

HERACLES AND THE OLD MAN OF THE SEA

IN 1918, the University Museum in Philadelphia acquired by purchase a very interesting and important Attic black-figured scyphus, the provenance of which is unknown. Its importance lies in the fact that it is one of only three black-figured vases to portray the scene, usually interpreted as the combat between Heracles and Nereus,—an interpretation which, in my opinion, is open to question, for reasons which I hope to develop, in the course of this paper.

The scene is divided into two parts, each part taking up one side of the vase. One side A. (Fig. 1) Heracles, at the left, ad-



FIGURE 1.—SCYPHUS IN PHILADELPHIA: SIDE A.

vances to right, and seizes his adversary by the neck with his left hand. Behind him, under the handle of the vase, are his club and quiver. In his right hand is an axe. His opponent is represented as an old man, who shrinks and cowers under the hero's grasp, and seeks to escape to the right. He is bearded, and dressed in a chlamys, and has a club in his left hand, which he is

handing to a woman, who is also fleeing to the right. As is usual in the black-figured technique, her flesh is rendered in white overcolor, and she wears a long chiton and himation. To her right, another woman, similarly attired, goes off, looking back, and holding up her hands in protest. Under the handle that comes at this point is a ram. In the field is conventional foliage.

On the other side of the vase (Fig. 2) are the spectators who are watching the struggle. At the right is Athena, looking to the right. In front of her is a tree, from which springs conventional foliage. Behind her is Iolaus, carrying a bow in his left hand, and



FIGURE 2.—SCYPHUS IN PHILADELPHIA: SIDE B.

a club in his right; while at the left is Hermes, walking to the right, but looking back, and identified by his winged hat and shoes. In the field are meaningless inscriptions.

In seeking for an interpretation for this vase, we at once think of the struggle between Heracles and Nereus, which is alleged to have taken place while the hero was seeking the road to the golden apples of the Hesperides. Heracles wrestles with him, and, though the god seeks to elude him by changing his shape frequently, the hero holds on to him, and finally secures the information that he seeks. The two women would then be two of the Nereids.

My purpose in bringing this vase to the attention of scholars is to try to show that the figure is not that of Nereus at all, but is the

same figure that occurs in the majority of the Attic black-figured vases that show Heracles in combat with a marine divinity, namely, the fish-tailed "Triton," and that both are representations of "The Old Man of the Sea" (ἀλιος γέρων), who is the original of the myth. His identification with Nereus comes relatively late in Greek literature, and the evidence of the vases and other works of art shows it to be incorrect.

The only other vases of the black-figured technique to show this scene in the same way as the scyphus in Philadelphia, that are known to me, are an amphora in the British Museum,¹ and a hydria in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.² Nor is this exploit much more frequent in the red-figured technique. Three examples of the struggle, portrayed in this way, are known to me, as follows:

Hydria, British Museum E162. Unpublished, but gives its name to Mr. J. D. Beazley's "Painter of the Nereus Hydria."³

Column-crater, Bologna, *Necr. Fels.* p. 74, No. 196, and fig. 45.

Vase in the form of a double disk; Athens, Collignon-Couve 1202.⁴

Besides these three vases, two others in the Louvre should be included. One, a cylix, No. G155, in fragmentary condition, is usually attributed to Brygos.⁵ Heracles, in this picture, has seized the trident of the sea-god, and threatens to destroy everything in sight if he does not reveal his secret. The god, at the right, protests in vain. The second, a "Nolan" amphora, No. G210, represents Heracles, axe in hand, attacking a house, identified by Pottier⁶ as that of Nereus, though that of Syleus is also suggested by him.⁷

¹ Catalogue, p. 147, No. B225. Unpublished. The following abbreviations will be used, beside the ordinary ones; *A. V.*, Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*; *V.A.*, Beazley, *Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums*; *W.V.*, Wiener *Vorlegebücher*; *Necr. Fels.*, *Catalogo dei Vasi . . . delle Necropoli Felsinee*, by Pellegrini, published in 1912.

² Catalogue (De Ridder) pp. 166-68, No. 255. Published, *A. V.* 112. Gerhard (*A. V.*, text, vol. II, p. 98, note 27) also speaks of an "archaic" cylix that was in the Canino collection at the time that he wrote, that also seems to show this scene. This may be black-figured, as he does not give its style.

³ *V.A.*, p. 61. Hoppin, *Handbook of Red-figured Vases*, Vol. II, p. 215.

⁴ Published, Benndorf, *Gr. Sicil. Vasenb.* pl. XXXII, 4.

⁵ Published by Klügmann, *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1878, pl. E. For a full bibliography, see Hoppin, *op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 137, No. 85.

⁶ Catalogue des Vases Antiques de Terre Cuite, Vol. III, p. 1025. The vase is unpublished. Pottier sees in this vase a "souvenir de quelque drame satyrique."

⁷ Gerhard (*A. V.*, text, Vol. II, p. 98, note 27) speaks of a "Nolan" amphora at that time in the Canino collection, which he claims to be a Heracles and Nereus vase.

On the other hand, the combat between Heracles and the fish-tailed monster, generally called Triton, and sometimes so inscribed on the vases, is very common indeed as a design in the black-figured period. Only one red-figured vase, however, a cylix apparently of an early style, now lost,¹ is known, which shows Heracles and Triton; though reference should here be made to the famous stamnos in the British Museum, No. E437, signed by Pamphaeus as potter, where the combat of Heracles and Achelous is portrayed in a manner distinctly recalling the "Triton" vases.²

I had reached this point in studying this subject, in connection with the scyphus in Philadelphia, when duties of a sterner nature



FIGURE 3.—RELIEF FROM ASSOS IN LOUVRE.

took me away from that city for about a year and a half, and archaeology became temporarily a side-issue, and of secondary importance. During my absence, the scyphus was very ably described and published by Miss Eleanor F. Rambo, who is correct in assigning it to the end of the black-figured period, at a time when the red-figured technique had already set in.³ Her publication was so thorough and competent that a republication seems almost an impertinence; but nevertheless I am taking this liberty, in order to bring together, coördinate, and unify, as far as it is possible, the representations of Heracles in combat with sea divinities. I also hope to show in a later paper, that the Philadelphia scyphus can be grouped with a large number of examples, all by the same hand.

¹ *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1882, pl. K. Formerly in Ciai and Mazetti collections, Chiusi. The publication is worthless to determine the style of painting.

² First published, Gerhard, *A.V.* 115. Full bibliography in Hoppin, *op. cit.* Vol. II, pp. 292–93, No. 10*. It should be remembered that Pamphaeus also signs black-figured vases, and, therefore, is much influenced by the early technique.

³ *Mus. J.* X, 1919, pp. 15–19, figs. 6 and 7.

The combats of Heracles with maritime deities are among the most puzzling subjects that appear on vases, because, while there are two sorts of representations, only one myth is known to literature, which is the one in connection with the apples of the Hesperides that I have quoted above.¹ Nowhere is Triton mentioned in connection with Heracles in the Greek literature that has come down to us; and yet, how is it that Heracles and Triton appear in combat so often, not only on the black-figured vases, but also on a relief from Assos (Fig. 3),² and, most impor-



FIGURE 4.—HERACLES AND TRITON: OLD TEMPLE OF ATHENA: ATHENS.

tant of all, as one of the pedimental sculptures on the “Old Temple” of Athena on the Acropolis at Athens (Fig. 4)?³

At first it would seem logical and sensible to identify “Triton” as one of the forms into which Nereus, according to Apollodorus, changed himself, and to maintain that the Triton vases and sculptures show, in reality, Nereus. This must, however, be ruled out, as in several instances Triton has his name inscribed over his head, while, in two vases, a black-figured amphora in the British Museum,⁴ and a black-figured hydria in the Louvre,⁵ a subsidiary

¹ See p. 175. Told by Apollodorus, *Bibl.* II, 5, 11, where Nereus is mentioned by name.

² In the Louvre; first published in *Mon. dell' Inst.* III, pl. 34. For other publications, see Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, pls. 411 and 412; Reinach, *Répertoire des Reliefs*, I, p. 3; Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq. Gr. et Rom.* fig. 3766; and Bacon, *Investigations at Assos*, pp. 145, 151, fig. 3, and 165.

³ Acropolis Museum Sculptures, No. 36. Waldmann, *Gr. Originale*, pl. 3, and elsewhere. The most recent publication is that of Heberdey, *Altattische Porossskulptur* (Vienna, 1919), No. II, p. 13 and pl. III.

⁴ *Catalogue*, p. 146, No. B223. Published, *ibid.* p. 21, fig. 29, also *J.H.S.* XXVI, 1906, p. 15, fig. 6, and Gardner, *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals* p. 445, fig. 160. P. Gardner, *Principles of Greek Art*, p. 241, fig. 80.

⁵ No. F298. Publ., *Album des Vases Antiques du Louvre*, Vol. II, pl. 84.

figure is inscribed with the name Nereus.¹ This makes it possible to identify as "Nereus" subsidiary figures on at least fifteen amphorae, fourteen hydriae, one cylix, two olpae, and two lecythi of the list of "Triton" vases that accompanies this paper.² We must, therefore, regretfully conclude that "Triton" and "Nereus" are two separate personalities in the minds of some of the vase-painters of the black-figured style. This is also, as was to be expected, true of the one red-figured "Triton" vase, where "Nereus" occurs on the opposite side from that on which the hero and "Triton" are painted. I reproduce at this point a photograph of a vase in New York, where both "Triton" and "Nereus" are shown (Fig. 5).³

But still the question remains unsolved, namely, to what myth these vases can refer. Gerhard,⁴ with an eagerness for mythological interpretation characteristic of the period of scholarship in which he lived, is at some pains to evolve a solution, quoting a passage from Euripides⁵ to prove his point;

¹ Three vases where the name of Triton is inscribed are the British Museum amphora, and hydriae in Berlin (Furtwängler 1906) and the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (No. 54).

² In the list, these vases are indicated by an asterisk placed in front of them.

³ I am greatly indebted to Miss G. M. A. Richter for her kind permission to republish this vase, which had already been published in *B. Metr. Mus.* XI, 1916, p. 254, fig. 3, and *Handbook of the Classical Collection*, 1917, pp. 78, 79, fig. 47. Its accession number is 16.70.

⁴ A.V., text, Vol. II, pp. 96 f.

⁵ *Herc. Fur.* 397 f.



FIGURE 5.—HYDRIA: METROPOLITAN MUSEUM: NEW YORK.

but this solution, showing though it does, much scholarly knowledge of the literature, seems, nevertheless, far-fetched, and can apply almost equally well to the "Nereus" legend. Walters¹ recognizes the impasse, and says that the "Triton" myth is unknown to the literature we possess; Millingen² writing a hundred years ago, in publishing a small vase with the combat of Heracles and "Triton," speaks of it as the struggle between the hero and Nereus; and his example is followed by Professor Fox,³ the latest writer on the subject, who republishes a lecythus in Syracuse⁴ showing Heracles and "Triton" and speaks of the combat as that between Heracles and Nereus, "the Ancient of the Sea." The writers in Daremburg-Saglio⁵ frankly take the bit in their teeth, and, disregarding the evidence offered by the inscriptions on the vases, declare that in the Heracles cycle, Nereus and Triton are one and the same.⁶

It seems to me, however, that the solution lies in ignoring for the moment the names Nereus and Triton, and coming back to the idea of one original sea divinity, *ἀλιος γέρων*, "the Old Man of the Sea." This is, in some measure, the idea given by the writer in Daremburg-Saglio,⁷ who says that "before recognizing Poseidon, the maritime peoples of Greece honored under the name of Halios Geron a marine divinity, of whom Nereus, Proteus, Phorcys, Glaucus, and Triton are only particular and local forms." He shows that in the early literature Nereus, Proteus and Phorcys are referred to by the common term of *ἀλιος γέρων*.⁸ He admits that Triton is never called by this name in literature, but on the other hand in the character of Triton, as finally evolved, most

¹ *History of Ancient Pottery*, Vol. II, p. 101.

² *Ancient Unedited Monuments*, I, pl. XI, and text.

³ *Greek and Roman Mythology*, pp. 87, 88.

⁴ Originally published by P. Orsi, in *Mon. Ant.* XVII, p. 406, and pl. XXV. Orsi, it should be noted, calls it the contest between Heracles and *ἀλιος γέρων*.

⁵ *s. vv.* Hercules, Triton.

⁶ I regret that in this connection I have been unable to consult the dissertations of Escher, *Triton und seine Bekämpfung durch Herakles*, published in 1890, or of Kourouniotis, *Herakles mit Halios Geron und Triton*, published in 1893. These dissertations have not been in any library to which I have had access. I, therefore, acknowledge at once that much material collected by these two scholars has doubtless escaped my notice, and that I may have repeated independently some of their conclusions.

⁷ *s. v.* Triton, p. 483.

⁸ Nereus, for example, is called Halios Geron in Homer, *Il.* I, 538, XVIII, 141, XX, 107, XXIV, 562: *Odyssey*, XXIV, 58: Hes. *Theog.* 1003, and as late as Pindar, *Pyth.* IX, 167.

of the characteristics of the original Old Man of the Sea from whom Nereus and Proteus develop are preserved.

We will now discuss two works of art where the formula $\ddot{\alpha}\lambda\iota\omega\sigma\gamma\acute{e}\rho\omega\nu$ is employed. The first, a vase (Fig. 6) will not hold us long. It is an Attic black-figured oenochoe, found at Vulci, and now in Berlin, signed by Cholchos as maker (+ΟΛΧΟΣ ΜΕΓΟΙΕΣΕΝ).¹ The principal scene shows the combat of Heracles and Cyenus. Cyenus (ΚΥΚΤΟΣ) has been overcome, and lies on the ground. Over his body strides Heracles (ΗΕΡΑΚΛΕΣ), about to fight Ares ([Α]ΡΕΣ), who is rushing to avenge his son. Between them is Zeus, with his thunderbolt. This figure has been repainted. Behind Heracles comes Athena (ΑΘΕΝΑΙΑ).

At each end is a chariot, heading away from the combat. That to the right is drawn by Fear (ΦΟ[Β]ΟΣ), that to the left by Iolaus (ΙΟΛΕΟΣ). From the right Apollo ([Α]ΓΟΛΩΝ) comes running towards the combat,

¹ Furtwängler, No. 1732. Published, A.V., 122, 123, W.V. 1889, pl. I, 2, and Buschor, Gr. Vasenm. ed. 1913, p. 137, fig. 89.



FIGURE 6.—OENOCHOE SIGNED BY CHOLCHOS: BERLIN.

while behind him stands Dionysus ($\Delta\!IONVS\!OS$). To balance Apollo on the left, Poseidon ($[\Gamma\!OS]E\!I\!D\!ON$), trident in hand, rushes to the support of Heracles. Behind him, corresponding to the figure of Dionysus at the right, stands a figure of a man, bearded, and draped in a himation. This figure is inscribed $\mathcal{H}\!A\!V\!I\!O\!S\ \Lambda\!E\!P\!O\!N$, $\alpha\lambda\iota\omega\gamma\acute{e}\rho\omega\nu$.

It is clear in the case of this vase that the "Old Man of the Sea" is considered to be "Nereus," and can be thought of as none other than the god who is somewhat later known by that name. This is important, in view of the manner in which the vase is painted, which shows it to be relatively early in the Attic black-figured technique. It shows strong Corinthian and Chalcidian influence, particularly the latter. The frieze of animals below the principal design suggests Chalcis, and strongly resembles those found on the François vase. Furthermore, in the signature, the formula $M\!E\!P\!O\!I\!E\!S\!E\!N$ is also early, rarely appearing as a rule after Execias and Amasis, both of whom employ it, and never, except in one isolated instance, in the red-figured technique.¹ We are, therefore, justified in placing this vase in the middle of the sixth century B.C.

Almost contemporary with this specimen, and, if anything, somewhat antedating it, is our second work of art, a bronze plaque, found at Olympia (Fig. 7).² Here we have a representation of Heracles in combat with a fish-tailed monster, corresponding almost exactly to the "Triton" of the somewhat later Attic black-figured vases. Over the head of Heracles runs the retrograde inscription $\wedge\!A\!A'$, which Furtwängler interprets as 'H] ρ ak[λ]ῆs. Around the lower right-hand corner runs the following inscription; $\mathcal{H}\!O\!P\!A\!I\!M\!O\!I\!H$. This inscription, also retrograde, is read by Furtwängler as $\alpha\lambda\iota\omega\gamma\acute{e}\rho\omega\nu$, and this reading is usually accepted.

The importance of this plaque is obvious. It shows at once that the original myth, at the time when the pedimental sculpture of the Old Temple of Athena on the Acropolis was set up,

¹ The only instance of this formula that I have been able to find in the red-figured technique is a signature of Pamphaeus (who, it must be remembered, is a "transitional" artist, signing both black-figured and red-figured vases) on a fragment of a stamnos in the British Museum, No. E457, fragment 1 ($\Gamma\!A\!V\!P\!A\!I\!O\!S\!M\!E\!P\!\dots$). See Hoppin, *op. cit.* II, p. 294, No. 11*.

² Curtius and Adler, *Olympia*, Vol. IV, p. 102, No. 699 and pl. XXXIX (Furtwängler). *Ausgrabungen von Olympia*, IV, pl. XXV B, and p. 19.

was of a contest between Heracles and a nameless Old Man of the Sea. Later the fish-tailed monster came to be called Triton, and Heracles is still represented in combat with him. The subsidiary figure of Nereus is introduced, identified by the inscription on the British Museum amphora; and in the later black-figured vases, and the bulk of the red-figured, "Nereus," so called, takes the place of Triton. It is well to recall, in this connection, that on none of the "Heracles and Nereus" vases,

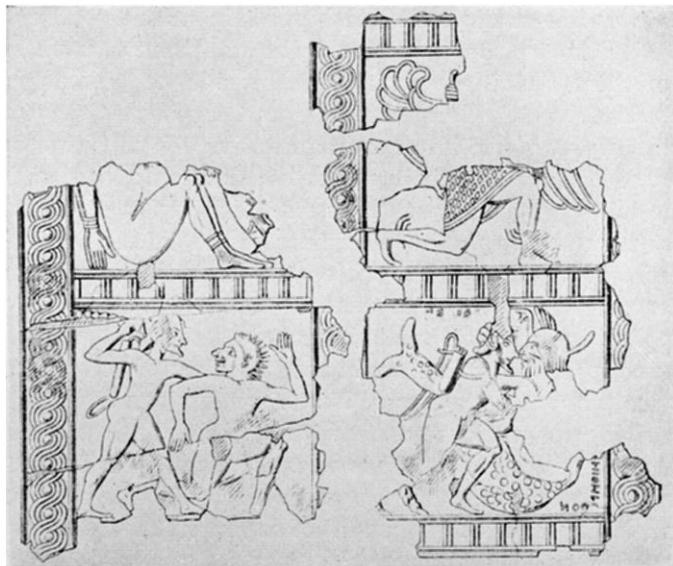


FIGURE 7.—BRONZE PLAQUE FROM OLYMPIA.

is the name of Nereus inscribed; so that he can be thought of, not as Nereus, but as Halios Geron in another form. Indeed, it is not till the late writer Apollodorus¹ that the name of Nereus definitely appears in connection with this myth as the adversary of Heracles. Therefore it seems better to go back to what was undoubtedly the original story, and discard the names Nereus and Triton altogether when referring to Heracles's combat, and call it the struggle between Heracles and *ἄλιος γέρων*.

It will then be asked, "How can you explain away the inscription *Tρίτων*² that sometimes appears over the head of the

¹ See p. 178, note 1.

² See p. 179, note 1.

figure of the Old Man of the Sea?" This certainly apparently offers an obstacle to the adoption of the theory, but it is not as serious as it would appear. The conception of Triton is very ancient, the name being mentioned very early in Greek literature.¹ This would show that for a time the fish-tailed Triton and the fish-tailed Halios Geron existed side by side, and could be easily confused, as the inscribed vases would suggest, by the Attic vase-painters. Furthermore in each case, the form of the god shows him to be of very early origin, the snaky fish-tail suggesting the snake-gods worshipped in primitive Greek religion.² Thus we can either make the statement that there are two of these divinities existing side by side, or that originally Triton and Halios Geron are one and the same, the former developing out of the latter more primitive deity. Later in the evolution of Greek mythology, the honors are divided, and Nereus, Proteus, and Phorcys share with Triton the attributes of Halios Geron. To the vase-painters of the black-figured technique, however, the combat of Heracles with the Old Man of the Sea, came, little by little, to mean Triton, as the inscribed vases show. At the time of Apollodorus it had shifted to mean Nereus, and, perhaps, we can see in the statement of the mythographer that the sea-god changed his form many times, an indirect reference to the various godheads that derive their origin from the same source; that he became first Nereus, then Triton, and so on. Those black-figured vases which, like the scyphus in Philadelphia, are usually thought of as representing the combat of Heracles and Nereus, are merely manifestations of *ἀλιος γέρων* in another form. When Nereus and Triton appear together on the same vase, it signifies either that Triton has inherited that part of the myth of the Old Man of the Sea which describes him as fighting with Heracles, and is really the Old Man of the Sea, *par excellence*, with whom Heracles wrestles; or else, as I have suggested above, there is a confusion among the vase-painters, between the two deities, owing to their similar form.

It would, therefore, seem probable that Apollodorus has erroneously, in this instance, taken Nereus to be Halios Geron, on the theory that he has inherited so many of the attributes of that primitive god; and has lost sight of the fact that Nereus is not the sole heir to the attributes of his predecessor in marine

¹ First by Hesiod, *Theog.* 930 f.

² See Jane Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, Ch. 1.

demonology, but that they are divided, and that, in this case, Triton, as is proved by the Olympia plaque, if not himself a direct survival of Halios Geron, retains many of his characteristics, and must be regarded as the legatee. However, it is far wiser and more in keeping with the evidence afforded by the works of art, to drop such later names as Nereus or Triton, in connection with Heracles, and retain the title Halios Geron, "The Old Man of the Sea."

A list of vases portraying the combat of Heracles with the fish-tailed Old Man of the Sea is herewith given, which is as complete as I could make it. Vases preceded by an asterisk have the supplementary figure of "Nereus" represented in the picture. Previous publications of the different vases will be given in footnotes, wherever they occur. It will at once appear from this list how popular a subject this was in the Attic black-figured technique.¹

AMPHORAE. ALL BLACK-FIGURED.

* before a vase means that "Nereus" appears in the picture with "Triton;"

** before a vase indicates that a figure called "Nereus" appears on Side B.

1. Munich, Jahn 161. B. Bacchic.
2. " " 391. B. Chariot scene.
3. " " 443. B. Horseman with dog, between two warriors.
4. " " 721. B. Woman and two warriors.²
5. " " 1261. B. Athena, Hermes, and Dionysus.
- * 6. " " 1271. B. Bacchic.
- ** 7. " " 1292. B. Nereus, seated, with seated woman.
8. Würzburg, Urlichs 90. B. Battle between two warriors.
- * 9. " " 109. B. Ajax and Teucros (?) between two old men.
10. " " 263. B. Heracles and the Nemean Lion.
- *11. British Museum, B201. B. Apotheosis of Heracles.
- *12. " " B223. B. Bacchic. (HEPAKΛΕΕΣ ΤΠΙΤΟΝ
ΝΕΠΕΕ[V]Σ.)³
- *13. British Museum, B224. B. Warrior arming.

¹ This list was compiled from references to Heracles vases collected by me in 1913, supplemented by the lists given by Gerhard (*A. V.*, text, Vol. II, pp. 95-96, footnote 12), Petersen (*Ann. dell' Inst.* 1882, pp. 75-77), and Studniczka (*Ath. Mitt.* XI, 1886, pp. 61 f.). The article by Stephani (*C. R. Acad. St. Petersbourg*, 1867, p. 22) was of no great value to me in listing these vases, as Stephani's list is repeated by Petersen.

² Published, Millingen, *Peintures Antiques de Vases Grecs*, pl. 32.

³ Published, *Catalogue*, p. 21, fig. 29. *J.H.S.* XXVI, 1906, p. 15, fig. 6. E. N. Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sports*, p. 445, fig. 160. P. Gardner, *Principles of Greek Art*, p. 241, fig. 80.

- *14. Athens, Coll.-Couve, 750. B. Poseidon, Hermes, and draped woman.
- 15. Athens, Graef, *Akropolis-Vasen*, 773. Fragments.¹
- 16. Naples, Heydemann 3419. B. Apollo, Leto (?), Hermes, and Dionysus.
- 17. Naples SA116. *On both sides of vase.*
- 18. Museum of Palermo. B. Unknown to me.²
- 19. " " " " " " " ".²
- 20. Petrograd, Stephani 77. B. Bacchic.
- **21. Louvre F234. B. Nereus between two Nereids.
- **22. Marseilles 1596. B. Nereus and two Nereids.³
- 23. Zurich, Blümner 11. B. Youth on horseback.
- *24. Vatican. Helbig, *Führer*, 3rd ed., I, p. 299, No. 469 (49). B. *Same subject.*⁴
- 25. Boston, 80. 621 (Robinson 320). B. Bacchic.
- 26. Boulogne 67. B. Athena and Encelados.
- 27. Compiegne 978 (formerly Magnoncour 40). B. Bacchic. ~~ΣΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ.~~
- 28. Museum of Corneto. B. Bacchic.⁵
- *29. Conservatori Palace, Rome. B. Unknown to me.²
- **30. Thorvaldsen Museum, Copenhagen. B. Nereus with sceptre, and Hermes.
- 31. Noel des Vergers Sale Cat., 113. B. Three Nereids.
- 32. Forman Sale Cat., 301. B. Combat scene.
- 33. Sarti Sale Cat., 274. B. Bacchic.
- *34. Seen by Gerhard "in the possession of Miss Gordon in London." B. Nereus between two Nereids. (A.V. II, p. 95, No. k.)
- *35. Formerly in collection of Lucien Bonaparte. B. Heracles and the Nemean Lion. (A.V. *loc. cit.*, No. o.)
- *36. Seen by Gerhard "in the trade in Rome." B. Battle scene. (A.V. *loc. cit.*, No. p.)
- 37. Formerly in the possession of Basseggio. B. Warriors and women. (A.V. *loc. cit.*, No. r.)
- 38. Formerly in the Durand Collection; *Cabinet Durand*, No. 300. B. Palaestra scenes. (A.V. *loc. cit.*, No. u.)
- 39. Seen by Gerhard "in the trade in Rome." B. Three hoplites. (A.V. *loc. cit.*, No. v.)
- 40. Castellani, *Bull. dell' Inst.* 1866, p. 181. B. Hermes between two women.
- 41. *Bull. dell' Inst.* 1857, p. 25, No. 22. B. Three nymphs.
- 42. Formerly in Barone Coll., Naples. *Bull. Nap.*, I, 118. B. Not known to me.
- 43. Basseggio, *Bull. dell' Inst.*, 1851, p. 68. B. *Same subject.*⁶

Total of amphorae, 43.

¹ Published, Graef, pl. 52.

² These vases are described from notes taken by me in the museums, where I could not see the reverse sides.

³ Published, Penon, *Catalogue de la coll. Campana*, pl. III, 1.

⁴ Published, *Mus. Greg.* ed. 2, II, pl. XLIII.

⁵ Published, *Ann. dell' Inst.*, 1882, pl. I.

⁶ Since writing the above I have seen another amphora showing this subject,—Toronto, C 316. B. Groom with horse and maidens. This vase is in the style of Execias.

HYDRIAE. ALL BLACK-FIGURED.

44. Louvre F38. Signed by Timagoras.¹ On shoulder, assembly of gods. ΤΙΜΑΛΟΡΑ ΕΓΡΟΙΕΣΕ . ΑΝΔΟΚΙΔΕΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ ΔΟΚΕΙ ΤΙΜΑΛΟΡΑΙ.

45. Louvre F51.² On either side, youths. On shoulder, battle scene.

46. " F52.

47. " F286.³ On shoulder, chariot scene. Meaningless inscription.

*48. " F298.⁴ ΝΙΚΕΣΙΓΡΟΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ. ΗΡΑΚΛΕΣ, ΝΕΠΕΒΣ, ΑΝΦΙΤΡΙΤΕ. On shoulder, chariot scene.

*49. New York 06.1021.48.⁵ On shoulder, Achilles pursuing Troilos.

*50. " " 12.198.3. On shoulder, Theseus and Antiope. ΑΝΤΙΟΓΕΙΑ ΘΕΣΕΒΣ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΣ.

*51. " " 16.70.⁶ On shoulder, Bacchic.

*52. Petrograd, Stephani 25. On shoulder, Heracles and the Nemean Lion.

*53. " " 142. On shoulder, battle scene. ΟΝΕΤΟΡΙΔΕΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ (probably by Execias).

*54. British Museum B311. On shoulder, animals.

*55. " " B312.⁷ On shoulder, Judgment of Paris.

*56. Munich, Jahn 134. On shoulder, Heracles and the Nemean Lion.

57. Munich, Jahn 432. The exploit is on the shoulder; below, chariot scene.

58. Boston 99.522. Forman Sale Cat., 284, formerly in Campanari and Rogers collections. On shoulder; grooms and horses.

*59. Boston 01.8058. On shoulder, battle scene. Four καλός-names. ΕΥΓΑΡ . . . ΤΟΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ, ΜΝΕΣΙΛΑ ΚΑΛΕ, ΑΜ . ΘΟΕ ΚΑΛΕ + ΟΙΡΟΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ. Forman Sale Cat., 283.

60. Berlin 1906.⁸ On shoulder, Bacchic. ΗΡΑΚΛΕΕ (K modern) ΖΟΝΟΤΙΡΤ (T modern) ΚΤΕΣΙΛΕΟΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ.

61. Athens, Graef, *Akropolis-Vasen* 738.⁹ Fragmentary.

62. Fitzwilliam Museum 54.¹⁰ On shoulder, warrior attacked by chariots. Η[Ε]ΡΑΚΛΕΣ, ΛΙΟΤΙΡΤ, ΖΟΝΤΙΟ . . (Ποντιθόη) ΑΠΟΙΛ . . Κ (Καλλιχώρα?)

63. Conservatori Palace, Rome, No. 158.¹¹ The design is on the shoulder.

64. Art Institute, Chicago. Much restored. Modern inscription ΚΑΛΟΣ ΗΑΘΙΣ.

¹ Published, *W.V.*, 1889, pl. V, No. 3.

² Published, *Album des Vases Antiques du Louvre*, Vol. II, pl. 67.

³ Published, *ibid.* pl. 82.

⁴ Published, *ibid.* pl. 84.

⁵ Published, Canessa Sale Cat., pl. 15, No. 46, and pl. II.

⁶ Published, *B. Metr. Mus.* XI, 1916, p. 254, fig. 3; *Handbook Classical Collection*, 1917, pp. 78, 79, and fig. 47; and Fig. 5 of this paper.

⁷ Shoulder design published in British Museum, *Catalogue of Black-figured Vases*, p. 26, fig. 34.

⁸ Published, Gerhard, *Etr. Camp. Vasenb.* pls. XV–XVI, 5 and 6.

⁹ Published, Graef, pl. 47.

¹⁰ Published, *Catalogue*, p. 29, and pl. XVI.

¹¹ Described from notes taken in the museum. Made no entry of main design.

- *65. Formerly in Fontana Coll. Trieste, No. 17.¹ Signed by Tychios. The design is on the shoulder; below, Athena in quadriga, with Apollo and Hermes. On lip, TY+IOS ΕΓΟΙΕΣΕ . . Η. On body, ΑΘΕΑΛΙΑ, ΑΓΟΛΟΝΟΣ, ΣΟΜΠΕΗ.
- *66. Formerly in Durand Coll. Cabinet Durand, 302.² On shoulder, Apotheosis of Heracles.
- 67. Paravey Sale Catalogue 13. On shoulder, battle-scene. (Beugnot Cat., 31.)
- *68. De Witte, *Cab. Etrusque*, 85. On shoulder, combat. (A.V., *loc. cit.*, p. 95, No. b.)
- 69. Formerly in the collection of Lucien Bonaparte. On shoulder, Bacchic. (A.V., *loc. cit.*, No. f.)
- *70. "Campanari'sche Hydria." (A.V., *loc. cit.*, No. h.) The design is on the shoulder; below, quadriga.³
- 71. Hydria formerly in the Pizzuti collection.⁴
- *72. Canessa Sale Cat., 1903, No. 51.⁵

Total, twenty-nine hydriae.

LECYTHI. ALL BLACK-FIGURED.

- 73. Athens, Coll.-Couve 726.
- 74. " " " 888.
- 75. Museum of Syracuse; found at Gela.⁶
- 76. " " " " " Megara Hyblaea.
- 77. Munich, Jahn 1134.
- *78. Vienna, Sacken und Kenner, p. 196, No. 77.
- *79. Karlsruhe 184. ΟΓ . . ΛΟΣ (ο παῖς καλός;)

Total, seven lecythi.

CYLICES. BLACK-FIGURED.

- 80. Museum of Corneto, "Kleinmeister" type. Design in interior.⁷ +ΑΙΠΕ ΚΑΙ ΓΙΕΙ ΕΥ (twice).
- *81. Museum of Taranto, "Kleinmeister" type. Design on both sides of exterior.
- 82. Cook Collection, Richmond.⁸ Design in interior.
- 83. Athens, Graef, *Akropolis-Vasen*, 1554.⁹

¹ Published, *W.V.* 1889, pl. VI, 1.

² Published, Gerhard, *A.V.* 111.

³ It is quite likely that this vase is the same one as the vase in the Conservatori Palace. It is not the vase mentioned in *A.Z.* 1856, p. 248, as Petersen thinks. That vase is either the hydria in Cambridge, or the one in Boston, No. 99.522.

⁴ Petersen, *Ann. dell' Inst.*, 1882, p. 77, No. N.

⁵ Published in Sale Catalogue, pl. II, No. 4.

⁶ Published, *Mon. Ant.* XVII, pl. XXV.

⁷ Published, *Mon. dell' Inst.*, XI, pl. 41.

⁸ Published, Burlington Fine Arts Club *Catalogue*, 1904, No. 14, pls.

LXXXIX, XCII.

⁹ Published, Graef, pl. 82.

RED-FIGURED.

*84. Cylix, now lost, formerly in Ciai and Mazetti Collections, Chiusi.¹ This is the only known red-figured vase to show the contest in this manner. Total, four black-figured cylices and one red-figured cylix.

SCYPHI. ALL BLACK-FIGURED.

85. Athens, Coll.-Couve 816. Design repeated on side B.

86. " Graef, *Akropolis-Vasen*, 1322.² Fragment.

87. Karlsruhe 198.

88. Museum of Taranto. Design repeated on side B.

Total, four scyphi.

OENOCHOAE. ALL BLACK-FIGURED.

89. British Museum B493.

90. " " B494.

Total, two oenochoae.

OLPAE. ALL BLACK-FIGURED.

*91. Petrograd, Stephani 38.

*92. Conservatori Palace, Rome.

Total, two olpae.

CELEBE. BLACK-FIGURED.

93. Athens, Graef, *Akropolis-Vasen* 675. Fragmentary.³

Total, one celebe.

LOST VASES OF UNKNOWN SHAPE. ALL BLACK-FIGURED.

94. Small vase, published by Millingen.⁴ Shape unknown.

95. Dubois, *Notice d'une Collection*, No. 81. Petersen, *Ann. dell' Inst.*, 1882, No. F.

DOUBTFUL VASES.

There remain a number of vases which have been assigned to this subject by various hands, and which, for various reasons must, in my opinion, be rejected. Some of these would, if accepted, be very important and helpful in the confirmation of the theory which it has been the object of this paper to prove.

First of these doubtful vases and most important is a fragmentary pinax found in a bee-hive tomb excavated by the British at

¹ Published, *Ann. dell' Inst.*, 1882, pl. K.

² Published, Graef, pl. 72.

³ Published, *ibid.* pl. 45.

⁴ Published, Millingen, *Ancient Unedited Monuments*, Vol. I, pl. XI.

Praesos in Crete.¹ Hopkinson, in publishing it, assigns it without any question to this subject, and is right in using the term *ἄλως γέρων*, rather than Triton in discussing the myth. Here we have a youth grappling a large fish-tailed creature, of which only the tail and part of the back are preserved. There is nothing to prove that the upper parts of the monster were human. Therefore, I prefer the theory advanced by Professor Elderkin of Princeton University² that this vase-painting does not represent the combat of Heracles and *ἄλως γέρων*, but rather suggests Theseus borne up to the surface from the depths of the sea by a large fish, representing the continuation of the story told by Bacchylides,³ and illustrated by the Theseus-Amphitrite cylix by Euphronius in the Louvre.⁴ Furthermore, as Professor Elderkin points out, the painting gives no indication of any struggle; the man grasps the back of the monster, not with any attempt to wrestle with him, but simply to hang on to him. Professor Elderkin also declares that enough of the monster is preserved to show that the upper parts could not have been human, which, if true, is sufficient to clinch the matter, without trying to seek any other interpretation. If accepted, this would be the earliest vase-painting to show the subject, as it antedates by at least half a century the black-figured vases of this list. Moreover it probably antedates the plaque from Olympia also.

There are several other works of art which have been assigned to this subject without sufficient grounds, as it seems to me, of which I shall merely mention the vases. This is a class of objects where Triton alone is shown, without Heracles. The first of these is an amphora in the Louvre, No. F397, in describing which, Pottier⁵ says, “*L'épisode de Triton, d'où le héros principal, Hercule, a disparu par une singulière omission du peintre, qui a pourtant conservé au vaincu son attitude désespérée.*” This seems to me far-fetched. Triton appears alone on many vase-paintings, and, if we are to attribute this one to the Heracles myth, there is no reason why all of the vases where Triton appears

¹ Published, *B.S.A.* X, 1904–05, pp. 148–53, and pl. III; *Ath. Mitt.* 1906, p. 391, fig. 2, and elsewhere.

² In *A.J.A.* XIV, 1910, pp. 190–92.

³ Bacchylides, XVI, 97f.

⁴ Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Gr. Vasenm.* pl. V. For full bibliography, see Hoppin, *op. cit.* I, p. 398–9, No. 11.*

⁵ *Catalogue*, Vol. III, p. 813.

alone should not be so attributed; and therein, as it would seem to me, madness lies. For similar reasons, a fragmentary cylix from the Acropolis at Athens (Graef, *Akropolis-Vasen*, No. 1575)¹ is suggested as a possible Heracles-Halios Geron vase. There is, however, more reason for this, in that the cylix is in fragments, and while Triton appears alone, there is no reason to suppose that Heracles may not have figured on a missing part. Another vase, a red-figured cylix in the British Museum, No. E109² is sometimes referred to this subject, and should certainly be rejected, as there is nothing whatever to make us suppose that the vase-painter had Heracles in mind at all.

Finally there remains a class of vases that may possibly represent this subject, but which should probably also be rejected. Two of these are black-figured and one is red-figured. The first is a fragment of a large vase, in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, from Naucratis.³ This is assigned by Mr. Robinson to Heracles and Triton, without, in my opinion, sufficient grounds. The second is a small black-figured lecythus in the Historical Museum in Berne, which I saw and took notes on in the autumn of 1914. On this vase the drawing is so bad that it is hard to know just what the designer intended to portray; but Heracles certainly figures, and it would seem that it must have been intended for the struggle with Halios Geron.

The red-figured specimen is a fragment of a cover for a vase, in the British Museum, No. E812, fragment 4.⁴ Heracles is identified by the tail and paws of the lion's skin; his legs are bent, as if struggling or wrestling, and the writer of the catalogue suggests that "Triton" is the adversary. But this seems hardly probable, in view of the fact that no part of the fish-tailed monster appears in the fragment. In the vases that show this subject, Heracles and the Old Man of the Sea are wrestling in such a way that any fragment that showed any part of the hero would necessarily show some part of his adversary. Furthermore, so many of the exploits and labors of Heracles take the form of wrestling and struggling, that this fragment might have portrayed any of a

¹ Published, Graef, pl. 82.

² Published, *Él. Cér.*, III, 33. Wrongly grouped by Petersen in his list of vases (*Ann. dell' Inst.* 1882, No. L).

³ *Catalogue*, Robinson, No. N 175.

⁴ *Catalogue of Red-figured Vases*, p. 384.

great many of his deeds, such as the Cretan Bull, the Erymanthian Boar, Achelous, the Hydra, and others.

This paper, then, is the result of my study of the scyphus in Philadelphia. I have sought to show that the vases showing Heracles in combat with "Triton" and the vases with the hero attacking "Nereus" really are portraying the same exploit, the two forms of adversary to Heracles being two distinct manifestations of Halios Geron; "Nereus" being Halios Geron as he appears on the oenochoe of Cholchos, and "Triton" being Halios Geron as he is represented on the Olympia plaque. There is, therefore, no particular difficulty regarding this class of vases, when the true interpretation is reached.

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