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ANTOINE HERMARY

Antikenslg. 7583. – *Herakles. Herkules* 156 fig. 21.1; 407 no. 89. – 2nd/3rd cent. A. D. – H. with the tree, fruit and snake.
→ **add.5c**

VI. Other principal adversaries and occasions

Alkestis: → *LIMC* Suppl. 2009 Alkestis
Alkyoneus: → *LIMC* Suppl. 2009 Alkyoneus
Auge: → *LIMC* Suppl. 2009 Auge
Bousiris: → *LIMC* Suppl. 2009 Bousiris
Kentauroi: → *LIMC* Suppl. 2009 Kentauroi et Kentaurides **add.11 I***, **12 X*–XI***
Kyknos: → *LIMC* Suppl. 2009 Kyknos I, Zeus chap. III 1 b
Lykaon: → *LIMC* Suppl. 2009 Lykaon II
Prometheus: → *LIMC* Suppl. 2009 Prometheus **add.2***

VII. Herakles' apotheosis

→ *LIMC* Suppl. 2009 Apollon **add.52***, Zeus **add.136–141**.

IX. Herakles with Olympian Gods

B. 1. The struggle over the tripod

Add after **2968**:

add.10.* Volute crater, Sicilian rf. Swiss Private Collection. – Schauenburg, K., *JdI* 109, 1994, 118 fig. 1: Near the Locri P. – 380–360 B. C. – H. flees left, with lionskin and club, holding the tripod over the omphalos while Apollo, with bow and chlamys, stretches out his hand to it.
→ *LIMC* Suppl. 2009 Apollon **add.57–59**, Zeus chap. III 1 a.

E. Herakles and Athena

Add after **3172**:

add.11.* Lekythos, Attic rf. – J.-D. Cahn AG, Auktion 5, 23.09.2005, no. 52; Cahn Auktionen AG, Auktion 2, 21.09.2007, no. 302: Close to Mannheim P. – About 470 B. C. – H. holds a fruit (peach?) and kantharos into which Athena pours.
→ *LIMC* Suppl. 2009 Athena **add.63***.

G. Herakles and Dionysos/Bacchus

→ *LIMC* Suppl. 2009 Dionysos **add.18***, Dionysos (in Thracia) **14–17**, Dionysos/Bacchus **add.36*** (= **3265**)

M. Herakles and Hermes

Add after **3350**:

add.12.* Lekythos, Attic bf. – NFA Classical Auctions New York, 11.12.1991, no. 79. – Close to the Athena P. Early 5th cent. B. C. – H., fully dressed and with club, and Hermes, as gods of the palaistra, watch a wrestling match between a naked bearded man and a youth wearing a loin cloth (Theseus?).

R. Gigantomachia

→ *LIMC* Suppl. 2009 Gigantes **add.2***, **7. 8*** (?), **9***, **10. 19***, **20***

JOHN BOARDMAN

HERAKLES (CYPRI)

(*LIMC* V [1990] pp. 192–196 pls. 161–163 [A. Hermary])

add.1.* (= *LIMC* Suppl. 2009 Odysseus **add.1** avec renvois) Sarcophage en calcaire polychrome. Kouklia, Mus. RRKM 485. De Palaepaphos (Kato Alonia, tombe 176). – Flourentzos, P., *The Sarcophagus of Palaipafos* (2007) 21–25 fig. 14; Raptou, E., «Culture grecque et tradition orientale à Paphos», *CCEC* 37, 2007 (*Hommage à Annie Caubet*), 307–328 fig. 3–6. – 1^{ère} moitié du V^e s. av.J.–C. – Le grand personnage vêtu de la léonté et tenant un arc, un genou en terre, vers qui se dirigent les soldats qui sortent de la citadelle, est certainement H. et non Ulysse figuré comme H., comme le voudrait Flourentzos. Il pourrait s'agir, comme le propose Raptou, d'une figuration du premier siège de Troie.

ANTOINE HERMARY

HERCLE

(*LIMC* V [1990] pp. 196–253 pls. 164–186 [S. J. Schwarz])

Name form, Inscriptions, Literary sources

The earliest (c. 490–470 B. C.) inscribed votive naming the god appears in its most frequent form, *Hercle*, and stems from H.'s first-known sanctuary (S. Antonio, Cerveteri), on an Attic red-figured kylix, Villa Giulia 121110 (formerly Malibu, Getty Mus. 83.AE.362, Martelli, M., in *Miscellanea etrusca e italica in onore di M. Pallottino* (= *ArchCl* 43, 1991) 613–619; Colonna, G., *ScAnt* 3–4, 1989–1990, 899–903; → *LIMC* VIII Suppl. Ilioupersis 7), Maggiani, *Vasi att. con dediche* 24 A 1; Colonna 2001, 151–173 esp. 160–162; *REE*, *StEtr* 69, 2003, 334. 339 no. 29; Maggiani, A./Rizzo, A. M., in *Veio, Cerveteri* 150–153 no. II.B.5.1 pl. 10 with bibl. For additional H. votives, cf. Maggiani, *Vasi att. con dediche* 31 and the rf. cup fr. in Florence with *Hercle* inscribed under the foot (Florence, Mus. Arch. 151516, c. 420–400 B. C.; Colonna 2001, 160 n. 28). See also the H. graffito found in Pyrgi, near the eastern altars of the *argoi lithoi*, area 1: Colonna, G., *AnnFaina* 11, 2004, 69–94 esp. 73 fig. 9.

While Cristofani (in *Scripta selecta. Trenta anni di studi archeologici* I [2001] 305–309 = *Contributi alla ceramica etrusca tardo-classica* [1984, *QuadAEI* 10, 1985], 21–24 with bibl.) proposed that the votive graffito *HPA* (in Greek letter forms) on (25) Genuclia plates (associated with the large Caere urban Manganello Temple) of the later 4th cent. were dedications to Herakles; see opposed: Donatella Gentili, M., *AnnFaina* 11, 2004, 307–339, who convincingly attributes the dedications to Hera.

Italic name forms: Poccetti, P., in *La Tavola di Agnone* (1996) 219–241; Prosdocimi, A. L., *ibid.*, 435–630; *id.*, in *Italia. Omnium terrarum parens* (1989) 529. 543 n. 35; Rix, H., *Sabellische Texte* (2002) 149; Capini, S., in *Studi sull'Italia dei Sanniti* (2000) 230–231; La Regina, A., *ibid.* 218–219; Poccetti, P., *Per la conoscenza dell'antico Sannio* (1993) 47–63; Campanella, A., in *I luoghi degli Dei* 134; Van Wouterghem, F., in *La civiltà della transumanza* (1999) 413–428.

Latin name forms and epithets: Letta, C., *L'epigrafia del villaggio* (1990) with bibl.; *cf.* also: Bonetto; Bradley 133–134; Prosdocimi, A. L., in *Italia. Omnium terrarum parens* (1989) 529; Letta, C., *MEFRA* 104, 1992, 118. For *hercules* on a Praeneste cista (add. 19), *cf.* CP I 2, 319 n. 2; Franchi De Bellis, A., *Iscrizioni prenestine su specchi e ciste* (2005) 148–159 no. 564 pls. 21a. c, with bibl. On the *Herclai* dedication on a bronze lamina (Sopr. per i Beni Arch. del Lazio 114170, dated 250–200 B. C., «suspect», said to have been found at Mesa di Pontinia, Via Appia [near *Sinuessa*], along with five other dedications to Apollo, Ceres, Diana, Jupiter and Neptune), see Cassieri, N., in *Il Lazio Regione di Roma* (2002) 65–66 (fig.) no. X 5, with bibl.

Numerous studies reveal palpable evidence of the god's ubiquitous presence throughout Etruria, Latium, Campania, Umbria, Etruria Padana, Venetic territory, Abruzzi, Apulia, Lucania, as well as Adriatic Sea routes from Daunian ports to the northern Adriatic. In addition to Menerva, he is closely allied with other divinities as, for example, Uni/Iuno Sospita/Hera, Aphrodite/Fortuna/Bona Dea, Fuf-luns/Bacchus, Aplu/Apollo, Faunus, Fortuna Virilis, Ceres.

There are few places in Italy where Herclai is not evident and not honored, as Capdeville (29–30) and Dion. Hal. (*ant.* I, 40, 6) have remarked. His polyvalent cult functions in Etruria and much of the Italian peninsula from the 6th cent. to the late Republican period were associated with: transhumance; trade; water/springs; triumph; initiation; an oracular/mantic role; a chthonic role; and a role as founder.

A. Transhumance

His cult spreads with transhumance, *cf.* Torelli, *passim*; Van Wouterghem, F., in Bonnet, C./Jourdain-Annequin, C. (eds.), *Héraclès: d'une rive à l'autre de la Méditerranée: bilan et perspectives* (1992) 319–337, for overland routes; *id.*, in *La civiltà della transumanza* (1999) 413–428. For discussions of other principal routes, such as the *via Heraclea*, that illustrate the spread of his cult from Cumae throughout Campania, see: Valenza Mele, N., in *Recherches sur les cultes grecs et l'Occident I* (1979) 19–51; Murolo, N., in *Studi sulla Campania preromana* (1995) 105–123; Aversa 31–32; Buonocore, M., *Xenia Antiqua* 4, 1995, 179–198; and Bonetto 291–307. For epigraphical sources connected with the cult of Hercules in Regio IV, see Mastrocinque, A., *Archeologia viva*, 15, 58 n.s., lugl.–ag. 1996, 34–41.

B. Trade

1. H. is bound with **trade sanctuaries** at Pyrgi, S. Antonio (Caere), Rome, the *Ara Maxima* on the Tiber, along the *via Tiburtina*, at Praeneste and other principal arteries joining Etruria and Rome to mercantile routes throughout central, northern and southern Italy, not to mention the Adriatic coast, *cf.* the *via Heraclea*, above, A. Transhumance and Torelli, M., in *Storia di Roma I* (1988) 53–76.

2. His link with the **salt trade** is inseparable from that with transhumance and commerce. For evidence of this relationship, *cf.* *Hercules Salarius* (Alba Fucens: *CIL IX* 3961); Solin. I, 8. In 1888, Lanciani recognized the ancient *Salaria Vecchia* at the foot of the Aventine, between it and the Tiber (Lanciani, R., *Forma Urbis Romae* [1893–1901] pl. 34) and near numerous early Herclai/Hercules sacred places; Coarelli, F., *Il Foro Boario. Dalle origini alla fine della repubblica* (1988) 27–28. 109–113; *id.*, in *Storia di Roma I* (1988) 127–151; Richardson, *TopRome* 341; Torelli 91–117; Coarelli, F., *LTUR IV* (1999) 229 s.v. «Salinae». N. Murolo (in *Studi sulla Campania preromana* [1995] 108) from ancient testimony, identifies salt locales along the Tyrrhenian coast; A. Giovannini, *Athenaeum* 63, 1985, 373–387 for the transit salt route to the Adriatic.

3. Similarly, the *decima* (tithe) is offered to the god at the *Ara Maxima* in Rome, perhaps initially to ensure safe transactions, to protect merchants' profit and, perhaps later, for military success (a war prayer?). Its origins are uncertain, but Dion. Hal. (*ant.* I, 44, 1), reports that H., after having left part of his cattle in Rome, continues his journey towards the south to find his own fleet at Herculeaneum, where he sacrifices the *decima* of his booty. Moreover, at the conclusion of contracts, the parties swore in his name, *herclai, mehercule*. In this role, G. Colonna (in *La necropoli di Praeneste* [1992] 13–46 esp. 35–39) proposed a *porta triumphalis* at Praeneste, where a sanctuary to the god may date as early as the 6th–5th cent. B. C. Ancient sources concerning the *decima* are found in Mastrocinque, A., *New Pauly s.v.* «Hercules» 192.

C. Water

H. has long been identified with thermal/mineral springs and healing sanctuaries, as well as vast works of reclamation and hydraulic canalization in the countryside, linked with a neighboring sanctuary, rather than with water sources or a spring within the sanctuary itself. In general, *cf.* Maggiani, A., *Ocnus* 7, 1999, 187–203; Gilotta, F., in *L'acqua degli dei: immagini di fontane, vasellame, culti salutari e in grotta. Museo civico archeologico, Chianciano Terme* (2003) 25–32; for H. at the fountain, *cf.* Massapairault 2000 *passim*. At his sanctuary at S. Antonio (Caere), hydraulic works are prominent (Cristofani, M., *AION* 11–12, 1996, 75–78; *id.*, *ScAnt* 10, 2000, 396–425 esp. 414–420); for Caere's *Aquae Caeretanae*, see discussions in Cosentino, R./Sabbatini Tumolesi, P., in *Miscellanea ceretana I. QuadAEI* 17 (1989) 95 ff.; *id.*, *BollArch* 7, 1991, 75 ff. For Pyrgi: Colonna 2000,

251–336; Veii: Colonna, G., *ScAnt* 1, 1987, 435–442; *id.* 1987, 7–41; Ciocolom Ferruzzi, R./Marchiori, S., *ScAnt* 3–4, 1989–90, 705–718; Falerii veteres: Carlucci, C., *ArchCl* 47, 1995, 69–101; Bologna, Villa Cassarini: Malnati, L., in *L'acqua degli dei*, *o.c.* 33–37; northern Italy and Adria/Spina: Sassatelli, G., in *Spina. Storia di una città tra Greci ed Etruschi* (1993) 126–127; Colonna, G., in Rebecchi, F. (ed.), *Spina e il delta Padano. Riflessioni sul catalogo e sulla mostra ferrarese* (1998) 221–226; Abruzzo, Corfinium: Campanelli, A./Orfanelli, V./Riccitelli, P., in *Acque, grotte e dei* 184–185. 188–190. For the recurring relationship between Heracle and Turms and Aplu/Apollo at thermal springs, see Commentary, 6. With deities, others, d) With Turms and e) With Aplu; Santillo Frizell, B., in *Pecus. Man and Animal in Antiquity* (2004) 84–97; Cagianelli, C., *Annuario dell'Accademia etrusca di Cortona* 26, 1993–1994, 197–223 esp. 203–204. Ancient literary sources are found in Mastrocinque, A., *New Pauly s.v.* «Hercules» 191.

D. Triumph

His image was enlisted by tyrants/kings and elites as part of a generic iconography of power supporting political legitimacy and victory and is dispersed throughout Etruria, Latium and other parts of Italy. On the personal eschatological level, he was viewed as a model in attaining immortality; cf. Ampolo, C., in *Etruria e Lazio arcaico* (1987) 75–87; Camporeale 13; Zevi, F., in Storchi Marino, A. (ed.), *L'incidenza dell'antico. Studi in mem. di Ettore Lepore I* (1995) 291–314 esp. 307–310. 310–314); Lulof, P. S., *JRA* 13.1, 2000, 207–219; Massa-Pairault, F.-H., *ScAnt* 10, 2000, 427–456; *ead.*, in *Le mythe grec* 485–510; Adornato, G., *MEFRA* 115, 2003, 832. See **add.51** and ancient sources in Mastrocinque, A., *New Pauly s.v.* «Hercules» 192. Cf. also 46. Journey to Olympus and introduction to Tinia and/or with other deities.

E. Initiation

H. was perceived as protector of the *gens*, fostering its political destiny and renewed ancient noble status (esp. at Falerii, Volsinii and Praeneste). As such, he participated in a youth's (*iuventus*) ritual transition to adulthood, implementing his role in civil life. The *athla* of H. may have offered for the Etruscan pre-urban (perhaps Caere, Vulci Chiusi, Vetulonia, Florentine ager, Murlo, etc.) aristocracy a model of *virtus* for *iuventus* (for M. Cristofani [*Prospettiva* 83–84, 1996, 2–9]), an heroic paradigm of *arête* and ethical values for the warrior and a symbol of the journey to distant unknown, uncivilized lands and, on a funerary note, the otherworldly journey, cf. also Minetti, A., *AION* ns. 5, 1998, 27–56 esp. 46–49); and in Rome, for the *iuvenes'* participation in rites held at the *Ara Maxima*, cf. Verg. *Aen.* 8, 271–275; Menichetti *passim*; Massa-Pairault 1992, 22 ff. 36 ff. *passim*; *ead.*, *Ostraka* 1993, 243–268; *ead.*, 1998, 231–250). This role became significant for youth in Volsinii and its territory between the 5th and 4th cent. B.C., cf. Massa-Pairault, F.-H., *AnnFaina* 6, 1999, 91 ff.; *ead.*, 2000, *passim*. In this connection,

M. Menichetti (in *Le mythe grec* 486. 493 ff. with bibl.) discusses the notion of *paideia* for mid-Republican (5th–3rd cent.) Praeneste. See also Maggiani, Vasi *att. con dediche* 32 and Massa-Pairault, F.-H., *ScAnt* 10, 2000, 427–456.

F. Oracular/Mantic

At the Cannicella (Orvieto) sanctuary, H. is found together with *Vei* (Colonna 1987, 22 ff. linked *Vei* with Demeter and Kore and emphasized her identification with *Bona Dea* and the corresponding Umbrian-Sabine-Picenum divinity, *Cupra* [Strab. 5, 4, 2 p. 241] with Hera). An oracular function is attested for Hercules at Caere (S. Antonio sanctuary, cf. Colonna 2001, 164 with bibl.), Tivoli and Ostia, Champeaux, J., *MEFRA*, 102, 1990, 273–276. Cf. for early Rome in Mastrocinque, A., *New Pauly s.v.* «Hercules» 191; and e) With Aplu, below; concerning the similar natures of the two gods, cf. → *LIMC* Suppl. 2009 Herakles/Hercules (Romae) 10–11.

G. Chthonic

In general, his chthonic function is signaled by his Greek labors with Kerberos, the journey into Hades (**248. add.30.** perhaps **add.31.**) and the Apples of the Hesperides (**258. add.32. add.33.**); in Etruria his triumph over death and subsequent immortality is the more prominent theme (vs. central and southern Italic focus on military capability) as seen at cult sites and in private or familial funerary contexts. There is a particular Italic emphasis on his protection (for herders, merchants and sailors) against wilderness, frontier, marauding and thieving threats of danger/death (evident in his encounters with multiple monster adversaries) or any imagined obstruction to his obtaining the Apples of the Hesperides, cf. Bayet, J., *MEFRA* 40, 1923, 19–102. Sites with H.'s presumed chthonic functions include mid-Republican Corfinium; see also La Torre, G., in *Dalla villa di Ovidio al santuario di Ercole* (1989) 140 and S. Ippolito, with the cult's infernal and mystery inference, Campanelli, A., in *Acque, grotte e dei* 188–190. The use of his image in conjunction with female burials is neither fully studied nor understood, cf. the numerous private monuments with his image, e.g., mirrors, cistae, situlae, etc. and, in this article, the (Dactylic) H. discussion in the Commentary 11. Nemean Lion, 23. Acheloos (gold diadem, **add.36**) and (ii) Type/attributes, a) Head (amber gem, **add.2**). See the nature similar to that of Aplu/Apollo here, F. Oracular/Mantic.

H. Founder

In this function, primarily fostered by Italic Greek colonial cities, a familiar model emerges, one in which H. defeats a local king (sometimes unintentionally), e.g., Eryx, Kroton, Lakinius, Lokros, only to found a city or a sanctuary in his name/honor (cf. Kroton: Diod. 4, 24, 7; Ov. *met.* 15, 12–59; Serv. *Aen.* 3, 552; for Rome and perhaps Etruria, cf. Ov. *fast.* 6, 516–526, *id.*, *met.* 4, 486–542 esp. 535). This aspect may have been particularly

important as early as the 4th cent. Etruscan self-formulated aristocratic notion of their own ancestry (*tusca fabula*), as descendants of Herakles via Telephos (son of H.), Tyrrhenus and Tarchon (the latter two, so-called Heracleidae, grandsons of H., Omphale or other Lydian female): Tyrrhenus came (to Etruria), called the land after himself, placed Tarchon in charge as «colonizer» (after whom, the city, Tarquinia was named) and founded the twelve cities; cf. Briquel, D., *L'origine lydienne des Etrusques: histoire de la doctrine dans l'antiquité* (1991) 91–123, 127–179 esp. 136–141, 171–172; Harari 262–264, 266–268 and Dion. Hal. *ant.*, I, 28, 1 (E. Cary): «Tyrrhenus, son of Herakles and Lydian Omphale, dispossessed the Pelasgians of only those cities beyond the Tiber toward the north»; Colonna, G., in *Identità e civiltà dei Sabini* (1996) 109 and n. 11: Tyrrhenus, the Lydian founder of Caere; Cortona, by the Pelasgians; for the myth between the 5th and 4th cent. in the Volturni region, cf. Massa-Pairault, F.-H., *AnnFaina* 6, 1999, 91ff. For other Italic regions, including Etruscan Campania and adaptation of Tyrrhenus/Tarchon ancestry, cf. also Colonna, G., in *Tarquinia: ricerche, scavi e prospettive* (1987) 153–157; Cerchiai, L., «Capua. Il caso della tomba detta di Brygos», *Ostraka* 6, 1997, 129–134 = *id.*, in *Il mare, la morte* 171–176 esp. 172–173. See discussions here: G. Chthonic; **add.46**; (ii) Type/attributes b) Full figure 3; 6. With deities and others d) With Turms; and i) Gigantomachy.

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5, 1998, 231–250; Massa-Pairault 2000 = Massa-Pairault, F.-H., «Problemi ermeneutici a proposito degli specchi. Esame di alcune scene connesse con il mito di Herakles», in *Aspetti e problemi della produzione degli specchi etruschi figurati* (2000) 181–207; Mastrocinque, A., «Eracle «perboreo» in Etruria», in *Ercole in Occidente* (1993) 49–61; Mastrocinque, A., *New Pauly* VI (2006) 189–194 s.v. «Hercules»; Menichetti, M., ... *Quoius forma virtutei parisuma fuit ...: ciste prenestine e cultura di Roma medio-repubblicana* (1995); Ritter, S., *Hercules in der römischen Kunst von den Anfängen bis Augustus* (1995); Tombolani, M., «I bronzi etruschi di Adria», in De Marinis, R. (ed.) *Gli Etruschi a nord del Po II* (1987²) 99–109; Torelli, M., «Gli aromi e il sale. Afrodite ed Eracle nell'emporia arcaica dell'Italia», in *Ercole in Occidente* (1993) 91–117; Zanovello, P., «L'Herakles di Contarina», *Aquileia Nostra* 58, 1987, 154–188.

ADDITIONAL ABBREVIATED TITLES: *Acque, grotte e dei* = Pacciarelli, M. (ed.), *Acque, grotte e dei: 3000 anni di culti preromani in Romagna, Marche e Abruzzo* (1997); *AEIMNHETOΣ* = *AEIMNHETOΣ. Miscellanea di studi per Mauro Cristofani* (2005); *Deliciae Fictiles I* = Rystedt E./Wikander C. and Ö. (eds.), *Deliciae Fictiles. Proceedings ... Rome 1990* (1993); *Deliciae Fictiles II* = Lulof, P. S./Moormann, E. M. (eds.), *Deliciae Fictiles II. Proceedings ... Rome 1996* (1997); *Deliciae Fictiles III* = Edlund-Berry, I./Greco, G./Kenfield, J. (eds.), *Deliciae Fictiles III. Architectural Terracottas in Ancient Italy: New Discoveries and Interpretations. Proceedings ... Rome 2002* (2006); *Depositi votivi* = Comella, A./Mele, S. (eds.), *Depositi votivi e culti dell'Italia antica dall'età arcaica a quella tardo-repubblicana* (2005); *Dinamiche* = Paoletti, O./Camporeale, G. (eds.), *Dinamiche di sviluppo delle città nell'Etruria Meridionale: Veio, Caere, Tarquinia, Vulci* (2005); *I luoghi degli Dei* = Campanelli, A./Faustoferrri, A./Agostini, S. (eds.), *I luoghi degli Dei. Sacro e natura nell'Abruzzo italico* (1997); *Il mare, la morte* = d'Agostino, B./Cerchiai, L. (eds.), *Il mare, la morte, l'amore: gli Etruschi, i Greci e l'immagine* (1999); *Le mythe grec* = Massa-Pairault, F.-H. (ed.), *Le mythe grec dans l'Italie antique. Fonction et image. Actes du Coll. Int. ... Rome 1996* (1999); Massa-Pairault 1985 = Massa-Pairault, F.-H., *Recherches sur l'art et l'artisanat étrusco-italiques à l'époque hellénistique* (1985); Massa-Pairault 1992 = Massa-Pairault, F.-H., *Iconologia e politica nell'Italia antica, Roma, Lazio, Etruria dal VII al I sec. a C* (1992); Mele 1995 = Mele, A., «Tradizioni eroiche e colonizzazione greca: le colonie achee», in Storchi Marino, A. (ed.), *L'incidenza dell'antico. Studi in mem. di Ettore Lepore I* (1995) 427–450; Strazzulla 2007 = Strazzulla, M. J., «L'uso delle immagini nell'edilizia pubblica dell'ellenismo a Roma e nel mondo etrusco-italico», in Massa-Pairault, F.-H./Sauron, G. (eds.), *Images et modernité hellénistiques: appropriation et représentation du monde d'Alexandre à César* [2007] 139–161; *Veio, Cerveteri* = Moretti Sgubini, A. M. (ed.), *Veio, Cerveteri, Vulci: città d'Etruria a confronto* (2001).

CATALOGUE

1. Non-narrative

A. Hercle head

1. Frontal, beardless

(Before 1) **add.1.*** (= **add.37**) Bucchero pesante oinochoe handle protome, Chiusi workshop. Barcelona, Mus. Arch. Prov. 11441 (G 477). – Gran-Aymerich, J., in *Le mythe grec* 395–396 fig. 7 A. – C. 575–550 B. C. – Earliest H. protome (beardless, lion-skin cap).

add.2.* Amber pendant, Ionicizing Etrusco-Campanian, or Daunian workshop, «Master of the winged sphinx» (Mastrocinque). Potenza, Mus. Naz. 96685. From Braida, near Serra di Vaglio (Potenza,

Basilicata) Necropolis, Tomb 106 (found with Etrusco-Campanian *gens* name, *Eclano* [Torelli]). – Bottini, A./Setari, E., in *La Necropoli italica di Braida di Vaglio in Basilicata. Materiali dallo scavo del 1994*, *MonAnt S. Misc.* 7, 2003, 66–67 no. 311 fig. 37 (maenad); Russo, A., in *Magie d'ambra; amuletti e gioielli della Basilicata antica* (2006) 117 fig. 119. – C. 525–500 B.C. – H. (lionskin cap with two teeth of lion's head on forehead, lion's lower jaw surrounds H.'s). Modeled after East Greek type, cf. Boston, MFA 1970.640, *LIMC* IV Herakles 12* (Milesian?, others found in Gela).

add.3.* Terracotta (mould-made) head antefixes in Campania (Capua, Mus. Prov. From Capua, suburban sanctuary Fondo Paturelli (*); Suessula, Teano, Cales, Minturno, Fratte, Cumae, Pompeii, Satricum, Poseidonia, Sanctuary of Marica [Garigliano River], Stabia, loc. Privati sanctuary [Castellammare]). – Cf. Aversa *passim*; Rescigno, C., in *Deliciae Fictiles* III 274 fig. 27.8; Sassi, M., in *I Greci in occidente* (mostra 1996) 539; Lulof, P. S., in *Il Tempio dorico del Foro Triangolare di Pompei* (2001) 229–230; Scatozza, L. A., in *Deliciae Fictiles* II 189–197 fig. 1 (H. photo is reversed with Athena); D'Alessio, M. T., in *Depositi votivi* 536. – C. 500 – 2nd cent. B.C.

add.4.* Terracotta (mould-made, local workshop) *antepagmenta*. **a)** With two heads. Vasto, Mus. Civ. 164. From loc. Punta Penna (Vasto) temple. – Papi, R./Rosario Staffa, A., in *I luoghi degli Dei* 79–80 (fig.) no. 1 pl. 9. – 4th–3rd cent. B.C. – **b)*** With four heads. Chieti, Mus. Naz. 6168. From Schiavi d'Abruzzo sanctuary. – Iaculli, G., *ibid.* 86–87 (fig.) no. 1. – End of 2nd–1st cent. B.C. – H. (beardless, club) with Mercury? (petasos), Helios? and Selene?

5. Janiform

(After 9) **add.5.*** Janiform oinochoe (both heads are H.). Florence, Mus. Arch. 4469. From Volterra, Malacena workshop. – Paoli, L., in Goring, E. (ed.), *Treasures from Tuscany* (2004) 151 no. 261 (fig.). – 3rd cent. B.C. – Young H.

C. Standing

1. Assault pose = club or bow in raised r. hand

Some statuettes cited in *LIMC* V are classified in a different way, as follows:

After **a)** Cypriote type,

add **Hybrid: Cypriote/Hunter/Scythian archer with lion or deer (fawn) skin and/or with Apples of the Hesperides**

Add i. Lionskin attributes

α. Club merely raised in r.

13. Fiesole, Mus. Com. 484. From Sant'Apollinare (near Fiesole). – Romualdi, A., *ScAnt* 3–4, 1989–90, 627. 635 no. 9.5; Aversa 26 fig. 15; *The Etruscans*. Exhib. Venice (2000) 289 (fig.). 606 (fig.) no. 204. – C. 530–520 B.C. – Tuft of lionskin in l. hand at l. side.

12a) London, BM 464. Castellani Coll. «From Umbria». – C. 530–520 B.C.

13b) Vatican, Mus. Greg. Etr. 12091. From Tarquinia. – C. 530–520 B.C.

13c) Adria, Mus. Naz. I.G. 210581. From Adria (Bocchi Coll.). – C. 500 B.C.

β. Employs Scythian archer features – conical cap, club? (missing) in raised r. and Apples of the Hesperides

13f) Geneva, Mus. MF 10117bis. – Mastrocinque 1993, fig. 7. – C. 500–490 B.C. – Lionskin covers groin with lion's paws at sides, Scythian archer features, l. holds Apples (missing). Cf. **13d. e.**

Add ii. Deer (fawn) skin replaces lionskin

α. Cypriote type, club in raised r.

13a) Florence, Mus. Arch. 96. – Mastrocinque 1993, 52 fig. 3. – C. 530–520 B.C. – Fawn replaces lion, suspended in l., similar to **13***.

β. Cypriote type, employs Scythian archer elements – conical hat, beard, quiver

(After **12–14**) **add.6.** Adria, Mus. Naz. I.G. 9996. From Contarina (Rovigo). – Simon, *GRóm* 73–74 figs. 90–91; Mastrocinque 1993, 49–62 fig. 2. – C. 500–480 B.C. – Small deer suspended in l. (as previous). Opposed: Camporeale, G., *La caccia in Etruria* [1984] 188: a hunter or unknown Italic deity.

(After **12–14**) **add.7.** Malibu, Getty Mus. 96.AC.124. – Haynes, S., in *Fleischman Coll* 156–157 (fig.) no. 70; Herrmann, A., in *Handbook of the Antiquities Collection* (2002) 130 (fig.) opposed. – C. 500–480 B.C. – H.? (fawn head over groin, Scythian elements, pointed boots, probably held club in raised r. [hand socket, aslant]), fawn skin draped over Scythian garment with leggings.

γ. Cypriote type, employs Scythian archer features – as ii, β.

(After **12–14**) **add.8.*** Vatican, Mus. Greg. Etr. 12056. From Valle Fuino, near Civita di Cascia (Spoleto). Found in deposit, en route from Valle Fuino to Teatino and Monte di Laga. – Ciotti, U., in *Antichità dall'Umbria in Vaticano* (1988) 105–106 no. 6.5 (fig.); Roncalli, F., in Pugliese Carratelli, G. (dir.), *Italia omnium terrarum alumna* (1990) fig. 328; Mastrocinque 1993, 52 fig. 6; Sensi, L., in *Identità e civiltà dei Sabini* (1996) 464–466 pl. 1a; Cagianelli, C., in *Bronzi a figura umana* (1999) 159 no. 15. – C. 500–480 B.C. – Scythian attributes, club (missing) in raised r. Deer skin about body (as Cypriote-style) lionskin; deer head over groin.

C. 1. c) Kilt/perizoma

(Before **16**) **add.9.*** Earliest «national» Etruscan H. iconography; earliest (over life-size) image of a divinity found in a public sanctuary: Terracotta (handmade) votive? statue fr. Rome, Villa Giulia. From Veii, Portonaccio sanctuary (near large altar beneath mid-5th cent. paving). – Colonna, G., in

Veio, Cerveteri 65–66 (fig.) no. I.F.4. with bibl. – C. 555–540 B.C. – H. (torso only, attachments at the mid-section indicate a bronze *perizoma* (lost), r. arm raised (club?), l. lowered and slightly behind that of r. (held bow?); r. leg advancing beyond l.

After C. I. c add new section:

c)bis Warrior costume

Cf. also 67.

(After 18) **add.10.** Bronze votive statuette, Samnite/Sabellian (Papi). Naples, Mus. Naz. 5552. From Pietrabbondante sanctuary. – Papi, R./Liberatore, D., in *I luoghi degli Dei* 142–147; Papi, R., in *Sannio: La rappresentazione di Ercole nella produzione votiva in bronzo in area sabellica*, online: <http://xoomer.alice.it/davmonac/sanniti/hercules.html>, accessed 05/01/07. – C. 500 B.C. – H.? (head, r. arm missing, l. holds bow?, belt? cuirass?), frontal, elongated. Cf. similar type: stone torso from Atessa, Papi, *o.c.*, online. End of 6th cent. B.C.

(After 18) **add.11.** (= LIMC IV Herakles 861*, V Herakles/Hercules [in peripharia occ.] 12) Previously as Roman: Silver gilt bronze statuette, now Capuan or Teano production (Colonna). London, BM 1895.4–8.1. Formerly Society of Antiquaries (from Lord Carlisle). Said to be from Hadrian's Wall, near Birdoswald (Cumberland), Roman *Camboylanna*. – Coulston, J. C./Phillips, E. J., *CSIR Great Britain* I 6 (1988) 77 no. 190 pl. 54; Colonna, G., *ArchCl* 49, 1997, 65–100 figs. 1–3. – Mid-late 4th cent. B.C. (Colonna). – H. (beardless, short tunic, belt, lionskin cap, knotted at the neck, wrapped tightly about l. arm). Similar dress on Apulian, Campanian vases, bronzes, terracotta statuettes; Scopus influence (convincingly, Colonna).

C. i. d) Nude

(ii) Lionskin cap, skin over l. arm, nude, beardless, club in raised r.

(After 22) **add.12.*** Statuettes. **a)*** (= LIMC IV Herakles 74* [erroneously as Greek]) Silver, Campanian workshop (Colonna). Paris, Louvre Bj 2085 (formerly Castellani). Possibly from Fucino zone (Colonna). – Colonna, G., in Rebecchi, F. (ed.), *Spina e il delta Padano. Riflessioni sul catalogo e sulla mostra ferrarese* (1998) 221–226 fig. 2. – C. 400–375 B.C. – H. (club in raised r., bow, arrows in l., lionskin over l. arm), with Osco-Umbrian inscr. *Apols*, «to Apollo», on thigh (Colonna). – Others: **b)** Bronze. Ferrara, Mus. Naz. 44873. From Sequestro Arlotti, Comacchio 25.I.1929. – *o.c.* 221–226 fig. 1. – C. 400–350 B.C. – **c)*** Bronze. Budapest, Mus. Beaux-Arts 50.387. From Rionero. – *o.c.* fig. 3. – **d)*** Silver. Oxford, Ashm. Mus. 1872.1376. From «near Capua». – *o.c.* fig. 4. – C. 400–350 B.C. – Colonna (in *Cupra Marittima e il suo territorio in età antica* [1993] 20 n. 62) suggests Campanian product, Campanian influenced, or itinerate Campanian artisan, working in Daunia or Spina regions, or imported to Spina via Adriatic trade from a Daunian port city. – Additional Campanian silver H. statuettes: **e)** From Sanctuary of Apollo *Aleus* at Ciro

Marina; and Campochiaro, Guzzo, P. G., in *I culti della Campania antica* (1998) 31 notes 13. 14. 16–17.

D. Striding or running

3. Striding «Cypriote type»

37.* (LIMC V photo 37* erroneously illustrates Turms) (= LIMC I Alkestis 59, VIII Turms 114) Bronze rod tripod finial. London, BM 588 (37.6–9.85). Unique striding example of Cypriote type on tripod.

E. Repose

2. Standing with drinking vessel

a) Nude, with or without lionskin, wine skin/horn/cornucopia

Hercle with Dionysiac attributes:

(After 66) **add.13.*** Bronze statuette. Chieti, Mus. Naz. 25352. From Monteodorisio (Chieti). – Riccitelli, P., in *I luoghi degli Dei* 139 no. 13. – 4th–3rd cent. B.C. – H. (nude, bearded, foliate crown, *taenia* fastened on nape of the neck, kantharos in l., lionskin over l. lower arm, r. arm [lost] held club). – Compares with 66.

G. Seated

1. Resting

(After 71) **add.14.** Handle (lower) attachment, bronze fr., possibly from a large bronze krater, Vulci workshop? Florence, Mus. Arch. From Casa Ricci Deposit (Populonia). – Romualdi, A., *StEtr* 55, 1987–88, 103–105 pl. 12a. – C. 450 B.C. – H., seated, reclining, Lysippan *Epitrapezios* type. For similar attitude and costume, see 76 and LIMC II Athena/Menerva 193 (H. and Menerva) and statue from Civitella, Chieti, the acropolis late Republican Temple A pediment, Sanzi Di Mino, M. R., *Castores. L'immagine dei Dioscuri a Roma* (1994) 53–58 (fig.); Iaculli, G., *Ostraka* 3.1, 1994, 157–174 fig.; Campanelli, A., in *I luoghi degli Dei* 38–40 (fig.) pl. 3; Strazulla 2007, 160 fig 25. C. 150 B.C.

3. Drinking

(After 74) **add.15.*** Terracotta statuette. Cortona, Mus. dell'Accademia 87397 (once Florence, Mus. Arch. 87397). From Sinalunga (Siena) sanctuary. – Cianferoni, G. C., in Goring, *o.c.* **add.5**, 163 no. 272 (fig.). – 3rd cent. B.C.

J. Non-narrative episodes; with amphora, fountain and water

8. With amphora, with Turms, Menerva and others

(After 91) **add.16.*** Gold bulla. Florence, Mus. Arch. 87625. Casa Ricci Deposit (Populonia). From Populonia. – Romualdi, A., *StEtr* 55, 1987–1988, 105–107 pl. 13; Cianferoni, G. C., in *Populonia in età*

ellenistica: i materiali dalle necropoli. *Atti del seminario 1986* (1992) 28–29 fig. 46. – 4th–3rd cent. B. C. – H. (nude, lionskin cap) stands at the l., l. foot on an amphora; holds amphora on his l. knee toward Menerva, who stands facing him (aegis, shield), holding an amphora in her r., columns, fountain architecture in the background. Cf. *LIMC II Athena/Menerva 195*.

UNCERTAIN COMPOSITION

(After 91) **add.17.** Terracotta temple acroteria fr. Arezzo, Mus. Arch. From Arezzo-S. Jacopo, Via Roma excavations. – Maggiani, A., in *Crise et transformation des sociétés archaïques de l'Italie antique au V^e s. av. J.-C. Actes de la table-ronde ... Rome 1987* (1990) 33–35 pls. I. 1–3. – C. 500–480 B. C. – H.(?), Türms (found with sima group of warriors on foot or horseback).

O. Non-narrative

1. Divine assembly/conversation

d) With others

Praenestine iuventus scenes:

(After 126) **add.18.*** (= *LIMC V Gorgones* [in Etruria] **114**, VI Mercurius **237**, VIII Zeus/Iuppiter **422**) Bronze cista. Palestrina, Mus. Arch. 1496 (formerly Rome, Villa Giulia 13144). – *CP I* 1, 151–153 no. 46 pls. 195–200 pl. C; Menichetti 107 fig. 66. – Assembly of heroes and nude youths witness central scene, Perseus extending Medusa head toward seated Zeus; H. (youthful, beardless, lionskin, downed club) stands at the l. with his back to us, head turned r. in conversation with a youth.

(After 126) **add.19.** (= *LIMC IV Hebe I/Iuventus I*, VI Mercurius **239**, VIII Uni **25**, Victoria **5**, Zeus/Iuppiter **426**) Bronze cista. Vatican, Mus. Etr. Greg. 12281–12282. – *CP I*, 2, 317–322 no. 101 pls. 462–467; Franchi De Bellis, A., *Iscrizioni prenestine su specchi e ciste* (2005) 148–159 no. 564 pls. 21a. 21c. – H. (*Ferclès*) with *Diespitr*, *Iuno*, *Mircurios*, *Iaçor*, *Iiax*, *Iuentus*, *Aciles*, *Victoria*, *Micos*.

e) Uncertain assembly, ancient, modern restoration only

127. See *CP I* 2 (1990) 397–404 no. 117 pls. 509–513 with bibl.; Menichetti 89 fig. 44; Gercke, W. B., in *Etruskische Kunst im Kestner-Museum Hannover* (1996) 191–192. 224–225 no. 243 Beil. 8. 16 fig.

2. With Menerva

a) Alone with Menerva

See 131 = *LIMC Suppl.* 2009 Herakles/Hercules (Romae) 9 and here **add.46–49**.

8. Hercle and Tinas Cliniar/Dioskouroi

Uncertain Tinas Cliniar: Bronze mirror, → *LIMC III Dioskouroi/Tinas Cliniar 49*•• = V Iolaos/Vile **II**.

II. Narrative

P. Hercle and family life

After 152b, add new section:

1. ^{bis} With Alkmene

See *LIMC I Alkmene 19*; Cianferoni, *o.c.* **add.16**, 30–31 fig. 55 n. 116:1. – C. 325–300 B. C.

add.20.* (= 265, = *LIMC V Iolaos/Vile 9*) Bronze mirror. Rome, Villa Giulia 24888, *cf.* Massa-Pairault 1998, 231–250 n. 18. – H., Vile and Alcmene.

Q. Dodekathlon

1. Nemean Lion

a) Tackles lion from behind, both move in same direction

161. Antefix's subsidiary elements: kithara players, cave setting lends new interpretation. Aversa 7–42 esp. 10 figs. 1–2. 4 with bibl. – C. 530–510 B. C. – Small kithara players toward r., flank central H.-Lion combat, surrounding cave wall.

UNCERTAIN COMPOSITION

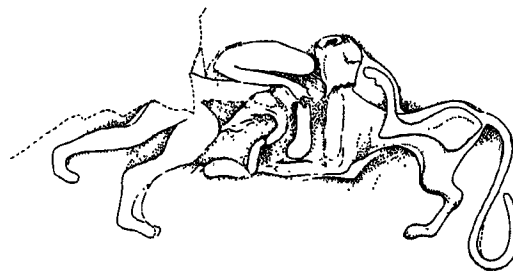
(After 162) **add.21.** Terracotta relief, *antepagmentum* fr. Rome, Villa Giulia. Formerly S. Severa Antiquarium. From Pyrgi, Temple B. – Colonna 2000, 284 n. 122 with bibl. – C. 510 B. C. – H. and Nemean Lion.

b) Assaults attacking lion with club or without weapon

(After 164) **add.22.*** (= *LIMC Suppl.* 2009 Gorgones [in Etruria] **add.4**, Perseus **add.6**) Amphora, bf. Chianciano Terme, Mus. Civ. From Tolle necropolis, Tomb 327. – Paolucci, G., *ArchCl* 53, 2002, 331–340 fig. 2. 5: Tolle Painter. – C. 510–500 B. C. – H. (beardless, kilt, club in raised l.), strides r. to l., assaults attacking lion, grips his forepaw with r.; at the l., H.? beside winged horse of Diomedes?, both run to l.

f) Throttles lion from above

(After 174) **add.23.*** Among earliest H.: Two stamnoi, impasto (mould-made) relief. From Capodimonte/Bisenzio, necr. Olmo Bello, in votive deposit near sanctuary. – Berlingò, I., in *Dinamiche* 563 fig. 2; 566 pl. 2d (stamnos 1). – C. 550 B. C. – A-



Hercle add.23

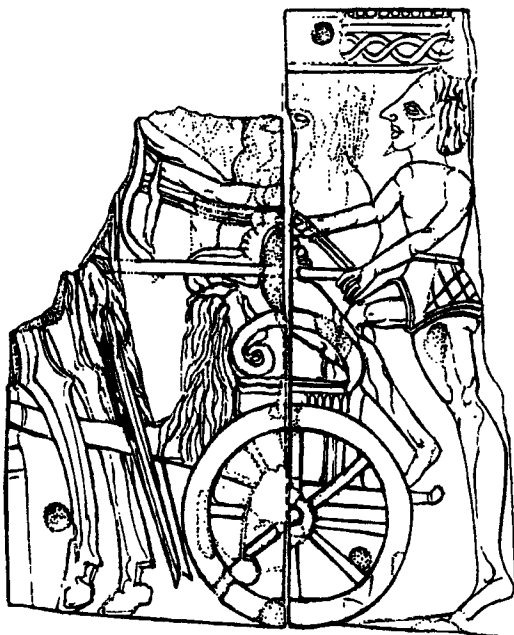
B: Triangular composition: H. (bearded?, nude) from l. toward confronting lion, strides, grips and strangles Lion's (tongue hangs out) neck with both arms in «hammer lock» from above. Berlingò (563 n. 38) reports three similar stamnoi with the scene. Camporeale 19 no. 2-4 fig. 5 cites three later bucchero *pesante* examples (perhaps from same mould), 2nd half of 6th cent. B. C.

(After 174) **add.24.** Stamnos, rf. Tarquinia, Mus. Naz. 102148. From Tarquinia, Monterozzi necropolis, Tomb 5612. – Cavagnaro Vanoni, L./Serra Ridgway, F. R., *Vasi etruschi a figure rosse dagli scavi della Fondazione Lerici nella necropoli dei Monterozzi a Tarquinia* (1989) 51-55 (figs.) no. 30; Cristofani, M., *StEtr* 58, 1992, 101-102. – Clusium Group, Montediano Painter (Cristofani). C. 350-330 B. C. (cf. Mangani, A., *ibidem* 115-143 for a discussion of the date). – A: H. (beardless, nude) composition as previous; club and bow behind H.; rocky landscape? B: Same theme, but unique vase composition (largely missing); H. (youth) toward r., looks down at lion (muzzle down, hindquarter and tail up); see similar composition on gems: 191* (Lion). 237* (Horses). **add.36** (Acheloos).

2. Lernaean Hydra

UNCERTAIN

(After 202) **add.25.** Ivory plaque fr. Florence, Mus. Arch. 224109. From Comeana, Montefortini Tumulus. – Nicosia, F., in *Carri da guerra e principi etruschi* (1997) 62-63 n. 4; Bettini, M. C., in *Principi etruschi tra Mediterraneo ed Europa* (2000) 246-247. 249 no. 295; *ead.*, in Goring, *o.c.* **add.5**, 58 no. 78d fig. – C. 650-625 B. C. – Two heroes mount a biga. H.? (bearded, largely missing, bow in l. extended arm



Heracle add.25

[shooting?]), Vile? (short beard, *perizoma*) and traces of long-mantled female figure (Menerva?). No trace of Hydra. Similar to, but earlier than, Corinthian examples, cf. *LIMC* V Herakles 1991* with H., Iolaos and Athena (with biga and driver Lapythes); 1992* and Attic bf., 1997*.

203.* Terracotta relief *antepagmenta* fr. Rome, Villa Giulia. Formerly S. Severa Antiquarium. From Pyrgi, Temple B. See **add.21.** Rome, Villa Giulia; Copenhagen, Glypt. HIN 873-880 (H. torso, six Hydra heads). – Colonna 2000, 283, 289 figs. 21-23 with bibl.; d'Agostino, B./Cerchiai, L., *AnnFaina* 11, 2004, 274 fig. 9a-b.

7. The Horses of Diomedes

Cf. **add.22.** Paolucci suggests winged horse of Diomedes.

8. The Amazons

(After 244) **add.26.** Terracotta (hand-made) *antepagmentum* fr., Etrusco-Campanian workshop. Rome, Villa Giulia 10043 *et al.* From Satricum, sanctuary of Mater Matuta, Temple II, Roof 4. – Lulof, P. S., *MededRom* 56, 1997, 98-101 figs. 16-21. 23. – C. 500-490/80 B. C. – Central *column*: Athena (winged helmet?), H. (nude, bearded, lionskin helmet, lionskin knotted at neck and about shoulders, club) fights beside Greek warriors toward r. against Amazons (hoplite or Phrygian garb, one wears Corinthian helmet). *Antepagmentum* contained at least four male (Greek) warriors and four Amazons, two prostrate and dying.

(After 244) **add.27.** (= 301, erroneously Kyknos; = *LIMC* I Amazones Etruscae 51*, VII Kyknos I 174*) Bronze chariot relief. Perugia, Mus. Naz. From Castel San Mariano. – Feruglio, A. E., in *Corciano. Testimonianze archeologiche* (1993) 27. 30-31 figs. 7; Simon, E., in de Grummond, N./Simon, E. (eds.), *The Religion of the Etruscans* (2006) 51-52. 54 fig. 4.II. – C. 500 B. C.

UNCERTAIN COMPOSITION

(After 244) **add.28.** Terracotta reliefs, *sima acroteria* fr., front, rear pediments. Rome, Villa Giulia. Formerly S. Severa Antiquarium. From Pyrgi, Temple B. See **add.21.** – Colonna 2000, 283-286 fig. 16 notes 118. 128 with bibl. – H. (Cypriote type) clutches Amazon, with l. arm, Amazon perhaps jumps from horse. Colonna (*l.c.* 286) suggests the episode of H. capturing the belt of Hippolyte. – a) Antefix or *antepagmentum* fr. Cerveteri, Mus. Naz., formerly Rome, Villa Giulia; Copenhagen, Glypt. From Vigna Parrocchiale (Cerveteri). – Cristofani, M., *ScAnt* 10, 2000, 404-405 n. 16 fig. 17 (Cerveteri, Mus. Naz.). – C. 490/80 B. C. – b) Front pediment *antepagmentum* fr. Rome, Villa Giulia. Formerly S. Severa Antiquarium. From Pyrgi, Temple A. – Colonna 2000, 325 notes 298-300 with bibl. – C. 425-400 B. C.

9. Geryon

See also **add.30.**

UNCERTAIN

(After 246) **add.29.** Ivory relief plaque fr., Chiusi workshop? Florence, Mus. Arch. 194662. From Comeana, Montefortini Tumulus. – Gaultier, F., in Torelli, M. (ed.), *The Etruscans*. Exhib. Venice (2000) 473–474 fig. no. 119; Nicosia, F., *ibidem* 577–578 fig. – C. 640–630 B.C. – Three heads (arranged in pyramid, bearded, moustache, two look l., one looks back to pursuer, clawed foot, arm flung behind) emerge from single body (loincloth), flees from a male, H.? (head missing, long fringed skirt, rapier in raised r., remains of sword hilt? in l.), strikes, strides and pursues G. (appears to have been struck, wounded). Cf. the «second» Pania pyxis (in which G. is three-headed, one looks back; three-bodied, beardless, drives cattle to l., pursued by H.?, missing) monster, from Chiusi of c. 600 → *LIMC* IV Geryoneus 7*.

10. Kerberos

b) With others

Add before 256:

With cattle of Hades/Aita (?)

add.30.* Neck amphora, bf. Kiel, Kunsthalle B 552. – Schauenburg, K., in *Kotinos. FS E. Simon* (1992) 339–341 pl. 72: near P. of Palermo 5613. – C. 510–500 B.C. – H. (nude, beardless, club in r. [with Kerberos' tether?], bow in l., lionskin over l. forearm) drives herd of (six) cattle, while leading three-headed Kerberos (with two snake heads emerging from its neck band). Scene could be cattle of Hades/Aita (?), or journey with herd of Geryon.

UNCERTAIN

(After 257) **add.31.** Terracotta relief fr., *antepagmentum*. Rome, Villa Giulia. From Pyrgi, Temple B. See **add.21.** – Colonna 2000, 283. 289 figs. 16. 24 with bibl. – Fr. of one head of a snarling dog.

11. Hercle and the Hesperides

Cf. bronze statuettes: 12–13 and **add.6–8.**

Before a) alone, resting, add new section:

Journey to the garden (?)

(Before 258) **add.32.*** (= 322 [B, see also below, section S, 16] / 398, = *LIMC* VI Nereus 26) Amphora, bf., La Tolfa Group. Rome, Villa Giulia 74959. – Mastrocinque 1993, 56 fig. 8: H. with Nereus; Massa-Pairault, F.-H., *ScAnt* 10, 2000, 430–433 figs. 5–6. – A: H. (to l., Cypriote type, bow in l.), journey in search of the garden of the Hesperides (?), raises r., greeting man (beardless, Phrygian cap?, Scythian dress?), at l., weapons, arrow in r., greaves; behind H., an older man (enlarged head, bearded, chlamys, greaves, *calcei repandi*), gestures in lively manner, Nereus? B: Nereus or Triton.

c) In the garden

(After 261) **add.33.*** Terracotta canteen (mould-made) relief. Würzburg, Wagner-Mus. H 5788.

Replicas: once Paris, art market; similar: Vatican, Mus. Greg. Etr. 15589 (from Vulci, Tomb of Mandrione di Cavalupo). – Kossatz-Deissmann, A., *AA* 1994, 50–61 figs. 53–55. 57. 64. – C. 300–250 B.C. – H. (frontal, nude, club upright in raised r., baldric, lionskin falls behind hero) stands or moves to l., away from the tree, holds body of three- or four-headed Ladon in l. Vatican example: H. moves away from tree, turns head, holds apples in his l.?).

R. Hercle and expedition to Troy

Before 1. With Hesione and Ketos, add new section:

With Hesione

Cf. Rome, Via San Gregorio pediment sima plaque → *LIMC* Suppl. 2009 Herakles/Hercules (Roma) 12.

See also 266*/293 = *LIMC* VIII Suppl. Hesione 6; Harari 263–271 figs. 1–2; *LIMC* VIII Suppl. Ketos pp. 733–735.

UNCERTAIN

See 9. 9a (= *LIMC* VIII Uni 66a*–b*), Harari 269 figs. 7–8; Torelli, M. (ed.), *The Etruscans*. Exhib. Venice (2000) 448 fig.

UNCERTAIN

2. With Hesione, Laomedon/Lamtu[n] and/or others

(After 268) **add.34.** (= 398a* [erroneously «Introduction to Olympus»], = *LIMC* VII Salmoneus 4, VIII Zeus/Tinia 74, VIII Suppl. Hesione 7) Bronze ovoid relief situla. Once Cartorsky Coll. – Massa-Pairault, F.-H., *DHA* 16, 2, 1990, 139–161 figs. 1. 2. 4; Massa-Pairault 1992, 141 fig. 128; Harari 263–271 fig. 13. – H. shakes hands with Lamtu[n]/Laomedon?, semi-nude woman, Hesione?, sits on rock facing r., defeated ketos below.

UNCERTAIN

(After 269) **add.35.** Terracotta pediment fr. Chianciano Terme, Mus. Civ. 174275/A–B + 174278 + 174279 + 174293 + 174294. From Chianciano Terme, Fucoli, thermal spring sanctuary. – Rastrelli, A., in *Mus. Civico Archeologico delle Acque di Chianciano Terme* (1997) 59–75 fig. 61; Massa-Pairault, F.-H., in *Le mythe grec* 546–554 figs. 13–18; Mezzetti, N., in *La formazione della città in Etruria* (2004) 220–223. – C. 150 B.C. – H. (bearded, lionskin cap) turns l.; other fr.: male head with *taenia*, arm of combatant, warrior cuirass, female, infant or adolescent, seated male with chlamys covering one side of thigh, male head with Phrygian cap, Scythian-costumed figures.

S. Other principal adversaries

1. Achelooos

(After 272) **add.36.*** Gold diadem. Paris, Louvre Bj 114. Formerly Campana Coll. From near Perugia. – Gaultier, F., in *Trésors antiques. Bijoux de l'Italie antique, la collection du marquis Campana* (2005) 130–

131 (fig.) no. II.51. – C. 400–375 B.C. – H. (nude, beardless) in profile to r. bends, presses defeated Acheloos head down; hind legs upright.

4. With Cacus?

See also **add.30**.

UNCERTAIN

276. (= *LIMC* III Cacus 5, VII Orthros I 20) Bronze lebes. London, BM 560 (55.8–16.1). From Santa Maria di Capua Vetere. – Jannot, J.-R., in *La Rome des premiers siècles* (1990) 146–147; Benassai, R., in *Miscellanea Etrusco-italica* II. *QuadAEl* 26 (1997) 55–68 fig. 3; d'Agostino, B., in *Il mare, la morte* 166–170 figs. 89–91; Cerchiai, L., in *AEIMNHETOZ* 491–495. – End of 6th cent. B.C. – H. drives a herd of (seven) cattle toward r.; turns back to a male, bound, hand and feet to a tree, Cacus?

5. With Kentauroi

After **284** add new sub-heading:

b) Uncertain episode, attacking centaurs

(This sub-title applies to **285–292**.)

(After **284**) **add.37.*** (= **add.1**) Oinochoe, bucchero *pesante* (mould-impressed relief), Chiusi workshop. Barcelona, Mus. Arch. Prov. II441 (G 477). – Gran-Aymerich, J., in *Le mythe grec* 395–396 fig. 7 B with bibl. – C. 575–550 B.C. – The earliest assaulting centaur scene: H. (Cypriote type, raises r. [missing weapon], l. extended toward centaur) in profile toward l., assaults (as if with a club) confronting centaur (human forelegs, branch as weapon).

(After **284**) **add.38.** Terracotta pediment fr. Civita Castellana, Mus. Arch. dell'Agro Falisco 7299 (H.'s r. leg), 7301 (centaur fr.), 7301 (female? arm), 7269, 7267 (winged horse). From Vignale (Falerii Veteres), tempio maggiore, sanctuary of chthonic Apollo *Soranus*. – Carlucci, C., *ArchCl* 47, 1995, 69–101 esp. 78–82. 88–89 figs. 2–5; *ead.*, *Le antichità dei Falisci al Museo di Villa Giulia* (1998) 59–64. – C. 500–475 B.C. – H. in centaur combat with woman, winged horse (Pegasus?). H. (leg, torso, lionskin), fr. of H.'s hand on centaur fr.

7. Ketos

See **add.34**.

11. Nessos

308. (= *LIMC* VI Nessos 92) «Pontic» bf. plate. Rome, Villa Giulia 84444. – Massa-Pairault, F.-H., *ScAnt* 10, 2000, 436; Cerchiai, L., *Ostraka* 7, 1–2, 1998, 39–44 fig. 1 = *id.*, in *Il mare, la morte* 177–185 fig. 104. – Late Tityos Painter. C. 520 B.C. – I: H. between Nessos and Deianeira; running wolf-man in the central tondo.

(After **311**) **add.39.** (= *LIMC* VIII Suppl. Kentauroi [in Etruria] 46*) Bronze shield band, Etruscan. Olympia, Mus. B 4724. From Olympia. – Moustaka, A., in *Atti Secondo Congr. int. etrusco* II (1989) 967–970 pl. 1a–b; Camporeale, G., in *Gli Etruschi fuori d'Etruria* (2001) 95 fig.; 99. – C. 500–480 B.C. – Lower panel: H. (kilt? or band tied about

waist, club in raised r., l. hand extended on Nessos' shoulder) l. to r., H.'s body overlaps, assaults Nessos (human forelegs) who turns his back to H., extending his r. arm.

UNCERTAIN

No temple reliefs of the Nessos adventure are known, however, see terracotta *antepagmentum*, Princeton, Univ. Art Mus. 1995–125 *et al.* (Lulof, P. S., in *Deliciae Fictiles* II 135–142 figs.).

16. Triton

322. (= **398/add.32** [A], = *LIMC* VI Nereus 26 [B]) Mastrocinque 1993, 56 fig. 8; Massa-Pairault, F.-H., *ScAnt* 10, 2000, 430–433 figs. 5–6. – B: three-bodied marine monster, Nereus, Triton? Massa-Pairault (*o.c.* 430, 432) compares it with the terracotta three-headed monster in Berlin (Staatl. Mus. TC 7537, → *LIMC* IV Geryoneus 26) from Orvieto, Campo della Fiera.

T. Hercle in other encounters

After **327**, add new section:

1. *bis* Hercle and Geras

add.40.* Column krater, bf. Boston, MFA 1998.49. – *Mus. of Fine Arts Boston Annual Report* 1998, no. 13 (A only); Gaultier, F., in *Dinamiche* 639–644. 643 pl. 1a. – Lotus Bud Group. C. 480–470 B.C. – A: H. (nude, bearded, club in raised r., l. hand on hip, lionskin over l. shoulder) assaults, moves to l., away from Geras (white beard, staff in l. on his shoulder with wineskin? attached), in profile, gestures, walks toward H.

4. With Pegasos or (winged) horse(s)

UNCERTAIN SCENE

(Before **332**) **add.41.** Amphora, bf. New York, Art Market. – Sotheby's New York, 8.12.1995, no. 63. C. – Near workshop of Micali Painter. 510 B.C. – H.? (beardless, kilt bound about waist, trailing behind, bow in l., club in r.), in profile runs toward l., assaulting with three-winged horses. H.'s pose and dress are identical to **add.44**.

UNCERTAIN

Before **336**, add new section title:

Despotes hippon (?)

336. (= **77**). Terracotta antefix fr. Rome, Villa Giulia. From Pyrgi, Edificio delle 20 celle. – Camporeale, G., *MEFRA* 103, 1991, 64–69; Haynes, S., *Etruscan Civilization* (2000) 176–178; Colonna 2000, 280–282 fig. 20 and n. 110 with bibl. – H. in *despotes hippon* scheme. For the antefix series, see most recently Colonna, *l.c.*

U. Narrative; encounters with divinities

After **367**, add new section:

5. *bis* With Ino/Leucothea and Palaimon (?)

add.42. Terracotta pediment fr. Rome, Villa Giulia. Formerly S. Severa Antiquarium. From Pyrgi, Temple A, front pediment (facing sea). –

Massa-Pairault, F.-H., *Ostraka* 2, 1993, 250 fig. 6 (H.) fig. 5 (Leucothea?); Colonna 2000, 325–328 figs. 46–47 (Leucothea) with bibl. – C. 360–350 B.C. – H. (nude, beardless, club, poplar crown, bandolier, quiver [lost]) in repose, with female, Ino/Leucothea? (frenetically turns her head, raises her hand in supplication); a youth (long hair), Palaimon?, next to her. Cf. similar but much earlier (c. 530 B.C.) link between H., Menerva and Ino/Leucothea-Palaimon acroteria suggested by M. Mertens-Horn (*Deliciae Fictiles* II 143–148 figs. 1–4) at Rome, Sant' Omobono (131 = LIMC Suppl. 2009 Herakles/Hercules [Romae] 9).

8. The Gigantomachy

(After 383) add.43. (= 132b, = LIMC Suppl. 2009 Gigantes add.15*) Terracotta ridge-pole statues, Etrusco-Campanian workshop. Rome, Villa Giulia 10020. 980. From Satricum, Acropolis, sanctuary of Mater Matuta, Temple II, Roof 4. – Lulof, P. S., *The Ridge-pole Statues from the Late Archaic Temple at Satricum* (1996) 63–71 (fig.). 160–163 figs. 18. 29. 33–34. 41, 2. 109, 2 pls. 14–16; *ead.*, *MededRom* 56, 1997, 94–96 fig. 15; Massa-Pairault, F.-H., *ibidem* 115–137 esp. 124 fig. 12. – C. 500–490/480 B.C. – Pairs of gods: Zeus and Hera, Athena and H., Apollo and Artemis, Dionysos and perhaps Ino/Leucothea/ Mater Matuta, two fallen giants. H. (short chiton, corselet, chlamys over shoulders [similar to Greek warrior], lionskin cap [similar to Attic helmet], club in r., l. raised) strides.

(After 383) add.44.* Amphora, bf. Orvieto, Mus. Faina 2740. – Cappelletti, M., *Museo Claudio Faina di Orvieto. Ceramica etrusca figurata* (1992) 94–98 no. 27; Massa-Pairault, F.-H., *AnnFaina* 6, 1999, 77–108 fig. 12. – Micali Painter workshop. C. 500 B.C. – H. (lionskin kilt knotted about waist and trailing behind, club in raised r., bow in raised l.) runs toward l., attacks deformed female (Ge?, Fauna?, Feronia-Tellus?), followed by warrior and accompanied by Menerva. H. figure is identical to add.41.

(After 384) add.45.* Terracotta canteen (mould-made) relief. Rome, Villa Giulia. – Kossatz-Deissmann, *o.c.* add.33, 53 fig. 56. – C. 300–250 B.C. – H. (frontal, nude, club in raised l.) assaults flanking sea monsters toward the l.

V. Herclé's later life, death and apotheosis

4. Introduced to Tinia and/or with other deities

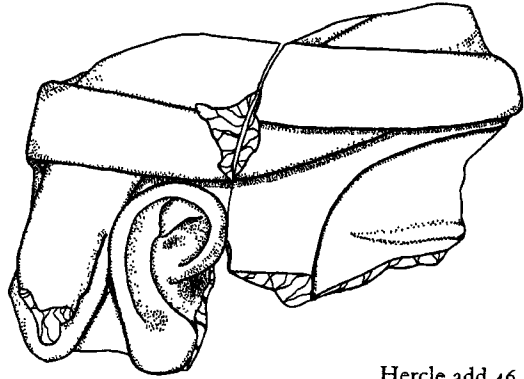
Before a) Alone with Tinia, add:

Introduction to Olympus

See the terracotta group (131) from Rome, Sant' Omobono → LIMC Suppl. 2009 Herakles/Hercules (Romae) 9.

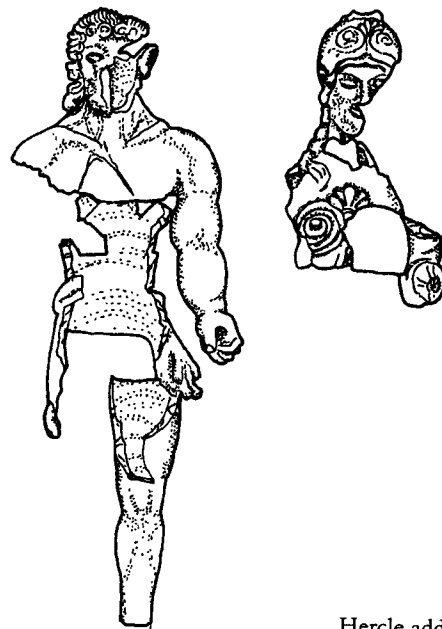
(After 392) add.46.* Terracotta acroteria group fr. Rome, Villa Giulia 9980, *et al.* From Satricum, Acropolis, sanctuary of Mater Matuta, Roof II, Ionicizing *sacellum*, prior to Temple I. – Lulof, P. S., in *Stips Votiva* (1991) 111–115; de Waele, J. A. K. E.,

Ostraka 5, 2, 1996, 231–242; Lulof, P. S., *MededRom* 56, 1997, 86–90 figs. 1. 2; *ead.*, in *Dinamiche* 210 fig. 1. – C. 530–520 B.C. – H. (head fr. with turban-like head wrap/cap, similar to that on the *Hercules triumphalis* bronze, add.51) and Menerva. The acroteria base securely places the two figures side-by-side.



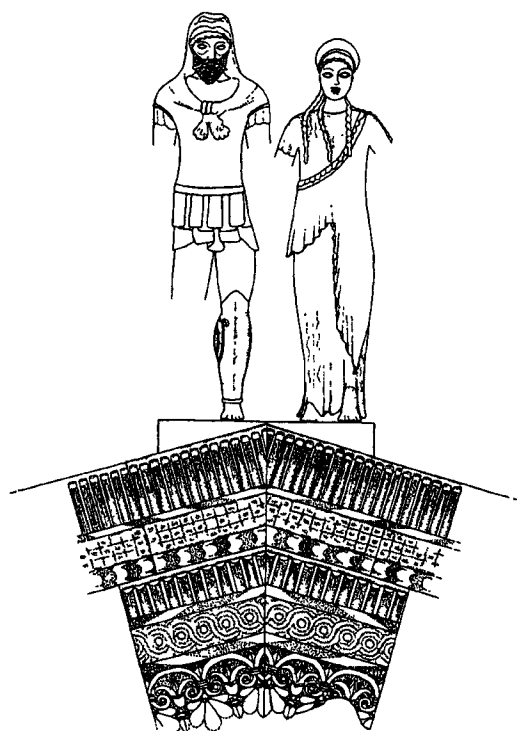
Hercle add.46

(After 392) add.47.* (= 132a) Terracotta group. Rome, Villa Giulia. From Veii, Portonaccio sanctuary. – Torelli 96–97. 102–105 fig. 11; Lulof, P. S., *JRA* 13, 2000, 208–209 fig. 2; Gilotta, F., *Prospettiva* 98–99, 2000, 156 ff.; Colonna, G., in *Veio, Cerveteri* 67–68 no. I.F.5. (figs.) pl. 3. – C. 530 B.C. (Colonna: slightly before the «Apollo» master, c. 510 B.C.). – H. and Menerva.



Hercle add.47

(After 392) add.48.* Terracotta acroteria fr. Rome, Villa Giulia. Formerly S. Severa Antiquarium. From Pyrgi, Temple B. – Colonna 2000, 289–290 figs. 27–28 notes 140–141. 145–146 with bibl. – C. 500–480 B.C. – H. (cuirass, short tunic, greaves) and female (Uni?, diadem, Ionic chiton, himation).



Hercle add.48

UNCERTAIN

(After 392) **add.49.** Life-size terracotta statue fr. From Cerveteri, Vigna Parrocchiale, sanctuary; excavations inv. 84/21. – Cristofani, M., *BollArte* 71, 35–36, 1986, 15 n. 26 pl. 3c. – C. 500–480 B. C. – H. (?) (chiton, lionskin knotted at neck) statue (possible votive, with Menerva?).

398a) See correction above, **add.34.**

5. Adopted, suckled by Uni

(After 404) **add.50.** Terracotta antefix fr. Soprintendenza Beni Arch. Umbria, Deposit 559. From Orvieto, Crocifisso del Tufo necropolis. – Ferruglio, A. E., in *AEIMNHETOΣ* 2, 558–565 figs. 1–2. – C. 400–390 B. C. – Adult H. (beard?, lionskin cap, knotted about neck and hips, club in r.) stands, leaning toward r., seated Uni (veiled, chiton?), suckling, in presence of Menerva (winged?, shield resting on ground at her r., lance? in l.). Above: quadriga with horse protomes, central head of Usil or Thesan?

6. Crowned by or with women on Olympus

a) With Hebe?

(After 407) **add.51.** (= 121*, = LIMC VIII Turms 131) Bronze tripod fr., Vulci workshop. Athens, Nat. Mus. X 6511. – Ampolo, C., in *Etruria e Lazio arcaico* (1987) 75–87; Colonna 2000, 288 notes 138. 139 fig. 26. – C. 500 B. C. – H. (full, sharply trimmed, beard, moustache, long tresses, lionskin

worn as long cape, knotted at the neck over long toga, *calcei repandi* and head band or round hat similar to the Satricum H. fr., **add.46**), with Menerva, woman, Hebe?, Turms. Each wears the *calcei repandi* and similar round hat.

COMMENTARY

All dates are B. C. unless otherwise stated.

(i) Type

Earliest:

The earliest evidence of the Etruscan adaptation of the Greek hero in a mythological scene is perhaps found in two images of the same date (c. 640–630), one illustrating Geryon (**add.29**) and the other, his Hydra adventure (**add.25**). On the former, the three-head demon clearly reflects a knowledge of East Greek hybrid monsters, both perhaps produced at Chiusi. Given their early date (before any H. standard attributes are apparent in Etruria), the god is uncertain. The former does not reflect the scheme's usual elements, known from Stesichorus' account (cf. comments 19. Geryon). For the latter, all hints of the Hydra are absent. Still, the personnel (Iolaos and Athena and chariot), known from Corinthian and early Attic Hydra scenes (→ LIMC V Herakles 1991*. 1992*. 1997*) of c. 590–570 are familiar.

H.'s earliest «Cypriote» appearance is that of a centaur combat, c. 575–550 on the Chiusine bucchero *pesante* oinochoe (**add.37**). In this region and period, he has apparently already assumed the role of an exemplar for the heroic warrior (cf. Torelli, M., in *Rasenna: storia e civiltà degli Etruschi* [1986] 167–168; Masseria, C./Torelli, M., in *Le mythe grec* 243–244). These images appear to attest that, by this period, the «Etruscanization» of Greek myth had occurred, that is, the meaningful blending of the image of the Greek hero/god into well-understood representations inserted with other figures and/or decorative devices (cf. Gran-Aymerich 396–397 and others, e.g., Frère, D., «Deux vases du Peintre de Castellani», *Nouvelles approches en iconographie étrusque* [ICAR online: <http://www.mae.u-paris10.fr/pagicar/sem1/Frere.htm>, accessed 09/12/2007], discussion of Etrusco-Corinthian aryballoi, the Castellani Painter, found near Capua, c. 640–630, as well as c. 550 at Acquarossa, 162 = 229; F. Zevi (in Storch Marino, A. [ed.], *L'incidenza dell'antico. Studi in mem. di Ettore Lepore* I [1995] 291–314) notes that at Caere knowledge of Greek myth occurs as early as the second half of the 7th cent. While the case for a discernible well-understood meaning for the hero/god beyond mere decoration is arguable, it is plausible that the Etruscanized hero operated as a key underpinning for local dynastic legitimacy, cf. M. Strandberg Olofsson for a discussion of its use at Acquarossa (in *Deliciae Fictiles* III 122–129), alluding to his 1. mythological, 2. political: tyrant replaced a king and 3. ritual roles: i.e., the latter, as a paradigm for youth, its patron/protector, seen in transition to full mature

participation with the *gens* in adult civic life. *Initiation* rite functions for H. are known later at Volsinii, Rome and Praeneste and other Italic regions; nonetheless, these are perhaps the prototypes portraying this role.

(ii) Type/attributes

a) Head

His frontal and profile head occurs on bucchero vases, gems, architectural terracottas and a janiform vase. Still, the (Chiusine) bucchero *pesante* vase handle protome with a lionskin cap (**add.1** = **add.37**), of c. 575–550 is among its earlier representations. Moreover, his Cypriote garment (*cf.* centaur conflict, **add.38**) on the body of the same vessel indicates local familiarity. His head as a pendant in amber (**add.2**) is also among the earliest (c. 525–500) in this medium. As female apparatus in a funerary context, the pendant probably functioned as an apotropaic amulet. H. is mentioned, for example, as protector against evil spirits (Diog. Laert. 6, 50) for a young married couple who wrote over the door: «The son of Zeus, the *Kallinikos* dwells here, Herakles. Let no evil thing come near».

The architectural antefix with his frontal face in relief alternating with that of a female (identified only after c. 500/490 to c. 100 [**add.3**], with Athena/Menerva) spreads throughout the Etrusco-Campanian region with the proliferation of his cult. The form was perhaps initiated at Cumae and then dispersed to Suessula, Teano, Cales, Minturno, Fratte, Pompeii, Stabiae, Satricum, Poseidonia and Cosa. Those from the sanctuary at Fondo Patturelli (Capua) (*cf.* Aversa 7–42; Rescigno, C., in *Deliciae Fictiles* III 268–277) are also among the earliest. For H. in the south, *cf.* Serritella, A./Viscione, M., in *Depositi votivi* 572; De Caro, S., *AION* 14, 1992, 173–178; Cipriani, M., in *La stipe votive del santuario in località Privati* (in press). The proliferation of his frontal face, next to one or two others is used for temple *antepagmentum* (**add.4**), from the 4th to 1st cent. B. C.

The janiform H. (**add.5**) from a Volterranean workshop (Malacena) of the 3rd cent. displays a far younger image, unaccompanied by a janiform female (divinity?) companion, as on **9–9a**.

In addition to his lionskin, Scythian or Dionysiac headgear, a turban-like, round cap wraps about his head on the earlier Satricum acroteria (**add.46**), c. 530–520; similarly, he wears such a cap on the bronze *Hercules triumphalis* image (**add.51**), perhaps originating in Satricum and later transmitted to Rome for the attire on the Forum Boarium statue of H., *cf.* **b**) Full figure, 3. and 48. On Olympus: *Hercules triumphalis*.

b) Full figure

1. One of the most striking conflation is the problematic group of Cypriote/hunter divinity/Scythian archer bronze statuette group (**12–14**, **add.6–8**), perhaps stemming from Etruria Padana, c.

540–520. It comprises either small votives, or statuettes for domestic or ornamental use. The intent here is to organize and address its impetus and iconographic elements. The ancient sources report that H., in search of the Apples, traveled through the lands of the Hyperboreans and Scythians, *cf.* discussion, Jourdain-Annequin, C., *DHA* 15/1, 1989, 31 ff.; *ead.*, *Héraclès aux portes du soir* (1989) 251 ff.; Mastrocinque 1993, 54–56). Apollod. (*bibl.* 2 [113. 120] 5, 11, 2. 11) located the garden in the land of the Hyperboreans. Ultimately, all plausibly hint that in local perception, during the journey seeking the Apples, H. traveled through many lands, finally reaching the limits of the known world (in accord with the sources, the land of the Hyperboreans was located near the sources of the Ister or Eridanus Rivers [Po], the Danube territories, northern Italy and Scythia) and, along the way, captured the Kerynitian Deer. See the blending of the two labors in Pind. O. 3; and discussion in Robbins, E., *Phoenix* 36, 1982, 295–305.

The hybrid form emerges c. 480 – H. portrayed as a local deer (fawn)/Scythian-attired god holding the Apples of the Hesperides – perhaps a logical artistic solution referencing known legends. Familiar with the imagery of Scythian archers on Greek vases, imported at Spina, the artist, one can conjecture, combined the stories of H.'s journey through neighboring Scythian/Hyperborean/Hesperides lands, seemingly appropriating and conflating the images – Scythian elements with H.'s usual attributes – his lionskin covering his groin (probably derived from the kilt/*perizoma* [**add.9**] type, of southern coastal Etruria), the club, along with the Apples. All appear together in the Geneva bronze (**13f**). For others in the group (**13a**, **add.6–8**), with deer instead of lionskin elements, however, retaining the club, bow and quiver and incorporating locally significant Scythian features (conical cap, bandolier, quiver, bow, greaves, etc.) imply his successful journey through the region as found in legend.

The two principal iconographic differences – the lion and deer/fawn attributes – provide a convenient organizational device to distinguish two groups – (i. α – β [lion] and ii. α – γ [deer/fawn]) – and offer a logical transition from lionskin to deer/fawn skin, worn either over his body (and covering his head), the paws knotted in front and cinched at the waist, or with the animal's head covering his groin. A key factor in seeing H. throughout is the artisans' continued use of one or more of his «standard» attributes (in particular, the Apples of the Hesperides: **13f**) while at the same time incorporating foreign features. For those among the later (c. 500–480) of the group containing Scythian imagery (**13a**, **add.6–8**) – and, seemingly more removed from the original lionskin-clad Cypriote type with the bow and club (if missing, its presence suggested in the socket of his raised r. hand) persists. The presence of the latter along with the Apples of the Hesperides, permit little doubt that its maker (and patron) understood the image as H. and, in local perception, imbued the

Hesperides and Deer labors with the sense of success/ultimate victory and immortality. Opposed: S. Haynes (o. c. add.7).

2. The Etruscan kilt/*perizoma* H. type (add.9) is now known earlier and differs stylistically and technologically from prior examples. The over-life size votive torso (Veii, Portonaccio sanctuary), c. 540–520 is the first Etruscan image of a divinity to appear in a public sanctuary. Colonna's close analysis reveals a *kouros*-like H., adorned with a unique metal kilt/*perizoma*, attached to his otherwise nude body. Colonna conjectures that this «national» iconography «belonged to the *Luperci* and their god, Faunus and was adopted by the Etruscans for H.» (Colonna, G., *AnnFaina* 3, 1987, 17ff.).

3. A previously published tripod (add.51 = 121*) is now recognized as a new type and interpretation. Here, H. wears a far more formal long chiton and himation. The costume is perhaps that reported in Plin. (*nat.* 34, 33, → *LIMC* Suppl. 2009 Herakles/Hercules [Romae] 1): «The [H.] statue in the Forum Boarium, said to have been consecrated to Hercules by Evander, called the *Hercules triumphalis*, was on the occasion of triumphal processions arrayed in triumphal vestments». His appearance is suggestive of a ritual occasion – a sharply trimmed, full beard, a round (turban-like, as that found at Satricum) cap, long garments and *calcei repandi*; cf. Ampolo, o. c. add.51, 75–93 esp. 86–87 and Colonna, o. c. add.51. If this interpretation is correct, this bronze, c. 500, provides the earliest evidence of Plin.'s description of the statue's dress on the occasion of celebrations of triumph at the *Ara Maxima* in the Forum Boarium and is therefore perhaps the origin of a distinctly Roman formal dress for ritual and triumphal use.

4. His image as a warrior was a favored votive and temple decoration in Etruria and central Italy; cf. his hoplite dress at Pyrgi, Temple B (add.48), c. 500–480. The latter compares with that at Satricum (add.43), 500–490, as well as others, employing the central Italic warrior attire (e.g., votive examples: from Pietrabbondante [add.10], c. 500, the earliest to date from the region and a Campanian gilded bronze statuette [add.11], of either Daunian or Spina workshop [Colonna]). The influence of Scopas is evident in the latter and appears pervasive throughout Etruria and central Italy. See similarities on the fillet-wearing H. from Arezzo (Massa-Pairault 1985, 161 fig. 109 «Greek head» and n. 20 with other comparisons. For examples of the hoplite type, cf. 67. 91. 180. 183. 240. 242. 256. 267. 294. 296. 297. 302. 309; *LIMC* II Athena/Menerva 191; *LIMC* I Amazones Etruscae 15. 28a).

5. Dionysos and H.: Their kinship (Baglione, M. P., in Maggiani, *Vasi att. con dediche* 85–93; *ead.*, *ScAnt* 10, 2000, 355–356; Campanelli, A., in *I luoghi degli Dei* 133–135) is reflected in standing (add.13), seated (add.14–15) and repose (with kantharos, or other drinking vessel) attitudes dispersed throughout Etruria and other Italic regions, ranging in media and intent, from small, personal to large, public monuments, e.g., a Populonia gold bulla, add.16 (cf.

also central Italic bronze appliqué, Palestrina, Mus. Naz., Wuilleumier, P., *Tarente des origines à la conquête romaine* [1939] pl. 16, 4; Lippolis, E., in *Gli ori di Taranto in età ellenistica* [1984] 46 [fig.]; and H. washed by a satyr and maenad [97*. 149]; Menichetti 36 pl. 20a). His reclining and its connection with Dionysos in Etruria dates from c. 460 to the 2nd cent. B.C., but is especially frequent after c. 350, perhaps inspired by copies of the resting Lysippan Taranto bronze (Iaculli, G., in *Deliciae Fictiles* III 172–173). An increasingly distorted/schematized and degraded form of the image is reflected in terracottas made at Chieti (Campanelli, A./Iaculli, G., in *I luoghi degli Dei* 47. 49 [fig.] no. 8 pl. 5 with bibl.; Iaculli, G., in *Deliciae Fictiles* III 164–175 figs. 16. 21–24; Liberatore, D., *ibidem* 181–193 figs. 18.13, 18.14).

The Dionysiac H. votive statuettes of the 4th–3rd cent., in central and eastern Italic regions (Abruzzi and the Venetic north), signal more markedly Dionysiac features: a full beard, Dionysos' vegetal or vine crown, stylistically baroque treatment of the lionskin and its elaboration over his l. arm; for the Venetic region, as late as c. 200–1st cent. B.C. (cf. Innsbruck, Tirol. Landesmus. 5060, from Innichen in Pustertal, Walde-Psenner, E., *Archäologische Forschungen in Tirol* 6, 1979, 46–50 figs., with bibl., c. 200 B.C.). Campanelli and others remark on the close link with Dionysos at S. Ippolito (a center of H. worship), near Corfinium (Campanelli, A., in *Acque, grotte e dei* 190): «... [linked with the] infernal and ... mystery spheres», found with a dedication to *Liber Pater* (*CIL* IX 3145; Buonocore, M., «Corfinium», in *Supplementa Italica*, n.s. 3, 1987, 110).

This strong connection is not surprising, considering the mythological similarities of the brothers. Both were valued as civilizing deities, with the power of mediation between wild and uncontrollable nature and civil «culture». Dominating the hostile chaos of human nature, they are creatures of a stable and hospitable world. In a larger sense they also represent transitions in human life, surmounting the limiting mortal condition, conquering/acquiring immortality; both mediating between the world of the living and dead (Colonna, G., in *Dionysos, mito e mistero* [1991] 117–155; Campanelli, A./Orfanelli, V./Riccitelli, P., in *Acque, grotte e dei* 184–202; Colonna, G., in Maggiani, *Vasi att. con dediche* 95–96). See also H. defending Hera from satyrs, 366. 366a. 379). For Dionysos and H. together in the Gigantomachy, cf. Rausa, F., in *Dionysos, mito e mistero* (1991) 55–69 esp. 56–57.

6. With deities, others

See also: 6. e.^{bis} Ino/Leucothea (Mater Matuta) and Palaimon (add.42); 9. With Epiur, Mar's hercules, 46. Apotheosis (add.46–49) and 47. Adoption (add.50).

Praenestine cistae, between the 4th–3rd cent., reflect a view of a new wave of urbane Hellenism cultivating an ideology of the gymnasium. A societal transformation had taken place when a significant number of freedmen entered society and, with this

phenomenon, a particular stress on male- and female-affiliated *virtus*; for male youth, the preparation for athletic-military duties, cf. Menichetti (97 ff., 106 ff.; *id.*, in *Le mythe grec* 488 ff.). In this social atmosphere, H. appears nearby on *cistae* scenes as a witness with nude youths, sometimes accompanied by a warrior (a symbol of victory, virtue), heroes and/or gods, the latter perhaps in a mythological context. Of the two Praenestine *cistae* with H., the first (add.18) depicts H. standing near a group of *iuvenes* (and two bearded males), while, in the center, Perseus in victory presents Medusa's severed head to Zeus. The second (add.19) illustrates H., a bystander, with gods, heroes, the goddesses *Iu(v)entus* and *Victoria*. Similarly, H. is an onlooker with others on the Berlin *cista* (126*), witnessing the central event, *Menerva* and the youth, *Mars*, see Menichetti, M., in *Le mythe grec* 491–497 fig. 3; Massa-Pairault, F.-H., *AnnFaina* 6, 1999, 91; Franchi De Bellis, A., *Iscrizioni prenestine su specchi e ciste* (2005) 142–147 no. 563 pl. 20a–b; on the series of male infants with H., *Menerva* and others (153–159), see also Massa-Pairault 1998, 231–250; *ead.* 2000, 181–207.

d) With *Turms*

The acroterial group of *Turms* and H. (add.17) from an urban temple, Arezzo, of c. 500, as well as their association together at the emporium sanctuary at S. Antonio (Caere) (Temple A, dedicated to H., altar C, perhaps to *Turms* and its inscription discussed below), provide precedents and perhaps better explain their frequency on 4th–3rd cent. mirrors, gems, etc. in scenes pairing them with the fountain, amphora(e), water and/or a youth (*Turms*, H. and a youth, sometimes named *Vile*, cf. →*Herakles/Hercle* pp. 242–243: 89*. 90. 90a. 91*; see also H. at the fountain with *Iolaos*, Massa-Pairault 2000 *passim*, seated together, cf. 145*. 146*. 147). See also the recent discussion of the iconography of H. with *Turms*, *Vile*, *Menerva* with water, Cristofani, M., *ScAnt* 10, 2000, 396–425 esp. 414–425 and Gilotta, F., in *L'acqua degli dei* (2003) 25–32. By the 5th cent., in this context, H. with *Turms* can be reinterpreted: previously the pair, viewed through a Hellenizing lens, were seen as patrons of the gymnasium with cult associations joined with healing and thermal waters. Clearly, in Etruria and Rome (Latium and Campania), H., differing from his Greek counterpart, is viewed as protecting commerce and the *polis* through initiating its youth into the civil nature and power of the *gens*. In triumph, H. assumes the values of success and good fortune on numerous levels. Departing from his early and more rural function in taming wild and dangerous frontiers/demons, as well as land and water crossings, he evolves ensuring civilizing achievement in trade (hence, his important commercial link), law and civic accomplishment. For the *gens* in public as well as private contexts, H. represents the hope for the future through its progeny (see discussion above: 6. With deities, others and Menichetti, M., in *Le mythe grec* 489 ff.; Massa-Pairault 1998, 231–250; *ead.* 2000, 181–207).

Moreover, at the S. Antonio H. sanctuary, their relationship in the context of the fountain and water may refer to an important oracular and mantic role. Of the two temples (A, B) and an altar (C) (and bothros), A was dedicated to *Hercle*, B, perhaps to *Rath/Suri/Apollo* and altar C, to *Turms* (Colonna 2001, 164, with bibl.), based on an inscribed 4th cent. votive bronze weight, found at the site, naming *Rath*, *Turms* and *Hercle* (Cristofani, M., *ScAnt* 10, 2000, 418 fig. 37; Colonna 2001, 163. 164 fig. 8 and n. 40; Maggiani, A./Rizzo, A. M., in *Veio, Cerveteri* 153 no. II.B.5.2. fig.). Given the sanctuary's strategic location along an important trade route to the interior, the weight and its inscription attest H.'s significant role in commercial trade and profit (see «G. Commerce», in Mastrocinque, A., *New Pauly s.v. «Hercules»* col. 192).

e) With *Aplu*

See also 14. Kerynitian Deer.

The Etrusco-Italic H. assumes an Apollonian magical-therapeutic, mantic and healing function at springs, with agrarian and fertility rites. They are found together in the same sanctuaries throughout Venetic regions, Etruria, Umbria and southern Italy (Cumae), beginning in the late 6th cent., to the Roman period, including – a) Veii, Portonaccio sanctuaries of *Minerva* and *Apollo* with extensive hydraulic installations in and outside the *temenos*; – b) Villa Cassarini (Bologna), sanctuary of *Apollo* (27*; cf. Malnati, L., in *L'acqua degli dei* [2003] 33–37, discussing the sanctuary's infernal/chthonic aspect); – c) Falerii, Vignale, tempio maggiore, *Apollo* sanctuary, where *Apollo* is fully assimilated with *Soranus*: H. appears on the temple pediment, perhaps in a centaur combat (add.38), possibly with a female and a winged horse; – d) other water sanctuaries, continuing into the Roman period: the *Apollini sancto* Baths of Stigliano and Vicarello (*ager Caeretanus*), the thermal baths of Musignano, near Vulci, the Baths of San Casciano in the Chiusi region, the spring attributed to *Apollo* at Tenta near Arezzo and the Fucino (Abruzzi) region (cf. add.12a), cf. Colonna, G., *Rend-PontAcc* 57, 1984–1985, 86–88. See similarity in function with *Apollo* →*LIMC* Suppl. 2009 *Herakles/Hercules* [Romae] II.

Also this mantic and oracular nature is linked in Rome/Latium with his warrior-commerce aspect – as such, H. is a god who ensures successful outcomes and increase, the accretion of wealth and improved social status. In a mantic spirit, H. wins his mistress, *Acca Larentia*, in Rome, in a game of dice (*Macr. Sat.* 1, 10, 12–15; *Plut. Rom.* 5, 1–2; *quaest. Rom.* 35, 272f–273a). For his use of lots/*sortes*, cf. Mastrocinque, A., *New Pauly s.v. «Hercules»* 191. In a number of Italic cities, they gave H. an oracle with *sortes* (Champeaux, J., in *MEFRA* 102, 1990, 271–302), for example, at Caere, *Liv.* 22, 1, 10 and Ostia, →*LIMC* Suppl. 2009 *Herakles/Hercules* (Romae) 10 (= 1399). For *Larentia*, H. gave a dream and prophecy (*Plut. quaest. Rom.* 35, 273ab; *Aug. civ.* 6, 7). For youth initiation and warrior *virtus*, as well as

paideia, see Jourdain-Annequin, C., *Héraclès aux portes du soir* (1989) 379–424; Menichetti 87–99. 106–107. 110–117; Cristofani, M., *Prospettiva* 83–83, 1996, 2–9; Menichetti, in *Le mythe grec* 488–495. 501–506; and Massa-Pairault, F.-H., *AnnFaina* 6, 1999, 83 f. 89. Their relationship in Etruria Padana is discussed in Sassatelli, G., in *Culti pagani nell'Italia settentrionale* (1994) 137–141.

e)^{bis} With Ino/Leucothea and Palaimon (?)

The Pyrgi, Temple A, front pediment of c. 360–350 represents the young H. (**add.42**), beside a female (fr. of head) who is in violent movement at the side of a longhaired youth, perhaps Ino/Leucothea with Palaimon. Ovid's account, based on Greek myth, conjoins their arrival at Rome with the time of Evander, pursued by Roman Bacchantes, rescued and given safe haven by H. Further, their arrival in the West was celebrated by the king of Agylla/Caere (Mele [1995, 448–450] and Colonna [2000, 333] comment on the Corinthian origins of the cult – associated with healing and initiation). Once in Rome, they were hosted by the sorceress Carmenta (Evander's mother), who prophesied H.'s apotheosis as well as their divinity, as Mater Matuta and Portunus (Ov. *fast.* 6, 475–480. 485–550; Littlewood, R. J., *A Commentary on Ovid: Fasti Book VI* [2006] 157–165). Additionally, the pair, together with H. and Minerva, are proposed as companion acroteria at Sant'Omobono (131 = LIMC Suppl. 2009 Herakles/Hercules [Romae] 9), thus preceding the group's representation in Pyrgi by 170 years. (It has been suggested that the Sant'Omobono acroteria of H. and Minerva faced the Capitoline Hill, while the exiled mother and son faced the sea, cf. Colonna 1992, 45; Mertens-Horn, M., in *Deliciae Fictiles* II 143–148; Colonna 2000, 326–327. 333). For Etrusco-Campanian and pan-Italic emporium sanctuaries, it is possible that H. assumed both political and protective/*hospitium*/asylum functions for visiting foreign and indigenous populations, cf. Torelli, *passim*; Mele 1995, 448–450; Massa-Pairault 1998, 231–250; *ead.* 2000, 181–207 and Genovese, H., *ArchCl* 51, 2000, 331 and n. 8 with bibl.

f) With Juno/Uni

For his adoption by Uni, cf. **add.50**.

Uni perhaps introduces H. to Olympus in his apotheosis (Pyrgi, Temple B, **add.48**). At the same time (c. 510) and on the same temple, a plethora of his labors appear, including: Nemean Lion (**add.21**); Hydra pediment (**203**); Amazonomachy with H. (**add.28**); and perhaps Kerberos or Orthos (?) (**add.31**).

h) Fufluns, satyrs, Pan, maenad

See **add.13–15**.

Cf. discussion, ii. Type/attributes, b) Full figure: 5. Dionysos and H.

On the Volsinii mirror (371, from near Orvieto), c. 300, with H., *Fufluns* and *Vesuna*, F.-H. Massa-Pairault (*AnnFaina* 6, 1999, 92 n. 69) proposes that

H. is the recipient of the poured libation held to Vesuna's mouth by an adolescent winged Eros – a scene that she also conjectures illustrates the foretelling of H.'s immortality. Given the pairing of Fufluns and Vesuna, Massa-Pairault suggests a parallel with the pair H. and Feronia, both of whom shared a Sabine frontier relationship.

i) Gigantomachy

Until now, the Gigantomachy has been infrequent in Etruria. The temple terracotta plaque fragments from the Vigna Grande sanctuary, Orvieto (Mus. Faina; DAI neg. nos. 1935.432–435), of c. 510–500, however, imply the theme on a public structure in central Etruria (by a local Volsinian coroplastic school). While the fragment does not preserve H., he was most probably beside Menerva, as on other Etruscan (376–377. 380–382) Gigantomachy scenes and the Etrusco-Campanian ridgepole group at Satricum (**add.43**), c. 500–490/80.

The theme, from its inception, c. 565 at Cumae, assumed greater importance in central Italy than in Etruria, from where it spread to Campania and Latium, appearing at the Satricum sanctuary of Mater Matuta, Temple II (**add.43**). Here, H. and Menerva are part of the ridgepole decoration with pairs of gods and defeated giants. A. Mele (in *Etruria e Lazio arcaico* [1987] 155–177; *id.* 1995, 448–450; and Cerchiai, L., *AION* 7, 2000, 115–116) demonstrated that the theme fully re-enters the repertoire under Aristodemos (tyrant over Cumae, c. 524–485), who dominated political, military and cult practices and, in doing so, employed the iconography of the H. heroic ideal. H., beside Athena/Menerva, appears in hoplite costume, similar to his dress on the acroteria at Pyrgi (with Uni in apotheosis, **add.48**), already noted as a frequent and favored central Italic iconographic type (**add.10–11**).

At Satricum, the unusual arrangement in pairs and attitudes may suggest H.'s participation in the triumphal dance of the gods that Zeus had danced in the Titanomachy (Hes., Pind., Eur.; cf. Dion. Hal. *ant.* 7, 72, 7, who remarks on the warrior dance of Athena after her victory over the Titans), cf. Vian, F., *La guerre des Géants* (1952) 197f.; Valenza Mele, N., in *Recherches sur les cultes grecs et l'Occident* 1, 1979, 24. 28–29; Mele 1995, 448–450. F.-H. Massa-Pairault (*MededRom* 56, 1997, 122. 123. 126) sees in H. here the hoplite/warrior in service to the *polis* and as an anti-Roman statement; see also Aversa 32; Torelli, M., in *Le mythe grec* 205–253; d'Agostino, B./Cerchiai, L., *AnnFaina* 9, 2004, 271–289. This is perhaps another facet which, along with his *hospitium* and *asylum* nature (see 6. e^{bis}), is assumed at Pyrgi (**add.48**).

j) With the Tinas Cliniar

The winged H. on the 3rd cent. Volsinii mirror (→LIMC III Dioskouroi/Tinas Cliniar 49** = V Iolaos/Vile II) denotes a local notion, most probably chthonic, similar to the winged demons of the underworld found in local tombs, cf. Torelli, M., in

Rasenna: storia e civiltà degli Etruschi (1986) 167–168. H. and the Dioskouroi each take up similar patronage/protective significance for youth through their initiation rites (cf. their appearance on Praenestine cistae, Menichetti 97ff.; *id.*, in *Le mythe grec* 485–510).

II. Narrative

P. Hercle and family life

Add:

7. *bis* With Alkmene

Given the local Hellenizing ambiance of the 4th–3rd cent., Massa-Pairault (1998, 231–250 n. 18) sees in the scene on the Vulci mirror with Vile, H. and Alkmene (add.20), a reference to the Athenian *Cynosarges* (the gymnasium and site near Athens where Cynic philosophers taught). Cf. similar, LIMC II Alkmene 19.

8. With wives

For Omphale, Iole, Hesione, see 22. Hercle and the expedition to Troy.

For Deianeira, see 27. Kentauroi, Nessos adventure, 308. add.39.

For Hebe, see add.51.

9. With Epiur, Marś hercles

Among the local myths connecting H. with *iuventus* in the Volsinian region (Volterra-Perugia-Orvieto), the scene of a 3rd cent. mirror from Cantolle (159 = LIMC VI Maris I 5) representing H., *Artumes*, *Aplu*, *Marśhercles*, «son of Hercle» and *Vile*, held special significance for the local aristocracy (and was perhaps a reworking of an Attic story, cf. Massa-Pairault, F.-H., *AnnFaina* 6, 1999, 93 and notes 74–75). In a unique portrayal, H., bare-chested, in a long tunic tied at the waist, holds a patera in his r., with his l. foot on a dead boar (gestures of sacred celebration and victory). He appears to appeal to the gods *Aplu* and *Artumes* on behalf of the two youths looking on. Massa-Pairault (*o.c.*) offers a new interpretation: H. is reported to have passed through the neighboring Cimini Mountains; the scene could thus illustrate the hopes for the future of the *polis*, illuminating: 1. the libation signifying the Volsinian foundation of H.'s cult and altars at the completion of his labor; and 2. cult instruction to youth, one in a toga *praetexta*, the other in a toga *hasta* – symbolically, the incarnate Volsinian aristocratic *iuventus* seen as H.'s progeny and thus joined in his *virtus*, recalling similar rites held at the *Ara Maxima* in Rome. For the Praeneste *iuvenes* ritual scenes, see cistae (add.18–19) of the 4th–3rd cent. See also Massa-Pairault 2000, 183–186 and the series with the baby/child, goddesses, Menerva and H. (123. 338. 153–159).

10. Dodekathlon and other exploits

The notion of a Greek canon in Etruria remains problematic, as there is no evidence for such. The

earliest probable labors are now known in the 7th cent. (c. 640–630), one perhaps illustrating Geryon (add.29) and another, the Hydra (add.25), both of East Greek inspiration. Certainly, the mid-6th cent. Lion labor (add.23) is secure.

Between the 2nd half of the 6th and beginning of the 5th cent., of the 12 labors, the Lion, Deer, Hydra, Kerberos, Amazons and Hesperides continue to be the more popular. C. 510, on Temple B (the temple dedicated to Uni), Pyrgi, a series of the labors materialize, including: Nemean Lion (add.21), Hydra pediment (203), Amazonomachy with H. (add.28), perhaps Kerberos or Orthos (add.31), see Colonna 1972 and 1992 *passim*; *id.*, 2000 esp. 283–294.

Including those themes mentioned, the Lion, Hydra, Deer, Birds, Amazons, Kerberos and Hesperides appear on temple terracottas, vases, bronze statuettes and extend beyond Etruria to central Italy and the north, as follows: Lion (those mentioned above excepted): add.22; Deer (perhaps on the Doric Temple pediment, Pompeii, cf. Lulof, P. S., in *Il tempio dorico del foro triangolare di Pompei* [2001] 200–212. 216–219 figs. 234–255, c. 500–490); Birds: the interior of an Enotrian footed cup from Aliano (Basilicata), Chiaramonte, cf. Genovese, H., *ArchCl* 51, 2000, 332–333 fig. 1 with bibl., c. 500; a possible Horses of Diomedes: add.22; Amazons: add.26. add.28a; Kerberos: add.30 and Hesperides: add.32, c. 500–490 and 13f, indicating with certainty that the adventure was known in Etruria Padana before c. 500. The northern hybrid bronzes (12a* through 13 and add.6), as a group (beginning c. 530), illustrate a significant understanding of (Greek-inherited) legends linked with local geography and his Hesperides and Deer adventures in a blend of legend and Scythian archer iconography (add.6–8), supplanting the Lion with a deer skin, while adding the Apples.

The Lion labor continues on 4th cent. Etruscan ceramics (add.24) and its popularity extends to Samnite territory of the 2nd cent., as illustrated on a terracotta antefix from Monte Vairano (cf. Strazzulla, M. J., in *Deliciae Fictiles* III 31–33 fig. 3.14) and others. The Hesperides scene is found in the 4th cent. in central Etruria on terracotta canteens probably used by warriors (add.33).

Other adventures, ranging in date from the late 6th–2nd cent., include perhaps the Trojan expedition with the rescue of Hesione (possibly 9. 9a. 266*/293 and a temple sima plaque from Rome, via San Gregorio, →LIMC Suppl. 2009 Herakles/Hercules [Romae] 12, cf. Ferrea, L., in *Deliciae Fictiles* III 232–234 figs. 22.1–4; Strazzulla 2007, 142–146 fig. 4, c. 150), Acheloos (add.36), the Centaurs (add.37–38), Nessos (add.39), Geras (add.40), winged horses (add.41), perhaps as *despotes hippon* (336 = 77, controversial), with youths (add.18), with Ino/Leucothea and Palaimon (add.42), the Gigantomachy (add.43–45), Introduction to Olympus/Apotheosis (add.46–49), Adoption by Uni (add.50); and, the new *Hercules triumphalis* (add.51).

11. Nemean Lion

The impasto vase from Bisenzio, illustrating the Lion labor (**add.23**), of c. 550–525, reflects the penetration of the god's image in central Etruria, perhaps before its use at Acquarossa (**162**). M. Strandberg Olofsson (in *Deliciae Fictiles* III 122–129) proposes three possible interpretations for his two labors (**162. 229**), inserted into the building plaques that perhaps also applies to his ceramic images **add.37**. (= **add.1**): 1. mythological; 2. political: tyrant replaces king at Acquarossa; 3. ritual: Herakles as paradigm for youth and patron of youth initiatory rites into an adult civil role, explaining the insertion of the mythological narrative into otherwise repetitious and decorative scenes of procession, banqueting and dancing, all Etruscan celebrations. Indeed, his appearance with hoplites (**229**) places emphasis on his role as an Etruscan aristocratic warrior ideal of bravery, strength and invincibility.

The Capua terracotta antefix (**161**) with the archaizing scheme of H. (of non-Greek character: tunic, shoulder-length hair) strangling the Lion, inspired by earlier Etruscan examples (**162. 163**), provides a unique image of the theme enframed by a cave with two small-scale kithara players flanking the combat, both moving toward the r. in full song. An almost identical relief, illustrating the kithara player, was found in Orvieto (**161**). Aversa (10) interprets the musicians in the Capua scene as perhaps a chorus singing in a ritual festival honoring the god, analogous to the *Herakleia* of Thebes (Boeotia); F.-H. Massa-Pairault (1992, 17–18), offers an alternate (Dactylic) H., one (who was not the son of Alkmene), who instituted the Olympic Games [and], «... who, women ... make incantations to and ... amulets in his name, on the basis that he was a mantic and practised the arts of initiatory rites; ...» (Diod. 5, 64, 6–7).

The mistaken weapon (club) in the Lion assault on the Tolle vase (**add.22**) recalls similar misunderstandings on later vases of the Vulci Micali circle and a gem (**164. 165**). The second labor on the vase illustrating H. with a winged horse is suggested by Paolucci as H. with a horse of Diomedes, thus, both labors enframe Perseus' victory. H.'s labors and Perseus' victory are suggestive of their appearance again on a Praeneste cista (**add.18**). Made in disparate locales and separated in chronology by more than 100 years, they were perhaps motivated by the same rationale (cf. Menichetti 107) – by reason of H.'s (and Perseus') importance as models of *virtus* and (warrior) courage for youth.

The Lion labor at Pyrgi (**add.21**), if correct, is iconologically consistent with other Caeretan usage, reflecting its function underpinning the political program of the Caeretan tyrant/king, Thefarie Velianus, emulating that of Peisistratos. Its later use on stamnoi of the 4th cent. (**add.24**) and the 2nd cent. antefix with the combat from Samnite Monte Vairano (cf. Strazzulla, M. J., in *Deliciae Fictiles* III 31–33 fig. 3.14), along with others found at Campochiaro (Capini, S., in *Sannio. Pentri e Frentani dal VI al I sec.*

a.C. [1980] 209 n. 51) and others (**174–181**), underscores the theme's enduring popularity throughout the peninsula.

12. Lernaean Hydra

The Etruscan ivory from Comeana (**add.25**), c. 650–625, inspired by early Greek prototypes, perhaps represents the Hydra scene. While bereft of and too early for any hint of standard attributes identifying H., the inclusion of a male companion (on a biga) and a female standing near, infer elements in the Hydra fight found on Corinthian and Attic models (*LIMC* V Herakles 1991*. 1992*. 1997*) and are perhaps Iolaos/Vile and Menerva.

The Hydra scene on the rear pediment of Temple B at Pyrgi (**203**) perhaps owes its inspiration to the same model as for the Caeretan hydria, *LIMC* V Herakles 2016, or the Greco-Phoenician agate scarab (Geneva, M. P. Coll., Jucker, I., in *Italy of the Etruscans* [1991] 279 no. 369, c. 520, possibly in an Etruscan mount?) in which H. (in Cypriote dress) and Iolaos flank the seven-headed Hydra while gripping one of the monster's heads with a crab between H.'s legs.

14. Kerynitian Deer

See ii. Type/attributes, b) 1. Hyperborean H.

For the interpretation of the Veii, Portonaccio acroteria illustrating H. and Apollo's contest over the Deer (**222**), see Massa-Pairault, F.-H., *ScAnt* 10, 2000, 439–441.

17. Horses of Diomedes

H. with a winged horse on the bf. vase from near Chianciano Terme (**add.22**), c. 510, provides insufficient evidence to support the Diomedes' Horses enterprise. The scheme is reminiscent of that used for Lion scenes of mid-6th–early 5th cent. bronzes, a vase and architectural terracottas, **160–163**). However, no other Diomedes' Horses adventure has wings. Winged horses do appear elsewhere perhaps with H. in a *despotes hippon* scheme at Pyrgi (**336**), c. 510; as well as, among the pediment fragments at Vignale, tempio maggiore (**add.38**), c. 500–475 and a Micali workshop vase (**add.41**), c. 510. For the Pyrgi horses (**336**), Massa-Pairault (1985, 11–12) interprets H.'s ascent to Olympus.

Massa-Pairault (o.c. 11–12) opposes Colonna's (*ScAnt* 10, 2000, 286–287 figs. 16. 25 with bibl.) suggestion of →Abderos in the Diomedes story on the Temple B terracotta *antepagmentum* at Pyrgi. Abderos was a youth to whom H. transferred the care of the Horses when he left to defeat Diomedes; in his absence, Abderos was torn apart by the Horses and, after his return, H. created the city of Abdera beside his grave (Hellan., *FGrH* 4 F 105). Massa-Pairault proposes its interpretation as the youth (*iuvenes*) of Caere who offer the defeated man-eating horses to Uni/Hera (similarly, Eurystheus, after having received them from H., consecrated them to Hera at Argos, Diod. 4, 15, 4). Moreover, having examined the Pyrgi fragments, Massa-Pairault projects four

horses and two stablemen, crafting a less probable Diomedes theme. Although the evidence is too sparse for identification, one could also think of Pegasus, associated with the land of *hippeis* – i.e., Corinth (the Corinthian, Demaratus who fled from Corinth to Etruria. Notably, Ino-Leucothea and Palaimon also are connected with its cult in Corinth.), cf. discussion of **add.42**, above section 6, *ebis*. For Corinthian Bacchiad and Heraklid origins of Tarquin kings (in Rome), cf. Zevi, F., in Storchi Marino, A. (ed.), *L'incidenza dell'antico. Studi in mem. di Ettore Lepore I* (1995) 291–314.

18. Amazons

At Pyrgi, Temple B, among the Amazonomachy groups, one (**add.28**) is perhaps H. and Hippolyte; another four Amazons appear as acroteria. The antefix fr. from the sanctuary at Vigna Parrocchiale, Cerveteri (**add.28a**), slightly later, c. 490–480, precede another group on Pyrgi, Temple A (**add.28b**), of c. 425–400. Given the popularity of the theme at Pyrgi, Colonna sees the Amazons as a foil for Uni. At the same time, they again appear in the central temple terracotta scene with Athena, H. and Greek warriors at Satricum (**add.26**). P. S. Lulof (*MededRom* 56, 1997, 98–101) compares the composition with → *LIMC I Amazones Etruscae* 62 and raises the question of the problematic relationship between the myth and the site's cult of Mater Matuta (while a goddess of dawn and birth, she also exhibits a bellicose nature). The same quandary is posed at Pyrgi, given the theme's frequency, first on the Uni/Hera Temple B and later, the Thesan/Mater Matuta Temple A.

19. Geryon

The ivory relief plaque from Comeana (**add.29**) is perhaps intended as H. and Geryon. While there are no H. representations illustrating him with his later standard attributes at such an early date, the scene contains a trait that becomes familiar in the Geryon pursuit, in which one of the Geryon heads turns back to H. in pursuit, as perhaps that on the later (c. 600) image of the (beardless, three-bodied) monster on the «second» Pania pyxis (Florence, Mus. Arch. 82193, → *LIMC IV Geryoneus* 7*, cf. Menichetti, M., *Archeologia del potere. Re, immagini e miti a Roma e in Etruria in età arcaica* (1994) 70–74. 85 n. 45 fig. 34; Cristofani, M., *Prospettiva* 83–84, 1996, 2–9; Minetti, A., *AION* 5, 1998, 27–56 esp. 46–49; d'Agostino 125–128). F. Nicosia (in Torelli, M. [ed.], *The Etruscans*. Exhib. Venice [2000] 577–578) questions Geryon's identification in the absence of his usual three torsos, hoplite armor and the long locks (in Stesich.). This reworking of Geryon is similar to the later Pania Geryon who also lacks armor. Menichetti (o. c. 71), after d'Agostino (o. c. 126), proposes a role reversal (H. is the thief and Geryon the robbed, a parallel to the later Roman myth of H. defeating Cacus in which H.'s victory results in the foundation of the *Ara Maxima* and H. with Nessos, proposed by Cerchiai, cf. 33. Nessos).

20. Kerberos

A single dog's head, with open snarling mouth (**add.31**), from Pyrgi, Temple B is thought by Colonna, given the numerous H. *athla* at the temple, to be Kerberos. Massa-Pairault (1992, 71), instead, understands it as Orthos, the two-headed guard dog of the cattle herder of Geryon, Eurytion ([Hes.] *theog.* 293–294; Apollod. *bibl.* 2 [106] 5, 10). Again, it could be either Kerberos or Orthos on the Italic bf. vase (**add.30**), of the same date, this time with two asynchronous episodes side-by-side: 1. H. drives the cattle of Hades or Geryon; and 2. H. leads Kerberos (or Orthos). Schauenburg infers in it the report in Apollod. *bibl.* 2 [125] 5, 12, 7, in which, before his return journey from Hades with Kerberos, H., «wishing to provide the souls with blood», sacrifices one of the king's cattle. This resulted in a wrestling challenge from the herder, Menoites. Afterwards, H. continued his Kerberos capture and return to Eurystheus. If it is the Hades scene, Kerberos is reminiscent of the Caeretan Hydria → *LIMC V Herakles* 2616 image. See also the problematic scene on the Etrusco-Capuan bronze lebes (276, in this cat.), which could as well illustrate the outcome of his wrestling Menoites (Menoites, suspended from a tree, while H. departs with the Hades herd). L. Cerchiai (o. c. 276), instead (as others), identifies Cacus, cf. 26. The Cacus adventure.

21. Apples of the Hesperides

See the discussion, ii. Type/attributes, b) 1, Geneva bronze votive statuette (13f).

Perhaps the journey to the garden of the Hesperides is the unique scene on the bf. La Tolfa Group amphora (**add.32** = 322/398), in which H., in Cypriote costume, greets a Scythian (?) and is followed by an old man, raising his arm as if directing him. One must wonder if it is H., receiving direction on the garden's location from Nereus (cf. Pherekyd., *FGrH* 3 F 16a; Apollod. *bibl.* 2 [115] 5, 11); the picture appears to reflect an Etruria Padana understanding of the labor, discussed in ii. b) 1. To this, the depictions of H. in (and leaving) the garden, on three 4th cent. terracotta stamped relief canteens (**add.33**), perhaps made in Bolsena, Vulci, or Cerveteri, can be added. Of the three mythological contexts for the labor (cf. *LIMC V Herakles/Hercle*, p. 248), the illustrations enlist the 2nd in which H. acts alone in taking the Apples (with the tree and Ladon). The canteen schemes compare in some respects with the earlier mid-4th cent. mirror (263). On the latter, however, Menerva assists, Ladon is on the ground and no tree is apparent.

22. Hercle and the expedition to Troy

The popularity of H.'s expedition to Troy has been discussed by Rastrelli, Briquel, Harari, Massa-Pairault, Strazzulla (2007, 139–161 esp. 153–155) in its incorporating Greek with local Etruscan (and Republican Roman) interests (particularly, alluding to a Trojan ancestry) – an interest that appears to have originated in the region in the 5th–4th cent.

With this in mind, the 2nd cent. B. C. Fucoli pediment (**add.35**), has been taken to infer (although too fragmentary for certainty) a representation of the Argonaut adventure. The fragments comprise a H. head, eastern (Phrygian), chthonic, Dionysiac and water-related elements. For A. Rastrelli (*o. c.* **add.35**, 75), the thermal springs, with which the sanctuary is associated, recall the Argonaut adventure and/or Telephos. F.-H. Massa-Pairault (in *Le mythe grec* 546–554) sees Nereids, a cavalcade of animals and marine monsters, *putti* (young boy) on dolphins (symbolically accompanying man in his passage between life and death), and in addition, conjectures H.'s intervening in the Trojan expedition and his punishment of Laomedon (set within a grotto and perhaps connected with the Cabiri mysteries). The political message that the local Etruscan elites, intent on maintaining their position through the infant who is destined to become the (future) incarnate power and enduring *nomen*, is inherent. A. Romualdi (in *Etruschi: le scoperte più recenti* [2000] 169–171) reconstructed a sanctuary with two structures: the larger with the pediment under discussion, illustrating a myth linking H. to the cult of water, and a smaller *sacellum*, for the cult of Dionysos and afterlife with the appropriate fragments. From the same period in Rome, the pediment *sima* plaque fragments from an unknown sanctuary (via di San Gregorio, → *LIMC* Suppl. 2009 Herakles/Hercules [Roma] 12) suggest H. (?) assaulting a marine creature/ketos (?) with Hesione (?), perhaps indicating the sustained popularity of the Trojan theme, not solely among Etruscans (*cf.* above, Introduction, H. Founder) but for Roman as well. Although too fragmentary, the participants (esp. the nude «Nereid» and boy [Palaimon?] on a dolphin) summon allusions to H.'s rescuing Ino-Leucothea and Palaimon (**add.42**), imagery seen in Roman mosaics, *cf.* Carandini A. *et al.*, *Filosofiana. La villa di Piazza Amerina* (1982) 344 fig. 209, → *LIMC* VI Nereides 216 (c. A.D. 320, Piazza Armerina) and Levi, *Antioch* pl. 75c (5th. cent. A.D., Antakya, Mus.).

Hercle, other principal adversaries

23. Acheloos

The gold diadem from near Perugia (**add.36**) offers a familiar typology (downed animal) found in H.'s combats, **191*** (Lion), **237*** (Horses). The myth's appearance on a diadem, which could be used for either male or female burial, is a Hellenistic symbol of prestige and wealth, the social, political and economic power of the individual in the community. It perhaps also alludes to H.'s protective function for women in matrimony, throughout life (esp. moments of threat, as in childbirth) and afterlife. See also the Etrusco-Campanian amber gem with the head of H. (**add.2**), possibly with a similar intent.

26. The Cacus adventure

L. Cerchiai offers as an explanation for the Capuan lebes scene (**276**, in this cat.) the final out-

come of the combat between H. and Cacus (contending that Cacus was an early Roman king), a scene modeled after the H.-Alkyoneus conflict, → *LIMC* I Alkyoneus 31, Caeretan Hydria, c. 520–510; and **274***, **230**, **246**. Without further visual information, however, this interpretation is difficult to support. It could as well illustrate H. wrestling the herder Menoites in Hades, *cf.* **add.30**.

27. Kentauroi

The bucchero oinochoe (**add.37**), c. 575–550, with a generic scene of H. fighting the Kentauroi, appears earlier than any attributable Pholos or Nessos scene. Nonetheless, the message is clear: H. assaults his static adversary, a centaur, holding a tree trunk as a weapon. This is also the earliest Cypriote H. Other earlier (c. 650) impasto and bucchero fragments from Cerveteri and Narce display centaurs with swords, although no H. is preserved. J. Gran-Aymerich (*o. c.* **add.37**, 397–399 figs. 8–10 esp. fig. 9) sees a H. combat in at least one of these scenes.

The fragmentary terracotta pediment with H. in a centaur combat, accompanied by a woman and a winged horse (Pegasos?) from Falerii, Vignale, tempio maggiore (**add.38**), c. 500–475, is significant for its appearance on the (chthonic) Apollo *Soranus* sanctuary pediment (too fragmentary to reconstruct).

29. Ketos

See 22. Hercle and the expedition to Troy.

33. Nessos

L. Cerchiai interprets the Tityos Painter vase (**308**, see this cat.) as one in which Nessos, Deianeira and H. reverse roles. H. is instead the threatened victim, while Deianeira, colluding with Nessos, plots H.'s demise with Nessos' blood-poisoned shirt. Ultimately, Cerchiai deciphers the symposium as alluding to an underlying hint of sexual female promiscuity. Accordingly, Cerchiai contends the central tondo's wolf man is allied with Nessos and Deianeira, representing an external threat to H. and finds its mythic parallel in the celebration of the *Lupercalia*, with Faunus at the foundation of Rome. Massa-Pairault (2000, 436 n. 37), like Cerchiai (*Ostraka* 7, 1998, 43), interprets the wolf man as a visual record of a priest of *Soranus*, and thus the image also represents H.'s journey to the frontiers of the savage world, in contact with the dead (either in initiation or in reality) from which he must escape. *Soranus* was identified with *Dis*, the Roman god of the underworld. Moreover, Serv. (*Aen.* II, 785) reports that an oracle enjoins Sabine shepherds to imitate wolves, that is, to live as predators. The theme with Nessos carrying Deianeira with satyrs and maenads on the Faliscan Corchiano krater (**310**) supports the Dionysiac/erotic interpretation and, for Cerchiai, continuity in the 4th cent. in Etruscan perception. The fact that a H.-centaur combat with a woman appears on the Faliscan temple terracotta relief at the Vignale (chthonic Apollo *Soranus*) sanctuary (**add.38**) could imply a similar Nessos

scene/interpretation (unfortunately, too fr. for certainty).

38. Triton

The scene on the La Tolfa Group vase (322), with H. wrestling a three-bodied sea monster could be Triton, Nereus or other sea creature. If Nereus, it supports interpreting side *A* as H. en route (with a Scythian before him and the old man, Nereus, behind) to the Hesperides, cf. 21. Apples of the Hesperides.

Hercle in other encounters

Before section 39, add:

38.^{bis} With Geras

While there is no ancient source for this episode, the Etruscan artist of add.40 adds his own touch to the illustration. Unlike Greek prototypes in which H. either attacks the small old man or engages him in conversation, here Geras greets H. as a fellow traveler; while H. walks away, and at the same time, threatens with his club. Although certainly familiar with Attic models, cf. →LIMC IV Geras 4. 5, the artist creates an original composition.

Hercle's later life, death and apotheosis

46. Journey to Olympus and introduction to Tinia and/or with other deities

The antefixes with H. as *despotes hippon*, 336 (controversial) alternating with a *potnia hippon*, chthonic and solar deities at Pyrgi, are interpreted by some as H.'s apotheosis, the winged horses pulling his chariot (Colonna, G., in *Santuari d'Etruria* [1985] 132–133; Massa-Pairault 1985, 11–12). They could also allude to Pegasus and its Demaratic and Corinthian connection; cf. Zevi, F., in Storch Marino, A. (ed.), *L'incidenza dell'antico. Studi in mem. di Ettore Lepore I* (1995) 291–314 esp. 307–314 concerning Demaratus and Corinthian (Bacchiad *genos* and Heraklid [Doric] ancestry. Zevi (o.c. 310 and n. 35), after Vernant: «...egli è l'espressione di una società dominata dai Bacchiadi, aristocrazia terriera di *hippeis*; Pegaso resterà, come noto, il simbolo di Corinto...»). King Demaratus fled to Italy and was the father of L. Tarquinius Priscus (Tarquin the Elder), the fifth Roman and first Tarquin king in Rome. Perhaps the winged horses with H. here and elsewhere on temple terracottas and a Micali vase: add.22. add.38. add.41 imply his triumph (and triumphal procession?) as well as his link with Demaratus.

The series of acroteria/(donor?) groups of H. (in triumph/introduction to Olympus) with Menerva (and Uni, at Pyrgi) are now found to be widespread throughout Etrusco-Campanian and Italic emporium sanctuaries. Including that reconstructed by Lulof at Satricum, the groups are chronologically: Satricum (add.46), c. 530–520 (Lulof: [c. 540] suggests six or eight groups with the theme, perhaps made in a Caere workshop, by the same master and possibly transported to the various sites from Caere),

the earlier Veii, Portonaccio group (*Veii 1*) (add.47 = 132a), c. 530; Rome, Sant'Omobono (131 = LIMC Suppl. 2009 Herakles/Hercules [Romae] 9), c. 520–510; the second group at Veii, Portonaccio (*Veii 2*) (132 = LIMC II Athena/Menerva 39), c. 510; Pyrgi (add.48), c. 500–480; and possibly, Cerveteri, Vigna Parrocchiale (add.49), c. 500–480. The earlier, better preserved groups, indicate Cypriote dress (*Veii 1*; Rome, Sant'Omobono), while in the *Veii 2* group, H. wears a *perizoma*/kilt, or, at Pyrgi, a hoplite costume.

The theme perhaps initiated at Satricum (add.46–49) could have gained popularity, initially conceived in support of political dynastic legitimacy (Colonna 1992, 45 argues the case for dynastic rather than tyrannical association), as well as, protective *hospitium* and *asylum* (Colonna 2000, 333) for mariners, merchants, warriors, the polis (and its youth) and women in matrimony, fecundity and childbirth, cf. add.42, Massa-Pairault 1992, 71–72; ead. 1998, 137–139. Assuming increasing importance and broader meaning than merely political underpinning and protection, instead of abandoning the iconography, it proliferated despite (or perhaps fostered by) the political turmoil of the period. N.B., H. is linked with Mater Matuta in Rome (perhaps at Pyrgi and Satricum).

47. Adoption, suckled by Uni

The terracotta antefix from Orvieto (add.50, probably from a small sanctuary located on the cliff above the Crocifisso del Tufo necropolis, c. 400–390) hint at a cult linking H. and Uni. The central scene most closely replicates the mirrors 404. 402.

48. Crowned / with women on Olympus

Add: On Olympus: *Hercules triumphalis*

H.'s formal attire (long chiton and himation under the *leonté*) in the four-figure bronze tripod group found on the Athenian Acropolis (add.51), c. 500, implies Pliny's (*nat.* 34, 33) report: «The statue in the Forum Boarium is said to have been consecrated to Hercules by Evander; it is called the *Hercules triumphalis* and, on the occasion of triumphal processions, is arrayed in triumphal vestments.» (transl. Bostock, J./Riley, H. T.), Ampolo, o.c. add.51, 86; Colonna 2000, 288–289; →LIMC Suppl. 2009 Herakles/Hercules (Romae) 1. The interpretation (triumphal apotheosis) supports the inferred meaning of the acroteria at Pyrgi, Rome and Etrusco-Campania; however, unlike the hoplite costume at Pyrgi and Satricum and Cypriote and kilt/*perizoma* elsewhere, H.'s attire is formal, presumably, signaling a special (Roman and triumphal [?]) occasion. Of the members of the bronze group, Menerva leads H., who then leads Hebe? by the hand; Turms brings up the rear, all wearing *calcei repandi* and a similar round hat (N.B. the round hat of H.'s head fragment from the earlier Satricum acroteria group, add.46).

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