

GERYONEIS: STESICHORUS AND THE VASE-PAINTERS

IN *Ox. Pap.* xxxii (1967) 1 ff., no. 2617, Mr. Lobel published fragments which he shows reason to believe are from Stesichorus' *Geryoneis*. Further work has been done on them by Professor D. L. Page and Mr. W. S. Barrett, and the more substantial fragments are included in an Appendix to Page's *Lyrica Graeca Selecta* (Oxford, 1968). Fr. 4, the most considerable piece, describes how, in Lobel's words: 'a person, who I do not think there is much room to doubt is Heracles, delivers a secret attack on somebody which consists in shooting him through the head. Though only one "forehead", one "crown", and one "neck" are mentioned and the Geryones of Stesichorus had six hands and six feet (Page, *MG* fr. 186; Stesichorus, fr. 9; *LGS* fr. 56) and therefore presumably three heads, as elsewhere (e.g. Hes. *Theog.* 287), the possibility that Geryones is here in question does not seem to be ruled out.' He also noted that in papyrus fr. 3. 8 (*LGS* 56A) a possible restoration is Γαρυῶναν θ[αν]άτου and in papyrus fr. 11. 4 (*LGS* 56C) σε Γ'αρυῶνα γωνάζομα[ι]. Γαρ[υῶνας has now been read in 4. ii. 14 (*LGS* 56E, 31) by Page and Barrett independently, and there seems next to no doubt that Lobel's identification of the poem is correct. The difficulty noted by him in the passage quoted can, I think, be resolved by a consideration of the representations in archaic art of the combat between Herakles and Geryones; and some of these perhaps throw some light also on other obscurities in the fragments of the poem.¹

The subject is found on a crude Protocorinthian pyxis from Phaleron in the British Museum, of perhaps the middle of the seventh century;² on a fragmentary Corinthian cup from Perachora in Athens, of the first quarter of the sixth;³ on Argive bronze shield decorations from Delphi and Olympia of about the same time;⁴ and it was also shown on the Chest of Cypselus at Olympia.⁵ In sculpture it is found on metopes of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi,⁶ of the end of the sixth or very beginning of the fifth century, as well as on those of two fifth-century temples, of Zeus at Olympia⁷ and of Hephaestus

¹ A draft of this paper was given to the Oxford Philological Society. It was also read by Mr. W. S. Barrett, and the present version owes a great deal to his comments, and to information he has given me on improvements made to the papyrus-text by himself and by Professor Page, who has also very kindly read the draft.

² 65. 7-20. 7; Johansen, *VS* 94, 144 and pl. 24, 2. This certainly represents the subject and is certainly much the oldest surviving representation. The very crude style makes exact dating difficult, but shape and decoration alike point to a date around the middle of the seventh century. See further below.

³ Brock, in Dunbabin, *Perachora* ii. 262, no. 2542, pls. 106, 110. See further below.

⁴ Kunze, *Arch. Schildebänder (Ol. Forsch.* ii. 1950, 106 ff., pls. 30, 50-2, 63, 65). See further below.

⁵ Paus. 5. 19. 1. On the Throne of Apollo at Amyclae Herakles was shown driving the oxen (*ibid.* 3. 18. 13). Herakles and the cattle are shown also on a few Attic black-figure vases: see Brommer, *Vasenlisten*² 51, and Beazley, *ABV* 376, Leagros Group no. 234 (column-krater Bologna 51, from Bologna, Zannoni, pls. 76, 9 and 23-4), and 377, no. 245 (oenochoe Boulogne, 476, Pfuhl, fig. 282). See also below, p. 219, with n. 11.

⁶ *F. de D.* iv. 4. 141-57, pls. 66-73; Poulsen, *Delphi*, 171-4, figs. 67-9. The scene occupied the six metopes of the west end, all very ill preserved: 1, Herakles (feet only surviving) and the hound; 2, Geryon (see below, p. 209 n. 4); 3-6, cattle.

⁷ *Ol.* iii. 170 ff., figs. 201-4, pl. 40, 9; Buschor und Hamann, pls. 91 f.; Ashmole, Yalouris, and Frantz, *Olympia* 27, figs. 180-5. See also p. 209 n. 4 and p. 211 n. 3.

(the 'Theseum') at Athens.¹ It is exceedingly popular on Attic black-figure vases through the second half of the sixth century and to several of these I shall return;² but the finest pictures, and the most pertinent, are on two 'Chalcidian' black-figure vases of the mid-sixth;³ an Attic black-figure vase of the same time (at the very beginning of the series); and two Attic red-figure cups from late in the century, contemporary with the latest black-figure examples.

The more important of the Chalcidian vases, a neck-amphora from Vulci in the Cabinet des Médailles,⁴ gives a comprehensive picture of the combat at an early stage. Garywones, winged as in Stesichorus (Page, *PMG* fr. 9; *LGS* 56), strides forward to the spectator's left, his three heads erect, three shields at the ready, brandishing his three spears. Herakles, wearing the lion-skin, faces him, likewise striding forward, and draws his bow. At his feet the ogre's hound (not named)⁵ lies dead on its back. The cause of death is not shown, but the herdsman Eurytion, prone to the right beside his master, has an arrow between his shoulders. At the level of the shield-tops is seen another arrow, apparently lodged or lodging in one of the three throats or breasts, but the monster is as yet unaffected by it. Behind Herakles stands his patroness Athenaia, with huge-snaked aegis and a spear held protectively over the hero; behind her the magnificent herd; and on the back of the vase, between the cattle and Garywones' wings, a frontal chariot with helmeted charioteer between two birds in flight. The chariot has been thought the hero's, but is

¹ Sauer, *Sog. Thes.* 176 ff., pl. v. See also p. 209 n. 4.

² Below, p. 210 n. 1, p. 213 nn. 6-8, p. 214 nn. 1, 4, 5. More than 60 examples are known. Some of them are collected and illustrated by P. A. Clement, *Hesp.* xxiv (1955) 1 ff., pls. 1-5. Brommer, *Vasenlisten*² (1960), lists two Corinthian, two Chalcidian, five Attic red-figure, and sixty-four Attic black-figure. The Corinthian are mentioned above, p. 207 nn. 2 and 3, the Chalcidian discussed below, as are two of the red-figure. The third is Beazley, *ARV*² 163, Paseas (the Cerberus Painter) no. 10, a fragmentary cup in the Villa Giulia and Heidelberg; see Beazley, *Camp. Fr.*, pl. 1, 8-9, etc., where he also mentions the other two (both fragmentary cups): Athens, National Museum, Acropolis fr. 46 (Langlotz, pl. 3) and 123. All are of the late sixth century. See also p. 211 n. 2, and p. 214 n. 8. The subject then disappears from the Athenian repertoire, but is found occasionally in fourth-century South Italian vase-painting, a Hellenistic relief-bowl (Hausmann, pl. 67, 1) and Roman sarcophagi. See below, p. 209 n. 4.

³ The place of origin of these vases is not established. Some of them carry inscriptions in the Chalcidian alphabet, and Rumpf in his great monograph *Chalkidische Vasen* (1927) came down (40 ff.) in favour of Chalcis in Euboea, though recognizing the arguments

for a Western colony (chiefly the lack of finds from mainland and Eastern Greece: against this the quality, much superior to that of any painted pottery certainly produced in the West). H. R. W. Smith in *The Origin of Chalcidian Ware* (1932) argued for production by Greeks in Etruria, probably at Caere (Argylla); and R. M. Cook, *GPP* (1960), 159, admits the Etruscan claim as the strongest. The case for a South Italian colony, perhaps Rhegion, has been argued again by Vallet, *Rhégion et Zancle* (1958), 212 ff., 225 ff., 301. L. H. Jeffery, *Local Scripts* (1961), 81 and elsewhere, provisionally accepts Euboean Chalcis on epigraphic grounds. For a very interesting discussion see Boardman, *BSA* lii (1957), 12-14. Eleni Walter-Karydi in *CV4*, München, vi (1968), 23 f., describes the class as 'Inselionisch', regarding it as deriving from the 'Melian' group which, following Kontoleon, she thinks was produced on Paros.

⁴ 202; Rumpf, *Chalk. Vas.* 8 and 46, no. 3, 65 f., pls. 6-9.

⁵ Not named on any vase, but characterized (two heads, snake-headed tail) by Euphronios and others (see below). Hesiod calls him Orthos, later writers generally Orthros. See West on *Theog.* 293 (pointing out that he was Geryones' cousin) and Roscher s.v. Orthros.

probably rather a separate picture, like the framed-off frieze of horsemen on the shoulder of the vase.¹

The other Chalcidian picture, on an amphora from Caere in the British Museum,² ascribed to the same painter, decorates a panel, not a frieze, and so concentrates on a few figures only: Athenaia, Herakles (without lion-skin), and the triple Geryones. It also shows a different moment—perhaps a different version—of the fight. Geryones—winged here too—collapses, one body falling forward, one backward, while the third, slumping, is held more or less upright by the hero's grip on the stem of the helmet-crest as he drives a sword into the throat. His quiver is on his shoulder, but the bow is not to be seen nor are there any loosed arrows. Two at least of the giant's three spears are broken. One begins to see why in the papyrus-fragment forehead, crown, and neck are mentioned in the singular: the three bodies had to be dealt with each on its own, though, unlike the hydra-heads which gave the hero so much trouble on an earlier occasion, and whose gall he was using here on his arrows (papyrus fr. 4. ii 4–6; *LGS* 56E), these could die once only. The process of their elimination is illustrated in a way more directly relevant to the papyrus on the three best Attic examples, which come as noted at the beginning and end of the series. Before we consider those, however, this is perhaps the place for a note on different concepts of the ogre's anatomy.

Hesiod calls him simply three-headed; but the Protocorinthian picture shows that the concept of three complete bodies joined at the pelvis is as old as the mid-seventh century, and in art this remains the regular type. Stesichorus accepted it (Page, *PMG* fr. 9), saying that he had six hands and six feet, but added that he was winged. If he specified how many wings we are not told; representations in art which wing him give him two only, apparently one on each outermost shoulder of the triple torso.³

There are only two such representations, on the two Chalcidian vases we have just considered. In another respect, however, these Chalcidian pictures differ from Stesichorus and from the norm: the artist gives him only one pair of legs, conceiving him as dividing only above the hips. This makes in some ways a more satisfactorily horrifying monster, the 'Siamese-triplet' type being insufficiently different from just three men side by side, but it did not take on: these are the only two examples of it I know in archaic art.⁴ All the Attic vases show the older tradition: three complete bodies and no wings.

¹ See further below. On separate pictures not framed off from each other cf. Robertson, *GP* 77.

² B 155; Rumpf, loc. cit. 10 and 47, no. 6, 65 f., pls. 13–15.

³ On Cab. Méd. 202 the near wing is certainly on the outermost left shoulder but one cannot see where the other one springs. On B.M. B 155 the wings seem to belong to different bodies, but the painter is concerned to suggest the giant collapsing in confusion and the detailed structure will not stand up to examination. Dikaiopolis' challenge to Lamachus (*Ar. Ach.* 1082) *βοῦλει μάχεσθαι Γηρυόνη τετραπύλῳ*; is perhaps relevant.

⁴ On the Paris vase the painter has given the figure two left feet, but it would be a

mistake to suggest that this was deliberate and that he meant to imply four more legs, one left and three right, concealed behind. Had that been his intention he would have distinguished left and right and trebled the outline; cf. two Boreads chasing two Harpies on the Laconian cup from Caere in the Villa Giulia, Robertson, *GP* 70. Confusion of left and right occurs surprisingly often in black-figure and red-figure vase-painting, even in very good work like this (for examples in red-figure see *JHS* lxxiv (1954), 229 f.); it seems connected with the fact that the whole figure was drawn first in silhouette, the detail then added as a separate operation. On the metope from the Athenian Treasury at Delphi (above, p. 207 n. 6) the bodies are complete, as are those of the Hephaisteion

The first of these is a black-figure hydria, thought to be from Caere, in the Villa Giulia;¹ a mid-century piece, roughly contemporary with the Chalcidian vases, in poor condition but showing the unmistakable style of the painter Lydos at his best. As on the second Chalcidian vase, the picture here decorates a panel and the cast is limited. Athena does not appear this time, but besides the protagonists we have the dying neat-herd (who wears a very curious hat). There is no evidence that he has been shot, but the hero (wearing the lion-skin as he does in all the Attic pictures) draws his bow against the giant. Before we consider the figure of Geryones, however, we may look at the two red-figure cups.

One of these, from Vulci, is lost, but is known from a drawing sufficiently careful to allow the attribution of the original to the painter Olto,² who worked roughly through the last quarter of the sixth century. This was certainly rather a late work. The picture occupies the long space between the handles on one side of the kylix, so we are back to a many-figure composition as in the first Chalcidian vase: behind Herakles Athena and Iris—a group to which I shall return; behind Geryon an ox and a distressed woman, whose identity we shall be considering. The central group is very like Lydos' picture: the fallen herdsman, with seemingly a sword- or spear-wound in his breast, and Herakles drawing his bow against Geryon.

The second red-figure cup, also from Vulci, in Munich,³ is signed by the potter Kachrylion and the painter Euphronios. Olto also worked with Kachrylion, and the two cups he signed, both late works, were made by the potter Euxitheos who also worked with Euphronios. Euphronios was a younger

metope. In the no less ruined metope at Olympia, of the second quarter of the fifth century (above, p. 207 n. 7) it does look as though the artist had adopted the form with only one pair of legs, but in fact he has achieved this effect by concealing the further pairs behind the shield of a collapsing body, from whose head the helmet has fallen (cf. pap. fr. 4. i. 14–17, *LGS* 56E). Lucian's remark, *Toxaris* 62 (506), ὁποῖον τὸν Γηρυόνην οἱ γραφεῖς ἐνδείκνυνται ἄνθρωπον ἐξάχειρα καὶ τρικέφαλον, might be taken to imply this type, but the context makes it clear that he had three complete bodies in mind. The type dividing only above the hips does appear on a fourth-century Apulian vase (Gerhard, *Apul. Vas.* pl. 10) and again in Roman art, alongside that with three full bodies and a type (also found on a South Italian vase, Millingen, pl. 27 and evidently envisaged by Hesiod) with three heads alone (see Robert, *Ant. Sark.* iii. 1. 119); and again in a fresco of the Labours in the Vatican by a follower of the Pollaiuoli (Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance: Florentine School*, 1963, fig. 790); here too one body falls stricken while the others fight on. A strange avatar of Geryones is as the spirit presiding over the second of the three lowest regions of Dante's Hell, the circles of those who sinned by fraud. His triplicity makes

him a natural symbol of deceit, and Mr. Colin Hardie suggests to me that Dante may have been impressed by Servius' coupling, in his commentary on *forma tri-corporis umbrae* (*Aen.* 6. 289), of the three-bodied Geryon with Erylus who had three souls. He gives him, however, a triple form of medieval character, derived from the Locusts of Revelation and Pliny's *mandricola*. *Quella sozza imagine di frode* has the face of a just man, foreparts and shoulders of a hairy beast, the rest a marbled snake. He can fly, but not on wings, which would add a fourth element. The poet makes it clear that he swam through the thick atmosphere with paws and tail; but the point is not taken by all his illustrators (e.g. Lorenzo Vecchietta in Pope-Hennessy, *A Sienese Codex of the Divine Comedy*, Oxford, 1947, pl. 20), although they, unlike the vase-painters, were setting out to illustrate a text—a relevant point.

¹ M. 340; Beazley, *ABV* 108, no. 14 and 685, with refs.; *Dev.* 48; Rumpf, *Sak.*, pls. 13a, 15 a–b, and pp. 11 and 27, no. 76.

² *ARV*² 62, no. 84; des Vergers, *L'Étrurie et les Étrusques*, pl. 38; Klein, *Euphronios* 81.

³ 2620; Beazley, *ARV*² 16 f. and 1619, no. 17, with refs.; FR, pl. 22; Pfuhl, *MuZ*, fig. 391; Lullies und Hirmer, *GVRZ*, pls. 12–16.

man than Oltos and one of the pioneers of a new style of drawing, but the two artists certainly influenced each other. Euphronios' Geryoneis is not one of his most advanced works, and I cannot say whether it or the Oltos were painted earlier, but I think the compositions are related. Euphronios' cup, however, is larger, the picture goes right round the outside and embraces more figures, and the narrative content is not identical. Herakles and [Ger]yones (names are written on this vase, as on the Chalcidian pieces but not on those of Lydos or Oltos) occupy the centre of one side, but between them instead of the herdsman the hound, two-headed and snake-tailed, lies on its back, an arrow in its chest, and Herakles does not draw his bow but, grasping it and two arrows in his left hand, swings his club in his right. Behind Geryones, not named, the distressed woman is seen, and behind her, under the handle, a palm-tree. Behind Herakles is Athe[naia], moving forward but looking back to Ioleos bearded and armed, who stands still. Behind him, under the handle, Eurytion has collapsed, eye rolled up, bleeding from the thigh—again one would say a sword- or spear-wound. On the other side of the shallow bowl the cattle are shown under a spreading tree, guarded by three nameless warriors, always called companions of the hero like Iolaus.¹

What particularly interests us in all three representations is the figure of Geryones. Two of his bodies are alive and active, but the third falls back with an arrow in the eye. Oltos and Euphronios show the shaft as having entered slightly from above and not pierced through the head, but on the black-figure vase it has gone in steeply from below and the point sticks out above the forehead. So, in the papyrus, there is an arrow which 'silently he cunningly stuck in (his enemy's) forehead', which 'cut through the flesh' and 'held straight on as far as the crown of his head' (4. ii. 6-11, *LGS* 56E: Lobel's translation);² and the consequences described in the following lines, in so far as they can be reconstructed, seem equally to fit the pictures: blood running down to stain the corselet, the declining neck, the falling crosswise like a poppy.

This is in column ii of fr. 4, thirteen lines of which are missing at the beginning. At the end of column i a shield is mentioned, and a crested helmet (falls) from someone's head and lies on the ground, something not seen in any vase-painting.³ Mr. Barrett points out to me that the question must remain open whether these accoutrements belong to the same body as that struck by the arrow in col. ii, or another.⁴ Given the remarkable diffuseness of the poem—the fragments we have cover at least 570 lines, and l. 1300 has been reached in papyrus fr. 7, whose position in the narrative is unfortunately not clear—Mr. Barrett is inclined to think it likely that the two columns deal with a single body; and I think the evidence of the vases, though ambiguous, confirms this. If we had only the first Chalcidian vase and Euphronios' cup, one could reconstruct a story in which the hero first killed the dog and the neat-herd, then shot one body of the giant, and finally closed to finish the other two with the club. It is perhaps just worth noting that papyrus fragment 31 has *ρόπαλον*, and in the line before an apparent reference to a 'second' something

¹ See further below.

² Ibid., p. 7. The arrow in the eye appears in the r.f. cup-fr. Acr. 46 (above, no. 9).

³ Ibid., p. 6. On the early classical metope at Olympia (above, p. 207 n. 7) the one

surviving head, from a falling body, upside-down and almost touching the ground, is bare.

⁴ Eurytion, as Lobel notes, is ruled out by the crested helmet.

(οδεδευτε). Lydos and Oltos, however, show one body shot and the hero drawing his bow, as though a second body were to be dealt with so, but I doubt if that can be pressed. Much in any archaic action-picture is convention: in this case, for instance, the elimination of the space between the combatants, so that the shooting is as close as the hand-to-hand fighting. I do not think that Herakles aiming an arrow at a Geryones one of whose bodies is already struck necessarily means more than: 'Here is Herakles shooting one of Geryones' bodies'; whereas Herakles advancing with his club against a Geryones only one of whose bodies has been shot must imply that the artist thinks of him as taking on two hand-to-hand. There are other divagations which show that the two pictures cannot both be careful literal illustrations to one text. We have noticed the differences in the ogre's anatomy; in the Chalcidian the herdsman is shot and the dog, a normal creature, dead by some other means; Euphronios has reversed this and made the hound a monster; and there are other variations in other of the Attic examples, to some of which I shall return. Nevertheless, the first Chalcidian vase and the Attic series do make a strong general impression of being based, with considerable freedom, on one current, accepted version of the story. I doubt if vase-painting often comes closer than that to illustration of a text, but that is close enough to be useful.

The second Chalcidian vase presents variations of a different order. The presence of the quiver perhaps shows that the painter had the shooting in mind, but no arrows are shown in the falling bodies, and the hero, who wears no lion-skin, does his work with a sword. The picture in fact belongs essentially to another tradition, current earlier. The composition of the scene on the little Argive shield-reliefs,¹ which may go back to the seventh century, certainly to early in the sixth, shows Herakles without bow or quiver attacking with a sword. In some he does wear a lion-skin, but these appear to be a later recension; they are dated by Kunze to the mid-sixth century. Two of the giant's bodies fight, while one falls backwards, dropping shield and spear on the ground. On the fragmentary Corinthian cup of the early sixth century² the figure of Herakles is missing, but the giant corresponds to this design and no arrows are shown. Only on the earliest representation, the Protocorinthian pyxis of the mid-seventh century,³ do we see Herakles shooting at the still-unscathed giant, behind whom the cattle merge rather confusingly with the other animals which form the decoration of the rest of the vase. Renderings of Herakles from this period in other contexts show him either attacking close with a sword or shooting with bow and arrow, as on a much finer Protocorinthian aryballos from Corinth in Berlin, where he shoots down the centaurs.⁴ For the Geryones adventure it looks as though the artist could take his choice of weapons, but the close fight with the sword evidently prevailed. Then suddenly, in vase-painting of the middle and later sixth century, the story becomes immensely popular in a new guise: Herakles, wearing the lion-skin, shoots the giant, having killed his hound and herdsman, and when he closes may use the club rather than the sword. Athenaeus (12. 512E-513A; Page *PMG* 219, Stesichorus 52; *LGS* 96) quotes Megakleides (apparently a late fourth-century Peripatetic) as approving those poets who, with Homer and Hesiod, made Herakles the leader of an army and a sacker of cities, whereas later poets got him up like a bandit, wandering about alone with a club and

¹ Above, p. 207 n. 4.

² Above, p. 207 n. 3.

³ Above, p. 207 n. 2.

⁴ Johansen, loc. cit., pl. 30, 1; Payne, *PV*, pl. 21.

a lion-skin and bow and arrows; and the first to do this was Stesichorus. Representations show, as we have seen, that Herakles the bowman was known before Stesichorus' time, but he is more usually shown as a heroic warrior fighting with a sword; and the appearance of club and lion-skin in works of art is quite compatible with their being the invention of Stesichorus.¹ The winging of the giant is found only in the Chalcidian pictures and Stesichorus.² That this detail was derived by the vase-painter from the poet it would be perverse to doubt; and I think it a reasonable hypothesis that the general character of the new type of representation derives likewise from Stesichorus' *Geryoneis*.

With this in mind we may look at some of the other details on the vases we have considered and on some of the others in the Attic series. Some of these show a fusion of the new concept with the old scheme of the sword-fight; they frequently introduce slight variants; and one can never be sure that a given feature on a particular vase need have had any literary authority. Nevertheless I think one can show reasons for thinking that some things may probably derive from Stesichorus while others are unlikely to do so. The frequent introduction of the dead or dying dog and herdsman, or one of them, suggests that their fates formed part of the poem (we know that the herdsman at least was mentioned by Stesichorus, *PMG* fr. 7),³ though we have seen that the vase-painters are inconsistent about how they were killed; indeed on at least two of the Attic black-figure series the hound (two-headed, as in Euphronios and surely in Stesichorus) is still alive although one of his master's bodies is already shot.⁴ In Apollodorus' account,⁵ which Mr. Barrett suggests to me may well derive from Stesichorus, the dog first attacks Herakles, who kills it with the club; Eurytion comes to its help, and Herakles kills him (it does not say how) and later shoots the master. We saw that Oltos and Euphronios seem to show the herdsman with sword- or spear-wounds; in other pictures he seems to have been knocked out with the club,⁶ but more often he has been shot. In one he and the dog lie tumbled together in a bloody heap.⁷ On an amphora from Vulci in the Louvre, signed by Exekias as potter but probably decorated by a companion,⁸ he has been shot through the back of the head. Here there are arrows in two of the giant's bodies, but only one of them is fallen; the hero

¹ The bridegroom with skin, quiver, and I think club on the 'Melian' vase mentioned in p. 219 n. 4 cannot be other than Herakles, and the vase cannot be much after the beginning of the sixth century. A very similar figure of the same time or not much later, on a Chiot fragment of the 'Chalce style' from the Acropolis of Athens (Graef no. 450, pls. 15 and 24; Pfuhl, *MuZ*, fig. 119), has skin and club and probably had also a bow. On a contemporary Attic lekythos from Corinth in London (B 30, *ABV* 11, Manner of the Gorgon Painter no. 20; Walters, *Cat.* ii. pl. 1) Herakles attacks Nessos with a club but has not skin or bow; and it is only in the second quarter of the century that the type becomes regular in Attic black-figure.

² Euphronios gives the nearest body a shield with the device of a winged boar—a rather rare motive, and drawn with unusual care. It seems just possible that there is an

allusion here to the winging of the giant. See also p. 209 n. 3. The second shield has a polyp, well chosen for the ogre of many limbs.

³ See below.

⁴ Neck-amphora, Bologna GM 3, not in *ABV*, *CV* fasc. 2, pl. 12, 3 and 4; neck-amphora, Cabinet des Médailles, *ABV* 308, Swing Painter, no. 77 with refs., *CV* fasc. 1, pls. 38, 4-5 and 39, 1-3 and 5. In the second there are two arrows in one of the hound's heads.

⁵ 2. 5. 10.

⁶ e.g. Los Angeles County Museum A 5832. 50. 137; Clement, loc. cit., n. 9, pls. 1a, 2a (not in *ABV*).

⁷ London B 194; *ABV* 136, Group E, no. 56; Clement loc. cit., pl. 4 a-b.

⁸ F. 53; *ABV* 136, Group E, no. 49, with refs.; Pfuhl, *MuZ*, fig. 226; Clement, loc. cit., pls. 4d, 5.

closes with a sword, as in a great many others. In other cases the scene is divided between the two sides of the vase.¹

It remains to consider the other figures which sometimes appear. The most frequent is Athena. She is of course a constant presence in scenes of heroic action on vases and in other works of art;² but she often plays the same part—the helper of heroes—in literature, and it is likely that Stesichorus will have brought her in here, as he had her help Cadmus and Epeios; and indeed there is some evidence in the papyrus-fragments for her intervention.³ Generally in the pictures she stands in the background; but on one Attic black-figure vase (lost and known only from a rather unsatisfactory drawing)⁴ she moves, looking back, between Herakles and Geryones. That this is thought a symbolical lending of power rather than an actual intervention is suggested by another Attic black-figure picture, one of those in which the scene is the first phase of the attack and the subject is divided between the two sides of the vase.⁵ On one side is Geryones, one body stricken; on the other the hero crouches drawing his bow, and the goddess stands over him, striding forward, spear raised for the downward thrust, as she appears in pictures of the Gigantomachy—an active extension of her protective pose on the first Chalcidian vase.

Oltos alone associates a second deity with Athena. Iris without wings is rare, but not unknown,⁶ and a female figure with a kerykeion accompanying a deity can be no one else. Athena seems to be dispatching her on a mission, and Iris is often shown leaving Olympus for the world below at the behest of Zeus or another.⁷ In fragment 3 of the papyrus (*LGS* 56A), Page and Barrett have seen that Athena is talking to Poseidon and apparently reminding him of a promise he had made to save Geryones' life. That Poseidon, as Geryones' grandfather, should take an interest in him is likely enough, but Athena can only be on Herakles' side, which makes the passage a puzzle. Page suggests that this may be a council of the gods, at which Athena says to Poseidon: 'You do what you can for Geryones; I will help Herakles.' The group on the cup would fit neatly with this and perhaps confirms it—the moment on Olympus when the council breaks up, and Athena dispatches Iris to advise the hero. The group on Olympus abutting on the group on Erytheia is another example of archaic conventions of picture-making. In the light of this picture and the papyrus-fragment it is likely enough that, when other vase-painters show Athena behind or protecting Herakles, this is their way of illustrating the poet's account of how she defended him in heaven, and need not imply that in Stesichorus she appeared in person at the fight.

On both the red-figure cups, and on several of the Attic black-figure vases,⁸

¹ e.g. neck-amphora Cabinet des Médailles 223, above, p. 213 n. 4; cup Villa Giulia 1225, *CV* fasc. 3, III H c, pls. 29, 30, 1 and 2. See below.

² See particularly Beckel, *Götterbeistand i.d. Bildüberlieferung gr. Heldensagen* (1961).

³ Cadmus: Page, *PMG* fr. 18; Epeios: *ibid.*, fr. 23. On the papyrus evidence for her intervention here see below.

⁴ Gerhard, *AV*, pl. 104.

⁵ Cup in Villa Giulia, n. 1 above. She is also shown on the other vase mentioned in that note.

⁶ She is unwinged (and named) on the

François Vase, her earliest appearance in art, and unwinged (but not named) on the red-figure cup cited in p. 218 n. 1. 'Greek artists are ready to wing and unwing at need' (Beazley, *Attic Black-figure, a Sketch*, 21).

⁷ e.g. stamnos Louvre G 192, *ARV*² 208, Berlin Painter no. 160, with refs.; *CV*, pl. 55. A, infant Herakles strangling the snakes (Athena present); B, Zeus dispatching Hermes and Iris.

⁸ The vase in n. 4 above; Berkeley 8/3851, *CV*, pl. 21A; B.M. B 156, *CV*, pl. 27, 1; B.M. B 426, *CV*, text, p. 8, *ABV*

Athena for Herakles is balanced by a distressed woman behind Geryones. When I began looking into this story, I was under the impression that his mother was the only woman in Geryones' life. Her name was Kallirrhoe, and Lobel notes that she is appealing to her son in papyrus-fragment 11; apparently also in fr. 19, as Mr. Barrett points out to me, and he has seen that she comes again in fr. 25.¹ I think it most likely that the woman on the vases is to be identified as Kallirrhoe, but there is a rival candidate. Both Klein and Furtwängler,² discussing Euphronios' cup, suggest that she is the nymph of the island, Erytheia; but neither mentions that there is a little evidence for Erytheia's existence not merely as a personification of a place but as a person with a story or stories, and that some accounts link her with Geryones and Herakles. The name is respectably attested as that of a Hesperid; it appears in Apollodorus' list,³ and Servius cites Hesiod as authority;⁴ while a scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius⁵ states that the Hesperid Erytheia was the nymph of Geryones' island. On the other hand Pausanias⁶ says that Erytheia was Geryones' daughter. The parentage of the Hesperids is variously given, but it is always ancient and high.⁷ There can be no question of a story that Geryones was their father; there must have been two Erytheias or two versions of who Erytheia was. The other stories concern her lovers and children. Pausanias goes on to say that she became the mother by Hermes of Norax, the eponymous hero of Nora in Sardinia, which he founded with Iberians; and this seems a bit of geographical genealogy without much bearing on legendary narrative. More interesting is the assertion of a scholiast on Hesiod, quoting Hellanicus,⁸ that Ares made her the mother of Eurytion. Servius⁹ also says that Ares (Mars) was Eurytion's father, but does not name his mother.

One of the attested fragments of Stesichorus (Page, *PMG* fr. 184; Stesichorus, fr. 7; *LGS* 54) is a reference to a cave by the river Tartessus on the mainland opposite Erytheia, quoted by Strabo, who says that the poet is here talking about Geryones' herdsman and saying that this is where he was born. Stesichorus must surely have named Eurytion's parents in this passage, most likely as Erytheia and Ares—we know of no other genealogy for him—but if he had said that Eurytion was Geryones' grandson, I cannot help feeling that the story would have left more mark. I should guess that Stesichorus did refer to a person Erytheia, but as Eurytion's mother, not as Geryones' daughter, rather a Hesperid. Papyrus fragment 6 (*LGS* 56B) is possibly relevant here. It records the arrival of more than one person (*ἀφ' ἑκόντο*) over the sea at the beautiful island where the Hesperides have their golden homes. The Garden of the Hesperides is normally laid in the far west, neighbouring Tartessus and Erytheia, and the first natural assumption is that this visit is narrated as part of the hero's voyage in the golden cup. There are, however, serious difficulties

256, Lysippides Painter no. 20. In the last she runs between the combatants and supplants Athena. She was also shown on the fragmentary red-figure cup in the Villa Giulia and Heidelberg, above, p. 208 n. 2.

¹ Mr. Colin Hardie points out to me that it would ease the interpretation of pap. fr. 3 if one could suppose that Kallirrhoe was present also, and the words spoken to Poseidon were hers.

² Klein, *Euphronios* 52; Furtwängler *FR* i. 102.

³ 2. 5. 11.

⁴ *Aen.* 4. 484; Merkelbach and West, fr. 360.

⁵ 4. 1399. Apollonius Rhodius himself (4. 1427) calls her Erytheis.

⁶ 10. 17. 5. Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v.) quotes him, but there is no independent confirmation.

⁷ See Seeliger in Roscher s.v., 2597.

⁸ *Theog.* 293; *Fr. Gr. Hist.* i. 134 (Hellanicus 110).

⁹ On *Aen.* 8. 299.

in this. I shall discuss later whether in Stesichorus' poem Herakles had any companions: but I am strongly of the opinion that he did not. Apollodorus tells how after killing Geryones Herakles embarked the herd in the cup and ferried them to Tartessus, where he gave the vessel back to the sun. The giving back is told in Stesichorus, *PMG* fr. 8 (*LGS* 55), and it seems very likely that Apollodorus' narrative here follows the poem.¹ Mr. Barrett has ingeniously suggested that the plural might represent Herakles and the cattle; but, as Professor Page points out to me, it is difficult to conceive of the cattle being thus treated as fellow passengers with the hero. Moreover, though Herakles did pay a famous visit to the Hesperides, that was on quite another occasion. Both the cattle of Geryon and the golden apples were among the labours imposed by Eurystheus on Herakles. The hero had many other adventures, and some of these are sometimes told in connection with particular labours; but each labour, in all the sources we have, is always a quite separate story on its own. I think it is almost inconceivable that Stesichorus combined the labour of the apples with the labour of the cattle; but to make Herakles pay another visit to the Hesperides would also be very odd. I would suggest a solution on different lines.

We have seen that the poem must have been diffuse—Quintilian, Mr. Barrett remarks, says that Stesichorus *redundat atque effunditur*.² The reference to Eurytion's birth in a cave by the Tartessus must surely have been part of a digression on his parentage. If he agreed with Hellanicus that Eurytion was the son of Erytheia and Ares, and with the Hesiodic poet, Apollodorus, and others that Erytheia was a Hesperid, he might perhaps have told the story on lines something like this:

'(Herakles killed Orthos). Then came the herdsman Eurytion, Eurytion whom Erytheia the Hesperid bore to Ares. Ares loved her, and when she was with child by him she left her sisters and wandered over the earth. At last, in a hollow of the rocks by the boundless, silver-rooted waters of Tartessus, over against famous Erytheia, she bore her child. She raised him in the cave but when he was a boy she took boat with him and they came over the waves of the deep sea to the beautiful island of the gods where the Hesperides have their golden homes. There she dwelt with her sisters, but when Eurytion was a man he took service with Geryones, keeping his herds on Erytheia. (But him too Herakles killed).'

We know from a scholium on Apollonius Rhodius that in this poem Stesichorus (*PMG* fr. 6) named yet another Atlantic island, Sarpedonia. If one rules out the notion of digressions one must suppose that this too was visited by Herakles in his round tour in the cup; but here too, I think, a digression can explain it more satisfactorily. The author of the *Cypria* (fr. 24) names Sarpedon as the ocean-island where the Gorgons dwelt; and Geryones' father, Chrysaor, was begotten with Pegasus by Poseidon on the Gorgon Medusa, and sprang from her severed neck when Perseus cut off her head.

There are two other attested fragments of Stesichorus' *Geryoneis*, which seem to go together and whose relation to the main story is not easy to determine. *PMG* 4 gives two lines describing how Herakles drank from the enormous cup which Pholos had mixed and set beside him. The story of Pholos' hospitality, the irruption of the other, wilder centaurs, Herakles' shooting of them, and Pholos' accidental death is always laid in Arcadia; and Pausanias mentions

¹ See above (p. 213 n. 5).

² x. 1. 62.

that Stesichorus in this poem (*PMG* fr. 5) referred to the Arcadian city of Pallantion. This adventure was not one of the labours but an accidental occurrence, such as can naturally be told as a *parergon* of a labour; but it is normally and expectedly associated with one of those which have a Peloponnesian setting, as in Apollodorus¹ with that of the Erymanthian boar. If part of the main narrative here, it must have come either at the very beginning or the very end, and we shall see that it is possible to argue a case for the end. It was of course while returning through Italy with Geryon's cattle that Hercules met Evander, the Arcadian exile from Pallantium; and I have wondered whether this could have been in Stesichorus, and the Arcadian story a digression attached to it, but that I fear raises more difficulties than it solves.

To return to Erytheia, as a person with a story: there is one other significant reference to her. It comes in a quaint verse, quoted in the Aristotelian *De Mirabilibus* as having been transcribed in the Ismenion at Thebes from ancient letters inscribed on a stone pillar found near Hypate in Ainis. The text, which is very corrupt, has recently been restored and discussed by Professor Huxley.² It certainly says that Herakles passed that way—through Epirus that is—driving the Geryonean herds and leading Erytheia; and apparently that Erytheia (called Erythe in this line) bore him a son, perhaps named Erython. If I am right in supposing that Stesichorus' poem is the basic source for the vase-pictures, the distressed woman must surely derive from it; and if there were any reason to connect the poem of the Ainianes with the Stesichorean story, that would be a strong argument for her being Erytheia. Hammond³ and Huxley, however, have shown reason to think that this verse reflects a different version, preferred by Hecataeus,⁴ in which Geryones inhabited not the far west but Epirus. We have seen that if Stesichorus named Erytheia as a person, which he may very well have done, it is more likely to have been as mother of the subordinate character Eurytion than as daughter of the principal, Geryones. We know from the papyrus fragments that he introduced Geryones' mother Kallirrhoe; and I am therefore inclined to think at present that Kallirrhoe is slightly the more probable identification for the figure on the vases, though either is perfectly possible. It is perhaps worth noting that the vase mentioned above in which she supplicates Athena is not one of those on which the dead or dying Eurytion is shown.⁵

The Grieving Mother is in any case a regular type in archaic art. The classic example is Eos, always present at the combat of Memnon with Achilles, watching with apprehension as her son rushes in, or mourning already as he is struck down, while Thetis triumphs on the other side; and after it is over she is shown with the bloody corpse.⁶ Later Thetis' own turn comes to grieve; and it is surely she and not Briseis or another who, on black-figure vases, receives Ajax as he carries her son's body from the field.⁷ On a beautiful early red-figure cup, where Sleep and Death lift the body of Sarpedon, Iris on one side directs the operation for Zeus, and the mourning woman on the other must be the

¹ 2. 5. 3 f.

² 133, 843^b 15–844^a5 (Arist. *Minor Works*, ed. W. S. Hett, 304–7); Huxley in *Gr. Rom. and Byz. Studies* viii (1967), 88–92.

³ *BSA* xxxii (1931/2), 158.

⁴ *Fr. Gr. Hist.* 1 F 26.

⁵ See p. 214 n. 8.

⁶ e.g.: Memnon rushing on his fate,

Beazley, *Berliner Maler*, pls. 29 f. (B.M. E 468; *ARV*² 296, no. 132); the death, *AJA* lxii (1958), pl. 6, fig. 2 (Agora P 24113; *ARV*² 213, no. 242); the body, Pfuhl, *MuZ*, fig. 466 (Louvre G 115; *ARV*² 434, no. 74).

⁷ e.g. Technau, *Exekias*, pl. 3a (Berlin 1718; *ABV* 144, no. 5).

hero's mother Europa.¹ One may compare also the distraught parents of Eurystheus in the burlesque scene where Herakles brings home the Erymanthian boar alive and kicking on his shoulders, and the terrified king takes refuge in the store-jar. One picture of this scene (where the parents are named) was painted by Oltos² at about the same time as his Geryoneis; another is on a cup made a generation later by Euphronios for Onesimos to decorate.³

Geryones' mother Kallirrhoe was probably not originally identical with the Attic nymph of that name from whose famous fountain water had to be brought for the ritual washing at an Athenian wedding; but to an Athenian the identification would have been natural and the vase-painters perhaps thought of the figure in that light.⁴

Vase-painters, we have seen, could concentrate the subject in the principals, Herakles and his triple opponent, alone; or they could introduce one or more of a number of other figures: the cattle; Orthos or Orthros (the hound, never named on vases);⁵ Eurytion; Athena; Iris; and Erytheia-Kallirrhoe. None shows them all, but Oltos all except the hound, Euphronios all except Iris; and he adds also four more who appear nowhere else: Iolaus and the three unnamed warriors guarding the cattle. Whether these are taken from Stesichorus or introduced by the vase-painter is a very difficult question, and not one which I can answer with any conviction. All the other figures except Iris occur not only on more than one vase but on vases of varying character and composition; that is, they look as though they reflected something outside a purely artistic tradition such as accounts for the general similarity of many of the Attic black-figure pictures of the combat; and the presence of Iris, we have seen, can reasonably be accounted for by reference to a surviving fragment of the poem. I know two possible parallels in other pictures of the subject to the companions of Herakles on Euphronios' cup. One is the frontal chariot with helmeted charioteer on the back of the first Chalcidian vase. I mentioned that this has been thought the hero's chariot awaiting him, but also that I do not believe this. The frontal chariot is a common decorative device on Chalcidian pottery, and Herakles' chariot has no place in this story.⁶ In pictures of the fight with Kyknos,⁷ which is treated much more as a formal heroic duel,

¹ Pfuhl, *MuZ*, fig. 345 (B.M. E 12; *ARV*² 126, no. 24).

² Louvre G 17; *ARV*² 62, no. 83, with refs.; *CV*, fasc. 10, III 1b, pls. 5, 1, 6, 4.

³ B.M. E 44; *ARV*² 318 f., no. 2, with refs.; Pfuhl, *MuZ*, fig. 401.

⁴ See West on *Theog.* 351. I do not know if there is any certain representation of the Attic Kallirrhoe, but it has sometimes been suggested that the figure W in the south corner of the west pediment of the Parthenon, corresponding to the 'Ilissus' in the north corner, may, if the other be really a river-god, be the nymph of the city's most famous spring. I like to think that this may be so, and that here too she may be identified with the mother of Geryones, the figure who squats beside her being Chrysaor. Thus the 'family-group' atmosphere, so marked in the figures from the royal houses of Athens which occupy most of the pediment-wings,

would be extended to the local personifications framing the scene. For a quite different interpretation, however, most persuasively argued, see E. Harrison, 'U and her neighbours in the west pediment of the Parthenon', in *Essays in the History of Art Presented to Rudolf Wittkower*, especially n. 55.

⁵ See above, p. 208 n. 5.

⁶ Forms of the word ἵππος, as Mr. Barrett points out to me, occur in two of the papyrus-fragments: 17. 8 ἵππων, in a context of μάχαι τ' ἀνδροκτασίαι τε, and 41, an unintelligible scrap. Neither gives any ground for postulating a chariot of Herakles in the story.

⁷ e.g. the b.f. jug signed by the potter Kolchos, Berlin 1732 from Vulci, *ABV* 110, Lydos no. 37, with refs.; Rumpf, *Sak.*, pls. 29-31: Pfuhl, *MuZ*, fig. 242. See Brommer, *Vasenlisten* and mythological indexes to *ABV* and *ARV*².

each has often his chariot in attendance, as they are described in the *Aspis*.¹ On some Corinthian vases from the seventh into the sixth century a chariot waits while Herakles and Iolaus tackle the hydra of Lerna;² and he is sometimes seen in a chariot with Iolaus in no specific context.³ He mounts a chariot with his bride Deianeira,⁴ and alights from it to kill the centaur Nessus;⁵ and after the end of his mortal labours he is seen in one with Athena or Hebe;⁶ but his weary wanderings over the earth are always on foot. The golden cup could take the chariot of the sun,⁷ as it could take Geryones' herd, but Stesichorus specifies (Page, *PMG* fr. 8) that when Herakles had given it back, it was on foot that he set out again: *ὁ δ' ἐς ἄλσος ἔβα δάφναισι κατάσκιον ποσὶ παῖς Διός*: of all the fragments of this poem the one which most makes me wish we had more. The few pictures of him in the cup show him alone,⁸ and in general single-handedness is part of the labour. Iolaus has a particular part in the hydra-story, and he is sometimes shown present at the strangling of the lion or on other occasions. Herakles took Telamon and others with him on his expeditions against Troy and the Amazons, but these were military or paramilitary adventures. Klein, discussing Euphronios' cup, does refer to Diodorus' euhemeristic account, in which Geryones appears as the three sons of Chrysaor and Herakles leads an army against them, but only, I am glad to say, to dismiss it as irrelevant.⁹ The whole tone of the fragments of Stesichorus' poem suggests to me that Herakles was alone on this adventure, as he is in Apollodorus' narrative. This is a subjective impression and may well be wrong, but it agrees with the Athenaeus-Megakleides picture of a Stesichorean Herakles, *μόνον περιπορευόμενον*, and until evidence for companionship is found in the fragments I prefer to believe that Euphronios introduced these figures without authority. The kylix belongs to a class which has been called 'parade-cups'¹⁰—a fashion at the end of the sixth century for large kylikes decorated with complicated crowded compositions most elaborately drawn; and this may have a bearing on the interpretation; but it may be possible to explain these figures in a different way.

The second possible parallel in vase-painting to this representation by Euphronios is on an Attic black-figure cup of towards the middle of the sixth century.¹¹ Inside is the fight of Herakles with Kyknos. Externally it has two-tier

¹ 58–120, 321–4, 338–48, 368–72, 463–70.

² Payne, *NC* 126 ff.; nos. 1–5, figs. 45 A–C.

³ See Brommer, *Vasenlisten* and mythological indexes to *ABV* and *ARV*². E.g. amphora Munich 2302 from Vulci, *ABV* 294 Psiax, no. 23, with refs.; *CV*, pls. 153–4.

⁴ 'Melian' amphora, Athens 354, of perhaps c. 600 B.C., Pfuhl, *MuZ*, fig. 110.

⁵ Mid-seventh cent., Attic amphora, New York 11. 210. 1, Richter, *MM Handbook*, pl. 27b; Beazley, *ABFS*, pl. 2.

⁶ See Brommer, *Vasenlisten* and mythological indexes to *ABV* and *ARV*². Athena: e.g. b.f. amphora, Cambridge, 32. 10, *ABV* 141, Towry White Painter no. 1, *CV* ii, pls. 22, 2; 28, 1–6. Hebe: b.f. hydria, New York, 14. 105. 10, *ABV* 261, Manner of Lysippides Painter no. 37, *Bull. MM.* 10, 123, fig. 2.

⁷ Pherecydes, ap. Ath. 11. 470 c, quoted by Page, *PMG*, Stesichorus, fr. 8.

⁸ B.f. oenochoe Boston 03. 783 from S. Italy, *ABV* 378, Leagros Group no. 252; Haspels *ABFL*, pl. 17, 3. R.f. cup in Vatican from Vulci, *ARV*² 449, Manner of Douris no. 2. The oenochoe is of the same date as the later Geryones pictures; the cup later, two or three decades into the fifth century. To this period belong also late black-figure pictures of Herakles and the Sun (Haspels, *ABFL*, pls. 17, 1a–c; 32, 1a–d; Taranto, *CV* 2, pl. 10). In none of these does the hero shoot at the god, a story which was told by Pherekydes (*Fr. Gr. Hist.* 1. 18 Jac., quoted on *PMG*, Stesichorus fr. 8) but we do not know if it was in Stesichorus.

⁹ *Euphronios* 57; Diod. 4. 17. 18.

¹⁰ Haspels, *BCH* liv (1930), 5 and 23 ff.; cf. Beazley, *ARV*² 399 middle and 1698 Addenda to pp. 1557–8.

¹¹ Basle, Antikenmuseum; *ABV* 60. Related to C Painter no. 6; Schefold, *Meisterwerke*

decoration: on one side, animals above, horsemen below; on the other, above, three galloping centaurs; below, warriors and cattle (four oxen walking to left, then three warriors standing to left). Beazley interprets these as: above, 'extract from a "Herakles and the centaurs"' ; below, 'extract from a "Herakles and Geryon"' , comparing Euphronios' cup. This is ingenious and attractive, but the vase belongs early in the period of Geryon-pictures, when this was not among the most familiar themes; and this is not the only cattle-rustling in Greek legend or archaic art. One thinks of the Dioscuri and the sons of Aphareus on the metope of the Sicyonian building at Delphi.¹ If it really is an extract from a Geryoneis, it is strong presumptive evidence for some literary source, that is, I should say, for the presence of the motive in Stesichorus, since this cup and Euphronios' are a long generation apart, with no stylistic link, and both stand apart from the common vase-painter's tradition for rendering the theme.

In the fragments of the poem as they are read at present, the one conceivable place where one might claim support for the idea that Herakles had companions is the plural in papyrus-fr. 6 (*LGS* 56B); but as has been said I think this better explained in a different way.

There is, however, just a possibility of accommodating these cattle-guarding warriors in Stesichorus' poem, but in a different sense and context. Philostratus in the *Heroicus*² refers to a story that Neleus and his sons other than Nestor reived Geryon's cattle from Herakles. This is not strong authority. The object, or one object, of the dialogue is to 'correct' Homer, and this is done through the mouth of the hero Protesilaus, with whom one of the speakers is in regular touch. The author no doubt often made up his alternative versions; but in this particular passage, which deals with Nestor, he makes Protesilaus in general approve what Homer says, only adding: *καὶ μὴν καὶ ὅποσα ἕτεροι περὶ τῶν τοῦ Γηρύονος βοῶν εἶπον, ὡς ἀφείλοντο αὐτὰς τὸν Ἡρακλέα Νηλεὺς τε καὶ οἱ Νηλεῖδαι πλὴν Νέστορος, ἐπαινέι ὁ Πρωτεσίλῃως ὡς ἀληθῆ καὶ μὴ παρευρημένα*. This may of course be merely a literary device for introducing an invention of his own, but it is at least consistent with the story's being an old one; and it seems in the context an odd one to have invented though reasonable to use if it were there.

There is no direct evidence for how Stesichorus treated the story from the moment when the hero stepped into the shadow of the bay trees. Apollodorus tells of his trouble with the cattle in places as far apart as Rhegion, where a bull broke loose and swam to Sicily, whence Herakles with difficulty recovered it, and Thrace, where some of the cattle went wild; from which he jumps abruptly to their delivery to Eurystheus, who sacrificed them to Hera.

A scholiast on Pindar³ tells how Alkyoneus (a giant about whom a number of wholly contradictory stories are told⁴) intercepted Herakles on the Isthmus *Gr. Kunst.* 150 f. no. 130, with pictures. There dated c. 570-60; it may not be quite so early, but it is hard to suppose it painted much after the mid century, or the Euphronios cup much before 510. The more immediately recognizable extract from the story—Herakles and the cattle—is found only on vases of the late sixth century (p. 207 n. 5 above).

¹ P. de La Coste-Messelière, *Delphes*, pl. 41.

² iv. 2.

³ *Nem.* 4. 27.

⁴ Roscher i. 256, s.v. He is connected

with cattle. Pindar (*Isth.* 6. 32-3) calls him *βουβόραν*, while Apollodorus (i. 6. 1) says that he drove the cattle of Helios from Erytheia. (Yet another herd kept on Erytheia was that of Hades, whose herdsman Menoites it was, according to Apollodorus, that warned Geryon that Herakles was killing Orthros and Eurytion.) Late sixth- and early fifth-century vases (Brommer, *Vasenlisten*² 3-5) show Alkyoneus (sometimes named) as a giant asleep, Herakles approaching him with bow or club, sometimes

of Corinth, crushed his twenty-four companions in their twelve chariots under a rock which was later shown on the site, and was himself killed by the hero; but Pindar himself says nothing of Geryon's cattle in this connection, but places the encounter in Phlegra¹ and connects it with the military expedition of Herakles and Telamon. Philostratus is the only writer to refer to trouble between the Isthmus and Tiryns; but to suppose that Stesichorus told that story would have one advantage besides accounting for the vase-pictures and giving a climax to a story which otherwise tends to tail away. We have noticed an episode which we know came into this poem but is not easy to place in it: the Arcadian adventure with Pholos and the other centaurs. Now whatever Pylos Neleus and his sons inhabited, it will have lain so that, if Herakles were to pursue them home from the Isthmus or the Argolid, he could hardly fail to pass through Arcadia, so giving the poet an opportunity to tell this story. On the Basle cup fleeing centaurs appear above the warriors and cattle. One cannot build much on that, but there they are; and it is worth noting that another Attic vase of about the same date shows on one side Herakles and the centaurs, on the other cattle with an unidentified herdsman.²

If this is right, then Euphronios' cup is not a single scene in Erytheia, but two pictures from different parts of the story; and the entire detachment of the cattle-guarding warriors, their backs turned on the main scene, is quite consistent with this. One is bearded, the other three beardless youths, which would fit nicely a story of a cattle-raid by a father and his sons. In the Nekyia in the *Odyssey*³ Neleus has three sons, Nestor, Chromios, and Periklymenos; and I have wondered whether Stesichorus told and Euphronios illustrated a story in which they all took part, and Philostratus for his own purposes twisted it to make Nestor abstain; but one cannot build on the number shown, especially as other writers make Neleus polyphiloprogenitive, giving him twelve or even twenty sons.⁴

We still have to account for Ioleos, who is apparently in the main scene on Erytheia—in it but hardly of it, strangely detached. Herakles is in full combat, but Ioleos stands perfectly still behind Athena, who turns to him. I suspect that one should explain the group by analogy with that of Athena and Iris on Oltos' cup. Athena is here as Herakles' heavenly protector, and she turns to Ioleos because at some point in the poem, perhaps when Herakles had reached the Peloponnese once more and Neleus and his sons had seized the cattle, she went or sent to Iolaus to tell him that his friend needed his help. Thus the group would link the two sides of the cup.

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Hypnos lulling him. A late black-figure cup in Tarquinia (*AZ* 42 (1884), pl. 3; *ABV* 654, no. 11) seems to illustrate a version related to Pindar's: on one side the giant asleep, Hypnos at his head, Athena behind him, an unidentifiable figure (the style is execrable) making off behind her, Herakles followed by a warrior (Telamon) approaching; on the other three oxen and two chariots. See Andreae, *Jdl* lxxvii (1962), 130 ff.

¹ *Isth.* 6. 31–5.

² *Ars Antiqua A.G. Luzern, Aukt. III*, 29 April 1961, pl. 37, 91; now in Hobart.

³ *Od.* 21. 286.

⁴ In the Hesiodic *Catalogue* Herakles sacks Pylos and kills three of Neleus' twelve sons, but Nestor happens to be away and so escapes (Merkelbach and West, *Fragmenta Hesiodica*, no. 35). Some such story could easily lead to Philostratos' version that Herakles deliberately spared him. (I owe this reference to Professor Lloyd-Jones.) If Nestor is present on Euphronios' cup, one would like to think he is the boy with the cup on his shield.