

the *Perfect Discourse*, on Lactantius' reckoning, preserved wisdom from the middle of the second millennium BC.

Hermes asserted unequivocally the unity of God.³⁴ He was credited with knowing about the demons, the fallen angels who with their offspring had given the original incitement to idolatry.³⁵ He vigorously condemned sacrifice, even of incense; what God wanted was not material offerings but human thanks and praise.³⁶ The words of Hermes were for Lactantius not isolated *testimonia* torn from their original context, they were fragments of evidence which guaranteed the validity of a larger pattern. Christianity was no novelty, it was the reassertion of the original religion of mankind, the worship of the Most High God. If, as Dr Fowden proposes, Hermes was quoted when Constantine promised Rome an obelisk in 326, the occasion would have been laid open to this Christian interpretation.³⁷ The obelisk represented worship older than any of the venerable cults of Rome, and the era from which it came was one when men had not wholly forgotten the Most High God, the divinity of whose primacy Christians were now trying to remind them.

A further feature of the obelisk might recommend it to Christians as a survival of this primitive age. Obelisks were commonly associated with the Sun.³⁸ Few notions are harder for us to grasp than the various religious significances of the Sun, the greatest power in heaven.³⁹ But Lactantius pointed to its importance for Christians: at the time of the Creation God had known that man would fall into the error of polytheism, so he made the Sun 'a singular and shining light' to remind men of his majesty, power and brightness.⁴⁰ An obelisk might recall the Most High God by its associations with the Sun as well as by its origins in an age before idols.

If the Rome obelisk might have had such Christian

³⁴ *Inst.* i 5.4–5; cf. iv 13.2. 'Trismegistus . . . de deo patre omnia, de filio locutus est multa quae divinis continentur arcanis': *Inst.* i 27.20.

³⁵ He called the Devil 'daemoniarachus' (*Inst.* ii 14.6). It was the demons who were responsible for instigating paganism, so Lactantius thought (*Inst.* ii 14–16); he agreed with Hermes that the knowledge of God was the only defence against them (*Inst.* ii 15.4–8).

³⁶ *Inst.* vi 25.10–11 translates the passage preserved as *Asclep.* 41.

³⁷ Of course the interpretations of events offered in official speeches could be oblique, witness the orator of 313 who alluded to Constantine's 'personal secret with the Divine Mind' (*Pan. Lat.* ix 2.5). Lactantius thought that it was the poet's job to present *res gestae* 'obliquis figurationibus' (*Inst.* i 11.24), and he thought that poetry had its beginnings in panegyrics (*Inst.* i 13.15).

³⁸ e.g. E. Buchner *Die Sonnenuhr des Augustus* (Mainz 1982).

³⁹ G. H. Halsberghe *The Cult of Sol Invictus* (Leiden, EPRO 23, 1978) collects much material, some of it confusingly from the *Historia Augusta*, but is concerned more with specific manifestations of cult than with the reverence widely felt for the Sun. On Christians and the Sun F. J. Dölger *Sol Salutis* (Munster 1925).

⁴⁰ *Inst.* ii 5.1; ii 9.11–12. It may not be too obvious to point out that an obelisk points to the sky, a telling indication for one who like Lactantius thought that man was made for 'contemplatio caeli' (cf. note 14 above). The Phoenix, about which Lactantius wrote a poem, was also associated with the Sun: *Phoen.* 9: 'Solis nemus'; *Phoen.* 43: the Sun sets the time of its metamorphosis; *Phoen.* 58: 'Et sola arcanis conscia, Phoebe, tuis'; *Phoen.* 121: 'Solis ad urbem'. The frequent references to Phoebus (never Apollo) in the poem, might be explained by Lactantius on the lines of Orpheus' use of Phanes and Phaethon (*Inst.* i 5.4–5) combined with his theory of poetic licence (*Inst.* i 11.24–5). For a commentary on Lactantius' *Phoenix*, see the unpublished Oxford D.Phil. thesis of Claire Sharp (1986), on the character of the poem F. J. Bryce in *Studia Patristica* (1988, forthcoming).

associations, so might another obelisk possibly erected by Constantine in a city which lacked the powerful pagan forces present in the City of Rome. Arles in Provence was a regular residence of Constantine, and was one of the cities to which he gave his name, though it is hard to find surviving monuments with which the emperor can be securely associated.⁴¹ However, it is not improbable that Constantine was responsible for the presence of a red granite obelisk disengaged in the 17th century near the site of the city's ancient circus, and subsequently re-erected in the marketplace, now the Place de la République. Unfortunately the obelisk bears no inscription, Latin, Greek or Hieroglyphic, and is mentioned in no literary source earlier than the 14th century; the current excavations in the circus have yet to uncover the *spina*, where the obelisk base might be.⁴² But genuine Egyptian obelisks are sufficiently rare in the West to suggest that this, like that of Rome, might be the product of imperial munificence, and Constantine was an emperor closely associated with Arles.⁴³ Christians in the city which had witnessed the church council convoked by Constantine would have no reason to be offended if they looked upon it in the spirit in which Lactantius regarded Hermes Trismegistus, as a monument of the primaevial monotheism which they were trying to revive.

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⁴¹ For Constantine's periods of residence, Barnes (n. 5) 68, 72–3. Constantine's renaming of the city was referred to in a letter of 450 from the bishops of Gaul to Leo the Great (*Leo ep.* 65.3; cf. *CIL* XII, p. 83–4). The comprehensive account of the monuments is still L. A. Constans *Arles Antique* (Paris 1921); for the Christian city (with bibliography) P.-A. Février in ed. N. Gauthier et J.-Ch. Picard *Topographie chrétienne des cités de la Gaule III: provinces ecclésiastiques de Vienne et d'Arles* par J. Biarne et al. (Paris 1986) 73–84.

⁴² On the circus and the obelisk, J. Humphrey *Roman Circuses* (London 1984) 390–8. For the most recent excavation report, *Gallia* xlv (1986) 394–7; digging continues.

⁴³ Of other western obelisks, that at Vienne, though taller than that at Arles (and so perhaps reflecting the long-standing local rivalry) is not of Egyptian granite (Humphrey [n. 42] 402–3), and that at Merida is presumed to exist only from its base (*ibid.* 371). Apart from Constantine, the emperors most likely to have given an obelisk to Arles would be his sons, one of whom, Constantine II, was born in the city (*Epitome de Caesaribus* 41.4; Zosimus ii 22.2), while another, Constantius II, celebrated his Tricennalia there in 353 with elaborate games (*Amm. Marc.* xiv 5.1). It might be that at Arles, as at Rome, Constantius II could have carried out his father's intentions in the manner suggested by Dr Fowden and Ammianus Marcellinus: 'obelisks think nothing of lying around for decades or centuries' (*JHS* cvii [1987] 53).

Herakles' Attributes and their appropriation by Eros

(PLATE IV)

This note discusses some of the images and ideas that led to the depiction of Eros with the attributes of Herakles (PLATE IVa), an iconographical type that was

developed and elaborated in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.¹

Eros was not, in fact, the first to appropriate for himself the attributes of Herakles. From an early period popular imagination realised that even the mighty Herakles would occasionally be placed in a situation that lesser creatures could take advantage of. Before the Hellenistic period Kerkopes, satyrs and goat-legged Pans made use of whatever opportunities there were to steal Herakles' attributes; thereafter these subhuman thieves appear to have been replaced by a group of Erotes or a single Eros.

Eros had already in the fifth century BC begun to be portrayed with unusual attributes whose startling inappropriateness could contrast with his delicate appearance and suggest some of the less obvious aspects of his personality and power.² But it was probably not until well after the middle of the fourth century that Eros began to acquire the attributes of Herakles.³

I. Herakles: the theft of his attributes

According to a story known only from late sources,⁴ but which may go back to the time of Homer,⁵ the Kerkopes came across Herakles sleeping under a tree and mischievously tried to steal his equipment. When Herakles caught the thieves, to punish them, he carried them over his shoulder hanging upside-down from either end of a pole. From this unusual vantage point the Kerkopes were able to observe Herakles' black and hairy bottom and their remarks on this subject so amused the good-natured hero that he finally released them.⁶

The theft itself seems to have had little appeal for artists,⁷ who preferred to show the thieves already

apprehended.⁸ Images of Herakles and the Kerkopes (PLATE IVb) appear on both major and minor works of art from the sixth to the fourth centuries BC but disappear in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.⁹

Towards the end of the archaic period, satyrs began to be represented making off with the attributes of Herakles and it has been argued that the theft of Herakles' possessions may have been the subject of one of the earliest satyr-plays performed.¹⁰ The idea of satyrs stealing Herakles' attributes was probably first generated in the theatre and then frequently re-worked.¹¹

Artists, both literary and visual, enjoyed portraying satyrs taking advantage of any moment when the hero's attention was otherwise engaged, whether in feasting, sleeping, holding up the vault of heaven or grappling with the Nemean lion;¹² even the hero's ascent to Olympus did not impress them sufficiently to deter them from snatching his weapons from his pyre (PLATE IVc).¹³

The idea of satyrs stealing the attributes of Herakles led naturally to images of satyrs not only in the process of taking them but also independently in possession of them.¹⁴

Around 360 BC, in South Italy, in addition to satyrs, goat-legged Pans were also shown carrying off Herakles' weapons. An Apulian chous depicts Herakles asleep on his stomach blissfully unaware of the two small Aegipans who rob him (PLATE IVd).¹⁵ The cause

exception is the pelike in Berlin, F 2359, ARV² 1134.12, which, according to the interpretation of T. Panofka (*Poseidon Basileus und Athena Sthenias*, 17 *Winckelmannsfest* [Berlin 1857] 4–5, pl. 1, 1 and 2), shows Herakles pursuing one Kerkops, who carries off his club, while the other Kerkops is depicted on the other side of the vase.

¹ For a discussion of illustrations of this story, see F. Brommer 'Herakles und Theseus auf Vasen in Malibu' *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* ii (1985) 203–4, F. Brommer *Herakles II—Die unkanonische Taten* (Darmstadt 1984) 28–32, R. Pincelli *EEA* ii, 1959, 508–9, s.v. 'Cercopi' and P. Zancani-Montuoro and U. Zanotti-Bianco *Heraion alla Foce del Sele II—Il Primo Tesoro* (Rome 1954) 185–95, and S. Woodford 'Kerkops' *LIMC* vi (forthcoming).

² For a list of monuments, see F. Brommer *Vasenlisten zur griechischen Heldensage*³ (Marburg 1973) 98–9 and F. Brommer *Denkmälerlisten zur griechischen Heldensage I: Herakles* (Marburg 1971) 97–8, and *supra*, n. 8.

³ J. D. Beazley 'Herakles derubato' *Apollo* (*Bolletino dei Musei Provinciali del Salernitano*) iii–iv (1963–4) 3–14 suggests that a satyr-play involving the theft of Herakles' arms may have been among the earliest satyr-plays by Pratinas as it seems to be reflected on a krater from Padula painted between 510 and 500 BC.

⁴ See E. Simon 'Satyr-plays on vases in the time of Aeschylus' in *The Eye of Greece* ed. D. Kurtz and B. Sparkes (Cambridge 1982) 136–7 and S. Karouzou, *BCH* lx (1936) 152–7.

⁵ See Simon (n. 11)

⁶ See the red-figure pelike, Munich 2360 by the Kadmos Painter, ARV² 1186.30.

⁷ See, for instance, F. Brommer *Satyrspiele* (Berlin 1944) 30 and fig. 27 (on p. 32). In some instances it is not easy to decide whether a satyr is simply parodying Herakles or whether he is making use of the hero's weapons, which he has stolen, for his own purposes, e.g. the satyr using a club in his attack on a tree which bears oinochoai and is guarded by a snake, London, British Museum E 539, ARV² 776.2.

⁸ I. McPhee, *Antike Kunst* xxii (1979) 38–42. McPhee (41–2) notes the unusualness of this vase with its emphasis on food and drink and its suggestion of the drunkenness of Herakles' sleep, as well as its unique substitution of Paniskoī for the conventional satyr thieves. He suggests that the vase is more likely to reflect a local Apulian dramatic production than the whim of a painter who has slightly modified an old pictorial tradition taken over from Attic vase painting. An older

¹ See *LIMC* iii A. Hermary, H. Cassimatis and R. Vollkomer 'Eros' 916, no. 781, 928, nos. 950–4 and N. Blanc and F. Gury 'Eros/Amor, Cupido' 1022, nos. 576–7.

² The most striking of these was the shield emblem devised by Alkibiades for his own use, *Plut. Alk.* 16.1, cf. *LIMC* iii 'Eros' 928, no. 944, in the last quarter of the fifth century BC. Some half a century earlier Eros was portrayed on a red-figure Attic lekythos (ARV² 676.14, *LIMC* iii, 'Eros' 928, no. 948) carrying the kerykeion of Hermes, but such an image seems almost a natural extension of the qualities of Eros when compared with the thought-provoking contradictions stimulated by Alkibiades' 'Eros with a thunderbolt'.

³ For what might be the earliest examples, see A. Hermary, *LIMC* iii 'Eros' 928, nos. 950–1. Hermary believes that the Eros on an Attic plastic vase (Louvre CA 627, his no. 950) of the third quarter of the fourth century BC is holding the attributes of Herakles and that the ring in the National Museum, Naples, no. 25090 (his no. 951), that may well show Eros with a club, was made in the late fourth century BC. Others disagree. For instance, M. Trunpf-Lyritzaki (*Griechische Figurenvasen* [Bonn 1969] 27, no. 71, and 130 and 160, note 186) maintains that Eros on the plastic vase in the Louvre is seated on a panther-skin (not a lion-skin) and has a garland, not a club and R. Siviero, (*Jewellery and Amber of Italy* [New York 1959] no. 102) dates the ring in Naples to the third or second century BC.

⁴ Our most complete extant literary source is Nonnus, *Narr. ad Gregor.* (see *Mythographi Graeci*, ed. A. Westermann, *Appendix Narrationum* 375, no. 39) and see Adler 'Kerkops' *RE* xi.1 309–13.

⁵ See Harpokration, s.v. 'Kerkops'.

⁶ It was only then that the Kerkopes understood their mother's warning that they should beware of 'black bottom', Souda, s.v. 'Melampygon tuxois' and Nonnus, *op. cit. supra*, n. 4.

⁷ Normally artists preferred to show the climax of the story and depict Herakles carrying a pole over his shoulder with the two Kerkopes suspended upside down, one at each end. A possible

of the hero's fatigue has been made clear; remnants of food are scattered about while a calyx krater stands upright and nearby an amphora lies on its side. This time it is not his labours that have wearied the hero but his feasting.

Thus by the middle of the fourth century BC, Herakles was known to have had his attributes stolen by three different kinds of thieving creatures—Kerkopes, satyrs and Aegipans—none of them quite human, all of them profiting from the hero's temporary preoccupation or weakness.¹⁶

II. *Eros: his acquisition of unexpected attributes*

In the fifth century BC, Eros began to be shown with attributes that were clearly not his own.¹⁷ The earliest example of Eros holding a startlingly inappropriate attribute appears on the shield of Alkibiades: Eros with a thunderbolt.¹⁸ The image must have been a striking one; the powerful weapon of the mightiest of the gods was obviously not fashioned for the tender hands of this youthful divinity.

The fact that an image could embody an apparent logical contradiction was a great discovery; it must have seemed to offer artists a remarkable way to reveal profound and hitherto hidden truths. In time the novelty wore off and such images became commonplace,¹⁹ so conventional after a while that they could serve as little more than simple decorative motifs.²⁰

But in the fifth and fourth centuries BC such formulations were fresh and powerfully suggestive.

Pan carrying off Herakles' club, while the hero is seated near-by drinking, is shown on a Campana relief from the time of Nero in a private collection in Basel, illustrated in K. Scheffold and F. Jung *Die Urkönige/ Perseus/ Bellerophon/ Herakles und Theseus in der klassischen und hellenistischen Kunst* (Munich 1988) p. 183, fig. 221.

¹⁶ On a skyphos in Zürich (Scheffold and Jung [n. 15] p. 205, fig. 251) a woman, presumably Xenodike, the daughter of Syleus, is shown running off carrying Herakles' club and lionskin while the hero himself is engaged in uprooting Syleus' vines. The scene is probably derived from a satyr-play on the theme of Syleus and is unusual among extant works of art and references in showing a human figure in possession of Herakles' equipment. Less unusually, pygmies were shown in a later painting taking advantage of Herakles asleep—Gulliver-fashion—according to Philostratos the Elder *Imagines* ii 22. Dr Dyfri Williams has suggested to me that such an image might have been inspired by depictions of Odysseus and his men blinding Polyphemus in which small assailants are shown similarly attacking a sleeping giant. Such images may also lie behind the portrayals of Herakles reclining while Erotes despoil him of his arms, discussed *infra*.

¹⁷ The earliest such image listed in *LIMC* iii 'Eros' is Eros with Hermes' kerykeion on an Attic red-figure lekythos in Leningrad (928, no. 948).

¹⁸ Plut. *Alk.* 16.1 and Athen. xii 534 e, see *LIMC* iii 'Eros' 928, no. 944 and 936 and P. H. von Blanckenhagen *Essays in Memory of Karl Lehmann* (Locust Valley, New York 1964) 38–42.

¹⁹ As reflected in two poems in the *Greek Anthology* (xvi 214 and 215) which describe statues of Erotes carrying the attributes of various gods including (among others) the thunderbolt of Zeus, the shield and helmet of Ares and the club of Herakles.

²⁰ *LIMC* iii 'Eros' 928–9, nos. 944–63 and 'Eros/Amor, Cupido' 1020–4, nos. 564–88 and 1028, nos. 613–18 gives a good general survey of assimilations of the image of Eros with other gods and of Eros (or Erotes) with the attributes of other gods. In some cases these images may carry profound significance, but as time goes on and they appear on humble lamps and such like, the motifs seem to have been degraded to little more than decorative themes.

Lysippos was a very inventive artist, ready to take a new look at old subjects, particularly ready to infuse new life into old images of Herakles. According to two poems in the *Greek Anthology* which describe a statue of Herakles,²¹ Lysippos portrayed the hero as sad and dejected, bereft of lion-skin, club and quiver. The poets explain that the hero has been stripped of his attributes by Eros. Though the poems conjure up a vision of Eros actually in possession of the attributes of Herakles—a type that was common enough at the time when they were composed—they do not, it seems to me, necessarily imply that such a statue was made by Lysippos.²² Other scholars, however, believe that such a type was created by Lysippos²³ and that it is reflected already in the third quarter of the fourth century BC on a plastic vase in Paris.²⁴ There is, nevertheless, some disagreement as to whether the attributes of this seated Eros are those of Herakles.²⁵

There seems less dispute, however, about the fact that the fourth-century-BC painter Aetion put a group of Erotes into a new context. Eros had been portrayed as a baby even as early as the archaic period (though this characterisation became more frequent later)²⁶ and artists had already multiplied such images and represented a throng of baby Erotes instead of a single and unique god,²⁷ so these elements in Aetion's painting of the *Marriage of Alexander and Roxana*²⁸ were not novel. Nor was his use of three Erotes to unveil the bride and bring Alexander and Roxana together—conventional enough employment for them. Something new was, however, presented on the other side of the picture, where there were represented:

more Loves playing among Alexander's armour; two are carrying his spear, as porters do a heavy beam; two more

²¹ *Greek Anthology* xvi 103 and 104.

²² Lysippos was known to have made a bronze Eros for Thespieae (Paus. ix 27.3), but there is no hint that this Eros was shown in possession of the attributes of Herakles. Eros stringing his bow, a statue that exists in several Roman copies, is generally thought to be a reflection of this Lysippean Eros, see J. J. Pollitt *Art in the Hellenistic Age* (Cambridge 1986) 48 and fig. 40 and *LIMC* iii 'Eros' 880, no. 352, pl. 627, figs 352a and b. Although some of these Roman copies, e.g. Venice, Mus. Arch. 121 (*LIMC* iii 'Eros' 880, no. 352 b) and British Museum 1673 include a lionskin lying over the tree stump beside Eros, this is obviously an addition made by the copyist, as neither the tree stump nor its covering would have been part of the original bronze composition. Apparently once the image of Eros with the attributes of Herakles had become common, a few—but not all—copyists felt that the inclusion of the lionskin would be an enhancement of the Lysippean image.

²³ See *LIMC* iii 'Eros' 928, chapter xiiAc.

²⁴ Louvre CA 627, see M. Trumpf-Lyritzaki (n. 3) pl. 11, FV 71.

²⁵ According to *LIMC* iii 'Eros', no. 950 Eros is seated on a lionskin holding a club in the pose of Lysippos' *Herakles Epitrapezios*, while Trumpf-Lyritzaki (as n. 3) 27, 130 and 160, note 186 is emphatic that the animal skin is *not* the lion-skin of Herakles and the nobbly object to the right is *not* a club but a garland.

²⁶ See *LIMC* iii 'Eros' 937–8 and pl. 126, fig. 1255.

²⁷ See E. Speier *EAA* iii, 429–30, s.v. 'Eros'. For instance, the attentive Erotes hovering around Aphrodite in Macron's cup illustrating the Judgement of Paris (Berlin, F 2291, *ARV*² 459, 4) in the early fifth century BC and in the early fourth century BC, the baby Erotes emerging from a chest shown on an Apulian squat lekythos (Taranto, Museo Nazionale Archeologico 4530), see Arias, Hirmer and Shefton *A history of Greek vase painting* (London 1962) 389–90 and pl. 238.

²⁸ Described by Lucian, *Herodotus and Aetion* 4–6 *LIMC* iii 'Eros' 906, no. 641.

grasp the handles of the shield, tugging it along with another reclining on it, . . . and then another has got into the breast-plate, which lies hollow part upwards . . .²⁹

III. *Erotes stealing the attributes of Herakles*

Ideas introduced in Aetion's *Marriage of Alexander and Roxana* are developed in three Roman wall paintings which show Herakles and Omphale.³⁰ In two of them Herakles reclines at the bottom of the picture while Erotes play with and carry off his arms, as the Erotes play with and carry off the arms of Alexander in Aetion's painting. This is particularly true of the Erotes who collaborate in an effort to lift the hero's club. Some new ideas are introduced as well. The presence of Omphale, for whom Herakles had to work as a slave,³¹ suggests a pattern of reversal played out on two levels: man overcome by woman; mighty hero overcome by tiny divinities.

Some of the Erotes seem to be carrying the captured arms to an altar, and one scholar³² interprets this to mean that they are being dedicated to Aphrodite, that is, the paintings are illustrations of the triumph of love.

The third painting, in the Casa del Sirico in Pompeii,³³ brings in another element. The seated figure of Dionysus at the top of the painting suggests that the power of wine has been combined with the power of love to disarm the hero and recalls Herakles' susceptibility to all temptations of the flesh. The painter of the Apulian chous in the fourth century BC had already shown that Herakles was easy to rob when drunk.

All three paintings depict Herakles as youthful, beardless, draped and in association with Omphale. There was, however, also another type of image which showed Herakles robbed by Erotes. In this Herakles is older, nude, bearded and alone with the small predators. The earliest extant example of this type is a fragmentary Hellenistic relief in marble in Bowdoin College.³⁴ Here Herakles is shown asleep,³⁵ but in most other representations of this type he is shown awake, sometimes reaching out to apprehend the capering Erotes, who are usually absconding with his possessions (PLATE IVf).³⁶

²⁹ Translated by H. W. and F. G. Fowler. I wonder if images of Erotes with the shield and helmet of Ares (according to *Greek Anthology* xvi 214 and 215) are not derived from images of Erotes playing with the armour of Alexander.

³⁰ Naples, Mus. Naz. 9000, F. L. Bastet *BABesch* xlv (1969) 146, fig. 3; Naples, Mus. Naz. Sala 54, H. Scharmer *Der Gelagerte Herakles* (Berlin 1971) no. 14, fig. 8; and Pompeii, Casa del Sirico vii 1, *LIMC* iii 'Eros/Amor, Cupido' 1028, no. 616, pl. 720.

³¹ Apollodorus *Bibl.* ii 6.3; Diodorus Siculus iv, 31.6 and Hyginus *Fab.* 32 among others, and see Ovid *Heroides* 9.55 ff. for reversal with respect to transvestitism.

³² A. Greifenhagen, 'Zwei motive Pompejanischer Wandgemälde auf Goldglas und Tonlampen' *MJFK* xvi (1965) 52.

³³ Pompeii, Casa del Sirico, (cf. n. 30).

³⁴ Bowdoin College 1906.2, K. Herbert *Ancient art in Bowdoin College* (Cambridge, Mass. 1964), no. 75, pl. 7, dated third to first century BC.

³⁵ He is shown asleep on a glass intaglio, Berlin Staatl. Mus. FG 4210, Furtwängler *Beschreibung* pl. 31, 4210 and on a marble table leg, Thessaloniki Mus. 4363, Th. Stefanidou-Tiveriou *Trapezophora tou Mouseiou Thess.* (Thessaloniki 1985) 42–5, no. 4. (I am grateful to Dr Olga Palagia and Dr Korinna Pilafidis-Williams for this reference.)

³⁶ For instance, plaster relief, Hildesheim, Pel.-Mus 1125, C. Reinsberg *Studien zur Hellenistischen Toreutik* (Hildesheim 1980) fig. 104; bronze relief disk, London, British Museum BM 857, Scharmer (as n. 30), no. 17, fig. 10, *LIMC* iii 'Eros' 926, no. 914, pl. 660;

As in the paintings with Omphale, the image gains impact through the clever play of a number of contrasts: age and youth, passive and active, large and small.³⁷ This type of mature, nude, bearded Herakles with Erotes may have stimulated the formulation of the image of the Nile portrayed as the same sort of mature reclining male figure with his sixteen 'cubits' clambering over him, their small size and activity contrasting with his amplitude and repose.³⁸

IV. *Eros with the attributes of Herakles*

Such, I suggest, are some of the images and ideas that contributed to the evolution of the portrayals of Eros with the attributes of Herakles. In time three main variants were developed: first, numerous small Erotes engaged in carrying off or tampering with the attributes and equipment of the hero either in his presence (as discussed above and illustrated in PLATE IVf) or independently,³⁹ second, Eros as a baby asleep on the lion-skin of Herakles with the club beside him (PLATE IVa);⁴⁰ and third, Eros as a child standing, clad in a lion-skin and holding a club,⁴¹ a type which in a variant without wings represents a boy-Herakles in an emblematic, non-mythological form.⁴²

Images of Eros with the attributes of Herakles can be merely playful, but on a deeper level they serve to recall concisely and powerfully that the might of Eros is belied by his diminutive size and his tender years.⁴³

Pompeian wall painting, E. Loewy *RömMitt* xii (1897) 144, fig. 1; clay relief medallion, Nîmes, Mus. de la Maison Carrée, *LIMC* iii 'Eros/Amor, Cupido' 1029, no. 620 (with drawing); marble sarcophagus relief, Rome, Villa Doria Pamphili, R. Calza et al. *Antichità di Villa Doria Pamphili* (Rome 1977) no. 183, pl. 115, *LIMC* iii 'Eros/Amor, Cupido' 1028–9, no. 619, pl. 720; glass intaglio, Berlin Staatl. Mus. FG 1327, Furtwängler *Beschreibung* pl. 15, 1327 (and see also Berlin FG 1326, 4208 and 4209).

³⁷ The idea of contrasting the size of the huge hero and the small Erotes by means of showing the Erotes struggling with Herakles' club may have been stimulated, in part, by Timanthes' painting in which the great size of the Cyclops is indicated by satyrs measuring his thumb with a thyrsus (Pliny *NH* xxxv 74) though the disparity in size here is not so great and Aetion's painting may have served as prototype enough.

³⁸ Vatican, Braccio Nuovo (Amelung *Kat.* I, no. 109) P. P. Bober and R. O. Rubinstein *Renaissance artists and antique sculpture* (London 1986) fig. 67. M. Robertson *A history of Greek art* ii (Cambridge 1975) fig 176c suggests that the statue in the Vatican is a copy after a bronze original of the second century BC. The uncertainty of dating in the Hellenistic period makes it possible, however, that the image of the Nile was earlier and may have contributed to the creation of this type of Herakles with Erotes.

³⁹ See *LIMC* iii 'Eros' 916, no. 781 and 928 nos. 951–4 and 'Eros/Amor, Cupido' 1028, nos 613–15 and 617–18 and pl. 720, 618.

⁴⁰ See *LIMC* iii 'Eros' 916, no. 781.

⁴¹ See *LIMC* iii 'Eros' 928, no. 953; 'Eros/Amor, Cupido' 1022, nos. 576–7.

⁴² See H. R. Goette, *AA* (1986) 722–4. I am grateful to Dr Hélène Cassimatis for this reference.

⁴³ As Apollo learned to his cost, Ovid, *Met.* i 456 ff.

APPENDIX

Other Images which show Eros in association with Herakles

Erotes proliferate on vases from the fourth century BC and so it is hardly surprising that they appear in

scenes with Herakles as well as other gods. Eros' presence adds to the idyllic quality of the garden of the Hesperides, suggests the erotic aspects of Herakles' match with Hebe and extends the pleasures of the table to those of the bedroom in scenes of feasting.¹

The earliest extant representation of Herakles and Eros alone is on a bronze hydria in Malibu (PLATE IVe).² It shows Herakles carrying the infant Eros in an affectionate manner. Such service is performed by older gods for younger ones frequently in sculptures of the fourth century BC³ and even earlier in vase painting of the fifth century BC.⁴

Gem cutters often show Eros on the shoulder of a crouching Herakles. In the earliest extant example, from the third century BC,⁵ Herakles brandishes his club in one hand—the object of his attack is not clear—and holds Eros' hand with the other. Herakles' position suggests submission, but he does not evince any hostility towards Eros. In a later variant,⁶ Herakles is shown without his club. Vollenweider⁷ interprets a cameo of this type as showing Herakles forced down on one knee by Eros and making a gesture of submission with his free hand. Furtwängler holds the same opinion and also sees a group of Roman gems which show Herakles with his hands bound behind his back as images of Eros subduing Herakles.⁸

This may be true of some representations for, as we know, just this sort of piquant conceit was found appealing in Hellenistic and Roman times. Nevertheless, the possibility that friendly relations such as are revealed in the Malibu bronze also pertain to at least some of the gems should not be excluded. On one,⁹ for instance, Herakles is holding Eros' two hands, apparently in order to help him balance on the hero's shoulders. Another gem¹⁰ in which Herakles is shown walking with his hands tied behind his back and Eros is

perched on his shoulder is visually very close to the Malibu bronze.

When Herakles is shown with his hands tied and Eros behind him,¹¹ it is usually assumed that Eros is binding the hero's hands and thus exercising his power over Herakles. This may well be correct, but it should be remembered that the image alone, unsupported by any literary evidence is ambiguous, and Eros might just as well be releasing Herakles from his bonds as binding him.

Other types are rare.¹²

In the absence of literary evidence, scenes showing Herakles with Eros are extraordinary difficult to interpret. We can seldom be absolutely sure whether we are looking at allegories of the power of love or subtle illustrations of stories whose content eludes us.¹³

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¹¹ For instance, glass intaglio, Berlin, Staatl. Mus. FG 1325 (Furtwängler *Beschreibung* pl. 15, 1325) and Cornelian intaglio, Vienna, Kunsthst. Mus. IX B 656 (*AGOe* i, pl. 46, 268).

¹² Two glass intaglios appear to show Herakles and Eros standing on opposite sides of an altar (Hanover, Kestner Mus. *AGD* iv, pl. 121, 927 and Vienna, Kunsthst. Mus. XI B 324, *AGOe* i, pl. 15, 656). A sardonyx cameo in Leningrad, Herm. Mus. 294 (O. Neverov *Antique Cameos* [1971] no. 27) shows Eros pouring bath water over a crouching Herakles in the presence of a woman (Omphale?). A jasper intaglio, Munich, Münzslg. A 2002 (*AGD* iii, pl. 254, 2716) shows Herakles seated on a rock holding his club in front of him with three Erotes, one flying towards his shoulder, one mid-air in front of him, one holding his club, possibly trying to pull it away. An intaglio, Berlin, Staatl. Mus. FG 7568, shows Herakles seated with club and lion-skin, with a skyphos in one hand. Eros reaches a wreath to him. A glass intaglio fragment (Munich, Münzslg. *AGD* i, 3 pl. 302, 3109) shows Herakles opposite Eros, who is looking into a krater. A coin of Herakleia (*Rec. Gen.* 78) shows Herakles seated, holding out a hand to Eros, down on one knee, holding Herakles' club while another Eros is shown in a tree (for other coins, see *LIMC* iii 'Eros' 926, nos. 915–19). A bone relief in Alexandria (Greco-Rom. Mus. GR 23891) shows Herakles standing with his club under his arm and Eros on his shoulder. C. Praschniker *Parthenonstudien* (Augsburg 1928) 215 f. suggested that Eros on East Metope 11 of the Parthenon is accompanying Herakles in his fight against the giants and in this opinion he is followed by many (but by no means all) scholars. For a summary of views, see E. Berger *Der Parthenon in Basel: Dokumentation zu den Metopen* (Mainz 1986) 57 and 66–8.

¹³ Many colleagues have kindly given me suggestions and helpful criticism on this note and I would like to thank Donald Bailey, Lucilla Burn, Catherine Hobe-Hamsher, Olga Palagia and Dyfri Williams. Some have disagreed with my conclusions and none are responsible for my mistakes, but all have been extremely generous.

The Duration of an Athenian Political Trial

The procedures involved in, and duration of, Athenian trials have been the subject of much attention,¹ and it is the *communis opinio* that a public trial in Athens lasted for one day only. Yet the evidence for this is mostly circumstantial and difficulties arise when one tries to reconcile a lengthy trial, as evidenced by the existence of very long speeches, with a one-day trial

¹ See especially P. J. Rhodes, *A commentary on the Aristotelian Athenian Politeia* (Oxford 1981) 719–28 for detailed discussion and bibliography, to which add D. M. MacDowell, *CQ* 2 xxxv (1985) 525–6.

¹ For instance: Eros with Herakles in the garden of the Hesperides—Pelike, Yale University (Stoddard coll) 138 (Baur *Cat. Stoddard* 93, pl. IX; Metzger, *Représentations* 203, no. 20); Hydria, British Museum E 227 (*CVA* [Great Britain 8] pl. 93, Metzger *Représentations* 202, no. 19, pl. XXVII/1); Calyx krater, Paris, Petit Palais 327 (*CVA* [France 15] pl. 14, 1–4, 6, Metzger *Représentations* 204, no. 23, pl. XXVII, 3); Eros with Herakles and Hebe—Hydria, British Museum E 244 (*CVA* [Great Britain 8] pl. 98, 5) Metzger *Représentations* 49, no. 26, 216, no. 54); Volute krater, Berlin, Staatl. Mus. (*Antike Kunst* xii [1969] 63 and pl. 34, 1); and Eros with Herakles feasting—Bell krater, Musée d'Angers (Metzger *Représentations* 216, no. 55, pl. XVI, 3); Calyx krater, Athens, Nat. Mus. 14627 (*ARV*² 1451.4) and see *LIMC* iii 'Eros' 926, no. 913.

² Getty Mus. 79 AE 119.

³ For instance, Kephisosdotos' Eirene with the infant Ploutos or Praxiteles' Hermes with the infant Dionysus.

⁴ For instance, Iris carrying the infant Hermes on a hydria, Munich 2426 (*ARV*² 189.76) or Hermes carrying the infant Dionysus on a calyx krater, Vatican 16586 (*ARV*² 1017.54).

⁵ Glass intaglio, Oxford, Ashmolean Mus. FR 78 (Boardman/Vollenweider *Oxford gems* i [1978] 112, pl. 64, 382).

⁶ Glass intaglio, Hanover, Kestner Mus. (*AGD* iv, pl. 47, 309).

⁷ M. L. Vollenweider *Die Steinschneidekunst und ihre Künstler in Spätrepublikanischer und Augusteischer Zeit* (Baden Baden 1966) 102.

⁸ A. Furtwängler *ML* (Roscher) 'Herakles' 2249. See glass intaglio, Berlin, Staatl. Mus. FG 4206/7 (Furtwängler *Beschreibung* pl. 31, 4207), glass intaglio, Berlin, Staatl. Mus. FG 1325 (Furtwängler *Beschreibung* pl. 15, 1325), Cornelian intaglio, Vienna, Kunsthst. Mus. IX B 656 (*AGOe* i, pl. 46, 268); Chalcedony intaglio, Florence, Mus. Arch. (Milani *Guida* [1912] pl. 135.8).

⁹ Glass intaglio, Hanover, Kestner Mus. (*AGD* iv, pl. 47, 309).

¹⁰ Chalcedony intaglio, Florence, Mus. Arch. (Milani *Guida* [1912] pl. 135.8).



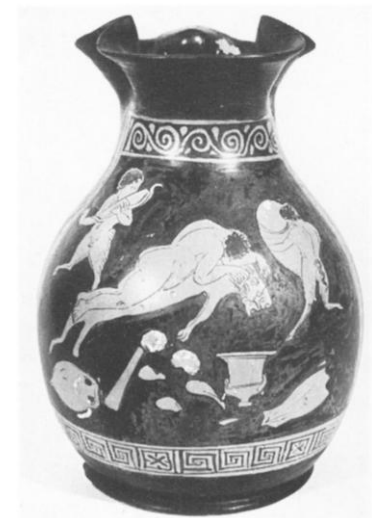
(a) Eros with the attributes of Herakles, London, British Museum, Sculpture no. 1677; courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.



(b) Herakles with the Kerkopes, Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, no. 81. AE. 189.



(c) Satyrs about to steal the arms of Herakles, Munich, Staatl. Antikensammlungen, vase no. 2360; photo courtesy of the Museum.



(d) Aegipans stealing the equipment of Herakles, Taranto; photo courtesy of Admiral A. Ragusa, Taranto.



(e) Herakles carrying Eros, Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, no. 79 AE 119.



(f) Erotes stealing the equipment of Herakles, London, British Museum, Bronze no. 857; courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.