

Collections de l'Université de Strasbourg - Études d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne

# FIGURINES FÉMININES NUES

De l'Égypte à l'Asie centrale

Édité par Sylvie Donnat,  
Régine Hunziker-Rodewald et Isabelle Weygand



ÉDITIONS DE BOCCARD



Collections de l'Université de Strasbourg  
Études d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne

## FIGURINES FÉMININES NUES

Proche-Orient, Égypte, Nubie, Méditerranée orientale, Asie centrale  
(VIII<sup>e</sup> millénaire av. J.-C. – IV<sup>e</sup> siècle ap. J.-C.)

Édité par Sylvie Donnat, Régine Hunziker-Rodewald  
et Isabelle Weygand

Éditions de Boccard

# ÉTUDES D'ARCHÉOLOGIE ET D'HISTOIRE ANCIENNE

## *en vente aux Éditions de Boccard*

- E. Frézouls (éd.), *Les villes antiques de la France, tome III, Lyonnaise I: Autun – Chartres – Nevers*, 1997.
- M.-L. Freyburger-Galland, *Aspects du vocabulaire politique et institutionnel de Dion Cassius*, 1997.
- A. Chauvot, *Opinions romaines face aux barbares au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle ap. J.-C.*, 1998.
- J.-M. David (éd.), *Valeurs et mémoire à Rome. Valère Maxime ou la vertu recomposée*, 1998.
- A. Chauvot et alii (éd.), *Carcer. Prison et privation de liberté dans l'Antiquité classique*, 1999.
- A. Vigourt, *Les présages impériaux, d'Auguste à Domitien*, 2001.
- M. Coudry et T. Spaeth (éd.), *L'invention des grands hommes de la Rome antique. Die Konstruktion der grossen Männer Altroms*, 2001.
- J.-Y. Feyeux, *Le verre mérovingien du quart nord-est de la France*, 2003.
- A. Chauvot et alii (éd.), *Carcer II. Prison et privation de liberté dans l'Empire romain et l'Occident médiéval*, 2005.
- Z. Tarzi et D. Vaillancourt (éd.), *L'art et l'archéologie des monastères gréco-bouddhiques du Nord-Ouest de l'Inde et de l'Asie centrale*, 2005.
- J. Gascou, *Sophrone de Jérusalem, Miracles des saints Cyr et Jean (BHG I 477-479)*, 2006.
- C. Freu, *Les figures du pauvre dans les sources italiennes de l'Antiquité tardive*, 2007.
- M.-L. Freyburger et D. Meyer (éd.), *Visions grecques de Rome. Griechische Blicke auf Rom*, 2007.
- D. Lenfant (éd.), *Athénée et les fragments d'historiens*, 2007.
- A. Mouton, *Les rituels de naissance kizzuwatniens*, 2008.
- J.-L. Fournet (éd.), *Les archives de Dioscore d'Aphrodite cent ans après leur découverte*, 2008.
- P. Heilporn, *Thèbes et ses taxes. Recherches sur la fiscalité en Égypte romaine (Ostraca de Strasbourg II)*, 2009.
- D. Bodi, *Israël et Juda à l'ombre des Babyloniens et des Perses*, 2010.
- J.-M. Husser et A. Mouton (éd.), *Le cauchemar dans les sociétés antiques*, 2010.
- M.-F. Guipponi-Gineste, *Claudien, poète du monde à la cour d'Occident*, 2010.
- L. Martzoff, *La décoration des pylônes ptolémaïques d'Edfou et de Philae. Étude comparative*, 2011.
- A. Becker, *Les relations diplomatiques romano-barbares en Occident au V<sup>e</sup> siècle. Acteurs, fonctions, modalités*, 2013.
- M.-F. Guipponi-Gineste et C. Urlacher-Becht (éd.), *La renaissance de l'épigramme dans la latinité tardive*, 2013.
- D. Lefèvre-Novaro, *Du massif de l'Ida aux pentes du mont Diktè. Peuples, territoires et communautés en Messara du XIII<sup>e</sup> au VII<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C.*, 2014.
- F. Colin, O. Huck et S. Vanséveren (éd.), *Interpretatio. Traduire l'altérité dans les civilisations de l'Antiquité*, 2015.
- C. Brélaz (éd.), *L'héritage grec des colonies romaines d'Orient. Interactions culturelles dans les provinces hellénophones de l'empire romain*, 2017.
- D. Meyer et C. Urlacher-Becht (éd.), *La rhétorique du « petit » dans l'épigramme grecque et latine*, 2017.

# FIGURINES FÉMININES NUES

**Proche-Orient, Égypte, Nubie, Méditerranée orientale, Asie centrale  
(VIII<sup>e</sup> millénaire av. J.-C. – IV<sup>e</sup> siècle ap. J.-C.)**

**Actes du colloque de Strasbourg (25-26 juin 2015)**

Édité par Sylvie Donnat, Régine Hunziker-Rodewald  
et Isabelle Weygand

Ouvrage publié avec le soutien de l'Université de Strasbourg,  
de l'UMR 7044 Archimède  
et de l'EA 4378 : théologie protestante

ÉDITIONS DE BOCCARD  
4, rue de Lanneau – 75005 Paris  
2020

Collection Études d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne  
dirigée par Dominique LENFANT

En couverture : Figurines féminines de Gebel el-Zeit (Égypte). Photographies de J.-Fr. Gout, © IFAO

ISSN : 1284-6325

ISBN : 978-2-7018-0532-0

© éditions de Boccard – 2020

*Le caractère Faune utilisé en partie dans ce document a été créé par  
Alice Savoie dans le cadre d'une commande du Centre national des arts  
plastiques en partenariat avec le Groupe Imprimerie nationale.*

# SOMMAIRE

Liste des contributeurs .....	7
Introduction : Figurines féminines. Contextes – significations – fonctions.....	11
<b>I L’Afrique du Nord-Est (Égypte, Soudan)</b>	
1 Georges Castel & Isabelle Régen – Figurines féminines de Gebel el-Zeit (Égypte).....	27
2 Sylvie Marchand – Figurines féminines nues découvertes dans des maisons d’Ayn Asil. Deuxième Période intermédiaire. Oasis de Dakhla, Égypte .....	41
3 Johan Beha & Sylvie Donnat – Du référent au signifié. Réflexions autour de deux figurines ( <i>paddle doll</i> et apode) de l’Institut d’égyptologie de Strasbourg .....	55
4 Frédéric Colin – Des femmes nues dans le Sahara égyptien (Bahariya, 750-600 av. notre ère). Champ sémantique visuel et approche contextuelle.....	73
5 Élisabeth David – De la terre à la femme. Figurines féminines de Mouweis (Soudan), 2007-2016	105
<b>II Le Proche-Orient et l’Asie centrale du VIII<sup>e</sup> au II<sup>e</sup> millénaire av. J.-C.</b>	
6 Aurelie Daems – Figurines as Life Markers: An Inside Look into Some Human Figurines from Late Neolithic Iran and Iraq .....	119
7 Frédérique Brunet – Les figurines en Asie centrale du Chalcolithique au Bronze ancien (V <sup>e</sup> -IV <sup>e</sup> millénaire). Étude techno-typologique d’ateliers de production au Turkménistan .....	133
8 Élise Luneau & Rouhollah Shirazi – Figurines féminines nues protohistoriques d’Asie centrale et d’Iran oriental. Typologie, usages et symbolique.....	151
9 Ferhan Sakal – Dressed or Nude? A Less Known 3rd Millennium Female Figurine of the Middle Euphrates Region.....	173
10 Alexander Pruß – Nude Female Figurines of the 3rd Millennium in the Khabur Region .....	183
11 Isabelle Weygand – Les images de femmes nues à Mari et à Terqa (Syrie) du III <sup>e</sup> millénaire au début du II <sup>e</sup> millénaire av. J.-C.....	193
<b>III Le Levant Nord et Sud à l’âge du fer</b>	
12 Barbara Bolognani – The Iron Age Female Figurines from Karkemish and the Middle Euphrates Valley. Preliminary Notes on Some Syrian Pillar Figurines .....	217
13 Irit Ziffer – “What immortal hand or eye, could frame thy fearful symmetry”. The Handmade Figurines on the Cult Stands from the Yavneh Repository .....	233
14 Régine Hunziker-Rodewald – Conception, grossesse et accouchement. L’enchantement des figurines du Levant Sud à l’âge du fer .....	249
15 Ida Oggiano – <i>Vestire gli ignudi</i> . The Appearance of Dress on Iron Age Phoenician Figurines: The Case of Kharayeb (Lebanon) .....	265

#### IV Regards transversaux : l'iconographie, les textes et l'économie

- 16 Dominique Beyer – À propos des images de femmes nues dans la glyptique de Mésopotamie et des régions voisines ..... 283
- 17 Anne-Caroline Rendu Loisel – Façonner le féminin dans les rituels de l'ancienne Mésopotamie. Le témoignage des textes ..... 291
- 18 Raz Kletter – Everything Has a Price? The Case of Ancient Near Eastern Clay Figurines..... 297

#### V La Méditerranée orientale et le monde grec

- 19 Oliver Pilz – Naked Female Figures in Early Iron Age Crete: Iconography and Interpretation... 307
- 20 Isabelle Tassignon – Déesse – prostituée – initiée ? Une proposition d'interprétation des « plaquettes d'Astarté » chypriotes ..... 317
- 21 Stéphanie Huysecom-Haxhi – Les « poupées nues » féminines en terre cuite de l'Artémision de Thasos : Typologie, interprétation, utilisation..... 327
- Textes anciens cités..... 345
- Lieux et sites ..... 345
- Divinités et démons..... 347
- Mots akkadiens..... 347
- Index général ..... 347
- Table des figures et crédits ..... 351



# LISTE DES CONTRIBUTEURS

**JOHAN BEHA**, diplômé en Archéologie des Mondes anciens (master), Université de Strasbourg.

**DOMINIQUE BEYER**, Professeur émérite d'archéologie du Proche-Orient ancien, Université de Strasbourg, membre de l'UMR 7044 Archimède.

**BARBARA BOLOGNANI**, Dr. Università di Bologna.

**FRÉDÉRIQUE BRUNET**, chargée de recherche CNRS, UMR 7041 « Archéologies et Sciences de l'Antiquité » (ArScAn) et directrice de la Mission archéologique française en Asie Centrale Maison René-Ginouvès Archéologie & Ethnologie, Nanterre, France.

**GEORGES CASTEL**, architecte des fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Le Caire.

**FRÉDÉRIC COLIN**, Professeur d'égyptologie, Université de Strasbourg, membre de l'UMR 7044 Archimède, directeur de l'Institut d'égyptologie de Strasbourg.

**AURELIE DAEMS**, Dr. Ghent University et Royal Academy of Fine Arts, Antwerp.

**ÉLISABETH DAVID**, chargée d'études documentaires, musée du Louvre, département des Antiquités égyptiennes.

**SYLVIE DONNAT**, Maître de conférence en égyptologie, Université de Strasbourg, membre de l'UMR 7044 Archimède.

**RÉGINE HUNZIKER-RODEWALD**, Professeur d'Ancien Testament et d'Histoire du Proche Orient ancien, Université de Strasbourg, membre de l'EA 4378 : théologie protestante.

**STÉPHANIE HUYSECOM-HAXHI**, chargée de recherche CNRS, UMR 8164-HALMA.

**RAZ KLETTER**, Docent Helsinki University (Centres of excellence CSTT et ANEE).

**ÉLISE LUNEAU**, chercheuse, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Eurasien-Abteilung.

**SYLVIE MARCHAND**, céramologue, Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Le Caire.

**IDA OGGIANO**, chercheuse, CNR, Istituto di Studi sul Mediterraneo Antico, Rome.

**OLIVER PILZ**, Dr., privat-docent à la Johannes Gutenberg Universität, Mayence.

**ALEXANDER PRUB**, Professeur à la Johannes Gutenberg Universität, Mayence.

**ISABELLE RÉGEN**, égyptologue, Université Paul Valéry Montpellier 3, UMR 5140-Archéologie des sociétés méditerranéennes, chercheuse associée à l'UMR 7044 Strasbourg.

**ANNE-CAROLINE RENDU LOISEL**, Maître de conférence en assyriologie, Université de Strasbourg, membre de l'UMR 7044 Archimède.

**FERHAN SAKAL**, docteur de la Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen.

**ROUHOLLAH SHIRAZI**, professeur associé, université de Sistan-et-Baluchestan, Zahedan (Iran), Département d'archéologie (University of Sistan and Baluchestan).

**ISABELLE TASSIGNON**, maître de conférences, Université de Namur, département d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art et conservatrice à la Fondation Gandur pour l'Art, Genève.

**ISABELLE WEYGAND**, agrégée d'histoire, membre associée de l'UMR 7044 Archimède.

**IRIT ZIFFER**, conservatrice au Eretz Israel Museum, Tel Aviv.



Tous droits réservés pour tous pays. ce fichier électronique ne peut en aucun cas être modifié. L'auteur de ce document a l'autorisation d'imprimer des copies de celui-ci dans le seul cas d'une utilisation personnelle. Il n'est pas permis de mettre ce PDF à disposition sur Internet. Pour toute autre utilisation, une autorisation écrite doit être demandée à l'éditeur.



THE APPEARANCE OF DRESS ON IRON AGE PHOENICIAN FIGURINES:  
THE CASE OF KHARAYEB (LEBANON)

Ida OGGIANO

**ABSTRACT:** The theme of nudity in the votive clay figurines is closely correlated with that of the meaning of the use of dress in the society that created them. In this paper, on the basis of the analysis of the votive coroplastic from the cult place of Kharayeb, dating from the 7th to the Hellenistic period, the phenomenon of the appearance in the Late Iron Age Levant repertoire of female figurines wearing a long, simple mantle or more sophisticated dress will be analyzed. In fact, even if naked female figurines presenting their breasts are still part of the local repertoire, it is evident that, from the Late Iron Age onwards, the Levantine communities feel the need to represent women with clothes probably to emphasize the gender, age and social position. The introduction of the Greek repertoire will be also considered. In particular, it is interesting that the population of the Phoenician agrarian hinterland in the Hellenistic period “delegates” to images of a distant and very different world the representation of their own physical appearance (body, dress, movement, etc.) The aim of this paper is to assess this act of delegation, which was performed not by an individual but by an entire community, considering that ritualization strategies are closely linked to the body (according to embodiment theories) and that wearing a special dress, hairstyle or jewellery, or emphasizing a certain part of the body, is a way of indicating status and identity.

**RÉSUMÉ:** Au cours de l'âge du fer tardif, la figure féminine est représentée de diverses manières dans la coroplastie levantine. Les figurines féminines nues se tenant les seins sont encore attestées mais de nouveaux types présentant des vêtements gagnent en popularité, qu'il s'agisse d'un simple et long manteau (comme dans le répertoire de la côte phénicienne) ou d'une robe plus sophistiquée (comme dans le répertoire nord-syrien). La présentation du matériel coroplastique du site cultuel phénicien de Kharayeb, situé aux alentours de Tyr et actif du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C. jusqu'à la période hellénistique, nous permettra donc d'aborder les thématiques suivantes: (a) l'introduction progressive dans le répertoire levantain des figurines de femmes habillées; (b) la possible connexion entre habillement et type de figurine (on peut notamment penser aux femmes jouant du tambour ou à celle communément appelée *Dea gravida*, avec sa fonction spécifique); (c) l'introduction du répertoire grec. Concernant ce dernier point, il est intéressant de noter que la population vivant à l'époque hellénistique dans l'arrière-pays phénicien, « délègue » à des images provenant d'un monde complètement différent des éléments caractéristiques de leur propre apparence physique (corps, vêtement, mouvement). Puisque les stratégies de ritualisation sont étroitement liées au corps – selon la perspective des *embodiment theories* – et que le port d'une robe particulière, d'une coiffure, d'un bijou ou encore la mise en valeur de certaines parties du corps constituent des moyens d'indiquer le statut et l'identité, cet acte de délégation mérite notre attention, d'autant plus qu'il n'est pas limité à un individu mais élargi à une collectivité entière.



1. “*Vestire gli ignudi*”—clothing the naked—is not only one of the corporal works of mercy of the Catholic tradition but the title of a comedy by the Italian writer Luigi Pirandello that inspired the title of this paper and some concluding remarks.

During the Late Iron Age in the Levant, female figurines are represented in various ways: naked female figurines presenting their breasts are still found, but new types gain in popularity, often wearing a long, simple mantle (as in the southern repertoire of the Phoenician coast) or more sophisticated dress (as in the northern Syrian repertoire). Through the presentation of coroplastic material from the Phoenician cult place of Kharayeb (near Tyre), dating from the Iron Age and Hellenistic period, this paper will try to understand the motivations that lead to the progressive introduction into the Levantine coroplastic repertoire of a new type of dressed women, and the possible connection of this specific type of image (as in the case of drum-playing figurines or the so-called *Dea gravida*) with some particular function.

### The cult place of Kharayeb

The archaeological site called “*mathaf*” (fig. 1)

A few kilometres north of Tyre, inland but near the coast, there is a densely populated village called Kharayeb. After the discovery in 1946 of several terracotta figurines in an area at the entrance to the modern village (called “Juret el-Khawatem”—the pit of the rings), Lebanon’s Director of Antiquities, Emir M. Chéhab, started to excavate that same year, unearthing the ruins of a rectangular building dating back to the Hellenistic period. In front of the building, near a paved courtyard, a *favissa* rich in clay figurines dating from between the 7th and 1st century BCE was found.<sup>2</sup> In 1969, the excavation was reopened, and I. Kaoukabani<sup>3</sup> found, together with several figurines dated to the same period, significant architectonic elements including a lintel with *uraeus*, and two Egyptianizing statues wearing the *shendit*, a well-known type in this region.<sup>4</sup> While M. Chéhab published an introductory report of those activities, B. Kaoukabani chose the site as the main subject of his PhD thesis at the Sorbonne University.<sup>5</sup>

In 2009, the Institute for the Study of the Ancient Mediterranean (ISMA) of the National Research Council (CNR) and the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MAE) supported a new research project

to resume the study of the figurines stored at the Directorate General of Antiquities (DGA) by analysing all the fragments stored in several boxes after the end of the Lebanese civil war. The material was studied from various perspectives: technology, style, iconography, colours, etc. The analysis of the fabrics, already conducted on a macroscopic level, is the focus of the project entitled “Establishment of a Phoenician pottery database on the chemical composition of terracottas using ion beam analysis (IBA) techniques and application to the study of artisanal production (pottery and coroplastic) from the Kharayeb archaeological site in southern Lebanon”.<sup>6</sup>

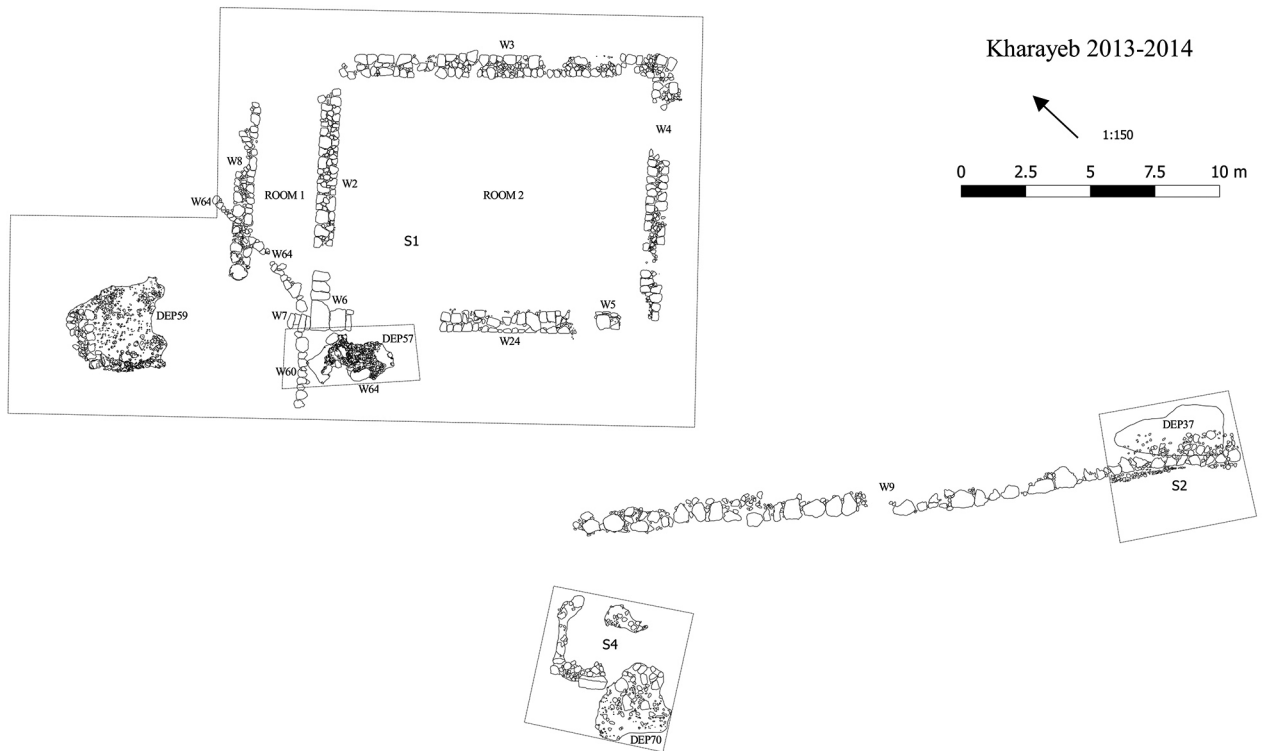
The main goal of the study of the figurines is to reconstruct the life of the people living in the rural countryside of the Tyrian region between the 7th and 1st century BCE. In order to widen the relevance of the project, the study could not be restricted to the material in museum storage. Starting from the fundamental concept that the ideal repositioning of the clay figurines will have been in their archaeological and historical context, a new project of excavation and survey started in November 2013, following an agreement between ISMA and the Lebanese University. New works have provided new information about the first phase of frequentation of the area (with pottery dating back to the 9th–8th century BCE), about the chronological phases of the main building (built entirely in the Hellenistic period), and about the rites of the first phase, performed using small and miniature plates.<sup>7</sup>

The Kharayeb project, which at first was aimed mainly at reconstructing the life of a Phoenician place of worship, has been enlarged today to become a wider interdisciplinary study of the agricultural hinterland of Tyre between the Iron Age and the Hellenistic period.<sup>8</sup>

### Figurines and nudity: some preliminary considerations

The subject of the female nude figurines in the ancient Near East has been widely studied, and the meaning of the female nudity variously interpreted.<sup>9</sup> Before dealing with the case study

2. CHÉHAB 1951-1952; CHÉHAB 1953-1954. 3. KAOUKABANI 1973. 4. FAEGERSTEN 2003. 5. Ibrahīm KAOUKABANI, *Les terres cuites de Kharayeb*, Paris 1977, Thèse de 3<sup>e</sup> cycle en histoire de l’art et archéologie Paris I. The material from the Kaoukabani excavations is not in the depot of DGA. 6. The project, under the direction of Ida Oggiano (ISMA–CNR) and Mohamad Roumié (Lebanese CNRL), is funded by CNR and CNRS-L under a Bilateral Agreement between the two institutions. 7. OGGIANO et al. 2016. 8. For the project with the municipality of Kharayeb, see OGGIANO 2014. 9. ROUMIE et al. in press; WINTER 1983; BAHRANI 2001; SEIDL 2001; UEHLINGER 2001; BONNET & PIRENNE DELFORGE 2004; MOOREY 2004; ASHER-GREVE & SWEENEY 2006; ASSANTE 2006; FELLI 2015, p. 218-220; LUCIANI in press. The term “nudity” simply refers to the absence of clothes, without implying any interpretation. See instead ASHER-GREVE, SWEENEY 2006, p. 133. The difference between “nakedness” and nudity has already been highlighted by Kenneth Clark (CLARK 1956), who described “nudity” as the erotic and aesthetically appealing aspects of “nakedness”.



1. Kharayeb: general plan of the main building – 2013-2015 excavations.

of Kharayeb, it is important to offer some considerations that form the theoretical basis for the interpretation of the data that arise.

**The importance of context**

“Terracottas do not have inherent meanings independent from their historically specific contexts of production and use.”<sup>10</sup> Therefore, particular attention has been devoted not only to the analysis of the iconography but also to the function of the context, the method of production, the association of the figurines with other kinds of material (e.g. miniature vessels), or the percentage of the figurines in relation to the total number of finds. Indeed, in the assessment of the meaning of some characteristics of the Kharayeb coroplastic field, the adoption of the point of view of the people who made and/or bought these figurines has become increasingly important. For example, the study of technological aspects of serial production has turned out to be crucial in shifting our attention

from a single iconographic element (with the risk of creating an aura of singularity around the object) to the process of “reactivation” of the meaning of the figurines that, on the contrary, was achieved by their repetition (fig. 2). Incidentally, in contemporary art, Andy Warhol experimented in his works with the visual impact of the reactivation of meaning obtained by the repetition of images of everyday life.

**Imagery is not a static phenomenon<sup>11</sup>**

According to R. Lesure, the term “meaning” can be understood in a variety of ways: “Meanings are not fixed relations between objects and ideas but mobile products of the ongoing conversations and activities that constitute social life. They are negotiated, contested, and unstable.”<sup>12</sup>

At Kharayeb, some themes were heirs of an ancient tradition (the nude figurine with her hands to her breasts); others were new types created in the southern Levant, simply replicated and used in

10. MOOREY 2004, p. 3. See also ASSANTE 2006, p. 178: “Removing female nudes of all periods from their contemporary contexts, they lined them up and presented them as an unbroken tradition of representation. The result has been a large number of distortions and misinterpretations.” 11. MOOREY 2003, p. 14. 12. LESURE 2002, p. 588 and fig. 1.



2. Kharayeb figurines: group of heads of young boys with *causia*.

the cult place; others, finally, in the so-called “Hellenistic” period, were iconographic creations of a very distant world, acquired by local workshops without any sort of modification. Therefore, the meaning of nudity, at least in this last case, should focus on the reasons for their survival and on the *new* meaning in the *new* context, rather than on the evaluation of the *raison d’être* of their creation.

#### Images without name and the importance of function

Speaking of the images of naked women in the ancient Near East, C. Bonnet and V. Pirenne-Delforge said, “on se gardera bien de mettre une étiquette, un nom sur ces images, celui d’Ishtar, par exemple ou un autre, dans la mesure où les panthéons syro-palestiniens et mésopotamiens étaient riches et fluides (nous opérons au sein d’un polythéisme polycentrique) et que l’image évoque davantage une ‘force divine’ opérant qu’une déesse précise.”<sup>13</sup> The holistic perception of a group of terracottas is, therefore, more important than forcing the interpretation of an image in order to give it the name of a god or goddess. Attention must shift away from the deities that may or may not be

identified at a cult place, and concentrate instead on the ritual practices that people engaged in when they frequented the site.<sup>14</sup> Kharayeb is, moreover, a classic example of an unsuccessful effort to force the decoding of an image.

M. Chéhab, in fact, on the basis of a few figurines representing Demeter and Kore, the type of the *Dadofora*, and the interpretation from a mystic perspective of a few images of Dionysus and Herakles, imagined the cult place as a “centre de cultes agraires et de mystères éleusiens.”<sup>15</sup>

I. Kaoukabani,<sup>16</sup> on the other hand, assumed that the cult place was dedicated, in a first phase, to a local type of Astart associated/identified with the goddess Isis, that the building was a *mammisi*, and that during the Hellenistic period the cult must have acquired a Demetriad character, along with mystic connotations. The fragility of these hypotheses has already been demonstrated.<sup>17</sup> One might add, following some recent and convincing studies on this topic, that at Kharayeb, except for a few cases like that of the seated male figure with the *atef* crown of the Persian period, the iconographic types, including the nude ones, seem to refer to real figures.

13. BONNET & PIRENNE-DELFORGE 2004, p. 836.

14. BAILEY 2005. “We have to look at terracottas not so much ‘in order to’ but ‘for’, in other words, we are not interested in decoding what they represent, but in achieving a holistic understanding of them” (GARCIA-VENTURA & LÓPEZ-BERTRAN 2010, p. 739-740).

15. CHÉHAB 1951-1952, p. 143-154. 16. KAOUKABANI 1973. 17. LANCELLOTTI 2003.



### The dilemma: human females or goddesses?

One question has consistently been a focus of debate in the study of naked female figurines: are they representing humans or goddesses?

Nudity, without specific attributes, has been interpreted in various ways: as an abstract concept—the principle/quality of human dignity expressed by the Akkadian term *baštu*<sup>18</sup>—as a positive general message of pure pleasure, power and fecundity, as a deity identified as a mother goddess or, more specifically, Inanna, Ištar, Astarte, and more “concretely” as the representation of a priestess, temple attendant, worshipper and seductress.

Apart from adopting a critical position concerning the use of the term “mother goddess” and the concept of “fertility”<sup>19</sup> and concerning the need to find a divine name for these anonymous female images, some interesting recent studies have tried to concentrate on the connection between the iconography and the supposed *use* and *social role* of these kinds of objects.<sup>20</sup> M. Luciani argues that the mass-produced naked female figurines in third- and second-millennium Mesopotamia would have represented real women and were used in connection with social events involving large parts of the population.<sup>21</sup> C. Felli, speaking of ancient Mesopotamia’s nude female figurines in different media, hypothesizes that this iconography refers to a real figure playing a cultic role and having enough importance in daily life to justify frequent representation.<sup>22</sup>

Divine or not, expression of a concept or not, it is clear that the naked figurines are bearers of a social message, transmitted to various audiences and in different contexts, to which it is important that we turn our attention.

### Images and social identities

“As miniature representations of human bodies, figurines also provided immediate and obvious connections to the corporeality of their human interlocutors, allowing for mutual identity sharing between object and user.”<sup>23</sup> Moving from the simple classification of iconography to the analysis of the interaction between humans and objects, special attention should be paid to the active role both of the buyer of the figurines—who could address

the selection of the iconographic repertoire—and of technology, which led to the introduction of new images and new ways of representing body and dress. In doing so, a window can be opened on the people living in the rural hinterland of the southern Phoenician coastal cities between the Iron Age and Hellenistic periods.

### Clothing the naked: the appearance of dress in Iron Age Phoenician figurines

What are the motivations for the progressive introduction into the Levantine coroplastic repertoire of a new type of dressed women, and the possible connection of this specific type of image with particular functions?

The appearance of and increase in nudity in the repertoire of the ancient Near East has already been analysed for different periods. P. R. S. Moorey underlines the sharp increase in mould-made terracotta plaques representing nude females at the turn of the second millennium BCE in Mesopotamia, as well their decrease thereafter.<sup>24</sup> O. Keel and K. Uehlinger have noted that, during the Iron Age IIA, “women [...] are portrayed [...] wearing at least a veil but can also wear a skirt wrapped around the hips or else they wear a dress that covers the entire body”. According to the two scholars, the tendency towards clothing the individual in the southern Levant iconographic repertoire would be progressively more prevalent during the entire Iron Age.<sup>25</sup>

In the southern Levant, in fact, the Late Iron Age and Persian period saw a shift from conservatism to openness to innovation, and therefore it is in this cultural context that attitudes towards nudity changed from less to more restrictive. This is a prime consideration for Kharayeb, since the local production turns out to be the protagonist of such a “restriction”, emphasizing the role of artisans’ agency. In fact, within the Kharayeb production, characterized by types well documented in contemporary Phoenicia and Palestine—horseman and horses, pregnant women, women supporting their breasts (fig. 3, b), male seated gods with *atef* crown or flat hat (fig. 3, a) – male nudity is not attested, and for the female images two trends can be observed:

18. BAHRANI 1996; BAHRANI 2001; BONNET & PIRENNE-DELFORGE 2004; ASSANTE 2006, p. 181; FELLI 2015; LUCIANI in press. 19. On a critical approach to the concept of “fertility” and “sexuality” (male-centred and biologically oriented) as applied to the interpretation of the nude figurines see ASSANTE 2006, p. 178-180. 20. LESURE 2002, p. 588: “In addition, analysts studying meaning can ask a variety of questions. For instance, instead of *what* figurines mean we might ask *how* they mean”. 21. LUCIANI in press. I wish to thank Marta Luciani for letting me read the preprint version of her interesting paper. 22. FELLI 2015. 23. LANGIN & HOOPER 2013, p. 451. 24. MOOREY 2004, p. 71-77. 25. KEEL & UEHLINGER 1998, p. 164; for the so-called “naked-goddess” type see also p. 202, 336, 384. According to the two scholars, Iron Age I corresponds to the 10th century, and Iron Age IIB-C is the period between the 9th century and 586 BCE.



3. **a.** Seated male figurine with flat head from Kharayeb; **b.** Woman supporting their breasts from Kharayeb; **c-d.** nude and dressed female northern Syrian figurines; figurines with outstretched arms and Eastern Greek dress; **e.** from Beirut ; **f.** from Kharayeb.

*Trend towards covering  
the nude female types*

In the Syro-Palestinian coroplastic repertoire, female figurines are represented in various ways: naked, in frontal position to the viewer, holding up their breasts in their hands, or with outstretched arms. The type supporting the breasts was covered with sophisticated dresses of oriental origins only in the Syrian and northern Phoenician production (fig. 3, c-d). The type with outstretched arms was created during the 8th century (reproducing an ancient local motif) and gained a certain popularity in the Achaemenid period.<sup>26</sup> Around 550 BCE, types with Ionian dress and headdress (*stephane*) also appeared.<sup>27</sup> They are the creation of local artisans, as demonstrated by the excessive length of the arms and by the thickness at the level of the hands, both characteristics unthinkable for figurines or moulds imported from Greece.<sup>28</sup> For a certain period and in some contexts, the type with outstretched arms coexisted in the two variants—naked and clothed—but not at Kharayeb, where only the clothed type is attested (fig. 3, e-f).

Figurines that portray a female holding a round disk in front of her upper body are typical of the first three centuries of the first millennium, in both the naked and clothed variants.<sup>29</sup> The drum, like all the musical instruments, can more easily be associated with the dances and music which were a fundamental part of rituals and, therefore, this type refers to a real figure. One naked figurine with drum from Taanach, with accentuated genitalia, “was out of step with the times”, according to O. Keel and C. Uehlinger, because women were now more commonly portrayed wearing a dress that covered the entire body, a skirt wrapped around the hips, or at least a veil.<sup>30</sup> The tendency towards clothing the individuals will be even more prevalent between the 8th century and the Persian period throughout the southern Levant and Cyprus.<sup>31</sup>

*Trend towards creating new male  
and female types, always clothed*

Some new iconographic types appear in the Late Iron Age and Persian period: the male seated figurine with *atef* crown and flat hat, the so-called

pregnant woman, the female figure with a *stola*, a fan, etc. All the new types are dressed (fig. 4).

Before examining some examples of the new dressed type, and to better understand the significance of the act of covering nudity, it is important to consider the basic reasons for humankind’s use of clothing. To quote L. Bonfante, these are: “1) as protection against the elements, especially the cold; 2) for social reasons, to distinguish members of a tribe or class; 3) from a sense of shame; 4) for aesthetic reasons, as decoration, pleasure, beauty, and to attract the opposite sex; 5) for apotropaic reasons, to turn away the effects of magic, sorcery, the evil eye, and hostile spirits.”<sup>32</sup>

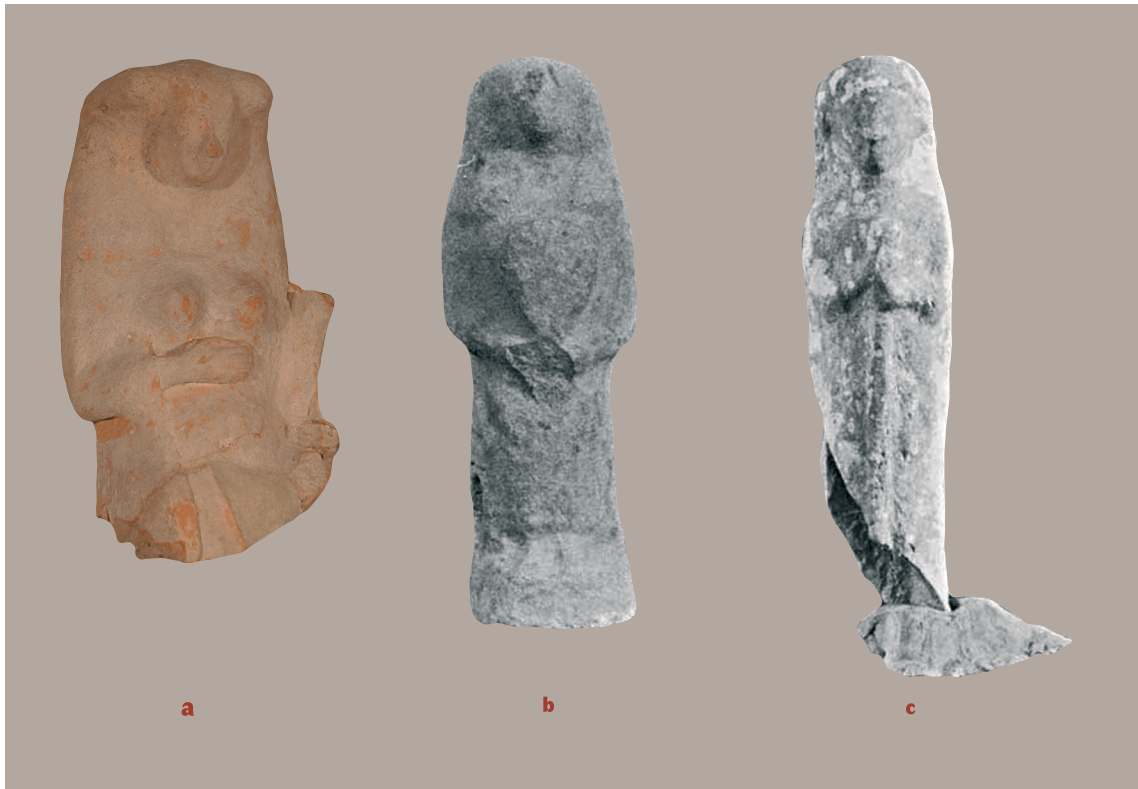
Some case studies will help to give some possible explanations for the trends towards dressing figurines.

**Dressed pregnancy: context and historical,  
anthropological and iconographic  
comparativism**

Emphasis on a particular part of the body is the means through which the first anonymous inventor of an iconographic type can express a new message and *l’air du temps*. The sudden appearance of the female figure with a big belly, therefore, tells of a social context within which it became important to emphasize the status of pregnancy, a moment in female life that has never been frequently represented. This is what can be said about this iconography defined (although in the absence of known divine markers) as “*Dea Gravida*” (fig. 4, a).<sup>33</sup>

In interpreting certain iconographies whose meaning is not very clear, it may be helpful and stimulating to use iconographic and ethnographic comparison, as this may offer new interpretative perspectives. However, ethnographic comparison can be misleading if used indiscriminately.<sup>34</sup> At the same time, the importance of the use of analogy should not be underestimated when this method is used to identify comparable *recurrences* within the framework of cultural complexes remote in time. If we consider the frequency of representations of the key moments of maternity in different periods, for example, we notice two opposing elements: the rarity of the images of pregnancy and childbirth, in

26. GUBEL 1982. 27. NUNN 2000, p. 11 for criticism of Riis (Riis 1949) for the use of Greek terms like *chiton*, *kolpos*, *himation* to describe the clothes of these Syrian figurines. 28. GUBEL 1982 p. 230. 29. PAZ 2007; only one example from Kharayeb can be attributed, tentatively, to this type (OGGIANO et al. 2016, fig. 11, 3). 30. KEEL & UEHLINGER 1998, p. 164. 31. PAZ 2007 passim; KEEL & UEHLINGER 1998, p. 164-165; for comparison with the type attested at Kharayeb, PRITCHARD 1978, fig. 41-42 (Sarepta); BIKAI 1978, Tav. LXXXI, 2, Stratum II (740-700 BCE) (Tyre); KARAGEORGHIS 1987, p. 18, fig. 2-3 and p. 17, fig. 1 (Amathos). 32. BONFANTE 1989, p. 544 and n. 2. The scholar says that, in a clothed society, nakedness is special and can be used as “costume”, and that, like clothing, nakedness was used to distinguish social groups. 33. CULICAN 1969. 34. OGGIANO 2012.



4. Dressed female figurines from Kharayeb: **a.** Pregnant; **b.** with fan **c.** with flower.

contrast to the more frequent motif of breastfeeding.<sup>35</sup> Why?

The (relatively) frequent representation of breastfeeding is probably to be connected not only with the physical, biological act of nourishment<sup>36</sup> but also with the “cultural” role of women as nurturing figures, from the first days of life to the daily preparation and distribution of food within the domestic group.<sup>37</sup> These kinds of images, therefore, have “more to do with the identification and placement of woman in society than as aspects of religious devotion”.<sup>38</sup> In Classical Greek art, the motif of the nursing mother is absent, probably to avoid any kind of display of female nudity, which was perhaps felt to be too private and shameful.<sup>39</sup> This image enters the repertoire of Kharayeb, as with Greek art, only in the Hellenistic period; this fact has led to a particularly close consideration of the predominance in this cult place, during the Iron Age–Persian period phases, of a type

of iconography that is rare in other contexts: the image of the pregnant woman.

The rarity of the representation of the prenatal period, with all the anxieties connected with it, gives more significance to the diffusion in the southern Levant, during the Persian period, of a type of figurine representing a pregnant woman, seated or standing, often with a hand on the abdomen. This iconography is an innovation within the local repertoire that first appeared around the 8th century BCE and became widespread especially during the 6th and 4th centuries BCE.<sup>40</sup> Pregnancy is depicted as a delicate and modest moment, with the expressive and realistic gesture of one hand placed on the belly, and without a particular sexual allure. The emphasis is now on the unambiguous role—compared to that of naked women, still debated—of the woman’s body as the place where the concept of fertility (a female or male prerogative) comes concretely to life.

35. BUDIN 2011, p. 2: “Although more popular than images of pregnancy or childbirth, the *kourotrophos* is a highly specialized, localized, and contrived image that appeared only in a limited scope in the ancient world.” 36. BUDIN 2011, p. 9. BONNET & PIRENNE-DELFORGE 2004, p. 831, speak in the same terms of nudity: “la nudité n’appartient donc pas seulement à la sphère biologique ... on pourrait dire que la nudité féminine évolue du monde de la nature au monde de la culture.” 37. DELGADO & FERRER 2011, p. 184–186. 38. BUDIN 2011, p. 347–348. 39. BONFANTE 1989, p. 567–568. 40. GUBEL 1983, p. 33–36; for Cyprus, BUDIN 2011, p. 228–229.

The general rarity of this iconographic type gives more significance to its diffusion in the Persian period, when images connected with motherhood and childhood prevailed in the various media. The pregnant woman, whether a goddess or a mortal, reflects the formalization of the ritual practice of invoking a good pregnancy, a good childbirth and a good offspring, performed in ceremonies where these images would have played an important role.<sup>41</sup>

**Clothes as symbols of function:  
female figurine with *stola* (fig. 5, a)**

Female figurine with *stola*,<sup>42</sup> a long strip of fabric that is an element of the apparel of some officials in Assyrian reliefs<sup>43</sup> and in some Phoenician monuments.<sup>44</sup>

It is evident that, whatever meaning it had, the stole was a marker of a certain social function and was worn by people of rank in their role as operators in cultic rituals, as surely is the case with the superintendent to the door (*rab š'rm*) Baalshamar, portrayed with ritual dress and bare feet on one of the Umm el-'Amed stele (fig. 5, b).<sup>45</sup> The *stola* is represented also in the western Mediterranean colonies, as we can see in a sarcophagus from Carthage and in some stele from the *tofet* of Monte Sirai and Sulcis in Sardinia.<sup>46</sup> Is it possible that a priestess (*khnt*) is represented? The answer may be "yes", because the existence of priestesses is known from some inscriptions from Phoenicia (Ummiastar mother of Eshmunazor II of Sidon)<sup>47</sup> and in the Punic word (confraternity of Astarte's *b'mt š' štrt*),<sup>48</sup> and because the use of the stole as a symbol of this category is confirmed by stone monuments such as those of Umm el-'Amed and Carthage, which are not anonymous images but refer to concrete individuals.

It can be affirmed, therefore, that the representations of female figurines with *stola* from Kharayeb are real figures playing a cultic role, perhaps as part of a specific group of personnel.

**Flower and fan:  
objects as symbols of rituals (fig. 4, b-c)**

The attributes of the fan, the flower and the drum are probably connected with particular moments in the ritual performances or with particular functions of the participants, while the simple veil covering the head of a group of female images is less distinguishing. These figurines are the physical expression of the active participation of common women, often neglected in texts and official media, in religious life. The images of women holding either a fan or a flower in front of their breast are more identifiable as real figures, therefore, than as goddesses.<sup>49</sup>

**Hellenistic period figurines from Kharayeb  
as actors of a sacred representation**

This last part is dedicated to the introduction of the Greek repertoire, to the problem of interpreting new forms of dress and new forms of nudity (of males and children), and to evaluating the figures not as isolated types but as a complex of images. Figurines, viewed as a whole, function as actors of the sacred "performance of a ritual".<sup>50</sup>

Around the 4th century BCE, the structures of the Iron Age–Persian period were completely covered by a new edifice. Only a few items from the Persian period were collected in a pit near the building, a *favissa* that was filled with material until the end of use of the cult place (around the 1st century BCE). The majority of votive pottery and figurines of the first phase were left on the so-called *dallage* and were found during the excavations by Kaoukabani.<sup>51</sup>

Rituals, like images, are not static phenomena:<sup>52</sup> the construction, in new architectural forms, of a sanctuary (with the introduction of architectural and decorative elements from the coast) must therefore have also effected changes in the forms of the ritual performances that were, as is generally recognized, influenced by the physical paths and movements of the worshippers. In correspondence

41. BUDIN 2011, p. 173, proposes that Phoenicians created this iconography because their colonizing society needed to "multiply" from the 8th century onwards. 42. CECCHINI, 1981, n. 14. 43. READE 1972. 44. CECCHINI 1981. 45. DUNAND-DURU 1962, pl. LXXXVIII, bis; MAES 1991, p. 222-223. 46. OGGIANO 2013. 47. KAI 14. 48. CIS I, 263. For the priest in the Phoenician and Punic world, see AMADASI & GUZZO 2003. 49. The iconography of the frontally standing woman with long dress (sometimes embroidered and fringed), adorned often with jewels, holding a flower, usually in the left hand, appeared in northern Syria and Cyprus between the 6th and 4th centuries: RIIS 1949; SCANDONE MATTHIAE 1996; NUNN 2000; MICALE 2014. 50. On the possibility of seeing terracottas as units of various types rather than just as single type, see MOOREY 2003, p. 21-22. 51. KAOUKABANI 1973. 52. BELL 1997, p. 83: "ritual as part of an historical process in which past patterns are reproduced but also reinterpreted or transformed."



5. **a.** Female figurine with stola;  
**b.** Stele of Baalshamar from Umm el-'Amed.

to the radical modification of the architectural aspect of the cult place, the activities of the coroplastic workshops were renewed. New techniques of production using double moulds were introduced, probably from the coastal cities. Local manufacturing traditions disappeared completely, and no skilled artists seem to have created new archetypes.

#### The perception of body and dress: foreign iconography and local community

The variety of iconographies of the Hellenistic period is really remarkable. The number of deities is very limited compared to the iconography of common people: women, men, children and young boys (fig. 6). So, how should we interpret these iconographies?

Considering that the images are all derived from the Hellenistic Greek repertoire, without noticeable innovation, we suggest that the application of concepts arising from the *sociology of bodies* (fundamental in the study of societies which *create* images) is misleading. At this level, it is better to shift to the study of the *reception and perception of the body and dress*—in other words, to investigate

how foreign iconographies were perceived in a basically culturally unchanged context like that of Kharayeb. The role of multiple viewers is always fundamental.

Before the late 5th century, even partial nudity of the female body was rare in Greek art.<sup>53</sup> The 4th and 3rd centuries were decisive in the development of the female body in Greece, and particularly in Greek cities of Asia Minor. As a result of greater cultural interaction between Greece and the Near East, through trade and colonization, very different attitudes toward nudity, the female sex, and gender were developed. “While style and iconographies were readily imported, the diverse attitudes towards the female body and notions of femininity were never fully accepted with these formal artistic borrowings.”<sup>54</sup> If this could be true for Babylonia, as Z. Bahrani has demonstrated, the same interpretative assumption is not relevant to Kharayeb, where the production of figurines seems simply to be an automatic replication of foreign images.

The absence of creativity in the activities of the coroplastic workshops of Kharayeb (assuming that there were local workshops) is, moreover, peculiar

53. BONFANTE 1989. 54. BAHRANI 1996, p. 4.



6. Figurines from Kharayeb: a-c. children; d. female figurine with jug.

if compared with other categories of artworks, for example sculpture and architecture. The shrine of our site is an example of how local architectural elements were mixed with others derived from the Hellenistic tradition spread along the coastal site, even in private elite contexts. In the site of Umm el-‘Amed, similar behaviour is well attested; in particular, here one must recall the use of dress of different styles for men and women represented in the stele: Greek-type dress for women and non-Greek-type dress for men.<sup>55</sup>

The artisans working at Kharayeb on the production of figurines could not operate similar differentiations. Our attention must therefore move to another type of choice—that of the inhabitants of the region who used to buy figurines as they went to pray at the cult place. Among the types produced and dedicated, only two are naked: male children and gods.

#### Acknowledging the corporeality of children and the new ideas of nude children’s bodies

The notion of childhood can be expressed in artefacts and material records.<sup>56</sup> The material documentation of Kharayeb, with its hundreds of images of little boys and girls, is therefore of great significance to this topic (fig. 6, a-c).

The first years of a child’s life are intense, and the role of the mother is crucial, ranging from breastfeeding (biological reality) to the introduction of the newborn to those rituals devoted to joining him/her to the family and the group (cultural reality).<sup>57</sup> Among these, a ritual often considered is the presentation of the image of a child with a short dress raised to show the sex, adorned, in the Cypriote examples, with necklaces of amulets—the iconographic type known as the *Temple Boy* (even if *Temple Boys* are not present at Kharayeb, they are widespread in stone and terracotta all over the southern Levant). Could the nakedness of a child and, in particular, the gesture of showing the sex, allude to circumcision?<sup>58</sup> If not, as many scholars now tend to think,<sup>59</sup> surely the gesture of exposing the sex should have an essential meaning within a ritualized moment of transition (rite of passage).

While in Hellenistic private settings, children were considered “*creatori di atmosfera*”<sup>60</sup> because

of their soft features and tender, happy attitudes, the adoption of images of nude, chubby boys and always dressed chubby girls has to be interpreted in the context of a rural community where children were fundamental—not least in an economic sense—to the future of the society. Do the images represent the real society? While the great number of nude children could reflect a real sector of the rural world, why are so many figurines of pupils dedicated in the shrine? And what was the level of formal schooling? Children were often employed as workers, sometimes in the same workshops that produced figurines representing them as pupils. In fact, after the adoption by the local population of more efficient and economical techniques developed in Greece, standardized methods that did not require particular skill, children became part of the production chain.<sup>61</sup> Were the figurines of pupils dedicated by worshippers from the coastal cities going to a shrine where particular attention was devoted to childhood?

#### Nudity of children and gods, dress of women and men

Standing draped women are the standard type of the Hellenistic repertoire, while male mortals are almost always dressed, with few types, partially naked with a large mantle draped around the hips. As for the nude deities, the types are those typical of the period: Aphrodite, Hermes, Herakles, Satyrs and Dionysus. Certainly, they were chosen for a particular reason which, at the moment, is hard to understand (for example, was the Greek image of Herakles related in some way to the god Melkart of Tyre?) (fig. 7).<sup>62</sup>

So, how should we interpret these iconographies? At this point, it is important to shift from iconographic comparativism with the Greek world to the contextual approach, taking into account the sociopolitical development of this area in this period (the *entangled method*).<sup>63</sup>

Thanks to the recent studies dedicated to Hellenistic Phoenicia,<sup>64</sup> it is possible to say that some forms of “Hellenism”—e.g. that expressed by the urban élite—did not reach the countryside and seemed to be confined to the coastal milieu. Apparently, the inhabitants of the rural areas remained

55. NIETZSCHE 2007, p. 200, said that the women in the *stelai* of Umm el-‘Amed wear what looks like a Greek *himation* and *chiton*, the men wear robes and *polos* as seen in some Persian-period representations.

56. COSÇKUNSU 2015. See also LORENTZ 2003, p. 13: “The exploration of how social difference becomes expressed by and through the aged bodies, with reference to particular cultural contexts, in the *long durée*, is a long overdue undertaking. The focus on the child body draws attention to the body as aged, as opposed to the generic adult bodies previously dominating the stage.” 57. BUDIN 2011, p. 9–11. 58. BEER 1994. 59. HERMARY & MERTENS 2014, chapter 4. BONNET 2015, p. 224. 60. ZANKER 1998. 61. OGGIANO 2015 and 2015a. 62. BONNET & JOURDAINE-ANNEQUIN 1992; see also NIETZSCHE 2013. 63. On the use of this method in relation to the study of the figurine, see LANGIN-HOOPER 2013. 64. BONNET 2015; see also NIETZSCHE 2007.





7. Figurines of Hermes and Aphrodite.

attached to their language, architectural and decorative traditions and to their deities, as peasants strongly rooted in local customs. By contrast, it is worth noting that, at an iconographic level, the local population of peasants at a certain point “delegate” to images of a distant and completely different world the representation of their own physical appearance (body, dress, movement, etc.). Considering that ritualization strategies are closely linked to the body (according to embodiment theories), and that wearing a special dress, hairstyle or jewellery, or emphasizing a certain part of the body, is a way to indicate status and identity, this act of delegation, performed not by an individual but by an entire community, should be stressed.<sup>65</sup>

Two elements are important: the active role of technology and artistic taste.

The introduction from the coastal workshops of double-mould technology and, in particular, the introduction of Greek moulds directly from the workshops of the Tyrian or Sidonian sanctuaries played an active role in the change in the iconographic repertoire, resulting in conditioning the taste of the people. At the same time, one of the main aspects of Hellenistic artistic production is,

according to Paul Zanker, the orientation of the images depicting deities and common people, feasts, dance, music, laughter, Eros and children, Dionysus and his *thiasos*, towards the real world, “universal” values and “emotional situations”. The proximity of these Greek figures to the real world and their allusion to universal themes must have helped the rural population of Kharayeb to acknowledge these images, firstly according to their own “mental panorama”, and secondly as representations of *feelings* such as *love* between man and woman, mother and daughter, towards children, etc.

The role of the viewers was fundamental, therefore, because they attributed to the new “realistic” images created with moulds inspired by, if not originated in, the Greek world a renewed meaning that was derived from their own experience of life. The fact that figurines had, already from their origin, a variety of significance must have allowed buyers to attribute to the objects the value that they believed the most appropriate, with the result that this created a sort of sacred representation with stereotyped characters of the rural and pastoral world (as in the Neapolitan *presepe*, the Christian nativity scene).

65. OGGIANO 2015 and 2015a.

## CONCLUSIONS

The complexity of the picture leaves us with many insoluble questions. In the communities of the southern Levant from the Late Iron Age onwards, it became important to be represented with clothes, probably from a need to be identified by dress (real, metaphorical and symbolic) with a specific part of society. Nudity, *worn as dress*,<sup>66</sup> leaves it to the viewer to play a more active role in interpreting its “functional significance” (especially because it is a form of dress used for several millennia!), and leaves scholars to debate the meaning of this “nude look”. Was it the expression of male or female desire?<sup>67</sup> Or an aspect of shame, sexuality and fertility (connected with sexuality)?<sup>68</sup> Are such figurines used in a particular ceremony as representations of goddesses, priests or worshippers? Could they indicate a mythic moment, magical powers, criminalization, legendary heroism, priestly purity, religious subjugation, an abstract quality? Or indicate the dead, the defeated or the

immortal?<sup>69</sup> Without doubt, the representation of nudity is an ambiguous image, which gives the viewer less information than dress provides.

From the 4th century BCE, people of Kharayeb rarely bought the *idealized-realistic* nude figurines of Greek deities<sup>70</sup> and adult males. They preferred the nudity of children and young boys (never girls), surely because of the function of the cult place, which was probably dedicated to healing cults in which particular attention was devoted to childhood.<sup>71</sup>

What can be said, in conclusion, is that the progressive tendency to “*vestire gli ignudi*”, to cover nakedness with dress, is evidence of a tendency to emphasize—through clothes—the gender, age and social position of the people using it and/or identifying with it. Such dress enables one to be accepted and respected by the other elements of society and, whether it is local or Greek in style, reveals a need to be what others want one to be.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY:

- AMADASI GUZZO, M. G., 2003, “Il sacerdote”, in J.A. Zamora López (ed.), *El hombre fenicio. Estudios y materiales*, Serie Arqueológica 9, CSIC Escuela Española de Historia y Arqueología en Roma, Roma, p. 97-122.
- ASSANTE, J., 2006, “Undressing the Nude: Problems in Analyzing Nudity in Ancient Art, with an Old Babylonian Case Study”, in S. Schroer (ed.), *Images and Gender: Contributions to the Hermeneutics of Reading Ancient Art*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 220, Fribourg, Göttingen, p. 177-207.
- ASHER-GREVE, J. & SWEENEY, D., 2006, “On Nakedness, Nudity, and Gender in Egyptian and Mesopotamian Art”, in S. Schroer (ed.), *Images and Gender. Contribution to the Hermeneutics of Reading Ancient Art*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 220, Fribourg-Göttingen, 2006, p. 110-162.
- BAHRANI, Z., 1996, “The Hellenization of Ishtar: Nudity, Fetishism, and the Production of Cultural Differentiation in Ancient Art”, *Oxford Art Journal* 19 (2), p. 3-16.
- BAHRANI, Z., 2001, *Women of Babylon: Gender and Representation in Mesopotamia*, London.
- BAILEY, D. W., 2005, *Prehistoric Figurines. Representation and Corporeality in the Neolithic*, London.
- BEER, C., 1994, *Temple-Boys. A case study of Cypriote Votive Sculpture. 1. Catalogue*, Göteborg.
- BELL, C., 1997, *Ritual Perspectives and Dimensions*, Oxford.
- BIKAI, P., 1978, *The Pottery of Tyre*, Warminster.
- BONFANTE, L., 1989, “Nudity as a Costume in Classical Art”, *American Journal of Archaeology* 93, p. 543-570.
- BONNET, C., 2015, *Les enfants de Cadmos. Le paysage religieux de la Phénicie hellénistique*, Paris.
- & JOURDAIN-ANNEQUIN, C., (eds), 1992, *Héraclès: d'une rive à l'autre de la Méditerranée. Bilan et perspectives*, Bruxelles.
- BONNET, C. & PIRENNE-DELFORGE, V., 2004, “‘Cet obscure objet du désir’. La nudité féminine entre Orient et Grèce”, *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome – Antiquité* 116, p. 827-870.

66. BONFANTE 1989 p. 544: “In a clothed society ... nakedness is special and can be used as a ‘costume’”.

67. BAHRANI 1996, p. 13: “[...] women’s bodies were associated with erotic allure and sexuality, and [...] this sexuality was not seen as primarily functional, for the production of offspring, but as a source of male physical pleasure.” Contra ASSANTE 2006, p. 193, 197. 68. Contra ASSANTE 2006, p. 178-180. See also BUDIN 2011, p. 11-25.

69. ASSANTE 2006, p. 179. 70. While male nudity in Greek art dates back to Archaic times, respectable female nudity appears only in the Hellenistic period with the naked image of Aphrodite (BONFANTE 1989, p. 561). The term “idealizing realism” is from E. H. Gombrich (E. H. GOMBRICH: *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation*, New York, 1960, quoted in BAHRANI 1996, p. 13). 71. LANCELLOTTI 2003.

- BUDIN, S. L., 2011, *Images of Women and Child from the Bronze Age. Reconsidering Fertility, Maternity, and Gender in the Ancient World*, Cambridge.
- CECCHINI, S. M., 1981, "Motivi iconografici sulcitani: una scena culturale e i personaggi con 'stola'". *Vicino Oriente*. 4 (2), p. 13-32.
- CHÉHAB, M., 1951-1952, *Les terres cuites de Kharayeb. Texte*, *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 10, Paris.  
—, 1953-1954, *Les terres cuites de Kharayeb. Planches*, *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 11, Paris.
- CIS: *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*.
- CLARK, K., 1956, *The Nude. A Study in Ideal Form*, New York.
- COSÇKUNSU, G., (ed.), 2015, *The Archaeology of Childhood: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on an Archaeological Enigma*, Albany.
- CULICAN, W., 1969, "Dea Tyria gravida", *Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology* 1,2, p. 35-50.
- DELGADO, A. & FERRER M., 2011, "Representing Communities in Heterogeneous Worlds: Staple Foods and Ritual Practices in the Phoenician Diaspora", in G. Aranda Jiménez, S. Montón-Subías & M. Sánchez Romero (ed.), *Guess who's Coming to Dinner. Feasting Rituals in Prehistoric Societies of Europe and the Near East*, Oxford, p. 184-203.
- DUNAND, M. & DURU, R., 1962, *Oumm el-'Amed. Une ville de l'époque hellénistique aux échelles de Tyr*, Paris.
- FAEGERSTEN, F., 2003, *The Egyptianizing Male Limestone Statuary from Cyprus*, Lund.
- FELLI, C., 2015, "On Naked Woman: A Study-case", in P. Ciafardoni & D. Giannessi (eds), *From the Treasures of Syria. Essay on Art and Archaeology in Honour of Stefania Mazzoni*, Leiden p. 217-239.
- GARCIA-VENTURA A. & LÓPEZ-BERTRAN, M., 2010, "Embodying some Tell Asmar Figurines", in P. Matthiae, F. Pinnok, L. Nigro & N. Marchetti (eds), *Proceeding of the 6<sup>th</sup> International Congress of the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East*, Wiesbaden, p. 739-749.
- GUBEL, E., 1982, "Notes sur un fragment de statuette phénicienne de la région d'Amurru", in *Archéologie au Levant. Recueil à la mémoire de R. Saidah*. Lyon, Collection de la Maison de l'Orient méditerranéen 12, Série archéologique, 9, Lyon, p. 225-231.  
—, 1983, "Art in Tyre During the First and Second Iron Age. A Preliminary Survey", in E. Gubel, E. Lipiński & B. Servais-Sayez (eds), *Redit Tyrus/Sauvons Tyr*, Studia Phoenicia 15, Leuven, p. 23-52.
- HERMARY, A. & MERTENS, J. R., 2014, *The Cesnola Collection of Cypriot Art: Stone Sculpture*, New York.
- KAI (1971) = DONNER, H. & RÖLLIG, W., *Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften*, I-III, Wiesbaden 1966-1969 (and following numeration).
- KAOUKABANI, I., 1973, "Rapport préliminaire sur les fouilles de Kharayeb", *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 26, p. 41-58.
- KARAGEORGHIS, V., 1987, *La nécropole d'Amathonte*, III, Nicosia.
- KEEL, O. & UEHLINGER, C., 1998, *Gods, Goddesses, and Images of God in Ancient Israel*, Minneapolis, Minn.
- LANCELLOTTI, M. G., 2003, "I bambini di Kharayeb. Per uno studio storico-religioso del santuario", *Studi ellenistici* XV, p. 341-370.
- LANGIN-HOOPER, S. M., 2013, "Terracotta Figurines and Social Identities in Hellenistic Babylonia", in M. H. Feldman & B. Brown (eds), *Critical Approaches to Ancient Near Eastern Art*, Berlin-Boston, p. 451-479.
- LESURE, R., 2002, "The Goddess Diffracted: Thinking about the Figurines of Early Villages", *Current Anthropology* 43 (4), p. 587-610.
- LORENTZ, K.O., 2003, "Cultures of Physical Modifications: Child Bodies in Ancient Cyprus", *Stanford Journal of Archaeology* 17, p. 1-17.
- LUCIANI, M., in press, "On Woman made of Clay. Enquiries on the Meaning of an Ancient Near Eastern non-élite (?) Production", in G. J. Selz & K. Wagensonner (eds.), *Orientalische Kunstgeschichte(n). Festschrift für Erika Bleibtreu*, Wiener Offene Orientalistik 13, Wien.
- MAES, A., 1991, "Le costume phénicien des stèles d'Umm el-'Amed", in E. Lipiński (ed), *Phoenicia and the Bible*, Leuven, p. 209-330.

- MICALE, M. G., 2014, "The Coroplastic Art of the Persian Period Tell Mardikh/Ebla: Some Notes on Iconography and Context", in P. Bieliński, M. Gawlikowski, R. Koliński, D. Ławecka, A. Sołtysiak & Z. Wygnańska (eds.), *Proceedings of the 8th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East*, Warsaw, p. 693-705.
- MOOREY, P. R. S., 2003, *Idols of the People. Miniature Images of Clay in the Ancient Near East*, The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 2001, Oxford.
- , 2004, *Ancient Near Eastern Terracottas (Online Catalogue)*, University of Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, <http://www.ashmolean.museum/ash/amocats/anet/ANET-Download.html>.
- NIETZSCHE, J. L., 2007, "Perceptions of Culture: Interpreting Greco-Near Eastern Hybridity in the Phoenician Homeland", Unpublished PhD thesis, University of California, Berkeley.
- , 2013, "Interculturality in Image and Cult in the Hellenistic Art. Tyrian Melqart Revisited", in E. Stavrianopoulou (ed.), *Shifting Social Imaginaries in the Hellenistic Period*, Leiden-Boston, p. 253-282.
- NUNN, A., 2000, *Der figürliche Motivschatz Phöniziens, Syriens und Transjordaniens vom 6. bis zum 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis. Series Archaeologica 18, Fribourg, Göttingen.
- OGGIANO, I., 2012, "Scopi e modalità delle azioni rituali femminili nell'area siro-palestinese del I millennio a.C. Il contributo dell'archeologia", in V. Nizzo & L. La Rocca (eds), *Antropologia e archeologia a confronto: rappresentazioni e pratiche del sacro*, Roma, p. 223-249.
- , 2013, "La shendyt e la stola: nuovi dati sul'uso simbolico del vestiario nella Fenicia", in A.M. Arruda (ed.), *Actas do VI Congresso internacional de Estudos Fenícios e Púnicos. Vol. I*, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa: 25 setembro a 1 Outubro de 2005, Lisboa, p. 351-360.
- , 2014, "Aprire le porte al futuro del Libano. Dal Museo di Beirut alle campagne di Kharayeb, passato e presente di un paese tormentato", in F. Pignataro, S. Sanchirico & C. Smith, *Museum.dià. Politiche, poetiche e proposte per una narrazione museale. Atti dell'Incontro internazionale di studi*: Roma, 23-24 maggio 2014, Roma, p. 286-301.
- , 2015, "Le sanctuaire de Kharayeb et l'évolution de l'imagerie phénicienne dans l'arrière-pays de Tyr", in J. Aliquot & C. Bonnet (eds), *Phénicie hellénistique. Nouvelles configurations politiques, territoriales, économiques & culturelles*, Topoi Supplément 13, Actes du colloque international: Toulouse, 18-20 février 2013, Lyon, p. 239-266.
- , 2015a, "The question of plasticity of ethnic identity: the case study of Kharayeb", in A. M. Maïla-Afeiche (ed.), *Cult and Ritual on the Levantine Coast and its Impact on the Eastern Mediterranean Realm*, *Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Architecture libanaise, Hors Serie X*, Beirut, p. 507-528.
- , et al., 2016, "The Cult Place of Kharayeb: Report of 2013-2014 Missions", *Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Architecture libanaise* 16, p. 193-214.
- , 2018, « Collecting Disiecta membra », in G. Garbati (ed.), *Cercando con zelo di conoscere la storia fenicia*, in *Atti della giornata di studi dedicata a Sergio Ribichini*, Roma CNR, 20 marzo 2015, Roma, p. 17-35
- PAZ, S., 2007, *Drums, Women and Goddess. Drumming and Gender in Iron Age II Israel*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 232, Fribourg, Göttingen.
- PRITCHARD, J.B., 1978, *Recovering Sarepta, A Phoenician City*, Princeton.
- PRUß, A., 2002, "The Use of Nude Female Figurines", in S. Parpola & R. M. Whiting (eds), *Sex and Gender in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the XLVII<sup>e</sup> Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*, Helsinki, p. 537-548.
- READE, J. E., 1972, "The Neo-Assyrian Court and Army. Evidence from the Sculpture", *Iraq* 34, p. 87-112.
- RIIS, P. J., 1949, "The Syrian Astarte Plaques and Their Western Connection", *Berytus* 9, p. 69-90.
- ROUMIE, M. et al., in press, « PIXE Contribution for a Database of Phoenician Pottery in Lebanon », in *Proceedings of the 23rd International Conference on Ion Beam Analysis* (Shanghai, 8-13 October 2017).
- SCANDONE MATTHIAE, G., 1996, "Fiori d'Oriente", in E. Acquaro (ed.), *Alle soglie della classicità Il mediterraneo tra tradizione e innovazione. Studi in onore di Sabatino Moscati*, Pisa-Roma, p. 947-952.
- SEIDL, U., 2001, "Nacktheit. B. In der Bildkunst", *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 9, p. 66-68.
- UEHLINGER, C., 2001, "Nackte Göttin. B. In der Bildkunst", *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 9, p. 53-64.
- WINTER, U., 1983, *Frau und Göttin. Exegetische und ikonographische Studien zum weiblichen Gottesbild im Alten Israel und in dessen Umwelt*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 53, Fribourg, Göttingen.
- ZANKER, P., 1998, "Un'arte per i sensi. Il mondo figurativo di Dioniso e Afrodite", in S. Settis (ed.), *I Greci. Storia, cultura, arte e società*, 2.III, Torino, p. 545-612.

# INDICES

---

## TEXTES ANCIENS CITÉS

### Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques

Figurine féminine, Berlin inv. 14517, 64

Figurine féminine, Louvre E 8000, 64

### Sources cunéiformes

Atra-Hasīs (récit de), 291-292

Code Hammurabi xlv.1.38, 292

*Descente d'Ištar aux Enfers*, l. 42 à 60, 295

Rituel contre Lamaštu, 293

Rituel *Maqlû* I, l.15-20 ; l.29-32, 293

tablette KAR 69, 294

tablette KTU 1.13, 255, 256, 258, 259

### Sources littéraires classiques

*Anthologie Palatine* VI, 329, 336

Aristophane, *Lysistrata*, v. 48 et 89, 322

[Aristote], *De coloribus*, 6-797 b-32, 35 ; 798 a-2, 322

Aristote, *Histoire des Animaux*, III, x, 12, 322

Athénée (de Naucratis) 15 :675f-676c, 298

*Etymologicon Magnum*, 548, 322

Eustathe, *Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam*, p. 1337, 34, 324

Hérodote, I, 199, 311, 317, 318, 323-325

Hésiode fr. 132, 324

Ovide, *Métamorphoses*, X, 220-242, 323-324

Strabon, *Géographie*, X, 4, 21, 324

### Sources papyrologiques et ostraca

Louvre E6858, 300

Ostracon IFAO 764, 300

Ostracon OIM 16987, 300

Ostracon Turin 57387, 300

Papyrus British Museum EA 10800, 299-300

Papyrus British Museum EA 16672, 300

Papyrus Chester Beatty I, 4,1-5,5 (*Horus et Seth*), 60

Papyrus Chester Beatty I, v<sup>o</sup> C1, 38

Papyrus Orbiney, 5, 1-2 (*Conte des Deux Frères*), 37

### Sources vétérotestamentaires

Actes 19 :23-24, 234

Esaïe 13, 8, 257

Genèse 3, 16, 257

Juges 13, 2-7, 258

2 Rois 1:3, 244

I Samuel 1, 1-18, 258

I Samuel I 5:1-5 ; 31:10, 244

---

## LIEUX ET SITES

Abou Geili, 115

Adzhi Kui, 156, 157, 170

Ak-depe, 147, 156

Altyn-depe, 136, 138, 139, 145, 147, 154-157, 170

Amarna (Égypte), 38, 87, 90, 224

Amathonte, 20, 317-326, voir aussi Chypre

Amuq (vallée de), 218, 225, 247

Arsos (Chypre), 318

Assasif, 56-59

Assur, 175, 188, 190, 194, 197, 202, 205, 208, 284

Asterabad, 159

Ayn Asil, 41-54

Babylone, 193, 194, 197, 283, 284, 292

Bactriane, voir Bactria-Margiana Archaeological Complex

Bahariya (oasis de), 16, 19, 73-104

Balat (oasis de Dakhla), 41-54, 89, 92

Balikh (région du), 181-189, 195

Beydar, 184-187

Brauron, 324, 335

Byblos (Liban), 64, 65

Chatal Höyüjn, 225

Choga Mami, 119, 125-127, 129

Choga Mish, 119, 125, 127, 128

Choga Sefid, 119, 125, 127

Chong-depe, 138

Chypre, 12, 16, 20, 200, 234-235, 271, 272, 273, 307, 317-326, voir aussi Amathonte, Arsos, Idalion

Coptos, 28, 30

Crète, 12, 16, 20, 235, 316, 324

Dakhla (oasis de), 16, 19, 41-53, 92

Deir el-Médina, 48

Deve Höyük, 224

- Deir el-Bahari, 50, 59, 61  
 Demirci-Hüyük, 160-161  
 Diospolis parva (Égypte), 31  
 Dyrhachion (Albanie), 327, 337  
 Ebla, 198, 207, 239, 250  
 Edfou, 31  
 Ekron, 244, 247  
 Éléphantine, 46, 48, 58  
 Émar, 176-177, 198-199, 200, 208, 287  
 Esna, 31  
 Fergana (vallée de), 152  
 Gebel el-Zeit, 16, 19, 27-40, 47, 48, 56-65, 68  
 Gebel Moya, 113, 115  
 Geoksijur, 138, 139, 145, 147, 148  
 Gonur Dépé, 156, 157, 164, 166  
 Habur, voir Khabur  
 Hadidi, 173, 198  
 Halawa, 175-177, 198  
 Hammâm et-Turkmân, 187, 194  
 Hamrin, 195, 205  
 Hassek Höyük, 173  
 Harran, 187, 197  
 Hazor, 223  
 Hirbemerdon Tepe, 205, 207  
 Hiérakonpolis, 38  
 Idalion (Chypre), 318, 324  
 Ilgynly Depe, 135, 136, 145, 154, 170  
 Indus (vallée de), 19, 151, 152, 161, 162, 167, 178  
 Jarmo, 119, 123, 124, 128  
 Jeitun, 135  
 Jezirah, 179, 183, 204  
 Kara-depe, 138, 139, 145, 147, 154  
 Karakoum (désert de), 159  
 Karkemish, 20, 217-232, 284  
 Kefrik, 224  
 Khabur (vallée du), 19, 20, 183-191, 225  
 Khapuz Dépé, 154, 167  
 Kharayeb, 16, 265-280  
 Kish, 198  
 Kition (Chypre), 318, 319, 322, 324, 325  
 Khorassan, 148  
 Konar Sandal, 152, 159  
 Kopet Dag, 154, 156  
 Kültepe, 286  
 Larsa, 198  
 Lewan, Damb Sadaat, 154  
 Margiane, 152, 153  
 Mari, 19, 20, 160, 173, 175, 176, 178, 183, 187-189,  
 193-213, 223, 284, 285, 286, 287  
 Mehrgarh, 148, 154, 159, 160, 161, 167  
 Méroé, 12, 112, 113  
 Mouweis, 11, 19, 105-115  
 Moyen Euphrate (vallée du), 19, 20, 173-182, 194-  
 212, 217-232, 287  
 Mundigak, 148, 167  
 Namazga-depe, 135, 138, 156  
 Nausharo, 159, 160, 161, 162, 167  
 Neirab, 224  
 Nil (vallée du), 11, 16, 19, 38, 41, 48, 55-71, 93, 115  
 Nuzi, 194  
 Oxus (vallée de l'), voir Index général  
 Qadesh, 287  
 Qara Qozaq, 176  
 Qaret el-Toub (oasis de Bahariya), 74, 91, 92, 95, 98,  
 102  
 Qasr 'Allam (oasis de Bahariya), 19, 73-104  
 Qila el-Dabba (oasis de Dakhla), 41, 42, 51, 53  
 Rehman Dheri, 154  
 Samos, 227, 228, 318, 322-325  
 Sang-e-Chakhmaq, 135  
 Sarab, 119, 123, 124, 128  
 Sarazm, 135, 136, 148, 154  
 Selenkahiyé, 175-177, 179, 187, 188, 198  
 Shahdad, 152, 159, 171  
 Shahr-i Sokhta, 148, 152, 154, 155, 159, 167-168  
 Sibri, 161  
 Suse, 11, 152, 160-161, 194, 197, 198, 200, 204  
 Sweyhat, 176  
 Tchad (Lac), 105, 113, 115  
 Tell Ahmar, 224-225  
 Tell Amarna, 224  
 Tell Asmar, 160  
 Tell Bi'a, 173, 177, 178, 197, 200, 204  
 Tell Brak, 184, 185, 188  
 Tell ed-Der, 194  
 Tell Judeideh, 224  
 Tell Khuera, 184, 186, 187, 188, 198  
 Tell Mozan, 188  
 Tell Rifa'at, 225  
 Tell Sandahannah, 207  
 Tell Siukh Fawqani, 222, 224  
 Tello, 160, 194, 197  
 Tell Yelkhi, 195, 200, 205  
 Tepe Hissar, 148, 159, 160  
 Tepe-Yahya, 148, 159  
 Terqa, 20, 187, 193-213  
 Thasos, 12, 16, 20, 101, 327-343  
 Thèbes (Égypte), 16, 28, 31, 38, 58, 59, 62, 66, 68, 92,  
 93, 94  
 Togolok, 156  
 Tureng Tepe, 159, 160, 161  
 Ulug-dépé, 19, 133-150, 154, 161, 168  
 Umm el-Marra, 176, 178  
 Ur, 205  
 Uruk, 194, 195  
 Yazilikaya, 288  
 Yavneh, 16, 20, 233-248  
 Yunus (cimetière de), 221, 222  
 Zaghe, 119, 123-125  
 Zeravshan (vallée de), 135, 136, 148  
 Zeytinli Bahce Höyük, 224  
 Zincirli Höyük, 224

## DIVINITÉS ET DÉMONS

- Anat, 200, 255, 259, 288  
 Anunnaki, 292  
 Aphrodite, 20, 76, 276, 277, 278, 298, 310, 317-320, 323-329, 335  
 Artémis, 20, 101, 234, 324 n. 54, 327-343  
 Aruru, 292  
 Ashtoret, 244  
 Astarté, 12, 20, 36, 200, 269, 287, 317-325  
 bāštu, voir index des mots akkadiens  
 Batiritum, 205  
 Dagan, 244, 247, 255  
*Dea Tyria Gravida*, voir index général  
 Déméter, 268, 331, 332  
 Enki/Ēa, 292  
 Éros, 318, 338  
 Gaia, 244  
 Hathor, 12, 15, 19, 27, 30, 34, 38, 56, 59-62, 64-67, 74, 76, 79, 87, 91, 195, 319  
 Héqet, 62  
 Héra, 227, 228, 307, 308, 317, 318, 321, 322, 323, 325  
 Hermès, 276, 277, 310, 337  
 Horus, 27, 30, 60, 61  
 Igigi, 292  
 Isis, 61, 62, 268, 319  
 Khépri, 62  
 Khnoum, 62  
 Kubaba, 227-228, 247  
 Lama, 194, 284, 286, 287  
 Lamassu, 15, 295  
 Lamaštu, 207, 293  
 Malika, 322  
 Melkart, 276  
 Meskhénet, 62  
 Min, 27, 28  
 Mout, 38, 89-91, 93  
 Mylitta, 323  
 Nanaya, 205  
 Neith, 92  
 Nergal, 292  
 Ninhursag, 205  
 Nintu/Mami, 292  
 Orage (dieu de l'), 200, 287, 288  
 Ptah, 27, 30  
 Pytogaya, 244, 247  
 Rê, 60, 62  
 Šamaš, 298  
*šedu*, 298  
 Seth, 60  
 Thouéris, 57, 61, 62  
 Yhwh, 257-259  
 Zeus, 288, 308, 311, 313, 337, 340

## MOTS AKKADIENS

- āšipu*, 293  
*banû*, 293  
*bāštu*, 15, 207, 269, 295-296  
*erû*, 295  
*ešêru*, 294  
*eṭemmu*, 207  
*maqlû*, 293  
*mīs pî*, 296  
*patāqu*, 293  
*šalmu*, 207, 293  
*tiṭtu*, 291-293

## INDEX GÉNÉRAL

- accouchement, 61-62, 64, 94, 220, 249-263, 271-273, 337  
 amulettes, 27, 30, 32, 114, 202, 204, 205, 206, 222, 234, 276, 333, 337, 338  
 animaux, 20, 44, 48, 51, 57, 61, 64, 81, 86, 87, 95, 105, 131, 133, 134, 147, 148, 152, 163, 164, 200-201, 217, 218, 233, 234, 235, 241, 308, 322, voir aussi babouin, caprin, cheval, crocodile, lion, scarabée, serpent, taureau, vache  
 apode (figurine), voir figurine  
 arbre, 234, 235, 238, 244  
 archéologie expérimentale, 11, 91, 206  
 artisanale (zone), 18, 19, 73-104, 114, 133-150, 154  
 atelier, 19, 38, 44, 63, 85-94, 133-150, 159, 203, 205, 206, 234, 235, 239, 268, 274, 276, 277, 297-301, 307, 331, 333

- babouin, 32, 36, 38, 48, 65  
*Bactria-Margiana Archeological-Complex* (BMAC),  
 voir Oxus (civilisation de)  
 banquet funéraire, 206  
 Baubô, voir figurine  
 bec d'oiseau (tête en), 48, 51, 78-79  
 bois, 11, 15, 19, 27, 28, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 44, 53,  
 55-62, 65, 74, 123, 173, 194, 218, 227, 228,  
 252, 287, 293, 299, 300  
 boucle d'oreille, voir parure  
 byzantine (période), 12, 89, 300  
 cachette, voir *favissa*  
 calcaire, 19, 28, 34, 36-37, 55, 56, 63, 64, 65, 87, 90,  
 100, 201, 202, 203  
 caprin, 57, 107, 124, 202, 234, 238  
 cassures, 77, 90-91, 119-129, 142, 143, 144, 176, 185,  
 200, 206-207, 234  
 cauris, voir coquillage  
 cavalier, 228, 269, 319, voir cheval  
 ceinture, voir parure  
 chaîne opératoire, 19, 66, 133, 134, 140-143, 175,  
 218, 298, 299  
 champ sémantique, 15, 55-71, 73-115  
*chaouabti/chabti*, voir *ouchebti*  
 cheval, 144, 200, 217-218, 239, 339, voir cavalier  
 cheveux, 30, 31, 35, 37-39, 41, 46-47, 57, 58, 63, 65,  
 66, 68, 76, 114, 126, 127, 128, 129, 183,  
 185-189, 195, 198, 200, 202, 217, 218, 221,  
 225, 251, 264, 277, 313, 318, 329, 333, 334,  
 336, 338, 339, voir aussi coiffe  
*chiton*, 271, 276, 331, 333, 335  
 circoncision, 276, 325  
 claquoir, 60, 62, 65, 66, voir aussi idiophone  
 clitoris, 256  
 coiffe, 154, 156-159, 163, 178, 194, 198, 202, 203,  
 218-221, 225-228, 231, 266, 286, 287, 334,  
 337  
 coiffure à boucle, 195, 202  
 coiffure discoïde, discoïdale, 32-34, 44-46, 48, 51, 52  
 collier, voir parure  
 conception, 60, 220, 249-264  
 concubine du mort, 11, 32, 46, 59, 74, 78, 92  
 coquillage, 27, 32, 39, 47, 59, 63, 86, 203, 320  
 courotrophe, voir figurine  
 crocodile, 57  
 crotale, 332, 333, 336  
 cymbale, 252, 332, 333, 336, voir aussi idiophone  
 danse, 12, 15, 19, 47, 55-71, 74, 79, 145, 194, 251, 252,  
 256, 271, 277, 322, 336  
*Dea gravida/dea tyria gravida*, 220, 265, 266, 271  
 dédicace, 64  
 dédicante, 63, 120, 121, 269, 318-320, 322, 342  
 déesse-mère, 11, 32, 56, 74, 163, 292  
 dépôt, 66, 67, 80, 81, 82, 85, 92, 120, 121, 128, 207,  
 269, 320  
 dépôt de fondation, 205, 206  
 dépôt funéraire, 95, 147, 164, 166, 325, voir aussi  
 tombe  
 dépôt votif, 28, 30, 59, 64, 65, 198, 310-311, voir aussi  
 ex voto, offrande votive  
 dépotoir, 18, 41, 44, 45, 46, 73, 80-89, 90, 92, 123, 139,  
 140, 141  
 disque ailé, 234, 235, 239, 242  
 domestique (zone), 19, 41-54, 67, 68, 121, 136, 138,  
 139, 163, 165, 166, 179, 185, 189, 198, 203,  
 225, 227, 253  
 écriture, 61, 64, 74, 161, 165, 206, 286, 291-296  
*embodiment theory*, 265, 277  
 empreinte digitale, 86, 88, 120, 142  
 enfant, 27-32, 35, 46, 56, 57, 59, 60, 61, 62, 64, 68, 75,  
 76, 94, 98, 100, 121, 129, 142, 164, 176, 219,  
 220, 222, 226, 249, 252-254, 256, 258, 257,  
 258, 273-278, 325, 336, 337, 339  
 enseignement (support d'), voir *teaching device*  
 érotisme, 12, 15, 41, 46, 56, 75-77, 79, 94, 100, 226,  
 266, 308, 314  
 estampage, 206, 254, voir aussi moulage  
 ethnographique (réfèrent), 19, 114-115, 121, 271,  
 324-325  
 étoile (motif), 157, 158, 234, 244, 251, 266  
 ex voto, 28, 30, 46, 318, 320, 327, 334, voir aussi  
 dépôt votif  
 faïence (« égyptienne »), 11, 12, 34-38, 44, 47, 55, 59,  
 62, 63, 65, 74, 86, 99, 205, 300, 307  
*favissa*, 20, 205, 207, 250, 265-280  
 fécondité, 12, 15, 20, 32, 38, 46, 56, 60, 67, 74, 76,  
 77, 79, 92, 95, 100, 120, 200, 205, 249, 269,  
 272, 278, 283, 284, 287, 288, 336, voir aussi  
 figurine de fécondité  
*fertility*, *fertility figurine*, voir figurine de fécondité  
 figurine apode, 19, 55-71  
 figurine Baubô, 21  
 figurine courotrophe, 21, 64, 65, 319  
 figurine de fécondité (*fertility figurine*), 12, 15, 41,  
 46, 56, 59, 76, 87, 94, 99, 119, 120, 121, 277,  
 278  
 figurine d'initiation (*initiation figurine*), 121, 123  
 figurine « femme à tiroir », 337  
 figurine masculine, 21, 46, 105, 120, 145, 153, 166,  
 167, 175, 184, 200, 220, 221, 226, 269, 270  
 figurine zoomorphe, 21, 60, 133-135, 143, 144, 164,  
 voir aussi Animaux  
 fleur, 48, 227, 272, 273, 308, 336  
 fritte émaillée, voir faïence  
 fœtus, 61, 64, 129, 337  
 four (de potier), 85, 88, 105, 129, 138, 141, 144, 145,  
 147, 218, 253  
 funéraire (contexte, pratique), 11, 18, 20, 21, 53,  
 56, 59, 61-64, 66-68, 91-93, 95, 100, 136,  
 147, 148, 159, 164, 165, 198, 206-208, 219,



- 221-223, 225, 299, 300, 311, 313, 319, 325, 329, 333, voir aussi tombe
- galène, 19, 27, 28, 30, 65
- géométrique (motif), 48, 63, 114, 124, 133, 134, 146, 147, 148, 227, 234
- geste, gestuelle, 18, 205, 207, 208, 217, 252, 255, 292, 294, 333
- glyptique, 15, 16, 20, 163, 200, 202-203, 205, 207, 208, 228, 283-289
- grain de café (yeux en), voir rhombe
- grossesse, 20, 61-62, 99, 122, 124-125, 128-129, 164, 220, 249-264, 266, 269, 271, 272, 273, 337, 338
- guerrier (figurine de), 138, 151
- handmade Syrian horses and riders*, 218
- hiérodoule, 327, 328, 330
- hippopotame, 59, 61, 64
- idiophone, 66-67, 252, 256, voir aussi musique
- incantation, 249-251, 254-256, 259-260, 293-294, 298
- incision, 30, 41, 46, 48, 49, 51, 52, 77, 98, 106, 114, 120, 125, 127, 128, 144, 160, 162, 176, 178, 184, 187, 218, 320
- initiation, initiée, 22, 121, 123, 255, 314, 315, 324, 335
- ivoire, 12, 59, 60, 62, 63, 65, 74, 173, 176, 193, 194, 200-203, 205, 206, 307, 308, 309, 310, 314
- jarre au trésor, 201, 202, 204, 205, 206, 208
- jouet, 56, 58, 59, 75, 121, 123, 134, 163, 165, 179, 222, 328, 329
- kaunakès*, 163
- khener* (collège des), 15, 19, 55-71
- koiné* culturelle, 224-227
- linea alba*, *linea nigra*, 73, 74, 99
- lion, 200, 234, 235, 239, 241, 244, 247, 284, 286, 287
- lit, 76, 86, 94-96, 100
- magie, 56, 62, 65, 74, 90, 121, 123, 165, 244-247, 250, 255, 256, 258, 271, 298, 301
- mammisi*, 268
- mariage, 164, 322, 324, 328, 329, 335, 336, 338, 339, 340
- marque corporelle, voir tatouage
- masculine (figurine), voir figurine
- maternité, 12, 38, 66, 314, 336, 337
- ménarchè, 129, 335-337
- métal, 47, 80, 92, 139, 152, 193, 194, 205, 206, 225, 227, 234, 235, 293, 296, 299, 301, 307-309, 311, 313
- mine, 27-40, 65
- miniaturisation, 18, 20, 56, 67, 153, 222, 223, 234, 291, 292, 266, 269, 294, 295, 338
- modelage, 12, 51, 86, 87, 89, 93, 94, 173, 206, 218, 294, 308, 311, 318, 331
- moulage, 12, 94, 234, 254, 299, 306, 307, 309, 310, 311, 314, 315, 318-319, 322, 331, voir aussi estampage
- musicienne, musique, 60, 62, 66, 67, 69, 179, 194, 210, 222, 234, 239, 246, 247, 257, 271, 277, 319, voir aussi claquoir, crotale, cymbale, idiophone, tambourin
- nombril, 30, 36, 38, 77, 95, 99, 114, 122, 124, 129, 176, 187, 207, 337
- nouveau-né, voir enfant
- nudité, *passim*
- nymphès*, 336, 338
- officiante, voir prêtresse
- offrande (votive), 15, 16, 21, 27, 56, 64, 65, 67, 74, 76, 87, 91, 92, 164, 165, 205, 227, 233, 234, 239, 250, 254, 313, 317, 322, 323, 325
- ouchebti*, 21, 68, 297, 299-301
- Oxus (civilisation de), 136, 148, 152, 154, 157, 159, 163, 165, 166
- paddle doll*, 15, 19, 23, 55-68
- Pan-graves* (culture), 28
- parure, 18, 19, 21, 30, 36, 37, 39, 41, 46, 48, 55-57, 59-63, 65, 66, 69, 77, 95, 114, 126, 129, 136, 144, 145, 154, 156-159, 164, 165, 175, 176, 184, 185, 187, 194, 197, 202, 217, 221, 226, 227, 253, 276, 284, 287, 318, 327-333, 335-339 322, 333-338
- pénis, 255, 256
- perle, 27, 30, 32, 47, 48, 65, 80, 86, 158, 164, 178, 205, 222, 279, 284, 295, 318, 320
- perruque, voir cheveux
- Philistins, 233-248
- piété personnelle, 239
- pigment, 38, 57, 91, 93, 141, 144, 299
- pillar figurine*, 20, 186, 187, 197, 217-232
- plaque d'Astarté, 11-12, 20, 36, 317-326
- poil, 57, 60, 77, 78, 86, 93, 256, 295, 321-322
- polos*, 227, 276, 311, 313, 314
- potency*, 12, 56, 120
- potier, 44, 77, 85, 86, 87, 88, 92, 120, 133, 139, 147, 206, 233, 234, 235, 239, 254, 297-300, voir aussi four (de potier)
- poupée, 11, 13, 15, 55-71, 74, 75, 327-343
- prêtresse, 15, 19, 21, 59, 60, 62, 64, 65, 165, 222, 227, 269, 273, 322, 324
- prix, 120, 206, 297-303, voir valeur économique
- prostituée, 74, 164, 283, 317-326
- protomé, 327-343
- pubis, 18, 35, 41, 46, 63, 68, 77, 78, 86, 87, 93, 99, 125, 157, 159-162, 164, 173, 176, 180, 184, 187, 204, 256, 296, 313, 314, 320, 322, 333
- rhombe, 106, 114, 115, 155, 183, 197, 204
- rite, 30, 56, 61, 90, 91, 95, 121, 165, 166, 185, 206-208, 234, 239, 254, 255, 265, 266, 268, 271, 273, 276, 277, 290-296, 298, 299, 300, 313-315, 332-336, 339, voir aussi funéraire, offrande
- rite « Breaking the red Vessels », 90

- rite de passage, 121, 276, 314, 323-325, 335  
rite d'initiation, 314, 315, 324, 335, voir figurine d'initiation  
rite funéraire, 64, 222, 223  
rite pré-nuptial, 317-326, 338  
sanctuaire, 16, 18, 19, 20, 27-40, 46, 56, 59, 64, 65, 76, 80-94, 100, 136, 147, 164-166, 197, 198, 202, 233-248, 250, 252, 257, 258, 265-280, 302, 307-316, 318-321, 323-325, 327-343  
scarabée, 27, 30, 62  
seins, *passim*  
sémantique, sémiologie, 15, 18, 46, 55-71, 73-103, 134, 151, 168, 217, 322-323, 334-335  
serpent, 48, 157, 333, 334  
sexualité, 12, 56, 60, 76, 197, 226, 269, 278, 308, 314, 315, 336, 337  
sillon abdomino-pectoral, ombilico pectoral, 95, 97, 100-101, 332  
*snowman technique*, 218, 321  
Sphinx, 200, 234, 308  
stéatopyge, 30  
stèle, 27, 28, 30, 38, 205, 225, 273, 274, 276, 288, 292  
stérilité, 249, 254, 255-259, 322  
*stola*, 265, 271, 273, 274  
support d'autel, 20, 233-245, 250, 257  
surmoulage, 254, 319  
*Syrian Pillar Figurines*, voir *Pillar figurine*  
tambourin, 194, 218, 251, 252-254, 256-257, 329, 332, 336  
*taptara-women*, 231  
tatouage, 30, 38-39, 41, 44, 46-48, 51, 56, 62, 63, 95, 106, 114, 123, 125, 128, 144, 145  
taureau, 200, 235, 238-240, 243, 244, 284, 286-288, 324  
*teaching device*, 121, 123, 130  
*temple-boys*, 276, 325  
*teraphim*, 297  
terre crue, 30, 34, 48, 52, 80, 85-87, 89, 92, 105-115, 123, 125, 134, 136, 138, 139-142, 145, 154, 167, 207, 222  
terre cuite, *passim*  
tiare, 158, 194, 195, 200, 202, 203, 205, 284, 286, 287  
tombe, 12, 16, 20, 28, 31, 32, 41, 46, 47, 48, 51, 52, 53, 58-62, 64-67, 91, 92, 95, 98, 121, 127, 136, 142, 147, 154, 155, 164, 165-167, 195, 198, 205-208, 221-223, 308, 311, 319-320, 322, 325, 328, 329  
*truncated figurines*, 328, voir figurine apode  
typologique (approche), 17-21, 44-53, 62, 65, 68, 76-78, 92, 93, 105-114, 120, 121, 133-149, 151-171, 183-189, 217, 219-226, 235, 251, 309-310, 314, 327-343  
vache, 48, 61, 87, 244  
valeur économique, 16, 20, 315, voir prix  
vase à parfum, vase Tell el-Yahoudieh, 27, 32  
vêtement, 46, 47, 57, 59, 63, 125, 128, 144, 145, 153, 163, 164, 173-182, 183, 186-187, 189, 226, 249, 256, 265, 266, 269, 278, 284, 287, 288, 295, 313, 314, 317, 318, 321, 322, 323, 329, 333, 335  
vœu, 249, 254, 258, 259  
votif, voir dépôt votif, ex voto, offrande votive  
vulve, 41, 46, 51, 57, 60-61, 71, 77, 166, 249, 252, 255, 256, 259, 320, 323, 334  
zoomorphe (figurine), voir figurine

# TABLE DES FIGURES ET CRÉDITS

1	Carte générale. © Catherine Duvette/UMR 7044 Archimède.....	14
2	Sites du Proche-Orient abordés dans le volume. © Jean-Philippe Droux/UMR 7044.....	17
<b>1</b>		
1	Carte de l'Égypte avec emplacement des sites 1 et 2 de Gebel el-Zeit. Documentation IFAO.....	29
2	Photo du sanctuaire du site 1 en cours de dégagement et de la coupe stratigraphique. © Gout – documentation IFAO).....	30
3	Plan du sanctuaire et dessin de la stratigraphie. G. Castel, G. Soukiassian, Documentation IFAO.	31
4	Figurine féminine C785 à tête discoïde, habillée (a) et déshabillée (b), h. 19 cm. © Gout – documentation IFAO. ....	32
5	Figurines féminines vues de face. De droite à gauche : a) C577, coiffure à trois pans, h. 11,4 cm ; b) C612, coiffure discoïde, h. 13 cm ; c) C631, coiffure à longues tresses tombantes, h. 12,2 cm. © Gout – documentation IFAO. ....	33
6	Figurines féminines vues de dos. De droite à gauche : a) C577, coiffure à trois pans ; b) C612, coiffure discoïde ; c) C631, coiffure à longues tresses tombantes. © Gout – documentation IFAO.	33
7	Figurine féminine S609 à coiffure discoïde avec fils de lin maintenant suspendues des petites boules d'argile crue, h. 5 cm. © Gout – documentation IFAO. ....	34
8	Figurine féminine avec enfant C354 vue de face (a) et vue de dos (b), h. 10,2 cm. © Gout – documentation IFAO. ....	35
9	Babouin ithyphallique S506, h. 8,8 cm. © Gout – documentation IFAO. ....	36
10	Statuette africanisante Louvre E 27293 (S686), bois, h. 11,5 cm. © Gout – documentation IFAO..	36
11	Fragment de figurine féminine C 469 (figurine complète : C 469 + S 772 = Louvre E 27297), calcite, h. (figurine complète) 15,1 cm. © Gout – documentation IFAO. ....	37
12	Figurine féminine S 599 <i>in situ</i> , bois, h. 36,5 cm. © Gout – documentation IFAO. ....	38
<b>2</b>		
1	Carte d'Égypte, situation de l'oasis de Dakhla et du site de Balat (Qila el-Dabba et Ayn Asil). © documentation IFAO. ....	42
2	La région de Balat, fouilles de l'IFAO. Situation de la nécropole de Qila el-Dabba et de la ville d'Ayn Asil. Laisney 2010, p. 31, fig. 14. © Documentation IFAO.....	42
3	Emplacement des vestiges de la 2 <sup>e</sup> Période intermédiaire à Ayn Asil sur le plan topographique. Ensembles Nord, Centre et Sud. Marchand & Soukiassian 2010, p. 3, fig. 1. © Documentation IFAO.....	43
4	Vue générale Nord/Sud des vestiges de la 2 <sup>e</sup> Période Intermédiaire à Ayn Asil, Ensemble Centre. Marchand & Soukiassian 2010, p. 9, fig. 6. © Documentation IFAO. ....	44
5	Tête féminine à long cou, à coiffure discoïdale. Marchand & Soukiassian 2010, p. 40, fig. 44. © Documentation IFAO. ....	45
6	Tête féminine, à long cou à coiffure discoïdale. Marchand & Soukiassian 2010, p. 18, fig. 18. © Documentation IFAO. ....	45
7	Tête féminine à long cou à coiffure discoïdale. Marchand & Soukiassian 2010, p. 17, fig. 17. © Documentation IFAO. ....	46
8	Fragment de figurine nue. Marchand & Soukiassian 2010, p. 50, fig. 59. © Documentation IFAO.	47
9	Fragment de figurine en position assise. Marchand & Soukiassian 2010, p. 78, fig. 102. © Documentation IFAO.....	48
10	Figurine complète de forme triangulaire. Baud 1997 ; Marchand & Soukiassian 2010, p. 20. © Documentation IFAO. ....	49
11	Tête féminine à long cou décoré d'incisions fines ondulées. Marchand & Soukiassian 2010, p. 40, fig. 44. © Documentation IFAO. ....	49
12	Tête féminine cassée. Marchand & Soukiassian 2010, p. 7. © Documentation IFAO.....	50

13	Momies tatouées de femmes provenant de Deir el-Bahari, XI <sup>e</sup> dynastie. D'après Keimer 1948, p. 38, fig. 32. © Documentation IFAO.....	50
14	Lot de figurines « oiseaux ». Marchand & Soukiassian 2010, p. 89. © Documentation IFAO.....	52
15	Nécropole de Qila el-Dabba, tombe n° 59 (Balat, oasis de Dakhla). Exemples de modèles en terre cuite de femmes au travail, activités de préparations alimentaires. Inédit. Remerciements V. Le Provost et S. Aufrère. © Documentation IFAO.....	53
<b>3</b>		
1	<i>Paddle doll</i> IES_NI_1246. © Institut d'égyptologie de Strasbourg/Cassandre Hartenstein.....	58
2	Figurine apode IES_NI_0709. © Institut d'égyptologie de Strasbourg/Frédéric Colin.....	63
3	Tombe thébaine 60 (XII <sup>e</sup> dynastie), a) prêtres d'Hathor avec claquoirs (détail) ; b) harpiste et son instrument (Davies et al. 1920, pl. XXIIIb et XXIX). Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society..	66
<b>4</b>		
1	Figurine féminine nue en terre cuite, partie haute – face, dos, profil, dessus (QA 7410-32). Clichés F. Colin (2005).....	78
2	Figurine féminine nue en terre cuite, partie basse – face, dessous, coupe (QA 7513-63). a) Dessin Sandrine Zanatta, 2012 ; b) face, dos, dessus, dessous, clichés Lionel Schmitt (2006), Cassandre Hartenstein & Aurélie Roche (2012). .....	79
3	Vue de la surface du dépotoir A pendant la fouille. Cliché Aude Gräzer, 2005.....	81
4a	Spatialisation du contenu du dépotoir A (Fr. Colin & C. Duvette).....	82
4b-c	Zones de dispersion du mobilier du dépotoir A. Fr. Colin.....	83
5	Plan des secteurs discutés (Catherine Duvette) et position des fragments de figurines jointifs. ...	84
6	a) Fragment de matériaux terreux vitrifiés provenant du dépotoir A. Cliché Fr. Colin, 2006 ; b) fragment de figurine surcuite (QA 7404-4). Cliché Lionel Schmitt, 2006. ....	88
7	Déchets de fabrication : figurines féminines nues en terre crue, tête – dessous, face, dessus (de haut en bas ; QA 7525-3) ; pubis (QA 7513-77). Dessins Sandrine Zanatta, 2012 et 2013.....	89
8	Deux modèles du cycle de vie d'une figurine en terre cuite. ....	90
9	Exemples de modèles de lits en terre cuite (QA 2066-1, 2072-7, 7320-3, 7513-58). Dessins Sandrine Zanatta, 2004 et 2012. ....	96
10	Le sillon ombilico-pectoral sur les figurines féminines de Qasr 'Allam (QA 1089-2, 1189-5, 7211-1, 7251-4, 7410-24). Dessins Sandrine Zanatta, 2004 et 2012. ....	97
11	Plaque supérieure du couvercle en terre cuite du sarcophage VII de la tombe 10 de Qaret el-Toub. Clichés Lionel Schmitt, 2006. ....	98
12	Figurine NI-IES-709 (Spiegelberg 1255a) de la collection de l'Institut d'égyptologie de Strasbourg. Modèle 3D, mise en évidence du relief sur Meshlab avec le shader Lambertian Radiance Scaling. Relevé et modélisation sur Photoscan, Fr. Colin & C. Duvette, 2015. ....	99
13	Figurine EA2371 du British Museum, cliché 2371AN31233001 © The Trustees of the British Museum. ....	99
14	Statue de Ramsès II en diorite conservée dans l'aula du Palais Universitaire de Strasbourg. Cliché F. Colin, 2016. ....	100
15	Moulage de la statue dite de Cléobis, Musée Adolf-Michaelis (Strasbourg). Musée Adolf Michaelis (Strasbourg). Cliché P. Disdier (CNRS).....	101
<b>5</b>		
1	Carte © E. David, et plan du site. © musée du Louvre. ....	106
2	Figurine de capriné écrasée – jambes de femme écrasées. © musée du Louvre.....	107
3	Terre alluviale – terre kaolinitique. © musée du Louvre.....	108
4	Têtes sphériques. © musée du Louvre.....	109
5	Têtes campaniformes. © musée du Louvre. ....	109
6	Têtes piriformes et têtes pincées. © musée du Louvre. ....	110
7	Montage de membres inférieurs. Photos © musée du Louvre. Dessin HD 2012. ....	110
8	Torses. © musée du Louvre.....	111
9	Corps complets. © musée du Louvre. ....	111
10	Femmes complètes. Photos © musée du Louvre. Dessin HD 2012. ....	112
11	Parallèles publiés – Méroé. Photos Mouweis © musée du Louvre – Shinnie, Bradley 1980, fig. 70-72. ....	112

- 12 Parallèles publiés : Gebel Moya. Photo Mouweis © musée du Louvre – Addison 1949-II, pl. LXII A. 113  
 13 Parallèles à explorer à l'ouest du Soudan ? Dessin Mouweis Mws12/BF022d-06 HD 2012 –  
 Figurines Sao, Lac Tchad, Photos © Musée du Quai Branly-Jacques Chirac (photos Adeline  
 Monnier 1938.53.35 et 1938.53.87). ..... 113

**6**

- 1 Figurine from Jarmo: (Broman Morales 1983, p. 395, fig. 158: 3). Field n°: not mentioned. Inv. n°:  
 J3-41. Actual deposition: Oriental Institute, Chicago. Drawing © Erik Smekens. .... 122  
 2 Figurine from Jarmo: (Broman Morales 1983, p. 395, fig. 157: 3). Field n°: not mentioned. Inv. n°:  
 J3-75. Actual deposition: Oriental Institute, Chicago. Drawing © Erik Smekens. .... 122  
 3 Figurine from Tepe Sarab: (Broman Morales 1990, p. 13-14, 33, pl. 9a). Field n°: not mentioned.  
 Inv. n°: not mentioned. Actual deposition: not mentioned. Drawing © Erik Smekens. .... 124  
 4 Figurine from Zaghe: (Negahban 198, p. 4, pl. II a-d). Field n°: Z.H.F. VII12 52. Inv. n° not  
 mentioned. Actual deposition: National Museum, Teheran. Drawing © Erik Smekens. .... 124  
 5 Figurine from Choga Sefid: (Hole 1977, p. 229, fig. 90e). Field n°: not mentioned. Inv. n°: not  
 mentioned. Actual deposition: not mentioned. Drawing © Aurelie Daems. .... 125  
 6 Figurine from Choga Mish: (Kantor 1978, p. 38, fig. 2). Field n°: not mentioned. Inv. n° VIII-84.  
 Actual deposition: Oriental Institute, Chicago or National Museum, Teheran. Drawing © Aurelie  
 Daems. .... 125  
 7 Figurine from Choga Mami: (Oates 1969a, p. 129, 146, pl. XXVIII, fig. c-d). Field n°: not mentioned.  
 Inv. n° C.M.:1. Actual deposition: not mentioned. Drawing © Aurelie Daems. .... 126  
 8 Figurine from Choga Mami: (Oates 1969a, p. 129, 145, pl. XXVI: fig. a-b). Field n°: not mentioned.  
 Inv. n°: C.M. 7. Actual deposition: not mentioned. Drawing © Aurelie Daems. .... 126  
 9 Figurine from Choga Mami: (Oates 1966b, p. 56 and Oates 1968, p. 5). Field n°: not mentioned.  
 Inv. n°: not mentioned. Actual deposition: National Museum, Baghdad. Drawing © Aurelie  
 Daems. .... 127  
 10 Figurine from Choga Mish: (Delougaz, Kantor & Alizadeh 1996a, p. 259 and 1996b, pl. 66 A). Field  
 n°: Ch.M.VI-5. Inv. n°: 2.327. Actual deposition: Oriental Institute, Chicago or National Museum,  
 Teheran. Drawing © Erik Smekens. .... 128  
 11 Figurine from Choga Mish: (Delougaz, Kantor & Alizadeh 1996a, p. 259, 500-501 and Delougaz,  
 Kantor & Alizadeh 1996b, pl. 66 B and pl. 234 A). Field no: not mentioned. Inv. n°: V-100. Actual  
 deposition: Oriental Institute, Chicago or National Museum, Teheran. Drawing © Erik Smekens. 128  
 12 Figurine from Tell Songor A: (Kamada & Ohtsu 1981, p. 178, fig. 39:1). Field n°: not mentioned.  
 Inv. n°: not mentioned. Actual deposition: not mentioned. Drawing © Aurelie Daems. .... 129

**7**

- 1 Carte archéologique de l'Asie centrale et méridionale. Fond de carte Geo-Atlas/Graphi-Ogre  
 modifié par F. Brunet. .... 135  
 2 Les ateliers : plan topographique général (a) ; périodisation schématique des neuf phases  
 d'occupation (b) ; vue générale de la face nord-ouest du site avec localisation des phases  
 d'ateliers (c). Plan topographique R. Schwerdtner mission MAFTur, modifié par F. Brunet (a) ;  
 schéma F. Brunet (b) ; cliché A. Pelle, mission MAFTur, modifié par F. Brunet (c). .... 137  
 3 Les ateliers : détail d'un remplissage, phases d'atelier « B » à « D » (a) ; détail d'une zone de rejet  
 et vidange (b) ; détail de la coupe méridionale, phases d'atelier « E » et « F » (c). Clichés F. Brunet  
 et A. Pelle mission MAFTur, modifiés par F. Brunet (a et b) ; dessin F. Brunet (c). .... 140  
 4 Éléments issus la chaîne opératoire de fabrication (1/2). Clichés F. Brunet et A. Pelle mission  
 MAFTur, modifiés par F. Brunet. .... 142  
 5 Éléments issus la chaîne opératoire de fabrication (2/2). Clichés F. Brunet et A. Pelle mission  
 MAFTur, modifiés par F. Brunet. .... 143  
 6 Les figurines féminines. Clichés F. Brunet et A. Pelle mission MAFTur, modifiés par F. Brunet. . 146

**8**

- 1 Carte des sites mentionnés. Fond de carte H. David, modifié par É. Luneau et R. Shirazi). .... 153  
 2 a. Typologie des figurines du Chalcolithique et de l'âge du bronze ancien (© R. Shirazi 2008) ;  
 b. Plaine du Séistan, période Shahr-i Sokhta II (© R. Shirazi) ; c. Tépé Sadegh, plaine du  
 Séistan, période Shahr-i Sokhta II (© R. Shirazi) ; d. Plaine du Séistan, période Shahr-i Sokhta II  
 (© R. Shirazi) ; e. Altyn Dépé, période Namazga IV (Masson & Sarianidi 1973). .... 155

3	a. Typologie des figurines de l'âge du bronze moyen (Shirazi 2008) ; b. Gonur Dépé, Bronze moyen (Boroffka 2015) ; c. Gonur Dépé, Bronze moyen (Sarianidi 2002, 297) ; d. Margiane, Bronze moyen/récent (Rossi-Osmida 2007, 159) ; e. Altyn Dépé, Bronze moyen (© State Hermitage Museum) ; f. Gonur Dépé, Bronze moyen/récent (Dubova 2008, 102, fig. 25) ; g. Margiane, Bronze moyen/récent (Rossi-Osmida 2007, 159).....	156
4	Variations des éléments décoratifs et des signes gravés sur les figurines. a. Typologie des éléments décoratifs (© Masson, Sarianidi 1973, 30, 33, 36, 42) ; b. Typologie des signes gravés sur les figurines de la région de Tedjen (© R. Shirazi) ; c. Typologie des signes gravés sur les figurines de Margiane (© R. Shirazi).....	158
5	Exemples de comparaisons stylistiques a. Tepe Hissar, Iran – Période II (Schmidt 1937, pl. XXVII) ; b. Tepe Hissar, Iran – Période IIIc (Schmidt 1937, fig. 114) ; c. Tureng Tepe, Iran – Age du Bronze (Olson 2012, 190) ; d. Ur, Irak – période d'Obeid (© University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology) ; e. Tell Asmar, Irak – Période Ur III (Dales 1960, 108, n° 157) ; f. Tell Asmar, Irak – Période Isin Larsa (© University of Chicago, Oriental Institute) ; g. Suse, Iran – Période Akkad (Spycket 1992, pl. 16, 95) ; h. Suse, Iran – Période Ur III (Spycket 1992, pl. 25, 140) ; i. Demircihüyük, Anatolie (Rossi-Osmida 2007, 168) ; j. Mehrgarh/Nausharo, Pakistan (Jarrige 1991).....	160
6	Exemple de figurations anthropomorphes sur les décors peints des poteries. Ulug Dépé, chantier n° 5, surface (© Mission Archéologique Franco-Turkmène).....	161
7	Carte représentant les différentes influences stylistiques reçues par les figurines d'Asie centrale et d'Irak oriental (Fond de carte H. David, modifié par É. Luneau et R. Shirazi).....	162
<b>9</b>		
1	Map of the Middle Euphrates region with 3rd millennium sites. Map by M. Sauvage, revised by F. Sakal.....	174
2	Schematic manufacturing process of the nude figurines: drawn by F. Sakal.....	175
3	Type ME-F3.3 figurines.....	177
4	Distribution map of the nude figurines in the Middle Euphrates region and related figurines from the neighbouring regions (map M. Sauvage, revised by F. Sakal; figurines drawn by F. Sakal according to Van Loon 1979, Fig. 6 – Type ME-F3.1; van Loon 2001, Pl. 6.11 – Type ME-F3.2; Yardımcı 1993, 446, Fig. 9 – Type ME-F3.3; Butterlin 2008, Fig. 8 – Mari; Klengel-Brandt 1978, Taf. 2:27 – Assur; Debruyne, Jans & Van der Stede 2003: Pl. XI – Beydar).....	178
<b>10</b>		
1	Khabur Type female figurine from Tell Beydar, BEY 32374-M-1, Field F (1998), layer on (outside?) surface (Beydar IIIb). Debruyne, Jans & Van der Stede 2003, 208, Pl. XI. Drawn by François Renel, Mission Tell Beydar.....	184
2	Khabur Type female figurine torso from Tell Beydar, BEY 54105-M-5, Field B (2006), filling near floor of room 54106 (house 11; Beydar IIIb). Van der Stede & Devillers 2011, 27, fig. 58. Drawn by Anne Lebrun-Nelis, Mission Tell Beydar.....	185
3	Fine Khabur Type female figurine fragment from Tell Beydar, BEY 42162-M-1, Field P (2009), filling of a Hellenistic pit. Pruß 2011b, 179, fig. 2. Drawn by S. Zanetto, Mission de Tell Beydar.....	186
4	Balikh Type female figurine from Tell Khuera, TCH.92.H.007, Field H (1992), under threshold of private house (level 6 m; Khuera ID; EJZ 3b). Drawn by Michael Leicht, Mission Tell Khuera.....	187
5	Mari Type female figurine fragment from Tell Brak, TB.11066, Area SS, unstratified. McDonald 2001, p. 269, fig. 286; 486, 5. Drawn by Helen McDonald, Mission Tell Brak.....	188
6	Nude female figurine torso from Tell Khuera, TCH.92.A.066, Area A, under gravel pavement of level 7a (Khuera IC; EJZ 3a). Drawn by Michael Leicht, Mission Tell Khuera.....	189
7	Large nude female figurine from Tell Mozan, MZ.A 12.30, from pit in Area AA (phase 3; EJZ 4b). Buccellati & Kelly-Buccellati 2000, 156-160, fig. 9, Ill. 6-13. Drawing, Mission Tell Mozan.....	189
<b>11</b>		
1	Tableau des chronologies comparées de Mari et de Terqa par I. Weygand, d'après Margueron 2004, Butterlin 2014, Rouault 2007 et Rouault 2014.....	195

- 2 Reliefs estampés Mari (M. ou TH) et Terqa (TQ). a : M.761 (terre cuite, L. : 9,6 cm), photo © mission archéologique de Mari. b : M.1121/Louvre AO 18913 (terre cuite, L. 23,4 cm × l. 13,2 cm × h. 6 cm) photo I. Weygand. c : TQ18174 (terre cuite, L. 5,6 cm × l. 4,4 cm) photo © mission archéologique de Terqa d : TQ18175 (terre cuite, L. 6 cm × l. 4,6 cm) photo © mission archéologique de Terqa. e : M.50 (L. 14,1 cm × l. 4 cm) photo I. Weygand. f : TH06.43 (terre cuite, L. 16 cm × l. 5,1 cm), dessin profil et face, F. Laroche © mission archéologique de Mari. g : TH91.12 (terre cuite, L. 7,1 cm × l. 5 cm), dessin AEH © mission archéologique de Mari. h : TQ18058 (terre cuite, L. 5 cm × l. 3 cm) photo © mission archéologique de Terqa. .... 196
- 3 Figurines modelées. a : TQ23031 (terre cuite, L. 7,6 cm × l. 2,7 cm), photo © mission archéologique de Terqa. b : M.4201 (terre cuite, L. 7,7 cm × l. 3 cm), photo © mission archéologique de Mari. c : M.399/AO 18392 (terre cuite, h. 8,6 cm × l. maxi. base 4,1 cm × ép. moy. 1,6 cm), photo I. Weygand. d : TQ13352 (terre cuite, L. 10,2 cm × l. 5,7 cm), photo © mission archéologique de Terqa. e ; M.649 (L. 6,6 cm), dessin © mission archéologique de Mari. f : M.746 (L. 4,4 cm), dessin © mission archéologique de Mari. g ; M.702/Louvre AO 18484 (L. 6,4 cm), dessin face et profil I. Weygand. h : « Tour O » Émar, MSK74.12 (L. 22,2 cm × l. 18 cm × ép. 5,5 cm), photo © mission archéologique de Meskéné/Émar. .... 199
- 4 Figurines nues en terre cuite et autres supports (verre, pierre, os, ivoire, métaux). a : figurine hybride TQ12 10138 (terre cuite, L. 6,7 cm × l. 4,5 cm × h. 4,7 cm), dessins I. Weygand et photo © mission archéologique de Terqa. b : figurine hybride TQ13284 (terre cuite, L. 7,3 cm × l. 4,6 cm × h. 5,4 cm), dessins I. Weygand et photo © mission archéologique de Terqa. c : figurine TQ25099 (os, h. 4,1 cm), dessin face et dos I. Weygand, photo © mission archéologique de Terqa. d : figurine TQ15298 (verre, L. 2,7 cm × l. 2,2 cm × h. 1,8 cm), photo © mission archéologique de Terqa et dessins face et dos I. Weygand. e : moule M.1004 (calcaire, L. 15,6 cm), dessin I. Weygand. f1-4 : femmes de la « jarre au trésor », dessins de côté, aux trois quarts ou de face, à la même échelle I. Weygand. f1 : M.4403 (électrum, argent et or, h. 11,3 cm × l. 3,2 cm). f2 : M.4404 (ivoire, h. 8,4 cm × l. 2,2 cm). f3 : M.4406 (ivoire, h. 3,7 cm × l. 1,4 cm). f4 : M.4413 (lapis lazuli, h. 2,8 cm). g : TH.94.33 (terre cuite h. 6,3 cm ; l. 5 cm), photo © mission archéologique de Mari. .... 201

## 12

- 1 Statistics on SPFs figurines from the Turco-Italian Expedition at Karkemish. Designed by B. Bolognani. .... 219
- 2 EU-SPFs from Deve Höyük, images not to scale. a. AN1913.447 © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, photo by the Author (Moorey 2004: No. 365). b. AN1913.634 © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, photo by the Author (Moorey 2004: No. 358) c. AN1914.795 © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, photo by the Author (Moorey 2004: No. 362) d. AN1914.796 © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, photo by the Author (Moorey 2004: No. 363). .... 220
- 3 Anatomical elements composing EU-SPFs subtypes. Drawing B. Bolognani. .... 221
- 4 SPF variants in the Syro-Anatolian region. Figurines after Pruß 2010, fig. 33, 35, Nos. 282, 291. Drawing B. Bolognani. .... 226
- 5 First millennium BC headdress trends. a. Kubaba's head from the Long Wall of Sculpture of Karkemish © Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara, photo by G. Luglio. b. Detail of a wooden statue of Hera from Samos, modified after Şare-Ağtürk 2014, p. 76, fig. 1c. c. Salmanköy head portraying Kubaba. Inv.No.124 © Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara, modified after Şare-Ağtürk 2014, p. 77, fig. 1f. .... 228

## 13

- 1 Figurine applied to the wall, flanked by bull heads. Kletter, Ziffer & Zwickel 2010: a. CAT 80 (IAA 2006-1693); b. CAT 81 (IAA 2006-1023). Photo Leonid Padrul, Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority. .... 236
- 2 Figurine inserted into opening, flanked by bull heads. Kletter, Ziffer & Zwickel 2010: a. CAT 84 (IAA 2006-1001); b. CAT 85 (IAA 2006-1004). Photo Leonid Padrul, Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority. .... 237
- 3 Goats nibbling at a tree, flanked by bull heads and naked female figurines. Kletter, Ziffer & Zwickel 2010: a. CAT 90 (IAA 2006-994); b. CAT 92 (IAA 2006-1040). Photo Leonid Padrul, Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority. .... 238

4	Clay wheeled chariot rhyton, Karphi, 12th century BCE. Drawing by the author.....	239
5	Riders stand. Kletter, Ziffer & Zwickel 2010: CAT 38 (IAA 2006-1043). Photo Leonid Padrul, Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.....	240
6	Bull heads pushed through the wall. Kletter, Ziffer & Zwickel 2010: CAT 26 (IAA 2006-1056). Photo Leonid Padrul, Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.....	240
7	Pair of lions stands. Kletter, Ziffer & Zwickel 2010: a. CAT 2 (IAA 2006-992); b. CAT 3 (IAA 2006-993). Photo Leonid Padrul, Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.....	241
8	Pair of winged disk stands. Kletter, Ziffer & Zwickel 2010: a. CAT 28 (IAA 2006-1046); b. CAT 29 (IAA 2006-1047). Photo Leonid Padrul, Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.....	242
9	Crude female figurines contrasting with delicate bull heads. Kletter, Ziffer & Zwickel 2010: CAT 15 (IAA 2006-1007). Photo Leonid Padrul, Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority. ....	243
10	Square and rounded openings. Kletter, Ziffer & Zwickel 2010: CAT 86 (IAA 2006-1054). Photo Leonid Padrul, Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.....	243
11	Figurine with accentuated waist. Kletter, Ziffer & Zwickel 2010: CAT 113 (IAA 2006-1038). Photo Leonid Padrul, Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.....	244
12	Identically shaped columns. Kletter, Ziffer & Zwickel 2010: a. CAT 17 (IAA 2006-1066); b. CAT 61 (IAA 2006-1064); c. CAT 36 (IAA 2006-1051). Photo Leonid Padrul, Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority. ....	245
13	Musicians stand. Kletter, Ziffer & Zwickel 2010: CAT 44 (IAA 2006-1035). Photo Leonid Padrul, Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.....	246
14	Flat figurine. Kletter, Ziffer & Zwickel 2010: CAT 60 (IAA 2006-1010). Photo Leonid Padrul, Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority. ....	246
<b>14</b>		
1	Figurine au tambourin, Citadelle d'Amman, ix-vii <sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C., terre cuite, 146 × 55 × 38 mm, Jordan Archaeological Museum Amman, TJ 1639, © Department of Antiquities Amman via Franco-German Figurines Project (FGFP), photo : Thomas Graichen. ....	251
2	Figurine représentant une femme sur le point d'accoucher, Busayra, n° 637, viii <sup>e</sup> /vii <sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C., terre cuite, 121 × 60 × 41 mm, Karak Archaeological Museum, © Department of Antiquities Amman via Franco-German Figurines Project (FGFP), photo : Thomas Graichen. ....	252
3	a. Figurine modifiée, Tall as-Sa'idiyah, terre cuite, 82 × 62 × 26 mm, Amman, Jordan Archaeological Museum Amman, J. 13786, © Department of Antiquities Amman via Franco-German Figurines Project (FGFP), photo : Thomas Graichen ; b. Figurine au tambourin, Tell el-Far'ah Nord, F3426, 101 × 63 × 36 mm, Rockefeller Museum Jerusalem, published by courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority, photo : Yael YOLOVITCH ; c. Figurine au tambourin, Citadelle d'Amman, trouvé en 2004, 74 × 62 × 34 mm, Nuweijis Amman T540, © Department of Antiquities Amman via Franco-German Figurines Project (FGFP), photo : Thomas Graichen ; toutes les trois : terre cuite, x <sup>e</sup> -ix <sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C.....	253
4	Figurine à vulve ouverte, Tall as-Sa'idiyah, S0326, xi <sup>e</sup> -x <sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C., terre cuite, H. 65 mm, British Museum London, 1987.0727.48, published by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum. ....	256
5	Torse de figurine féminine, Tall Dayr Alla, DA 56, ix-viii <sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C., terre cuite, 94 × 67 × 32 mm, Jordan Archaeological Museum Amman, J. 12699, © Department of Antiquities Amman via Franco-German Figurines Project (FGFP), photo : Thomas Graichen. ....	257
6	Figurines au tambourin attachées à une maquette de sanctuaire, Karak (région), ix <sup>e</sup> /vii <sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C., terre cuite, 167 × 161 × 101 mm, Karak Archaeological Museum, J. 5751, © Department of Antiquities of Jordan, Amman via Franco-German Figurines Project (FGFP), photo : Thomas Graichen. ....	257
<b>15</b>		
1	Kharayeb: general plan of the main building – 2013-2015 excavations (Oggiano et alii, in press, fig. 3).....	267
2	Kharayeb figurines: group of heads of young boys with causia (photo by I. Oggiano).....	268



3	a. Seated male figurine with flat heat from Kharayeb; b. Woman supporting their breasts from Kharayeb; c-d. nude and dressed female northern Syrian figurines (Nunn 2000, taf. 9,1 and taf 10,7); figurines with outstretched arms and Eastern Greek dress e. from Beirut ( <i>La Méditerranée des Phéniciens de Tyr à Carthage. Catalogue de l'exposition à l'Institut du monde arabe</i> , 6 novembre 2007-20 avril 2008, Paris, 2007, p. 191, cat. 224), f. from Kharayeb (photo by I. Oggiano).....	270
4	Dressed female figurines from Kharayeb: a. Pregnant (photo by I. Oggiano); b. with fan c. with flower (Kaoukabani 1973, Pl. VIII, 1, IX, 2).....	272
5	a. Female figurine with stola (photo by I. Oggiano); b. Stele of Baalshamar from Umm el-‘Amed (photo by I. Oggiano).....	274
6	Figurines from Kharayeb: a-c. children; d. female figurine with jug (photo by I. Oggiano).....	275
7	Figurines of Hermes and Aphrodite (photo by I. Oggiano).....	277
<b>16</b>		
1	Figure féminine nue associée à Ishtar guerrière sur un cylindre paléobabylonien du British Museum, d'après Collon 1986, n° 122.....	284
2	Un des deux sceaux de Yasim-Sumu de Mari, vers 1770 avant J.-C. : Beyer & Charpin 1990, p. 620, fig. 4.....	285
3	Empreinte d'un sceau-cylindre cappadocien : Özgüç & Tunca 2001, pl. 36, n° CS 222.....	285
4	Empreinte du sceau-cylindre d'Ana-Sin-taklâku de Mari, réutilisé par un Elamite (photo de l'auteur). Cf. Parrot 1959, p. 169-185 et pl. XLVIII.....	286
5	La déesse Ishtar gravée sur une plaquette de coquille du temple d'Ishtar de Mari. D'après Cluzan & Butterlin 2014, p. 189.....	287
6	Roi syrien face à deux figures féminines sur un cylindre paléosyrien. Détail d'après Porada 1948, n° 946.....	287
7	Baal-Haddad, le dieu de l'Orage, et sa parèdre sur le taureau. Cylindre paléosyrien. Safadi 1974, pl. VIII, n° 64.....	288
<b>17</b>		
<b>18</b>		
1	Every fragment is precious? Working on figurines from Jerusalem; photo K. Saarelainen.....	300
<b>19</b>		
1	Bronze shield from the Idaean cave (neg. D-DAI-ATH-Kreta 234, photo: E. Kunze).....	309
2	Two fragments of a naked female ivory figurine from the Idaean Cave (after Sakellarakis 2013, pl. 96, 5).....	310
3	Protogeometric naked female figurine from Kato Syme (after Lebessi 2002, pl. 12).....	310
4	Naked relief figure with polos from the Anavlochos, height 12.7 cm, c. 650/40 BCE (neg. D-DAI-ATH-06.559, photo: M. Krumme).....	311
5	Find contexts of naked relief figures in Eastern Crete (plan: O. Pilz).....	312
6	Find contexts of naked relief figures in Central Crete (plan: O. Pilz).....	312
7	Naked relief figure from Axos, height 21.7 cm, c. 660/50 BCE (Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene neg. B/10516).....	313
<b>20</b>		
1	Plaquette d'Astarté fragmentaire, provenant du palais d'Amathonte (École française d'Athènes, Isabelle Tassignon).....	318
2	Plaquette aux deux femmes de Kition-Salines (d'après Karageorghis 1999, p. 6, fig. 3).....	319
3	Partie inférieure d'une plaquette d'Astarté provenant du palais d'Amathonte (École française d'Athènes, Isabelle Tassignon).....	320
4	Plaquette d'Astarté provenant d'Amathonte (d'après Karageorghis 1999, pl. LXVII, fig. 1).....	321
5	Plaquette d'Astarté provenant d'Amathonte (d'après Karageorghis 1999, pl. II, fig. 4).....	321
<b>21</b>		
1	Fragments de figurines nues articulées de l'Artémision de Thasos : F 19616 (a) et F 19283 (b). © Thomas Nicq (Halma-UMR 8164). © Hellenic Republic, Ministry of Culture and Sports, General Directorate of Antiquities and Cultural Heritage, Ephorate of Antiquities of Kavala-Thasos.....	329

2	Fragments de figurines nues assises sans siège, de l'Artémision de Thasos : F 19271 (a), F 19278 (b), F 19408 (c). © Thomas Nicq (Halma-UMR 8164). © Hellenic Republic, Ministry of Culture and Sports, General Directorate of Antiquities and Cultural Heritage, Ephorate of Antiquities of Kavala-Thasos.....	330
3	Fragments de figurines nues de l'Artémision de Thasos : figurine articulée F 19272 (a), et figurine nue assise sans siège F 21283 (b). © Thomas Nicq (Halma-UMR 8164). © Hellenic Republic, Ministry of Culture and Sports, General Directorate of Antiquities and Cultural Heritage, Ephorate of Antiquities of Kavala-Thasos.....	331
4	Fragments de protomés-buste nues de l'Artémision de Thasos : F 11087 (a) et F 11216 (b). © Thomas Nicq (Halma-UMR 8164). © Hellenic Republic, Ministry of Culture and Sports, General Directorate of Antiquities and Cultural Heritage, Ephorate of Antiquities of Kavala-Thasos.....	332





Les « figurines féminines nues » constituent une catégorie d'artefacts très présents dans les cultures matérielles anciennes de l'Égypte, de la Nubie, du Proche-Orient, de l'Asie centrale et de la Méditerranée orientale. Fabriquées majoritairement en terre cuite, mais aussi en faïence et en d'autres matériaux (bois, pierre...), ces objets, facilement manipulables, représentent un personnage féminin au corps nu et souvent paré. Ils sont présents dans divers contextes archéologiques et leur interprétation est souvent délicate, du fait du faible nombre de sources textuelles qui peuvent être convoquées et de la difficulté à isoler des attributs iconographiques permettant d'identifier de façon certaine le personnage représenté (une entité divine, une officiante, un prototype de classe d'âge). En outre, la présence, dans un large espace géographique de sociétés en contact, d'objets présentant, certes, des similitudes techniques et iconographiques, mais aussi des points de divergence, pose des questions sur les origines, vraisemblablement multiples, de cette catégorie d'objets, et sur les éventuels phénomènes de diffusion et de réception à l'échelle locale, voire à une plus large échelle. En proposant des analyses détaillées de lots cohérents de figurines féminines, replacés dans leurs contextes archéologique, historique, géographique et culturel, les travaux réunis dans ce volume offrent l'occasion d'une mise en comparaison d'objets *contextualisés*, mais aussi d'une mise en commun de réflexions théoriques sur les méthodes (analyses matérielle et technique, archéologique, sémiotique) mises en oeuvre pour tenter de les interpréter et de comprendre leurs usages dans une société donnée. Les contributions sont réparties par section géographique (l'Afrique du Nord-Est – Égypte, Soudan –, le Proche-Orient et l'Asie centrale entre la fin du Néolithique et l'âge du bronze, le Levant Nord et Sud à l'âge du fer, la Méditerranée orientale et le monde grec) structure que vient compléter une section thématique (regards transversaux : l'iconographie, les textes, l'économie).

Ce livre comprend les contributions de Johan BEHA, Dominique BEYER, Barbara BOLOGNANI, Frédérique BRUNET, Georges CASTEL, Frédéric COLIN, Aurelie DAEMS, Élisabeth DAVID, Sylvie DONNAT, Régine HUNZIKER-RODEWALD, Stéphanie HUYSECOM-HAXHI, Raz KLETTER, Élise LUNEAU, Sylvie MARCHAND, Ida OGGIANO, Oliver PILZ, Alexander PRUß, Isabelle RÉGEN, Anne-Caroline RENDU LOISEL, Ferhan SAKAL, Rouhollah SHIRAZI, Isabelle TASSIGNON, Isabelle WEYGAND, et Irit ZIFFER.

