

POSSIBLE PARALLELS BETWEEN EGYPTIAN AND SUDANESE NEOLITHIC FIGURINES, AND ANOTHER CONTEMPORANEOUS ONES COMING FROM THE NEAR EASTERN AREA

Por Pilar PARDO MATA¹.
Autonomus University of Madrid, Spain.

BIBLID: [0571-3692 (2004) 135-147]

RESUMEN: Las recientes excavaciones arqueológicas en la Prehistoria de Egipto y Sudán, concretamente las relativas al periodo Neolítico, han constatado la presencia de algunas figuritas humanas fundamentalmente femeninas. Dichas representaciones, podría tener algún paralelismo con las aparecidas en asentamientos neolíticos del Mediterráneo oriental como 'Ain Ghazal (Jordania), o tell Mureybet (Siria).

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Prehistoria, Neolítico, Egipto, Próximo Oriente, figuritas femeninas, culto a la divinidad.*

ABSTRACT: *Recent archaeological excavations in Neolithic sites in Egypt and Sudan have revealed an number of figures, both human and animals. Possibly, there would be some parallels between these deceptions and those recovered in contemporaries sites located in the Oriental Mediterranean Area like 'Ain Ghazal (Jordan), or tell Mureybet (Syria).*

KEY WORDS: *Prehistoric, Neolithic, Egypt, Near East, females figures, cult of divinities.*

There is a group of figurines among the most important materials produced by Neolithic populations living in the Nile Valley. Human features are present in most of them and animalistic ones in a minor degree. This would denotated, possibly, some sort of symbolic meaning, just like it was happening in contemporaneous Neolitihic sites in the Near East located in Jordan, Syria, Anatolia, etc.

Figurine is every small-sized representation, both human and animal, obtained by means of modelling clay, lime or gypsum, according to

¹ Traslated by Ángel González y Arema (egyptologist).

Aurenche and Kozłowski's definition of the term. In the Egyptian and Sudanese areas, as in the Near Eastern one, representation of human figurines is based mainly in these of female type whose sexual attributes are well-determined, being the proportion of the occurrence of these depicting their counterparts unnoticed. The next step in the present work consists in the analysis of possible parallelisms among these Egyptian and Sudanese Neolithic female figurines already quoted and these pertaining to the Pre-Ceramic and Ceramic Neolithic in the Near East (PPNB, Pre-Pottery Neolithic B).

EGYPTIAN AND SUDANESE NEOLITHIC HUMAN FIGURINES AND PARALLELISMS AMONG THESE ONES AND THESE COMING FROM THE NEAR EAST

So many data come from Sudanese Neolithic human figurines in the regions of Khartoum (Kadero) and the area of the Third Cataract of the Nile (Kadruka, Sedeinga). This information would prove the existence of some sort of parallelism among these found in recent excavations in sites dated in Recent Neolithic times in Egypt and Sudan and these pertaining to sites dated in the Last PPNB and PPNC or Yarmuq periods which correspond to the area circumscribed to the South East. To be exact, 'Ain Ghazal, Basta, etcetera in Jordan; Tell Mureybet in Syria, and Çatal Hüyük in Turkey.

Human figurines pertaining to the Egyptian and Sudanese Neolithic present stylized forms which become more elaborated in the Calcolithic Period, in which a new type will appear together with a greater diversity in raw materials available, being the use of ivory an excellent proof in favour of the last.

It has been possible to glimpse a number of specific features present in Egyptian and Sudanese Neolithic human figurines and these proper of Upper Palaeolithic venuses found in European and Mediterranean areas, being the first of all referred to details in clothing which could denote social differences by means of the use of a particular type of decoration. As Turner points, *"the surface in the body is a common frontier between a society given and a member of the same, being at the same time not only a language of socialisation declared by bodily ornaments, but another one which permits the body to express himself"*. Following the last premise, it is possible to see how Egyptian and Sudanese Neolithic human figurines wore hats in linen whose form is spiral, the same in which baskets in wicker and reeds were made. Belts were cords tied in the waist or under hips.

Gvozdover noted a second characteristic in connection with the presence of ornamental motives in several places in bodies of different

Upper Palaeolithic human figurines. In this way, these ones that are the object of the present work contain also a number of lines and wedges that suggest the hypothetical presence of some kind of clothes made of linen, in contrast to the animal skins worn during the European Upper Palaeolithic. Some author has talked about tattoos in the body too.

Jewellery, on the other hand, would be the third specific feature detected in figurines. There are two pieces which would stand out in the whole, being these ones bracelets, which do not appear in figurines but, instead of this circumstance, they took place in burial equipments together with figurines, and necklaces, having been perhaps represented one surrounding twice the neck of one of these little sculptures coming from the site of Kadada.

The fourth would be an ethnographical relationship in which women would have been associated with picking the harvest of plants and the subsequent operations of processing, together with the transformation of products within major-complexity structures, just like craft industries could be. This would denote a type of society whose complexity would be greater than that supposed by actual prehistorians and anthropologists. In this way, artisanal industries would be produced in order not only to satisfy domestic and communal necessities but to be offered in a possible interchange market. As Clark pointed, the utilisation of clothes would be related with the terms “symbols of excellence” and “symbols of achievement” which have taken place in economies tendents to prestige and demarcation of status.

1.1. Figurines in the Egyptian area

Based on the style of implements coming from Fayum and Merimde Beni Salama, Kozłowski and Ginter support the idea of the existence of common ancestors between these communities and these ones located in the Near East; to be exact, in the Jordanian Valley. On the other hand, there are a number of scholars that offer arguments in favour of origins in the Northwestern Africa, and the Sudanese and Saharian regions.

Data coming from female figurines found in the archaeological sites in the area which comprises the territory of actual Egypt are quite scarce. However, a great number of documents from periods later than Ceramic Neolithic, as the Calcolithic, is available. Several female figurines painted in red, and dated in 4800 BC, come from the site of Merimde Beni Salama, whose contemporaneous population was sedentary and put in practice agriculture and livestock, together with hunting and fishing. These figurines had been associated to magical rites. It is probable that they have had to do with a cult to the fertility or practices of initiation related with these rites already mentioned. Sadly, that materials have become lost, reason being for the nonexistence of graphic references from the same.

In a later period (VI-IV millennia BC), Badarian people made figurines in clay and ivory, being their main characteristics the great steatopygia, the well-modelled pubic triangle, and the pronounced breasts. On the contrary case, the head, hands and legs appear discrete. They were covered possibly with some kind of red paint, may be red ochre since this was considered a symbol of life. Only a few tombs contained these female figurines in the necropolis of Badari, being possible that these sepulchra belonged to high-status persons among the members of Badarian population.

1.2. Figurines in the Sudanese area

Culture during the Recent Neolithic shows clear signs of sophisticated social relationships, being precisely differentiation in burials one of these possible signs. In this way, the archaeological site of Geili could provide an excellent example. Tombs containing pottery decorated by means of several models of impressions, necklaces, stone palettes, disc maceheads, and female figurines in clay, of course, were found in the necropolis. One of these female figurines has been discovered in the Cemetery pertaining to the Neolithic site of el-Kadada, located in the region of Khartoum (4800-4000 BC). This figurine was made in baked clay. A bi-lateral perforation is present in the level of shoulders, and this, possibly, could put this figurine in relation with a necklace made in bone or beads. This same Cemetery C at Kadada has delivered another female figurine, dated in the Middle Neolithic, and made in baked clay too. There are stylized features present in this figurine, having been reduced to a single sphere the base of the body, being arms and legs absent and facial features consisting merely of a pair of oblique incisions indicating the eyes. With regard to the elements of decoration, there are a number of tattoos present in the base of the body and torax which could possibly denote some type of power or a certain kind of cult. Hair has been represented by means of incisions made directly in the head. Another incisions were intended to show a braid (fig. 1.5). There would be a parallelism between this figurine and another one found in 'Ain Ghazal, Jordania, which presents a similar aspect. The Nubian figurine appeared in the tomb of a subject dead during his infancy, being this one 5 or 6 years old. The same context of this discovering permits the traditional interpretation of this sort of objects that puts them in relation to the symbols of fertility. Actually, there is a theory which defends to put these figurines in relation to some kind of religious significance or, taking a material base, considers certain ones mere toys belonging to the individual buried in the tomb, being the same case for some animal figurines, found in 'Ain Ghazal, which have been interpreted also as possible toys for children.



Figura 1. Mapa de los yacimientos arqueológicos del período Neolítico de Egipto y Sudán por representación de las más importantes figuras femeninas aparecidas (a partir de Reynold, 2000, 65, 67, 68, 78, 84).

Kadruka (1. figura femenina en gres nubio; 2. figura femenina estilizada; 3. figura femenina estilizada en gres nubio); **Kadada** (4. figura femenina del tipo tampón; 5. figura femenina; 6. figura femenina en tierra cocida; 7. figura femenina en tierra cocida con líneas incisas); **Kadero** (8. Figura femenina con incisiones; 9. cabeza de figura femenina con los rasgos faciales toscos; 10. torso de figura femenina con tatuaje).

Continuing with female figurines coming from the Cemetery C of el-Kadada, it is the time to mention one made in baked clay which presents a schematic female body whose limbs are no more than stylized lines and the base is almost a sphere. This belongs to an ordinary type of figure, current in the repertory coming from the Cemetery C. Hair, in this case, has been also depicted by means of little incissions. At the same time, this exemplary wears a sort of cap (fig. 1.6). There are three grooves in the area of the neck, which could be necklaces, and possible tattoos outlined or bodily paintings (Reinold, 2000, 80).

There is another female figurine, made in baked clay, coming in this case from the Cemetery A in el-Kadada, which differs from traditional standards present in the site since more realistic features have been depicted in the same. It has been supposed that represents a pregnant woman, which is a symbol of fertility out completely of discussion (fig. 1.7), but conclusions from recent studies on the same tend to describe as “*a young woman whose gynecoid morphology and disposition is pronounced in the abdominal torso*”. A dozen of exemplaries in this same type has been identified coming from different cemeteries in el-Kadada, having been found only two more similar in Saheinab and Geili so it is possible to state that this kind of material is rare in Central Sudan (Reynold, 2000, 81). Apart from these exemplaries mentioned above, there is another very interesting one coming from the Cemetery KDK 1 in Kadruka, close to the Third Cataract. This figurine, carved in Nubian gres during the first half of the fifth millennium BC, in the Neolithic Period, took part in the burial equipment of a forty years old adult male, together with a pair of bucrania, bracelets, a palette in diorite and caliciform vases. Being that one anthropomorphic, it reveals in itself the conception of a geometric expressionist art (fig. 1.1.), having been its surface totally polished. Extreme stylization of bodily features reduces them to a mere silhouette, having taken advantage from the stone’s natural characteristics for the purpose. The contour is disrupted by two incised lines indicating the eyes. The fact of a femininity suggested with no anatomical features nor sexual attributes showed makes this piece an exception. Perhaps, it is an item conceived for an exclusive use in a funerary context. Given the disposition of burial equipment goods, the position in which the corpse laid, and the particular location of the tomb in the whole, it would be feasible to conclude than this man played a privileged role in this little Neolithic community so Reinold wonders if the man could have been a tribal chief in vitam (Reynold, 2000, 67).

Cemetery KDK 21 in Kadruka has provided another female figurine made also in Nubian gres whose stylization is remarkable, being bodily parts absent with the exception of a pair of lines marked in the abdomen (fig. 1.3.). None depiction of female features has been indicated (Reynold, 2000,84).

On the other hand, there is another stylized female figurine, coming from Cemetery KDK 18, in the site already mentioned, made in clay, whose body is the result of superposition of two spherical decreasing volumes (fig. 1.2).

The presence of female figurines has been also proved in the Ancient Neolithic site of Kadero (5960-5030 BP). They have been made in baked clay. Three different types of these figurines have been documented there. They can appear wearing incised lines in the torso which could suggest tattoo designs (fig. 1.8). On the other hand, the severed head of another figurine has rough prominent facial features in eyes, nose, mouth and hair (fig. 1.9). With regard to the last one, it could have been represented wearing some kind of cap made in vegetal material as linen. Apart from the last mentioned exemplaries, there is a torso from another one which shows frontal and back tattoos made by means of dotted marks (fig. 1.10). These data should be put in relation with the interesting matter of material used for these Neolithic peoples to make clothes. Tattoos could offer also interesting ethnoanthropological clues (Reynold, 2000, 78).

1.3. Figurines in the Near Eastern area

In the same first moment in the Pre-Pottery Neolithic A (PPNA, 9500-8700 BC), appeared the first human female figurines made in clay, in the geographical area of the actual Syria –Mureybet (phase III), Cheikh Hassan, Jerf el-Ahmar, and Dja’De-. These ones will know a great expansion through the complete Near East and Mediterranean Basin. At the same time, there was a symbolic meaning in them which is out completely of discussion (fig. 2.1) (Molist, 1996, 176).

Aurenche and Kozłowski (1999, 118-119), classified female figurines coming from the Near Eastern area in two major groups. The first one includes these found in sites in the South-Eastern zone, whose side view looks flattened, having the backs plain. On the other hand, there are the figurines discovered in the rest of the Near East whose proportions correspond with human anatomy. According to the matter depicted, they admit two classifications too, including the first one these whose position is seated, also called “Sitting Ladies”. They are the oldest in the whole, coming mainly from Mureybet and Aswad II in Syria; Gilgal in Palestine; Çafar Hüyük, Çayönü Hüyük, and Newali Çori in Turkey; and Ali Kosh in Iran. This type persists in time until pottery appears (Yarım I and Choga Mami in Iran), and constitutes the vast majority of depictions until the end of the Neolithic comes. The second group is formed for standing figurines. Side view in these ones looks flattened in the very same earliest moment, being heads rounded or squared (Netiv Hagdud) (Pardo, 1999, 578). This type will be expanded towards different regions, but forms in these cases are more realistic (Jarmo, Gritille, Sarab, Ali Kosh, and Tell

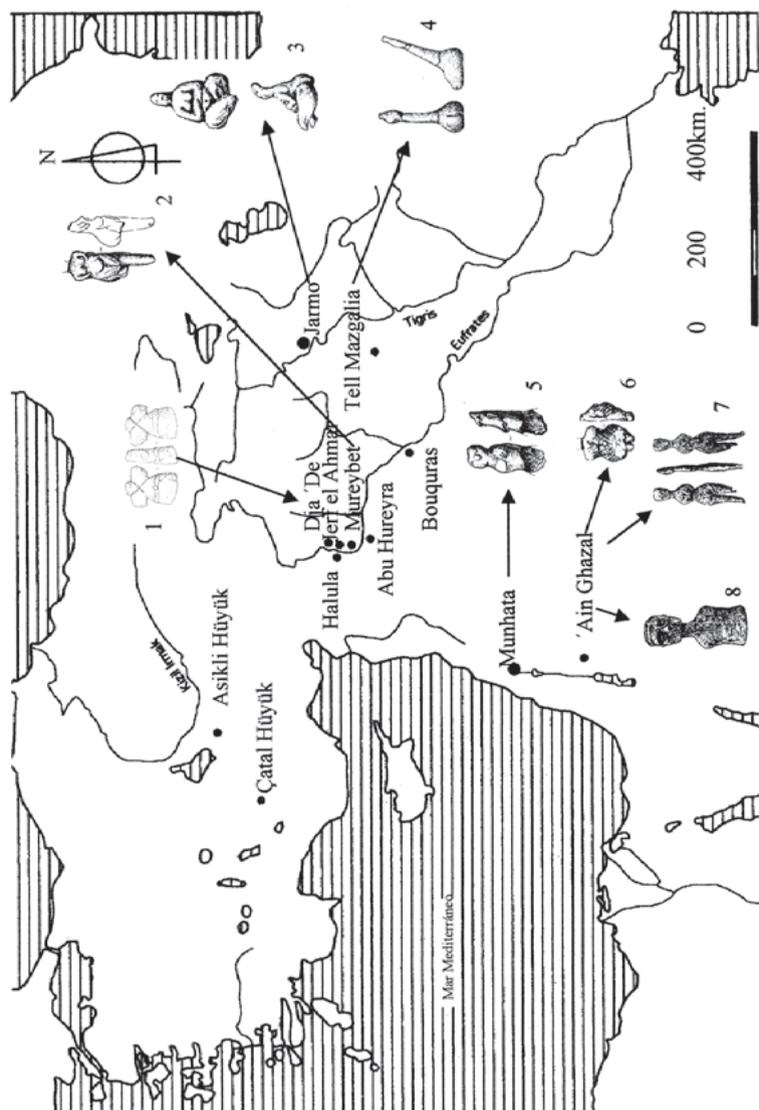


Figura 2. Mapa de los principales yacimientos arqueológicos, citados en el texto, del neolítico con representación de figuristas femeninas en el Próximo Oriente (a partir de Aurenche y Kozłowski, 2000, 228, 280 and 237).

1. Dja' de, figurita femenina con representación de tiras de cuero.
2. Tell Mureybet, figurita femenina encinta de pie.
3. Jarmo, figurita femenina sentada.
4. Tell Mazgalia, figurita femenina esquematizada sentada.
5. Munhata, figurita tosca femenina.
- 6-7-8. 'Ain Ghazal, figuritas femeninas.

Sawwan), and stylized in a major or minor degree, than they had been before, showing at the same time arms and legs. Basis in these figurines can be stalk-shaped (fig. 2.3) or T-shaped, being the former still stylized than that ones ("T-shaped figures, "snail figures"), (fig. 2.4). It should be mentioned also that the first male figurines have been discovered in Çafar Hüyük (Turkey), and Munhata (Israel) (fig. 2.5). There is a number of figurines whose shape recalls human silhouette, being also flattened at the same time. Sexual attributes and arms lack in them, and legs look separated each other. They came all from the Central South-Eastern zone, High Valleys and Mesopotamian Plain. Shaping during the Yarmuq Period, in the end of the Neolithic, includes comb lines recalling tattoo designs, and eyes depicted elongated or oblique. These features are present in exemplaries found in the South of the South-Eastern area, Mesopotamian Plain (Choga Mami), Jazira (Bouqras), and Western Zagros (Jarmo).

In the beginning, as it was expounded before, human-shaped figurines appear in the geographical area of actual Syria. In this way, presence of models of human figurines corresponding to the VIII millennium BC has been demonstrated in the site of Tell Aswad I, being represented this type by a seated female nude figurine showing prominent hips. Human faces lacking the mouth and ears in this site seem important too.

A number of these figurines dated in the same time has been discovered also in Tell Mureybet. The first one shows certain schematisation and suggests a female figure whose body is conical, having been added the head and two little spheres taking the place of feet (Pardo, 1999, 347). Figurines made in a most realistic style, showing enormous hips and well-defined breasts, compound the second group. These ones can appear standing or seated. Someone presents folded arms under chest. Sex is indicated by a short incision (fig. 2.2). On the other hand, it would be necessary to mention an engraved pebble, coming from the same site, in which rough features resemble those proper of human face, illustrating in this case a different style in human depictions (Schamandt-Besserat, 1985, 149).

Female figurines from Jordan are referred in the present work as these found in 'Ain Gazhal (Middle PPNB). These ones are also associated to a sort of ritual symbolism. On the other hand, it is necessary to take into consideration stylistical variations in pieces denoting specific features, being these ones different each other, between the regions in Jordana, and these pertaining to the rest of the South-Eastern zone. Figurines found in Es-Sifiyah (south of Levant), for example, present an aspect very stylized. Perhaps, they would have been amulets intended to get protection against malefices. However, in these ones coming from 'Ain Ghazal is present a fatty belly which makes these items closer in style to "Venus" type. There would be also a relationship between these figurines and these represen-

ting the “Goddess-Mother”, being considered the former fecundity talismans so figurines depicting pregnant women would play an important role related with the idea of childbirth (Rollefson, 1999, 5). On the other hand, there are almost 200 little human and animal figurines made in clay and found in strata dated in the MPPNB in ‘Ain Ghazal. With regard to the animal ones, they look fanciful effigies made for children’s use as toys which show notable similarities with some Egyptian and Sudanese Neolithic figurines. However, there are another animal ones which could be in relation with magic rituals, having been some pieces burnt previously. According to Schmandt-Besserat’s opinion, these ones could have had a votive finality, having been used in some ritual context. There is also an interesting feature present in some of these figurines too, consisting this one in marks around the neck left possibly by little cords which could have played the role of the halters. Being this the case, it could be a possible proof in favour of an earlier domestication of livestock (Rollefson, 1998, 105).

With regard to contemporaneous human figurines, their basic function could have been to provide protection against the powers of Nature and these supernatural. At the same time, exists a different kind of female figurines, classified as “fertility figurines” (PARDO, 229), which depicts pregnant women (fig. 2.6), whose bodies show imprints. They have been recovered only in ‘Ain Ghazal and this type seems an unicum. If these items were intended to stimulate fertility is a matter of controversy among archaeologists. However, it should be admitted their quality of amulets to put mothers under protection not only during pregnancy but specifically during labor (Rollefson, 1998, 105). Later, in Recent PPNB, the same sort of figurines made during the previous period has been found in Jordan, being their features not as remarked as these proper of figurines coming from different areas. However, excellent contemporaneous exemplaries have been discovered in Basta, Jordan. However, human and animal figurines found in the same country dated in PPNC are rare. This is just the case of an elegant stylised female figurine discovered in ‘Ain Ghazal, made in limestone and painted in red, measuring 14 centimeters high. Given the size and material, it has been speculated on a possible emplacement for the same on a platform situated in a courtyard. Apart from this exemplar, there are some other exceptional too made in clay (figs. 2.7 and 2.8).

There is another zone in the Near East in which female figurines have been found, the Mounts Zagros. To be exact, they have been discovered in Iranian archaeological sites like Tepe Asiab and Tepe Ganj Dareh, having been dated in the VIII millennium BC. There are many styles in the same (Pardo, 1999, 527). The most peculiar among these items is a human face carved in a plate, coming from Tepe Asiab which shows typical specific features in the nose and rounded marks scattered all over the head which

possibly suggest hair. In the same place, fragments of bodies corresponding to these figurines have been found also. Arms and legs have been shaped in clay, just like they would have been stumps. These objects have been interpreted as possible talismans intended to give protection against evils (Schamandt-Besserat, 1985, 150). On the other hand, there is a great number of female figurines having elongated heads coming from Tepe Sarab (7956 BP) (Pardo, 1999, 535). In the same way, there is a number of well-known figurines, pertaining to the Ceramic Neolithic Period, which has been discovered in the habitats of the site of Çatal Hüyük. These denominated "Goddesses-Mother" stand out in the whole. They appear seated in a throne in whose arms two feline figures are present. Functionality in these figurines would have to do with the conception of fertility of the soil (Pardo, 1999, 579).

CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of the present work is to put forward possible parallels between two main groups of figurines dated in the Neolithic. The first one is formed by these referred to the Egyptian and Sudanese areas, being both zones taken as a whole. On the other hand, there is a number of contemporaneous ones coming from the Near Eastern zone. These little sculptures would be indicating the existence of some sort of contact not only between these mentioned regions but, possibly, the Eastern Saharian zone too, having been taken this possibility into consideration so many time ago.

There are so many probabilities in favour of an existence of some sort of contact put in relation with transport of goods effectuated by means of beast of burden in which the idea of symbolic female figurines and a cult to the fertility could be introduced. This contact could have taken place through the Peninsula of Sinai, just like some scholars point out. This hypothetic influence would have taken place in the earliest phases of the Neolithic and, later, in the Obeid and Eridu Periods.

Anthropomorphic female figurines presenting clear signs through the idea of fecundity is revealed, could have had an evident relation with some cult in honour of the fertility or the concept of fecundation of the soil. This occurs in the Near Eastern area. The present work is intended to verify the presence of some kind of influence, during the Neolithic, between the Egyptian and Sudanese zones and these furthestmost ones in the Near East. Parallels between these two zones have been put in evidence but the existence of some sort of contact which could originate this parallelism should not be categorically asseverated since Egyptian and Sudanese cultures have roots on their own so, possibly, the Near East could not have exerted any influence in this area.

However, there is a clear distinction between the already mentioned zones: these figurines take part in burial equipments in Egypt and Sudan but they only appear in isolated places in which contacts have not been proved, and never in funerary contexts in the Mediterranean South Eastern area. Figurines painted in red ochre are common in these studied zones. Apart from that, well-marked facial features in these coming from 'Ain Ghazal is a particular characteristic which makes them to stand out.

Findings of anthropomorphic and female figurines in Sudanese archaeological sites as Kadruka and el-Kadada are revealing the presence of interesting Neolithic cultures in which an economy based in exploitation of livestock is present. The most remarkable change is, however, the presence of a number of permanent populations showing a higher degree of development, being compared these with another contemporaneous ones, and this puts in evidence a social structure composed by great communities in which the presence of great necropolis containing 1000 tombs or more, was general. A well-established social difference in these cemeteries is evident, being this based not only in the size of the tomb structures but the burial equipments of people who had played an important social role in vitam. Their equipments were composed mainly by an anthropomorphic statue in gres, armlets and combs in ivory, slate palettes in diorite, stone maces, bucrania, typical caliciform vases showing a great aperture in the upper end and incised decoration in zigzag motives or simple lines in parallel. These data could lead to infer the existence of a complex Neolithic society presenting certain evidences of some sort of centralized government which could originate, afterthat, the earliest stages of Egyptian and Sudanese royal and dinastic establishment.

It should be necessary also to mention some distinctive characteristics in figurines to conclude. The first one is the presence in the bodies of these little sculptures of certain motives of decoration which could be put in relation with possible symbolic tattoos. These ones had appeared already in moments previous to the Neolithic, just like the Late European and Mediterranean Palaeolithic. On the other hand, it should be paid attention in details in clothing whose most remote parallels could be the evidences found in the Near Eastern area; to be exact, in the archaeological site of Nahal Hemar Cave in Israel. Remains of weaving from a possible cap in linen and seashells and cords which could be part of a lost belt and items of jewellery were recovered in this place. These three characteristics already described would be denotating certain structural complexity in tribal hunters-gatherers societies. This could lead to a possible beginning of the "social complexity" which will be established firmly in the future, existing a glimpse already in the case of the Near-Eastern Neolithic.

Acknowledgements

My gratitude to Dr. Isabel Rubio de Miguel (teacher of Prehistory in the Autonomus University of Madrid), for her kind suggestions and comments on this work; Ángel González y Arema (egyptologist) for all the information on the matter and the translation to English of the text of the present work; Miguel Jaramago Canora (Egyptologist) for comments.

REFERENCES

- AURENCHE, Olivier., y KOZLOWSKI., 1999: *La naissance du néolithique a Proche Orient au le paradis perdu*, Editions Errance.
- KRZYANIAK, L., 1977: *Early farming on the Lower Nile. The Predynastic period in Egypt*, Academie polonaise des Sciences, tome 21, Editions scientifiques Pologne, Varsovie.
- MOLIST MONTAÑA, Miquel., 2001: «Los orígenes de las sociedades agrícolas en el Próximo Oriente: el medio Eúfrates sirio y su rol en el proceso de neolitización», en Montero Fenellós, Juan-Luis., Vidal Palomino, Jordi., y Masó Ferrer, Felip., (eds.), *De la estepa al Mediterráneo, Actas del I^{er} Congreso de Arqueología e Historia Antigua del Oriente Próximo, Monografies Eridu 1*, Barcelona, 3-5 Abril 2001, 173-187.
- PARDO MATA, Pilar., 1999: *Los primeros testimonios de la complejidad social en el Próximo Oriente. El replanteamiento de la sociedad neolítica*. Memoria de Licenciatura inédita, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid.
- PARDO MATA, Pilar., 2000: «El ajuar funerario en el Neolítico egipcio en su contexto oriental», *Boletín de la Asociación Española de Orientalistas*, año XXXVI, 121-140.
- REINOLD, Jean., 1993: «Le Néolithique soudanais: les costumes funéraires, in Davies, W. V., (ed.) *Egypt and Africa. Nubia from Prehistory to Islam*. 16-29.
- REINOLD, Jean., 1996: «Le Neolithique de la Nubia soudanaise», *Les Dossiers d'Archeologie*, Sept. n1. 196, 6-11.
- REINOLD, Jean., 2000: *Archéologie au Soudan. Les civilisations de Nubie*. Editions Errance. Paris.
- ROLLEFSON, Gary. O., 1998: «The aceramic neolithic of Jordan», in Henry., Donald.O., (ed.) *The Prehistoric of Jordan*, BAR International series, n1. 705, 103-126.
- ROLLEFSON, Gary. O., 1999: «La religión néolithique en Jordanie», *Dossiers d'Archeologie*, n1. 244, Junio, 4-11.
- SAUQUET, Silvia., y Vilalta, Sara., 2003: *Nubia. Los reinos del Nilo en Sudán*, Fundación "LA Caixa". Barcelona,
- SCHMANDT-BESSERAT, Denise., 1985: «Clay symbols for data storage in the VIII millennium B. C., in Liverani, M., Palmieri, A., and, Peroni, R., (Eds.) *Studi di Paletnologia in onore di Salvatore M. Puglisi*, Università di Roma, «La Sapienza», Roma, 149-154.