

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

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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.

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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.

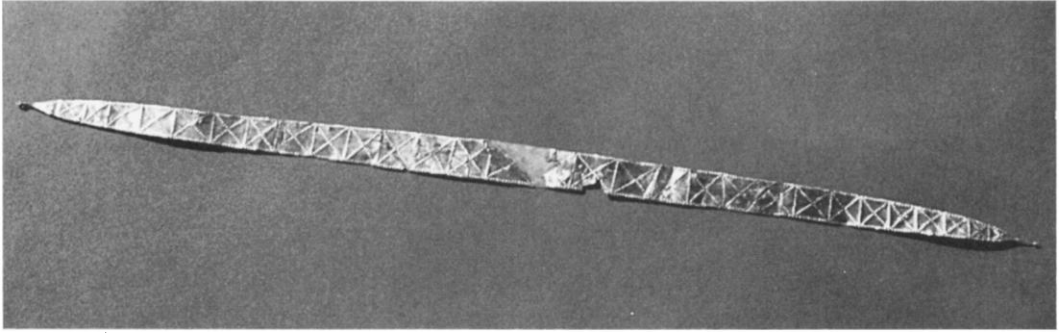
The Forethought of Themistocles

1 The Dates¹

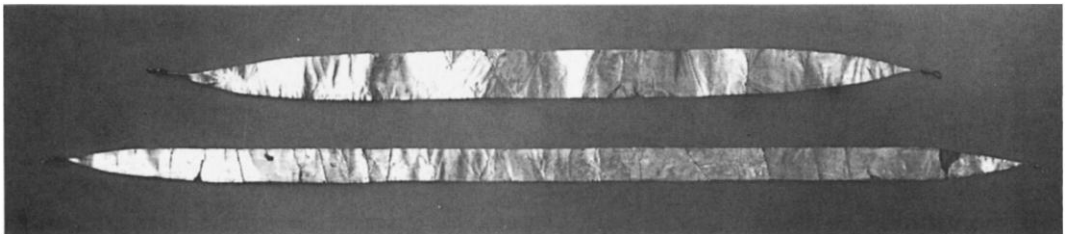
The news of Xerxes' expedition is said by Herodotus to have reached Sparta before the rest of Greece and to have led to her consultation of the Delphic Oracle in good time for action, as would be natural. The implied date is late summer 481 (vii 220.3, 239.1). Athens also consulted Delphi at a very early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



(a) Gold diadem from Aegina. Photo courtesy of Prof. H. Walter and Prof. S. Hiller.



(b) Two gold diadems from the Aegina Treasure. Photo courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.



(c) Red figure skyphos/glaux: Attic, c. 460–425 BC. Photo courtesy the City of Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery.

(a)–(b) A GOLD DIADEM FROM AEGINA
(c) MUSEUM SUPPLEMENT: THE CITY OF BIRMINGHAM MUSEUM AND ART GALLERY