

Macedonian lionesses: Herakles and lion jewelry in elite female dress (c. 325–275 BCE)¹

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‘Alexander....also wore the lion’s skin and club just like Herakles.’²

Lions, of all animal quarry, rank among the most daunting and dangerous prey for hunters. Heroes and rulers demonstrated their physical strength in lion hunts and depicted them in historical records and images as a way to affirm their authority.³ Lions and the iconic lion-slayer Herakles, who was important in Macedonia as the ancestor of the royal Argead clan, became especially prominent in Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Macedonian art.⁴ Kings and elites drank from vessels with Herakles emblems, dined in rooms decorated with lion hunts, and used armor embossed with lions, as seen on a shield device from Derveni Tomb A.⁵ (Figure 1) Alexander III’s references to Herakles as an ancestor, illustrated by the quote above, and his own exploits in the east, stimulated new archetypes of royal and divine power. Studies of this imagery have demonstrated the complex



Figure 1. Iron shield attachment, Derveni Tomb A. © ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΜΟΥ & ΑΘΛΗΤΙΣΜΟΥ. ΤΑΜΕΙΟ ΑΡΧΑΕΟΛΟΓΙΚΩΝ ΠΟΡΩΝ

¹ This project has developed over several years. I first presented aspects of this research in a colloquium ‘Facture Speaks: Material, Technique and Meaning in Ancient Art’ organized by Mont Allen at the 2010 AIA Annual Meeting and a revised version in 2014 at the workshop ‘Rethinking Ancient Jewellery’ in Leiden. Beth Carney and Michael Flower commented on an early draft that helped to refine its direction. I am particularly grateful to Ann Steiner and Gretchen Meyers for their insights as the project progressed. I am grateful to the American School of Classical Studies at Athens for assistance with photographs and permissions.

² Ehippus, *FGrH* 126 F 5.26–28 = *Athen.Deipn* 12.537e–38b.

³ Jackson 2010: 96–106, for the association between lions and the ancient heroes and 154–184, for lion hunts by kings (ancient and modern) and sports hunters.

⁴ *Hdt.* 5.22; 8.137–9. The hero was also claimed by the Antipatrids and much of the surviving evidence of royal support of Herakles cults dates to the end of the 4th or early 3rd century. Iliadou 1998, 15–36.

⁵ Themelis and Touratsoglou 1997: 45; for comparable decoration on the chryselephantine shield from Vergina Tomb II, see Kottaridi 2011a: 66–72.

layers of royal self-presentation, elite competition and masculinity it represents.⁶ Lions carried connotations of royalty and heroic prowess that were exploited increasingly in art as the northern kingdom grew into an empire.

Yet another category of Macedonian high-value trappings deploys similar iconography: women's gold jewelry. But little of the symbolism assigned to the male goods has been credited to those used by women. While most jewelry of this era emphasizes female beauty and natural fecundity, a pronounced interest in lions and Heraklean imagery appears on multiple jewelry types. Lion heads were used as ornamental terminals on necklaces and hoop earrings, while Herakles was depicted wearing the Nemean lion skin on fibulae and referenced symbolically through the Herakles knot found on necklaces, wreaths, and diadems. A similar convergence of male iconography and female ornaments occurred in Hasanlu, Iran earlier in the 1st millennium, and offers an intriguing parallel. In the following analysis, I consider the transfer of this charged masculine and royal imagery into women's personal adornment. I argue that the Macedonian court established a cultural context in which women could display connection to their rulers through their dress. A possible inspiration for the practice may have come from Achaemenid Persia, where kings dispensed jewelry to male favorites. Such a custom could not transfer directly to Macedonia, since men avoided wearing body jewelry, but the urge to do so may have been adapted for women. The late 4th century witnessed massive social changes for elites in Macedonia. The very concept of kingship altered radically after Alexander III and this affected not just the ruler, but also the court elites.⁷ Traditionally powerful families and newcomers required avenues to display their status in this changing community. I suggest that these circumstances established public roles for some women that called for them to adopt symbols of male power in their jewelry.

Powerful men and women in Hasanlu: a possible analogy

This spread of masculine iconography into elite female ornaments in Macedonia resembles a scenario proposed for the site of Hasanlu in north-west Iran.⁸ In two studies of the Iranian dress ornaments, Marcus analyzed a group of pins that were distinctive both in size (10–13cm as compared to the usual length of 5–6cm) and decoration. Much as in Macedonia, lions garnished Hasanlu weapons and metal vessels normally associated with men.⁹ Bronze-and-iron dress pins with hybrid lion creatures entered female costume around 900 BCE. Both the bi-metallic technology and the weight of the pins indicate that they were an elite ornament.¹⁰ (Figure 2) At



Figure 2. Bronze and iron lion pin, Hasanlu. Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961. © CC0-Metropolitan Museum of Art.

⁶ Briant 1991; Palagia 2000; Carney 2002; Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 2004; Cohen 2010; Graekos 2011; Franks 2012.

⁷ Paschidis 2006.

⁸ Marcus 1993, 1994.

⁹ Marcus 1993: 161–162.

¹⁰ Metropolitan Museum of Art 61.100.10.

this time, Hasanlu faced significant external pressure from Assyria and Urartu. Changes in burial practices that included more frequent deposits of metal weapons and an increased use of military and hunt iconography in public spaces point to new expressions of warrior identity for males. In dress ornaments, females wore the same themes found on swords and daggers. Garment and shroud pins from female graves bore the same decorative motifs found on men's sword and dagger hilts, further connecting elite males and females through their dress.¹¹ Foreign incursions that the military and political leaders faced helped to create a stronger group identity, Marcus argued, and one that included all members of the family, even those who did not fight in battle. Additional study of the Hasanlu jewelry by Megan Cifarelli finds further evidence that long, sharp dress pins reflect female 'militarization' in dress, especially among elites.¹² The multi-layered messages that the Hasanlu pins conveyed did not center solely on gender but also embodied aspects of rank and group identity that superseded gender-specific iconography. At this critical junction, an elite woman or girl could assume male symbols into her dress to show her familial role as a protector of Hasanlu. These studies provide a useful model with which to consider the intersection of gender, social rank, and group identity represented in dress. Strongly gendered artifacts, like jewelry and armor, which signify rank may unite certain men and women rather than separate them into separate categories by gender.

Lions and Herakles in Macedonia: a man's world?

Success in wild animal hunts was an essential rite of passage in Macedonia. Group hunts in which the king and companions participated had a long history in the Argead monarchy.¹³ Sawada draws a link between *symposia* and hunts since both occasions provided personal access to the king and facilitated strong bonds between a ruler and his court.¹⁴ Only after dispatching a boar without a net could a Macedonian man recline at the symposium, a custom reported because Cassander supposedly had to sit at his father Antipater's feet until he reached the age of 35.¹⁵

Herakles provided the heroic model of a lion-slayer but few mortals had the chance to emulate his feat in Greece; it was not until the Macedonian army crossed into Asia that a king or soldier could reasonably expect to encounter a lion.¹⁶ The lion-skin that Ehippus describes Alexander wearing was surely made from a lion that he had killed himself in order to achieve the maximum assimilation of his ancestor's persona. Historical accounts of lion hunts during Alexander's campaign show that Alexander's Companions received as much attention as the ruler himself.¹⁷ Both Craterus and Lysimachus noted lion hunts with Alexander as part of their claim to succeed him.¹⁸ Rulers in earlier Near Eastern empires unquestionably understood that the prestige gained from killing a lion could reinforce or elevate their status.¹⁹ Alexander's success as a lion hunter was a court practice that appealed to both Macedonian and Asian courtiers.

The surge in lion hunt imagery in Macedonian art dates to this era when the great cat became part of the life experiences of Alexander and his Companions. In addition to the armor devices described above, sympotic equipment with lions or Herakles has been found in male burials at Vergina, Derveni Tomb A, Nikesiane, and Pydna.²⁰ In the House of Dionysos at Pella (c. 325–300), the mosaic from an andron shows a lion caught between two young, nude hunters; the hunting theme continues with a griffin attacking a stag on the threshold mosaic. Studies of the scene have

¹¹ Marcus 1994, 4.

¹² Cifarelli 2014, 2017a, 2017b.

¹³ Carney 2002.

¹⁴ Sawada 2010: 402.

¹⁵ Athen.*Deipn.* I. 1.18a

¹⁶ Cohen 2010: 68–71 for evidence of lions in Greece.

¹⁷ Plut.*Alex.* 40.3–41.1; Curt. 8.1.14.

¹⁸ Craterus: Plut.*Alex.* 40.4. Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 1993b; Paspalas 2000; Cohen 2010: 76–78; Franks 2012: 36–41; Dunn and Wheatley 2012.

¹⁹ Briant 1991; Briant 2002: 230–232; Brosius 2007, 44–45; Llewellyn-Jones 2013, 130–133; Seyer 2007; Müller 2014.

²⁰ Zimi 2011: 27–28.

emphasized how it fits into the wider adoption of the lion hunt as a display of male dominance and heroic/royal glory.²¹ Cohen's analysis of hunt mosaics at Pella seems apt for the other representations of lion hunts when she writes, 'The spectacular feats accomplished on the mosaics exude a kind of ready-made significance that individuals who did not make world history could well appreciate and incorporate into their own modest lifestyles.'²² A Late Classical marble hunt group found at Vergina was set up in the gymnasium, perhaps in honor of Herakles.²³ Architectural elements, furniture fittings with lion paws, and door attachments with lion heads holding rings in their mouths in elite homes and palaces added to the visual repertoire in which the lion was found.²⁴ Living lions may have been exceptional sights in Greece, but they were symbolically rampant in communal male gatherings. Women shared these spaces and objects. Even if wives and female relatives did not participate in the same activities that men did, they would be aware of the new congruity of Herakles and the mortals who carried out their own lion hunts.

Heraklean jewelry types

Herakles knots and lion heads appear on multiple forms of jewelry first documented in the second half of the 4th century. With the exception of the Macedonian fibula type, which appears in 5th-century burials, all of the Heraklean types are new and distinct from contemporary jewelry. Such visual contrast is important when considering the clarity of decorative devices on small objects like earrings.²⁵ Other Late Classical jewelry relies heavily on elaborate floral forms for decoration.²⁶ Disk earrings with dangling pendants and woven strap necklaces are typical of the period. Human and animal figures embellished earrings; winged creatures, nymphs, and Erotes were favorite forms. With the exception of Heraklean motifs then, most ornaments celebrate the beauty of the feminine world. Chronologically, lion-head and Herakles-related imagery are closely linked in jewelry that dates to between c. 325–275. Both motifs continue well into the Hellenistic period, but other animals replace lions as terminal decoration of earrings and necklaces and Herakles knots are no longer finished with lion-heads to reference the hero.

Previous studies of Herakles and lion jewelry have proposed a general association between the iconography and Alexander III. Michael Pfrommer, in his 1990 study of Hellenistic jewelry, suggested that the Herakles knot jewelry originated in Macedonia because of genealogical links the Argead house made to the hero.²⁷ The nature of the connection was not explored deeply, however, other than suggestions that Heraklean jewelry served as a souvenir or trinket or made some vague political reference to the king. The fact that women's jewelry had not referenced a ruler before or afterwards was not addressed. One of the few personal ornaments considered from the perspective of female political messaging is the gold and enamel diadem found in the antechamber of Vergina Tomb II. A central Herakles knot is embedded in the center of the headdress and lion's heads decorated the strap terminals (only one terminal survived intact). The headdress rested on the gold-and-purple textile that was wrapped around remains of the female.²⁸ Ann Nicgorski's 2005 analysis of Alexander and the Herakles knot device offers one of the only explicit discussions of

²¹ Palagia 2000; Cohen 2010: 78–82; Franks 2012: 61–64.

²² Cohen 2010: 79.

²³ Graekos 2011:78–80.

²⁴ Bronze door fittings have been found at Olynthus, House A13: *Olynthus* X: 249, no. 989, pl. LXVI-II and in a third-century tomb at Pydna: Bessios 1990: 86 A. In a mortuary setting, a bronze lion-head door fitting was found in the pyre associated with Tomb II at Vergina. It is reconstructed as the door decoration for the wooden structure that was burned along with the body of the male: Kottaridi 2011a: 62. Lions were painted on a funerary kline in Macedonian tomb 1 at Amphipolis: Lazaridis 1960: 71, pl. 55a.

²⁵ Castor 2017 for issues of visibility with respect to jewelry.

²⁶ Williams and Ogden 1994, *passim*.

²⁷ Pfrommer 1990: 13–22. Pfrommer's catalog includes 24 examples of Hellenistic Herakles knots that he attributed to Macedonia, Thrace, and Illyria. Of these, only nine were excavated in Macedonia. Since the majority of artifacts he cataloged lack archaeological provenance, both his regional and chronological framework have been challenged. See Miller 1993 for a critical assessment of Pfrommer's method. Rudolph 1995: 137, deemed the interpretation as 'overly literal' and saw the motifs, '...as more of a fashion trend, not as political propaganda expressed through jewelry.'

²⁸ Andronicos 1984: 191–97; Kottaridi 2011a: 90–94.

royal iconography in female jewelry in her study of the diadem. She reviewed the amuletic history of the knot, its associations with divine Egyptian pharaohs, and Alexander's use of Herakles' image in his exploits and personal goods. After his death, she argued, these connotations merged to make the knot a personal symbol of Alexander. The Vergina diadem, which she identified as belonging to Adea Eurydike, would show the queen's connection to the mythical ancestor of the Argeads and to the 'new Herakles', Alexander.²⁹ The interpretation is compelling in its recognition that symbols of Herakles represented Argead royal ideology in women's dress. It is also sensitive to the type of ornament on which the knot appears – a headdress with high visibility. Nicgorski's argument has received support and opens several avenues of inquiry with respect to other jewelry with the same iconography.³⁰ She described the knot as bearing 'a combination of ideological, political and purely ornamental significance' for its wearers but cautioned that we cannot sort out these complex meanings in most instances of non-royal graves.³¹ While it is true that specific intentions elude us, patterns of jewelry use within a region and time period invite closer inspection.

The jewelry discussed here derives from grave contexts where it formed part of an elaborate funerary ritual, described in more detail below. It is presented in tabular form in the Appendix with the known evidence concerning tomb type, forensic analysis (if available), grave contents, and date. Some ornaments come from fully published tombs, such as those from Sedes Grave Γ, Derveni Grave Z, Aineia Grave III, and a handful of others. Most are from rescue excavations or contexts presented only in preliminary notices with little information about the rest of the tomb. Still others are listed in reports without specific graves associated with the objects. Excavators have assigned general dates for the grave or object, often based on their initial findings, and I use those dates as a *terminus ante quem*. An objective chronology for jewelry is almost impossible to establish, since artifacts found in tombs might be heirlooms and stylistic development of luxury goods is inherently conservative. Full publication of the tombs and jewelry will undoubtedly refine the current picture and until then, close comparison of the contexts cannot be accomplished with any confidence. Stylistic and technical analysis of these pieces is not yet possible because of their incomplete publication. In the survey of Heraklean jewelry types below, I focus on general iconographic characteristics and readability of the motifs.

Diadems and wreaths

Gold head ornaments, in the form of diadems or foil leaf wreaths, were the most visible body decoration that a man or woman could wear.³² Several different styles of diadems date to the 4th and 3rd centuries; they belong almost exclusively to women.³³ Embossed sheet gold strips or pediment-shaped diadems were probably only used for funerary costume, but more substantial ornaments may have been worn in life.³⁴ Leaf and floral wreaths have been found in male and female burials, although they were not always placed on the head of the deceased. Instead, they

²⁹ Nicgorski 2005: 114–115. For a good survey of the issues surrounding the date of Tomb II and its occupants, see Franks 2012, Appendix; Hall 2014: 97–117, also discusses the history of its interpretation and challenges the assumptions that underlie the identities of the occupants. Antikas and Wynn-Antikas 2015 and Bartsiokas *et al.* 2015 provide the latest analysis of the remains at Vergina. Antikas and Wynn-Antikas identify the male in Tomb II as Philip II and the 30–35-year-old female as a Scythian wife (unattested in the ancient sources), because of a leg injury she possibly incurred from a riding accident. Carney 2016, re-examines the historical and material evidence for each of Philip II's wives as well as for Adea Eurydike as candidates for the female in the antechamber. While she finds no clear support for a particular royal woman, she interprets the assortment of military gear placed in the antechamber as creating an 'Amazonian' persona for her. The participation of royal women in military situations is discussed in more detail below. Bartsiokas *et al.* 2015, instead identify the male in Tomb I as Philip II because of damage to the left knee that could correspond to an injury suffered by Philip. For the purposes of this discussion, the specific individuals are less important than that the tomb dates to the Late Classical period and belongs in the Argead burial ground.

³⁰ Kyriakou 2014: 274 n. 14; Greenwalt 2015: 344–348.

³¹ Nicgorski 2005: 114.

³² Tsigarida 1993; Despoine 1996: 28–30, nos. 28, 21–33; Tsigarida 2001–2002, 2006a, 2006b, 2012: 333–40; Ignatiadou and Tsigarida 2011.

³³ An exception is the silver circlet from Tomb II at Vergina (Andronikos 1984: 174, figs. 138–139; Prestianni Gialloambardo 1986, 1990; Tsigarida 2001–2002). This unique object, with a representation of a Herakles knot in gold, is too large to be worn on a bare head and was thus passed over some sort of head covering which Tsigarida 2006a, 141, connects to priesthood.

³⁴ Kyriakou 2014, 273.



Figure 3. Gold diadem, Sedes Tomb Γ. ΜΘ 5410. © ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΜΟΥ & ΑΘΛΗΤΙΣΜΟΥ. ΤΑΜΕΙΟ ΑΡΧΑΕΟΛΟΓΙΚΩΝ ΠΟΡΩΝ

were set on vessels that held cremated remains or hung at the corners of a grave. Wreaths made of densely packed leaves, embedded figures, and insects, and set on springs would have created a glowing halo when the wearer moved. Debate continues about whether the wreaths found in graves were solely for funerary purposes or were worn in life, but a combination of functions seems likely.³⁵

The diadems from Tomb II at Vergina and Sedes Grave Γ (Appendix #1) are complex compositions. (Figure 3) On the Vergina diadem, scrolling gold tendrils, palmettes, flowers, insects, blue-enamel flowers and buds, and even a small dove surround the gold knot. The abundance of vegetation and color dominates the viewer's impression, but the very intricacy of the ornament invites closer inspection. The Sedes diadem is composed of open oval links with acanthus leaves and palmettes attached to tendrils and gold wire spirals. An Eros figure stands at the center of the Herakles knot.³⁶ Touratsoglou identified this piece as the earliest surviving example of the Herakles knot motif in jewelry.³⁷ Both diadems were equipped with lion-head finials at the ends; the creatures hold a ring in their mouths for a taenia or cord to fasten the ornament around the head. Since the diadems belonged to female burials, we see that the combination of lion and Herakles symbols entered into women's ornaments at the same time that they were emblazoned on men's armor and the other material culture discussed above. To date, these are the only two diadems that incorporate both the Herakles knot and lion motifs. The double reference to Herakles found on the Sedes and Vergina diadems appears to be most relevant in the first generation after Alexander. An early 3rd century gold diadem from Lete (Appendix #21) retained the Herakles knot but not the lion heads. A Herakles knot is found on a sheet gold diadem from Amphipolis (Appendix #6) where the device was added separately to the sheet gold backing.

Leaf wreaths occasionally employ Herakles knots. Three myrtle wreaths, one from a male cist-tomb at Pydna, another from a male tomb at Stavroupolis, and a third, illegally excavated in Macedonia and recently returned to Greece by the Getty Museum, include a small Herakles knot.³⁸ Herakles knots were situated in the center of diadems and wreaths, but were often embedded in the floral decoration of the headpiece and difficult to see.

Lion-head hoop earrings

This new earring type appeared in second half of the 4th century and became one of the most popular ear ornaments through the Hellenistic period.³⁹ (Figure 4) The hoops are made of two or

³⁵ Despoine 1996: 28–30.

³⁶ Jackson 2006: 49–57, on Eros in Hellenistic jewelry.

³⁷ Touratsoglou 1998: 32.

³⁸ Tsigarida 2010: 308–311.

³⁹ Despoine 1996: 33–34; Tsigarida 2006a, 144; 2009: 549–555; 2012, 341.

more tapering wires twisted together to terminate in a lion's head, which was formed separately in a mold and then attached to the hoop. A decorative collar, at its widest behind the mane, serves as a transitional element between the lion head and the hoop. Most collars had filigree designs set between a tongue-pattern filigree border on the upper and lower edge of the collar. On carefully made earrings, the open lion's mouth clasps the opposite terminal of the hoop. When worn, the lion head was set upside down with the mouth facing the earlobe. Thus, the lion was dismembered and effectively defanged when women wore it. Those who saw the earrings would be confronted with the rippling mane of the lion and the decorative band, but not the creature's muzzle. This change in the viewer's perspective of the lion would reduce the potency of the feline image, but even so, the mane was sufficient to convey the essential feature of a lion head. Lion-head hoop earrings were discovered in eleven tombs (Appendix #1, 7, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 19, 20, 21, 25) and several others have been reported.⁴⁰



Figure 4. Gold lion-head hoop earring, Pydna. ΜΘ Πυ 1082. © ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΜΟΥ & ΑΘΛΗΤΙΣΜΟΥ. ΤΑΜΕΙΟ ΑΡΧΑΕΟΛΟΓΙΚΩΝ ΠΟΡΩΝ.

Lion-head hoop earrings are well represented in northern Greek graves for about fifty years and spread widely throughout the Mediterranean. After a few generations, however, other animals begin to replace the king of beasts. A far tamer menagerie – smaller cats such as lynxes, speedy mammals like antelopes, gazelles, and dolphins, or dogs, man's best friend – adorns Hellenistic hoop earrings.⁴¹ Lion-head terminals become less common in Macedonia after the first quarter of the 3rd century. What began as a reference (albeit a firmly domesticated one) to kingship, masculine potency, and the power of a great wild beast was subsumed into a menagerie of pets and exotic creatures.

Necklaces

Herakles knots and lions on necklaces took many different forms. Large, central Herakles knots with small lion-head finials at the end of the four 'ropes' that created the ligature, such as that found at Sedes (Appendix #1), date to the late 4th century. (Figure 5) At Tsagezi (Appendix #2), a long necklace may have been wrapped around the body rather than the neck. Necklaces could be made of braided loop-in-loop chains similar to the strap necklace of the same period, or open-link chains, which would require far less gold. The knotted pendant would be worn in front. Its form was distinctive in comparison to other contemporary necklaces, such as the strap necklace with a row of pendants, or beaded neck ornaments. The specific combination of the lion head with the Herakles knots was short-lived, with the main flourishing in the last quarter of the 4th century. A chain necklace from Abdera (Appendix #14) shows female heads replacing the lion head finials.

Another form of Herakles knot jewelry has been discovered in recent excavations at Amphipolis (Appendix #6), Pydna (Appendix #9, 13), and Agios Athanasios (Appendix #19): sheet gold oval beads in the shape of Herakles knots.⁴² Several beads could be strung together as a necklace. Finally, the Herakles head from Derveni Tomb Z (Appendix #18) is, to date, a unique pendant; a large opening

⁴⁰ Akanthos: Grammenos 2007: 192–193; Pella: Lilimpaki-Akamati 2011: 250; Pydna, Aiginou: Bessios and Tsigarida 2000: 183; Kassandria: Grammenos 2007: 212.

⁴¹ Higgins 1980: 125; Deppert-Lippitz 1985: 148–150.

⁴² Pydna: Seven sheet gold Herakles knot beads with blue inlay, Bessios 1990: 109.



Figure 5. Gold necklace with Herakles knot, Sedes Tomb Γ. ΜΘ 5411. © ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΜΟΥ & ΑΘΛΗΤΙΣΜΟΥ. ΤΑΜΕΙΟ ΑΡΧΑΕΟΛΟΓΙΚΩΝ ΠΟΡΩΝ.



Figure 6. Gold Herakles head, Derveni Tomb Ζ. ΜΘ Ζ4. © ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΜΟΥ & ΑΘΛΗΤΙΣΜΟΥ. ΤΑΜΕΙΟ ΑΡΧΑΕΟΛΟΓΙΚΩΝ ΠΟΡΩΝ.

on the bottom could allow the piece to be attached to a rod, but the suspension ring at the top also equipped it for use as a pendant.⁴³ (Figure 6)

Lion-head finials (Appendix #6, 13, 23, 24) were the only ornament on several open-link chain necklaces. (Figure 7) As was the case with the Herakles knot necklaces, the confronting felines would be visible at the front of the neck to show off the decorative fastener.⁴⁴ Like the lion-head hoop earrings, by the 3rd century, other animals would replace lions on the necklace terminals.

Macedonian fibulae

The earliest appearance of lion and Herakles imagery in women's jewelry appears on a fibula type developed in Macedonia. Its distinctive features are the embellished arch and decorative terminals that covered the

⁴³ Dági 2011: 15–16.

⁴⁴ Pydna: Bessios and Tsigarida 2000: 188; Grammenos 2007: 80, fig. 3

Figure 7. Gold chain necklace with lion-head terminals, Pydna. ΜΘ Πυ1110. © ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΜΟΥ & ΑΘΛΗΤΙΣΜΟΥ. ΤΑΜΕΙΟ ΑΡΧΑΕΟΛΟΓΙΚΩΝ ΠΟΡΩΝ.



functional hinge and catchplate.⁴⁵ A gold example of the type was recovered in Tomb K1 at Vergina, a partially looted cist-grave dating to c. 430–420.⁴⁶ Fibulae of the late 4th century apply decorative beads or paddlewheel attachments to the arch. (Figure 8) Embossed lion and Herakles heads are set on the square plates at the terminal; often, a small Pegasos figure perches above the catchplate. Lion and Herakles heads are the most common devices found on the fibulae, suggesting that even when shown alone, the lion should be understood in connection with Herakles, presumably standing for the Nemean Lion. Occasionally, the figure with the lion skin has been labeled as Omphale, but the prevalence of young, beardless Herakles heads in the luxury arts does not support this



Figure 8. Gold Macedonian fibulae, Sedes Tomb Γ. ΜΘ 5412–5413. © ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΜΟΥ & ΑΘΛΗΤΙΣΜΟΥ. ΤΑΜΕΙΟ ΑΡΧΑΕΟΛΟΓΙΚΩΝ ΠΟΡΩΝ.

⁴⁵ Despoine 1996: 42; Tsigarida 2012: 345.

⁴⁶ Kottaridi 2011b: 106, cat. no. 225.

identification.⁴⁷ Although pins and dress fasteners were regularly part of Archaic burials, they become less frequent in the 4th century and largely disappear by the 3rd century. Five Late Classical tombs (Appendix #3, 8, 10, 12, 18) included fibulae. Most are found in pairs, two to six per grave. At Aineia (#10), three fibulae were fastened through the handles of the bronze kalpis that served as a cremation urn, with two others placed inside. Here, the ornaments were not functional to clasp a shroud or burial dress on a corpse. Likewise, at Derveni Tomb Z (#18), the deceased was cremated; the fibulae may have closed a textile wrapping the remains.

Finger rings

A silver finger ring with a Herakles knot was found at Pella (Appendix #18) and is the only example of the knot found in a secure context; a gold version is in the collection of the British Museum.⁴⁸

The variety of jewelry types decorated with Heraklean imagery demonstrates that the motifs enjoyed popularity in women's ornaments as well as in male luxury goods.

Court dress in Persia and Macedonia

Royal courts created complex social relationships that required regular rituals of integration and reaffirmation.⁴⁹ In Persia, gold jewelry, clothing, and horse trappings given by the king represented political prestige and socialization both for courtiers present at courts and those representing it far away. Texts and material culture record a desire for members of the empire to conform to what Llewellyn-Jones describes as the 'template of the court.'⁵⁰ Public display of jewelry and clothing was an essential component of this court practice and one that brought rewards to both the giver and the wearer.⁵¹ Courtiers reinforced their loyalty to the king by wearing court dress. In doing so, they implicitly accepted the king's authority and gave a clear signal of their support for their leader and the hierarchy that he established.⁵² Much as livery or military gear communicated solidarity in courts of later eras, this early version demonstrated a ruler's power to all who saw the army or court in full dress.⁵³ Greek authors indicate that fellow subjects and foreigners alike readily recognized these goods as the king's awards and understood the social capital that the jewelry represented. 'Whose gifts are more recognizable than some of those given by the kings – bracelets, necklaces, and horses with gold bridles? For no one there is allowed to have these things unless they have been presented by the king', wrote Xenophon.⁵⁴ Representations of high-ranking courtiers and soldiers show them wearing Achaemenid-style ornaments.⁵⁵ Ptah-hotep, an Egyptian treasurer in service to the king records his honors from Darius I both in text and visual form on a sculpture now in the Brooklyn Museum.⁵⁶ (Figure 9) The confronting ibexes on his torc and bracelet on one surviving arm presumably depict the court jewelry he was awarded.⁵⁷ The Achaemenid preference for animal-head jewelry decoration could easily have inspired its appearance on Late Classical Heraklean jewelry and offers circumstantial support for the idea that Macedonian women emulated eastern court jewelry.

The Macedonian court also used dress to indicate special court and military roles. At least by the time of Alexander, the *kausia*, *chlamys*, and *krepides* sandals essentially had become a Macedonian

⁴⁷ Omphale: Williams and Ogden 1994: 78–79; Despoine 1996: 42, argues for Herakles.

⁴⁸ British Museum R913. Despoine 1996: no. 217.

⁴⁹ Winterling 1997; Spawforth 2007a for an overview of these issues in ancient courts.

⁵⁰ Llewellyn-Jones 2013: 33; Dusinberre 2013: 76–81.

⁵¹ Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1984: 134.

⁵² Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1984: 135; Briant 2002; Moyer 2006; Dusinberre 2013: 267–68; Llewellyn-Jones 2013: chapter 2.

⁵³ Mansel 2005: 18–36.

⁵⁴ Xen.Cyro.VIII.2.7–8.

⁵⁵ Harper (ed.) 1992: 227.

⁵⁶ Brooklyn Museum 37.353.

⁵⁷ Colburn 2014: 791–794.



Figure 9. Schist sculpture of Ptah-hotep, Brooklyn Museum, Charles Edwin Wilbour Fund, 37.353.
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Macedonian infantryman, crossing gender and class roles by adopting the clothing of a male foot soldier. Olympias garnished herself with an ivy-leaf wreath and dressed as a Bacchant.⁶² Scholars have questioned which outfit would appeal best to the army, but, in the end, they sided with Olympias (for this encounter anyway). It is clear that both women understood that their dress could convey messages to encourage their army and perhaps to lure defectors from the other side.

While Macedonian kings and courtiers wore special clothing to signify their rank, jewelry that referenced court dress would have to belong to Macedonian women. Much as earlier generations of Athenians had adapted certain items of Persian luxury – parasols, fans, and flywhisks – into female costume, the Macedonians may have modified the royal custom of dispensing gold jewelry to men into a new purpose for women’s accessories.⁶³ Although we do not know exactly what the Persian court jewelry looked like, animal-head decoration on bracelets and necklaces was a

uniform.⁵⁸ The late 4th-century Macedonian tomb at Agios Athanasios includes several male figures – horsemen, soldiers, diners, and servers – wearing different types of dress.⁵⁹ Attention to the costume details shows in the variety of colors used for the tunics, cloaks, and caps, as well as the military equipment that some of the men wear. Purple-dyed cloaks are prominent and noteworthy because the king gave his Hetairoi a purple *chlamys* and *kausia* to denote their status within the court.

Apart from his lion skin, Alexander wore an array of clothing as he marched eastward, but ‘nearly every day he wore a purple cloak, a purple tunic with a white middle, and the Macedonian *kausia* with the royal diadem.’⁶⁰ As he sported more elements of eastern costume, he attracted negative commentary, as it was supposed to mark the internal shift of the king away from Argead norms towards a more eastern style of rule. In contrast, the aging veterans of the Macedonian army clung to their own clothing, even as it deteriorated into rags, rather than adopt new, foreign dress. Their resentment at non-Macedonians assuming their dress is reported when the 30,000 young reinforcement troops, the *Epigonoí*, arrived wearing Macedonian garb and trained in Macedonian tactics.⁶¹

Remarkably, Macedonian female military garb is recorded in the aftermath of Alexander’s death. When Adea Eurydike and Olympias faced each other in battle, each wore dress designed to inspire their troops. Adea Eurydike donned the armor of a

⁵⁸ Fredericksmeier 1986; Kingsley 1991; Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 1993a.

⁵⁹ Tsimbidou-Avloniti 2005: 109–49; Collins 2012.

⁶⁰ Ephippus *FGrH* 126 F 5.26–28 = Athen. *Deipn.* 12.537e–38b

⁶¹ Arr.7.6

⁶² Athen. *Deipn.* 13.560f. Carney 1995.

⁶³ Miller 1997.

common Achaemenid motif. The new prominence of lion-head terminals on Herakles knots and earrings could be a citation of the eastern court jewelry as it was adapted for Macedonian use.

Macedonian lionesses

Who might these women be? The archaeological evidence for Macedonian women uncovered in the past few decades has prompted reconsideration of their position and their public presence in comparison to women elsewhere in Greece.⁶⁴ As tempting as such assessments are, the current disparity in the kinds of evidence – primarily burials in Macedonia, with few contributions from domestic, sacred, or civic contexts – does not allow for meaningful comparisons. It is, however, evident that some elite women were accorded the same extravagant funeral rituals as men, indicating they played an important part in the family identity as a whole. This elite familial identity expressed through funerary ritual recalls aspects of the scenario Marcus and Cifarelli suggested for the Hasanlu burials.

Macedonian burials of the Late Classical era are notable for the investment of resources they represent. Elites employed many of the same practices as royals, making funerals an arena in which they demonstrated their common values and perhaps even aspirations.⁶⁵ Certain funeral customs apparently emulate Homeric rituals, particularly the ritual of cremation on a funeral pyre to transform the body for the afterlife.⁶⁶ Both males and females were cremated; sometimes their remains were interred in the same tomb and occasionally even the same container.⁶⁷ At Derveni and in Vergina Tomb II, the joint burial of an adult male and female, presumably spouses, prioritizes and affirms their identity as a couple for eternity.⁶⁸ Several tomb types were used at this time: pit-graves, cist-graves lined with stones, and Macedonian chamber tombs. Cist-graves and Macedonian tombs could be painted or stuccoed.⁶⁹ Wooden or stone *klinai* have been found in tombs of both sexes, with wooden couches now represented by gilded terracotta plaques, glass, and ivory inlays that decorated them.⁷⁰ These couches, combined with metal and clay drinking vessels, show an emphasis on an eternal banquet in which male and female progenitors of elite families participated. Textiles originally covered the couches, probably in a baldachin arrangement, or wrapped bones. Gold or gilded textile attachments and sometimes a few cloth fragments survive.⁷¹ Bronze and iron weapons and bronze or, less often, silver drinking vessels of the sort described above are found regularly.

Overall, the extensive use of gold in these graves is notable. While the increased wealth of the region at this time could account to some extent for these costly funerary goods, the imperishable, gleaming quality of gold also suits goods required for eternity.⁷² Gold leaves with Orphic texts placed in some Macedonian tombs suggest that new ways of expressing notions about the afterlife were in use and gold had symbolic value for the dead beyond intrinsic wealth.⁷³ The presence of some or all of these goods in a tomb points to an image of an elite status, usually labeled as the royal Companion class, especially if weapons are found.⁷⁴ But a specific description of female Companions has yet to be determined, and gold jewelry embellished with the Herakles knot or lion heads may be one signifier of it.

⁶⁴ Much of the analysis has centered on Archaic female burials: Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2000; Carney 2000: 234–44; Liliampaki-Akamati 2004; Castor 2008; Carney 2010b; Kottaridi 2011b; Archibald 2012. For the Classical and Hellenistic period, see Mirón Pérez 2000; Le Bohec-Bouhet, 2006; Carney 2012 and Elizabeth Carney's extensive work on Macedonian queens: 1995, 2004, 2010a, 2012.

⁶⁵ Guimier-Sorbets and Morizot 2006.

⁶⁶ Kottaridi 2001.

⁶⁷ Themelis and Touratsoglou 1997: 146–147.

⁶⁸ Jaccottet 2008.

⁶⁹ Brecoulaki 2006; von Mangoldt 2012.

⁷⁰ Sismanidis 1997: 200–220.

⁷¹ Andrianou 2012.

⁷² Touratsoglou 1996; Holt 2016.

⁷³ Hatzopoulos 2006; Tzifopoulos 2012.

⁷⁴ Themelis and Touratsoglou 1997: 186–191; Archibald 2005, 2013: 297–320.

The tomb contexts with Heraklean jewelry collected in the appendix show a range of the practices described above. Graves from ancient Lete, Sedes Grave Γ (Appendix #1) and Lete Tomb 4 (Appendix #21), and those found at Amphipolis (Appendix #6), Makrygialos (Appendix #13), and Derveni Tomb Z (Appendix #18) include more than one Heraklean jewelry type as well as other prestige goods. These also represent many of the notable funerary practices ascribed to the Companion class: cremation, decorated tombs, tombs in family groups, as well as prestige goods. A recent study of the Sedes jewelry by Marianna Dagi showed that the same goldsmith made all of the pieces, which could account for the unusual unity in the iconography. She also noted that the jewelry showed no signs of wear.⁷⁵ In her wider study of Late Classical Macedonian jewelry she discovered that about half of the pieces were unused when interred. Funerary jewelry has usually been classified as sheet gold or gilded terracotta imitations of known styles, but Dagi's research indicates that even well-crafted pieces functioned solely as grave garb. Four girls' graves contained Heraklean jewelry: Amphipolis (Appendix #6), Alykes Kitrous (Appendix #9), Lete Tomb 4 (Appendix #21) and K15 (Appendix #22). Two of the girls were buried with diadems (Appendix #6 and #21) and costly goods such as bronze mirrors and metal vessels. Life stage as represented by mortuary ritual is a promising avenue of research in Macedonia and one that will further illuminate family identity expressed in burials.⁷⁶

The Companion class in Macedonia was enriched in part by royal land grants, documented first in the time of Philip II, but continuing into the 3rd century.⁷⁷ When Alexander left on his campaigns for the east, he took many, if not most, Macedonian leaders with him. When they discuss them at all, the ancient sources give conflicting force numbers for his army. Scholarly interpretation of the numbers varies significantly. At a minimum, Alexander took 12,000 infantry with him in 334, leaving behind anywhere from 5,000–12,000 infantry and 1,500 cavalry for Antipater.⁷⁸ Alexander requested additional levies and Antipater had to muster significant forces for his own battles. In the half-century or so after Alexander's death, civil and foreign wars placed further demands on Macedonian manpower and migration to other lands increased. We cannot have a true understanding of the demographic effects of these numbers because of the lack of data for the Macedonian population as a whole.⁷⁹ Those serving in Alexander's army had an extensive campaign and their absence would have a significant impact on those families.⁸⁰ He sent one force of newly married men home the winter after he left to visit their wives.⁸¹ Occasional furloughs and decommissioning of troops occurred, but the majority of Alexander's troops remained with him or settled abroad. During the wars of the Successors, passage in and out of Macedonia continued. Royal women appeared in essential, but unusual, political, military, and civic roles at this time, suggesting this was an era of changing public roles.⁸² The Macedonian Penelopes waiting for the return of their husbands, sons, and brothers could well have become more visible in their communities and at court as they kept their households in order. After Alexander's death, civil war placed even more demands on manpower; politically important men would suffer most in the struggle.⁸³ A reduction in the numbers of elite males could have occasioned new situations in which women were prominent. The departure of men for battle and the return of troops would call for the presence of women and family members, who may also have been present when Alexander sent back booty, when news arrived about the outcome of various battles, or the latest death or

⁷⁵ Dagi 2011: 15.

⁷⁶ Saripanidi 2016, for analysis of an Archaic burial of a young boy at Sindos.

⁷⁷ Archibald 2005: 15–19; Greenwalt 2007.

⁷⁸ Bosworth 2002: 67. Billows 1995: 182–220, argued against a significant effect on population levels.

⁷⁹ Hamilton 1999.

⁸⁰ Historians of World War I have considered the profound social effects of a lost generation of men on European women in particular. See Nicholson 2008 for British women of all ages affected by the loss of family, friends and potential husbands and Kuhlman 2012 for widows in Germany and the United States. Evans 2007 examines the role of mothers' sacrifice of their sons in Canada. I thank Prof. Maria Mitchell for discussing this literature with me.

⁸¹ Arr.1.24.1

⁸² Carney 1995: 192.

⁸³ For example, Diod.19.11.3–9 records that Olympias killed one hundred Macedonian supporters of Cassander.

assassination of a potential claimant to Alexander's throne.⁸⁴ Those families who were not separated presumably jockeyed for wealth and social position with women participating in the appropriate social arenas to protect or advance the family. Activities like this, which would be out of place for Greek women in Athens or Corinth, are more typical of the oligarchic, clan society found in the northern Aegean. Preservation of family status required men and women to act together to secure advantageous marriages and maintain alliances between elite families. Jewelry that signaled solidarity with the Argead dynasty would have been appropriate testimony to the wearer's support of a relative serving with Alexander or to mark membership in a Companion family.

Late Classical jewelry with representations of Herakles would carry many messages: he was the ancestor of the royal family, a hero who could kill lions, presaging actual feats accomplished by Alexander, and a hero raised to immortal status, as Alexander was. After the death of the last Argead, Cassander maintained an affiliation with Herakles, drawing on, and perhaps even expanding, the authority of the hero to try to legitimize his own family's claim to the throne.⁸⁵

Conclusions

In this study, I have proposed a new way of studying jewelry iconography, one that posits elite women wore jewelry to display affiliation with the Macedonian court. Representations of lions, lion hunts, and Herakles formed a powerful symbol in the era after Alexander, normally found in connection with elite or royal male settings. The transfer of this imagery into gold jewelry for women evokes a similar situation proposed for first-millennium Hasanlu. Drawing on previous scholarship that has established that the Herakles knot originated in Macedonia and had links with Alexander's association with Herakles, I have suggested that we think of Herakles knot and lion-head jewelry as a Macedonian version of court jewelry used in the east, one that applied to women. Persian rulers dispensed readily identifiable jewelry to men who had served them well; recipients wore the ornaments to indicate their personal prestige and connection to the ruler. Such a practice was not directly transferable to the men of the Macedonian court. But the notion that gold ornaments could signal membership among the elite (either actual or aspirational) may have inspired a new use of jewelry, one that drew on iconography that resonated with the royal house and was applied to women's dress. In such a tumultuous period women's dress could incorporate hints of court connection as a way to visualize family status. The disruptions, both positive and negative, of the late 4th century and absence of male leaders would push their wives and mothers into public roles, just as queens did, in order to maintain their prestige within elite networks. As Alexander robed himself like Herakles, women could wear jewelry embellished with the same motifs to harness both the hero's strength and the qualities of their late king.

Herakles knots and lion-head jewelry become noticeably less prevalent in Macedonian graves by the mid-3rd century, although the motifs continued to be popular elsewhere in the Mediterranean for another two centuries. The entangled social conventions that linked Heraklean jewelry with the Argeads may have weakened significantly following the deaths of Philip III Arrhideos and Alexander IV and the subsequent loss of the clan's political dominance. The women who wore and were buried with these badges of the dynasty displayed an innovative use of jewelry as a political statement.

⁸⁴ Carney 2015 outlines this difficult period and its possible social effects in Macedonia.

⁸⁵ Hatzopoulos 1994: 102–111.

MACEDONIAN LIONESSES: HERAKLES AND LION JEWELRY IN ELITE FEMALE DRESS (C. 325–275 BCE)

Appendix

No.	Tomb	Date	Type P-Painted	Age/ Sex	Cremation (C) or Inhumation (I)	Metal Goods	Gold Heraklean Jewelry (HK=Herakles knot)	Other Jewelry (Gold unless otherwise noted)	Pottery (Black-glaze unless otherwise noted)	Other Goods
1	Sedes Kotzias 1937	325	Cist (P)	F	I	Silver kalyx cup, bronze mirror, bronze phiale, iron strigil	Diadem, chain HK necklace, one lion-head earring	Gilded terracotta necklace beads	West Slope pyxis, skyphos	Funeral couch fittings, alabaster alabastra, ivory plaques
2	Tsagezi Makaronas 1940	325-300	Cist (P)		C	Bronze <i>phiale</i> , mirror, strigil	Necklace w/HK	Pendant, Eros earrings, gold ring, ivy leaf wreath	Skyphos	Gold bead appliques for textile, funeral couch fittings,
3	Veroia, Tomb A Rhomipoulou 1989	325-300	Mac Tomb				Macedonian fibulae (2)		Skyphos	Gold coin Alexander III
4	Alykes Kitrous, Tomb 52 Bessios and Tsigarida 2000: 372-373	325-300	Cist (P)	Young Adult F	C		Chain necklace w/HK and lion- head terminals	Lion-griffin earrings, finger ring	Kerch-style pelike	Terracotta figurines (5), gold buttons (6), terracotta couch fittings, textile fragments
5	Pella, Tumulus B, Grave A26 Chrysostomou & Zarogiannis 2005	325-300	Pit		I		Silver HK finger ring		Three cups	Bronze coin Alexander III
6	Amphipolis, Grave A. Botrias 2000	325-300	Cist	Girl	I	Bronze mirror	Sheet gold diadem w/HK, chain necklaces w/lion-heads, sheet gold HK beads for second necklace	Disk-and-Eros earrings, finger rings (2), silver pin, clay and bone beads	Lekythos, hydriksos	Silver coin of Akanthos, bone plaques from a box, 101 astragaloi
7	Serres, T15 Peristeri, Zografou, Salonikios 2006: 239	325-300	Pit (disturbed)				Lion-head earrings	Bronze ring, gilded bronze wreath	Aryballos-lekythos	Bronze coin Philip II
8	Alykes Kitrous, Tomb 71 Bessios 2010: 236-237	325-300	Cist	N/A	I		6 Macedonian fibulae	Gilded bronze wreath		Gold coin Alexander III, ivory couch fittings
9	Alykes Kitrous, Tomb 22 Bessios 2010: 214-215	325-300	Pit	Girl			10 HK beads	Disk-and-Eros earrings, necklace		
10	Aineia, Tomb A, Grave III Vokotopoulou 1990: 65-66	325-300	Cist (P)	Adult	C	Bronze <i>kalpis</i> (heirloom), bronze mirror	5 Macedonian fibulae	Finger rings (2), gilded clay necklace beads	Gilded kotyle, 26 alabastra, glass calyx- skyphos, 8 Attic vessels, 2 local vessels	Gilded bronze wreaths (5), terracotta figurines (2), funeral couch, linen textile fragments
11	Makrygiolos, Tomb 232 Bessios 2010: 184	325-300	Pit				Lion-head earrings	Bead necklace, finger ring		
12	Makrygiolos, Tomb 1 Bessios 2010: 201-202	325-300	Cist (P)				6 Macedonian fibulae, lion-head earring (1)	Finger ring		
13	Makrygiolos, Tomb 10 Bessios 2010: 189	350-300					Lion-head earrings, 7 HK beads, chain necklace w/lion-head terminals	Snake finger ring		
14	Abdera, Grave 800 <i>Treasures of Ancient Macedonia</i> 1979: 102	325-300	Cist				HK chain necklace	Disk-and-Eros earrings, bead necklace, finger ring		Alabaster alabastron, gilded terracotta attachments

No.	Tomb	Date	Type P-Painted	Age/ Sex	Cremation (C) or Inhumation (I)	Metal Goods	Gold Heraklean Jewelry (HK=Herakles knot)	Other Jewelry (Gold unless otherwise noted)	Pottery (Black-glaze unless otherwise noted)	Other Goods
15	Aghios Athanasios Tsimbidou-Avolinoti 1993: 252	325-300	Macedonian Tomb (plundered)		C		Lion-head earrings	Gilded bronze crown fragments	Alabastra	
16	Derveni, Tomb H Themelis & Touratsoglou 1997, 130-132	320-300	Cist (P) (plundered)			Bronze vessel fragments	Lion-head earring (1)		Attic pelike	
17	Pella, Archondiko, Tumulus B, A26 Chrysostomou & Zarogiannis 2005: 481-482	300	Pit				Silver finger ring w/HK		Three vessels	Bronze coin Alexander III
18	Derveni, Tomb Z Themelis & Touratsoglou 1997:121-129	300-280	Pit (P)		C	Silver kalyx, bronze krater, situla, lebes, 2 phialai	Herakles head, 6 Macedonian fibulae	Disk-and-boat earrings, strap necklace, bead necklace, 2 finger rings, one w/ name Kleita	2 gilded mastoi, 5 skyphidia, aryballos	Textile fragments
19	Aghios Athanasios, Macedonian Tomb Descamps-Lequime 2011: 140-142	300-280	Macedonian Tomb				Lion-head earrings, three sheet gold HK beads	Pin, chain necklace		Gilded clay couch fittings, gold rosette appliques
20	Pella, Mesiano Giannitson Chrysostomou & Zarogiannis 2005: 431	300	Pit				Non-matching lion-head earrings		Three vessels	Funeral couch fittings, bronze coin of Cassander, bronze shoe ring
21	Lete, Tomb 4 Tsakalou-Tzanabari 1989: 307-308	300	Cist (P)	Girl		Silver skyphos, bronze vessel, bronze mirror	Diadem w/HK knot, lion-head earrings	Pin with chain, finger rings (2)	Skyphos	Funeral couch fittings, textile fragments
22	Lete, Tomb 14 Tsakalou-Tzanabari 1989: 310-312	300	Pit				Lion-head earrings	Silver female head pendant	Fragments of vessels	Two bronze coins Philip II, terracotta figurine, astragaloi
23	Lete, Tomb K15 Grammenos 2007: 296-298	300-280	Cist (P)	Girl		Bronze mirror	Chain necklace w/lion-heads	Disk-and-Eros earrings, silver female head pendant, finger ring, gilded clay necklace beads	Alabastra	Gold textile appliques, astragaloi, bronze coin of Cassander
24	Veroia, Tomb Γ Rhomipoulou 1989: 39-40	300					Chain necklace w/lion-head terminals	Bead, applique	Skyphos, alabastron	Gold textile applique, terracotta figurine
25	Aiani Tomb 162 Karamitrou-Mentesidi 2007: 39-41	300-275	Pit		I		Pair of lion-head earrings	Silver ring, glass beads, gilded clay necklace beads, bronze ring	Hydria, skyphos, pyxis, plate, perfume vessels (7)	Two shells, bronze coin of Cassander, 123 astragaloi

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