinch's book, most publications and museum labels describe C-Group figurines as "fertility figurines," often explicitly citing Egyptian religious practices as models for this ascription.⁷⁵ Dietrich Wildung, for example, editor of *Sudan: Ancient Kingdoms of the Nile*, the catalogue for a traveling exhibition of ancient Sudanese art that included C-Group figurines, ostensibly based his fertility-related interpretation on aspects of the figurines themselves, claiming that "the function of females as fecundity figures seems certain based on the emphasized secondary sex characteristics."⁷⁶ The C-Group examples that Wildung used in making this assessment, however, display no such sexual emphasis – only one of the four female figurine bodies that he illustrates has modeled breasts and wide hips, while none of the others show any particular attention to secondary sexual characteristics [Fig. 1.13]. Further, Wildung's conclusion that C-Group bovine

⁷³ One exception to the widespread acceptance of Egyptian figurines as generic fertility technologies is from Elizabeth A. Waraksa, who cited Egyptian medical texts as evidence that female Egyptian figurines were used by men and women in healing rituals unrelated to sexual reproduction. See Elizabeth A. Waraksa, *Female Figurines from the Mut Precinct: Context and Ritual Function*. (Fribourg: Academic Press Fribourg, 2009): 124-165.

⁷⁴ See for example, P. L. Shinnie, *Ancient Nubia* (London and New York: Kegan Paul, 1996): 61; B. Gratiën, "Quelques nouveaux portraits de Kerma," in W. Claes, H. de Meulenaere, and S. Hendrickx (eds) *Elkab and Beyond: Studies in Honor of Luc Limme*, 321-332 (Leuven: Peeters, 2009): 321; David N. Edwards, *The Nubian Past: An Archaeology of the Sudan* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004): 94.

⁷⁵ Anderson describes C-Group figurines as "clay, fertility figurines." Wendy Anderson, "The Significance of Middle Nubian C-Group Mortuary Variability, ca 2200 B.C. to ca. 1500 B.C." (PhD Dissertation, Montreal: McGill University, 1996): 544. Krauspe explicitly used Egyptian religious traditions to explain the male figurine from Aniba as provisioning for the conservation of procreative power in the afterlife, and that female examples were probably used for desires of offspring in the afterlife and fertility in this life: Renate Krauspe, *Katalog Ägyptischer Sammlungen in Leipzig, Vol 1, Statuen und Statuetten* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1997): 101. Morris presumes an Egyptian meaning and function for Nubian C-Group figurines, which she refers to collectively as "fertility figurines." Ellen F. Morris, "Paddle Dolls and Performance." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 47 (2011): 80.

⁷⁶ Wildung cited Egyptian tomb wall paintings to argue that the cattle figurines in C-Group graves were placed there for the sustenance of the deceased in the hereafter: Dietrich Wildung, *Sudan: Ancient Kingdoms of the Nile* (Paris and New York: Flammarion, 1997): 56.

figurines represent offerings to provide for the deceased in the afterlife rests explicitly on his interpretation of Egyptian funerary iconography.

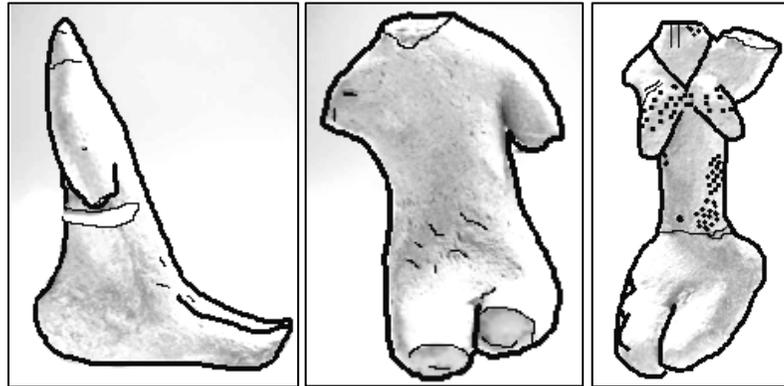


Fig. 1.13: Figurines with little to no emphasis on secondary sexual characteristics- C-9, C-10, C-21

Robert Bianchi, an Egyptologist educated as an art historian, did not connect C-Group figurines directly to fertility in his 2004 publication, *Daily Life of the Nubians*, but described them as “female idols” that “appear to be linear descendants of those of the preceding Neolithic and A-Group cultures.”⁷⁷ Bianchi interprets some C-Group figurines as androgynous or perhaps male, arguing that the faces and hairstyles embody an “aesthetic of unisex,” and suggests that they functioned in some unknown capacity related to a funerary cult of the deceased.⁷⁸ Bianchi is more explicit in his assertion that the earlier Neolithic and A-Group figurines combined male and female sexual imagery, representing complementary principles of creation united in the same figure that insured

⁷⁷ Robert Steven Bianchi, *Daily Life of the Nubians* (Westport, Connecticut and London: Greenwood Press, 2004): 28-30, 57.

⁷⁸ Bianchi, *Daily Life*, 28-30, 57.

resurrection on the basis of human procreation.⁷⁹ While Bianchi relies strictly on visual imagery in his claims, narrating ways of looking at the figurines for the reader, he provides no scholarly or theoretical support for his assertions.⁸⁰ His implicit assumption of fertility magic presumes that the primary meaning of figurines – in this case A-Group and Neolithic from which he argued that C-Group figurines developed – might be found in their reproductive bodies.

Archaeologist and Nubian specialist László Török maintains this focus on the reproductive aspects of figurine bodies in his exhaustively researched 2009 history and archaeology of Lower Nubia. Török's interpretation of C-Group figurines as implements used in a "Nubian fertility cult" remains conventional and unsurprising.⁸¹ The way he discusses a Neolithic figurine from el-Kadada [Fig. 1.14] is, however, much more instructive in that it inadvertently sheds light on one of the biggest problems with fertility interpretations of Nubian figurines. Török describes this figurine in terms of artistic style, interpreting the subject matter as a pregnant woman. He states that a "combination of stylized head,

⁷⁹ Scholars working on Upper Paleolithic and Neolithic figurines have noted a similar double reading of phallic/female for some examples that appear female from one angle and male when reversed or flipped, although the cultures that produced these figurines are some 20,000 years older than the A-Group and the figurines themselves were not interpreted as specifically fertility-related. See Alice B. Kehoe, "No Possible, Probable Shadow of Doubt." *Antiquity* 65 (1991): 129-131; Jirí A. Svoboda, "Upper Paleolithic Anthropomorph Images of Northern Eurasia," in *Image and Imagination: A Global Prehistory of Figurative Representation*, eds. Colin Renfrew and Iain Morley (Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, 2007): 63. Of note, Kehoe's claim of a possible male interpretation of some figurines from Sarab in Iran was very gently and respectfully challenged in a following issue of *Antiquity* by excavators who had more information from the site: Vivian Broman Morales and Robert J. Braidwood, "Shadows of Doubt in Identifying Female Images: A Reply to Kehoe." *Antiquity* 65 (1991): 914-915.

⁸⁰ Some theoretical background for Bianchi's thesis on androgyny and rebirth might be found in the pioneering work of Egyptologist Lana Troy who argued in 1986 that the Egyptian creator god is androgynous and a male/female productive dualism pervades Egyptian theology and kingship ideology – a work that applies only to Egyptian cultural and which Bianchi does not cite or suggest for further reading. See, Lana Troy, *Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1986): 12-20.

⁸¹ Török, *Between Two Worlds*, 214-215.

arms and legs with naturalistic breasts, fat folds and belly suggests that the statuettes of this type were what we (rather vaguely) call fertility figurines.”⁸² Although Török seems to say here that the artist stressed an association with fecundity by treating areas of the body associated with reproduction more naturalistically than other body parts, the incised parallel lines around the hips that he interprets as skin folds connoting pregnancy are not naturalistically rendered and are open to other interpretations.⁸³ More telling is the implication that a figurine representing a woman might *not* be classified as a “fertility figurine” if it does not exhibit these (or similar) formal aspects. The reality is that the overwhelming influence of Pinch’s work on the Egyptian corpora, whether acknowledged or not, almost guarantees that any Northeast African female figurine that does not obviously represent a servant, elite or royal woman, or a deity, will certainly be classified as a fertility figurine regardless of its formal aspects.

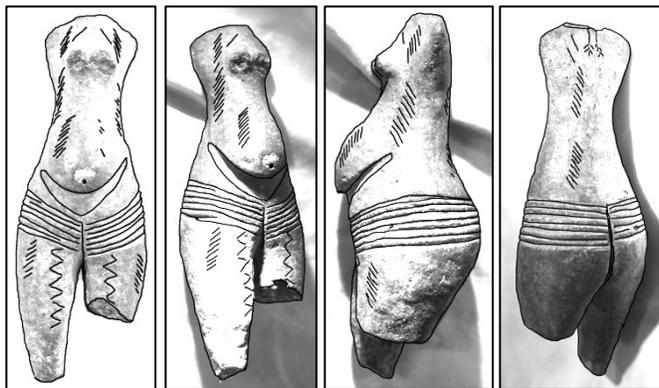


Fig. 1.14 : El-Kadada figurine

⁸² Ibid., 126-127.

⁸³ I argue that the incised lines represent a wide belt and the case for pregnancy has not been decided. Wildung believes that the figurine is pregnant while Reinold argues that the figurine has already given birth. Wildung, *Sudan*, 19 (No. 4); Jacques Reinold, *Archéologie au Soudan: Les civilisations de Nubie* (Paris: Editions Errance, 2000): 81.

1.7 Expanding Methodologies, Looking Southward

Although most sources rely on Egyptian-driven theory to interpret C-Group figurines as fertility-related objects and go no further in their analysis, a few scholars have begun to ask different kinds of questions of this material. Stuart Tyson Smith, for example, argues that a clay figurine from Askut, B-9 [Fig. 1.15], represents a pregnant or steatopygous woman and interprets this object as a fertility symbol.⁸⁴ Tyson Smith reasons that because Egyptian women practiced fertility magic in household shrines in Egypt, figurines from a household shrine in an Egyptian fort staffed by Nubian female cooks were likely evidence of fertility magic. What is most innovative in his argument is that he sees the use of Nubian-style figurines and other household objects as possibly representing a “subtle strategy of resistance” on the part of these subjugated Nubian women.⁸⁵ In choosing a Nubian rather than an Egyptian style, the woman who used this figurine might have been emphasizing the value of her own ethnic heritage in an Egyptian dominated setting.



Fig. 1.15: Askut figurine B-9

⁸⁴ Stuart Tyson Smith, *Askut in Nubia: The Economics and Ideology of Egyptian Imperialism in the Second Millennium B.C.* (London and New York: Kegan Paul, 1995): 104.

⁸⁵ Stuart Tyson Smith, *Wretched Kush: Ethnic identities and boundaries in Egypt's Nubian Empire* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003): 131-133, 138, 204.

Tyson Smith's argument for the existence of a Nubian fertility cult is problematic in that it takes its evidence overtly from Egyptian theoretical models, yet his idea of the Nubian figurine form as a strategy of resistance is compelling. Simone Petacchi, echoing Firth's opinion on steatopygy as an aesthetic tradition, makes a similar argument for the plumpness depicted in women during the Kushite rule of Egypt. Petacchi used Nubian and Sudanese figurines to argue that steatopygy was part of a common codified artistic cannon in Neolithic Sudan and Predynastic Egypt, was always present in Nubian art, and was intentionally used in Egypt by Nubian and Libyan kings who wished to stress their own aesthetic traditions.⁸⁶ In his work on Prehistoric European figurines, Douglass W. Bailey explains how figurines might work as vehicles of resistance by looking at the ways that other, modern, representations of anthropomorphic forms can function, citing the work of several contemporary western artists who use dolls to contest normative gender roles and traditional expressions of sexual difference in visual media. Based on their ability to carry visual information in subtle ways, Bailey argues that, "anthropomorphs are inherently powerful vehicles for proposing and contesting identities on a personal or community level."⁸⁷

Brigitte Gratien, a specialist in ancient Nubian and Sudanese archaeology, focused on Kerma figurines in a recent publication comparing these to certain C-

⁸⁶ Simone Petacchi. "Steatopygia in Ancient Egyptian and Nubian Art. An Ethnical Countermark or a Primitive Revival? The Case of Kushite Iconography and Style." In *Achievements and Problems of Modern Egyptology: Proceedings of the International Conference Held in Moscow on September 29-October 2, 2009*, edited by Galina A Belova, 265-286 (Moscow: Russian Academy of Sciences, 2012): 265, 271-272.

⁸⁷ Douglass W. Bailey, *Prehistoric Figurines: Representation and Corporeality in the Neolithic* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005): 75-77

Group figurines.⁸⁸ Gratién assumes that figurine function cannot be the same for habitation and funerary areas and suggests, from ethnological analogies, that they might have been used as initiation aids, magical implements, votives for fertility rituals or fertility cult, or toys. She classifies figurines into two types: crude, lumpy varieties, and well-formed pieces. Because the Kerma examples of the former type are usually found in settlement areas near clay pits rather than cemetery areas, she argues that these were probably made for or by children to keep them occupied while their parents dug clay or did other work. Gratién suggests that similarly lumpy C-Group figurines from habitation areas might be understood in the same way. Although no C-Group examples are known to have come from clay pit areas, Gratién's approach, like Tyson Smith's, includes context, style, and social patterns, allowing her to use Nubian figurines in a way that potentially increases our knowledge of life in these communities. Her suggestion that figurines possibly related specifically to fertility as opposed to other kinds of cult or ritual, however, draws uncritically on Egyptian-driven interpretive models and illustrates the power of dominant ideological positions to shape interpretations of female iconography.

Although MacIver and Woolley noted as early as 1909 that, "much of what is most characteristic in the predynastic culture of Egypt is due to intercourse with the interior of Africa,"⁸⁹ it was not until almost a century later, after archaeologists began work much further south in Sudan, that a south to north trajectory of cultural influence on figurine use was proposed. Based on his work

⁸⁸ Gratién, "Portraits," 321-332.

⁸⁹ Randall-Maciver and Woolley, *Areika*, 1.

in Sudanese Nubia, Francis Geus, attached to the Section Française de la Direction des Antiquités du Soudan, insisted in 1991 that the inclusion of figurines in A-Group graves was a southern influence.⁹⁰ Similarly, Sabrina R. Rampersad demonstrated a “northward diffusion of ceramic traits from the Khartoum area into Lower Nubia” in her 1999 PhD Dissertation for the University of Toronto, pointing out that “some figurines found in the Central Sudan predate the A-Group and Egyptian examples.”⁹¹ Interpretations of figurines associated with the later C-Group, however, remained, for the most part, uncritically tied to the fertility-related meanings and functions of Egyptian figurines, even as every other aspect of C-Group material culture was consistently seen as uniquely Nubian.

Henriette Hafsaas, an archaeologist and social anthropologist researching Nubian-Egyptian relations, was the first, and only scholar to date, to shift from an Egyptian-driven to an African centered explanation of C-Group figurines. Hafsaas published the first extended analysis dedicated exclusively to the Lower Nubian C-Group, addressing this civilization from its own geographical, economic, social, and political arenas. Using ethnographic data from East African pastoralist groups, the full range of published excavations and archaeological reports from Lower Nubia, and relevant Egyptian inscriptions, Hafsaas gives the fullest account of C-Group life available to date. Her section on figurines is brief, and she did not have access to the full corpus, but she suggests, based on the

⁹⁰ Francis Geus, “Burial Customs in the Upper Main Nile: An Overview,” in W. V. Davies (ed.) *Egypt and Africa: Nubia from Prehistory to Islam* 57-73 (London: British Museum Press, 1991): 59.

⁹¹ Sabrina Roma Rampersad, *The Origin and Relationships of the Nubian A-Group* (PhD Dissertation: Department of Near and Middle Eastern Civilizations, University of Toronto, 1999): iii, 405.

available evidence, that the decorative patterns on figurines represent necklaces, bracelets, girdles, and scarification rather than tattoos or body art. She argues further that figurines were related to rites of initiation, “some kind of puberty rite for girls” and that “women invented and incised the decorative patterns on both the pots and the bodies” as visual symbols of social processes involving group identity.⁹²

Hafsaas’ interpretation of C-Group figurines is problematic in some ways, primarily due to the brevity of her treatment and her lack of access to the full corpus. She asserts, for example, that figurines with modeled breasts (presumably mature women) are more likely to have body decoration than figurines with impressed nipples (presumably girls), thus concluding that body decoration correlates with a chronological age-grade progress for figurine subjects. While age-grades may indeed be denoted in certain abdominal markings, evidence from the full corpus does not support Hafsaas’ specific assertion that body decoration correlates with breast formation.⁹³ Additionally, Hafsaas does not clearly explain why and how the variety of C-Group figurine forms and styles, and their specific excavation contexts, support her assertion that they were used in girls’ puberty rituals. Numerous historically documented African groups have used figurines in puberty rituals, but recorded practices vary from group to group with respect to the numbers and kinds of figurines used and

⁹² Henriette Hafsaas, *Cattle Pastoralists in a Multicultural Setting: The C-Group People in Lower Nubia* (Ramallah, Palestine: Birzeit University; Bergen, Norway: Bergen University, 2006): 101-103. The linking of figurines with life-cycle changes for girls and women has also been made for ancient groups in Mexico and Peru: Ann Cyphers Guillén, “Women, Rituals, and Social Dynamics at Ancient Chalcatzingo.” *Latin American Antiquity* 4, 3 (1993): 215-220; Constanza Di Capua, “Valdivia Figurines and Puberty Rituals.” *Andean Past* 4 (1994): 229-279.

⁹³ The fragmentary nature of the corpus makes analysis difficult, but of the 29 figurines with impressed nipples, 11 have no body decoration, 7 have body decoration, and 11 appear to be undecorated but are fragmentary and the decorated areas could be missing, see Fig. X, chapter 2.

their eventual disposal patterns. None, to my knowledge, are congruent with the actual distribution patterns of C-Group figurines, which were used in cemeteries as well as houses. Hafsaas' work is important, however, in that it approaches C-Group figurines as products of a cultural arena distinct from that of ancient Egypt and, in doing so, acknowledges the social processes at work in the formation of female identities.

1.8 Goals and Methods of this Dissertation

Scholarship on C-Group figurines has been limited historically by an over-reliance on Egyptian religious models and a lack of access to the full corpus. The combination of these factors has led to an uncritical and almost universal acceptance of C-Group figurines as fertility technology, analogous to and based on Egyptian figurines in subject matter, meaning, and function. The evidence used to justify this interpretation has been tenuous, the logic circular, and the interpretation itself has limited the kinds of questions that have been asked about this corpus. In contrast, figurine scholars working on material from other areas and other time periods have, over the past three or four decades, insisted on the importance of historical and cultural specificity, analyzing figurines from very local perspectives. Using diverse methodologies and eclectic approaches, many of these studies have produced interpretations that, although not providing definitive answers, have opened up further areas of inquiry, provoking new types of questions and stimulating new ways of seeing these objects.

There seems to be, however, some connection between the local C-Group corpus and larger regional figurine technologies. As Bruce Trigger noted, "although every early civilization was unique in its totality, some aspects were

shaped by factors that were culturally specific, whereas others can be understood only in terms of cross-cultural generalizations.”⁹⁴ The extent of cross-cultural influence in northeast African figurine industries cannot be worked out until the C-Group corpus has been addressed as a discrete object class, meaningful and useful in ways peculiar to the culture of its production. This dissertation, therefore, is primarily concerned with documenting and analyzing the C-Group figurines, human and animal forms, as C-Group products, while pointing out connections to other corpora as appropriate.

As this is the first dedicated treatment of this topic, my goal is to present the material as completely and with as little subjective interpretation as possible. Even so, my close visual inspection of the pieces and their specific excavation contexts strongly suggests certain interpretations that I evaluate in the conclusion sections of each chapter. My evaluations draw on traditional art historical methodologies such as formal analysis, but include analytical techniques and approaches from the broader field of figurine studies. These include the use of ethno-historical sources, analysis of breakage and deposition patterns,⁹⁵ a focus on technology and materiality,⁹⁶ consideration of the

⁹⁴ Trigger, *History*, 519.

⁹⁵ There are too many examples for an exhaustive list, but see: Peter F. Biehl, “Figurines in Action: Methods and Theories in Figurine Research,” in *A Future for Archaeology: The Past in the Present*, eds. Robert Layton, Stephen Shennan, and Peter Stone (London: UCL Press, 2006): 203-209; Lauren E. Talalay, “Rethinking the Function of Clay Figurine Legs from Neolithic Greece: An Argument by Analogy.” *American Journal of Archaeology* 91, 2 (1987): 163. For the use of breakage patterns in analysis of Egyptian clay figurines see Waraksa, *Mut Precinct*, 67-75; also, D. A. Anderson, *Power and Competition in the Upper Egyptian Predynastic: A View from the Predynastic Settlement at el-Mahasna, Egypt* (PhD Dissertation, University of Pittsburgh: 2006): 216-218.

⁹⁶ Approaches focused on technology can be seen in: Melissa Vettors “Thou Shalt Make Many Images of Thy Gods: A Chaîne Opératoire Approach to Mycenaean Religious Rituals Based on Iconographic and Contextual Analysis of Plaster and Terracotta Figurines,” in *Tracing Prehistoric Social Networks through Technology: A Diachronic Perspective on the Aegean*, ed. Ann Brysbaert (New York: Routledge 2011): 31-34; Rebecca A. Farbstein, “Beyond ‘Venus’ Figurines:

miniaturization process itself and its psychosomatic effects on human viewers,⁹⁷ and simply seeing figurines in different ways.⁹⁸

In order to avoid creating typological distinctions that could prejudice analysis, this dissertation introduces an alphanumeric identification system using prefixes based on the amount of the figurine that survives. Figurines surviving in whole or near-whole condition with heads are identified with the prefix A. Figurines surviving as partial bodies with the head attached are identified with the prefix B. Figurines in whole or near whole condition but without heads are identified with the prefix C. Figurines surviving as disembodied heads only are identified with the prefix D. Upper bodies, without heads, take the prefix E while lower bodies take the prefix F. Isolated body parts other than heads are labeled with the prefix G. All animal forms are prefixed with a V. This system has three distinct advantages in addition to avoiding the use of potentially leading categories: 1) it easily accommodates uncommon or anomalous forms, 2) it makes searching through the corpus easier, and 3) it allows for the easy addition of figurines yet to be excavated.

1.9 Organization

The analytical work of this dissertation is divided into two main sections: an analysis of the corpus based on the physical attributes of each individual piece,

Technical Production and Social Practice in Pavlovian Portable Art,” in *Anthropomorphic and Zoomorphic Miniature Figures in Eurasia, Africa, and Meso-America*, eds. Dragos Gheorghiu and Ann Cyphers (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2010): 9-13. For an example of this approach applied to Egyptian figurines see: Peter F. Dorman, *Faces in Clay: Technique, Imagery, and Allusion in a Corpus of Ceramic Sculpture from Ancient Egypt* (Mainz: von Zabern, 2002): 27.

⁹⁷ Bailey, *Prehistoric Figurines*, 32-44.

⁹⁸ McCoid and McDermott point out that the anatomical structure of the Upper Paleolithic female figures makes sense if understood as the point of view of a pregnant woman looking down at her own body, arguing that these figurines were made by women for sharing health information: Catherine Hodge McCoid and Leroy D. McDermott, “Toward Decolonizing Gender: Female Vision in the Upper Paleolithic.” *American Anthropologist* 98, 2 (1996): 320-323.

and an analysis of the archaeological contexts of the pieces. Chapter two deals with the corpus itself, with a focus on the anthropomorphic pieces. This chapter begins with the formal consistencies observable in all or most of the anthropomorphic figurines. These consistencies include the treatment of the arms, the characteristic pose, and the rendering of the eyes. I look at the formal variations within the corpus. These include different technologies used in connecting the heads to the bodies, the ability or inability of the figurine to stand unaided, variations in clothing, breast formation, beads and body decoration, and variations in scale. I then examine the animal forms as a group rather than individually. This chapter concludes with some interpretations as to the subject matter and the types of activities represented or connoted in the figurines, based on the formal and stylistic properties.

Chapter three analyzes the archaeological context of the figurines. This chapter is organized loosely by excavation site, treated from north to south. Animal-form and anthropomorphic figurines are addressed together in this section, in order to show patterns of deposition. While the data sources for this section have several issues, addressed at the beginning of the chapter, evidence of the intentional deposition of heterogeneous groups of figurines in graves of children is clear. The use of collections of animal-form figurines is likewise attested in the archaeological evidence and evaluated. The rarity of figurines at any particular site and the collective nature of the subject matter, both human and livestock-form, emerges as a point of interest. This chapter concludes with interpretations of possible use and meanings based on distribution patterns observable in the corpus.

Chapter four is divided into two sections. The first part gives the conclusions from the earlier analyses and suggests some inferences that can be feasibly made based on this data. The second part outlines specific possibilities for future research based on the findings of the C-group analysis. I provide a brief survey of figurine corpora from neighboring cultures: Neolithic Sudanese and Upper Nubian figurines, Predynastic Egyptian figurines, A-Group figurines, Kerma figurines, and Middle Kingdom Egyptian figurines. Although not exhaustively surveyed, examples from these corpora are compared to C-Group figurines in terms of the subject matter, represented activities, and archaeological contexts. The results of these comparisons suggest that C-Group figurines are best understood in terms of the Upper Nubian prehistory of the region and demonstrate some formal and stylistic influences. This section also shows a divergence of figurine forms and uses that appears to correspond to larger political and religious structures.

The Appendices are a crucial part of this dissertation. Limited familiarity with the full corpus has left scholars without a full grasp of the C-Group figurines as a whole, therefore the appendices might seem somewhat redundant but are designed to maximize the reader's access to the corpus as well as for ease of consultation. The first two appended sections represent catalogs of the corpus. Archaeological excavations in Sudan and Egypt are ongoing and will doubtless turn up more C-Group and other figurines. As this work continues and scholarship on the Nubian C-Group progresses, the need for an accessible catalog documenting as many as possible of the known C-Group figurines is clear. The first catalog, Appendix 1, is a visually readable catalog with images from multiple

angles of 138 anthropomorphic figurines, either whole or fragmentary. These images are accompanied only by information relating to their place of origin, current location, and size. The limited information allows them to fit precisely two to a page, making them easier to locate within the volume.

The second catalog, Appendix 2, provides thumbnail images of the figurines and includes bibliographic records for each piece and verbal descriptions designed to enhance the reader's familiarity with this little-known corpus. The tactile sensation of holding and manipulating figurines is important to understanding them but is difficult to apprehend visually,⁹⁹ so this catalog includes a brief description of how each piece can be held in an average-sized adult human hand. It also describes whether or not the piece can stand on its own, as this ability might have affected the uses and meanings and is not obvious from photographs.

Appendix 3 provides concordances of the figurines to enable identification by museum collection or by other published identification numbers. Appendix 4 provides, as available, plans of 31 sites that yielded C-Group figurines with the precise findspot identified, publication information and related notes concerning the site, and thumbnail images of the figurines excavated at each location.

Appendix 5 gives precise descriptions of the graves and their contents from which figurines were excavated. These are organized by site, from north to south.

⁹⁹ The importance of touch in figurine studies has been acknowledged and addressed in some recent research. For a brief review of the literature on touch and its relationship to knowledge, see Douglass W. Bailey, "Figurines, Corporeality, and the Origins of the Gendered Body," in *A Companion to Gender Prehistory*, ed. Diane Bolger (West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012): 251-252. Bruce Williams uses this strategy to good effect in his descriptions of pottery from Adindan, see Williams *Adindan Cemeteries*, 40, 45, 47, 50, 52, 54.

Appendix 6 provides tables of all C-Group sites that are known to date to the period in which C-Group figurines circulated. Sites that actually held figurines are highlighted. Appendix 7 provides a table listing the figurine sites from north to south with a corresponding citation of the primary publication for each site. Appendix 8 provides a table of every known animal-form figurine, derived from excavation reports and personal examination of museum collections, with thumbnail images as available of these pieces. The site of origin, current location, and publication information, when known, are given for each figurine

Chapter 2. Formal Properties and Technological Choices

2.1 The Corpus

At least 148 C-Group anthropomorphic figurines have been excavated from multiple locations throughout Lower Nubia but these individual pieces show very little variation in technical and formal properties throughout the period of their production. Although individually sculpted in clay by different artists throughout the region, these figurines, as a group, maintain a visual cohesion. They exhibit bilateral symmetry, with arms and legs formed to mirror each other on opposite sides of the body, but must be viewed from more than one angle to appreciate the body posture that appears to have been standard for the corpus. They survive as full figures with heads, full figures without heads, damaged figures with heads, upper bodies, lower bodies, disembodied heads, and fragmentary body parts.

There appears to have been little choice available to individual artists with respect to the arms, eyes, and posture, as all surviving examples of these anatomical features were executed in much the same form and technique. For other aspects such as the head technologies, the extent to which the figurines could stand unaided, clothing, breast representation, jewelry and body decoration, and the scale, however, there appear to have been a limited number of variations from which the artist could choose. The consistent use throughout the region of this restricted set of variations indicates that the formal choices belonged to the shared conventions guiding production of C-Group anthropomorphic figurines as an object class and were not the result of creative invention. A systematic determination of the consistencies and variations in form within this corpus is the first step in understanding more about the subject

matter, the intended meanings and uses, and the economies of production and distribution.

2.2 Formal consistencies.

C-Group anthropomorphic figurines are naturalistic in the sense that they represent recognizable human figures, although some examples are highly schematized. Unlike some Bronze-Age figurines from other cultures, they do not represent human-animal hybrids or monstrous human forms with multiple heads or other major deviations from a standard human body, nor were they sculpted to represent isolated phalli or other body parts.¹⁰⁰ They represent individual humans who do not appear to be engaged in transitive activity. They do not hold babies, carry objects, or play musical instruments – as can be the case with ancient figurines from other areas.¹⁰¹ The subject of a C-Group figurine is portrayed as an individual actor and its potential meaning follows from and is structured by its form, or what that form connotes. Every formal feature shared by the corpus should, therefore, contribute to a communication of these figurines' intended and received meanings. With very few exceptions, C-Group figurines share a formal artistic approach to the arms, eyes, and posture.

2.2.1 Arms

All of the fifty-six figurines or figurine fragments with at least one surviving arm show the same formal treatment: the arms are short and usually crescent

¹⁰⁰ See, for example, bird-headed Mycenaean figurines such as Inv. No. 74.51.1540 from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, triple headed Syrian figurines such as Inv. No. 55.188 from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, plank-shaped Cypriot figurines such as Inv. No. 74.51.1534 from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, or Kerma culture phallic figurines such as the two pictured in Charles Bonnet and Jacques Reinold, "Deux rapports de prospection dans le desert oriental," *Genava* 41(1993): 34, fig. 5.

¹⁰¹ See, for example, Egyptian figurines of a women with babies such as Inv. No. 24.1.47 from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, or Ugaritic figurines of women with drums such as Inv. No. 3602 from the National Museum, Damascus.

shaped, tapering out from the shoulders and terminating in blunted points without hands or fingers [Fig. 2.1]. Both arms extend straight out from the shoulders before curving down along the sides of the body. They tend to be wider at the top and narrower at the tip, giving the visual impression of a wing or flipper in some examples. The arms are so unnaturally shaped that when found in isolation they have been misidentified as animal horns [Fig. 2.2].¹⁰² A few figurines have arms that appear more cursorily formed and are much shorter than others, projecting straight out from the shoulders with little or no downward curve [Fig. 2.3]. None, however, survive with sculpted hands.

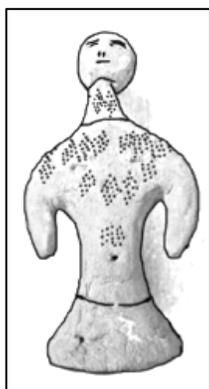


Figure 2.1: A-4

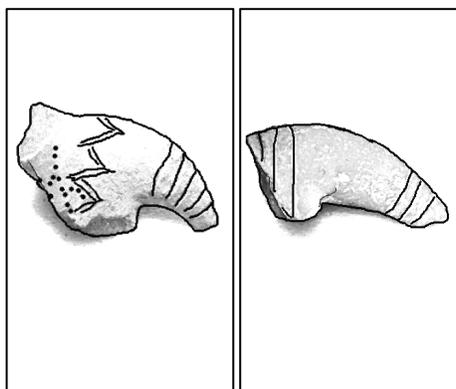


Fig. 2.2: Left, G-1, Right G-2

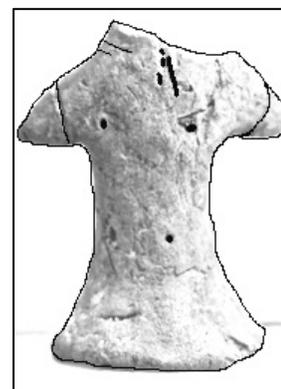


Fig. 2.3: C-29

The consistent lack of hands requires the observer or handler to overlook the abbreviated form and accept the handless arm as a sort of shorthand or stand-in for a more naturalistic representation. Bailey's work on Balkan Neolithic figurines explains this viewing phenomenon as resulting from the miniaturization process, which demands selection because detail is necessarily reduced, forcing

¹⁰² Randall-Maciver and Woolley, *Areika*, 10. The two arms discovered by MacIver and Woolley were sent to the university of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (Inv. Nos. E.4008 and E.4060) where they were, at the time of my visit, still classified as animal heads or horns.

the viewer to draw inferences and think up what has been left out.¹⁰³ Although it is possible that the arms are meant to be read more literally and depict mutilations, it is far more likely, given the small size of the figurines, that artists simply ignored hands with fingers because that amount of detail was not necessary for the meanings and functions of the objects. Two exceptions to this general approach to arm formation exist, however, among the corpus. C-21 [Fig. 2.4], a headless figurine excavated from the settlement area at Aniba, and B-7 [Fig. 2.5], the head and lower body of a figurine recorded as having been excavated from an offering area on the north side of the superstructure of Grave 8 of Cemetery 101 at Dakka.

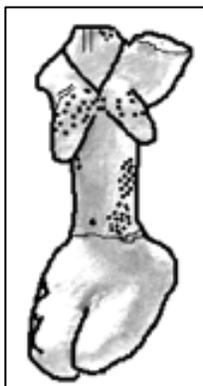


Figure 2.4: C-21

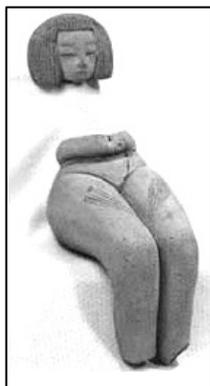


Figure 2.5: B-7

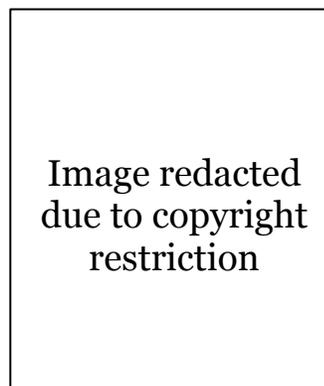


Figure 2.6: B-7 (Close-up)

C-21 is headless and both arms have partially broken off. The proper left arm, however, curves up from the shoulder rather than down and terminates in a broken, circular surface that is slightly concave. The nature of this unusual left arm formation is debated in scholarship, although most agree that the object modeled at the left shoulder is the arm itself. According to Steindorff's final

¹⁰³ Bailey, *Prehistoric Figurines*, 32.

published report, “die Linke ist erhoben und halt ein Gefäß.”¹⁰⁴ Wildung also states that, although partially broken off, “the left arm held a vessel.”¹⁰⁵ Krauspe’s catalog of the Egyptian Collection at Leipzig gives the only contrary view, describing the left arm as having been replaced by “ein rundes Gebilde mit leichter Vertiefung modelliert,” and suggesting that it might have carried a tray.¹⁰⁶ The damage to this piece makes a secure interpretation impossible, but the object protruding to the left of the neck does appear to be the shoulder and upper left arm in a raised position. Whether it held a vessel or tray or any other object is unknowable, but the deviation from the arm formation of the rest of the corpus is clear.

B-7 is similarly deviant in that incised lines and raised ridges on the thighs appear to be the remains of hands and fingers that have broken off [Fig. 2.6]. In addition to the hands and fingers, this figurine is anomalous in many other respects, calling into question its attributed date and its relationship to the rest of the corpus. Ucko argued it to be an Egyptian import.¹⁰⁷ Manfred Bietak dated this piece to the early phase of C-Group figurine production based on multiple contextual data related in Firth’s excavation report, where it is listed as coming from Grave 8 of Cemetery 101 at Dakka.¹⁰⁸ It is more likely, however, that Firth’s team excavated B-7 from a different location and the details were confused in the publications. Firth’s publication of Cemetery 111 includes a description of a

¹⁰⁴ The left arm is raised and holds a vessel. Steindorff, *Aniba*, 121

¹⁰⁵ Wildung, *Sudan*, 56 (No. 45)

¹⁰⁶ Krauspe, *Katalog*, 102 (no. 180)

¹⁰⁷ Ucko, *Anthropomorphic Figurines*, 405

¹⁰⁸ Bietak, *Studien zur Chronologie*, 58, 172

pottery figurine, “head and thighs only” from Grave 58,¹⁰⁹ which has no accompanying illustration but likely refers to B-7 as this is the only example of a head and lower body ever excavated together. If the figurine is from Cemetery 111 rather than Cemetery 101 the date might be adjusted to the Egyptian Second Intermediate Period¹¹⁰ – a time when figurines with long hands and fingers were common as votive objects and funerary equipment in Egypt and parts of Nubia.¹¹¹

2.2.2 Posture

Almost every C-Group figurine for which enough survives to make a determination was sculpted with a slightly arched back [Fig 2.7]. In the more complete examples this arch can form part of an overall scheme in which the pelvis tilts forward while the shoulders are pulled back and the chest pushed out [Fig. 2.8]. The formal arrangement of forward tilted pelvis and arched back conveys the idea of motion – expected, arrested, or completed – while maintaining the approximate frontal symmetry created by the outward curving arms and outstretched legs. The only figurines whose forms do not permit an expression of this posture are the four truncated pieces that were sculpted to terminate at the bottom with a widened base rather than with legs. C-42, excavated from habitation Site 345 at Nag Sinerki, Ashkeit, exhibits the arched back while the base protrudes slightly more at the front than the back, implying but not making explicit the forward-tilted pelvis as can be seen in this view of the

¹⁰⁹ Firth, *ASN 1910-1911*, 110 (no. 58)

¹¹⁰ Bietak, *Studien zur Chronologie*, 61

¹¹¹ Many examples of this type were excavated at the mining site of Gebel el-Zeit. See, Georges Castel and Georges Soukiassian, “Les Mines de Galene Pharaoniques du Gebel el-Zeit (Egypte).” *Bulletin de la Société Française d’Égyptologie* 112 (1988): 48. Geraldine Pinch designated these as Type 2 and Type 3 in her typology: Pinch, *Hathor*, 199-203, 227-230; Angela Tooley designated them Type IV in her typology: Angela Tooley *Middle Kingdom Burial Customs: A Study of Wooden Models and Related Material*. (PhD Dissertation: University of Liverpool, 1989): 345-346.

proper left side in which the figurine faces the viewer's left [Fig. 2.9]. Figurine A-4, excavated from Grave 51 of Cemetery T at Adindan, similarly exhibits the arched back and open chest, although the base spreads equally around the bottom of the figurine with no implied tilt. C-29, excavated from the habitation area of Areika, exhibits neither arched back nor forward tilting pelvis, but stands straight, centered on its base. The erect stance of C-29, with no tilt or arch, is also seen in A-11, excavated from Room 5 of the C-Group settlement at Wadi el Arab.

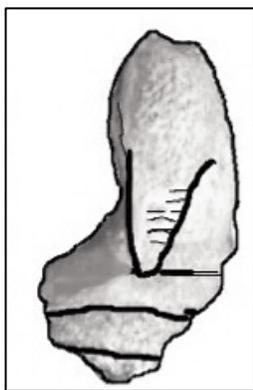


Figure 2.7: E-1

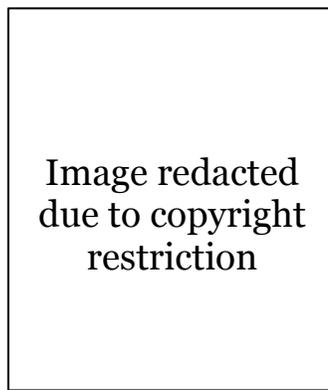


Figure 2.8: C-17

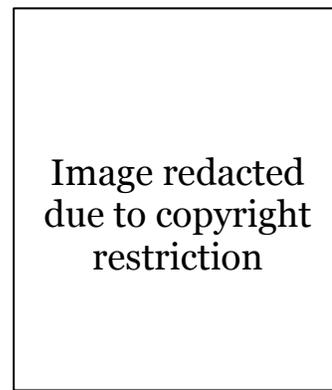


Figure 2.9: C-42

The forward tilt of the pelvis not present in some examples, which appear to stand almost erect with little bend at the hips [Fig. 2.10], while in other pieces the tilt is so pronounced that the figurines appear to take a seated pose [Fig. 2.11]. The tilting pelvis, even if only at a slight incline, can often be seen if the figurine is positioned with the legs in a strictly vertical orientation. C-11 [Fig. 2.12], the only example of a male subject in the C-Group anthropomorphic corpus, was excavated from the sand of Cemetery N at Aniba along with four livestock figurines (V-18, V-35, V-36, V-37), and provides a good example of the subtlety of the posture. C-11's right leg is broken off just below the hip and the left is broken below the upper thigh. Enough of the legs remain, however, to orient them in a

strictly vertical position, as if the figurine were standing. The resulting forward bend at the hips before the back arches at the waist is visible [Fig. 2.13].

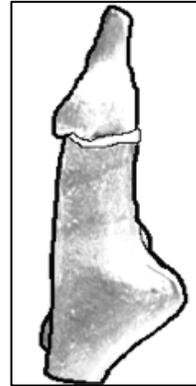
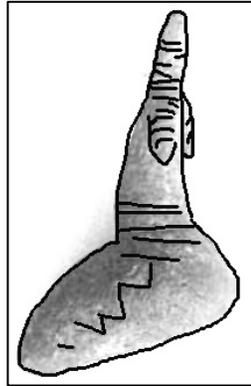


Figure 2.10: C-23

Figure 2.11: C-5

Figure 2.12: C-11

Figure 2.13: C-11, Tilted

Early scholars' focus on the protruding buttocks of C-11 and other C-Group figurines has obscured the issue of posture, as C-Group figurines continue to be generically described as "steatopygous," an antiquated, quasi-medical term used in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to describe the "prominent accumulation of fat on the buttocks of the Bushman and allied Hottentot."¹¹² Long recognized by western medical professionals as simply an exaggerated form of a ubiquitous secondary sexual characteristic found in women throughout the world,¹¹³ the term continues to be applied to C-Group figurines in order to describe prominent buttocks or large hips. This unfortunate usage focuses attention on the shape of the body rather than the sculptural articulation of the posture.

Lack of attention to the conventions of posture can lead to the interpretation of some figurines as oriented in a seated position when it is equally

¹¹² S. G. Shattock "On Normal Tumour-like Formations of Fat in Man and the Lower Animals" *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* 2(Pathological Section, 1909): 209

¹¹³ F. Parkes Weber, M.D., F.R.C.P "Lipodystrophia Progressiva" *The British Medical Journal* 1(May 31, 1913): 1154

possible that their makers and users envisioned them in motion or standing. Steindorff, for example, presupposed a seated position for ambiguously formed figurines when he described this characteristic posture, without reference to the underlying anatomical structure and the motion that this implies.¹¹⁴ A-2 [Fig. 2.14], excavated from the sand of Cemetery N at Aniba, falls into Steindorff's seated category and was also described by Wenig as seated.¹¹⁵ The forward tilted pelvis and arched back of A-2, however, if viewed from a seated position, create an unnatural pose and overbalance the figurine [Fig. 2.15]. When positioned with the legs oriented vertically, the figurine might appear to lean forward [Fig. 2.16].



Figure 2.14: A-2



Figure 2.15: A-2, Seated

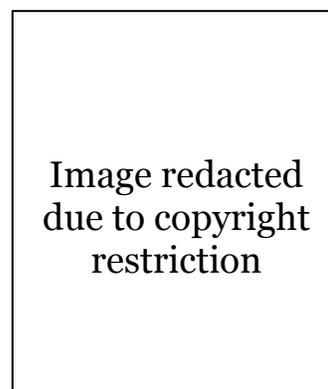


Figure 2.16: A-2, Standing

Only a few figurines appear to have been sculpted to maintain a seated position, C-3 [Fig. 2.17], and C-7 [Fig. 2.18], excavated from separate graves at Cemetery 87 in Koshtamna, and C-9 [Fig. 2.19] and C-10 [Fig. 2.20], excavated from separate areas of Cemetery N at Aniba. All four of these figurines were sculpted with the characteristic posture, but were formed so that the arched back does not overbalance the figurine in a seated position. The tension inherent in this posture is still visible in the strong arch of the back of C-9 which forces the

¹¹⁴ Steindorff, *Aniba*, 117

¹¹⁵ Wenig, *Africa in Antiquity*, 124 (No. 13)

chest up, but is not expressed clearly in C-10 where the figurine appears to sit solidly with the upper body well balanced above the outstretched legs. C-10 was excavated together with C-32 [Fig. 2.21], a crudely modeled figurine whose torso and legs merely suggest the human form but whose profile demonstrates the characteristic tilted pelvis and arched back. That this figurine, which appears to have been modeled quickly and with little elaboration of details, maintains the posture of the rest of the corpus suggests a fundamental need for this anatomical configuration – either as a deep-seated convention for expressing the human form or as a more specific convention for communicating the subject matter and intended action of the figurines.

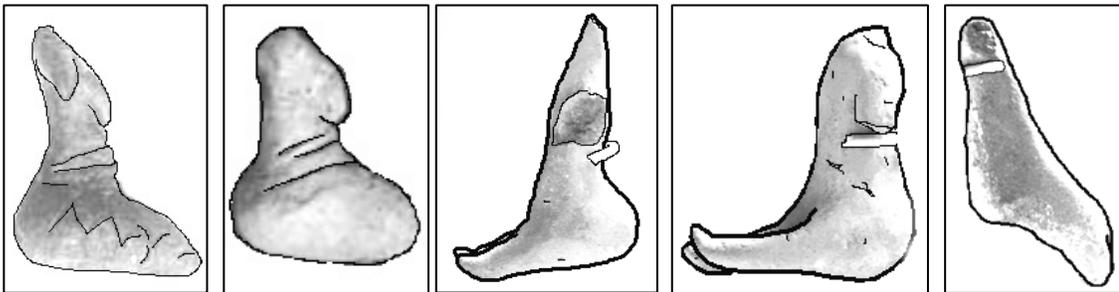


Figure 2.17: C-3 Figure 2.18: C-7 Figure 2.19: C-9 Figure 2.20: C-10 Figure 2.21: C-32

2.2.3 Eyes

Thirty-one figurines or figurine heads survive with their faces intact enough to assess details of the eyes. Of these, eight were sculpted without eyes or other facial details, while the remaining twenty-four were consistently depicted with their eyes firmly shut. The figurines without eyes tend to be smaller in scale than the figurines with eyes. D-2 [Fig. 2.22], an isolated head excavated from Grave 66 of Cemetery 87 at Koshtamna, is 2.3 cm in height and was sculpted with a rounded, featureless face sloping down to a protruding chin. The hairline of this

figurine was, however, carefully indicated with a line of small impressed dots. B-1 [Fig. 2.23], an upper body with head, excavated from the habitation area at Areika, measures 4.7 cm in height with a relatively tiny head. The face of this figurine is featureless and slopes down from the forehead terminating in a prominent chin that appears slightly upturned. The hairline, more easily seen from above [Fig. 2.24], is formed with incised zigzag lines although the eyes are not indicated. B-2 [Fig. 2.25], another upper body excavated from the Areika habitation area, was sculpted with no facial features and much the same facial profile as B-1, but with what appears to be a hairline indicated with an indentation at the forehead.

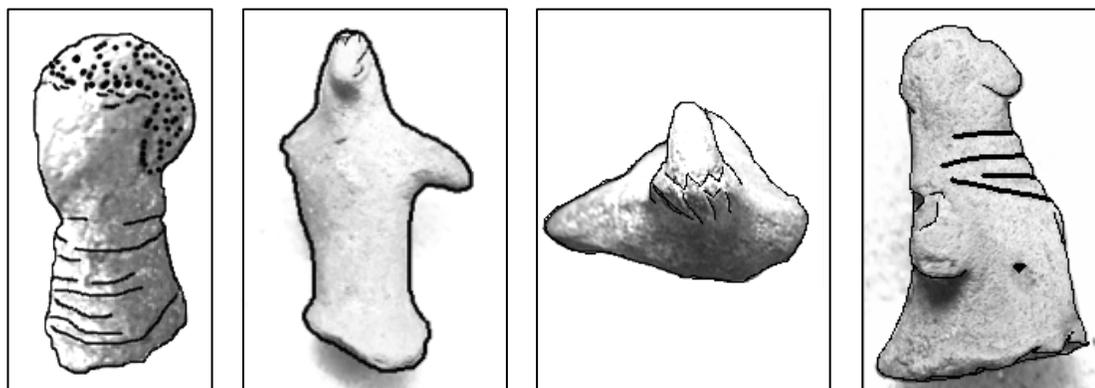


Figure 2.22: D-2

Figure 2.23: B-1

Figure 2.24: B-1 (top)

Figure 2.25: B-2

Not all of the small figurines from the habitation area at Areika, however, were sculpted without eyes. B-3 [Fig. 2.26], survives as only a head with neck and partial upper torso and measures 2.2 cm in total height. The rounded face was given no nose or mouth, but the eyes are indicated with slightly curved incised lines, giving the visual impression that they are closed. In many figurines the eyes are similarly represented by a single, incised line, although these lines are rarely curved. Isolated head D-3 [Fig. 2.27], currently in the Museum of Fine Arts,

Boston collection but with no secure find-spot, offers a clear example of this eye technique.

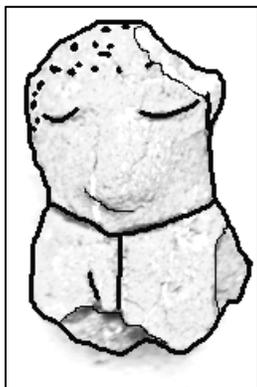


Figure 2.26: B-3

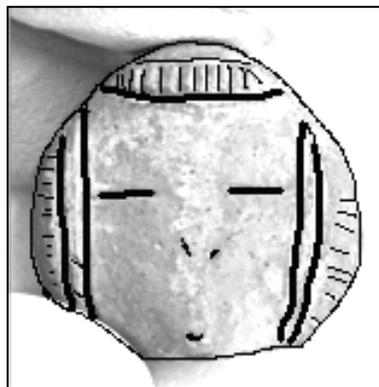


Figure 2.27: D-3

In other cases the eyes were created with two parallel, incised horizontal lines, in which the top line likely represents the eyebrow since in none of these cases do the two lines meet to form the upper and lower lids of a single eye. D-10 [Fig. 2.28], an isolated head excavated beside the superstructure of Grave 133 at Aniba Cemetery N, demonstrates this approach. Although Steindorff, Wenig Teske and Wildung all describe the eyes of D-10 as comprised of two parallel lines,¹¹⁶ only Krauspe observes that the top line represents the eyebrow while the bottom represents the eye itself.¹¹⁷ Rather than connecting the two lines with a circular pupil or impressing a hole between them to indicate that they functioned together as an eye, these parallel lines never connect. In some examples, the brows are indicated with thin strips of applied clay, a technique that can be clearly observed in D-8 [Fig. 2.29], an isolated head currently housed at the

¹¹⁶ Steindorff, *Aniba*, 121; Wenig, *Africa in Antiquity*, 125; Wildung, *Sudan*, 54; J. Teske, *Nubië aan de Nijl: Voorportaal van Afrika* (The Hague: Gemeentemuseum, 1979): 29.

¹¹⁷ Krauspe, *Katalog*, 106 (no. 191).

Egyptian Museum of the University of Leipzig and excavated from Aniba but for which the excavation records no longer exist.

That the C-Group individuals who made, used, or observed these figurines understood their eyes to be shut, is made clear in the largest surviving example, D-15 [Fig. 2.30]. This isolated head was excavated from a funerary context at Argín and measures 8.8 cm in height. The eyebrows were constructed by the application of a thin strip of clay above each eye, while each eye was formed with a single incised line. A row of short, parallel, incised lines indicating eyelashes descend from the more deeply incised eye itself, but no corresponding lashes were depicted above the eye.

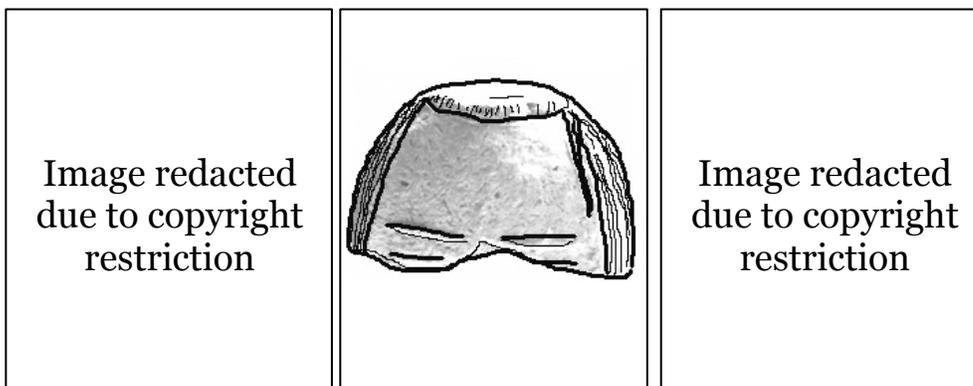


Figure 2.28: D-10

Figure 2.29: D-8

Figure 2.30: D-15

2.3 Formal variations

While the formal properties of arms, posture, and eyes were fundamental aspects of C-Group anthropomorphic figurines, C-Group artists appear to have had a few choices available to them in other areas. These choices might, however, have been less at the discretion of the individual artist than dictated by the needs, functions, or meanings of a particular figurine. Formal aspects that vary within the corpus include the technology of the head construction, the extent to which

the figurine could stand unaided, style of clothing, breast formation, beads and body decoration, and the size of the individual piece. The variations evident in these areas are not, however, unlimited, and appear to have been selected from a strict repertoire of accepted forms.

2.3.1 Figurine Heads. Type 1 and Type 2

C-Group anthropomorphic figurine heads take one of two forms, achieved through the use of two distinct technological choices. Figurines that were sculpted as one piece, with the heads formed along with the rest of the body from the initial lump of clay, are labeled here as Type 1 forms. Heads that were modeled and fired separately from their corresponding bodies are labeled as Type 2 forms. These types are not always easy to distinguish in pieces with significant damage to the neck. Both types have been found together in mortuary deposits and appear to have been in use at the same time in some settlement areas. The extent to which their C-Group owners saw these two forms as categorically different is unclear.

Type 1 heads were sculpted as integral parts of the bodies they joined. Ten heads from the surviving corpus are clearly of this type. They tend to have faces with little detail and are small in relation to the rest of the body, appearing as knob-like projections at the end of the neck [Fig. 2.31]. Type 2 heads were sculpted and fired separately from the bodies to which they were eventually joined. The heads were made with cavities in the bases that extended up into the center of the head [Fig. 2.32], and bodies were constructed with long tapering necks that could be fitted into the cavities of the heads [Fig. 2.33]. Thirty-one surviving heads can be securely classified as Type 2. These tend to be relatively

large in scale with respect to the rest of the body, although the head of A-12 [Fig. 2.34], excavated from Grave 71 of Cemetery 179 at Shirfadik, Serra East, is not much larger than the neck itself and comprises 9% of the total height of the body.

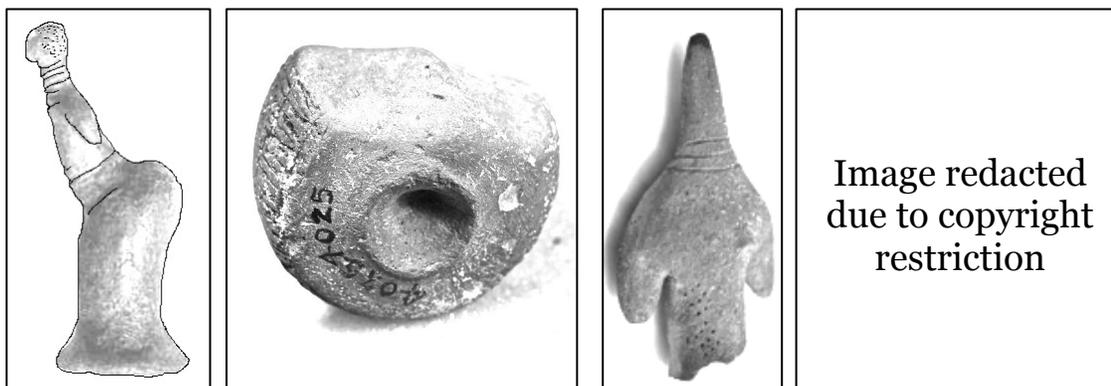


Figure 2.31: A-8

Figure 2.32: D-5

Figure 2.33: E-8

Figure 2.34: A-12

The necks of Type 2 head-form figurines were inserted into the heads and secured using some sort of adhesive material, possibly a ceramic or organic paste. This substance has not been studied or identified, and it held so strongly that in several instances the figurine neck itself snapped in two rather than separating from the head at the point of adhesion. This damage pattern is clearly visible in figurines D-3 and D-4 [Fig. 2.35], both of which retain the tip of the neck inside the head while the neck itself is broken. This pattern of breakage at the neck makes identifying the head type of headless bodies very difficult. Of the excavated corpus of headless bodies only sixteen can be definitively identified as formed to accommodate Type 2 heads due to the intact survival of the long tapering neck. C-26 [Fig. 2.36], excavated from the habitation zone at Areika, is one such example. The tip of the long neck is rounded and intact, leaving no doubt that it was sculpted to fit into the cavity of a Type 2 head.

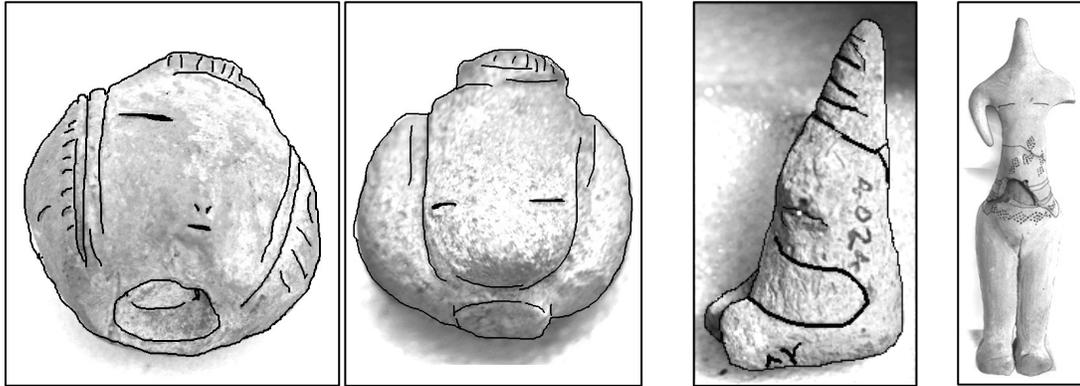


Figure 2.35: D-3 (left) and D-4 (right)

Figure 2.36: C-26 Figure 2.37: C-33

Figurines with long, narrow, tapering necks, such as that seen on C-33 from Toshka Cemetery C [Fig. 2.37], might be assumed to have accommodated a Type 2 head, but the tip of the neck is broken making this identification likely but uncertain. Fifty-one bodies are damaged at the neck in such a way that a secure identification of head type is impossible. Although never in the majority in instances where they can be positively identified, Type 1 head forms may have been more common than the surviving record suggests, considering their widespread find-spots. Type 1 examples were excavated from C-Group mortuary and habitation contexts at Koshtamna, Areika, and Serra West – sites that are fairly evenly distributed along the Lower Nubian Nile [Fig 2.38].

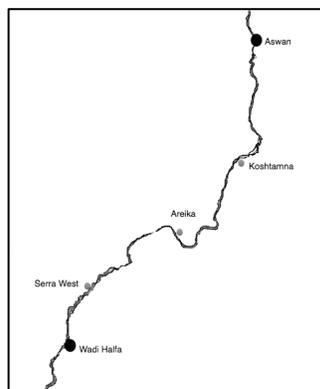


Figure 2.38: Map with Type 1 Head Sites

Aside from the technology involved in their construction and the larger size of the Type 2 that allows the expression of more naturalistic facial features than Type 1, the two head types are formally similar: the ears are never modeled or indicated in any way, the hairstyle is the same, and the eyes are always (when indicated) closed. Figurines with Type 1 heads that survive intact or mostly intact do not differ in any other significant way from the general characteristics of the rest of the corpus. The two types might have been seen as interchangeable or complementary in function. It seems likely that figurines with separately modeled heads, and the commitment to extra steps in the production process that this entailed, were developed to accommodate a need – whether this need was aesthetic, connotative, functional, or a combination of these – and would have been understood by their makers and users as distinct in meaningful ways from figurines with Type 1 head forms.

2.3.2 Figurine Ability to Stand. Freestanding and Non-freestanding

C-Group anthropomorphic figurines can be viewed as two distinct categories of sculpture: freestanding and non-freestanding. Eighteen of the surviving corpus were modeled with bases that support them in an upright position if placed on a flat surface. This was usually achieved by pinching the clay out around the bottom of the figurine, creating a broad, flat footing for support, as seen in F-8 [Fig. 2.39], excavated from the habitation zone at Areika. Figurines with this type of base are usually modeled so that the lower half takes the shape of a solid column rather than legs, suggesting that the figurine is wearing a long skirt or wrap as seen, for example, in A-8 [Fig. 2.31], excavated from Grave 66 of Cemetery 87 at Koshtamna, or in A-9 [Fig. 2.40], excavated from Grave 152 of the

same cemetery. C-33, however, from Toshka Cemetery C, was modeled with enlarged, flat feet that allow it to stand precariously on its own. F-2 [Fig. 2.41], held at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston but with unknown provenance, was also modeled with legs terminating in wide flat feet and might have originally been freestanding, much like C-33. This figurine, however, has suffered considerable damage, thus the original size of the feet is impossible to determine.



Figure 2.39: F-8



Figure 2.40: A-9

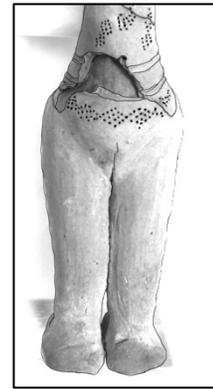
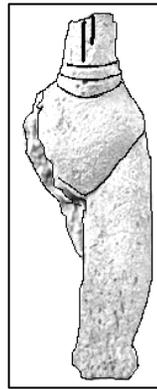


Figure 2.41: F-2 (left) and C-33

A third, widespread technique for having the figurine stand on its own was achieved by leaving out the legs entirely. Four figurines survive in this truncated form: C-29, from the habitation zone at Areika, A-4 from Grave 51 in Cemetery T at Adindan, A-11 from the settlement area at Wadi el-Arab, and C-42 from habitation Site 345 at Nag Sinerki [Fig. 2.42]. This form appears to be an abbreviated version of the more usual spread base with columnar leg section. C-34 [Fig. 2.43], excavated from a house in the Faras Settlement Area 24/E/2, and C-19 [Fig. 2.44], excavated from the settlement area at Aniba, point to this possibility. Both of these figurines were sculpted much like the full-length freestanding figurines, with an enlarged base pinched out from a columnar lower body. The lower bodies in these cases, however, appear exaggeratedly short

relative to the whole figure, conceptually situating them midway between the truncated and full-length freestanding figurines.



Figure 2.42: (left to right) C-29, A-4, A-11, C-42

Figure 2.43: C-34 Figure 2.44: C-19

About one-third of the anthropomorphic corpus survives as fragments or with lower body damage that makes assessing the structure of the base impossible. Fifty-seven, however, were modeled in such a way that they cannot sit or stand unaided. These pieces have legs that taper, often dramatically, from the thighs to the ankle area, terminating in blunted points like those seen in C-27 [Fig.2.45], or small feet, as seen in F-1 [Fig. 2.46]. Unless held or propped, these figurines can neither stand upright nor maintain a seated position without falling back with their legs in the air or rolling over onto one side.¹¹⁸ When not actively handled, these non-freestanding figurines might be securely positioned in a seated pose in loose sand, propped against a wall or rock, cradled inside a pot, or perhaps suspended on cords. Due to the consistent leg form, if shoved gently into loose sand in a seated position the impression left by the buttocks is similar to the

¹¹⁸ While C-3, C-7, C-9 and C-10 appear more compositionally balanced, as discussed in section 2.2.2 above, and might be able to maintain a seated position unaided, I was not able to test this when I examined them.

tracks left by cattle [Fig. 2.47] – animals intimately associated with C-Group cultural and symbolic life.¹¹⁹



Figure 2.45: C-27

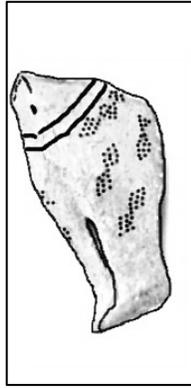


Figure 2.46: F-1

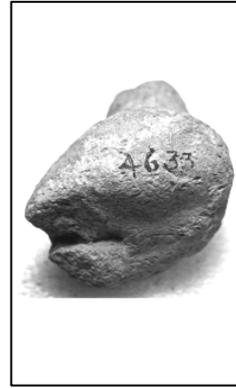
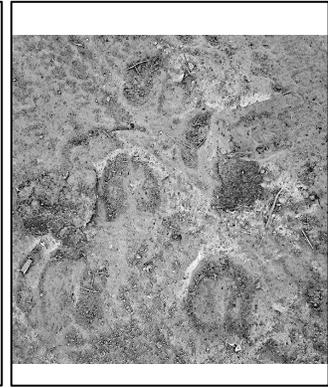


Figure 2.47: F-12 and Cow Tracks in Mud



2.3.3 Clothing

Although Wenig describes C-Group anthropomorphic figurines as “always naked,”¹²⁰ clothing of some type is depicted with incised lines or applied clay on almost every surviving figurine, usually covering the genital region. The variations of garment type are limited and include loincloths, aprons or sporrans-type garments, thin belts or cords, and wide belts or triangle shaped garments that terminate in rounded or squared tabs at the back [Fig. 2.48]. The triangular garment covers the genitals and wraps around the hips where, like the wide belt, the ends do not touch but leave to the imagination the mechanism for tying or

¹¹⁹ For further discussion of the symbolic role of cattle in C-Group culture see Pernille Bangsgaard, “Nubian Faunal Practices – Exploring the C-Group “Pastoral Ideal” at Nine Cemeteries,” in D.A. Welsby and J.R. Anderson (eds) *The Fourth Cataract and Beyond: Proceedings of the 12th International Conference for Nubian Studies* 347-355 (Leuven; Paris; Walpole, MA: Peeters 2014). For cattle in Kerma culture, see Louis Chaiz and J. W. Hansen “Cattle with ‘forward-pointing horns’: archaeozoological and cultural aspects” in Lech Krzyaniak, Karla Kroeper, and Michal Kobusiewicz, eds. *Cultural Markers in the Later Prehistory of Northeastern Africa and Recent Research* (Poznan: Poznan Archaeological Museum, 2003): 269-281.

¹²⁰ Wenig, *Africa in Antiquity*, 29

fastening. The wide belt is sometimes the only garment indicated and in these cases the sexual anatomy could be depicted.

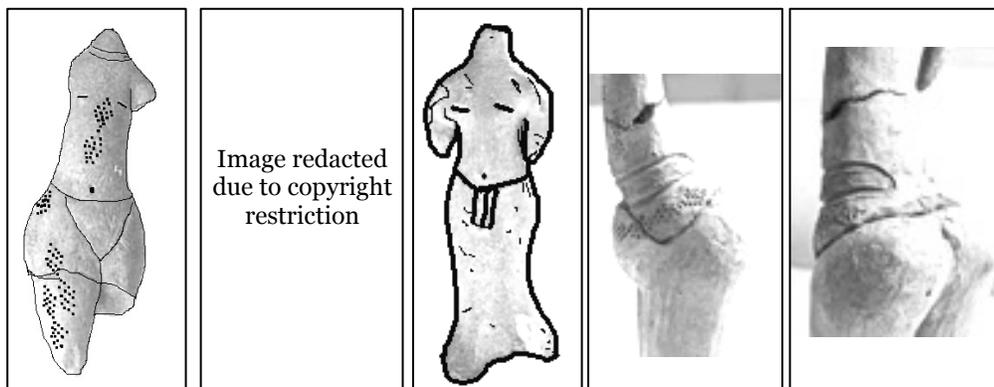


Figure 2.48: loincloth (C-8), apron (C-19), cord (C-13), wide belt- two views (C-33)

There are very few examples with articulated genitals, and all of these wear belts. The only male form, C-11, is not ithyphallic but has naturalistically modeled genitals. This figurine, however, has a small, horizontally oriented tab-shaped section of applied clay above the proper right buttock that appears to be the only fragment remaining of a belt [Fig. 2.49]. A corresponding pattern of discoloration around the waist suggests that the figurine was fired while wrapped in a band of applied clay. Krauspe notes the discoloration and associates it with firing but does not mention the applied clay or the pattern of the discoloration.¹²¹

Female forms with this type of wide belt that exposes the genitals are only known from the habitation zone at Areika. F-6 [Fig. 2.50], a lower body from Areika, broken off just above the waist, wears a wide belt that terminates in rounded tabs at the back, indicated with incised lines. Below this belt, F-6 has a pubic mound formed with a small piece of applied clay, incised with a vertical line apparently representing a vulva slit. C-25 [Fig. 2.51], a tiny headless figurine from

¹²¹ Krauspe, *Katalog*, 101 (no. 178).

Areika, exhibits a very similar piece of clay with vertical slit applied at the crotch. This applied piece of clay interrupts the incised line that defines either the bottom of a wide belt or the edges of a triangular garment that terminates in tabs at the back. Although Williams describes C-25 as “probably a male,” its sexual anatomy suggests a female interpretation.¹²² One other fragmentary figurine from Areika, F-7 [Fig. 2.52], which survives as a lower body with both legs broken off just below the hips and the torso broken off above the waist, has a similarly applied pubic mound with a very faintly incised vertical line. Instead of the usual wide belt, this figurine is encircled at the waist by a single incised line, possibly representing a cord or beaded strand.

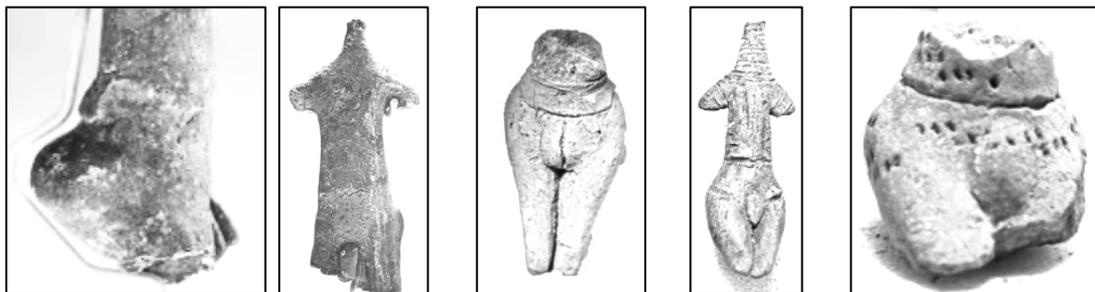


Figure 2.49: C-11 tab, discoloration Figure 2.50: F-6 Figure 2.51: C-25 Figure 2.52: F-7

C-33, the freestanding figurine with modeled legs and large feet excavated from Cemetery C at Toshka, also wears a wide belt terminating in rounded tabs in the back that appears to leave the pubic area uncovered. The irregular vertical line at the crotch that might represent a vulva is, in this case, more likely a fracture in the clay, as the other intentionally incised lines on this piece, representing the nipples and outline of a belt, are much deeper and wider. The wide belt is also present on two freestanding figurines, apparently worn over a

¹²² Williams *Adindan Cemeteries*, 97, footnote 4

longer garment or skirt. This can be seen on C-17 [Fig. 2.53], an intact but headless figurine excavated in the settlement area at Aniba, as well as on F-8 [Fig. 2.54], a lower body excavated from the habitation zone at Areika. A similar, triangular, apron-like wrap that terminates at the back in rounded or truncated tabs is indicated on several of the freestanding examples. F-3 [Fig. 2.55], excavated from the habitation zone at Areika, has incised lines clearly depicting this apron-like garment, which hangs down in the front in a sharp triangular shape.

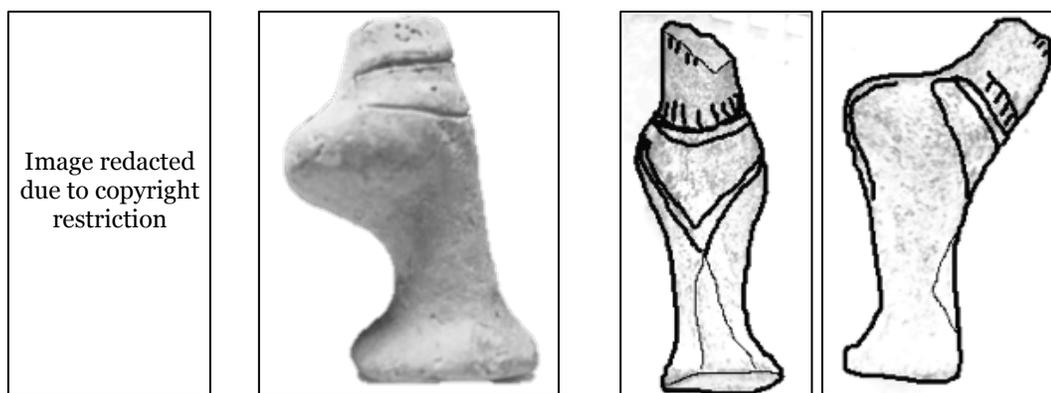


Figure 2.53: C-17

Figure 2.54: F-8

Figure 2.55: F-3 (various angles of garment)

While C-34, a freestanding figurine with columnar lower body from a domestic context at Faras, exhibits no incised lines or applied clay that could be interpreted as a belt, other freestanding figurines have various types of belts or cords wrapped around the waist. Both C-13 and C-14, intact but headless pieces excavated together from Cemetery N at Aniba, have a single incised line around the waist, possibly indicating a narrow belt or cord, with tassels at the front just below the navel. On C-14, this line does not completely encircle the figurine waist but terminates at the back leaving a wide gap, while on C-13 the back ends are connected with a U-shaped line [Fig. 2.56]. Two freestanding figurines with

columnar lower bodies survive with large pieces of irregularly shaped, applied clay at the waist. Firth describes one of these, on A-9, as a “sporran of animals skin worn in front of body.”¹²³ These clay masses appear to represent animal hide or fur suspended from the waist in a sporran-like fashion and are seen on F-20, a lower body from Tomb 1 of the cemetery at Nagaa el Mahmoudiya, and A-9, an intact figurine from Cemetery 87 at Koshtamna [Fig. 2.57].

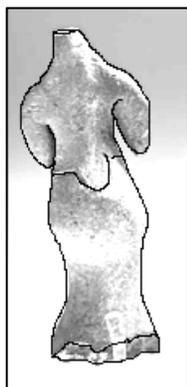


Figure 2.56: C-13

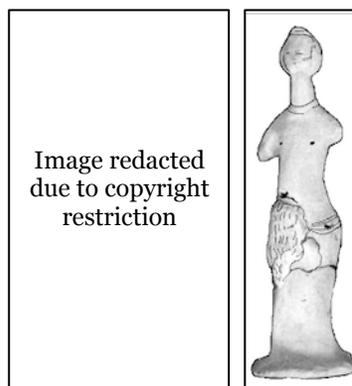


Figure 2.57: F-20 and A-9

Six figurines appear to wear loincloths, indicated with incised lines. Two of these, C-8 and C-40, both excavated from cemetery contexts at Dakka, are depicted with simple incised lines forming a triangle over the pubic region and encircling the waist [Fig. 2.58]. The loincloth depicted on C-20 [Fig. 2.59], excavated from Cemetery N at Aniba, is formed with incised lines in a rounded triangle over the pubic area but decorated with short, parallel, incised lines suggesting beading or leather stitching. F-9 [Fig. 2.60], has single incised lines in a triangle shape covering the pubic area but the encircling belt to which this appears attached was depicted using two parallel lines bordered above and below

¹²³ C. M. Firth, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia: Report for 1908-1909* (Cairo: Government Press, 1912): 9 (38.b.1). Steindorff also describes this applied mass of clay as a *Felltasche*, sporran, in Steindorff, *Aniba*, 118.

by a row of impressed dots, possibly indicating decorative beading. F-13 and F-14 [Fig. 2.61], both from Cemetery C at Toshka, have loincloths depicted with parallel, incised lines, embellished with impressed dots (F-13) and one impressed circle in the center (F-14).

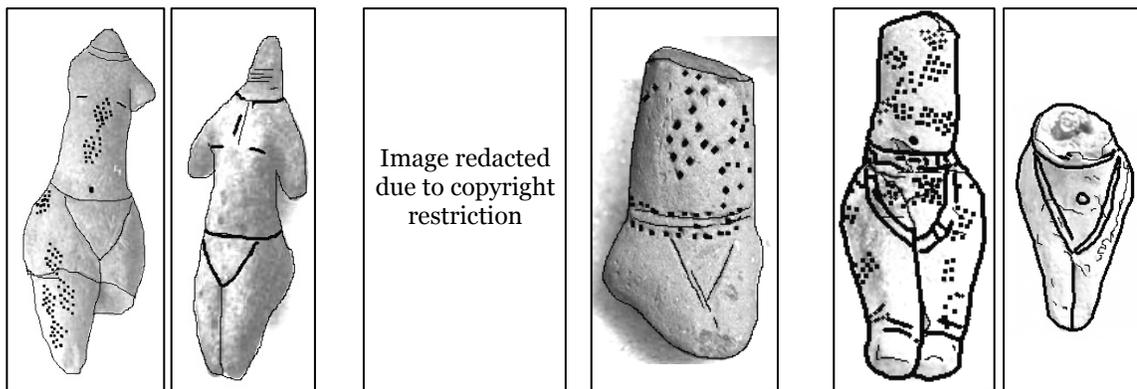


Figure 2.58: C-8 and C-40 Figure 2.59: C-20 Figure 2.60: F-9 Figure 2.61: F-13 and F-14

The most commonly depicted garment, however, is the triangular, loincloth-like covering that wraps around the hips and terminates at the sides near the back with rounded or square tabs. This garment is present on thirty-six figurines and is usually undecorated. On the fragmentary lower body of F-10 [Fig. 2.62], excavated at Areika, however, the front portion of this garment is embellished with short incised lines, possibly suggesting beadwork or stitched leather. This triangular garment is distinguishable from the loincloth version by the truncated terminal points that never touch but appear to hold it on the body without indication of a thong or tie. It is possible that what we are seeing in this garment is the characteristic wide belt used to hold up a pubic covering.

A few, rare figurines appear without any kind of clothing or jewelry [Fig. 2.63]. These include A-11, C-9, C-10, C-12, and C-32. The bodies of these figurines, with the exception of the truncated example A-11, appear oddly bare.

Although C-12 has pendulous breasts and C-32 has a pubic mound, C-9 and C-10 are sexually unmarked – the breasts or nipples are not indicated on the smooth chests and the pubic area is similarly smoothed and unarticulated.

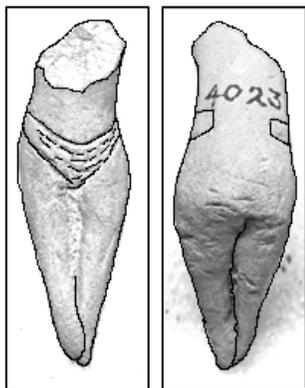


Figure 2.62: F-10

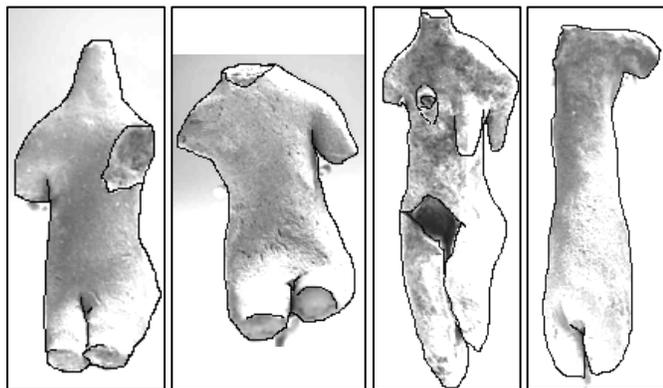


Figure 2.63: C-9, C-10, C-12, C-32

2.3.4 Breasts

The breasts of C-Group figurines are not always indicated, but when they are represented they can be pendulous or small and are generally formed by applied pieces of clay. Four figurines exhibit modeled pendulous breasts [Fig 2.64]. C-3 and C-7 from separate graves in Cemetery 87 at Koshtamna are both headless, non-freestanding figurines that were sculpted with such a very strong forward pelvis tilt that they appear to be seated. C-12, from Cemetery N at Aniba, is also headless and severely damaged. This figurine is non-freestanding and appears to stand and lean forward rather than sit. C-21, also from Cemetery N at Aniba, tilts forward at the pelvis but cannot remain seated without external support.

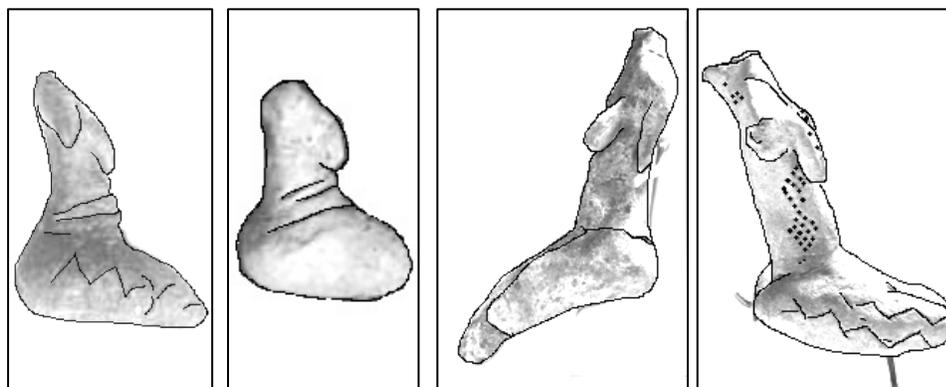


Figure 2.64: C-3, C-7, C-12, and C-21

Twelve figurines were sculpted with small modeled or applied breasts. Of these, E-3, E-7, and E-14 survive as upper bodies with heads and arms broken off. E-3 was excavated at the habitation zone at Areika, E-7 is from Cemetery N at Aniba, and E-14 is from Cemetery 24-E-3 at Faras West. All three have small, applied breasts with nipples indicated by horizontal gouges or incised horizontal lines [Fig. 2.65]. Nipples without modeled breasts were often indicated with either horizontal incised lines or impressed holes [Fig. 2.66]. B-6, a damaged upper body with surviving head from Cemetery 87 at Koshtamna, is an interesting exception, as the nipples of this figurine were indicated with impressed holes or dots in a rosette pattern [Fig. 2.67].



Figure 2.65: E-14



Figure 2.66: E-9, E-1

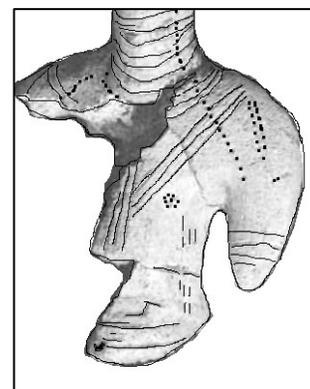
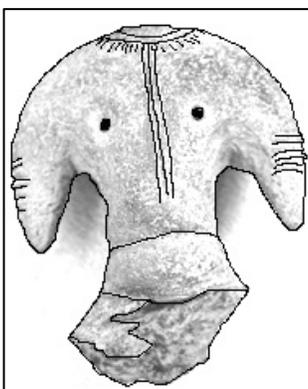


Figure 2.67: B-6

2.3.5 Beads and Body Decoration

C-Group figurines were often decorated with incised lines or punctate holes representing various types of jewelry and body decoration that might indicate tattooing, scarification, or body paint. Body decoration can be located on legs, torsos, arms, necks, or backs. The most common motif is a lozenge shaped series of impressed dots as seen on F-28, a lower body including right leg from Grave 207 of Cemetery T at Adindan [Fig. 2.68]. These lozenges can be oriented vertically, horizontally, or diagonally and are present on at least twenty of the surviving figurines. Other motifs include zigzag lines, illustrated here on the proper right leg of F-18 [Fig. 2.69], primarily incised along the outer thighs of the legs, and short, parallel, hash marks arranged in vertical or horizontal rows, illustrated here on the torso of C-16 [Fig. 2.70] but sometimes seen on the legs.

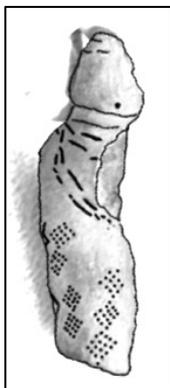


Figure 2.68: F-28



Figure 2.69: F-18

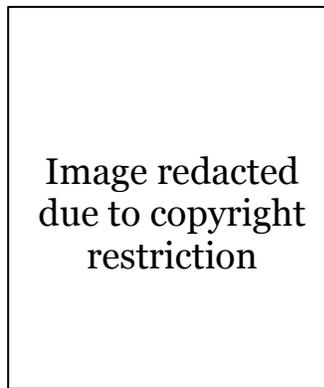


Figure 2.70: C-16

Jewelry includes armbands, necklaces in the form of tight strands around the neck, loose strands around the collar, thick rope-like torques, central strands, bandoliers, trident-shaped chest pieces, and hanging pendants. The centrally hanging strand necklace is one of the most commonly depicted varieties, appearing on at least sixteen figurines. This jewelry type is rendered with incised

lines representing one or more long strands that hang from the neck down the center of the chest. It can be represented as a single strand, as seen in C-31, or as a group as seen in E-1 [Fig. 2.71]. The trident-shaped chest piece is difficult to interpret and possibly represents three straps or painted lines that meet in the center of the chest – one extending vertically from the center of the neck and the other two extending diagonally from each shoulder to meet at the sternum, as seen on B-4 [Fig. 2.72]. The trident pattern is found on six figurines, widely distributed throughout Lower Nubia. In two cases, however, the diagonal lines are represented as impressed dots or hash lines, suggesting the possibility that the diagonal sections represent scarification rather than physical straps [Fig. 2.73].

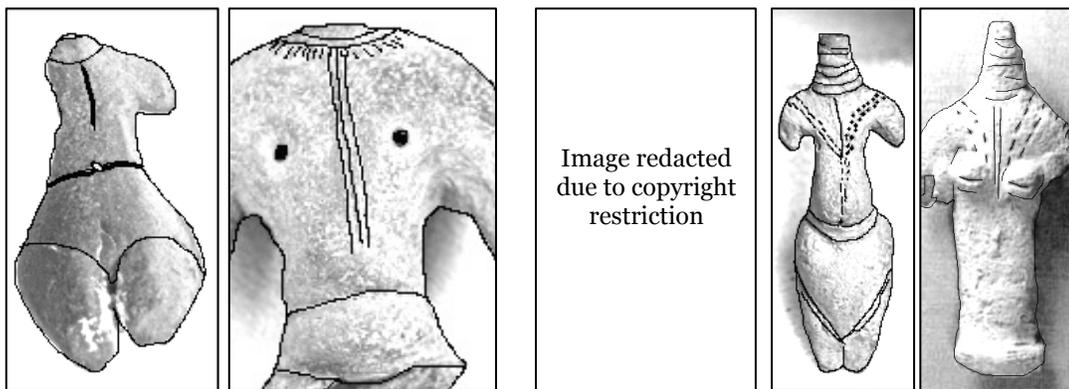


Figure 2.71: C-31 and E-1

Figure 2.72: B-4

Figure 2.73: C-28 and E-14

The bandolier necklace is present on only two figurines, E-3 and E-13, and is represented as long diagonal incised lines that cross at the chest and back [Fig. 2.74]. E-3 also has thick raised bands across the collar that appear to come together and hang down the back of the neck in a chevron pattern. Only one figurine, C-21, was depicted with a pendant necklace indicated by a single incised line. The pendant is rendered as a collection of impressed dots that lies on the

chest between the breasts while the lines indicating the cord continue over the shoulders where they hang to the center of the back, apparently crossing twice at angles [Fig. 2.75]. Similar incised lines are visible on the back of C-26 [Fig. 2.76], but the chest area is too damaged to know if this example originally wore a pendant or other necklace type.

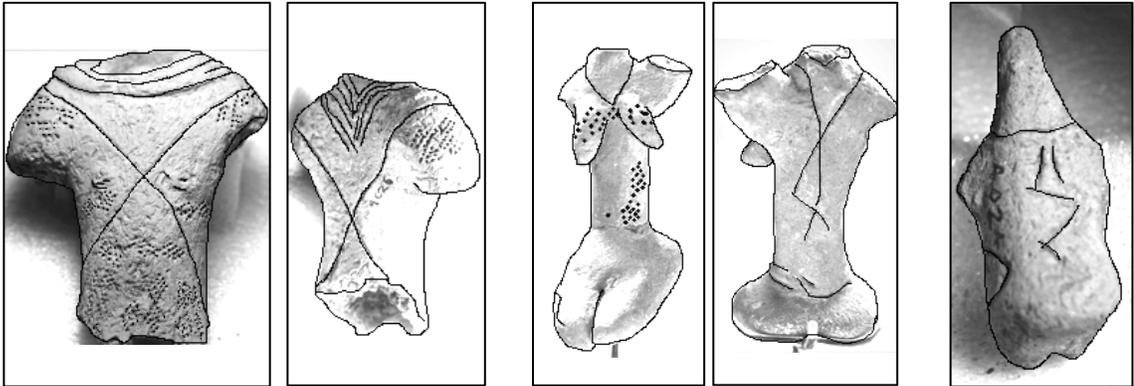


Figure 2.74: E-3 (front and back)

Figure 2.75: C-21 (front and back) Figure 2.76: C-26

Parallel or single incised lines, representing armbands or bangles, wrap around the top and front of the forearm or upper arm of fourteen figurines but do not usually completely encircle the arm, as can be seen on E-1 [Fig. 2.77]. Incised lines around the neck, like those seen on D-2 [Fig. 2.78], indicate tight choker-like necklaces and are present on twenty-one figurines, making this the most commonly represented jewelry type. Eleven figurines were decorated with incised lines that encircle the lower neck at the collar, representing loose necklace strands or bands like those seen on B-2 or C-18 [Fig. 2.79].

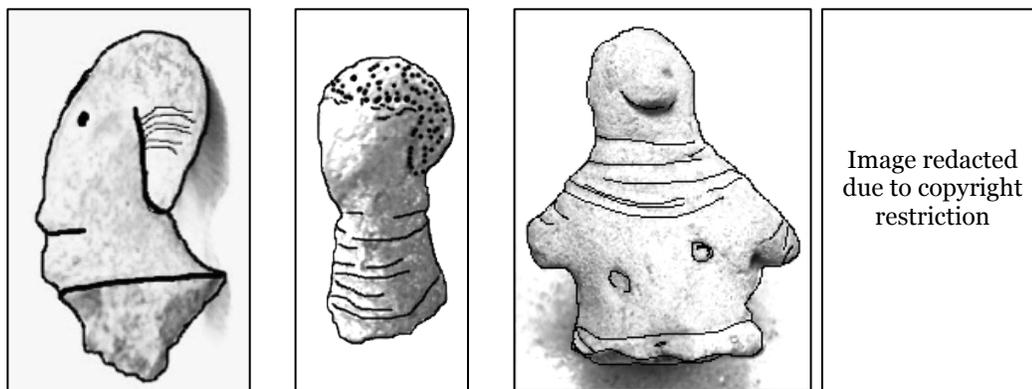


Figure 2.77: E-1

Figure 2.78: D-2

Figure 2.79: B-2 and C-18

2.3.6 Figurine Size. Small, Medium, Large

C-Group anthropomorphic figurines were produced in a range of sizes, although even the largest surviving examples were portable. The posture of the non-freestanding examples, however, can complicate an assessment. As discussed above in section 2.2.2, the angle between the legs and torso makes some figurines appear to be seated while others appear to be standing and leaning forward. Deciding which is the natural resting position affects the measured height and has not been standardized. Steindorff consistently measures height as the distance from the bottom to the top of the figurine in a seated position and measures length as the total distance between the feet and the crown [Fig. 2.80]. Other scholars do not specify these measurements, which can lead to an inaccurate impression of the overall size. For example, Steindorff describes the height of C-12, pictured in Figure 2.80, as 6.5 cm, while Krauspe gives its height as 10.9 cm, apparently using the measurement that Steindorff would call length, but without explaining how the measurement was taken.¹²⁴ To avoid confusion, measurements used in this dissertation follow Steindorff.

¹²⁴ Steindorff, *Aniba*, 121 (no. 11) and Krauspe *Katalog*, 101 (no. 179).

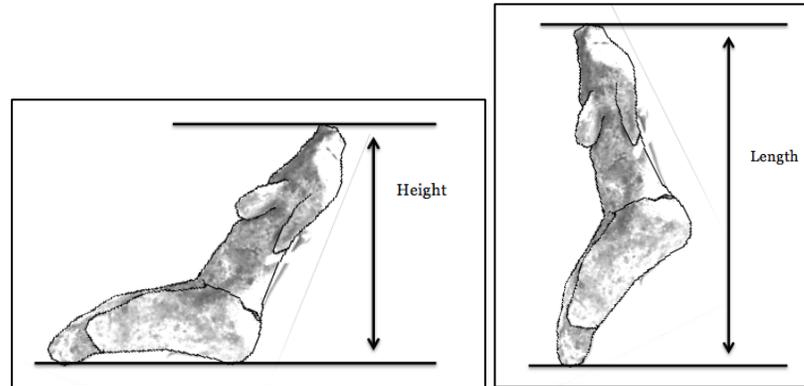


Figure 2.80: C-12 used to illustrate Height versus Length

Another problem in assessing the sizes of the figurines is the fragmentary nature of the corpus. Because they were modeled individually by hand, the scale of the various body sections relative to the overall bodies varies slightly from figurine to figurine. This internal variation makes it impossible to securely predict the original size based on surviving parts, although estimates are possible. Because of this, my description of the general size range of the corpus focuses on a comparison of like parts from all excavation sites. Complete surviving figurines with and without heads are the primary objects of analysis. Data from torsos, lower bodies and heads, and estimates of original sizes based on these measurements, are included as supplemental to my description of intact bodies.

There are fifty-five figurines whose bodies survive in a more-or-less complete condition, with or without the head. They were produced in size ranges that were not apparently standardized or discrete but might be more easily discussed in terms of an adult human hand scale.¹²⁵ A tiny version ranges in length from 2.5 to 6 cm, easily grasped between the thumb and forefinger. A

¹²⁵ The size ranges offered here are for classification and discussion purposes only and divided somewhat arbitrarily. They do not represent categories that their C-Group makers and users would necessarily have identified.

small group, 6 to 10 cm, can be comfortably held between the thumb and two fingers. A more robust, medium-range size, 10 to 17 cm, could be held between the thumb and two fingers but could also be comfortably gripped in a closed hand. Only two figurines survive over 17 cm in length. Both of these had been decapitated but A-1, measuring 25cm in length, was reassembled after the head was found at one burial and the body elsewhere in the sand of Cemetery N at Aniba. C-36, excavated from inside a house at the north settlement area of Nagaa el-Tahouna, measures 22 cm in length. If C-36 had not lost its head, it would likely have reached almost the size of A-1.

Complete figurines, with or without heads, modeled in the tiny range of 2.5 to 6 cm in length, exist in both freestanding and non-freestanding versions and could have Type 1 or Type 2 heads. A-6 [Fig. 2.81], for example, excavated from a grave at Koshtamna Cemetery 87, is non-freestanding with a Type 1 head. The legs of this figurine taper dramatically from large hips to rounded terminal points. The smallest figurine in this size range, C-29, is a headless, freestanding truncated version from the habitation zone at Areika that stands 2.7 cm tall and has arms angled almost straight out from the shoulders with very little downward curvature [Fig. 2.82]. Some in this size range appear to have been painstakingly formed, as, for example, the only visibly pregnant C-Group figurine, C-28 [Fig. 2.83]. This headless, non-freestanding piece is 4.2 cm in height with gently curving arms that extend from the shoulders and short but elegantly modeled legs that curve at the base of the buttocks and the tip of the foot. The tip of the neck is broken, however, making it impossible to know if this held a Type 1 or Type 2 head.

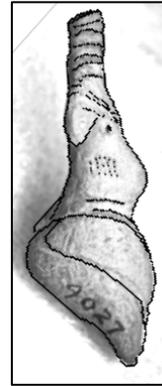
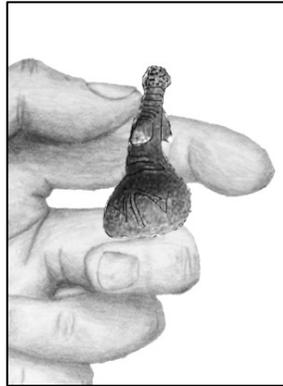
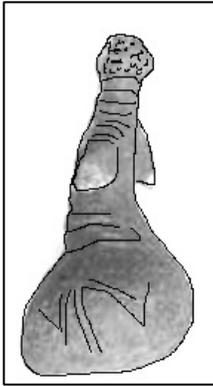


Figure 2.81: A-6 alone and to scale

Figure 2.82: C-29 to scale Figure 2.83: C-28

The small, 6 to 10 cm, range of complete figurines, with or without heads, also exist in freestanding as well as non-freestanding varieties and with Type 1 or Type 2 heads. A-12 and C-23 [Fig. 2.84], both non-freestanding figurines of 8.6 cm and 7.4 cm in respective length, from different graves at cemetery Site 179 in Shirfadik, have elongated legs with small feet and little forward bend at the waist. A-12 has a Type 2 head while C-23's neck tapers as if to hold a Type 2 head but is broken at the tip, making a determination of its original head type insecure. C-13 and C-14 are both headless, freestanding varieties, excavated together from the sand between two graves in Cemetery N at Aniba, with respective heights of 6.2 and 7.3 centimeters [Fig. 2.85]. Their tapering necks suggest a Type 2 head, but are broken at their tips, making a secure determination of the original head type impossible. A-8, from Koshtamna Cemetery 87, measures 7.6 cm in length and is a freestanding figurine with a Type 1 head [Fig. 2.86].

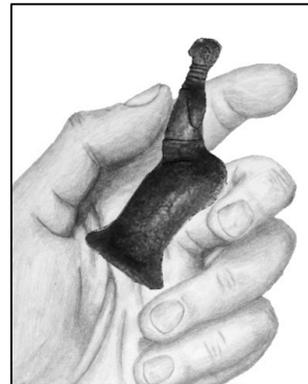


Figure 2.84: A-12 and C-23

Figure 2.85: C-14 and C-13

Figure 2.86: A-8

Figurines that fall into the medium-sized, 10 to 17 cm, range, either complete or complete but headless, can have Type 1 or Type 2 heads and be either freestanding or non-freestanding. A-11, for example, the largest surviving complete freestanding figurine was excavated from a room in the settlement at Wadi el Arab. This figurine is of the truncated variety with a Type 1 head and is approximately 15 cm in length. C-33, however, excavated from Cemetery C at Toshka and freestanding with sculpted legs and large flat feet, would probably have been slightly larger than A-11 [Fig. 2.87], as it is also 15 cm in length but with a missing head. C-16 [Fig. 2.88], a non-freestanding figurine whose top and bottom halves were found in two separate areas of Cemetery N at Aniba, measures 16 cm in length and has a tapering neck that would have held a Type 2 head. A-3, a non-freestanding example from Grave 390 of Cemetery N at Aniba, measures 12.5 cm in length and has a Type 2 head [Fig. 2.89].

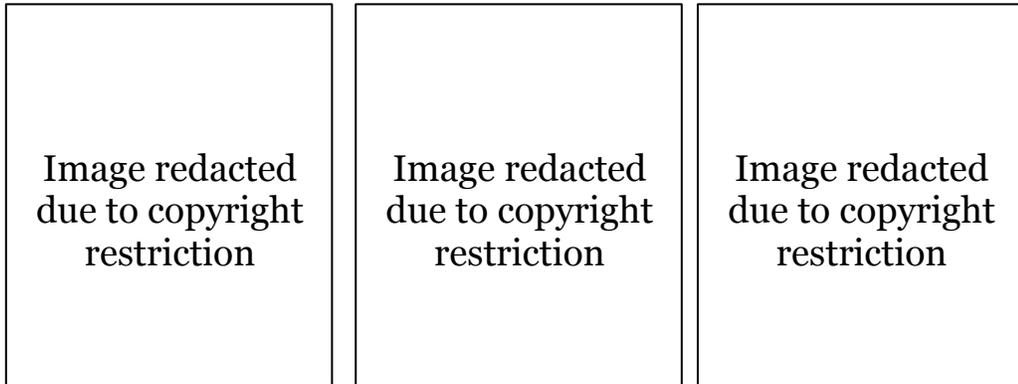


Figure 2.87: A-11 and C-33

Figure 2.88: C-16

Figure 2.89: A-3

A-1, the largest surviving figurine, is non-freestanding and had been broken at the neck. This figurine was found in two separate areas of Cemetery N at Aniba but measured 25 cm in total length when reassembled [Fig. 2.90]. Several fragmentary figurines, however, might have originally been modeled as parts of bodies that rivaled this large figurine in size. E-3 [Fig. 2.91], a headless torso surviving from the top of the shoulders to just above the hips and excavated from the habitation zone at Areika, is 9.0 cm in height from the top of the shoulders to the lowest extant part of the waist. If the legs were proportional to this upper body, the overall length could have measured over 22 cm, depending on the angle of the pelvis and length of the legs. E-10 [Fig. 2.92], another headless torso, excavated from Cemetery N at Aniba, is of a comparable size, measuring 11.5 cm from the tip of the elongated neck to the lowest remaining part of the waist below the hips. Like E-3, if the lower body were of a proportional size, the original figurine would possibly have measured as much as 22 cm in length. E-14 [Fig. 2.93], excavated from a burial in Faras West, Cemetery 24-E-3, survives as a headless torso and measures 10.3 cm in height. If the legs were proportional to

the body, this figurine would likely have originally measured close to 20 cm in total length.

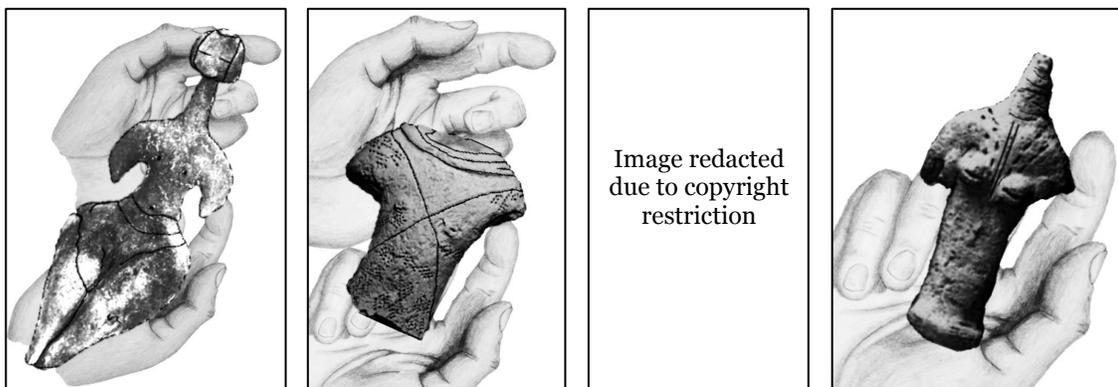


Figure 2.90: A-1

Figure 2.91: E-3

Figure 2.92: E-10

Figure 2.93: E-14

Figurines measuring over 25 cm in length have not been excavated, suggesting that bodies larger than this were likely not used. Several isolated Type 2 heads, however, appear too large for a 25 cm body, considering the average head-to-body ratios. Head height as a proportion of total body length varies depending on the method of measurement. For example, the head of the largest surviving figurine, A-1, measures 2.7 cm in height and comprises 15.8% of the total body height but 10% if described as a proportion of the length. The greatest head-to-body ratio from the surviving intact figurines is 25%, measured by body height, for A-3. If length is used for A-3, this proportion drops to 16%. A figurine with a head much larger than 16% of its length, or 25% of its height, would appear unbalanced or monstrous, violating the naturalism that generally characterizes the corpus.

Taking A-3 as a maximum proportional guide, Type 2 heads such as D-7, a fragmentary example measuring 6.7 cm in height from Cemetery N at Aniba, would require a body with a minimum height of 26.8 cm. D-15, measuring 8.8 cm

in height, would require a body with a minimum height of 35.2 cm. D-9, measuring only 5.4 cm in height, would still require a body at least 21.6 cm in height. All of the isolated heads measuring at least 5 cm in height were excavated from cemetery contexts, mostly around the Second Cataract: Aniba (D-7, D-9, D-10), Argín (D-15), Faras (D-17), Debeira (D-18), and Shirfadik (D-20). The only surviving body from any of these sites that comes even close to the minimum 20 cm height that these heads would require is A-1 from Aniba, which measures 17 cm in height. In fact, such large bodies have not been excavated anywhere in Lower Nubia.

In his discussion of D-10, Wenig suggested that the cavity in the bottom was possibly intended to attach the head to a staff or a base.¹²⁶ Krauspe argued against this interpretation, pointing out that the process of manufacturing the heads separately made it likely that some would be dropped or unused on bodies and that it was unlikely that these heads would have been put on sticks.¹²⁷ Bianchi likewise argued that the manufacturing process led to the survival of heads without bodies.¹²⁸ An analysis of the full corpus, however, supports Wenig's argument, as some of the surviving heads do, indeed, appear to have been too large for mounting on clay bodies.

2.4 Summary and conclusions

The consistencies and variations in formal attributes of the extant C-Group anthropomorphic figurine corpus communicate a great deal to the modern viewer, although many of the original meanings and functions are perhaps

¹²⁶ Wenig, *Africa in Antiquity*, 125 (no. 14).

¹²⁷ Krauspe, *Katalog*, 106 (no. 191).

¹²⁸ Bianchi, *Daily Life*, 57.

unrecoverable. C-Group artists were clearly guided in their production of figurines by a shared idea of subject matter and by a shared understanding of the artistic conventions appropriate to representing this subject matter. Formal properties such as the handless arms, closed eyes, and leaning posture, were consistently reproduced throughout the corpus, while variable attributes such as head type, the ability to stand unaided, and size, were not free choices but options from a limited repertoire of possible forms.

The attributes identified in this section provide valuable information concerning the overt subject matter of the anthropomorphic corpus and the types of activities in which these figurines were designed to engage. While the human manipulators would, of course, have been free to imagine and position the figurines in any scenario, the artists modeled them in ways that promote certain activities over others. The closed eyes present on every surviving face limit the range of social interaction that can be imagined of these pieces. This aspect might suggest death, sleep, trance, or rejection of the outside world. The characteristic posture and poses, however, rule out a reading of the figurines as representing dead or sleeping people, suggesting that their subject matter was portrayed in activity that focused inward. The short arms and lack of hands seem to corroborate this interpretation.

The dress, jewelry, and body decoration repeated on figurines throughout Lower Nubia suggests that a specific set of identities was portrayed in the female subject matter. The variation in breast depiction indicates that the subjects represented women and girls at various life stages, while the variation in jewelry and garment types suggests a limited set of social identities, possibly ranked

hierarchically or denoting specific roles. The body decoration seems likely to correspond to tattooing, scarification, and body paint – discrete media that might invest some figurines with multiply derived identity categories.

As noted by many scholars, lozenge-shaped dotted designs correspond to actual tattoos found on several C-Group and Egyptian female mummies, suggesting that this motif was meant to indicate tattooing.¹²⁹ The short, parallel, hash marks stacked in columns across the abdomen or side might represent scarification patterns, applied to mark rites of passage that transformed an individual from one social identity to another over a lifetime. Ethnohistorical examples of abdominal scarification to mark socially mediated developmental stages of female identities are numerous among pastoral communities of northeast and central Saharan Africa, while the scarification pattern described by Fouquet on the mummy Amunet is similar to that seen on figurines.¹³⁰

The zigzag lines along the legs are more difficult to interpret, as this type of decoration has not survived on any mummies. It possibly represents tattooing or scarification, but might instead signify temporary painting. Since all of the decoration on C-Group figurines represents objects or practices attested in excavated materials, it is unlikely that the leg decoration was wholly symbolic and

¹²⁹ Almost every scholar to comment has linked the lozenge pattern on figurines to these tattooed mummies. See, for example, Smith, *Ancient Egyptians*, 51; Junker, *Toschke*, 75; Bates, *The Eastern Libyans*, 250; Firth, *ASN 1909-1910*, 54; Steindorff, *Aniba*, 118-119; Hölscher *Liber und Ägypter*, 38; or Keimer, “Tatouage,” 35-40. The only scholar to argue explicitly against this interpretation is Hafsaas who interpreted all of the body decorations as scarification: Hafsaas, *Cattle Pastoralists*, 101.

¹³⁰ This practice was recently common among the Tira, Moro, and Mesakin Nuba cultures, see S. F. Nadel, *The Nuba: An Anthropological Study of the Hill Tribes of Kordofan* (London, New York, and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1947): 218, 239, 294; James Faris, “Significance of Differences in the Male and Female Personal Art of the Southeast Nuba,” in *Marks of Civilization: Artistic Transformations of the Human Body*, edited by Arnold Rubin (Los Angeles: University of California, 1988): 37, fig 10; and James Faris, *Nuba Personal Art* (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1972): 32-36.

not used in life as well. On some of the more carefully rendered examples the zigzag looks like rope netting, although the significance of this is unclear at present.

The variations in capacity to stand unaided are difficult to interpret but suggest a few points about the subject matter. Figurines that could stand alone would not need to be handled as much as other figurines. Thus the smaller numbers of these might indicate a more important role than others of the corpus, or a role that was possibly more dangerous to the handler. The surviving freestanding figurines are the only figurines that wear sporrans, although not all of them have this garment. The ones with surviving abdomens and chests do not wear the trident chest decoration, and do not have abdominal hash marks indicating scarification. These patterns might result from an accident of preservation, but are nevertheless suggestive. The lack of abdominal scarification seems especially significant, as this practice, as attested in the ethnohistorical record, is not reserved for certain lineages or individuals but always applied to every girl of the group. Standing figurines without these signifiers of social age might, therefore, be understood as different from other figurines in some critical aspect.

The two head types and the variety of figurine sizes suggest specialized identities or uses, but the meanings of these variations are unclear. Heads too large for any known bodies, but constructed with a cavity for attachment to some object, might have been given bodies of organic material or could have been attached to staffs, as Wenig suggested, reminiscent of maceheads. Further work on the patterned occurrences of specific attributes is called for.

Chapter 3. Context

3.1 The Archaeological Settings

C-Group anthropomorphic and animal form figurines were excavated from cemeteries as well as habitation areas. The analysis of the archaeological contexts presented in this chapter is multi-pronged. Figurines, human and animal form, are examined with respect to their occurrences in cemeteries, in graves within cemeteries, and in settlement sites, using details from excavation reports. The distribution and co-occurrences of attributes such as hairstyle, garments, jewelry and body decoration are considered along with variables that could potentially have affected figurine distribution. The figurines assessed in this chapter include some examples unavailable for personal inspection but which have been recorded in published excavation notes.¹³¹

3.2 Data Sources and Current Limitations

The data available for analyses of the archaeological context of figurines consists of published archaeological reports supplemented with information from museum records for the individual figurines. The two sources, unfortunately, do not always agree with each other and are sometimes internally inconsistent. Although C-Group sites in Lower Nubia were excavated using the most up-to-date archaeological methods and consistently recorded using notes, plans, and photography, there was no consistent protocol among the various survey teams for publicly reporting the finds. Many preliminary reports provide few details, focusing instead on concise descriptions of excavation sites and providing

¹³¹ Such individual or groups of figurines are not included in the catalog or in the formal analysis section, as the quantities and forms of these are not specified in the published reports. They are, however, helpful in assessing the contexts in which figurines were excavated.

subjective lists of noteworthy finds – which sometimes omit figurines or fail to give exact numbers and frequently make no distinction between human and animal-form figurines.¹³² Long time lapses between excavations and final publications occasionally appear to have led to some loss of information and inconsistencies in published details.¹³³ Although the comprehensive final reports, some still unpublished, generally provide images of excavated figurines, animal-form and fragmentary pieces are often not pictured and some individual pieces are not mentioned at all. Final reports can also give conflicting information within the text regarding the precise find-spots of figurines and sometimes contradict the initial data of the preliminary reports.¹³⁴ Of the published work, only Williams' 1983 report of Seele's earlier excavations at Adindan provides exact numbers and types, precise find-spots, and images of every excavated figurine and figurine fragment as well as a brief discussion of figurines as an object class.¹³⁵

¹³² See, for example: Serge Sauneron, "Un Village Nubien Fortifié sur la Rive Orientale de Ouadi es- Sébou" *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 63 (1965): 161-167; Stock, "Amada, Spring 1960," 101-103, 107-109; Bakr, "Fouilles en Nubie 1960," 116-117, 122-123; Bakr, "Rapport Préliminaire," 7; F. Ll. Griffith, "Oxford Excavations in Nubia." *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Liverpool* 8 (1921): 76 and footnote 3; Nordström, "Faras, Argin, Gezira Dabarosa," 34-41; Verwers, "Trial Excavations," 17-20; Verwers, "Faras to Gezira Dabarosa," 24-25, 28; Torgny Säve-Söderbergh, "Preliminary Report of the Scandinavian Joint Expedition: Archaeological Investigations between Faras and Gemai, November 1961-March 1962." *Kush* 11 (1963): 55-56; Roy L. Carlson and John S. Sigstad, "Paleolithic and Late Neolithic Sites Excavated by the Fourth Colorado Expedition." *Kush* 15 (1967-1968): 56-57.

¹³³ The final publication report of excavations carried out in 1910 and 1911, for example, was delayed until 1927 due to the intervention of World War I and other excavation commitments that prevented the completion of the work: Firth, *ASN 1910-1911*, footnote at bottom of Preface.

¹³⁴ The preliminary report of excavations at Cemetery 179, for example, reported that a "female idol and a clay sculpture of an ox were also found outside one of the tombs," whereas the final published report for that cemetery stated that all of the clay figurines were excavated "as loose finds in the fill of the shafts." Säve-Söderbergh, "Preliminary Report," 55-56 and Torgny Säve-Söderbergh, *Middle Nubian Sites* (Partille: Paul Åström, 1989): 145-146.

¹³⁵ Williams *Adindan Cemeteries*, 97-99, 136, 162, 176, 177, 179, 229, Pls. 103, 102A, B, C, and D, 104-105.

Museum records can sometimes resolve inconsistencies and contradictions in published reports, but can also pose further problems. After excavation, C-Group figurines and other finds were divided between the Egyptian or Sudanese governments and the excavating team. Thus some clay figurines were given to various institutions in the United States and in Europe, while some were kept in Egypt and Sudan. Records of these find divisions were not always published in the excavation reports and it is often unclear just where the excavated figurines were sent. After their initial dispersal, figurines and other excavated materials have sometimes been transferred from museum to museum with little record available of these transfers. While the initial excavation information ostensibly accompanies the figurines in these moves, this material is also subject to loss.¹³⁶ In most cases, however, the reference material is available with the figurines themselves. When published reports conflict with information from museum data, this dissertation gives greater weight to museum records.

The inconsistencies and contradictions in reporting and in museum records limit the types of contextual analyses permitted by the data, primarily in terms of meta-analysis and fine distinctions. The overall distribution of the precise placement of figurines as burial goods with or near the interred body in contrast to figurines deposited outside graves, for example, is impossible to assess fully, although this can be done for some individual cemeteries. A meta-analysis of figurine form-type, animal or human, and distribution within

¹³⁶ Reference documents for one anthropomorphic and seven animal-form figurines from Aniba at the Georg Steindorff Egyptian Collection in the University of Leipzig, for example, were lost. The cause of the loss is unclear, but it is possibly related to bombing campaigns in World War II or a later move to a new location. For a brief description of the war damage see Krauspe, "Ägyptische Museum," 95. The missing records are noted in Krauspe, *Katalog*, 106, 108-110, 116.

settlement sites is equally impossible, but general trends can be observed from reports of specific sites. This dissertation, thus, provides initial, site-specific analyses of the archaeological contexts of the figurines but defers a more global interrogation of the corpus until a all extant field notes might be consulted.

3.3 The Cemetery Sites

An examination of data from the published excavations, including Manfred Bietak's analysis of the relative chronologies, yields 69 C-Group sites with objects that can be dated securely to the period in which figurines were produced [Fig. 3.1]. Of these sites, 56 are cemeteries, varying in number of excavated burials from 7 at Debeira West to over 1000 at Kubanieh North and Aniba. The remaining 13 sites are habitation areas of various sizes ranging from fortified compounds at Wadi es-Sabua and Areika to a campsite at Ashkeit. Of these sites from the appropriate time period, figurines were excavated from 25 of the 56 cemeteries and 9 of the 13 settlements [Fig. 3.2]. Each of these sites is described in Appendix X, with a site plan, descriptions, and thumbnail images of the excavated figurines when available.

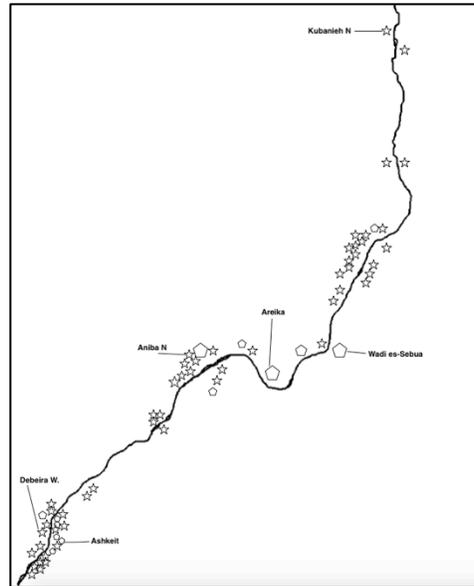


Figure 3.1: All Phase II Sites

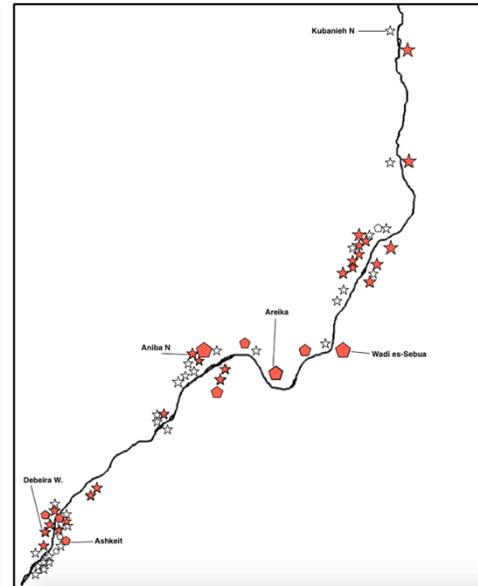


Figure 3.2: Phase II sites with figurines in red

3.3.1 The Cemeteries

C-Group funerary architecture is one of the surviving features that distinguish this culture. While details varied, the general physical nature of the graves and types of grave offerings is consistent in the over 200 excavated C-Group cemeteries. Deceased women, men, children, and infants, some adorned in elaborate jewelry and beaded belts or girdles, were buried singly. The bodies were laid in a contracted position on the left or right side on mats of animal hides, fiber, or both, in grave shafts of varying depths and shapes. The orientation of the bodies within the graves underwent a general shift from an east-west to a north-south alignment at the beginning of Bietak's Phase IIa, corresponding with changes in artistic production including the introduction of clay figurines, the addition of incised figural and geometric patterning in certain pottery jar decoration, and a dramatic change in the approach to overall design of incised

polished bowl decoration.¹³⁷ Once the body was positioned, a circular ring wall of rough stone was constructed around the grave and the interior filled with sand or rubble, creating a cylindrical superstructure over the burial [Fig. 3.3].



Figure 3.3: Typical superstructures with shallow shaft and crypt shaft

Circular superstructures varied in diameter and some had rectangular additions that archaeologists believe served as offering chapels. Personal possessions such as mirrors, knives, axes, stone celts, ostrich feather fans, needles and awls, cosmetic shells or palettes, Egyptian scarabs, clay seals, imported unguent jars, and sometimes clay figurines, could be buried in the grave shaft near the body. Nubian-made and Egyptian pottery vessels were sometimes placed in the grave shaft as well although such deposits were not common until Phase IIa and became frequent during IIb, indicating a shift in the way that the burial itself was enacted.¹³⁸ During all periods, however, pottery vessels could be placed against the outer walls of the superstructures on the side corresponding to the direction of the head of the deceased. The consistency between the orientations of exterior deposits and the interior burials suggests that these deposits were made at the time of burial, although the possibility that later

¹³⁷ Bietak, *Studien zur Chronologie*, 99-105.

¹³⁸ Bietak, *Studien zur Chronologie*, 107; Säve-Söderbergh, *Middle Nubian Sites*, 8.

visitors to the cemetery brought and left these objects cannot be ruled out entirely. This consistency in orientation also, in many cases, allows archaeologists to assign exterior deposits to specific tombs in cases of cemetery damage.

3.3.1.1 Damage to Cemeteries

C-Group graves with their circular stone superstructures were a distinctly visible part of the landscape, making them subject to several types of destruction. Disturbances include natural denudation of sites due to flooding, erosion from wind and sand, plundering and re-use in ancient times, and more recent damage caused by farmers digging into the graves for organic matter, *sebakh*, used for fertilizer. Although erosion and blowing sand disturbed the surface of cemeteries, Cecil Firth noted the protective properties of the accumulated sand at Cemetery 101 near Dakka, where a large quantity of unbroken pottery was preserved in its original position outside the graves under a thick layer of sand.¹³⁹ Denudation of surface features resulted from periodic flooding, which could sometimes wash away whole sections of cemeteries.¹⁴⁰ It is impossible to know how much of this weather-related damage affected the numbers of excavated figurines, but a few examples have been recovered from denuded cemeteries.

Human activity in the form of *sebakh* digging and looting is the primary cause of loss of archaeological material. Farmers have, since ancient times, dug into graves and removed all of the organic and other material in order to use it as

¹³⁹ C. M. Firth, "Archaeological Report." *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia Bulletin* 6 (1910): 1-2. Wenig attributes the survival of so many intact vessels throughout Lower Nubia to the protective accident of sand accumulation outside the superstructures, Wenig, *Africa in Antiquity*, 26.

¹⁴⁰ Reisner, for example, attributes gaps in the chronological series of burials at Cemetery 14 at Khor Ambukol to periodic flooding, G. A. Reisner, "The Progress of the Archaeological Survey." *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia Bulletin* 2 (1908): 11.

fertilizer. In this process the bodies and other grave goods are removed completely from the grave shaft, hauled in baskets to the farmer's field, and sifted for appropriate matter to augment the soil in agricultural plots.¹⁴¹ This treatment leaves the graves empty except for the occasional small item such as beads, bones, or rarely, figurines. As evidenced by their survival, figurines excavated from inside the shafts of these otherwise emptied graves were likely not deposited outside the grave superstructure, but would have originally been placed in the grave shaft itself or in a separate cache inside the superstructure. Pottery vessels that were originally placed outside the superstructures tend to have been undisturbed by the *sebakh*-digging process.

While *sebakh*-diggers hauled away and destroyed all the material from the grave shafts that they emptied, including figurines scooped into their baskets, grave looters appear to have simply discarded figurines at the graves they plundered. Looting or plundering has been carried out from ancient times with the primary motive of recovering precious metals and other items of value. Although it is fortunate that looters do not seem to have been interested in figurines, the careless disposal of these objects in the general debris at or near the grave eliminates any possibility of precisely identifying their original placement in the burial. In many cases at least the figurine can be linked to a specific grave. Bruce Williams describes the “particular kind of destruction” caused by tomb plundering at Adindan, noting that the superstructure was generally breached

¹⁴¹ Firth provides a description and explanation of the damage related to *sebakh*-digging and related practices undertaken to fertilize fields. See C. M. Firth, “Archaeological Report: The Destruction of the Cemeteries in the Neighborhood of Dakka.” *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia Bulletin* 5 (1910): 1-3; also, Firth, *ASN 1908-1909*, 43-44.

along one section of the stone ring allowing the fill to be cleared, after which valuables could be removed from the body which was then discarded.¹⁴²

The C-Group practice of reusing plundered building material and the effects of this on figurine distribution are difficult to assess but appear to be limited. It is clear that C-Group grave builders sometimes destroyed older superstructures to reuse the stones for newer grave construction. This reuse can be seen in many cases of intersecting C-Group superstructure rings as well as fragments from C-Group cemetery stelae reused in later grave superstructures. That some C-Group individuals, rather than later inhabitants, engaged in plundering and looting older graves can be inferred from the types of pottery sherds used as shovels in this activity. As Bruce Williams noted in his report on the excavated C-Group cemeteries at Adindan, many large sherds used to dig out graves came from C-Group domestic utility bowls that would not have survived long in village debris and therefore must have been in use as plundering tools at around the time of their use as cooking pots in villages. Williams goes on to argue that, “plundering was so widespread we cannot be sure that any given object belongs with any given tomb even if it was properly deposited.”¹⁴³

Williams’ argument for the widespread re-use of grave goods presumably includes objects of C-Group manufacture including pottery and, by inference, figurines. Such routine looting and re-deposition of figurines would have profound implications for our understanding of these objects, in terms not only of access and circulation among individuals or families, but in their uses and

¹⁴² Williams *Adindan Cemeteries*, 21.

¹⁴³ Williams *Adindan Cemeteries*, 21.

meanings. Evidence for the reuse of pottery vessels from cemeteries at Adindan, which Williams cited in his argument, is, however, limited to the reuse of A-Group and Egyptian vessels. A brief review of the excavation reports published by Reisner, Firth, Säve-Söderbergh, and Nördstrom similarly shows a reuse only of A-Group and Egyptian pots in C-Group graves [Table 3.1].¹⁴⁴ The lack of evidence for the reuse of C-Group pottery vessels does not, however, negate the possibility that discarded figurines might have been found and reused elsewhere in cemeteries.

Cemetery	Grave	Description	Age of grave
Adindan	K33	A-Group vase	II/a
	T4	Late MK Egyptian vase	III
	T112	Late MK Egyptian vase	III
Cem 118	143	A-Group vessels	Early C-Group
Cem 35	51	Egyptian bowl	NK
Cem 65	127	A-Group bowl	I/a-II/a
Cem 179	35	A-Group jar Fragment	II
	69	A-Group jar Fragment	II/a
Cem 183	26	Egyptian Jar	IIa/b
Cem 220	13	MK Egyptian Storage Jar	Early NK
	29	MK Egyptian Storage Jar	Early NK
	46	MK Egyptian Storage Jar	Early NK
Cem 270	51	2 A-Group bowls	II/a

Table 3.1: Table of reused pottery. *Sources:* Reisner, 1910; Firth, 1912, 1915, 1927; Säve-Söderbergh, 1989; Nordström, 1972.

The wide-scale damage from erosion, looting, reuse, and *sebakh*-digging left no cemetery unaffected and likely reduced the numbers of surviving figurines. This damage has also made it more difficult, and at times impossible, to know the precise original placement of figurines at or in graves. As figurines were not specifically targeted by either type of pillaging and neither activity is likely to

¹⁴⁴ Although only 13 reused vessels were identified in my brief review, the pattern of results is suggestive and seems to call for a more intensive study of funerary reuse. Where age and sex of the deceased could be determined, all of the reused vessels were excavated from burials of women and children, with A-Group pots used in graves dating to Bietak's Phase IIa or earlier while Egyptian vessels were reused in Phase III or later graves.

have moved objects from the outside to the inside of the superstructure, figurines excavated from debris or fill inside the superstructure ring were likely originally deposited inside the superstructure and are treated as such in this dissertation. Figurines found outside the superstructures, however, cannot be automatically understood as having been placed intentionally against the outer wall of the stone ring, as these could have been dragged or dropped when the grave was plundered. Beads or personal items such as cosmetic shells that are found outside a grave indicate the presence of a looted body. Thus when these types of objects are found with a figurine it is likely that the figurine had been removed along with the body from inside a grave.

3.3.1.2 Figurine caches from secure find-spots

Either during or after funerals, C-Group individuals deposited at least 147 figurines, identified from published excavation reports and museum records, in cemeteries. About half of these were excavated from unspecified locations in the cemetery sand, but approximately 70 can be attributed to 59 specific graves. Put another way, only 59 graves from 25 cemeteries can be securely identified as sites of original figurine deposition. While this number of graves is undoubtedly artificially low due to cemetery damage, the rarity of graves with figurines is striking and indicates a restricted use of this object class. The precise placement of the figurines in or at these graves is often unclear, but the few surviving intact deposits suggest that they were primarily interred with the body in the grave shaft or buried in pits inside the superstructure above or near the body, usually in small groups. Instances of figurines outside of graves or loose in the sand are likely the result of looting or *sebakh*-digging, although a few examples point to

the possibility that groups of figurines might not have originally been associated with specific burials.

A total of four intact or partially intact graves yielded original caches of two or more female figurines that had been placed together in small pits located in the superstructure above the bodies of the deceased. These were found at Koshtamna cemetery 87 Graves 66 and 152, Aniba Cemetery N Grave 390, and Grave 1 of the C-Group cemetery at Nagaa al-Mahmoudiya. All four surviving superstructure caches were placed above the graves of children. Dr. Douglas E. Derry, anatomist with the Cairo Museum, identified the skeletons in Graves 66 and 152 at Koshtamna as that of a female child and a female infant respectively.¹⁴⁵ Georg Steindorff identified the body from Aniba Grave 390 as the intact “Skelett eines Mädchens.”¹⁴⁶ Dr. Abu Monheim Bakr, professor of archaeology at Cairo University, excavated the burial at Nagaa al-Mahmoudiya Grave 1 and described the collection of figurines with the body as the property of a “mort célibataire” who imported these great numbers of women into the afterlife in order to “jouir ici bas de ce dont il a été privé dans sa première vie,” presumably identifying the body as male. While Bakr does not discuss the age of the deceased his interpretation of the figurine function suggests that the skeleton is male. The pattern of caches placed in superstructures above the graves of children, although seen in multiple cemeteries, is complicated by the many children’s graves without figurines.

Koshtamna Cemetery 87

¹⁴⁵ Dr. Derry is cited as the anatomist in charge of collection and measurement of anatomical material in Firth’s excavation report for 1908-1909. Firth, *ASN 1908-1909*, 2, 170, 185.

¹⁴⁶ Steindorff, *Aniba*, 150.

Koshtamna Cemetery 87 is located on the west bank of the Nile in the fertile Dakka plain among a stretch of ten C-Group cemeteries dating from around the same time period, seven of which contained figurines. The area was surveyed in 1908 by the Archaeological Survey of Nubia expedition under the direction of Dr. Reisner and Dr. Firth. Although 173 graves were excavated, the original cemetery was possibly much larger, as *sebakh*-diggers had destroyed areas along every side. The bodies had been removed from some of these burials, and some were significantly damaged, but Dr. Derry was able to identify the age and sex of 111 of the individuals in this cemetery: 47 adult males, 39 adult female, and 25 children or infants. Two of these children, both identified as female, were buried with a cache of female figurines placed in a separate pit inside the superstructure above the grave shaft. Of these two burials, Grave 66 was almost completely undisturbed at the time of excavation and contained a collection of 10 figurines [Fig. 3.4]. The body had been removed from Grave 152 but a collection of four female figurines were recovered from the superstructure above the grave [Fig. 3.5], while the lower part of a large figurine found in a disturbed position nearby likely comprised part of the original cache.

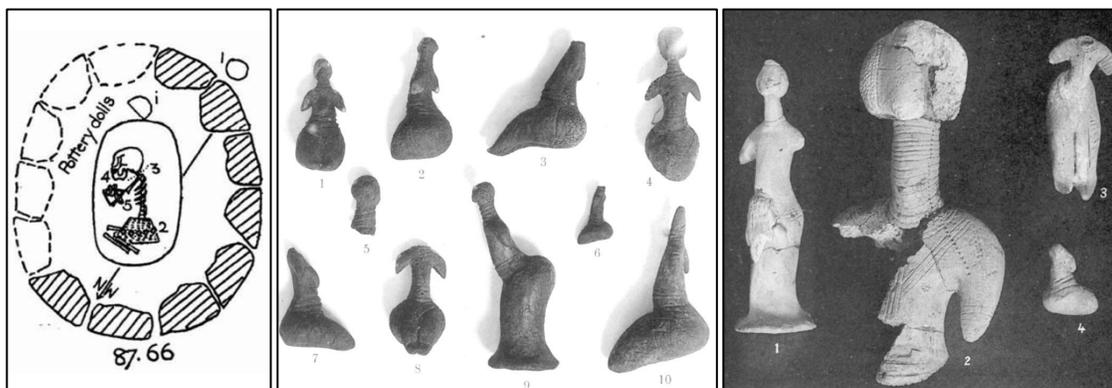


Figure 3.4: Grave 66 with objects in place and figurines

Figure 3.5: Figurines from Grave 152

The surviving figurine collections from these two graves differ in artistic style but appear to have formed sets that included multiple types in a wide range of sizes. Both caches included flat-based standing figurines, figurines representing mature women with pendulous breasts, figurines with Type 1 and Type 2 heads, female figurines without modeled breasts, and female figurines in ambiguous leaning poses that cannot sit or stand unaided. These collections do not, however, represent standard grave goods for children in general. Excluding Graves 66 and 152, 23 other graves were identified as burials of children or infants [Fig. 3.6]. Seven of these were undamaged and excavated with the contents intact, but none contained figurines.

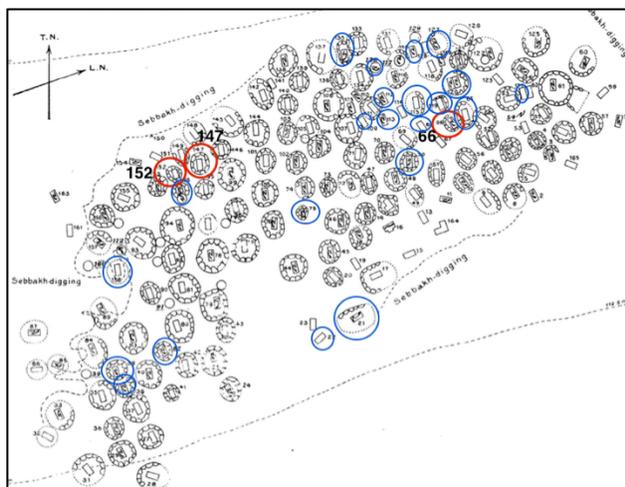


Figure 3.6: Koshtamna cemetery 87 with children's graves in blue and figurines in red.

Nagaa al-Mahmoudiya Cemetery

The C-Group cemetery at Nagaa al-Mahmoudiya lies just upriver from the great bend at Korosko, on the East bank of the Nile. The University of Cairo mission, under the direction of Dr. Abd-el-Moneim Abu Bakr, surveyed the area in 1962. The team discovered at least 80 graves and, although the majority was pillaged, 16 were intact at the time of excavation. The preliminary report does not

provide plans of the site and the final publication of this survey has not yet taken place, thus the evidence of figurines from this cemetery comprises only verbal descriptions and two photographs. No itemized description of tomb contents or statistics of sex and age of skeletons exist for this cemetery.

Bakr describes finding an unspecified number of animal-form figurines, which he suggests might represent sheep. In one case a sheep figurine was buried in the same grave with the deceased and in another case buried in a shallow pit to the south of the tomb. Grave 1, the report states, held 8 female figurines in red pottery. The description accompanying the corresponding image plate states that the cache was discovered at the surface of the tomb, echoing the positions of the caches at Koshtamna [Fig. 3.7]. Bakr's suggestion that the tomb owner died celibate and brought the figurines of women with him into the afterlife does not include an estimate of the age of the skeleton. The image plates again prove valuable, as one provides a photograph of the exposed skeleton from Grave 1 showing the skull proportions to be those of a child and provides enough visual evidence from the pelvis to suggest that it was male [Fig. 3.8].¹⁴⁷ The photograph also shows a mirror of copper or bronze buried in front of the face of the child.

The female figurines from the Nagaa el Mahmoudiya cemetery cache, like those from Koshtamna, include multiple types in a wide range of sizes. There are examples with flat bases that can stand upright, examples in ambiguous leaning poses that cannot sit or stand unaided, and examples with flat chests or undeveloped breasts indicated by impressed holes. The large, flat-based figurine

¹⁴⁷ The likely age and sex are suggested by the femur length, scapula, and the subpubic angle of the pelvic girdle. Sam Valetta, MD, personal communication, 30 November, 2015.

from this cache, F-20, is modeled with what appears to be an animal pelt suspended from the front of the waist to cover the pubic area somewhat like a sporran [Fig. 3.9]. The flat-based figurine from Koshtamna cemetery 87 Grave 152, A-9, exhibits a strikingly similar sporran-type object modeled with a patterned surface suggesting fur [Fig. 3.10]. Although the standing figurine A-8 from the cache at Koshtamna Grave 66 appears to lack an analogous modeled sporran-type pelt, an incised two-dimensional representation of such a feature might be present, as appears to be the case on C-18 and C-19 from the settlement site at Aniba and on F-3 from the habitation zone at Areika [Fig. 3.11]. The variety of figurine forms and sizes repeated in all three caches suggests the possibility that these particular figurines were chosen for deposit together because of properties associated with or denoted by their individual types in order to function together in some capacity.



Figure 3.7: Figurines from Grave 1

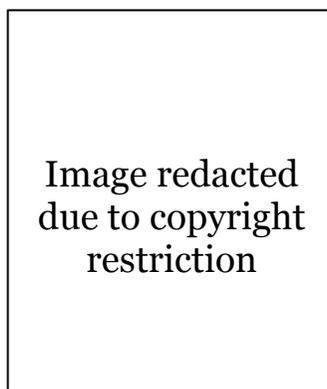


Figure 3.8: Skeleton in Grave 1

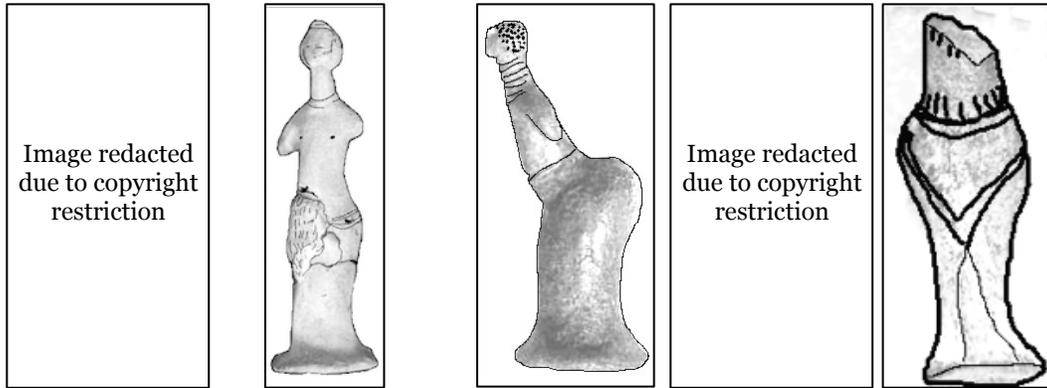


Figure 3.9: F-20 Figure 3.10: A-9 Figure 3.11: A-8, C-18 and C-19, F-3

The three caches of figurines from Koshtamna and Nagaa el-Mahmoudiya are the only surviving examples of such large numbers of figurines deposited together in small pits within the superstructures of C-Group tombs. A similar cache of seven terracotta bovine figurines was excavated by Bakr's University of Cairo expedition during the winter of 1960/61 from a cemetery at Nagaa el-Madrassa, but the tomb also contained bucrania decorated with large dots of red or black paint indicating that this was a Pan-Grave rather than C-Group burial.¹⁴⁸ Bakr described the seven animals as representing different types of cattle and noted that they had been buried together in a very shallow oval in the surface of the ground under the superstructure near the grave shaft. The diversity of types

¹⁴⁸ The Pan-Grave people are traditionally viewed as ethnically and economically distinct from the C-Group, and identified with the Medjay of Egyptian records. See Manfred Bietak, "The C-Group and the Pan-Grave Culture in Nubia," in *Nubian Culture Past and Present: Main Papers Presented at the Sixth International Conference for Nubian Studies in Uppsala, 11-16 August, 1986*, edited by Tomas Hägg, 113-128 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1987): 123-125; Peter Lacovara, "Pan-Grave People," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, edited by Donald B. Redford, 20-22 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001): 20-22. The Medjay/Pan-Grave equivalency was most recently defended by Bruce B. Williams, "Some Geographical and Political Aspects to Relations between Egypt and Nubia in C-Group and Kerma Times, C.A. 2500 – 1500 B.C." *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 6(2013):66. This view has, however, been contested recently by Kate Liszka who re-evaluates the evidence and suggests instead the possibility that the Pan-Grave "archaeological remains represent geographic, occupational, demographic, or even religious type of identity, distinct but related to the C-Group or Kerma cultures." Kate Liszka, "Are the Bearers of the Pan-Grave Archaeological Culture Identical to the Medjay-People in the Egyptian Textual Record?" *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 7 (2015): 51.

comprising the bovine cache and the manner and location of deposition echo the C-Group caches and possibly held similar meanings and functions.

Aniba Cemetery N

The only other group of figurines excavated from a secure and intact context was found in Grave 390 of Cemetery N at Aniba. Aniba Cemetery N is located on the west bank of the Nile, upriver from the Korosko bend, in the central part of the geographical region of Lower Nubia. The Ernst Sieglin Expedition under the direction of Georg Steindorff excavated this cemetery during the winter months of 1912 and 1914. Steindorff identified most of the approximately 1000 graves by architectural style and crypt type, although many superstructures did not survive. Correlating Steindorff's categorization with Bietak's chronology, roughly 700 of these graves can be dated to the period in which figurines circulated. Only 23 of these graves are associated with 40 figurines, although a further 24 figurines were excavated singly or in groups from the cemetery sand. The Aniba figurines are the most numerous and diverse recovered from any one site and even in their scattered state in the plundered cemetery, offer evidence of how these objects were originally used.

Grave 390, one of the rare undisturbed graves in the cemetery, held an intact skeleton identified by Steindorff as that of a girl with one open oval-shaped ivory or bone bangle on her left wrist and two similar bangles on her right wrist,¹⁴⁹ three hair clips at her head, and a cosmetic shell at her breast. Two

¹⁴⁹ Evidence of the production process and wear patterns of similar bangles, analyzed by Annie Antonites as part of her work on the faunal remains from three C-Group Cemeteries at Toshka West, indicated that these ivory bracelets might have been made specifically for funerary use or were only rarely worn before burial. Annie Antonites, "Animal bone, ivory and shell," in *Middle*

anthropomorphic figurines, A-3 and C-15, were found together in the sand of the intact superstructure over this skeleton [Fig 3.12]. Unlike other figurine caches these two pieces represent the same type of individual. They are both incised at the hips with lines indicating a wide band stretching from the sides of the back to cover the pubic area. Although the surface of C-15 is abraded and details are difficult to make out, faintly incised lines around the left side of the neck appear to match the incised lines that are more clearly seen on A-3, representing necklace strands. Both have flat chests with breasts indicated by impressed holes and neither shows any evidence of body decoration or additional jewelry. The head of C-15, likely originally a Type 2 based on the tapering neck, was broken off of the body and the right arm was partially broken off before the figurines were deposited. The head of A-3, found with the figurine, was broken off at the lower neck by the body, not at the more fragile thinner upper part, suggesting intentional decapitation.

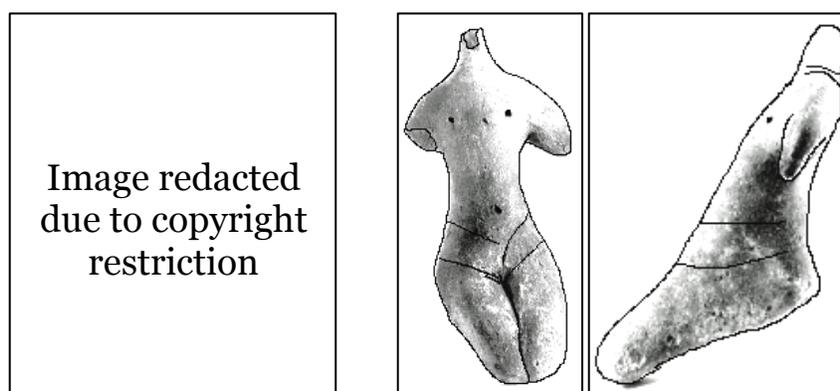


Figure 3.12: A-3 (two views) and C-15 (two views)

Manfred Bietak uses a line drawing of A-3 to represent figurines dating to the later period of use, Bietak's Phase II/b, but states in a footnote that the clay

Nubian Sites from Toshka: Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition to Egypt, edited by M. Gatto and C. M. Manassa (New Haven: Yale University Publications in Anthropology, in review).

figurines undergo no chronological change.¹⁵⁰ Nothing about Grave 390 suggests that it dates later than Phase II/a. Hair clips and bangles of the same style as those found on the skeleton date to anywhere between Phase I/b and II/b. Pottery similar to that deposited at the outer east wall of the superstructure dates from Phase II/a and II/b. The architectural style of the grave itself, a low, wide superstructure with the body placed in a shallow depression in the center, was in use from Phase I/b through II/a, suggesting a date nearer the beginning of C-Group figurine production rather than later. The economy of the figurine forms and simplicity of their surface treatment cannot, therefore, be explained in terms of a chronological shift toward simpler construction. Their placement as a matched pair, albeit one without a head and right forearm, suggests that this deposit was possibly intended or understood to function differently than the larger, more diverse caches excavated at Koshtamna and Nagaa el-Mahmoudiya.

3.3.1.3 Evidence of figurine groups from unsecure find-spots

Groups of two or more figurines were excavated from looted grave shafts or from the fill or debris of damaged superstructures in seven C-Group cemeteries [Table 3.2]. While none of these were from intact burials, their find-spots inside grave shafts and in the debris of superstructures indicate that they had likely been originally placed inside the graves rather than deposited outside. The only two surviving, identifiable bodies associated with these figurine deposits were one of a child excavated with one female figurine and one animal figurine from Shirfadik Cemetery 179, Grave 80 and the skull and bones of an adult male from Grave 45 at Moalla Cemetery 69 found with two sheep figurines. The

¹⁵⁰ Bietak, *Studien zur Chronologie*, 112 footnote 752, Pl. 13 (II/b/21/d).

figurine pairs from Graves 99 and 677 at Aniba Cemetery N can be linked stylistically to other nearby figurines, suggesting that these had originally formed caches of larger numbers.

Cemetery	Grave	Figurines	Description of find-spot
Moalla, 69	45	2 sheep	In debris of grave with male skull and bones
Dakka, 97	44	2 female	In debris, grave completely destroyed
Dakka, 101	17	2 bovine	In debris of grave, body removed
Dakka, 101	25	2 bovine	In empty grave shaft with ivory bracelet
Aniba, N	99	1 female, 1 bovine	In sand of superstructure, body removed from grave
Aniba, N	243	2 animal	In superstructure sand with cosmetic shell, grave empty
Aniba, N	677	Upper half of C-16	With black glazed beads in looted, empty grave shaft
Aniba, N	699	2 bovine	One found in empty crypt with blue-green beads, one found in sand of fallen superstructure
Aniba, W	4	2 bovine	In looted and empty grave
Toshka	7	2 Bovine	In or at superstructure with some pottery
Shirfadik, 179	71	1 female, 1 animal	In grave shaft with disturbed skeleton of a child and 1 miniature pottery bowl
Shirfadik, 179	80	2 female	In grave shaft with skeleton, age and sex unknown

Table 3.2: Groups from damaged graves. *Sources:* Firth: 1912, 1915; Steindorff: 1935; Junker: 1926; Säve-Söderbergh, 1989

Female figurine C-9, found in the sand with bovine figurine V-47 at Grave 99, is a stylistic and formal match for female figurine C-10, which was found with female figurine C-32 at or near a collection of undisturbed pottery vessels at the eastern wall of the superstructure of Grave 108 [Fig. 3.13]. The two pairs of figurines were found approximately 10 meters apart. Both C-9 and C-10 have smooth surfaces with no lines or modeling to indicate breasts, navel, vulva, jewelry, clothing, or body decoration and both have almost identically formed legs, separated and terminating in modeled, upturned feet. It is difficult to believe that C-9 and C-10 were not made together by the same artist. Like the pair from Grave 390, these two figurines appear to represent or denote the same individual or type of individual and might have been produced together in order to function as a pair or as two individuals in a larger collection of figurines.

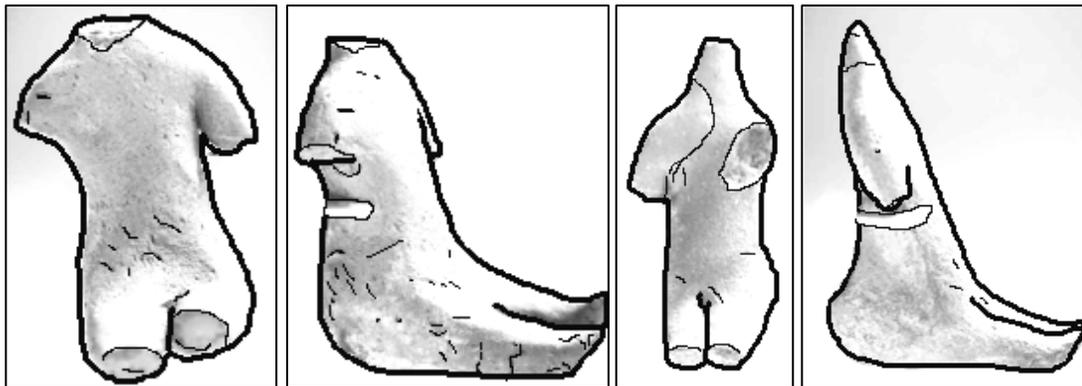


Figure 3.13: C-9 (two views), C-10 (two views)

C-32 [Fig 3.14], found with C-10, is stylistically similar to both C-9 and C-10 as all of these figurines have smooth surfaces with no incised or modeled decoration. The short, stubby legs with no indication of feet and the crudely modeled torso and abdomen suggest, however, that it represented, or was created to evoke the idea of, a different type of individual. Bovine V-47, found with C-9, is highly unusual for an animal-form C-Group representation due to its exaggeratedly long torso, stretched apparently to accommodate two cone-shaped projections rising from the hips and shoulders [Fig. 3.15]. The blunted face and smooth surface treatment of this bovine perhaps link it stylistically to the three female figurines, C-9, C-10, and C-32, which were undoubtedly created and likely buried together, but separated and strewn apart over time due to unknown human action.

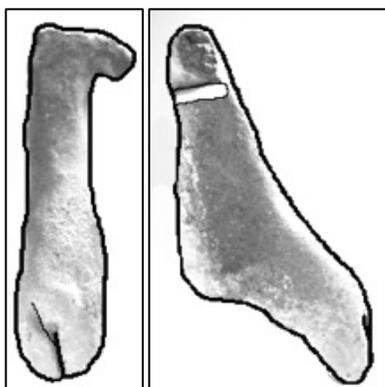


Figure 3.14: C-32 (two views)



Figure 3.15: V-47

The partial female figurine found in Grave 677 at Aniba Cemetery N can likewise be linked to other figurines. The upper body was excavated from an empty grave shaft, but the lower half of C-16 was found at an unspecified location in the cemetery sand, along with E-9, E-10, C-20, and B-4 [Fig. 3.16]. This proximity establishes a relationship of some kind between these five figurines. Steindorff did not give measurements for E-9, but the others are of similar size, measuring from 7.5 to 12 cm in height. Body decoration varies by figurine, indicated with incised rows of parallel lines, lozenge shaped impressed dots, or a combination of the two. Three have modeled breasts, C-16, E-10, and C-20, while two have breasts indicated with incised horizontal lines. These differences suggest that the figurines represented a specific range of identities or statuses.



Figure 3.16: (Left to right) C-16, E-9, E-10, C-20, B-4

3.3.1.4 Single Figurines

In addition to the caches of figurines deposited in groups, at least 36 figurines, in human and animal-form, were excavated singly from cemeteries throughout Lower Nubia [Table 3.3]. For the most part, these isolated figurines were found in contexts suggesting an original placement in the grave shaft or inside the superstructure, although a few were found in ambiguous locations. Fourteen of these single figurines, nine female and six bovine or other quadruped, were discovered in grave shafts, six of which contained skeletons. Cemetery 94, Grave 27 contained the lower body of an adult male and a fragmentary female figurine.¹⁵¹ Cemetery T at Adindan, Grave 207 contained the burial of an adult, tentatively identified as male and the partial lower body of a female figurine.¹⁵² Grave 8b of Cemetery 65 at Debeira East contained a partially disturbed skeleton identified only as an adult and the lower body of a female figurine.¹⁵³ These and the other single figurines found in grave shafts were almost certainly buried near the body and not in a separate area of the superstructure, although the damage to these graves does not exclude the possibility that the original depositions included more than one figurine, now lost.

Location	Figurine and Find-spot Description
87: 147	1 arm, found in grave shaft, body removed
94: 27	1 female figurine found in grave shaft, male skeleton
101: 6	1 bovine figurine found in grave shaft, body removed
101: 8	1 female figurine found in debris outside grave, bones
101: 19	1 bovine figurine found in grave shaft, body removed
101: 24	1 female figurine found in debris outside emptied grave
101: 52	1 female figurine found outside of grave, body removed
110: 265	1 bovine figurine found in grave shaft, body removed
110: 281	1 bovine figurine found in grave shaft of intact burial
111: 58	1 female figurine found outside of grave, body removed

¹⁵¹ Firth, *ASN, 1909-1010*, 107.

¹⁵² Williams *Adindan Cemeteries*, 177.

¹⁵³ Säve-Söderbergh, *Middle Nubian Sites*, 23 (List A).

Location	Figurine and Find-spot Description
115: 88	1 female figurine found in debris of grave, body removed
118: 241	1 female figurine found in debris outside emptied grave
Aniba N: 9	1 female figurine found in chapel, no body in grave
Aniba N: 105	1 animal figurine found in grave shaft with skeleton
Aniba N: 208	1 bovine figurine found in debris outside emptied grave
Aniba N: 233	1 bovine figurine found in debris outside emptied grave
Aniba N: 255	1 animal figurine found inside intact sand grave
Aniba N: 273	1 bovine figurine found in debris outside emptied grave
Aniba N: 393	1 bovine figurine found in debris outside emptied grave
Aniba N: 667	1 female figurine found in superstructure, body removed
Aniba N: 736	Figurine fragments found in superstructure, body removed
Aniba N: 755	1 bovine figurine found in superstructure, body removed
Aniba S: 31	1 bovine figurine found chapel of the superstructure
Toshka: 180	1 bovine figurine found in superstructure, body removed
Toshka: 201	1 female figurine found at or in grave
Toshka: Cx	1 bovine figurine found at or in grave
Toshka: Cx	1 female figurine found at or in grave
Toshka: Cx	1 female figurine found at or in grave
Toshka: Cx	1 female figurine found at or in grave
Adindan T: 51	1 female figurine found in grave shaft, body removed
Adindan T: 154	1 female figurine found in debris outside emptied grave
Adindan T: 207	1 female figurine found in grave shaft, adult male (?)
24-E-3: 118	1 female figurine found in emptied grave, body removed
24-E-3: C33	1 female figurine found in fill of shaft, body removed
24-M-6: Aa	1 female figurine found in fill of shaft, body removed
65: 8b	1 female figurine found loose in fill of grave shaft with partially disturbed skeleton of adult

Table 3.3. Single figurines from graves. *Sources*: Firth, 1912, 1915, 1927; Steindorff, 1935; Junker, 1926; Williams, 1983; Griffith, 1921; Nordström, 2014; Säve-Söderbergh, 1989

Figurines recovered from the superstructure fill of pillaged graves might have been placed originally in the superstructure singly or as a cache, or could have been dragged, along with the body and other grave goods, from the grave shaft itself and discarded. It is unlikely that figurines from outside a grave would have ended up inside the superstructure sand. Five female figurines, three bovine figurines, and one figurine described simply as animal figurine fragments, were excavated from this type of ambiguous context. Other figurines, found singly in debris outside the superstructure of destroyed graves, might have been placed outside originally or could have been discarded after having been retrieved from the grave shaft or pillaged superstructure. Three female and one bovine figurine

of the ten single figurines excavated in such apparently discarded locations outside graves were found with personal items such as cosmetic shells and beads, suggesting that these figurines had been dragged along with bodies and other material from the grave shafts. Only three bovine and three female figurines were located outside grave superstructures in situations that do not point to the circumstances of the original burial, leaving open the possibility that some single figurines might have been intentionally deposited against the outer wall of the grave superstructure.

3.3.1.5 Figurines in Sand

Figurines that cannot be connected with specific graves were found singly, in pairs, or in groups, in the sand at Aniba Cemetery N. Most of these scattered pieces can add little to a context analysis of the object class, although the preponderance of bovine rather than anthropomorphic forms should be noted. Groups of these figurines unconnected to specific graves, however, are instructive in their makeup, as these exhibit a diversity of types that call to mind the diverse breeds of cattle represented in the cache at Nagaa el-Madrassa.

One of these groups was excavated from the sand south of Grave 214 [Fig. 3.17]. This group was made up of four bovine forms, V-37, V-36, V-18 and V-35, and one human male figurine, C-11 [Fig. 3.18]. Figurine C-11 is the only surviving C-Group figurine clearly modeled with male anatomy. The state of preservation of the bovines, two with delicate horns intact or broken but in place, suggests that these pieces were placed together in the sand rather than removed together from a grave. Published excavation records, however, are not clear concerning the

exact arrangement of these pieces in relation to each other. It is possible that they were all discarded from one of the nearby looted graves.

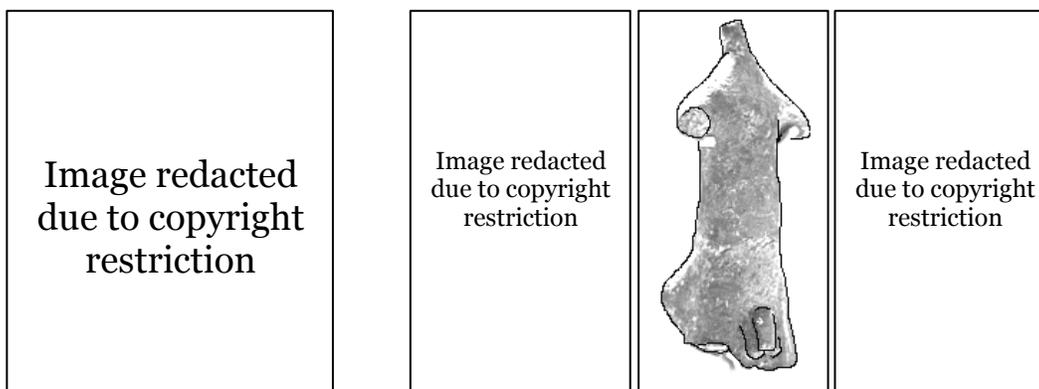


Figure 3.17: Plan of find-spot Figure 3.18: (Left to Right) V-37 (top), V-36, C-11, V-18 (top), V-35

The bovine figurines in this group appear to have been created to form a collection of complementary pieces although none are modeled with sexual organs. They are of approximately the same size, color, and body proportions, but they appear to have been somewhat individualized. The horns are broken off and missing from V-37, yet it shares with V-36 thick, heavy legs, modeled, bulging eyes, a notched mouth, pierced nostrils, and a forward-leaning pose. If the horns and dewlap of V-18 were complete this piece would be similar to V-35 in proportions and pose, as both have slender legs and chests and stand with rumps significantly higher than withers. The eyes of V-35 are rendered with impressed circles while the eyes of V-18 are impressed holes. The survival of the delicate horns of at least two of these figurines, broken off but found with the group, suggests that the pieces were either made specifically for funerary use or were handled very carefully before being left at the cemetery. In contrast, the anthropomorphic figurine is missing its head, both arms, and both legs, none of

which were found with the figurine, suggesting ritual dismemberment or a much rougher treatment before its final deposition.

A separate group of eight bovine figurines were excavated together from an unspecified location in the sand of Aniba Cemetery N [Fig. 3.19]. Three of these clearly depict adult animals: V-23 represents a cow with full udder while V-40 and V-43 exhibit male sexual organs. The rest are modeled without sexual anatomy, possibly suggesting juvenile animals. None of the surviving faces has eyes and the conical muzzles are of different lengths and shapes. Figurine V-31 was sculpted with a perforated spherical object balanced on the head between the horns. Various scholars have identified this object as a holder for leaves, flowers, or feathers that identifies the animal as a sacrificial victim,¹⁵⁴ pointing out that similar headdresses of ostrich feathers were found on sacrificed sheep from graves at Kerma [Fig. 3.20], and in rock art from the Eastern Sahara in Chad [Fig. 3.21]. The variety of sexes, ages, and identities denoted in this collection echoes the diversity seen in female figurine caches.



Figure 3.19: L to R: V-34 (top), V-23; V-32 (top), V-31; V-30 (top), V-28; V-40 (top), V-43

¹⁵⁴ Wenig, *Africa in Antiquity*, 129 (No. 20); Krauspe, *Katalog*, 111-112 (No. 209).



Figure 3.20. Kerma sacrificed sheep, from Bonnet

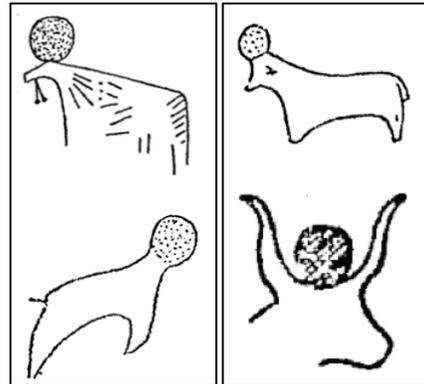


Figure 3.21: Saharan rock art, from Huard.

While these large groups of figurines were excavated together, it is not clear if the archaeological find-spots are the sites of original deposition.

Excavation reports give few details concerning their placement. We do not know if they were found facing each other in a circle, for example, or lined up or randomly scattered close together. It is also possible that these collections were dragged from a looted grave together and then discarded. There are many plausible scenarios for explaining their find-spots in sand, but there is not enough evidence to argue conclusively that any figurines were originally deposited outside graves or their superstructures.

3.3.1.6 Isolated Heads

In addition to the whole and fragmentary figurines, a total of 18 isolated clay heads were excavated from C-Group cemeteries [Table 3.4]. There are no clear patterns in placement, size, or constitution of original body, thus these heads raise more issues than they resolve. It is possible that these heads represent a different type of deposit, holding meanings or performing functions for which whole figurines were not suitable. These 18 heads were found in grave shafts, in superstructure fill, outside superstructures, and loose in the sand. Five

show evidence of having been broken off from clay bodies, or some other type of clay support, four of which were likely originally deposited inside a grave superstructure or shaft. Surviving skeletons associated with these heads were identified as children, juveniles, and adults. Only one of these heads, A-1, could be matched to a body, but the available details are muddy.

Cemetery	Figurine and Context	Size
Koshtamna 87	D-2. Excavated from intact group of 9 other figurines in grave of female child, originally attached to clay body	H: 2.3
Kubban 110	D-3. No mention in Firth, MFA data says this cemetery, originally attached to clay body (or clay support)	H: 2.4
Aniba N	D-9, D-10. N of fallen superstructure with beads, no indication of attachment to clay body or support	H: 5.4 H: 6.6
Aniba N	Head of figurine in Grave 899, grave for a child with ring, no body	?
Aniba N	A-1 and 2 others. In sand of superstructure with some bones, A-1 fit with body found elsewhere	H: 4, est.
Aniba N	D-11. found with figurine fragments in sand, possibly its original clay body	H: 3.0
Aniba N	D-7. Found in sand, no indication of attachment to clay body or support	H: 6.7
Adindan T	D-1. Inside damaged superstructure with pottery sherds, originally attached to clay body (or clay support)	H: 2.2
Adindan T	D-21. Male head, in shaft with pebbles and beads, originally attached to clay body (or clay support)	H: 4.8
24-E-3	D-16. E of C16 and S of C25, with 5 bucrania, 1 Nubian vase, 2 globular jars, no indication of attachment to clay body or support	H: 4.5
24-E-3	D-17. Fragments spread of wide area, NE of SS of C18, NE of superstructure of C24, no indication of attachment to clay body or support	H: 5.0
Shirfadik 179	D-20. Grave 72, inside shaft with skeleton of 15 to 18 year old juvenile, no indication of attachment to clay body or support	H: 5.4
65	D-19. Loose in fill of Grave shaft, Grave 14, adult skeleton, no indication of attachment to clay body or support	H: 4.1
65	D-18. E of superstructure of Grave d, with pottery, no indication of attachment to clay body or support	H: 5.4
Argin	D-15. Context unknown	H: 8.8

Table 3.4: Isolated clay heads from cemeteries. *Sources:* Firth, 1912, 1927; Steindorff, 1935; Williams, 1983; Nordström, 2014; Säve-Söderbergh, 1979

The total size of A-1, including the head when reattached, was 17 cm in height or 25 cm in length – the largest known example of an anthropomorphic C-Group figurine. The head itself measures approximately 4 cm in height, the

largest head known to have been attached to a clay body.¹⁵⁵ Steindorff's description of the figurine states that the upper body was found in the decayed superstructure of Grave 900 with two other figurine heads, while the lower body was found alone in the sand elsewhere. In his description of the grave finds, however, Steindorff states that the head, rather than the upper body, was found with two other heads in the superstructure.¹⁵⁶ It is unknown, therefore, whether the figurine was decapitated or broken in half. Either type of break could have been accidental, although the presence of two other isolated heads in this burial suggests the possibility of a preference for heads without bodies. Unfortunately, Steindorff gives no details as to form or size of the other two heads in this grave and does not identify them.

Two other isolated heads were found together, D-9 and D-10. Although excavated together from north of the superstructure of Grave 133 at Aniba N, these heads were not apparently produced as a pair and were likely not made by the same artist. The facial features of D-9 are much more naturalistically modeled than those of D-10 and the techniques for impressing holes in the hair surface and outlining the hairlines are different [Fig. 3.22]. These two heads measure over 5 cm in height and, therefore, were unlikely to have been attached to clay bodies. As discussed in Chapter 2.3.6, the height of surviving intact C-Group figurine heads did not make up more than approximately 25% of the total height of the figurine body or 16% of the total length, as larger proportions tend to

¹⁵⁵ I have not yet had the opportunity to personally examine and measure this figurine. Steindorff gave the overall proportions and I have estimated the head size based on these measurements in coordination with the photograph provided in the excavation report. Steindorff, *Aniba*, 120, Pl. 71.1.

¹⁵⁶ Steindorff, *Aniba*, 120 and 186-187.

produce a monstrous effect. Clay bodies that would have fit D-9 and D-10, if proportioned similarly to existing intact figurines, would have been quite massive at approximately 21 to 26 cm in height or 33 to 41 cm in total length. No evidence of bodies this large has ever been recovered from any C-Group site. The cavity in the base of these heads, however, indicates that they were sculpted to attach to something from which they were cleanly removed or which did not survive. Other large, isolated Type 2 heads were found alone in grave shafts, some with skeletons, or in the sand unassociated with specific graves.



Figure 3.22: (Left to right) D-9, two views, and D-10, two views

3.4 The Settlement Sites

The prevalence and types of figurines at settlement sites is more difficult to assess than data from cemeteries, due to the small numbers of these sites that were found and investigated. Excavation reports identify only 23 habitation sites that are securely datable to the period of figurine production, Bietak's Phase IIa and IIb, and of these only ten contained figurines [Table 3.5].¹⁵⁷ The dwellings in these habitation areas varied widely in construction techniques, but the sites are

¹⁵⁷ These habitation sites are treated separately in Appendix X. Each site is described along with its excavated objects. When available, a plan of the site is given with the find-spots indicated.

generally characterized by organic groupings of houses or huts, often in spaces delineated with circles of stone. Houses could be constructed of tent poles with organic coverings, or more durable methods including foundations of upright stone slabs set into the ground and held together with mud and rubble. Some sites lack evidence of any kind of buildings and are only identifiable as habitation sites by compacted sand floors with scattered surface remains of ash, tools and potsherds.¹⁵⁸ Although successively more durable materials can be seen to replace each other in a developmental sequence at the large settlement of Aniba,¹⁵⁹ construction method alone is unreliable for dating these sites.

Settlement	Human Figurines	Animal Figurines	Description of Site
Wadi es-Sebua	1	50	Fortified village, approximately 100 enclosures
Wadi el Arab	1	-	Small village, 9 enclosures
Areika	30	12	Modified Egyptian fort, approximately 40 enclosures
Amada	?	?	Small settlement, unknown size
Aniba	10	-	Village, approximately 20 houses/enclosures
Tahouna	5	1	One house from settlement of unknown size
Faras 24-E-2	≥1	≥1	2 houses, subdivided into several enclosures
Faras 18C	3	-	3 floor areas
Ashkeit 345	1	-	Campsite
Awandi	≥1	-	Small habitation area of unspecified character

Table 3.5: Settlement Sites with Figurines. *Sources:* Sauneron and Jacquet, 2005; Emery and Kirwan, 1935; Randall-MacIver and Woolley, 1909; Stock, 1963; Steindroff, 1935; Bakr, 1963; Verwers, 1961; Säve-Söderbergh, 1989; Carlton and Sigstad, 1967-68

The majority of known C-Group habitations are located in the southern half of Lower Nubia [Fig. 3.2, above]. George Reisner reported finding no town sites in his excavations from Aswan to Kalabsha,¹⁶⁰ and reports of the survey from Kalabsha to Wadi es-Sebua, published by Cecil Firth, mention only one small settlement of “rubble house walls built under and against rocks bearing

¹⁵⁸ For example, Site 345 at Ashkeit, Nag Sinerki. Säve-Söderbergh, *Middle Nubian Sites*, 267-268.

¹⁵⁹ Steindorff *Aniba*, 208.

¹⁶⁰ Reisner, *ASN 1907-1908*, 9.

drawings of oxen” associated with Cemetery 81 at Mediq South in Gerf Husein.¹⁶¹ Walter B. Emery and L. P. Kirwan, who excavated the area between Wadi es-Sebua and Adindan, noted the remains of eight settlements in this region, described as collections of huts, but only provided a detailed description and plan of one of these sites.¹⁶² The paucity of settlements in the northern part of Lower Nubia need not, however, reflect the actual settlement pattern, as modern villages often occur over older sites, preventing their excavation,¹⁶³ and many C-Group individuals appear to have lived in scattered homesteads and hamlets.¹⁶⁴

The habitation areas that yielded figurines varied in size from a campsite with no evidence of buildings at Ashkeit Site 345, to the large, fortified settlement at Wadi es-Sebua, which was subdivided into approximately 100 enclosures or rooms. The types of figurines found at these settlements were the same types found in cemeteries: flat-based full-sized or truncated figurines that could stand unaided, and ambiguously posed figurines that lean forward at the waist and must be secured in sand or held in place. As in the cemeteries, these figurines occurred in multiple size ranges. While the precise find-spot was not recorded for figurines from many of these sites, several reports indicate that multiple figurines were often recovered together from one room or one location.

¹⁶¹ Firth, *ASN 1908-1909*, 16.

¹⁶² The excavated and published site was at Wadi el Arab, Emery and Kirwan, *Survey Wadi Es-Sebua*, 106-109, Pl. 21. Maps with the locations of the eight settlements are published in Vol. 2 of the same report: Plans 61-68.

¹⁶³ Säve-Söderbergh, *Middle Nubian Sites*, 9.

¹⁶⁴ Bietak, *Studien zur Chronologie*, 87.

Excavations undertaken in 1959 near Amada by the German Archaeological Institute in Cairo, under the direction of Hanns Stock,¹⁶⁵ uncovered the ruins of a Roman-Period settlement of several houses built partially over an older C-Group settlement. Under Roman House No. 4, Stock described finding C-Group axes, beads, and “figurines,” all subsequently taken to the Aswan museum but not described or pictured in the initial report. During the second season in 1960, Stock’s team excavated a C-Group “round house” approximately 20 meters across and subdivided into multiple rooms from which were excavated implements, pottery, ostrich eggs, and “dolls.” The limited information available about these figurines suggests that, at least in the case of the first excavation season, multiple figurines were excavated together.

Clearer evidence that multiple figurines were used, or at least stored, together in habitation areas comes from Nagaa el-Tahouna. Excavated over the winter from 1960 to 1961 by the University of Cairo Mission under the direction of Dr. Abd el Moneim Abou Bakr,¹⁶⁶ this site was made up of houses with stone slab foundations, subdivided into one or two rooms. Along with many pottery vessels of various types, spindles, bottle-stoppers, awls, knives, grinders, and other implements, Bakr’s team excavated at least five female figurines, C-35, C-36, D-14, E-11, and E-12, and one bovine figurine, V-16, from one of these houses

¹⁶⁵ Stock published the preliminary reports but the final report with plans and more precise findspots has not yet been published. Hanns Stock, “Excavations at Amada (First Season, Spring 1959),” *Fouilles en Nubie (1959-1961)* (Cairo: Government Press, 1963): 103; and Stock, “Amada, Spring 1960,” 108.

¹⁶⁶ Bakr published the preliminary report but the final report with plans and more precise information has not yet been published. Bakr, “Fouilles en Nubie 1960,” 116-117.

[Fig. 3.23]. One photograph included in the preliminary report shows that these figurines varied greatly in size and appear to have included different types.



Figure 3.23: Figurines from house at Nagaa el-Tahouna

The C-Group settlement area at Aniba, excavated in the winter of 1930 under the direction of Georg Steindorff, was apparently in use from the earliest C-Group phase. Ten figurines, all anthropomorphic in form, were excavated from the Phase II/a or II/b layer. The excavation report unfortunately does not give the precise find-spots of these objects. A group of six pieces, however, is described as having been excavated together. These pieces included four flat-based standing figurines, C-17, C-18, C-19, and F-16, one ambiguously posed figurine, F-17, and the top half of a figurine head, D-12, which is too large to have fit with any of these surviving pieces [Fig. 3.24]. Although Steindorff noted that the flat-based standing figurines were often found in the settlement and seldom in the cemetery,¹⁶⁷ the flat-based figurines appear to have been used consistently in figurine caches from surviving graves. Their presence together in the settlement area along with at least one example of the ambiguously posed type, suggests that multiple types of female figurines might have been used together in domestic settings as well.

¹⁶⁷ Steindorff, *Aniba*, 216.



Figure 3.24: Group from Aniba Settlement area (L to R) C-17, C-18, C-19, F-16, F-17, D-12

Other isolated figurine finds from this site include C-21, an ambiguously posed female figurine with pendulous breasts, a pendant necklace, and body decoration consisting of impressed points in the shape of lozenges on the abdomen and breasts, and incised lines in a zigzag pattern on the right thigh. Two other similarly posed fragmentary pieces, F-18 and C-41, from separate areas of the site suggest that this type of figurine was possibly appropriate for use alone in domestic spaces, although this interpretation is far from secure. The lack of bovine figurines in the settlement site is puzzling, although this could possibly be an accident of survival.

A large number of figurines were excavated from the settlement area at Areika, reportedly from the same area of the buildings and not throughout the site. Unfortunately, more precise information concerning the find-spots of these pieces was not reported. The settlement, excavated in 1907 by the University of Pennsylvania's Eckley B. Coxe Junior Expedition, under the direction of D. Randall-MacIver, was interpreted by these first excavators as a castle built for a Nubian king.¹⁶⁸ In 1995 Josef W. Wegner and Josef Wegner re-examined the

¹⁶⁸ Randall-Maciver and Woolley, *Areika*, 5-18.

evidence and argued that the site was initially built as an Egyptian fortress, possibly used as a prison or labor camp for Nubian inmates, and later inhabited by C-Group people who altered and added to the structure and made and used the clay figurines.¹⁶⁹

The figurines from this site, 30 anthropomorphic and 12 livestock forms, vary in size and type and include flat-based standing figurines, truncated and full-bodied, ambiguously posed leaning figurines, and several fragmentary body parts. Although the torso E-3 is fairly large, measuring 9 cm in height [Fig. 3.25], figurines from this site including the livestock, tend to be smaller than figurines from cemeteries. Three female figurines from this site, C-25, F-6, and F-7, are the only female C-Group figurines that were possibly sculpted with exposed vulvas [Fig. 3.26]. It is unclear, however, that this anatomy was understood as exposed, as all three wear belts and F-7 has impressed dots suggesting beading around the hips. This site also yielded the only clearly pregnant C-Group figurine, C-28 [Fig. 3.27].

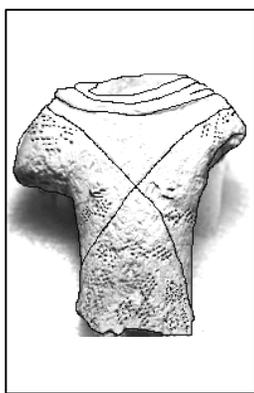


Figure 3.25: E-3

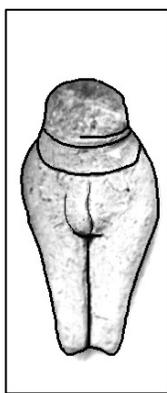


Figure 3.26: C-25, F-6, F-7

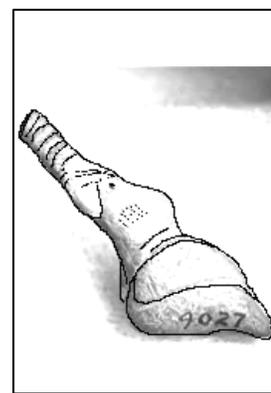


Figure 3.27: C-28

The small two-dwelling settlement at Faras, Site 24-E-2 also yielded multiple figurines, female and bovine. Unfortunately this site was never well

¹⁶⁹ Wegner, "Regional Control," 127-160.

published. It was discovered but not excavated by Griffith, who reported it in 1921. Later, Vercoutter conducted trial excavations in 1956 but did not publish the results.¹⁷⁰ In 1960, Y. W. Adams and G. J. Verwers excavated a small section of the site and reported finding many types of implements, needles, palettes, beads, a great number of clay bottle stoppers, one ear stud, and hematite and a rocker stamp for pottery production. Also found at this site were figurines that Verwers described only as “of women and cows,” [Fig. 3.28].¹⁷¹ The excavation report does not specify the precise find-spots of these figurines, nor does it specify the numbers found.

A similar reporting issue occurs with the small homestead excavated at Nag el Karim Site 18C, where Torgny Säve-Söderbergh reported that three fragmentary female figurines were found, but no precise findspot or images are given.¹⁷² An equally vague report of a C-Group habitation at Awandi Site 16-J-18, technically south of Lower Nubia but still within C-Group range, describes clay figurines associated with the C-Group occupation of the site, but gives no other details. The Awandi site was excavated during the winter season of 1965, by the University of Colorado expedition under the direction of Roy L. Carlson and John S. Sigstad. Based on the field number painted onto the figurines, I was able to identify one large piece from this excavation at the Sudan National Museum, F-27 [Fig. 3.29], but the forms and styles of the other figurines are unfortunately unknown.

¹⁷⁰ The excavation history of the site is given in Hans-Åke Nordström, *The West Bank Survey from Faras to Gemai 1 Sites of Early Nubian, Middle Nubian and Pharaonic Age* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2014): 64.

¹⁷¹ Verwers, “Trial Excavations,” 19.

¹⁷² Säve-Söderbergh, *Middle Nubian Sites*, 261-262.

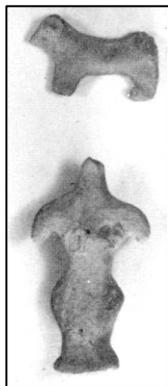


Figure 3.28: V-15 (top), C-34



Figure 3.29: F-27

Walter B. Emery and L. P. Kirwan excavated the small C-Group settlement at Wadi el Arab in 1931 as part of the second Archaeological Survey of Nubia.¹⁷³ This site comprised a small compound settlement, subdivided into nine enclosed rooms or cells. Only one flat-based, truncated anthropomorphic figurine was excavated from this site. The figurine, sculpted without facial features or body details, had been broken into two pieces near the base but both pieces were recovered. It was located in an enclosure that the excavators believed to have been a courtyard, which served as the main entrance to the compound.

The single figurine found at the small C-Group campsite at Ashkeit Site 345, is difficult to classify as coming from a habitation area. The site was published by Säve-Söderbergh in 1989 and dated to the Egyptian Second Intermediate Period, putting it at Bietak's Phase II/b. There were no traces of any buildings but an infant buried in a Nubian bowl with decorated rim was found at the site. The report does not specify the precise find-spot of the small, crudely modeled, truncated figurine C-42 [Fig. 3.30], thus it is unknown if it was associated with the infant burial and should be understood as a funerary object, or if it was associated with the living spaces of the site.

¹⁷³ Emery and Kirwan, *Survey Wadi Es-Sebua*, 106-108.



Figure 3.30: C-42

The largest known C-Group settlement was located at Wadi es-Sebua, on the East bank of the Nile. The French Institute of Archaeology in Cairo, under the direction of Serge Sauneron, discovered and began excavation of this site in 1964,¹⁷⁴ but the final report has not yet been published. The site itself is a fortified settlement, roughly circular, enclosing a honeycomb of approximately one hundred houses or rooms with alleyways between them. The buildings were based with vertically oriented stone slabs cemented with mud. Sauneron dated the site to the beginning of the Egyptian Second Intermediate Period, Bietak's Phase II/b.

In 2005, Jean Jacquet of the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, collaborated with Serge Sauneron to publish the first publicly available data concerning the objects recovered from the site.¹⁷⁵ Approximately 50 quadruped figurines were found at various areas of the site but only one clay anthropomorphic figurine was excavated, E-18 [Fig. 3.31]. This figurine was found in a fissure in the rock wall in the northeast edge of the settlement along

¹⁷⁴ The preliminary report gives no information concerning figurines. See, Sauneron "Village," 161-167.

¹⁷⁵ Serge Sauneron and Jean Jacquet, "Ouadi se-Sebou est. Un village fortifié du groupe C en Nubie." *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 105 (2005): 321-356.

with two animal form figurines. While Sauneron and Jacquet describe the head of the anthropomorph as “réduite à un simple cylindre,” it is likely that what they see is the extended, tapering neck that accommodates a Type 2 head. Similarly, they describe the incised decoration on the abdomen as the pubic triangle, “représenté à l’envers,” when this is almost certainly a stylized lozenge pattern, broken where the waist is broken off, which would have decorated the abdomen above the pelvis, as can be found on many other C-Group figurines such as C-8 from Dakka, F-17 from Aniba, or F-19 from Areika [Fig. 3.32]. No images are available for the animal form figurines found at Wadi es-Sebua, although it is likely that the figurine which Sauneron and Jacquet describes as a dog or pig with a pointed head, in fact represents a bovine or perhaps a sheep.

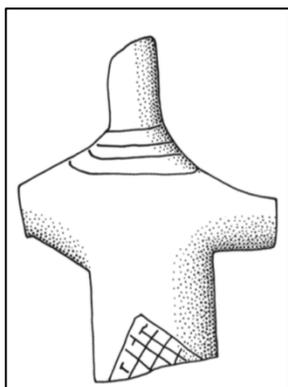


Figure 3.31: E-18

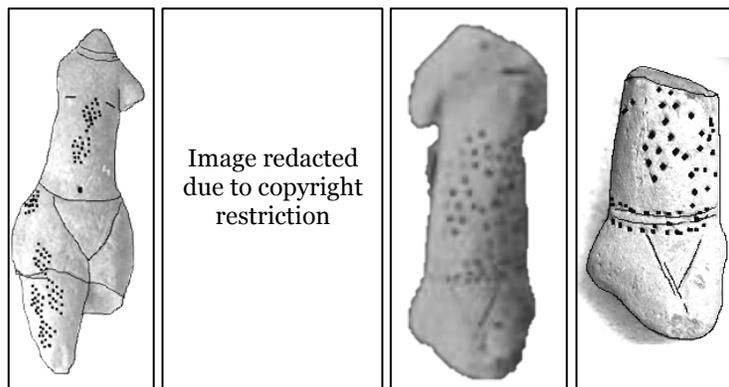


Figure 3.32: (L to R) C-8, F-17, F-9 (two views)

Figurines, both anthropomorphic and livestock forms, found in almost half of the known Phase II habitation sites indicate that these objects were used by the living as well as placed with the dead. A pattern of using them in small groups made up of a variety of types emerges from an analysis of the evidence, although it is clear that they could also have been deposited singly or in pairs with bodies of the deceased and might have functioned singly or in few numbers at times in residential settings. This pattern of collective function is found widely

throughout Lower Nubia, suggesting that all, or most, C-Group people understood and used these figurines in roughly the same ways.

3.5 Patterns and Variability in Style and Attributes

Stylistic similarities suggest that certain anthropomorphic and animal form figurines may have been sculpted by the same artists, but variations in style and form throughout the region, and even within sites, are difficult to interpret. Differences could be a factor of chronology, regional traditions, or simply a matter of individual artistic style. Figurines with short waists and very short, connected legs that taper dramatically in a ball or wedge shape from wide hips were found in Kosthamna Grave 66 as well as from Nagaa el-Mahmoudiya Grave 1 [Fig. 3.33]. Three other examples from various locations show this style of waist-leg-hip combination, C-41, C-7, and C-31, but until more precise dating methods are undertaken, stylistic patterns such as these will likely resist analysis. Differences in style, however, do not affect the consistent use of the same specific attributes to distinguish anthropomorphic figurines from each other within caches and groupings found together.

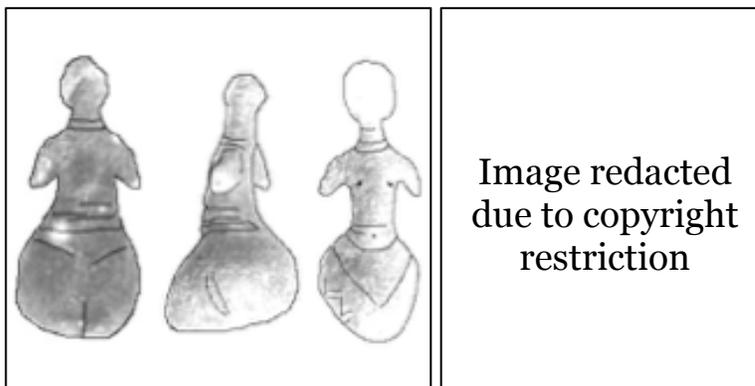


Figure 3.33: Figurines from Kosthamna Grave 152, Figurines from Mahmoudiya, Grave 1

As identified in Chapter 2, anthropomorphic figurines throughout the C-Group territory exhibit the same limited range of variations in jewelry, clothing, and body decoration, rendered in incised lines or impressed dots. Since the evidence suggests that figurines were regularly used in groups and all or most of these attribute variables are found at almost every site with multiple figurines, it is likely that these variables signal the social identity, status, or role associated with an individual figurine. The fragmentary nature of the surviving corpus renders uncertain any correlations, and apparent variations might reflect regional differences in dress or costume. With these caveats in mind, there do appear to be a few co-occurrences of attributes, repeated in figurines throughout Lower Nubia, that hint at some of the meanings denoted in the corpus.

Body decoration is indicated on anthropomorphic figurines with incised lines in the form of zigzags along the outside of the legs, short parallel dashes in rows or columns on the abdomen, and impressed dots in lozenge-shaped motifs that can occur on any part of the body. Zigzag lines do not appear to have any significant correlations with other figurine aspects, occurring in random association with other attributes. Impressed lozenges and incised parallel dashes, however, do not often co-occur on figurines. Twenty-three figurines are impressed with clear lozenge patterns and 11 figurines clearly exhibit dashed lines in rows or columns on the abdomens. Only four figurines show evidence of both patterns: C-16, F-28, A-12, and C-23 [Fig. 3.34]. That these types of body art co-occur on some figurines demonstrates that they are not regional or stylistic variants of the same referent, reinforcing the interpretation that specific designs communicated specific and independent categories of status or identity.

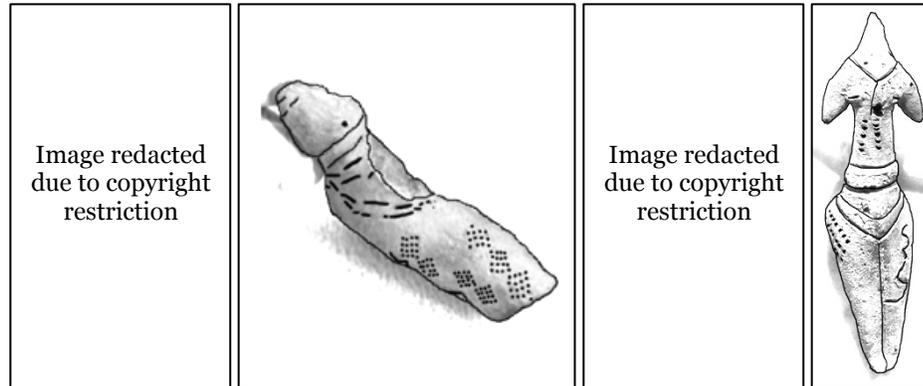


Figure 3.34: C-16, F-28, A-12, and C-23

One intriguing pattern appears to be a consistent aversion to using certain attributes with freestanding figurines, although the fragmentary state of the corpus makes this uncertain. Nineteen flat-based figurines, with truncated or fully sculpted bodies, were excavated. Twelve of these survived with the upper bodies intact enough to ascertain the original breast type, body decoration, and jewelry. These 12 were depicted in a variety of jewelry and garment types, but none were represented with pendulous or modeled breasts, the trident shaped chest ornament, or short parallel dashed lines on the abdomen. The absence of these attributes on known freestanding figurines, while possibly an accident of survival, suggests that the statuses and identities connoted by these missing features were not important to the role played by the standing member of a group of figurines, or, alternatively, that the status conferred by these attributes might preclude a standing role. Modeled or pendulous breasts, trident chest ornamentation, and dashed parallel lines might have indicated a role that required more action or human involvement, as these features seem to have been exclusively associated with figurines that needed to be held, or propped very securely, while in use.

The style used to represent hair on anthropomorphic figurines is the only identifiable variable that appears to be geographically bound. All surviving C-Group anthropomorphic heads exhibit the same basic hairstyle: a close bob covering the ears, with bangs that normally stand up from the forehead. The hairline recedes at the temples creating a three-part division of the hair on the head that appears clover-shaped from above. This hairstyle is depicted, however, in several distinct styles. Artists gave it the appearance of texture through four stylistic options: incised lines, stippling, smoothing, or impressing holes in the surface [Fig. 3.35].



Figure 3.35: Hair types, left to right: D-5 incised lines, D-2 stippling, D-3 smoothing, D-7 holes

Thirty-six figurine heads survive on intact or nearly intact bodies or as isolated heads. Although incised lines and smooth surfaces were used at sites throughout Lower Nubia, the choice of stippling or holes to communicate hair texture varies geographically [Table 3.6]. Stippling appears to be the method of choice from Areika northward, while holes appear to take the place of stippling from Aniba southward. None of the holes in this type of representation is deeper than .4 cm, and most are much shallower. The representational equivalence of holes and stippling suggests that the holes were created, like stippling, to mimic

curls rather than to hold pieces of fiber, feathers, or strands of hair as wigs.¹⁷⁶

While incised lines might represent tight braids, the smooth surfaces of figurine hair like that of D-3 or D-21 remain ambiguous but likely represent bushy hairdos.

ID	Location	Description
B-6	87: 152	Sculpted with stippling
A-9	87:152	Sculpted with stippling or smooth
A-5	87:66	Sculpted with stippling
A-6	87:66	Low relief with stippling
A-7	87:66	Sculpted with stippling
A-8	87:66	Low relief with stippling
D-2	87:66	Low relief with stippling
D-3	110: ?	Incised lines
B-7	111: 58	Sculpted with incised/raised rows/lines
B-2	Areika	Stippled
B-3	Areika	Stippled
D-4	Areika	Incised lines
D-5	Areika	Incised lines
D-9	Aniba N: 133	Holes
D-10	Aniba N: 133	Holes
A-3	Aniba N: 390	Smooth
A-1	Aniba N: 900	Smooth
A-2	Aniba: Sand	Lines
B-4	Aniba: Sand	Smooth
D-11	Aniba: Sand	Holes
D-7	Aniba: Sand	Holes
B-5	Aniba: ?	Smooth
D-12	Aniba: Settlement	Holes
D-13	Aniba: Settlement	Holes
D-14	Tahouna: House	Holes
	Mahmoudiya: 1	?
A-4	Adindan: 51	Incised lines/hatched marks
D-1	Adindan: 205	Smooth
D-21	Adindan: 217	Sculpted but smooth
D-16	24-E-3	Holes
D-17	24-E-3	Holes
D-20	179: 72	Holes
A-12	179: 71	Low relief, incised lines
D-19	65: 14	Holes
D-18	24-R-17: d	Holes
D-15	Argin	Holes

Table 3.6: Hair representation. *Sources*: Firth, 1912, 1927; Randall-MacIver and Woolley, 1909; Steindroff, 1935; Bakr, 1963, 1967; Williams, 1983; Nordström, 2014; Säve-Söderbergh, 1989

¹⁷⁶ Krauspe and Wenig suggested that the holes were for inserting hair or objects to mimic hair. See: Krauspe, *Katalog*, 106 (No. 191); Wenig *Africa in Antiquity*, 125 (No. 14).

3.6 Summary and Conclusions

C-Group figurines were produced and circulated during the time period described by Bietak as Phase II/a and II/b, which lasted approximately 200 years. Precise dates for all figurines are unavailable, as dating relies on associated pottery that is either not always present or not always sufficiently described in reports for an assessment. Only about half of the 69 sites that can be securely dated to this time period yielded figurines. This distribution could be related to the widespread damage to cemeteries caused by environmental disturbances, looters, and farmers. However, the small numbers of figurines found in any given cemetery or habitation site suggest that the production and use of these objects was likely severely restricted. Analysis of the distribution and excavation contexts of the figurines is inconclusive in many ways, but some discernable patterns suggest strongly that these figurines, human and animal, represented real types of people and animals and were not generic representations of deities or dolls or symbols of fertility.

No single type of figurine was limited to only one excavation site and evidence from groups of figurines found together in graves and in habitation sites indicates that they were often used together in heterogeneous collections. These collections could be comprised of as many as ten figurines, individualized by different garments, jewelry, body shape, and body decoration. Groups of livestock figurines were individualized as well, differentiated by sex, age, and sometimes color or trappings. In graves where the identity of the skeleton could be determined six were burials of children or infants, five were burials of adult males, and one was the grave of an adult female. Children or infant graves held

the largest groups of figurines found together and these groups were comprised exclusively of anthropomorphic types.

Groups of more than two bovine figurines were only found in cemetery sand outside of graves, but the original deposit spot for these is uncertain. One Pan-Grave burial held a collection of seven different kinds of bovines buried together in a pit beside the grave shaft, reminiscent of the C-Group anthropomorphic collections. A group of several bovine figurines that were apparently made by the same artist was found with the only anthropomorphic figurine with clear male anatomy, although the relationship between the male human and the livestock figurines is unclear. Bovine figurines and female figurines could also be placed together singly or as matched pairs in graves.

Figurine attributes such as clothing, jewelry, and body decoration show very few correlations in distribution, and most varieties occur throughout the C-Group territory. This distribution indicates that the variable attributes used on anthropomorphic figurines represented or mimicked real life attributes that were recognized throughout C-Group territory. While style varied across the region, analysis of patterned occurrences of attributes further suggests that certain body decoration, garments, and jewelry were restricted to certain types of female figurines. The presence of anthropomorphic heads, broken off from clay bodies or perhaps produced in sizes too big for clay bodies, is puzzling. Some contexts suggest ritual decapitation, although the evidence for this is not incontrovertible.

While a more nuanced interpretation of the distribution data might be produced with a review of the excavation field notes, this initial context analysis performed with data from published reports and museum notes supports the

notion that C-Group figurines were sculpted to represent or denote certain roles linked to women of various statuses and social identities within C-group society. It is unlikely, based on the collective nature of the figurine caches and their presence in graves and settlement sites, that the female figurines were fashioned as generic fertility symbols. The evidence also suggests that C-Group artists viewed livestock from a similar framework, representing them as examples of identity categories rather than generic herds or flocks. A more detailed analysis of grave goods from all of the C-Group cemeteries seems called for, as patterns of material goods might illuminate social relationships, pointing to why only a few special individuals were buried with figurines.

Chapter 4. Conclusions and Future Directions

4.1 Summary and What the Data Suggests

The goal of this dissertation has been to provide as detailed an account as possible of the corpus of C-Group clay figurines for an analysis of their attributes and archaeological contexts. A secondary goal of this dissertation has been to demonstrate that these objects hold great potential for scholarship and deserve more attention. The overwhelmingly female subject matter, identifiably male figurines representing 2 of the approximately 149 known examples in the anthropomorphic corpus, has been the main barrier to its thorough publication and study.¹⁷⁷ Seen variously as representations of slaves, wives, concubines, great ancient goddesses, toys, and didactic tools for rites of passage, the femaleness of the majority of Nubian figurines has, in the minds of most researchers, relegated this corpus to the domestic sphere of women and children, which has historically been marginalized as a source of productive analytic scrutiny. If taken seriously as signifiers of agency, however, this same female subject matter holds great promise for understanding female-oriented ritual and its fluid relationship to regimes of power in ancient northeast Africa.

The first known Nubian figurines were excavated in an intellectual climate that was already positioned to see these pieces as further evidence relating to theories of racialized population movements. Egyptologists and other early

¹⁷⁷ In a relevant analysis, Art Historian Rainer Mack looks at the ways that masculine desire and anxiety produce some patterns of appropriation found in archaeological and art historical discourse around ancient representations of women, concluding that such prehistoric images “offer[s] little more than a void which is vigorously filled by the subject *himself*” (emphasis in original). See Rainer Towle Mack, “Gendered Site: Archaeology, Representation, and the Female Body,” in *Ancient Images, Ancient Thought: The Archaeology of Ideology*, edited by A. Sean Goldsmith, Sandra Garvie, David Selin, and Jeannette Smith 235-244 (Calgary: The University of Calgary Archaeological Association, 1992): 242.

twentieth century Western scholars saw anthropomorphic figurines as mimetic representations of racial types and, further, could see no point in female figurine subject matter other than connotative links to reproductive sexuality in service to male desire. Interpretations of C-Group figurines as representations of a Great Goddess worshipped during a putative period of ancient matriarchy similarly relied on essentialized notions of sexual difference, linking female imagery inevitably and always with reproductive sexuality. Female archaeologists working in Egypt in the mid-twentieth century challenged the notion of clay figurines as representations of concubines, but maintained the overt primacy of biology, leading to the current widely held interpretation of these objects as fertility-related icons.

Archaeologists working in Nubia, familiar with the excavation contexts, initially suggested multiple uses for figurines as afterlife companions, servants, or children's toys. Over the course of the twentieth century, excavators gradually stopped offering arguments concerning figurine meanings or functions – presumably to report more objective accounts of the Nubian material. The widespread use of the term “doll” to describe figurines, however, and the survival of the concubine interpretation in excavation reports published as late as 1967, indicate the marginalized position this object class still held in the collective subconscious of archaeology. Although taking C-Group historic and cultural specificity into account, the attitudes of archaeologists working in Nubia appear to have been unreflectively grounded in gender ideologies that positioned femaleness as a naturally subordinate social identity, limiting the ways that these objects were seen and understood.

Although some recent scholarship has proposed seeing C-Group figurines from Nubian rather than Egyptian perspectives, interpreting them as didactic tools utilized in rites of passage initiation, most published work in the popular and academic press describes anthropomorphic figurines as magico-religious implements related to fertility. Every interpretation put forward, to date, has been proffered without access to the full variety of the corpus, relying instead on the predominance of the female form and research conducted on Egyptian figurine corpora. The results of the preliminary analysis of the full corpus along with its archaeological context presented in this dissertation, although incomplete owing to several pieces that I have not yet been able to examine, demonstrates the need for more nuanced interpretations.

There are several fundamental challenges to studying this corpus. Lower Nubia was excavated in a series of archaeological surveys undertaken by different teams without a standardized protocol for reporting figurines. Preliminary excavation reports rarely provide an accurate number or description of all pieces and often fail to distinguish between livestock and human forms. Several of the final reports have yet to be published, and some of the published reports contradict information in the preliminary reports. A review of the original excavation notes would likely provide more accurate information, although several of these field notebooks are now lost.

The division of materials between the Egyptian or Sudanese governments and foreign excavation teams is often unclear, making it difficult to find the current locations of many pieces. When locations are known, museum records are often incomplete and sometimes inaccurate. Additionally, museum

collections sometimes contain more obviously C-Group figurines than have been listed in reports. It is therefore impossible to know precisely how many figurines were excavated or the nature of their subject matter. The most accurate estimate, based on excavation reports combined with museum records, is 149 anthropomorphic figurines and approximately 125 livestock form figurines. These were produced during a period of approximately 200 years.

In addition to the issues with reporting and documentation, the cemeteries where figurines were found have been extensively robbed and damaged by farmers digging for fertilizer. These activities, although never targeting figurines, destroyed burials so that the original placement of figurines and other materials is usually impossible to establish. Unfortunately, archaeologists rarely published the precise positions of figurines that were excavated from the few intact and secure, undisturbed burials. For these reasons, only a generalized assessment of figurine placement has been possible in this dissertation. Figurines excavated from the grave shaft, shaft fill, superstructure fill, superstructure debris, or accompanied by beads or personal objects outside burials, are considered to have originated from the graves or superstructures.

It is difficult to know if the fragmentary state of the corpus results from this random damage, but there appears to be evidence of some intentional decapitation and breakage. Thirteen anthropomorphic figurines were excavated complete with their original heads, all but one from burials, but the necks and other areas of the bodies had been broken on many of these.¹⁷⁸ Forty-two

¹⁷⁸ David O'Connor argues that the heads were usually accidentally broken off, but he did not have access to the full corpus, many pieces of which show clear evidence of intentional breakage at the

anthropomorphic figurines from cemetery and settlement areas survive in a more or less complete state but missing their heads, which were broken off at the neck. At least 21 isolated heads, one matching a body found elsewhere in the sand, were excavated from several cemeteries and settlement sites where they were sometimes placed together in graves. Decapitation and major body damage to livestock forms, on the other hand, seems to have been mostly accidental. The majority of animal forms from burials survive intact, with only the horns broken off at the base or the tip, while animal forms from less protected settlement areas are more often fragmentary. Damage patterns to the animal forms were not thoroughly assessed in this dissertation due to incomplete access to the corpus, but further research in this area would likely be productive.

The most striking aspect of C-Group figurines is their visual cohesion as a group, subdivided into a patterned variety of types seen in both female and livestock figurines. Although differentiated by variations in clothing, jewelry, body decoration, pose, and body type, the anthropomorphic figurines conform to an aesthetic that was expressed in similar ways by artists throughout Lower Nubia. They are modeled as individual human beings that, with very few exceptions, exhibit the same short bob hairdo that covers the ears and stands up from the forehead. Short arms extend out from the shoulders, terminating in blunted points with no hands or fingers. Legs, when modeled as separate limbs rather than one columnar shape, are arranged side by side, mirroring each other,

with no suggestion of bipedal motion. Additionally, all of the faces that survive were modeled with the eyes shut.

The compositional balance achieved through approximate bilateral symmetry does not, however, convey an absence of movement. Without shifting the weight and balance of the body from the center, C-Group artists invested the female figurines with a sense of arrested or imminent motion through the use of a conventionalized posture: the back arches, the pelvis tilts forward, and the shoulders pull back, reminiscent of a dance pose. This posture, combined with the lack of hands and closed eyes, suggests that female figurines were designed to convey the possibility of intransitive activity centered on the body itself and concerned with the social or supernatural rather than the physical world. The large buttocks and hips of many examples drew the focus of early scholars who conflated the posture with a so-called steatopygous body type, obscuring the ways that it conveys notions of movement. Invisible from a single vantage point, this characteristic posture also invites the human observer to manipulate the figurine,¹⁷⁹ turning it for multiple viewing angles in order to fully apprehend the totality of the ideas conveyed in the form.

The impulse to touch these figurines is strengthened by the ambiguous pose of most C-Group anthropomorphs. Eighty percent of figurines that survive intact enough to ascertain the pose cannot sit or stand unaided and must be held

¹⁷⁹ This implied attribution of agency to the figurine itself brings up issues of the agency of anthropomorphs that cannot be addressed within the space of this dissertation, but will be addressed in forthcoming work. When discussing C-Group figurines, I agree with Art Historian Elisabeth Cameron who summarizes the millennia-old debate concerning the agency of figurines, dolls, or 'idols' and argues that, "dolls everywhere have causal power, whether for an American child playing house or an African woman with maternal aspirations." See Elisabeth L. Cameron, "In Search of Children: Dolls and Agency in Africa." *African Arts* 30 (1997): 18-33+93.

or propped when in use. As Bailey points out in his discussion of Balkan Neolithic figurines, the intimate spaces created by lifting small figurines close to the face to see their details and by holding them in place or moving them about while in use enlarges and empowers the viewer who occupies an omnipotent position with respect to these objects. Bringing the figurine into the personal space of the manipulator, Bailey notes, conversely and simultaneously empowers the figurine, as objects within the intimate reach of a human take on an elevated status and an identity linked to that human. Bailey cites the personal narrative of a current artist who works with miniatures as well as quantitative research to demonstrate how engagement with miniatures creates an alternative psychic space in which the experience of time itself is altered for the viewer. Mental engagement in small-scale three dimensional worlds, like that offered by C-Group and other figurines, not only empowers and comforts the viewer, but disrupts the viewer's normal sense of space and time, transforming the subjective experience from the mundane to the otherworldly.¹⁸⁰

The power dynamics evident in engagements with miniature worlds seem particularly relevant to understanding C-Group figurine function, as some required more tactile engagement than others. As shown in the context analysis

¹⁸⁰ Douglass Bailey's research on the psychological and experiential effects of figurines on humans who engage with them is far-ranging and thorough, invoking published research and personal narratives from fields including art, law enforcement, architecture, and the physical sciences. Although Bailey applies these concepts to the manipulation of Neolithic Balkan figurines, his approach is relevant to the study of any figurines. See Douglass W. Bailey, *Prehistoric Figurines: Representation and Corporeality in the Neolithic* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005): 26-44, 66-87, 122-146, 181-196. For research cited by Bailey and similar studies of the human perception of motion and time, see D. J. Bobko, P. Bobko, and M. A. Davis, "Effects of Visual Display Scale on Duration Estimates." *Human Factors: The Journal of the Human Factors and Ergonomics Society* 28:2 (1986): 153-158; A. J. Delong, "Phenomenal Space-Time: Toward an Experiential Relativity," *Science* 213: 4508 (1981): 681-683; and A. Gorea and J. Hau, "Time in Perspective," *Psychological Science* 24:8 (2013): 1477-1486.

of Chapter 3, C-Group figurines were often excavated in groups comprised of a variety of figurine types and sizes, suggesting that they were used collectively. The few intact caches always contained at least one freestanding example that would require less handling than the rest of the group of ambiguously posed figurines, perhaps inspiring in a human handler less of a sense of power over this particular type. Freestanding figurines also appear to have been the only type modeled with animal skin sporrans and consistently lack dashed lines on the torsos, modeled or pendulous breasts, and trident pattern on the chest. The relative independence of freestanding figurines, their presence in fewer numbers than their ambiguously posed comrades, and their distinctive attributes, suggest a different, possibly more central role in whatever manipulation or tableau might have been enacted with the collection of figurines.

That anthropomorphic and animal form figurines were intended to represent or denote specific types of social or ritual actors is clear from the methods used to differentiate the figurines. Modeled sexual anatomy and incised lines indicating trappings were used to distinguish animal-form figurines from each other. Juvenile animals were possibly indicated in figurines without sexual characteristics. Anthropomorphic figurines were distinguished by clothing, jewelry, and body art. Because I have not yet been able to personally examine the pieces in Egyptian museums, my analysis of the correlations between these aspects is currently incomplete. A few conclusions can be drawn, nevertheless, from characteristics of the figurines that I have examined and published images that convey sufficient visual evidence.

Loincloths that fastened around the hips with thin belts, triangular garments that covered the pubic area and terminated around the hips in blunted or squared tabs, and long skirts suggested by columnar leg forms of figurines that can stand unaided, are seen on figurines throughout Lower Nubia, alternating on examples from the same sites and within the same grave caches. Wide belts are often portrayed, sometimes rendered separately from garments and sometimes apparently attached to them. Leather garments matching all of these apparel types have been excavated in C-Group graves – many with beaded patterns of lozenges or decorative leather stitching. Some figurines were modeled without any indication of clothing or jewelry, but the sexual organs of these figurines are not represented, suggesting that this might be a stylistic difference in which clothing was understood to be present. Only four examples appear to have modeled genitalia but belts or sashes were indicated on all of these, thus they might not have been read as naked. The variations in clothing likely indicate the age or social identity of the subject.

Different types of jewelry were depicted on figurines, and in some cases multiple types occurred on the same figurine. Bangles, chokers, collars, pendants, torques, and necklaces with central dangling strands are rendered with incised lines, sometimes filled with a white paste that makes them more visible. Real examples of these specific types of jewelry, made of beads, ivory, bone, seashell, snail shell, ostrich eggshell, stone, gold, and silver have been excavated on C-Group skeletons. A complete assessment of the correlations between jewelry types occurring together, with body art types, with certain poses, at specific find-sites, and in combination with breakage patterns will require personal inspection

of the complete corpus.¹⁸¹ Preliminary analysis, however, indicates that the trident-shaped chest decoration was not used on standing figurines, suggesting certain restrictions on the use of jewelry that might be more fully understood with a complete analysis.

Body art on anthropomorphic figurines takes three forms, which occur in isolation or in combination and can also be seen incised on the bodies of C-Group globular vases. On the female forms these patterns take the form of zigzag lines incised along the outside of the legs, short dashed lines in columns incised along the sides and abdomen, and impressed lozenge-shaped dots on the legs, hips, buttocks, abdomen, chest, shoulders, back, or neck. These decorations have been interpreted as tattoos, body paint, or scarification, and possibly represent different types of social identity markers.

The dotted lozenge motif usually occurs as pairs of lozenges connected at the tips and can be oriented horizontally, vertically, or diagonally on figurine bodies. It sometimes occurs as a horizontally oriented chained pattern around the hips, recalling the beadwork on leather girdles found on several C-Group skeletons. When used on C-Group globular vases, the lozenges occur in similar configurations, usually depended from a decorative ring around the neck of the vase or floating in the center of the vase body. On at least three vessels the dotted lozenge form was incorporated into the bodies of ostriches, and an exact match in chains, pairs, and ostrich forms is present on a small vase stand and bowl from

¹⁸¹ I hope in the near future to complete an analysis of the excavated beads, by color and material, associated with every C-Group grave that can be sexed, in order to establish patterns of usage that might point to social identities based on gender, age, ethnic, lineage, or other differences within the C-Group.

Aniba Cemetery N.¹⁸² Similarly arranged lozenge-shaped dot tattoos were identified on the preserved skin of several female mummies excavated in Egypt and Nubia suggesting that this motif on figurines was meant to indicate tattooing.¹⁸³

Short parallel dashed lines on the abdomens and sides of figurines, arranged in columns or rows, can co-occur with lozenge tattoos but appear to have been used independently of that motif, suggesting that the two decorative forms signaled different types of discrete identities. These markings have not been specifically addressed in scholarship, but some investigators have argued that the body art in general might have represented scarification in addition to or instead of tattooing.¹⁸⁴ The dashed lines do not occur on any surviving examples of freestanding figurines, but no other patterned correlations can be established with the available evidence. Dr. Fouquet, who examined the Egyptian mummy Amunet in 1891, described scarification and tattooing on her abdomen, one motif of which corresponds in description and location to the dashed line motif of many figurines.¹⁸⁵ This scarification pattern was located slightly above the mummy's navel and was composed of seven lines, each formed of five lines arranged

¹⁸² A symbolic relationship between C-Group women and ostriches seems to be suggested in artistic representations, therefore further research in this area would likely be productive.

¹⁸³ For descriptions and images of these mummies, see Keimer, "Tatouage," 7-17, Pl. VI, VII, VIII, IX, X.

¹⁸⁴ Henriette Hafsaas argues that all of the decoration represents scarification rather than tattooing, although she provides no rationale for this argument, while Henriette Hafsaas, *Cattle Pastoralists in a Multicultural Setting: The C-Group People in Lower Nubia* (Ramallah, Palestine: Birzeit University; Bergen, Norway: Bergen University, 2006): 101-102. See also Edwards who considered the markings to indicate scarification or tattooing, David N. Edwards, *The Nubian Past: An Archaeology of the Sudan* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004): 94.

¹⁸⁵ Dr. Fouquet describes the tattoo and scarification patterns he observed on this mummy in Fouquet, "Tatouage Médical," 271-272. For image plates showing the actual mummy skin, see Keimer, "Tatouage," Pl. III, IV.

approximately vertically in the form of a rectangle measuring six centimeters wide by five high.

Scarification along the abdomen and other parts of the body is widely performed in Africa, often in conjunction with, and commemorating, rites of passage that denote a shift in social identity from one age-status to another.¹⁸⁶ Among many historic and contemporary Nilotic and Southern Cushitic groups this type of permanent and cumulative marking is done on the face, chest and abdomen to beautify the body, show ethnic affiliation, and, for women, to signal the reproductive stage of the individual.¹⁸⁷ While Egyptian art provides almost no imagery of body art on C-Group individuals, there are numerous surviving representations of Nubian men with facial scarification. Based on the location around the abdomen and the patterning of the dashed lines, which might approximate stretch-marks caused by pregnancy, I suggest that these marks found on several C-group figurines represented scarification that possibly indicated an identity or status associated with socially constructed stages of reproductive development. As lozenge patterns seem to be independent of dashes, it is possible that we are dealing here with two interlocking or

¹⁸⁶ Karl Gröning, *Decorated Skin: A World Survey of Body Art* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1997): 133.

¹⁸⁷ As mentioned in Section 2.4, this practice was historically documented among several Nuba groups. See, Nadel, *The Nuba*, 218, 239, 294; Faris, "Personal Art," 37, fig. 10; and Faris, *Nuba Personal Art*, 32-36. The practice is not limited to northeast Africa, however, but is seen across the southern Sahara. The practice among the modern and historical Ga'anda culture in northeast Nigeria, for example, produces patterns strikingly similar to those found on Neolithic rock art in the Ennedi Plateau in Chad, and Ga'anda individuals describe the abdominal marks made on girls as specifically placed to draw attention to the womb. See, Marla C. Berns, "Ga'anda Scarification: A Model for Art and Identity," in *Marks of Civilization: Artistic Transformations of the Human Body*, edited by Arnold Rubin (Los Angeles: University of California, 1988): 59-60; also Huard, "Influences," 108-113, Pl. 15.1.

overlapping systems of signification, with dashed lines indicating social age and lozenges indicating a lineage, ritual, or other identity category.

Zigzag patterns along the legs of some female figurines appear to have no pattern of obvious correlation with other attributes or find-spots, but they vary stylistically. Some figurines were incised with zigzag motifs made of a single line, while some exhibit the same zigzag made with two parallel lines or, in the case of one surviving figurine, of three parallel lines. On other figurines the legs are decorated with two zigzag motifs that intersect forming a chain of lozenges, some with single lines and some with double lines. One leg fragment from Faras had been decorated with both a chain of lozenges produced by intersecting single line zigzags along the outer front of the leg and a double line zigzag behind this toward the back of the legs, suggesting that the motifs were not understood as interchangeable. All three styles of zigzags can be found on the C-Group globular vase bodies, sometimes on the same vessel.

No similar zigzag markings have been identified on surviving mummy skin, thus these might represent body paint rather than permanent designs or signifying motifs that were never used on living human bodies. There is no geographical pattern to the use of different styles or of the zigzag motif more generally. It is seen on figurines from Koshtamna to the Second Cataract. Evidence from the cache of figurines excavated from Grave 66 at Koshtamna Cemetery 87, however, suggests that the different styles might have been reserved for specific types of figurines as part of a constellation of attributes that differentiated figurines within groups. Haphazardly produced zigzags on some

figurines, however, seem to indicate that the motif was used at times without nuance to indicate a less specific social identity.

While livestock figurines were similarly modeled with characteristics indicating individual or class-specific identities, livestock and female forms do not appear to have been deposited together in caches consisting of numerous figurines. In graves that contained single figurines or pairs, these forms also appear to have comprised discrete types of deposits. Only one burial, located around the Second Cataract region, held secure evidence of both types placed together. Importantly, this livestock figurine, found with female figurine A-12 in Grave 71 of Shirfadik Cemetery 179, likely represented a sheep rather than a bovine and was buried with a child.¹⁸⁸ Recent research by Pernille Bangsgaard demonstrates that adult C-Group women and men, but not children, could be buried with an intact sheep. Bangsgaard suggested further that cattle and sheep held different symbolic significance for the C-Group.¹⁸⁹ While the nature of the symbolism is uncertain, the differential deposition patterns of cattle, sheep, and human figurines in burials tend to lend support to Bangsgaard's proposal.

¹⁸⁸ The initial report of this cemetery stated that the figurine represented an ox, but the final publication, based on field notes and examination of the pieces, describes it as a sheep or dog. Based on images published in the final report, the figurine most likely represents a sheep, although it is currently held in the Uppsala Museum and I have not been able to examine it personally. See, Torgny Säve-Söderbergh, "Preliminary Report of the Scandinavian Joint Expedition: Archaeological Investigations between Faras and Gemai November 1961-March 1962." *Kush* 11 (1963): 55-56; and Torgny Säve-Söderbergh, *Middle Nubian Sites* (Partille: Paul Åström, 1989): 214.

¹⁸⁹ Bangsgaard suggested that sheep represented the community of the living and cattle represented the lineage or ancestral community, and that each species played a different role in funerary ritual. Pernille Bangsgaard, "Nubian Faunal Practices – Exploring the C-Group "Pastoral Ideal" at Nine Cemeteries," in D.A. Welsby and J.R. Anderson (eds) *The Fourth Cataract and Beyond: Proceedings of the 12th International Conference for Nubian Studies* (Leuven; Paris; Walpole, MA: Peeters 2014): 354.

Figurines from many settlement areas include both female and livestock forms, but few reports specify the precise numbers, forms, or findspots. The best evidence for household use comes from the house site at Nagaa el-Tahouna and the small settlement site at Faras 24-E-2, where reports indicate that both cattle and female figurines were found together.¹⁹⁰ Although female figurines were present at the domestic compound at Wadi el Arab and the settlement area at Aniba, livestock figurines were not found in these sites. These distribution patterns suggest that for most of the C-Group population bovine, ovine, and female figurines held different and incompatible significance in the mortuary realm, although excavated and possibly used together in domestic spaces.

4.2 Integrating Results into Future Research

It is clear from the physical details and archaeological contexts of the C-Group anthropomorphic corpus that the subject matter, with the exception of the single securely identifiable male example, connotes real female social identities with corresponding roles. Aspects of the C-Group corpus that appear most fundamental to conveying notions of social identity are clothing, jewelry, and body decoration. Aspects that appear to convey the most information about the imagined or characteristic actions of the subject are the tilted posture and poses, lack of hands, and closed eyes. Characteristics that seem to indicate something about the way the figurines were used are their differentiated types found in

¹⁹⁰ Excavation reports from Nagaa el Tahouna and Faras 24-E-2 specify that the livestock figurines found at these domestic sites represent cattle. See, Abdel Moneim Abou Bakr, "Fouilles de l'Université du Caire à Aniba (1960)," in *Fouilles en Nubie (1959 – 1961)*. (Cairo: Government Press, 1963): 117; and G. J. Verwers, "Trial Excavations in the Faras Region." *Kush* 9 (1961): 18. While this is likely the correct interpretation, it is possible that the excavators expected cattle and assumed these figurines were bovines. The horns are broken off in both published images so identification is uncertain. As these figurines are held in the Egyptian museums that I have been unable to visit so far, it is impossible to say for certain that the livestock represent cattle.

heterogeneous groups in mortuary and domestic spaces, and the discrete use of cattle and female forms. Taken together, these specific aspects of identity, activity, and use are unique to C-Group figurines. Some of these characteristics, however, overlap with those of figurines from earlier and contemporary neighboring cultures in northeast Africa.

The work done in this dissertation to establish the characteristics and variability of the C-Group corpus was carried out in anticipation of an eventual comparison with these other figurine corpora. A thorough comparison, however, requires examination of all the relevant figurines and such an undertaking is beyond the scope of this work. A preliminary assessment is, nevertheless, possible, as I have been able to personally examine many of these figurines. The following sections examine figurines from the neighboring corpora using published images and descriptions from excavation reports along with my personal photographs and examination notes. I look specifically here at characteristics that might convey aspects of the identity of the subject, the imagined activity of the figurine, and the ways that people used them.

4.2.1 A-Group Figurines

Although Steffen Wenig states that two- or three-dozen anthropomorphic clay figurines from the A-Group, who preceded the C-Group in Lower Nubia, survive,¹⁹¹ I have been able to identify only fourteen excavated examples [Table 4.1]. Radiocarbon dates obtained from Nag el Qarmila, the northernmost cemetery where A-Group figurines have been found, placed this cemetery use

¹⁹¹ Steffen Wenig, *Africa in Antiquity: The Arts of Ancient Nubia and the Sudan, II. (The Catalogue)* (New York: The Brooklyn Museum, 1978): 24.

between 3700 and 3250 BCE.¹⁹² Objects from the southernmost cemetery to yield A-Group figurines, Cemetery 277 at Halfa Degheim, date the period of use to the A-Group's Classic Phase, from 3250 to 3150 BCE.¹⁹³ The A-Group figurine corpus was thus likely to have been produced sometime around 3250 BCE, but more precise dates will need further testing. Although produced approximately one thousand years earlier than C-Group figurines, the surviving A-Group figurines show some affinities with the C-Group corpus [Fig. 4.1].¹⁹⁴

Although all excavated A-Group figurines came from mortuary contexts, their specific placements were varied. One was found in a dog burial while a group of six was found in a shallow depression that might have been a denuded infant's grave or, possibly, an offering at the edge of a different grave. Two were deposited singly in graves, one identified as that of a child, and were placed in front and within arm's reach of the skeletons in their respective burials. Graves at Halfa Degheim and Cemetery 99 held pairs of figurines, but the figurines were found in the debris at Cemetery 99 while the Halfa Degheim grave held the bodies of a woman and a girl. These figurines thus appear to have been flexible in their mortuary use.

¹⁹² Sources vary with respect to absolute dates for Neolithic and A-Group materials due to multiple problems including competing classification schemes proposed by different authors, inconsistent reporting of radiocarbon dates in BCE or BP with some calibrated to tree-ring dates and others uncalibrated, a lack of standardization in the half-life used in radiocarbon analysis, and a lack of common calibration methods. For a thorough description of these issues as they relate to the A-Group see Sabrina Roma Rampersad, *The Origin and Relationships of the Nubian A-Group* (University of Toronto: PhD Dissertation, 1999): 5-10. The dates given here for the Nag el-Qarmila cemetery are from Maria Carmela Gatto, "The Aswan Area at the Dawn of Egyptian History." *Egyptian Archaeology* 35 (2009): 12.

¹⁹³ The two figurines excavated by Nordström are dated to the Classic Phase in Hans-Åke Nordström, *Neolithic and A-Group Sites*, Vol 3:1 (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1972): 127.

¹⁹⁴ I have only been able to examine personally the large figurine from Halfa Degheim, SNM 13729. Many of the A-Group figurines might not have survived excavation because they were generally unfired or lightly fired.

Origin	Figurine and Context Description
Qarmila: ?	Fragment (lower half) of one female figurine from cemetery
30: 36	Female figurine, arms broken off, in grave with two dogs, traces of red paint over white
99:6	Two fragmentary female figurines, red painted, unbaked mud, burial removed
102: 43	Six unbaked red-painted female figurines with modeled ringlets of hair painted black from possibly denuded infants grave or separate offering for different grave
102: 102	Black pottery steatopygous doll, with skeleton of child (female)
136: 3	Lightly baked clay female figurine, originally painted red, intact with head (from drawing) and fairly large, with skeleton of girl
277: 16b	Two complete figurines from grave of woman and girl

Table 4.1 Excavated A-Group Figurines. *Sources:* Gatto, 2013; Reisner, 1910; Firth 1915, 1927; Nordström, 1972

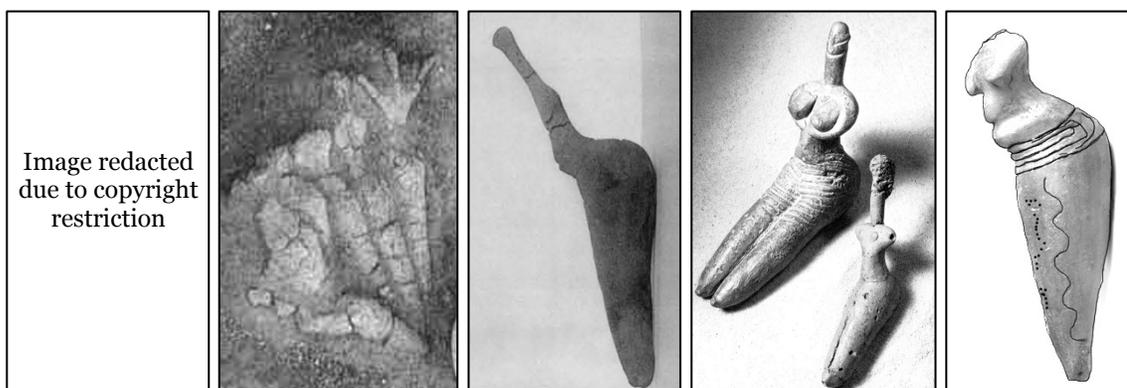


Figure 4.1. Images of A-Group figurines

The condition of the A-Group figurines is likewise variable. The arms had been broken off of some figurines and others were fragmentary. It is impossible to know if this damage was intentional or incidental. Some figurines seem to have survived intact, with the exception of the small figurine from the double burial of the woman and child at Halfa Deghiem. All of the original components of this small figurine were found but it appears to have been intentionally decapitated, as the head was on the east side at the bottom of the grave shaft and the rest of the body was at the west side. These breakage patterns are consistent with those found in the C-Group anthropomorphic corpus.

The arms of the A-Group figurines were variable and constructed differently than those of the C-group, some modeled in a raised position and others folded under the breasts, while the small figurine from Halfa Degheim was modeled with sockets for fitting arms. The heads have only survived on a few A-Group figurines and appear to have been modeled as small knobs at the ends of very long necks. The surviving eyes of the A-Group pieces are closed like those of the C-Group, and figurines from both corpora exhibit the same tilted posture and ambiguous pose. None survive that could stand unaided, but most A-Group figurines appear to have long conical lower bodies which might have allowed them to be secured in a standing position in sand. In spite of the formal differences, the posture, pose, and closed eyes of the A-Group figurines suggest that they might have been envisioned as engaging in activities similar to those of the C-Group figurines.

Some of the A-Group figurines exhibit characteristics that might indicate specific social identities. A few were embellished with a garment that appears similar to the wide band with rounded ends found on many C-Group figurines. When it appears on the A-Group examples, this garment is indicated with concentric lines in an oval shape that wrap around the front of the pelvis and terminate at the back of the hips. On the examples from Nag el Qarmila and Halfa Degheim, this garment appears to hang in an arc over the pubic area and recalls the sporran-type apron seen on some freestanding C-Group figurines. The Brooklyn figurine appears to be the only A-Group figurine with surviving or visible body art, consisting of two single incised curved lines, approximately zigzag in form, stretching vertically from the top of each leg toward the feet. This

figurine also has impressed dots along the front of the lower body, but the intended pattern is unclear.

Another aspect that might denote social identity is the hair. According to the excavation notes, at least some of the figurines from the group of six at Cemetery 102 had modeled ringlets of hair painted black. The small figurine from Halfa Degheim, which was created without garments or belts, was modeled with bushy or curly hair.¹⁹⁵ The rest of the surviving heads appear bald but hair might have been attached and subsequently lost. The variability in clothing and hairstyles appear to indicate a variety of social identities within the A-Group corpus, but the small numbers of surviving examples hinders analysis. Differently modeled figurines placed together in graves, although we have only the evidence from two burials, suggests that, like the C-Group corpus, the A-Group figurines might have been modeled to represent or connote different women or girls of different social identities with correspondingly different social roles in life and ritual meaning as figurines in the mortuary realm.

The characteristics of A-Group figurines that might indicate the types of activity suited to their form (i.e. posture, pose, and closed eyes) are generally consistent with those of the C-group, although their actual use appears to have been somewhat different as the A-Group figurines were not found in domestic areas, none could stand unaided, and livestock figurines were apparently not produced. Of the aspects that might denote distinct social identities (i.e. dress, jewelry, and body art), the A-Group and C-Group corpora only share a wide,

¹⁹⁵ This piece was unavailable for examination when I was at the Sudan National Museum and available images are insufficient to discern how the hair was modeled.

apron-like belt or kilt, and, in the case of the Brooklyn figurine, zigzag patterns along the legs.

Many scholars have suggested that their similarities indicate C-Group figurines derived in some way from their A-Group predecessors,¹⁹⁶ but the considerable gap in the time between their productions is problematic. The last A-Group figurine likely dates to no later than 3150 BCE, while the C-Group figurines were not produced until over one thousand years later. If figurines are viewed as tools modeled to tap or mimic the efficacy of a living or culturally remembered group of women, the problematic nature of this time gap shifts. Rather than evidence of an insurmountably long cultural break, this period might be better understood as lacking some pressure, problem, or incentive that spurred production of figurines. Similar characteristics seen on figurines from Neolithic and Bronze Age groups in Central Sudan and the Eastern Sahara as well as on some Predynastic and Middle Kingdom Egyptian figurines indicate the large geographic and temporal range of this proposed living prototype.

4.2.2 Neolithic Figurines from Upper Nubia: Kadruka

Although rare, anthropomorphic figurines were excavated in association with several Neolithic Sudanese sites. Some of these figurines predate the A-Group and Predynastic Egyptian corpora, leading archaeologists such as Francis Geus and Sabrina Rampersad to argue that the custom of placing figurines in graves

¹⁹⁶ See: P. L. Shinnie, *Ancient Nubia* (London and New York: Kegan Paul, 1996): 61; Robert Steven Bianchi, *Daily Life of the Nubians* (Westport, Connecticut and London: Greenwood Press, 2004): 57; Simone Petacchi, "Steatopygia in Ancient Egyptian and Nubian Art. An Ethical Countermark or a Primitive Revival? The Case of Kushite Iconography and Style," in *Achievements and Problems of Modern Egyptology: Proceedings of the International Conference Held in Moscow on September 29-October 2, 2009*, edited by Galina A. Belova (Moscow: Russian Academy of Sciences, 2012): 268; and David N. Edwards, *The Nubian Past: An Archaeology of the Sudan* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004): 94.

was a southern influence [Table 4.2].¹⁹⁷ Neolithic Sudanese figurines were, however, not limited to burials but were also excavated from settlement areas, suggesting that northeast African figurine industries themselves might have started in the south. Salvatori and Usai's recent review of archaeological data from Sudanese Neolithic sites suggests that this origin might be refined to areas of Nubia rather than Central Sudan, as their work found that "while food producing economies, based mainly on domesticated animals, were already developing in the Sudanese Nubia (as well as in the Egyptian one), Central Sudan prehistoric societies were still having a Mesolithic hunter-gatherer-fisher way of life." It is clear that figurine industries were associated with this new cattle-based economy, as the oldest known figurine examples, dating to as early as 4750 BCE, were excavated in Upper Nubia at Kadruka just upriver from the Third Cataract.

Site	Dates BCE from Salvatori and Usai 2007	Dates BCE from Sadig 2012	Type	# of figurines
Kadruka	4850-3990	4890-4130	Cemeteries	6
Kadada	4050-2890	4150-2950	Cemeteries	8 (more)
Ghaba	4620-3850	5000-2000	Cemetery	1
Es-Sour	4240-3955	4160-4000	Settlement	3 (maybe more)
Shaheinab	4690-4440	4580-3810	Settlement	1
Geili	4530-4320	4300	Settlement	3 (maybe more)

Table 4.2. Radiocarbon dates for Neolithic sites with figurines. *Sources*: Salvatori and Usai, 2007; Sadig, 2012

At least six female figurines, of clay and sandstone, were excavated from Kadruka cemeteries, but precise dates and information regarding their exact findspots is problematic as the cemetery plans and detailed grave inventories have not been published. The oldest are Cemeteries 13 and 21, which Reinold

¹⁹⁷ Francis Geus, "Burial Customs in the Upper Main Nile: An Overview," in *Egypt and Africa: Nubia from Prehistory to Islam*, edited by W. V. Davies (London: British Museum Press and the Egypt Exploration Society, 1991): 59; Sabrina Roma Rampersad, *The Origin and Relationships of the Nubian A-Group* (University of Toronto: PhD Dissertation, 1999): 405.

dates to between 4940 and 4720 BCE (calibrated) in one publication but to 3900+/-70 BCE in another.¹⁹⁸ Salvatori and Usai date these cemeteries to 4950 – 4580 BC (calibrated).¹⁹⁹ Research is ongoing at Cemetery 21, but it appears to have developed around the tomb of a woman buried in Grave 240 with a man who had been sacrificed for her. Deposition patterns of artifacts in this earliest cemetery point to a very high social or ritual status for some women, as caliciform beakers used in ritual funerary libations have only been found in female burials.²⁰⁰ Four figurines were found in this cemetery, a veined sandstone figurine in the grave of an adolescent (sex unknown) and three clay figurines [Fig. 4.2] in Grave 133, details of which have not been published.

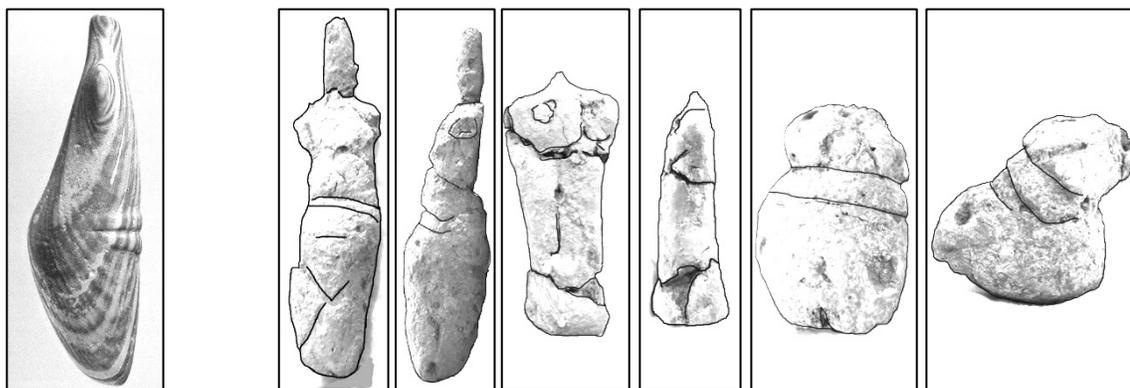


Figure 4.2. Figurines from Kadruka, sandstone and clay

¹⁹⁸ Reinold does not discuss his methodology for establishing radiocarbon dates and provides ranges that differ by 1000 years. In the earlier publication from 2001 he gives the early fifth millennium date but in the 2004 publication he gives the early fourth millennium date. Jacques Reinold, "Kadruka and the Neolithic in the Northern Dongola Reach." *Sudan & Nubia: the Sudan Archaeological Research Society bulletin* 5 (2001): 7, 9; Jacques Reinold, "Kadruka," in *Sudan Ancient Treasures: An Exhibition of Recent Discoveries from the Sudan National Museum*, edited by Derek A. Welsby and Julie R. Anderson (London: The British Museum Press, 2004): 44 (footnote 4).

¹⁹⁹ Sandro Salvatori and Donatella Usai, "The Sudanese Neolithic Revisited." *Les Cahiers de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille* 26 (2006-2007): 326.

²⁰⁰ Jacques Reinold, "Kadruka," in *Sudan Ancient Treasures: An Exhibition of Recent Discoveries from the Sudan National Museum*, edited by Derek A. Welsby and Julie R. Anderson (London: The British Museum Press, 2004): 42-44.

The sandstone figurine was the only object found in the burial of the adolescent. Although highly stylized, it was carved with horizontal protrusions at the level of the hips, which have been interpreted as fat rolls.²⁰¹ It is possible, however, that this protrusion represents a belt or garment. The three clay figurines from this cemetery, excavated from Grave 133, are in poor condition but belts appear to be depicted on two of them. The head, incorporated into a long neck, survives on the figurine modeled with extended legs but no facial features are visible due to the degraded surface. The head of the figurine with the ball-shaped lower body is broken off, and the head of the truncated figurine appears to have never been indicated, as the very short neck of this example terminates in a smoothed point. The variety of the forms in this single grave is striking and recalls the variety of identities conveyed in C-Group figurine caches, suggesting the possibility that female figurines representing multiple social identities might have been collectively used from the very beginning of the industry.

Cemetery 18 at Kadruka is dated from 4500 to 4350 BCE,²⁰² only slightly later than Cemetery 21. Polished diorite palettes and caliciform beakers, associated exclusively with male graves in later cemeteries and female graves in earlier cemeteries, were found in graves of women as well as men in this cemetery and the central grave, in the most privileged position of the cemetery, was that of a woman. Twelve individual burials were placed in a circle around the central female burial. The only figurine known from this cemetery was excavated from Grave 5 but no other information about this grave is available. The figurine [Fig.

²⁰¹ Jacques Reinold, *Archéologie Au Soudan: Les Civilisations de Nubie* (Paris: Editions Errance, 2000): 84.

²⁰² Jacques Reinold, *Archéologie Au Soudan: Les Civilisations de Nubie* (Paris: Editions Errance, 2000): 81.

4.3] was unfired. The head was modeled as a knob-like projection with a narrow wedge-shaped nose at the end of a long neck. Eyes are indicated with two impressed holes and a small horizontal, incised line below the projecting nose appears to represent a mouth. A hairline or cap is indicated with an incised line that encircles the top of the head. The lower body was formed as a ball shape and the torso is a sloping mass with no arms indicated.

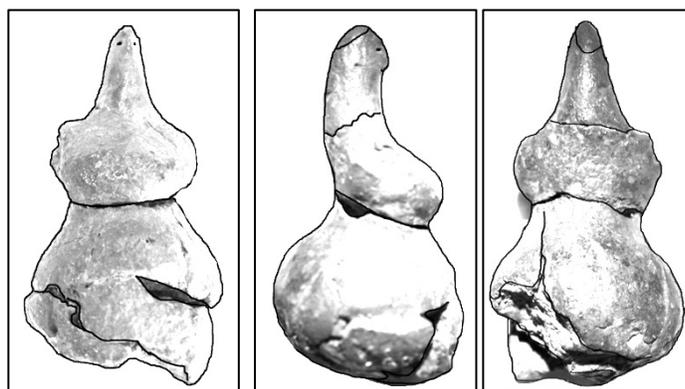


Figure 4.3: Figurine from Kadruka Cemetery 18 Grave 5

Cemetery 1 is the latest cemetery at Kadruka, dating to around 4000 BCE.²⁰³ This cemetery held 96 Neolithic and 46 Kerma graves and appears to have started with Grave 131, the burial of a man who was at least 40 years old at death. The rich and varied grave goods buried with this original male interment included nine maceheads, suggesting that he was the chief of the community. Caliciform beakers and polished diorite palettes appear only in the graves of men in this cemetery and some human burials included sheep. One veined sandstone figurine, very similar to that found in Cemetery 21, was excavated from the western edge of the founding grave. Although this figurine has no sexual

²⁰³ Jacques Reinold, *Archéologie Au Soudan: Les Civilisations de Nubie* (Paris: Editions Errance, 2000): 81.

attributes scholars have interpreted it as female.²⁰⁴ Unlike the example from Cemetery 21, this figurine has horizontal incised lines at the face indicating eyebrows and closed eyes. Four very short, vertical lines are incised on and below the face, two of which almost connect the eyebrows and eyes and two more of which are almost aligned along the neck area below the figurine's right eye. Above the eyes is one horizontal incised line that appears to indicate a hairline. This figurine has no other distinguishing features, but was carved from the same type of veined sandstone as the figurine from Cemetery 21 [Fig. 4.4].

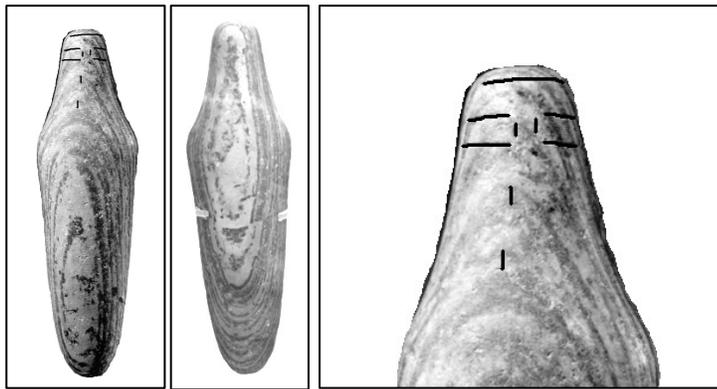


Figure 4.4. Sandstone figurine from later Kadruka burial with closed eyes.

The sandstone figurines from the adolescent burial at Grave 200 Cemetery 21 and Grave 131 of Cemetery 1 comprise two of three known examples of this figurine style sculpted from veined sandstone rock [Fig. 4.5]. The third figurine in this group was found approximately 650 km northwest of Kadruka at the massif of Jebel Uweinat in southeast Libya.²⁰⁵ The height of this figurine is 6.5 cm,

²⁰⁴ Wildung bases this on its “abstractly rounded female form” while Reinold simply says that the artists suggests its femininity, without explaining further. Jacques Reinold, *Archéologie Au Soudan: Les Civilisations de Nubie* (Paris: Editions Errance, 2000): 287; Jacques Reinold, *Archéologie Au Soudan: Les Civilisations de Nubie* (Paris: Editions Errance, 2000): 67; Dietrich Wildung, *Sudan: Ancient Kingdoms of the Nile* (Paris and New York: Flammarion, 1997): 16.

²⁰⁵ Recent scholarship related to the discovery in 2007 of an Egyptian rock inscription commemorating tribute from Yam suggests that Jebel Uweinat was a stopping point on an ancient trail, consisting of a system of cached water jars, leading from the Dakhla Oasis, through

approximately one-third the size of the two from Kadruka that each measure just under 20 cm in height. The date and place of their production is unknown, but the choice of material was the same for both. The only known possible sources so far discovered for this particular veined sandstone are in the Laqiya region,²⁰⁶ an area between Jebel Uweinat and Kadruka that was occupied seasonally by Neolithic and A-Group cattle herders.²⁰⁷

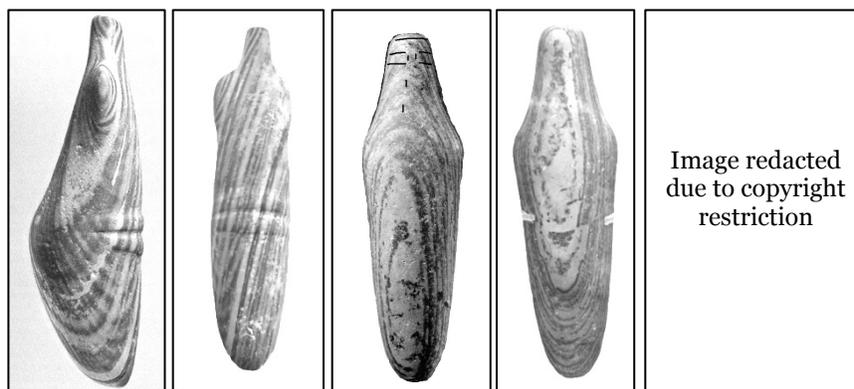


Figure 4.5: Veined sandstone figurines from Kadruka and Jebel Uweinat

Archaeologist Lenka Sukova found the small figurine in front of a cluster of granite boulders during a survey of the area in 2010. Sukova interprets it as female based on what she describes as “the regular, elegant curve of the back,”

southern Libya and likely into Chad. Bruce Williams argues that Yam was located in Darfur, Bruce Beyer Williams, “Some Geographical and Political Aspects to Relations Between Egypt and Nubia in C-Group and Kerm Times, CA. 2500 – 1500 B.C.” *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 6,1 (2013): 63-64. Thomas Schneider argues that the trail is the “Waterway of Re” described in the Amduat, Thomas Schneider, “The West Beyond the West: The Mysterious ‘Wernes’ of the Egyptian Underworld and the Chad Paleolakes.” *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 2,4 (2010): 1-3. The veined sandstone figurine is discussed in Lenka Sukova, “The ‘Venus’ of Jebel Uweinat (SE Libya).” *Sahara* 22 (2011): 117-124.

²⁰⁶ Lenka Sukova, “The ‘Venus’ of Jebel Uweinat (SE Libya).” *Sahara* 22 (2011): Footnotes 11 and 13.

²⁰⁷ Recent research in the Laqiya region shows the presence of A-Group settlements at several sites that date as late as c.3000 BCE, after that culture disappeared from the Nile Valley. See Mathias Lange for evidence and discussion of these settlements, Mathias Lange, “A-Group settlement sites from the Laqiya region (Eastern Sahara, Northwest Sudan),” in *Cultural Markers in the Later Prehistory of Northeastern Africa and Recent Research*, edited by Lech Krzyaniak, Karla Kroeper, and Michal Kobusiewicz (Poznań, 2003): 105-127.

citing the work of Ucko in sexing Predynastic Egyptian figurines.²⁰⁸ The figurine from Cemetery 21, with the horizontal protrusions at the front of the hips, is consistently read as female due to the curvature at the buttocks. As mentioned, scholars also accept the third figurine, from the male grave at Kadruka Cemetery 1, as female. It is not known if these three figurines were carved at the same time by the same artist. The artist who carved the figurine found in the oldest context, from the adolescent grave in Kadruka Cemetery 21, appears to have taken a different approach to the use of natural veining to emphasize the shape. The other two figurines incorporate the curved lines of the veins into concentric ring patterns on the front and back but the Cemetery 21 figurine exhibits the curving veins on the sides in a more complex pattern.

These three figurines need to be evaluated more fully, but taken as a group they appear to share some features with the much later C-group figurines. The intended sex of the figurines is questionable, but the possible belt on one and the different use of veining patterns in the designs might be interpreted as artistic attempts at giving these figurines distinct social identities. The posture and pose of these figurines are so subtly rendered as to make interpretations of imagined activity problematic, but they recall the varying poses of C-Group figurines and the one from Cemetery 1 was given closed eyes through economical incising. Their archaeological contexts provide little information as to how they might

²⁰⁸ Peter Ucko's analysis of Predynastic Egyptian female figurines found that a semi-reclining pose is only found on female figurines and Sukova says that the crescent-shaped curve of the Jebel Uweinat figurine suggests this pose. See Lenka Sukova, "The 'Venus' of Jebel Uweinat (SE Libya)." *Sahara* 22 (2011): Footnote 3. For sexing Egyptian figurines see Peter J. Ucko, *Anthropomorphic Figurines of Predynastic Egypt and Neolithic Crete with Comparative Material from the Prehistoric Near East and Mainland Greece* (London: Andrew Szmidla, 1968): 186.

have been used, but the exotic material, transported from great distances, certainly indicates an unusual importance to their owners.

The cemeteries at Kadruka were used in successive phases dating from just after 5000 BCE to the pre-Kerma period, a culture coeval with the Lower Nubian A-Group that developed into the Kerma culture around 2500 BCE.²⁰⁹ In addition to the use of female figurines, some aspects of these cemeteries seem to prefigure mortuary practices found with the A-Group and the later C-Group: individual dog burials, stelae associated with some grave pits, the incorporation of sheep into human burials, and a covering of pebbles and small stones over the entire human-made cemetery hillocks that possibly foreshadow the later development of stone tumuli.²¹⁰ The shift from equally shared status between some women and some men in the earliest cemeteries toward a masculinized power role evident in later cemeteries is interesting in that female figurines were very rare but present at all stages. No livestock figurines were found at Kadruka, although the economy of the group was clearly based on cattle. Bucrania were, however, used as grave goods and bodies could be wrapped in bovine skins.

4.2.3 Figurines from Sudanese Neolithic Sites: Kadada, Geili, Sheheinab

²⁰⁹ Marjorie M. Fisher, "The History of Nubia," in *Ancient Nubia: African kingdoms on the Nile*, edited by Marjorie M. Fisher, Peter Lacovara, Salima Ikram, and Sue D'Auria (Cairo and New York: the American University in Cairo Press, 2012): 16-17.

²¹⁰ Although Reinold suggests that the pebbles and stones covering Cemetery 21 might be the origin of the stone tumuli characteristic of most of the Sudanese cultures, di Lernia points out that stone tumuli were constructed over burials of cattle (shifting from animal to human burial use over time) at points across the North African Sahara during the late Neolithic: at Sites E-94-in Nabta Playa, Site 1 at Adrar Bous and at Iwelen in Niger, and Messak Settafet in the Libyan Sahara. Jacques Reinold, "Kadruka and the Neolithic in the Northern Dongola Reach." *Sudan & Nubia: the Sudan Archaeological Research Society bulletin* 5 (2001): 9; Savino di Lernia, "Building monuments, creating identity: Cattle cult as a social response to rapid environmental changes in the holocene Sahara." *Quaternary International* 151 (2006): 52-55.

The dates of occupation and use of Sudanese Neolithic sites south of the Dongola Reach in Central Sudan have yet to be definitively established. Cemetery and settlement sites with figurines are not uncommon in this region, although the numbers of figurines per site are very small. The attributes of most of these figurines, all female in form, overlap with those exhibited by the C-Group anthropomorphic corpus. An overview of these figurines, based on my personal examination notes, photographs, and published images and descriptions, demonstrates repeating patterns in iconography.²¹¹

Some figurines from this region were decorated with incised lines and impressed dots that appear to represent scarification or tattooing [Fig. 4.6]. The first four figurines in figure 4.6, from left to right, were excavated from a cemetery context at El Kadada and were incised with short, parallel lines on the abdomens, chests, or both. The two images on the far right are two views of the same figurine, excavated from a mortuary context at el Geili, while the figurine third from the right was excavated from a settlement site at esh-Shaheinab. The Geili and Shaheinab figurines exhibit impressed dots in patterns on the abdomens, sides, and backs. Not all of the Neolithic Sudanese figurines exhibit body art and while the patterns on these figurines are not identical they suggest that specific social identities were being portrayed in the figurines.

²¹¹ The Neolithic Sudanese figurines examined in this section do not comprise an exhaustive list, but were identified through excavation reports and examples that I personally examined at the Sudan National Museum. Further research on these pieces will likely yield more examples.

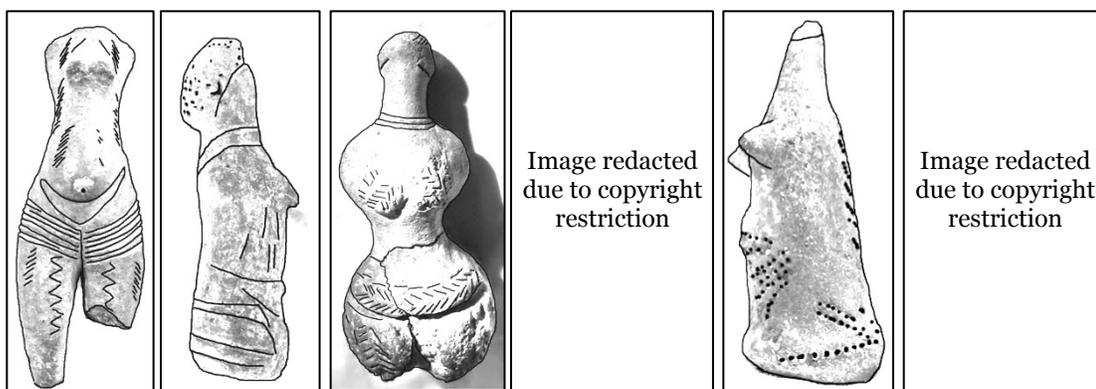


Figure 4.6. Neolithic Sudanese figurines with incised lines and impressed dots showing tattooing or scarification patterns.

Another indication of specific social identity or status that can be seen on many of these figurines is the wide belt or garment that covers the pubic area, indicated by incised lines around the hips [Fig. 4.7]. All of the surviving lower bodies of figurines from this period and region are depicted with some version of this garment. The first five figurines from the left in figure 4.7 were excavated from mortuary settings at El Kadada. The first three are the same as the first three in figure 4.6, but shown from behind. I was not able to personally examine the fourth and fifth figurines from the left thus the views shown are the best available views of the objects. The figurine second from the right is the back view of the example from esh-Shaheinab, and the image to the far right shows a side view of a figurine from el-Geili. The belts or pubic covers appear to have been rendered with particular emphasis on these figurines, suggesting their importance to the meaning of these objects. The particular styles might reflect regional or ethnic variations in the social identities of the subjects portrayed.

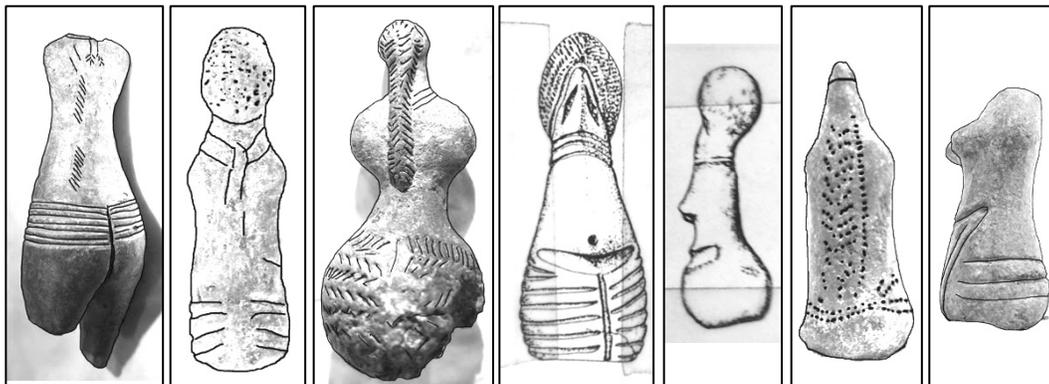


Figure 4.7: Neolithic Sudanese figurines with belts or pubic covers.

The Sudanese Neolithic figurines available for visual examination appear, like the female C-Group corpus, to represent or connote women with varying social identities. That these figurines were modeled to suggest certain types of possible activity that also corresponds to that of the C-Group corpus is suggested in the consistent lack of arms and closed eyes. All of the figurines pictured in figure 4.8 are from el Kadada with the exception of the isolated head shown in the fourth image from the left,²¹² and the figurine in the image on the far right. The isolated head on the far right is from el Geili. The figurine second from the right is made of sandstone, but the eyes are clearly shut and depicted at diagonal angles like those of the A-Group figurines from Halfa Deghiem. This method of depicting the eyes as diagonal slits might be a common aesthetic choice for Sudanese Neolithic figurines, but as closed eyes are still seen consistently in the C-Group corpus, it seems rather to suggest an important dimension of the figurine meanings.

²¹² SNM 29477, shown here in the fourth position from the left, is very similar to the head on the figurine shown to the left of it, SNM 27331, but the museum card could not be located when I was at the Sudan National Museum so the origin of this isolated head is unknown. It is possibly from el-Kadada.

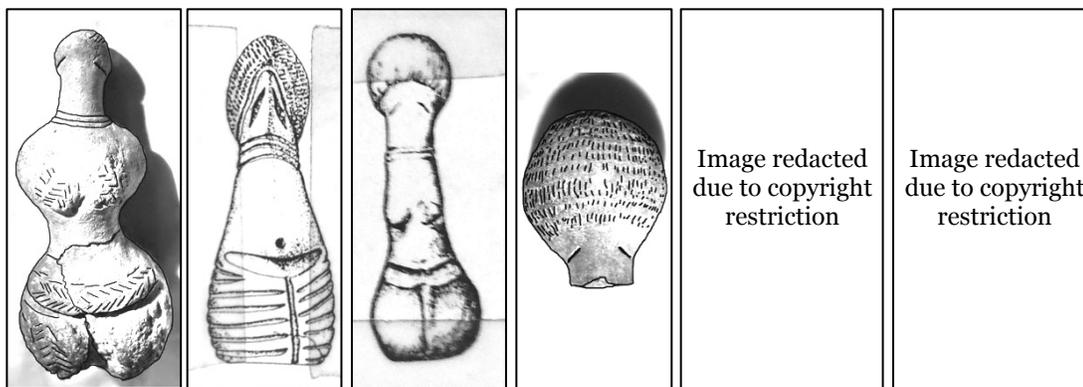


Figure 4.8. Sudanese Neolithic figurines with eyes shut.

4.2.4 Predynastic Egyptian Figurines

A thorough examination and analysis of Egyptian Predynastic figurines is far beyond the scope of this dissertation, thus the following represents an overview of the available material, which has been published in more depth by Diana Patch.²¹³ I focus here on aspects of early Egyptian figurines that suggest relationships and divergences between the Egyptian and Nubian figurine corpora. The earliest Egyptian culture to produce figurines was the Badarian, dated to between approximately 4400 to 4000 BCE.²¹⁴ This period, named for the site at which the first examples of the culture were recognized was coeval with some of the Sudanese Neolithic sites. The Badarian gave way to the Naqada culture, which lasted until approximately 2900 BCE, overlapping the Lower Nubian A-Group.²¹⁵ As Diana Patch notes, of approximately 5300 graves dating to this

²¹³ Patch provides an overview of the various types of Neolithic and Predynastic figurines found in Egypt with discussion of possible uses and meanings. See Diana Craig Patch, "The Human Figure," in *Dawn of Egyptian Art*, edited by Diana Craig Patch (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2011): 97-136.

²¹⁴ Stan Hendrickx, "La chronologie de la préhistoire tardive et des débuts de l'histoire de l'Égypte." *Archéo-Nil* 9 (1999): 19.

²¹⁵ Stan Hendrickx, "Predynastic-Early Dynastic Chronology," in *Ancient Egyptian Chronology. Handbook of Oriental Studies. Section One. The Near and Middle East*, Vol. 83, edited by E. Hornung, R. Krauss, and D. A. Warburton, 55-93, 487-488 (Leiden: Brill, 2006): 92.

Neolithic-Predynastic period only 84 excavated figurines are known, making these objects exceedingly rare.²¹⁶

Only three figurines date to the Badarian, all of female form and all apparently naked. No livestock or other animal forms appear to have been produced this early. Two of these Badarian figurines were sculpted of clay and the other was made of ivory [Fig. 4.9]. The ivory figurine was excavated from Grave 5107, which had been robbed and had no bones left. One clay figurine was excavated from Grave 5769, an undisturbed burial of a young person, where it had been placed with some cloth and a tiny bowl inside a small pot suggesting a model burial to the excavator.²¹⁷ The other clay figurine was excavated from Grave 5227, which had been pillaged.

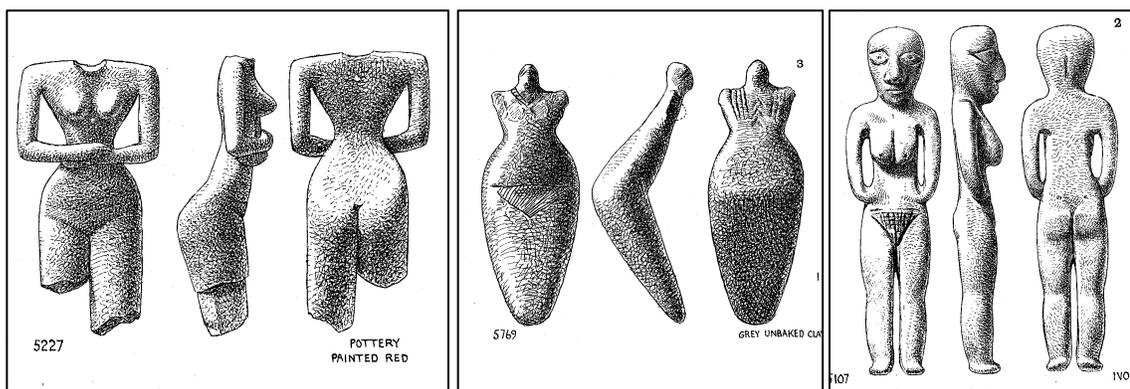


Figure 4.9. Badarian figurines from Predynastic Egypt

The two clay figurines exhibit the same posture and pose as Sudanese Neolithic, A-Group, and C-Group figurines. One has separately modeled legs while the other has legs modeled as one unit tapering to a rounded point at the

²¹⁶ Diana Craig Patch, "The Human Figure," in *Dawn of Egyptian Art*, edited by Diana Craig Patch, 97-136 (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2011): 100, 101.

²¹⁷ Guy Brunton and Gertrude Caton-Thompson, *The Badarian Civilization and Predynastic Remains near Badari* (London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt and Bernard Quaritch, 1928): 17.

end. The head of the latter was formed as a small knob-like projection on a very short neck, with no facial features indicated and no arms. Incised lines were used to suggest tattooing on the back and to depict the pubic triangle. The ivory figurine, in contrast, stands straight without leaning. This piece has very large, wide-open eyes, indicated with incised lines and punched dots for the pupils. The pubic triangle is indicated with incised lines and the vulva slit is also present. Similar figurines continue into the Naqada period when other styles were introduced.

During the early Naqada period, from around 4000 to 3600 BCE, new forms of figurines appear including male and female anthropomorphic figurines in clay, ivory or bone, and vegetable paste. The new clay styles seem to have been local innovations, found in limited areas, but the ivory or bone figurines appear to have been more widespread.²¹⁸ Figurines in the form of cattle, many with sexual organs modeled, and hippopotami are also introduced, but limited to certain sites. Naked female figurines in the style of earlier Badarian examples continued to be produced in the environs of Badari [Fig. 4.10], but with more explicitly rendered genitals than earlier examples. New types of female figurines were introduced in other areas. Fat, naked, clay figurines, five of which were excavated at Naqada and Ballas [Fig. 4.11], seem to have been the earliest variants. These were sculpted in seated or standing positions and placed singly or as pairs in graves. They were modeled with arms and painted red with traces of black on the breast, thighs, and faces. The eyes were painted in an open position.

²¹⁸ The distribution pattern of ivory and clay figurines during the Predynastic has not, to my knowledge, been addressed in scholarship, but would be interesting to see.

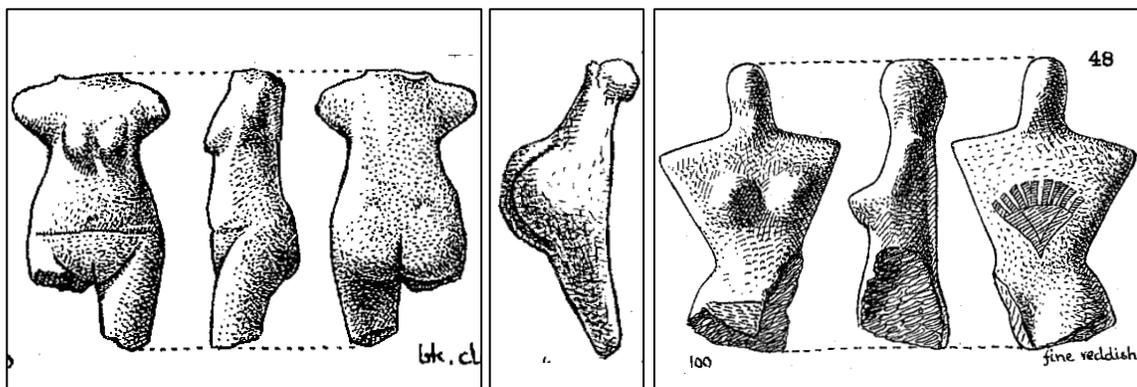


Figure 4.10. Early Naqada period naked female figurines from settlement areas around Badari

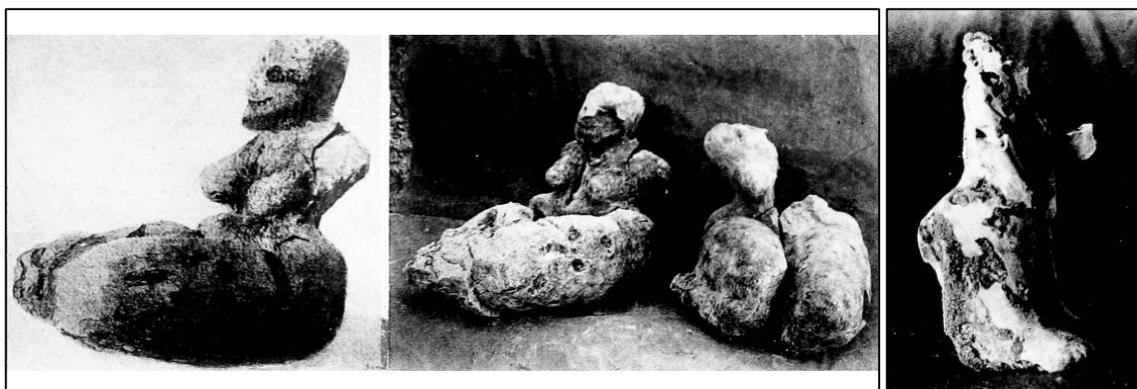


Figure 4.11. Naqada period fat female figurines from Ballas and Naqada

There appears to have been great fluidity in style for these early Egyptian figurines, and many styles seem to have been produced during a limited time span. Another type, represented by only a single excavated figurine,²¹⁹ had raised arms and imagery painted over the body. This style was produced during the Naqada II period, from approximately 3600 to 3200 BCE and seems to be related to a group of figurines with raised arms and white painted skirts excavated at el-Ma'mariya, as well as seated or tilted examples with arms folded under the breasts and eyes painted open [Fig. 4.12]. Modeled clay hair formed like a wig

²¹⁹ Several examples are known, but most were purchased from dealers around the turn of the twentieth century. Many in museum collections are now listed as fakes, for example EA 50680 and EA 58064 in the British Museum.

was likely applied to the heads of these and similar figurines as detached examples were excavated from graves at Naqada, and some Ma'mariya figurines were found with hair still attached.²²⁰

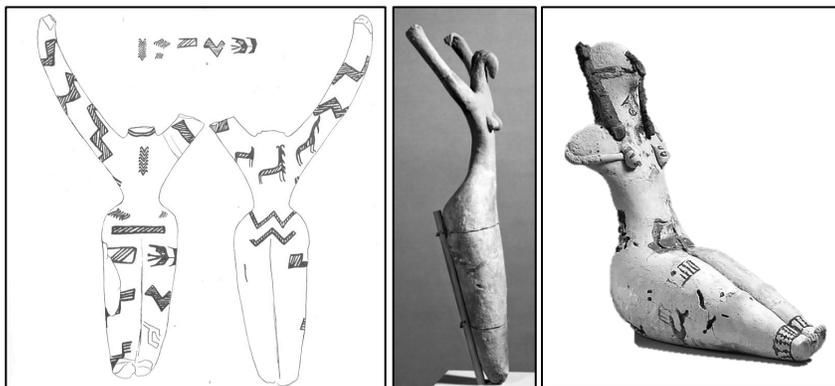


Figure 4.12. Naqada period raised arm and tattooed figurines

The Predynastic Egyptian figurines do not appear to share with the Neolithic Sudanese, A-Group, and C-Group figurines an emphasis on belts or garments worn at the pelvis,²²¹ although the white skirts depicted on the Ma'mariya pieces might signal a similar status. Patch discusses a collective, likely ritual role for the Ma'mariya and similar female and male figurines from Predynastic Egypt, stressing the distinctive status associated with clothing.²²² It is possible that painted or incised body decoration on some Predynastic figurines might connote a related status, although abdominal markings, likely representing

²²⁰ At least three examples of these 'wigs' dating from Naqada I and Naqada II are located in the Petrie Museum of the University College London, UC5075, UC5076, and UC5077. Hair found on the figurines is mentioned by Patch, Diana Craig Patch, "The Human Figure," in *Dawn of Egyptian Art*, edited by Diana Craig Patch, 97-136 (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2011): 113.

²²¹ Ethnological data from contemporary and historic cattle herders in northeast Africa indicate the vital and powerful role that belts played for women in these societies: marking rights to livestock and signaling lineage and other forms of social identity. See, for example, Barbara A. Bianco, "Women and Things: Pokot motherhood as political destiny." *American Ethnologist* 18, 4 (1991): 770-785.

²²² Diana Craig Patch, "The Human Figure," in *Dawn of Egyptian Art*, edited by Diana Craig Patch, 97-136 (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2011): 113-115.

scarification that marked social identity on Sudanese and C-Group examples, seem not to have been used in Egypt.

Hair and hairstyles likewise seem to differentiate the Egyptian from the Sudanese/Nubian corpora. Neolithic examples from Upper Nubia and Central Sudan were generally depicted with close cropped hair indicated with stippling or incised lines, although many heads are missing and one example from el Kadada sported a long braid. Egyptian figurines seem to have been sculpted bald, with hair added as an applied clay wig or possibly as fiber strands attached in some manner to the small knob-like heads. A-Group examples seem closer to the Egyptian than to the Sudanese figurines with respect to head shapes, and might have been embellished with wigs of some sort, although no evidence of this survives. C-Group figurines, on the other hand, seem to recreate the Sudanese hairstyles seen on figurines from el Kadada and el Geili, although much more consistently as a corpus.

Aspects that seem to signal social identity for Egyptian figurines are, thus, more varied than for Sudanese or A-Group examples, likely due to cultural and local variability of the early Egyptians. The activities in which the early Egyptian figurines might have been imagined to engage are similarly varied. The combination of freestanding and non-freestanding or seated poses seen in the earliest Egyptian clay figurines appear to become more standardized by the end of the Predynastic, as figurines of various types were modeled with tapering legs that rendered them unable to stand unaided. These would have been manipulated by hand, or possibly positioned standing in sand or made to stand on fixed on clay bases for funerary deposit. Archaeological contexts indicate that

figurines were placed in graves in pairs or small groups, however, indicating a collective function similar to that seen in their Sudanese counterparts.

Differences between these groups are striking. The surviving eyes of all styles of Predynastic Egyptian figurines, as far as can be ascertained without personal examination, were depicted open rather than closed, suggesting that these figurines could be imagined to be aware and engaged with their surroundings. Many Egyptian pieces had modeled hands, some with fingers, suggesting that they might also be imagined to engage in transitive actions, manipulating objects in the world around them and not focused inward as is the case for Sudanese/Upper Nubian Neolithic, A-Group, and C-Group figurines. The appearance in Egypt of clay livestock and hippopotamus figurines, in pairs, threes, or small groups, indicates another clear difference from the Sudanese Neolithic figurine industries that did not include animal forms, but the collective nature of many of these deposits suggests the importance of group activity to both of these early cultures. An early emphasis on female reproductive physiology, seen in the naked ivory and some early clay figurines in Egypt, seems unrelated to the Sudanese and Nubian corpora.²²³

The early appearance of female figurines in the Egyptian Predynastic period and their continued use after the development of male and animal-form figurines suggests a continued need or desire for certain types of female imagery

²²³ As no naked male figurines from Predynastic Egypt are known, this difference is suggestive. It is possible that the different economies and resulting foodways (livestock, hunting, collecting, and fish-based foods in Sudan cooked by stewing, and livestock, hunting and cereal-based food in Egypt cooked by baking in ovens) affected female roles and gendered symbolism, channeling earlier sources of female political or social power into a focus on sexual reproduction. A divergence of symbolism related to foodways was outlined first by Randi Haaland and I plan to explore this theme in future work with an emphasis on the C-Group. See Ranid Haaland, "Porridge and Pot, Bread and Oven: Food Ways and Symbolism in Africa and the Near East from the Neolithic to the Present," *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 17:2 (2007): 165-182.

that likely represented or connoted actual female roles. Beginning with the formation of the state, however, the Egyptian pottery assemblages shifted to less decorated, standardized forms and production of clay female figurines ceased. As Buchez noted, the new homogeneous pottery assemblage, “reflect[ed] the centralized state.”²²⁴ It seems likely that the potters who once produced figurines, the social or religious needs that these figurines met, and the female roles that appear to have been represented in them, were at least superficially altered with the developing economic, political, and religious structures that propelled and accompanied the emergence of Egyptian kingship. During the Egyptian Middle Kingdom, however, female figurines were once again produced.

4.2.5 Middle Kingdom Figurines: Paddle Dolls and Fertility Figurines

Female figurines produced during the Egyptian Middle kingdom are of two basic types: so-called “paddle dolls,” made of flat pieces of painted wood, and a type known today as fertility figurines, made of faience, stone, wood, or ivory.

Paddle dolls, produced primarily in Thebes from the early First Intermediate Period through the early 12th Dynasty [Fig. 4.13],²²⁵ have a keyhole shape with no

²²⁴ N. Buchez, “The Study of a Group of Ceramics at the End of the Naqada Period and Socio-Economic Considerations,” in *Egypt at its Origins. Studies in Memory of Barbara Adams. Proceedings of the International Conference “Origin of the State. Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt,” Kraków, 28th August – 1st September 2002*, edited by S. Hendrickx, R. F. Friedman, K. M. Ciałowicz, and M. Chłodziński (Leuven: Peeters, 2004): 685, cited in Anna Wodzińska *A Manual of Egyptian Pottery. Vol 2: Naqada III – Middle Kingdom* (Boston: Ancient Egypt Research Associates, 2009): 25

²²⁵ Although Morris states that the paddle dolls range from the 6th to the 13th dynasties, Tooley gives a more restricted date range. Tooley dates the tomb of Unis-Ankh at Thebes, that yielded the oldest known paddle doll, to the early FIP and notes that the only known example from the late 12th dynasty is from a mixed deposit at Ramasseum Tomb 5 that probably represents objects from multiple burials, thus the late date is not secure. She suggests instead that paddle dolls were gradually replaced by fertility figurines, possibly first at Thebes during the early 12th Dynasty and a little later at Beni Hassan where pottery associated with some paddle dolls dates to the reign of Senwosret 2, c.1880 BCE. See Ellen Morris, “Paddle Dolls and Performance.” *JARCE* 47 (2012): 79; Angela Tooley, *Middle Kingdom Burial Customs: A Study of Wooden Models and Related Material*. (PhD Dissertation, University of Liverpool, 1989): 13, 313-314.

legs and short arms without hands or fingers. They are decorated with painted clothing, jewelry, and body art. The heads were not formed as part of the figurines, but the necks were long so that cloth and strands of beads could be wrapped around the tip to form heads and long hair. The front sides of these figurines are almost always decorated with large pubic triangles and vulva slits while the flip sides represent the backs of women, some with cross-bands and some with small images of animals or deities that appear to represent tattoos.

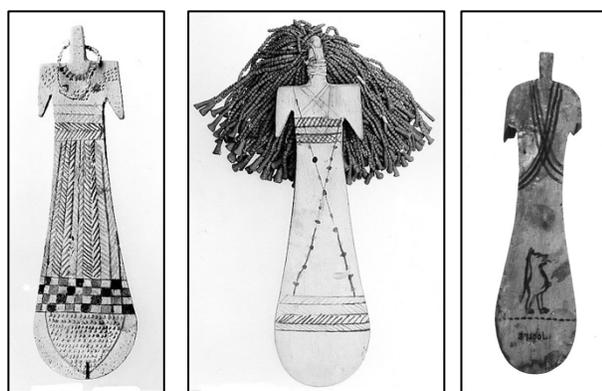


Figure 4.13. Paddle dolls

Paddle dolls appear to have been replaced gradually by small female figurines made of faience, stone, wood, or ivory that appeared in the Egyptian artistic repertoire at some point during the 12th Dynasty.²²⁶ Geraldine Pinch identified 81 excavated examples in her 1993 survey of this object class. These new figurines were decorated with costume, jewelry, and body art very like that found on the paddle dolls [Fig. 4.14]. They were truncated below the knees, with arms held down along the sides and hands and fingers indicated. Hair was

²²⁶ Tooley put the introduction of female figurines somewhere in the 12th Dynasty, while Bourriau dated the introduction of female figurines in burials specifically to the reign of Senwosret 2, c. 1880 BCE. See, Angela Tooley, *Middle Kingdom Burial Customs: A Study of Wooden Models and Related Material*. (PhD Dissertation, University of Liverpool, 1989): 328; Janine Bourriau, "Patterns of change in burial customs during the Middle Kingdom," in *Middle Kingdom Studies*, edited by Stephen Quirke, 3-20 (New Malden, Surrey: SIA Publishers, 1991): 13.

usually modeled on the figurine, in an assortment of hairstyles, and eyes were always wide open. Some examples have small holes in their heads, possibly for the insertion of strands of beads or other materials to mimic long hair, or to indicate a short curly hairstyle. Some appear to have been dressed in patterned clothing and some appear naked with accentuated pubic triangle and visible vulva slit. Both types were found primarily in tombs and were often excavated in small groups. Animal figurines from the same period, fashioned in faience, included wild species, with hippopotami well represented, but no domesticated livestock examples survive in faience.



Figure 4.14. Middle Kingdom Egyptian Female Fertility Figurines

Several scholars working in the late 1980s or early 1990s connected both paddle dolls and female figurines with women and girls who were members of Hathoric *khener* troupes, “women who sing, dance, and play clappers, usually in the context of a religious ceremony.”²²⁷ Pinch argued that all of the female figurines were connected with fertility and interpreted them thusly. Angela Tooley argued that the paddle dolls represented ritual dancers for the cult of

²²⁷ Geraldine Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, 1993): 212. Angela Tooley used a different typology, assigned according to material, and argued that only the faience and wood or ivory female figurines represented ritual dancers, Angela Tooley, *Middle Kingdom Burial Customs: A Study of Wooden Models and Related Material*. (PhD Dissertation, University of Liverpool, 1989): 323.

Hathor.²²⁸ Ellen Morris later refined this interpretation, suggesting that these figurines not only represented *khener* dancers but were distributed by Theban priests as effective souvenirs of ritual performances given by the Theban *khener* troupe who served the goddess Hathor. Morris suggests that this group was possibly coopted by King Nebhepetre for his royal mortuary cult. According to Morris these wooden figurines depicted a key moment in a ritual dance in which the dancers performed high kicks exposing their genitals as a reenactment of the myth of Hathor exposing herself to her father Re, for the revivification of the deity, the sun, and, correspondingly, the Egyptian king.

Paddle dolls and Egyptian female figurines were produced during the time that the C-Group occupied Lower Nubia and overlapped the production of C-Group female figurines. Both Pinch and Morris suggested some kind of relationship between the corpora. Morris argued that some paddle dolls might represent Nubian women who participated in the ritual dances, since the high-kick, genital-exposing dance celebrated Hathor's mythical return from Nubia. Pinch argued that similarities were the result of fashion trends. A comparison of the attributes related to subject identity and figurine use associated with the Egyptian and C-group corpora seems to indicate similar subject matter and uses, but aspects associated with imagined activities of the figurines serve to strikingly differentiate these corpora.

Paddle dolls, fertility figurines, and C-Group female figurines exhibit many of the same types of jewelry: long beaded collars, pendants attached to necklace

²²⁸ Angela Tooley, *Middle Kingdom Burial Customs: A Study of Wooden Models and Related Material*. (PhD Dissertation, University of Liverpool, 1989): 311.

strands, layers of beaded collars, bangles, and bandoliers. As Pinch points out, however, these jewelry types are generically Egyptian. Several of the characteristically C-Group jewelry types do not appear on Egyptian fertility figurines: chokers, torques, necklaces with central dangling strands, and trident-shaped chest pieces. Wide Nubian belts on C-Group figurines seem to have been replaced with delicate, beaded, cowrie-shell girdles on Egyptian fertility figurines. The types of clothing indicated on these corpora are likewise distinct. Incised lines on C-Group figurines represented long skirts, aprons or sporrans, wide belts, narrow belts with sashes, loincloths, or pubic covers that wrap around the hips. Painted designs on paddle dolls indicate skirts of herringbone or diamond patterns and wide belts in checkerboard or other geometric patterns while Egyptian fertility figurines wear either nothing but girdles or dresses in fish-scale patterns or stripes that hang from below the chest. The varieties of hairstyles found on fertility figurines contrasts sharply with the single hairstyle depicted on C-group figurines.

Body art on fertility figurines and paddle dolls is limited to lozenge shaped dot motifs and small figural imagery, usually in the form of animals. C-Group figurine body art, on the other hand, includes lozenge shaped motifs, but does not include figural imagery. Instead, C-Group figurines are often decorated with abdominal marks that suggest scarification produced during rites of passage as social identity markers. These abdominal marks are not present on Egyptian paddle dolls or fertility figurines, even though various social ages appear to be represented in the Egyptian corpora. The zigzags present on some C-Group legs do not appear on Egyptian figurines.

The separate corpora appear, from this survey of their attributes, to represent or connote specific social identities marked by certain visible aspects that include jewelry, body art, and clothing. The only aspects shared by all groups appear to be the lozenge-shaped tattoo motif and certain types of jewelry. The Egyptian emphasis on sexual characteristics, inclusion of hands and fingers, and wide-open eyes, suggests a very different interpretation of the imagined activities of these figurines compared to the almost-never-naked, hand-less, closed-eyed C-Group examples. In fact, these aspects indicate that although the corpora appear to depict similar subject matter and seem to have been used in similar ways, their functions and meanings were radically different. Egyptian figurines were created as a specific class of female subjects who were endowed with attributes that could allow the human observer or manipulator to imagine them acting in and affecting the physical world. C-Group figurines, in contrast, were sculpted as a specific class of female subjects, portrayed with characteristics that might allow the human observer or manipulator to imagine them in activity that was expressive but internally focused.

Egyptian artists started producing paddle dolls at some time after their C-Group neighbors appeared in Lower Nubia. The C-Group did not produce their own figurines until approximately 1850 BCE, at around the same time that the Egyptian artists appear to have transitioned to fully sculptural female figurines. The direction of influence, if influence was at play, is unclear, but the need or desire for collectively effective female figurines seems to have occurred first in Egypt marked by the production of paddle dolls. Approximately three centuries before Egyptian artists began to make wooden paddle dolls, however, clay

sculptors to the south in Upper Nubia started producing clay female figurines in the Kerma Basin that appear related in some ways to the C-group corpus.

4.2.6 Kerma Figurines

Many hundreds of clay figurines, primarily in animal-form but numerous anthropomorphic, have been excavated from the ancient village at Kerma and neighboring related sites at Gism el Arba and in the Eastern Desert. These have not been collected and analyzed as a discrete object class and many of these pieces have not yet been published. As work is ongoing with this corpus, my analysis will be limited to published images. Most of the Kerma figurine pieces have been dated to one of the chronological phases associated with the Kerma culture: Kerma Ancien/Early Kerma, Kerma Moyen/Middle Kerma, and Kerma Classique/Classic Kerma. The last part of Middle Kerma and the first half of Classic Kerma correspond roughly to the period of production of C-Group figurines. The earliest Kerma figurines, dating to the Early Kerma period from approximately 2500 to 2050 BCE, might have been known to the early C-Group, but appear not to have inspired similar figurine production in Lower Nubia.

Animal form figurines from Kerma are far more numerous and more varied than those from the C-Group. These figurines included wild animals, primarily represented by hippopotami [Fig. 4.15], along with domestic livestock. The hippo in the central image has not been dated, but the hippo head image on the left was excavated from the surface at Kerma village and dated to Classic Kerma. As Bonnet and Ferrero noted, animal-form figurines can be realistically modeled with legs, ears, horns, tails, and sexual organs, or they can be abstracted and formed without legs [Fig. 4.16], in which case they often have holes pierced

to accommodate horns.²²⁹ Neither of these features is found on C-Group animal-form figurines, which are always modeled with legs and integrated clay horns.

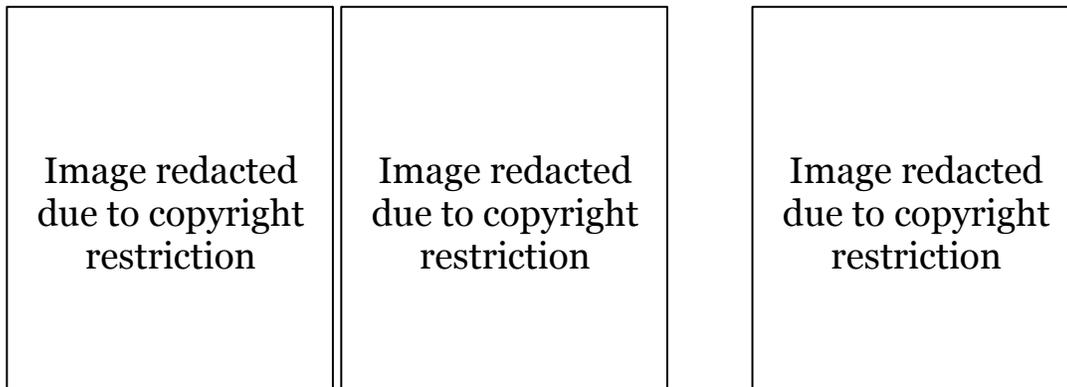


Figure 4.15. (*Left and center*) Hippopotamus figurines

Figure 4.16. Bovine figurine.

The activities in which the Kerma anthropomorphic figurines appear to have been modeled to engage seem to be limited as in the case of the C-Group anthropomorphs. All known examples of Kerma figurines with surviving eyes, whether excavated from houses or graves, show the eyes in a closed position. Although not an exhaustive collection of surviving heads, the examples in Figure 4.17 are typical of the corpus. The two isolated heads in the image on the left of Figure 4.17 are dated to Middle Kerma (upper) and Classic Kerma (lower), and were excavated from houses in Kerma village. The isolated head in the center dates to Classic Kerma and was excavated from a house in Kerma village. The isolated head in the image to the far right was excavated from Grave 151 at the Kerma culture cemetery at Akasha, near the Second Cataract. Besides this head, the grave contained the bones of an adult, remains of a sheep, and some fragmentary pottery.²³⁰ Kerma figurines, as Brigit Gratien noted, appear to have

²²⁹ Charles Bonnet and Nora Ferrero, “Les figurines miniatures de Kerma (Soudan),” *Sahara: preistoria e storia del Sahara* 8 (1996): 63.

²³⁰ Charles Maystre, *Akasha* (Genève: Georg, 1980): 140.

had short arms, reduced to stubs with no hands.²³¹ They could be formed with flat bases to stand unaided, truncated to stand alone, or modeled with a forward tilted pelvis and outstretched legs in the same ambiguous pose as many A-Group and C-Group figurines. These features suggest that the figurines were sculpted to be manipulated or posed in imagined acts that did not involve transitive action, and likely focused on the social or ritual realm.



Figure 4.17. Kerma figurine heads showing closed eyes

Kerma burials were very much like C-Group burials, with bodies laid in a contracted position oriented east to west in clothing and jewelry almost identical to that of the C-group. Circular stone superstructures capped the graves and pottery and bucrania were deposited outside these superstructures. Few figurines, however, were associated with Kerma burials. One of the few figurines known from a burial is the isolated head from Akasha, and this was found alone. From the published data, it appears that most of the anthropomorphic forms from Kerma village, with the exception of those excavated by Reisner from

²³¹ Brigit Gratien, "Quelques nouveaux portraits de Kerma," in *Elkab and Beyond: Studies in Honour of Luc Limme*, eds. W. Claes, H. De Meulenaere, and S. Hendrickx, 321-332 (Leuven: Peeters, 2009): 321.

temple debris, were generally found singly in houses spread throughout the settlement [Fig. 4.18].²³²



Figure 4.18. Plan of Kerma, with locations of some figurines in red

At least two houses, however, contained two figurines each. House 47 held the only complete Kerma anthropomorphic figurine found to date and a truncated figurine with crudely modeled featureless head and stump arms [Fig. 4.19]. House 21 contained the expressively modeled head from figure 4.19, and the broken off top portion of a figurine with a crudely modeled, featureless head and no arms [Fig. 4.20]. No animal form figurines were apparently found in the domestic areas of the village, livestock figurines and one human torso were excavated from the fortification areas, and a hippopotamus along with two

²³² There were more figurines from the village than are shown on this map. The map only shows the findspots that are specifically listed in Charles Bonnet, *Kerma, royaume de Nubie* (Genève: Mission archéologique de l'Université de Genève au Soudan, 1990).

miniature crocodiles was found placed as a foundation deposit in the religious quarter of the village. The discrete deposition of livestock, human, and wild animals suggests separate ideological and possibly incompatible roles for figurines representing this subject matter.



Figure 4.19. Figurines from House 47



Figure 4.20. Figurines from House 21

Surface details of Kerma anthropomorphic figurines are difficult to assess, as these objects have not been extensively published and available images are not clear. Some from houses at Kerma village or habitation zones at Gism el Arba were decorated with impressed dots and incised lines around the hips and torso, or zigzag lines and lozenges on the legs. The clothing, on the other hand, is easier to see and there are a few figurines with incised lines representing wide belts that wrap around the hips and terminate in squared or rounded tabs at the back like to those seen on C-Group figurines [Fig. 4.21]. Charles Bonnet and Nora Ferrero matched garments excavated from Kerma graves to the clothing indicated on figurines, noting that a braided palm fiber band wrapped around the pelvis of a skeleton dated to the Early Kerma phase appeared, like the belts shown on

figurines, to hold a pubic apron in place.²³³ This belt-like garment is often seen on C-Group figurines and might, in both cases, represent the clothing associated with certain female social identities or socially mediated lifestages.

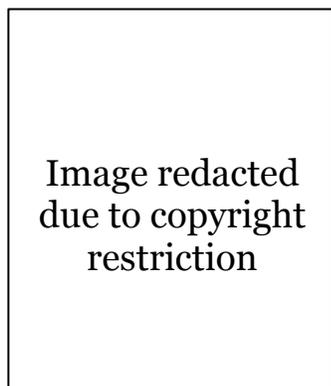


Figure 4.21. Belts on Kerma figurines

Archaeologists such as Charles Bonnet, Nora Ferrero, and Brigit Gratien, who have excavated and studied the Kerma figurine corpus in more detail than other scholars, distinguish two basic types: female figurines, and stylized or schematized human figurines that were generally not fired.²³⁴ In a recent analysis in which she compared Kerma anthropomorphic figurines to Lower Nubian C-Group anthropomorphic figurines, Brigit Gratien argued that the two types, female figurines and stylized anthropomorphs, functioned differently and proposed that the stylized type was made by or for children while the female figurines were used in popular cults or rituals. Although Gratien's analysis is not adequate to explain C-Group figurines since her work was limited by lack of

²³³ Charles Bonnet and Nora Ferrero, "Les figurines miniatures de Kerma (Soudan)," *Sahara: preistoria e storia del Sahara* 8 (1996): 65.

²³⁴ Charles Bonnet and Nora Ferrero, "Les figurines miniatures de Kerma (Soudan)," *Sahara: preistoria e storia del Sahara* 8 (1996): 63; Brigit Gratien, "Quelques nouveaux portraits de Kerma," in *Elkab and Beyond: Studies in Honour of Luc Limme*, edited by W. Claes, H. De Meulenaere, and S. Hendrickx, 321-332 (Leuven: Peeters, 2009): 321, 323; Nora Ferrero, "Miniatures en terre," in *Kerma, royaume de Nubie*, edited by Charles Bonnet (Genève: Mission archéologique de l'Université de Genève au Soudan, 1990): 133.

access to the full C-Group corpus, she notes of the female figurine type, “ Ces modèles sont donc inspirés par la vie quotidienne, et sont des portraits de ‘femmes Kerma’.”²³⁵ I suggest, further, that although these figurines were undoubtedly inspired by daily life, they were intentionally produced or understood as specific types of female identities rather than representations of random women.

There are many possible interpretations of the Kerma figurines, but further examination and analysis will be needed to clarify their meanings and uses. For the purposes of this dissertation, the important factors that can be inferred from their attributes are that they seem not to represent the same specific subject matter as C-group figurines, but likely referenced a similar class of women, the depiction of which likely referenced similar histories of authority. They were formed, like C-Group figurines, in anticipation of being held and manipulated and were likely imagined to be actively involved in some action that did not directly affect the physical world. Unlike the clay female figurines of the C-group or the coeval Egyptian female fertility figurines, there is little evidence that the Kerma figurines were understood or manipulated as collective actors. Their survival in pairs or singly from houses scattered throughout the village suggests their use in domestic cult, but this should not automatically be assumed to involve only fertility.

4.3 Ancient Female Authority Roles as Prototype for Figurines

²³⁵ Brigit Gratien, “Quelques nouveaux portraits de Kerma,” in *Elkab and Beyond: Studies in Honour of Luc Limme*, edited by W. Claes, H. De Meulenaere, and S. Hendrickx, 321-332 (Leuven: Peeters, 2009): 330.

C-Group clay figurines comprised one of three culturally specific coeval figurine industries in Bronze Age northeast Africa: Egyptian, C-group, and Kerma. Female forms dominate all three of these figurine industries whose anthropomorphic subject matter seems to represent groups of women of varying social identities and ages. All three corpora were formed with attributes that appear to signal some type of standardized authority or ritual status that can be seen in female figurines from the region dating back to the Neolithic. The Egyptian figurines appear to have diverged at an early date from the activities associated with the subject matter and functions of the Nubian and Sudanese corpora, shifting toward more active meanings and forms related to sexual reproduction and fertility. The C-Group and Kerma figurines, in contrast, maintained attributes such as distinctive belts, body markings, and closed eyes that appear, in various permutations, on earlier female figurines from Lower and Upper Nubia as well as Central Sudan.

Scholarship on C-group figurines has historically relied on Egyptian models to assess their meanings and functions. It has only been recently that a few scholars have looked at Nubia and Sudan to inform interpretations of the C-group corpus. The results of the analyses of form, style and context performed in this dissertation, as well as the preliminary and cursory comparison of all the figurine corpora of the region, demonstrates the promise of looking to the south to understand C-Group figurines. Situating this corpus within its specific cultural matrix, but seeing it as part of broader regional patterns of ritual and representation brings into focus the longevity of symbolism associated with

female spheres of authority in this region and the effects of different types of political organization on the deployment of these symbols.

Appendix 1 Catalog of C-Group Anthropomorphic Figurines

The following catalog is comprised of published images and photographs taken by myself or others. I have added digitally enhanced copies of some of the original images to clarify critical features. The figurines are organized using an alphanumeric identification system that I developed specifically for ease of reference and to avoid typological choices that might privilege current taxonomic values likely not shared by the figurines' sculptors and users. The figurines are thus identified by the surviving amount of the body. The numeric suffixes of the IDs were randomly assigned and should not be seen as meaningful. The sources of the individual images are cited at the end of Appendix 1. This catalog is as comprehensive as possible, but some figurines from the known corpus are not represented for a variety of reasons: I was unable to visit every museum collection, some figurines did not survive after they were first recorded in excavation reports, and some were unavailable during my research.

Prefix	Corresponding type
A	Complete or near-complete condition with head
B	Head attached to upper body
C	Complete or near-complete condition but missing head
D	Isolated head
E	Upper body without head
F	Lower body
G	Isolated body parts except for heads

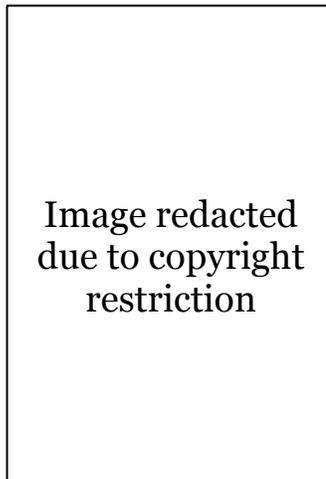
A-1



Origin: Aniba, Cemetery N, Grave 900

Current Location: Cairo, Egyptian Museum 10860

Measurements: H: 17 cm, L: 25 cm

A-2

Origin: Aniba, Cemetery N, in the sand

Current Location: Aswan, Nubian Museum, Inv. No. Unknown (Old Cairo JE 65192)

Measurements: H: 11.0 cm, L: 15.5 cm

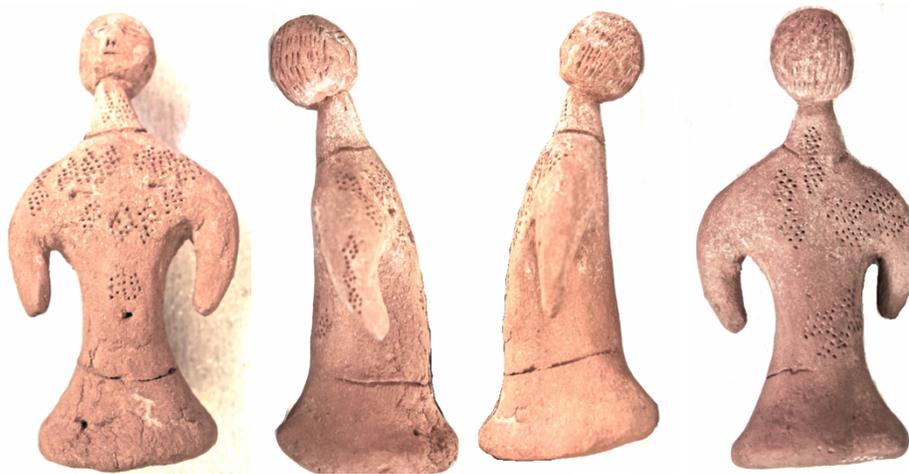
A-3

Origin: Aniba, Cemetery N, Grave 390

Current Location: Leipzig, 4403

Measurements: H: 8 cm, L: 12.5 cm, W: 4.9 cm, D: 3.4 cm, Munsell 10YR 5/4-4/4

A-4

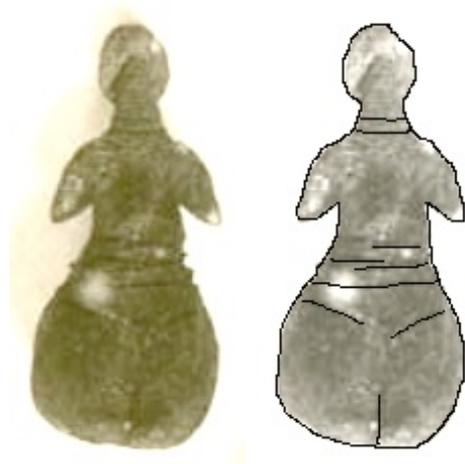


Origin: Adindan, Cemetery T, Grave 51

Current Location: OIM E 23202

Measurements: H: 9.7 cm, W: 5.1 cm, D: 4.7 cm, Munsell 2.5YR 5/4

A-5



Origin: Koshtamna, Cemetery 87, Grave 66

Current Location: Unknown

Measurements: Estimated from photograph - H: 4.6 cm, W: 1.9 cm

A-6

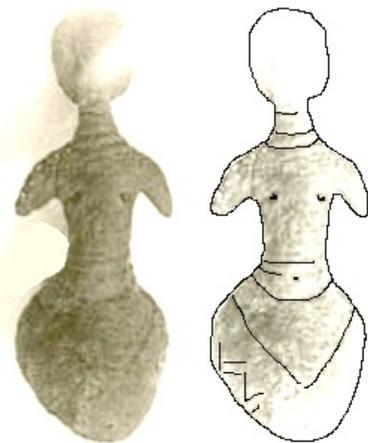


Origin: Koshtamna, Cemetery 87, Grave 66

Current Location: Unknown

Measurements: Estimated from photograph - H: 4.2 cm, L: 5.2 cm

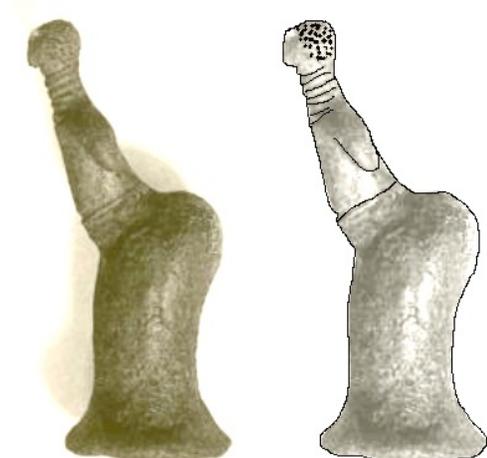
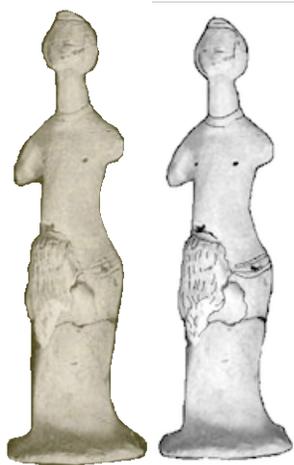
A-7



Origin: Koshtamna, Cemetery 87, Grave 66

Current Location: Unknown

Measurements: Estimated from photograph - H: 6.2 cm, W: 2.2 cm

A-8**Origin:** Koshtamna, Cemetery 87, Grave 66**Current Location:** Unknown**Measurements:** Estimated from photograph – H: 7.6 cm, L: 8.1 cm, D: 2.3 cm**A-9****Origin:** Koshtamna, Cemetery 87, Grave 152**Current Location:** Unknown**Measurements:** Estimated from photograph – H: 10 cm**A-10**

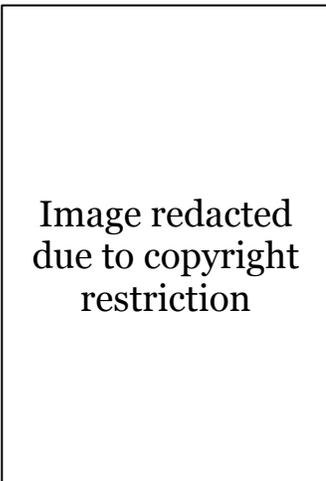


Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

Origin: Nagaa el Mahmoudiya, Grave 1

Current Location: Unknown

Measurements: Estimated from photograph – H: 13 cm, L: 15 cm

A-11



Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

Origin: Wadi el Arab, Settlement Site, Room 5

Current Location: Unknown

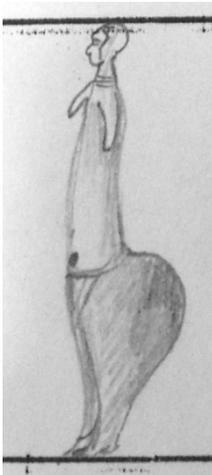
Measurements: Estimated from photograph – H: 15 cm

A-12



Origin: Serra East, Shirfadik, Cemetery 179, Grave 71
Current Location: Uppsala 179/71:1
Measurements: L: 8.6 cm

A-13



Origin: Argin, Necropolis of Anx
Current Location: Sheikan Museum, Khartoum (Old SNM 62/12/118)
Measurements: Unknown

B-1



Origin: Areika, Habitation Zone

Current Location: Penn, E4004

Measurements: H: 4.7 cm, Munsell 5YR 6/2-5/2

B-2



Origin: Areika, Habitation Zone

Current Location: Penn, E4010

Measurements: H: 3.5 cm, Munsell 7.5YR 4/1

B-3

Origin: Areika, Habitation Zone

Current Location: Penn, E4037

Measurements: H: 2.2 cm, D: 1.4 cm, Munsell 7.5YR 5/2

B-4

Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

Origin: Aniba, Cemetery N, in sand

Current Location: Unknown

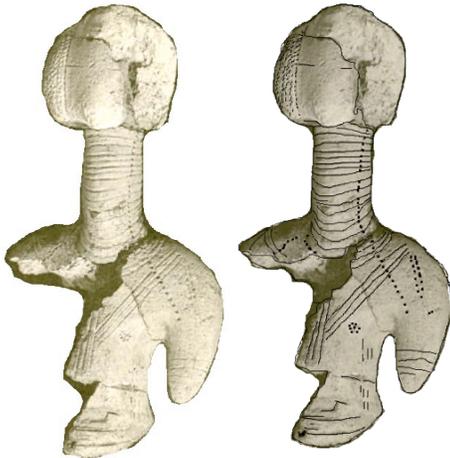
Measurements: H: 12 cm

B-5



Origin: Aniba, Cemetery N, in sand
Current Location: Cairo, Egyptian Museum 10859
Measurements: Unknown

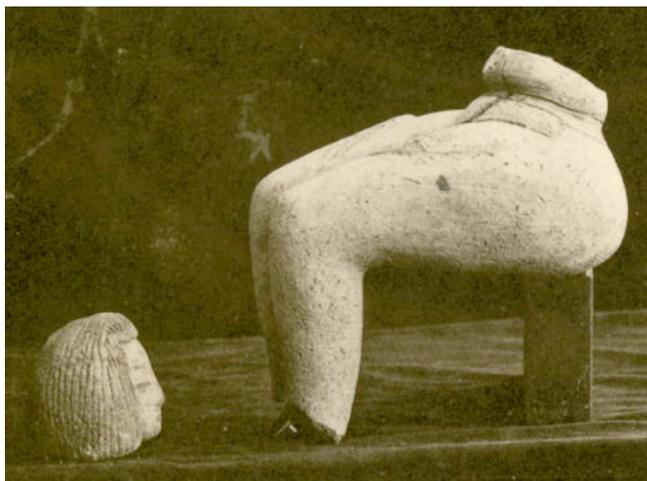
B-6



Origin: Koshtamna, cemetery 87, Grave 152
Current Location: Unknown
Measurements: Unknown

B-7

Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction



Origin: Dakka, Cemetery 111, Grave 58

Current Location: Aswan 611 and 612

Measurements: H: 14 cm

B-8

No Image Available

Origin: Serra West, Cemetery 24-M-6, Grave Aa

Current Location: SNM 18006

Measurements: H: 6.2 cm

B-9

Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

Origin: Askut, Room SE 32A
Current Location: UCLA 400-1541
Measurements: H: 10 cm

B-10



Origin: Unknown
Current Location: Cairo, Egyptian Museum 10861
Measurements: Unknown

B-11



Origin: Archaeological Survey of Nubia, Provenance Unknown

Current Location: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 19.1573

Measurements: H: 11.4 cm, W: 8.4 cm, D: 0.8 cm

C-1



Origin: Koshtamna, Cemetery 87, Grave 66

Current Location: Unknown

Measurements: Estimated from photograph – H: 4.6 cm, L: 6 cm, D: 4 cm

C-2

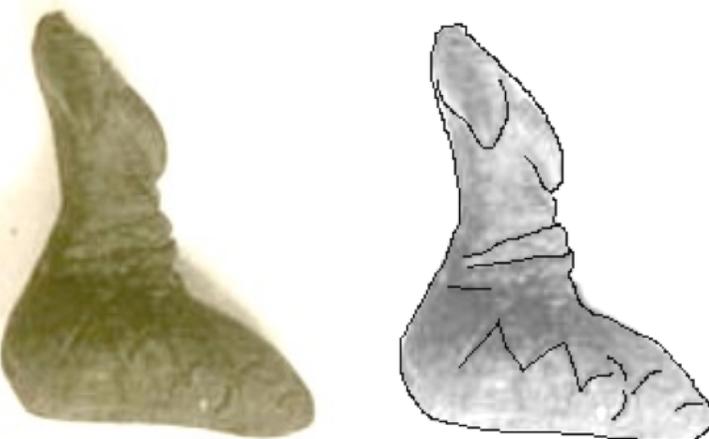


Origin: Koshtamna, Cemetery 87, Grave 66

Current Location: Unknown

Measurements: Estimated from photograph – H: 2.3 cm, L: 2.5 cm, D: 1.5 cm

C-3

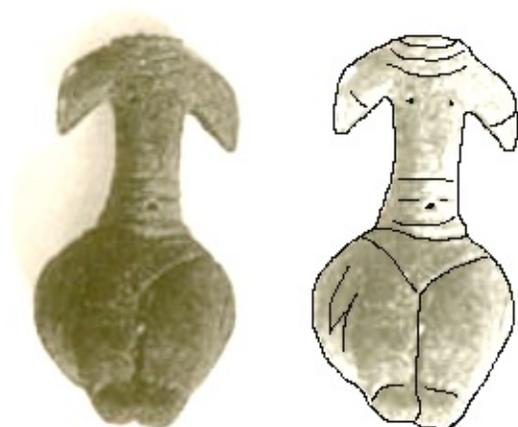


Origin: Koshtamna, Cemetery 87, Grave 66

Current Location: Unknown

Measurements: Estimated from photograph - H: 4 cm, L: 4.6 cm, D: 3 cm

C-4

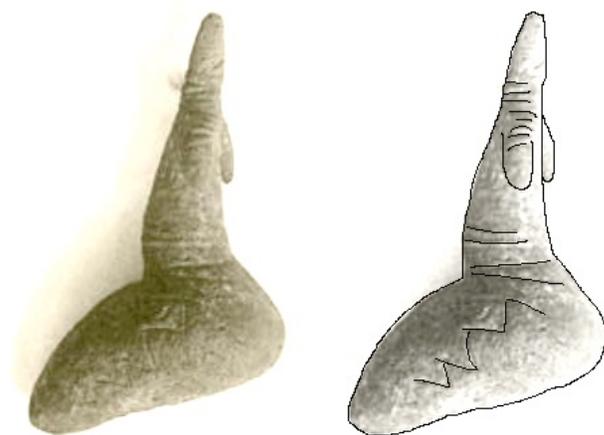


Origin: Koshtamna, Cemetery 87, Grave 66

Current Location: Unknown

Measurements: Estimated from photograph – H: 4.6 cm, W: 2.2 cm

C-5

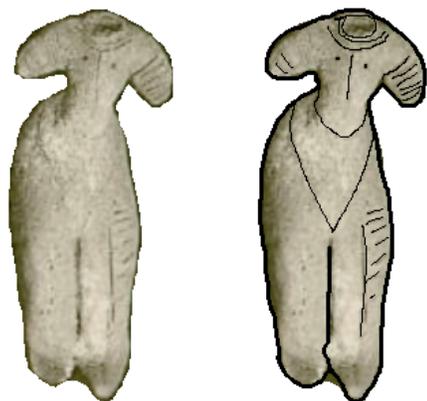


Origin: Koshtamna, Cemetery 87, Grave 66

Current Location: Unknown

Measurements: Estimated from photograph – H: 6.6 cm, L: 7.1 cm, D: 4.2 cm

C-6

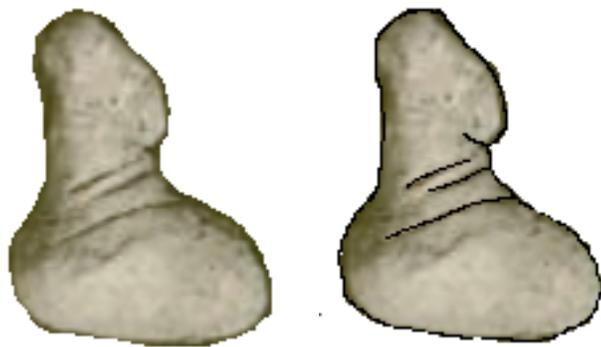


Origin: Koshtamna, Cemetery 87, Grave 152

Current Location: Unknown

Measurements: Unknown

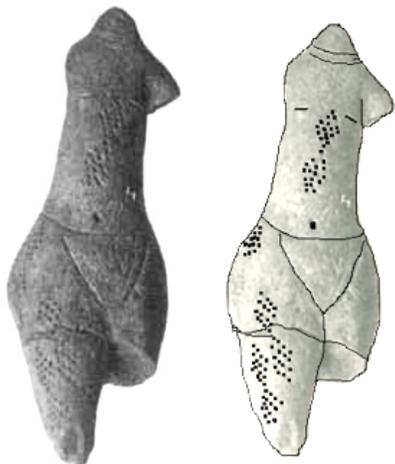
C-7



Origin: Koshtamna, Cemetery 87, Grave 152

Current Location: Unknown

Measurements: Unknown

C-8

Origin: Archaeological Survey of Nubia, Provenance Dakka, Cemetery Unknown

Current Location: Unknown

Measurements: Unknown

C-9

Origin: Aniba, Cemetery N, Grave 99

Current Location: Leipzig, 4401

Measurements: H: 6.4 cm, W: 3.0 cm, D: 2.9 cm, L: 7.1 cm, Munsell 5YR 6/6-5/6

C-10

Origin: Aniba, Cemetery N, Grave 108

Current Location: Leipzig, 4398

Measurements: H: 5.6 cm, W: 3.6 cm, D: 2.5 cm, L: 6.5 cm, Munsell 7.5YR 6/4-5/4

C-11

Origin: Aniba, Cemetery N, in sand between Grave 214 and 215

Current Location: Leipzig, 4407

Measurements: H: 9.4 cm, W: 4.4 cm, D: 3.3 cm, L: 10.3 cm, Munsell 5YR 6/4-5/4

C-12

Origin: Aniba, Cemetery N, Grave 249

Current Location: Leipzig, 4406

Measurements: H: 10.9 cm, W: 3.9 cm, D: 2.1 cm, L: 13.7 cm, Munsell 7.5YR 6/4-4/4

C-13

Origin: Aniba, Cemetery N, in sand between Graves 249 and 262

Current Location: Leipzig, 4399

Measurements: H: 6.2 cm, W: 2.3 cm, D: 1.9 cm, Munsell 7.5YR 6/4

C-14



Origin: Aniba, Cemetery N, in sand between Graves 249 and 262

Current Location: Leipzig, 4400

Measurements: H: 7.3 cm, W: 2.5 cm, D: 2 cm, Munsell 7.5YR 5/4

C-15

Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

Origin: Aniba, Cemetery N, Grave 390

Current Location: Leipzig, 4402

Measurements: H: 11.7 cm, W: 5.4 cm, D: 4.0 cm, L: 13.5 cm, Munsell 5YR
6/4-5/4

C-16

Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction



Origin: Aniba, Cemetery N, Upper part in Grave 677, Lower part in sand
Current Location: Cairo, Egyptian Museum 10862
Measurements: H: 9.7 cm, L: 16 cm

C-17

Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

Origin: Aniba, Settlement Area
Current Location: Unknown
Measurements: H: 6 cm

C-18

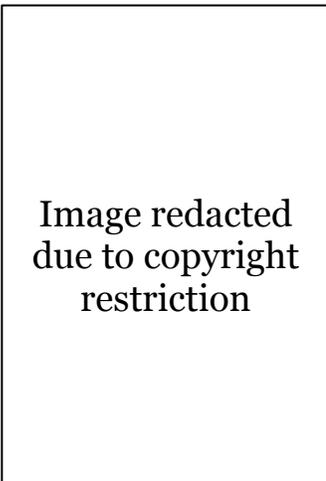


Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

Origin: Aniba, Settlement Area
Current Location: Unknown
Measurements: H: 7.5 cm

C-19



Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

Origin: Aniba, Settlement Area
Current Location: Unknown
Measurements: H: 6 cm

C-20



Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

Origin: Aniba, Cemetery N, in sand
Current Location: Cairo 10866
Measurements: H: 7.5 cm, L: 17 cm

C-21



Origin: Aniba, Settlement Area
Current Location: Leipzig, 4405
Measurements: H: 8.9 cm, W: 4.6 cm, D: 2.2 cm, L: 9.3 cm, Munsell 5YR 6/4 – 5/4

C-22

Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

Origin: Aniba, Cemetery N, in sand

Current Location: Leipzig, 4404

Measurements: H: 11.1 cm, W: 2.7 cm, D: 2.3 cm, L: 13.1 cm, Munsell 5YR 7/4

C-23

Origin: Serra East, Shirfadik, Site 179, Grave 80

Current Location: SNM 62/12/66

Measurements: H: 8.2 cm, W: 2.0 cm, D: 2.2 cm, Munsell 7.5YR 5/3

C-24

Origin: Areika, Habitation Zone

Current Location: Penn, E4019

Measurements: L: 7.9 cm, Munsell 5YR 5/4

C-25

Origin: Areika, Habitation Zone

Current Location: Penn, E4021

Measurements: L: 3.6 cm, Munsell 7.5YR 3/1

C-26



Origin: Areika, Habitation Zone

Current Location: Penn, E4024

Measurements: H: 4.9 cm, L: 5.4 cm, Munsell 7.5YR 6/2

C-27



Origin: Areika, Habitation Zone

Current Location: Penn, 4022

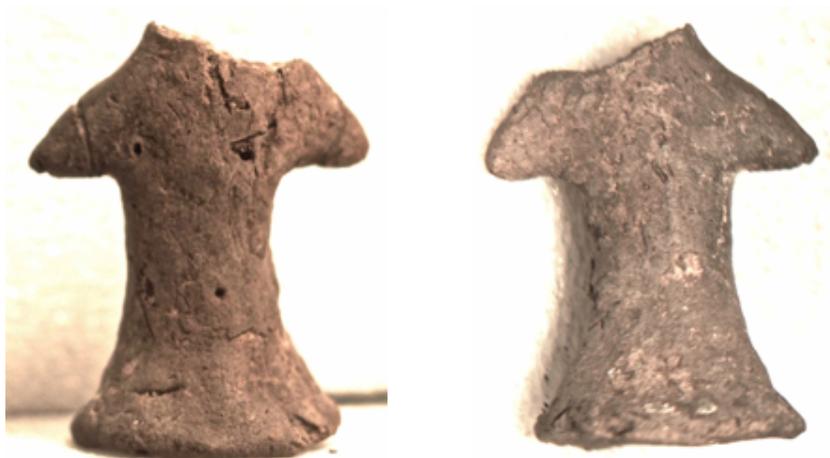
Measurements: H: 7.7 cm, Munsell 5YR 4/1

C-28

Origin: Areika, Habitation Zone

Current Location: Penn, E4027

Measurements: H: 4.2 cm, Munsell 7.5YR 5/2

C-29

Origin: Areika, Habitation Zone

Current Location: Penn, E 4052

Measurements: L: 2.7 cm, Munsell 7.5YR 4/1

C-30**Origin:** Areika, Habitation Zone**Current Location:** Penn, E4643**Measurements:** L: 2.7 cm, Munsell 7.5YR 4/1**C-31****Origin:** Unknown, possibly from Kubban Cemetery 118, Grave 241**Current Location:** MFA Eg. Inv. 13109**Measurements:** L: 2.8 cm, D: 1.9 cm, Munsell 5 YR 4/3**C-32**



Origin: Aniba, Cemetery N, Grave 108

Current Location: Leipzig, 4410

Measurements: H: 8.0 cm, W: 2.4 cm, D: 2.5 cm, L: 9.5 cm, Munsell 7.5 YR 7/4-5/4

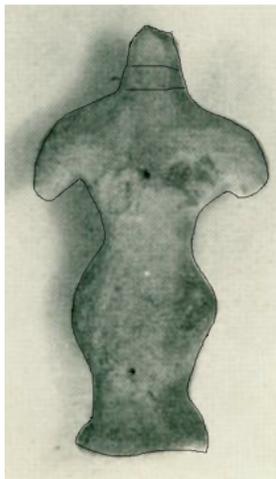
C-33



Origin: Toshka, Cemetery C

Current Location: KHM 7326

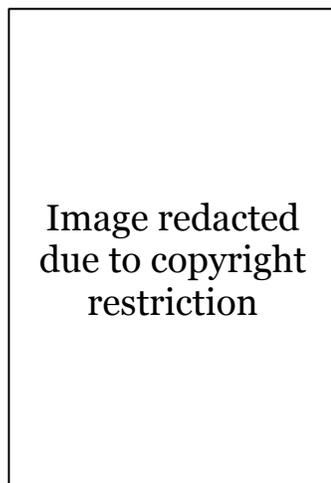
Measurements: H: 14.9 cm, W: 4.5 cm, D: 3.9 cm, Munsell 5 YR 5/4

C-34

Origin: Faras, Settlement Area 24/E/2

Current Location: Unknown

Measurements: Estimated from photograph – H: 9.5 cm

C-35

Origin: Nagaa el-Tahouna, North Settlement, inside a house

Current Location: Unknown

Measurements: Estimated from photograph – L: 8 to 10 cm

C-36

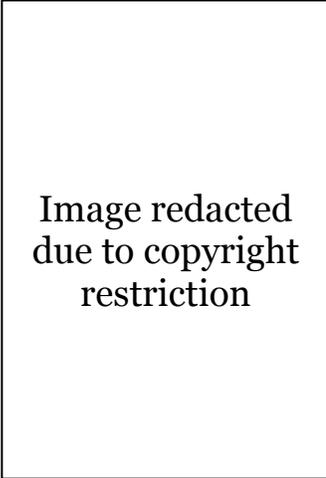


Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

Origin: Nagaa el-Tahouna, North Settlement, inside a house

Current Location: Unknown

Measurements: Estimated from photograph – H: 14 cm, L: 22 cm

C-37



Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

Origin: Nagaa el-Mahmoudiya, Tomb 1

Current Location: Aswan, Nubian Museum Inv. No. Unknown

Measurements: Estimated from photograph – H: 7 to 9 cm

C-38



Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

Origin: Nagaa el-Mahmoudiya, Tomb 1

Current Location: Unknown (likely Aswan Nubian Museum)

Measurements: Estimated from photograph – L: 4 to 6 cm

C-39



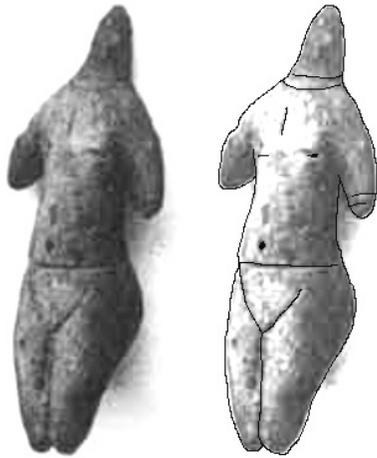
Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

Origin: Nagaa el-Mahmoudiya, Tomb 1

Current Location: Unknown (likely Aswan Nubian Museum)

Measurements: Estimated from photograph – L: 5 to 6 cm

C-40



Origin: Archaeological Survey of Nubia, Provenance Unknown
Current Location: Unknown
Measurements: Unknown

C-41

Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

Origin: Aniba, Settlement Area
Current Location: Unknown
Measurements: Unknown

C-42

Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

Origin: Ashkeit, Nag Sinerki, Site 345 (habitation with a child burial)

Current Location: Uppsala 345/19

Measurements: H: 2.1, W: 2, D: 1.7 cm

D-1



Origin: Adindan, Cemetery T, Grave 205

Current Location: OIM E44466

Measurements: H: 2.2 cm, W: 2.5 cm, D: 2.1 cm, Munsell 2.5 YR 5/4- 5/1

D-2



Origin: Koshtamna, Cemetery 87, Grave 66

Current Location: MFA Eg. Inv. 13110

Measurements: H: 2.3 cm, Munsell 2.5 Y 4/1

D-3



Origin: Archaeological Survey of Nubia, Provenance Unknown

Current Location: MFA Eg. Inv. 13110

Measurements: H: 2.4 cm, W: 2.6 cm, D: 2.2 cm, Munsell 10 R 5/6

D-4



Origin: Areika, Habitation Zone

Current Location: Penn E4636

Measurements: W: 2.0 cm, Munsell 5YR 5/3 (face: 7.5 YR 5/2)

D-5



Origin: Areika, Habitation Zone

Current Location: Penn E4025

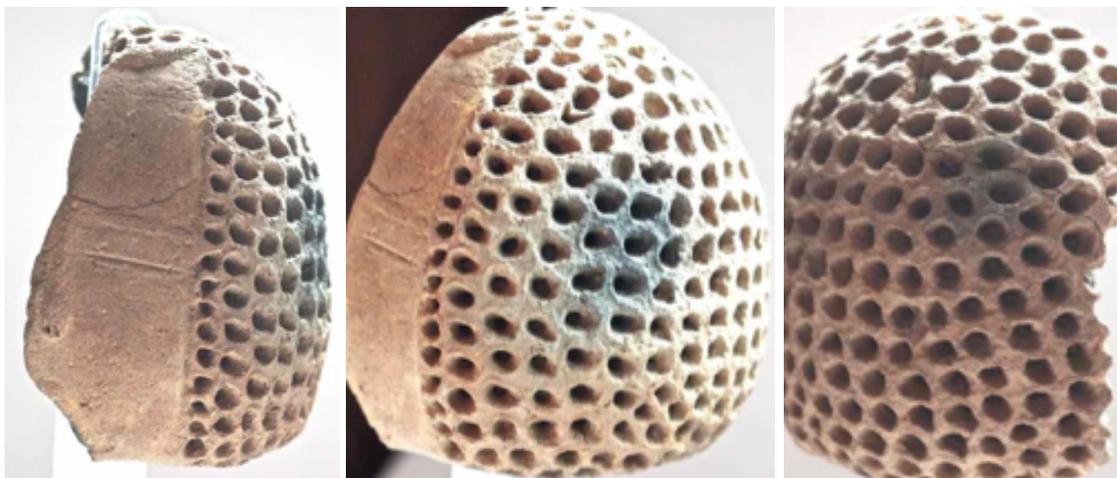
Measurements: H: 4.7 cm, W: 4.2 cm, Munsell 2.5 YR 5/4

D-6



Origin: Aniba
Current Location: Leipzig, E8279
Measurements: Unknown

D-7



Origin: Aniba, Cemetery N, in sand
Current Location: Leipzig, E4397
Measurements: H: 6.7 cm, W: 4.4 cm, D: 6.8 cm, Munsell 7.5 YR 6/2

D-8



Origin: Aniba

Current Location: Leipzig, E 7686

Measurements: Unknown

D-9

Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

Origin: Aniba, Cemetery N, Grave 133

Current Location: Leipzig, E 4395

Measurements: H: 5.4 cm, W: 5.8 cm, D: 5.2 cm, Munsell 5 YR 6/6 – 5/6

D-10

Origin: Aniba, Cemetery N, Grave 133

Current Location: Leipzig, E. 4396

Measurements: H: 6.6 cm, W: 6.5 cm, D: 5.8 cm, Munsell 5 YR 7/4 – 6/4

D-11

Origin: Aniba, Cemetery N, in sand

Current Location: Unknown

Measurements: H: 3 cm

D-12

Origin: Aniba, Settlement area
Current Location: Unknown
Measurements: H: 5 cm

D-13

Origin: Aniba, Settlement area
Current Location: Unknown
Measurements: H: 3 cm

D-14

Origin: Nagaa el-Tahouna, North Settlement, inside a house

Current Location: Unknown

Measurements: Estimated measurements based on photo - H: 4.5 cm, W: 3.8 cm

D-15

Origin: Argin, Necropolis of Nelluah

Current Location: MAN, 1980/91/307

Measurements: H: 8.8 cm, W: 8.5 cm, D: 7.4 cm

D-16

Origin: Faras West, Cemetery 24-E-3, Area C16E

Current Location: SNM Inv. No. Unsure (62/12/1?)

Measurements: H: 4.5 cm, W: 5.1 cm, D: 4.5 cm, Munsell 7.5 YR 4/2

D-17

Origin: Faras West, Cemetery 24-E-3, in pieces near Graves C18 and C24

Current Location: SNM, Inv. No. 62/11/115

Measurements: H: 5.0 cm, W: 5.2 cm, D: 5.0 cm, Munsell 10 YR 5/2

D-18

Origin: Debeira West, Cemetery 24-R-17, Grave d

Current Location: SNM, Inv. No. 17903

Measurements: H: 5.4 cm, W: 5.2 cm, D: 3.5 cm, Munsell 7.5 YR 4/2

D-19

Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

Origin: Debeira East, Cemetery 65, Grave 14

Current Location: Uppsala 65/14:1

Measurements: H: 4.1 cm, W: 3.9 cm

D-20

Origin: Serra East, Shirfadik, Cemetery 179, Grave 72
Current Location: Uppsala 179/72:1
Measurements: L: 5.4 cm

D-21

Origin: Adindan, Cemetery T, Grave 217
Current Location: OIM E 44464
Measurements: H: 4.8 cm, W: 5.4 cm, D: 3.9 cm

D-22**Origin:** Unknown**Current Location:** Cairo Egyptian Museum 10857**Measurements:** Unknown

D-23**Origin:** Unknown**Current Location:** Cairo Egyptian Museum 10853**Measurements:** Unknown

D-24**Origin:** Unknown**Current Location:** Cairo Egyptian Museum 10854**Measurements:** Unknown**E-1****Origin:** Adindan, Cemetery T, Grave 154**Current Location:** OIM E 23486**Measurements:** H: 9.8 cm, W: 8.0 cm, D: 3.8 cm, Munsel 7.5 YR 6/3

E-2

Origin: Areika, Habitation Zone (excavated with lower body intact, F-9)

Current Location: Penn E 4638

Measurements: H: 2.4 cm, Munsell 7.5 YR 4/2

E-3

Origin: Areika, Habitation Zone

Current Location: Penn E4026

Measurements: H: 9.0 cm, W: 7.3 cm, Munsell 7.5 YR 5/3

E-4

Origin: Areika, Habitation Zone

Current Location: Penn E4028

Measurements: H: 3.0 cm, Munsell 7.5 YR 4/1

E-5

Origin: Areika, Habitation Zone

Current Location: Penn, E4051

Measurements: H: 3.3 cm, W: 2.5 cm, Munsell 7.5 YR 5/2-4/2

E-6

Origin: Areika, Habitation Zone

Current Location: Penn E4621

Measurements: L: 3.6 cm, Munsell 5 YR 5/4

E-7

Origin: Aniba

Current Location: Leipzig, E7685

Measurements: H: 6.5 cm, W: 5.0 cm, D: 1.8 cm, Munsell 7.5 YR 6/4-5/4

E-8

Origin: Toshka, Cemetery C, Grave X

Current Location: KHM 7325

Measurements: H: 5.14 cm, W: 2.72 cm, D: 1.185 cm, Munsell 5 YR 5/3

E-9

Origin: Aniba, Cemetery N, in sand

Current Location: Cairo Egyptian Museum 10864

Measurements: Unknown

E-10

Origin: Aniba, Cemetery N, in sand

Current Location: Unknown

Measurements: H: 11.5 cm

E-11

Origin: Nagaa el-Tahouna, North Settlement, inside a house

Current Location: Unknown

Measurements: Estimated based on photo - H: 6.5 cm, W: 6 cm

E-12

Origin: Nagaa el-Tahouna, North Settlement, inside a house

Current Location: Unknown

Measurements: Estimated based on photo - L: 10.5 cm, W: 6.0 cm

E-13

Origin: Nagaa el-Mahmoudiya, Tomb 1

Current Location: Unknown

Measurements: Estimated based on photo – L: 4 cm

E-14

Origin: Faras West, Cemetery 24-E-3, Grave C33

Current Location: SNM 62/11/170

Measurements: H: 10.5 cm, W: 5.3 cm, D: 1.6 cm, Munsell 5 YR 5/2

E-15

Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

Origin: Serra East, Shirfadik, Cemetery 179, Grave 80

Current Location: Sudan National Museum Inv. No. Unknown

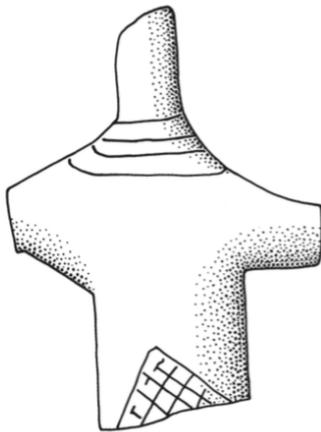
Measurements: H: 1.6 cm

E-16

Origin: Unsure, likely Faras

Current Location: SNM 63/2/46

Measurements: H: 5.2 cm, W: 3.3 cm, D: 3.6 cm, Munsell 10 YR 5/2

E-17

Origin: Wadi es-Sebua, Room 85

Current Location: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Cairo

Measurements: H: 5.2 cm, W: 3.3 cm, D: 3.6 cm, Munsell 10 YR 5/2

F-1

Origin: Dakka, Cemetery 101, Grave 24

Current Location: MFA E19.1575

Measurements: L: 5.2 cm, W: 2.9 cm, D: 3.4 cm, Munsell 7.5 YR 5/3

F-2

Origin: Unknown

Current Location: MFA Eg. Inv. 13105

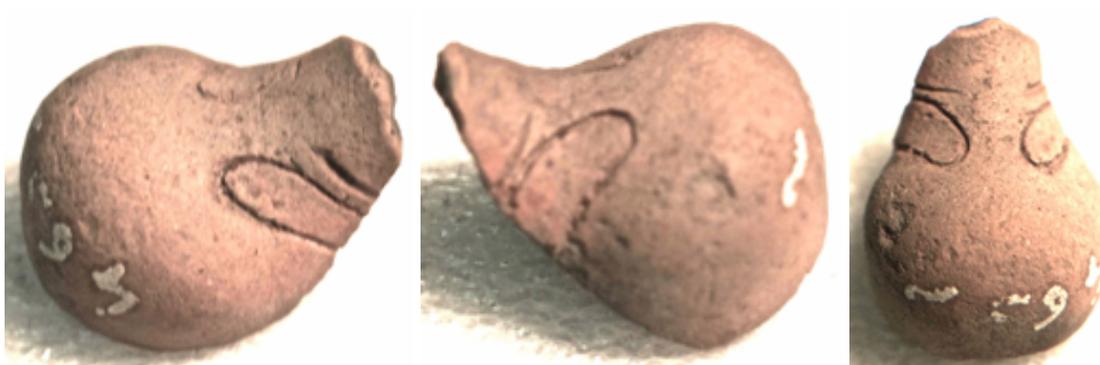
Measurements: L: 10 cm, W: 3.8 cm, D: 4.1 cm, Munsell 7.5 YR 5/2

F-3

Origin: Areika, Habitation Zone

Current Location: Penn E4623

Measurements: L: 3.8 cm, D: 2.2 cm, Munsell 5 YR 3/1

F-4

Origin: Areika, Habitation Zone

Current Location: Penn E4632

Measurements: L: 2.3 cm, W: 1.9 cm, Munsell 5 YR 5/3

F-5

Origin: Areika, Habitation Zone

Current Location: Penn E4626

Measurements: L: 3.2 cm, Munsell 5 YR 3/1

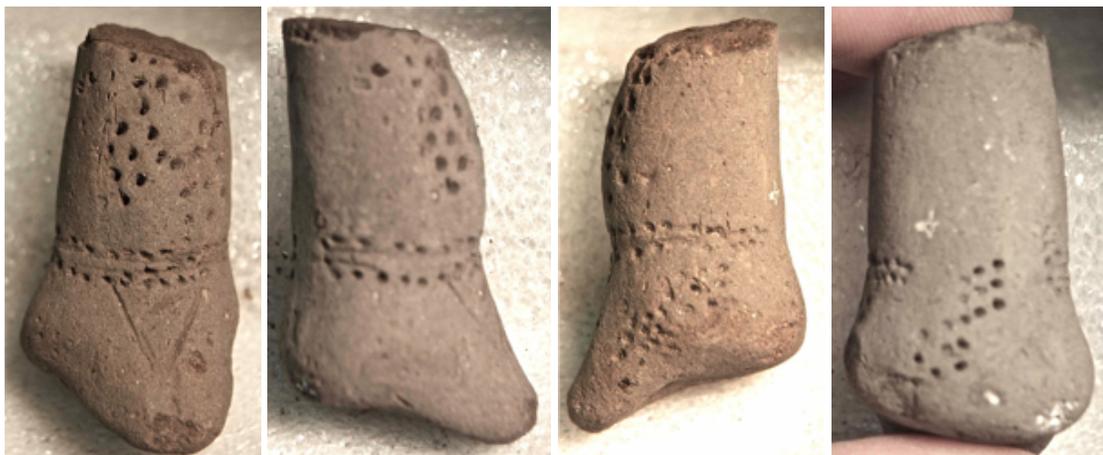
F-6

Origin: Areika, Habitation Zone

Current Location: Penn E4627

Measurements: L: 5.5 cm, Munsell 7.5 YR 5/2

F-7**Origin:** Areika, Habitation Zone**Current Location:** Penn E4628**Measurements:** 3.3 cm, Munsell 7.5 YR 5/2**F-8****Origin:** Areika, Habitation Zone**Current Location:** Penn E4635**Measurements:** H: 6.0 cm, Munsell 10 R 5/4

F-9

Origin: Areika, Habitation Zone (excavated with upper body intact, E-2)

Current Location: Penn E4020

Measurements: H: 4.7 cm, Munsell 5 YR 5/1

F-10

Origin: Areika, Habitation Zone

Current Location: Penn E4023

Measurements: L: 4.7 cm, Munsell 7.5 YR 5/1

F-11

Origin: Areika, Habitation Zone

Current Location: Penn E4056

Measurements: D: 3.5 cm, Munsell 5 YR 5/3

F-12

Origin: Areika, Habitation Zone

Current Location: Penn E4633

Measurements: L: 4.8 cm, Munsell 7.5 YR 4/1

F-13

Origin: Toshka, Cemetery C, Grave 201

Current Location: KHM E7324

Measurements: L: 7.1 cm, W: 3.5 cm, D: 4.5 cm (measured from a standing position, front of chest to back of buttocks), Munsell 7.5 YR 5/4

F-14

Origin: Toshka, Cemetery C, Grave 201

Current Location: KHM E7325

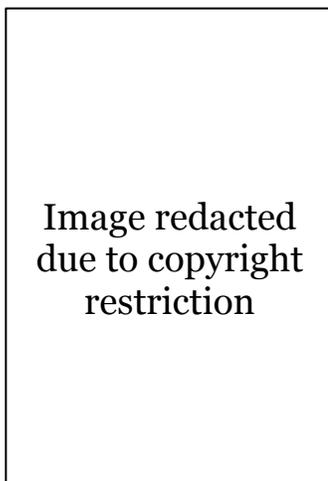
Measurements: H: 3.0 cm (measured from seated position), W: 3.0 cm, D: 4.68 cm, Munsell 7.5 YR 6/3

F-15

Origin: Aniba, Cemetery N, Chapel of Grave 9

Current Location: Leipzig 4413

Measurements: H: 5.2 cm, W: 3.4 cm, D: 5.5 cm, Munsell 10 YR 5/1-4/1

F-16

Origin: Aniba, Settlement area

Current Location: Unknown

Measurements: H: 4.5 cm

F-17

Origin: Aniba, Settlement Area
Current Location: Unknown
Measurements: H: 7 cm

F-18

Origin: Aniba, Settlement Area
Current Location: Unknown
Measurements: Unknown

F-19

Origin: Faras

Current Location: SNM – Uncataloged

Measurements: L: 7.4 cm, W: 5.0 cm, H: 5.5 cm (measured as if seated),
Munsell 10 YR 4/1

F-20

Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

Origin: Nagaa el-Mahmoudiya, Tomb 1

Current Location: Unknown (likely Aswan Nubian Museum)

Measurements: Estimated based on photo – H: 14.5 cm

F-21

Origin: Nagaa el-Mahmoudiya, Tomb 1

Current Location: Unknown (likely Aswan Nubian Museum)

Measurements: Estimated based on photo – H: 7.5 cm

F-22

Origin: Argin, Necropolis of Anx

Current Location: MAN 1980/91/313

Measurements: H: 7.8 cm, W: 5 cm, D: 4.6 cm

F-23

Origin: Debeira East, Cemetery 65, Grave 8B

Current Location: Uppsala 65/8:1

Measurements: L: 7.5 cm, W: 3.2 cm

F-24

Origin: Serra East, Fortress, from quarry dump near fortress

Current Location: Unknown

Measurements: L: 9.5 cm

F-25

Origin: Areika, Habitation Zone

Current Location: Penn E4050

Measurements: L: 6.3 cm, H: 4 cm (measured as if seated), Munsell 3.5 YR 5/4

F-26

Origin: Gezira Dabarosa, Site 6-G-25 (found in refuse, likely from nearby cemetery)

Current Location: SNM 16295

Measurements: H: 4.4 cm, W: 2.9 cm, D: 3.4 cm, Munsell 7.5 YR 5/3

F-27

Origin: Awandi, Habitation Site 16-J-18

Current Location: SNM 17849

Measurements: H: 6.5 cm, W: 4.2 cm, D: 5.0 cm, Munsell 7.5 YR 5/3

F-28

Origin: Adindan, Cemetery T, Grave 207

Current Location: OIM E23969

Measurements: L: 7.5 cm, D: 4.5 cm (measured standing, from front to back),
Munsell 5 YR 6/3

F-29

Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

Origin: Nagaa el-Mahmoudiya, Tomb 1

Current Location: Unknown, likely Aswan Nubian Museum

Measurements: Estimated based on photo – H: 7 cm

G-1

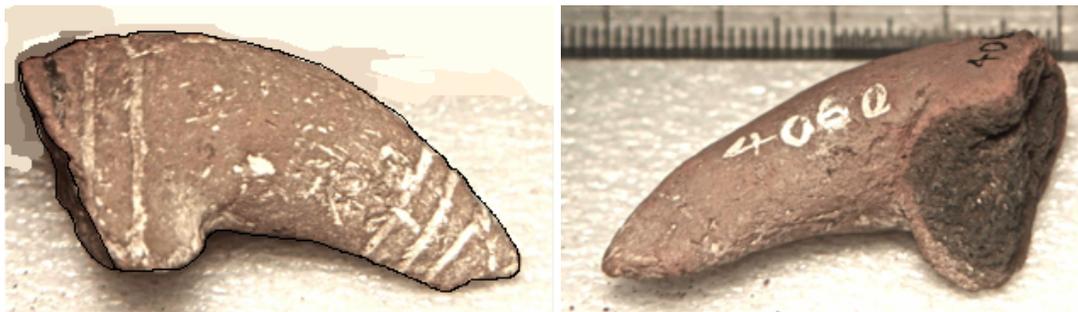


Origin: Areika, Habitation Zone

Current Location: Penn E4008

Measurements: L: 6.0 cm, Munsell 5 YR 4/3-5/3

G-2



Origin: Areika, Habitation Zone

Current Location: Penn E4060

Measurements: L: 4.0 cm, Munsell 5 YR 4/3-5/3

Images sources for Appendix 1

Image	Source
A-1	(Left) Steindorff, 1935: Pl. 71.1 (Right) Dr. Peter Lacovara, with permission of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo
A-2	(Left) Wenig, 1978: 127 (Center) after Steindorff, 1935: Pl.71.2b (Right) after Steindorff, 1935: Pl.71.2a
A-3	(Left) after Wildung 1997:55, No. 46 (Right 3) Krauspe 1997: Pl. 120.2-4
A-4	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission of the University of Chicago Oriental Institute Museum.
A-5	(Left) Firth, 1912: Pl. 39.a.1 (Right) Digital manipulation of original image by Jennifer Butterworth
A-6	(Left) Firth, 1912: Pl. 39.a.2 (Right) Digital manipulation of original image by Jennifer Butterworth
A-7	(Left) Firth, 1912: Pl. 39.a.4 (Right) Digital manipulation of original image by Jennifer Butterworth
A-8	(Left) Firth, 1912: Pl. 39.a.9 (Right) Digital manipulation of original image by Jennifer Butterworth
A-9	(Left) Firth, 1912: Pl. 39.b.1 (Right) Digital manipulation of original image by Jennifer Butterworth
A-10	(Left) Bakr, 1967: Pl. IX (Right) Digital manipulation of original image by Jennifer Butterworth
A-11	Emery and Kirwan, 1935: Fig. 83.5
A-12	(Left 2) Säve-Söderbergh, 1989: Pl. 61.5

	(Right 2) Digital manipulation of original image by Jennifer Butterworth
A-13	Drawing from Sudan National Museum object registration card, artist unknown
B-1	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission from the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology.
B-2	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission from the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology.
B-3	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission from the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology.
B-4	(Left) Steindorff, 1935: Pl. 72.8 (Right) Digital manipulation of original image by Jennifer Butterworth
B-5	(Left) Steindorff, 1935: Pl. 72.9 (Center) Digital manipulation of original image by Jennifer Butterworth (Right) Dr. Peter Lacovara, with permission of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo
B-6	(Left) Firth, 1912: Pl. 39.b.2 (Right) Digital manipulation of original image by Jennifer Butterworth
B-7	(Left) Wenig, 1978: Fig. 9 (Right) Firth, 1915: Pl. 37.B
B-8	No image
B-9	(Left) Wenig, 1978: 123 (Right) Badawy, 1965: 130
B-10	(Left) Dr. Peter Lacovara, , with permission of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (Right) Digital manipulation of original image by Jennifer Butterworth
B-11	(all) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
C-1	(Left) Firth, 1912: Pl. 39.A.3 (Right) Digital manipulation of original image by Jennifer Butterworth
C-2	(Left) Firth, 1912: Pl. 39.A.6 (Right) Digital manipulation of original image by Jennifer Butterworth
C-3	(Left) Firth, 1912: Pl. 39.A.7 (Right) Digital manipulation of original image by Jennifer Butterworth
C-4	(Left) Firth, 1912: Pl. 39.A.8 (Right) Digital manipulation of original image by Jennifer Butterworth
C-5	(Left) Firth, 1912: Pl. 39.A.10 (Right) Digital manipulation of original image by Jennifer Butterworth
C-6	(Left) Firth, 1912: Pl. 39.B.3 (Right) Digital manipulation of original image by Jennifer Butterworth
C-7	(Left) Firth, 1912: Pl. 39.B.4 (Right) Digital manipulation of original image by Jennifer Butterworth
C-8	(Left) Firth, 1927: Pl. 25.D.2 (Right) Digital manipulation of original image by Jennifer Butterworth
C-9	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission from the Ägyptisches Museum Georg Steindorff der Universität Leipzig
C-10	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission from the Ägyptisches Museum Georg Steindorff der Universität Leipzig
C-11	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission from the Ägyptisches Museum Georg Steindorff der Universität Leipzig
C-12	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission from the Ägyptisches Museum Georg Steindorff der Universität Leipzig
C-13	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission from the Ägyptisches Museum Georg Steindorff der Universität Leipzig
C-14	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission from the Ägyptisches Museum Georg Steindorff der Universität Leipzig
C-15	(All) Krauspe, 1997: Pl. 119.1-4
C-16	(Left and Center) Steindorff, 1935: Pl. 72.6 and 7 (Right) Dr. Peter Lacovara, with permission of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo
C-17	(Left 2) Steindorff, 1935: Pl. 94.S.20

	(Right 2) Digital manipulation of original image by Jennifer Butterworth
C-18	(Left 2) Steindorff, 1935: Pl. 94.S.26 (Right 2) Digital manipulation of original image by Jennifer Butterworth
C-19	(Left 2) Steindorff, 1935: Pl. 94.S.34 (Right 2) Digital manipulation of original image by Jennifer Butterworth
C-20	(Left) Steindorff, 1935: Pl. 71.5 (Center) Digital manipulation of original image by Jennifer Butterworth (Right) Dr. Peter Lacovara, with permission of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo
C-21	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission from the Ägyptisches Museum Georg Steindorff der Universität Leipzig
C-22	(All) Krauspe, 1997: Pl. 118.1-4
C-23	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission of the Sudan National Museum
C-24	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology
C-25	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology
C-26	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology
C-27	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology
C-28	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology
C-29	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology
C-30	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology
C-31	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
C-32	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission of the Ägyptisches Museum Georg Steindorff der Universität Leipzig
C-33	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission of the Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien
C-34	Verwers, 1961: Pl. 2.C
C-35	(Left) Bakr, 1963: Pl. 3.B (Right) Digital manipulation of original image by Jennifer Butterworth
C-36	(Left) Bakr, 1963: Pl. 3.B (Right) Digital manipulation of original image by Jennifer Butterworth
C-37	Bakr, 1967: Pl. 9
C-38	(Left) Bakr, 1967: Pl. 9 (Right) Digital manipulation of original image by Jennifer Butterworth
C-39	(Left) Bakr, 1967: Pl. 9 (Right) Digital manipulation of Bakr image by Jennifer Butterworth
C-40	(Left) Firth, 1915: Pl. 37.D.2 (Right) Digital manipulation of Firth image by Jennifer Butterworth
C-41	(Left 2) Steindorff, 1935: Pl. 94.S.221 (Right 2) Digital manipulation of Steindorff image by Jennifer Butterworth
C-42	(All) Säve-Söderbergh, 1989: Pl. 61.3.C
D-1	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission of the University of Chicago Oriental Institute Museum
D-2	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
D-3	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
D-4	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology
D-5	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology
D-6	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission from the Ägyptisches Museum Georg Steindorff der Universität Leipzig

D-7	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission from the Ägyptisches Museum Georg Steindorff der Universität Leipzig
D-8	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission from the Ägyptisches Museum Georg Steindorff der Universität Leipzig
D-9	(Left 3) Krauspe, 1997: Pl. 127.4, Pl. 128.1-2 (Right) Wenig, 1978: 128.No 17
D-10	(All) Krauspe, 1997: Pl. 127.1-3
D-11	(Left) Steindorff, 1935: Pl. 72.14 (Right) Digital manipulation of Steindorff image by Jennifer Butterworth
D-12	(Left) Steindorff, 1935: Pl. 94.S.87 (Right) Digital manipulation of Steindorff image by Jennifer Butterworth
D-13	(Left) Steindorff, 1935: Pl. 94.S.42 (Right) Digital manipulation of Steindorff image by Jennifer Butterworth
D-14	Bakr, 1963: Pl. 3.B
D-15	(Left) National Anthropology Museum, Madrid (Right) Digital manipulation by Jennifer Butterworth
D-16	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission from the Sudan National Museum
D-17	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission from the Sudan National Museum
D-18	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission from the Sudan National Museum
D-19	(All) Säve-Söderbergh, 1989: Pl. 61.1
D-20	(All) Säve-Söderbergh, 1989: Pl. 61.2
D-21	(All) Williams, 1983: Pl. 104-105
D-22	Dr. Peter Lacovara, with permission from the Egyptian Museum Cairo
D-23	Dr. Peter Lacovara, with permission from the Egyptian Museum Cairo
D-24	Dr. Peter Lacovara, with permission from the Egyptian Museum Cairo
E-1	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission of the University of Chicago Oriental Institute Museum
E-2	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology
E-3	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology
E-4	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology
E-5	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology
E-6	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology
E-7	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission of the Ägyptisches Museum Georg Steindorff der Universität Leipzig
E-8	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission of the Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien
E-9	(Left) Steindorff, 1935: Pl. 72.3 (Center) Digital manipulation of Steindorff image by Jennifer Butterworth (Right) Dr. Peter Lacovara, with permission of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo
E-10	(Left) Steindorff, 1935: Pl. 71.4 (Center) Digital manipulation of Steindorff image by Jennifer Butterworth
E-11	(Left) Bakr, 1963: Pl. 3.B (Right) Digital manipulation of Bakr image by Jennifer Butterworth
E-12	(Left) Bakr, 1963: Pl. 3.B (Right) Digital manipulation of Bakr image by Jennifer Butterworth
E-13	(Left) Bakr, 1967: Pl. 9 (Right) Digital manipulation of Bakr image by Jennifer Butterworth
E-14	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission of the Sudan National Museum
E-15	(Left) Nordström, 2014: Pl. 25.D (Right) Digital manipulation of Nordström image by Jennifer Butterworth
E-16	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission of the Sudan National Museum

E-17	Sauneron and Jacquet, 2005: Fig. 19.b
F-1	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
F-2	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
F-3	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology
F-4	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology
F-5	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology
F-6	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology
F-7	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology
F-8	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology
F-9	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology
F-10	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology
F-11	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology
F-12	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology
F-13	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission of the Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien
F-14	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission of the Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien
F-15	(All) Krauspe, 1997: Pl. 126.3-4
F-16	(Left) Steindorff, 1935: Pl. 94.S.33 (Right) Digital manipulation of Steindorff image by Jennifer Butterworth
F-17	(Left) Steindorff, 1935: Pl. 94.S.39 (Right) Digital manipulation of Steindorff image by Jennifer Butterworth
F-18	(Left) Steindorff, 1935: Pl. 94.S.132 (Right) Digital manipulation of Steindorff image by Jennifer Butterworth
F-19	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission of the Sudan National Museum
F-21	(Left) Bakr, 1967: Pl. 9 (Right) Digital manipulation of Bakr image by Jennifer Butterworth
F-21	(Left) Bakr, 1967: Pl. 9 (Right) Digital manipulation of Bakr image by Jennifer Butterworth
F-22	(All) National Anthropology Museum, Madrid
F-23	(Left) Säve-Söderbergh, 1989: Pl. 61.4 (Right) Digital manipulation of Säve-Söderbergh original image by Jennifer Butterworth
F-24	Drawing courtesy of Dr. Bruce B. Williams
F-25	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology
F-26	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission of the Sudan National Museum
F-27	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission of the Sudan National Museum
F-28	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission of the University of Chicago Oriental Institute Museum
F-29	Bakr, 1967: Pl. 9
G-1	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology
G-2	(All) Jennifer Butterworth, with permission of the University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology

Appendix 2

C-Group Anthropomorphic Figurine Descriptions and Bibliographies

The following appendix provides information about each figurine listed in the catalog, in as much detail as is possible. The dimensions are given in centimeters where length is measured as total distance from tip of toes to tip of head. For ambiguously posed figurines, the height is given as if the figurine were in a seated position and measured perpendicularly from the ground to the highest point crossed. Depth is measured from a seated position with the legs extended toward the viewer, taken from the point closest to the viewer to the furthest away. The condition of the figurine at the time of excavation is given, as well as a description of the size and maneuverability of the figurine and its ability to stand unaided. Details are listed and a complete bibliography for each piece is supplied. The bibliographies and descriptions are as complete as possible. One or more thumbnail images of each figurine is supplied beside the identification number for visual reference.



Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

A-1

Dimensions:

H: 17 cm

L: 25 cm

Condition:

Found broken but was restored and complete except for a few pieces of the left thigh.

Brief Description:

This large figurine requires two adult hands to hold and move it securely. The head was modeled and fired separately from the body and then attached by inserting the long neck into the cavity prepared at the base of the head. The pose is ambiguous, such that the figure might be seated and leaning back or standing and leaning forward. It can neither stand nor sit unaided on a flat surface.

Details:

Hair: Smooth

Breasts: Nipples impressed holes

Pubic Region: Covered

Legs: Long legs, formed separately but positioned together, taper from wide hips to narrow ankles with small upturned protrusions at the ends representing feet.

Garment: Incised lines at the abdomen and groin represent a belt with attached triangular garment that covers the pubic area and wraps around the hips.

Jewelry: Necklace and pendant incised on chest

Body Decoration: None

Bibliography:

Steindorff, 1935: 120, 186-187, Pl. 71.1



Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

A-2

Dimensions:

H: 11.0 cm

L: 15.5 cm

Condition:

Neck broken (repaired)

Tip of right arm broken off

Brief Description:

This medium-sized figurine can be grasped in one adult hand and manipulated. The head was modeled and fired separately from the body and then attached by inserting the long neck into a cavity prepared at the base of the head. Although the pose is ambiguous, it is likely to have been understood as seated while leaning slightly back at the waist. It cannot, however, stand or sit unaided on a flat surface.

Details:

Hair: Striated

Breasts: Nipples impressed holes

Legs: Long legs, formed separately but positioned together, taper from wide hips to narrow ankles with small upturned protrusions at the ends representing feet.

Pubic Region: Covered

Garment: Incised lines at the abdomen and groin represent a belt terminating in tabs that do not touch at the back, with attached triangular garment covering the pubic region.

Jewelry: Incised lines around neck represent beaded strands. The lowest necklace has four parallel strands hanging straight down from the center between the breasts and ending in the center of the upper torso. Three incised lines around left forearm representing bangles.

Body Decoration: Incised parallel lines extend diagonally from the top of the shoulders terminating above the breasts, two on the right and three on the left. Incised double lines in intersecting zigzag patterns form chains of lozenge shapes along the outside of the legs with two rows of dashed lines above this on the right leg and three rows of dashed lines on the left.

Bibliography:

Steindorff (1935): 120 (No. 2), Pl. 71.2 a and b

Keimer (1948): 36-37, fig. 36

Wenig II (1978): 124 (No. 13), 127

Gratien (2009): 326

Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

A-3**Dimensions:**

H: 8 cm

L: 12.5 cm

W: 4.9 cm

D: 3.4 cm

Munsell 10YR 5/4-4/4

Condition:

Neck broken (repaired)

Brief Description:

This medium-sized figurine can rest comfortably in an adult hand and can be held and manipulated using the thumb and two fingers. The head was modeled and fired separately from the body and then attached by inserting the long neck into a cavity prepared at the base of the head. The pose is ambiguous such that the figure might be seated and leaning back or standing and leaning forward. It can neither stand nor sit unaided on a flat surface.

Details:

Hair: Smooth

Breasts: Nipples impressed holes

Pubic Region: Covered

Legs: Relatively short legs, formed separately and positioned together, end in blunt rounded stubs with no indication of feet.

Garment: Incised lines at the abdomen and groin represent a wide belt that wraps around the hips, terminating in blunt tabs that do not touch at the back. This garment covers the pubic area in a V-shape.

Jewelry: Faint incised lines around the neck might indicate tight beaded necklace strands.

Body Decoration: None

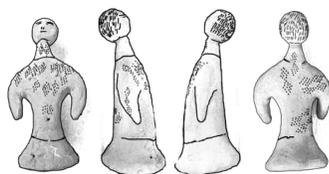
Bibliography:

Steindorff (1935): 122 (No. 16), 150 (N 390), Pl. 72.16

Ägyptisches Museum (1963): 18

Bietak (1968): Pl. 13 (II/b/21)

Röhsska konsts löjdmuseet (1973): 130 (No. 514)
 Amos Andersonin taidemuseo and Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (1973): 98 (No. 70)
 Staatliche Museen, Berlin and Ateneumin Taidemuseo, Helsinki (1973): 98 (No. 70)
 Hofmann (1977): 90 (Footnote 56), fig. 7
 Wenig II (1978): 126 (No. 16)
 Teske (1979): 29 (No. 16)
 Scholz (1986): 18, fig. 19
 Krauspe (1987): No. 51/11
 Krauspe (1997): 103-104 (No. 183), Pl. 120.1-4
 Petacchi (2012): 268, fig. 3.B



A-4

Dimensions:

H: 9.7 cm

W: 5.1 cm

D: 4.7 cm

Munsell 2.5YR 5/4

Condition:

Intact and complete

Brief Description:

This medium-sized figurine can be gripped comfortably in an adult hand and can be held and manipulated using the thumb and two fingers. The head was modeled and fired separately from the body and then attached by inserting the long neck into a cavity prepared at the base of the head. The figure is truncated at the hips with the base widened for stability. It is capable of standing unaided on a flat surface.

Details:

Hair: Hashed lines

Breasts: Incised horizontal lines

Pubic Region: Not depicted

Legs: Not depicted

Garment: Single incised line around front of hips does not meet in the back and likely represents a belt

Jewelry: One thick line around the collar does not meet at the back and likely represents a thick torque necklace

Body Decoration: Impressed holes in lozenge patterns on chest above and below breasts, above navel, right arm, back of shoulders, back of torso, and front and

back of neck. These are oriented vertically everywhere except the ones on the back of the right shoulder and the back of the torso.

Bibliography:

Wenig (1978): 128 (No. 18)

Williams (1983): 97, 98, 136 (T-51), Pl. 103



A-5

Dimensions:

Approximate measurements:

H: 4.6 cm

W: 1.9 cm

Condition:

Apparently intact and complete

Brief Description:

This small figurine can nestle comfortably in an adult palm and can be held and manipulated easily with the thumb and fingertips. The head was modeled as part of the body. The pose is ambiguous and could have been understood as seated while leaning slightly back at the waist or as standing and leaning forward. It can neither stand nor sit unaided on a flat surface.

Details:

Hair: Stippled

Breasts: Unknown

Legs: Relatively short, formed separately but positioned together, tapering dramatically from wide hips to small upturned protrusions of clay representing feet.

Pubic Region: Covered

Garment: Triangular garment indicated by incised lines at the abdomen and groin covers the pubic region and wraps around hips.

Jewelry: Unknown

Body Decoration: Unknown

Bibliography:

Firth (1912): 170, fig. 160, Pl. 39.a.1

**A-6****Dimensions:**

Approximate measurements:

H: 4.2 cm

L: 5.2 cm

Condition:

Apparently intact and complete

Brief Description:

This small figurine can nestle comfortably in an adult palm and can be held and manipulated easily with the thumb and fingertips. The head was modeled as part of the body. Although the pose is ambiguous, it is likely to have been understood as seated while leaning slightly back at the waist. It cannot, however, stand or sit unaided on a flat surface.

Details:

Hair: Stippled

Breasts: Unknown

Pubic Region: Unknown

Legs: Short legs, formed separately but positioned together, taper dramatically from wide hips to narrow rounded points

Garment: Incised lines at the abdomen and groin represent a wide belt terminating in blunt tabs that do not touch at the back.

Jewelry: Unknown

Body Decoration: Double lines in a zigzag pattern are incised along the thighs of both legs, extending along the outer leg to the feet.

Bibliography:

Firth (1912): 170, fig. 160, Pl. 39.a.2

**A-7****Dimensions:**

Approximate measurements:

H: 6.2 cm

W: 2.2 cm

Condition:

Apparently intact and complete

Brief Description:

This small figurine is slightly larger than the average chicken egg and can be manipulated easily with the thumb and fingertips. The head was modeled and fired separately, then attached to the body by inserting the neck into a cavity produced at the base of the head. Although the pose is ambiguous, it is likely to have been understood as seated while leaning slightly back at the waist. It cannot, however, stand or sit unaided on a flat surface.

Details:

Hair: Stippled

Breasts: Nipples indicated with impressed holes

Pubic Region: Covered

Legs: Short legs, formed together, taper dramatically from wide hips to a blunted end point with no indication of feet

Garment: Triangular garment, indicated with incised lines at the abdomen and groin, covers pubic region and wraps around the sides of the figurine at the hips.

Jewelry: Incised lines around neck and at collar indicate necklace strands.

Body Decoration: Unknown

Bibliography:

Firth (1912): 170, fig. 160, Pl. 39.a.4

**A-8****Dimensions:**

Approximate measurements:

H: 7.6 cm

L: 8.1 cm

D: 2.3 cm

Condition:

Apparently intact and complete

Brief Description:

This medium-sized figurine can rest comfortably across an adult palm and can be easily manipulated with the thumb and fingertips. The head was sculpted as part of the body. The lower body is formed as one column with a flattened base. The figure was modeled in a standing pose with the upper body leaning forward and can stand unaided on a flat surface.

Details:

Hair: Stippled

Breasts: Unknown

Pubic Region: Unknown

Legs: Modeled together as one column

Garment: Incised lines at the hips indicate a belt. The lower body is possibly covered in a long skirt or wrap, but this is not certain.

Jewelry: Incised lines around the neck and collar indicate necklace strands

Body Decoration: Unknown

Bibliography:

Firth (1912): 170, fig. 160, Pl. 39.a.9

Huard (1967-1968): fig. 8.12, 110

Hofmann (1977): 86, fig. 5

**A-9****Dimensions:**

Estimated measurement:

H: 10 cm

Condition:

Mostly complete, left arm broken off

Broken in two below hips (repaired)

Brief Description:

This medium-sized figurine can be gripped comfortably in an adult hand and can be manipulated easily with the thumb and fingertips. The head was sculpted and fired separately from the body, then attached by inserting the elongated neck into a cavity at the base of the head. The lower body is formed as one column with a flattened base. This figurine stands in an upright pose and can maintain this position unaided on a flat surface.

Details:

Hair: Stippled

Breasts: Nipples indicated with impressed holes

Pubic Region: Covered

Legs: Modeled together as one column

Garment: Incised line around the hips represent a belt that appears to attach to an applied lump of clay at the front modeled to resemble animal fur – a sporran-like garment covering the pubic area

Jewelry: Incised lines around the collar represent one thick torque-like necklace.

Body Decoration: None apparent

Bibliography:

Firth (1912): 17, 185, Pl. 39.b.1

Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

A-10

Dimensions:

Estimated measurements:

H: 13 cm

L: 15 cm

Condition:

Complete

Head broken at neck (repaired)

Brief Description:

This medium-sized figurine can be comfortably grasped in an adult hand and can be manipulated easily with the thumb and two or three fingers. The head was sculpted and fired separately from the body, then attached by inserting the long neck into the cavity at the base of the head. Although the pose is ambiguous, it is likely to have been understood as seated while leaning slightly back at the waist. It cannot sit or stand unaided on a flat surface.

Details:

Hair: Unknown

Breasts: Unknown

Pubic Region: Covered

Legs: Short legs, formed separately but positioned together, taper dramatically from wide hips to narrow ankles with small upturned protrusions at the ends representing feet.

Garment: Incised lines, at the abdomen and groin, represent a triangular garment covering the pubic region

Jewelry: Unknown

Body Decoration: Horizontal dashed, parallel lines visible on abdomen possibly indicate scarification

Bibliography:

Bakr (1967): 7, Pl. IX (lower image)

Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

A-11**Dimensions:**

Approximate measurement:

H: 15 cm

Condition:

Broken in two at the waist but all pieces present

Brief Description:

This large figurine can be easily gripped in an adult human hand. The head was formed as part of the body. The torso is elongated and truncated at the hips. The flattened base spreads out to support the figure, which can stand unaided on a flat surface.

Details:

Hair: None visible

Breasts: None visible

Pubic Region: Not depicted

Legs: None

Garment: None

Jewelry: None

Body Decoration: None

Bibliography:

Emery and Kirwan (1935): 106-108, fig. 83.5

Hofmann (1977): 85, fig. 10

Bietak (1968): 89

Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

A-12**Dimensions:**

L: 8.6 cm

Condition:

Complete and intact

Brief Description:

This medium-sized figurine can rest comfortably across an adult palm and can be manipulated easily with the thumb and fingers. The head was constructed and fired separately, then connected to the body by inserting the elongated neck into a cavity at the base of the head. The pose is ambiguous and might have been understood as seated while leaning slightly back at the waist or standing and bending slightly forward.

Details:

Hair: Stippled

Breasts: Incised horizontal lines

Pubic Region: Covered

Legs: Long legs, formed separately but positioned together, terminate with pointed protrusions representing feet.

Garment: Incised lines, at the abdomen and groin, represent a triangular garment that covers the pubic area and extends around the hips in thin strips.

Jewelry: One thick incised line represents a thick torque-like necklace that encircles neck at the collar with a long incised vertical line representing a drop necklace extending from this necklace down the center of the chest.

Body Decoration: Incised lines on the right and left cheek below the eyes represent facial decoration (Scarification, tattooing, or body paint). Lozenge shaped patterns were created using small impressed holes on both sides of the chest above the breasts, the backs of the shoulders, the right side of the back, both legs. A similar impressed design possibly represents beadwork on the triangular pubic covering. Three rows of incised dashed lines appear on the left side of the trunk between the breasts and the navel, possibly representing scarification.

Bibliography:

Säve-Söderbergh I and II (1989): 214, Pl. 61.5



A-13

Dimensions:

Unknown

Condition:

Complete and intact

Brief Description:

From Museum Accession Card:

“Pottery Venus, decorated with incised patterns, black burnt patch showing on back.” The legs are modeled separately and positioned together, standing.

Details:

Hair: Unknown

Breasts: Unknown

Pubic Region: Covered

Legs: Average length legs, formed separately but positioned together, taper dramatically from wide hips to narrow ankles with small upturned protrusions at the ends representing feet.

Garment: Incised lines, at the abdomen and groin, represent a triangular garment covering the pubic region that extends around the hips in thin strips.

Jewelry: Incised lines around the neck indicate necklace strands

Body Decoration: Unknown

Bibliography:

Unknown

**B-1****Dimensions:**

H: 4.7 cm

Munsell 5YR 6/2 – 5/2

Condition:

Right arm broken off

Lower body broken off at hips

Brief Description:

This very small upper body can be comfortably nestled in an adult palm and can be manipulated easily using the thumb and fingertips. The head was modeled as part of the body. The hips flare out to the front and back just above the break, suggesting an ambiguous pose in which the figure might be seated and leaning back or standing and leaning forward.

Details:

Hair: Incised lines

Breasts: None

Pubic Region: Not present

Legs: Not present

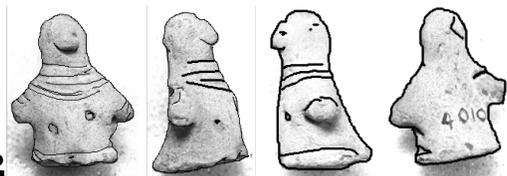
Garment: None (but piece is broken)

Jewelry: None

Body Decoration: Vertical and diagonal incised lines intersect on the back

Bibliography:

MacIver and Woolley (1909): 10, Pl. 8.4004

**B-2****Dimensions:**

H: 3.5 cm

Munsell 7.5YR 4/1

Condition:

End of right arm missing

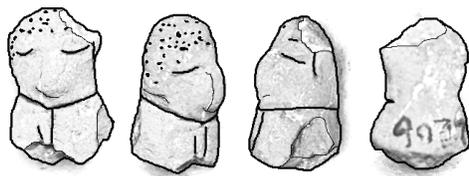
Lower body broken off just below navel

Brief Description:

This very small figurine upper body can be nestled comfortably in an adult palm and can be easily manipulated using the thumb and fingertips. The head was modeled as part of the body. The back of the lower torso flares outward before it breaks off, suggesting that it was originally modeled in an ambiguous pose to be understood as either seated and leaning back or standing and leaning forward.

Details:*Hair:* Smooth*Breasts:* Impressed shallow holes*Pubic Region:* Not present*Legs:* Not present*Garment:* A deep incised line representing a belt (or possibly an abdominal fold) runs around the front of the waist but does not touch at the back.*Jewelry:* Incised lines around the sides and front of the neck and collar represent necklace strands. Incised lines encircle the front portion of the lower left arm, representing bangles.*Body Decoration:* None**Bibliography:**

MacIver and Woolley (1909): 10, Pl. 8.4010

**B-3**

Dimensions:

H: 2.2 cm

D: 1.4 cm

Munsell 7.5YR 5/2

Condition:

Head damaged, missing the left side of the crown

Arms broken off

Lower body broken off at chest level

Brief Description:

This very small head and upper torso, approximately the size of an average adult fingertip, can be easily held and manipulated with the thumb and fingers. The head was modeled as part of the body.

Details:*Hair:* Stippled*Breasts:* Not present*Pubic Region:* Not present*Legs:* Not present*Garment:* Not present*Jewelry:* One incised line partially encircles the neck around the front and sides, from which extends a vertical line representing a drop necklace*Body Decoration:* Not present**Bibliography:**

MacIver and Woolley (1909): 10, Pl. 8.437



Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

B-4**Dimensions:**

H: 12 cm

Condition:

Right leg broken off

Pubic area and hips broken away

Left leg severely damaged

Brief Description:

This large figurine upper body and partial leg can be comfortably gripped in an adult hand and manipulated using the thumb and fingers. The head was modeled separately and attached to the body after firing by inserting the elongated neck

into a cavity prepared in the base of the head. The lower body is severely damaged but enough survives to suggest that the figure was modeled in an ambiguous pose that might have been understood as standing and leaning forward or sitting and leaning back.

Details:

Hair: Unknown

Breasts: Incised horizontal lines

Pubic Region: Damaged

Legs: One surviving damaged

Garment: Incised lines at the abdomen, groin, and hips appear to form a triangular garment covering the pubic region

Jewelry: Incised lines at the neck, shoulders and chest, form a trident-shaped chest piece - double incised lines encircle the neck and from this band another double incised line extends vertically down the center of the chest, while two double incised lines extend diagonally, one from either shoulder, with all three meeting at the center of the chest just above the level of the breasts.

Body Decoration: Three horizontal rows of dashed lines encircle the torso between the breasts and the navel, representing scarification, tattooing, or body paint. The trident-shaped chest piece might possibly represent body painting rather than an actual piece of jewelry.

Bibliography:

Steindorff (1935): 121 (No. 8), Pl. 72.8

Petacchi (2012): 268, fig. 3.B



B-5

Dimensions:

Unknown

Condition:

Lower right arm broken off

Lower body broken off at waist

Brief Description:

The head of this figurine upper body was modeled separately and attached to the body after firing by inserting the neck of the body into a prepared cavity in the base of the head.

Details:

Hair: Smooth

Breasts: Impressed holes represent nipples

Pubic Region: Not present

Legs: Not present

Garment: Incised horizontal line at waist indicates a belt or other garment but figurine is broken at this point

Jewelry: None

Body Decoration: Incised horizontal lines t abdomen possibly indicate scarification

Bibliography:

Steindorff (1935): 121 (No. 9), Pl. 72.9

Gratien (2009): 327

Petacchi (2012): 268, Fig. 3.B



B-6

Dimensions:

Unknown

Condition:

Damage to forehead and left side of head but head complete

Left arm and left half of chest broken off

Lower body broken off at waist

Brief Description:

The head of this figurine was modeled separately then attached to the body after firing by inserting the neck of the body into a prepared cavity at the base of the head. The neck is exceptionally long.

Details:

Hair: Stippled

Breasts: Impressed holes in the form of a rosette represent the left nipple

Pubic Region: Not present

Legs: None

Garment: Not present

Jewelry: Multiple incised lines at neck and collar represent stacked strands of necklaces. Incised lines in a trident shape, extending diagonally from the shoulders and vertically at the center of the chest might represent jewelry, body decoration, or a combination of the two. Incised lines around the lower left arm represent bangles.

Body Decoration: A row of impressed dots extends the length of the neck on the left and right sides. Impressed dots arranged in rows are present on the front of

the left shoulder. Vertical rows of dashed lines are incised on the left side between the breast and the navel.

Bibliography:

Firth (1912): 17, 185, Pl. 39.B.2

Bates (1914): 250, fig. 97

Červík (1978): 45 (footnote 13)

Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

B-7

Dimensions:

H: 14 cm

Condition:

Feet broken off

Torso broken off above waist (including neck)

Remaining sections complete

Brief Description:

This large figurine would have required two adult hands to hold and move it securely if it were intact. The head was modeled separately and attached to the body after firing, presumably by inserting the neck into a prepared cavity in the base of the head. The upper body leans slightly back, but the figure is clearly intended to remain in a seated position. Imprints of long fingers and hands remain on the tops of both thighs, indicating that this figurine originally had hands and fingers.

Details:

Hair: Striated

Breasts: Not present

Pubic Region: Covered

Legs: Separately modeled and positioned together, bent at the knees

Garment: Incised lines at abdomen and groin represent a triangular garment that covers the pubic area and wraps around the sides of the hips but does not continue to the back of the body

Jewelry: Not present

Body Decoration: None, but abdomen missing

Bibliography:

Firth (1915): 113 (No. 8), Pl. 37.A and B

Firth (1927): 110 (No. 58), 200

Keimer (1948): 36-37, fig. 37

Ucko (1968): 405

Wenig (1978): 29-30, fig. 9
Williams (1983): 97 (footnote 5)
Petacchi (2012): 269, fig. 4.A

B-8

[No Image]

Dimensions:

H: 6.2 cm

Condition:

One arm missing
Lower body missing

Brief Description:

Simple knob-shaped head with horizontal incised lines in front.

Details:

Hair: Unknown
Breasts: Impressed holes
Pubic Region: Unknown
Legs: Not present
Garment: Unknown
Jewelry: Unknown
Body Decoration: Unknown

Bibliography:

Verwers (1962): 25
Nordström (2014): 87, 118, 170

Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

B-9

Dimensions:

H: 10 cm

Condition:

Lower body broken off

Brief Description:

This medium-sized figurine upper body can be easily and comfortably gripped in an adult hand, and can be manipulated using the thumb and fingers. The head was modeled as part of the body and is fully human.

Details:

Hair: Stippled

Breasts: Impressed holes

Pubic Region: Missing

Legs: Not Present

Garment: Incised lines across the lower abdomen represent a belt that partially encircles the hips but does not touch at the back

Jewelry: Incised lines encircle the neck indicating multiple necklace strands, a double row of dots arc across the chest from the shoulders representing broad collar-type necklace or possibly body decoration.

Body Decoration: See *jewelry* above

Bibliography:

Badawy (1964): 88, fig. 9

Badawy (1965): 130, 131

Hofmann (1977): 97, fig. 19

Wenig (1978): 28-29, 122-123 (No. 12)

Tyson Smith (1995): 104-106, fig. 4.11.A

Tyson Smith (2003): 131, fig 5.31.A

Bianchi (2004): 58



B-10

Dimensions:

L: Approximately 10 cm

Condition:

Upper body intact and complete, with head attached

Lower body broken off below hips

Brief Description:

This medium-sized figurine upper body can be easily and comfortably gripped in an adult hand, and can be manipulated using the thumb and fingers. The head was sculpted and fired separately from the body, then attached by inserting the long neck into the cavity at the base of the head. Although broken off below the hips, enough remains to see angle at the hips, indicating an ambiguous, likely to have been understood as seated while leaning slightly back at the waist or

standing and leaning forward. It likely could not sit or stand unaided on a flat surface when in its original condition.

Details:

Hair: Smooth

Breasts: None

Pubic Region: Missing

Legs: Not Present

Garment: None visible but piece is broken

Jewelry: None

Body Decoration: None, but legs are missing

Bibliography:

Unknown



B-11

Dimensions:

H: 11.4 cm

W: 8.4 cm

D: 0.8 cm

Condition:

Upper body intact and complete, with head attached

Lower body broken off below waist

Brief Description:

In its current condition, this figurine upper body can be easily and comfortably gripped in an adult hand, and can be manipulated using the thumb and fingers. The head was sculpted as part of the body. The disc shaped upper body has no arms depicted and a hole in the center of the collar appears to have been intentionally produced.

Details:

Hair: Stippled

Breasts: Impressed holes represent nipples

Pubic Region: Missing

Legs: Not Present

Garment: None visible but piece is broken

Jewelry: None

Body Decoration: None, but legs are missing

Bibliography:

Unknown



C-1

Dimensions:

Approximate measurements:

H: 4.6 cm

L: 6 cm

D: 4 cm

Condition:

Intact and complete but neck and head broken off

Brief Description:

This small figurine is approximately the size of a large chicken egg and can fit easily into the palm of an adult human hand. It can be manipulated using the thumb and fingertips. It was modeled in an ambiguous pose and might be understood as seated and leaning back or standing and leaning forward. This figurine cannot maintain a seated or standing position unaided on a flat surface.

Details:

Hair: Missing

Breasts: Unknown

Pubic Region: Unknown

Legs: Average length legs, formed separately but positioned together, taper dramatically from wide hips to narrow ankles with small upturned protrusions at the ends representing feet. The legs bend slightly at the knees.

Garment: Unknown

Jewelry: Unknown

Body Decoration: Zigzag lines are incised along the outer legs

Bibliography:

Firth (1912): 170, Pl. 39.A.3



C-2

Dimensions:

Approximate measurements:

H: 2.3 cm
L: 2.5 cm
D: 1.5 cm

Condition:

Intact and complete but neck and head broken off

Brief Description:

This very small figurine is approximately the size of an adult fingertip and can be easily manipulated using the thumb and one finger. The head technology is impossible to determine due to the break at the neck. It was modeled in an ambiguous pose and might be understood as seated and leaning back or standing and leaning forward.

Details:

Hair: Missing

Breasts: Unknown

Pubic Region: Unknown

Legs: Short legs, formed separately but positioned together, taper dramatically from wide hips to narrow rounded points with no indication of feet.

Garment: Incised horizontal lines at waist indicate some type of belt.

Jewelry: Unknown

Body Decoration: Unknown

Bibliography:

Firth (1912): 170, Pl. 39.A.6

**C-3****Dimensions:**

Approximate measurements:

H: 4 cm

L: 4.6 cm

D: 3 cm

Condition:

Intact and complete but neck and head broken off

Brief Description:

This small figurine can be comfortably nestled in the cupped palm of an adult hand and is easily manipulated using the thumb and one fingertip. The head technology is impossible to identify due to the break at the neck. It was modeled in a seated pose.

Details:

Hair: Missing

Breasts: Modeled and pendulous

Pubic Region: Unknown

Legs: Average length legs, formed separately but positioned together, taper dramatically from wide hips to narrow ankles with blunt rounded ends and no indication of feet.

Garment: Unknown

Jewelry: Unknown

Body Decoration: Zigzag lines incised along outer legs

Bibliography:

Firth (1912): 170, Pl. 39.A.7

**C-4****Dimensions:**

Approximate measurements:

H: 4.6 cm

W: 2.2 cm

Condition:

Intact and complete but neck and head broken off

Brief Description:

This small figurine can be comfortably nestled in the cupped palm of an adult hand and easily manipulated with the thumb and one fingertip. It was modeled in an ambiguous pose and might be understood as seated and leaning back or standing and leaning forward.

Details:

Hair: Missing

Breasts: Nipples indicated with impressed holes

Pubic Region: Covered

Legs: Average length legs, formed separately but positioned together, taper dramatically from wide hips to narrow ankles with small upturned protrusions at the ends representing feet.

Garment: Incised lines, at the abdomen and groin, represent a triangular garment that covers the pubic region and wraps around the hips towards the back.

Jewelry: Incised lines around the neck and collar represent necklace strands.

Body Decoration: Zigzag lines are incised along the outer length of the legs.

Bibliography:

Firth (1912): 170, Pl. 39.A.8

**C-5****Dimensions:**

Approximate measurements:

H: 6.6 cm

L: 7.1 cm

D: 4.2 cm

Condition:

Intact and complete but missing head (neck unbroken)

Brief Description:

This medium-sized figurine can be comfortably supported the cupped hand of an average sized adult and is easily held and manipulated using the thumb and two fingertips. The elongated neck is intact and was presumably modeled to fit into the cavity at the base of a separately made head. The pose is somewhat ambiguous, but it was likely understood to have been seated and slightly reclining at the waist.

Details:

Hair: Missing

Breasts: Unknown

Pubic Region:

Legs: Average length legs, formed separately but positioned together, taper dramatically from wide hips to narrow ankles with small, slightly upturned protrusions at the ends representing feet.

Garment: Unknown

Jewelry: Unknown

Body Decoration: Zigzag lines incised along the outer length of the legs

Bibliography:

Firth (1912): 170, Pl. 39.A.10

Huard (1968): 110, fig. 8.11

**C-6**

Dimensions:

Unknown

Condition:

Neck broken off and head missing

Right foot broken off

Brief Description:

The head technology of this figurine is impossible to identify due to the break at the bottom of the neck. The pose is ambiguous and might have been understood as seated and leaning back or standing and leaning forward.

Details:

Hair: Missing

Breasts: Impressed holes

Pubic Region: Covered

Legs: Long legs, modeled separately and positioned together, bend slightly at the knee. The left leg terminates in a rounded protrusion indicating a foot.

Garment: Incised lines at the abdomen and groin represent a triangular garment that covers the pubic area and wraps around the hips at the sides but does not touch in the back.

Jewelry: Incised lines at the collar area represent necklace strands. A vertical line representing a drop necklace extends from the lowest necklace strand down the center of the chest ending above the navel. Incised lines on the fronts of the arms represent bangles.

Body Decoration: Zigzag lines are incised along the outer leg.

Bibliography:

Firth (1912): 170, Pl. 39.B.3



C-7

Dimensions:

Unknown

Condition:

Right arm broken off

Neck broken off

Head missing

Brief Description:

The head technology of this figurine is impossible to identify due to the break at the neck. This pose, although slightly ambiguous, most likely was understood as seated and leaning slightly back at the waist.

Details:

Hair: Missing

Breasts: Modeled and pendulous

Pubic Region:

Legs: Average length legs, formed separately but positioned together, taper dramatically from wide hips to rounded stumps with no indication of feet.

Garment: Unknown

Jewelry: Unknown

Body Decoration: Unknown

Bibliography:

Firth (1912): 170, Pl. 39.B.4

**C-8****Dimensions:**

Unknown

Condition:

Neck broken off

Head missing

Right arm broken off

Left leg broken off below thigh

Right leg broken at thigh and reattached

Right leg broken off at end

Brief Description:

The technology used for the head of this figurine is impossible to identify due to the break at the neck. It was modeled in a standing position. The remaining right leg is damaged at the end so it is unknown if it was formed with feet.

Details:

Hair: Missing

Breasts: Horizontal incised lines

Pubic Region: Covered

Legs: Legs formed separately and positioned slightly apart taper from the hips to the ends where they are broken off.

Garment: Incised lines at the abdomen and groin represent a triangular garment covering pubic area and wrapping around the hips with a thin strand

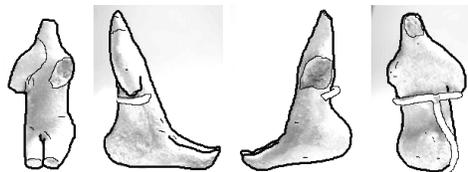
Jewelry: Incised lines around the neck and collar represent necklace strands.

Body Decoration: Lozenge patterns created with rows of impressed dots are vertically oriented on the torso between the navel and breasts, and along the thighs and hips.

Bibliography:

Firth (1927): 54 (No. 271), Pl. 25.D.2

Keimer (1948): 36-37, fig. 30



C-9

Dimensions:

H: 6.4 cm

W: 3.0 cm

D: 2.9 cm

L: 7.1 cm

Munsell 5YR 6/6 – 5/6

Condition:

Neck broken off

Head missing

Left arm broken off at shoulder

Right arm broken off at lower end

Brief Description:

This medium-sized figurine can be held snugly in the cupped palm of an average-sized adult hand and is easily manipulated using the thumb and fingers. The technology used for the head is impossible to identify due to the break at the neck. It was modeled in a seated position such that the upper body leans back slightly but it cannot maintain this position unaided on a flat surface.

Details:

Hair: Missing

Breasts: None

Pubic Region: Uncovered but not elaborated

Legs: Short legs, formed separately but positioned together, terminate in small upturned protrusions at the ends representing feet.

Garment: None

Jewelry: None

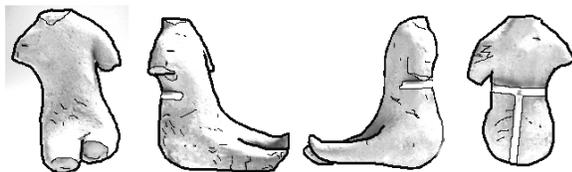
Body Decoration: None

Bibliography:

Steindorff (1935): 122 (No. 17), 132, Pl. 72.17.a and b

Krauspe (1997): 104 (No. 185), Pl. 122.1-4

Petacchi (2012): 268, fig. 3.B



C-10

Dimensions:

H: 5.6 cm

W: 3.6 cm

D: 2.5 cm

L: 6.5 cm

Munsell 7.5YR 6/4 – 5/4

Condition:

Neck broken off, head missing

Left arm broken off below shoulder

Right arm broken off at shoulder

Brief Description:

This small figurine can be comfortably held in the cupped palm of an average-sized adult hand and is easily manipulated using the thumb and fingertips. The technology of the head cannot be identified due to the break at the neck. It was modeled in a seated position, although it cannot maintain this pose on a flat surface unaided.

Details:

Hair: Missing

Breasts: None

Pubic Region: Uncovered but not elaborated

Legs: Short legs, formed separately but positioned together, terminate in small upturned protrusions at the ends representing feet.

Garment: None

Jewelry: None

Body Decoration: None

Bibliography:

Steindorff (1935): 132

Krauspe (1997): 104-105 (No. 186), Pl. 123.1-4

**C-11****Dimensions:**

H: 9.4 cm

W: 4.4 cm

D: 3.3 cm

L: 10.3 cm

Munsell 5YR 6/4-5/4

Condition:

Neck broken off

Head missing

Left and Right arms broken off below shoulders

Left and Right leg broken off just below hips

Brief Description:

This medium-sized figurine can be easily grasped in an adult hand and manipulated using the thumb and fingers. The head technology is impossible to identify due to the break at the neck. It was modeled with applied male sexual organs. Although the pose is somewhat ambiguous, it was most likely understood as standing and leaning forward slightly.

Details:*Hair:* Missing*Breasts:* None*Pubic Region:* Uncovered, applied clay to represent male sex organs*Legs:* None*Garment:* None, but color variation at waist suggests it might have been fired with an applied clay belt or band*Jewelry:* None*Body Decoration:* None**Bibliography:**

Steindorff (1935): 122 (No. 21), 140, Pl. 72.21.A and B

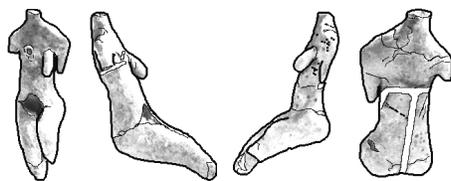
Williams (1983): 97 (footnote 4)

Gleisberg (1989): 586 (No. V/5/52)

Krauspe (1997): 101 (No. 178), Pl. 115.1-4

Hafsaas (2006): 102

Petacchi (2012): 268, fig. 3.B

**C-12****Dimensions:**

H: 10.9 cm

W: 3.9 cm

D: 2.1 cm

L: 13.7 cm

Munsell 7.5YR 6/4-4/4

Condition:

Neck broken off

Head missing

Right arm broken off

Right breast broken off

Broken in half at hips and legs broken apart (repaired)

Missing a section of clay from the pubic region

Left leg broken off at the end

Brief Description:

This medium-sized, crudely formed figurine can be comfortably gripped in an adult human hand. It can be held and manipulated using the thumb and fingers. The head technology is impossible to identify due to the break at the neck. The pose is ambiguous and it might have been understood as seated and leaning back or standing and leaning forward. It can neither stand nor sit unaided on a flat surface.

Details:*Hair:* Missing*Breasts:* Modeled and pendulous*Pubic Region:* Missing*Legs:* Average length legs, formed separately but positioned together, bend slightly at the knee. The lower left leg is broken off but the right terminates with a rounded stub and no indication of a foot.*Garment:* None*Jewelry:* None*Body Decoration:* None**Bibliography:**

Steindorff (1935): 121 (No. 11), 142, Pl. 72.11

Hofmann (1977): 90 (footnote 55)

Krauspe (1997): 101-102, Pl. 116.1-4

Petacchi (2012): 268, fig. 3.B

**C-13****Dimensions:**

H: 6.2 cm

W: 2.3 cm

D: 1.9 cm

Munsell 7.5YR 6/4

Condition:

Neck broken off

Head missing

Base has pieces broken off

Brief Description:

The medium-sized figurine can rest across the palm of an adult hand and is easily manipulated using the thumb and fingertips. The head technology is impossible to identify due to the break at the neck. The lower body was modeled as a column and the base spreads out to give support to the figure, which was formed in a standing pose.

Details:*Hair:* Missing*Breasts:* Horizontal incised lines*Pubic Region:* Covered*Legs:* Average length legs are formed as a single column with no feet depicted.*Garment:* One line incised around the waist represents a cord or belt with three tassels in the front and a U-shaped dip at the back. The lower body appears to be covered in a long skirt or wrap.*Jewelry:* None*Body Decoration:* None**Bibliography:**

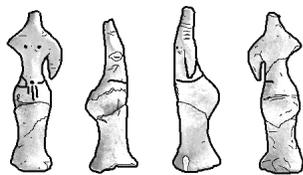
Steindorff (1935): 122 (No. 19), 142, Pl. 72.19

Hofmann (1977): 90 (footnote 63)

Krauspe (1997): 105, Pl. 124.1-4

Gratien (2009): 327

Petacchi (2012): 268, fig 3.B

**C-14****Dimensions:**

H: 7.3 cm

W: 2.5 cm

D: 2 cm

Munsell 7.5YR 5/4

Condition:

Neck broken off

Head missing

Right arm broken off just below shoulder

Broken in two below hips (repaired)

Small piece missing at the break on the right side

Brief Description:

This medium-sized figurine can securely rest across the palm of an adult hand and is easily held and manipulated using the thumb and two fingers. The head technology is impossible to identify due to the break at the neck. The lower body was modeled as a column and the base spreads out to give support to the figure, which was formed in a standing pose.

Details:*Hair:* Missing*Breasts:* Impressed holes*Pubic Region:* Covered*Legs:* Average length legs are formed as a single column with no feet depicted.

Garment: One line incised around the waist (but not touching in the back) represents a cord or belt with three tassels in the front. The lower body appears to be covered in a long skirt or wrap.

Jewelry: None*Body Decoration:* None**Bibliography:**

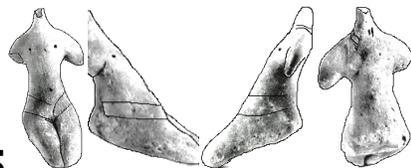
Steindorff (1935): 122 (No. 20), 142, Pl. 71.20.A and B

Hofmann: 90 (footnote 63)

Krauspe (1997): 105, Pl. 125.1-4

Gratien (2009): 327

Petacchi (2012): 268, fig. 3.B

**C-15****Dimensions:**

H: 11.7 cm

W: 5.4 cm

D: 4.0 cm

L: 13.5 cm

Munsell 5YR 6/4-5/4

Condition:

Neck broken off

Head missing

Right arm broken off below shoulder

Brief Description:

This medium-sized figurine can be comfortably gripped in an adult human hand and can be manipulated and moved using the thumb and two or three fingers. The head technology is impossible to identify due to the break at the neck. The pose is somewhat ambiguous but likely was understood as standing and leaning slightly forward, although it cannot maintain a standing or a sitting position unaided on a flat surface.

Details:*Hair:* Missing*Breasts:* Impressed holes*Pubic Region:* Covered*Legs:* Short legs, formed separately but positioned together, taper only slightly to rounded ends with no indication of feet.*Garment:* Incised lines at the hips represent a wide belt or band that covers the pubic area and wraps around the hips, terminating in squared tabs that do not touch at the back.*Jewelry:* None*Body Decoration:* None**Bibliography:**

Steindorff (1935): 122 (No. 15), 150, Pl. 72.15

Hofmann (1977): 90 (footnote), fig. 56

Gleisberg (1989): 585-596 (No. V/5/50), 586

Krauspe (1997): 103 (No. 182), Pl. 119.1-4

Hafsaas (2006): 101-103, Color Plate 5.A

Petacchi (2012): 268, fig. 3.B

Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

C-16**Dimensions:**

H: 9.7 cm

L: 16 cm

Condition:

Neck broken off

Head missing

Right arm broken below shoulder

Broken in two below navel (repaired)

Brief Description:

This large figurine is more comfortably secured using two hands but it can be gripped in one adult hand for easy manipulation. The tip of the neck is broken off, but the remaining length and shape suggest that it was originally long and tapering to accommodate a separately modeled head. The pose is ambiguous. It could have been understood as seated and leaning back or standing and leaning forward. It cannot sit or stand unaided on a flat surface.

Details:

Hair: Missing

Breasts: Applied bits of clay

Pubic Region: Covered

Legs: Average length legs, formed separately but positioned together, taper dramatically from wide hips to narrow ankles with small upturned protrusions at the ends representing feet.

Garment: Incised lines at the abdomen and groin represent a triangle-shaped garment that covers the pubic area and wraps around the hips.

Jewelry: Incised lines at the neck, shoulders and chest, form a trident-shape - double incised lines encircle the neck and from this band another double incised line extends vertically down the center of the chest, while two double incised lines extend diagonally, one from either shoulder, with all three meeting at the center of the chest just above the level of the breasts. Incised lines around the front of the upper left arm represent bangles.

Body Decoration: Three horizontal, bands each comprised of three horizontal rows of dashed lines, encircle the front of the torso between the breasts and the navel, representing scarification, tattooing, or body paint. Triple incised lines in a zigzag pattern run along the length of the outer legs. The trident-shaped arrangement over the chest might represent scarification or body painting rather than an actual piece of jewelry.

Bibliography:

Steindorff (1935): 121 (No. 6 and 7), 150, Pl. 72.6 and 7

Keimer (1948): 36-37, fig. 35

Gratien (2009): 326

Petacchi (2012): 268, fig. 3.B

Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

C-17

Dimensions:

H: 6 cm

Condition:

Neck broken off

Head missing

Left arm broken (repaired)

Slight damage at the base

Brief Description:

This small figurine, slightly larger than a large chicken egg, can comfortably fit in the palm of an adult hand and can be manipulated using the thumb and fingertips. The head technology is impossible to identify due to the break at the neck. The lower body was modeled in a column with the base spread out for support. It is in a standing pose with the upper body leaning slightly forward. This piece might possibly have been able to stand unaided on a flat surface, but the base is damaged.

Details:

Hair: Missing

Breasts: Impressed holes indicate nipples

Pubic Region: Covered

Legs: Average length legs, formed as a column, taper slightly to narrow ankles then flare at the base with no indication of feet.

Garment: Incised lines at hips represent a wide belt or sash that terminates at the back in squared tabs that do not meet. The lower body appears to be covered in a long skirt or wrap.

Jewelry: Incised lines at neck and collar represent necklace strands, Incised lines on arms represent bangles.

Body Decoration: None

Bibliography:

Steindorff (1935): 219 (No. S 20), Pl. 94.S.20

Gratien (2009): 327

Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

C-18**Dimensions:**

H: 7.5 cm

Condition:

Neck broken off at collar

Head missing

Left arm broken off at shoulder

Brief Description:

This medium-sized figurine can lie comfortably across the palm of an adult hand and is easily held and manipulated using the thumb and fingertips. The head technology is impossible to identify due to the break at the neck. The lower body was modeled in a column shape with the base spread out. The base is not flat, however, and the piece would not have been able to stand unaided on a flat surface.

Details:

Hair: Missing

Breasts: Horizontal incised lines

Pubic Region: Covered

Legs: Average length legs, formed as a column, terminate in a flared base with no indication of feet.

Garment: Incised lines at the waist and hips represent a belt and an apron-like garment that hangs down in the front and wraps around the hips. The lower body appears to be covered by a long skirt or wrap.

Jewelry: Incised lines at the base of the neck represent a necklace strand. Two incised lines at the collar represent a necklace or broad collar. A series of parallel incised lines at the front of the right arm represent bangles.

Body Decoration: None

Bibliography:

Steindorff (1935): 219 (No. S 26), Pl. 94.S.26

Gratien (2009): 327

Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

C-19**Dimensions:**

H: 6 cm

Condition:

Neck broken off just above collar

Head missing

Left arm broken off at shoulder

Right arm broken off at shoulder

Brief Description:

This small figurine can comfortably nestle in the palm of an adult hand. It can be manipulated easily using the thumb and fingertips. The original head technology is impossible to identify due to the break at the neck. The lower body was modeled in a column shape with the base spread out. The figure is posed in a standing position and can stand unaided on a flat surface.

Details:

Hair: Missing

Breasts: Impressed holes indicate nipples

Pubic Region: Covered

Legs: Very short legs, formed together as a column, flare at the base with no indication of feet.

Garment: Two incised lines at hips represent an apron-like garment that hangs down in the front and wraps around the hips, terminating in squared tabs at the back of the hips.

Jewelry: Incised lines at the collar indicate necklace strands and a wide collar and drop necklace represented with two horizontal incised lines that extend from the lowest necklace strand down the center of the chest ending above the navel.

Body Decoration: Impressed dots in a vaguely circular constellation appear on the right side in the center of the torso.

Bibliography:

Steindorff (1935): 219 (No. S 34), Pl. 94.S.34

Gratien (2009): 327

Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

C-20

Dimensions:

H: 7.5 cm

L: 17 cm

Condition:

Neck broken off

Tip of left arm broken off

Had been broken in half at abdomen but repaired after excavation

Brief Description:

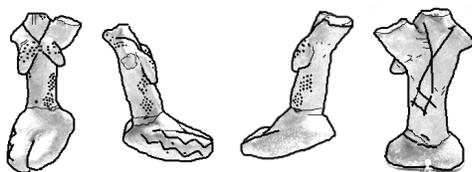
This large figurine can be held and manipulated in one adult hand, but for more secure movement both hands should be used. The head technology is impossible to identify due to the break at the neck. The pose is ambiguous and might have been understood as seated and leaning back or standing and leaning forward. It cannot sit or stand unaided on a flat surface.

Details:*Hair:* Missing*Breasts:* Applied bits of clay*Pubic Region:* Covered*Legs:* Long legs, formed separately but positioned together, terminate in small protrusions that represent feet.*Garment:* Incised lines at the abdomen and groin represent a loincloth-type garment that covers the genitals with a narrow belt or band that wraps around the hips. The garment has incised hashed lines representing beading or decorative leatherwork.*Jewelry:* Incised diagonal lines cross over the chest representing a bandolier of leather, fiber, or beadwork.*Body Decoration:* Rows of dots in vaguely rectangular constellations are impressed on the center of the torso below and above the navel. One zigzag line is incised along the top of the left leg.**Bibliography:**

Steindorff (1935): 121 (No. 5), Pl. 71.5

Keimer (1948): 36-37, fig. 30

Gratien (2009): 326

**C-21****Dimensions:**

H: 8.9 cm

W: 4.6 cm

D: 2.2 cm

L: 9.3 cm
Munsell 5YR 6/4 – 5/4

Condition:

Tip of neck broken off (at time of excavation)
Neck broken off (currently)
Head missing
Right arm broken off at shoulder
Left arm broken off below shoulder
Body broken in two at hips (repaired)

Brief Description:

This medium-sized figurine sits comfortably across the palm of an adult human hand and can be manipulated using the thumb and two or three fingertips. The head technology is impossible to identify due to the broken neck tip. The pose is likely intended to represent a seated figure, with the upper body leaning back. The piece, however, cannot sit unaided on a flat surface.

Details:

Hair: Missing
Breasts: Modeled and pendulous
Pubic Region: Uncovered but not elaborated
Legs: Short legs, formed separately but positioned together, terminate in rounded stubs with no indication of feet.
Garment: None
Jewelry: Incised lines around the neck and collar represent a necklace strand with a pendant attached between the breasts, indicated with impressed dots in a rosette pattern. The necklace continues onto the back of the piece where the two strands extend down the back to the middle of the torso, criss-crossing twice.
Body Decoration: Lozenge shaped rows of dots are impressed on the front left torso below the level of the breasts, the right side front of the torso below the breast, and across the tops of both breasts. Two zigzag lines are incised along the outside of the right leg.

Bibliography:

Steindorff (1935): 121 (No. 10), Pl. 72.10
Steindorff (1937): 30
Ägyptisches Museum, et al (1963): 18
Hofmann (1977): 90, fig. 8
Krauspe (1997): 102 (No. 180), Pl. 117.1-4
Wildung (1997): 55, 56 (No. 45)
Bianchi (2004): 58
Hafsaas (2006): 101-103, Color Plate 5.B
Petacchi (2012): 268, fig. 3.B

Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

C-22

Dimensions:

H: 11.1 cm

W: 2.7 cm

D: 2.3 cm

L: 13.1 cm

Munsell 5YR 7/4

Condition:

Tip of neck broken off

Left arm broken off at shoulder

Right arm was broken at shoulder (repaired)

Completely broken at the chest and waist (repaired)

Brief Description:

This large figurine can be comfortably gripped in an adult hand and manipulated using the thumb and two or three fingers. Although the very tip of the neck is broken off, the length and shape indicate that the piece was modeled to accommodate a separately made head. The pose is ambiguous but the obtuse angle of the legs and torso make the figure more likely to have been understood as standing and leaning forward than sitting and leaning back. The piece can neither stand nor sit unaided on a flat surface.

Details:

Hair: Missing

Breasts: Impressed holes

Pubic Region: Covered

Legs: Long legs, formed separately but positioned together, terminate in small upturned protrusions representing feet.

Garment: Incised lines at the abdomen and groin represent a wide band or belt that covers the pubic region and wraps around the hips, terminating in squared tabs without meeting in the back.

Jewelry: Incised horizontal lines on the neck represent necklace strands, One incised line around the lower part of the neck represents a drop necklace with two vertical lines descending from it in the center, extending to the level of the breasts.

Body Decoration: None

Bibliography:

Steindorff (1935): 122 (No. 18), Pl. 72.18

Hofmann (1977): 90 (footnote 56)

Krauspe (1997): 103 (No. 181), Pl. 118.1-4

Petacchi (2012): 268, fig. 3.B

**C-23****Dimensions:**

H: 8.2 cm

W: 2.0 cm

D: 2.2 cm

Munsell 7.5YR 5/3

Condition:

Intact and complete but missing head

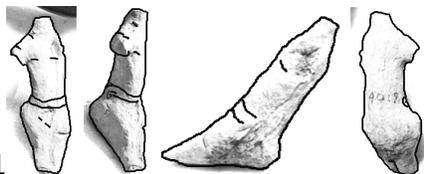
Brief Description:

This figurine can rest across an average-sized adult palm and is easily manipulated using the thumb and fingertips. The long, tapering neck appears to have been intended to insert into a separately made head. The figure is posed in a standing position but cannot stand or sit unaided on a flat surface.

Details:*Hair:* Missing*Breasts:* Applied bits of clay with incised horizontal lines representing nipples*Pubic Region:* Covered*Legs:* Average length legs, formed separately but positioned together, taper from hips to narrow ankles with small upturned protrusions at the ends representing feet.*Garment:* Two deeply incised horizontal lines around the waist and lower abdomen represent a wide belt that terminates in squared tabs. Incised lines at the abdomen and groin represent a roughly triangular garment that covers the pubic region and wraps around the hips where the lines disappear and do not touch.*Jewelry:* One incised line around the neck represents a necklace strand with one vertical strand depending from the center between the breasts.*Body Decoration:* Two columns of impressed dots run in the center of the torso from above the navel to below the breasts. Three rows of impressed dots form a rectangular shape on the outer right thigh. Rows of dots in the shape of a rough square are impressed on each buttock. One wavy line is incised along the front of the left leg to about the knee area.**Bibliography:**

Wenig (1978): 125 (No. 15)

Säve-Söderbergh 1 and 2(1989): 214, Pl. 61.3A

**C-24****Dimensions:**

L: 7.9 cm

Munsell 5YR 5/4

Condition:

Neck broken off

Head missing

Left arm broken off at shoulder

Right arm broken off just below shoulder

Brief Description:

This medium-sized figurine can rest comfortably across the palm of an average adult hand and is easily manipulated using the thumb and fingertips. The head technology is impossible to interpret due to the break at the neck. The pose is ambiguous so that the figure might have been understood as seated and leaning back or standing and leaning forward. The figurine cannot stand or sit unaided on a flat surface.

Details:*Hair:* Missing*Breasts:* Incised horizontal lines*Pubic Region:* Uncovered but not elaborated*Legs:* Short legs, formed separately but positioned together, taper to rounded ends with no indication of feet.*Garment:* Incised lines around the hips represent a wide belt or band does not completely encircle the torso but stops at the sides.*Jewelry:* Faint lines at the collar might indicate a necklace*Body Decoration:* None**Bibliography:**

MacIver and Woolley (1909): 8, 10, Pl. 8.4019

**C-25**

Dimensions:

L: 3.6 cm

Munsell 7.5YR 3/1

Condition:

Neck broken off near the top

Head missing

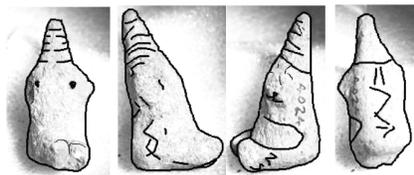
Tip of left arm broken off

Brief Description:

This very small figurine can nestle easily in the palm of an adult hand and can be manipulated using the thumb and one fingertip. The head technology is impossible to identify due to the break at the neck. The pose is ambiguous and might have been understood as seated and leaning back or standing and leaning forward. The piece can neither sit nor stand unaided on a flat surface.

Details:*Hair:* Missing*Breasts:* Impressed holes*Pubic Region:* Pubic mound modeled with a separate bit of clay and applied, with one vertical line likely representing a vulva slit visible in the center.*Legs:* Short legs, formed separately but positioned together, taper from the hips to narrow ankles with small pointed protrusions at the ends representing feet.*Garment:* Incised lines at the waist and hips represent a wide belt or sash that wraps around the hips and terminates at the back in angular tabs.*Jewelry:* Incised rows of lines around the front of the neck represent multiple necklaces. The lowest necklace is at the collar and two strands hang from the center between the breasts, terminating at the center of the upper body. Incised lines around the front and upper part of the arms represent bangles.*Body Decoration:* Rows of horizontal incised lines on both sides of the torso represent tattooing, scarification, or body painting.**Bibliography:**

MacIver and Woolley (1909): 8, 10, Pl. 8.4021

**C-26****Dimensions:**

H: 4.9 cm

L: 5.4 cm

Munsell 7.5YR 6/2

Condition:

Head missing
 Left arm broken off below shoulder
 Right arm broken off including shoulder
 Friable surface obscures some details

Brief Description:

This small figurine can rest comfortably in the cupped palm of an adult hand and can be manipulated using the thumb and two fingertips. The elongated, tapering neck appears to have been intended to accommodate a separately made head. The figurine was modeled in a seated pose with the upper body leaning slightly back. It cannot sit unaided on a flat surface.

Details:

Hair: Missing
Breasts: Impressed holes
Pubic Region: Not visible due to position of legs and surface condition
Legs: Short, stubby legs, formed separately, extend from the squat body, terminating in blunted stubs with no indication of feet.
Garment: Incised lines at hips represent a wide belt that wraps around the hips (only the left side is still visible), terminating in a rounded tab at the side.
Jewelry: Lines incised around the front of the neck represent necklaces. The lowest necklace completely encircles the neck at the level of the collar and two short lines appear to extend from it at the back, as if fastened with cords at the back of the neck.
Body Decoration: One zigzag line is incised down the center of the back. Another zigzag line extends along the right side along the hip.

Bibliography:

MacIver and Woolley (1909): 8, 10, Pl. 8.4024

**C-27****Dimensions:**

H: 7.7 cm
 Munsell 5YR 4/1

Condition:

Intact and complete but missing head

Brief Description:

This medium-sized figurine can rest securely across the palm of an average adult hand and is easily manipulated with the thumb and fingertips. The elongated, tapering, neck appears to have been modeled to accommodate a separately made head. The intended pose is ambiguous. It might have been imagined as seated and leaning back or standing and leaning forward. It cannot sit or stand unaided on a flat surface.

Details:

Hair: Missing

Breasts: None

Pubic Region: Not elaborated

Legs: Very short legs, formed separately but positioned together, taper dramatically from the hips to narrow rounded points with no indication of feet.

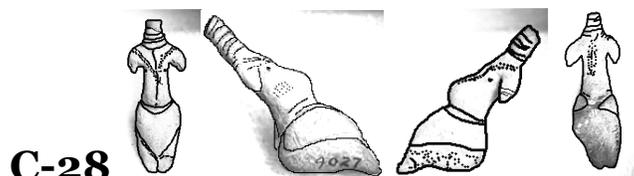
Garment: Incised lines at the abdomen and groin represent a triangular garment that wraps around the hips terminating in rounded tabs at the back. The lines do not connect at the front of the garment where the pubic mound would be, but the genitals are not elaborated.

Jewelry: Incised lines at the neck represent necklaces, the lowest of which has two (possibly three) strands hanging vertically from it extending to the center of the chest. Incised lines across the arms represent bangles.

Body Decoration: A zigzag line is incised along the right leg and short parallel horizontal lined are incised on the left leg.

Bibliography:

MacIver and Woolley (1909): 8, 10, Pl. 8.4022



C-28

Dimensions:

H: 4.2 cm

Munsell 7.5YR 5/2

Condition:

End of neck broken off

Head missing

Otherwise intact and complete

Brief Description:

This small visibly pregnant figurine can nestle comfortably in the cupped palm of an adult hand and is easily manipulated with the thumb and fingertips. The head technology is impossible to identify due to the break at the neck. The pose is ambiguous and this piece might have been understood as sitting and leaning back

or standing and leaning slightly forward. The figurine cannot sit or stand unaided on a level surface.

Details:

Hair: Missing

Breasts: Impressed holes

Pubic Region: Covered

Legs: Very short legs, formed separately but positioned together, taper dramatically from wide hips to small rounded points that represent feet. The legs are slightly bent at the knee.

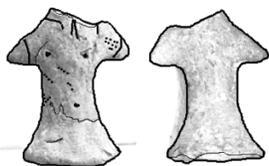
Garment: Incised lines at the abdomen and groin represent a triangular garment that covers the pubic area and wraps around the hips, terminating in rounded tabs at the back.

Jewelry: Incised lines on the neck represent necklace strands, the lowest of which rests at the collar and has one long strand hanging from the center down the middle of the torso to just above the navel.

Body Decoration: Incised dots and dashes extend from both shoulders, diagonally, and meet below the center of the chest, representing scarification, tattooing, or body paint. Impressed rows of dots form a lozenge shape on the right side of the torso. One vertical incised line lined on either side by impressed dots runs down the center of the spine terminating at the middle of the upper torso, representing scarification, tattooing, or body paint.

Bibliography:

MacIver and Woolley (1909): 8, 10, Pl. 8.4027



C-29

Dimensions:

L: 2.7 cm

Munsell 7.5YR 4/1

Condition:

Neck and part of left shoulder broken off

Head missing

Brief Description:

This very small, truncated figurine can roll around easily in the cupped palm of an adult hand and is easily manipulated with the thumb and one fingertip. The technology of the head is impossible to identify due to the break at the neck. The torso is truncated at about the level of the hips and the piece is modeled in a

standing position. This figurine can maintain a standing position on a level surface without assistance.

Details:

Hair: Missing

Breasts: Impressed holes

Pubic Region: Not present

Legs: Not present

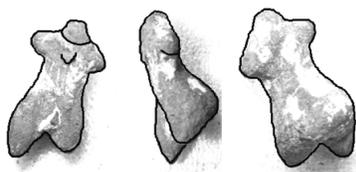
Garment: None

Jewelry: Incised lines around the arms represent bangles. One faint incised line, remains visible around the collar, possibly represents a necklace and two vertical lines possibly represent strands hanging from this necklace.

Body Decoration: Rows of impressed dots form a roughly rectangular shape on the front left arm near the body. Representing tattoos, scarification, or body paint.

Bibliography:

MacIver and Woolley (1909): 8, 10



C-30

Dimensions:

L: 2.7 cm

Munsell 7.5YR 4/1

Condition:

Head missing

Surface abraded, details difficult to see

Brief Description:

This very small figurine can easily roll around in the cupped palm of an adult hand and is manipulated easily with the thumb and one fingertip. The surface of the neck is abraded and it is impossible to tell if the neck is intact or broken, thus the head technology is unknowable. The pose is ambiguous and might have been understood as seated and leaning back or standing and leaning forward. The piece cannot maintain a seated or standing position unaided on a level surface.

Details:

Hair: Head missing

Breasts: Left breast represented by an applied piece of clay, right breast missing

Pubic Region: Abraded surface makes determination impossible

Legs: Short legs, separately formed and positioned apart, taper and terminate in blunted points with no indication of feet.

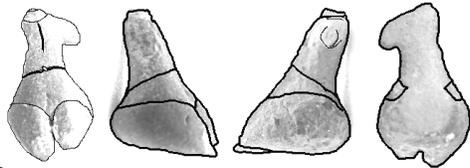
Garment: None visible

Jewelry: One incised line around neck possibly represents a necklace strand.

Body Decoration: None visible

Bibliography:

MacIver and Woolley (1909): 8, 10



C-31

Dimensions:

L: 2.8 cm

D: 1.9 cm

Munsell 5 YR 4/3

Condition:

Neck broken off

Head missing

Right arm broken off along with shoulder

Brief Description:

This very small figurine can easily roll around in the cupped palm of the average human hand and is easily manipulated with the thumb and one fingertip. The head technology is impossible to identify due to the damaged neck. The pose is ambiguous and might have been understood as seated and leaning back or standing and leaning slightly forward.

Details:

Hair: Head missing

Breasts: None

Pubic Region: Covered

Legs: Short legs, formed separately and positioned close together, taper from large thighs to rounded points with no indication of feet.

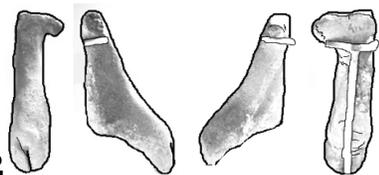
Garment: Incised lines at the abdomen and groin represent a triangular garment that covers the pubic area and wraps around the hips, terminating in the back with blunted tabs.

Jewelry: One incised line at the collar represents a necklace with a single strand extending vertically from its center down to the center of the chest.

Body Decoration: None

Bibliography:

Unpublished

**C-32****Dimensions:**

H: 8.0 cm

W: 2.4 cm

D: 2.5 cm

L: 9.5 cm

Munsell 7.5 YR 7/4-5/4

Condition:

Neck broken off

Head missing

Left arm broken off just below shoulder

Right arm broken off including shoulder

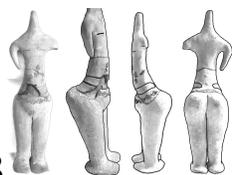
Brief Description:

This medium-sized figurine can rest across the palm of an average adult hand and is easily manipulated with the thumb and two fingers. The body is oddly shaped and crudely modeled. The nature of the head technology is impossible to identify due to the damaged neck. The pose is ambiguous and might have been understood as seated and leaning back or standing and leaning forward.

Details:*Hair:* Head missing*Breasts:* none*Pubic Region:* Uncovered but not elaborated*Legs:* Very short legs, formed separately but positioned together, terminate in rounded points with no indication of feet.*Garment:* None*Jewelry:* None*Body Decoration:* None**Bibliography:**

Steindorff (1935): 132

Krauspe (1997): 104 (No. 184), Pl. 121.1-4

**C-33**

Dimensions:

H: 14.9 cm

W; 4.5 cm

D: 3.9 cm

Munsell 5 YR 5/4

Condition:

Head missing

Left arm broken off below shoulder

Broken into three pieces at center of torso and at hips (repaired)

Surface section missing from lower abdomen

Brief Description:

This large figurine can be snugly gripped at the torso with one adult hand but should be held in both hands for more secure movement or manipulation. The elongated neck was apparently formed to accommodate a separately manufactured head. The figurine stands upright on enlarged feet and leans slightly forward at the hips. This piece can stand unaided on a level surface.

Details:

Hair: Head missing

Breasts: Incised horizontal lines

Pubic Region: Modeled pubic mound but genitals are not depicted – a vertical crack in the clay runs along the pubic mound approximating a vulva slit but on close inspection this looks likely to have been unintentional.

Legs: Long legs, formed separately and positioned separately but close together, taper only slightly from the hips to large flat feet.

Garment: Incised lines at waist and hips represent a wide belt that wraps around the hips, terminating in rounded tabs at the back.

Jewelry: None

Body Decoration: Impressed rows of dots in the shape of vertically oriented pairs of lozenges are arranged unevenly across the front of the torso between the level of the breasts and the navel. Impressed rows of dots in the shape of a chain of horizontally oriented lozenges extend across the lower abdomen, below the level of the belt. These represent tattoos, scarification patterns, or body paint.

Bibliography:

Junker (1926): 75, Pl. 11.55 and 56, Pl. 24.413

Keimer (1948): 36-37, fig. 32

Hofmann (1977): 91, fig. 9

Morris (2011): 80, footnote 61

**C-34****Dimensions:**

Estimated measurements:

H: 9.5 cm

Condition:

Neck broken off at midpoint

Missing head

Brief Description:

This medium-sized figurine can be comfortably gripped in an adult hand and manipulated using the thumb and fingers. The head technology cannot be determined due to damage at the neck. The lower body was modeled as a column shape. The figurine was modeled to stand upright, leaning slightly forward at the hips. It can maintain this upright pose unaided on a level surface.

Details:

Hair: Head missing

Breasts: Unknown, possibly applied bits of clay

Pubic Region: Covered

Legs: Disproportionately short legs formed together in a column shape flare out at base with no indication of feet.

Garment: The lower body and legs are possibly covered in a long skirt or wrap.

Jewelry: Incised lines at the neck represent necklace strands.

Body Decoration: None

Bibliography:

Verwers (1961): 19, Pl. 2.C

Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

C-35**Dimensions:**

Approximate measurements:

L: 8-10 cm

Condition:

Neck broken off at base

Head missing

Left arm broken off just below shoulder

Brief Description:

This medium-sized figurine will fit comfortably in the grasp of an adult hand and can be manipulated with the thumb and fingers. The head technology cannot be identified due to damage at the neck. The pose is ambiguous and it might have been understood as seated and leaning back or standing and leaning forward. It cannot maintain a seated or a standing position unaided on a level surface.

Details:

Hair: Head missing

Breasts: Unknown

Pubic Region: Covered

Legs: Short legs, formed separately but positioned together, taper only slightly from the hips and terminate in rounded blunt points with no indication of feet.

Garment: Incised lines at the abdomen and groin represent a triangular garment that covers the pubic area and wraps around the hips to the back.

Jewelry:

Body Decoration:

Bibliography:

Bakr (1963): 117, Pl. 3.B

Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

C-36

Dimensions:

Approximate measurements:

H: 14 cm

L: 22 cm

Condition:

Neck broken off at base

Head missing

Left arm broken off including shoulder

Figurine broken in two at hips (repaired)

Section of surface missing from front of hips

Brief Description:

This large figurine could be gripped in one adult hand but would be more securely moved and manipulated using both hands. The technology of the head is impossible to identify due to damage at the neck. The pose is ambiguous and might have been understood as seated and leaning back or standing and leaning forward. The figurine cannot stand or sit unaided on a level surface.

Details:

Hair: Head missing

Breasts: Impressed holes

Pubic Region: Covered

Legs: Average-sized legs, formed separately and positioned close together taper only slightly from the hips to protruding round shaped points representing feet.

Garment: Incised lines at the abdomen and groin represent a triangular garment that covers the pubic area and wraps around the hips to the back.

Jewelry: Incised lines around the collar indicate necklaces. The lowest of these has four vertical strands hanging from the center, between the breasts, and terminating in the center of the upper abdomen. Incised lines on the surviving right arm represent bangles.

Body Decoration: Rows of dashed lines cross diagonally from the surviving right shoulder to the top of the right breast, some passing the breast and ending at the center of the chest. Horizontal bands made up of rows of dashed lines are incised around the front of the torso below the breasts and above the navel. Three rows of three vertically oriented dashed lines are incised on the right and left sides of the torso at the front, under the breasts. Double lines in a zigzag pattern are incised on both legs extending from the hips to the feet. All of these lines likely indicate scarification, tattooing, or body paint.

Bibliography:

Bakr (1963): 117, Pl. 3.B

Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

C-37**Dimensions:**

Estimated measurements:

H: 7 to 9 cm

Condition:

Neck broken off near base

Head missing

Brief Description:

This medium-sized figurine can rest across an adult palm and is easily manipulated using the thumb and fingertips. The technology of the head cannot be determined due to damage at the neck. The pose is ambiguous and might have been understood as seated and leaning back or standing and leaning forward. The piece cannot sit or stand unaided on a level surface.

Details:

Hair: Head missing

Breasts: Impressed holes

Pubic Region: Covered

Legs: Legs of average length, formed separately and positioned close together but not touching, taper from large thighs to small, blunted points with no evidence of feet.

Garment: Incised lines at the abdomen and groin represent a triangular garment that covers the pubic area and wraps around the hips.

Jewelry:

Body Decoration: None

Bibliography:

Bakr (1967): 7, Pl. 9



C-38

Dimensions:

Estimated measurements:

L: 4 to 6 cm

Condition:

Neck broken off at base

Head missing

Brief Description:

This small figurine can nestle securely in the cupped palm of an adult hand and can be manipulated easily with the thumb and fingertips. The head technology is impossible to determine due to damage at the neck. The pose is ambiguous and might have been understood as seated and leaning back or standing and leaning forward. The figurine cannot sit or stand unaided on a level surface.

Details:

Hair: Head missing

Breasts: Unknown

Pubic Region: Covered

Legs: Legs of average length were formed separately and positioned together, tapering dramatically from wide thighs to narrow ankles with short protuberances at the end representing feet.

Garment: Unknown

Jewelry: Unknown

Body Decoration: Unknown

Bibliography:

Bakr (1967): 7, Pl. 9

Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

C-39**Dimensions:**

Estimated measurements:

L: 5 to 6 cm

Condition:

Neck broken off at base

Head missing

Brief Description:

This small figurine fits comfortably in the cupped palm of an adult hand and is easily manipulated with the thumb and fingertips. The pose is ambiguous and might have been understood as seated and leaning back or standing and leaning forward. The figurine cannot sit or stand unaided on a level surface.

Details:

Hair: Head missing

Breasts: Unknown

Pubic Region: Covered

Legs: Proportionally short legs, formed separately but positioned together, taper dramatically from wide thighs to blunted points with no indication of feet.

Garment: Incised lines at the abdomen and groin represent a triangular garment that covers the pubic area and wraps around the hips to the back.

Jewelry: Unknown

Body Decoration: Unknown

Bibliography:

Bakr (1967): 7, Pl. 9

**C-40****Dimensions:**

Unknown

Condition:

Head missing

Otherwise intact and complete

Brief Description:

The intact neck of this figurine tapers, suggesting that it was modeled to accommodate a separately sculpted head. It was formed in a standing pose but cannot maintain this position unaided.

Details:

Hair: Head missing

Breasts: Incised horizontal lines

Pubic Region: Covered

Legs: Short legs, formed separately and positioned close together, terminate in blunted points with no indication of feet.

Garment: Incised lines at the abdomen and groin represent a loincloth type triangular garment that appears to fasten at the back with thin strips.

Jewelry: Incised lines at the neck represent strands of necklaces. The lowest necklace hangs at the collar and has at least one and possibly more strands hanging vertically from it, terminating at the center of the chest.

Body Decoration: None apparent

Bibliography:

Firth (1915): Pl. 37.D.2

Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

C-41

Dimensions:

Unknown

Condition:

Neck broken off at base along with top of shoulders

Head missing

Left arm broken off including shoulder

Right arm broken off just below shoulder

Broken in two at hips (repaired)

Surface degraded so that details are very difficult to see

Brief Description:

The head technology of this figurine cannot be identified due to damage at the neck. The pose is ambiguous and might have been understood as sitting and leaning back or standing and leaning forward. The figurine cannot sit or stand unaided on a level surface.

Details:

Hair: Head missing

Breasts: Unknown

Pubic Region: Unknown

Legs: Short legs appear to be positioned close together or possibly formed together.

Garment: Unknown

Jewelry: Unknown

Body Decoration: Unknown

Bibliography:

Steindorff (1935): Pl. 94.S.221

Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

C-42

Dimensions:

Unknown

Condition:

Neck broken off at base

Head missing

Left shoulder broken off

Brief Description:

The head technology of this figurine cannot be determined due to damage at the neck. The body is truncated below the hip level and the base spreads to give it support. It can stand unaided on a level surface.

Details:

Hair: Head missing

Breasts: None

Pubic Region: Not present

Legs: Not present

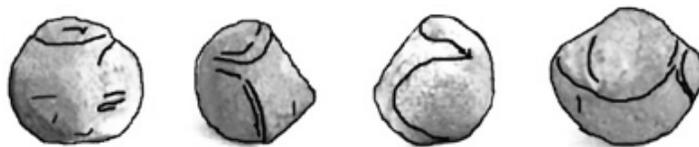
Garment: None

Jewelry: None

Body Decoration: None

Bibliography:

Säve-Söderbergh 4:1 (1989): 268; 4:2 (1989): Pl. 61.3.c

**D-1****Dimensions:**

H: 2.2 cm

W: 2.5 cm

D: 2.1 cm

Munsell 2.5 YR 5/4- 5/1

Condition:

Intact with some surface damage to the right and center area of the face
Cavity at base is somewhat occluded with sediment

Brief Description:

This figurine head was modeled with a cavity in the base, presumably for attaching to a clay body or other object.

Details:

Hair: Smooth with double incised lines marking the hairline at the sides of the face and one incised line marking the hairline at the forelock

Bibliography:

Williams (1983): 97, 98, 176 (No. T205), Pl. 102.A

**D-2****Dimensions:**

H: 2.3 cm

Munsell 2.5 Y 4/1

Condition:

Complete and intact

Brief Description:

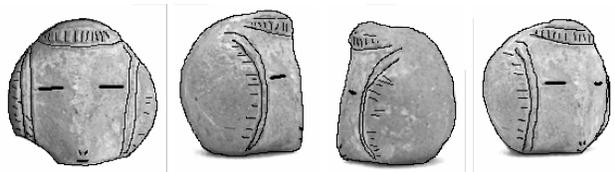
This figurine head was modeled as part of the figurine body.

Details:

Hair: Stippled, no lines demarcate the hairline

Bibliography:

Firth (1912): 170 (No. 66), Pl. 39



D-3

Dimensions:

H: 2.4 cm

W: 2.6 cm

D: 2.2 cm

Munsell 10 R 5/6

Condition:

Complete and intact

Brief Description:

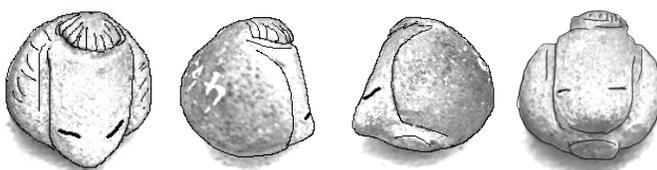
This figurine head was modeled with a cavity in the base, presumably for attaching to a clay body or other object. The cavity is smooth around the inner walls but is not very deep and appears as if the tip of the neck of the body that was attached to it has broken off inside it.

Details:

Hair: Smooth with double incised lines marking the hairline at the sides of the face and short incised lines at the sides and forelock

Bibliography:

Unpublished



D-4

Dimensions:

W: 2.0 cm

Munsell 5YR 5/3 (face: 7.5 YR 5/2)

Condition:

Complete and intact

Brief Description:

This figurine head was modeled with a cavity in the base, presumably for attaching to a clay body or other object. The cavity is not visible due to the tip of

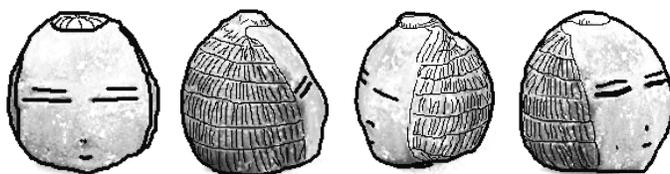
the neck of the attached body breaking just below the head. Part of the neck protrudes from the base of the head. The hair of this figurine has black firing marks over it in what appear to be intentional patterning – the hair appears black compared to the face.

Details:

Hair: Smooth with double incised lines marking the hairline at the sides of the face and crown and short incised lines at the sides and forelock

Bibliography:

MacIver and Woolley (1909): 8, 10



D-5

Dimensions:

H: 4.7 cm

W: 4.2 cm

Munsell 2.5 YR 5/4

Condition:

Small chip missing from crown of head, otherwise complete and intact

Brief Description:

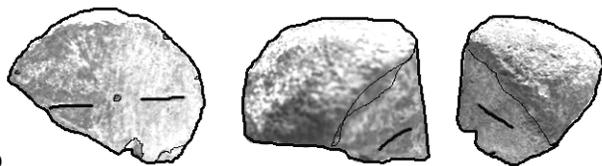
This figurine head was modeled with a cavity in the base, presumably for attaching to a clay body or other object. The cavity walls are smooth and unencrusted, thus the head might never have been attached to a body or supporting object. The hair has black firing marks over it in what appear to be intentional patterning – the hair appears black compared to the face.

Details:

Hair: Incised horizontal and vertical lines in a grid pattern with the hairline at the sides of the face and the crown indicated by a single incised line

Bibliography:

MacIver and Woolley (1909): 8, 10, Pl. 8.4025

**D-6****Dimensions:****Condition:**

Lower half broken off below eyes

Brief Description:

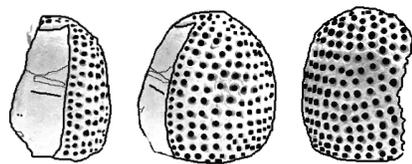
This hair of this head fragment was painted black. There are no incised lines to mark the hairline.

Details:

Hair: Smooth

Bibliography:

None

**D-7****Dimensions:**

H: 6.7 cm

W: 4.4 cm

D: 6.8 cm

Munsell 7.5 YR 6/2

Condition:

Right half broken off

Brief Description:

This head fragment has a cavity at the base for attachment to a clay body or other support. There are dark firemarks on the hair at the left side and on the back that might have been intentional.

Details:

Hair: Large impressed holes fairly evenly spaced all over head with a row of smaller incised lines (about half of the diameter) along the side of the face. A single incised line marks the hairline on the side of the face.

Bibliography:

Krauspe (1997): 107 (No. 193), Pl. 128.3-4



D-8

Dimensions:

Condition:

Lower half broken off below the eyes

Brief Description:

This partial head survives in a very fragmentary state.

Details:

Hair: Incised furrowed lines, one incised line indicates the hairline of the forelock

Bibliography:

Unpublished

Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

D-9

Dimensions:

H: 5.4 cm

W: 5.8 cm

D: 5.2 cm

Munsell 5 YR 6/6 – 5/6

Condition:

Broken into two pieces [repaired]

Chipped areas missing at the break line above the right eye

Brief Description:

This head has a cavity in the base for attachment to a clay body or other form of supporting structure. Dark firing marks occur in places, mostly on the hair and possibly intentionally created to mimic dark hair.

Details:

Hair: Large impressed holes are arranged in a regular pattern with a single incised line marking the hairline at the sides and forelock. Forelock lifts from face in a series of parallel, vertical incised marks.

Bibliography:

Steindorff (1935): 121-122 (No. 13), 134, Pl. 72.13
 Hofmann (1977): 90 (footnote 60)
 Wenig 1 (1978): Fig. 29; 2 (1978): 128 (No. 17)
 O'Connor (1978): 53, Fig. 29
 Teske (1979): 29 (No. 17), back cover
 Säve-Söderbergh (1980): 23
 Krauspe (1987): No. 51/12
 Krasupe (1997): 107 (No. 192), Pl. 127.4, Pl. 128.1-2
 Petacchi (2012): 268, fig. 3.B

Image redacted
 due to copyright
 restriction

D-10**Dimensions:**

H: 6.6 cm
 W: 6.5 cm
 D: 5.8 cm
 Munsell 5 YR 7/4 – 6/4

Condition:

Complete
 Broken into two pieces (repaired)

Brief Description:

This head has a cavity in the base for mounting on a clay body or other supporting structure. The lower part of the face and the back of the head have dark firemarks.

Details:

Hair: Large impressed holes are arranged somewhat randomly on the head with a single incised line marking the hairline at the sides of the face and the forelock. A row of parallel diagonally oriented incised lines extends along the hairline of both sides of the face. The forelock lifts from the forehead with a double row of vertical incised lines.

Bibliography:

Steindorff (1935): 121 (No. 12), 134, Pl. 72.12.a and b
 Ägyptisches Museum, et al (1963): 19

Hofmann (1977): 90 (footnote 60)
 Wenig 1 (1978): Fig. 29; 2 (1978): 125 (No. 14)
 Teske (1979): 29 (No. 14)
 Gleisberg (1989): 585-586 (No. V/5/51), 586
 Krasupe (1997): 106 (No. 191), Pl. 127.1-3
 Petacchi (2012): 268, fig. 3.B

Image redacted
 due to copyright
 restriction

D-11**Dimensions:**

H: 3 cm

Condition:

Complete and intact
 Surface somewhat worn

Brief Description:

This head has a cavity at the base to accommodate a clay body or other support.

Details:

Hair: Impressed holes with a single incised line indicating the hairline at the sides of the face and forelock.

Bibliography:

Steindorff (1935): 122 (No. 14), Pl. 72.14
 Petacchi (2012): 268, fig. 3.B

Image redacted
 due to copyright
 restriction

D-12**Dimensions:**

H: 5 cm

Condition:

Broken off below eyes

Brief Description:

This partial head survives in a very fragmentary state.

Details:

Hair: Large impressed holes cover the area of the hair, with single incised lines indicating the hairline at the sides of the face and forelock. The forelock is raised from the forehead by a row of incised vertical lines.

Bibliography:

Steindorff (1935): 219 (No. S.87), Pl. 94.S.87

Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

D-13**Dimensions:**

H: 3 cm

Condition:

Complete and intact
Surface very worn with details difficult to see

Brief Description:

This head has a cavity at the base to accommodate the neck of a clay figurine or other supporting object.

Details:

Hair: Unknown

Bibliography:

Steindorff (1935): 219 (No. S 42), Pl. 94.S.42

Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

D-14**Dimensions:**

Estimated measurements:

H: 4.5 cm

W: 3.8 cm

Condition:

Fragmentary, only the back portions survives

Brief Description:

This head survives in a very fragmentary state.

Details:

Hair: Large impressed holes arranged in a more or less symmetrical pattern

Bibliography:

Bakr (1963): 117, Pl. 3.B

Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

D-15**Dimensions:**

H: 8.8 cm

W: 8.5 cm

D: 7.4 cm

Condition:

Complete and intact

Brief Description:

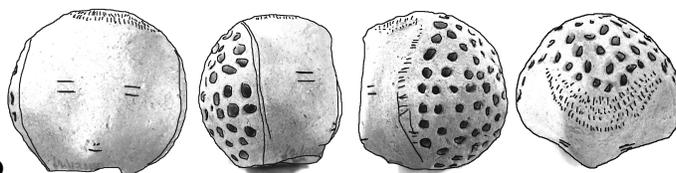
This large head has a cavity in the base for mounting it to a supporting object. Unlike other examples, this hairstyle is not divided into three parts with deeply receding temple areas and a projecting forelock but instead frames the face in a regular squared outline.

Details:

Hair: Large impressed holes decorate the surface area of the hair with single incised lines indicating the hairline. The hairline is bordered at the sides and forehead by a row of short parallel, incised lines.

Bibliography:

Unknown

**D-16****Dimensions:**

H: 4.5 cm

W: 5.1 cm

D: 4.5 cm

Munsell 7.5 YR 4/2

Condition:

Complete and intact

Some surface wear

Brief Description:

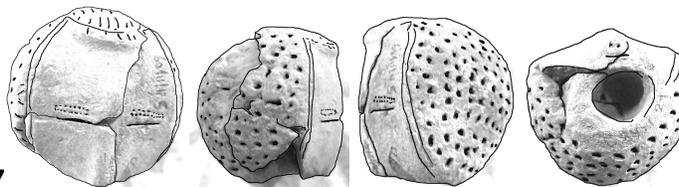
This head has a cavity in the base measuring 2.4 cm in diameter and 1.7 cm deep for fitting it to a body or other supporting object.

Details:

Hair: Large impressed holes are arranged in a random pattern over the surface of the hair. The hairline is indicated at the sides of the face with double incised lines bordered by a row of faintly incised lines at either side. The forelock is raised from the forehead by three rows of short incised lines oriented vertically.

Bibliography:

Nordström (2014): 74, 118, Pl. 25.E and F

**D-17****Dimensions:**

H: 5.0 cm

W: 5.2 cm

D: 5.0 cm

Munsell 10 YR 5/2

Condition:

Broken into several fragments (repaired)

Missing surface areas at the back and bottom right side

Brief Description:

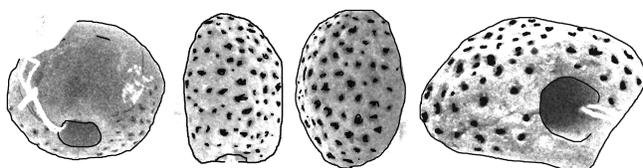
This head has a cavity in the base that measures 1.5 cm in diameter and 1.5 cm deep, for attaching it to a supporting object. Small impressed holes form the outline of eyebrows for both eyes

Details:

Hair: Impressed holes cover the surface of the hair in more or less random placement with double incised lines at the sides indicating the hairline. The forelock is raised from the forehead with the hair indicated by two rows of incised lines.

Bibliography:

Norström (2014): 75, 77, 118



D-18

Dimensions:

H: 5.4 cm

W: 5.2 cm

D: 3.5 cm

Munsell 7.5 YR 4/2

Condition:

Complete and intact

Brief Description:

This head has a cavity in the base for attaching it to a clay figurine or other type of supporting object. The head itself is much more flattened than other examples.

Details:

Hair: Large randomly placed impressed holes of varying sizes cover the surface of the hair with faint single incised lines indicating the hairline at the sides of the face.

Bibliography:

Nordström (2014): 89, 118

Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

D-19

Dimensions:

H: 4.1 cm

W: 3.9 cm

Condition:

Complete and intact

Surface heavily abraded in places

Brief Description:

This head has a cavity in the base for attachment to a clay body or other supporting object.

Details:

Hair: Impressed holes arranged on the surface of the hair with single incised lines marking the hairline at the sides and forelock. The forelock is raised from the forehead and bordered with a row of parallel vertical incised lines.

Bibliography:

Säve-Söderbergh 4:1 and 4:2 (1989): 180, Pl. 61.1

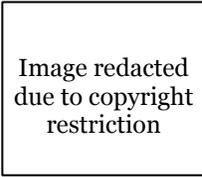


Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

D-20**Dimensions:**

L: 5.4 cm

Condition:

Left half of head broken off

Brief Description:

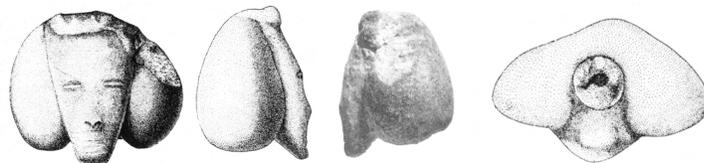
The partial head comprises half of a head that has been broken down the center, with the majority of the face broken off. It appears to be the right half, based on the orientation of the remaining hairlines and overall contours of the face.

Details:

Hair: Large impressed holes decorate the surface of the hair while double incised lines mark the hairline along the side of the face.

Bibliography:

Säve-Söderbergh 4:1 and 4:2 (1989): 214, Pl. 61.2

**D-21****Dimensions:**

H: 4.8 cm

W: 5.4 cm

D: 3.9 cm

Condition:

Surface area of crown at left side missing

Surface is very worn and details are difficult to see

Brief Description:

This very unusual head is identified as male by the excavators based on the length of the chin and horizontal incised lines on the chin that were believed to represent a beard. This identification is somewhat problematic in that the hairstyle is the same for all figurines.

Details:

Hair: Smooth and bulbous at the back and sides with the forelock raised from the forehead and deeply receding hairlines at the temples.

Bibliography:

Williams (1983): 97, 98, 179 (No. T217), Pl. 104-105

**D-22****Dimensions:**

H: Approximately 4 cm

W: Approximately 4 cm

Condition:

Unknown, the part visible in available image appears intact

Brief Description:

The visible surface of this head is smooth and featureless.

Details:

Hair: Smooth and bulbous at the back and sides with the forelock raised from the forehead and deeply receding hairlines at the temples.

Bibliography:Unknown

**D-23****Dimensions:**

H: Approximately 4 cm

W: Approximately 4.75 cm

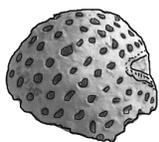
Condition:

Unknown, the parts visible in available image appear intact

Brief Description:

The neck inserted into this Type 2 head has broken off just below cavity, leaving a section of neck protruding from the head.

Details:*Hair:* Smooth**Bibliography:**Unknown

**D-24****Dimensions:**

H: Approximately 4.1 cm

W: Approximately 5.2 cm

Condition:

Fragmentary

Brief Description:

Most of the head appears to have broken away leaving only the top and proper right side of the head, including the corner of the hairline on the proper right side. The surface of the hair is indicated with gouged holes applied almost

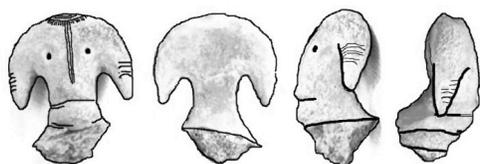
symmetrically along the surface. The hairline is indicated with one incised line and small incised parallel lines or dots are placed alongside this.

Details:

Hair: Indicated with gouged holes

Bibliography:

Unknown



E-1

Dimensions:

H: 9.8 cm

W: 8.0 cm

D: 3.8 cm

Munsel 7.5 YR 6/3

Condition:

Neck broken off at base

Head missing

Lower body broken off at hips

Brief Description:

This large figurine fragment fills the palm of an adult human hand but, if complete, could have been held using one or both hands and manipulated in the grip of one hand. The head technology is impossible to identify due to the damaged neck. Although broken off at the hips, the arched back indicates that the original pose was ambiguous and might have been understood as seated and leaning back or standing and leaning slightly forward.

Details:

Hair: Head missing

Breasts: Concave indentions with impressed holes in the centers

Pubic Region: Broken off

Legs: Missing

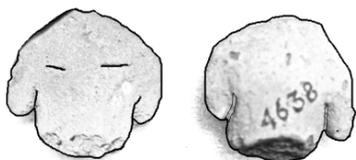
Garment: Incised lines at the hips represent a wide belt that wraps around the hips but terminates before reaching the back.

Jewelry: Two incised lines encircle the collar, representing necklace strands. The lowest necklace strand has a row of short incised lines radiating downward from it, possibly representing fringe or beads. Three vertical strands extend down the chest from the center of the lowest necklace strand, terminating at the center of the torso. Parallel, incised lines on the arms represent bangles.

Body Decoration: None

Bibliography:

Williams (1983): 97, 98, 162 (No. T 154), Pl. 102.B



E-2

[E-2/F-9]

Dimensions:

H: 2.4 cm

Munsell 7.5 YR 4/2

Condition:

Neck broken at base

Head missing

Lower body broken off at waist

Brief Description:

This small figurine fragment is very likely the upper body that belongs with the lower body F-9 (Penn Museum Inv. No. E4020). They appear to have broken apart during transportation to the museum and were accessioned as separate pieces on arrival. Before it was broken, this medium-sized figurine would have rested comfortably across the palm of an adult human hand and could have been easily manipulated with the thumb and fingertips. The head technology is impossible to identify due to the damaged neck.

Details:

Hair: Head missing

Breasts: Incised lines

Pubic Region: Lower body missing

Legs: Lower body missing

Garment: Lower body missing

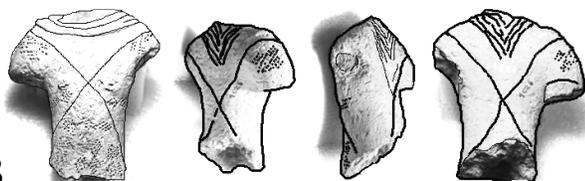
Jewelry: None

Body Decoration: None/ Lower body missing

Bibliography:

MacIver and Woolley (1909): 8, 10, Pl. 8.4020

Keimer (1948): 36-37, fig. 30

**E-3****Dimensions:**

H: 9.0 cm

W: 7.3 cm

Munsell 7.5 YR 5/3

Condition:

Neck broken off at base

Head missing

Left arm broken off at shoulder

Right arm broken off below shoulder

Lower body broken off at lower abdomen

Brief Description:

This large figurine fragment fills the palm of an adult human hand but, if complete, could have been held using one or both hands and manipulated in the grip of one hand. The head technology is impossible to identify due to the damaged neck. The pose is also impossible to identify due to loss of the lower body.

Details:*Hair:* Head missing*Breasts:* Modeled with incised lines in the center representing nipples*Pubic Region:* Missing*Legs:* Missing*Garment:* None/ Lower body missing

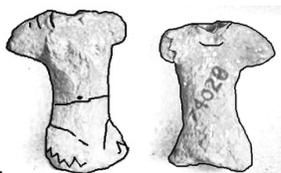
Jewelry: Clay bulges above a deeply incised line at the collar, indicating a thick, padded necklace or stacked coils of thick diameter around the collar. Multiple strands from the ends of this necklace or collar hang diagonally down the back, meeting in a chevron shape along the upper spine. Two diagonally oriented incised lines cross between the breasts at the center of the chest, continue over the shoulders, and cross in the center of the back in the shape of a bandolier.

Body Decoration: Impressed rows of dots form lozenge shapes, oriented vertically along the lower abdomen, horizontally across the center of the abdomen and below the breasts, and diagonally along the contours of the shoulders, representing scarification, tattoos, or body paint.

Bibliography:

MacIver and Woolley (1909): 8, 10, Pl. 8.4026

Keimer (1948): 36-37, fig. 30

**E-4****Dimensions:**

H: 3.0 cm

Munsell 7.5 YR 4/1

Condition:

Neck broken off at base

Head missing

Left arm broken at shoulder

Right arm broken below shoulder

Breasts broken off with damage to surrounding surface area

Lower body broken off below hips

Brief Description:

This small figurine fragment rest easily across the palm of an adult hand and can be manipulate with the thumb and fingertips. The head technology is impossible to identify due to the damaged neck. The forward bend at the pelvis and the zigzag pattern incised on the hips indicates that the figurine originally had separately formed legs rather than a columnar base, thus the original pose would have been ambiguous and might have been understood as seated and leaning back or standing and leaning slightly forward.

Details:*Hair:* Head missing*Breasts:* Broken concave areas*Pubic Region:* Covered*Legs:* Lower body missing

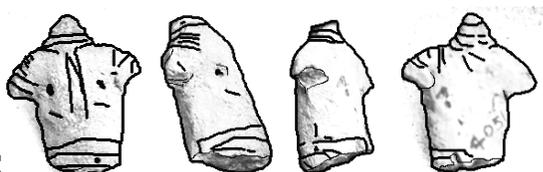
Garment: Incised lines at the abdomen and groin represent a triangular garment covering the pubic area and wrapping around the hips, terminating in squared tabs at the sides of the figurine.

Jewelry: Incised line at right side of collar might represent a necklace strand but this is impossible to see clearly.

Body Decoration: None visible/ Lower body missing

Bibliography:

MacIver and Woolley (1909): 8, 10, Pl. 8.4028

**E-5**

Dimensions:

H: 3.3 cm

W: 2.5 cm

Munsell 7.5 YR 5/2-4/2

Condition:

Head missing

Lower body broken off below waist

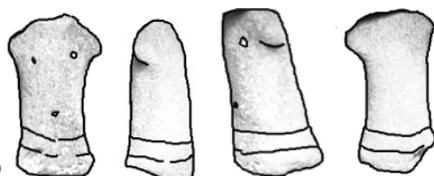
Surface somewhat degraded

Brief Description:

This small figurine fragment rolls around in the cupped palm of an adult hand and is easily manipulated with the thumb and fingertips. The conical neck is undamaged and appears to have been modeled to insert into a separately formed head. The lower back flares out before the break, indicating that the original pose was ambiguous and might have been understood as seated and leaning back or standing and leaning slightly forward.

Details:*Hair:* Head missing*Breasts:* Impressed holes*Pubic Region:* Missing*Legs:* Missing*Garment:* Incised lines at waist represent a wide belt terminating in squared tabs at the sides.*Jewelry:* Incised lines around the neck represent necklace strands. The lowest strand lies at the collar and two strands hang from the center, down between the breasts, terminating in the center of the torso. Incised lines across the arms represent bangles.*Body Decoration:* One incised diagonal line below each breast might represent scarification, tattooing, or body paint.**Bibliography:**

MacIver and Woolley (1909): 8, 10

**E-6****Dimensions:**

L: 3.6 cm

Munsell 5 YR 5/4

Condition:

Neck broken off at base
 Head missing
 Right arm broken off just below shoulder
 Lower body broken off below waist

Brief Description:

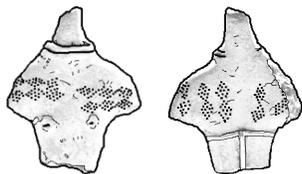
This small figurine fragment rolls around in the cupped palm of an adult hand and is easily manipulated with the thumb and fingertips. The head technology is impossible to identify due to the damaged neck. Although broken off at the hips, the arched back indicates that the original pose was ambiguous and might have been understood as seated and leaning back or standing and leaning slightly forward.

Details:

Hair: Head missing
Breasts: Impressed holes
Pubic Region: Missing
Legs: Missing
Garment: Incised lines entirely encircling the waist represent a wide belt.
Jewelry: None
Body Decoration: None/ Lower body missing

Bibliography:

MacIver and Woolley (1909): 8, 10

**E-7****Dimensions:**

H: 6.5 cm
 W: 5.0 cm
 D: 1.8 cm
 Munsell 7.5 YR 6/4-5/4

Condition:

Tip of neck broken off
 Head missing
 Both arms broken off just below shoulders
 Lower body broken off at waist

Brief Description:

This large figurine fragment fills the palm of an adult human hand but, if complete, could have been held using one or both hands and manipulated in the

grip of one hand. The elongated, tapering neck, although broken off at the tip, suggests that the piece was likely modeled to attach to a separately made head. The original pose and form of the lower body are impossible to deduce due to the break at the waist.

Details:

Hair: Head missing

Breasts: Modeled in low relief with incised lines in the centers

Pubic Region: Missing

Legs: Missing

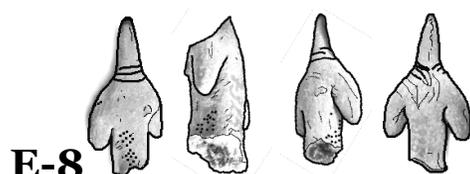
Garment: Missing

Jewelry: Thick rope-like necklace modeled at collar

Body Decoration: Impressed dots in the form of lozenges are oriented horizontally across the chest above the breasts and onto the front of both shoulders, but oriented vertically in pairs across the back of the shoulders and the shoulder blades.

Bibliography:

Krauspe (1997): 105-106 (No. 189), Pl. 126.1-2



E-8



[F-14]

Dimensions:

H: 5.14 cm

W: 2.72 cm

D: 1.185 cm

Munsell 5 YR 5/3

Condition:

Head missing

Lower body broken off below waist

Brief Description:

This small figurine fragment lies comfortably across the palm of an adult human hand but, if complete, could have been held using one hand and manipulated easily by the thumb and fingertips. The elongated, tapering neck indicates that the piece was modeled to attach to a separately made head. The original pose is impossible to discern from the remaining fragment. The excavator believed that this is the upper half of F-14, as they were both excavated from the same grave. The pieces, however, do not seem to share similar proportions and might not have been from the same piece.

Details:

Hair: Head missing

Breasts: Left breast represented by a bit of applied clay, right breast missing

Pubic Region: Missing

Legs: Missing

Garment: Missing / Lower body broken off

Jewelry: Incised lines around the front of the neck represent necklace strands.

Body Decoration: Rows of dots in vaguely lozenge or rectangular-shapes are impressed on the right side below the level of the breast and along the right and left sides under the arms.

Bibliography:

Junker (1926): 75, Pl. 11: 55-56; Pl. 24: 412

Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

E-9

Dimensions:

Condition:

Broken in two pieces across the chest (repaired)

Right arm broken off just below shoulder

Lower body broken off below hips

Brief Description:

This elongated, conical neck of this figurine fragment indicates that it was modeled to insert into a separately made head.

Details:

Hair: Head missing

Breasts: Incised lines

Pubic Region: Missing

Legs: Missing

Garment: Unknown/ lower body missing

Jewelry: None

Body Decoration: Rows of impressed dots in lozenge shapes are arranged in diagonally oriented pairs on the lower and middle abdomen, single lozenge shapes are arranged diagonally across the chest below the breasts, and two pairs of horizontally oriented lozenges cross the chest above the breasts. Pairs of lozenges extend around the right side onto the back of the torso.

Bibliography:

Steindorff (1935): 121 (No. 3), Pl. 72.3

Huard (1967-1968): 111, Fig. 9 (No. 6)

Gratien (2009): 327

Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

E-10**Dimensions:**

H: 11.5 cm

Condition:

Tip of neck broken off

Head missing

Left arm broken below shoulder (repaired)

Right arm broken off below shoulder

Torso broken into several pieces (repaired, but with some surface areas missing)

Lower body broken off at hips

Brief Description:

This large figurine fragment can be comfortably gripped by one adult hand, but if complete would likely have needed both hands to hold and manipulate it securely. The elongated, tapering neck, although broken off at the tip, suggests that the piece was likely modeled to attach to a separately made head. The hips begin to flare out at the front and the back just before the break, suggesting that the original pose was likely ambiguous and might have been understood as seated and leaning back or standing and leaning slightly forward.

Details:

Hair: Head missing

Breasts: Modeled in low relief

Pubic Region: Missing

Legs: Missing

Garment: Incised lines at the hip just above the break suggest a belt or other type of garment, but not enough is left to determine the type.

Jewelry: Incised lines around the neck indicate necklace strands. The center strand falls at the collar and two lines extend from the center of this strand, down the middle of the chest, terminating at the center of the chest, possibly representing long dangling strands suspended from the lowest necklace.

Body Decoration: Incised double lines extend diagonally inward from both shoulders, across the breasts, terminating at the center of the abdomen. These might be jewelry related to the center strands from the necklace, or they might represent scarification, tattooing, or body paint. Three horizontal bands made up of a pair of dashed lines cross the front of the abdomen between the hips and chest, representing scarification, tattooing, or body art.

Bibliography:

Steindorff (1935): 121 (No. 4), Pl. 71.4
Gratien (2009): 327

Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

E-11

Dimensions:

Estimated measurements:

H: 6.5 cm

W: 6 cm

Condition:

Head missing

End of right arm broken off

Lower body broken off at hips

Brief Description:

This large figurine fragment fits across the palm of an adult human hand and if complete could have been held using one hand and manipulated with the thumb and fingers. The elongated, tapering neck suggests that the piece was likely modeled to attach to a separately made head. Although broken off at the hips, the arched back indicates that the original pose was ambiguous and might have been understood as seated and leaning back or standing and leaning slightly forward.

Details:

Hair: Head missing

Breasts: Unclear

Pubic Region: Missing

Legs: Missing

Garment: Unclear, lower body missing

Jewelry: Incised lines at neck represent necklace strands with at least one long strand hanging down the center of the chest from the lowest necklace.

Body Decoration: Unknown

Bibliography:

Bakr (1963): 117, Pl. 3.B

Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

E-12**Dimensions:**

Estimated measurements:

L: 10.5 cm

W: 6.0 cm

Condition:

Tip of neck broken off

Head missing

Left arm broken including shoulder

Lower body broken off below hips

Brief Description:

This large figurine fragment can be held in the grip of an adult hand, but if complete might have been more comfortably and securely held using both hands. The elongated, tapering neck suggests that the piece was likely modeled to attach to a separately made head.

Details:

Hair: Head missing

Breasts: Modeled with impressed holes representing nipples

Pubic Region: Missing

Legs: Missing

Garment: Unknown

Jewelry: Incised lines at neck represent necklace strands with at least one long strand hanging down between the breasts from the center of the lowest necklace.

Body Decoration: Horizontal incised lines run around the front of the abdomen / Lower body missing

Bibliography:

Bakr (1963): 117, Pl. 3.B

Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

E-13**Dimensions:**

Estimated measurements:

L: 4 cm

Condition:

Neck broken off at base
 Head missing
 Lower body broken off at hips

Brief Description:

This medium-sized figurine fragment nestles comfortably in the cupped palm of an adult hand and would have been easily manipulated with the thumb and fingers even if complete. The head technology is impossible to identify due to the damaged neck.

Details:

Hair: Head missing

Breasts: Impressed holes

Pubic Region: Missing

Legs: Missing

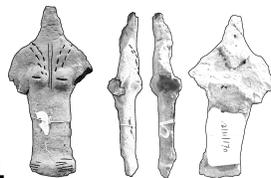
Garment: Unknown

Jewelry: Incised lines at collar represent necklace strands, Incised line running diagonally inward from the right shoulder might represent a bead or sinew strand.

Body Decoration: Incised bands of dashed lines run horizontally around the front of the torso above the waist but below the chest, representing scarification, tattooing, or body paint. The diagonal line mentioned in Jewelry might represent scarification, tattooing, or body paint.

Bibliography:

Bakr (1967): 7, Pl. 9

**E-14****Dimensions:**

H: 10.5 cm

W: 5.3 cm

D: 1.6 cm

Munsell 5 YR 5/2

Condition:

Head missing
 Back half broken off
 Left arm broken off just below shoulder
 Right arm broken off below shoulder
 Lower body broken off below hips

Brief Description:

This large figurine fragment fills the palm of an adult human hand and, if complete, could have been held using one hand and manipulated in the grip of one hand. The elongated neck indicates that it was modeled to fit into a separately made head. The original pose is impossible to determine from the remaining details.

Details:

Hair: Head missing

Breasts: Modeled with an incised line in the center of each

Pubic Region: Missing

Legs: Missing

Garment: Modeled horizontal protrusion at hips, just above the break, has incised horizontal lines and possibly represents a thick belt.

Jewelry: Incised lines around the neck represent necklace strands, the lowest of which has two vertical strands hanging from it down the center of the chest, between the breasts, terminating just below the level of the breasts.

Body Decoration: A pair of incised dashed lines extends diagonally inwards from each shoulder, terminating on either side of the central diagonal necklace strand. These likely represent scarification, tattooing, or body paint.

Bibliography:

Nordström (2014): 79, 118, Pl. 25.D

Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

E-15**Dimensions:**

H: 1.6 cm

Condition:

Tip of neck broken off

Head missing

Left arm broken off below shoulder

Right arm broken off slightly below shoulder

Lower body broken off below hips

Surface corroded/difficult to see details

Brief Description:

This small figurine fragment, if proportional when complete in its original form, would still have been small enough to roll around in the cupped palm of an adult hand. The head technology is impossible to identify due to the damaged neck.

Details:

Hair: Head missing
Breasts: Unclear
Pubic Region: Missing
Legs: Missing
Garment: None/ Lower body missing
Jewelry: None
Body Decoration: Incised vertical lines run down the chest slightly to the right of center, extending from just below the collar to about the waist.

Bibliography:

Säve-Söderbergh 1 and 2 (1989): 214, Pl. 61.3.B



E-16

Dimensions:

H: 5.2 cm

W: 3.3 cm

D: 3.6 cm

Munsell 10 YR 5/2

Condition:

Only right side of body remains

Right arm broken off just below shoulder

Lower body broken off at hips

Most of right side covered in a white sediment that obscures details

Brief Description:

This medium-sized fragment fits in the palm of an adult hand and would have been easily held and manipulated with the thumb and fingers when in its original state. The head technology is impossible to identify due to the damaged neck. Although broken off at the hips, the arched back and abdominal fold indicate that the original pose was ambiguous and might have been understood as seated and leaning back or standing and leaning slightly forward.

Details:

Hair: Head missing

Breasts: Unknown (obscured by sediment)

Pubic Region: Missing

Legs: Missing

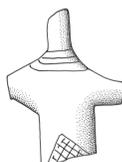
Garment: None/ Lower body missing

Jewelry: Incised lines around the collar suggest separate necklace strands or a broad collar. Two incised lines run down the center of the chest and probably represent strands of beads, leather, or fiber hanging from the lowest necklace.

Body Decoration: Four parallel rows of dashed lines run from the right shoulder towards the center of the chest representing scarification patterns, tattooing, or body paint.

Bibliography:

Unknown



E-17

Dimensions:

H: 3.5 cm

Condition:

Head missing and tip of neck possibly broken off

Lower body broken off below waist

Brief Description:

This small figurine fragment, if proportional when complete in its original form, would still have been small enough to roll around in the cupped palm of an adult hand. The head technology is impossible to identify from the available image.

Details:

Hair: Head missing

Breasts: None

Pubic Region: Missing

Legs: Missing

Garment: None/ Lower body missing

Jewelry: Incised lines at neck and collar represent beaded strand necklaces

Body Decoration: Grid-shaped incised lines in the form of a triangle were likely originally a lozenge shape along the abdomen, but the figurine is broken at this point.

Bibliography:

Sauneron and Jacquet (2005): 339, 355 (Fig. 19.b)

**F-1****Dimensions:**

L: 7 cm

W: 3.3 cm

D: 3.5 cm

Munsell 7.5 YR 5/3

Condition:

Upper body broken off at waist

Brief Description:

This medium-sized figurine fragment sits comfortably across the palm of an adult human hand and, if complete, could have been held and manipulated with the thumb and fingers. Although broken off at the waist, the angle of the arched back indicates that the original pose was ambiguous and might have been understood as seated and leaning back or standing and leaning slightly forward.

Details:

Pubic Region: Uncover but not elaborated

Legs: Thick legs taper very little from the hips, terminating in modeled feet. They were formed separately but positioned together.

Garment: Incised lines at the hips represent a belt that wraps around the hips but does not connect at the back

Jewelry: Incised line in the center of the torso emerges from the break, likely representing a strand suspended from a necklace/ Upper body missing

Body Decoration: Lozenge shaped rows of impressed dots arranged in pairs or rows of three are oriented diagonally on both legs and horizontally below the belt (see below) on the left side.

Bibliography:

Firth (1915): 115, 176, Pl. 37.D.1

**F-2****Dimensions:**

L: 10 cm

W: 3.8 cm

D: 4.1 cm

Munsell 7.5 YR 5/2

Condition:

Upper body broken off above waist

Left leg broken off from hip with some surface damage to right inner thigh

Brief Description:

This large figurine fragment can be gripped comfortably in an adult hand and, if complete, could have been held in one hand and manipulated with the thumb and fingers. The surviving foot is spread out for support and in its original condition the figurine would likely have been able to maintain a standing position unaided. The surviving upper body leans forward slightly.

Details:

Pubic Region: Covered

Legs: Thick legs taper very little from the hips, terminating in round, spreading feet. The legs were formed separately and positioned close together.

Garment: Incised lines around the waist and groin represent a triangular garment that covers the pubic area and wraps around the hips, terminating in rounded tabs on the buttocks.

Jewelry: Three incised lines emerge from the break-line at the waist, likely representing strands suspended from a necklace.

Body Decoration: None / Upper body missing

Bibliography:

Unpublished



F-3

Dimensions:

L: 3.8 cm

D: 2.2 cm

Munsell 5 YR 3/1

Condition:

Upper body broken off above waist

Brief Description:

This small figurine fragment, if complete with original upper body, would nestle easily in the palm of an adult hand and could have been manipulated with the thumb and fingertips. The lower body was modeled in a column with the base

spread out for support. It is in a standing pose with the upper body leaning slightly forward but cannot stand unaided on a level surface.

Details:

Pubic Region: Covered

Legs: Formed together in a column shape

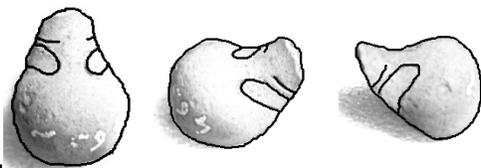
Garment: Legs possibly covered by a long skirt or wrap. Incised lines at the hips and groin area represent a triangular apron-like garment that hangs over the pubic area and wraps around the hips, terminating in rounded tabs at the back of the hips. A single incised line above this garment has multiple small lines issuing out from it, possibly representing fringe.

Jewelry: Upper body missing

Body Decoration: Incised parallel lines extend vertically from the break-line, possibly representing some type of body art.

Bibliography:

MacIver and Woolley (1909): 8, 12



F-4

Dimensions:

L: 2.3 cm

W: 1.9 cm

Munsell 5 YR 5/3

Condition:

Upper body broken off above waist

Legs and front of lower body broken off

Brief Description:

This small figurine fragment, if complete with original upper body and legs, would lie easily across the palm of an adult hand and could have been manipulated with the thumb and fingertips. The curvature of the buttocks suggests that the lower body was probably modeled in a column with the base spread out for support. The surviving form indicates that the original pose was probably understood as standing and leaning slightly forward.

Details:

Pubic Region: Missing

Legs: Missing

Garment: Incised lines at the waist and hips represent a belt or garment of some kind (the front is missing) that wraps around the hips and terminates in rounded

tabs at the back. Above and parallel with this garment are the ends of a single incised line.

Jewelry: Upper body missing

Body Decoration: Upper body and legs missing

Bibliography:

MacIver and Woolley (1909): 8, 12



F-5

Dimensions:

L: 3.2 cm

Munsell 5 YR 3/1

Condition:

Upper body broken off above waist

Legs broken off below hips

Surface degraded, details somewhat difficult to see

Brief Description:

This small figurine fragment, if complete with original upper body and legs, would lie easily across the palm of an adult hand and could have been manipulated with the thumb and fingertips. The surviving angle of the upper body indicates that the original pose was ambiguous and might have been understood as seated and leaning back or standing and leaning slightly forward.

Details:

Pubic Region: Covered

Legs: Broken off at thighs, but apparently formed separately and positioned close together.

Garment: Incised lines at hips and groin represent a triangular shaped garment covering the pubic area and wrapping back around the hips, terminating in rounded tabs at the sides of the body.

Jewelry: Upper body missing

Body Decoration: Incised wavy lines (almost zigzag patterns) incised on the outside of both legs represent scarification, tattooing, or body paint.

Bibliography:

MacIver and Woolley (1909): 8, 12

**F-6****Dimensions:**

L: 5.5 cm

Munsell 7.5 YR 5/2

Condition:

Upper body broken off above waist

Brief Description:

This medium-sized figurine fragment, if complete with original upper body, would lie easily across the palm of an adult hand and could have been manipulated with the thumb and fingertips. The surviving angle of the upper body indicates that the original pose was ambiguous and might have been understood as seated and leaning back or standing and leaning slightly forward.

Details:

Pubic Region: Uncovered, pubic mound modeled with incised line representing vulva

Legs: Average-sized legs taper only slightly from the hips, terminating in blunted points with no indication of feet.

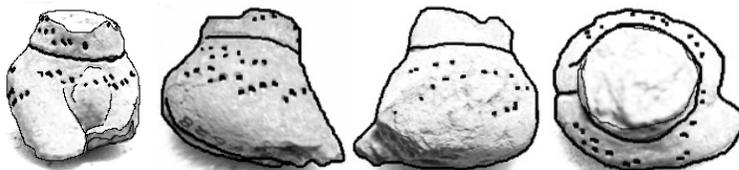
Garment: Incised lines at the hips represent a wide belt that wraps around the hips, terminating in rounded tabs at the sides of the body.

Jewelry: Upper body missing

Body Decoration: None/ Upper body missing

Bibliography:

MacIver and Woolley (1909): 8, 12

**F-7****Dimensions:**

3.3 cm

Munsell 7.5 YR 5/2

Condition:

Upper body broken off above waist

Left leg broken off just below hip

Right leg broken off at thigh
Surface somewhat degraded

Brief Description:

This figurine fragment, if complete with original upper body, would have been of medium size and would lie easily across the palm of an adult hand. It could have been manipulated with the thumb and fingertips. The angle of the hips indicates that this figurine was originally modeled in an ambiguous pose that might have been understood as standing and leaning forward or sitting and leaning back. It would likely not have been able to maintain either position unaided on a level surface.

Details:

Pubic Region: Pubic mound modeled with faint incised line representing the vulva slit

Legs: formed separately and positioned together

Garment: One incised line runs around the hips, terminating at the back without completely encircling the body, representing a belt or cord.

Jewelry: Upper body missing

Body Decoration: Diagonally arranged rows of three or four dots are impressed along the hips, over the pubic mound, and on the lower abdomen above the belt, representing scarification, tattooing, or body paint.

Bibliography:

MacIver and Woolley (1909): 8, 12



F-8

Dimensions:

H: 6.0 cm

Munsell 10 R 5/4

Condition:

Upper body broken off above waist

Brief Description:

This medium-sized figurine fragment fits across the palm of an adult hand and, if complete with its original upper body, would have been comfortably grasped in an adult human hand and manipulated using the thumb and fingers. The lower body was modeled in a column with the base spread out for support. The remaining partial torso is not bent, indicating that this figurine was modeled in a

standing pose and it is likely that it would have been able to maintain this position unaided on a level surface.

Details:

Pubic Region: Covered

Legs: Formed together in a column shape, the legs taper from the hips and then spread again into a wide base.

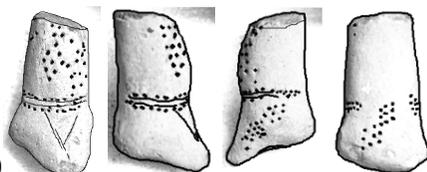
Garment: Incised lines at the hips represent a wide belt that wraps around the hips, terminating at the sides of the back in truncated tabs. It is possible that the columnar leg area represents a long skirt or wrap.

Jewelry: Upper body missing

Body Decoration: Clusters of dots are impressed above the belt on the right side of the torso, representing scarification, tattooing, or body paint.

Bibliography:

MacIver and Woolley (1909): 8, 12



F-9



[E-2/F-9]

Dimensions:

H: 4.7 cm

Munsell 5 YR 5/1

Condition:

Upper body broken off above waist

Tip of legs broken off

Brief Description:

This small figurine fragment is very likely the lower body that belongs with the upper body E-2 (Penn Museum Inv. No. E4638). They appear to have broken apart during transportation to the museum and were accessioned as separate pieces on arrival. Before it was broken, this medium-sized figurine would have rested comfortably across the palm of an adult human hand and could have been easily manipulated with the thumb and fingertips. The pose is ambiguous and might have been understood as seated and leaning back or standing and leaning forward. It cannot maintain either position unaided on a level surface.

Details:

Pubic Region: Covered

Legs: Small legs, formed together, taper dramatically from the hips to terminate together in a rounded point with no indication of feet.

Garment: Incised lines at hips and groin represent a triangular loincloth-like garment that covers the pubic area and connects at the top edge to a narrow strip

or belt, which wraps around the hips and ends in the back without touching. The belt is represented by a double incised line bordered above and below by a series of impressed dots, possibly representing fringe, beads, or other decorative device.

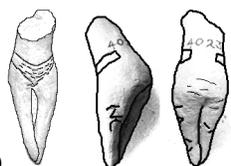
Jewelry: Upper body missing

Body Decoration: Lozenge shapes, made up of three rows of three impressed dots, are oriented vertically on the front of the torso above the belt. A pair of these lozenges is oriented diagonally at the buttocks and another pair (crudely done) is oriented along the outer left thigh and leg. These impressed lozenge shapes likely represent scarification, tattooing, or body paint.

Bibliography:

MacIver and Woolley (1909): 8, 10, Pl. 8.4020

Keimer (1948): 36-37, fig. 30



F-10

Dimensions:

L: 4.7 cm

Munsell 7.5 YR 5/1

Condition:

Lightly fired clay

Upper body broken off above waist

Brief Description:

This medium-sized figurine fragment nestles easily in the cupped palm of an adult hand and, if complete with its original upper body, would have been comfortably held and manipulated using the thumb and fingers. The remaining upper body bends forward, indicating that the figurine was modeled in an ambiguous pose where it could have been understood as standing and leaning forward or sitting and leaning back. It cannot maintain either position, however, unaided on a level surface.

Details:

Pubic Region: Covered

Legs: Long legs, formed separately but positioned together, taper from the hips to terminate in blunted points with no indication of feet.

Garment: Incised lines at the hips and groin represent a triangular garment that covers the pubic area and wraps around the hips, terminating in squared tabs at the sides of the back. The garment is marked on the front by multiple, incised hashed lines, likely representing the garment's texture or decoration (fur, leather-stitching, or beadwork).

Jewelry: None/ Upper body missing
Body Decoration: None

Bibliography:

MacIver and Woolley (1909): 8, 10, Pl. 8.4023



F-11

Dimensions:

D: 3.5 cm

Munsell 5 YR 5/3

Condition:

Upper body broken off at waist

Tip of left leg broken off

Unfired with friable surface

Heavier surface degradation on the right side

Brief Description:

This small figurine fragment nestles easily in the cupped palm of an adult hand and, if complete with its original upper body, would have been comfortably held and manipulated using the thumb and fingers. The piece appears to have been originally posed in a seated position and, in its current condition, it can maintain a seated pose unaided on a level surface.

Details:

Pubic Region: Covered

Legs: Very short legs, formed separately and positioned together, taper from hips to blunted ends with no indication of feet.

Garment: Incised lines at the hips and groin represent a triangular garment that covers the pubic area, apparently attached at the top to a wide belt that terminated at the sides of the back in squared tabs.

Jewelry: None/ Upper body missing

Body Decoration: Double lines in a zigzag shape are incised along the outer left leg.

Bibliography:

MacIver and Woolley (1909): 8, 12

**F-12****Dimensions:**

L: 4.8 cm

Munsell 7.5 YR 4/1

Condition:

Upper body broken off above waist

Lightly fired with friable surface

Brief Description:

This small fragment sits comfortably in the palm of an adult hand and, if complete with its original upper body, would have been easily held in one hand and manipulated with the thumb and fingers. The remaining upper body position indicated that the piece was originally modeled in an ambiguous pose and might have been understood as sitting leaning back or standing leaning forward. In its current condition it can balance precariously in a seated position on a level surface, but with its original upper body it would have overbalanced and needed support.

Details:*Pubic Region:* Covered*Legs:* Very short legs, formed separately and positioned together, taper only slightly before ending in rounded stubs with no indication of feet.*Garment:* Incised lines at hips and groin represent a triangular garment that covers the pubic area and wraps around the hips, terminating in rounded tabs at the sides of the back.*Jewelry:* None/ Upper body missing*Body Decoration:* Faint incised lines and impressed dots on the abdomen above the waist might represent scarification, tattooing, or body paint, but the surface is too degraded to be sure.**Bibliography:**

MacIver and Woolley (1909): 8, 12

**F-13****Dimensions:**

L: 7.1 cm

W: 3.5 cm

D: 4.5 cm (measured from a standing position, front of chest to back of buttocks)
Munsell 7.5 YR 5/4

Condition:

Upper body broken off above chest
Broken into three pieces at hips and between legs (repaired)
Fired, with clearly legible surface decoration

Brief Description:

This large figurine fragment feels hefty and fills the palm of an adult human hand. If complete with its original upper body, it could have been held and manipulated in the grip of one hand. The pose is ambiguous and the piece might have been understood as seated and leaning back or standing and leaning slightly forward. It cannot maintain either position unaided on a level surface.

Details:

Pubic Region: Covered

Legs: Long legs formed separately and positioned together, taper only minimally from hips and terminate in small, modeled feet.

Garment: Incised lines at the hips and groin represent a loincloth or apron-like garment that covers the pubic area and is attached at the top to a belt that wraps around the hips and terminates at the sides of the back. The double lines that form the edges of this garment and belt are decorated with incised lines that might represent beading or leather stitching. The front of the apron/loincloth is decorated with constellations of impressed dots in roughly rectangular shapes that might represent beading or leather stitching.

Jewelry: Two parallel lines incised around each ankle represent anklets of some type.

Body Decoration: Rows of impressed dots, in the shape of lozenges (some crudely formed), decorate the upper body on the front, back, and sides. These also occur on the hips and legs and likely represent scarification, tattooing, or body paint.

Bibliography:

Junker (1926): 75, 88 (No. C 201), Pl. 11.55, Pl. 24.414

Keimer (1948): 36-37, fig. 33



F-14

Dimensions:

H: 3.0 cm (measured from seated position)

W: 3.0 cm

D: 4.68 cm
Munsell 7.5 YR 6/3

Condition:

Upper body broken off above hips
Fired, with clearly legible surface decoration

Brief Description:

This small figurine fragment fits lightly into the palm of an adult human hand. If complete with its original upper body, it could have easily been held in one hand and manipulated with the thumb and fingertips. The position of the hips suggests that the piece was originally modeled in a seated pose. In its current condition the figurine can maintain balance in a seated position on a level surface, but the addition of the upper body might have overbalanced it. The excavator believed that this is the lower half of E-8, as they were both excavated from the same grave. The pieces, however, do not seem to share similar proportions and might not have been from the same piece.

Details:

Pubic Region: Covered

Legs: Average-length legs, formed separately and positioned together, taper quickly to rounded ends, with feet only minimally suggested by upturned points.

Garment: Incised lines at the waist and groin represent a triangular garment in the form of an apron or loincloth, which covers the pubic region and attaches at the top to a narrow band or belt. The garment is brodered with double incised lines and there is a small incised circle in the center. The belt wraps around the hips and terminates at the sides in the back.

Jewelry: None/ Upper body missing

Body Decoration: None/ Upper body missing

Bibliography:

Junker (1926): 75, Pl. 11.55-56, Pl. 24.412

Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

F-15

Dimensions:

H: 5.2 cm

W: 3.4 cm

D: 5.5 cm

Munsell 10 YR 5/1-4/1

Condition:

Upper body broken off at waist

Right side of body broken off at the center
 Left leg broken off below thigh
 Left leg broken into two pieces at thigh (repaired)
 Fired with easily legible surface

Brief Description:

This large figurine fragment heftily fills the palm of an adult human hand. If complete with its original upper body and legs, the figurine might have required two hands to hold it securely and manipulate it. The original pose was ambiguous and might have been understood as seated and leaning back or standing and leaning slightly forward.

Details:

Pubic Region: Covered

Legs: Too damaged to accurately determine the shape

Garment: Incised lines at hips and groin likely represent a triangular garment that covers the pubic area and wraps around the hips, terminating at the side of the body. Rows of impressed dots arranged in horizontally oriented lozenge shapes extend along the top of the garment, likely representing decorative beadwork.

Jewelry: None/ Upper body missing

Body Decoration: None/ Upper body and much of lower body missing

Bibliography:

Steindorff (1935): 126

Krauspe (1997): 106 (No. 190), Pl. 126.3-4

Image redacted
 due to copyright
 restriction

F-16

Dimensions:

H: 4.5 cm

Condition:

Upper body broken off above waist

Brief Description:

This small figurine fragment is easily cradled in the palm of an adult hand. If complete with its original upper body, it could have been held and manipulated easily with the thumb and fingers. The lower body is modeled as column with spreading base for stability. It can stand unaided on a level surface as is, and likely could have done so when in its original condition.

Details:

Pubic Region: Covered

Legs: Short legs, formed together as a column, spread out in a circular base at the feet.

Garment: The columnar lower body might be dressed in a long skirt or wrap. Two small bits of applied clay at the center of the hips likely represents tassels from a belt that is visible as a faintly incised partial line on the left side of the “tassel.”

Jewelry: None/ Upper body missing

Body Decoration: None/ Upper body missing

Bibliography:

Steindorff (1935): 219 (No. S 33), Pl. 94.S.33



Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

F-17**Dimensions:**

H: 7 cm

Condition:

Upper body broken off above waist

Fired with easily legible surface

Brief Description:

This medium-sized figurine fragment rests easily across the palm of an adult hand, and, if complete with its original upper body, could likely have been held and manipulated using one hand. The original pose is ambiguous and might have been understood as seated and leaning back or standing and leaning slightly forward.

Details:

Pubic Region: Covered

Legs: Short legs, formed separately and positioned together, taper slightly from hips and terminate in rounded upturned points representing feet.

Garment: Incised lines at hips and groin represent a triangular garment that covers the pubic area and wraps around the hips, terminating in rounded tabs at the sides of the back.

Jewelry: None/ Upper body missing

Body Decoration: Alternating rows of impressed dots and incised lines form a rectangular shape on the right side of the torso, likely representing scarification, tattooing, or body paint. Double incised lines form a zigzag along the sides of both legs, representing scarification, tattooing, or body paint.

Bibliography:

Steindorff (1935): 219 (No. 39), Pl. 94.S.39

Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

F-18**Dimensions:**

Unknown

Condition:

Upper body broken off above waist
Surface degraded with details difficult to see

Brief Description:

This fragment of a lower body appears to have been modeled in an ambiguous pose, which might have been understood as seated and leaning back or standing and leaning forward.

Details:

Pubic Region: Unclear

Legs: Short legs, modeled separately and positioned together, taper gradually from hips and terminate in blunted ends with no indication of feet.

Garment: Unclear

Jewelry: None/ Upper body missing

Body Decoration: Unclear/ Upper body missing

Bibliography:

Steindorff (1935): 219 (No. 132), Pl. 94.S.132

**F-19****Dimensions:**

L: 7.4 cm

W: 5.0 cm

H: 5.5 cm (measured as if seated)

Munsell 10 YR 4/1

Condition:

Survives only as partial left thigh and hip
 Fired with clearly legible surface decoration

Brief Description:

This very large partial leg rests heavily in the palm of an adult hand. In its original condition as a complete body, it would have required two hands to hold and manipulate it securely.

Details:

Pubic Region: Missing

Legs: Formed separately

Garment: Parts of body where this might be visible is missing

Jewelry: Parts of body where this might be visible are missing

Body Decoration: Incised lines along thigh represent scarification, tattooing, or body paint: double incised zigzag line along bottom of outer leg, lozenge-chain on the upper part of the thigh above the zigzag.

Bibliography:

Unpublished

Image redacted
 due to copyright
 restriction

F-20

Dimensions:

Estimated measurement:

H: 14.5 cm

Condition:

Upper body broken off at waist

Brief Description:

This tall, slender figurine fragment can be gripped lengthwise in an adult hand. In its original condition with complete upper body it would have required two hands to hold and manipulate it securely. The lower body is modeled as a column with spreading base for support. It was modeled in a standing pose and the angle of the break at the waist suggests that the upper body leaned forward slightly. In its current condition it can stand unaided on a level surface, but with the addition of the upper body it might have needed more support.

Details:

Pubic Region: Covered

Legs: Long legs, modeled together as a column, terminate at the base with a spreading circular footing for support.

Garment: The legs appear to be enclosed in a long skirt or wrap of some kind. Applied clay at the front of the hips, possibly modeled in the form of the pelt of a mammal with long tail (like a fox or similar animal), appears to represent a sporran-like garment hanging over the pubic region.

Jewelry: None/ Upper body missing

Body Decoration: None/ Upper body missing

Bibliography:

Bakr (1967): 7, Pl. 9



Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

F-21

Dimensions:

Estimated measurement:

H: 7.5 cm

Condition:

Upper body broken off at waist

Brief Description:

This medium-sized figurine fragment rests easily across the palm of an adult hand. If complete with its original upper body it would have been easily held in one hand and likely manipulated with the thumb and fingers. The lower body is modeled as a column with spreading base for support. It was modeled in a standing pose and the angle of the break at the waist suggests that the upper body leaned forward slightly. In its current condition it can balance precariously on a level surface, but with the addition of the upper body it might have needed more support to maintain its standing pose.

Details:

Pubic Region: Covered

Legs: Long legs, modeled together as a column, terminate at the base with a spreading circular footing for support.

Garment: The hips and legs appear to be enclosed in a long skirt or wrap.

Jewelry: None/ Upper body missing

Body Decoration: None/ Upper body missing

Bibliography:

Bakr (1967): 7, Pl. 9

Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

F-22**Dimensions:**

H: 7.8 cm

W: 5 cm

D: 4.6 cm

Condition:

Upper body broken off at waist

Left leg broken at lower thigh (repaired)

Tips of both legs chipped off

Fired with easily legible surface detail

Brief Description:

This medium-sized figurine fragment fits heftily into the palm of an adult hand. In its original condition, complete with upper body, it could have been held using one hand and manipulated with the thumb and fingers. Although broken off at the waist, the arched lower back indicates that the original pose was ambiguous and might have been understood as seated and leaning back or standing and leaning slightly forward.

Details:

Pubic Region: Covered

Legs: Average-length legs, formed separately and positioned close together, taper dramatically from wide hips to small upturned feet (surviving only partially on the left leg).

Garment: Incised lines at the abdomen and groin represent a triangular garment that covers the pubic region and wraps around the hips, terminating in rounded tabs at the sides of the body.

Jewelry: None/ Upper body missing

Body Decoration: None/ Upper body missing

Bibliography:

Unknown

Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

F-23**Dimensions:**

L: 7.5 cm

W: 3.2 cm

Condition:

Upper body broken off at waist

Brief Description:

This large figurine fragment fills the palm of an adult hand and, if complete, could have been held using one or both hands and manipulated in the grip of one hand with the thumb and fingers. The original pose was ambiguous and might have been understood as seated and leaning back or standing and leaning slightly forward.

Details:

Pubic Region: Covered

Legs: Long legs, formed together with separation indicated by an incised line at the front, taper slowly to thick ankles, with small feet represented as pointed pieces of clay.

Garment: Incised lines at the abdomen and groin represent a triangular garment that covers the pubic area and wraps around the hips. An enigmatic bit of applied clay or discoloration appears at the pubic mound, but this might be unintentional and is difficult to see.

Jewelry: None/ Upper body broken off

Body Decoration: None/ Upper body missing

Bibliography:

Säve-Söderbergh 1 and 2 (1989): 179, Pl. 61.4

Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

F-24

Dimensions:

L: 9.5 cm

Condition:

Left leg only

Brief Description:

This large figurine leg fragment lies completely across the open palm of an adult hand but. If complete, the entire figurine could have been held using one or both hands and manipulated in the grip of one hand.

Details:

Pubic Region: Missing

Legs: Legs formed separately

Garment: Missing

Jewelry: Missing

Body Decoration: Incised lines in the form of a chain of lozenges run along the outside of the left leg, representing scarification, tattooing, or body paint.

Bibliography:

Unpublished



F-25

Dimensions:

L: 6.3 cm

H: 4 cm (measured as if seated)

Munsell 3.5 YR 5/4

Condition:

Upper body broken off at waist

Lightly fired with friable surface

Brief Description:

This medium-sized figurine fragment fits in the palm of an adult hand and, if complete, could have been held one hand and manipulated using the thumb and fingers. The original pose was ambiguous and might have been understood as seated and leaning back or standing and leaning slightly forward. The figurine as is, and very likely in its original form, cannot maintain a seated position unaided on a level surface.

Details:

Pubic Region: Unclear, surface degraded

Legs: Short legs, formed separately and positioned together, taper quickly to a small rounded point with no feet represented.

Garment: Unclear, surface degraded

Jewelry: Upper body missing

Body Decoration: Unclear, surface degraded and upper body missing

Bibliography:

MacIver and Woolley (1909): 8, 12

**F-26****Dimensions:**

H: 4.4 cm

W: 2.9 cm

D: 3.4 cm

Munsell 7.5 YR 5/3

Condition:

Upper body broken off at waist

Legs broken off below hips

Brief Description:

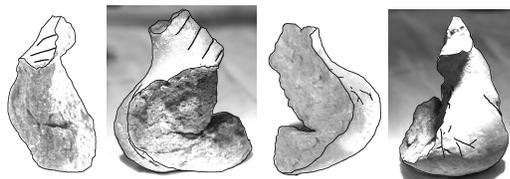
This small figurine fragment sits heavily in the cupped palm of an adult hand. In its original condition, complete with upper body and legs, it could have been held in one hand and manipulated with the thumb and fingers. The surviving hips and upper thighs indicate that the lower body was formed as a column that likely included a spreading circular base for support. The figurine was modeled in a standing pose with the upper body leaning slightly forward.

Details:*Pubic Region:* Covered*Legs:* Legs modeled together in the form of a single column.

Garment: The hips and legs were possibly understood as covered by a long skirt or wrap. A series of horizontal incised lines at the waist and hips represents a wide belt that wraps around the hips, terminating in rounded ends at the sides of the back.

Jewelry: None, upper body missing*Body Decoration:* None, upper body missing**Bibliography:**

Nordström (2014): 23, 54

**F-27****Dimensions:**

H: 6.5 cm

W: 4.2 cm

D: 5.0 cm

Munsell 7.5 YR 5/3

Condition:

Fragmentary section of lower abdomen, left hip, and left buttock

Brief Description:

This large figurine fragment fits into the palm of an adult hand. In its original form, complete with legs and upper body, it could have been held in one hand but would likely have required both hands for stability. The original pose was ambiguous and might have been understood as seated and leaning back or standing and leaning slightly forward.

Details:

Pubic Region: Missing

Legs: Missing

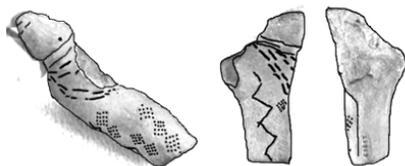
Garment: Missing

Jewelry: Missing

Body Decoration: Incised lines in a zigzag shape appear on the left hip/buttock, possibly representing scarification, tattooing, or body paint.

Bibliography:

Carlson and Sigstad (1967-1968): 56-57

**F-28****Dimensions:**

L: 7.5 cm

D: 4.5 cm (measured standing, from front to back)

Munsell 5 YR 6/3

Condition:

Upper body broken off above waist

Right side of body broken off

Surface area of left buttock broken off

Left leg broken off at the end

Brief Description:

This medium-sized figurine fragment lies almost fully across the palm of an adult hand. In its original condition, complete with upper body and both sides, it could have been held in the palm of one hand with the forefinger outstretched to support the head and it could have been manipulated with the thumb and fingers. The original pose was ambiguous and might have been understood as seated and leaning back or standing and leaning slightly forward.

Details:

Pubic Region: Covered

Legs: Legs formed separately but positioned together.

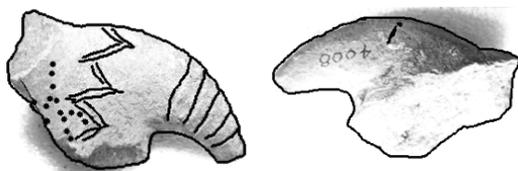
Garment: Incised lines at the abdomen and groin represent an apron or loincloth-like garment that wraps around the hips. The edges of the garment are indicated with double dashed lines, suggesting decorative leather stitching or beadwork at the borders.

Jewelry: Missing

Body Decoration: Horizontal incised lines on the right side of the abdomen above the waist likely represent scarification, tattooing, or body paint. One zigzag line is incised on the outside of the left leg and pairs of lozenge shapes (made up of rows of impressed dots) were placed on the top of the leg, above the zigzag line. These marks likely represent scarification, tattooing, or body paint.

Bibliography:

Williams (1983): 97, 98, 177 (No. T207), Pl. 102.C

**G-1****Dimensions:**

L: 6.0 cm

Munsell 5 YR 4/3-5/3

Condition:

Left arm only, with part of neck and chest

Brief Description:

This arm, although small enough to fit into the cupped palm of an adult hand, would have belonged to a fairly large figurine. In its original form this figurine could likely have been gripped with one hand and manipulated, but would have needed both hands for secure support.

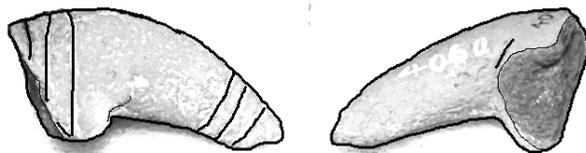
Details:

Jewelry: Incised lines around arm represent bangles. Impressed dots at the collar possibly represent beaded necklace strands.

Body Decoration: Double incised lines in a zigzag shape run from the shoulder down onto the chest, likely representing scarification, tattooing, or body paint. It is also possible that this design represents a necklace of long barrel beads, bones, or reeds.

Bibliography:

MacIver and Woolley (1909): 8, 10, Pl. 8.4008

**G-2****Dimensions:**

L: 4.0 cm

Munsell 5 YR 4/3-5/3

Condition:

Left arm only, with part of shoulder and chest

Brief Description:

This fragmentary arm, small enough to roll around in the cupped palm of an adult hand, was originally part of a medium-sized figurine. In its complete state, the figurine could have been gripped and manipulated with one hand.

Details:

Jewelry: Incised lines around the front of the arm indicate bangles. Curved, incised line at the collar next to the break represents a necklace strand.

Body Decoration: Incised parallel lines running diagonally from the shoulder possibly represent scarification, tattooing, or body paint. It is also possible (although less likely, based on other examples) that these lines represent a strap of some kind or necklaces.

Bibliography:

MacIver and Woolley (1909): 8, 12

Appendix 3: Concordances for Anthropomorphic Figurines

The following two concordance tables provide information for identifying the current locations and previous published identifications of C-group anthropomorphic figurines using the ID assigned them in the system developed in this dissertation. The first concordance provides the museum inventory number of the current location, when known, as well as the identifying number of the particular figurine in previously published work. The second concordance groups the pieces by their current museum location, when known. The current location of several pieces is unknown, although these were published in excavation reports.

Concordance 1: Museum Inventories and Publication Identifications

ID	Museum Inventory Number	Also Published As:
A-1	Cairo CG 10860	Steindorff (1935): Aniba No. 1
A-2	Cairo JE 65192	Steindorff (1935): Aniba No. 2 Wenig (1978): No. 13
A-3	Leipzig 4403	Steindorff (1935): Aniba No. 16 Röhsska konstslöjdmuseet (1973): No. 513 Amos Andersonin taidemuseo <i>et al</i> (1973): No. 70 Staatliche Museen, Berlin <i>et al</i> (1973): No. 70 Wenig (1978): No. 16 Teske (1979): No. 16 Krauspe (1987): No. 51/11 Krauspe (1997): No. 183
A-4	OIM E23202	Wenig (1978): No. 18
A-5	Unknown	
A-6	Unknown	
A-7	Unknown	
A-8	Unknown	
A-9	Unknown	
A-10	Unknown	
A-11	Unknown	
A-12	Uppsala 179/71:1	
A-13	SNM 62/12/118	
B-1	Penn E4004	MacIver and Woolley (1909): Areika No. 4004
B-2	Penn E4010	MacIver and Woolley (1909): Areika No. 4010
B-3	Penn E4037	MacIver and Woolley (1909): Areika No. 4037
B-4	Unknown	Steindorff (1935): Aniba No. 8
B-5	Cairo CG 10859	Steindorff (1935): Aniba No. 9
B-6	Unknown	
B-7	Aswan 611 and 612	
B-8	SNM 18006	
B-9	UCLA 400-1541	Wenig (1978): No. 12
B-10	Cairo CG 10861	
B-11	MFA 19.1573	
C-1	Unknown	
C-2	Unknown	
C-3	Unknown	
C-4	Unknown	

C-5	Unknown	
C-6	Unknown	
C-7	Unknown	
C-8	Unknown	
C-9	Leipzig 4401	Steindorff (1935): No. 17 Krauspe (1997): No. 185
C-10	Leipzig 4398	Krauspe (1997): No. 186
C-11	Leipzig 4407	Steindorff (1935): Aniba No. 21 Gleisberg (1989): No. V/5/52 Krauspe (1997): No. 178
C-12	Leipzig 4406	Steindorff (1935): Aniba No. 11 Krauspe (1997): No. 179
C-13	Leipzig 4399	Steindorff (1935): Aniba No. 19 Krauspe (1997): No. 187
C-14	Leipzig 4400	Steindorff (1935): Aniba No. 20 Krauspe (1997): No. 188
C-15	Leipzig 4402	Steindorff (1935): Aniba No. 15 Gleisberg (1989): No. V/5/50 Krauspe (1997): No. 182
C-16	Cairo CG 10862	Steindorff (1935): Aniba No. 6 and No. 7
C-17	Unknown	Steindorff (1935): Aniba No. S.20
C-18	Unknown	Steindorff (1935): Aniba No. S.26
C-19	Unknown	Steindorff (1935): Aniba No. S.34
C-20	Cairo CG 10866	Steindorff (1935): Aniba No. 5
C-21	Leipzig 4405	Steindorff (1935): Aniba No. 10 Krauspe (1997): No. 180 Wildung (1997): No. 45
C-22	Leipzig 4404	Steindorff (1935): Aniba No. 18 Krauspe (1997): No. 181
C-23	SNM 62/12/66	Wenig (1978): No. 15
C-24	Penn 4019	MacIver and Woolley (1909): Areika No. 4019
C-25	Penn 4021	MacIver and Woolley (1909): Areika No. 4021
C-26	Penn 4024	MacIver and Woolley (1909): Areika No. 4024
C-27	Penn 4022	MacIver and Woolley (1909): Areika No. 4022
C-28	Penn 4027	MacIver and Woolley (1909): Areika No. 4027
C-29	Penn 4052	MacIver and Woolley (1909): Areika No. 4052
C-30	Penn 4643	MacIver and Woolley (1909): Areika No. 4643
C-31	MFA E13109	
C-32	Leipzig 4410	Krauspe (1997): No. 184
C-33	KHM E7326	Junker (1926): No. 413
C-34	Unknown	
C-35	Unknown	
C-36	Unknown	
C-37	Aswan	
C-38	Unknown	
C-39	Unknown	
C-40	Unknown	
C-41	Unknown	Steindorff (1935): Aniba No. S.221
C-42	Uppsala 345/19	
D-1	OIM E44466	
D-2	MFA Eg. Inv. 13110	
D-3	MFA E19.1574	
D-4	Penn 4636	MacIver and Woolley (1909): Areika No. 4636
D-5	Penn 4025	MacIver and Woolley (1909): Areika No. 4025
D-6	Leipzig 8279	

D-7	Leipzig 4397	Krauspe (1997): No. 193
D-8	Leipzig 7686	
D-9	Leipzig 4395	Steindorff (1935): Aniba No. 13 Wenig (1978): No. 17 Teske (1979): No. 17 Krauspe (1987): No. 51/12 Krauspe (1997): No. 192
D-10	Leipzig 4396	Steindorff (1935): Aniba No. 12 Wenig (1978): No. 14 Teske (1979): No. 14 Gleisberg (1989): No. V/5/51 Krauspe (1997): No. 191
D-11	Unknown	Steindorff (1935): Aniba No. 14
D-12	Unknown	Steindorff (1935): Aniba No. S.87
D-13	Unknown	Steindorff (1935): Aniba No. S.42
D-14	Unknown	
D-15	MAN 1980/91/307	
D-16	SNM 62/12/1 (?)	
D-17	SNM 62/11/115	
D-18	SNM 17903	
D-19	Uppsala 65/14:1	
D-20	Uppsala 179/72:1	
D-21	OIM E44464	
D-22	Cairo CG 10857	
D-23	Cairo CG 10853	
D-24	Cairo CG 10854	
E-1	OIM E23486	
E-2	Penn E4638	MacIver and Woolley (1909): Areika No. 4638
E-3	Penn E4026	MacIver and Woolley (1909): Areika No. 4026
E-4	Penn E4028	MacIver and Woolley (1909): Areika No. 4028
E-5	Penn E4051	MacIver and Woolley (1909): Areika No. 4051
E-6	Penn E4621	MacIver and Woolley (1909): Areika No. 4621
E-7	Leipzig 7685	Krauspe (1997): No. 189
E-8	KHM E7325	Junker (1926): No. 412
E-9	Cairo CG 10864	Steindorff (1935): Aniba No. 3
E-10	Unknown	Steindorff (1935): Aniba No. 4
E-11	Unknown	
E-12	Unknown	
E-13	Unknown	
E-14	SNM 62/11/170	
E-15	Unknown	
E-16	SNM 63/2/46?	
F-1	MFA E19.1575	
F-2	MFA Eg. Inv. 13105	
F-3	Penn E4623	MacIver and Woolley (1909): Areika No. 4623
F-4	Penn E4632	MacIver and Woolley (1909): Areika No. 4632
F-5	Penn E4626	MacIver and Woolley (1909): Areika No. 4626
F-6	Penn E4627	MacIver and Woolley (1909): Areika No. 4627
F-7	Penn E4628	MacIver and Woolley (1909): Areika No. 4628
F-8	Penn E4635	MacIver and Woolley (1909): Areika No. 4635
F-9	Penn E4020	MacIver and Woolley (1909): Areika No. 4020
F-10	Penn E4023	MacIver and Woolley (1909): Areika No. 4023
F-11	Penn E4056	MacIver and Woolley (1909): Areika No. 4056
F-12	Penn E4633	MacIver and Woolley (1909): Areika No. 4633

F-13	KHM E7324	Junker (1926): No. 414
F-14	KHM E7325-B	Junker (1926): No. 412
F-15	Leipzig 4413	Krauspe (1997): No. 190
F-16	Unknown	Steindorff (1935): Aniba No. S.33
F-17	Unknown	Steindorff (1935): Aniba No. S.39
F-18	Unknown	Steindorff (1935): Aniba No. S.132
F-19	SNM (uncataloged)	
F-20	Unknown	
F-21	Unknown	
F-22	MAN 1980/91/313	
F-23	Uppsala 65/8:1	
F-24	Unknown	
F-25	Penn E4050	MacIver and Woolley (1909): Areika No. 4050
F-26	SNM 16295	
F-27	SNM 17849	
F-28	OIM E23969	
F-29	Unknown	
G-1	Penn E4008	MacIver and Woolley (1909): Areika No. 4008
G-2	Penn E4060	MacIver and Woolley (1909): Areika No. 4060

Concordance 2: Anthropomorphic Figurines by Museum Collection:

Egyptian Museum, Cairo	
A-1	CG 10860
A-2	JE 65192
B-5	CG 10859
B-10	CG 10861
C-16	CG 10862
C-20	CG 10866
D-22	CG 10857
D-23	CG 10853
D-24	CG 10854
E-9	CG 10864
Nubian Museum, Aswan	
B-7	611 and 612
C-37	Unknown
Sudan National Museum	
A-13	62/12/118
B-8	18006
C-23	62/12/66
D-16	Unknown
D-17	62/11/115
D-18	17903
E-14	62/11/170
E-16	63/2/46(?)
F-19	Uncataloged
F-26	16295
F-27	17849
Egyptian Museum Georg Steindorff of the University of Leipzig	
A-3	4403
C-10	4401

C-11	4407
C-12	4406
C-13	4399
C-14	4400
C-15	4402
C-21	4405
C-22	4404
C-32	4410
D-6	8279
D-7	4397
D-8	7686
D-9	4395
D-10	4396
E-7	7685
F-15	4413
University of Chicago Oriental Institute Museum	
A-4	E 23202
D-1	E 44466
D-21	E 44464
E-1	E 23486
F-28	E 23969
University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology	
B-1	E 4004
B-2	E 4010
B-3	E 4037
C-24	E 4019
C-25	E 4021
C-26	E 4024
C-27	E 4022
C-28	E 4027
C-29	E 4052
C-30	E 4643
D-4	E 4636
D-5	E 4025
E-2	E 4638
E-3	E 4026
E-4	E 4028
E-5	E 4051
E-6	E 4621
F-3	E 4623
F-4	E 4632
F-5	E 4626
F-6	E 4627
F-7	E 4628
F-8	E 4635
F-9	E 4020
F-10	E 4023
F-11	E 4056
F-12	E 4633
F-25	E 4050
G-1	E 4008
G-2	E 4060
University of California, Los Angeles, Fowler Museum of Cultural History	
B-9	400-1541

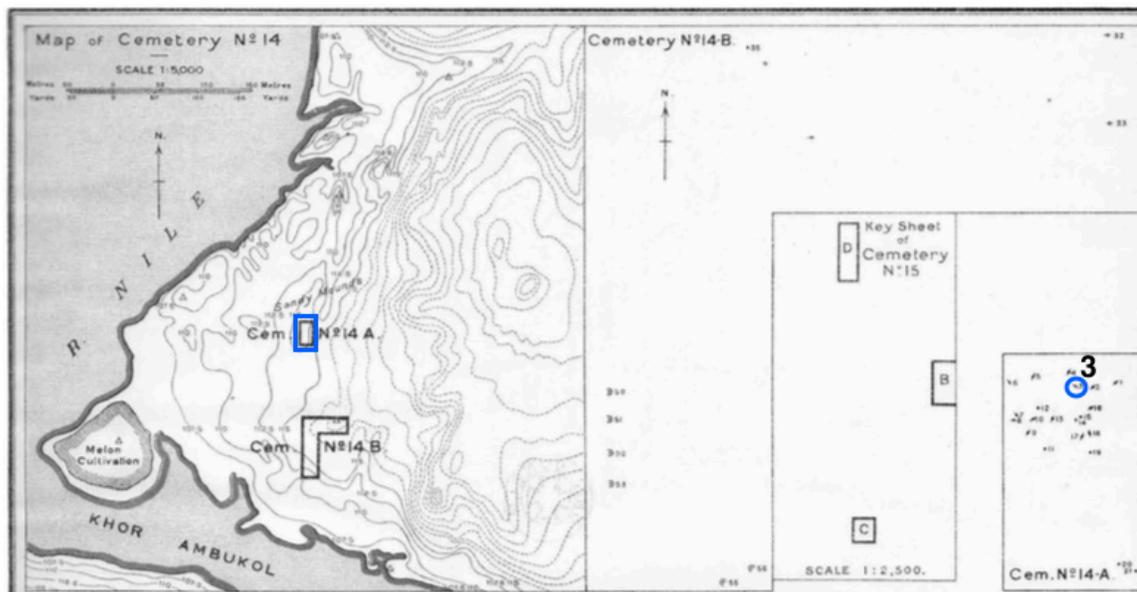
Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna			
C-33	E 7326		
E-8	E 7325		
F-13	E 7324		
F-14	E 7325B		
Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid			
D-15	1980/91/307		
F-22	1980/91/313		
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston			
C-31	E 13109		
D-2	Eg. Inv. 13110		
D-3	E 19.1574		
F-1	E 19.1575		
F-2	Eg. Inv. 13105		
Uppsala University Museum			
A-12	179/71:1		
C-42	345/19		
D-19	65/14:1		
D-20	179/72:1		
F-23	65/8:1		
Unknown			
A-5	C-2	C-34	D-14
A-6	C-3	C-35	E-10
A-7	C-4	C-36	E-11
A-8	C-5	C-38	E-12
A-9	C-6	C-39	E-13
A-10	C-7	C-40	E-15
A-11	C-8	C-41	F-16
B-4	C-17	D-11	F-17
B-6	C-18	D-12	F-18
C-1	C-19	D-13	F-20

Appendix 4: Maps and Plans of Find Sites

Khor Ambukol, Cemetery 14

Reisner (1908): 10-11

Reisner (1910): 113-114, 141-145, Plan 12



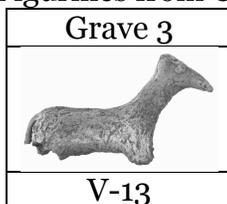
Of at least 21 graves excavated, only Grave 3 contained 1 figurine.

Grave	ID	Description and Context
3	V-13	1 Quadruped figurine, context unknown

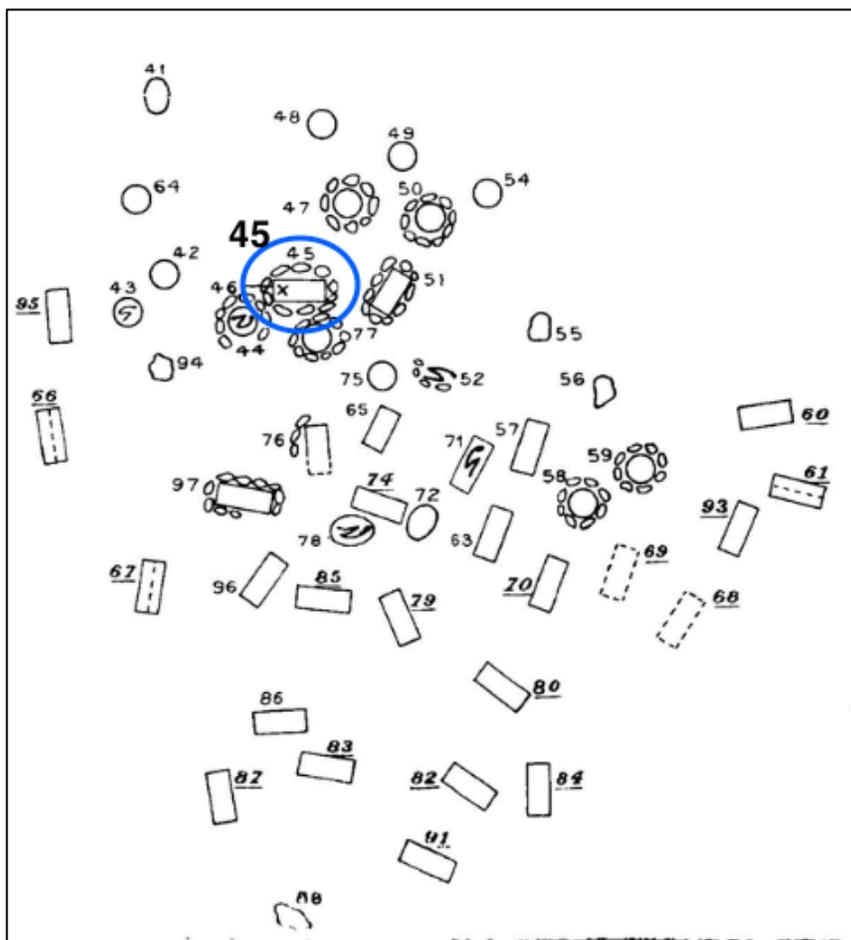
Notes:

According to Reisner the cemeteries in this area were incomplete and had partially washed away. Cemetery 14 spanned the OK through the MK. No figurines were noted in the official reports but an animal figurine at the MFA, Boston from the 1907 excavation has the label ASN 14/3/5A, indicating that it came from Cemetery 14, Grave 3. Reisner lists this grave as belonging to the B-Group but the form and style of the figurine (pointed, slightly convex muzzle and applied bulging eyes) indicate C-Group work.

Figurines from Cemetery and Related Objects:



Moalla, Cemetery 69
Firth (1912): 66-74, Plan 9



Of 61 graves excavated, only Grave 45 contained at least 2 figurines.

Grave	ID	Description
45	V-67	Animal figurine, described as a sheep, found at male grave, not in situ
	V-68	Animal figurine, described as a sheep, found at male grave, not in situ

Notes:

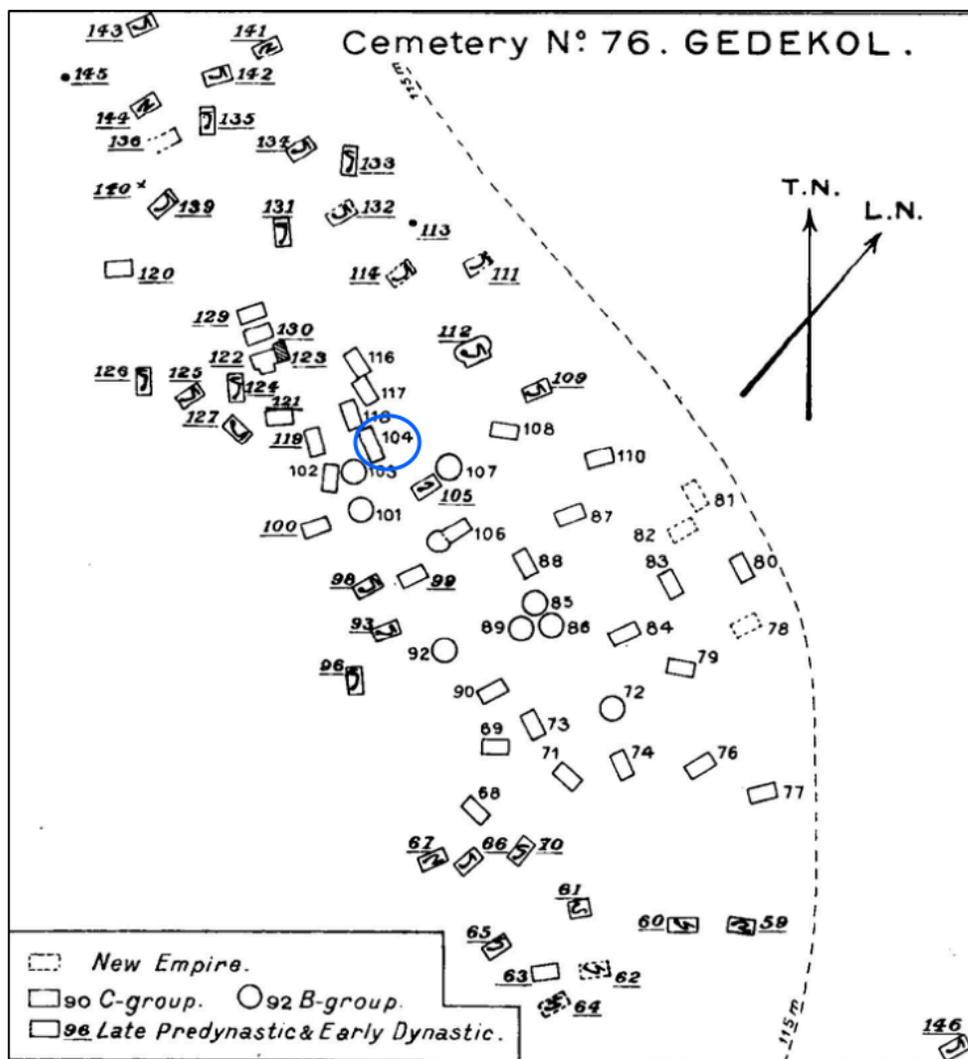
According to Beitaik (1968): 46-49, the pottery from Grave 45 is later in date than the figurines. Beitaik states that the figurines should be understood as relics.

Figurines from Cemetery:

Grave 45	
Quadruped No image	Quadruped No image
V-67	V-68

Gedekol (Gerf Husein) Cemetery 76

Firth (1912): 110-122, Plan 13



Of 81 C-Group graves excavated (+ 10 that Firth labels B-Group or Early Dynasty), only Grave 104 contained figurines.

Grave	ID	Description and Context
104	V-65	1 Quadruped figurine, described as a sheep, found outside grave not in situ
	V-66	1 Quadruped figurine, described as a sheep, found outside grave not in situ

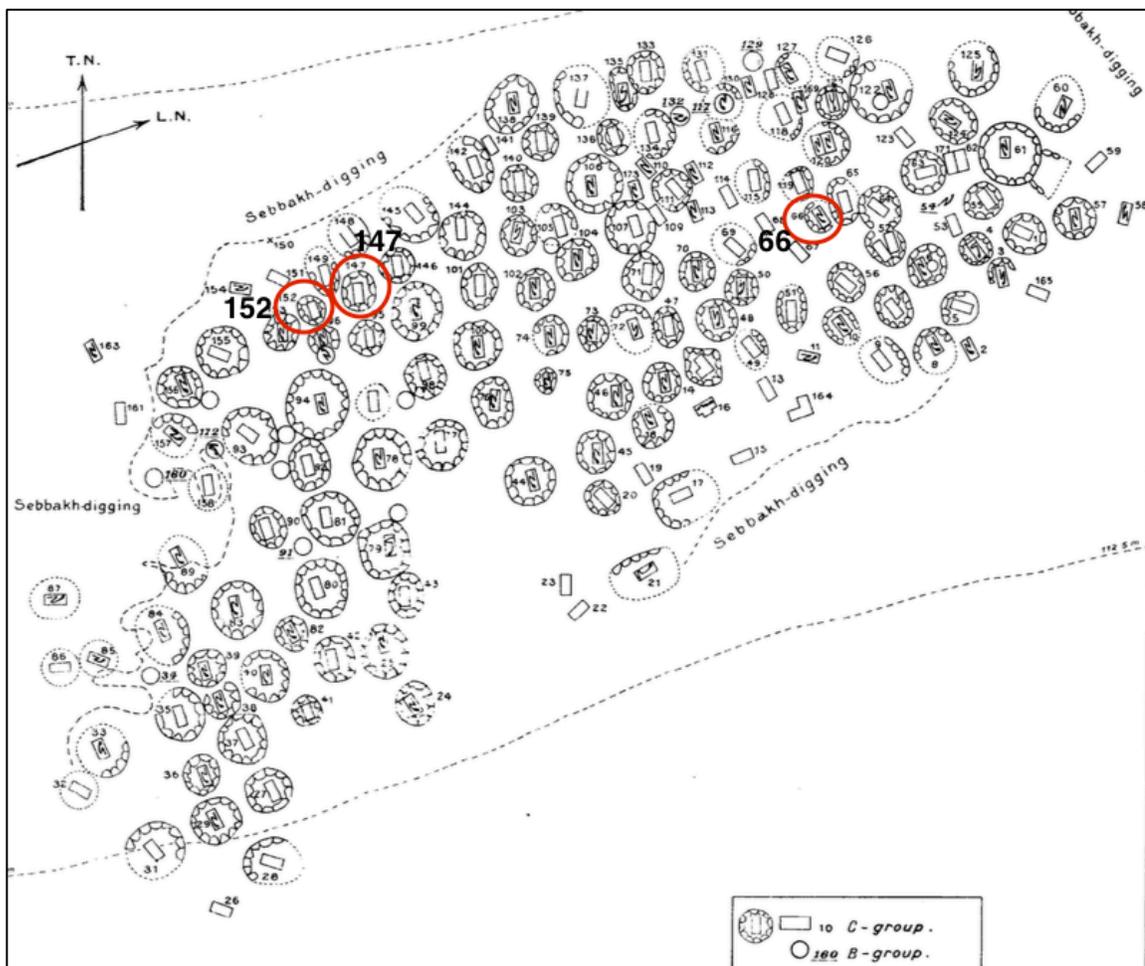
Figurines from Cemetery and Related Objects:

Grave 104	
V-65	V-66

Koshtamna, Cemetery 87

Reisner (1909): 8-12

Firth (1912): 158-187, Plan 18



Of 173 graves excavated, only Graves 66, 147, and 152 contained figurines.

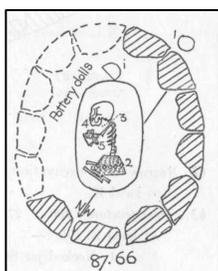
Grave	ID	Description
66	A-5	Female figurine with 9 others over skeleton of girl w/ beaded kilt
	A-6	Female figurine with 9 others over skeleton of girl w/ beaded kilt
	A-7	Female figurine with 9 others over skeleton of girl w/ beaded kilt
	A-8	Female figurine with 9 others over skeleton of girl w/ beaded kilt
	C-1	Female figurine with 9 others over skeleton of girl w/ beaded kilt
	C-2	Female figurine with 9 others over skeleton of girl w/ beaded kilt
	C-3	Female figurine with 9 others over skeleton of girl w/ beaded kilt
	C-4	Female figurine with 9 others over skeleton of girl w/ beaded kilt
	C-5	Female figurine with 9 others over skeleton of girl w/ beaded kilt
	D-2	Head of figurine with 9 female figurines

147	G-4	Arm of figurine in grave shaft
152	A-9	Female figurine with at least 3 others over skeleton of infant
	B-6	Female figurine with at least 3 others over skeleton of infant
	C-6	Female figurine with at least 3 others over skeleton of infant
	C-7	Female figurine with at least 3 others over skeleton of infant

Notes:

The skeletons from this cemetery were identified according to age and sex by Dr. J. E. Derry. It is possible that he identified the skeletons of these children based on the presence of figurines (which Firth believed to be toys for little girls).

The figurines in both Graves 66 and 152 were excavated from the fill of the superstructure above the bodies.



Grave 66

Grave 66					
A-5	A-6	A-7	A-8	C-1	C-2

Grave 66				Grave 147	Grave 152
				No image	
C-3	C-4	C-5	D-2	G-4	A-9

Grave 152		
B-6	C-6	C-7

Dakka, Cemetery 94

Of 35 graves excavated, 1 grave contained fragments of 1 female figurine.

Firth (1915): 105-107, 141

Bietak (1968): 52, 56

Grave	ID	Description and Context
27	?	1 Female figurine, fragmentary and decayed in shaft with partial male skeleton, small bowl, and red spoon

Notes:

Firth describes this cemetery as Late C-Group and 2 or 3 of the graves date to the NK. Bietak dates this cemetery to Phase III

Dakka, Cemetery 97

Approximately 81 graves excavated, 1 grave contained 2 female figurines

Firth (1915): 108-111

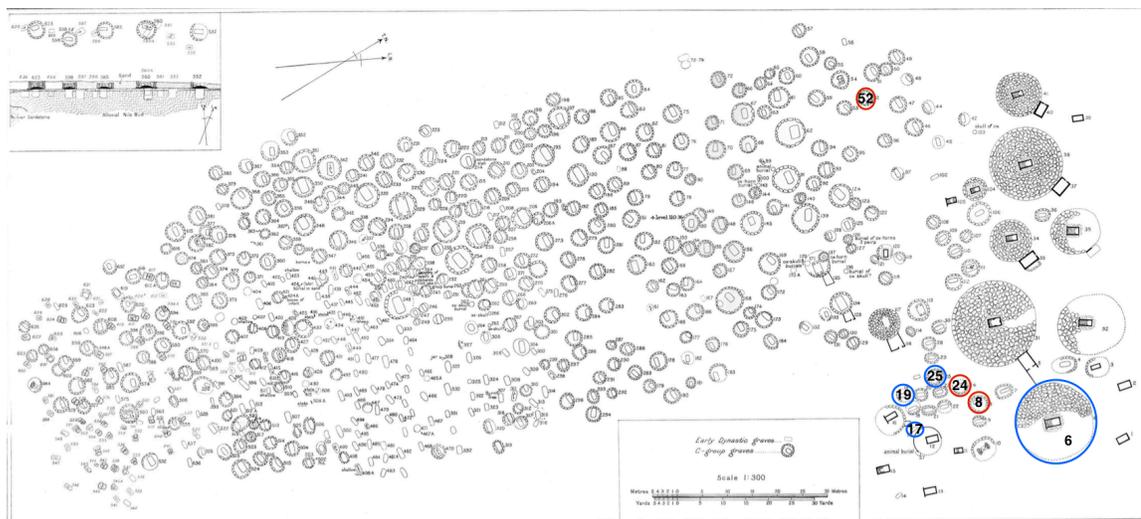
Bietak (1968): 56

Grave	ID	Description and Context
44	?	1 Female figurine w/incised tattoo patterns, E of superstructure
	?	1 partial Female Figurine, E of superstructure

Notes:

Firth dated this cemetery to fairly early in the C-Group period. Bietak dates it from I/b to II/a. Bietak only mentions 1 figurine and describes it as belonging to II/a. Although uncertain, it is possible that the figurine with incised tattoo pattern from Grave 44 is C-8.

Dakka, Cemetery 101
Firth (1915): 112-140, Plan 3



Of approximately 600 graves excavated, 7 contained figurines.

Grave	ID	Description and Context
6	V-14	1 Bovine figurine, painted red, found in grave
8	C-40	1 Female figurine on N side of superstructure
17	V-52	1 Bovine painted red in grave
	V-53	1 Bovine painted red in grave
19	V-51	1 Bovine in grave
24	F-1	1 Female figurine with incised patterns, outside disturbed superstructure
25	V-55	1 Bovine figurine in grave
	V-56	1 Bovine figurine in grave
52	H-3	1 small unbaked mud female figurine, E of superstructure

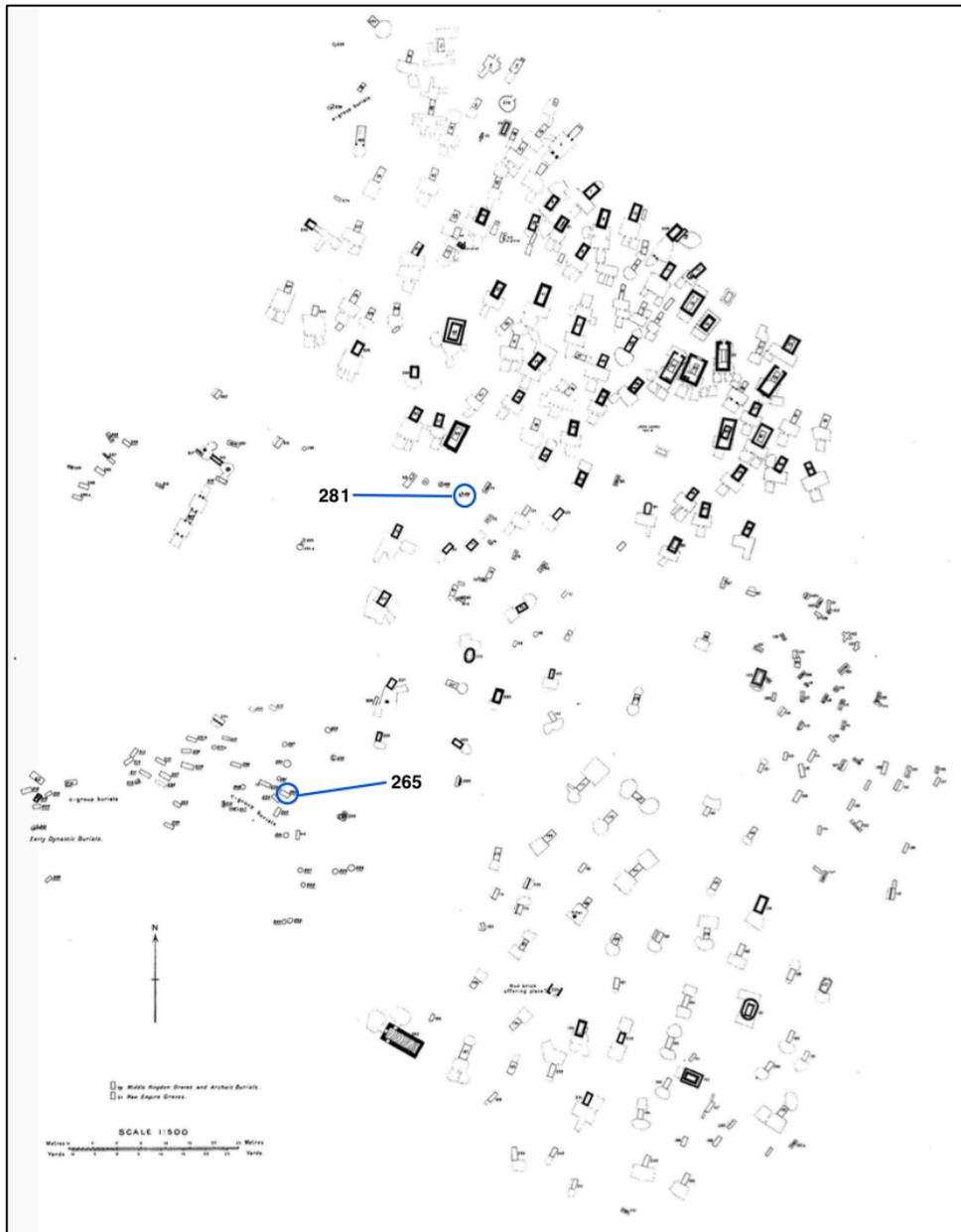
Notes:

Firth's illustrated plates do not precisely match the descriptions he gives of the grave goods. The placement of C-40 in Grave 8 is very likely but base on informed conjecture.

Figurines from Cemetery:

Grave 6	Grave 8	Grave 17	Grave 17	Grave 19	Grave 24	Grave 25	Grave 25	Grave 52
							No image	No image
V-14	C-40	V-52	V-53	V-51	F-1	V-55	V-56	H-3

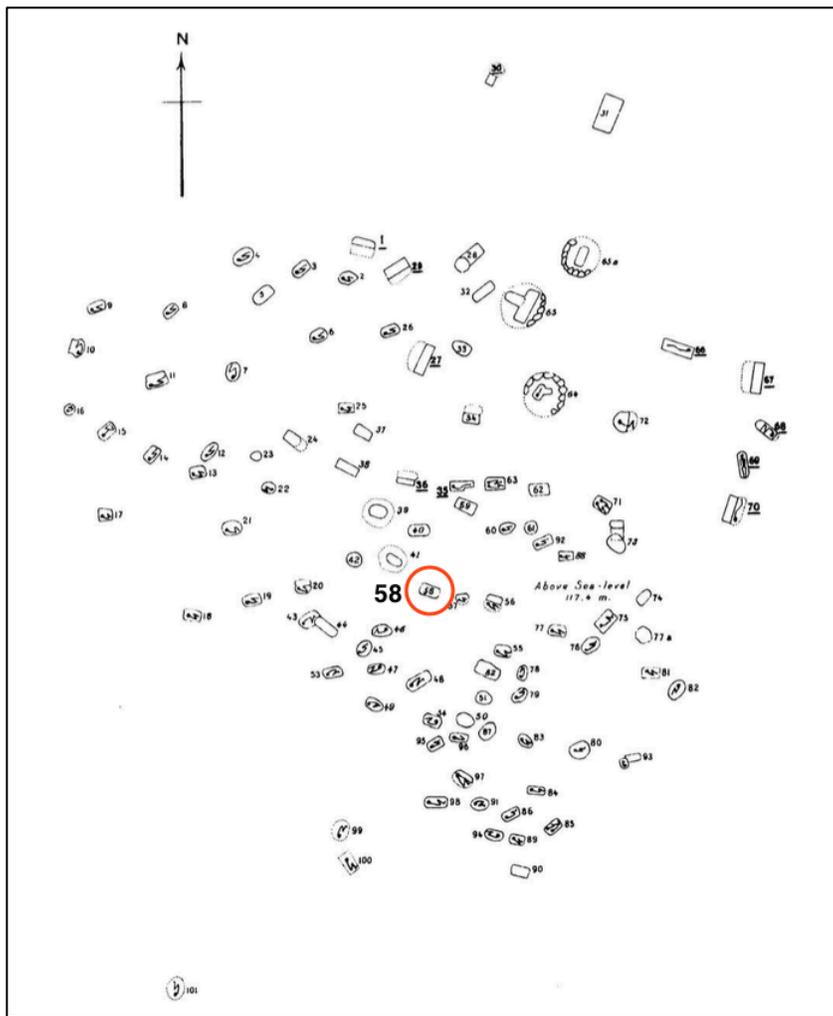
Quban, Cemetery 110
Firth (1927): 46-98, Plan 5



Of 40 C-Group graves excavated, 2 grave contained figurines.

Grave	ID	Description and Context
265	?	1 bovine figurine, painted red and broken in two
281	V-50	1 Bovine figurine, unbaked mud, found in burial with a body wrapped in linen

Wadi Allaqi, Cemetery 111
Firth (1927): 98-111, Plan 7



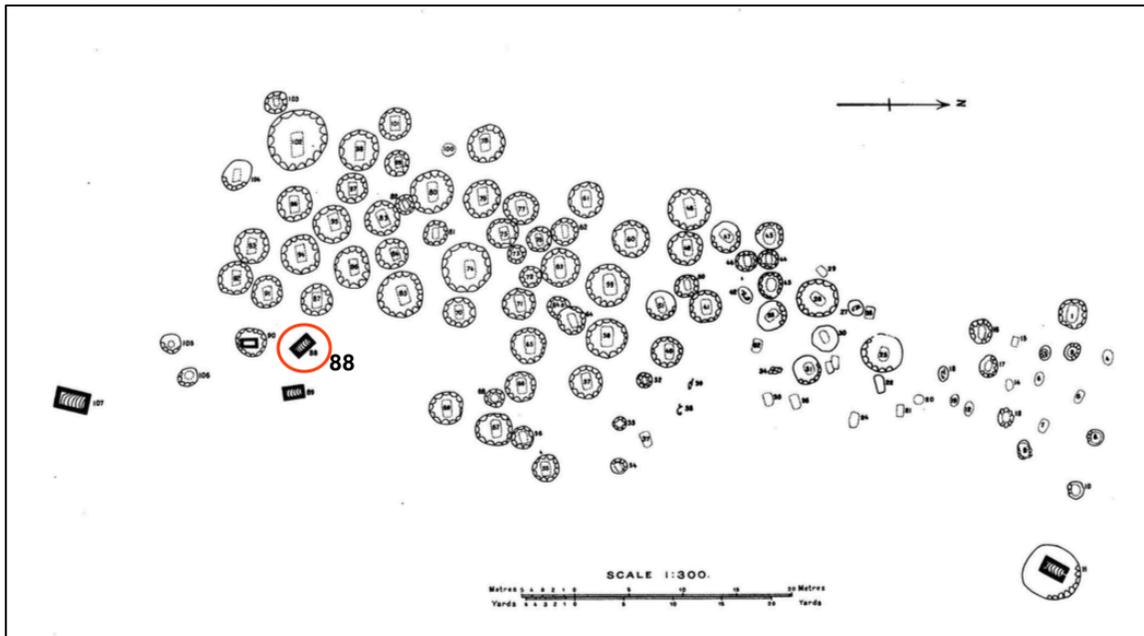
Of 19 C-group graves excavated, 1 contained 1 figurine.

Grave	Image	ID	Description and Context
58		B-7	1 Female figurine from E side of grave

Notes:

Firth's 1915 report (176, Pl. 37A and B) this piece was from Grave 8, Cemetery 101. It is far more likely that it comes from Grave 58, Cemetery 111, as the figurine from that grave is described as "head and thighs only" (Firth 1927: 110).

Qurta W, Cemetery 115
 Firth (1927): 132-138, Pln.9



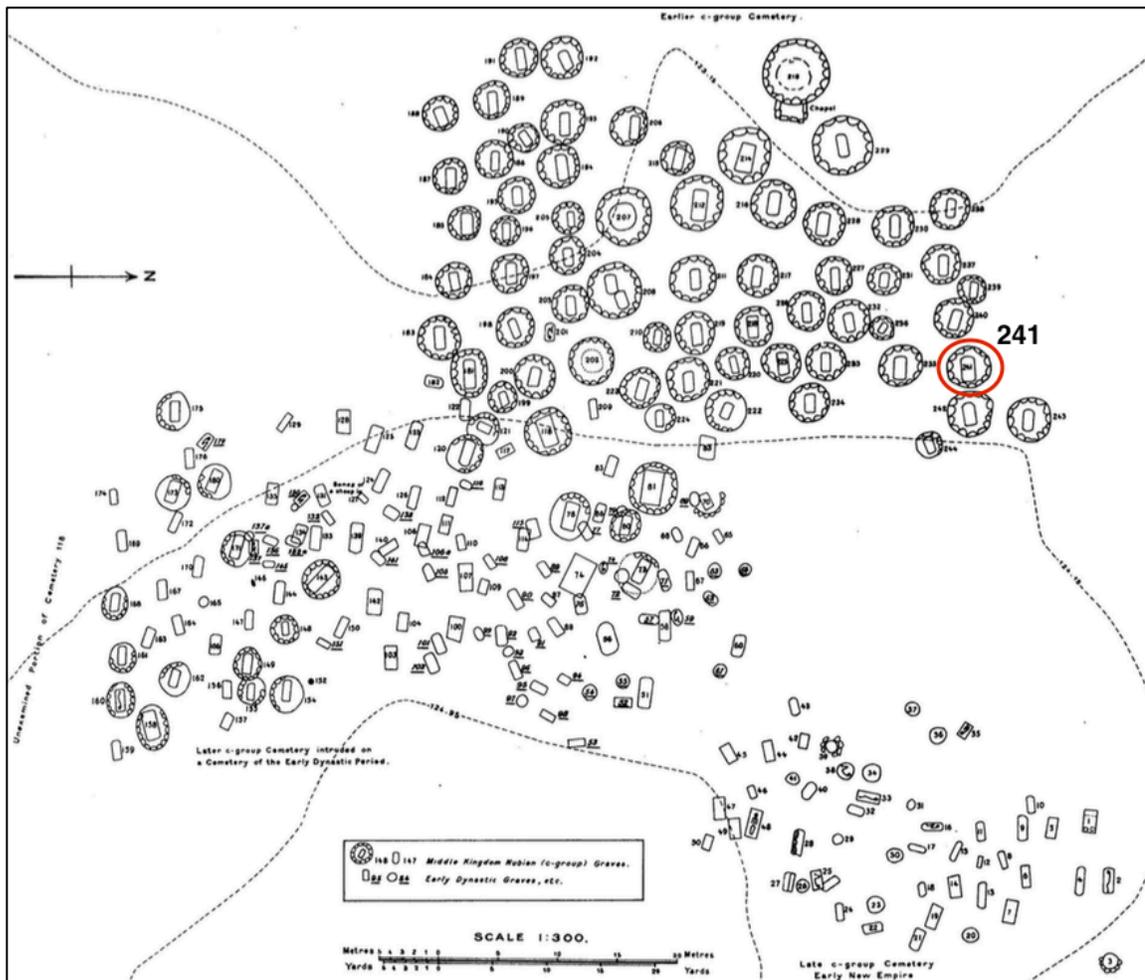
Of 107 graves excavated, 1 contained a figurine.

Grave	ID	Description and Context
88	?	1 Female figurine in debris of grave

Notes:

Bodies were almost all completely absent from this cemetery. Firth cannot explain why but says it seems to have been deliberate and not done in the recent past. Grave 88 was a rectangular mud-brick lined pit covered originally with a leaning mud brick vault. This cemetery is dated from I/b to II/b.

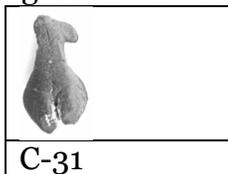
Qurta W, Cemetery 118
Firth (1927): 140- 151, Plan 10



Of 240 excavated graves, 1 contained a figurine.

Grave	ID	Description and Context
241	C-31	1 "minute" clay doll NE of superstructure

Figurines from Cemetery:

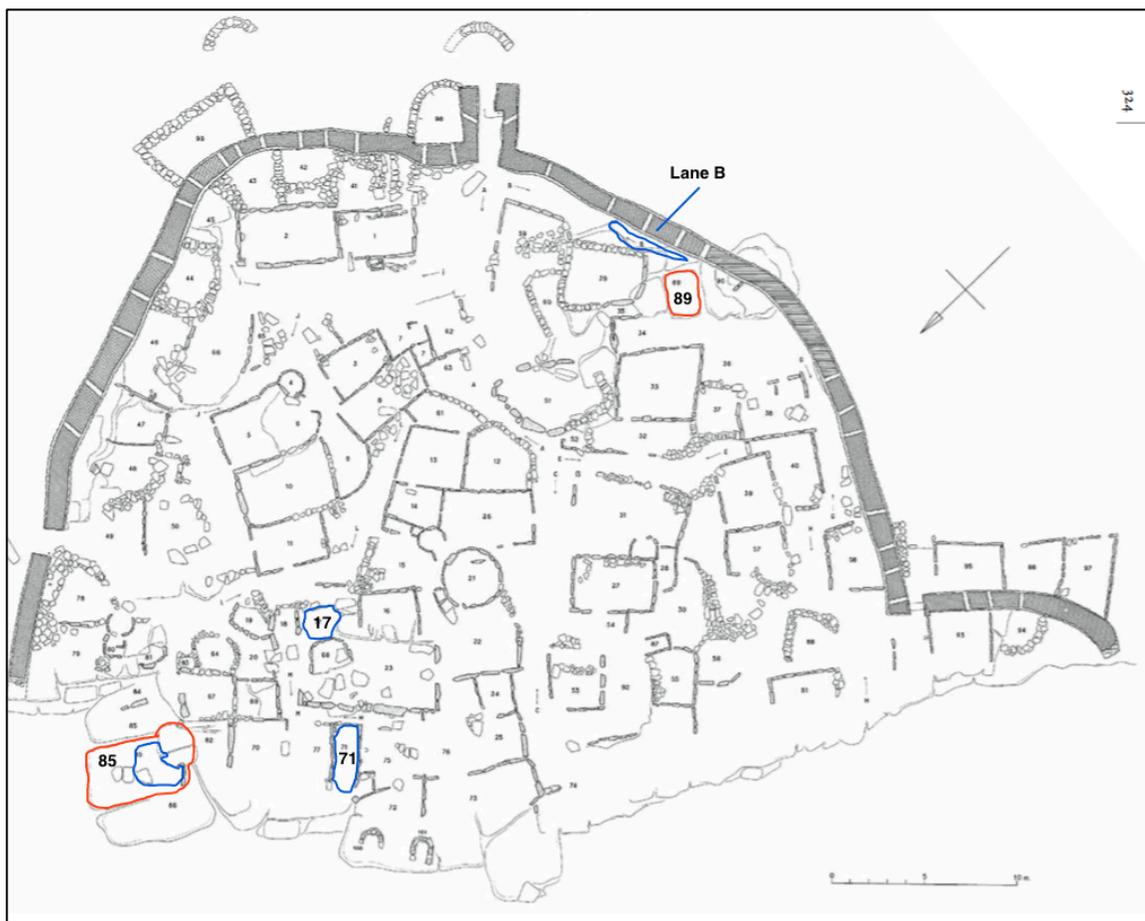


Notes:

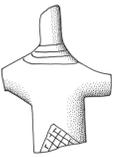
The MFA, Boston records do not show the provenance of C-31, listing is only as from the Archaeological Survey of Nubia. It is provisionally assigned to 118:241 because it fits the description given in Firth for this grave.

Wadi es-Sebua, fortified settlement

Sauneron and Jacquet (2005): 321-356



Of approximately 100 rooms or enclosures within the fortification walls of this settlement, approximately 50 animal form figurines were found and 1 clay anthropomorphic human figurine.

Room 85			Point 89	Lane B	Room 71	Room 17
	Bovine	Animal		Animal	Animal	Animal
E-17	None	None	Sandstone	None	None	None

Note: The sandstone figurine was not included in this catalog, as it does not conform to the standard characteristics of the corpus and might be an import or relic.

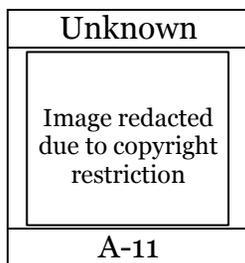
Wadi El Arab, Settlement Site

Emery and Kirwan (1935): 106-108

The C-Group settlement site is located on the west bank of the Nile, about half a mile to the south of, and across the Nile from, the modern town of Wadi el Arab. Excavators found a habitation area constructed of rough stone slabs set upright in the ground, bonded together with rubble and mud as cement, then plastered with mud. The structure had 7 rooms and the clay figurine was found in Room 5, along with a green stone celt, a sandstone grinder, a bone awl, and a pottery palette. Also inside this room, next to the entrance, was a stone tethering post. The excavators believed that Room 5 was a courtyard that served as the main entrance to the compound.



The exact findspot of the figurine is not given in the excavation report.



Notes: Room 3 was also believed to have been a courtyard and contained bins for grain storage. Numerous pottery shards of bowls, jars (some incised with geometric designs), and cooking pots were excavated. No Egyptian imported ware and no Nubian incised polished blackware was excavated from the site.

Amada, House #4 (C-Group Settlement)

Stock (1963): 101-103, 107-109

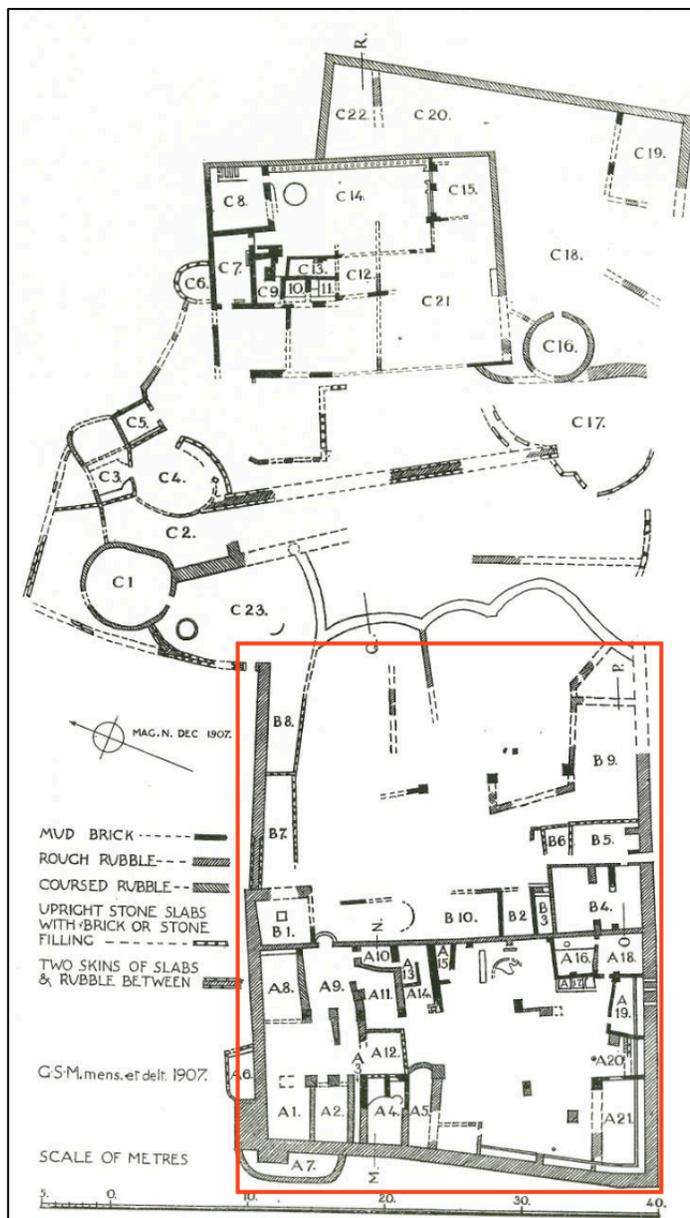
Stock's excavation team found a settlement of several houses during their 1959 excavation season. Although these houses were occupied during the Roman-Nubian period, House #4 was constructed over the ruins of a C-Group settlement with stone walls and irregular rooms. Excavations in one room of House #4 yielded C-Group figurines (no number given), axes, and beads. A C-Group "roundhouse", 20 meters in diameter and subdivided into irregular rooms with doorways, was discovered during the next excavation season. More figurines (no description or numbers given) were excavated from inside this structure.

At least 4 figurines were found, but the report does not mention the type (human or animal form) and does not give the exact findspot or context.

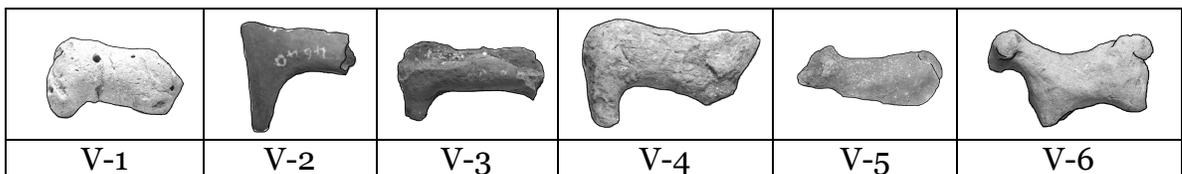
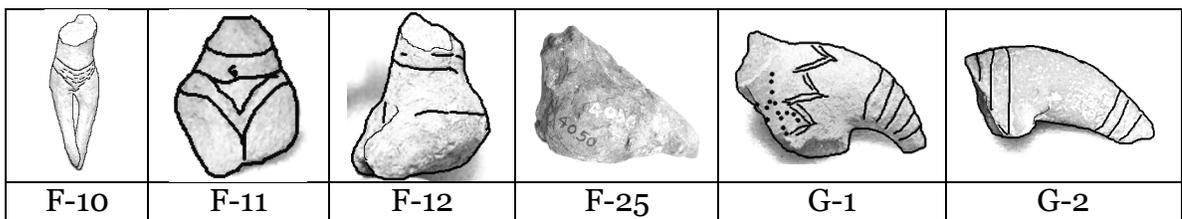
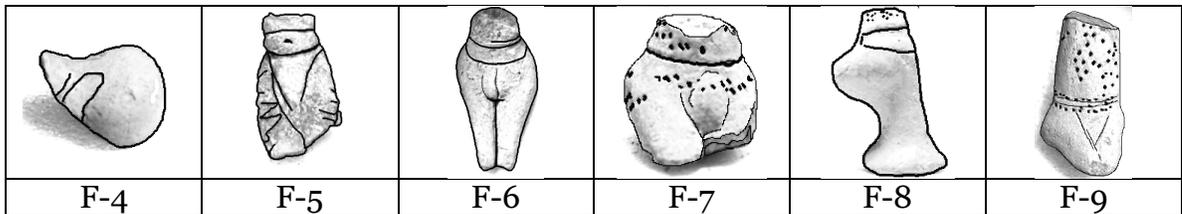
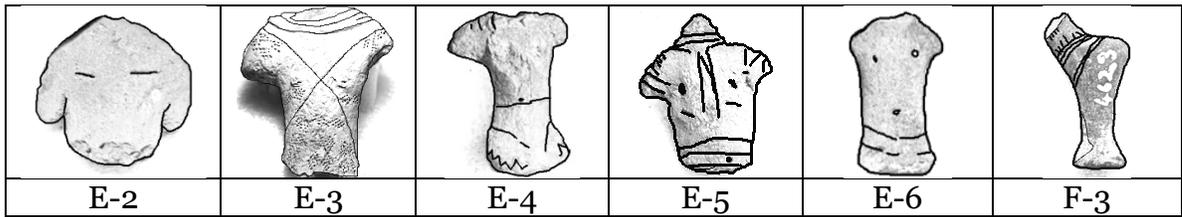
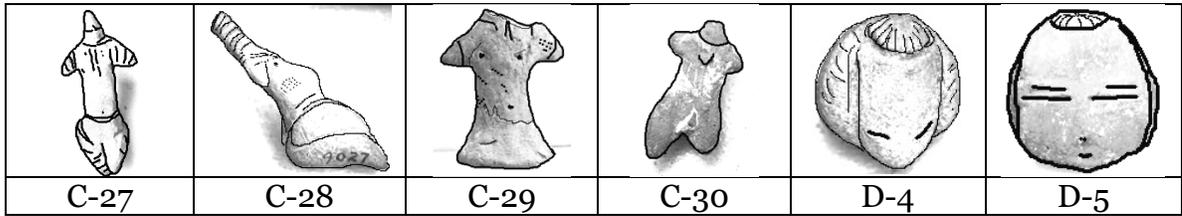
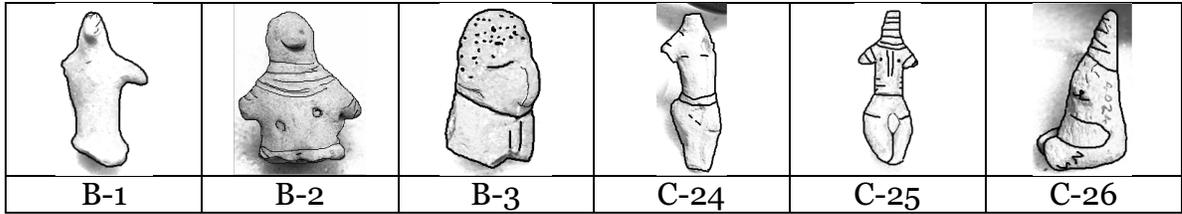
Areika, Habitation Area

MacIver and Woolley (1909): 5-18

Wegner and Wegner (1995): 127-160



Scattered throughout sections A and B were 30 clay anthropomorphic figurines and 12 livestock figurines.



					
V-7	V-8	V-9	V-10	V-11	V-12

Notes:

This large structure was initially constructed as a fortress, garrisoned by Egyptian military troops. C-Group people occupied and modified it shortly after the reign of Senwosret 3 and it was at this time that the figurines were likely produced. The excavation report does not give specific find spots for each figurine.

Aniba Cemetery N
Steindorf (1935): 125-192



Of the approximately 1000 graves excavated, 25 contained figurines and more figurines were found in the sand unassociated with any particular grave.

Grave	ID	Description and Context
9	F-15	1 Fragmentary female figurine from chapel
10	V-26	1 Bovine figurine from alley between Graves 4 and 10
	V-21	1 Bovine figurine (front half only) from alley between Graves 4 and 10
	V-73	1 Bovine figurine from alley between Graves 4 and 10
	V-74	1 Bovine figurine from alley between Graves 4 and 10
99	C-9	1 Female figurine from sand of superstructure
	V-47	1 Bovine figurine with handles from sand of superstructure
105		1 Animal figurine (fragments only) in grave
108	C-10	1 Female figurine from E of superstructure
	C-32	1 Female figurine from E of superstructure
133	D-9	1 Head, N of superstructure
	D-10	1 Head, N of superstructure
167	V-17	1 Quadruped figurine, specific findspot unknown
208	V-42	1 Bovine figurine from W of superstructure
214	C-11	1 Male figurine, S of superstructure
	V-35	1 Bovine figurine, S of superstructure
	V-18	1 Animal figurine (Bovine), S of superstructure
	V-37	1 Quadruped figurine, S of superstructure
	V-36	1 Bovine figurine, S of superstructure
233	V-38	1 Bovine figurine, E of superstructure
243		1 Animal figurine (fragmentary), in sand of superstructure
		1 Animal figurine (fragmentary), in sand of superstructure
249	C-12	1 Female figurine in grave
	C-13	1 Female figurine found between Graves 249 and 262
	C-14	1 Female figurine found between Graves 249 and 262
255		1 Animal figurine on a clay plate in grave

273	V-22	1 Quadruped figurine (front half only), associated with grave
390	C-15	1 Female figurine from sand over skeleton
	A-3	1 Female figurine from sand over skeleton
393	V-27	1 Bovine figurine from S of superstructure
667		Lower half of female figurine in sand of superstructure
677	C-16	Upper half of female figurine in grave
699		1 Bovine figurine in grave crypt
		1 Bovine figurine in sand of superstructure
736		(Female?) Figurine fragments in sand of superstructure
755		1 Bovine figurine in sand of superstructure
899		1 Head in grave
900	A-1	1 Head in superstructure
		1 Head in superstructure
		1 Head in superstructure
Sand	A-2	1 Female figurine, specific findspot unknown
Sand	E-9	1 Upper half of female figurine
	E-10	1 Upper half of female figurine
	C-20	1 Female figurine
	C-16	Lower half of female figurine
	B-4	1 Female figurine
Sand	D-11	1 Head of figurine, found with figurine fragments
Sand	C-22	1 Female figurine
Sand	D-7	Left half of head
Sand	V-48	1 Bovine figurine
	V-49	1 Bovine figurine
Sand	V-20	1 Bovine figurine
Sand	V-19	1 Bovine figurine
Sand	V-23	1 Cow figurine with full udder
	V-34	1 Quadruped figurine
	V-31	1 Quadruped figurine with sphere on head
	V-32	1 Bovine figurine (front half only)
	V-30	1 Quadruped figurine
	V-28	1 Quadruped figurine
	V-40	1 Bovine figurine (male)
	V-43	1 Quadruped figurine
Sand	V-29	1 Bovine figurine
Sand	V-33	1 Quadruped figurine
Sand	V-39	1 Bovine figurine (male)
?	V-24	1 Bovine figurine
?	V-25	1 Quadruped figurine
?	B-5	Upper body of female figurine with head
?	V-44	1 Bovine figurine (male)
?	V-46	1 Bovine head
?	V-45	1 Bovine head
?	E-7	1 Female upper body without head

Grave 9		Grave 10			
Image redacted due to copyright restriction	Image redacted due to copyright restriction	Image redacted due to copyright restriction	No image	No image	
F-15	V-26	V-21	V-73	V-74	Leipzig 4180

Grave 99		Grave 108		Grave 133	
				Image redacted due to copyright restriction	Image redacted due to copyright restriction
C-9	V-47	C-10	C-32	D-9	D-10

Grave 167	Grave 208	Grave 214			
Image redacted due to copyright restriction	Image redacted due to copyright restriction		Image redacted due to copyright restriction	Image redacted due to copyright restriction	Image redacted due to copyright restriction
V-17	V-42	C-11	V-35	V-18	V-37

Grave 214	Grave 233	Grave 249			Grave 273
Image redacted due to copyright restriction	Image redacted due to copyright restriction				Image redacted due to copyright restriction
V-36	V-38	C-12	C-13	C-14	V-22

Grave 390	Grave 393	Grave 677	Grave 900	Sand
	Image redacted due to copyright restriction	Image redacted due to copyright restriction	Image redacted due to copyright restriction	
C-15	A-3	V-27	C-16 (top)	A-1
				Image redacted due to copyright restriction
				A-2

Sand					Sand
Image redacted due to copyright restriction					
E-9	E-10	C-20	C-16 lower	B-4	D-11

Sand	Sand	Sand		Sand	Sand
Image redacted due to copyright restriction		Image redacted due to copyright restriction			
C-22	D-7	V-48	V-49	V-20	V-19

Sand					
Image redacted due to copyright restriction					
V-23	V-34	V-31	V-32	V-30	V-28

		Sand	Sand	Sand	?
Image redacted due to copyright restriction					
V-40	V-43	V-29	V-33	V-39	V-24

?	?	?	?	?	?
Image redacted due to copyright restriction		Image redacted due to copyright restriction	Image redacted due to copyright restriction	Image redacted due to copyright restriction	
V-25	B-5	V-44	V-46	V-45	E-7

Aniba, Settlement

Steindorff (1935): 202-219



Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

10 Female figurines were excavated from somewhere in this settlement area, 6 were found together. The houses from the time period most associated with figurine production are outlined in red. The fire pits are outlined in blue and the

ones outside the houses could have been used as open-air kilns. Unfortunately the precise location where the figurines were found is not given in Steindorff's published report.

Found together:					
Image redacted due to copyright restriction					
C-17	C-18	C-19	D-12	F-17	F-16

Isolated finds:			
Image redacted due to copyright restriction		Image redacted due to copyright restriction	Image redacted due to copyright restriction
D-13	C-21	F-18	C-41

Nagaa el-Tahouna, House Site

Bakr (1963): 116-117

This settlement area is composed of habitations with sandstone block walls, some of which are subdivided into chambers. Near these were the remains of a building (House East) that might have been for grain storage, or perhaps used as a kitchen because there was also burnt coal ash. The interior of this building yielded many objects (which Bakr erroneously dated to the very early C-Group period, 2300 – 2000 BCE) including at least 5 female figurines and one figurine of a cow. Near this was House West, that might have been used as a stable because it had smooth blocks of sandstone that appear to have been used as small watering troughs. Between these two buildings were small circular pits coated on the inside with a layer of silt, some containing terracotta vase fragments, that represented small grain storage units.

I have not been able to obtain the site plan for this area, and the precise location of the figurines in these buildings is not given in the published reports.

Found in House East					
Image redacted due to copyright restriction					
C-35	C-36	D-14	E-11	E-12	V-16

Notes:

The other objects found in the building with the figurines include: various types of red pottery (black topped red ware, red clay decorated with geometric patterns), the top part of a spindle, 2 flint knives, awls, clay bottle stoppers, grinders, makeup implements containing kohl and a collection of rods in bone, some slate and terracotta palettes, small vases for resin, and fragments of sandstone for tethering animals. The kinds of objects suggest that this was a domestic space for living and working and not a kitchen or storage area as Bakr supposed.

Nagaa el-Madrassa, Cemetery

Bakr (1963): 122-123

A total of 105 tombs were discovered in this cemetery, three of which were topped by a circular stone superstructure filled with sand and without a stone covering like those at Aniba or Toshka. Pottery, bucrania, and other objects could be placed beside the grave shaft on the ground inside the superstructure, which was then filled in. One of these graves held 7 terracotta cattle representing different species, buried in a small oval hole inside the superstructure near the grave shaft.

Found buried together in one tomb:						
No image	No image	No image	No image	No image	No image	No image
V-58	V-59	V-60	V-61	V-62	V-63	V-64

I have not been able to find images of the figurines or plan of the cemetery.

Nagaa el-Mahmoudiya, C-Group Cemetery

Bakr (1967): 7

Of 80 C-Group graves excavated, 16 were intact but only 1 contained figurines.

Grave	ID	Description and Context
1	A-10	1 Female figurine (complete) at the surface of the tomb
	C-37	1 Female figurine (headless) at the surface of the tomb
	C-38	1 Female figurine (headless) at the surface of the tomb
	C-39	1 Female figurine (headless) at the surface of the tomb
	E-13	1 Partial female figurine at the surface of the tomb
	F-20	1 Partial female figurine at the surface of the tomb
	F-21	1 Partial female figurine at the surface of the tomb
	F-29	1 Partial female figurine at the surface of the tomb

Grave 1					
Image redacted due to copyright restriction					
A-10	C-37	C-38	C-39	E-13	F-20

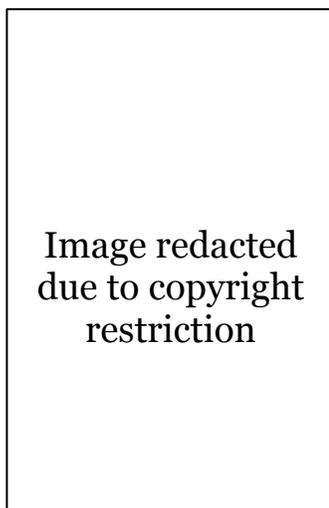
Grave 1	
Image redacted due to copyright restriction	Image redacted due to copyright restriction
F-21	F-29

Notes: This group of 8 figurines was excavated from an undisturbed context near the surface of the grave – presumably this means inside the superstructure, above the body but not in the grave shaft. The sex of the accompanying skeleton is not explicitly given but Bakr wrote that the figurines probably functioned after death

as the wives of a celibate [presumably male] deceased who was deprived of them in life. Bakr also states in the text (page 7) that a copper mirror with fragmentary covering was found, but the accompanying photographic plate description says it is a bronze mirror.

Toshka, Cemetery C

Junker (1926):



Of 201 graves excavated, only Graves 7, 180, and 201 contained figurines. 3 figurines were also found in this cemetery but their find-spot is unknown.

Grave	ID	Description
7	V-72	Quadruped figurine, back half only, in or at tumulus
	V-76	Quadruped figurine, back half only, in or at tumulus
180	V-75	Cow figurine, complete, in or at tumulus
201	F-13	Female figurine, lower body, associated with this grave
x	V-77	Cow figurine, back half only
x	F-14	Female figurine, lower body
	E-8	Female figurine, upper body
x	C-33	Female figurine

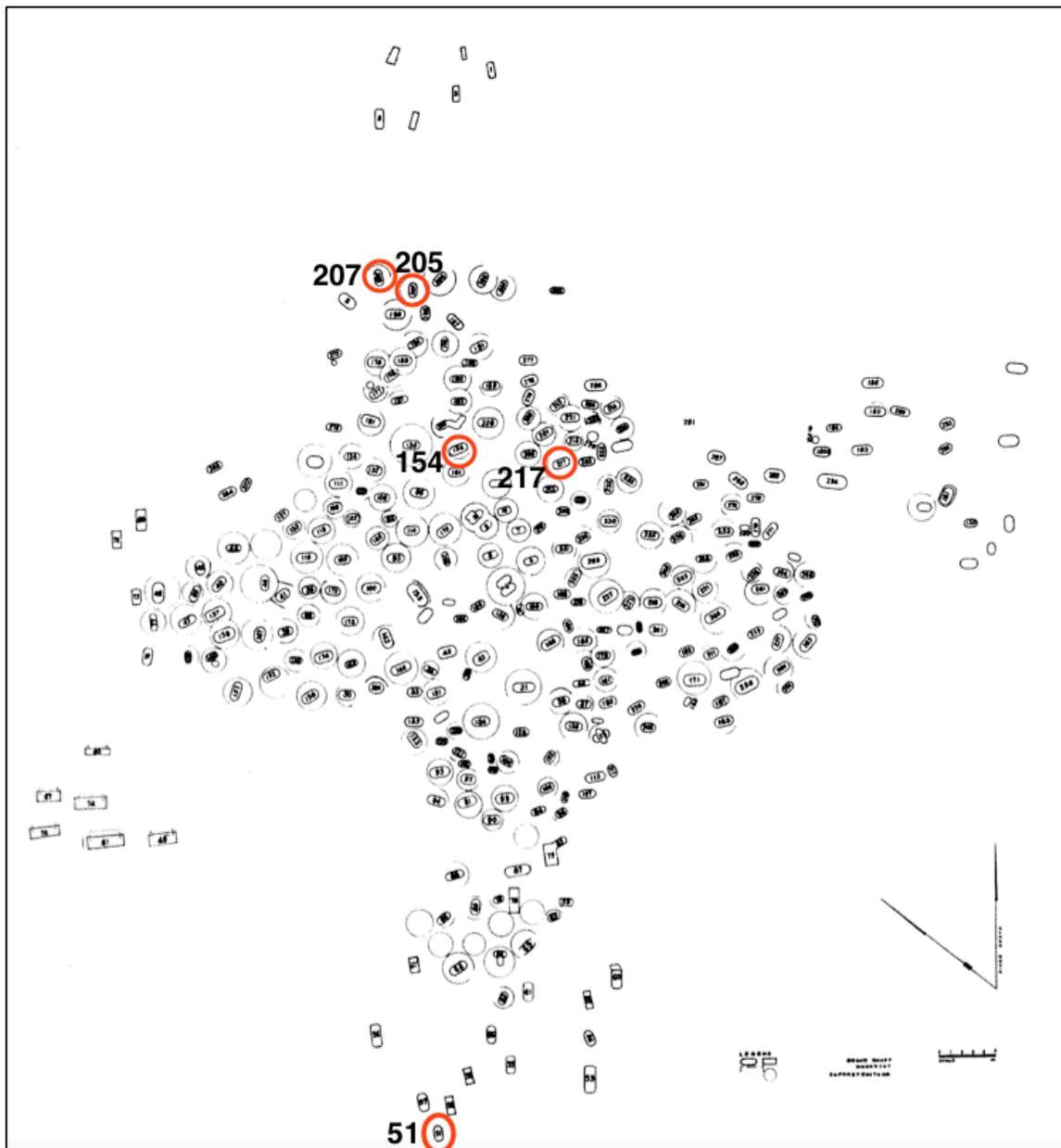
Notes:

The upper and lower bodies of E-8 and F-18 were found in the same area and the excavator believed them to belong to the same piece. A visual inspection of the two pieces, however, cannot confirm this therefore they are treated separately for classification purposes in this dissertation.

Grave 7		Grave 180		Grave x	Grave x
					
V-72	V-76	V-75	F-13	V-77	C-33

Grave x	
	
F-14	E-8

Adindan Cemetery T
Williams (1983): 127-201



Of the approximately 294 graves excavated, 5 contained figurines.

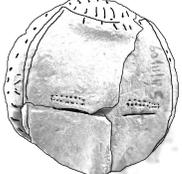
Grave	ID	Description and Context
51	A-4	1 Complete female figurine from bottom of grave shaft
154	E-1	1 Fragmentary female figurine from SE of superstructure
205	D-1	1 Head from superstructure
207	F-28	1 Fragmentary female figurine from grave shaft
217	D-21	1 Head from grave shaft

Grave 51	Grave 154	Grave 205	Grave 207	Grave 217
				
A-4	E-1	D-1	F-28	D-21

Notes:

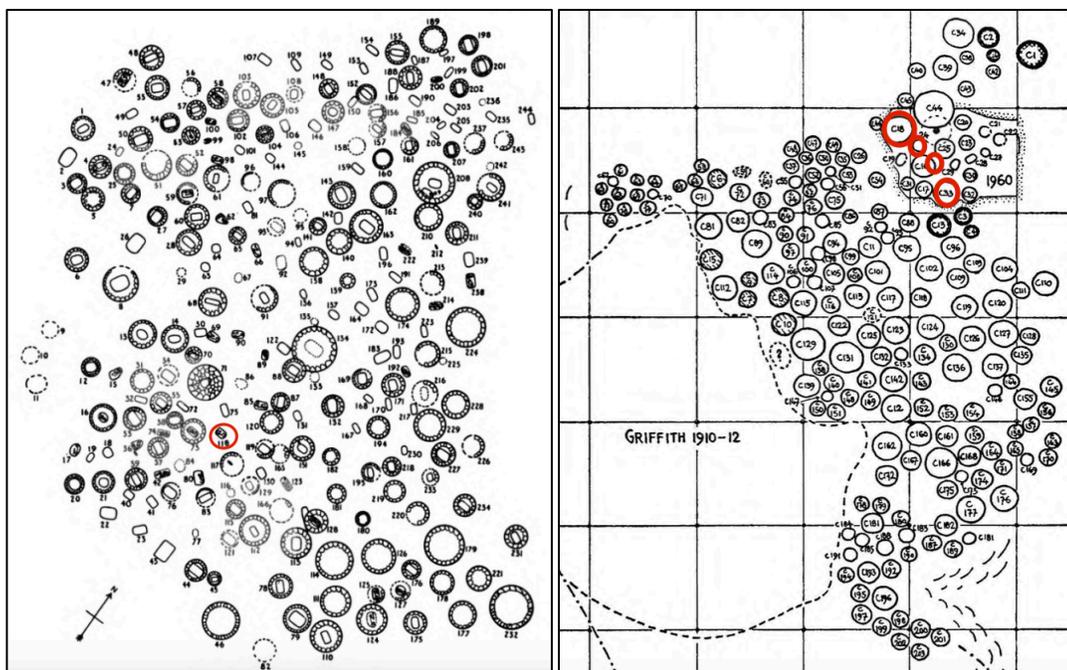
The skeletons from this cemetery were sexed on site by visual examination during the 1963-1964 excavation season by Mr. Duane Burnor (Williams, 1983: 75, footnote 23). Of the five figurines recovered, three (D-1, F-28, and D-21) were found in graves containing skeletons of individuals identified, some tentatively, as male.

C16E	D-16	1 Head in area very near C16 superstructure
C18	D-17	Partial Head NE of superstructure
C24	D-17	Partial Head E of superstructure

Grave 118	Grave C33	Area C16E	Grave C18	Grave C24
No image				
H-5	E-14	D-16	D-17	D-17

Notes:

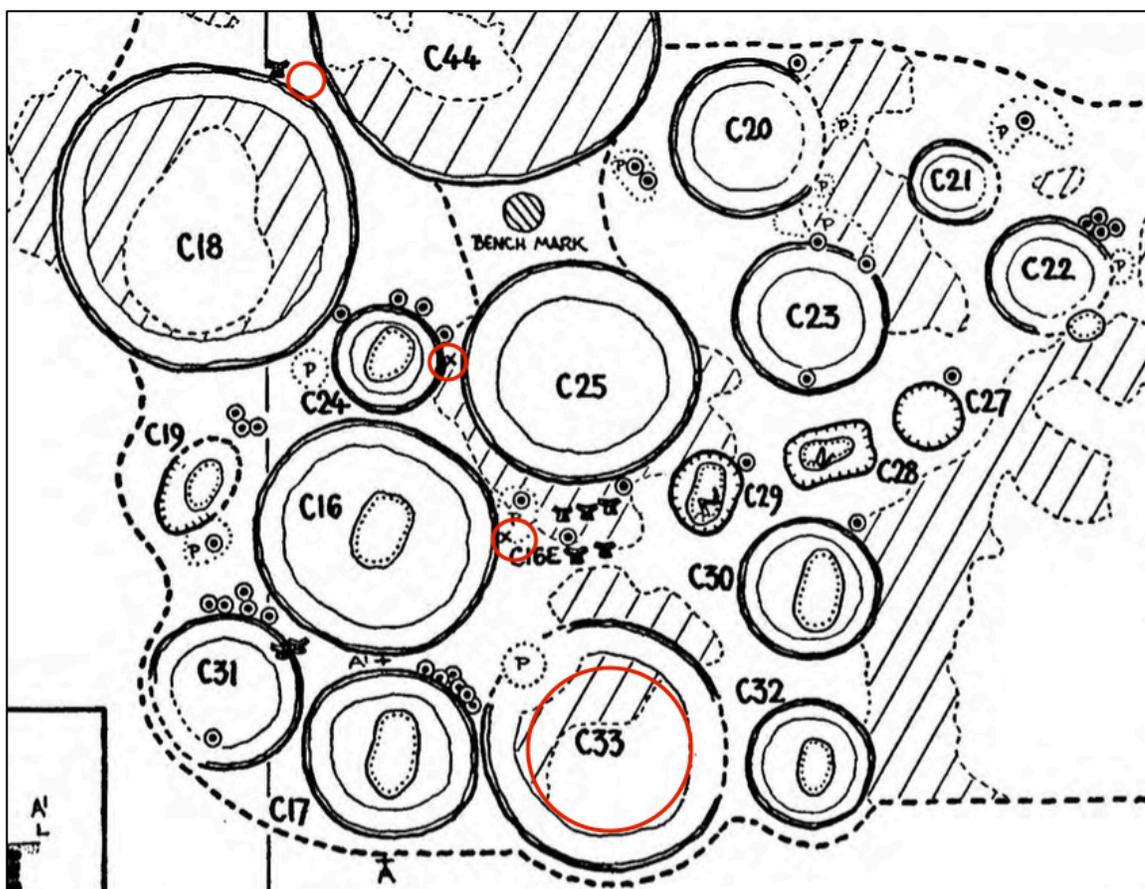
Griffith excavated 244 graves in the western section of the cemetery during the 1910-1911 season and found only one figurine (but did not publish a photo). Nordström identified 203 graves, but only excavated 45 of these, in the north and eastern sections of this cemetery during the 1960 season and found one figurine and two isolated heads.



Griffiths Map

Nordström's map

Nordström's excavation found half of a figurine head NE of Grave C18 and fragments from that same head E of Grave C24. The fragments have been put back together and form ID D-17.



Nordström's map of the area of this cemetery where his team found figurines.

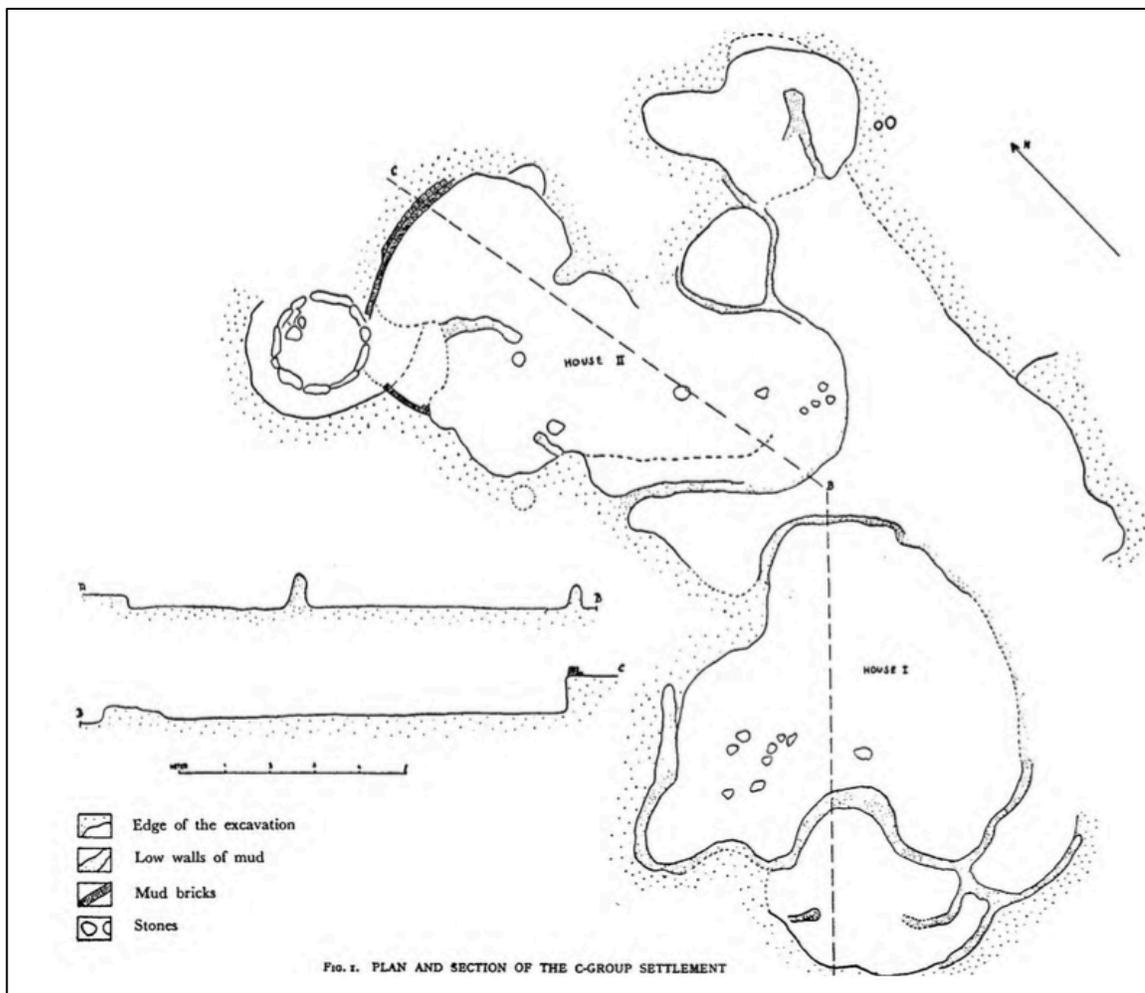
Faras Settlement 24-E-2

Verwers (1961): 17-20, Pl. IIc

Nordström (2014): 63-64, Fig. 24

The C-Group site had the remains of two dwellings with fragments of low mud walls in places. The floors were dirt. A circular sandstone construction near House II was possibly a grain storage structure. Small round pits lined with mud might also have served for food storage.

The dwellings had been dug through an older (A-Group) level of occupation.



Figurines of women and cows were found somewhere in the houses.

Unknown	Unknown
	
C-34	V-15

Notes:

Among the other finds at this site were: Nubian pottery, fancy and coarse, and Egyptian wheel-made ware (indicating Egyptian grain or other product was brought into these houses). Of particular interest among the small finds is a rocker stamp for pottery designs, which indicates that the coarse Nubian pottery that was “decorated around the rims with triangles” was being produced at this residential site.



Verwers (1961): Pl. 2.C.Left

Faras East, Nag' Abd el-Karim, Habitation Site 18 C
 Säve-Söderbergh (1989): 261-262, Pls. 65, 162, 163



The precise location is not give, but 3 clay figurines in very fragmentary states were excavated here. I have not been able to locate these pieces and the excavation report does not give images.

Unknown location:		
No image	No Image	No image
E-16	H-6	H-7

Notes:

Some of the pottery sherds from this small habitation site seem to indicate a Pangrave influence based on decoration style, but Säve-Söderbergh believes it to be, probably, C-Group. There is a circular wall of large stones at the east, two circular silos at the west side, and three floor areas of trampled clay.

Serra East, Shirfadik, Cemetery Site 179

Säve-Söderbergh (1963): 55-56

Säve-Söderbergh (1989): 205-214



Of 216 recorded graves at this cemetery, 82 were more or less preserved and 3 held figurines.

Grave	ID	Description
71	A-12	1 Figurine, intact, from inside superstructure or shaft
	V-69	1 Quadruped figurine from inside superstructure or shaft
72	D-20	1 Isolate head from inside superstructure or shaft
80	C-23	1 Figurine from inside superstructure or shaft
	E-15	1 Figurine from inside superstructure or shaft

Grave 71		Grave 72	Grave 80	
Image redacted due to copyright restriction	Image redacted due to copyright restriction	Image redacted due to copyright restriction		Image redacted due to copyright restriction
A-12	V-69	D-20	C-23	E-15

Notes:

Grave 71 contained the disturbed skeleton of a child, Grave 72 contained the disturbed skeleton of a 15 to 18 year old juvenile, and the skeleton in Grave 80 was disturbed but the sex and age were unspecified in the osteological report. A miniature bowl accompanied the figurines in Grave 71 (female and quadruped), presumably for the use of the figurines.

Of the skeletal remains that could be examined and determined, the sex distribution was 49 male, 38 female, and 36 children.

The southern part of the cemetery seems to be the oldest with two stelae, and the northern part the latest with mudbrick vaults inside the superstructures and some NK pottery. There are a very few elements of Pangrave and Kerma pottery in this cemetery.

Serra West, Cemetery 24-M-6

Verwers (1962): 24-25

Nordström (2014): 82-88

Rosenvasser (1964): 99-100

The Franco-Argentinian team excavated 71 C-Group graves and Verwers' team excavated 30 of about 70 C-Group graves at this cemetery. Of these 101 excavated graves, one grave contained a figurine.

I have not yet been able to find a map of this cemetery.

Grave	ID	Description
Aa	B-8	1 Figurine from fill of shaft

Notes:

Figurine B-8 is located in the Sudan National Museum with Inv. No. SNM 18006.

I could not find this figurine during my visit. Verwers describes it as:

“Decorated figure, portion, ceramic. Sex not identified. Lower body and one arm missing. Simple knob-shaped head with horizontal incised lines in front [eyes?]. Narrow body with arms standing off. Breasts depicted by impressed holes. Incised groups of short vertical lines on front of body, depicting clothing? H as preserved: 62mm.”

Grave Aa
No image
B-8

Debeira East, Komangana, Cemetery Site 65
Säve-Söderbergh (1989): 174-180, Pls. 88, 91

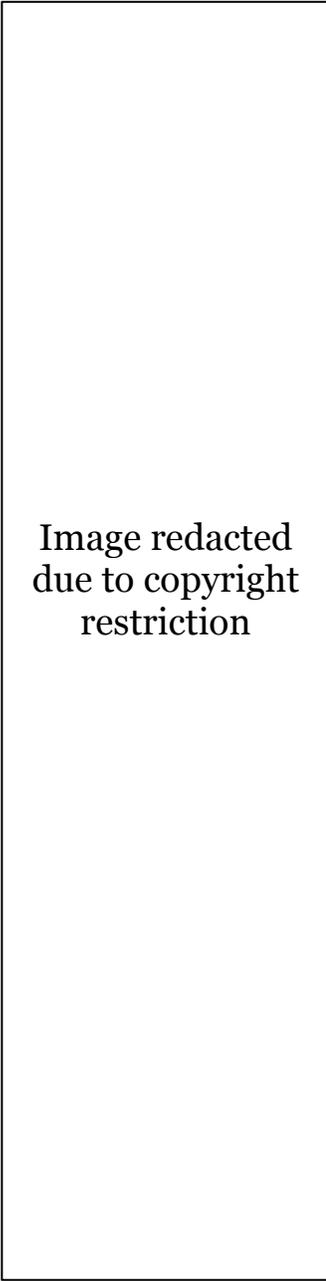


Image redacted
due to copyright
restriction

Two hundred burials were identified and recorded in this cemetery, of which 88 were undisturbed. 195 were excavated and of these, 2 contained figurines.

Grave	ID	Description
8B	F-23	1 Figurine found loose in the fill of the grave shaft
14	D-19	1 Isolated head found in unspecified association with grave

Grave 8B	Grave 14
Image redacted due to copyright restriction	Image redacted due to copyright restriction
F-23	D-19

Notes:

Both graves with figurines had partially preserved adult bodies but the sex of these was not able to be determined. The excavators note that the sex distribution of this cemetery seems average for other cemeteries of the same period in this region: 22 male, 11 female, and 25 children. Also, one male skeleton (Grave 6) had beads and pendants on his breast and a bronze mirror in front of his face.

Debeira West, Cemetery 24-R-17

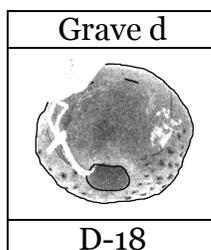
Verwers (1962): 28

Nordström (2014): 88-90

7 Graves were excavated by Verwers in 1961, 27 graves were excavated by the Ghana University Expedition in 1962. I do not have access to the only sketched site plan (from Verwers' field book).

Of the 50 graves identified and 7 excavated, 1 contained a figurine.

Grave	ID	Description
d	D-18	1 Isolated figurine head in sand E of superstructure



Ashkeit, Nag Sinerki, Habitation Site 345

Säve-Söderbergh (1989): 267-268

This site was dated to (probably) the 2nd Intermediate Period. Although some of the pottery sherds have decorations that appear Pangrave , there are also sherds of pottery that are definitely C-Group in type. There were no traces of any building on this site, but the sand was compacted and a large Nubian bowl with a decorated rim was buried under the surface. The bowl contained the remains of a premature child.

One figurine, partially preserved, was found at this site. A site plan is not available and the precise findspot of the figurine was not published.

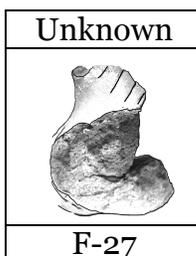
**Notes:**

Also found at this site were pebble tools and pebble cores, along with a pile of date stones and fragments of ostrich egg shells. 300 m to the SE of this site was a transitional Cemetery 220 and 750 m NNE of this site was a potter's workshop.

Awandi, Habitation Site 16-J-18

Carlson and Sigstad (1967-1968): 56-57

This site is near the west bank of the Nile, on a large natural mound, but south of the Lower Nubian geographical region. It was at first an A-Group site, but later occupied by C-Group people. The excavators describe finding “clay figurines” associated with the C-Group occupation. The figurine forms are not specified and the specific find spots were not specified. Other C-Group objects found at this site were not specified except for black-topped red ware and small red chalcedony microliths. No plan of the site is available.



Notes: A number of petroglyphs of humans and animals occur on a rock outcropping that borders the site on the north.



Appendix 5: Graves and Contents

The following table provides content details of every known grave that held figurines. The graves are organized by cemetery, which are listed in order from North to South. Details of grave shape and content are given based on the published excavation reports, and at times supplemented with data from museums records. Because each excavator used a different system for describing the grave contents and different terminology for the types of objects, an attempt is made here to standardize the way the contents are listed and described. The ID numbers of individual figurines are given when these can be identified.

Grave number	ID	Descriptions of grave contents
Khor Ambukol, Cemetery 14 Reisner (1910): 113-114, 141-145, Plan 12		
Grave 3	V-13	Oval grave in sand. Burial: Female skeleton, contracted on left side, head 15° south of east, on matting, traces of covering or garment of leather, twisted leather round head. (Reisner does not mention figurine but museum records show it is from this grave)
Siali, Cemetery 40 Reisner (1910): 232-245		
Grave unknown	V-57	Figurine is from this cemetery but not mentioned by Reisner
Moalla, Cemetery 69		
Grave 45	V-67 V-68	Grave: parallel sides, rounded ends with ring of stones in position. Male skull and bones in debris. Contents (in debris): Potsherds of RPBT bowls; Models of sheep in red pottery
Gedekol, Cemetery 76		
Grave 104	V-65 V-66	Grave: Long rectangular Burial: Removed Contents (in situ outside grave): 1 small RPBT bowl, hole in base; 1 small RPBT bowl, four holes in base; 1 small RPBT bowl, eight holes in base; 1 small RPBT bowl; 1 very small vessel (?), smooth coarse ware red-painted Contents (in debris): RPBT bowl with diagonal smoothing marks, holes in base; Model animals (2 sheep) ; 2 small ring-stands red-painted ware; Large piece of palm charcoal; Bivalve shells; Quantity of RPBT and incised potsherds
Koshtamna, Cemetery 87		
Grave 152	B-6 A-9 C-6 C-7	Superstructure: 210 x 190 cm (+3 courses) At local E side: 1 Deep bowl of finely-ribbed black C-Group ware (broken) Inside superstructure, buried separately from grave shaft: Quantity of steatopygous pottery dolls In debris: Brim of a large bowl with incised pattern; Lower part of a large steatopygous pottery doll Grave: 70 x 40 – 120 cm., oriented to local E. Burial: Bones of a very young F infant in debris
Grave 147		Superstructure: 280 x 280 On local NE side: Necked jar of yellow ware (wheel made); 4 RPBT bowls; 1 RPBT bowl, incised patterns Potsherds (in debris outside grave):

		RPBT bowl; Thick vessel (wheel-made) Grave: 100 x 40 – 135 cm., oriented to local E. Burial: Removed Contents (in debris inside grave): 2 ivory finger rings; 6 shell bracelets; Arm of a pottery doll ; Beads, green and black glaze and carnelian
Grave 66	A-5 A-6 A-7 A-8 C-1 C-2 C-3 C-4 C-5 D-2	Superstructure: half intact On local E side: Bowl RPBT Inside superstructure: Pottery steatopygous dolls ; sherds of bowl RPBT, punched pattern Grave: oval Burial: Skeleton of a F. child contracted on R side, head local E Contents in grave shaft: Kilt of colored beadwork; Necklace of white shell beads; 3 shell bracelets, two on R. arm, one on L.; Kohl-shell
Dakka, Cemetery 94		
Grave 27		Grave: Oval, 100 x 70 – 50 Burial: Lower part of M. skeleton contracted on R side, head local NE Contents (in debris): Fragments of a steatopygous pottery doll, much decayed ; Small bowl, RPBT; Spoon, smooth coarse red ware, red-painted
Dakka, Cemetery 97		
Grave 44		Superstructure: C. R. diam. 250 Offerings (not in situ/ in debris): Nubian jar; Wheel-made jar; Steatopygous pottery doll with incised tattoo patterns ; Part of another doll ; Bowl of thick red ware Grave: Empty Burial: Removed
Dakka, Cemetery 101		
Grave 6	V-14	Superstructure: Circular, 16 meters in diameter. Mound of earth over vault, 300 x 400 x 75 deep at center. Grave: Rectangular brick-lined pit and vault, mud plastered, 230 x 180 +154. Contents (in debris): Potsherds necked jar, SCRW, incised patterns; Potsherds RPBT bowl; Model of a cow, black ware, originally red-painted
Grave 8		Superstructure: Circular, 330 x 330. Earth tumulus in center North of Superstructure: Necked jar, incised patterns. In debris outside the grave: Steatopygous pottery doll ; Kohl shell; Blue-glaze and shell beads Grave: 165 x 65 – 130. Axis nearly N Burial: Human and animal bones in debris.
Grave 17	V-52	Superstructure: Not preserved Grave: 120 x 55 – 120 Burial: removed Potsherds: RPBT bowls In debris in grave: Two model cows in black ware originally red-painted
Grave 19	V-51	Superstructure: not preserved Grave: 115 x 45 – 140

		Burial: Removed Potsherds: RPBT In debris in grave: Small model ox, baked clay
Grave 24	F-1	Superstructure: Nearly circular, 350 x 300 Potsherds: RPBT, Small bowls and pots, BPI bowls In debris outside grave: Small model necked jars with incised patterns; Pottery doll with incised patterns Grave: 130 x 45 – 110 Burial: removed
Grave 25	V-55 V-56	Superstructure: Oval, 370 x 300. Cast of a large jar in soil at N. side Potsherds: RPBT, Nubian jars, zir Grave: Rectangular, 200 x 100 – 150 Burial: removed Contents (in debris inside grave): Ivory bracelet; Two model pottery oxen ; Flint flake
Grave 52		Superstructure: C. R. Offerings: E. Side. Two RPBT bowls; Nubian jar; BPI bowl In debris (outside superstructure) Small unbaked mud doll ; Small kohl pot black polished ware Burial: removed Contents (in debris inside grave): Blue-glaze beads; White shell disc beads
Kubban, Cemetery 110		
Grave 265		Grave: rectangular, 200 x 75 – 170 cm, with remains of stone cairn Burial: removed Contents (in debris): Incense burner; Small boat-shaped bowl; Red painted pottery model of an ox (broken) ; Red painted pottery mask (imitation of the Egyptian masks in painted plaster)
Grave 281	V-50	Grave: Circular, 94 x 95 – 60 cm. The grave appears to have been covered in pebbles, as is the modern custom in Nubia. The layer may, however, be the natural pebble strewn surface of the soil. Burial: Contracted on R side, head NE. Traces of linen wrappings Contents: Necklace of shell disc beads; Bracelet of white shell beads; Anklet of shell beads; Blue glaze ball beads from neck; Shell penannular hair ring; Model animal (ox) made at graveside of mixed mud and sand
Wadi Allqai, Cemetery 111		
Grave 58	B-7	Grave: Parallel sides with rounded ends, 133 x 75 – 120 cm In position on East side of grave: Two RPBT bowls; Bowl, smooth red painted ware; Small cup BPI In debris (outside grave): Steatopygous pottery doll (head and thighs only)
Qurta, Cemetery 115		
Grave 88		Rectangular mud-brick lined pit, 190 x 90 cm, originally covered with a leaning mud-brick vault. In debris : Potsherds of 3 <i>small</i> RPBT bowls; Pottery doll ; Mother-of-pearl hair ring; Shell disc beads; Blue glaze beads
Grave 241	C-31	On North-east side: Necked jar; BPI cup; Lower part of a jar or large situla, red washed; 2 RPBT bowls

		In debris (outside): Copper fish hook; Minute clay doll ; Mother-of-pearl hair ring; Shell carnelian and green glaze beads; Ivory bracelet; Shell finger rings
Aniba, Cemetery N		
Grave 9	F-15	Superstructure: 550 – 600, H: 95 cm Grave SW-NE, 300: 175 cm In Chapel (in E, 190 x 190, door in E wall): Three RPBT bowls; Nubian jar; Pieces of clay female figurine
Grave 10	V-26 V-21 V-73 V-74	Superstructure: 270, H: 45 cm North: Not in situ 2 Nubian jars Grave E-W, 200 x 100 cm Between N4 and N10: One incised decorated shallow bowl; 1 incised decorated stand; Bovine figurine In the alley NE of N 10 in the sand 3 Bovine figurines
Grave 99	C-9 V-47	Superstructure: diameter 230, H: 80 cm, Fallen In sand: Female figurine; Bovine (vessel?) with broken handle Grave: E-W 190 x 150 x 60 Clay pitcher
Grave 105		Superstructure: well-preserved, D: 300, H: 110 cm East of superstructure: 2 RPBT bowls Grave: E-W, 150 x 100 x 80 Destroyed skeleton, R side, Head NE 1 closed circular thin snailshell bangle on each arm; Bracelet and anklet of small blue-green, carnelian, and gold beads; Pieces of an animal figurine
Grave 108	C-10 C-32	Superstructure: Fallen, diameter 325 H: 80 cm East of superstructure: One RPBT bowl (upside down); BPI bowl (upside down); Nubian pot; Broken female figurines Grave: E-W 175 x 100 x 90 Intact skeleton; Silver bead necklace
Grave 133	D-9 D-10	Superstructure: Very fallen NE of superstructure: Clay pitcher; 1 broken bowl with striped decoration N of superstructure: Two female figurine heads ; Blue-green and carnelian beads Burial: in sand of superstructure West, in sand: Two decorated Nubian jars; 1 BPI bowl; 5 RPBT bowls; 1 Egyptian storage pot with painted animal
Grave 167	V-17	Superstructure: fallen, 350 H: 65 E, in high sand but not in situ: Red pot; 3 RPBT bowls; 1 plain Nubian jar Grave: E-W 125x 100 x 90 Beads; Bone needle (Museum records from excavation notes show figurine from this burial)
Grave 208	V-42	Superstructure: D 400, H: 75 East of superstructure: One red-black vessel with decoration; 1 zir West of superstructure, Discarded: One RPBT bowl; Nubian jars; Clay figurine of a bovine

		Grave: E-W, 18- x 75 x 75: Some bones; 1 red-black vessel; Pieces of an arm ring
South of Grave 214	C-11 V-35 V-18 V-37 V-36	Superstructure: fallen H: 65 cm North of superstructure: Two RPBT bowls; 1 broken red pot South of superstructure: One Male clay figurine; Broken animal figurines (Bovines and a goat) In sand of the superstructure: Intact skeleton, head N
Grave 233	V-38	Superstructure: D; 350, H: 120 cm East of superstructure in sand: One Bovine figurine Grave: NE-SW 175 x 75 x 85: Some bones
Grave 243		Superstructure, D; 200, H: 85 East of superstructure: 1 BPI bowl, 2 RPBT bowls (upside down), 1 Nubian vase decorated SE of superstructure: 1 BPI bowl, 1 RPBT bowl (upside down) In sand of the superstructure: Pieces of 2 animal figurines , 1 cosmetic shell Grave: Empty
Grave 249	C-12	Superstructure: D; 325, H: 75 North of superstructure: One zir; 1 unguent vase (with 2 holes in the neck) East of superstructure: One RPBT bowl; Nubian jar In sand, discarded: 3 clay figurines of women Grave: SW-NE 110 x 55 x 55: Empty
Between Graves 249 and 262	C-13 C-14	Steindorff's description of the individual pieces says that C-12 was found in the grave, but C-13 and C-14 were found a little further away, between N249 and N262. See also Krauspe who says that C-12 was found in the grave and the other two were, according to Steindorff's excavation notes, found between N249 and N262
Grave 255		No superstructure Sandgrave: E-W 125 x 50 Skeleton Head NE: Blue-green, royal blue, and black beads; Pieces of bone bangles; Pottery plate with an animal standing on it.
Grave 273	V-22	Superstructure: D 400, H: 90 East of superstructure: One BPI bowl Discarded (outside grave): One Nubian jar; Potsherds; 1 Sandstone palette; 1 cosmetic shell; Figurine of a sheep Grave: SW-NE 150 x 80 x 80, empty
Grave 390	C-15 A-3	Superstructure: Between N389 and N395 East of superstructure: One RPBT bowl (upside down); Nubian jar (pot with incised goat image); Zir (with potmark of a goat) Grave: E-W 100 x 60 x 100 Intact skeleton of a girl, head E; 1 ivory/bone open oval bangle on L wrist, 2 on R wrist; At head pieces of 3 hair clips; In front of breast 1 cosmetic shell Over the skeleton in the sand, 2 female figurines
Grave 393	V-27	Superstructure destroyed, D: 450 cm North of superstructure:

		One RPBT bowl; 1 Nubian jar South of superstructure (but not in situ): Clay figurine of a Bovine Grave: SW-NE 200 x 100 x 125: Destroyed skeleton
Grave 667		Superstructure: D 360, H 100 cm In sand of the SS (likely from the grave): Lower body of a female figurine Grave: E-W 160 x 80 x 80: Some bones
Grave 677	C-16	Superstructure: D 270, H 80 cm Between N677, N678, and N675: One BPI bowl; Plain Nubian jar; RPBT bowl; Egyptian storage pot Grave: E-W 110 x 85 x 50: Black glaze beads; Upper body of a female figurine
Grave 699		Superstructure: D 400 cm, fallen In sand of the superstructure: 1 Bovine figurine, 1 RPBT bowl Brick crypt: Blue-green beads; Pieces of a bovine figurine
Grave 736		Superstructure D: 460, H: 100 (built over N 914) South of superstructure: In situ – 1 BPI bowl, 1 clay pot In sand of superstructure: Pieces of a clay figurine , pieces of an alabaster vase, 2 cosmetic shells Grave: E-W 150 x 60 x 75: Some bones
Grave 755		Superstructure D: 380, H: 110 East of superstructure: 1 BPI bowl (II/a), 1 RPBT bowl, 1 Grain vase In sand of superstructure: 1 hair clip; Clay bovine figurine Grave: E-W 155 x 70 x 80: Some bones Black and carnelian beads; Pieces of shell pendants
Grave 899		Superstructure D: 280, H: 90 cm Grave: E-W 160 x 110 x 80 cm: Bones 1 small finger ring likely for a child: 1 head of a clay figurine
Grave 900	A-1	Superstructure, fallen, size not recorded In sand of superstructure: Three heads of female figurines (one of which matched a body found elsewhere in the sand) Grave: E-W 120 x 70 x 55: Some bones
Aniba, Cemetery S		
Grave 31	V-41	According to W. Wolf in Steindorff 1937: The vessels in the grave date it to the end of the MK or beginning of the 2IP According to Steindorff's notes (described by Krauspe): One bovine figurine was found in a hole in the southwest of the anteroom (chapel) of the superstructure of Grave 31.
Aniba, Cemetery W		
Grave 4	V-54	Only 3 graves were found undisturbed here. In grave 4, 2 crumbling Bovine figurines originally painted red were found, but were not salvaged.
Nagaa el-Madrassa, Cemetery		
Unknown Grave No.	V-58 Thru V-64	Circular mudbrick wall around grave, filled with sand. The grave shaft was just a hole in the surface of the ground and the space in between the shaft and the wall was used as a shelf for deposits of pottery and bucrania. 7 terracotta bovines representing different species were

		found in a small oval hole in the ground near the grave shaft.
Nagaa el-Mahmoudiya, Cemetery		
Unknown Grave Nos.		Model animals (sheep?) were placed in the same grave with their human owner in some graves. In other cases, the figurine was excavated from a shallow hole where it was buried to the south of the tomb of its owner.
Grave 1	A-10 C-37 C-38 C-39 E-13 F-20 F-21 F-29	Intact grave. Contained 8 female figurines in red pottery . Also excavated was a copper mirror (but the picture says bronze) with fragments of wrapping. The figurines were found together in the superstructure near the surface.
Toshka, Cemetery C		
Grave 7	V-72 V-74	Tumulus D; 860 cm, 9 layers (courses) Rectangular shaft 220 x 103 – 120, Oriented E-W. Found in tumulus: RPBT bowl, BPI bowl (broken) Between C7 and C 26: 2 Nubian jars The back portion and one horn of 2 bovine figurines (location not specified)
Grave 180	V-73	Tumulus: D 210, 4 courses high, oriented S-N Found in tumulus: RPBT bowl, 2 BPI bowls, red polished vessel, conical unguent vase with spout, figure of a cow in red clay .
Grave 201	F-13	Tumulus: D 240, oriented S-N. Steatopygous female figurine sitting bent backward with tattoos. (location not specified)
Adindan, Cemetery T		
Grave 51	A-4	E. III Superstructure: none Shaft: NE-SW, regular with rounded ends 1.25 x .55 x .85 m Body: Removed In bottom of shaft at SW end (N-S): Clay figurine ; Incised C-Group jar In bottom of shaft, at SE corner: One C-Group jar
Grave 154	E-1	IIa Superstructure: Gap to SE, 2.00 x .40 x .35 Shaft: SE-NW, rectangular with rounded ends 1.50 x .70 x .60 m Body: Removed SE of superstructure: Fragment of clay figurine Uncertain location, probably from shaft: Beads: 15 black glaze, 195 blue glaze, 23 diorite, 1 ostrich eggshell
Grave 205	D-1	L. IIa (abuts on T207) Superstructure: Gap to NE, 3.85 - 4.20 x 1.10 x .45-1.05 m Shaft: NE-SW, rectangular with rounded ends 2.35 x 1.20 x 3.20 m Body: Probably mature male S of superstructure: Zir with potmark Inside superstructure: Fragment of clay human figurine ; Sherds of incised bowl; Sherds of Nubian jar; Sherds of incised bowl In shaft:

		Shell fragments (Chicoreus), remains of galena; Beads: 209 carnelian, 173 diorite, 488 Blue to green glaze, 1 ostrich eggshell
Grave 207	F-28	IIa/b Superstructure: Wide gap to E: 2.40 x .50 x .30-.55 m Shaft: NE-SW, rectangular with rounded ends, 1.40 x .70 x 1.47 m Body: adult, perhaps male In shaft: Fragment of clay human figurine Unknown location: Quartz pebble; Sherd of incised bowl
Grave 217	D-21	IIa Superstructure: 2.95 x .70 x .28-.65 m Shaft: SE-NE, rectangular with rounded ends, 1.63 x .87 x 1.80 m Body: Mature male In shaft: Pebbles (“many”); Head of male clay figurine ; Beads: 13 carnelian, 1 or 2 green faience, 148 blue glaze
Faras, Cemetery 24-E-3 (+ section excavated by Griffith)		
Grave 118 (Griffith)		Glazed seal, terra-cotta doll , and a fragment of worked ostrich shell, all found IN the grave. Not outside it.
C-33	E-14	Plundered, no trace of burial. Figurine found in the fill in the shaft area along with wood and leather, some beads, and potsherds (RPBT bowl, Nubian jar, thick red ware vessel)
Area C16E	D-16	Figurine head found in the area E of C16 and S of C25 along with 5 bucrania, 2 globular jars and 1 Nubian jar. C16 oriented NW-SE, disturbed bones, beads, and leather bits in fill. C25 orientation unknown (not excavated due to modern construction) but probably NW-SE because 1 Nubian jar was SE of wall of SS
Grave C-18 And Grave C-24	D-17 Half	Figurine head (half from outside Grave C18, half from outside Grave C24) C18 D-17 found on NE side of SS along with 1 Bucranium, SE of SS was part of a RPBT bowl, No traces of burial but sherds of 2 different RPBT bowls were found in the fill of the shaft area. C24 D-17 found on NE side of SS along with small (8.2 cm high) BPI bowl, 1 zir with incised drawing of cattle and potmark, 1 brown decorated cup with spout, 1 RPBT bowl. The shaft was oriented NE-SW but plundered with nothing in fill except 1 RPBT bowl, 1 ivory bracelet, beads, and sherds.
Shirfadik, Cemetery 179		
Grave 71	A-12 V-69	Human and animal figurines found inside shaft along with the disturbed skeleton of a child and a miniature bowl
Grave 72	D-20	Figurine head found inside shaft along with the disturbed skeleton of a 15 to 18 year old juvenile
Grave 80	C-23 E-15	Two human figurines found inside shaft along with the skeleton with no details known
Serra West, Cemetery 24-M-6 Verwers (1962): 24-25		
Grave Aa	B-8	Female figurine found in fill of shaft along with 2 fragments of stelae among the stones of the superstructure (Suggests it was originally in the grave not deposited outside) Shaft oriented ESE-WNW but no burial remains recorded
Debeira East, Cemetery 65		
Grave 8B	F-23	Figurine found loose in fill of grave shaft along with a partially

		disturbed skeleton of an adult.
Grave 14	D-19	Figurine head found loose in fill of grave shaft along with the disturbed skeleton of an adult, no sex specified. Also in shaft were 6 ostrich eggshell beads and 15 faience beads.
Debeira West, Cemetery 24-R-17		
Grave d	D-18	Figurine head found in sand E of superstructure along with 2 Nubian jars, 1 RPBT bowl, and 1 bottle

Appendix 6: Sites Dating to Phase II/a or II/b

The following list, organized geographically from north to south, includes all excavated Lower Nubian sites known to date to the periods in which C-Group figurines circulated. The sites where figurines were found are highlighted.

Cemeteries
Kubanieh Cemetery N
Khor Ambukol, Cemetery 14
Meris-Markos, Cemetery 40
Meris-Markos, Cemetery 41:500
Khor Nugdi, Cemetery 69
Fagirdib (Gerf Husein), Cemetery 72:200
Gedekol (Gerf Husein), Cemetery 74:500
Gedekol, Cemetery 76
Mediq S. (Gerf Husein), Cemetery 81
Koshtamna, Cemetery 87
Dakka, Cemetery 94
Dakka, Cemetery 97
Dakka, Cemetery 101
Kubban, Cemetery 110
Wadi Allaqi, Cemetery 111
Wadi Allaqi, Cemetery 114
Qurta, Cemetery 115
Qurta, Cemetery 118
Qurta, Khor Nabruk
Maharraga, Cemetery 127
Wadi es Sebua, Cemetery 151
Amada, Cemetery 167
Tumas, Cemetery 189
Nag el Mahmoudiya
Nag el Madrassa
Aniba, Cemetery N
Aniba, Cemetery S
Aniba, Cemetery C
Aniba, Cemetery B
Aniba, Cemetery SS
Aniba (Nag Abbas), Cemetery 195
Aniba (Nag Sinesra), Cemetery 200
Toshka
Toshka, Cemetery 209
Toshka, Cemetery 210
Ermenne
Adindan, Cemetery K
Adindan, Cemetery T
Faras, Cemetery 24-E-5
Faras, Cemetery 24-E-3
Serra, Shirfadik, Cemetery 24
Serra, Shirfadik, Cemetery 179
Serra West, Cemetery 24-M-6
Debeira Station, Cemetery 184
Debeira, Komangana, Cemetery 65
Debeira, Cemetery 24-R-17
Argin

Ashkeit, Ikhtiariya, Cemetery 183
Ashkeit, Kashkush, Cemetery 97
Gezira Dabarosa, Cemetery 6-G-18
Abka, Shartematti, Cemetery 246
Abka, Shirgondi, Cemetery 262
Abka Village, Cemetery 270
Abka Village, Cemetery 266
Abka Village, Cemetery 426

Settlements
Mediq, Site 81
Wadi es-Sebua
Wadi el Arab
Areika
Amada
Aniba
Nagaa el-Tahouna
Faras, Site 24-E-2
Faras, Site 24-E-4
Faras, Site 24-I-9
Faras, Site 194
Faras, Site 18C
Debeira, Site 350A
Argin, Site 24-V-11
Ashkeit, Site 228
Ashkeit, Site 223
Ashkeit, Site 345
Ashkeit, Site 347
Gezira Dabarosa, Site 6-G-22
Gemai, Site 5-X-28
Khor Shiba, Site 11-L-20
Awandi, Site 16-J-18

Appendix 7: Excavation Reports by Site

The following table provides citation of the publication describing each site that yielded figurines. The sites are organized geographically from north to south. The excavation reports for the Argin cemeteries and the fortress at Askut are unavailable and are not presented.

Excavation Reports by Site:

Publication	Site
Reisner (1910): 113-114, 141-145, Plan 12	Khor Ambukol – Cemetery 14
Reisner (1910): 232-245, Plan 24	Siali – Cemetery 40
Firth (1912): 66-74, Plan 9	Moalla – Cemetery 69
Firth (1912): 110-122, Plan 13	Gedekol – Cemetery 76
Firth (1912): 158-187, Plan 18	Koshtamna – Cemetery 87
Firth (1915): 105-107, 141	Dakka – Cemetery 94
Firth (1915): 108-111	Dakka – Cemetery 97
Firth (1915): 112-140, Plan 3	Dakka – Cemetery 101
Firth (1927): 46-98, Plan 5	Kubban – Cemetery 110
Firth (1927): 98-111, Plan 7	Wadi Allaqi – Cemetery 111
Firth (1927): 132-138, Plan 9	Qurta – Cemetery 115
Firth (1927): 140-151, Plan 10	Qurta – Cemetery 118
Sauneron (1965): 161-167	Wadi es-Sebua - Settlement
Emery and Kirwan (1935): 106-108, Pl. 22	Wadi el-Arab - Settlement
Stock (1963): 101-103, 107-109	Amada - Settlement
MacIver and Woolley (1909): 8, 10-12, Pl. 5-8	Areika - Settlement
Steindorff (1935): 125-192	Aniba – Cemetery N
Steindorff (1935): 202-219	Aniba – Settlement
Steindorff (1937): 168	Aniba – Cemetery S
Bakr (1963): 116-117	Nagaa el-Tahouna - Settlement
Bakr (1963): 122-123	Nagga el-Madrassa - Cemetery
Bakr (1967): 7	Nagaa el-Mahmoudiya - Cemetery
Junker (1926):	Toshka – Cemetery C
Williams (1983): 202-234, Pl. 3	Adindan – Cemetery T
Williams (1983): 127-201, Pl. 1-2	Adindan – Cemetery 226 (K)
Griffith (1921): 1-18, 65-104	Faras W – Cemetery
Nordström (2014): 69-80, Fig. 29	Faras W– Cemetery 24-E-3
Verwers (1961): 17-20, Pl. IIc	Faras W– Settlement 24-E-2
Säve-Söderbergh (1989): 261-262, Pls. 65, 162, 163	Faras E – Settlement 18C
Säve-Söderbergh (1989): 205-214	Serra E – Cemetery 179
Nordström (2014): 82-88	Serra W – Cemetery 24-M-6
Säve-Söderbergh (1989): 174-180, Pls. 88, 91	Debeira E – Cemetery 65
Nordström (2014): 88-90	Debeira W – Cemetery 24-R-17
Säve-Söderbergh (1989): 267-268	Ashkeit – Habitation 345
Unavailable	Askut – House at fort
Carlton and Sigstad (1967-68): 56-57	Awandi – Habitation 16-J-18

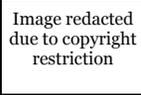
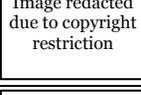
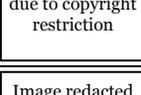
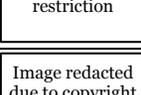
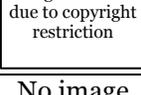
Appendix 8: Catalog of Animal Figurines

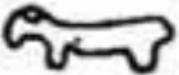
The following table includes known excavated animal-form figurines. These are identified using the prefix V and a numerical suffix. The numerical suffix was assigned randomly and should not be understood as meaningful. Some figurines listed in excavation reports have not yet been identified in museum collections or explicitly described in published work but these are given ID numbers for ease of reference. A thumbnail image of the figurine, the site of origin, current location, dimensions in centimeters, and publication information are given where known. The approximately 50 animal-form figurines from the fortified settlement at Wadi es-Sebua are not included because I do not know the exact number of them.

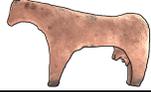
ID	Image	Origin	Location Size	Publication
V-1		Areika	Penn 4639 L: 5	Randall-MacIver and Woolley (1909): 8, 12
V-2		Areika	Penn 4640 L: 3.8	Randall-MacIver and Woolley (1909): 8, 12
V-3		Areika	Penn 4038 L: 4.5	Randall-MacIver and Woolley (1909): 8, 10
V-4		Areika	Penn 4625 L: 4.0	Randall-MacIver and Woolley (1909): 8, 12
V-5		Areika	Penn 4036 L: 6.5	Randall-MacIver and Woolley (1909): 8, 10
V-6		Areika	Penn 4009 L: 7.0	Randall-MacIver and Woolley (1909): 8, 10
V-7		Areika	Penn 4007 L: 3.7	Randall-MacIver and Woolley (1909): 8, 10
V-8		Areika	Penn 4006 L: 4.0	Randall-MacIver and Woolley (1909): 8, 10
V-9		Areika	Penn 4003 L: 6.9	Randall-MacIver and Woolley (1909): 8, 10
V-10		Areika	Penn 4002 L: 8.6	Randall-MacIver and Woolley (1909): 8, 10
V-11		Areika	Penn 4001 L: 5.4	Randall-MacIver and Woolley (1909): 8, 10
V-12		Areika	Penn 4644 L: 6.2	Randall-MacIver and Woolley (1909): 8, 12

V-13		Cemetery 14	MFA 14/3/5A L: 9 H: 4.8	Reisner (1910): 113-114, 141-145, Plan 12
V-14		Cemetery 101: Grave 6	MFA 101/6 L: 5.8 H: 4.5	Firth (1915): 112-140, Plan 3
V-15		Faras Settlement 24-E-2	Unknown	Verwers (1961): 17-20, Pl. IIc Nordström (2014): 63-64, Fig. 24
V-16	Image redacted due to copyright restriction	Nagaa el Tahouna Settlement	Unknown L: approx. 5.5	Bakr (1963): 117, Pl. 3.B
V-17	Image redacted due to copyright restriction	Aniba N Grave 167	Leipzig 4385 L: 13.6 H: 5.7	Krauspe (1997): 108, Pl. 129.3,4
V-18	Image redacted due to copyright restriction	Aniba N Between Graves 214 and 215	Leipzig 4389 L: 11.6 H: 8.2	Steindorff (1935): 123, no. 37; 140, Pl. 73.37 Wenig (1978): 129, no. 19 Krauspe (1997): 108, Pl. 130.1, 2
V-19	Image redacted due to copyright restriction	Aniba N In sand	Leipzig 4392 L: 10.7 H: 6.4	Krauspe (1997): 109, Pl. 130.3, 4
V-20	Image redacted due to copyright restriction	Aniba N In sand	Leipzig 4376 L: 7.1 H: 4.2	Steindorff (1935): 123 (no. 38), Pl. 73.38 Krauspe (1997): 109, Pl. 131.1, 2
V-21	Image redacted due to copyright restriction	Aniba N Grave 10 in sand	Leipzig 7690 L: 6.9 H: 4.4	Krauspe (1997): 109, Pl. 131. 3, 4
V-22	Image redacted due to copyright restriction	Aniba N Grave 273 in sand	Leipzig 4372 L: 10.2 H: 4.3	Steindorff (1935): 123 (No. 36), 144, Pl. 73.36 Krauspe (1997): 108, Pl. 132. 1,2,3
V-23	Image redacted due to copyright restriction	Aniba N In sand	Leipzig 4378 L: 7.9 H: 4.7	Steindorff (1935): 123 (No. 28), Pl. 73.28 Krauspe (1997): 109-10, Pl. 133.1,2
V-24	Image redacted due to copyright restriction	Aniba N Unknown	Leipzig 7687 L: 8.9 H: 5.0	Krauspe (1997): 110, Pl. Pl 133.3, 4; Pl. 134.3
V-25	Image redacted due to copyright restriction	Aniba N Unknown	Leipzig 7688 L: 8.8 H: 3.2	Krauspe (1997): 110, Pl. 134.1,2
V-26	Image redacted due to copyright restriction	Aniba N In sand N of Grave 10	Leipzig 4386 L: 10.7 H: 9.2	Steindorff (1935): 123 (No. 26), 126, Pl. 73.26 Krauspe (1997): 110, Pl. 134.4, Pl. 135. 1,2
V-27	Image redacted due to copyright restriction	Aniba N Grave 393	Leipzig 4394 L: 10.7 H: 5.1	Steindorff (1935): 123 (no. 30), Pl. 73.30 Krauspe (1997): 111, Pl. 135.3,4; Pl. 136.3

V-28	Image redacted due to copyright restriction	Aniba N In sand	Leipzig 4384 L: 10.6 H: 4.7	Krauspe (1997): 111, Pl. 136.1,2
V-29	Image redacted due to copyright restriction	Aniba N In sand	Leipzig 4383 L: 9.8 H: 6.0	Krauspe (1997): 111, Pl. 137. 1,2
V-30	Image redacted due to copyright restriction	Aniba N In sand	Leipzig 4382 L: 9.7 H: 5.1	Steindorff (1935): 123 (no. 29), Pl. 73.29 Krauspe (1997): 111 Pl. 137.3, 4
V-31	Image redacted due to copyright restriction	Aniba N In sand	Leipzig 4373 L: 6.7 H: 5.2	Steindorff (1935): 123 (no. 34), Pl. 73.34 Huard (1968): 107-107 Wenig (1978): 129 (no. 20) Nubië aan de Nijl (1979): 30 (No. 20) Krauspe (1997): 111-112, Pl. 138.1,2,3
V-32	Image redacted due to copyright restriction	Aniba N In sand	Leipzig 4375 L: 4.5 H: 3.0	Steindorff (1935): 123 (no. 27), Pl. 73.27 Krauspe (1997): 112, Pl. 139. 1,2
V-33	Image redacted due to copyright restriction	Aniba N In Sand	Leipzig 4371 L: 9.0 H: 5.5	Krauspe (1997): 112, Pl. 139. 3, 4
V-34	Image redacted due to copyright restriction	Aniba In sand	Leipzig 4369 L: 8.8 H: 5.2	Krauspe (1997): 112-113, Pl. 140.1,2
V-35	Image redacted due to copyright restriction	Aniba N In sand between Graves 214- 215	Leipzig 4388 L: 12.1 H: 12.2	Steindorff (1935): 123 (No. 24), 140, Pl.73.24 Krauspe (1997): 113, PL. 140.3,4, Pl 141.2
V-36	Image redacted due to copyright restriction	Aniba N In sand between Graves 214- 215	Leipzig 4387 L: 13.2 H: 12.9	Steindorff (1935): 123(no. 25), 140, Pl. 73.25 Bietak (1968): Pl. 8 Wenig (1978): 130 (No. 22) Krauspe (1997): 113-114, Pl. 141. 1, 3, 4
V-37	Image redacted due to copyright restriction	Aniba N In sand between Graves 214- 215	Leipzig 4391 L: 13.3 H: 8.9	Steindorff (1935): 140 Krauspe (1997): 113, Pl. 142.1,2
V-38	Image redacted due to copyright restriction	Aniba N Grave 233	Leipzig 4370 L: 6.3 H: 3.8	Steindorff (1935): 123 (No 33), 141, Pl. 73.33 Krauspe (1997): 114, PL. 142.3-4, Pl. 143.1
V-39	Image redacted due to copyright restriction	Aniba N In sand	Leipzig 4380 L: 10.4 H: 9.4	Steindorff (1935): 123 (no 32), Pl. 73.32 Bietak (1968): Pl. 13 Krauspe (1997):114, Pl. 143.2,3,4

V-40		Aniba N In sand	Leipzig 4374 L: 7.2 H: 4.5	Steindorff (1935): 123 (no. 35), Pl. 73.35 Krauspe (1997): 114, PL. 144.1,2
V-41		Aniba S Grave 31	Leipzig 2757 L: 17.0 H: 10.0	Steindorff (1937): 86 (No. 5), 168 Krauspe (1997): 115, Pl. 144.3, 4, Pl. 145.1
V-42		Aniba N In sand at Grave 208	Leipzig 4393 L: 15.9 H: 11.9	Steindorff (1935): 123 (no. 31), Pl. 73.31 Krauspe (1997): 115, Pl. 145.2,3,4
V-43		Aniba N In sand	Leipzig 4390 L: 11.1 H: 8.2	Krauspe (1997): 115, Pl. 146.1,2
V-44		Aniba N Unknown	Leipzig 7689 L: 6.7 H: 3.9	Krauspe (1997): 115-116, Pl. 146.3,4
V-45		Aniba N Unknown	Leipzig 8270 L: 3.8 H: 4.4	Krauspe (1997): 116, PL. 147.1-2
V-46		Aniba N Unknown	Leipzig 7726 W: 4.1 H: 8.2	Krauspe (1997): 116, PL. 147.3,4
V-47		Aniba N Grave 99	Leipzig 4381 L: 21.9 H: 8.5	Steindorff (1935): 124 (no. 40), 132, Pl. 74.40 Krauspe (1997): 116, Pl. 148.1,2
V-48		Aniba N In sand	Unknown H: 5.0	Steindorff (1935): Pl. 73.22
V-49		Aniba N In sand	Unknown H: 6.5	Steindorff (1935): Pl. 73.23
V-50	No image Bovine	Cemetery 110 Grave 281	Unknown	Firth (1927): 54
V-51		Cemetery 101 Grave 19	Unknown	Firth (1915): 114, Pl. 37.D
V-52		Cemetery 101 Grave 17	MFA 19.1572 L: 7.5 H: 4.5	Firth (1915): Pl. 37D.8
V-53		Cemetery 101 Grave 17	Unknown	Firth (1915): 114, Pl. 37.D
V-54	No image Bovine	Aniba W In Grave No. unknown	Unknown	Steindorff (1935): 193
V-55		Cemetery 101 Grave 25	Unknown	Firth (1915): 115, Pl. 37.D
V-56	No image	Cemetery 101	Unknown	Firth (1915): 115, Pl. 37.D

	Bovine	Grave 25		
V-57		Cemetery 40 Grave unknown	MFA 19.1571 H: 7 L: 10	Reisner (1910): 232-245, Plan 24
V-58	No image Bovine	Nagaa el- Madrassa unknown	Unknown	Bakr (1963): 122
V-59	No image Bovine	Nagaa el- Madrassa Grave unknown	Unknown	Bakr (1963): 122
V-60	No image Bovine	Nagaa el- Madrassa Grave unknown	Unknown	Bakr (1963): 122
V-61	No image Bovine	Nagaa el- Madrassa Grave unknown	Unknown	Bakr (1963): 122
V-62	No image Bovine	Nagaa el- Madrassa Grave unknown	Unknown	Bakr (1963): 122
V-63	No image Bovine	Nagaa el- Madrassa Grave unknown	Unknown	Bakr (1963): 122
V-64	No image Bovine	Nagaa el- Madrassa Grave unknown	Unknown	Bakr (1963): 122
V-65		Cemetery 76 Grave 104	Unknown	Firth (1912): 120 (No. 104), fig. 91. ii
V-66		Cemetery 76 Grave 104	Unknown	Firth (1912): 120 (No. 104), fig. 91. ii
V-67	No image Sheep (?)	Cemetery 69 Grave 45	Unknown	Firth (1912): 70 (No. 45) Bietak (1968): 48
V-68	No image Sheep (?)	Cemetery 69 Grave 45	Unknown	Firth (1912): 70 (No. 45) Bietak (1968): 48
V-69	Image redacted due to copyright restriction	Cemetery 179 Grave 71	Uppsala 179/71:2 L: 6.7	Säve-Söderbergh (1989): 214, Pl. 61.5
V-70		Saras Unknown location	SNM 20772	Unknown
V-71		Faras Unknown location	SNM 63/2/92 L: 10 H: 5.5	Unknown
V-72		Toshka Grave C-7	KHM Zi_C5_3 H: 7	Junker (1926): 74-75, 78, Pl. 11.58 (L), Pl. 24.408

V-73		Toshka Grave C-180	KHM 7323 L: 11 H: 6	Junker (1926): 74-75, 87, Pl. 11.57, Pl. 24.411
V-74		Toshka Grave C-7	KHM Zi_C5_1	Junker (1926): 74-75, 78, Pl. 11.58 (R), Pl. 24.410
V-75		Toshka Grave Cx	KHM Zi_C5_2 H: 4.5	Junker (1926): 75, Pl 24.409

Bibliography

- Ägyptisches Museum, Institut für Ägyptologie der Humboldt-Universität Berlin, UNESCO. *Nubien und Sudan im Altertum. Führer durch die Sonderausstellung des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums*. Berlin: Staatliche Museen, 1963.
- Almagro, M. R. Blanco Caro, M. A. Garcia-Guinea, F. Presedo Velo, M. Pellicer Catalan, and J. Teixidor. "Excavations by the Spanish Archaeological Mission in the Sudan, 1962-63 and 1963-64." *Kush* 13 (1965): 78-95.
- Amos Andersonin taidemuseo and Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. *Ikuinen Egypti Aegyptus Aeterna [Exhibition of objects from the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin DDR] 5.10 – 18.11.1973*. Helsinki. Berlin: The Museum, 1973.
- Anderson, D. A. *Power and Competition in the Upper Egyptian Predynastic: A View from the Predynastic Settlement at el-Mahasna, Egypt*. PhD Dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 2006.
- Anderson, Wendy. "The Significance of Middle Nubian C-Group Mortuary Variability, ca 2200 B.C. to ca. 1500 B.C." PhD Dissertation, McGill University, 1996.
- Antonites, Annie. "Animal bone, ivory and shell," in *Middle Nubian Sites from Toshka: Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition to Egypt*, edited by M. C. Gatto and C. M. Manassa. New Haven: Yale University Publications in Anthropology, in review.
- Arkell, Anthony John. *A History of the Sudan: From the Earliest Times to 1821*. London: University of London, Athlone Press, 1961.
- Badawy, Alexander M. "An Egyptian Fortress in the 'Belly of Rock': Further Excavations and Discoveries in the Sudanese Island of Askut." *The Illustrated London News* 245 (1964): 86-88.
- _____. "Askut: A Middle Kingdom Fortress in Nubia." *Archaeology* 18, No. 2 (June 1965): 124-131.
- Bailey, Douglass. W. "Figurines, Corporeality, and the Origins of the Gendered Body," in *A Companion to Gender Prehistory*, edited by Diane Bolger, 244-264. West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012.
- _____. *Prehistoric Figurines: Representation and Corporeality in the Neolithic*. London and New York: Routledge, 2005.

- Bakr, Abdel Moneim Abou. "Fouilles de l'Université du Caire à Aniba (1960)," in *Fouilles en Nubie (1959 – 1961)*, 111- 125. Cairo: Government Press, 1963.
- _____. "Rapport Préliminaire sur les Résultats des Fouilles Entreprises par la Mission Archéologique de l'Université du Caire dans la Région d'Aniba en Nubie Saison 1961-1962," in *Fouilles en Nubie (1961-1963)*, 1-26. Cairo: Government Press, 1967.
- Bangsgaard, Pernille. "Nubian Faunal Practices – Exploring the C-Group "Pastoral Ideal" at Nine Cemeteries," in *The Fourth Cataract and Beyond: Proceedings of the 12th International Conference for Nubian Studies*, edited by D. A. Welsby and J. R. Anderson, 437-355. Leuven; Paris; Walpole, MA: Peeters, 2014.
- Barley, Nigel. *Smashing Pots: Feats of Clay from Africa*. London: British Museum Press, 1994.
- Bates, Oric. *The Eastern Libyans: an Essay*. London: MacMillan and Co., 1914.
- Baumgartel, Elise, J. "Review," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 56 (1970): 198-201.
- Berns, Marla C. "Ga'anda Scarification: A Model for Art and Identity," in *Marks of Civilization: Artistic Transformations of the Human Body*, edited by Arnold Rubin, 57-76. Los Angeles: University of California, 1988.
- Bianchi, Robert Steven. *Daily Life of the Nubians*. Westport, Connecticut and London: Greenwood Press, 2004.
- Biehl, Peter F. "Figurines in Action: Methods and Theories in Figurine Research," in *A Future for Archaeology: The Past in the Present*, edited by Robert Layton, Stephen Shennan, and Peter Stone, 199-215. London: UCL Press, 2006.
- Bietak, Manfred. "The C-Group and the Pan-Grave Culture in Nubia," in *Nubian Culture Past and Present: Main Papers Presented at the Sixth International Conference for Nubian Studies in Uppsala, 11-16 August, 1986*, edited by Tomas Hägg, 113-128. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1987.
- _____. *Studien zur Chronologie der Nubischen C-Gruppe: Ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte unternubiens zwischen 2200 und 1550 vor Chr.* Vienna: Hermann Böhlaus Nachf, 1968.
- Bobko, D. J., P. Bobko, and M. A. Davis, "Effects of Visual Display Scale on Duration Estimates." *Human Factors: The Journal of the Human Factors and Ergonomics Society* 28:2 (1986): 153-158.

- Bonnet, Charles. "The Kerma Culture," in *Sudan Ancient Treasures: An Exhibition of Recent Discoveries from the Sudan National Museum*, edited by Derek A. Welsby and Julie R. Anderson, 70-82. London: The British Museum Press, 2004.
- _____. *Kerma, Royaume de Nubie*. Genève: Mission archéologique de l'Université de Genève au Soudan, 1990.
- Bonnet, Charles and Nora Ferrero. "Les figurines miniatures de Kerma (Soudan)," *Sahara: preistoria e storia del Sahara* 8 (1996): 61-66.
- Bonnet, Charles and Jacques Reinold. "Deux rapports de prospection dans le desert oriental." *Genava* 41 (1993): 19-26.
- Browne, W. G. *Travels in Africa, Egypt, and Syria from the Year 1792 to 1798* London: Printed for T. Cadell Junior and W. Davies, Strand; and T. N. Longman and O. Rees, Paternoster-Row, 1799.
- Brunton, Guy and Gertrude Caton-Thompson. *The Badarian Civilization and Predynastic Remains near Badari*, London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1928.
- Bruyère, Bernard. *Les Fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934-1935). Troisième Partie: Le Village, les Décharges Publiques, la Station de Repos du Col de la Vallée des Rois*. Cairo: L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1939.
- Buchez, N. "The Study of a Group of Ceramics at the End of the Naqada Period and Socio-Economic Considerations," in *Egypt at its Origins. Studies in Memory of Barbara Adams. Proceedings of the International Conference "Origin of the State. Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt," Kraków, 28th August – 1st September 2002*, edited by S. Hendrickx, R. F. Friedman, K. M. Cialowicz, and M. Chłodnicki, 665-687. Leuven: Peeters, 2004.
- Cameron, Elisabeth L. "In Search of Children: Dolls and Agency in Africa." *African Arts* 30 (1997): 18-33+93.
- Capart, Jean. *Les Débuts de l'Art en Égypte*. Brussels: Vromant & Co., 1904.
- Carlson, Roy L. and John S. Sigstad. "Paleolithic and Late Neolithic Sites Excavated by the Fourth Colorado Expedition." *Kush* 15 (1967-1968): 51-58.
- Červík, Pavel. "Notes on the Chronology of the Nubian Rock Art to the End of the Bronze Age (Mid 11th Cent. B.C.)," in *Etudes Nubiennes: Colloque de Chantilly, 2-6 juillet 1975*, edited by Institut français d'archéologie

orientale du Caire, 35-56. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, 1978.

Chaix, Louis and Isabelle Queyrat. "Les Figurines Animales dans la Culture de Kerma." *Anthropozoologica* 38 (2003): 61-67

Conkey, Margaret W. and Ruth E. Tringham. "Archaeology and the Goddess: Exploring the Contours of Feminist Archaeology," in *Feminisms in the Academy*, edited by D. C. Stanton and A. J. Stewart, 199-247. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995.

Cyphers Guillén, Ann. "Women, Rituals, and Social Dynamics at Ancient Chalcatzingo." *Latin American Antiquity* 4:3 (1993): 209-224.

Delong, A. J. "Phenomenal Space-Time: Toward an Experiential Relativity," *Science* 213: 4508 (1981): 681-683.

Desroches Noblecourt, Christiane. "Concubines du mort et meres de famille au Moyen Empire. À propos d' une supplique pour une naissance." *BIFAO* 53 (1953): 7-47.

di Capua, Constanza. "Valdivia Figurines and Puberty Rituals." *Andean Past* 4 (1994): 229-279.

di Lernia, Savino. "Building monuments, creating identity: Cattle cult as a social response to rapid environmental changes in the holocene Sahara." *Quaternary International* 151 (2006): 50-62.

Dobres, Marcia-Anne. "Re-Considering Venus Figurines: A Feminist-Inspired Re-Analysis," in, *Ancient Images, Ancient Thought: The Archaeology of Ideology. Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Annual Conference of the Archaeological Association of the University of Calgary*, edited by A. Sean Goldsmith, University of Calgary Archaeological Association, 245-262. Calgary: University of Calgary Archaeological Association, 1992.

Edwards, David, N. *The Nubian Past: An Archaeology of the Sudan*. London and New York: Routledge, 2004.

Emery, W. B. and L. P. Kirwan. *The Excavations and Survey between Wadi Es-Sebua and Adindan 1929-1931*. Cairo: Government Press, 1935.

Faris, James. *Nuba Personal Art*. Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1972.

_____. "Significance of Differences in the Male and Female Personal Art of the Southeast Nuba," in *Marks of Civilization: Artistic Transformations*

of the Human Body, edited by Arnold Rubin, 29-40. Los Angeles: University of California, 1988.

Ferrero, Nora. "Miniatures en terre," in *Kerma, Royaume de Nubie. L'antiquité africaine au temps des pharaons* edited by Charles Bonnet, 132-135. Geneva: Mission archéologique de l'Université de Genève au Soudan, 1990.

Firth, C. M. "Archaeological Report: The Destruction of the Cemeteries in the Neighborhood of Dakka." *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia Bulletin* 5 (1910): 1-3.

_____. "Archaeological Report." *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia Bulletin* 6 (1910): 1-8.

_____. *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia: Report for 1908-1909*. Cairo: Government Press, 1912.

_____. *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia: Report for 1909-1010*. Cairo: Government Press, 1915.

_____. *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia: Report for 1910-1911*. Cairo: Government Press, 1927.

Fisher, Marjorie M. "The History of Nubia," in *Ancient Nubia: African Kingdoms on the Nile*, edited by Marjorie M. Fisher, Peter Lacovara, Salima Ikram, and Sue D'Auria, 10-44. Cairo and New York: The American University in Cairo Press, 2012.

Fouquet, D. "Recherches sur les cranes de l'époque de la pierre taillée en Égypte," in *Recherches sur les origines de l'Égypte (Vol 2): Ethnographie préhistorique et tombeau royal de Negadah*, edited by Jacques de Morgan, 269-380. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1897.

Gatto, Maria Carmela. "The Aswan Area at the Dawn of Egyptian History." *Egyptian Archaeology* 35 (2009): 12-15.

_____. "Nag el-Qarmila and the Southern Periphery of the Naqada Culture," unpublished manuscript, presented at Egypt at Its Origins: The Fourth International Conference on Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt, July 26 – July 30, 2011, in press. Emailed to author on 24 September 2013.

_____. "The Nubian A-Group: A Reassessment." *Archéonil* 16 (2006): 61-76.

_____. "Regional Variations in the S-Called A-Group Culture of Lower Nubia," in *Dynamics of Populations, Movements and Responses to Climatic Change in Africa*, edited by Barbara E. Barich and M. Carmela Gatto, 105-111, Rome: Bonsignori Ed., 1997.

- Geus, Francis. "Burial Customs in the Upper Main Nile: An Overview," in *Egypt and Africa: Nubia from Prehistory to Islam*, edited by W. V. Davies, 57-73. London: British Museum Press, 1991.
- Gleisberg, Dieter. *Merkur & die Musen: Schätze der Weltkultur aus Leipzig: eine Ausstellung aus der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik im Künstlerhaus Wien, 21.9.1989-18.2.1990*. Vienna: Das Künstlerhaus, 1989.
- Gorea, A. and J. Hau, "Time in Perspective," *Psychological Science* 24:8 (2013): 1477-1486.
- Gratien, B. "Le céramique à décor figuré du village fortifié du Groupe C à Ouadi es-Séboua Est." In *Artibus Aegypti. Studia in Honorem Bernardi V. Bothmer a collegis amicis discipulis conscripta*, edited by H. De Meulenaere and L. Limme, 63-77. Brussels: Koninklijke Musea voor Kunst en Geschiedenis, 1983.
- _____. "Quelques nouveaux portraits de Kerma," in *Elkab and Beyond: Studies in Honor of Luc Limme*, edited by W. Claes, H. de Meulenaere, and S. Hendrickx, 321-332. Leuven: Peeters, 2009.
- Griffith, F. Ll. "Oxford Excavations in Nubia." *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 8 (1921): 1-28, 65-124, Pl. 9-29
- Gröning, Karl. *Decorated Skin: A World Survey of Body Art*, London: Thames & Hudson, 1997.
- Haaland, Randi. "Porridge and Pot, Bread and Oven: Food Ways and Symbolism in Africa and the Near East from the Neolithic to the Present." *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 17:2 (2007): 165-182.
- Hafsaas, Henriette. *Cattle Pastoralists in a Multicultural Setting: The C-Group People in Lower Nubia*. Ramallah, Palestine: Birzeit University; Bergen, Norway: Bergen University, 2006.
- _____. "Pots and People in an Anthropological Perspective: The C-Group People of Lower Nubia as a Case Study," in *Mélanges offerts à Francis Geus. Cahiers de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille* 26, edited by Brigitte Gratien, 163-170. Lille: Villeneuve d'Ascq: Université Charles de Gaulle, 2007.
- Hafsaas-Tsakos, Henriette. "Between Kush and Egypt: The C-Group People of Lower Nubia During the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period," in *Between the Cataracts: Proceedings of the 11th Conference for Nubian Studies, Warsaw University, 27 August – 2 September 2006*,

edited by Włodzimierz Godlewski and Adam Lajtar, 389-396. Warsaw: Warsaw University Press 2008-2010.

Hendrickx, Stan. "Predynastic – Early Dynastic Chronology," in *Ancient Egyptian Chronology. Handbook of Oriental Studies. Section One. The Near and Middle East*, Vol. 83, edited by E. Hornung, R. Krauss, and D. A. Warburton, 55-93, 487-488. Leiden: Brill, 2006.

_____. "The relative chronology of the Naqada culture: Problems and possibilities," in *Aspects of Early Egypt*, edited by A. J. Spencer, 36-39. London: British Museum Press, 1996.

Hofmann, Inge. "Die Grosse Göttin des Ostmittelmeerraumes im Meroitischen Reich." *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 5 (1977): 79-121.

Hölscher, Wilhem. *Liber und Ägypter: Beiträge zur Ethnologie und Geschichte Libyscher Völkerschaften nach den Altägyptischen Quellen*. Glückstadt, Hamburg, and New York: J. J. Augustin, 1955

Hornblower, G. D. "Predynastic Figures of Women and Their Successors," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 15, 1/2 (May, 1929): 29-47

Huard, Paul. "Influences culturelles transmises au Sahara tchadien par le Groupe C de Nubie." *Kush* 15 (1967-1968): 84-124

Junker, Hermann. "The First Appearance of the Negroes in History," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 7 (1921): 121-132.

_____. *Toschke. Bericht über die Grabungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien auf dem Friedhof von Toschke (Nubien) im Winter 1911/12*. Wein and Leipzig: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1926.

Keating, Rex. "Return to the Land of Kush." *The UNESCO Courier* 17 (December 1964): 27-34

Kehoe, Alice B. "No Possible, Probable Shadow of Doubt." *Antiquity* 65 (1991): 129-131.

Keimer, Louis. *Remarques sur le Tatouage dans L'Égypte Ancienne*. Cairo: L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1948.

Krauspe, Renate. *Ägyptisches Museum der Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig. Führer durch die Ausstellung*. Leipzig: Universität, 1987.

_____. "Das Ägyptische Museum der Universität Leipzig." *Antike Welt* 23.2 (1992): 91-98.

- _____. *Katalog Ägyptischer Sammlungen in Leipzig, Vol 1, Statuen und Statuetten*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1997.
- Lacovara, Peter. "Pan-Grave People," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, edited by Donald B. Redford, 20-22. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Lange, Mathias. "A-Group settlement sites from the Laqiya region (Eastern Sahara, Northwest Sudan)," in *Cultural Markers in the Later Prehistory of Northeastern Africa and Recent Research*, edited by Lech Krzyżaniak, Karla Kroeper, and Michał Kobusiewicz, 105-127. Poznań: Poznań Archaeological Museum, 2003.
- Lesure, Richard G. "The Goddess Diffracted: Thinking about the Figurines of Early Villages." *Current Anthropology* 43 (2002): 587-610.
- _____. *Interpreting Ancient Figurines: Context, Comparison, and Prehistoric Art*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Liszka, Kate. "Are the Bearers of the Pan-Grave Archaeological Culture Identical to the Medjay-People in the Egyptian Textual Record?" *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 7 (2015): 42-60.
- Mack, Rainer Towle. "Gendered Site: Archaeology, Representation, and the Female Body," in *Ancient Images, Ancient Thought: The Archaeology of Ideology*, edited by A. Sean Goldsmith, Sandra Garvie, David Selin, and Jeannette Smith, 235-244. Calgary: The University of Calgary Archaeological Association, 1992.
- MacGaffey, Wyatt. "Concepts of Race in the Historiography of Northeast Africa," in *Papers in African Prehistory*, edited by J. D. Fage and R. A. Oliver, 99-115. London: Cambridge University Press, 1970.
- Maystre, Charles. *Akasha*. Genève: Georg, 1980.
- McCoid, Catherine Hodge and Leroy D. McDermott. "Toward Decolonizing Gender: Female Vision in the Upper Paleolithic." *American Anthropologist* 98, 2 (1996): 319-326.
- McDermott, Leroy. "Self-Representation in Upper Paleolithic Female Figurines." *Current Anthropology* 37, 2 (1996): 227-275.
- Meskill, Lynn. "Goddesses, Gimbutas, and "New Age" archaeology." *Antiquity* 69 (1995): 74-86.

- Morales, Vivian Broman and Robert J. Braidwood. "Shadows of Doubt in Identifying Female Images: A Reply to Kehoe." *Antiquity* 65 (1991): 914-915.
- Morgan, J. de. *Recherches sur les Origines de l'Égypte: Ethnographie Préhistorique et Tombeau Royal de Négadah*. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1897.
- Morris, Ellen F. "Paddle Dolls and Performance." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 47 (2011): 71-103.
- Myers, John L. "A Primitive Figurine from Adalia." *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 30 (1900): 253.
- Nadel, S. F. *The Nuba: An Anthropological Study of the Hill Tribes of Kordofan*. London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1947.
- Nordström, Hans-Åke. "A-Group," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, edited by Donald B. Redford, 44-46. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- _____. "Excavations and Survey in Faras, Argin and Gezira Dabarosa." *Kush* 10 (1962): 34-58.
- _____. *Neolithic and A-Group Sites: The Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia*, Vol 3:1 (Text). Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1972.
- _____. "The Nubian A-Group: Women and Copper Awls," in Tamás A. Bács, Ernő Gaál, Ulrich Luft, and László Török (eds) *A Tribute to Excellence: Studies Offered in Honor of Ernő Gaál, Ulrich Luft, László Török*, 361-369. Budapest: Université Eötvös Lorand de Budapest, 2002.
- _____. "Pottery Production," in *Sudan Ancient Treasures: An Exhibition of Recent Discoveries from the Sudan National Museum*, edited by Derek A. Welsby and Julie R. Anderson, 248-273. London: The British Museum Press, 2004.
- _____. *The West Bank Survey from Faras to Gemai 1 Sites of Early Nubian, Middle Nubian and Pharaonic Age*. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2014.
- O'Connor, David. *Ancient Nubia: Egypt's Rival in Africa*. Philadelphia: The University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology University of Pennsylvania, 1993
- _____. "Nubia before the New Kingdom," in *Africa in Antiquity: The Arts of Ancient Nubia and the Sudan. 1. The Essays*, edited by Sylvia Hichfield and Elizabeth Riefstahl, 46-61. Brooklyn: The Brooklyn Museum, 1978.

Petacchi, Simone. "Steatopygia in Ancient Egyptian and Nubian Art. An Ethnical Countermark or a Primitive Revival? The Case of Kushite Iconography and Style," in *Achievements and Problems of Modern Egyptology: Proceedings of the International Conference Held in Moscow on September 29-October 2, 2009*, edited by Galina A. Belova, 265-286. Moscow: Russian Academy of Sciences, 2012.

Petrie, W. M. Flinders. *Prehistoric Egypt*. London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1920.

_____. *Qurneh*. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1909.

Pinch, Geraldine. *Votive Offerings to Hathor*. Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, 1993.

Rampersad, Sabrina Roma. *The Origin and Relationships of the Nubian A-Group*. PhD Dissertation, Department of Near and Middle Eastern Civilizations, University of Toronto, 1999.

_____. "Relationships of the Nubian A-Group." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 37 (2000): 127-142.

Randall-MacIver, D. and A. C. Mace. *El Amrah and Abydos 1899-1901*. London: B. Quaritch, 1902.

Randall-MacIver, D. and C. Leonard Woolley. *Areika*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1909.

Raue, Dietrich. "Nubians on Elephantine Island." *Sudan & Nubia* 6 (2002): 22-23.

Reinold, Jacques. "Kadruka and the Neolithic in the Northern Dongola Reach." *Sudan & Nubia: the Sudan Archaeological Research Society bulletin* 5 (2001): 2-10.

_____. "Kadruka," in *Sudan Ancient Treasures: An Exhibition of Recent Discoveries from the Sudan National Museum*, edited by Derek A. Welsby and Julie R. Anderson, 42-48. London: The British Museum Press, 2004.

Reisner, George A. "The Archaeological Survey of Nubia." *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia Bulletin* 4 (1909): 7-16.

_____. *The Archaeological Survey Report for 1907-1908*. Vol. 1 of 2. Cairo: Government Press, 1910.

_____. "The Meroitic Kingdom of Ethiopia: A Chronological Outline." *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 9 (April 1923): 34-77.

- _____. "The Progress of the Archaeological Survey." *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia Bulletin* 2 (1908): 3-29
- Robins, Gay. "While the Woman Looks On: Gender Inequality in New Kingdom Egypt," *KMT* 1, 3 (1990): 18-21, 64-65.
- Röhsska konstslöjdmuseet (Göteborg, Sweden) *Gudar och människor vid Nilen: utställning 18 mars – 20 maj 1973*. Göteborg: Röhsska konstslöjdmuseet, 1973.
- Rzeuska, Teodozja I. "Zigzag, Triangle and Fish Fin. On the Relations of Egypt and C-Group during the Middle Kingdom," in *Between the Cataracts: Proceedings of the 11th Conference for Nubian Studies, Warsaw University, 27 August – 2 September 2006*, edited by Włodzimierz Godlewski and Adam Lajtar, 397-419. Warsaw: Warsaw University Press, 2008-2010.
- Sadig, Azhari Mustafa. "Es-Sour: a Neolithic site near Meroe, Sudan." *Antiquity* 82, issue 316 (June, 2008) <http://www.antiquity.ac.uk/projgall/sadig/>
- Salvatori, Sandro and Donatella Usai. "The Sudanese Neolithic Revisited." *Les Cahiers de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille* 26 (2006-2007): 323-333.
- Sanders, Edith R. "The Hamitic Hypothesis: Its Origin and Functions in Time Perspective." *Journal of African History* 4(1969): 521-532
- Sauneron, Serge. "Un Village Nubien Fortifié sur la Rive Orientale de Ouadi Es-Séba." *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 63 (1965): 161-167.
- Sauneron, Serge and Jena Jacquet. "Ouadi es-Sebou est. Un village fortifié du Groupe C en Nubie." *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 105 (2005): 321-356.
- Säve-Söderbergh, Torgny. *Middle Nubian Sites*. Partille: Paul Åström, 1989.
- _____. "La Nubie Redécouverte: De la Préhistoire aux Temps Pharaoniques." *UNESCO Courrier* 33 (Feb.-Mar. 1980): 20-24.
- _____. "Preliminary Report of the Scandinavian Joint Expedition: Archaeological Investigations between Faras and Gemai November 1961-March 1962." *Kush* 11 (1963): 47-69.

- _____. "Preliminary Report of the Scandinavian Joint Expedition: Archaeological Investigations between Faras and Gemai November 1963-March 1964." *Kush* 15(1967-1968): 211-250.
- Schneider, Thomas. "The West Beyond the West: The Mysterious 'Wernes' of the Egyptian Underworld and the Chad Paleolakes." *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 2,4 (2010): 1-14.
- Scholz, Piotr. "Kusch, Meroë, Nubien." *Antike Welt* 17 (1986): 3-77.
- _____. "Kusch, Meroë, Nubien." *Antike Welt* 18 (1987): 78- 155.
- Schott, Siegfried. "Die Bitte um ein Kind auf einer Grabfigur des Frühen Mittleren Reiches." *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 16 (1930): 23.
- Smith, G. E. *The Ancient Egyptians and Their Influence Upon the Civilization of Europe*. London and New York: Harper and Brothers, 1911.
- Smith, H. S. "The Development of the 'A-Group' Culture in Northern Lower Nubia," in *Egypt and Africa: Nubia from Prehistory to Islam*, edited by W. V. Davies, 92-111. London: British Museum Press, 1991.
- _____. "The Nubian B-Group." *Kush* 14 (1966): 69-124.
- Staatliche Museen, Berlin and Ateneumin Taidemuseo, Helsinki Det Eviga Egypten. *Aegyptus Aeterna: Konstmuseet I Ateneum Helsingfors: Staatliche museen zu Berlin DDR 5.10 – 18.11.1973*. Helsinki, 1973.
- Steindorff, Georg. *Aniba I*. Glückstadt and Hamburg: J. J. Augustin, 1935.
- _____. *Aniba II*. Glückstadt and Hamburg: J. J. Augustin, 1937.
- Stevenson, Alice. "The A-Group Cemetery at Tunqala West." *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 98 (2012): 225-247.
- Stock, Hanns "Excavations at Amada (Second Season, Spring 1960)," *Fouilles en Nubie (1959-1961)*. Cairo: Government Press, 1963.
- Sukova, Lenka. "The 'Venus' of Jebel Uweinat (SE Libya)." *Sahara* 22 (2011): 117-124, Pl. VI, VII.
- Svoboda, Jirí A. "Upper Paleolithic Anthropomorph Images of Northern Eurasia," in *Image and Imagination: A Global Prehistory of Figurative Representation*, edited by Colin Renfrew and Iain Morley, 57-68. Cambridge, McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, 2007.

- Talalay, Lauren E. "Rethinking the Function of Clay Figurine Legs from Neolithic Greece: An Argument by Analogy." *American Journal of Archaeology* 91, 2 (1987): 161-169.
- Teeter, Emily. *Baked Clay Figurines and Votive Beds from Medinet habu. Based on the Field Notes of Uvo Hölscher and Rudolf Anthes*. Chiscao: Oriantla Institute, 2010.
- Teske, J. *Nubië aan de Nijl: Voorportaal van Afrika*. The Hague: Gemeentemuseum, 1979.
- Török, László. *Between Two Worlds: The Frontier Region between Ancient Nubia and Egypt 3700 BC – AD 500*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009.
- Trigger, Bruce, G. *A History of Archaeological Thought*. Second Edition. New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- _____. *History and Settlement in Lower Nubia*. New Haven: Department of Anthropology Yale University, 1965.
- _____. *Nubia Under the Pharaohs*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1976.
- _____. "Nubian, Negro, Black, Nilotic?," in *Africa in Antiquity: The Arts of Ancient Nubia and the Sudan, I. (The Essays)*, edited by Sylvia Hochfield and Elizabeth Riefstahl, 26-35. Brooklyn: The Brooklyn Museum, 1978).
- _____. "Paradigms in Sudan Archaeology." *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 27:2 (1994): 323-345.
- Troy, Lana. *Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History*. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1986.
- Tyson Smith, Stuart. *Askut in Nubia: The Economics and Ideology of Egyptian Imperialism in the Second Millennium B.C*. London and New York: Kegan Paul, 1995.
- _____. *Wretched Kush: Ethnic identities and boundaries in Egypt's Nubian Empire*. London and New York: Routledge, 2003.
- Ucko, Peter J. *Anthropomorphic Figurines of Predynastic Egypt and Neolithic Crete with Comparative Material from the Prehistoric Near East and Mainland Greece*. London: Andrew Szmidla, 1968.
- Verwers, G. J. "Trial Excavations in the Faras Region." *Kush* 9 (1961): 15-29.
- _____. "The Survey from Faras to Gezira Dabarosa." *Kush* 10 (1962): 19-33.

- Vetters, Melissa. "Thou Shalt Make Many Images of Thy Gods: A Chaîne Opératoire Approach to Mycenaean Religious Rituals Based on Iconographic and Contextual Analysis of Plaster and Terracotta Figurines," in *Tracing Prehistoric Social Networks through Technology: A Diachronic Perspective on the Aegean*, edited by Ann Brysbaert, 30-47. New York: Routledge, 2011.
- Waraksa, Elizabeth A. *Female Figurines from the Mut Precinct: Context and Ritual Function*. Fribourg: Academic Press Fribourg, 2009.
- Wegner, Josef, W. "Regional Control in Middle Kingdom Lower Nubia: The Function and History of the Site of Areika." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 32 (1995): 127-160.
- Welsby, Derek A. "C-Group," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, edited by Donald B. Redford, 258-259. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Welsby, Derek A. and Julie R. Anderson (eds). *Sudan Ancient Treasures: An Exhibition of Recent Discoveries from the Sudan National Museum*. London: The British Museum Press, 2004.
- Wenig, Steffen. *Africa in Antiquity: The Arts of Ancient Nubia and the Sudan, II. (The Catalogue)*. New York: The Brooklyn Museum, 1978.
- Wiedemann, Alfred. *Das Alte Ägypten*. Heidelberg: Carl Winters, 1920.
- _____. *Die Urzeit Ägyptens und seine älteste Bevölkerung*. Frankfurt: M. H. Bechhold, 1899.
- Wildung, Dietrich. *Sudan: Ancient Kingdoms of the Nile*. Paris and New York: Flammarion, 1997.
- Williams, Bruce, B. *The A-Group Royal Cemetery at Qustul: Cemetery L*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1986.
- _____. *C-Group, Pan Grave, and Kerma Remains at Adindan Cemeteries T, K, U, and J*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1983.
- _____. "Some Geographical and Political Aspects to Relations between Egypt and Nubia in C-Group and Kerma Times, C.A. 2500 – 1500 B.C." *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 6(2013): 62-75.
- Winchell, Frank. *The Butana Group Ceramics and their Place in the Neolithic and Post-Neolithic of Northeast Africa*. BAR International Series 2459. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2013.

Winlock, Herbert E. "The Museum's Excavation at Thebes." *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 18 (1923): 11-39.

Wodzińska, Anna. *A Manual of Egyptian Pottery. Vol. 2: Naqada III – Middle Kingdom*. Boston: Ancient Egypt Research Associates, 2009.

