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Alexis Q. Castor **Archaic Greek Earrings: An Interim Survey**

aus / from

Archäologischer Anzeiger

Ausgabe / Issue

Seite / Page **1–34**

<https://publications.dainst.org/journals/aa/1922/6587> • urn:nbn:de:0048-journals.aa-2008-1-p1-34-v6587.7

Verantwortliche Redaktion / Publishing editor

Redaktion der Zentrale | Deutsches Archäologisches Institut

Weitere Informationen unter / For further information see <https://publications.dainst.org/journals/aa>

ISSN der Online-Ausgabe / ISSN of the online edition **2510-4713**

ISSN der gedruckten Ausgabe / ISSN of the printed edition

Verlag / Publisher **Hirmer Verlag GmbH, München**

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Archaic Greek Earrings: An Interim Survey

Until recent decades, the limited number of excavated artifacts made serious study of Archaic Greek jewelry nearly impossible. A few seventh-century gold ornaments discovered in Rhodian cemeteries and the large deposit of votive jewelry from the Artemesium at Ephesus comprised the only examples in precious metal with both an assured chronology and provenance. On mainland Greece, a handful of bronze ornaments retrieved from sanctuaries contributed to the corpus, but few of these artifacts were tied to a specific Archaic date. Because of the scarcity of primary material, jewelry was relegated to the fringes of scholarly research and was rarely discussed as evidence with which to reconstruct women's dress or personal wealth. Jewelry has been presented instead as an exotic luxury sported by barbarians, disconnected from the ordinary Greek way of life, and only occasionally related to its original wearers¹. One reason for the segregation of these artifacts from other goods is that the jewelry in museum collections was acquired largely without any provenance at all or in early excavations that lacked significant contextual information. This shortage of independent evidence made it difficult to assess the artifacts chronologically or by region of manufacture. Study of ancient jewelry has centered instead on the craftsmen who created the ornaments rather than on those who wore them, thereby removing jewelry even further from the body of artifacts used to reconstruct daily life in the ancient world².

The paucity of real ornaments from the seventh and sixth centuries seemed especially striking in comparison to the lavish costumes worn by women in Archaic art. Indeed, the contrast between the rich images and impoverished reality was far more conspicuous than for any other period³. Since the 1980s, however, discoveries in previously unexplored regions of northern Greece and Turkey have prompted a reconsideration of Archaic jewelry. Both the newly excavated ornaments and the abundance of archeological evidence associated with the finds open fresh avenues of inquiry concerning luxury arts in the Mediterranean. In particular, since jewelry is a type of wealth that we can associate specifically with Greek women, study of these ornaments within their archaeological context offers unique – and under-exploited – evidence for female presence in two key public arenas, namely in votive and in funerary contexts.

Greek Earrings

Of all categories of Greek jewelry, earrings show the greatest variation in type and are among the most commonly discovered forms of personal adornment discovered in archaeological contexts. Karl Hadaczek's 1903 analysis of the

This study evolved from my dissertation, »Enotia. The Contexts of Greek Earrings, Tenth to Third Century B.C.«, directed by Stella Miller-Collett. I am grateful to her for her guidance and support for that project and my subsequent research on the topic. Ann Steiner provided valuable advice and encouragement during the process of expanding and completing this analysis. I would also like to thank Judith Chien for her help in the preparation of the manuscript.

¹ See Lapatin 2003 for a survey of the historiography of luxury goods and Rudolph 1996 for the historiography of jewelry.

² Technical analyses have received special attention: See Wolters 1983; Ogden 1992; Williams – Ogden 1994; Formigli 1995.

³ Higgins 1980, 121; Deppert-Lippitz 1985, 115 f.; Musti et al. 1992, 32–35.



Fig. 1 Pyramidal Earrings with Potnia Theron Figure. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 309

types of Greek and Etruscan earrings in use from the Bronze Age through the Hellenistic period stands as the most recent study of Greek earrings⁴. Where possible, he proposed origins of types and regional styles using excavated examples, stylistic analysis or representations of ornaments in various datable media. Much of the framework originally established by Hadaczek remains valid today, but since then, the considerable increase in the corpus of earrings and the discovery of three new Archaic types requires the updated arrangement and re-evaluation of the artifacts, that is, in part, presented here.

The topic of this study is earrings that date from the late seventh to the early fifth century B.C. and were retrieved in controlled excavations⁵. The evidence collected here has been gathered from archaeological reports, site publications and conference proceedings; since many of these objects were discovered in the late twentieth century, they have been presented, to date, only in brief reports that supply the basic archaeological data for the artifacts and contexts. Given the merely preliminary notices of many objects discussed here, it is impossible to create a complete catalog with measurements, weights, or even state the number of earrings found at this time. But even without such details, sufficient evidence exists to permit a re-evaluation of earrings as artifacts with direct application to the study of women's wealth and adornment. The focus on earrings found only in secure contexts not only assures their authenticity but also supplies chronological and regional evidence independent of their style. In addition to this essential information, study of jewelry in these archaeological contexts can illuminate the varied secondary uses of personal ornaments in Archaic society. This interim result presents an updated catalog of the published artifacts, with new earring types, new provenance and chronological data, and some examples of how these dated artifacts can contribute to broader

4 Hadaczek 1903.

5 Earrings discovered in Greece, Thrace, the Black Sea and Asia Minor are included in this study. I have examined the earrings in collections in Athens, Thessaloniki, Kavala, Amphipolis, Istanbul, Olbia, Kiev, Sofia, London and Rome for this study. Gesenhoff 1994 collected Archaic jewelry in her study, combining artifacts with and without provenance in her catalog. Her goal was to analyze of the iconography of Archaic jewelry and literary descriptions in epic and Archaic poetry.

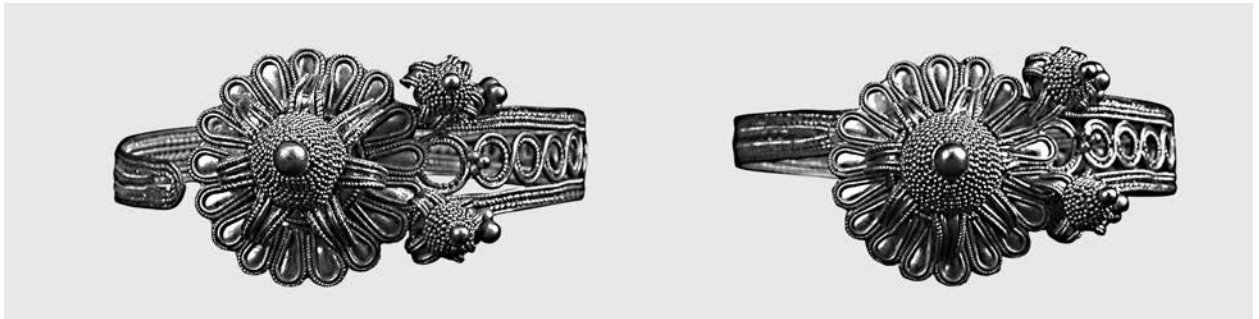


Fig. 2 Taenia Earring, Sindos Grave 67 (c. 510 B.C.). Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum MO 7975

social historical questions concerning the circulation of wealth controlled by women.

Two case studies of Archaic earrings – one pair acquired on the art market and the second pair discovered in northern Greece – demonstrate the necessity of corroborating archaeological evidence for an investigation of the luxury arts. A pair of gold earrings purchased by Madame Stathatos in 1925 and said to be from an Argive grave would seem to correspond to typical Archaic styles⁶ (Fig. 1). The earrings are composed of a pyramidal pendant formed by large beads and topped with a Potnia Theron figure who clasps a pair of lionesses by their front paws. Amandry stressed the difficulties inherent in using style alone as a basis for determining a date and the regional provenance for jewelry in his publication of the earrings. Remaining faithful to the alleged origin, however, he tentatively assigned these pieces to an Argive or Corinthian craftsman⁷. He suggested a date of the third quarter of the seventh century, drawing stylistic parallels with Daedalic figurines and Corinthian vase-painting⁸. While Amandry wrung as much information as possible from these earrings, he admitted that the lack of contextual data severely hindered his interpretation.

No subsequent finds of earrings have either confirmed or excluded the date that Amandry proposed. If these earrings do indeed date to the late seventh century, they represent the earliest example of the pyramidal earring, a type far more common in fifth- and fourth-century contexts⁹. Additionally, the Stathatos earrings would be the only example of a figural element found on an earring dated before the Classical period. Finally, they would attest to an unusual burial practice in Argos, a region that does not normally inter gold jewelry with the dead during the Archaic era¹⁰.

Amandry reported that two additional gold ornaments comprised this supposed tomb group; a small pomegranate-shaped bead and a necklace pendant similar in form to the earrings¹¹. On the pendant, pair of confronted sphinxes perches atop a conical base; short chains that terminate with pomegranate beads frame the pendant. The style and technique of the necklace pendant seem compatible with the earrings, but, like the earrings, they find no parallel in other Archaic necklaces with known provenance. Not only is it impossible to authenticate the date or find spot of the earrings, we cannot know what, if any, additional grave goods accompanied the dead, or whether forensic evidence indicated that the burial contained adult or child, male or female remains. Without such verification, these earrings offer little opportunity to reconstruct Archaic culture.

A contrasting case is provided by a pair of gold taenia earrings (Fig. 2) discovered in the 2002 excavations at Pella, in a late sixth-century burial of an adult woman about twenty years old¹². These elaborate earrings belong to the most technically sophisticated earring type of the Archaic period. The taenia

6 Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Stathatos Collection Στ 309. Amandry 1953, 29–33.

7 Amandry 1953, 32.

8 Amandry 1953, 32. Amandry's suggested date and provenance have been generally accepted, see Higgins 1980, 103; Δεσποίνη 1996, 226 no. 69.

9 Higgins 1980, 128; Deppert-Lippitz 1985, 90; Δεσποίνη 1996, 226 f. nos. 69–72.

10 Higgins 1980, 101.

11 Amandry 1953, 29 f.

12 Χρυσσοστόμου – Χρυσσοστόμου 2002, 469 f. figs. 10–14.

was composed of a filigree wire band and an elaborate floral terminal set against the front of the earlobe¹³. Some taenia earrings are 4–5 cm in diameter, like the example from Sindos seen in Fig. 2, making them among the largest – and by far the most decorative – Archaic earrings known. Other metal ornaments and grave goods accompanied the woman: six gold rosettes originally arranged as a diadem, gold hair spirals, a necklace of gold beads, a gold necklace pendant from another necklace, two silver pins with gold terminals, and gold finger rings. The assortment is typical of sixth-century elite Macedonian female tombs, which regularly include lavish amounts of gold jewelry¹⁴. Once the publication of this and neighboring sites is complete, a substantial body of evidence found – and perhaps produced – within an identifiable time period and region will permit analyses of jewelry manufacture¹⁵. Such study will contribute significantly to our understanding of the regional jewelry production. We will also be able to explore more extensively the role of earrings and indeed of the full *parure* of jewelry within the funeral ritual¹⁶. Were the women who were buried with such extravagant jewelry of roughly the same age? What evidence does the jewelry provide for the kind of burial costume was created in those grave complexes? How widespread is a costume type within a region and how does it compare with other evidence for ancient dress? The striking differences between the limited applications of the Stathatos earrings and those found at Pella reveal the rich potential of jewelry as a historical document.

What follows here is a review of the evidence for female, and some male, use of earrings as a form of personal adornment and in secondary roles as gifts to the gods and to the dead. The study also includes a description of Archaic earring types along with a catalog of the published examples of these types and a survey of the Archaic contexts and regions that have yielded earrings. Finally, I will consider how these secondary uses of earrings can be evaluated. With this updated corpus of earrings, it will now be possible to apply study of earrings to broader analyses of the circulation of private wealth in the Archaic period.

Wearing Earrings

Despite the limited usefulness of ornaments recovered without context, scholars have had occasion to explore some central questions necessary for an analysis of earrings. We review these here. How were earrings worn and by whom? Who owned jewelry in general, and who owned earrings in particular? What additional uses did earrings have other than adornment? These questions are discussed below.

All evidence supports the view that in antiquity, earrings were usually, perhaps even exclusively, worn in pierced ears¹⁷. Earrings are the only form of Greek jewelry that required a physical alteration of the body – piercing the earlobe – to be worn. Some of the few written references specifically describe earrings made for pierced ears, such as those worn by Aphrodite in her »beautifully pierced« ears¹⁸. Aristotle compared the healing rate of the left and right ears after piercing, pointing out that women supposedly labeled the quick-healing left ear as »female«, while the right, or »male«, ear took longer to heal¹⁹. Greek earrings themselves are equipped customarily with a hook or a hoop that could pass directly through the earlobe although some earrings, such as spirals, thicker hoop earrings or other bulky ornaments probably dangled from smaller hoops hung in the ear. This practice is illustrated by the discovery, in a Classical-era grave from Epanomi in Macedonia, of a pair of large silver hoop earrings attached to small bronze hoops²⁰. Secondary evi-

¹³ Δεσποίνη 1983, for the discovery of the type and its reconstruction.

¹⁴ See Βοκοτοπούλου et al. 1985, *passim*.

¹⁵ Δεσποίνη 1996, 32, proposes that the same workshop produced taenia earrings found at Vergina and Sindos. The connections are not detailed, but if her theory bears out, it would mark specific, and previously unidentified, links between elites in Macedonia that would have important ramifications for the history of the period.

¹⁶ See Castor 2008 for further consideration of these contexts.

¹⁷ Mascetti 1990, 10 f.

¹⁸ h. hom., Aphrodite 2, 7–9.

¹⁹ Aristotle, Problems 961a: »Why does the left ear heal more quickly, as a general rule, when it has been pierced? This is why women call the right ear male and the left ear female.« (trans. Loeb). The exact method of ear piercing is never mentioned in the literary sources, although presumably some sort of needle or small awl was used.

²⁰ Τσιμπίδου-Αυλωνίτι 1992, 329 fig. 8 (from Epanomi); Δεσποίνη 1996, 32.

dence from painting and coins show thick hoops passing directly through the earlobe²¹. This may represent either real practice or artistic license. Finally, the most frequently used Greek term for earring is ἔνοτια or ἐνοΐδια; the prefix »ἐν« or »ιν« implies that the ornament was worn in the ear²². Whether or not Greeks had large or small holes bored into their earlobes, the evidence weighs strongly in favor of a permanent piercing. Specific details of the practice of ear piercing – either the method by which or the age when wearers pierced their ears – are entirely lacking²³. Earrings have been discovered in infant and child burials, but this fact neither supports nor undermines the notion that children had their ears pierced very early in life, as child burials frequently contain goods used by adults. Earrings found in these contexts may not represent the actual dress that a child wore the time of death, but may be explained rather as gifts that parents had planned to give the child when she or he reached an appropriate age²⁴.

Written sources normally link earrings with women²⁵. Epic poets describe goddesses and heroines glittering with extravagant gold accessories, such as the earrings that adorned Hera and Penelope²⁶. In the mortal world, earrings and other jewelry, usually lumped together under the term χρυσά, are typically listed in dowry disputes as the property of women, although occasionally earrings do show up in startling settings, such as the gold pair that Plato willed to his slave²⁷. In times of conflict, women enriched war treasuries by contributing their gold and silver goods²⁸. For the exceptionally intrepid female wearer, the fourth-century B.C. author Aineias the Tactician reports that earrings could be deployed in intelligence operations. In his discussion of cryptography, he suggests that secret – presumably succinct – messages written on strips of lead be given to women to wear as earrings, thus communicating essential information to a besieged town²⁹. These alternative uses are intended specifically for female wearers, and they show that Greek women understood that their jewelry could serve the state in times of civic crisis, either as bullion or in espionage.

Secondary Evidence

Women and Earrings in Archaic Art

As noted above, jewelry of the Archaic period was best known from images of painted and sculpted ladies festooned with ornaments. Vase-painting and sculpture offer a wealth of evidence, although it must be admitted that very few female figures depicted wear earrings – or jewelry of any sort³⁰. When women *are* shown wearing earrings, the efforts expended by the artist on the ornament details vary dramatically. A round disk or dot earring is the most common type found (Fig. 3). Women in minor and major arts are decorated with the dot earring, as illustrated here by an Athenian tetradrachm of the early fifth century B.C. (Fig. 4). Similar disk earrings frequently accessorize the sculpted korai. Forty-two of 97 Attic korai were equipped with sculpted earrings or have attachment holes for metal ear ornaments; almost all of these young women wear large disk earrings³¹. The disk earrings often incorporate floral motifs as their primary decoration and traces of blue, green, and gold paint survive to indicate their original colorful appearance³². As ubiquitous as this earring forms seems to be in the Archaic period – and it continues into Classical art as well – it has proven impossible to connect the form to any real earring type discovered³³. Suggestions that the earring indicates the ear spool, a type discussed below, do not account for the fact that, on the korai, the dot

21 Hadaczek 1903, 14 figs. 20–22.

22 Poll. 5, 97 s. v. ἐνοτία.

23 A red-figure loutrophoros, c. 440, shows a young girl wearing hoop earrings, a rare example of a child with earrings. Karlsruhe Badisches Landesmuseum 69/78. ARV² 1102, 2; Para 451, Add. 329.

24 Oliver 2000; Baxter 2005.

25 Necklaces and hair ornaments such as diadems, bands or crowns receive more attention from the epic and lyric poets than do earrings. See Gesenhoff 1994, 52–55, for a list of Archaic references to jewelry.

26 Il. 14, 182 f.; Od. 18, 297 f.

27 No descriptions of jewelry are included in these legal texts; rather the ornaments are represented as bullion and the value of the gold assessed as such.

28 See, for example, Poly. 1, 72, 5; 18, 17; Diod. Sic. 32, 9; 22, 5, 5. The most famous example of this practice is the *lex Oppia*, passed during the Second Punic War, which decreed that women could wear no more than two ounces of gold jewelry. Female public protests after the successful conclusion of the war prompted the repeal of this restriction; Livy 34, 1–8, 3.

29 Aineias Tac. 31, 7.

30 Llewelyn-Jones 2003, 10, documents a similar discrepancy between the relatively few representations of veiled Greek women and the seemingly widespread, if not universal, adoption of the practice in reality.

31 Karakasi 2003, 168–170 Table 14, for listing of clothing and jewelry on the Attic korai. Earrings are less commonly found on korai from other regions, although fewer of these sculptures preserve the head.

32 van den Driessche 1971, 77 fig. 2, supplies an overview of the motifs found on dot earrings on sculpture, terracotta figurines, painting and coins.

33 van den Driessche 1971, 82–96; Brein 1982; Deppert-Lippitz 1985, 130.



3



4

Fig. 3 Disk Earring (c. 510 B.C.). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Henry Lillie Pierce Fund 00.335

Fig. 4 Disk Earring, Tetradrachm Athens (c. 490–480 B.C.). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Catharine Page Perkins Fund 95.129

covers the earlobe entirely, while the spool is believed to have been worn in a large hole in the ear. The floral designs could be an abbreviated rendering of the rosette terminal that completed many taenia earrings, but if so, the allusion would be exceptionally abstract. Even without real examples of analogous dot earrings with which to compare typological details, when we see the circular ear ornament (whether it is worn by a female or a male) we recognize that it refers to an earring. Perhaps artists were satisfied to convey the symbol of an earring and were less concerned with its relation to reality.

More detailed depictions of earrings can be found, although even these seemingly realistic forms raise questions about the relationship between reality and image. The Andokides Painter depicts an earring that is unique in Archaic art and unmatched by any real examples of the form³⁴ (Fig. 5). An open hoop clearly pierces the lobe to latch behind; the front of the hoop is embellished with a floral attachment at the top and three inverted pyramidal pendants dangle from the lower curve of the hoop. No type found to date corresponds to this image. Instead, it blends the Archaic Macedonian taenia type, worn exactly in this manner, with an Iron Age earring form, the hoop with three pendants³⁵. Other versions of the hoop with three pendants occur in Archaic painting – it is a favorite of the Little Master cup painters for example – although no documented examples of the earring have been found that date after the eighth century³⁶ (Fig. 6). Certainly, it is possible that the hoop with three pendants remained popular in Attica and simply has not been recovered, especially given the lacuna of seventh- and sixth-century jewelry in this region, but we should also consider that artists may well have used antique jewelry types to indicate a different era. Laffineur has proposed that the pastiche of old-fashioned and contemporary jewelry found on Archaic Cypriot terracottas represent ornaments dedicated over decades. Votive jewelry would be collected for generations, perhaps displayed on a cult statue; the Cypriot sculptures illustrate the resulting combination of types from different eras³⁷. Sanctuaries could afford

34 ARV² 3, 1; Para 320, Add 71.

35 Popham et al. 1979, 170–172 pl. 231 d; Higgins 1980, 106; Deppert-Lippitz 1985, 63; Musti et al. 1992, 97 no. 38; Δεσποίνη 1983.

36 CVA Boston (2) 33 pl. 90, 3. 4; Para 71, 318.

37 Laffineur 1991, 176–181.



5

Fig. 5 Hybrid Taenia and Hoop-with-Pendants Earring (c. 525 B.C.). Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung F 2159

Fig. 6 Hoop-with-Pendants Earring (c. 530 B.C.). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Frederick Brown Fund 66.816

Fig. 7 Pyramidal Earring, Berlin Kore (c. 560 B.C.). Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung 1800

Fig. 8 Pyramidal Earring, Phrasikleia (c. 550–540 B.C.). Athens, National Archaeological Museum 4889



6



7



8

artists the opportunity to see many exotic examples of dress, jewelry and other accessories from distant lands or earlier times that modern viewers may not be able to distinguish as foreign or old-fashioned.

In some happy instances, we are able to find firm links between primary and secondary evidence. Two Attic funerary markers, the Berlin Kore and Phrasikleia, are adorned differently than the Akropolis korai; in fact, Karakasi and others have noted that we can easily find real parallels for the sculpted jewelry found on these finely dressed females³⁸. Both Phrasikleia and the Berlin Kore wear variants of the inverted pyramid earring, a type that begins to circulate in the Archaic period and becomes a dominant form on mainland Greece in the Classical period³⁹ (Figs. 7–8). The two women also wear necklaces with pendants of the sort found in Archaic graves at Sindos⁴⁰. This close correspondence between real, contemporary ornaments and those found on the sculptures stands in contrast to the generic disk earrings worn by the majority of other Attic korai. Scholars have debated the identity of the korai, branding them as goddesses, female votaries or as generic images of female beauty⁴¹. Most recently, Keesling has argued convincingly that the context of Athena's sanctuary on the Akropolis favors a divine identity for the korai found there. If these do represent Athena, it is possible that artists would have been less inclined to use contemporary jewelry types, but instead picked generic forms, much as

38 Karakasi 2003, 121; Steiber 2004, 149.

39 Kaltsas 2002, 16; Karakasi 2003, 121; Steiber 2004; for the inverted pyramid earring type, see most recently, Δεσποίνη 1996, 33; Georgoula 1999, 134.

40 Kaltsas 2002, 15; Miller-Collett 1998.

41 Goddesses: Ridgway 1993, 147–151; Keesling 2003, 124–139, with earlier bibliography; Mortals: Schneider 1975, 19–22, argues that the korai wear the dress of young women, perhaps sporting special occasion outfits appropriate for festivals; Karakasi 2003, 135–147; Steiber 2004, 83–113, with earlier bibliography.

Archaic poets wrote broadly about the golden accessories of goddesses, leaving some details of divine dress to the imagination. Families who commissioned a funerary kore may have required more realistic representations of jewelry, so that the passersby could recognize elements of her costume⁴².

Images of known earring types in particular, and jewelry in general, can be reasonably assumed to testify to jewelry use even when real pieces from the region are lacking. Such evidence does not, however, convey how common the earring was, or whether it was imported, made locally or was perhaps an antique ornament. Other forms seem to conflate recognizable earring types and raise suspicions that artistic license may be at work. We must also be cognizant of the real possibility of visual shorthand in elements of dress, as we have speculated for the most common earring found in secondary representations, the dot earring. These examples illustrate the challenges in relying on secondary evidence to fill in gaps in the archaeological record. We conclude that, while the majority of female figures – whether divine or mortal – depicted in various media wear no earrings, and while the representations that do exist may not always portray real or contemporary earring styles, a substantial amount of visual evidence confirms what we might expect, that Greek females wore earrings.

Males and Earrings in Archaic Art and Literature

Not only do the data verify that women wore earrings, but also tantalizing hints appear that men did as well, especially during the sixth century. Surviving Greek literature preserves only two references to men wearing earrings, one of which dates to the Archaic period⁴³. The sixth-century Ionian poet Anacreon describes a certain Artemon who had previously worn wooden astragaloi in his ears and an ox hide around his waist, but who now, after an unexplained reversal of fortune, rides in a carriage, wears gold earrings, and carries an ivory parasol »as women do«⁴⁴. The overall tone of the fragment is highly derisive towards Artemon, whom Anacreon also describes as a thief, but he is mocked not because he wore earrings: he wore the baubles both before and after his transformation. Rather, the joke focuses on the nouveau riche behavior of a former pauper whose appearance now deceives those ignorant of his former status. This complex fragment of Anacreon, then, fails to indicate if Greek men normally wore earrings and it does not reveal any negative attitude towards males wearing earrings⁴⁵. Thucydides, referring to the golden cicadas that Athenian dandies formerly wore in their hair, reports a greater extravagance in dress in »ancient times« than was customary in his day and such foppishness may have included ear baubles⁴⁶. The Anacreon reference to male earring-wearers in the sixth century suggests that earrings may have been part of male costume at this time, perhaps among the elites whose ideals were sung in lyric poetry.

Assyrian, Egyptian and Lydian art testifies to the practice of male earring use in these cultures⁴⁷. Much of the evidence for earring use among Greek men comes from or may allude to the eastern Mediterranean, suggesting that Greeks adopted the fashion from these Eastern models. Athenian visual sources for male earrings are minimal, and even less can be derived from other regions. Traces of paint on the earlobes of Early Archaic kouros suggest that at least a few of these idealized figures originally were depicted wearing earrings⁴⁸. Two such kouros were found in Attica, two in the Cyclades, and one in Asia Minor. Artists occasionally embellished the sculpted youths with necklaces, helmets, crowns and other accessories, so the presence of earrings would not be entirely anomalous⁴⁹. These figures are either of very early date, when sculptors favored

42 Steiber 2004, 151–177.

43 Xen. Anab. 3, 1, 31. The only condemnation of men with pierced ears occurs two centuries later in Xenophon's account of the Anabasis from Persia. A Boiotian soldier named Apollonides challenged the strategy Xenophon proposed for the return of the Greek mercenaries. A supporter of Xenophon belittled Apollonides, stating that, »For that matter, this fellow has nothing to do either with Boiotia or with any part of Greece at all, for I have noticed that he has both his ears pierced like a Lydian's.« In this martial setting, pierced ears clearly carried a negative, explicitly foreign, connotation associated specifically with eastern customs. It is worth noting that Apollonides is not castigated for actually wearing earrings in this episode, but merely for the fact that he was equipped to do so.

44 Anak. fr. 82 (Gentile). The terms *αστραγάλους* and *καθήματα* are uncommon words for earrings. It is difficult to envision how the *αστραγάλους* were worn, if indeed we should see them as wooden versions of the sheep knucklebones usually referred to by that term. *Καθήματα* apparently describes ornaments that dangle below the ear.

45 Brown 1983, 5, for the identity of Artemon.

46 Thuc. 1, 6.

47 Maxwell-Hyslop 1971, 238–245, for Assyrian; Müller – Theim 1999, 174–188, for the pierced ears in the gold mask of Tutankhamun and the earrings found in the burial of the same ruler; and n. 54 below for Lydian representations.

48 See Ridgway 1993, 109 Dipylon head, no. 6; Leipzig Kouros, Richter 1960, no. 58, with red paint on the ear lobes; no. 2 Athens 2720; no. 6 Athens 3372; no. 127, Istanbul 1645.

49 Richter 1960, no. 1 New York, Metropolitan 32.11.1, neckband; no. 6 Athens 3372, neckband.

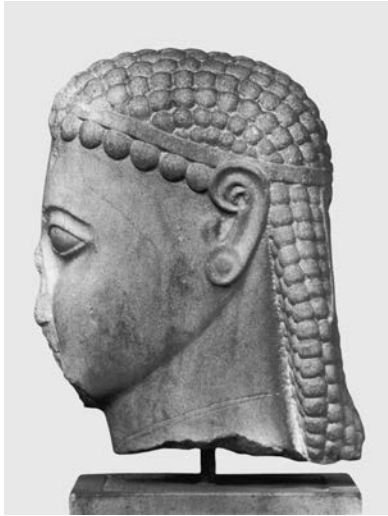


Fig. 9 Disk Earring (?), Kouros (c. 560 B.C.). Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3372

highly stylized anatomical details, or were found in the eastern Mediterranean (Fig. 9). The colors recorded for the kouros earrings do not correspond to those found on the korai, which utilized blue, green and even gold paint⁵⁰. It is possible that the earlobe crevices simply preserved the red that denoted the tanned skin of men rather than an earring. The trend of earrings on kouroi, if they showed real ornaments, faded by the mid-sixth century. If painted earrings originally existed on the later youths, they were not noted, and any vestiges have long since vanished.

A much-studied group of Late Archaic and Early Classical vases, the so-called Booners, depicts males dressed in feminine clothing and accessories, occasionally including earrings⁵¹. In fact, of the fifty-one vases assigned to this group, only three scenes show the men wearing earrings. Even among these seemingly feminized males, earrings are exceptional⁵². The earrings found in these scenes are the large dot earrings identical to the ornaments that adorn so many female figures but, as discussed above, have no real parallels. Scholars have advanced two theories to explain why men are shown wearing earrings. One argues that we see Athenians dressed in East Greek or Lydian garb⁵³. For the specific issue of earrings, such an idea is enticing since other visual sources show Lydian men wearing earrings⁵⁴. I have discovered only one other example of a male wearing earrings in vase-painting: the Lydian ruler Croesus, which further emphasizes the affinity, at least to Greek artists, between males with earrings and Eastern male potentates⁵⁵. The second argument, most recently and convincingly advocated by Margaret Miller, proposes that these figures are Athenian men shown temporarily cross-dressing and that their womanly garb carries overtones of Dionysiac rituals⁵⁶. If the scenes do depict temporary transvestism, then the earrings would be relevant only because they did not belong to standard male costume. However, since earrings were worn in pierced ears, they are also the only elements of the costume that would leave a permanent trace on wearers. This logical inconsistency may help to explain why earrings are not part of the typical dress of these figures and, in addition to any other meanings conveyed by their dress, could support the idea that these men have connections to the East.

Although each group of Archaic evidence discussed here can be questioned as a relevant source of usual male dress, the relative abundance of visual and written references to male earring-wearers in the sixth and early fifth century suggests that earrings may have been a male accessory at this time. In the absence of more specific evidence, however, we must assume that earrings belonged normally to the costume of Greek women and only exceptionally to that of men. Having reviewed the visual and textual evidence for Archaic earrings, we turn now to the physical evidence itself.

50 Brinkmann 2003, 55.

51 See Miller 1999 for previous scholarship on these scenes.

52 Kurtz – Boardman 1986 collected forty-six vases; Miller 1999, 230 n. 27, adds five more. The three scenes with earrings are Kurtz – Boardman 1986, 48 f. nos. 19. 28. 33. Earrings appear much less often than the other feminine accessories used by men, such as the parasol, which show up on fifteen vases.

53 Kurtz – Boardman 1986; DeVries 1973; Cohen 2001. The focus on an Ionian identification was seemingly re-

inforced by the fact that an inscription of the name Anacreon appears in one scene. Frontisi-Ducroux – Lissarrague 1990, 215, noted that the inscription was actually on the lyre held by one of the komasts, and that objects are not traditionally labeled with the name of their owners in Attic vase-painting. Instead, the authors suggest that the inscription refers to the function of the lyre as performing lyric – Anacreontic – poetry in sympotic settings.

54 For example, Özgen – Öztürk 1996, 47 fig. 89, from Karaburun. A bearded banqueteer wears a large gold hoop

earring, a gold bracelet, and a strap or chain around his neck.

55 Paris, Musée du Louvre G 197, ARV² 238, 1. Croesus, too, wears the large dot earring common for females and worn by all males depicted wearing earrings.

56 Miller 1999, 246–253.

Archaic Earring Types

For each earring type, the form, technique and its significant decorative features are supplied along with a brief overview of its history and the regions in which it has been discovered. A list of the published examples follows each description with the metal type used for the earring, the date assigned by the excavator and, where known, the number of earrings recovered in each context and the museum in which the artifacts are currently housed and their dimensions⁵⁷. The catalog is divided according to the two archaeological contexts in which the earrings have been found, sanctuaries and cemeteries⁵⁸. Select examples of the type in museum collections follow the catalog. Provisional dates are given for specific earring types or developments within that type, but these cannot be applied with certainty until the complete publication of the sites from which the earrings have been recovered. Even then, there is a real possibility that the ornaments may have circulated within a family or have been displayed in a temple treasury for decades, or alternately, that they may have been made specifically for the tomb and never worn. The close typological and chronological structure that exists for other artifact types may be unfeasible for jewelry.

Spirals

Spirals are one of the most prevalent Archaic earring forms, appearing widely throughout the Mediterranean. The spiral is found in four different versions, but all consist of a cast rod of metal which could be twisted into a variety of shapes. Oval spirals had circulated in Greece during the Iron Age. In the Archaic period, however, the spiral developed into new shapes: opened into a W-shape, elongated, or stretched to resemble the Greek letter omega. The ends of spiral earrings normally tapered until the tip resembled a closed bud. Beneath this tip, various decorative patterns, such as a bead-and-reel or a bobbin, enhanced the rod. Some, especially the elongated spiral, bore disk or figural attachments at the terminal. Presumably, the spiral earrings hung from a hoop that pierced the earlobe, although some may have been pushed through a hole in the ear, as depicted on a late-fifth-century B.C. Syracusan tetradrachm⁵⁹ (Fig. 10).

Oval Spirals

Oval spirals are made of a cast loop of metal, unadorned except at the upturned ends. Rows of plastic moldings at the tips are the most common forms of decoration and these decorations were carved into the mold from which the earring was cast⁶⁰. Bead-and-reel patterns of the type similar to those found on contemporary dress pins frequently enliven the otherwise plain earrings⁶¹. Typically, the ends of Archaic oval spirals are worked into bud-shaped or tapering finials.

Oval spiral earrings were already a well-known type in Greece by the Archaic period⁶². Iron Age spirals were engraved with geometric patterns, such as chevrons, on the rod itself; at Lefkandi, gold spirals had conical or flat disk attachments at each end of the spiral⁶³. Archaic oval spiral earrings are one of the most frequently discovered types in the eastern Mediterranean and they are documented as well, although in fewer numbers, on mainland Greece. To date, it appears that the oval spiral was not a favorite form in northern Greece or the Balkans during the Archaic period, although the type is retrieved consistently

57 In cases where the artifacts are published only in the site publication, it is not always possible to identify the current whereabouts of the objects.

58 When known, the other tomb contents are provided.

59 Syracusan die-cutters graced this fashionable nymph with three different earring types over the fifth and fourth centuries. First, a hoop with a bead pendant in the early fifth century, spiral earrings in the second half of the fifth century, and then an inverted pyramid earring in the early fourth century. See Hadaczek 1903, figs. 20–22. Δεσποίνη 1996, 32, suggests that the majority of spiral earrings were suspended from thinner, intermediary hoops.

60 See Kalashnik 2004, figs. 9, 10, for mold engraved with spirals.

61 See Jacobsthal 1956, 153–160, for a review of these motifs on pins.

62 Higgins 1980, 97, 102 f. 105; Musti et al. 1992, 108 f. nos. 56–59; Δεσποίνη 1996, 32, 221 no. 53.

63 Popham et al. 1979, 135–137 pl. 113; Popham – Lemos 1996, pl. 66. The finial attachments would have prevented the earring from being inserted directly into the earlobe, so these Iron Age spirals must have been hung from hoops.



Fig. 10 Spiral Earring, Tetradrachm
Syracuse (c. 415–405 B.C.). Boston, Museum
of Fine Arts, Henry Lillie Pierce Fund 04.539

in Classical contexts in this region⁶⁴. Greeks on the Black Sea also used this form of earring as demonstrated by several examples as well as a jewelry mold for the earring type⁶⁵.

Bronze spirals, rather than gold or silver, dominate the Archaic corpus, undoubtedly because the majority of examples were found in sanctuaries. A small group of terracotta spiral earrings was found in Archaic sanctuaries at Perachora, Tiryns and Argos; these clay spirals remind us that materials other than metal could be used for jewelry. Women may have dedicated cheap terracotta substitutions for their real jewelry or have worn them in real life, as they did in later centuries when gilded terracotta jewelry was offered in sanctuaries and placed in graves⁶⁶. By the Late Archaic period, the simple bead-and-reel moldings evolved into surface designs drawn in filigree and granulation. The profile of oval spirals tended to elongate and become slimmer over the course of the fifth century. In the Classical period, the oval spiral continues to be popular and is documented at least through the early fourth century on Crete⁶⁷. Common Classical spiral motifs include figure-eight patterns in filigree wire and rows of opposing triangles in granulation; these designs often cover most of the upturned tips of the spiral⁶⁸.

64 Sgourou 2001, 340 n. 41.

65 Kalashnik 2004, figs. 9, 10 for mold and figs. 41, 42 for spirals; see Silantyeva 1976 for discussion of the oval spiral type in the Black Sea.

66 Gilded terracotta jewelry is well attested for the Late Classical and Hellenistic eras, see Lunsingh-Scheurleer 1982 and Young 2000, 129–135, with earlier bibliography.

67 Davidson 1952, 95, 101 pl. 30 a for a pair of silver oval spirals with tapering ends (labeled hair spirals), in mid-fourth-century grave; see also Πολωγιόργι 1981, 167, for a late Classical grave on Crete with silver oval spirals.

68 Silantyeva 1976, 132 f. argues persuasively that there was a local center of production of oval spirals with pyramidal terminals in the Bosphorus beginning

in the second half of the fifth century and continuing into the fourth century. Characteristic features of these Classical spirals include a decorative sleeve over the ends of the spiral that is embellished with upright and pendant triangles in granulation, filigree figure-eights, and pyramidal tips covered with granulation.

SANCTUARIES

OS 1 Aegina, Temple of Aphaia
Dim.: H 2,5 cm
Descr.: Bronze spiral with knob terminals
Lit.: Furtwängler 1906, 418 no. 162 pl. 116, 50
Date: Archaic

OS 2 Argos, Temple of Hera
Descr.: Three bronze and twenty-three terracotta oval spirals
Lit.: Waldstein 1905, 264 pl. 92, 1553; Strøm 1995, 69; Strøm 1998, 85
Date: Archaic

OS 3 Chios, Harbor Sanctuary
Dim.: H 2–2, 5 cm
Descr.: Eleven bronze spirals with knob terminals
Lit.: Boardman 1967, 222 nos. 361, 365–374 fig. 144 and pl. 91
Date: c. 680–620

OS 4 Chios, Kato Phana
Descr.: Bronze and silver oval spirals, no number given
Lit.: Lamb 1940, 150 pl. 32, 33–36
Date: Archaic

OS 5 Ephesus, Temple of Artemis
Mus.: London, British Museum 948
Dim.: H 1,7 cm
Descr.: Eleven gold, ten silver, sixteen bronze, nine iron spirals
Lit.: Hogarth 1908, pls 7, 49; 11, 17, 18, 24; 17, 38; 20, 3; Marshall 1911, 72 no. 948; Higgins 1980, 119; Musti et al. 1992, 111 no. 62 b. c
Date: 7th century B.C.

OS 6 Kythnos, Votives found in Adyton
Descr.: Silver spirals, no number given
Lit.: Mazarakis Ainian 2005, 98 pl. 19H
Date: Archaic

OS 7 Lindos, Temple of Athena
Dim.: D 1,5 cm – 3,2 cm
Descr.: Thirty-six bronze spirals, fragments of twenty-three more; four gilded bronze, three silver
Lit.: Blinkenberg 1931, 118 f. nos. 271–273 pl. 12
Date: Archaic

OS 8 Paros, Temple of Artemis
Descr.: Silver oval spiral with knob terminal
Lit.: Rubensohn 1962, 82 no. 74
Date: Archaic

OS 9 Perachora, Temple of Hera
Dim.: L 4 cm
Descr.: Gilded bronze spiral with chevron engraved at ends
Lit.: Payne 1940, 185 no. 32 pl. 84, 32
Date: Archaic

OS 10 Rhodes, Temple of Athena
Descr.: Three gilded bronze oval spirals, fragments of others
Lit.: Jacopi 1933, 350, fig. 82; 358 fig. 86
Date: Archaic

OS 11 Tegea, Temple of Athena Alea
Dim.: H 2,3 cm
Descr.: One bronze oval spiral with engraved lines encircling rod; tapering tip
Lit.: Dugas 1921, 386 fig. 42, 166
Date: Archaic

OS 12 Tiryns, Temple of Hera
Dim.: H 2,2 cm – 3,1 cm
Descr.: More than ten terracotta earrings with flat disks at terminals
Lit.: Frickenhaus 1912, 85 no. 157; Baumbach 2004, 61
Date: Archaic

CEMETERIES

OS 13 Thera, Archaic Cemetery
Descr.: Two bronze oval spirals
Lit.: Dragendorff 1903, 298 fig. 488 e. f
Date: Archaic

OS 14 Assos, stray find
Dim.: H 2,8 cm
Descr.: Silver spiral with knob terminal
Lit.: Reiblich 1993, 175 no. 28
Date: 6th century B.C.

OS 15 Duvanli, Arabadzijiska Tumulus
Mus.: Sofia, National Archaeological Museum 1641, 1642
Dim.: H 2,8 cm – 3 cm
Descr.: Pair of gold oval spirals with pyramid terminals at ends. Terminals covered with granulation, granulated designs also appear on lower portion of rod
Lit.: Deppert-Lippitz 1980, 129 fig. 80; Thraker 2004, 158 no. 213 c
Date: Late 6th – early 5th century B.C.

OS 16 Knossos, Tomb 78
Con.: Eleven vessels, silver finger ring, four Egyptian scarabs, four faience figurines, many stone beads from a necklace, silver pendant
Dim.: H 1,7 cm
Descr.: Electrum spiral with knob terminals
Lit.: Coldstream – Catling 1996, 123 f. pl. 263
Date: c. 700

OS 17 Samothrace, Necropolis
Descr.: One silver and one bronze spiral
Lit.: Dusenbery 1998, 962 f. nos. XS-367, XS-369
Date: Late 6th century B.C.

OS 17 a Cremation Burial S57
Con.: Six vessels, silver Akanthian coin
Dim.: H 1,6 cm; W 1,5 cm (preserved dimensions)
Descr.: Pair of silver spirals, burned, with beaded collars and pyramidal terminals
Lit.: Dusenbery 1998, 121–125
Date: c. 500

OS 17 b Cremation Burial H1
Con.: Two vessels
Dim.: W 2 cm (preserved dimensions)
Descr.: One silver spiral, fragment of second, plain, badly burned
Lit.: Dusenbery 1998, 438 f.
Date: c. 460–450

MUSEUM COLLECTIONS

OS 18 Athens National Archaeological Museum, Stathatos Collection, Στ 137/138 Chalkidiki Lot
Dim.: H 2,4 cm
Descr.: Silver spirals with bead-and-reel pattern on rod and bud-like tips
Lit.: Amandry 1953, 54 nos. 137/138.
See also Στ 139/140: Amandry 1953, 54.

OS 19 Berlin, Staatliche Museen Antikensammlung 30219, 383
Dim.: H 2,6 cm
Descr.: One gilded silver double spiral with large beads at tips that create a pyramidal terminal
Lit.: Greifenhagen 1975, 47 no. 1
Date: 5th century B.C.

OS 20 Dallas Museum of Art 1991.75.40
Dim.: H 3,1 cm
Descr.: Single gold oval spiral with sleeve at each end, rows of granulation along decorative sleeve. Spiral terminates with larger beads that form a pyramidal shape
Lit.: Deppert-Lippitz 1996, 131 no. 40

OS 21 London, British Museum 1174, 1175
Kameiros, Rhodes
Dim.: H 3 cm
Descr.: Gold double spiral with rows of beaded filigree wire wrapped around end of rods, three large beads form a pyramid at each terminal
Lit.: Marshall 1911, 97 nos. 1174, 1175; Laffineur 1978, 155; Δεσποίνη 1996, 220 f. no. 50
Date: Late 7th century B.C.

OS 22 Paris, Louvre Bj 139
Dim.: H 3,1 cm
Descr.: Gold spiral with sleeve over terminal; rows of triangles in granulation at top and bottom of sleeve, pyramidal terminal of large beads
Lit.: Coche de la Ferté 1956, 58 pl. 16, 2

W-shaped Earrings

W-shaped earrings share many similarities with oval spirals, but rather than forming a tight oval, the ends of these spirals splay outwards. The resulting form resembles the letter W with the ends at about the same level or only slightly below the central turn. Sometimes the rod is open, in other cases, it twists obliquely. The usual bead-and-reel moldings seen on the oval spirals also appear at the ends of these ornaments; little additional decoration was possible on this earring type. Wearers likely suspended W-shaped earrings from a hoop or hook in the ear.

No W-shaped earrings have been identified earlier than the Archaic period; this form, like the elongated spiral, seems to be a development of the more common oval shape popular at this time. In comparison to other variants of the spiral, W-shaped earrings have been recovered in significantly fewer numbers. W-shaped earrings appear among the votive offerings found at Rhodes and Kythnos and in sixth-century burials on Samothrace and Knossos.

SANCTUARIES

W 1 Rhodes, Temple of Athena
 Descr.: Four bronze W-shaped earrings
 Lit.: Jacopi 1933, 350 no. 51 fig. 82
 Date: Archaic

W 2 Kythnos, Votives in Adyton
 Descr.: Silver W-shaped earrings, no number given
 Lit.: Mazarakis Ainian 2005, 98 pl. 19H
 Date: Archaic

CEMETERIES

W 3 Knossos North cemetery, Grave 26
 Con.: Five vessels, silver pin, gold bead, faience bead, bronze pin
 Dim.: H 2,1 cm
 Descr.: Single silver W-shaped earring
 Lit.: Coldstream – Catling 1996, 77 fig. 155 pl. 266
 Date: Archaic

W 4 Samothrace, South Necropolis
 W 4 a Cremation Burial S35
 Con.: Amphora
 Dim.: H 1,6 cm; W 2,05 cm
 Descr.: Pair of silver W-shaped earrings with bead-and-reel collar and pyramidal terminal
 Lit.: Dusenbery 1998, 102
 Date: c. 525

W 4 b Cremation Burial S37
 Con.: Amphora, bronze vessel rim, bronze phiale
 Dim.: H 1,5 cm; W 1,7 cm
 Descr.: Pair of silver W-shaped earrings with ribbed collar and pyramidal terminal
 Lit.: Dusenbery 1998, 105
 Date: c. 525

W 4 c Cremation Burial S38
 Con.: Amphora, bronze fibula, silver chain
 Dim.: W 3 cm (distorted by fire)
 Descr.: Single silver W-shaped earring with bead-and-reel collar
 Lit.: Dusenbery 1998, 105 f.
 Date: c. 530–520

W 4 d Cremation Burial S69
 Con.: Amphora, bronze finger ring, bronze vessel rim
 Descr.: Pair of silver W-shaped earrings, burned by fire
 Lit.: Dusenbery 1998, 135
 Date: c. 500

MUSEUM COLLECTIONS

W 5 Berlin, Staatliche Museen Antikensammlung 8472
 Purchased in Athens
 Dim.: H 3,7 cm
 Descr.: Pair of silver spirals with bead-and-reel decoration and elongated tips
 Lit.: Greifenhagen 1975, 47 pl. 39, 2

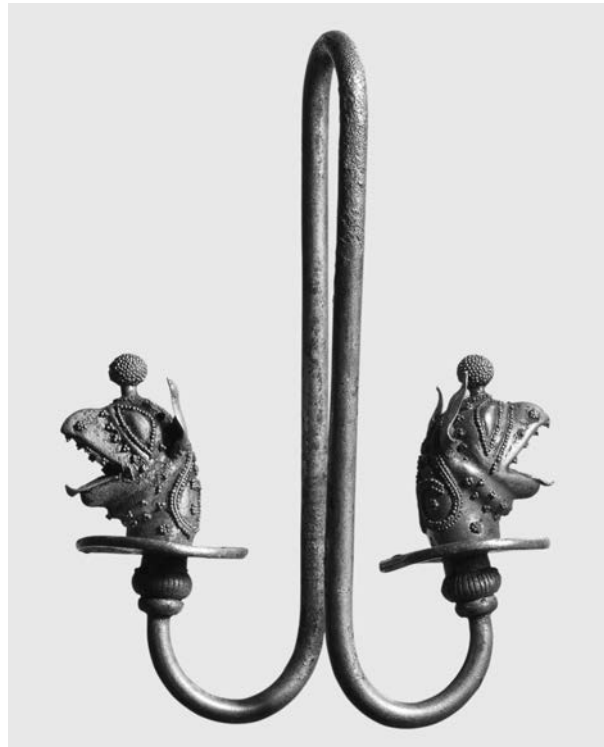
W 6 Berlin, Staatliche Museen Antikensammlung 11863,196
 Dim.: H 2,7 cm
 Descr.: Single silver spiral with bead-and-reel decoration and conical tips
 Lit.: Greifenhagen 1975, 47 pl. 39, 3
 Date: 4th century B.C.

Elongated Spirals

Elongated spiral earrings are an exaggerated form of the oval type in which the central loop lengthens far above the ends. Once again, the rod is cast. The most basic form of elongated spiral employs the same decorative designs as those used for oval spirals: a bud-shaped finial set above rows of bead-and-reel moldings is used widely on both spiral types (Fig. 11). Certain elongated spirals employ more elaborate terminals by attaching flat disks to the upturned ends that could support additional ornamentation such as a pyramid of small beads, or a single large bead. In the most unusual examples, griffin heads with patterns in fine granulation serve to finish off the spiral. Elongated spirals with disks and griffin heads are documented certainly on Rhodes and attested for Melos; the form flourishes in contexts datable to the early seventh century



11



12

(Fig. 12). Although the earring shape became widely popular in other parts of the eastern Mediterranean, the interest in its terminal decoration does not appear to have spread.

Elongated spirals are apparently an Archaic innovation of the spiral type; they appear for the first time in the seventh century and continue into the sixth century. Laffineur convincingly attributed this type of spiral to Island goldsmiths – perhaps originally centered on Rhodes – active in the seventh century⁶⁹. Elongated spirals are documented regularly on the so-called Melian amphorae, where young female figures wear the elegant earring form. In most instances, the painted earrings shown consist of long rods curving down the neck of the figure. Horizontal bases topped with a bead or pyramids are common⁷⁰. It is of some interest that jewelry is depicted so much more regularly in Melian painting than in Proto-Attic, Corinthian and early black-figure vase-painting. It seems likely that the painted jewelry coincides with the flourish of the elongated spiral type in the region at the time. The form must have spread quickly, as examples of both elongated and oval forms appeared in all seventh-century levels of the Harbor Sanctuary on Chios (ES 2 below), indicating that the two spiral types were in circulation concurrently in Ionia.

The highest concentration of elongated spirals appears in Asia Minor and East Greece, but a few examples from Olympia and Sounion also illustrate the type on mainland Greece. A few examples of elongated spirals were found in sixth and fifth-century burials in Olbia⁷¹. Two pairs of spirals included pyramidal tips at the ends of the ornament; this was a favorite way of finishing off spiral earrings in this region. The elongated spirals found on the Greek mainland tend to correspond closely to the original tight spiral shape rather than expanding as the Island examples did. No examples of Archaic elongated spirals have been discovered in Macedonia and Thrace, and in general, the form becomes less popular after the Archaic period.

Fig. 11 Elongated Spiral, Rhodes. London, British Museum 1166

Fig. 12 Elongated Spiral with Griffin Head Terminals. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Antikensammlung GI 141

⁶⁹ Laffineur 1978, 145 f.

⁷⁰ Zaphiropoulou 2003, pls. 11, 16; 62, 77; 142, 172; 150, 182, illustrates the type.

⁷¹ Silantjeva 1976, 124–126 figs. 1. 2.

SANCTUARIES

ES 1 Argos, Temple of Hera
Dim.: H 2,6 cm
Descr.: One bronze elongated spiral with flat disk terminals, described as a pendant
Lit.: Waldstein 1905, 264 pl. 92, 1554
Date: Archaic

ES 2 Chios, Harbor Sanctuary
Dim.: H 2,2 cm – 4,5 cm
Descr.: One silver, five bronze elongated spirals with flat disks at terminals. One bronze spiral with pyramidal terminal and smaller inverted pyramids at bottom of spirals
Lit.: Boardman 1967, 222 fig. 144, 351–357. 364 (silver)
Date: c. 680–620

ES 3 Chios, Kato Phana
Descr.: Bronze elongated spirals with flat disk terminals, no number given
Lit.: Lamb 1940, 150 figs. 31–33 pl. 32
Date: Archaic

ES 4 Ephesus, Temple of Artemis
Mus.: London, British Museum 949
Dim.: H 3,2 cm
Descr.: Five gold, one gilded silver, sixteen bronze elongated spirals
Lit.: Hogarth 1908, 99. 148 pls. 7, 43. 50; 18, 36. 41. 43; Marshall 1911, 72 no. 949; Higgins 1980, 113; Musti et al. 1992, 111 no. 62 a
Date: c. 7th century B.C.

ES 5 Kythnos, Votives in Adyton
Descr.: Several silver elongated spirals
Lit.: Mazarakis Ainian 2005, 98 pl. 19H
Date: Archaic

ES 6 Lindos, Temple of Athena
Descr.: Thirteen bronze elongated spirals with flat disks at terminals
Lit.: Blinkenberg 1931, 119 nos. 275. 276
Date: Archaic

ES 7 Olympia, Stray Finds
Dim.: H 3 cm
Descr.: Two bronze elongated spirals with knob terminals
Lit.: Philipp 1981, 116 nos. 398. 399 pls. 7, 398; 41, 399
Date: Archaic

ES 8 Paros, Votive
Descr.: Bronze elongated spiral
Lit.: Rubensohn 1962, pl. 12, 16
Date: Archaic

ES 9 Rhodes, Temple of Athena
Descr.: One bronze elongated spiral
Lit.: Jacopi 1933, 350. 352 no. 50 fig. 82
Date: Archaic

ES 10 Sounion, Athena Temenos
Descr.: Bronze elongated spiral
Lit.: B. Στάνης 1917, 207 fig. 18
Date: Archaic

CEMETERIES

ES 11 Assos, Stray finds in Nekropolis
Dim.: H 2,6–2,8 cm
Descr.: Two silver elongated spirals
Lit.: Reiblich 1993, 174 nos. 26. 27
Date: Archaic

ES 12 Ialysos, Rhodes
ES 12 a Grave 57, Cremation area
Con.: Two vessels
Descr.: Gold elongated spiral with flat disks at terminals
Lit.: Jacopi 1929, 97–100 nos. 3. 4 pl. 5, LVII, 3
Date: c. 7th century B.C.

ES 12 b Grave 56, Cremation area
Con.: Seven vessels, two gold disks, fragmentation of bronze fibula
Descr.: Silver elongated spiral with flat disks at terminals
Lit.: Jacopi 1929, 94–96 no. 12 pl. 5, LVI, 12
Date: c. 7th century B.C.

ES 13 Macri Langoni, Rhodes
Mus.: Stray Find in Marcri Langoni
Dim.: H 7,8 cm
Descr.: Pair of gold elongated spirals with disks at terminals, a pyramid of four beads on disk. A third disk is fastened at the apex of the spiral, decorated with a rosette drawn in filigree
Lit.: Jacopi 1933, 214 fig. 255, 2
Date: Archaic

ES 13 a Papatislures, Rhodes. Chamber tomb 11
Con.: Fifteen vessels
Descr.: One gold elongated spiral, damaged, with disk at top of spiral and one terminal
Lit.: Jacopi 1933, 50 fig. 58
Date: Archaic

ES 14 Praisos, Crete. Tomb 31
Con.: Three clay vessels, ivory pendant, two silver pins
Descr.: Pair of gilded silver elongated spirals with knobbed terminals; disk with embossed rosette at top of spiral. Found attached to skull
Lit.: Marshall 1905/1906, 69 figs. 3. 4
Date: c. 7th century B.C.

ES 15 Samos, Cremation pyre
Con.: Five bronze fibulae, three bronze pins, ivory object
Descr.: Four gilded silver elongated spirals with flat disks attached to one
Lit.: Τσάζος 1969, 203 fig. 3
Date: c. late 7th century B.C.

MUSEUM COLLECTIONS

ES 16 Athens, Benaki Museum 8132
Dim.: H 4,5 cm
Descr.: Silver elongated spiral with bead-and-reel decoration at the terminal
Lit.: Georgoula 1999, 155 no. 45

ES 17 Berlin, Staatliche Museen Antikensammlung 1845 (G.I. 141)
Melos
Dim.: H 6 cm
Descr.: Gold elongated spirals with griffin head terminals on ends
Lit.: Greifenhagen 1975, 46 no. 38, 8; Laffineur 1978, 140 no. 203; Musti et al. 1992, 250 no. 88; Δεσποίνη 1996, 221 no. 52; Platz–Horster 2001, 22 f. no. 9
See also Berlin, Antikensammlung 2974 (G.I. 140); Greifenhagen 1975, 46 no. 9; Musti et al. 1992, 250 no. 87
Date: Second half of 7th century B.C.

ES 18 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 99.378
Kameiros
Descr.: Gold elongated spirals with griffin head terminals on upturned ends
Lit.: Laffineur 1978, 232 no. 205; Higgins 1980, 130; Deppert–Lippitz 1985, 108; Musti et al. 1992, 250 no. 89

ES 19 Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe 1924, 4
Dim.: H 4,9 cm
Descr.: Pair of gold elongated spirals with flat disks at terminals and four small pyramids of beads on disk. A third disk at the top of the spiral
Lit.: Laffineur 1978, 233 no. 207; Deppert–Lippitz 1985, 109 fig. 59; Musti et al. 1992, 124 no. 85

ES 20 London, British Museum 1166. 1167
Kameiros
Dim.: H 5,9 cm
Descr.: Gold elongated spirals with disk at terminal and small pyramid of beads on disk
Lit.: Marshall 1911, 96 nos. 1166. 1167; Higgins 1980, 113; Laffineur 1978, 140 no. 208; Δεσποίνη 1996, 22 no. 51
See also Marshall 1911, 97. 104 nos. 1173. 1234. 1235
Date: Late 7th century B.C.

ES 21 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 06.1160
Dim.: H 5 cm
Descr.: Single elongated spiral with flat disks at each terminal. Rosette in filigree wire on disks
Lit.: Alexander 1928, 19 fig. 41; Laffineur 1978, 234 no. 212

ES 22 Paris, Louvre S1207
Kameiros
Dim.: H 6 cm
Descr.: Pair of gold elongated spirals with flat disks at terminal and small pyramid of beads on disks. Third disk with rosette in filigree wire at top of spiral
Lit.: Laffineur 1978, 234 no. 214; Higgins 1980, 113; Musti et al. 1992, 250 no. 86
Date: Late 7th century B.C.

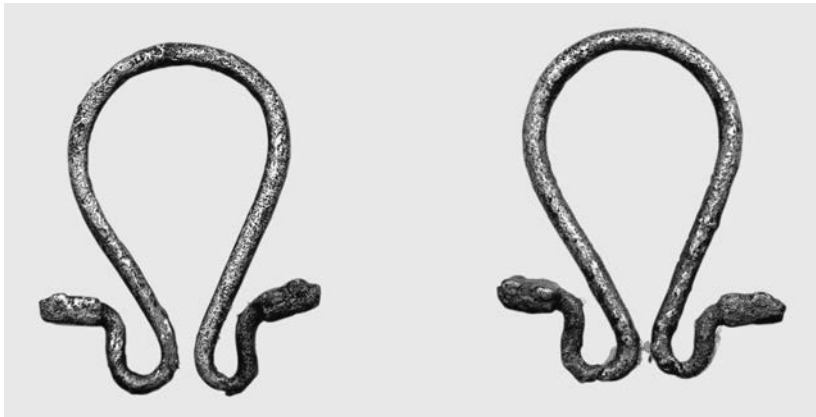


Fig. 13 Omega Earring, Sindos Grave 96 (c. 450–440 B.C.). Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum MO 8701

Omega Earrings

These earrings take their name from a similarity to the Greek letter omega. In the omega type, the cast plain metal rod expands into an open hoop with the tips either turned out or curving upwards (Fig. 13). The tips of omega earrings are engraved with a snake-head motif, similar to the popular terminal decoration of Archaic and Classical bracelets⁷².

Omega earrings appear late in the sixth and early fifth century in northern Greece, the Balkans and the Black Sea. The form occurs with even greater frequency during the Early Classical period in northern Greece – indeed, they are the most common earring type in the region – but finds decrease after the late fifth century⁷³. Attic artists such as the Washing Painter used this earring form with some regularity, indicating that the type was familiar in Athens as well⁷⁴. Although a few gold and bronze omega earrings are known, silver versions of this type dominate the corpus, especially in contexts dating to the mid- and late fifth century. Silver jewelry in general is not well represented among the surviving finds, so we may observe here evidence for the marriage of materials and form with the silver more closely imitating snakeskin⁷⁵. Snakes are the only popular animal form found in Archaic earrings, and the so-called omega shape may have been intended to recall the sinuous form of the creature⁷⁶. Classical examples of the omega earring are found in northern Greece, at Olynthus, and also appear in the Peloponnese, at Stymphalos, and on Crete⁷⁷.

⁷² Deppert-Lippitz 1998.

⁷³ Βοζοτοπούλου et al. 1985, 51 no. 71; Tsigarida 1998, 48–50 for Classical omega earrings from Pydna.

⁷⁴ Georgoula 1999, fig. 104 for a hybrid version of an omega earring blended with an inverted pyramid pendant; Washing Painter: Athens National Museum 14791, ARV² 1126, 5.

⁷⁵ At Pella, for example, silver earrings were included in a grave that also had gold jewelry, suggesting that the use of silver was not merely a substitute for a costlier metal.

⁷⁶ Deppert-Lippitz 1998, 91.

⁷⁷ Tsigarida – Ignatiadou 2000, 61 fig. 58; Young 2001, 115 for bronze spirals from Stymphalos.

SANCTUARIES

None

CEMETERIES

O 1 Aghia Paraskevi, Archaic and Classical Cemetery

Descr.: Thirty-eight silver omega earrings, bronze omega-shaped earrings (no number given)

Lit.: Σιομανίδης 1987, 797 pl. 164, 2

Date: Archaic

O 2 Aiane, Archaic Burial

Descr.: Pair of gold omega earrings with snake head finials

Lit.: Καραμήτρου-Μεντεσίδη 1988, 20

fig. 4; Καραμήτρου-Μεντεσίδη 1996, 28 fig. 11

Date: Archaic

O 3 Duvanli, Mushovitsa Mogila

Con.: Silver vessel, bronze vessel, two clay vessels, seven alabaster alabastra, glass vases, gold pectoral, gold necklace, ten gold hoop earrings (see HE 6 below)

Mus.: Sofia, National Archaeological Museum 1538

Dim.: H 3,6 cm

Descr.: Pair of gold omega earrings with pyramidal terminals; granulation on tips

Lit.: Filow 1934, 88–94; Thraker 2004, 158 nos. 212, 213

Date: Late 6th – early 5th century B.C.

O 4 Nea Philadelphia, Archaic Cemetery

Descr.: Silver omega earrings (no number given)

Lit.: Μισαήλιδου-Δεσποτίδου 1995, 316 fig. 9

Date: Archaic

O 5 Olbia

Con.: Two gold clothing attachments, gold lion-head necklace pendant

Descr.: Pair of gold omega earrings with pyramidal terminals

Lit.: Pharmakowsky 1914, 242 fig. 60

Date: Late 6th century B.C.

- O 6 Pella
O 6 a Tomb 221
Con.: Three vessels, one bronze vessel, gold mouthpiece, gold clothing attachments, gold pendant, two silver pins, three iron pins
Descr.: Pair of silver omega earrings
Lit.: Χρυσσοτόμου – Χρυσσοτόμου 2002, 467
Date: c. 510–500
- O 6 b Tomb 229
Con.: Four clay vessels, gold pendant, bronze bracelet, bronze finger ring, bronze and iron pins
Descr.: Pair of silver omega earrings
Lit.: Χρυσσοτόμου – Χρυσσοτόμου 2002, 468
Date: c. 500
- O 6 c Tomb 233
Con.: Four bronze vessels, gold mouthpiece, gold pendant, amber and faience beads, two silver pins, two bronze fibulae, iron pins
Descr.: Pair of silver omega earrings with snake-head terminals
Lit.: Χρυσσοτόμου – Χρυσσοτόμου 2002, 468
Date: c. 500
- O 7 Pydna
O 7 a Grave 51
Mus.: Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum ΜΘ 12641
Dim.: H 4,5 cm; W 4,3 cm
Descr.: Pair of gold omega earrings with snake head terminals
Lit.: Tsigarida 1998, 48; Μπέσιος – Παππά 1995, 70 a; Kypraiou 1997, 93 no. 76
Date: Early 5th century B.C.
- O 7 b Grave 78
Descr.: Pair of silver omega earrings
Lit.: Tsigarida 1998, 49
Date: Early 5th century B.C.
- O 8 Sindos
O 8 a Tomb 113
Con.: One vessel, one gold mouthpiece, gold attachment, gold pendant, four silver fibulae, two silver bracelets
Mus.: Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum ΜΘ 8466
Dim.: H 3,5 cm
Descr.: Pair of silver omega earrings with snake-head terminals
Lit.: Βοκοτοπούλου et al. 1985, 294, no. 486
Date: c. 450
- O 8 b Tomb 4
Con.: Three vessels, two silver pins, bronze phiale
Mus.: Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum ΜΘ 8577
Dim.: H 3,6 cm
Descr.: Pair of silver omega earrings with snake-head terminals
Lit.: Βοκοτοπούλου et al. 1985, 51 no. 71
Date: c. 450–440
- O 8 c Tomb 96
Con.: One vessel, gold mouthpiece, gold pendant, silver chain, four silver fibulae
Mus.: Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum ΜΘ 8710
Dim.: H 4,3 cm
Descr.: Pair of silver omega earrings with molded ends
Lit.: Βοκοτοπούλου et al. 1985, 220 no. 353
Date: c. 450–440
- O 8 d Tomb 49
Con.: Two vessels, gold mouthpiece, silver pin, four silver fibulae, two silver bracelets
Mus.: Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum ΜΘ 8701
Dim.: H 4 cm
Descr.: Pair of silver omega earrings with snake-head terminals
Lit.: Βοκοτοπούλου et al. 1985, 298, no. 491
Date: c. 460
- O 8 e Larnax 8751
Con.: Three vessels, two silver pins, silver ring, two bronze fibulae, two silver double pins
Mus.: Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum ΜΘ 8448
Dim.: H 3,5 cm
Descr.: Pair of silver omega earrings with snake-head terminals
Lit.: Βοκοτοπούλου et al. 1985, 310 no. 521
Date: c. 440
- O 9 Thermi-Sindos
Descr.: Three silver omega earrings
Lit.: Μοσχονησιώτου 1988, 285 fig. 5
Date: Late 6th century B.C.
- O 10 Toumba Thessaloniki
Con.: Two vessels, gold pendant, silver mouthpiece, silver bracelet
Descr.: Pair of silver omega earrings
Lit.: Σουερέφ 2003, 350
Date: Early 5th century B.C.
- O 11 Trapeza Lebet, Polichni Cemetery. 282 Late Archaic-Early Classical graves
Descr.: Six silver omega earrings
Lit.: Αιούταξ et al. 2003, 302
Date: Early 5th century B.C.

MUSEUM COLLECTIONS

- O 12 Athens, Benaki Museum 8095
Dim.: H 4 cm
Descr.: Silver omega-shaped earrings with snake-head terminals
Lit.: Georgoula 1999, 153. – See also Benaki 8129, 8130, 10279 for similar types
- O 13 Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Stathatos Collection Στ141/2 Chalkidi Lot
Dim.: H 3,8 cm – 4 cm
Descr.: Silver omega earrings with snake head terminals
Lit.: Amandry 1953, 55 pl. 24

Boat Earrings

Boat earrings, also known as lunate or leech earrings, are crescent-shaped ornaments formed by two convex halves of sheet metal fastened together⁷⁸. The boat pendant hangs from the earlobe by a wire fastened to one end of the boat and bent to form a hook or hoop (Fig. 14). In general, the body of most Archaic boat earrings remains undecorated, with a single row of beads or beaded wire encircling the tips of the pendant serving as the only adornment. A few earrings from Asia Minor, however, add more elaborate, textured decoration to the pendant. At Sardis, for example, zigzag patterns in granulation are

⁷⁸ Some of the smaller boat earrings, especially those made of bronze or iron, may have been cast solid.



Fig. 14 Boat Earring from Ephesus (c. 7th century B.C.). London, British Museum 946

scattered across the body of one pair of boat earrings, and on two pairs, a row of seed-shaped pendants dangles along the lower curve of the boat⁷⁹.

A version of boat earring with a central vertical line may be one of the few Archaic earring forms that we can label as a regional type. The carinated boat earring is represented both by finished examples as well as by tools for its production. In Asia Minor, two types of manufacturing implements for this earring are known: a mold from the goldsmiths' quarter at Sardis and a group of formers associated with the Lydian Treasure⁸⁰. This version of boat earrings occurs at Ephesus, Sardis, Gumuşçay, and in the Lydian Treasure. Such a consistent and localized distribution confirms the regional distribution of this boat type in Lydia and Lycia⁸¹.

Hadaczek credited the east with the original inspiration for the lunate type, citing the long history of the crescent form in that region⁸². Large gold crescent earrings were discovered in the royal cemetery at Ur, and the form continues in the region both in representations depicted in ninth-century Assyrian reliefs and in burials that date to the Middle Assyrian period⁸³. In the Mediterranean, boat earrings were already well known in the Iron Age and by the seventh century, the form was a standard Greek type⁸⁴. Gold and silver boat earrings have been discovered in the graves of Asia Minor, while bronze boats were found at Perachora and Kato Phana on Chios. Boat earrings remained very popular during the Classical period, although usually forming one small element of a much larger, more complex ornament⁸⁵.

SANCTUARIES

BE 1 Ephesus, Temple of Artemis
Mus.: London, British Museum 945. 946
Dim.: D 1,7 cm
Descr.: c. 100 gold boats, c. 100 silver boats, c. 175 bronze boats
Lit.: Hogarth 1908, 103 pl. 6, 43–45; 118 pl. 12, 20–23; 149 pl. 18, 9–17. 19. 23. 26–29; Marshall 1911, 72 nos. 945. 946; Higgins 1980, 119; Musti et al. 1992, 111 no. 62 g
Date: 7th century B.C.

BE 1 a Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 3008
Descr.: Thirty-one gold boat earrings from Ephesus
Lit.: Ergil 1983, 15
Date: 7th century B.C.

BE 1 b Berlin, Staatliche Museen Antikensammlung 1963.7
Dim.: D 1,1 cm
Descr.: Four small gold boat shaped earrings from Ephesus

⁷⁹ The tendency to attach chains to the bottom of boat earrings increases during the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods, when the boat becomes one of several components that comprised the earring. See Higgins 1980, pl. 25 a.

⁸⁰ Stone mold with small boat-shaped earring pendants and wire: Waldbaum 1974, 143 nos. 949–951 pl. 54; Bronze punches: Özgen – Öztürk 1996, 172–176 nos. 120. 121.

⁸¹ See BE 7, BE 8, BE 9.

⁸² Hadaczek 1903, 21.

⁸³ Maxwell-Hyslop 1971, 238 f.; Musche 1992, 83–86. 179–181; Zettler – Horne 1998, 107 nos. 56. 57.

⁸⁴ A pair of bronze boat earrings was found, apparently in a male grave, at Lefkandi. See Popham – Lemos 1996, pl. 79.

⁸⁵ Williams – Ogden 1994, 149 no. 89. For Classical boat earrings, see Young 2001, 112 for Classical bronze boat earrings from Stymphalos and Robinson 1941, pl. 92, 299. 301–304, for bronze boats.

Lit.: Greifenhagen 1970, 28 pl. 8, 9
Date: 7th century B.C.

BE 2 Chios, Kato Phana
Descr.: Five bronze boat earrings
Lit.: Lamb 1940, 150 fig. 22 pl. 32
Date: Archaic

BE 3 Perachora, Temple of Hera
Descr.: Two bronze boat earrings
Lit.: Payne 1940, 178 pl. 79, 28
Date: Archaic

BE 4 Corinth
 Dim.: W 1,5 cm
 Descr.: Bronze boat, missing attachment wire
 Lit.: Davidson 1952, 250 f. no. 2001 pl. 107
 Date: Archaic

CEMETERIES

BE 5 Assos, Archaic necropolis. Grave 1992 C IX
 Con.: 11 bronze spiral, fragments of iron objects
 Dim.: W 2,2–2,5 cm
 Descr.: Three gold boat earrings
 Lit.: Reiblich 1996, 134 f. no. 22 pl. 12, 1. 2
 Date: Early 6th century B.C.

BE 6 Bayındır
 Descr.: Seven silver boat earrings with a vertical carination
 Lit.: Özgen – Öztürk 1996, 164 fig. 157
 Date: Archaic

BE 6 a Uşak, Archaeological Museum 1.88.96
 Dim.: L 1,7 cm – 2,2 cm
 Descr.: Two pairs of gold boat earrings with vertical carination
 Lit.: Özgen – Öztürk 1996, 164 nos. 113. 114
 Date: Archaic

BE 7 Duvanli, Arabadzhiskha Mogila
 Mus.: Sofia, National Archaeological Museum 1647
 Dim.: W 2,3–2,5 cm
 Descr.: Five boat earrings, body of boat decorated with designs in granulation and flat, plain strips of wire. Row of beads along bottom of boat. Ends of boat pendant wrapped with plain wire, one end topped with large bead, the wire for piercing the ear emerges from other end
 Lit.: Filow 1934, 133 fig. 155; Mazarov 1997, 218 no. 167; Thraker 2004, 158 no. 213 b
 Date: First half of 5th century B.C.

BE 8 Gordion, Tumulus A
 Con.: Several vessels, terracotta figurine, spindle whorls, group of gold acorn necklace pendants, fragments of gold chain, gold bracelet
 Descr.: Pair of gold boat earrings
 Lit.: Edwards 1982, 164 fig. 3
 Date: c. 525

BE 9 Gumuşçay, Tumulus, Child's Sarcophagus
 Con.: Silver plate, silver ladle, two gold necklaces, two gold bracelets
 Mus.: Çanakkale, Archaeological Museum 7678–7681
 Dim.: H 2,9 cm; W 1,8 cm
 Descr.: Four pairs of gold boat earrings with filigree figure-eights at one terminal; clusters of granulation below
 Lit.: Sevinç – Rose 1999, 500 f. no. 15
 Date: c. 500–475

BE 10 Olbia, Archaic necropolis
 Descr.: Three pairs of electrum boat earrings, filigree wire wrapped around one end of boat
 Lit.: Pharmakowsky 1912, 222
 Date: Archaic

BE 11 Sardis
 BE 11 a Tomb 342
 Con.: Two gold beads
 Dim.: L 1,25–1,4 cm
 Descr.: Three pairs of gold boat earrings, one with vertical carination, one pair with filigree wire at terminal, one plain
 Lit.: Curtis 1925, 28 f. nos. 57. 58. 62 pl. 6, 3. 4. 6
 Date: Archaic

BE 11 b Tomb 18
 Con.: Gold band, gold chain, gold pendant, two seal and pair of silver hoop earrings
 Dim.: L 1,3 cm
 Descr.: Single gold boat earring
 Lit.: Curtis 1925, 28 no. 60 pl. 6, 5
 Date: Archaic

BE 11 c Tomb 50
 Con.: Stone pendant and gold pendant
 Dim.: H 2,3 cm
 Descr.: Pair of gold earrings with two pendants; granulation on body of boat. Seed pendants hang from the bottom of the boat, one of which is covered with granules and the other plain
 Lit.: Curtis 1925, 29 no. 61 pl. 6, 7 a. b
 Date: Archaic

BE 11 d Tomb 921
 Con.: Gold chain and a pair of gold hoop earrings
 Dim.: L 1,05 cm
 Descr.: Pair of gold boat earrings with granulation on body
 Lit.: Curtis 1925, 30 no. 65 pl. 7, 3
 Date: Archaic

BE 11 e Tomb 920
 Dim.: H 3,6 cm; L 1,9 cm
 Descr.: Pair of gold boat earrings with eight pendants, granulation on body of boat
 Lit.: Curtis 1925, 30 no. 66 pl. 7, 4
 Date: Archaic

BE 11 f Tomb 10
 Dim.: L 2,2 cm
 Descr.: Gold boat earring made of sheet gold with several horizontal ribs, jagged triangular sheet along lower border of pendant
 Lit.: Curtis 1925, 29 no. 63 pl. 7, 1
 Date: Archaic

MUSEUM COLLECTIONS

BE 12 Athens, Benaki Museum 1532
 Dim.: H 2,3 cm
 Descr.: Gold boats with a row of granulation at the upper border, lower border and three circles of granulation on body of boat. Terminals wrapped in beaded and plain filigree wire
 Lit.: Segall 1938, 22 no. 15; Δεσποίνη 1996, 228 f. no. 77

BE 13 Athens, Benaki Museum 1520
 Dim.: H 3,1 cm
 Descr.: Gold boat with filigree wrappers around both terminals; row of jagged sheet gold along lower edge of boat
 Lit.: Segall 1938, 19 no. 5; Georgoula 1999, 132; Georgoula 2005, 50 no. 29

BE 14 Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Stathatos Collection, Στ 282/283
 Spata
 Dim.: H 3,5 cm
 Descr.: Gold boats largely covered with granulation and filigree, a small figure of a winged horse is set on top of the boat; a row of larger granules encircles the terminals
 Lit.: Amandry 1953, 140 nos. 282. 283; Miller 1979, 8 pl. 3 c; Δεσποίνη 1996, 229 no. 78
 Date: Late 6th century B.C.

BE 15 Bloomington, Burton H. Berry Collection 69.76.20.E.1–5
 Assigned to Ephesus Workshop
 Dim.: H 1,25 cm; W 1,4 cm
 Descr.: Five silver boat earrings with rows of beaded filigree wire
 Lit.: Rudolph 1995, 75 no. 13E
 Date: 7th century B.C.



15



16

Hoop Earring from Ephesus (c. 7th century B.C.). London, British Museum

Fig. 15 Inv. 942

Fig. 16 Inv. 943

Hoop Earrings

Hoop earrings were not a popular Archaic form. Undecorated hoops with tapering ends in gold, silver and bronze are found at Ephesus, Sardis and Lindos. A more ornate type from Sardis and Ephesus consisted of a hollow, puffed hoop decorated with belts of ribbing and granulation that encircled the pendant (Figs. 15, 16). These are found most frequently in the east, with numerous examples from Ephesus⁸⁶. These hoops drew on Achaemenid styles for their inspiration, and this may account for the popularity of the form at Ephesus and Sardis.

At Olympia, an entirely different form of hoop is represented by several Archaic and Classical examples. Each terminal of the bronze hoops ends with a pyramid topped with a large bead; several of the hoops also include bands of horizontal ribbing below the terminal⁸⁷. This earring type, if indeed they are earrings, has not been discovered outside of Olympia.

Both forms of hoop earrings dated to the Archaic period have a limited distribution and seem to have little influence on later types⁸⁸.

86 See also Rudolph 1995, 83–91 no. 16–20B for type.

87 It is possible that these hoops are Classical rather than Archaic; the context cannot provide close chronological data.

88 A fifth-century burial mound of Mushovitsa Mogila at Duvanli (Filow 1934, 88–94) contained ten flat gold hoops. The hoops were found arranged vertically on either side of the head of the deceased; an omega-shaped earring was placed at the end of each row. The ornaments may have been attached to a strip of cloth and laid on the head of the corpse. Rosettes and geometric designs in granulation adorned the hoops. So far, discoveries of the flat hoops are limited to Thrace.

SANCTUARIES

HE 1 Chios, Harbor Sanctuary

Dim.: D 1,4 cm

Descr.: One bronze hoop with tapering ends

Lit.: Boardman 1967, 222 no. 350

Date: c. 600

HE 2 Ephesus, Temple of Artemis

London, British Museum 934–945

Dim.: D c. 1 cm – 2,2 cm

Descr.: Twenty-six gold, thirteen silver, six bronze hoops

Lit.: Hogarth 1908, 104 f. pl. 6, 50, 51, 53, 56, 58, 59, 64, 66, 69, 71–75; 119 pl. 12, 12, 14, 15, 17, 18; 150 pl. 18, 3–8; Marshall 1911, 71 nos. 934–945; Higgins 1980, 119; Musti et al. 1992, 111 nos. 62 d–f
Date: 7th century B.C.

HE 3 Isthmia, Temple of Poseidon

Dim.: D 2,2 cm

Descr.: Two thin silver hoops with pyramidal pendants

Lit.: Raubitschek 1998, 68 nos. 251, 252

Date: Archaic

HE 4 Olympia, Votives

Dim.: H 2,5 cm; D. 1,9 cm (for no. 395)

Descr.: Two silver hoops; several bronze hoops

Lit.: Philipp 1981, 115 nos. 395, 396 (silver); 422–486 (bronze)

Date: Archaic/Classical

CEMETERIES

HE 5 Assos, Archaic Cemetery

Descr.: Plain silver hoops

Lit.: Reiblich 1996, 132, 133 no. 16

Date: Late 6th century B.C.

HE 6 Duvanli, Mushovitsa Mogila

Mus.: Sofia, National Archaeological Museum 1537

Dim.: D 2,7 cm – 3,2 cm

Descr.: Ten gold hoop earrings with small raised rosettes attached along the lower

edge of the hoop. Decorative granulation and filigree on hoop

Lit.: Deppert-Lippitz 1985, 126; Thraker

2004, 158 no. 212 g

Date: Late 6th – early 5th century B.C.

HE 7 Ioannina

Descr.: Two bronze hoops

Lit.: ADelt 33 (1969) Chr, B1 pl. 69 b

Date.: 6th century B.C.

HE 8 Samothrace, Southern Necropolis.

Stray Find XS-368

Descr.: Silver hoop, stray find

Lit.: Dusenbery 1998, 963

Date: Early 5th century B.C.

HE 8 a Cremation Burial S29-2

Con.: One vessel

Dim.: H 2 cm

Descr.: Bronze tapered hoop

Lit.: Dusenbery 1998, 963

Date: c. 530

MUSEUM COLLECTIONS

HE 9 Berlin, Staatliche Museen Antikensammlung 30988b
Ephesus
Dim.: D 1,6 cm
Descr.: Gold enriched hoops with filigree wire encircling hoop; large beads placed along body of hoop

Lit.: Greifenhagen 1970, 28 pl. 8, 3
Date: 7th century B.C.

HE 10 Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 75.179
Dim.: D 2,5 cm
Descr.: Silver hoops
Lit.: Ergil 1983, 15 f. nos. 2–6

HE 11 Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 4909.7083
Dim.: D 1,4 cm
Descr.: Gold hoops of sheet gold, filigree wire encircles each end
Lit.: Ergil 1983, 16 nos. 8. 9

Taenia Earrings

Taenia earrings (Fig. 2) take their name from the Greek term for band or ribbon, which describes the flat strap of filigree wire common to all earrings of this type⁸⁹. The taenia band took many forms, but often consisted of several rows of twisted wire placed together to form a solid strip. Another common arrangement placed an open guilloche pattern centered between narrow borders of twisted filigree wire. In its simplest form, such as TE 4, a taenia could be cut from a strip of sheet gold. Most taenia earrings are gold, but at least one pair in silver is known (TE 2 below). No matter what form the taenia took, invariably, the strap expanded into a broad terminal at one end. A hook on the back of this terminal passed through the earlobe and slotted into a smaller loop at the opposite end of the band, thus forming the hoop shape of the earring. On the most spectacular examples of taenia earrings, goldsmiths transformed the terminal into a large, multi-level rosette with a corolla. Stylized rosettes or wheel motifs, with short strips of wire crossing the open circular terminal, were also popular.

Before the purpose of the taenia earrings was identified, scholarly discussions of prototypes centered on a type of seventh-century Etruscan bracelet⁹⁰ (Fig. 17). Indeed, significant conceptual similarities exist between the two types

Fig. 17 Pair of Etruscan Bracelets from Caere (7th century B.C.). London, British Museum 1360



of jewelry, both of which incorporate a guilloche pattern framed by solid rows of filigree wire. A close study of the Etruscan and Macedonian style and techniques may reveal connections between Greece and the west in the luxury arts, as well as in the thriving pottery trade in the Archaic period. The addition of the rosettes and other floral elements on the taenia earrings, however, created a completely new form of ornament. Some Greek evidence for the use of the guilloche pattern exists – a Geometric finger ring found in Attica and three gold hoops, perhaps bracelets or early taenia earrings, found in a Geometric peribolos on Naxos attest to the motif⁹¹. To date, the distribution of the taenia earring type is confined geographically to Macedonia, and evidence for its use in the area is increasingly widespread. The earring is limited chronologically to the sixth to the mid-fifth centuries.

⁸⁹ Musti et al. 1992, 180. 268; Georgoula 1997, 78 no. 56.

⁹⁰ See Laffineur 1979 for the so-called Macedonian bands and for a catalogue of the known examples of the type found to date. Etruscan bracelets: Cristofani – Martelli 2000, 107 no. 47.

⁹¹ ADelt 22 (1967) Ch, 80 pl. 80, 62; ADelt 18 (1963) Ch, 280 pl. 325 γ.

SANCTUARIES

None

CEMETERIES

TE 1 Aghia Paraskevi

Descr.: Eight gold taenia earrings from numerous Archaic graves

Lit.: Σιμανίδης 1987, 798

Date: Archaic

TE 2 Aenea, Tomb IX

Con.: Three vessels, seven bronze pendants, three bronze rings, two silver bracelets, two ivory pins

Mus.: Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum MΘ 8103

Dim.: D 4,2 cm

Descr.: Pair of silver taenia earrings, open band with figure-8 pattern between rows of twisted wire. Terminal is an open circle of twisted wire, beads create a small pyramid along upper portion of band

Lit.: Βοκοπούλου 1990, 108 no. 10

Date: First quarter 5th century B.C.

TE 3 Aiane

Descr.: Pair of gold taenia earrings with floral terminal

Lit.: Καραμήτρου-Μεντεσιδης 1996, 28 fig. 12

Date: Archaic

TE 4 Amphipolis, Grave 44

Con.: One vessel, glass bead, pair of bronze pins, pair of bronze fibulae, gold bead, sheet gold mouthpiece

Descr.: Pair of sheet gold taenia earrings, undecorated, funerary

Lit.: Λαζαρίδης 1982, 51 pls. 34 b; 35 b

Date: Archaic

TE 5 Galepsos, Grave XIV

Con.: One vessel, gold necklace pendant, gold mouthpiece, four bronze fibulae, one bronze pin

Mus.: Kavala, Archaeological Museum M 373. 374

Dim.: D 2,9 cm

Descr.: Pair of gold taenia earrings, solid sheet gold band bordered with twisted wire. Circular terminal, open in center, crossed with strips of twisted wire to form an eight-spoked wheel or stylized rosette. Ten small pyramids of beads placed around terminal and central pyramid in center

Lit.: Βοκοπούλου 1993, 191 nos. 217. 218

Date: c. 500–450

TE 6 Gazou, Grave XIV

Con.: One clay vessel, gold necklace pendant, gold mouthpiece, four bronze fibulae

Descr.: Pair of gold taenia earrings with open terminal, crossed with strips of filigree wire. Beads placed around terminal

Lit.: Πούλιος 1995, 416 fig. 5.

Date: First half of 5th century B.C.

TE 7 Nea Philadelphia

Mus.: Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum MΘ 19673 a. b

Descr.: Pair of gold taenia earrings with guilloche band between rows of twisted filigree wire. Rosette terminal with conical center

Lit.: Μισαήλιδου-Δεσποτίδου 1995;

Tsigarida – Ignatiadou 2000, 44 fig. 39

Date: c. 475–450

TE 8 Pella, Tomb 198

Con.: Twelve bronze vessels, six clay vessels, six terracotta figurines, two iron knives, gold facemask, six gold rosettes for a diadem, pair of gold spirals, gold temple pendant, gold beads (of three types), two silver pins with gold terminal

Descr.: Pair of gold taenia earrings

Lit.: Χρυσοστόμου – Χρυσοστόμου 2002, 469

Date: c. 510–500

TE 9 Sindos

TE 9 a Grave 28

Con.: Miniature iron furniture, two gold pins, gold mouthpiece, gold finger ring, two iron fibulae

Mus.: Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum MΘ 8094

Dim.: D 2,7 cm – 3 cm

Descr.: Pair of gold taenia earrings with open guilloche pattern between twisted wire along band. Flat rosette terminals with petals outlined in wire and one large central bead

Lit.: Βοκοπούλου et al. 1985, 268 no. 436

Date: c. 560

TE 9 b Grave 48

Con.: One clay vessel, two silver fibulae, miscellaneous gold clothing attachments, gold necklace

Mus.: Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum MΘ 8045. 8046

Dim.: D 4 cm

Descr.: Pair of gold taenia earrings with open guilloche filigree band; large multi-level rosette terminal with corolla

Lit.: Βοκοπούλου et al. 1985, 306–308 no. 512

Date: c. 525–500

TE 9 c Grave 20

Con.: Silver kantharos, three bronze vessels, one Attic skyphos, iron furniture, gold face mask, gold temple pendants, pair of silver and gold pins, two silver pins, one silver two-shanked pin, two silver

bracelets, pair of silver fibulae, necklace of amber beads, silver chain with gold terminals, gold necklace, two large gold pendants, two gold rings

Mus.: Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum MΘ 7936

Dim.: D 4,5–4,8 cm

Descr.: Pair of gold taenia earrings with open guilloche pattern between twisted wire on band. Multi-tiered rosette terminal corolla covered with granulation

Lit.: Βοκοπούλου et al. 1985, 98 no. 150

Date: c. 510–500

TE 9 d Grave 67

Con.: Silver vessel, six bronze vessels, two glass vessels, iron miniature furniture, three clay vessels, gold chain, gold necklace with pendant, silver ring, gold ring, large gold necklace, gold face mask, gold temple pendants, two silver hoops with round crystal pendants, gold sheet clothing attachments, gold necklace, silver double pin, two silver bracelets

Mus.: Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum MΘ 7975

Dim.: D 5,5–5,7 cm

Descr.: Pair of gold taenia earrings, open guilloche pattern between rows of twisted wire on band. Large multi-tiered rosette with corolla; two smaller rosettes placed at join of band and terminal

Lit.: Βοκοπούλου et al. 1985, 194 f. no. 321

Date: c. 510

TE 9 e Grave 56

Con.: Two clay vessels, two silver pins, miscellaneous gold clothing attachments, gold necklace, gold face mask

Mus.: Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum MΘ 7958 α. β

Dim.: D 5,6 cm

Descr.: Pair of gold taenia earrings with circular terminal of sheet gold, rosette petals drawn in filigree wire. Three large beads cluster in center of rosette and flank each side of the band

Lit.: Βοκοπούλου et al. 1985, 179 no. 286

Date: c. 510

TE 9 f Grave 22

Con.: Two clay vessels, two terracotta statuettes, two silver fibulae, two silver pins, sheet gold ring, gold pendant, gold mouthpiece

Mus.: Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum MΘ 8072

Dim.: L 9,2–9,6 cm

Descr.: Pair of gold taenia earrings made of solid strips (flattened) of sheet gold, with circular terminals. Probably funerary

Lit.: Βοκοπούλου et al. 1985, 77 no. 110

Date: c. 500

TE 9 g Grave 117
 Con.: Two vessels, lamp, bronze lebes, two sheet gold clothing attachments, gold pendant, two silver bracelets, two silver pins, silver chain, pair of silver fibulae, silver pin, iron knife
 Mus.: Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum ΜΘ 8414
 Dim.: D 4,0–4,5 cm
 Descr.: Pair of gold taenia earrings, solid sheet gold strips with circular terminal. Terminal and edges of bands impressed with rows of circles. Probably funerary
 Lit.: Βοκοτοπούλου et al. 1985, 44 no. 58
 Date: c. 500

TE 9 h Grave 38:
 Two vessels, gold necklace pendant, fragments of gold sheet
 Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum ΜΘ 8065
 Dim.: D 2 cm
 Descr.: Pair of gold taenia earrings, open guilloche pattern between rows of twisted wire on band. Flat rosette terminal, petals drawn with filigree wire, beads form a pyramid in center of rosette
 Lit.: Βοκοτοπούλου et al. 1985, 290 no. 476
 Date: c. 480–460

TE 10 Thermi
 Con.: Pair of gold taenia earrings
 Descr.: Pair of gold taenia earrings
 Lit.: Μοσχονησιώπου 1988, 292 fig. 4
 Date: Archaic

TE 11 Toumba
 Mus.: Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum ΜΘ 753 (5432)
 Dim.: D 5,5 cm
 Descr.: Pair of gold taenia earrings with several rows of filigree wire forming a solid band. Band terminates in an open circle, crossed with strips of filigree wire, large beads placed around terminal

Lit.: Δεσποίνη 1996, 224 no. 65
 Date: c. Early 5th century B.C.

TE 12 Vergina, Grave L II
 Con.: Twelve bronze vessels, one silver phiale, six terracotta figurines, iron miniature chariot, glass aryballos, gilded silver sandal soles, gold necklace, gold rosettes, silver chain with gold terminals, two gold bracelets, pair of gold taenia earrings
 Descr.: Pair of gold taenia earrings with open guilloche pattern between rows of twisted wire on band. Multi-level rosette at terminal
 Lit.: Ανδρόνικος 1988, 1–3; Ginouvès 1993, 36 fig. 27
 Date: c. 500–490

MUSEUM COLLECTIONS

TE 13 Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Stathatos Collection, Στ 53/54 Chalkidiki Lot
 Dim.: L 33,5 cm
 Descr.: Pair of flattened taenia earrings; two-thirds of hoop is solid sheet gold between rows of filigree wire, last third of hoop is comprised of four thin rows of open guilloche patterns bordered by filigree wire. Terminal is an open, flat circle made of several rows of filigree wire, crossed by short strips of wire; large beads decorate the ends of the strips and the center
 Lit.: Amandry 1953, 40 pl. 13. – See also Amandry 1953, 40 f. nos. 55/56; 57/58; 59/60; 61/62 for similar examples

TE 14 Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Stathatos Collection, Στ 63/64 Chalkidiki Lot
 Dim.: L 23 cm
 Descr.: Pair of flattened taenia earrings. Narrow strip of sheet gold forms hoop that expands into a rectangle for upper portion of hoop. Three rows of filigree

form an open guilloche. Seven small circles of filigree wire, with a large bead in the center of each, create a fan-shaped tip
 Lit.: Amandry 1953, 42 pl. 15; Laffineur 1979, 222. – See also Amandry 1953, 42 nos. 65/66; 67/68; 69

TE 15 Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Stathatos Collection, Στ 74/75 Chalkidiki Lot
 Dim.: L 15 cm
 Descr.: Pair of flattened taenia earrings. Several rows of filigree create a solid band that terminates in an open circle, crossed with short strips of wire. Large beads placed around circular end of earring
 Lit.: Amandry 1953, 43 pl. 17; Laffineur 1979, 226; Δεσποίνη 1996, 234 no. 64. – See also Amandry 1953, 43 nos. 72/73; 76/77; 78/79; 80/81

TE 16 Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Stathatos Collection, Στ 99/100 Chalkidiki Lot
 Dim.: L 15 cm
 Descr.: Flattened strips of sheet gold, circular terminal, crossed with strips of filigree, beads
 Lit.: Amandry 1963, 191 nos. 99/100 pl. 29; Laffineur 1979, 226. – See also Amandry 1963, 191 nos. 101/102

TE 17 Berlin, Staatliche Museen Antikensammlung 1979.77; 1979.78
 Dim.: L 12 cm – 14,5 cm
 Descr.: Two pairs of gold taenia earrings, both made of solid sheet gold, with circular terminals. Beads placed around terminals
 Lit.: Platz-Horster 2001, 26 f. no 12

Pyramidal Earrings

Conical or pyramidal pendant earrings are one of the types new to the Archaic period, although the pendant form had long been familiar in Greece⁹². This earring type is composed of a hollow inverted pyramidal pendant fastened directly to a suspension hook that passed through the earlobe. Large beads embellish the conical element and filigree wire is wrapped around the lower third of the cone. On many pyramidal earrings, a large bead at the tip finishes off the pendant. An unusual form of this type from Gazorou (P 5) includes a thin spiral hoop with a plain pyramidal pendant at the end of the hoop. Archaeologists originally identified these as hair ornaments because of their multiple spirals, but the discovery of the type in situ on either side of the head at Gazorou confirms its function as an earring.

⁹² Higgins 1980, 74 f. 99. 106; Depert-Lippitz 1985, 45 f. 62; Δεσποίνη 1996, 235 nos. 95. 96.

As noted above, the inverted pyramid earring is found in sculpture and in vase-painting of the Archaic period. Both the Berlin Kore and Phrasikleia (Fig. 7. 8) wear this form, although the details differ. Phrasikleia's earrings are more rounded, and perhaps, as Steiber suggests, they were intended resemble a lotus bud⁹³. The pendant attached to a round hoop that clearly passes through her ear, rather than employing the hooks that were more common for the pyramidal type. The Berlin Kore's pyramidal earring is closer in form to the real artifacts discovered, with sharp edges, a large bead at the tip of the pyramid and a hook attachment. Similar versions of the form are found on the François Vase, worn by Atalanta and the Graces.

One pair of silver pyramidal earrings was discovered in a sixth-century grave in Isthmia, but the remaining Archaic examples of the type are bronze. So far, most of the pyramidal earrings derive from the sanctuary contexts in Olympia and Perachora and may well date to the Early Classical period. It is notable that this is one of the few earring types found only on the Greek mainland in the Archaic period and may well be a regional type. It continued in popularity through the Classical period, and has been found in bronze and gold⁹⁴. Often the pendant alone survives and it is possible that some pendants were used for necklaces rather than as earrings. The pyramidal type proved to be an extremely popular form during the Classical period, when it is often attached to a large disk rosette⁹⁵.

SANCTUARIES

P 1 Lousoi, Temple of Artemis

Descr.: Bronze pyramid earrings, no number given

Lit.: Reichel – Wilhelm 1901, 53 f. fig. 91

Date: Archaic

P 2 Olympia, Stray finds

Dim.: H 1,65 cm – 3,35 cm

Descr.: Nineteen bronze pyramidal pendants, one gold

Lit.: Philipp 1981, 116–125 nos. 400. 421 pl. 7, 41

Date: Archaic/Classical

P 3 Perachora, Temple of Hera

Descr.: Twelve bronze pyramidal earring pendants

Lit.: Payne 1940, 176–178 pl. 79, 1–12

Date: Archaic

Descr.: Seven bronze pyramidal earring pendants, fragments of two others. Pyramidal shape with large bead at tip

Lit.: Παπασπυρίδη-Καρούζου 1933–1935, 43 fig. 22

Date: c. 450

P 5 Gazorou, Grave 20

Con.: Five vessels, glass vessel, silver ring, two bronze bracelets, eleven bronze fibulae, two bronze rings, seventeen bone and glass beads, bronze pin, five iron pins

Descr.: Pair of silver pyramidal earrings

Lit.: Πούλιος 1995, 418 f. fig. 11

Date: c. 475–450

P 6 Isthmia, Lambrou Cemetery

Descr.: Pair of silver pyramidal earrings

Lit.: ADelt Ch 24 (1969) B1, 119 pl. 108

Date: 6th century B.C.

CEMETERIES

P 4 Argos, Grave 5

Con.: Remains of five or six corpses, two of which were female

MUSEUM COLLECTIONS

None

Ear Spools and Disk Earrings

A series of circular ornaments commonly designated as ear reels or ear spools illustrates the difficulty in categorizing the type as an earring. Ear spools usually consist of two flat disks joined by a concave tubular element; occasionally a round hole perforates the center. It is unclear how these spools attached to an earlobe or to anything else, for that matter, but when found in a grave, they are

⁹³ Steiber 2004, 159–177.

⁹⁴ Davidson – Thompson 1943, 103 nos. 5, 6, bronze inverted pyramid earring and terracotta mold for inverted pyramid earring; Robinson 1941, pl. 17, 267–280; Young 2001, 113. Pyramidal earrings found in most museum collections follow Classical forms, and thus are not added to this list.

⁹⁵ Williams – Ogden 1994, 96 f. nos. 49. 50.

discovered in pairs on either side of the head. The use of ear spools as earrings worn in the ear remains problematic however, as it is difficult to envision how they would have been worn. Some of the larger spools are filled with beads and may have been rattles or some other musical instrument rather than earrings⁹⁶. A subset of the type, particular to the Lydian Treasure, links two small reels together to form a double spool. These double spools may have been worn as hair ornaments or used to secure a veil; neither use suggested to date has been universally accepted⁹⁷. Eastern Greece is home to all of the Archaic spools discovered to date. Classical examples are known, also primarily in East Greece and expanding to Cyprus as well⁹⁸.

SANCTUARIES

None

CEMETERIES

Sp 1 – Sardis, Grave 213

Con.: Pair of Au spools

Dim.: D 5,3 cm

Descr.: Pair of gold spools with concentric circles

Lit.: Curtis 1925, 34 no. 85 pl. 8, 5

Date: Archaic

Sp 2 – Bayındır

Mus.: Uşak, Archaeological Museum

1.97.96; 1.97.98

Dim.: D 2,8 cm – 5,6 cm

Descr.: Five gold double spools

Lit.: Özgen – Öztürk 1996, 204 f. nos.

172–176

Date: Archaic

MUSEUM COLLECTIONS

None dated to the Archaic period

Distribution and Iconography of Archaic Earring Types

Ancient regional preferences for the permanent removal of luxury goods has had, to an extent that we can neither fully gauge nor compensate for, significant ramifications for the recovery of earrings. If we examine the earrings by metal type, for example, it is immediately obvious that the majority of bronze earrings derive from sanctuaries, while, apart from the Ephesus deposits, gold ornaments were found only in cemeteries in the north and eastern Mediterranean. With this caveat in mind, however, some general observations concerning patterns of distribution, regional preferences and the identification of Greek earring types can be made.

Earrings found in context are used in ways secondary to their original decorative function. A review of the burial contexts in which Archaic earrings have been found confirms a widespread and significant decline in the use of metal grave gifts. When jewelry is found, it was placed sparingly in the grave, a pair of earrings might join fibulae, but few other ornaments were buried with the dead. This fact makes the gold-laden burials of Archaic Macedonia so astonishing in comparison. Here, jewelry is used lavishly to bedeck the dead, blending some accessories typical of daily life, such as the earrings discussed here, with some appropriate only for burial use, such as the sheet gold face masks that recall Mycenaean burial practices. Apart from Macedonia and some notable burials in Asia Minor, most Archaic jewelry is recovered from sanctuaries. In comparison to the gold earrings discovered in Iron Age Attic burials, for example, the prevalence of bronze earrings offers striking evidence of how the shift from the display of luxury goods in graves to other venues, such as sanctuaries, can radically skew the archaeological record for the decorative arts⁹⁹. Originally, these sacred spaces would have contained large quantities of jewelry in precious metal as well, as we can imagine from the example of

⁹⁶ Özgen – Öztürk 1996, 168 nos. 120. 121.

⁹⁷ Özgen – Öztürk 1995, 204.

⁹⁸ Williams – Ogden 1994, 88 nos. 40–43.

⁹⁹ Gold earrings were discovered in Athens, such as the strap earrings found in the Tomb of the Rich Athenian Lady, *Smithson* 1968, 113. 114 pl. 32 and in Attica, *AEphem* 1898, 103–109 pl. 6, 6. 7 for the Eleusis crescent earrings. Several examples were also discovered in the cemeteries at Lefkandi. See *Toumba Grave 5*, *Popham et al.* 1979, 221 for example, and *Popham – Lemos* 1996, *passim*, for tombs with gold jewelry.

Ephesus, representing the votive gifts of women wealthy and poor, who sought divine assistance for themselves and their families.

Regional Types

As this analysis of earring types has revealed, luxury goods are recovered from a wide geographical range, stretching far from mainland Greece and the islands into areas closely connected to the Achaemenid realm, north into the Greek settlements in the Black Sea, and through the lands of the Thracians. What earring types then, can be labeled as »Greek« earrings? Some types, such as the boat earring, were adopted from much older eastern forms, but by the Archaic period, the type had long been used in Greece and developed along different lines than eastern boat earrings. Boat earrings found in Greece proper during the Archaic period use plain, undecorated boat pendants in contrast to the boats with granulation and pendants found at Sardis, or the boat with vertical carination that circulates near Lydia. Although specific forms of boat earrings differ in these regions, it is noteworthy that boats are more commonly retrieved in the eastern Mediterranean than elsewhere in the Archaic period, a fact that may attest to the long history of the ornament type in the area. Elongated spirals have no obvious predecessors anywhere, but have been discovered in the Black Sea, the eastern Mediterranean and mainland Greece. The prevalence of the form over this area, and its flourish in the seventh and sixth centuries, helps us to identify the elongated spiral as an Archaic Greek type. To date, pyramidal earrings are known only on mainland Greece in the sanctuaries of Perachora, Isthmia, Lousoi and Olympia. The type gains in popularity in these regions during the Classical period and spreads into northern Greece. Secondary evidence for pyramidal earrings, as discussed above, also affirms its popularity on mainland Greece and reinforces its identification as a Greek form.

Macedonian earring types – the taenia and omega earrings – have so far been retrieved exclusively in northern Greece. This same region, which regularly imported Athenian, Corinthian and East Greek pottery in the Archaic period, appears to resist importing jewelry forms that circulate elsewhere in the Mediterranean, suggesting that the elite preferred their own types of ornamentation. Glimpses of Macedonian jewelry types in Attic art, as discussed above, testify to the awareness of the northern forms in Athens¹⁰⁰. Whether Athenians thought of these necklace pendants and earrings as foreign imports or as part of their normal »Greek« costume, we cannot know, but the secondary evidence demonstrates that Macedonian jewelry types had some currency among the elites in the south. In sum, this review of Archaic Greek earrings reveals that some types, such as elongated spirals, taenia, omega earrings and ear spools, were fashionable in a certain area or period of time, while others, namely the oval spirals, pyramidal and boat earrings, show a somewhat wider distribution. It is rare, however, even for the most popular earring type to appear in all regions included in this study. Women in the Greek world could draw from a range of ornament types, blending contemporary local styles, jewelry inherited from their mother or grandmother and forms that show traces of eastern heritage or Macedonian craftsmanship.

The iconography of earrings that date to the Archaic period is relatively simple. Regardless of the motif components, Archaic earrings tend to hang close to the ear and are composed usually of a single pendant attached directly to a hook or hoop. Abstract forms such as the spiral, boat and inverted pyramid earrings were preferred to any figural or floral decoration; the taenia earring,

100 Miller-Collett 1998, 22–39; Castor 2008.

with its rosette terminal, is an exception¹⁰¹. The only consistent animal form is the snake-head ornament engraved on omega earrings so common both in the Archaic and the Early Classical period in northern Greece. In contrast, Classical and Hellenistic earrings teem with vegetal motifs and miniature figures; they are often also significantly more complex, combining several pendants that dangle from a large disk¹⁰².

Conclusions

The issues raised in this updated survey of Archaic earrings illustrate both the possibilities and the limitations of the use of Greek jewelry as hard evidence for reconstructing social history. A return to the case studies discussed above demonstrates this point. On the positive side, the ever-increasing body of contextually documented evidence for earrings and other jewelry moves this artifact into the mainstream of evidence, beginning with studies of dress and daily life. The taenia earrings discovered at Pella discussed in the second case study above contribute to the growing body of evidence for Macedonian jewelry. It is possible now, with the relatively abundant evidence of the taenia type, to isolate different styles even within this single region. A stylized rosette taenia with strips of filigree wire placed across an open loop has been discovered at Galepsos, near Thasos, suggesting the range of the type extended eastwards outside of the Macedonian heartland as well¹⁰³. These artifacts help to confirm the authenticity and to locate regionally and chronologically a group of similar taenia earrings housed in the Stathatos Collection, which were believed to be from a cemetery near Thessaloniki¹⁰⁴. Future discoveries of earrings could permit additional confirmation for museum collections that lack specific data. On the other hand, the hard evidence collected now undermines previously developed hypotheses.

If we consider the first case study, the Stathatos inverted pyramid earrings, supposedly from Argos, we see that, to date, none of the new discoveries of earrings can substantiate the alleged provenance or date that Amandry proposed. The pyramidal earring type was one of the few types documented in mainland Greece, and was like popular in the Peloponnese, given the relative prevalence of the form at Olympia. Otherwise, the seventh-century date suggested for the earring remains unsubstantiated, and good parallels for the use of a figural element in Archaic earrings are lacking.

Jewelry is the only form of costume that consistently survives in the archaeological record and, as an artifact most often associated with women, jewelry provides direct access to aspects of female dress. The fact that jewelry was made of intrinsically valuable metal also supplied women with convertible wealth, as demonstrated by the historical references to women using their jewelry in times of crisis. Studies of women's property generally make some passing reference to jewelry and clothing as part of women's wealth, but without real examples of the sort of ornaments that women wore, it has proven difficult to understand what could comprise this personal wealth. Now, it will be possible to revisit some of the written evidence for women's property with these artifacts in mind and to clarify the uses of jewelry as ornament and as bullion. Study of the archaeological contexts that yield jewelry reveals Greek female presence in communal religious and funeral rituals. Much remains speculative about the nature of women's roles in these events. We know that women were charged to prepare corpses for burial; who decided what jewelry would be included in the grave? How often over the course of her life would a woman give up

101 Blanck 1974, 63–67, notes that Archaic necklace pendants largely incorporated imitations of vessels, vegetal forms, such as pomegranates.

102 Williams – Ogden 1994; Pfrommer 1990; Jackson 2006.

103 See TE 5 for Galepsos taenia earrings.

104 Amandry 1953, nos. 53–60.

her jewelry to propitiate the gods? While these questions will likely remain unanswered, jewelry reminds us of these active roles that women played in the everyday life of the community.

The most significant limitation in the analysis of jewelry is, of course, the inconsistency with which the primary evidence itself is recovered. Gold and silver ornaments are unlikely to survive except in a mortuary context, and few communities chose this venue to flaunt their disposable wealth. A further challenge arises from the fact that even when jewelry is discovered, it is often found in areas on the edges of the Greek world. To what extent can we apply the data from northern Greece, Thrace and Asia Minor to Athens or the Peloponnese? We can hope for clues from secondary evidence in regions that lack real examples of jewelry, but as we have seen, such sources must be assessed carefully. Even with the vast increase in earrings securely dated to the Archaic period, it is possible to confirm that only one image, the taenia earring painted by the Andokides Painter, corresponds to a newly discovered earring type. Even that representation is not a realistic depiction of the Archaic Macedonian taenia, but rather, a combination of the taenia and inverted pyramid earring, an object that may have been some regional creation, or may not have ever existed.

Despite these significant obstacles to the study of personal ornaments, jewelry offers unique and valuable primary material for the portable wealth of Greek women, female dress, and ideas of luxury and beauty in the Greek world. The body of evidence will grow as future discoveries are added to the taxonomy presented here. With close analysis of jewelry and the archaeological contexts in which it is found, we can continue to refine our knowledge of women's public actions as well as their private adornment.

Abstract

Alexis Q. Castor, *Archaic Greek Earrings: An Interim Survey*

Although earrings were one of the most common jewelry types in Greece, the most recent survey of this ornament is the 1903 study by Karl Hadaczek. This study focuses on earrings discovered in controlled excavations and dating to the Archaic period; such a restriction both confirms the authenticity of the earrings and also provides insight into the occasions on which jewelry was deliberately removed from circulation by its owner. A survey of the evidence related to earrings reveals how they were worn, hints that men and women may have sported the accessories and provides some clues to the manufacture of jewelry. Following this overview, a typology of Archaic earring forms based on firm regional and chronological data is provided. As jewelry is a type of wealth that we can link specifically with Greek women, study of these ornaments offers unique – and under-exploited – evidence for female participation in the public sphere.

Keywords

Archaic • jewelry • earrings • women

Sources of illustrations

Fig. 1. 8. 9: Hellenic Ministry of Culture/Archaeological Receipts Fund • Fig. 2. 13: Thessaloniki Archaeological Museum • Fig 3: Neg. E6633CR-d1 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston • Fig. 4: Neg. SCI86008 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston • Fig. 5. 7. 12: Staatliche Museen, Berlin • Fig. 6: Neg. C24542 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston • Fig. 10: Neg. P-49-20 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston • Fig. 11: Neg. B-1098 the Trustees of the British Museum, London • Fig. 14: Neg. PS037983-3 the Trustees of the British Museum, London • Fig. 15: Neg. PS037983-1 the Trustees of the British Museum, London • Fig. 16: Neg. PS037983-2 the Trustees of the British Museum, London • Fig. 17: Neg. PS004987 the Trustees of the British Museum, London

Abbreviations

BE • boat earring	Mus. • museum
Con. • context	O • omega earring
Descr. • description	OS • oval spiral
Dim. • dimension	P • pyramidal earring
ES • elongated spiral	Sp • ear spool
HE • hoop earring	TE • taenia earring
Lit. • literature	W • W-shaped

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