

before and after Patroclus' funeral—and the cessation from mourning which he envisaged as natural for the army in general at xxiii 52–3, 157. Such isolation from his fellow Greeks does not reflect the true nature of his bereavement, which rather unites him, as he comes to acknowledge, even with his enemy. For the parallel between Hector and Patroclus extends also to the anguish felt at the death of each; and Achilles must come to recognize this community in loss, already expressed by the poet as he compares Achilles mourning Patroclus to a father mourning his son (xxiii 222–4).¹¹ Until he acknowledges this, Achilles' extreme mourning, with its implied claim that he is unique in his grief, fails to reflect the fact of the shared human experience of suffering, and to show the endurance which, as Apollo says (xxiv 46–9), is the characteristic human response.¹²

The isolation in which Thetis finds Achilles, then, is one which is inappropriate, and which he comes to recognise as such. In fitting contrast to the scene with Thetis, he expresses this insight to Priam, who comes, like Thetis, at Zeus' command, but also driven by the suffering which Achilles recognises as a bond between them.¹³ Men, unlike the goddess Thetis, are not isolated in their grief. The relation between the messenger scenes in the last books of the *Iliad* can be seen as forming part of the presentation of this contrast; and the scene at xxiv 120–5, which presents an apparent exception, points ultimately to the contrast's validity, as Achilles' isolation there is seen to be brought necessarily to an end. Rather than introducing an exception, the passage completes the contribution made by these related scenes to the sense of divine concern for men combined with an immeasurable distance from them.¹⁴

LUCINDA COVENTRY

Somerville College, Oxford

¹¹ Cf. C. Moulton, *Similes in the Homeric poems*, *Hypomnemata* xlix (Göttingen 1977) 106: 'The vehicle fits no one more than the Priam of xxiv, in whose grief for a married son there will be, paradoxically, a ground for a new understanding and humane respect on the part of the sorrowing hero.'

¹² It may, in view of this, be an argument in favour of the authenticity of xxiv 6–9 that these lines introduce early in the book the notion of endurance which is prominent in it. Endurance is a quality of heroes, typically required of them in circumstances such as Achilles is said in these lines to recall; but the requirement is seen in xxiv to extend beyond such circumstances to life as a whole. The notion of heroic fortitude is thus introduced in the context of an extremity of mourning which it is the part of such fortitude to control. (Compare the new form of κῦδος given to Achilles—xxiv 110, Macleod [n. 1] 27, 99.)

¹³ See especially xxiv 194–99. Thetis, at 128–37, does not tell Achilles that Zeus will send Priam to him, nor does Achilles (139) seem to know who it is that will come. This allows greater emphasis to fall on Priam's own wishes as his reason for coming himself, both for the reader and especially for Achilles, who responds to Priam's suffering before mentioning his divine escort.

¹⁴ I owe valuable comments on this note to the Editor and two unnamed readers; I am also grateful to Dr. R. B. Rutherford for help and encouragement.

Menelās (PLATE IV)

In 1949 Jeffery wrote of the Proto attic stand from Aegina once in Berlin, A 42: '... the dialect and letter-

I wish to thank Mabel L. Lang and Richard Hamilton for discussing some aspects of this interpretation with me.

forms used by the painter of the stand indicate that he was himself an Aeginetan.¹ Her suggestion was taken up by scholars who favored the idea of an immigrant painter in Athens,² and eventually led to the hypothesis that a group of vases in the Black and White style—namely the ones by hands represented in the treasure-trove bought by the Berlin Antiquarium in 1936—were made in a workshop on the island.³ Since it is the one apparently sound piece of evidence that at least one painter of the Black and White style was Aeginetan, the stand and its painted inscription deserve another look.

A few words first about the 'non-Attic' lambda: Λ (Λ) is now found not only in the graffito on the Dipylon oinochoe, but also on at least one, and possibly three, votive inscriptions from the sanctuary of Zeus on Mount Hymettos.⁴ However its appearance in Attica is to be explained—fluctuation of letter-forms at an early stage of the Attic alphabet, an Ionic loan—the lambda with corner above can no longer be taken as proof that the writer was foreign.⁵ There remains the foreign spelling of Menelaus' name, and for that an explanation can be given only after re-examining the scene to which the inscription belongs.

The conical portion of the stand is divided into two zones (PLATE IVa). The narrower, above, carries a file of horsemen in patterned tunics who spur their horses with goads. These are jockeys, rather than horsemen or knights.⁶ The taller lower section has a procession of five men with whitened arms and faces and black feet. All hold the same pose and wear the same dress, a black mantle with white dots over a long decorated dress, and a band on their elaborately coiffed hair; each carries a spear. Between two of these figures, and above a large bird of which only the feet remain, the painter wrote *Menelas*. Without exception, the inscription has been taken as a label referring to the figure it precedes; this

¹ L. H. Jeffery, *JHS* lxix (1949) 26. The stand: *CVA* Berlin i (Munich 1938) 24–5, pls. 31–3.

² J. M. Cook, *Gnomon* xxiii (1951) 213; A. Rumpf, *Malerei und Zeichnung. Handbuch der Archäologie* vi, 4.1 (1953) 25; E. Vanderpool, *AJP* lxxiv (1953) 322. See also S. P. Morris, *The black and white style*, Yale Classical Monographs vi (1984) 91–2 n. 2 for a review of opinions. The notion of an Aeginetan painter is resisted by K. Kübler, *Kerameikos* vi 2 (Berlin 1970) 328 n. 92, and by J. Boardman, *BSA* xlix (1954) 185–6.

³ E. T. H. Brann, *Agora* viii (Princeton 1962) 20, 24; Morris (n. 2) *passim*. The alleged provenience from Aegina of the Berlin vases—G. Karo, xxvi. *Hallisches Winkelmannsprogramm* (Halle 1928) 10; *CVA* Berlin i (n. 1) 5—seems confirmed by joins with excavated sherds, Morris (n. 2) 7, 41.

⁴ M. K. Langdon, *A sanctuary of Zeus on Mount Hymettos. Hesperia* Suppl. xvi (1976) 43. On the Dipylon inscription, L. H. Jeffery, *The local scripts of archaic Greece* (Oxford 1961) 76 no. 1.

⁵ The possibility that it may be an alternate form is put forward by M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia Greca* I (Roma 1967) 133, who cites R. S. Young, *AJA* xlvi (1942) 125. Karo (n. 3) 13 reports F. Hiller von Gaertringen's suggestion that the painter might have been Ionian. Morris (n. 2) 34–5 admits that the epigraphic evidence is here inconclusive.

⁶ The diagnostic elements are the pose and the goad, which find good comparisons in the horse-race on the MacMillan aryballos, British Museum 894–18.1, H. G. Payne, *Protokorinthische Vasenmalerei* (Berlin 1933) pl. 22, and, among later vases, on the neck amphora Louvre E 866, *ABV*, 100 no. 68. S. Pappaspyridi-Karouzou, *Angeia tou Anagyroutos* (Athens 1963) 88–92 lists and discusses seventh century BC representations of the race, in reference to the krater Athens, National Museum 16383, *ABV*, 7 γ *Paralipomena*, 3 no. 12, which has an animated race, perhaps the event at the old Panathenaia.

identification opened the way to interpretations of the scene as epic, specifically, a procession of Achaeans led by Menelaus.⁷

One must wonder at the fact that Menelaus is not set off from the others by dress, size, attitude, or color, since such uniformity among figures is not a trait of the period or of the painter. On his amphora from Eleusis, for instance, one of the three figures who carry out the blinding of the Cyclops is distinguished by its leaping stance and whitened body, and so must be the protagonist, Odysseus.⁸ Should one admit the possibility that the inscription on the Menelas stand is not there to identify one of the five men, composition and rendering of the figures would not stand in the way. Such a possibility is brought up by the genre to which the scene belongs, for the procession of men is not unique. It is found on another stand once in Berlin, A 41; on a fragment, perhaps from a large mug, from the Athenian Agora; possibly on two small fragments, one from Aegina, the other from Eleusis.⁹ Agora P-13285 shows a row of three men who hold branches. By virtue of this attribute, the procession can be recognized as 'one of the latest choruses' in the late Geometric tradition of linked figures dancing, and presumably singing, to the accompaniment of music.¹⁰ The same subject, a chorus of men, appears on the main frieze of Berlin A 41, a companion piece to A 42 (PLATE IV b-c): nine men in mantles and richly patterned dresses, in the same pose as the ones on A 42 but carrying staffs instead of spears. On two of the four heads that remain, the mouth is open, as if in speech or song. One of the nine figures has no staff and follows a tenth who wears a short dress and lifts himself on the ball of his feet. The upper part of both is lost, but dress and stance of the second suggest that he plays the aulos; the first might be the lyre-player.¹² There is little doubt that A 41 gives us a choral dance, and the same must be true of the Menelas stand. They are the counterpart of the choruses of women shown, for instance, on the contemporary Berlin A 34, and on the later stand from Vari by the Nettos and Chimaera Painter.¹³ It is apparent, then, that the type of scene to which the inscription lends identity, far from being heroic or mythological,¹⁴ records actual events; specifically, performances on a festive occasion, where music and dance were combined

with song. In this context it would be odd if the inscription singled out one of the performers as the protagonist, but it may be expected to identify the chorus as a whole, by giving the subject or title or beginning of its song.

At a time when inscriptions of all kinds are frequent on vases, namely the late sixth and early fifth century BC, the practice of writing into a figural scene bits of dialogue, a few words of a poem, or an entire line as it leaves the lips of the singer is well attested.¹⁵ The poem can sometimes be identified, as, for example, the line of Theognis on a cup of about 500 BC.¹⁶ In other instances the text of the quotation, which is clearly recognizable as such, is not preserved in the literary record; this is the case of the song of Ekphantides on the calyx-krater by Euphronios.¹⁷ Lyric and epic are not the only genres represented. A psykter by Oltos carries a frieze of dolphin-riders each uttering the words *epidelphinos*, which may further serve as the title of the play to which the chorus belongs.¹⁸ Now, it is within the genus of painted inscriptions that one encounters expressions foreign to Attic dialect. On a psykter by Euphronios the *hetaira* Smikra speaks Doric;¹⁹ Aeolic forms appear on the scrolls held open in school-scenes.²⁰ On the Anakreon krater in Copenhagen, Immerwahr restores the Ionic ending *-eniēs* as *peniēs*, and tentatively identifies the word as the second in Theognis 1129, which on the vase takes on the force of a title.²¹ The analogy of these later vases suggests that if the inscription on the Menelas stand is a quote from the song being performed by the chorus, or its title, its form will be faithful to the one that appeared in the text. And the form is 'Doric', *Menelās* rather than *Meneleōs*, for the same reason that in Euripides' *Rhesus* 257, the chorus sings *heloi Menelān*: the use of the non-Attic long alpha is demanded by the genre, that is, choral lyric.²²

The interpretation just proposed may be summed up as follows. The men are members of a chorus and wear costumes; the spears, as the staffs on A 41, suit the tone or content of the song. The picture captures the progress of the stately dance, omitting the musician (or musicians) and probably some of the singers. The caption *Menelas* is a quotation from the poem that they sing. It would be idle to speculate as to its content. This simple reading of the scene has the advantage of being coherent with the visual clues, and economical in that it requires moving neither painter to Athens nor Black and White

⁷ E.g., Karo (n. 3) 14; *CVA Berlin i* (n. 1); K. Fittschen, *Untersuchungen zum Beginn der Sagenstellungen bei den Griechen* (Berlin 1969) 175-6; Morris (n. 2) 43.

⁸ G. E. Mylonas, *Ho prōtoattikos amphoreus tēs Eleusinos* (Athens 1957) 31.

⁹ Aegina 2022, W. Kraiker, *Aigina, Die Vasen des 10. bis 7. Jhs. v. Chr.* (Berlin 1951) pl. 43 no. 555. The Eleusis sherd is illustrated by J. M. Cook, *BSA xxxv* (1934-5) pl. 51 b. Kübler (n. 2) 205 n. 41 gives a list of such processions, but includes some doubtful examples.

¹⁰ Brann (n. 3) 81 no. 442, pls. 27, 44. On the Late Geometric choruses, R. Tölle, *Frühgriechische Reigentänze* (Waldsassen, Bayern 1964).

¹¹ *CVA Berlin i* (n. 1) 23-4, pls. 30; 34, 2; also lost, according to Morris (n. 2) 46.

¹² *CVA Berlin i* (n. 1) 24; T. B. L. Webster, *The Greek chorus* (London 1970) 9.

¹³ Berlin A 34: *CVA Berlin i* (n. 1) 20-1, pl. 22; Athens, National Museum 16384: *ABV*, 6; *Paralipomena*, 3 no. 13; Papaspyridi-Karouzou (n. 6) 94. Agora P-13285 and Berlin A 41 are listed among choruses by Webster (n. 12).

¹⁴ Morris (n. 2) 5, 43, 46, calls the genre 'formulaic heroic' and the figures on A 41 'warriors'.

¹⁵ On the type of inscription, see P. Kretschmer, *Die griechischen Vasenschriften* (Gütersloh 1894) 90-3.

¹⁶ Theognis 1365. Athens, National Museum 1357; B. Philippaki, *Vases of the National Archaeological Museum of Athens* (Vitoria, Spain, s.d.) 78-9.

¹⁷ *ARV*² 1619 no. 3 bis; E. Vermeule, *AntK* viii (1965) 34-9.

¹⁸ *ARV*², 1622-3 no. 7 bis. The interpretation of the picture as a chorus is upheld by J. R. Green, *Greek vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum. Occasional papers on antiquities* iii (1985) 101; on the inscription, G. M. Sifakis, *BICS* xiv (1967) 36.

¹⁹ *ARV*², 16 no. 15; *FR* II, 16.

²⁰ J. D. Beazley, *AJA* lii (1948) 337-8; the inscriptions appear on the Berlin school-cup by Douris, 2285, and on a cup (fragments) by Onesimos in Oxford, Ashmolean Museum G 138.3, 5, 11.

On book-rolls in school scenes in general, see H. R. Immerwahr, *Classical Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies in honor of Berthold Louis Ullmann* (Rome 1964) 17-48; *AntK* xvi (1973) 143-7.

²¹ H. R. Immerwahr, *AJA* lxix (1965) 153.

²² On this convention see J. Herington, *Poetry into drama* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1985) 113-14, with references to earlier literature.

workshop to Aegina. It also affords an insight into the decorative 'program' of the stand as a whole. It is a commemorative piece for a particular chorus, and so presumably for a specific festival. Do both figural friezes, the jockeys and the singers, refer to the same occasion? If so this must be one that included several events, among them choruses and horse-races. It is just possible that the theme of the Menelaus stand is the ancient Panathenaia.²³

GLORIA FERRARI

*Bryn Mawr College
Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania*

²³ Choruses of men and women at the annual Panathenaia, perhaps one of the events of the *pannychis*, are postulated mainly on the evidence of Euripides *Heraclidae* 777–83; L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Vienna 1969) 24. *Lysias* xxi 2 mentions *kyklioi choroi* at the same festival. The date at which the horse-race was introduced is unknown—on this point, see J. A. Davison, *JHS* lxxviii (1958) 27. Great antiquity is attributed, however, to the *apobates* race with the chariot; Marmor Parium, Ep. 10; P. E. Corbett, *JHS* lxxx (1960) 57. The horse-race is shown on late sixth century BC Panathenaic amphorae—G. von Brauchitsch, *Die panathenaischen Preisamphoren* (Leipzig and Berlin 1910) 132–3—but an earlier picture of a winner is on the neck-amphora Athens 559, *ABV*, 85 no. 1 (middle), of c. 570 BC. This vase is remarkably similar to canonical Panathenaic amphorae in shape and dimensions (on which see A. Johnston, *BSA* lxxiii [1978] 134–5), and was published by S. Paspapyridi-Karouzou, *AJA* xlii (1938) 495–505, as a 'proto-Panathenaic' piece. On seventh century BC representations of horsemen and races, see *supra*, n. 6. The other side of Athens 559 has a picture of a flautist between men wearing long cloaks, possibly a chorus; here too one finds a large bird, in front of the flautist.

A gold diadem from Aegina

A recent discovery on the island of Aegina by Professor H. Walter (University of Salzburg)¹ throws a new light on the origins of the so-called Aegina Treasure in the British Museum.²

In 1982 the Austrians were excavating the Bronze Age settlement on Cape Kolonna, to the north-west of Aegina town. Immediately to the east of the ruined Temple of Apollo, and close to the South Gate of the prehistoric Lower Town, they found an unrobbed shaft grave containing the burial of a warrior. The grave-goods (now exhibited in the splendid new Museum on the Kolonna site) included a bronze sword with a gold and ivory hilt, three bronze daggers, one with gold fittings, a bronze spear-head, arrowheads of obsidian, boar's tusks from a helmet, and fragments of a gold diadem (PLATE Va). The grave also contained Middle Minoan, Middle Cycladic, and Middle Helladic (Matt-painted) pottery. The pottery and the location of the grave in association with the 'Ninth City' combine to give a date for the burial of about 1700 BC; and the richness of the grave-goods would suggest that the dead man was a king.

The diadem (with which this note is concerned) consists of a strip of sheet gold tapering at the ends,

I am very grateful to Prof. Stefan Hiller for reading a draft of this note, and making some helpful suggestions.

¹ *AAA* xiv (1981) 182. *Jahrbuch der Universität Salzburg* (1981–83) 105.

² *JHS* xliii (1892–93) 195–226. *BMC Jewellery* xiii–xx, and 51–6. *BMC Finger Rings* 115, 145. *BICS* iv (1957) 27–41. *BSA* lii (1957) 42–57. R. Higgins, *The Aegina Treasure, an archaeological mystery* (London 1979) (henceforth, *Aegina Treasure*).

which are drawn out and made into loops for the attachment of a cord or something similar; its total length, as restored, is 45 cm. The decoration, in dot-repoussé, consists of a row of vertical lines joined by crossing diagonals.

Apart from its decoration, this band is so closely paralleled by two plain diadems from the Aegina Treasure (PLATE Vb) that we may presume all three to come from the same workshop.³ It also recalls, in its form and in its decorative technique, the upper part of a composite diadem from the Fourth Shaft Grave at Mycenae, although the patterns are quite different.⁴ It would, however, be rash to see this diadem as Mycenaean rather than Minoan, since the method of looping the ends is standard in a number of gold ornaments of Minoan, or presumed Minoan, origin.⁵

Several conclusions can be drawn from this new discovery.

1. It confirms the dating of the Treasure between 1700 and 1500 BC.

2. My eventual conclusion that it was an ancient tomb-robber's hoard, reburied in a Mycenaean (LH IIIA) tomb on Aegina, just to the east of Cape Kolonna, is now clearly preferable to my earlier theory that it was found about a century ago in the Chrysolakko cemetery at Mallia and transported to Aegina.

3. It is tempting to see the original burial-place of the Treasure in the general vicinity of the newly-discovered shaft grave, so that the robber would in that case have reburied his loot close to where he had found it; a very reasonable thing to have done.

4. We can now accept with virtual certainty an Aeginetan provenance for the Treasure, which happily takes its place in the picture presented by the excavators of a rich settlement of Mainland type, tempered by a substantial Minoan element in its population and its art.

5. As the new diadem was worn by a man, it may well be that the two from the Treasure (PLATE Vb) were also from male burials.

REYNOLD HIGGINS

*Hillside Cottage,
Dunsfold,
nr. Godalming,
Surrey GU8 4PB.*

³ *BMC Jewellery* nos. 683, 684. *BSA* lii (1957) 49, no. 7. *Aegina Treasure* 33, ill. 30, no. 7. Length, 37.5 & 48 cm.

⁴ G. Karo, *Die Schachtgräber von Mykenai* (Berlin 1930) pl. 39 (top).

⁵ *Aegina Treasure* ills. 11, 14, 15, 22, 59, 62.

The Forethought of Themistocles

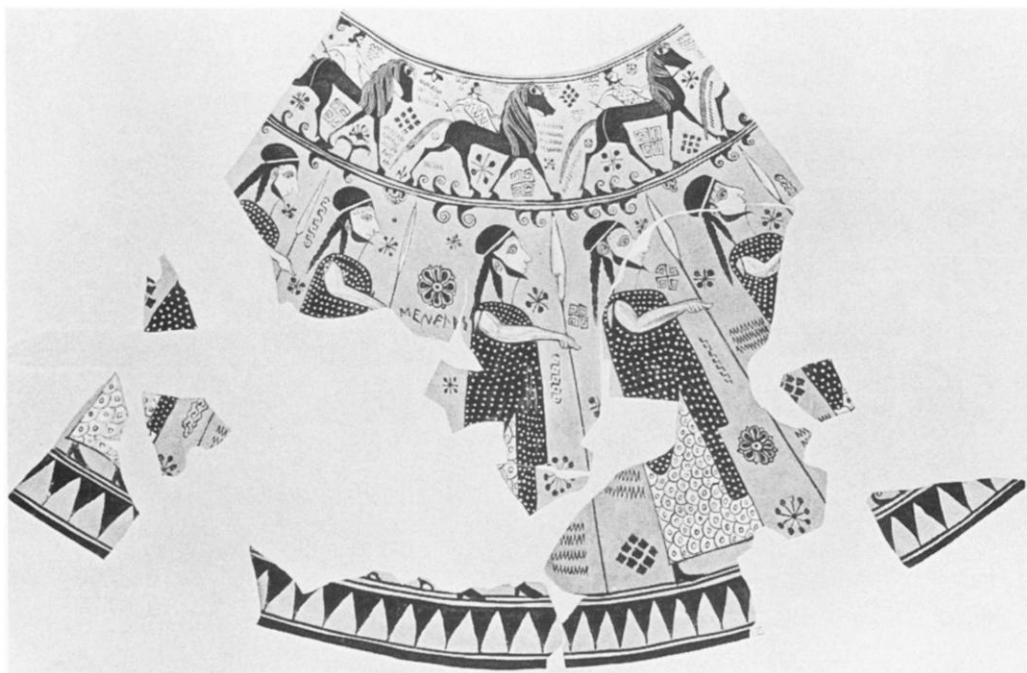
1 *The Dates*¹

The news of Xerxes' expedition is said by Herodotus to have reached Sparta before the rest of Greece and to have led to her consultation of the Delphic Oracle in good time for action, as would be natural. The implied date is late summer 481 (vii 220.3, 239.1). Athens also consulted Delphi at a very early stage (vii 139.6–144.3, 145.1). Most scholars have observed this implication²

¹ Professor Forrest has kindly read this article and discussed it helpfully with me. He assures me that he accepts most of my case: where he differs I have noted this in the text.

² How & Wells, *A commentary on Herodotus* ii (Oxford 1928) 181 on i 140.1.

PLATE IV



(a) Middle Protoattic stand, once Berlin, Antiquarium, A 42. After *CVA Berlin 1* (Germany 2, 1938) pl. 33.



(b)–(c) Middle Protoattic Stand, once Berlin, Antiquarium, A 41. After *CVA Berlin 1* (Germany 2, 1938) pl. 30.