

WOMEN IN ANTIQUITY

Real women across the Ancient World

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THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ROLES PLAYED BY THE WOMEN OF ALASHIYA

Louise Steel

*The wind drove me to the land of Alashiya. The inhabitants of the town came out to kill me. I pushed myself between them to the place where Hatiba, the princess of the town, was. I found her after she came forth from one house of hers and was entering into another. I greeted her and said to the people standing near her: "Is there no one amongst you who understands the language of Egypt". One amongst them said: "I understand". I said to him: "Tell my mistress, I have heard as far (away) as Thebes, the place where Amun is, 'In every town wrong is done, (but) that in the land of Alashiya right is done'. Does one now do wrong daily here?" She said: "Oh, what is this that you have said?" I said to her: "If the sea rages and the wind drives me to the place in which you are, would you let them receive me so as to kill me, although I am the messenger of Amun? They will look for me to the end of days. As for the crew of the prince of Byblos which they seek to kill, will not its lord find ten crews with you and kill them himself?" She had the people summoned and they were pulled up. She said to me: "Be at ease!"*¹

This famous account relates to the shipwreck of the Egyptian priest, Wenamun, on the coast of Alashiya and provides us with the earliest known account of a high-status woman of Cyprus who appears to have wielded some degree of political power and influence. The text dates to the Twenty-First Dynasty (Third Intermediate Period), which places it after the widespread political and economic breakdown throughout the East Mediterranean at the end of the Late Bronze Age (LBA). It provides a fleeting and tantalizing glimpse into life on the island during the final stages of the Bronze Age – an unsettled period, a time when strangers from overseas were viewed with suspicion, but during which life in the coastal towns persisted with at least some degree of central governance. Whether this brief and essentially external account reflects an ancient Cypriot reality is unclear – but it is nonetheless intriguing that one of the few named individuals from Alashiya is a woman, Hatiba, and, moreover, she was clearly someone of some influence and standing within her community. Whether we can extrapolate from this a wider understanding of the social and economic roles of the women of (LBA) Alashiya is another matter. In this chapter, I will review some of the archaeological evidence in an attempt to situate Hatiba within her wider social context.

Nature of the evidence

Gender archaeology has long been a fruitful area of enquiry² but, with only a few exceptions, has had limited impact on our understanding and interpretations of the Late Cypriot (LC) period (1450–1050 bc).³ Engendering the past is not simply a case of writing women into the archaeological narratives, but should also consider the social relations of both men and women and how these individuals were integrated within the social, economic and ideological structures of past societies. One of the problems we face when trying to establish gender roles in ancient communities is essentialist assumptions, namely unquestioningly imposing certain roles, activities, and practices onto an ancient population according to assumed universals of male/female biology and experience. Instead we should explore a diversity of social roles in different cultural contexts. The men, women and children of LBA Cyprus continue perennially to be “faceless blobs”.⁴ It is the aim of this chapter to briefly attempt to people the LC past and to explore a multiplicity of female lived experiences; for the purposes of this exercise, however, their male counterparts will largely remain in the shadows.

In contrast to the surrounding regions of the Near East, and even the limited evidence from the Aegean, we do not have the luxury of ancient texts to explore people’s daily lives on Cyprus, as the small corpus of Cypro-Minoan texts remains undeciphered. There is a single mention of an Alashiyan woman and her female apprentices amongst the ration lists from Ugarit⁵ but, other than indicating her integration within the Ugaritic royal economic sphere, there is no additional information concerning her occupation. The many other references to Alashiya in the texts from neighbouring regions⁶ are silent on the activities, occupation and status of women from the island of copper. While we cannot read contemporary Cypriot documents, we can draw upon a rich archaeological record to tease out the social and economic roles of women on Cyprus during the LBA. Our primary evidence is the settlement archaeology, in particular dating to the LC IIC–IIA period (thirteenth to twelfth centuries). Much of the work to date has focused on the large ashlar structures in the coastal towns rather than on daily life within urban and rural households.⁷ Nonetheless, there is evidence which will enable an assessment of the LC domestic arena. In addition, there is a veritable wealth of funerary evidence from across the island which covers the entire LC period. Despite this valuable resource, only a small percentage of the burials have been aged and sexed, which inevitably has some impact on developing narratives of women’s lives. The final strand of evidence comprises representations of women, although these are not as rich as those available for the preceding Middle Cypriot (MC) period or those from the Aegean and Near East. (See Serwint, this volume.)

Although the sources available for exploring women’s lives might seem restricted in comparison to the surrounding regions, we do have a wealth of archaeological evidence which can give us unique insights into women’s material experiences – we can explore the things they made, used, wore, exchanged, lost, and broke on a daily basis, the spaces they lived, loved, worked, and slept in, and the tombs where they were finally laid to rest. Thinking about this material through the lens of social archaeology (encompassing materiality, agency, and practice), with reference to comparative data from contemporary cultures and judicious use of ethnoarchaeological analogy, should help us to elucidate the social and economic roles of the women of Alashiya. We should be aware, however, of the problems of indiscriminately applying ethnographic and historical analogies to the archaeological record and defining female roles and activities according to essentialist gender stereotypes.

Representations

Representations are increasingly being used by archaeologists to explore gender in ancient communities. These images allow us a glimpse of how ancient populations viewed themselves; even so, making sense of their possible meanings is fraught with difficulties and the extent to which they might give an insight into the social and economic roles of women is unclear. The range of LC representational material in fact is frustratingly limited. Most plentiful are clay figurines.⁸ There are also a handful of bronze figurines dating to the thirteenth to twelfth century BC,⁹ a single instance of a four-sided bronze stand depicting women at a window, a small number of anthropomorphic bottles depicting women carrying water jars on their heads, a few pieces of Mycenaean pictorial pottery,¹⁰ occasional carved ivories and a few pieces of glyptic. Some of these images derive from cultural contexts external to the island and yet they were readily consumed within Cypriot lifeways suggesting that they were in some way relevant and meaningful to the island's communities. I would argue that these images reiterated certain social perceptions of women and that as a corollary they might help us explore women's social and economic lives. We shall examine the potential significance of these objects for exploring the lives and experiences of women within and beyond the household and consider them in relation to other aspects of the LC material world.

Social and economic roles within the household

The LBA was a period of great social change characterized by a move away from isolated village communities towards centrally organized urban settlements involved in international maritime exchanges. Underlying assumptions are that society became more hierarchically organized, production increasingly moved into the hands of specialists rather than within household (or household workshops), and that there was increasing elite control over production and exchange.¹¹ These transformations undoubtedly resulted in a radical change in household structures and social (gendered) relations¹² and raised questions of how economically productive women were and whether their role(s) as mother/nurturer shifted.

Representations from the earlier MC villages suggest that marriage and motherhood were important female social roles,¹³ but it is not clear whether we can demonstrate their continued significance into the LC period; moreover, we should be careful of unthinkingly attributing biologically imposed essentialist roles without considering the LC cultural context. Certainly, the materiality used to negotiate family relations and the biographies of individuals shifted as the population moved into the coastal urban centres. Current evidence suggests that representations of couples and pregnant women disappear from the Cypriot imagined, creative world, which might imply a shift in cultural values and perhaps the daily experience of women. The continued value attached to motherhood, or at least the nurturing of infants, is illustrated, however, by the uninterrupted popularity of the *kourotrophos*, albeit adapted and modified within a new Levantine-inspired iconography – the bird-faced figurine. Interestingly, Budin¹⁴ suggests that these were not images of mortal women, but were in fact goddesses. This interpretation need not preclude the significance of these figurines for female biographies; they might well be viewed as intrinsically feminine objects, perhaps reflecting personal piety and aspirations to fulfilling a specific role within society, or possibly good luck charms to help a woman through the dangers of childbirth and the uncertainties of rearing children to adult health (see Lorentz and also Budin, this volume).¹⁵ The figurines were used in life within the household and were dedicated in sanctuaries; occasionally some were buried with the dead.¹⁶ These objects might give us some insight into LC perceptions of family life, gendered social roles and the

importance of assuring the next generation. They illustrate how ideological beliefs impacted on the daily lives of (some) women, reiterating the importance of their role as nurturer (although not necessarily life-giver/mother) and reinforcing this through the sacred associations of the divine figurines, many of which were dedicated at religious sites.¹⁷ Their inclusion in a small number of high-status tombs¹⁸ further emphasizes the importance of women for ensuring the continuity of family/household wealth.

Female (and child) labour would have been a significant economic resource, and women's domestic activities represent a worthwhile line of enquiry. The allocation of tasks according to gender is well documented in the ancient Near East¹⁹ and we might be able to extrapolate some of this evidence to Cyprus, based on the material arrangement within domestic spaces. Typically, LC houses were freestanding structures built around a central courtyard; from the distribution of finds this appears to have been the primary domestic work area.²⁰ Hearths, ovens, storage pits, pithoi and grinding equipment indicate that this was a space where food was stored, processed, cooked and possibly consumed. Both Fisher²¹ and Bolger²² have emphasized the apparent privatization of the LC household space and domestic activities. Conversely, we might consider the courtyard as a lively communal space where women from neighbouring households could gather, work together and perhaps keep an eye on the children – a place where they shared their workload while they also engaged in the important business of gossiping, sharing knowledge, and cementing social ties (see also Meyers, "Daily Life," this volume).²³

The archaeological evidence and reference to contemporary practices in the Near East and Aegean suggest a variety of probable female domestic economic roles. The materiality of their daily experience was shaped by a range of ground stone tools, such as grinders, rubbers and pestles, used for processing and preparing foodstuffs. The very large number found on any LC site is staggering, but it is worth noting that these objects would have been prized household possessions. Dalley²⁴ notes that at Mari (on the Euphrates) every girl received various millstones when she married; we might then consider whether there were similar practices on Cyprus and if these implements were in fact the economic property of the woman of the household. The primary food processing set was the saddle quern and rubber (Figure 27.1b), which were used together to grind grains and pulses. The querns were substantial objects and would be set up semi-permanently within the courtyard.²⁵ Ethnographies suggest an average of between three and five hours a day would be devoted to grinding grain²⁶ and preparing the daily bread, indicating this to be both a major economic activity within the household and also a primary lived experience for the female member(s) of the household whose responsibility this was. Although a time-consuming and arduous task, this, together with other aspects of food production, would undoubtedly have been a very social and socialized activity. Fendin,²⁷ for example, highlights the importance of singing to accompany and mimic the rhythmic process of grinding and so help to pass the time.

Spindle whorls and loom weights (Figure 27.1a) were typical items of household material culture, indicating that textile production was another important household activity. This is usually assumed to be for domestic consumption;²⁸ nonetheless given the economic importance of textiles in the ancient world we should not discount production of woven cloth for exchange as part of a household industry. Smith²⁹ contends that LC domestic textile production was primarily a female activity, at least the combing of wool and the spinning and weaving of wool and flax; this might therefore indicate that women could achieve some degree of economic independence through their successful management of this household industry. The possible involvement of women in commercial transactions might be illustrated by the Middle Assyrian textile industry, in which the women of the household exercised a great deal of economic control (see also McCarthy, this volume).³⁰ As whorls were portable,

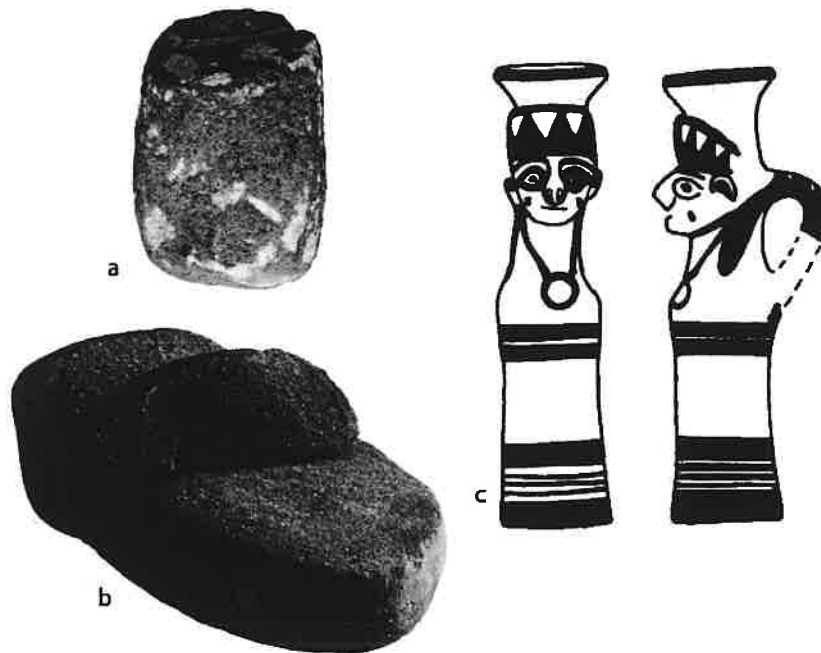


Figure 27.1 Women's work. a. loom weight from Aredhiou Vouppes (photo S. Thomas); b. grinding set from Aredhiou Vouppes (photo S. Thomas); c. water carrier (after Karageorghis 1993, fig. 56).

spinning could be practised on the move, within different rooms in the house. Evidence from Apliki and Kition *Chyropolitissa* indicate that the warp-weighted looms would be set up in the courtyard, situating weaving, this most important of economic activities, at the heart of the household. As with the grinding of grain, the sounds and rhythm of working the loom and spinning yarn would be picked up by accompanying rhyme or song, further highlighting the sociality of domestic production.³¹

Surprisingly, water procurement is missing from the many gender studies of the ancient Near East,³² no doubt due to its intangibility; however, we might expect this activity to have played a key role in female social lives. Within agricultural and settled communities, water-carrying increasingly became a female domestic role, providing the daily drinking, cooking and washing needs of the household,³³ but also providing an opportunity for socializing. Bourdieu, for example, notes how the collection of water provided girls of the Kabyle villages with an important extra-household social arena in which they could meet to "exchange news and carry on their gossip".³⁴ A few anthropomorphic bottles depicting women carrying jars (of water?) on their head are attested from the end of the LBA (Figure 27.1c), and support the idea that water-carrying was a female task.³⁵

Within increasingly hierarchically organized, urbanized communities, water is viewed as an economic asset and the focus of property rights; consequently, in such contexts, Strang³⁶ contends that water management and technological investment in securing water supplies are primarily male concerns, while women continue to physically collect and carry household water supplies. In this respect, it is interesting to note the apparent privatization of water supplies within LC urban households, with cisterns and wells being dug inside some of the

buildings.³⁷ Some households, however, would have been dependent on nearby waterways or communal, public wells, such as those identified at Kourion *Bamboula* and Hala Sultan Tekke.³⁸ The apparent privatization of water therefore might reflect its economic importance and the need to control access; equally, we might view it as a means by which the movement of women beyond the household could be controlled, which has significant implications for female autonomy and status.

Beyond the household

We should also explore the possibility that women played a significant role as economic, political and religious agents outside the household. Near Eastern texts, for example, illustrate the substantial economic and occasionally political power wielded by some women, while ration lists provide an important source of information for women's occupations beyond the household, most commonly as textile workers but also other female occupations, including musicians, scribes and doctors.³⁹ There is likewise plentiful evidence for specialization of craft activities in the towns of LBA Cyprus, much of which was located within the centralized ashlar buildings, in particular within the sacred precincts. As much as these structures were economic hubs, they were also the focus of social gatherings and religious performance. The urban temples and sanctuaries provide an abundance of material evidence,⁴⁰ but the nature of these religious performances and the potential gendered roles of the participants have yet to be explored in any detail. While textual and representational sources from surrounding cultures indicate that women were significant actors in ritual performance (see Michel (Levant) and Boëlle (Aegean), this volume), on Cyprus we are entirely reliant on interpreting the material residues of cult. The following discussion explores possible areas of female activity within the LC sanctuaries, both as supplicants or worshippers and as practitioners of cult.

The temples were undoubtedly colourful, vibrant, bustling places full of sounds and scents, all part of the texture of the embodied practices enacted therein; these included music and song, processions, burning of incense, ceremonial feasting and banquets.⁴¹ Processions to seated musicians/singers playing the lyre is a repeated motif on the four-sided bronze stands,⁴² providing us with a visual referent to these occasions. A slightly later image (transitional Bronze-Iron Age) is the (male?) figure playing a lyre seated inside a clay model shrine.⁴³ The stands (tripod and four-sided) themselves would have been integrated within embodied practices in the sanctuaries, supporting containers of substances such as water, wine or incense.⁴⁴ There is no reason to preclude female participation from these activities. Occasional bird-faced figurines holding a musical instrument in their left arm⁴⁵ suggest that it was not impossible to the LC mindset for women to be musicians, a notion which gains further support from the Mari archives, which refer to female singers, and up to 56 lady musicians are listed on one ration list.⁴⁶ Moreover, some LC women certainly had access to the drinking equipment used in ceremonial banqueting, and there is some evidence that they specifically chose their own personal Mycenaean kraters for decorative motifs that reflected their identities, social roles, and high status.⁴⁷ We might therefore allow for their participation in temple feasts. Many women (and men) were more probably involved in provisioning these occasions, preparing food and drink in the temple kitchens, serving the participants, and supervising the provision of eating and drinking equipment.

One of the more intriguing objects with possible religious connotations is a four-sided bronze stand decorated with the "women at the window" motif (Figure 27.2), found in Enkomi Tomb 97. This image, better known from the later Neo-Assyrian palaces, has been interpreted as a reference to temple prostitution, a practice apparently related to the notion of sacred marriage

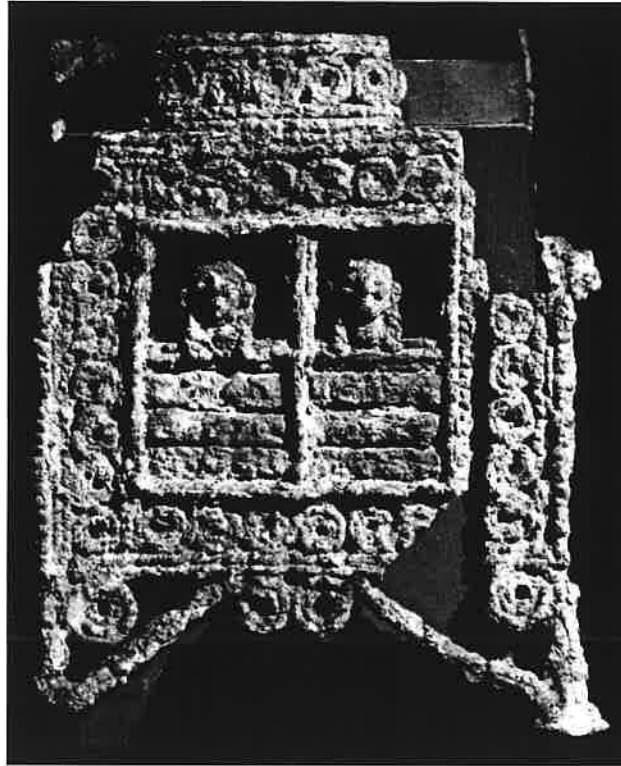


Figure 27.2 Bronze four-sided stand from Enkomi Tomb 97. (Courtesy of the BM.)

associated with the Near Eastern cult of Ishtar.⁴⁸ Other LC images of women in buildings are known on Mycenaean pictorial vases, namely the Window Krater from Kourion *Bamboula* and the Shrine Krater from Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios*,⁴⁹ the latter of which is certainly a religious scene. Although this imagery appears to belong to an Aegean tradition, we might consider that it was reinvented in the LC context as a metaphor for temple prostitution. The overt sexuality of a female deity worshipped on Cyprus, illustrated by the emphasis on the sexual attributes and nudity of the bird-faced figurines,⁵⁰ might support the notion that sex (although not necessarily as a commercial transaction) may indeed have been an accepted aspect of religious action within some at least of the urban temples, revealing a possibly unexpected social role for some women.

Nonetheless, we should note that the notion of sacred prostitution in fact is controversial, reflecting in part exoticizing orientalist notions of eastern women as sexual beings who are hidden from view and exist for male pleasure.⁵¹ Indeed, whether or not the sexual act, or prostitution (sex within an economic transaction) were part of the sacred landscape of the ancient Near East has been much debated in recent years, primarily based on readings of the Near Eastern texts.⁵² While the sacralization of sex has been identified as a characteristic of Cypriot religious practices during the Iron Age, based on the reading of a fourth-century inventory of temple workers from Kition *Bamboula*, which apparently listed sacred prostitutes alongside the more mundane bakers, barbers, scribes and specialist craftsmen,⁵³ this in fact is a misreading of the Phoenician, *klbm*, which is more correctly translated as “dog”.⁵⁴ The textual evidence

from the ancient Near East therefore is at best tenuous, suggesting alternative readings of the “women at the window” motif would be preferable. The women depicted on the Shrine Krater from Kalavassos have been interpreted as divine, or possibly priestesses in their sanctuary.⁵⁵ Plausibly, the figures on the bronze stand had similar religious connotations – the imagery on other bronze stands falls within the sacred sphere (musicians, processions, sphinxes) and the women’s hairstyles recall those of the rare bronze figurines from Cyprus, further suggesting divinity. Rather than temple prostitution, therefore, the women at a window/woman in a shrine motif relates to LC cosmologies, and at a push perhaps to female practitioners of cult.

The temples were also a hive of economic activity and supported a large number of workers, including attached specialists who produced symbolically charged objects for the religious elite. Industrial workshops have been identified adjacent to Temple 1 at Kition; the Northern Workshops were associated with metalworking⁵⁶ and the Western Workshops were home to large-scale textile production.⁵⁷ It is perhaps an essentialist given that these were gendered spaces: men working in the metal workshops while women provided the labour for textile production. Even so, there is a possibility that women might have completed some of the tasks at least in the metal workshops. In copper-smelting experiments at the Iron Age metallurgical site of Ayia Varvara *Almyras*, for example, it was reported that women were consistently better at working the bellows, a task which involved co-ordination, stamina and an intuitive understanding of the processes inside the furnace rather than great physical strength.⁵⁸ There is perhaps no reason, other than our own cultural stereotypes, to exclude women from such a task in the LC context. By analogy with contemporary practice in the Aegean and Near East, Smith⁵⁹ suggests that both men and women worked in the textile workshops, women spinning and possibly weaving, while men were responsible for fulling and dyeing the textiles and possibly also weaving.

Life after life

Archaeologists have interpreted funerary evidence as a window onto ancient cultural systems.⁶⁰ There is now an increasing emphasis on the emotions, motives, and politics of the living⁶¹ and an understanding that ancient burials might not give a direct view onto the status, wealth and identity of past populations. Even so, burials do provide us with a direct link to an ancient people and can help us refine our understanding of past social relations and how these were articulated materially. The LC burial record provides us with a wealth of information for exploring the social role(s) of women. There are, however, limitations with this material, in particular the re-use of tombs for multiple burials, sometimes over generations, ancient and modern tomb looting, and the lack of osteological analyses for tombs excavated in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For these reasons, therefore, discussion will focus on just one tomb group, where we do have detailed age/sex information, to explore whether women were able to acquire wealth in their own right and also to examine the relationship between women and children.

Kalavassos Tomb 11 is a rare example of an unlooted LC tomb that has been excavated and recorded meticulously (see, also, Lorentz, this volume).⁶² It is of particular interest for our understanding of female social roles as it housed the remains of three young adult women (aged between 17 and 24), a young child (aged 3) and three infants.⁶³ Moreover, this tomb stands out for its considerable wealth and the accumulation of symbolically charged objects. These include two Mycenaean kraters, two bull rhyta, a large quantity of gold jewellery including two signet rings inscribed with Cypro-Minoan (Figure 27.3), Red Lustrous spindle bottles and flasks, two ivory cosmetic palettes, and two glass vessels.⁶⁴

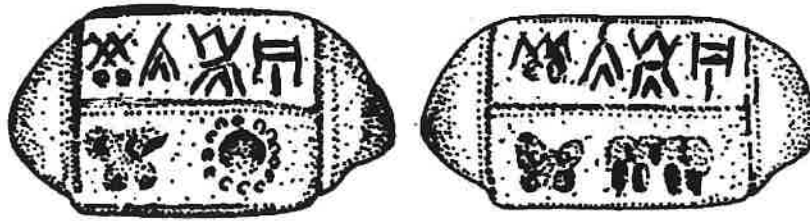


Figure 27.3 Gold signet ring from Kalavassos Ayios Dhimitrios. (After Ferrara 2013, figs. 165–166.)

The wealth of the burials raises important questions concerning property ownership, wealth, status, and gender. Plausibly these burials demonstrate a woman's ability to acquire, own, and dispose of property in her own right; alternatively the valuables buried with these women reflect familial (male) wealth. Careful analysis of the grave goods might elucidate LC property customs, the economic value attached to women of marriageable age and might highlight the status, wealth and authority that women in LC society could achieve. Moreover, given their association with infant burials, the provision of a remarkable array of valuables and sumptuary items undoubtedly demonstrates the importance of women for ensuring the continuity of the family line and inheritance of property.⁶⁵ This is reiterated by the apparent segregation of wealthy high-status female burials, frequently associated with child/infant burials in other sites across the island.⁶⁶ This custom emphasizes the importance of women for ensuring the continuity of familial wealth and lineages through marriage and childbirth, something we have previously noted with the *kourotrophos* figurines. Interestingly, however, the maternal, nurturing role is not reflected in the materiality of the burials and does not appear to be an important or valued aspect of female personhood.

The young woman buried on the west bench of the tomb was adorned with an array of gold jewellery, including six plain hoop earrings, four hair spirals and two signet rings, as well as two silver toe rings. These pieces all had signs of wear, which clearly indicates they had been worn in life and so reflect the woman's lived experience. The plain hoop rings and hair spirals all correlated to a standard unit of weight, leading Goring⁶⁷ to conclude that they represented convertible currency and were perhaps bridal or dowry wealth. This would imply that the gold represented family wealth, rather than property controlled by the woman herself which has negative connotations for the position of women in society,⁶⁸ suggesting they were unable to procure the wealth in their own right. The signet rings,⁶⁹ both marked with the same inscription (possibly a name), are intriguing items which portray a different picture of women's access to and control of economic wealth and status symbols. Inscribed jewellery is rare in LC contexts,⁷⁰ suggesting these were unusual and highly valued objects which would confer great status on their owner. In this respect, it is all the more remarkable that the young woman from Kalavassos had two such rings. Masson suggested that the inscription was her husband's name, reinforcing the gendered assumption that women in the ancient Near East were illiterate and were not property owners in their own right. Seals and signets in fact were personalized items conveying concepts of ownership, power, and authority. As these were worn by the woman, there is every reason to assume that she would have used this object in her own right to authorize transactions and mark her property, perhaps giving us our first glimpse of a woman of substance, such as Hatiba in the archaeological record. It might also give us a hint of female literacy, at least the ability of a woman to read and possibly write her own name.

Final comments

By its very nature, this has been a brief overview of the women of Alashiya; there are of course many strands of evidence still to explore, not least the social and economic role of women in the rural hinterland.⁷¹ Likewise, women's contribution to economic production in the fields, pottery workshops, and market places are other potentially fruitful areas of enquiry; also the role(s) they plausibly played in funerary rituals. The overall picture of women's lived experiences in the towns is unlikely to be radically different from that of the surrounding regions: they managed households, provided food, water and clothing for their families, and they ensured the family lineage. Women also appear to have been significant actors in religious life, another area which merits more detailed enquiry. Returning to our starting point, what then of Hatiba of Alashiya? Her high status, wealth (with multiple domiciles), and authority are hinted at in the mortuary arena examined above; we have seen hints of wealthy women who potentially owned and controlled their own property, were possibly literate and who surely wielded some economic power and authority.

Notes

- 1 Ockinga 1996: 49.
- 2 For example, Gilchrist 1999; Sørensen 2000.
- 3 See Bolger and Serwint (eds) 2002; Bolger 2003; Steel, in press.
- 4 See Tringham 1991: 93–94.
- 5 Walls 1996: 39.
- 6 See Knapp (ed.) 1996.
- 7 For recent exceptions, see Fisher 2014: 399–416; Steel, in press.
- 8 Knapp 2009: 138–141, fig. 1; Budin 2009: 83–85, fig. 14.
- 9 Budin 2009: 84, fig. 15.
- 10 Steel 2006.
- 11 Fisher 2014: 399.
- 12 Bolger 2003: 49–50.
- 13 Ibid: 115–117; Budin 2011: 226, 243–244.
- 14 Budin 2011: 261, fig. 37; see also Budin, this volume.
- 15 By the earlier Iron Age, around the ninth century BC, these very real concerns for the welfare of mother and child are articulated through the dedication of images of Bes (an Egyptian god and protector of women in childbirth) at the temple of Kition; Smith 2009, 2nd ed. 2014: 146.
- 16 Knapp 2009: 139–140.
- 17 Found in cult assemblages at Kouklia, Enkomi, Idalion and near Myrtou *Pigadhes*, see Webb 1999: 211.
- 18 Keswani records figurines in tombs at the coastal sites of Enkomi, Hala Sultan Tekke, Kourion *Bamboula* and in the inland settlements of Angastina, Ayia Paraskevi and Katydhata. Keswani 2004, tables 5.9b–d.
- 19 See discussion in Bolger 2003: 51–53; Meyers 1998, 2003.
- 20 Fisher 2014: 403–405.
- 21 Ibid: 407.
- 22 Bolger 2003: 49.
- 23 Meyers 2003: 428–429, 435–436.
- 24 Dalley 1984: 109.
- 25 Fisher 2014: 405.
- 26 Hayden pers. comm. May 2014.
- 27 Fendin, 2006: 161.
- 28 Smith and Tzachili 2012: 148.
- 29 Smith 2002: 286–287.
- 30 Thomason 2013.
- 31 Nosch 2014: 92–95.
- 32 For example Meyers 2003; Bolger 2003.

- 33 Strang 2014: 95.
- 34 Bourdieu 1966: 222.
- 35 Steel in press, n. 123 also notes possible ritual connotations of these water carriers.
- 36 Strang 2014.
- 37 Bolger 2003: 49.
- 38 Steel in press, n. 73.
- 39 For example see Dalley 1984: 104–110; Marsman 2003: 407–408.
- 40 Webb 1999; Smith 2009, 2nd ed. 2014.
- 41 Steel 2004.
- 42 Mikrakis 2012, figs. 1–2.
- 43 Ibid., figs. 9–10.
- 44 Ibid: 374.
- 45 Budin 2011: 261.
- 46 Dalley 1984: 109–110.
- 47 Steel 2002: 110–111; Steel 2013: 215–216.
- 48 Serwint 2002: 331. Serwint also highlights a similar woman at the window shrine model from Idalion, dating to the Cypro-Archaic period, fig. 7.
- 49 Steel 2006: 150, 152. An alternative perspective might view these women peering from the window as a metaphor for the privatization of space and the need to keep women within the house (see discussion of control of water resource above).
- 50 Budin 2011: 259.
- 51 See, for example, Said on Flaubert's writings: Said 1978, reprint 2003: 187–188.
- 52 See, for example, Assante 1998; Budin 2008 who argue against sacred prostitution and Morris 2007, who uses the textual evidence to support sacred prostitution.
- 53 Masson and Sznycer 1972: 27–28, 162. Delcor (1979: 162) contested that the term referred specifically to male (rather than female) prostitutes.
- 54 Budin 2008: 46–47.
- 55 Steel 1994.
- 56 Karageorghis and Kassianidou 1999.
- 57 Smith 2002: 301–304; Smith and Tzachili 2012: 149.
- 58 Fasnacht *et al.* 2000: 104.
- 59 Smith 2002: 286, 304.
- 60 See brief overview, in Keswani 2004: 6–9.
- 61 Keswani 2005: 341.
- 62 South 1997: 63–65.
- 63 Goring 1989: 101, fig. 13.1. See also discussion by Lorentz, this volume.
- 64 Ibid: 102–103. Gold signet rings: Masson 1989: 39, fig. 61: 1, 2; Red Lustrous ware: South and Steel 2007: 9–10, fig. 7.
- 65 See discussion of figurines above. For an interesting discussion of female control of wealth and property in Early Iron Age Greece, see Langdon 2003.
- 66 Bolger identifies the custom of female burial segregation at Akhera and Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou* 2003: 171–173.
- 67 Goring 1989: 103–104.
- 68 Bolger 2003: 173.
- 69 Langdon 2003: 39.
- 70 The only other piece with a Cypro-Minoan inscription is a silver ring from an unsealed context at Enkomi; Ferrara 2013: 83, fig. 164.
- 71 See Steel, in press.

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