

**HERACLES.** The son of Zeus (Jupiter) and Alcmena, wife of Amphitryon, Heracles (Hercules) became the exemplary Greek hero through the famous twelve labors and other adventures. In youth he was known by the patronym Alcides, after his earthly grandfather Alcaeus, father of Amphitryon. The origin of the name Heracles ("Glory of Hera") is unclear; however, almost all of Heracles' deeds and sufferings grew out of Hera's spite.

A complex figure, Heracles was endowed with near godlike strength, courage, and fortitude, yet showed his humanity in a violent temper, a lack of temperance (particularly in drink), and an insatiable amorousness. These negative traits were easily forgiven in view of his generosity, defense of the threatened or oppressed, and expense of energy for the cause of right, but they caused him many hardships and eventually contributed to his death. According to the sophist Prodicus, as a young man Alcides was given the choice of a life of pleasure or virtue; he chose the latter, with its attendant trials, but did not entirely renounce the former.

The adventures of Heracles cited in Greek and Roman myth are varied and numerous. As a child, he escaped death at the hands of Hera (Juno) by strangling the snakes she placed in his cradle. Educated by the greatest experts in archery, wrestling, and music, he showed his violence and unpredictability when he slew his music tutor, Linus. As a young man he was sent to tend the herds of Amphitryon on Mount Cithaeron, where he killed a marauding lion and thus proved his skill and bravery. When he returned to Thebes, he married Megara, daughter of King Creon, but unwittingly murdered their children in a fit of madness brought on by Hera.

In penance, Heracles was obliged to undertake the famous twelve labors, during which he also performed many other exploits. These included subduing the giant Antaeus and the monster Cacus; setting up the Pillars of Hercules at the limits of the known world; establishing the Olympic Games; engaging in a battle with Pholus and other centaurs that resulted in the wounding and eventual death of the wise centaur Chiron. He also rescued Alcestis from Hades; sailed with the Argonauts; sacked the city of Troy after its king, Laomedon, had refused payment for the rescue of his daughter; and fought

at the side of the Olympians against the insurgent Giants.

After completing the labors, Heracles married Deianeira of Calydon, but later fell in love with Iole, a daughter of King Eurystus of Oechalia. For killing her brother, he was sold into slavery to Queen Omphale of Lydia for a year. His painful death, brought about by his romantic entanglement with both Iole and Deianeira, was followed by his ascension to Olympus, reconciliation with Hera, and marriage to her daughter Hebe.

Heracles has been portrayed as both a hero and a god, a dual role that was debated by scholars as early as the fifth century BCE, when the historian Herodotus identified the divine and mortal Heracles as two different figures. He was worshiped throughout Greece, especially among the Dorians. In Rome he was said to have abolished human sacrifice among the Sabines. Evander, the legendary founder of Rome, was said to have especially revered Hercules as a god.

So complex were the legends surrounding Heracles that Aristotle commented on the difficulty of writing a unified epic or tragedy about him. However, Euripides and Sophocles did produce enduring tragedies centering on his death, and Aristophanes and other comic poets successfully celebrated the hero's human foibles. Moralists and philosophers concentrated on the unselfish fortitude that allowed him to labor for the good of man and achieve immortality through his virtue.

A popular figure in classical art, Heracles was often depicted with a lion-skin cloak, club, and bow. His image was common not only in vase painting and the minor arts, but also in monumental sculpture; the metopes of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia (c.460 BCE) take the twelve labors as their theme. In the postclassical arts Heracles is often an allegorical figure, representing strength and courage against moral evils. Athena (Minerva), as goddess of wisdom and virtue, is his especial protector. In the Middle Ages the hero's rescue of Alcestis and his apotheosis were sometimes interpreted as linking him with Christ.

A sidelight on the theme is that of the "Gallic Heracles." Lucian claimed to have seen in Gaul a picture of Heracles dragging his followers by delicate chains of gold and amber fastened to their ears and to his pierced tongue. This image became an allegory of eloquence, reflecting a French claim to Herculean origins. In Alciati's *Emblemata* (1534) Heracles is depicted as "Typus Eloquentiae."

**Classical Sources.** Homer, *Iliad* 8.366–69, 19.96–133; *Odyssey* 11.602–27. Hesiod, *Shield of Heracles* 57–480. *Homeric Hymns*, "To Heracles." Epicharmus, *Heracles with Pholus*;

*Heracles' Voyage to the Sword-Belt of Hippolyta* (fragment); *The Marriage of Hebe*. Herodotus, *Heracles*; *History* 2.44. Sophocles, *The Women of Trachis*; *Heracles*. Euripides, *Heracles*. *Orphic Hymns* 12, "To Heracles." Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 1.21ff. Theocritus, *Idylls* 24, 25. Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca* 4. Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 4.8–8.1. Seneca, *Hercules furens*, *Hercules oetaeus*. Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 5.5.10. Hyginus, *Fabulae* 29–36. Lucian, *Heracles*; *Dialogues of the Dead* 11, "Diogenes and Heracles," 15, "Zeus, Asclepius, and Heracles."

**Further Reference.** Karl Galinsky, *The Heracles Theme: The Adaptations of the Hero in Literature from Homer to the Twentieth Century* (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1972).

Listings are arranged under the following headings:

- General List
- Birth of Heracles
- Infant Heracles and the Serpents
- Choice of Heracles
- Madness of Heracles
- Pillars of Heracles
- Heracles and Cacus
- Heracles and Antaeus
- Heracles and Deianeira
- Heracles and Iole
- Heracles and Omphale
- Death of Heracles
- Apotheosis

See also HERACLES, LABORS OF; also ALCESTIS; JASON, and the Argonauts; LAOMEDON; ODYSSEUS, in Hades; PIRITHOUS, Wedding; PROMETHEUS, Freed; THESEUS, and the Amazons; TITANS AND GIANTS.

## General List

**Anonymous French.** (Hercules' career treated in) *L'histoire ancienne jusqu'à César* [Ancient History to Caesar] folios ending with 123c (Paris MS). Prose history. Dictated to Roger de Lille, 1208–30. MSS in Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, f. fr. 20125; Morgan Library, New York, MS 212; elsewhere. [Singerman 1986, p. 155]

**Anonymous French.** (Adventures of Hercules in) *Ovide moralisé* 9.1–1028. Poem, allegorized translation/elaboration of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. c.1316–28. [de Boer 1915–86, vol. 3]

**John Gower**, 1330?–1408. (Hercules presented in) *Confessio amantis* 5.1082–1102. Poem. c.1390. Westminster: Caxton, 1483. [Macauley 1899–1902, vol. 2]

**Coluccio Salutati**, 1331–1406. *De laboribus Hercules* [Of Heracles' Labors] (and other episodes). Poem, with moralizations. c.1406. Modern edition by B. L. Ullman (Zürich: Artemis, 1951). [DELI 1966–70, 5:26 / Trousson 1962, p. 86 / Galinsky 1972, pp. 196f., 226]

**Raoul Lefèvre**, fl. c.1454–67. "Les prouesses et vaillances du preux Hercules" [The Deeds and Bravery of Gallant Hercules]. Last 6 chapters of Book 1 and entire Book 2 of *Le recueil des hystoires de Troyes*. Prose romance. 1464. / English translation by William Caxton as *The Recuyell of the Historie of Troye* (Bruges: Mansion, c.1474). / Modern edition (of original French) by Marc Aeschbach

- (Bern & New York: Lang, 1987). [DLF 1951-72, 1:459 / Galinsky 1972, pp. 191-94, 225]
- Piero della Francesca**, 1410/12-1492. "Hercules." Fresco (detached, fragment). **c.1464-70**. Gardner Museum, Boston, no. P1517. [Hendy 1974, p. 188-ill.]
- Cristoforo Landino**, 1424-1504. (Hercules epitomizes the *vita activa* in) *Landini quaestiones camaldulenses*. . . . Dialogues. Florence: **c.1470**. [Goldscheider 1951, p. 43]
- Paolo di Stefano Badaloni**, 1397-1478. "Labors [Deeds] of Hercules." Painting, depicting Hercules fighting the Ceryneian Hind, Anteus, and a centaur, in one composition. Metropolitan Museum, New York, no. 1971.115.4. [Metropolitan 1980, p. 139-ill.]
- Antonio del Pollaiuolo**, 1432/33-1498. "Hercules." Bronze statuette. Before **c.1475-80?** Frick Collection, New York, no. 16.2.5. [Frick 1968-70, 3:22f.-ill. / also Ertlinger 1978, no. 17-ill.]
- , attributed. "Hercules" (with head of Nemean lion). Bronze statuette. Bode Museum, Berlin. [Ertlinger, no. 16-ill.]
- Bertoldo di Giovanni**, **c.1420-1491**, attributed (executed by studio after Bertoldo's design?). "Hercules." Bronze statuette. Frick Collection, New York, no. 16.2.4. [Frick 1968-70, 3:43f.-ill.]
- , attributed. "Hercules." Bronze statuette. Frederiks coll., The Hague. [Ibid. / Pope-Hennessy 1985b, 2:303]
- , attributed. "Hercules on Horseback." Bronze statuette. Pinacoteca Estense, Modena. [Pope-Hennessy]
- Michelangelo**, 1475-1564. "Hercules." Marble statue. **c.1492-93**. Lost. [Baldini 1982, no. 6 / Goldscheider 1964, p. 223] Terra-cotta model, attributed to Michelangelo. Casa Buonarroti, Florence. [Baldini, no. 55-ill.]
- . "Hercules" (or Samson?). Clay sketch model, for unexecuted statue. **c.1525**. Casa Buonarroti. [Baldini, no. 39-ill. / cf. Pope-Hennessy 1985b, 3:34, 48-ill.]
- Bartolommeo Bellano**, **c.1440-1496/97**. (Hercules in) "The Mountain of Hell." Bronze statuette. Victoria and Albert Museum, London. [Pope-Hennessy 1985b, 2:85, 331]
- Albrecht Dürer**, 1471-1528. "Hercules" (Gallicus?). Engraving (Bartsch no. 73). **1498**. [Wind 1938-39, pp. 209ff.-ill. / Hallowell 1962, p. 249 / Strauss 1977b, no. 24 (as "Hercules at the Crossroads" or "Jealousy")—ill. / also Galinsky 1972, pl. 12]
- . "Venus, Cupid, and Hercules." Drawing. 1506? British Museum, no. 5218/130. [Strauss 1974, no. 1506/58-ill.]
- , studio, under Dürer's direction (previously attributed to Lucas van Leiden). Series of drawings, depicting deeds of Hercules, designs for series of medals (unlocated). 1510-II. Formerly Kunsthalle, Bremen, lost. [Ibid., nos. 1511/21-32-ill.]
- , previously attributed (Hans von Kulmbach?). "Hercules Clubbing a Dragon." Drawing. 1495-96. Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin. [Ibid., no. XW.156-ill.]
- Antico**, **c.1460-1528**. Set of bronze medallions representing deeds of Hercules. 5 known, possibly others? **c.1500?** 2 ("Hercules Strangling the Serpents," "Hercules and the Erymanthian Boar") in Victoria and Albert Museum, London. [Louvre 1975, no. 61]
- . "Hercules with a Club." Bronze sculpture. **c.1519?** Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. [Ibid., no. 53]
- Desiderius Erasmus**, 1466-1536. (Gallic Hercules evoked in) *Adagia (Chiliades adagiorum)*. Compendium of adages. First published **1506**; revised and expanded, published Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1508. [Galinsky 1972, p. 223 / Hallowell 1962, p. 247]
- Baldassare Peruzzi**, 1481-1536. Cycle of grisaille frescoes depicting the deeds of Hercules. **1508-09**. Castello, Ostia Antica. [Frommel 1967-68, no. 17-ill.]
- Lazzaro Bastiani**, **c.1425-1512**. "Hercules with Flock and Hounds." Painting. Late work. Museo Civico, Padua, no. 1705. [Berenson 1957, p. 26]
- Jean Lemaire de Belges**, **c.1473-1515/25**. (Gallic Hercules seen as ancestor of Charlemagne in) *Illustrations de Gaule et singularitez de Troye* 2.469, 462. Poem. Paris: Marnef, **1512**. [Hallowell 1962, p. 244]
- Guillaume Budé**, 1468-1540. (Story of Hercules the Eloquent [Gallic Hercules] in) *Le livre de l'institution du prince* chapter 14. Collection of apothegms, after Lucian. **c.1519**. Paris: Foucher, 1547. [Galinsky 1972, p. 223 / Hallowell 1962, pp. 247]
- Florentine School**. "Hercules and Triton." "Hercules in Repose." Bronze statuettes. **c.1500-20**. "Triton," Bode-museum, Berlin, in 1907; "Repose," 2 examples known, Frick Collection, New York, no. 16.2.9; Scheufelen coll., Oberleuningen. [Frick 1968-70, 3:48f.-ill.]
- Franciabigio**, 1482-1525. "The Temple of Hercules." Painting. **c.1516-20?** Uffizi, Florence, inv. 1600. [Uffizi 1979, no. P629-ill. / Berenson 1963, p. 65]
- Raphael**, 1483-1520, school. "Gallic Hercules." Drawing. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. [Pigler 1974, p. 490]
- Francesco da Sant'Agata**, fl. 1491-1528. "Hercules." Boxwood statuette. **1520**. Wallace Collection, London, no. S.273. [Clapp 1970, 1:313]
- Rosso Fiorentino**, 1494-1540, composition. "The Labors and Adventures of Hercules." 6 engravings, executed by Gian Jacopo Caraglio (Bartsch nos. 44-49). **1524**. Original designs lost. [Carroll 1987, nos. 9-14-ill.; cf. nos. 15-16]
- , and assistants. (Hercules [?]) in "Elephant *fleur-delysée*." Fresco. 1535-40; repainted/restored 18th, 19th centuries and 1961-66. Galerie François I, Château de Fontainebleau. [Ibid., no. 83-ill.]
- , composition. "Figure Costumed as Hercules." **c.1539**. Anonymous engraving (Bartsch no. 103). (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.) [Ibid., no. 107-ill.]
- Albrecht Altdorfer**, **c.1480-1538**. "Hercules and the Muse." Engraving (Bartsch no. 28). **c.1520-25**. [Winzinger 1963, no. 160-ill.]
- Geofroy Tory**, **c.1480-1529**. (Gallic Heracles in) *Champ-fleury* fol. 6. Translation of Lucian's *Heracles*. Paris: **1529**. [Galinsky 1972, p. 223 / Hallowell 1962, pp. 244, 247f.]
- Giulio Romano**, **c.1499-1546**, assistants, after designs by Giulio. Hercules depicted in frescoes and stuccoes in Sala dei Cavalli, Sala delle Aquile and Sala degli Stucchi, Palazzo del Tè, Mantua. **1527-30**. [Verheyen 1977, pp. 115, 121, 123f. / also Hartt 1958, pp. 112ff., figs. 181-86]
- Agnolo Bronzino**, 1503-1572, attributed (and others?). Fresco decorations for Sala delle Fatiche di Ercole, Villa Imperiale, Pesaro. **1530-32**. In place. [Baccheschi 1973, no. 14-ill.]
- Marcantonio Raimondi**, **c.1480-1527/34**. "Hercules."

- Engraving (Bartsch no. 256), after design by Francesco Francia? [Bartsch 1978, 26:251—ill.]
- . “The Labors of Hercules.” Cycle of engravings (Bartsch nos. 289–92). 4 known: “Hercules Killing the Centaur Nessus,” “Hercules Killing the Nemean Lion,” “Hercules Killing Achelous, Transformed into a Bull,” “Hercules Killing Antaeus.” [Ibid., 26:277–80—ill.]
- Dosso Dossi**, c.1479–1542. “Allegory of Hercules” (“Bambocciata”) (allegory addressed to Ercole II d’Este, related to choice of Hercules, with references to the story of Hercules and Omphale). Painting. **Mid-1530s**. Uffizi, Florence. [Gibbons 1968, pp. 98ff., no. 22—ill. / also Uffizi 1979, no. P552—ill.]
- Camelio**, c.1455/60–1537 (formerly attributed to Francesco da Sant’Agata). “Hercules.” Bronze statuette. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. [Frick 1968–70, 3:164] Variant copy, in wood, by Francesco da Sant’Agata, in Wallace Collection, London. [Ibid.]
- Lucas Cranach**, 1472–1553, studio. “The Labors of Hercules.” Painting cycle, depicting deeds and labors of Hercules. **After 1537**. 7 extant (Choice, Hydra, Stag, Atlas, Hesperides, Geryon, Nessus). Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig, nos. 712–718. [Braunschweig 1969, pp. 47f. / Friedländer & Rosenberg 1978, no. 408A]
- Lilio Gregorio Giraldi**, c.1479–1552. *Vita Herculis*. Prose work. **1539**. In *Opera*, vol. 1 (Leiden: 1696). [Galinsky 1972, pp. 201, 227]
- Agostino Veneziano**, 1490–1540. “Young Hercules.” Engraving (Bartsch 14:209 no. 261), after design by Baccio Bandinelli? [Bartsch 1978, 26:254—ill.]
- Maerten van Heemskerck**, 1498–1574. Hercules and the Hydra, Antaeus, Gadean Pillars, Nessus, in 4 paintings in “Gods and Heroes from Mythology and the Old Testament” series. c.1545. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, inv. 60.50b-d; Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. A3513 (“Nessus”). [Grosshans 1980, no. 30h—ill. / also Rijksmuseum 1976, p. 265—ill.]
- Francesco Primaticcio**, 1504–1570, design. “Hercules, Bacchus, Pan, and Saturn.” Ceiling fresco, in Galerie d’Ulysse, Château de Fontainebleau. **1541–47**. Destroyed 1738–39. / Engraved by Giorgio Ghisi. [Béguin et al. 1985, p. 143—ill. / also Dimier 1900, pp. 295ff., no. 63]
- . “Reclining Hercules.” Fresco, for Salle de Bal, Château de Fontainebleau, executed by Niccolò dell’Abbate under Primaticcio’s direction. 1551–56. Repainted 19th century. [Dimier, pp. 160ff., 284ff.]
- Pierre de Ronsard**, 1524–1585. “Les bacchanales, ou, Le folastrissime voyage d’Hercueil” [The Bacchanales, or, The Frolicsome Voyage of Hercules]. Ode. **1549**. In *Les amours* (Paris: Buon, 1552). [Laumonier 1914–75, vol. 3 / DLLF 1984, 3:2013 / Cave 1973, p. 77, 347]
- . (Gallic Hercules evoked in) “Ode à Jean D’Orat.” Poem. In *Le premier livre des odes* (Paris: Buon, 1550). [Laumonier, vol. 1 / Hollowell 1962, pp. 250f.]
- . (Hercules evoked as putative ancestor of the French in) “La Harangue que fist Monseigneur le Duc de Guise aux soldats de Mets” [The Harangue Delivered by the Duc de Guise to His Soldiers at Metz]. Poem, hymn. In *Le cinquième livre des odes* (Paris: 1553). [Laumonier, vol. 5 / Trousson 1962, pp. 80–83]
- . (The King likened to Gallic Hercules in) “Hymn du treschrestien Roy de France Henri II.” Poem. 1555. [Laumonier, vol. 8]
- . “L’hymne de l’Hercule chrestien” [Hymn of the Christian Hercules]. Poem, hymn. In *Le second livre des hymnes* (Paris: Wechel, 1555). [Laumonier / Silver 1985, pp. 269ff. / Cave, pp. 154f., 242f. / Trousson, pp. 86f. / Galinsky 1972, pp. 203ff.]
- . (Gallic Hercules evoked in) “Hymne du tresilustre Prince Charles Cardinal de Lorraine.” Poem. 1559. [Laumonier / Hollowell, pp. 252–55]
- . (Gallic Hercules evoked in) “Panegyrique de la renommé.” Poem, dedicated to Henri III. Paris: 1579. [Laumonier, vol. 3 / Hollowell, p. 250 / Galinsky, p. 230 n.69]
- Bartolommeo Ammannati**, 1511–1592. “Hercules.” Colossal statue. Before **1550**. Palazzo Mantova Benavides, Padua. [Pope-Hennessy 1985b, 3:372]
- . “Hercules.” Drawing. Louvre, Paris. [Warburg]
- Giovanni Bernardi**, 1496–1553, and **Manno di Bastiano**, design. Statuettes representing Hercules resting, Hercules with the apples of the Hesperides, infant Hercules, dying Hercules, on “The Farnese Coffin.” Silver gilt coffin. Executed by another, 1548–61. Museo di Capodimonte, Naples, no. 10507. [Capodimonte 1964, p. 129]
- Andrea Schiavone**, c.1522–1563. “Hercules” (?). Etching. c.1550–55. [Richardson 1980, no. 126—ill.]
- Frans Floris**, 1516/20–1570. “The Labors of Hercules.” Cycle of 10 paintings. **1554–55**. All but “Hercules and Antaeus” lost since 1768. [de Bosque 1985, p. 55—ill.]
- Giovanni Battista Giraldi Cinthio**, 1504–1573. *Ercole*. Epic poem. 26 cantos completed, unfinished. Modena: Galdardini, **1557**. [DELI 1966–70, 3:133 / Giamatti 1966, p. 180]
- Giorgio Vasari**, 1511–1574, and assistants. Cycle of ceiling paintings depicting the deeds of Hercules. **1557**. Sala di Ercole, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence. [Sinibaldi 1950, pp. 13, 23 / also Lensi 1929, pp. 154ff., 163f.—ill. / Barocchi 1964, pp. 38ff., 147, 316—ill.]
- Jan Swart van Groningen**, c.1500?–1535/60. Drawing. Printroom, Berlin, cat. 1930 no. 10346. [Warburg]
- Baccio Bandinelli**, 1493–1560. “Hercules.” Bronze statuette. Museo del Bargello, Florence. [Pope-Hennessy 1985b, 3:99—ill.]
- Vincenzo de’ Rossi**, 1525–1587. “Labors of Hercules.” Series of marble sculpture groups (12 ordered, 7 executed). c.1568. 6 (including Hercules and Antaeus, Nessus [or another centaur?], Cacus) in Salone dei Cinquecento, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence; 1 (“Hercules Holding Up the World”) on Poggio Imperiale, Florence. [Lensi 1929, pp. 224f. / also Pigler 1974, pp. 112, 113, 128 / Pope-Hennessy 1985b, 3:49, 54—ill.]
- Juan de Mal Lara**, 1527–1571. Moralistic poem, compiling ancient accounts of 17 labors of Hercules. Lost. [Galinsky 1972, pp. 201, 227 n.30]
- Jacopo Bertolio**, 1544–1574. “Hercules.” Painting. Christ Church, Oxford. [Byam Shaw 1967, no. 169—ill.]
- Paolo Veronese**, 1528–1588. “Venice with Hercules and Neptune,” “Venice Receives the Homage of Hercules and Ceres.” Paintings, for Palazzo Ducale, Venice. **1575–78**. Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 105; Accademia, Venice, inv. 749. [Pallucchini 1984, nos. 144, 164—ill. / Pignatti 1976, nos. 204–05—ill.]
- . (Hercules as Strength in) “Allegory of Wisdom

- and Strength" ("Hercules and Omphale"?). Painting. c.1578–80. Frick Collection, New York, no. 12.1.128. [Pal-luchini, pp. 127ff., no. 174—ill. / Pignatti, no. 243—ill. / Frick 1968–70, 2:272f.—ill.] Study. Draper coll., Miami. [Pignatti, no. 244—ill.] 5 further versions known: Schönborn coll., Pommersfelden; De Young Museum, San Francisco; others unlocated. [Frick] Copy by Carletto Caliarì, in Rhode Island School of Design, Providence. [Ibid.]
- Derick Gerarde**, fl. 1540–80. *Le forze d'Hercule* [The Powers of Hercules]. Instrumental composition. [Grove 1980, 7:246]
- Giambologna**, 1529–1608. "Hercules with a Club." Bronze statuette. c.1580? Museo del Bargello, Florence, no. 362; Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich, no. R.3240; elsewhere. [Avery 1987, no. 79—ill. / also Avery & Radcliffe 1978, no. 90 (as attributed)—ill. / Florence 1986, p. 65—ill.]
- with **Pietro Francavilla**, 1546/53–1615. "Hercules Slaying a Centaur." Marble sculpture. 1595–1600. Loggia dei Lanzi, Florence. [Avery, no. 20—ill. / Pope-Hennessy 1985b, 3:388f.—ill.] Wax model. Victoria and Albert Museum, London. [Pope-Hennessy] Bronze replicas/variants, by Giambologna and/or studio. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, nos. 5834, 6030; Museo del Bargello, Florence; elsewhere. [Avery & Radcliffe, nos. 81–82—ill. (cf. nos. 227–28) / also Avery, nos. 74–75—ill. (cf. nos. 194–95)]
- Philip Sidney**, 1554–1586. (Gallic Hercules evoked as an orator in) Sonnet 58 of *Astrophil and Stella*. Sonnet sequence. 1581–83. London: Newman, 1591 (pirated). [Ringler 1962]
- Annibale Fontana**, ?–1587. "The Labors [deeds] of Hercules." Series of engraved crystals, decorating a casket. Broken up and dispersed. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna ("Hercules with Nessus and Deianeira"); Metropolitan Museum, New York ("Hercules and the Centaur," "Hercules and Cacus[?]",); Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore ("Hercules and the Hydra," "Hercules and Geryon[?]", "Hercules and Cerberus"); others unlocated. [Montagu 1985, pp. 8, 237 n.32—ill.]
- Hendrik Goltzius**, 1558–1617. "The Large Hercules." Engraving. 1589. 2 states. [Strauss 1977a, no. 283—ill. / Bartsch 1980–82, no. 142—ill.]
- Annibale Carracci**, 1560–1609, **Ludovico Carracci**, 1555–1619, and **Agostino Carracci**, 1557–1602. Cycle of frescos depicting the deeds of Hercules. c.1593–94. Palazzo Sampieri (Talon), Bologna. [Malafarina 1976, p. 103, nos. 73–74—ill. / Ostrow 1966, no. I/15]
- (Annibale). Fresco cycle, depicting scenes from the life of Hercules: Hercules bearing the globe, resting after his labors, defeating the Nemean Lion, the Hydra, Antaeus, and Cerberus, strangling the serpents, and Hercules' death; also a ceiling canvas depicting Hercules at the crossroads. 1595–97. Camerino, Palazzo Farnese, Rome. ("Crossroads" now in Gallerie Nazionali di Capodimonte, Naples, replaced by a copy.) [Malafarina, nos. 86, 87a–h—ill. / Martin, pp. 24ff., 27ff.—ill.]
- , follower (Pietro Faccini?). "Hercules." Painting. Galleria Comunale, Bologna. [Malafarina, no. 148—ill.]
- Cavaliere d'Arpino**, 1568–1640. Cycle of 10 lunette frescoes depicting scenes from the life of Hercules. 1594–95. Loggia Orsini, Palazzo del Sodalizio dei Piceni, Rome. [Röttgen 1969, pp. 279ff., 285—ill.]
- William Shakespeare**, 1564–1616. (Hercules represented in Pageant of the Nine Worthies, in) *Love's Labor's Lost* 5.2.587–94. Comedy. c.1594–95, revised for Court performance, Christmas 1597, London. Published London: 1598 (and possibly earlier); collected in First Folio, London: Jaggard, 1623. [Riverside 1974]
- (Antony conceives himself as a Hercules-figure in) *Antony and Cleopatra*, passim and 4.12.43–47 (allusion to shirt of Nessus). Tragedy. 1606–07? Stationers' Register 20 May 1608. No recorded performance in Shakespeare's lifetime. Published London: Jaggard, 1623 (First Folio). [Riverside / Bono 1984, pp. 153ff. / Galinsky 1972, p. 151 n.25]
- Edmund Spenser**, 1552?–1599. (Hercules evoked as a champion of justice in) *The Faerie Queene* 5.1.2–3. Romance epic. London: 1596. [Hamilton 1977 / Galinsky 1972, pp. 208–12]
- Toussaint Dubreuil**, c.1561–1602, with **Ruggiero de Ruggieri**, ?–1596–97. "History of Hercules." Cycle of paintings, in Pavillon des Poëles, Château de Fontainebleau. Destroyed 1750. [Paris 1972, p. 482, nos. 103–04—ill. (drawings)]
- (Dubreuil), attributed (or circle of Primaticcio?). "Jupiter Hurling a Thunderbolt between Combatants" (Apollo and Hercules?). Drawing. Private coll., Paris. [Ibid., no. 98—ill.]
- Matthäus Greuter**, 1564–1638, design. (Gallic Hercules depicted in) "Misticus Tri-Hercules." Decoration on triumphal arch, for entry of Marie de' Medici into Antwerp, 1600. [Hallowell 1962, p. 249]
- Ludwig Munsterman**, c.1575–1638. "Hercules." Sandstone head. c.1600. Focke-Museum, Bremen. [Clapp 1970, 1:654]
- Ben Jonson**, 1572–1637. (Hercules evoked in) "And must I sing?" Poem. First published in Robert Chester's *Love Martyr* (London: 1601); reprinted as no. 10 of *The Forrest*, in *Works* (London: 1616). [Herford & Simpson 1932–50, vol. 8]
- Agostino Carracci**, 1557–1602. "Hercules." Drawing. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. [Warburg]
- Thomas Heywood**, 1573/74–1641. (Hercules in) *Troia Britannica*: or, *Great Brittaines Troy* cantos 6–7. Epic poem. London: 1609. [Heywood 1974]
- (Hercules in) *The Silver Age, The Brazen Age*. Dramas, derived from *Troia Britannica*. First performed c.1610–13, London. Published London: Okes, 1613. [Heywood 1874, vol. 3 / DLB 1987, 62:101, 122ff. / also Boas 1950, pp. 83ff. / Clark 1931, pp. 62ff.]
- Peter Paul Rubens**, 1577–1640. "Head of Hercules." Painting. c.1611. Kainde coll., Wrexham. [Jaffé 1989, no. 151—ill.]
- "Hercules Drunk" ("The Effects of Vice"). Painting. 1613–14. Gemäldegalerie, Dresden, on deposit in Schloss Pillnitz. [Ibid., no. 215—ill. / also White 1987, pl. 81 / Galinsky 1972, pl. 5] Replica. c.1615. Gemäldegalerie, Dresden. [Jaffé, no. 308—ill.]
- "Hercules as Victor over Discord" (formerly called "Hercules Triumphant over Hippolyta," "Hercules Conquering Antaeus"). Painting, oil sketch. c.1620. Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, on loan from Dienst voor 's Rijks Verspreide Kunstvoorwerpen, no. 2673 (2297). [Held 1980, no. 243—ill. / Jaffé, no. 550—ill.] 2 further

- versions of the subject known: in ornamental border of painting "Portrait of Charles de Longueval," 1621, Hermitage, Leningrad. Drawing, c.1628, British Museum, London, inv. 1900.8.24.138. [Burchard & d'Hulst 1963, no. 188—ill.]
- . (Hercules in) "The Apotheosis of Henri IV and the Assumption of the Regency by Marie de' Medici." Painting, part of "Life of Marie de' Medici" cycle. 1622–25. Louvre, Paris, inv. 1779. [Saward 1982, pp. 98ff.—ill. / Jaffé, no. 735—ill. / also Louvre 1979–86, 1:117—ill. / White, pl. 188] Oil sketches. Hermitage, Leningrad; Alte Pinakothek, Munich, inv. 102. [Jaffé, no. 733–34—ill. / also Munich 1983, pp. 463, 467—ill. / Held, nos. 69–70—ill.]
- . "Heroic Virtue (Hercules) Overcoming Discord [or Envy]." Ceiling painting, for Banqueting House, Whitehall, London. c.1632–34. In place. [Jaffé, no. 1018—ill. / White, pl. 276] Oil sketch. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, inv. 47.1543. [Held, no. 141—ill.; cf. no. 133 / Jaffé, no. 1017—ill. / Boston 1985, p. 253—ill. / Baudouin 1977, fig. 133]
- . "Hercules and Minerva Fighting Mars." 2 oil sketches and a gouache, early pensées for "The Horrors of War" (c.1637–38, Pitti, Florence). c.1634–35. Speelman & Co., London; Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, no. 253, on loan to Dienst voor 's Rijks Verspreide Kunstvoorwerpen (without Hercules); Louvre, Paris (gouache). [Held, nos. 244, 253—ill. / Jaffé, nos. 1113–14—ill. / White, pl. 255 / also Baudouin, fig. 121, pl. 62 / Burchard & d'Hulst 1963, no. 169—ill.]
- . Series of paintings depicting episodes from the life of Hercules, part of decoration of Torre de la Parada, El Pardo, executed by assistants after Rubens's designs. 1636–38. Scenes depicted: Infant Hercules suckled by Juno, the labors of the Hydra and Cerberus, the rape of Deianeira, Hercules' apotheosis, and the discovery of Tyrian purple. 2 in Prado, Madrid; others lost. [Alpers 1971, nos. 16, 28–31, 42—ill. / Jaffé, nos. 1258, 1277, 1279, 1281, 1283, 1293—ill.] Oil sketches. Courtauld Institute, London ("Hydra"); Prado ("Cerberus"); Musée Bonnat, Bayonne ("Tyrian purple"); Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels ("Apotheosis," "Juno"). [Alpers—ill. / Held 1980, nos. 183, 192–95, 200—ill. / Jaffé, nos. 1276, 1278, 1280, 1282, 1292—ill.]
- . Series of paintings on deeds of Hercules projected, partially completed (?), cited in 1686 inventory of Palacio Real, Madrid; possibly related to decoration of Torre de la Parada. 1630s. [Alpers, pp. 274ff.]
- . "The Labors of Hercules." Sheet of drawings depicting several of Hercules' exploits, some related to paintings of specific subjects. British Museum, London, inv. 1897.6.15.12. [Burchard & d'Hulst 1963, no. 190—ill.]
- Jean Prévost**, c.1580–1622. *Hercule*. Tragedy. In *Les secondes oeuvres poetiques et tragiques* (Poitiers: Thoreau, 1613). [Daemmrich 1987, p. 134]
- Pierre Mainfray**, c.1580–1630? *Tragédie des forces incompatibles et amours du grand Hercule*. Tragedy. Troyes: Girardon, 1616. [DLLF 1984, 2:1360]
- Denys Calvaert**, 1540–1619. "Hercules." Drawing. Uffizi, Florence, inv. no. 12241. [Warburg]
- Guido Reni**, 1575–1642. "The Feats of Hercules." Painting cycle, allegorical representation of the "Power and Triumph of the Gonzaga," depicting Hercules and the Hydra, Hercules and Achelous, the rape of Deianeira, and Hercules on the pyre. 1617–21. Louvre, Paris, nos. 535–38. [Pepper 1984, nos. 68–71—ill. / Louvre 1979–86, 2:226—ill. / Gnudi & Cavalli 1955, nos. 42–45—ill.]
- Artemisia Gentileschi**, 1593–1652/53. "Hercules." Painting. By c.1618–23. Documented in Medici collection, Florence, in 1681, lost. [Garrard 1989, p. 51]
- Otto van Veen**, 1556–1629, composition. "Alessandro Farnese as Hercules Guided by Religion." Engraving, executed by Ghisbert van Veen. [Martin 1972, p. 211—ill.]
- Jusepe de Ribera**, c.1590/91–1652. "Hercules Resting." Painting. c.1630. (Previously considered lost; seen by Prof. Craig Felton, Smith College, in an English private coll. in 1988.) [Personal communication to the author] / Drawing for. Cauchi coll., Rabat, Malta. [López Torrijos 1985, p. 408 nos. 64–65—ill. / also Brown 1973, no. 22—ill. / Fort Worth 1982, fig. 85] / School copy (Francesco Fracanzano?). Louvre, Paris (inv. 940), on loan to Musée Goya, Castres. [Spinosa 1978, no. 229—ill. / Louvre 1979–86, 2:130]
- Pieter Lastman**, c.1583–1633. "Hercules and Minerva." Painting. Dienst Verspreide Rijkscollecties, The Hague, inv. NK1830. [Pigler 1974, p. 118 / Wright 1980, p. 232]
- Francisco Zurbarán**, 1598–1664. "The Labors of Hercules." Cycle of 10 paintings, for Salón de Reinos, Buen Retiro, Madrid, depicting episodes from the life of Hercules. c.1634. Prado, Madrid, nos. 1241–50. [López Torrijos 1985, pp. 141ff., 406 nos. 3–12—ill. / Prado 1985, p. 790]
- Pietro da Cortona**, 1596–1669. (Hercules, killing a harpy, in) "The Triumph of Divine Providence. . . ." Fresco. 1633–39. Palazzo Barberini, Rome. [Briganti 1962, no. 45—ill.]
- . Hercules as guide to a Medici prince [Cosimo I?], in a cycle of 5 ceiling frescoes. 1641–47 (2 completed 1659–65 by Ciro Ferri). Planetary Rooms, Palazzo Pitti, Florence. [Campbell 1977, pp. 91ff., 111ff., 123ff., 130ff., 144ff., figs. 27, 60, 89, 96, 117 / Pitti 1966, pp. 30–97 passim—ill. / Briganti, nos. 85, 95–97—ill.]
- Ottavio Stelli**, ?–1642. (Hercules as Dauphin in) *La sincerità trionfante, ovvero, L'Erculeo ardire* [Sincerity Triumphant, or, Bold Hercules]. Opera (dramma boscareccio). First performed Jan 1639, Palazzo Farnese, Rome. [Grove 1980, 3:866]
- Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla**, 1607–1648. *Hércules*. Auto sacramental. First performed 1639, Madrid. [McGraw-Hill 1984, 4:229]
- Domenichino**, 1581–1641, doubtfully attributed (actually by P. P. Bonzi?). "Landscape with Hercules Seated." Painting. Pinacoteca Capitolina, Rome. [Spear 1982, p. 318]
- Nicolas Poussin**, 1594–1665. Series of drawings depicting the labors and other scenes from the life of Hercules, designs for (largely unexecuted, destroyed) decoration of the Long Gallery, Louvre, Paris. 1640–42. Surviving original drawings: Musée Bonnat, Bayonne, no. 48 (6 scenes on single sheet); Louvre, Paris, no. 129 (14 scenes on single sheet); Royal Library, Windsor Castle, no. 11920 (Hercules and Theseus fighting the Amazons). Others known from copies and engravings. Drawings (copies) in Louvre; Windsor; Hermitage, Leningrad; Prado, Madrid; private colls., London and Paris. [Friedlaender & Blunt 1953, p. 11, nos. 241–43, A71–122—ill.]
- . "Hercules." Design and wax model for 2 marble terms (1 also called "Vertumnus"). 1655–56. Marbles executed by Jean-Baptiste Théodon, by 1661. Quinconce

- du Nord, Gardens, Versailles. [Girard 1985, pp. 273ff., 287—ill. / Blunt 1966, nos. 220—21—ill.]
- , formerly attributed. "Hercules Conquering Ignorance and Envy" (?). Painting. Lost. [Thuillier 1974, no. R69—ill. (print)]
- Luiz Vélez de Guevara y Dueñas, 1579—1644.** *El Hércules de Ocaña* [The Hercules of Ocaña]. Comedy. Madrid: 1671. [McGraw-Hill 1984, 5:99]
- Jacob van Campen, 1595—1657.** "Hercules Hauling Cerberus Out of the Underworld," "Hercules Defeating the Centaurs." Paintings, part of a frieze. c.1645. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. A4254, on deposit at Museum Flehite, Amersfoort. [Rijksmuseum 1976, pp. 161f.—ill.]
- Alessandro Algardi, 1598—1654.** Series of stucco reliefs decorating Galleria di Ercole, Villa Belrespiro (now Villa Doria Pamphili). Executed by R. Bolla and G. M. Sorisi from Algardi's designs (some after Annibale Fontana's crystals, see above). 1646. In place. [Montagu 1985, no. A.198—ill.]
- Jacob Jordaens, 1593—1678.** "(Hercules and the Nymphs) Filling the Horn of Plenty" ("Hercules and Achelouis"). Painting. 1649. Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen. [Copenhagen 1951, no. 351—ill. / Rooses 1908, pp. 145ff.—ill.]
- Guercino, 1591—1666.** "Hercules." Painting. 1640s? Private coll., Bologna. [Salerno 1988, no. 345—ill.] Further versions of the subject known, lost. [Ibid.]
- Charles Le Brun, 1619—1690.** Fresco and stucco cycle, depicting the exploits of Hercules, for Hôtel Lambert, Paris. c.1650s. / Drawings for. Louvre, Paris, inv. 27.684, 27.970, 27.712, 28.492, 29.479. [Versailles 1963, nos. 73—74, 76—78—ill.]
- . (Hercules in) "The King Governs by Himself." Ceiling painting. 1678—79. Galerie des Glaces, Versailles. [Berger 1985, pp. 52f.—ill.] This painting is part of a cycle originally intended to depict the deeds of Hercules, but adapted to show Louis XIV performing glorious deeds. Drawing of Le Brun's original design, Cabinet des Dessins, Louvre, Paris, inv. 27.067. [Ibid., p. 54, figs. 94—95]
- Pierre Puget, 1620—1694.** "Standing Hercules" ("Hercules Resting"). Terra-cotta statue. c.1660. Skulpturenabteilung, Staatliche Museen, Berlin-Dahlem, inv. M 256. [Herding 1970, no. 15—ill.]
- . "Hercules Resting" ("Gallic Hercules"). Marble statue. 1663—68. Louvre, Paris, no. N 15.345. [Herding, no. 16—ill.] Early versions/variants, c.1660—63, in *École des Beaux-Arts*, Paris, inv. 1248; Musée de Picardie, Amiens, inv. 981/1; another documented in 1694, untraced. [Ibid., nos. 16a-c—ill.]
- , formerly attributed (questionably attributed to Christophe Veyrier). "Hercules Resting." Marble high relief. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Marseilles, inv. S 191. [Ibid., no. 103]
- , formerly attributed (now attributed to Marc Chabry). "Standing Hercules." Bronzed terra-cotta statuette. Musée Bonnat, Bayonne, no. 404. [Ibid., no. 109]
- , formerly attributed. "Hercules." Bronze bust. Late 18th century. London art market in 1969. [Ibid., no. 141]
- Pier Francesco Cavalli, 1602—1676.** *Ercole amante*. Tragic opera. Libretto, Francesco Buti. 18 ballet entrées by Jean-Baptiste Lully, libretto by Isaac de Benserade. First performed 7 Feb 1662, Tuileries, Paris. [Grove 1980, 4:25f., 29, 32; 11:327 / Baker 1984, p. 433 / Bianconi 1987, p. 239 / Clubb 1968, p. 58 / Palisca 1968, p. 160]
- Francesco Baratta, ?—1666.** "Hercules." Statue, for Zwinger Palace, Dresden. [Bénézit 1976, 1:425]
- Claude-François Vignon, 1633—1703.** "Hercules Overcoming Vice and Ignorance in the Presence of Minerva." Painting (largely ruined). 1667. Louvre, Paris, inv. 8442. [Louvre 1979—86, 4:273—ill.]
- Antonio del Castillo, 1616—1668,** circle. "Two Male Nudes as Hercules." Painting. Museo de Bellas Artes, Cordova. [López Torrijos 1985, p. 408]
- Jean de La Fontaine, 1621—1695.** (Hercules invoked in) "Le chartier enbourbé" [The Carter Stuck in the Mud]. Verse fable (book 6 no. 18). In *Fables choisies* (Paris: 1668). [Clarac & Marmier 1965 / Spector 1988 / Moore 1954]
- Jürgen Ovens, 1623—1678.** "Hercules and Envy." Painting. Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen, inv. 982. [Copenhagen 1951, no. 530—ill.]
- François Girardon, 1628—1715.** "Mars and Hercules." Sculpture relief. 1680—82. Façade, Château de Versailles. [Vermeule 1964, p. 119]
- Antoine Coysevox, 1640—1720.** (Hercules in relief on) "The War Vase." Marble vase. 1684—85. Terrasse, Château de Versailles. [Girard 1985, p. 286—ill.]
- Jean-Baptiste Tubi, 1635—1700.** (Hercules in relief on) "The Peace Vase." Marble vase. 1684—85. Terrasse, Château de Versailles. [Girard 1985, p. 286—ill.]
- Louis Lecomte, 1639—1694.** "Hercules." Marble term. 1684—86. Gardens, Versailles. [Girard 1985, pp. 171, 286—ill.]
- Balthasar Permoser, 1651—1732.** "Fighting Hercules." Wood sculpture. c.1690—95? Rosenborg Slot, Copenhagen. [Asche 1966, no. P19, pl. 29]
- . "Fighting Hercules." Sandstone statue. c.1689—95. Staatliche Museen, Berlin. [Ibid., no. P22, pl. 25]
- , studio (Christian Kurchner?). 4 statues of Hercules. c.1689—95. Grosser Garten, Dresden. [Ibid., p. 335]
- Luca Giordano, 1634—1705.** "The Story of Hercules Related to the Origin of the Order of the Golden Fleece." Ceiling fresco. 1697. Casón del Buen Retiro, Madrid. [López Torrijos 1985, pp. 161ff., 407—ill. / Ferrari & Scavizzi 1966, 2:208f.—ill.]
- . "The History of Hercules." Cycle of 40 frescoes. c.1697. Formerly Buen Retiro, Madrid, destroyed. / Engraved by Giuseppe Castillo and Juan Barcelon, 1779. [Ferrari & Scavizzi, 1:155, 2:278—ill. / also López Torrijos, p. 407 nos. 38—54—ill.]
- . "Hercules Fighting with Mars." Painting. Walter Chrysler, Jr., coll., New York. [Ferrari & Scavizzi, 2:367]
- , attributed. "Hercules." Drawing. Museo di Capodimonte, Naples, no. 184. [Ibid., 2:301]
- , questionably attributed. "Story of Hercules." Drawing. Albertina, Vienna, no. 34195. [Ibid., 2:314]
- Peter Motteux, 1660—1718.** *Hercules*. Masque. Music, John Eccles. First performed May/June 1697, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, with Motteux's *The Novelty*. [Fiske 1973, p. 13 / Grove 1980, 5:820 / Nicoll 1959—66, 1:263, 421]
- Noël Coypel, 1628—1707.** "The Story of Hercules." Painting(s?). 1700. Trianon, Versailles. [Dublin 1985, p. 17]
- Paul Heermann, 1673—1732.** "Hercules." Wood statuette. 1700. Grassimuseum, Leipzig. [Asche 1966, no. H2a, pl. 86]

- Attilio Ariosti**, 1666–1729. *La più gloriosa fatica d'Ercole* [Hercules' Most Glorious Deed]. Opera (poemetto drammatico). Libretto, P. A. Bernadoni. First performed 15 Nov 1703, Vienna. [Grove 1980, 1:584]
- Sebastiano Ricci**, 1659–1734. Series of frescoes depicting the deeds of Hercules. 1706–07. Sala d'Ercole, Palazzo Marucelli-Fenzi, Florence. [Daniels 1976, no. 110—ill.]
- . Cycle of grisaille frescoes, depicting deeds of Hercules, for ceiling in Portland House, London. 1712–13. Destroyed. [Ibid., no. 208—ill.]
- Antonia Bembo**, 1670–? *L'Ercole amante*. Tragic opera. Libretto, after Buti's for Cavalli (1662). 1707. [Cohen 1987, 1:73]
- Francesco Gasparini**, 1668–1727. *L'Alcide, o, Violenza d'amore* [Alcides, or, The Violence of Love]. Opera. First performed 1709, Rome. [Clément & Larousse 1969, 1:28]
- Johann David Heinichen**, 1683–1729. *Hercules*. Opera. First performed c.1709, Leipzig? [Grove 1980, 8:439]
- Gérard de Lairesse**, 1641–1711, follower. Series of 6 grisaille paintings depicting deeds of Hercules: "Hercules in the Garden of the Hesperides," "Hercules Spinning," "Marriage of Hercules and Deianeira," "Hercules Saving Deianeira," "Hercules Strangling Serpents," "Hercules Saving Hesione." Early 18th century. Louvre, Paris, nos. 20769–74. [Louvre 1979–86, 2:378—ill.]
- Giacomo Rossi**, fl. 1710–31, libretto. *Ercole*. Opera-pasticcio. Music, anonymous. First performed May 1712, London. [Grove 1980, 16:214 / Nicoll 1959–66, 2:394]
- Pier Jacopo Martello**, 1665–1727. *Lo starnuto d'Ercole* [The Sneeze of Hercules]. Puppet play. In *Teatro italiano* (Rome: 1715). [DELI 1966–70, 3:153f., 528]
- Johann Philipp Käfer**, 1672–c.1730. *Der durch sein Siegen bezwungene Hercules* [Hercules, Conqueror through His Victories]. Opera. First performed 1716, Durlach. [Grove 1980, 9:766]
- Alberto Carlieri**, 1672–after 1720. "Sacrifice to Hercules." Painting. Gemäldegalerie, Kassel. [Walters 1976, no. 385 n.]
- Jean-Louis Lemoyne**, 1665–1755. "Hercules." Statue. Garden, Palais-Royal, Paris. 1715–23. [Réau 1927, 18, no. 15]
- Jean-François Millet II**, 1666–1723, attributed. "Drunken Hercules with Nymphs and Satyrs" ("The Triumph of Silenus"). Painting. Kress coll. (K1913), Portland Art Museum, Oregon, no. 61.60. [Eisler 1977, pp. 295f.—ill.]
- François Le Moyne**, 1688–1737. "Putti Playing with the Accoutrements of Hercules." Painting. 1721–24. Unlocated. [Bordeaux 1984, no. 41—ill. (print)]
- Gabriel Grupello**, 1644–1730, circle. "Hercules." Wood statuette. 1700/25. Hessisches Landesmuseum, Kassel. [Kultermann 1968, fig. 126 / cf. Düsseldorf 1971, nos. 47–49]
- Giovanni Battista Tiepolo**, 1696–1770. "Hercules 'Gallius' Enchains People by His Tongue" ("Hercules and the Chained Cercopes"). Part of "Allegory of Eloquence" ceiling fresco. c.1725. Palazzo Sandi, Venice. [Levey 1986, pp. 23ff.—ill. / Morassi 1962, p. 60 / Pallucchini 1968, no. 32—ill.] Modello. Courtauld Institute, London. [Levey—ill. / Pallucchini, no. 32a—ill.]
- Johann Franz Michael Rottmayr**, 1654–1730. "Apollo in Laurel Wreath and with Lyre, with the Mares of Admetus, the Muses, and Hercules" (?). Painting. Art Institute of Chicago, no. 61.39. [Chicago 1965]
- James Thomson**, 1700–1748. "The Farnese Hercules," passage in *Liberty* part 4, lines 141ff. Poem. London: Millar, 1735–36. [Larrabee 1943, pp. 78–80]
- John Michael Rysbrack**, 1694–1770. "Hercules." Painted terra-cotta statuette. 1744. Stourhead, Wiltshire. [Jackson-Stops 1985, no. 156—ill.] Full-size marble version. 1747–56. Stourhead. [Ibid.]
- Pedro José Bermúdez de la Torre y Soliér**, 1665–? *Hercules aclamado de Minerva* [Hercules Acclaimed by Minerva]. Poem. Lima: Nueva de la Calle de los Mercaderes, 1745. [Palau y Dulcet 1948–77, 2:186]
- Jean-Marc Nattier**, 1685–1766. "The Duke of Chaulnes as Hercules." Painting. 1746. Louvre, Paris, no. R.F. 2157. [Louvre 1979–86, 4:121—ill.]
- Francesco Solimena**, 1657–1747. "Minerva and Hercules." Painting. Museo di Capodimonte, Naples. [Pigler 1974, p. 119]
- Daniel Dal Barba**, 1715–1801. *Lo starnuto d'Ercole* [The Sneeze of Hercules]. Intermezzo. First performed c.1748, Seminario, Verona. [Grove 1980, 5:151]
- Giuseppe Bazzani**, 1690/1701–1769. "Hercules" (and Virtue?). Painting. c.1750. Kress coll. (K1271), Howard University, Washington, D.C., no. 61.155.P. [Shapley 1966–73, 3:115—ill.]
- Gaetano Casali**, ?–1767. *Le azioni d'Ercole, imitate da Truffaldino suo scudiero* [The Deeds of Hercules, Imitated by His Knight Truffaldino]. Comedy. First performed 1753, Milan. [DELI 1966–70, 1:614]
- Franz Anton Maulbertsch**, 1724–1796. (Hercules, symbolizing strength, in) "Allegory of Art." Ceiling painting. 1759. Formerly Akademie der Wissenschaft, Universität, Vienna. [Garas 1960, no. III, p. 51]
- Louis François Roubiliac**, 1702–1762. "Athena Crowns Hercules." Marble relief, memorial for Major General James Fleming (1682–1751). c.1761? Westminster Abbey, London. [Whinney 1964, p. 108]
- Andries Cornelis Lens**, 1739–1822. "Hercules Protecting the Muse of the Fine Arts from Jealousy and Ignorance." Painting. 1763. Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, no. 1092. [Antwerp 1970, p. 121]
- Giovanni Domenico Tiepolo**, 1727–1804. "The Golden Fleece" ("Glorification of Spain") (Hercules, with Cupid and Fama, Jason, and Neptune, presenting Golden Fleece to Spanish monarchy). Ceiling fresco. 1764–66. Palacio Real, Madrid. [Honisch 1965, p. 41 / Mariuz 1979, p. 123—ill.] Study. Marzotto coll., Portogruaro. [Mariuz 1982, p. 134—ill.]
- James Barry**, 1741–1806. "Hercules." Drawing. c.1767–70. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. [Pressly 1981, no. D.2]
- Friedrich Maximilian von Klinger**, 1752–1831. *Der verbannte Göttersohn* [The Exiled Son of the God] (Hercules, as revolutionary). Dramatic fragment. First part published Gotha: Ettinger, 1777; second part in *Theater*, vol. 3 (Riga: Hartknoch, 1786–87). [Daemmrich 1987, pp. 133f. / DLL 1968–90, 8:1336]
- Laurent Delvaux**, 1696–1778. "Hercules Resting." Marble statue. Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, inv. 6296. [Brussels 1968, no. 7]
- Johann Samuel Patzke**, 1727–1787. *Die Taten des Herkules* [The Deeds of Hercules]. Drama. 1780. [Hunger 1959, p. 144]



- Giuseppe Maria Cambini**, 1746–1825. *Alcide*. Opera. Libretto, A. Dubreuil. First performed 1782, Académie Royal, Paris. [Grove 1980, 3:640]
- Luciano Xavier dos Santos**, 1734–1808. *Ercole sul Tago* [Hercules at the Tagus (River)]. Opera (dramma per musica). Libretto, V. A. Cigna. First performed 1785, Queluz or Ajuda. [Grove 1980, 16:485]
- Christoph Unterberger**, 1732–1798. Cycle of ceiling paintings, 4 scenes from the life of Hercules surrounding a central “Apotheosis of Hercules.” 1784–86. Galleria Borghese, Rome. / Study for “Apotheosis” in Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, inv. 37.1698. [Walters 1976, no. 427—ill.]
- Jan Kamphuijsen**, 1760–1841. Ceiling painting with scenes from the life of Hercules, for Brentano house, Herengracht, Amsterdam, probably after a design by G. Maderni (1758–1803). 1790–91. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. A4140–41. [Rijksmuseum 1976, p. 311—ill.]
- Friedrich Hölderlin**, 1770–1843. (Hercules’ struggle against destiny evoked in) “Das Schicksal” [Fate]. Poem. 1793. In *Neue Thalia*, part 4, edited by Friedrich Schiller (Leipzig: Göschen, 1793). [Beissner 1943–77, vol. 1 / Galinsky 1972, p. 255, 256]
- . (Christ addressed as “Hercules’ brother” in) “Der Einzige” [The Only One]. Poem. 1803. [Beissner, vol. 2 / Hamburger 1980 / Unger 1975, pp. 175ff. / Galinsky, p. 256]
- . (Hercules as epitome of the Greek character, in) “Einst hab ich die Muse gefragt” [At One Time I Questioned the Muse]. Hymn, fragment. c.1800–05. [Beissner / Hamburger / Galinsky, p. 258]
- Johann Baptist von Alxinger**, 1755–1797. “Herkules.” Poem. In *Neueste Gedichte* (Vienna: Josef Comesina, 1794). [Strich 1970, 1:218]
- Samuel Rogers**, 1763–1855. “On the Torso of Hercules” (Hercules Belvedere). Sonnet. 1802. In *Poems* (London: Cadell & Davies, 1812). [Larrabee 1943, p. 6]
- Francesco Bianchi**, 1752–1810. *Le triomphe d’Alcide à Athènes* [The Triumph of Alcides at Athens]. Opera (dramma eroico). Libretto, P. L. Moline and A. F. Pillon. First performed Sep 1806, Théâtre Molière, Paris. [Grove 1980, 2:674]
- August Wilhelm Iffland**, 1759–1814. *Herkules*. Musical drama. In *Theater* (Vienna: Pichler, 1814–19). [Strich 1970, 1:255n]
- Andrea Appiani the Elder**, 1754–1817. “Hercules and Venus.” Painting. Château de Compiègne. [Bénézit 1976, 1:236]
- Giuseppe Cacialli**, 1770–1828. Cycle of chiaroscuro simulated bas-reliefs depicting scenes from the life of Hercules. 1810–20. Sala d’Ercole, Palazzo Pitti, Florence. [Pitti 1966, pp. 137ff.—ill.]
- François Décombe Albert**, 1789–1865, with André Jean-Jacques Deshayes, 1777–1846, choreography. *Alcide*. Ballet. First performed 21 July 1821, for coronation of George IV, King’s Theatre, London. [Guest 1972, pp. 35, 156 / Nicoll 1959–66, 4:425]
- Giacomo Leopardi**, 1798–1837. “Dialogo d’Ercole e di Atlante” [Dialogue between Hercules and Atlas]. Dialogue. 1824. In *Operette morali* (Milan: Stella, 1827). [Cecchetti 1982 / Casale 1981; cf. p. 16]
- William Blake**, 1757–1827. “A Vision of Hercules.” Drawing. c.1825? Unlocated. [Butin 1981, no. 802A]
- Merry-Joseph Blondel**, 1781–1853. Heracles and Olympian gods, holding the arms of France, in ceiling decoration, Salle de la Donation Comondo (2e Salle du Conseil d’État), Louvre, Paris (inv. 2628). 1827. [Louvre 1979–86, 3:65—ill.]
- Pietro Benvenuti**, 1769–1844. Cycle of paintings depicting scenes from the life of Hercules: infant Hercules strangling the snakes, Hercules at the crossroads, battling the centaurs, delivering Alcestis, nuptials of Hercules and Hebe. 1828. Saloncino d’Ercole, Palazzo Pitti, Florence. [Pitti 1966, pp. 137ff.—ill.]
- Johann Wolfgang von Goethe**, 1749–1832. (Chiron tells Faust of Hercules, “the fairest man,” in) *Faust* Part 2, 2.7381–97. Tragedy. This episode written 1830. Heidelberg: 1832. [Beutler 1948–71, vol. 5 / Suhrkamp 1983–88, vol. 2 / Galinsky 1972, pp. 216f.]
- Balthazar-François Tasson-Snel**, 1811–1890. “Hercules.” Painting. 1830. Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts (Musée d’Art Moderne), Brussels, inv. 6111. [Brussels 1984b, p. 607—ill.]
- Philippe-Auguste Hennequin**, 1763–1833. “The French Hercules.” Ceiling painting. Commissioned 1800. Salle des Sèvres (Antonins), Louvre, Paris (inv. 20097). [Louvre 1979–86, 3:309—ill.]
- Frederick Fox Cooper**, 1806–1879. *Hercules, King of Clubs*. Farce. First performed 28 July 1836, Strand Theatre, London. [Nicoll 1959–66, 4:283]
- Bertel Thorwaldsen**, 1770–1844. “Hercules” (“Allegory of Courage”). Over-life-size bronze statue. Modeled 1843. Prinz Jørgens Gaard, Christiansborg Palace, Copenhagen. / Plaster model. Thorwaldsens Museum, no. A14 (cf. A15–16). [Thorwaldsen 1985, p. 22 / Cologne 1977, no. 46]
- Antoine-Louis Barye**, 1796–1875. Hercules mask, on stone cornice, Pont Neuf, Paris. 1851. [Benge 1984, pp. 49f., pl. 31]
- Eugène Delacroix**, 1798–1863. “Episodes from the Life of Hercules.” 11 ceiling paintings, for Salon de la Paix, Hôtel de Ville, Paris. 1851–52. Destroyed by fire, 1871. [Robaut 1885, nos. 1152–62—ill. (copy drawings) / Huyghe 1963, pp. 289, 423, 474]
- . “Hercules Resting from His Labors.” Painting. 1858. Wildenstein & Co., New York, in 1978. [Johnson 1981–86, no. 328a—ill. / also Robaut, no. 1351—ill. (copy drawing)]
- Thomas Moore**, 1779–1852. “Song of Hercules to His Daughter.” Poem. In *Poetical Works* (London: Longman & Co., 1853). [Boswell 1982, p. 188]
- Charles Marie René Leconte de Lisle**, 1818–1894. “Héraklès solaire.” Poem. In *Oeuvres: Poèmes antiques* (Paris: Lemerre, 1852). [Pich 1976–81, vol. 1]
- Gaspere Martellini**, 1785–1857. “Hercules.” Painting. Sala di Ulisse, Palazzo Pitti, Florence. [Pitti 1966, p. 131]
- Victor Hugo**, 1802–1885. (Hercules in) “Le satyre.” Poem, prologue to “Renaissance paganisme,” part 8 of *La légende des siècles*, 1st series (Paris: Hetzel, 1859). [Hugo 1985–86, vol. 5]
- Carl Spitteler**, 1845–1924. *Herakles*. Epic, projected as life’s work in 1866, but unwritten. [Galinsky 1972, p. 279]
- . “Erdenfahrt” [Journey to Earth] (by Heracles).

- Poem, epilogue to *Olympischer Frühling* (Leipzig: Diederichs 1900–05). / Revised, published Jena: Diederichs, 1910; Leipzig: Diederichs, 1925. [Ibid., pp. 279–85, 293 / Butler 1958, p. 322]
- Louis Moreau Gottschalk**, 1829–1869. *Hercule*. Composition for piano. 1869. [Grove 1980, 7:573]
- Lawrence Alma-Tadema**, 1836–1912. “Hercules.” Painting. 1872. Unlocated. [Swanson 1977, p. 137]
- Arnold Böcklin**, 1827–1901. “The Sanctuary of Heracles.” 2 related paintings. c.1880. Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt, inv. GK 657; the other lost. [Andree 1977, nos. 341–42—ill.]
- . “The Sanctuary of Heracles.” Painting. 1884. National Gallery, Washington, D.C. [Ibid., no. 378—ill. / Walker 1984, p. 414—ill.]
- José-Maria de Heredia**, 1842–1905. “Hercule et les centaures.” Cycle of 6 sonnets: “Némée,” “Stymphale,” “Nessus,” “La centauresse,” “Centaurès et lapithes,” “Fuite des centaures.” “Némée” first published in *La légende du Parnasse contemporain* (Paris: 1884); complete cycle in *Revue des deux mondes* 15 Jan 1888; collected in *Les trophées* (Paris: Lemerre, 1893). [Delaty 1984, vol. 1; cf. 2:42, 51 / Hill 1962]
- Gustav Natorp**, 1836–1898? “Hercules.” Sculpture. Exhibited 1884. [Kestner 1989, p. 352]
- Gustave Moreau**, 1826–1898. “Naked Hercules.” Wax models (one full-figure, one head) for unexecuted sculpture. 1875–85. [Mathieu 1976, p. 189]
- Iacob Mureșianu**, 1857–1917. *Erculeanul* [Hercules]. Cycle of musical ballads. Text, V. Alecsandri. 1890. [Grove 1980, 12:791]
- Émile-Antoine Bourdelle**, 1861–1929. “Head of Hercules.” Bronze sculpture. 1905. 9 casts. Musée Ingres, Montauban; elsewhere. [Jianou & Dufet 1975, no. 185] Variant (mask). c.1905. [Ibid.]
- . “Head of Hercules.” Bronze sculpture. 1909. 2 versions, 10 casts of each. Musée Bourdelle, Paris; elsewhere. [Ibid., no. 391—ill. / Cannon-Brooks 1983, pp. 63f.—ill.] 3d version, in plaster. Musée Ingres, Montauban; Nouveau Musée des Beaux-Arts, Le Havre; Musée Saint-Pierre, Lyons. / Bronze studies, numerous versions and casts. [Jianou & Dufet, nos. 391–94 / Cannon-Brooks, fig. 89] 2 bronze variants (“Mask of the Large Hercules,” “Archer”). 1909. 2 casts of each. Private coll(s). [Jianou & Dufet, nos. 397–98] Variant, based on “Heracles the Archer (Killing the Birds at Lake Stymphalus).” 1909. Bronze, plaster, terra-cotta, and *terre-sèche* versions. Musée Bourdelle, Paris; Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen; Boymans-van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam; Dartmouth College Museum, Hanover, N.H.; private colls. [Ibid., no. 396] Variant (mask). 1909. Bronze, terra-cotta, and *terre-sèche* versions. Private colls. [Ibid.]
- Rubén Darío**, 1867–1916. (Shade of Hercules evoked in) “Salutación del Optimista” [Salutation of the Optimist]. Poem. In *Cantos de vida y esperanza* (Madrid: Tipografía de la Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, 1905). [Méndez Plancarte 1967 / Hurtado Chamorro 1967, pp. 171, 174f.]
- George Cabot Lodge**, 1873–1909. *Herakles*. Dramatic poem. 1908. In *Poems and Dramas*, vol. 2 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1911). [Boswell 1982, p. 268 / Galinsky 1972, pp. 218, 229]
- Louis Couperus**, 1863–1923. *Herakles*. Novel. Amsterdam: Veen, 1913. [EWL 1981–84, 1:502 / Meijer 1971, p. 253]
- Karel van de Woestijne**, 1878–1929. “Hercules.” Epic poem. In *Interludiën* (Bussum: Van Dishoeck, 1912–14). [EWL 1981–84, 4:649 / Meijer 1971, p. 273]
- Frank Barwig**, 1868–1931. Hercules fountain. Exhibited Cologne, 1914. [Barwig 1969, no. 15, p. 23]
- Paul Manship**, 1885–1966. “Hercules.” Statue, terminal figure, for gardens of Harold McCormick, Lake Forest, Ill. 1914. Unlocated. [Murtha 1957, no. 61]
- . “Hercules.” Bronze statue, for Hercules Powder Company. 1945. [Ibid., no. 459] 2 bronze sketches. [Ibid., nos. 457–58—ill.]
- Edward Field Sanford, Jr.**, 1886–1951. “Hercules.” Bronze statuette. 1916. Metropolitan Museum, New York, no. 52.108. [Metropolitan 1965, p. 155]
- Frank Wedekind**, 1864–1918. *Herakles*. Verse drama. Munich: Müller, 1917. First performed 1 Sep 1919, Prinzregententheater, Munich. [Daemmrich 1987, pp. 133f. / Oxford 1986, p. 961 / McGraw-Hill 1984, 5:130 / Galinsky 1972, pp. 236–40, 297]
- Otokar Fischer**, 1883–1938. *Herakles*. Tragedy. Prague: Aventinum, 1919. [Frenzel 1962, p. 262 / EDS 1954–66, 5:401]
- Yves de La Casinière**, 1897–1971. *Hercule et les centaures*. Symphonic poem, after Heredia. 1920. [Grove 1980, 10:344]
- Felix Braun**, 1885–1973. *Die Taten des Herakles* [The Deeds of Heracles]. Novel. 1921. Leipzig: Speidel, 1927. [Oxford 1986, p. 107]
- Aldous Huxley**, 1894–1963. (Story of Sir Hercules and Lady Filomenia related in) *Crome Yellow*. Novel. London: Chatto & Windus, 1921. [Ips] This episode revised as a short story, “Sir Hercules.” In *Twice Seven: Fourteen Selected Stories* (London: Reprint Society, 1944). [Ips]
- Rudolf Borchardt**, 1877–1945. *Der ruhende Herakles* [Heracles Resting]. Idyl. Munich: Bremer Presse, 1924. [DLB 1988, 66:50 / DLL 1968–90, 1:784]
- Theodor Däubler**, 1876–1934. (Hercules’ birth evoked, his exploits celebrated, in) *Päan und Dithyrambos: Eine Phantasmagorie* [Paeon and Dithyramb: A Phantasmagoria] part 7. Poem. Leipzig: Insel, 1924. [Ips] / DULC 1959–63, 1:964]
- Sacheverell Sitwell**, 1897–1988. “The Farnese Hercules.” Poem. In *The Cyder Feast and Other Poems* (London: Duckworth, 1927). [Boswell 1982, p. 294]
- Georges Braque**, 1882–1963. “Heracles.” Etched-plaster relief, illustrating Hesiod. 1931. [Fumet 1951, introduction; cf. nos. 21–28—ill.]
- Francis Picabia**, 1878–1953. “Apollo and his Steeds” (“Hercules and His Coursers”). Painting. 1935. [Borrás 1985, no. 650—ill. / Camfield 1979, fig. 371]
- Yvor Winters**, 1900–1968. “Heracles.” Poem. In *Rocking Horse 2* (1935); collected in *Twelve Poets of the Pacific* (Norfolk, Conn.: New Directions, 1937); *Collected Poems* (Manchester: Carcanet, 1978). [Ips] / Isaacs 1981, p. 87 / Powell 1980, pp. 38, 116, 129–33, 145, 157]
- Gerhart Hauptmann**, 1862–1946. “Der Knabe Herakles” [The Boy Heracles]. Poem. 1938. [Voight 1965, pp. 127f.]
- Nikos Kazantzakis**, 1883–1957. (Hercules appears at end of) *Odyseia*. Epic poem. Athens: Chrestou, 1938. / Translated by Kimon Friar as *The Odyssey: A Modern*

- Sequel* (New York: Simon & Schuster; London: Secker & Warburg, 1958). [Stanford 1974, p. 228]
- Janine Charrat**, 1924–, choreography. *Héraklès*. Ballet. Scenario, A. Boll. Music, Maurice Thiriet. First performed 1953, Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, Paris; scenery and costumes, F. Gilst. [Chujoy & Manchester 1967, p. 192 / EDS 1954–66, 3:552 / Grove 1980, 18:773]
- Giorgio de Chirico**, 1888–1978. “Hercules.” Painting. 1953. Artist’s coll., Rome, in 1974. [de Chirico 1971–83, 4.3: no. 459–ill.]
- Alan Hovhaness**, 1911–. “Hercules.” Composition for soprano and violin, opus 56/4. 1956. [Grove 1986, 2:433]
- André Dubois la Chartre**. *Journal intime de Hercule* [Intimate Journal of Hercules]. Novel. Paris: Gallimard, 1957. [Daemmrich 1987, p. 134]
- Marijan Matković**, 1915–. *Heraklo*. Drama, part 2 of trilogy *I bogovi pati* [Even Gods Suffer]. First performed Zagreb, 1958. Published Zagreb: Zora, 1962. [McGraw-Hill 1984, 3:35 / EDS 1954–66, suppl. p. 684]
- Carl Zuckmayer**, 1896–1977. *Der trunkene Herkules* [Drunken Hercules]. Comedy. 1958. In *Dramen*, vols. 3–4 of *Gesammelte Werke* (Berlin: Fischer, 1960). [Oxford 1986, p. 1015]
- John Eaton**, 1935–. *Heracles*. Opera. Libretto, M. Fried. 1964. First performed 15 Apr 1972, Musical Arts Center, Indiana University, Bloomington. [Baker 1984, p. 639]
- Jorge Luis Borges**, 1899–1986, with **Margarita Guerrero**. “Cronos o Hércules” [Cronus or Hercules]. Prose sketch. In *El libro de los seres imaginarios* (Buenos Aires: Kier, 1967). / Translated by N. T. di Giovanni, with Borges, in *The Book of Imaginary Beings* (New York: Dutton, 1969). [Ipsos]
- Archibald MacLeish**, 1892–1982. *Herakles*. Verse drama. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1967. [Boswell 1982, p. 175 / Galinsky 1972, pp. 187, 244ff.]
- Ján Zimmer**, 1926–, music. *Héraklès*. Ballet for television. 1970. [Grove 1980, 20:686]
- . *Héraklès*. Opera. 1972. [Baker 1984, p. 2567]
- Peter Huchel**, 1903–. “Unterm Sternbild des Hercules” [Under the Constellation of Hercules]. Poem. Before 1972. In *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, edited by Peter Wapnewski (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1973). [Ipsos]
- Salvador Dalí**, 1904–1989. “Hercules and Gradiva.” Drawing. 1973. Private coll. [Pompidou 1979, pl. 330]
- Pentti Saarikoski**, 1937–1983. (Hercules in modern setting in) *Tanssilattia vuorella* [Dance Floor on the Mountain]. Poem. Helsinki: Otava, 1977. [EWL 1981–84, 4:119]
- Birth of Heracles**. In Thebes, Alcmena, wife of Amphitryon, was visited by Zeus (Jupiter), who appeared to her in the guise of her husband. She was impregnated by the god on one night and by Amphitryon on the following night. When she went into labor, Zeus boasted that a child who would lead a great dynasty was about to be born. Consumed with jealousy, Hera (Juno) sent Eileithyia, the goddess of childbirth and midwifery, to delay the birth, which she did for seven days and seven nights by sitting outside Alcmena’s door with her hands clasped around her knees. In an attempt to break Eileithyia’s spell, Alcmena’s maid, Galinthias (Galanthis), announced that a son had been born. Startled, Eileithyia jumped up and unclasped her hands. At that moment, Heracles (Hercules), son of Zeus, and his twin brother Iphicles, son of Amphitryon, were born. In anger, Eileithyia changed Galinthias into a weasel. Before Heracles was born, however, Hera had expedited the birth of Eurystheus, later king of Tiryns, and in so doing had thwarted Zeus’s prophecy by depriving Heracles of the Tirynthian throne. It was Eurystheus, agent of Hera’s spite, who sent Heracles off on his labors.
- According to a Hellenistic work ascribed to Eratosthenes (or pseudo-Eratosthenes), the sons of Zeus could be divine only if they were suckled by Hera. Hermes (Mercury) therefore brought the newborn Heracles to Hera, but when she discovered whom she was nursing, she pulled him off her breast. The excess milk that spurted out formed the Milky Way galaxy.
- Classical Sources**. Homer, *Iliad* 19.96–133. Eratosthenes of Alexandria (ascribed), *Catasterismoi* 44. Plautus, *Amphitruo* 112ff., 760ff., 1123 ff. Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca* 4.9.1–4.10.1. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 9.280–323. Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 2.4.5, 2.4.8. Hyginus, *Fabulae* 29; *Poetica astronomica* 2.43. Lucian, *Dialogues of the Dead* 11, “Diogenes and Heracles.”
- See also AMPHITRYON AND ALCMENE.
- Albrecht Dürer**, 1471–1528, studio, under Dürer’s direction. “The Birth of Hercules.” Drawing, design for series of medals (unlocated) depicting the adventures of Hercules. 1510–11. Formerly Kunsthalle, Bremen, lost. [Strauss 1974, no. 1511/21–ill.]
- Fernán Pérez de Oliva**, 1494?–1533. *El nacimiento de Hércules, ó, Comedia de Anfítrion* [The Birth of Hercules, or, Comedy of Amphitryon]. Comedy, adapted from Plautus. 1525. Probably unperformed. Published in *Obbras*, edited by Ambrosio de Morales (Cordova: Bejarano, 1586). [Oxford 1978, pp. 458f. / Passage & Mantinband 1974, p. 116]
- Giulio Romano**, c.1499–1546. “The Weaning of Hercules.” Painting, part of “Jupiter” cycle. c.1533? E. Schapiro coll., London. [Hartt 1958, p. 215–ill.]
- Jacopo Tintoretto**, 1518–1594. “The Origin of the Milky Way.” Painting. 1578–80. National Gallery, London, no. 1313. [Rossi 1982, no. 390–ill. / London 1986, p. 615–ill. / Berenson 1957, p. 174–ill.]
- Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger**, 1568–1646, libretto. *Il natal d’Ercole*. Favola. Text published Florence: Giunti, 1605. [DELI 1966–70, 1:50]
- Jacopo Peri**, 1561–1633. *Il natal d’Ercole*. Favola per musica. Libretto, Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger (above). First performed 22 Oct 1605, Casino di D. Antonio de’ Medici, Florence. [Weaver 1978, p. 92]
- Anonymous English**. *The Birthe of Hercules*. Comedy,

- after Plautus's *Amphitruo* and perhaps Heywood's *The Silver Age*. First performed 4 June 1626, Court Theater, Dresden? [Passage & Mantinband 1974, p. 117 / Shero 1956, pp. 192ff. / Clark 1931, p. 67 n.]
- Peter Paul Rubens**, 1577–1640. "The Creation of the Milky Way" ("Juno Suckling Hercules"). Painting, for Torre de la Parada, El Pardo. 1636–38. Prado, Madrid, no. 1668. [Alpers 1971, no. 42 / Jaffé 1989, no. 1292—ill. / White 1987, pl. 301 / Prado 1985, p. 581] Oil sketch. Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts (Musée d'Art Ancien), Brussels, inv. 4105 (814). [Alpers, no. 42a—ill. / Held 1980, no. 200—ill. / Jaffé, no. 1292—ill. / Brussels 1984a, p. 251—ill. / White, pl. 300]
- John Dryden**, 1631–1700. (Prince James Edward's birth compared to Hercules' in) "Britannia Rediviva, a Poem on the Prince, Born on the 10th of June, 1688" lines 55–58. Poem. London: Tonson, 1688. [Dryden 1956–87, vol. 3 / Winn 1987, p. 446 / Miner 1967, p. 106 / Van Doren 1946, p. 112]
- William Shirley**, fl. 1739–80. *The Birth of Hercules*. Masque, to celebrate the birth of the Prince of Wales. Music, Thomas Arne. In rehearsal for 11 Jan 1763, Covent Garden, London, unperformed because of Half Price Riots. [Grove 1980, 1:610 / Fiske 1973, p. 316 / Nicoll 1959–66, 3:306]
- Henry Fuseli**, 1741–1825. "Galinthias Deceives Eileithyia by Announcing the Birth of Hercules." Drawing. c.1772. Kunsthau, Zürich, inv. 1940/188. [Schiff 1973, no. 406—ill.]
- Johann Christian Friedrich Haefner**, 1759–1833. *Alcidas intråde i världen* [Hercules Enters the World]. Opera. Libretto, Eldencrantz. First performed 11 Nov 1793, Stockholm. [Grove 1980, 8:20]
- Eugène Delacroix**, 1798–1863. "Juno and Minerva Holding the Infant Hercules." Ceiling painting, in "Life of Hercules" cycle, for Salon de la Paix, Hôtel de Ville, Paris. 1851–52. Destroyed by fire, 1871. [Robaut 1885, no. 1153—ill. (copy drawing) / Huyghe 1963, pp. 289, 423, 474]
- Aimé-Jules Dalou**, 1838–1902. "Juno Nursing Hercules" ("The Milky Way"). Terra-cotta sculpture. 1874. Destroyed. / Terra-cotta sketch ("Woman Pressing Her Breasts"). Late 1860s. Petit Palais, Paris, no. 202. [Caillaux 1935, p. 127 / Hunisak 1977, p. 124, fig. 44]
- Julio Herrera y Reissig**, 1875–1910. (Origin of the Milky Way evoked in) "Génesis." Sonnet. 1910. In *Las clepsidras* (Montevideo: 1910); reprinted in *Los éxtasis de la Montaña* (Montevideo: Editoriale elite, [196?]). [Schade 1959, p. 47]
- Theodore Däubler**, 1876–1934. (Hercules' birth evoked in) *Päan und Dithyrambos: Eine Phantasmagorie* [Paeon and Dithyramb: A Phantasmagoria] part 7. Poem. Leipzig: Insel, 1924. [Ipso / DULC 1959–63, 1:964]
- saw Heracles strangle the serpents with his bare hands, Amphitryon knew that this was Zeus's son.
- Classical Sources.** Pindar, *Nemean Odes* 1.41–72. Sophocles, *The Infant Heracles*. Theocritus, *Idylls* 24. Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca* 4.10.1–2. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 9.280–323. Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 2.4.8–9. Philostratus, *Imagines* 5. Hyginus, *Fabulae* 29.
- Filarete**, c.1400–1469? "The Infant Hercules." Relief, on bronze door of St. Peter's, Rome. 1433–45. In place. [Pope-Hennessy 1985b, 2:318]
- Antico**, c.1460–1528. "Infant Hercules Strangling the Serpents." Bronze medallion, part of series depicting deeds of Heracles. c.1500? Victoria and Albert Museum, London. [Louvre 1975, no. 61]
- Albrecht Altdorfer**, c.1480–1538. "Infant Hercules Strangling the Snakes." Print (Bartsch no. 98). c.1520. [Winzinger 1963, no. 150—ill.]
- . "Lidded Goblet with Infant Hercules." Print (Bartsch no. 98). c.1520–25. [Ibid., no. 199—ill.]
- Giulio Romano**, c.1499–1546. "Hercules Slaying the Serpents." Painting. Formerly coll. of Leopold of Belgium, lost. [Pigler 1974, p. 107] Engraving (Bartsch no. 315) by Agostino Veneziano, 1533. [Bartsch 1978, 26:316—ill.]
- . "Hercules Slaying the Serpents." Painting, part of "Jupiter" cycle. c.1533? Lost. / Drawing in Victoria and Albert Museum, London, no. D.1973–1885. [Hart 1958, pp. 215, 306 (no. 307a)] Another drawing of the subject, in Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest. [Ibid., p. 306 (no. 320)]
- Giovanni Bernardi**, 1496–1553, and **Manno di Bastiano**, design. Statuette representing infant Hercules, on "The Farnese Coffin." Silver gilt coffin. Executed by another, 1548–61. Museo di Capodimonte, Naples, no. 10507. [Capodimonte 1964, p. 129]
- Giorgio Vasari**, 1511–1574, and assistants. Infant Hercules strangling the snakes, depicted in cycle of ceiling paintings on the deeds of Hercules. 1557. Sala di Ercole, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence. [Sinibaldi 1950, pp. 13, 23 / Lenci 1929, pp. 154ff., 163f.]
- Guglielmo della Porta**, 1490?–1577. "Infant Hercules Strangling the Serpents." Bronze sculpture. Galleria di Capodimonte, Naples, no. 410. [Capodimonte 1964, p. 31]
- Annibale Carracci**, 1560–1609. "Infant Hercules Strangling the Serpents." Grisaille fresco, part of "Hercules" cycle. 1595–97. Camerino, Palazzo Farnese, Rome. [Malafarina 1976, no. 87g—ill. / Martin 1965, pp. 27ff.—ill.]
- . "Infant Hercules Strangling the Serpents." Painting. c.1599–1600. Louvre, Paris, inv. 206. [Malafarina, no. 113—ill. / Louvre 1979–86, 2:163—ill.]
- Aegidius Sadeler**, 1570–1629. "Infant Hercules" (strangling the serpents). Drawing. Albertina, Vienna. [de Bosque 1985, p. 118—ill.]
- Alessandro Algardi**, 1598–1654. "Infant Hercules with a Snake." Sculpture group. Original marble and bronze versions lost. [Montagu 1985, no. 127] Bronze casts in Schloss Charlottenburg, Berlin; Louvre, Paris; Palazzo Barberini, Rome; elsewhere. [Ibid., pp. 405ff.—ill.] Marble copy in Charlottenburg (damaged); another unlocated. [Ibid.]
- Gerard van Opstal**, 1597–1668. "Infant Hercules and Serpent." Ivory sculpture. M. H. de Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco. [Clapp 1970, 1:674]
- Giovanni Andrea Sirani**, 1610–1670, attributed (previ-

**Infant Heracles and the Serpents.** Furious at having failed to prevent the birth of Heracles (Hercules), Hera (Juno) attempted to kill the child by placing two serpents in his cradle. When Iphicles, Heracles' mortal twin, screamed, their father Amphitryon came running, sword in hand. When he

- ously attributed to Guido Reni). "Hercules as a Child." Painting. Bayerisches Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich, inv. 1789. [Pepper 1984, p. 304 no. C5]
- Luca Giordano**, 1634–1705. "Hercules in the Cradle." Fresco, part of "Hercules" cycle, for Buen Retiro, Madrid. c.1697. Destroyed. / Engraved by Giuseppe Castillo and Juan Barcelon, 1779. [López Torrijos 1985, p. 407 no. 39 / Ferrari & Scavizzi 1966, 1:155, 2:278]
- Balthasar Permoser**, 1651–1732. "Hercules with the Serpents." Marble and bronze statue. c.1704–10. Schloss Charlottenburg, Berlin. [Asche 1966, no. P41, pl. 37]
- Gérard de Lairesse**, 1641–1711, follower. "Infant Hercules Strangling the Two Serpents Sent by Hera." Paintings, part of series of grisailles on deeds of Hercules. Early 18th century. Louvre, Paris, inv. 20773. [Louvre 1979–86, 2:378—ill.]
- Sebastiano Ricci**, 1659–1734. "The Infant Hercules Strangling the Serpents." Grisaille ceiling fresco, part of "Hercules" cycle, for Portland House, London. 1712–13. Destroyed. [Daniels 1976, no. 208]
- François Girardon**, 1628–1715, attributed. "Hercules in the Cradle Strangling the Serpents." Sculpture. Documented in 1765, untraced. [Francastel 1928, no. 84]
- Pieter van der Werff**, 1665–1722. "The Infant Hercules with the Snakes." Painting. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. C267. [Rijksmuseum 1976, p. 601—ill.]
- Richard van Orley**, 1663–1732. "Hercules as an Infant." Wash drawing. Louvre, Paris. [Warburg]
- Pompeo Batoni**, 1708–1787. "The Infant Hercules Strangling the Serpents." Painting. 1743. Uffizi, Florence, inv. 8548 (displayed in Galleria d'Arte Moderna, Palazzo Pitti). [Clark 1985, no. 68—ill. / Uffizi 1979, no. P166—ill.]
- Jacob de Wit**, 1695–1754. "Hercules as an Infant." Painting. Royal Collection, Holyrood House, Edinburgh. [Warburg]
- Jean-Hugues Taraval**, 1729–1785. "The Infant Hercules (Strangling Serpents in His Cradle)." Painted sketch. Exhibited 1767. Musée Municipal, Châlons-sur-Marne. [Royal Academy 1986, p. 51, fig. 38] Variant, exhib. 1785. Louvre, Paris, inv. 8089. [Ibid. / Louvre 1979–86, 4:229—ill.]
- Joshua Reynolds**, 1723–1792. "The Infant Hercules (Strangling the Serpents)." Painting. 1786–88. Hermitage, Leningrad, inv. 1348. [Hermitage 1979, pl. 125 / Royal Academy 1986, no. 140—ill. / Waterhouse 1941, p. 80]
- William Blake**, 1757–1827. "The Infant Hercules Throttling the Serpents." Drawing. c.1790–93. National Gallery, Washington, D.C., no. B-11072. [Butlin 1981, no. 253—ill.]
- William Dyce**, 1806–1864. "The Infant Hercules Strangling the Serpents Sent by Juno to Destroy Him." Painting. 1824. National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh. [Pointon 1979, pp. 6, 197—ill.]
- Eduard Mörike**, 1804–1875. "Herakles als Kind" [Heracles as a Child]. Translation of Theocritus, Idyll 24. In *Classische Blumenlese* (Stuttgart: Schweizerbart, 1840). [Hötzer 1967]
- Horatio Greenough**, 1805–1852. Relief depicting infant Hercules, on side of chair of "Washington." Marble sculpture. 1832–41. National Collection of Fine Arts, Washington, D.C. [Wright 1963, p. 133]
- Charles Marie René Leconte de Lisle**, 1818–1894. "L'enfance d'Héraklès." Poem. In *Oeuvres: Poèmes antiques* (Paris: Lemerre, 1852). [Pich 1976–81, vol. 1]
- Gustave Moreau**, 1826–1898. "Hercules as a Child Strangling the Serpents." Painting. c.1856. Private coll., Vicenza, Italy. [Mathieu 1976, no. 37—ill.]
- Jean-Baptiste Clésinger**, 1814–1883. (Prince Eugène-Louis-Jean-Joseph Napoléon as) "Infant Hercules" (with serpents). Marble sculpture. 1856–57. Destroyed? [Wagner 1986, p. 194—ill.]
- Dante Gabriel Rossetti**, 1828–1882. "Resolution; or, The Infant Hercules" (William Morris under a showerbath, in a rage). Satirical drawing. 1869. British Museum, London, no. 1939–5–13–I.(8.). [Surtees 1971, no. 604—ill.]
- Camille Saint-Saëns**, 1835–1921. *La jeunesse d'Hercule*. Symphonic poem, opus 50. First performed 28 Jan 1877, Paris. [Grove 1980, 16:405 / Baker 1984, p. 1972]
- Paulanship**, 1885–1966. "Infant Hercules Fountain." Bronze fountain. 1914. 2 casts. American Academy, Rome; Anson coll., Bar Harbor, Me. [Murtha 1957, no. 54—ill. / also Rand 1989, pp. 32ff.—ill. / Minnesota 1985, fig. 14]

**Choice of Heracles.** When Heracles (Hercules) was a young man, he was sent to tend the cattle of his father, Amphitryon, on Mount Cithaeron. On the way, Heracles was met at a crossroads by two women, Pleasure (Vice) and Virtue. The youth chose Virtue, with her accompanying trials, service, and renown.

This allegory, told as a parable by the sophist Prodicus of Ceos in the fifth century BCE, became widespread. In the postclassical tradition the subject is most frequently known as "Hercules (or Alcides) at the Crossroads." Aphrodite (Venus) and Athena (Minerva) often represent pleasure and virtue.

**Classical Sources.** Hesiod, *Works and Days* 287ff. Prodicus, *The Choice of Heracles*. Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 2.1.21–34.

**Further Reference.** Erwin Panofsky, *Hercules am Scheidewege, und andere antike Bildstoffe in der neueren Kunst*, Studien der Bibliothek Warburg 18 (Leipzig & Berlin: Teubner, 1930). Karl Galinsky, *The Herakles Theme* (Towata, N.J.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1972), pp. 101ff., 198ff., 213ff.

**Girolamo di Benvenuto**, 1470–1524. "Hercules' Choice." Painting, on marriage salver. Early work. Ca' d'Oro, Venice. [Berenson 1968, p. 188—ill. / Panofsky 1930, pp. 111f., 143, pl. 32]

**Sebastian Brant**, 1458?–1521. (Hercules' choice mentioned in) *Das Narrenschiff*. Satire. Basel: Bergmann, de Olpe, 1494. / Translated into Latin by Jacob Locker as *Stultifera navis*. Basel: Bergmann, de Olpe, 1497. / Translated into English by Alexander Barclay as *The Shippe of Fooles* (London: Pynson, 1509). (Note: Because of the great success of *Das Narrenschiff*, this version of the Hercules story received a great deal of attention and had an influence far outweighing its importance in Brant's work.) [Galinsky 1972, p. 199 / Panofsky 1930, pp. 53f., 155, pl. 18 / Highest

- 1967, p. 310] A play by Brant on the theme of Hercules at the Crossroads was first performed 1512, Strasburg. [Galinsky]
- Albrecht Dürer**, 1471–1528. “Hercules (at the Crossroads)” (“Jealousy”). Engraving (Bartsch no. 73). **1498**. [Strauss 1977b, no. 24—ill. / also Kaufmann 1979, pp. 82ff. / Galinsky 1972, pl. 12 / cf. Wind 1938–39, pp. 209ff.—ill.]
- Raphael**, 1483–1520. “Vision of a Knight” (or “Dream of Scipio”); formerly identified as Choice of Hercules). Painting. **1504–05**. National Gallery, London. [Vecchi 1987, no. 37—ill. / Jones & Penny 1983, pp. 6ff.—ill. / also London 1986, p. 506—ill.]
- Domenico Beccafumi**, 1486–1551. “Hercules at the Crossroads.” Painting. **c.1512–13**. Museo Bardini, Florence, no. 1246. [Sanminiatielli 1967, pl. 4 / also Berenson 1968, p. 35]
- . “Hercules at the Crossroads.” Fresco. **c.1530?** Palazzo Bindi Sergardi, Siena. [Sanminiatielli, pp. 93f., pl. 31h]
- Piero di Cosimo**, **c.1462–1521**, rejected attribution. “Hercules at the Crossroads.” Painting. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin-Dahlem. [Bacci 1966, p. 115]
- Dosso Dossi**, **c.1479–1542**. “Allegory of Hercules” (“Bambocciata”) (allegory addressed to Ercole II d’Este, related to choice of Hercules; also contains elements related to Hercules and Omphale). Painting. **Mid-1530s**. Uffizi, Florence. [Gibbons 1968, pp. 98ff., no. 22—ill. / also Uffizi 1979, no. P552—ill.]
- Rosso Fiorentino**, 1494–1540. “The Dream of Hercules” (? Hercules with Virtue?). Drawing. **c.1537?** Louvre, Paris, inv. R.F. 14.685. / Engraved by René Boyvin. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.) [Carroll 1987, no. 108—ill.]
- Lucas Cranach**, 1472–1553. “Hercules at the Parting of the Ways.” Painting. **After 1537**. Julius Böhler Gallery, Munich, in 1932. [Friedländer & Rosenberg 1978, no. 408—ill.]
- , studio. “Hercules at the Crossroads.” Painting, part of “Labors of Hercules” cycle. **After 1537**. Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig, no. 712. [Braunschweig 1969, pp. 47f.]
- Prospero Fontana**, 1512–1597, questionably attributed. “The Choice of Hercules.” Ceiling fresco. **1550–55**. Palazzo di Firenze, Rome. [Panofsky 1930, p. 107f., pl. 29]
- Adamo Ghisi**, **c.1530–1574**. “The Choice of Hercules.” Engraving (Bartsch no. 26), after a composition by Giulio Romano? [Panofsky 1930, pp. 105f., pl. 30]
- Paolo Veronese**, 1528–1588. “Allegory of Virtue and Vice” (“The Choice of Hercules,” “The Poet between Vice and Virtue”). Painting. **c.1578–81**. Frick Collection, New York, no. 12.1.129. [Frick 1968–70, 2:274f.—ill. / Palluchini 1984, no. 175—ill. / Pignatti 1976, no. 245—ill.] Variant. Golovin coll., New York. [Pignatti, no. 246—ill.] School copy. Uffizi, Florence, inv. 5929. [Uffizi 1979, no. P1878—ill.] Studio variant. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. [Pignatti] Numerous further versions, in Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge; others in private colls. or unlocated. [Frick / Pignatti]
- , style. “Youth between Knowledge and Pleasure” (Choice of Hercules? Judgment of Paris?). Painting. National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, inv. 1707/4. [Pignatti, no. A179—ill.]
- Crispin van den Broeck**, 1524–1591. “The Choice of Hercules.” Painting. / Engraved by Jan Weirix. [Panofsky 1930, pp. 120f., pl. 40]
- Thomas Bradshaw**. “A Dialogue betwixt Hercules and the Two Ladies, Voluptuous and Vertuous.” Poem. In *The Shepherds Starre* (London: **1591**). [Bush 1963, p. 320 / Galinsky 1972, p. 228 n.40]
- Annibale Carracci**, 1560–1609. “Hercules Guided by Virtue.” Fresco, part of “Hercules” cycle. **c.1593–94**. Palazzo Sampieri (Talon), Bologna. [Malafarina 1976, no. 73—ill.]
- . “Hercules at the Crossroads.” Ceiling painting, for Camerino, Palazzo Farnese, Rome. **c.1596**. Replaced by a copy; original now in Galleria di Capodimonte, Naples, no. 365. [Ibid., no. 86—ill. / Martin 1965, pp. 24ff.—ill. / Capodimonte 1964, p. 49, pl. 60 / also Augsburg 1975, no. E43—ill. / Panofsky 1930, pp. 124ff.] Copy in Gemäldegalerie, Kassel. [Panofsky, pl. 44]
- Friedrich Sustris**, **c.1540–1599**. “The Choice of Hercules.” Painting. 2 versions, 1 engraved **c.1595** by Johannes Sadeler. [Panofsky 1930, pp. 116ff., 143, pls. 35–36]
- Justus Tiel** (16th century). (Hercules’ choice evoked in) “Allegory of the Education of King Philip III.” Painting. Prado, Madrid, no. 1846. [Pigler 1974, p. 126 / also Prado 1985, p. 678]
- Maertens de Vos**, 1532–1603. “Hercules at the Crossroads.” Painting. F. Howard coll., London, in 1931. [Warburg]
- Jan Jurkowski**, ?–1635. (Choice of Hercules in) *Tragedia o polskim Scylurusie i trzech synach koronnych ojczyzny polskiej* [Tragedy of the Polish Scilurus] act 2. Tragedy. **1604**. Modern edition, Cracow: Naki Polskiej Akademii Umiejtności, 1949. [Miłosz 1983, p. 105]
- Jan Saenredam**, 1565–1607, composition. “The Choice of Hercules.” Engraving (Bartsch no. 2), anonymous. [Panofsky 1930, pp. 119f., pl. 39]
- Federico Zuccari**, 1540/43–1609. “Hercules at the Crossroads.” Drawing. Bowdoin College Museum of Art, Brunswick, Me. [Pigler 1974, p. 125]
- Ben Jonson**, 1572–1637. (Hercules’ choice in) “Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue.” Masque. Performed 6 Jan **1618**, at Court, London. Published London: 1640. [Herford & Simpson 1932–50, vol. 7 / McGraw-Hill 1984, 3:112f.]
- Johann Liss**, **c.1595–1629**. “Hercules at the Crossroads.” Painting. Gemäldegalerie, Dresden, no. 1841A. [Dresden 1976, p. 67 / Augsburg 1975, no. A32—ill. / Panofsky 1930, p. 130, pl. 51]
- Peter Paul Rubens**, 1577–1640. “The Choice of Hercules.” Painting, executed by Jan van Eyck from Rubens’s sketch, part of Arch of St. Michael’s Abbey, decoration for “Pompa Introitus Fernandi,” triumphal entry of Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand of Spain into Antwerp, 17 Apr **1635**. Formerly Palace, Brussels, destroyed 1731. [Martin 1972, pp. 203ff., no. 53—ill. (print) / Jaffé 1989, no. 1163] Oil sketch for entire decoration. Hermitage, Leningrad, inv. 503. [Martin, no. 52a—ill. / Held 1980, no. 165—ill. / Jaffé, no. 1162—ill.] See also *Jan van den Hoecke*, below.
- Nicolas Poussin**, 1594–1665, attributed. “The Choice of Hercules (between Vice and Virtue).” Painting. **Mid-1630s**. Stourhead, Wiltshire. [Wright 1985, no. 116, pl. 158 / Blunt 1966, no. 159—ill. / also Thuillier 1974, no. B35—ill. / Panofsky 1930, pp. 140ff., pl. 63]

- Samuel Columbus**, 1642–1679, with **Georg Stjernhjelm**, 1598–1672. *Spel om Hercules Wägöwal* [A Play about Hercules' Choice]. 1647. Drama. Stockholm: 1658. Modern edition, Stockholm: Bonnier, 1955. [Gustafson 1961, p. 97 / CEWL 1973, 3:567]
- Georg Stjernhjelm**, 1598–1672. (The choice of) *Hercules*. Didactic epic in hexameters, based on Xenophon. 1647. Stockholm: 1658. Modern edition by Sten Lindroth and Carl Ivar Stahle (Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell, 1967; includes facsimile of original 1658 edition). [CEWL 1973, 3:567 / Algulin 1989, pp. 35f.]
- Pietro Testa**, 1611–1650. "A Youth between Athena and Venus." Drawing. Albertina, Vienna. [Pigler 1974, p. 126]
- Jan van den Hoecke**, 1611–1651, attributed (previously attributed to Rubens). "Hercules between Vice and Virtue." Painting. c.1647–51. Uffizi, Florence, inv. 1442. [Uffizi 1979, no. P1768—ill. / Panofsky 1930, pp. 113ff., 129, pl. 33]
- Pieter Symonsz Potter**, 1597/1600–1652. "The Choice of Hercules." Painting. Lost. / Engraved by Pieter Nolpe. [Panofsky 1930, pp. 121f., pl. 42]
- Michelangelo Cerquozzi**, 1602–1660. "Hercules at the Crossroads." Painting. Galleria Pallavicini, Rome. [Pigler 1974, p. 125]
- Pietro da Cortona**, 1596–1669. "The Choice of Hercules." Drawing. British Museum, London. [Panofsky 1930, p. 130, pl. 49] Copy in Württembergische Landes-kunstsammlung, Stuttgart. [Ibid.]
- Gérard de Laresse**, 1641–1711 (active until c.1690). "Hercules between Vice and Virtue." Painting. Louvre, Paris, inv. 1422. [Louvre 1979–86, 1:81—ill. / Panofsky 1930, p. 132, pl. 61]
- . "Hercules at the Crossroads." Painting. Historisch Museum, Amsterdam, inv. A7359. [Wright 1980, p. 229]
- Italian School**. "Wisdom and Pleasure Honoring Hercules." Painting. 17th century. Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, inv. 37.1840. [Walters 1976, p. 580]
- Sebastiano Ricci**, 1659–1734. "The Choice of Hercules." Painting. 1703 or later. Palazzo Fulcis-Bertoldi, Belluno. [Daniels 1976, no. 19—ill.]
- . "The Choice of Hercules." Fresco, part of "Hercules" cycle. 1706–07. Sala d'Ercole, Palazzo Marucelli-Fenzi, Florence. [Ibid., no. 110a—ill.] Study. Uffizi, Florence, inv. 1890.9156. [Ibid., no. 96—ill. / Uffizi 1979, no. P1332—ill.]
- . "The Choice of Hercules." Grisaille ceiling fresco, part of "Hercules" cycle, for Portland House, London. 1712–13. Destroyed. [Daniels, no. 208—ill.]
- Philip Tidemann**, 1657–1705. "Hercules at the Crossroads." Painting. 1703–04? Hopetown House, Scotland. [Warburg]
- Richard Steele**, 1672–1729. "The Choice of Hercules." Essay. In *The Tatler* 97 (1709). [Ips0]
- Anthony Ashley Cooper**, Third Earl of Shaftesbury, 1671–1713. Essay on the judgment of Hercules, in *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times* (London: 1711; revised 1714). [Oxford 1985, p. 888]
- Paolo de Matteis**, 1662–1728. "The Choice of Hercules." Painting. City Art Gallery & Temple Newsam, Leeds, cat. 1954 no. 22.15/48. [Wright 1976, p. 132] Engraved by S. Gribelin as illustration to Lord Shaftesbury's *Characteristics of Men* . . . (1714). [Paulson 1971, 1:273—ill. / Panofsky 1930, p. 131, pl. 52]
- Jacob de Wit**, 1695–1754. "Hercules between Minerva and Venus." Painting. 1721. Sold 1889, unlocated. [Staring 1958, 144]
- Adriaen van der Werff**, 1659–1722. "Hercules at the Crossroads." Painting. [Warburg]
- Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel**, 1690–1749. *Hercules Prodicus*. Opera. First performed 1725, Gotha. [Grove 1980, 18:175]
- Johann Sebastian Bach**, 1685–1750. *Hercules auf dem Scheidewege* [Hercules at the Crossroads]. Cantata. Libretto, Picander. First performed 5 Sep 1733. [Wolff et al. 1983, 99f., 133f., 191 / Grove 1980, 1:825]
- Ottmar Elliger the Younger**, 1666–1735. "Hercules at the Crossroads." Painting. [Pigler 1974, p. 126]
- John Hoadly**, 1711–1776. *The Judgment of Hercules*. Masque. Music, Maurice Greene. Before 1740. Music lost. [Grove 1980, 7:687 / Fiske 1973, pp. 175, 199]
- William Shenstone**, 1714–1763. *The Judgment of Hercules*. Masque. 1740. Published London: Dodsley, 1741? [Fiske 1973, p. 199 / Galinsky 1972, pp. 213ff.]
- Pompeo Batoni**, 1708–1787. "The Choice of Hercules" ("Hercules at the Crossroads"). Painting. 1742. Uffizi, Florence, no. 8547 (displayed in Galleria d'Arte Moderna, Palazzo Pitti). [Clark 1985, no. 67—ill. / Uffizi 1979, no. P165—ill.] Copy (17th-century Italian, "Wisdom and Pleasure Honoring Hercules") in Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, no. 37.1840. [Walters 1976, p. 580]
- . "The Choice of Hercules." Painting. 1748. Liechtenstein Collection, Vaduz, no. 161. [Clark, no. 123—ill.] Variant. Early 1750s. Galleria Sabauda, Turin, no. 471. [Ibid., no. 173—ill.] Variant. 1763–65. Hermitage, Leningrad, no. 4793. [Ibid., no. 288—ill. / Hermitage 1981, pl. 220]
- Robert Lowth**, 1710–1787. *The Judgment of Hercules*. Poem, based on Prodicus. Glasgow: Foulis, 1743. [Keates 1985, p. 298]
- Giuseppe Bazzani**, 1690/1701–1769. "Hercules" (and Virtue?). Painting. c.1750. Kress coll. (K1271), Howard University, Washington, D.C., no. 61.155.P. [Shapley 1966–73, 3:115—ill.]
- George Frideric Handel**, 1685–1759. "The Choice of Hercules." Oratorio, additional "new act" for *Alexander's Feast*. Music adapted from the composer's *Alceste* (projected, unperformed opera). Libretto adapted by Thomas Morell (?) from Robert Lowth (1743). First performed 1 Mar 1751, Covent Garden, London. [Keates 1985, p. 296f. / Lang 1966, pp. 502–505 / Hogwood 1984, pp. 222, 291 / Grove 1980, 8:101, 119]
- William Cooke**, 1711–1797, attributed. *The Tryal of Hercules, an ode on glory, virtue, and pleasure*. Poem. London: printed for M. Cooper, 1752. [Bush 1937, p. 545]
- Anonymous**. *The Choice of Hercules*. Dramatic interlude. First performed 14 March 1753, Covent Garden, London. [Nicoll 1959–66, 3:399]
- Pietro Metastasio**, 1698–1782. *Alcide al bivio* [Hercules (Alcides) at the Crossroads]. Libretto for opera (festa teatrale). First set by Hasse, 1760, and by at least 7 others to 1809. See below. [Grove 1980, 12:218] Published Vienna: 1760, with an illustration by Gregario Guglielmi. [Panofsky 1930, p. 137, pl. 60]
- Johann Adolf Hasse**, 1699–1783. *Alcide al bivio*. Opera

- (festa teatrale). Libretto, Metastasio (1760). First performed 8 Oct 1760, for marriage of Crown Prince Joseph to Isabella of Bourbon, Vienna. [Baker 1984, p. 962 / Grove 1980, 8:284, 288; 12:218 / Galinsky 1972, pp. 200, 227]
- Edmé Bouchardon**, 1698–1762. “Hercules at the Crossroads.” Drawing. Louvre, 23857, Paris. [Warburg]
- Benjamin West**, 1738–1820. “The Choice of Hercules.” Painting. 1764. Victoria and Albert Museum, London. [von Erffa & Staley 1986, no. 143—ill.]
- William Dunkin**, 1709–1765. “The Judgment of Hercules.” Poem. In *Select Poetical Works* (Dublin: Printed Jones etc., 1769–70). [Galinsky 1972, p. 229 / Boswell 1982, p. 253]
- Nicola Conforto**, 1718–after 1788. *Alcide al bivio*. Opera (festa teatrale). Libretto, Metastasio (1760). First performed 1765, for marriage of future Charles IV, Palace of Duke of Béjar, Madrid. [Grove 1980, 4:658; 12:218]
- Christoph Martin Wieland**, 1733–1813. *Die Wahl des Herkules* [The Choice of Hercules]. Drama. 1773. [Radspieler 1984, vol. 8 / Galinsky 1972, pp. 215f.]
- Anton Schweitzer**, 1735–1787. *Die Wahl des Herkules* [The Choice of Hercules]. Singspiel (lyric drama), for instruction of 17-year-old prince of Saxe-Weimar. Libretto, Wieland (1773). First performed 4 Sep 1773, Weimar. [Radspieler 1984, vol. 8 / McGraw-Hill 1984, 5:140 / Grove 1980, 17:46 / Galinsky 1972, pp. 215f., 229]
- Dmitry Bortnyansky**, 1751–1825. *Alcide*. Opera (dramma per musica). Libretto, Metastasio (1760). First performed 1778, Venice. [Grove 1980, 3:70]
- Luciano Xavier dos Santos**, 1734–1808. *Alcide al bivio*. Opera (festa teatrale). Libretto, Metastasio (1760). First performed 1778, Queluz or Ajuda. [Grove 1980, 16:485]
- Giovanni Paisiello**, 1740–1816. *Alcide al bivio*. Opera (festa teatrale). Libretto, Metastasio (1760). First performed 6 Dec 1780, Hermitage, St. Petersburg. [Grove 1980, 12:218; 14:99, 101]
- John Stanley**, 1712–1786. *The Choice of Hercules*. Cantata. Perhaps unperformed. Unpublished. MS in Rowe Library, King’s College, Cambridge. [Keates 1985, p. 298 / Grove 1980, 18:77 / Fiske 1973, pp. 199, 247]
- Nicolò Zingarelli**, 1752–1837. *Alcide al bivio*. Cantata. Libretto, Metastasio (1760). 1789. [Grove 1980, 20:694]
- Vincenzo Righini**, 1756–1812. *Alcide al bivio*. Opera (azione teatrale). Libretto, Metastasio (1760). First performed 1790, Koblenz. / Revised as cantata. First performed 1804, Vienna. [Grove 1980, 16:21 / see also Hellmut Federhofer, “Vincenzo Righini’s Opera *Alcide al Bivio*” (Hercules at the Crossroads), in *Essays Presented to Egon Wellesz* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966)]
- Honoré Langlé**, 1741–1807. *Le choix d’Alcide* [The Choice of Hercules (Alcides)]. Musical dramatic work. 1800. Unperformed. [Grove 1980, 10:452]
- Ludwig Tieck**, 1773–1853. “Der neue Herkules am Scheidewege” [The New Hercules at the Crossroads]. Poem, parody. In *Poetisches Journal* (Jena: Fromann, 1800). In modern edition, *Satiren und Parodien*, series 17, vol. 9, edited by Andreas Müller (Leipzig: Reclam, 1935). [Ips0]
- Simon Mayr**, 1763–1845. *Alcide al bivio*. Opera. Libretto, Metastasio (1760). First performed 1809, Bergamo? [Hunger 1959, p. 145]
- Antoine François Le Bailly**, 1756–1832. *Le choix d’Alcide* [The Choice of Hercules (Alcides)]. Opera-ballet. Published Paris: Brasseur, 1811. [Taylor 1893, p. 217]
- Friedrich Heinrich Füger**, 1751–1818. “Hercules at the Crossroads.” Oil sketch. Deutsche Barockgalerie, Augsburg. [Pigler 1974, p. 126]
- Mariano Maella**, 1739–1819. “Hercules at the Crossroads.” Ceiling painting. Royal Palace, Madrid. [Pigler 1974, p. 126]
- Pietro Benvenuti**, 1769–1844. “Hercules at the Crossroads.” Painting, part of “Hercules” cycle. 1828. Saloncino d’Ercole, Palazzo Pitti, Florence. [Pitti 1966, pp. 137ff.—ill.]
- Thomas Stothard**, 1755–1834. “The Choice of Hercules.” Painting. R. Feigen & Co., New York, in 1981. [*Burlington Magazine*, Dec 1981]
- Eberhard Wächter**, 1762–1852. “The Choice of Hercules.” Painting. 1839. Württembergische Landeskunstsammlungen, Stuttgart. [Panofsky 1930, p. 142, pl. 64]
- Eugène Delacroix**, 1798–1863. “Hercules between Vice and Virtue.” Ceiling painting, in “Life of Hercules” cycle, for Salon de la Paix, Hôtel de Ville, Paris. 1851–52. Destroyed by fire, 1871. [Robaut 1885, no. 1154—ill. (copy drawing) / Huyghe 1963, pp. 289, 423, 474]
- Daniel Maclise**, 1806–1870. “The Choice of Hercules.” Painting. Sold Christie’s, London, 1965. [Warburg]
- Camille Saint-Saëns**, 1835–1921. (Choice of Hercules evoked in) *La Jeunesse d’Hercule*. Symphonic poem, opus 50. First performed 28 Jan 1877, Paris. [Grove 1980, 16:405 / Baker 1984, p. 1972]
- William Enriken Bailly**. “The Choice of Alcides.” Poem. In *Classical Poems* (Cincinnati: Clarke, 1892). [Bush 1937, p. 583]
- Arthur Gray Butler**, 1832–1909. “The Choice of Hercules.” Poem. In *The Choice of Achilles and Other Poems* (London: Frowde, 1900). [Boswell 1982, p. 60]
- Birgit Cullberg**, 1908–1982, choreography. *Hercules op de Tweesprong* [Hercules at the Crossroads]. Ballet. First performed 1945, Royal Swedish Ballet, Stockholm. [Cohen-Stratynner 1982, p. 217]
- Richmond Lattimore**, 1906–1984. “Hercules at the Crossroads.” Poem. In *Poems* (1957); reprinted in *Poems from Three Decades* (New York: Scribner, 1972). [Boswell 1982, p. 163]

**Madness of Heracles.** Returning to Thebes from Mount Cithaeron, Heracles (Hercules) led the Theban citizens in battle against the Minyans of Orchomenus, to whom they had been forced to pay tribute. King Creon rewarded Heracles with the hand of his daughter Megara; the couple married and had three children. Some years later, Hera caused Heracles to suffer a fit of madness, during which he killed his children (and his wife, according to some classical sources). It is said that Heracles also killed two nephews, sons of Iphicles. When he regained his sanity, Heracles went into exile and visited the oracle at Delphi to learn how he might expiate his



crime. He was told to go to Tiryns and serve King Eurystheus for twelve years. According to Euripides' version of the myth, the madness of Heracles and the disastrous results of it occurred after he had performed his twelve labors for Eurystheus.

**Classical Sources.** Euripides, *Heracles*. Theocritus (or Moschus), *Megara*. Rhinthon of Syracuse, *Heracles*. Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca* 4.10.2–4.11.2. Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 2.4.11–12. Seneca, *Hercules furens*. Hyginus, *Fabulae* 31–32. Philostratus, *Imagines* 2.23.

**Further Reference.** Karl Galinsky, *The Herakles Theme* (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1972), pp. 192f., 232f.

**Jasper Heywood**, 1535–1597/98. *Hercules furens*. Translation of Seneca. London: Sutton, 1561 (bilingual edition). [Greg 1939–59, 1:110f., no. 34]

**Alessandro Turchi**, 1578–1649. “The Madness of Hercules.” Painting. c.1620. Alte Pinakothek, Munich, inv. 490. [Munich 1983, p. 536—ill.]

**Nicolas L’Héritier**, Seigneur de Nouvelon, c.1613–1680. *Hercule furieux*. Tragedy. Paris: Quinet, 1639. [Daemrich 1987, p. 134 / Taylor 1893, p. 113]

**Jacopo Melani**, 1623–1676. *Ercole in Tebe* [Hercules in Thebes]. Opera (festa teatrale), for Medici wedding. Libretto, Giovanni Andrea Moniglia. First performed 8 July (or 8 Dec) 1661, Pergola, Florence. [Baker 1984, p. 1506 / Grove 1980, 12:96 / Worsthorne 1954, pp. 44, 82 / Weaver 1978, pp. 130f.]

**Giovanni Antonio Boretti**, c.1640–1672, with some arias by Bernardo Sabadini. *Ercole in Tebe*. Opera. Libretto, G. A. Moniglia and Aurelio Aureli. First performed 1670–71, Teatro San Salvatore, Venice. [Grove 1980, 3:48, 16:363]

**Bernardo Sabadini**, ?–1718. *L’Ercole trionfante*. Opera. Libretto, Moniglia and Aureli (1670–71). First performed 1688, Piacenza. / Libretto twice revised by Aureli. [Grove 1980, 16:363]

**Antonio Canova**, 1757–1822. “Hercules (in His Madness) Killing His Sons.” Painting. 1799. Museo Civico, Bassano del Grappa. [Pavanello 1976, no. D30—ill. / Licht 1983, p. 262—ill.] Wax model, 1799; restored and reconstituted 1971. Museo Correr, Venice. [Pavanello, no. 112—ill. / also Licht, pp. 262–66—ill.] Plaster relief, 1803–04. Gipsoteca Canoviana, Possagno. [Pavanello, no. 133—ill. / Licht—ill.]

**Friedrich Hölderlin**, 1770–1843. (Heracles in his madness compared to the Rhein in) “Der Rhein.” Pindaric ode. 1801–08. In *Allgemeinen Literatur-Zeitung* 7 July 1808. [Beissner 1943–77, vol. 2 / Hamburger 1980 / Unger 1975, pp. 128f. / Galinsky 1972, pp. 256ff.]

**Robert Browning**, 1812–1889. (Translation of Euripides’ *Heracles*, recited by Balaustion, included in) *Aristophanes’ Apology: Including a Transcript from Euripides, Being the Last Adventure of Balaustion*. Dramatic monologue. 1873. London: Smith, Elder, 1875. [Scudder 1895 / Ryals 1975, pp. 104, 112–17 / Ward 1969, pp. 91, 186 / Bush 1937, pp. 373, 559]

**George Cabot Lodge**, 1873–1909. *Herakles*. Poetic drama. 1908. In *Poems and Dramas*, vol. 2 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1911). [Boswell 1982, p. 268 / Bush 1937, pp. 491f.]

**Frank Wedekind**, 1864–1918. (Madness of Heracles in)

*Herakles*. Drama. Munich: Müller, 1917. First performed 1 Sep 1919, Prinzregenten Theater, Munich. [Galinsky 1972, pp. 236–40]

**André-Joseph Allar**, 1845–1926. “Hercules Discovering His Dead Son.” Sculpture. Musées Municipaux de Toulon. [Bénézit 1976, 1:119]

**Yorgos Sicilianos**, 1922–1973. *Hercules furens*. Incidental music, opus 20, for performance of Euripides’ *Heracles* at Epidaurus. 1960. [Grove 1980, 17:294]

**Archibald MacLeish**, 1892–1982. (Madness of Heracles in) *Herakles*. Verse drama. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1967. [DLB 1986, 45:253f. / Galinsky 1972, pp. 66, 244–48]

**Pillars of Heracles.** The tenth labor of Heracles (Hercules), the theft of the cattle of Geryon, took him to Erytheia, an island on the westernmost edge of the world. On this journey, Heracles erected two pillars—traditionally identified as the rocks of Calpe (Gibraltar) and Abyla (Ceuta)—at the Atlantic entrance to the Mediterranean Sea, so that future travelers could see how far he had come. Some sources call them the Pillars of Gades, referring to the Phoenician colony on the Spanish coast (now Cadiz), northwest of Gibraltar, close to where Erytheia was thought to be located. According to another legend, the rocks were originally one mountain range separating the two seas, which Heracles wrenched apart to create what is known today as the Strait of Gibraltar.

**Classical Sources.** Herodotus, *History* 4.8. Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca* 18.4–5. Strabo, *Geography* 3.5.5, 4.1.7. Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 2.5.10. Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 2.242. Hyginus, *Poetica astronomica* 2.6.

**Albrecht Altdorfer**, c.1480–1538. “Hercules Carrying the Columns of Gades.” Engraving (Bartsch no. 27). c.1520–25. [Winzinger 1963, no. 143—ill.]

**Maerten van Heemskerck**, 1498–1574. “Hercules Carrying the Pillars.” Painting, in “Gods and Heroes from Mythology and the Old Testament” series. c.1545. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, inv. 60.50d. [Groschans 1980, no. 30j—ill.]

**Giambologna**, 1529–1608. “Hercules and the Pillars.” Statuette (medium unknown), presumed part of “Labors of Hercules” cycle for Francesco de’ Medici. Before 1581. Original set lost. / Variants/replicas, by Giambologna (?) and studio. National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin; Palacio de Oriente, Madrid. [Avery & Radcliffe 1978, no. 83—ill. / also Avery 1987, no. 85—ill.]

**Francisco Zurbarán**, 1598–1664. “Hercules Separating the Mountains Calpe and Abyla” (“Hercules Separating the Strait of Gibraltar”). Painting, part of “Labors of Hercules” cycle, for Salón de Reinos, Buen Retiro, Madrid. c.1634. Prado, Madrid, no. 1241. [López Torrijos 1985, pp. 141ff., 406—ill. / Prado 1985, p. 790]

**Michel Corneille the Younger**, 1642–1708. “Hercules Dragging the Columns of Gades.” Drawing. Louvre, Paris. [Pigler 1974, p. 124]

- Corrado Giaquinto**, 1703–1765. "Hercules Dragging the Columns of Gades." Painting. Casita del Principe, El Escorial. [Pigler 1974, p. 124]
- Giovanni Battista Tiepolo**, 1696–1770. (Hercules, with Pillars, in) "Apotheosis (Glorification) of the Spanish Monarchy." Ceiling fresco. 1762–66. Saleta, Palacio Real, Madrid. [Pallucchini 1968, no. 279—ill. / Levey 1986, p. 265—ill.] Oil sketches. Kress coll. (K1281), Metropolitan Museum, New York, no. 37.165.3; Wrightsman coll., New York; Marzotto coll., Portogruaro (by Domenico Tiepolo, wrongly attributed to Giambattista). [Pallucchini—ill. / also Metropolitan 1980, p. 183—ill. / Shapley 1966–73, 3:150f.—ill.]
- Eugène Delacroix**, 1798–1863. "Hercules at the Foot of the Columns." Ceiling painting, in "Life of Hercules" cycle, for Salon de la Paix, Hôtel de Ville, Paris. 1851–52. Destroyed by fire 1871. [Robaut 1885, no. 1162—ill. (copy drawing) / Huyghe 1963, pp. 289, 423, 474]
- Howard Nemerov**, 1920—. (Gates of Hercules evoked in) "Seven Macabre Songs" poem no. 6. In *Mirrors and Windows* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958). [Ips0]
- Dimitri Hadzi**, 1921—. "Pillars of Hercules." Bronze sculpture. 1971–72. Richard Gray Gallery, Chicago, in 1972. [Gray Gallery catalogue]
- . "Pillars of Hercules." Bronze sculpture. 1973–75. Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, and artist's coll.? [Ibid.]
- . "Pillars of Hercules III." Bronze sculpture, study for a commission by Stanford University. 1977–78. [Ibid.]

**Heracles and Cacus.** According to a tale related in Virgil's *Aeneid*, Hercules stopped at the future site of Rome while driving the cattle of Geryon homeward to complete his tenth labor. While the hero was entertained by King Evander, some of the cattle were stolen by Cacus, a fire-breathing, three-headed monster who was a son of Vulcan. By dragging the animals backward into his cave on the Aventine hill, Cacus made it impossible to track them. Hercules abandoned his search for them and set out with the rest of the herd, but as he passed the cave he heard lowing from within. Entering the cave, Hercules killed Cacus and recovered the stolen cattle. The site of this encounter is said to be near the Ara Maxima, an altar where Hercules was worshiped by the Romans as the god of victory and commercial enterprise.

**Classical Sources.** Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca* 4.17.1–4.18.5, 4.21. Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.185–270. Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 1.7.3ff. Ovid, *Fasti* 1.543–78, 5.673ff., 6.79ff. Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 2.5.10.

**Further Reference.** Karl Galinsky, *The Herakles Theme* (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1972), pp. 130, 133, 136, 153ff.

- Dante Alighieri**, 1265–1321. (Cacus, as a centaur, among the Thieves in) *Inferno* 25.17–33. c.1307–c.1314? In *The Divine Comedy*. Poem. Foligno: Neumeister & Angelini, 1472. [Singleton 1970–75, vol. 1]
- Baldassare Peruzzi**, 1481–1536. "Hercules before Evander." Drawing. 1517–18. Louvre, Paris, inv. 483. [Frommel 1967–68, no. 63—ill.]
- Rosso Fiorentino**, 1494–1540, composition. "Hercules Fighting Cacus." Engraving, in "Labors and Adventures of Hercules" cycle, executed by Gian Jacopo Caraglio (Bartsch no. 49). 1524. Original design lost. [Carroll 1987, no. 14—ill.]
- , composition. "Hercules and Cacus." Etching (Bartsch 16, anon. no. 59, as "Hercules and Antaeus"), by Antonio Fantuzzi. c.1543. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.) [Paris 1972, no. 322—ill.]
- Michelangelo**, 1475–1564. "Hercules and Cacus" (or Samson and a Philistine?). Clay sketch model for unexecuted sculpture. c.1525. Casa Buonarroti, Florence. [Pope-Hennessy 1985, 3:34, 48—ill. / cf. Baldini 1982, no. 39—ill.] Related drawing. British Museum, no. BB.1688. [Goldscheider 1964, pl. XXII-f] Bronze statue, after Michelangelo's model, by Pierino da Vinci. Frick Collection, New York. [Ibid., pl. XXXII-a]
- Baccio Bandinelli**, 1493–1560. "Hercules and Cacus." Marble sculpture. 1527–34. Piazza della Signoria, Florence. [Pope-Hennessy 1985b, 3:45ff., 363, 457—ill. / Sinibaldi 1950, pp. 6, 32—ill. / Lensi 1929, pp. 119f., 122—ill.] Terra-cotta sketch model. Kaiser Friedrich-Museum, Berlin. [Pope-Hennessy, p. 364]
- Hans Sebald Beham**, 1500–1550. "Hercules Killing Cacus." Print. 1545. [Augsburg 1975, no. E48—ill.]
- Giorgio Vasari**, 1511–1574, and assistants. Hercules and Cacus depicted in cycle of ceiling paintings on the deeds of Hercules. 1557. Sala di Ercole, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence. [Sinibaldi 1950, pp. 13, 23]
- Antwerp School.** "Hercules and Cacus." Marble sculpture. c.1555–60. Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg, inv. 1983/30. [Hofmann 1987, no. 2.9—ill.]
- Hendrik Goltzius**, 1558–1617, composition. "Hercules and Cacus." Woodcut, executed by studio. 1588. 4 states. [Strauss 1977a, no. 403—ill. / Bartsch 1980–82, no. 231—ill.]
- . "Hercules and Cacus" (allegory of the arts, virtue defeating envy). Painting. 1613. Mauritshuis, The Hague, inv. 43, on loan to Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem. [Mauritshuis 1985, p. 366—ill.]
- Annibale Carracci**, 1560–1609 (previously attributed to Agostino Carracci). "Hercules and Cacus." Fresco, part of "Hercules" cycle. c.1593–94. Palazzo Sampieri (Talon), Bologna. [Malafarina 1976, no. 74—ill.]
- Cavaliere d'Arpino**, 1568–1640. "Hercules and Cacus." Lunette fresco, part of cycle depicting scenes from the life of Hercules. 1594–95. Loggia Orsini, Palazzo del Sodalizio dei Piceni, Rome. [Röttgen 1969, pp. 279ff., 285]
- . "Hercules and Cacus." Drawing. 2 versions. Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne, no. Z2036; Louvre, Paris, inv. 2986. [Rome 1973, no. 101—ill.]
- Stefano Maderno**, c.1576–1636. "Hercules Slays Cacus." Marble sculpture group. 1622. Formerly Albertinum, Dresden. / Model. Cà d'Oro, Venice. [Pigler 1974, p. 114]

- Domenichino**, 1581–1641. “Landscape with Hercules Pulling Cacus from His Cave.” Painting. c.1621–23. Louvre, Paris, inv. 795. [Louvre 1979–86, 2:171–ill. / Spear 1982, no. 83–ill.]
- Jacob Jordaens**, 1593–1678. “Cacus Stealing the Oxen of Hercules.” Etching (based on the composition of “The Master Pulls the Cow Out of the Ditch by Its Tail,” tapestry in Jordaens’s “Flemish Proverbs” series). 1652. [Ottawa 1968, no. 291–ill. / also Rooses 1908, pp. 177, 183–ill. (copy)]
- Nicolas Poussin**, 1594–1665. “Landscape with Hercules and Cacus.” Painting. Early 1660s. Pushkin Museum, Moscow. [Wright 1985, no. 198, pl. 207 / also Blunt 1966, no. 158–ill. / Thuillier 1974, no. 215–ill.]
- , school. “Hercules and Cacus.” Painting. Muzeum Narodowe, Warsaw, inv. 129761, on display at Belweder Palace. [Warsaw 1969, no. 1546 (as French School)—ill.]
- Sebastiano Ricci**, 1659–1734. “Hercules and Cacus.” Painting, part of “Hercules” cycle. 1706–07. Sala d’Ercole, Palazzo Marucelli-Fenzi, Florence. [Daniels 1976, no. 110–ill.] Study, painting. Uffizi, Florence, inv. 520. [Ibid., no. 96–ill. / Uffizi 1979, no. P131–ill.]
- François Le Moine**, 1688–1737. “Hercules Slaying Cacus.” Painting. 1718. École Nationale des Beaux-Arts, Paris, inv. 2617, on deposit from Louvre, Paris (inv. 6714). [Bordeaux 1984, no. 16–ill.] Modello. 1717. Louvre, inv. 6715. [Ibid., no. 15–ill. / Louvre 1979–86, 4:47–ill.]
- John Flaxman**, 1755–1826. “Cacus, in the Form of a Centaur, Bitten by Serpents.” Drawing, illustrating *Inferno* 25.17–24, part of a series of illustrations to Dante’s *Divine Comedy*. c.1792. Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge. / Engraved by Tomasso Piroli, published privately, Rome: 1793; London: Longman & Co., 1807. [Irwin 1979, pp. 94, 226 n. 41 / Flaxman 1872, 4: pl. 27]
- Victor Hugo**, 1802–1885, writing as “V. d’Aubernay.” “Cacus.” Translation of *Aeneid* 8.190–267, extract from an unpublished translation of the *Aeneid*. In *Le conservateur littéraire* 29 Jan 1820. [Hugo 1985–86, vol. 4]
- William Blake**, 1757–1827. “The Centaur Cacus.” Watercolor, illustrating *Inferno* 25.17–33, part of a series of illustrations for Dante’s *Divine Comedy*. 1824–27. British Museum, London. [Butlin 1981, no. 812.50]
- Émile-Antoine Bourdelle**, 1861–1929. “Hercules and Cacus.” Plaster sculpture study. 1882. Private coll. [Jianou & Dufet 1975, no. 18] Bronze study, 1889. 4 casts. [Ibid.]
- Sir Reed Gooch Baggorre (George Shoobridge Carr)**, 1837–1912. “Cacus.” Poem. In *Mythological Rhymes* (London: Hodgson, 1912). [Boswell 1982, p. 26]

**Heracles and Antaeus.** While traveling through Africa before (or after) obtaining the golden apples of the Hesperides, the eleventh of his labors, Heracles (Hercules) encountered the Libyan giant Antaeus, son of Poseidon and Gaia (Earth). The giant challenged all who entered his territory to a wrestling match. He was thought to be invincible because every time he came in contact with the earth, his mother, his strength was renewed. Heracles was

able to overcome Antaeus by holding him aloft and crushing him to death.

**Classical Sources.** Pindar, *Isthmian Odes* 4.52–55. Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca* 4.17.4–5, 4.27.3. Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 2.5.11. Lucian, *Pharsalia* 4.593–660. Hyginus, *Fabulae* 31. Philostratus, *Imagines* 2.21–22.

**Dante Alighieri**, 1265–1321. (Antaeus lifts Dante and Virgil into the Ninth Circle in) *Inferno* 31:113–145. c.1307–c.1314? In *The Divine Comedy*. Poem. Foligno: Neumeister & Angelini, 1472. [Singleton 1970–75, vol. 1 / Samuel 1966, p. 97]

**Filarete**, c.1400–1469? “Hercules and Antaeus.” Relief, on bronze door of St. Peter’s, Rome. 1433–45. In place. [Pope-Hennessy 1985b, 2:318]

**Antonio del Pollaiuolo**, 1432/33–1498. “Hercules Strangling Antaeus.” Painting, part of cycle for Palazzo Medici, Florence. c.1460. Lost. [Ertlinger 1978, no. 44]

———, attributed. “Hercules and Antaeus.” Painting (possibly related to above; see also below). Uffizi, Florence, inv. 1478. [Ibid., no. 10–ill. / Uffizi 1979, no. P122–ill. / also Berenson 1963, p. 178]

———. “Hercules and Antaeus.” Bronze statuette (figures based on Uffizi painting). Before 1492 (c.1475–80?). Museo del Bargello, Florence. [Pope-Hennessy 1985b, 2:302–ill. / Ertlinger, no. 18–ill. / also Agard 1951, fig. 39]

**Andrea Mantegna**, 1430/31–1506. “Hercules and Antaeus.” Drawing. c.1465–68. Uffizi, Florence, no. 1482F. [Lightbown 1986, no. 183–ill.]

———. “Hercules and Antaeus.” Ceiling fresco, part of “Hercules” cycle. 1468–74. Camera Picta (Camera degli Sposi), Palazzo Ducale, Mantua. [Ibid., no. 20, pl. 65]

———, school. “Hercules and Antaeus.” Print (Bartsch no. 16), after design by Mantegna. [Ibid., no. 219–ill. / Borenius 1923, no. 11–ill.]

———, school. “Hercules and Antaeus.” Print (Bartsch 13:202 no. 1, as Pollaiuolo). [Borenius, no. 12–ill.]

———, school. “Hercules and Antaeus.” Print. [Borenius, no. 13–ill.]

**Paolo di Stefano Badaloni**, 1397–1478. “The Labors of Hercules.” Painting, depicting Hercules fighting the Ceryneian Hind, Antaeus, and a centaur, in one composition. Metropolitan Museum, New York, no. 1971.115.4. [Metropolitan 1980, p. 139–ill.]

**Sandro Botticelli**, 1445–1510. (Antaeus in) Drawing, illustrating *Inferno* 31, part of series of illustrations to Dante’s *Divine Comedy*. 1480s/early 1490s. Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin-Dahlem. [Lightbown 1978, 1:147ff., 2:172f., no. E44–ill.]

**Marcantonio Raimondi**, c.1480–1527/34. “Hercules Killing Antaeus.” Engraving (Bartsch no. 292), part of “Labors of Hercules” cycle. Early work. [Bartsch 1978, 26:277–ill.]

———. “Hercules and Antaeus.” Engraving (Bartsch no. 346), after (lost) composition by Giulio Romano (previously attributed to Raphael). c.1520–22. [Shoemaker 1981, no. 51–ill. / Bartsch, 27:42ff.—ill.]

**Albrecht Dürer**, 1471–1528, studio, under Dürer’s direction. “Hercules Killing Antaeus.” Drawing, design for series of medals (unlocated) depicting the adventures of

- Hercules.** 1510–11. Formerly Kunsthalle, Bremen, lost. [Strauss 1974, no. 1511/27—ill.]
- Anticore,** c.1460–1528. “Hercules and Antaeus.” Bronze sculpture. c.1519. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. [Louvre 1975, no. 52—ill.] Another version in Victoria and Albert Museum, London. [Pope-Hennessy 1985b, 2:85—ill.]
- Raphael,** 1483–1520, composition. “Hercules and Antaeus.” Engraved by Agostino Veneziano (Bartsch 14:237 no. 316). [Bartsch 1978, 26:317—ill.] See also *Marcantonio Raimondi*, above.
- Francesco da Sant’Agata,** fl. 1491–1528, questionably attributed. “Hercules and Antaeus.” Bronze statuette. c.1520. National Gallery, Washington, D.C. [Walker 1984, fig. 986 / Clapp 1970, 1:313]
- Michelangelo,** 1475–1564. “Hercules and Antaeus.” Drawing, sketch for a lost sculpture model. c.1525. British Museum, no. BB.1490. [Goldscheider 1964, pl. XXII-g]
- . (authenticity disputed, possible copy or forgery). “Three Labors of Hercules” (Lion, Hydra, Antaeus). Sheet of drawings. c.1530. Royal Library, Windsor, no. 12770. [Ibid., no. 68—ill.]
- Giulio Romano,** c.1499–1546, assistants, after designs by Giulio. Fresco (simulated bronze plaque) depicting Hercules and Antaeus. 1527–28. Sala dei Cavalli, Palazzo del Tè, Mantua. [Hartt 1958, pp. 112ff., fig. 183 / Verheyen 1977, p. 115]
- Lucas Cranach,** 1472–1553. “Hercules and Antaeus.” Painting. c.1530. 2 versions. Private coll., Garmisch-Partenkirchen in 1937; Akademie der Bildenden Künste, Vienna, no. 1148. [Friedländer & Rosenberg 1978, nos. 268–69—ill.]
- Hans Baldung Grien,** 1484/85–1545. “Hercules and Antaeus.” Painting. 1530. Muzeum Narodowe, Warsaw, inv. 187515. [Osten 1983, no. 70a, pl. 144 / Warsaw 1969, no. 38—ill.]
- . “Hercules and Antaeus.” Painting. 1531. Staatliche Gemäldegalerie, Kassel, no. 1125. [Osten, no. 72, color pl. 7, pls. 154–55 / also Yale 1981, p. 252—ill.]
- Rosso Fiorentino,** 1494–1540, composition. “Hercules and Cacus” (“Hercules and Antaeus”). Etching (Bartsch 16, anon. no. 59, as “Hercules and Antaeus”), by Antonio Fantuzzi. c.1543. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.) [Paris 1972, no. 322—ill.]
- Maerten van Heemskerck,** 1498–1574. “Hercules Conquers Antaeus.” Painting, in “Gods and Heroes from Mythology and the Old Testament” series. c.1545. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, inv. 60.50c. [Groschans 1980, no. 301—ill.]
- Frans Floris,** 1516/20–1570. “Hercules and Antaeus.” Painting, one of 10 in “Labors of Hercules” cycle; others lost. 1554–55. Private coll. [de Bosque 1985, p. 55—ill.]
- Giorgio Vasari,** 1511–1574, and assistants. Hercules and Antaeus depicted in cycle of ceiling paintings on the deeds of Hercules. 1557. Sala di Ercole, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence. [Sinibaldi 1950, pp. 13, 23]
- Niccolò Tribolo,** 1500–1550, and **Bartolommeo Ammannati,** 1511–1592. (Hercules and Antaeus, figures atop) “Fountain of Hercules.” Modeled by Tribolo, unfinished; completed 1559 by Ammannati from Tribolo’s model. Villa Reale di Castello, near Florence. [Pope-Hennessy 1985b, 3:73f., 359f.—ill.]
- Benvenuto Cellini,** 1500–1571. “Hercules,” “Hercules and Antaeus.” Wax models for unexecuted sculptures. In studio inventory, 1571, lost. [Pope-Hennessy 1985a, p. 284]
- Luca Cambiaso,** 1527–1585. “Hercules Battling Antaeus.” Fresco. Formerly Genoa, destroyed. / Drawing. Manning coll., New York. [Manning & Suida 1958, p. 97]
- Domenico Tintoretto,** 1562–1635 (previously attributed to Jacopo Tintoretto, 1518–1594). “Hercules and Antaeus.” Painting. Late 1580s? Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, no. 1928.2. [Rossi 1982, no. A44—ill. / also Berenson 1957, p. 173 (as Jacopo)]
- Cavaliere d’Arpino,** 1568–1640. “Hercules and Antaeus.” Lunette fresco, part of cycle depicting scenes from the life of Hercules. 1594–95. Loggia Orsini, Palazzo del Sodalizio dei Picensi, Rome. [Röttgen 1969, pp. 279ff., 285]
- Annibale Carracci,** 1560–1609. “Hercules and Antaeus.” Fresco, part of “Hercules” cycle. 1595–97. Camerino, Palazzo Farnese, Rome. [Malafarina 1976, no. 87c—ill. / Martin 1965, pp. 27ff.—ill.]
- South Netherlandish School.** “Hercules Struggling with Antaeus.” Painting. 16th century. Rijksmuseum Twenthe, Enschede, cat. 1976 no. 30. [Wright 1980, p. 305]
- Peter Paul Rubens,** 1577–1640. “Hercules as Victor over Discord” (formerly called “Hercules Conquering Antaeus”). Painting, oil sketch. c.1620. Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, on loan from Dienst voor ’s Rijks Verspreide Kunstvoorwerpen, no. 2673 (2297). [Held 1980, no. 243—ill. / Jaffé 1989, no. 550—ill.]
- , and **Jacob Jordaens,** 1593–1678. “Hercules and Antaeus.” Painting. Designed (and begun?) by Rubens 1638, unfinished, completed by Jordaens after Rubens’s death. Formerly Knowsley Hall, sold 1954, with Central Picture Galleries, New York, in 1980s. [Jaffé, no. 1376—ill.] Oil sketch (probably copy after lost original sketch). National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, inv. 1720/4. [Ibid., no. 1375—ill. / Held, no. 241A—ill.] Variant sketches, previously attributed to Rubens. Fock-Stenman coll., Stockholm; Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence, inv. 377. [Held, nos. A3–4—ill.] 2 further painted versions of the subject known: Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence; another unlocated. [Burchard & d’Hulst 1963, p. 297]
- Guercino,** 1591–1666. “Hercules Battling Antaeus.” Fresco. 1631. Palazzo Talon (Sampieri), Bologna. [Salerno 1988, no. 134—ill. / also Bologna 1968, 1: pl. XII; 2:124f.]
- Francisco Zurbarán,** 1598–1664. “Battle of Hercules and Antaeus.” Painting, part of “Labors of Hercules” cycle, for Salón de Reinos, Buen Retiro, Madrid. c.1634. Prado, Madrid, no. 1246. [López Torrijos 1985, pp. 141ff., 406—ill. / Prado 1985, p. 790]
- Stefano Maderno,** c.1576–1636, after. “Hercules and Antaeus.” Bronze statuette. National Gallery, London, inv. 6271. [London 1986, p. 701—ill.]
- Pedro Calderón de la Barca,** 1600–1681. (Hercules kills Antaeus in) *Fieras afemina Amor* [Love Tames the Wild Beasts]. Comedy (*fiesta de espectáculo*). 1669. First performed Jan 1670, Vienna? [Valbuena Briones 1960–67, vol. 1 / O’Connor 1988, pp. 159–66]
- John Milton,** 1608–1674. (Antaeus evoked in) *Paradise Regained* 4.563–68. Epic. London: for Starkey, 1671. [Carey & Fowler 1968; cf. p. 1164 n.]
- Francisco Solís,** 1629–1684. “Hercules Fighting Antaeus.”

- Painting, part of "Labors of Hercules" cycle, for Plazuela de la Villa, Madrid. 1680. Lost. [López Torrijos 1985, p. 406 no. 30]
- Sebastiano Ricci**, 1659–1734. "Hercules and Antaeus." Fresco, part of "Hercules" cycle. 1706–07. Sala d'Ercole, Palazzo Marucelli-Fenzi, Florence. [Daniels 1976, no. 110—ill.]
- , attributed. "Hercules and Antaeus (with Gaia)." Painting. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. 1907. [Ibid., no. 522 / Vienna 1973, p. 143—ill.]
- Giovanni Battista Tiepolo**, 1696–1770. "Hercules Killing Antaeus." Painting, for Palazzo Sandi, Venice. c.1725–26. Da Schio coll., Castelgomberto, Vicenza. [Pallucchini 1968, no. 33c—ill. / Levey 1986, p. 28 / Morassi 1962, p. 8]
- John Flaxman**, 1755–1826. "Antaeus Taking Dante and Virgil Up and Setting Them Down in the Ninth Circle." Drawing, illustrating *Inferno* 31.139–45, part of series of illustrations to Dante's *Divine Comedy*. c.1792. Engraved by Tomasso Piroli, published privately, Rome: 1793; London: Longman & Co., 1807. Original drawing in Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge. [Irwin 1979, pp. 94, 226 n. 41 / Flaxman 1872, 4: pl. 33]
- Auguste Couder**, 1789–1873. "Earth: Combat of Hercules and Antaeus." Ceiling painting, part of "Elements" cycle. 1819. Vestibule, Galerie d'Apollon, Louvre, Paris (inv. 3378). [Louvre 1979–86, 3:162—ill.]
- Eugène Delacroix**, 1798–1863. "Hercules Strangling Antaeus." Ceiling painting, part of "Life of Hercules" cycle for Salon de la Paix, Hôtel de Ville, Paris. 1851–52. Destroyed by fire, 1871. [Robaut 1885, nos. 1160—ill. (copy drawing) / Huyghe 1963, pp. 289, 423, 474] Replica. 1854? Mahmoud Khalil Museum, Cairo. [Johnson 1981–86, no. 316—ill. / Robaut 1885, no. 1139—ill. (drawing)]
- Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux**, 1827–1875. "Hercules and Antaeus." Drawing. Cabinet des Dessins, Louvre, Paris, no. R.F. 1208. [Beyer 1975, no. 86]
- José-Maria de Heredia**, 1842–1905. "Hercule et Antée." Sonnet. 1889. [Delaty 1984, vol. 2]
- Wilfred Owen**, 1893–1918. "Antaeus" ("The Wrestlers"). Poem. 1917. In *Poems* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1920); reprinted in *Complete Poems and Fragments*, vol. 2 (London: Chatto & Windus, 1983). [Ips0 / BW 1979–87, 6:459]
- Gerhard Marcks**, 1889–1981. "Kneeling Antaeus." Bronze sculpture. 1926. Unique (?) cast. Unlocated. [Busch & Rudloff 1977, no. 140—ill.]
- Laurence Housman**, 1865–1959. "Antaeus." Poem. In *Collected Poems* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1937). [Boswell 1982, p. 264]
- Jacques Lipchitz**, 1891–1973. "Hercules and Antaeus." Drawing. c.1942. Artist's coll. in 1972. [Lipchitz 1972, p. 160—ill.]
- Robert Rauschenberg**, 1925–. Transfer-drawing, depicting Antaeus represented as a hand holding Dante and Virgil, illustration to *Inferno* 31. 1959–60. Museum of Modern Art, New York. [Berlin 1980, p. 240—ill.]
- Seamus Heaney**, 1939–. "Antaeus," "Hercules and Antaeus." Poems. In *North* (London: Faber & Faber; New York: Oxford University Press, 1975). [DLB 1985, 40 pt. 1: 189 / Jones & Schmidt 1980, p. 110]
- Leonard Baskin**, 1922–. "Hercules and Antaeus." Bronze sculpture. 1981. Kennedy Galleries, New York, in 1982. [Baskin 1982, no. 10—ill.]
- Heracles and Deianeira.** While in Hades performing his twelfth labor, the abduction of Cerberus, Heracles (Hercules) met the shade of Meager, who asked the hero to marry his sister Deianeira. To keep his promise, Heracles traveled to Calydon in Aetolia to ask King Oeneus for his daughter's hand. Deianeira, however, had been promised to the river-god Achelous. Heracles challenged Achelous to a wrestling match. During the contest the god transformed himself into a bull; Heracles broke off one of his horns, thus securing the victory. Afterward, Heracles returned the horn to the river-god in exchange for the horn of the goat Amalthea, which could supply its owner with an endless bounty of food and drink; according to an alternate version, the Naiads retrieved Achelous's horn and filled it with fruit and flowers. This *cornu copiae* (horn of plenty) has become a popular device in the visual arts.
- After winning Deianeira, Heracles brought her to Tiryns. On the way, they were assisted in crossing the flooded Evenus River by the centaur Nessus, who forded it with Deianeira on his back. When they reached the shore, the centaur tried to rape her, but Heracles killed him with a poisoned arrow. As he lay dying, Nessus told Deianeira to smear some of his blood on a garment, which would win back her husband's love if she should ever lose it. This was the "shirt of Nessus" that later caused Heracles' death.
- Deianeira and Heracles lived in Tiryns for a number of years. She bore him several children, including a son, Hyllus. After the murder of Iole's brother Iphitus, Heracles' family was exiled to Trachis.
- Classical Sources.** Sophocles, *The Women of Trachis*. Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca* 4.34.1, 4.36.1–5, 4.38.1–5. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 8.542–9.133. Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 1.8.1–3, 2.7.5–7. Seneca, *Hercules oetaeus*. Hyginus, *Fabulae* 31, 33–36, 129, 162, 174, 240, 243. Philostratus, *Imagines* 4.16.
- See also HERACLES, Death.
- Dante Alighieri**, 1265–1321. (Nessus among the centaurs guarding the Murderers in) *Inferno* 12.46–139. c.1307–c.1314? In *The Divine Comedy*. Poem. Foligno: Neumeister & Angelini, 1472. [Singleton 1970–75, vol. 1]
- Anonymous French.** (Story of Hercules and Deianeira in) *Ovide moralisé* 9.1–486. Poem, allegorized translation/elaboration of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. c.1316–28. [de Boer 1915–86, vol. 3]
- Giovanni Boccaccio**, 1313–1375. "De Deyanira Herculis coniuge" [Deianeira, Wife of Hercules]. In *De mulieribus claris* [Concerning Famous Women]. Latin verse com-

- pendium of myth and legend. 1361–75. Ulm: Zainer, 1473. [Branca 1964–83, vol. 10 / Guarino 1963]
- John Gower**, 1302?–1408. (Tales of Deianeira, and Nessus, Hercules, and Achelous, in) *Confessio amantis* 2.2145–2308, 4.2045–2134. Poem. c.1390. Westminster: Caxton, 1483. [Macaulay 1899–1902, vol. 2 / Beidler 1982, p. 15]
- Filarete**, c.1400–1469? “Hercules, Deianeira, and Nessus.” Relief, on bronze door of St. Peter’s, Rome. 1433–45. In place. [Pope-Hennessy 1985b, 2:318]
- Apollonio di Giovanni**, c.1415–1465. “The Rape of Deianeira.” Painting. Cincinnati Art Museum, Ohio, no. 1933.9. [Berenson 1963, p. 18]
- Antonio del Pollaiuolo**, 1432/33–1498 (and Piero Pollaiuolo?). “The Rape of Deianeira.” Painting. Before 1467. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, no. 1871.42. [Ertlinger 1978, no. 11–ill. / also Berenson 1963, p. 179–ill.]
- Andrea Mantegna**, 1430/31–1506. “Hercules Shooting an Arrow,” “Nessus Transfixed by Hercules’ Arrow.” Ceiling frescoes. 1468–74. Camera Picta (Camera degli Sposi), Palazzo Ducale, Mantua. [Lightbown 1986, no. 20, pls. 67–68]
- Michelangelo**, 1475–1564. “Battle of the Centaurs” (subject disputed; battle of Hercules and centaurs, with rape of Deianeira? battle of centaurs and lapiths?). Marble relief. c.1492. Casa Buonarroti, Florence. [Baldini 1982, no. 4–ill. / Goldscheider 1964, p. 9–ill. / Pope-Hennessy 1985, 3:302–ill.] 2 chalk copies by Peter Paul Rubens, 1600–08. See below.
- Florentine School**. “Deianeira and Nessus.” Painting. 15th century. Blickling Hall, Norfolk. [Wright 1976, p. 97]
- Marcantonio Raimondi**, c.1480–1527/34. “Hercules Killing the Centaur Nessus,” “Hercules Killing Achelous, Transformed into a Bull.” Engravings (Bartsch nos. 289, 291), part of “Labors of Hercules” cycle. Early work. [Bartsch 1978, 26:277–80–ill.]
- Albrecht Dürer**, 1471–1528, studio, under Dürer’s direction. “Hercules Conquering Achelous,” “Hercules Killing Nessus.” Drawings, design for series of medals (unlocated) depicting the adventures of Hercules. 1510–11. Formerly Kunsthalle, Bremen, lost. [Strauss 1974, nos. 1511/28, 31–ill.]
- Jan Gossaert**, called Mabuse, c.1478–1533/36. “Hercules and Deianeira.” Painting. 1515. Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Birmingham, England. [Rotterdam 1965, p. 26–ill. / de Bosque 1985, p. 53–ill.] Related etching. (Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam.) [Rotterdam, no. 76–ill.]
- . “Hercules and Deianeira” (or Omphale?). Woodcut. c.1515? (Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam.) [Rotterdam 1965, no. 73–ill.]
- Rosso Fiorentino**, 1494–1540, composition. “Hercules Shooting Nessus,” “Hercules Overpowering the River Achelous.” Engravings, in “Labors and Adventures of Hercules” cycle, executed by Gian Jacopo Caraglio (Bartsch nos. 45, 48). 1524. Original designs lost. [Carroll 1987, nos. 10, 13–ill.]
- Giulio Romano**, c.1499–1546, assistants, after designs by Giulio. Fresco (simulated bronze plaque) depicting Hercules, Deianeira, and Nessus. 1527–28. Sala dei Cavalli, Palazzo del Tè, Mantua. [Hart 1958, pp. 112ff., fig. 184 / Verheyen 1977, p. 115]
- Parmigianino**, 1503–1540. “Hercules, Nessus, and Deianeira.” Drawing. Duke of Devonshire coll., Chatsworth, Derbyshire. / Variant print, by Andrea Schiavone, c.1540? [Richardson 1980, no. 72–ill.]
- Maerten van Heemskerck**, 1498–1574. “Hercules Slays the Centaur Nessus.” Painting, in “Gods and Heroes from Mythology and the Old Testament” series. c.1545. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. A3513. [Grosshans 1980, no. 30c–ill. / Rijksmuseum 1976, p. 265–ill.]
- Lucas Cranach**, 1472–1553, studio. “Hercules and Nessus.” Painting, part of “Hercules” cycle. After 1537. Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig, nos. 712–718. [Braunschweig 1969, pp. 47f.]
- Giorgio Vasari**, 1511–1574, and assistants. Hercules and Nessus depicted in cycle of ceiling paintings on the deeds of Hercules. 1557. Sala di Ercole, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence. [Sinibaldi 1950, pp. 13, 23]
- Andrea Schiavone**, c.1522–1563, attributed. “Nessus and Deianeira.” Painting. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. A3374. [Rijksmuseum 1976, p. 504–ill.]
- Giambologna**, 1529–1608. “Nessus and Deianeira.” Bronze sculpture group. Examples 1575–80 and later. Louvre, Paris; Huntington Library & Art Gallery, San Marino, Calif.; Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden; elsewhere. [Avery 1987, nos. 90–92–ill. / Avery & Radcliffe 1978, pp. 109f., nos. 60–65–ill. / also Florence 1986, p. 67–ill.] Marble version. 1591. Private coll., Canada (damaged). [Avery, no. 17 / Avery & Radcliffe, no. 61 n.] Bronze variants. Private coll., London; Louvre, Paris, no. OA9480. [Avery & Radcliffe, nos. 66–67–ill. / also Avery, no. 93–ill.] Bronze variant copy, attributed to Adriaen de Vries (c.1560–1626), in Frick Collection, New York, no. 15.2.49. [Frick 1968–70, 4:40f.–ill.] Copy, by Pietro Tacca, in Hermitage, Leningrad, inv. 1272. [Hermitage 1984, no. 368–ill.]
- with **Pietro Francavilla**, 1546/53–1615. “Hercules Slaying a Centaur.” Marble sculpture. 1595–1600. Loggia dei Lanzi, Florence. [Avery, no. 20–ill. / Pope-Hennessy 1985b, 3:388f.–ill.] Wax model. Victoria and Albert Museum, London. [Pope-Hennessy] Bronze replicas/variants, by Giambologna and/or studio. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, nos. 5834, 6030; Museo del Bargello, Florence; elsewhere. [Avery & Radcliffe, nos. 81–82–ill. (cf. nos. 227–28) / also Avery, nos. 74–75–ill. (cf. nos. 194–95)]
- Paolo Veronese**, 1528–1588. “Hercules, Deianeira, and the Centaur Nessus.” Painting. c.1582–84. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. 1525 (398). [Pallucchini 1984, no. 233–ill. / Pignatti 1976, no. 258–ill. / Vienna 1973, p. 197–ill. / Berenson 1957, p. 139]
- Luca Cambiaso**, 1527–1585. “The Rape of Deianeira” (?). Drawing. Victoria & Albert Museum, London, inv. 342. [Manning & Suida 1958, p. 182–ill.]
- Bartholomeus Spranger**, 1546–1611. “Hercules, Deianeira, and the Dead Centaur Nessus.” Painting. 1580s. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. 2613. [Vienna 1973, p. 165–ill. / also Hofmann 1987, no. 3.7–ill. / de Bosque 1985, pp. 67, 204f.–ill.]
- . “Hercules, Deianeira, and Nessus.” Drawing. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna. [de Bosque, p. 206–ill.]
- Hendrik Goltzius**, 1558–1617. “Hercules and Deianeira.” Drawing, composition for print. c.1590–91. Stä-

- delsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, inv. N1792. / Print executed by Jacob Matham (Bartsch no. 159). [Reznick 1961, no. 136—ill. / also de Bosque 1985, p. 204—ill.]
- Cavaliere d'Arpino**, 1568–1640. "Hercules, Nessus, and Deianeira." Lunette fresco, part of cycle depicting scenes from the life of Hercules. 1594–95. Loggia Orsini, Palazzo del Sodalizio dei Piceni, Rome. [Röttgen 1969, pp. 279ff., 285]
- Peter Paul Rubens**, 1577–1640. "Battle of the Centaurs" (Heracles and Nessus?). 2 drawings, copies after Michelangelo (c.1492, Florence). 1600–08. Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam; Fondation Custodia, Paris. [White 1987, pls. 18, 19]
- and **Frans Snyder**, 1579–1657. "Three Nymphs with Cornucopia" ("Ceres and Two Nymphs"). Painting. c.1617 (or 1620–28?). Prado, Madrid, no. 1664. [Jaffé 1989, no. 441—ill. / Prado 1985, p. 601] Oil sketch ("Nymphs Filling the Horn of Plenty"). Dulwich College Picture Gallery, inv. 171. [Held 1980, no. 255—ill. / Jaffé, no. 440—ill.]
- (Rubens). "Dying Nessus, and Deianeira." Painting. c.1635. Unlocated. [Jaffé, no. 1110—ill.]
- and **Jacob Jordaens**, 1593–1678. "Nessus Abducting Deianeira." Painting. c.1635. Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum, Hannover. [Ibid., no. 112—ill.] Studio copy (also attributed to Rubens). Hermitage, Leningrad. [Ibid. / Rosenberg 1988, no. 217 fig. 2] Watercolor copy, by Jean-Honoré Fragonard, c.1777. See *Fragonard*, below.
- (Rubens). "Deianeira and Nessus." Painting, for Torre de la Parada, El Pardo, executed by assistant (Erasmus Quellinus?) from Rubens's design. 1636–38. Lost. [Prado 1984, pp. 606f. / Alpers 1971, no. 16 / Jaffé, no. 1258; cf. no. 1257] Oil sketch. Private coll., Hannover. [Prado / also Alpers, no. 16a / Held, no. 183—ill.] Copy, by Juan Bautista del Mazo (c.1612–1667), in Palacio de Pedralbes, on deposit from Prado, Madrid; copy (18th century) in Prado, no. 2460. [Prado / Alpers—ill.]
- , studio. "Deianeira Abducted by Nessus." Painting, oil sketch, copy after lost original (formerly thought to be connected to Torre de la Parada decoration). c.1636–38. Formerly Arnhold coll., New York, unlocated. [Held, no. 234 n.—ill. / Jaffé, no. 1345]
- , school. "Hercules Wrestling with Achelous in the Form of a Bull." Painting. Wellington Museum, Apsley House, London. [Wright 1976, p. 178]
- Francis Bacon**, 1561–1626. "Achelous, sive praelium" (Hercules' battle with Achelous). Chapter 23 of *De sapientia veterum*. Mythological compendium. London: Barker, 1609. / Translated as "Achelous, or Battell" by Arthur Gorges in *The Wisdom of the Ancients* (London: Bill, 1619). Modern facsimile edition (bilingual), New York & London: Garland, 1976. [Ipsos]
- Thomas Heywood**, 1573/74–1641. (Story of Nessus and Deianeira in) *Troia Britanica: or, Great Brittaines Troy* 7.95–96. Epic poem. London: 1609. [Heywood 1974]
- (Episode, as above, in) *The Brazen Age*. Drama, partially derived from *Troia Britanica*. First performed c.1610–13, London. Published London: Okes, 1613. [Heywood 1874, vol. 3 / DLB 1987, 62:101, 122ff. / also Boas 1950, pp. 83ff. / Clark 1931, pp. 62ff.]
- (Story of Deianeira in) "Of Women That Have Come by Strange Deaths." Passage in *Gynaikeion: or, Nine Books of Various History Concerning Women* book 4. Compendium of history and mythology. London: Adam Islip, 1624. [Ipsos]
- David Vinckeboons**, 1576–1629. "Nessus, Deianeira, and Hercules." Painting. 1612. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. 9101. [Vienna 1973, p. 199—ill.]
- Guido Reni**, 1575–1642. "Hercules Fighting with Achelous," "Deianeira Abducted by Nessus." Paintings, part of "Feats of Hercules" ("Power and Triumph of the Gonzaga") cycle. 1620–21. Louvre, Paris, inv. 536. [Pepper 1984, nos. 69, 71—ill. / Louvre 1979–86, 2:226—ill. / Gnudi & Cavalli 1955, nos. 43, 45—ill.] Copy of "Achelous" in Musée des Beaux-Arts, Orléans. / Studio variant of "Deianeira" in Berg Gallery, Prague; copy (attributed to Coypel) in Château de Versailles, on deposit from Louvre (inv. 548). [Pepper / also Louvre, 2:297; cf. nos. 547–48]
- Adriaen de Vries**, c.1550–1626. "Hercules, Nessus, and Deianeira." Bronze statuette. 1622. Slott, Drottningholm, Sweden. [Frick 1968–70, 4:42]
- Domenichino**, 1581–1641. "Landscape with Hercules Battling Achelous (in the Form of a Bull)." Painting. c.1621–23. Louvre, Paris, inv. 794 (1614). [Spear 1982, no. 82—ill. / Louvre 1979–86, 2:171—ill.]
- Johann Rottenhammer**, 1564–1625, questionably attributed. "Hercules Freeing Deianeira." Painting. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. 1147 (1529). [Vienna 1973, p. 145]
- Nicolas Poussin**, 1594–1665. "Hercules Carrying Off Deianeira." Painting. c.1635. Lost. / Drawings. Royal Library, Windsor Castle, no. 11912; Louvre, Paris, no. 32508. [Friedlaender & Blunt 1953, nos. 218–19—ill. / also Thuillier 1974, no. 103—ill. (print) / Wright 1985, no. L24 / Blunt 1966, no. L63]
- Pedro Calderón de la Barca**, 1600–1681. (Hercules and Deianeira in) *Los tres mayores prodigios* [The Three Greatest Marvels] act 3. Drama. First performed St. John's Night 1636, Buen Retiro, Madrid. Published in *Comedias de Calderón*, part 2 (Madrid: 1637). [Valbuena Briones 1960–67, vol. 1 / O'Connor 1988, pp. 136, 144–52 / Maraniss 1978, pp. 104f.]
- Stefano Della Bella**, 1610–1664. "Hercules and Deianeira." Etching, for set of playing cards. 1644. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Uffizi, no. 102392. [Florence 1986, no. 3.22—ill.]
- Padovanino**, 1588–1648. "Deianeira and the Centaur Nessus." Painting. Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota, Fla., inv. SN142. [Sarasota 1976, no. 98—ill.]
- Jacob Jordaens**, 1593–1678. "(Hercules and the Nymphs) Filling the Horn of Plenty" ("Hercules and Achelous"). Painting. 1649. Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen. [Copenhagen 1951, no. 351—ill. / Rooses 1908, pp. 145ff.—ill.]
- Nessus abducting Deianeira, representing "November" ("The Archer"). Ceiling painting, part of "Signs of the Zodiac" cycle, for the artist's house in Antwerp. Early 1640s. Senate Library, Palais du Luxembourg, Paris. [Rooses, pp. 124f.]
- , attributed. "Nessus and Deianeira." Painting. Sold Cologne, 1892. [Rooses, p. 259]
- Alessandro Algardi**, 1598–1654. "Hercules and Achelous"

- lous." Drawing. Louvre, Paris, no. 6854. [Montagu 1985, Drawings no. 28—ill.]
- Luca Giordano**, 1634–1705, attributed (previously attributed to Jusepe de Ribera). "Hercules and Nessus." Painting. 1650s. Museul de Arta al Republicii, Bucharest, no. 225. [Ferrari & Scavizzi 1966, 2:64—ill.] School variant, 1650–1700. Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, no. 524. [Ibid., 2:65 / Budapest 1968, p. 477]
- . "The Rape of Deianeira." Painting. 1650s. Galleria Nazionale, Palermo, on deposit at Museo, Agrigento. [Ferrari & Scavizzi, 2:69—ill.]
- . "Hercules Slaying Nessus." Painting. 1670–80. Manning coll., New York. [Ibid., 2:367f.]
- . "Nessus and Deianeira." Painting. c.1675–80? Musée des Beaux-Arts, Douai, no. 1143, in 1919. [Ibid., 2:325]
- . "The Rape of Deianeira" ("Deianeira and Nessus"). Painting. c.1682. Uffizi, Florence, inv. 1364. [Uffizi 1979, no. P714—ill. / also Ferrari & Scavizzi, 2:119—ill.] 2 enlarged replicas. Formerly Del Rosso coll., unlocated; Burghley House, Northamptonshire. [Uffizi]
- . "The Rape of Deianeira." Drawing. Early 1690s. Museo di San Martino, Naples, no. 20830. [Ferrari & Scavizzi, 2:264—ill.]
- . "The Death of the Centaur Nessus." Painting. 1697–1700. Prado, Madrid, no. 193. [Ferrari & Scavizzi, 2:221—ill. / Prado 1985, p. 253]
- . "Hercules and Nessus." Painting. Palacio Real, Riofrio, in 1884. [Ferrari & Scavizzi, 2:379]
- . 2 further treatments of the subject known: 1 recorded in Rosso coll., Florence, in 1677; 1 sold 1864, untraced. [Ibid., 2:330f., 393]
- Pietro Andrea Ziani**, 1616–1684. *Le fatiche d'Ercole per Deianira* [The Trials of Hercules for Deianeira]. Opera. Libretto, Aurelio Aureli. First performed 1662, SS Giovanni e Paolo, Venice. [Grove 1980, 20:675 / Bianconi 1987, p. 188 / Worsthorne 1954, p. 106]
- Pier Francesco Mola**, 1612–1666/68, school. "Deianeira Raped by Nessus." Colonel J. Weld coll., Lulworth Manor, no. 120. [Warburg]
- Ulric Robran de la Marche**, choreography. *The Loves of Hercules and Dejanira*. Court ballet. First performed 1671, Naumburg. [Winter 1974, p. 15]
- Pietro Liberi**, 1614–1687. "Heracles and Deianeira." Painting. Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig, no. 1055. [Braunschweig 1969, p. 88]
- François Girardon**, 1628–1715, design. "Achelus." Marble terminal figure, executed by Simon Mazière, 1688. Parterre de Latone, Gardens, Versailles. [Girard 1985, p. 286—ill.]
- Agostino Steffani**, 1654–1728. *La lotta d'Hercole con Acheloo* [The Struggle of Hercules with Achelous]. Divertimento drammatico. Libretto, O. Mauro. First performed 1689, Hannover. [Grove 1980, 18:96]
- French School**. "Nessus and Deianeira." Bronze sculpture group. 17th century. Wallace Collection, London. [Warburg]
- Italian School**. "Deianeira Raped by Nessus." Painting. 17th century. Princeton University Art Museum, N.J., inv. 39–119. [Warburg]
- Sebastiano Ricci**, 1659–1734. "Hercules and Deianeira with the Body of Nessus." Painting. c.1702. Private coll., Munich. [Daniels 1976, no. 256—ill.]
- . "Hercules Battling with the Centaur Nessus." Fresco, part of "Hercules" cycle. 1706–07. Sala d'Ercole, Palazzo Marucelli-Fenzi, Florence. [Daniels 1976, no. 110—ill.] Study. Palazzo Taverna, Rome. [Ibid., no. 395—ill.]
- . "Hercules and Deianeira with the Body of Nessus." Painting. c.1710? Palazzo Taverna, Rome. [Ibid., no. 389—ill.]
- . "Hercules and Achelous." Grisaille ceiling fresco, part of "Hercules" cycle, for Portland House, London. 1712–13. Destroyed. [Ibid., no. 208]
- (formerly attributed to Luca Giordano). "The Rape of Deianeira." Painting. 1706–13? Burghley House, Stamford, no. 124. [Ibid., no. 411—ill. / Ferrari & Scavizzi 1966, 2:122] Another version of the subject (based on a presumed modello by Luca Giordano?). Burghley House, no. 478. [Ferrari & Scavizzi]
- Gérard de Lairesse**, 1641–1711, follower. "The Marriage of Hercules and Deianeira," "Hercules Saving Deianeira." Paintings, part of series of grisailles on deeds of Hercules. Early 18th century. Louvre, Paris, inv. 20771–72. [Louvre 1979–86, 2:378—ill.]
- François Marot**, 1666–1719. "The Rape of Deianeira by the Centaur Nessus." Painting. Louvre, Paris, inv. 6444 (555). [Louvre 1979–86, 4:73—ill.]
- Antonio Corradini**, 1668–1752. "Nessus and Deianeira." Marble sculpture group. c.1723–28. Grosser Garten, Dresden. [Hodgkinson 1970, p. 6, figs. 7–8]
- François Le Moyné**, 1688–1737. "Hercules and Achelous." Painting. Lost. [Bordeaux 1984, p. 130]
- , rejected attribution (manner of Verdout). "Hercules and Achelous." Painting. Private coll., Warsaw, before World War II. [Ibid., no. X22—ill.]
- Carle van Loo**, 1705–1765. "The Centaur Nessus Assaulting Deianeira." Painting. 1740. Hermitage, Leningrad, inv. 7553. [Hermitage 1986, no. 278—ill.] Variant. Musée Municipal, Châlons-sur-Marne. / Several copies known. [Ibid.]
- Louis-Jean-François Lagrenée**, 1725–1805. "The Rape of Deianeira by the Centaur Nessus." Painting. 1755. Louvre, Paris, inv. 5552. [Louvre 1979–86, 4:25—ill.]
- Antonio Guardi**, 1698–1760. "The Rape of Deianeira." Drawing. Late work. Formerly private coll., Paris, unlocated. [Morassi 1984, no. D37—ill.]
- Sebastiano Conca**, 1679–1764. "Hercules Shooting Nessus." Painting. Sold Christie's, London, 1936. [Warburg]
- Pasquale Cafaro**, 1716?–1787. *Ercole ed Acheloo*. Cantata. Text, Mattei. First performed 20 Jan 1766, San Carlo, Naples. [Grove 1980, 3:595]
- Stefano Pozzi**, c.1707–1768, attributed. "The Abduction of Deianeira." Painting. Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, inv. 37.1836. [Walters 1976, no. 414—ill.]
- Jean-Honoré Fragonard**, 1732–1806. "Nessus and Deianeira." Watercolor, after Rubens (c.1635, Hannover/Leningrad). c.1777. 2 versions. Louvre, Paris; British Museum, London. [Rosenberg 1988, no. 217—ill. / cf. Jaffé 1989, no. 1110]
- Gaetano Gandolfi**, 1734–1802. "Deianeira Raped by Nessus." Fresco. Palazzo Fioresce-Calzoni (formerly Del Monte), Bologna. 1780–83. [Warburg]



- Franz Anton Maulbertsch**, 1724–1796. “Nessus and Deianeira.” Painting. c.1785–86. Albertina, Vienna. [Garas 1960, no. 341]
- Francesco Zuccarelli**, 1702–1788. “Hercules Slaying the Centaur Nessus.” Painting. Hunterian coll., University of Glasgow. [Wright 1976, p. 226]
- Blas de Laserna**, 1751–1816. *Hercules y Dejanira*. Melólogo. 1791–97. [EDS 1954–66, 6:1255]
- Pietro Carlo Guglielmi**, c.1763–1817, music. *Ercole in Caldonia* [Hercules in Calydon]. Pantomime-ballet. First performed 4 Apr 1801, Turin; choreography by Pietro Angiolini? [EDS 1954–66, 6:37]
- Pietro Angiolini**, 1746–1830, choreography. *Ercole ed Acheloo*. Ballet. First performed Summer 1807, Padua. [Grove 1980, 1:427]
- James Hervé D'Egville**, c.1770–c.1836, choreography. *L'enlèvement de Déjanire* [The Rape of Deianeira]. Ballet. Music, Venua. First performed 9 Feb 1808, King's Theatre, London. [Guest 1972, pp. 23, 154]
- Francesco Benedetti da Cortona**, 1785–1821. *Dejanira*. Lyric drama. 1811. In *Opere*, edited by F. S. Orlandini (Florence: Le Monnier, 1858). [DELI 1966–70, 1:318]
- Bertel Thorwaldsen**, 1770–1844. “The Centaur Nessus Embracing the Struggling Deianeira.” Marble relief. Thorwaldsens Museum, Copenhagen, no. A480; 2 others unlocated. [Thorwaldsen 1985, p. 56, pl. 55 / Cologne 1977, no. 71 / Hartmann 1979, p. 158—ill.] Plaster original. 1814. Thorwaldsens Museum, no. A481. [Thorwaldsen]
- Théodore Géricault**, 1791–1824. Several drawings depicting a centaur carrying off a woman (Nessus and Deianeira?). 1816–17. Louvre, Paris (single drawings, no. 26737–8; sheet of sketches, no. R.F. 5176); private coll., London. [Eitner 1983, figs. 88–90, 335, no. 24.35–6]
- François-Joseph Bosio**, 1769–1845. “Heracles Fighting Achelous in the Form of a Serpent.” Bronze sculpture group. 1824. Jardin des Tuileries, Paris. [Janson 1985, p. 242]
- Eugène Delacroix**, 1798–1863. “Hercules Killing the Centaur Nessus.” Ceiling painting, in “Life of Hercules” cycle, for Salon de la Paix, Hôtel de Ville, Paris. 1851–52. Destroyed by fire, 1871. [Robaut 1885, no. 1158—ill. (copy drawing) / Huyghe 1963, pp. 289, 423, 474]
- Arthur Rimbaud**, 1854–1891. “Combat d'Hercule et du fleuve Achelous” [Battle of Hercules and the River Achelous]. Poem, in Latin, adaptation of the French of Abbé Delisle. 1869. In *Bulletin de l'Académie de Douai* 11 Apr 1870. [Adam 1972]
- Evelyn de Morgan**, 1855–1919. “Deianeira.” Painting. 1870. [Wood 1983, p. 199—ill.]
- Gustave Moreau**, 1826–1898. “Deianeira” (“Autumn,” “The Rape of Deianeira by the Centaur Nessus”). Painting. 1872. Private coll., Paris. [Mathieu 1976, no. 128—ill.]
- . “The Rape of Deianeira.” Wax model for unexecuted sculpture, based on above. 1875–85. [Mathieu, no. 189]
- Hans Makart**, 1840–1884. “Nessus and Deianeira.” Painting. c.1882–83. Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 100B. [Frodl 1974, no. 419—ill.]
- José-Maria de Heredia**, 1842–1905. “Nessus.” Sonnet, in “Hercule et les centaures” cycle. In *Revue des deux mondes* 15 Jan 1888; collected in *Les trophées* (Paris: Lemerre, 1893). [Delaty 1984, vol. 1 / Hill 1962 / Galinsky 1972, pp. 269, 271]
- Rubén Darío**, 1867–1916. (Nessus recalls Deianeira in) “Coloquio de los centauros” [Colloquy of the Centaurs]. Poem. 1895. In *Prosas profanas y otros poemas* (Buenos Aires: Coni, 1896). [Méndez Plancarte 1967 / Trade 1983, pp. 34f.]
- Henri de Régnier**, 1864–1936. “Déjanire.” Poem, part of *Flûtes d'Avril et de Septembre*. In *Aréthuse* (Paris: Librairie de l'Art Indépendant, 1895). [Ips0]
- . “Le centaure blessé” [The Wounded Centaur], section of “Le sang de Marsyas” [The Blood of Marsyas]. Poem. In *La cité des eaux* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1902). [Ips0]
- Arnold Böcklin**, 1827–1901. “Deianeira and Nessus.” Painting. 1898. Pfalzgalerie, Kaiserslautern, inv. PFG 66/15. [Andree 1977, no. 465—ill.]
- Camille Saint-Saëns**, 1835–1921. *Déjanire*. Opera (drame lyrique). Libretto, composer, after Louis Gallet. First performed 14 Mar 1911, Monte Carlo. [Grove 1980, 16:404]
- Laurent-Honoré Marqueste**, 1848–1920. “The Centaur Nessus Abducting Deianeira.” Marble sculpture group. Jardin des Tuileries, Paris. [Orsay 1986, p. 276]
- Franz von Stuck**, 1863–1928. “Hercules and Nessus” (with Deianeira). Painting. 1927. Private coll. [Voss 1973, no. 601—ill.] Study. Galerie Raschhofer, Munich-Salzburg. [Ibid., no. 600—ill.] Variant. Unlocated. [Ibid., no. 599—ill.]
- Kurt Weill**, 1900–1950. *Royal Palace* (Deianeira theme in modern dress). Ballet-opera. Libretto, Yvan Goll. First performed 2 Mar 1927, Staatsoper, Berlin. [Grove 1980, 20:309]
- Pablo Picasso**, 1881–1973. “The Centaur Nessus, Desiring to Ravish Deianeira, Is Killed by Hercules.” Etching, illustration for edition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (Lausanne: Albert Skira, 1931). 1930. [Goeppert et al. 1983, no. 19—ill. / Bloch 1971–79, no. 116—ill.]
- André Masson**, 1896–1987. “The Centaur Nessus Abducts Deianeira.” Drawing. By 1950. [Hannover 1950, no. 85a]
- Giulio Paolini**, 1940–. “Nessus.” Assemblage (plaster, photo, cloth). 1977. Stein coll., Turin. [Munich 1984, pp. 76, 176—ill.]

**Heracles and Iole.** Sometime after he completed his labors, Heracles (Hercules) fell in love with Iole, daughter of King Eurystus of Oechalia. (The chronology of the myth is confused, and Heracles' intimacy with Iole may have preceded or followed that with Deianeira.) Although Heracles had won Iole in an archery contest, her father and brothers would not let her go. Heracles returned to Tiryns, angry and insulted. When Iole's brother Iphitus, a close friend of Heracles, came to Tiryns in search of some lost cattle, Heracles murdered him in a fit of rage by throwing him from the city's walls. As punishment, the Delphic oracle sent the hero into slavery for a year, during which he was sold to Omphale,

queen of Lydia, and forced to do women's work and to wear women's clothes. Sometime after this servitude, Heracles sacked Oechalia and reclaimed Iole, sending her to Trachis. In some later myths, the story of Iole was conflated with that of Omphale, perhaps because Heracles' servitude to the queen was payment for the crime he had committed in pursuit of Iole.

**Classical Sources.** Sophocles, *The Women of Trachis*. Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca* 4.31.1–3. Ovid, *Heroides* 9.3–6, 9.11–48. Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 2.6.1, 2.7.7. Seneca, *Heracles oetaeus*. Hyginus, *Fabulae* 31, 35. Plutarch, *Parallel Lives* 13.308f.

**Giovanni Boccaccio**, 1313–1375. (Hercules describes his humiliation by Iole [conflated with Omphale] in “Coventus dolentium” [A Gathering of the Mournful]. In *De casibus virorum illustrium* [The Fates of Illustrious Men] 1.12. Didactic poem in Latin. 1355–73? [Branca 1964–83, vol. 9 / Hall 1965]

———. “De Yole Etholorum regis filia” [Iole, Daughter of the King of Etolia]. In *De mulieribus claris* [Concerning Famous Women]. Latin verse compendium of myth and legend. 1361–75. Ulm: Zainer, 1473. [Branca, vol. 10 / Guarino 1963 / Bergin 1981, p. 250]

**Santi di Tito**, 1536–1603. “Hercules and Iole.” Painting. 1570–73. Studiolo di Francesco I, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence. [Sinibaldi 1950, pp. 11f., 19]

**Torquato Tasso**, 1544–1595. (Hercules and Iole evoked in) *La Gerusalemme liberata* 16.3. Epic. 1575. Venice: Perchacino, 1581 (authorized edition). [Montagu 1968, p. 172 / Highet 1967, p. 152]

**Annibale Carracci**, 1560–1609. “Hercules and Iole [or Omphale].” Fresco. 1597–1600. Galleria, Palazzo Farnese, Rome. [Malafarina 1976, no. 104c—ill. / Martin 1965, p. 91—ill.]

**Jacopo Peri**, 1561–1633. *Iole ed Ercole*. Opera. Libretto, Salvadori. Planned for 1628, Florence, unperformed, probably unfinished. One aria, “Uccidimi, dolore,” extant. [Grove 1980, 14:402, 404]

**Luca Giordano**, 1634–1705. “Hercules and Iole.” Painting. 1663? Recorded in Andrea d’Avalos coll., Naples, in 1743, untraced. [Ferrari & Scavizzi 1966, 2:361]

———. “Hercules and Iole.” Painting. Mid-1670s. Museo di Capodimonte, Naples, no. 1482. [Ibid., 2:85]

———. “Hercules Spinning, with Iole.” Painting. Recorded in 1684, untraced. [Ferrari & Scavizzi, 2:381]

———. “Hercules and Iole.” Painting. Recorded in Casa Baglioni, Venice, in 1743, untraced. [Ferrari & Scavizzi, 2:388]

**Pedro Calderón de la Barca**, 1600–1681. (Hercules pursues Iole in) *Fieras afemina Amor* [Love Tames the Wild Beasts]. Comedy (fiesta de espectáculo). 1669. First performed Jan 1670, Vienna? [Valbuena Briones 1960–67, vol. 1 / O’Connor 1988, pp. 153–70]

**Ferdinando Tacca**, 1619–1686. “Hercules and Iole” (Hercules as woman). Bronze statuette. 3 examples known. National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh; 2 in private colls., London. [Florence 1986, no. 4.34—ill.]

**Francesco Trevisani**, 1656–1746. “Hercules and Iole.”

Painting. 1717. Formerly Schönborn coll., Pommersfelden, unlocated. [DiFederico 1977, p. 80]

**Leonardo Leo**, 1694–1744. *Le nozze di Jole ed Ercole* [The Marriage of Iole and Hercules]. Serenata or feste teatrali. [Grove 1980, 10:668]

**Henry Fuseli**, 1741–1825. “Heracles Victorious in Archery; Eurytus Holds His Daughter Iole Back.” Drawing. 1811. Walter A. Brandt coll., London. [Schiff 1973, no. 1528a]

**Charles Gleyre**, 1806–1874. “Hercules and Iphitus” (“Hercules and Theseus”). Drawing. Charles Clément coll., in 1878. [Clément 1878, no. 183]

**Ezra Pound**, 1885–1972. *The Women of Trachis*. Tragedy, modern version of Sophocles. 1953. In *Hudson Review* 67.4 (Winter 1954). Broadcast 25 Nov 1954, BBC, London. First book publication London: Spearman, 1956; New York: New Directions, 1957. [Kenner 1971, pp. 522–26 / Galinsky 1972, pp. 236, 240ff. / DLB 1986, 45:338]

**Heracles and Omphale.** As punishment for his murder of Iole's brother Iphitus, Heracles (Hercules) was sent to serve Queen Omphale of Lydia for a year. There, he was forced to perform women's work, such as spinning, and to dress in women's garb, while the queen took over the hero's lion-skin cloak and club.

The roles of Omphale and Iole have become conflated in this episode, perhaps because Heracles' servitude resulted from his passion for Iole. In the postclassical arts, therefore, Iole is sometimes identified as dominatrix; alternately, Omphale and Heracles are sometimes shown as lovers.

Another story, recounted by Ovid, tells that Heracles found Pan (or Faunus) in Omphale's bed and threw him out.

**Classical Sources.** Ion, *Omphale*. Cratinus the Younger, *Omphale*. Nicochares, *Heracles as the Bride*. Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca* 4.31.5–8. Ovid, *Fasti* 2.303–58; *Ars amatoria* 2.11; *Heroides* 9. Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 2.6.3. Hyginus, *Fabulae* 32; *Poetica astronomica* 2.14.

**Anonymous French.** (The story of Hercules, Faunus, and Iole in) *Ovide moralisé* 9.487–599. Poem, allegorized translation/elaboration of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. c.1316–28. [de Boer 1915–86, vol. 3]

**Giovanni Boccaccio**, 1313–1375. (Hercules describes his humiliation by Iole, conflated with Omphale, in) “Coventus dolentium” [A Gathering of the Mournful]. In *De casibus virorum illustrium* [The Fates of Illustrious Men] 1.12. Didactic poem in Latin. 1355–73? [Branca 1964–83, vol. 9 / Hall 1965]

———. (Iole's domination of Hercules, conflated with Omphale's, in) “De Yole Etholorum regis filia” [Iole, Daughter of the King of Etolia]. In *De mulieribus claris* [Concerning Famous Women]. Latin verse compendium of myth and legend. 1361–75. Ulm: Zainer, 1473. [Branca, vol. 10 / Guarino 1963 / Bergin 1981, p. 250]

**John Gower**, 1330?–1408. (Tale of Hercules and Faunus

- in Iole's bed in) *Confessio amantis* 5.6807–6960. Poem. c.1390. Westminster: Caxton, 1483. [Macaulay 1899–1902, vol. 3.]
- Pinturicchio**, 1454–1513, and studio. "Hercules and Omphale." Fresco (detached), from Palazzo Pandolfo Petrucci ("Il Magnifico"), Siena. Metropolitan Museum, New York, no. 114.17. [Metropolitan 1980, p. 142—ill. / Berenson 1968, p. 345—ill.]
- Jan Gossaert**, called Mabuse, c.1478–1533/36. "Hercules and Deianeira" (or Omphale?). Woodcut. c.1515? (Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam.) [Rotterdam 1965, no. 73—ill.]
- Hans Baldung Grien**, 1484/85–1545. "Hercules and Omphale." Drawing. 1533. École des Beaux-Arts, Paris. [Yale 1981, fig. 14.]
- Dosso Dossi**, c.1479–1542. "Allegory of Hercules" ("Bamboccia") (allegory addressed to Ercole II d'Este, with elements related to the story of Hercules and Omphale). Painting. Mid-1530s. Uffizi, Florence. [Gibbons 1968, pp. 98ff, no. 22—ill. / also Uffizi 1979, no. P552—ill.]
- Lucas Cranach**, 1472–1553, and studio. "Hercules and Omphale." Painting. At least 8 versions, 1531–37. Minnesota Museum of Art, St. Paul; Xaver Schweidwimmer Gallery, Munich, in 1966; formerly University Gallery, Göttingen, lost; Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig, no. 25; Thyssen-Bornemisza coll., Lugano; Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen, cat. 1951 no. 152 (by Lucas Cranach the Younger?); 2 others unlocated. [Friedländer & Rosenberg 1978, nos. 272–75—ill. / Braunschweig 1969, p. 47—ill. / Braunschweig 1976, p. 15—ill. / also [Copenhagen 1951, no. 152—ill.] ]
- Francesco Primaticcio**, 1504–1570. "Hercules Dressed as a Woman by Omphale," "Hercules Awakened (by Omphale)." Pendant paintings. 1535–41. Portique, Porte Doré, Château de Fontainebleau. Repainted 19th century. [Dimier 1900, pp. 306f.] Drawings in Albertina, Vienna, no. 19; Duke of Devonshire coll., Chatsworth. [Ibid., nos. 151, 238 / also Paris 1972, no. 146—ill. / Lévêque 1984, p. 53—ill.]
- Bartholomeus Spranger**, 1546–1611. "Hercules and Omphale." Painting. c.1575–80. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. 1126 (1505). [Vienna 1973, p. 165—ill. / also Hofmann 1987, no. 3.22—ill. / de Bosque 1985, pp. 203f.—ill.]
- Paolo Veronese**, 1528–1588. (Hercules as Strength in) "Allegory of Wisdom and Strength" ("Hercules and Omphale"?). Painting. c.1578–80. Frick Collection, New York, no. 12.1.128. [Palluchini 1984, pp. 127ff., no. 174—ill. / Pignatti 1076, no. 243—ill. / Frick 1968–70, 2:272f.—ill.] Study. Draper coll., Miami. [Pignatti, no. 244—ill.] 5 further versions known: Schönborn coll., Pommersfelden; De Young Museum, San Francisco; others unlocated. [Frick] Copy by Carletto Caliarì, in Rhode Island School of Design, Providence. [Ibid.]
- Jacopo Tintoretto**, 1518–1594. "Hercules Driving the Faun from Omphale's Bed." Painting. c.1585. Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, no. 6706. [Rossi 1982, no. 447—ill. / Budapest 1968, p. 694—ill. / Berenson 1957, p. 171—ill.]
- . "Hercules and Omphale." Painting. Formerly Contini Bonacossi coll., Florence, unlocated. [Rossi, no. A40 / also Berenson, p. 173.]
- Francesco Bassano**, 1549–1592. "Hercules Spinning" ("Hercules and Omphale"). Painting. c.1587. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. 3575 (280). [Vienna 1973, p. 15—ill. / Arslan 1960, p. 225, pl. 257] Copy in Museo Civico, Padua. [Arslan, p. 360.]
- . (School of the Bassano). "Hercules and Omphale." Painting. Musée, Marseilles (on deposit from Louvre, Paris, no. M.I. 1152). [Louvre 1979–86, 2:284.]
- Annibale Carracci**, 1560–1609. "Hercules and Iole [or Omphale]." Fresco. 1597–1600. Galleria, Palazzo Farnese, Rome. [Malafarina 1976, no. 104c—ill. / Martin 1965, p. 91—ill.]
- Peter Paul Rubens**, 1577–1640. "Hercules and Omphale." Painting. c.1602–05. Louvre, Paris, inv. 854. [Louvre 1979–86, 1:114—ill. / Jaffé 1989, no. 27—ill.]
- Abraham Janssens**, c.1575–1632, questionably attributed (also attributed to Abraham van Bloemaert, 1564–1651). "Jupiter and Antiope" ("Hercules and Omphale"). Painting. 1607. Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen, no. 2435 (as "Jupiter and Antiope"). [Copenhagen 1951, no. 347 / also Delbanco 1928, no. II.8 (as "Hercules and Omphale," unattributed)]
- Thomas Heywood**, 1573/74–1641. (Hercules and Omphale in) *The Brazen Age*. Drama. First performed c.1610–13, London. Published London: Okes, 1613. [Heywood 1874, vol. 3 / DLB 62:101, 122ff. / also Boas 1950, pp. 83ff. / Clark 1931, pp. 62ff.]
- Alessandro Turchi**, 1578–1649. "Hercules and Omphale." Painting. c.1620. Alte Pinakothek, Munich, inv. 496. [Munich 1983, p. 536—ill.]
- Palma Giovane**, c.1548–1628, questionably attributed. "Hercules Adorned with Iole's Finery." Painting. 1620s? Formerly Battistelli coll., Florence. [Mason Rinaldi 1984, no. A23.]
- , questionably attributed. "Hercules and Omphale." Painting. Christ Church, Oxford. [Byam Shaw 1967, no. 114.]
- Grandchamp de Montargis**, questionably attributed. *Adventures amoureuses d'Omphale*. Tragicomedy. Paris: 1630. [Lancaster 1929–42, pt. 1, 1:331ff., 2:761.]
- Giovanni da San Giovanni**, 1592–1636. "Hercules and Omphale." Fresco (detached), one of a series of 6, for Lorenzo de' Medici. c.1634. Uffizi, Florence, inv. 5414. [Uffizi 1979, no. P742—ill. / Banti 1977, no. 58.]
- Pietro da Cortona**, 1596–1669. "Hercules Spinning, with Omphale." Painting. c.1635. Formerly Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin. [Briganti 1962, no. 66—ill.] Variant. Schoenbrunn Galerie, Vienna. [Ibid., no. 67.]
- Bernardo Cavallino**, 1616–1656. "Hercules and Omphale." c.1640. Private coll., Switzerland. [Percy & Lurie 1984, no. 22—ill.]
- Simon Vouet**, 1590–1649. "Hercules and Omphale." Painting. Lost. / Engraved by Michel Dorigny, 1643. [Crely 1962, p. 83, no. 226—ill.]
- or studio. "Hercules and Omphale." Painting, cartoon for "Loves of the Gods" tapestry series. [Ibid., no. 270v.]
- Giovanni Rovetta**, c.1595–1668. *Ercole in Lidia*. Opera. Libretto, M. Bisaccioni. First performed Ascension Week 1645, Teatro Novissimo, Venice. [Grove 1980, 16:279 / Worsthorne 1954, pp. 31f.]

- Padovanino, 1588–1648.** “Hercules and Omphale.” Painting. Formerly Milch Galleries, New York. [Sarasota 1976, p. 99]
- Volterrano, 1611–1689.** “Omphale.” Painting, sketch. 1640s. Private coll., Rome. [Florence 1986, no. 1.225—ill.]
- Alessandro Algardi, 1598–1654.** “Hercules and Omphale.” Drawings, 2 versions of subject known. Uffizi, Florence, no. 4571S; Museo di Capodimonte, Naples, no. 0200.9. [Montagu 1985, Drawings nos. 29–30—ill.]
- Maurizio Cazzati, c.1620–1677.** *Ercole effeminato* [Hercules Become Effeminate]. Opera. First performed 1654, Bergamo. [Grove 1980, 4:42]
- Giovanni Francesco Romanelli, 1610–1662.** “Hercules and Omphale.” Painting. 1650s? Hermitage, Leningrad, inv. 1601. [Hermitage 1981, pl. 121] Another version of the subject, in Museo Civico, Viterbo. [Ibid.]
- Luca Giordano, 1634–1705.** “Hercules and Iole” (Omphale theme?). Painting. 1663? Recorded in Andrea d’Avalos coll., Naples, in 1743, untraced. [Ferrari & Scavizzi 1966, 2:361]
- . “Hercules and Iole” (Omphale theme?). Painting. Mid-1670s. Museo di Capodimonte, Naples, no. 1482. [Ibid., 2:85]
- . “Hercules Spinning, with Iole.” Painting. Recorded in 1684, untraced. [Ibid., 2:381]
- . “Hercules and Iole” (Omphale theme?). Painting. Recorded in Casa Baglioni, Venice, in 1743, untraced. [Ibid., 2:388]
- , attributed. “Hercules and Omphale.” Painting. Private coll., Venice. [Ibid., 2:390]
- , attributed. “Hercules and Omphale.” Painting. Art Gallery, Brighton. [Wright 1976, p. 76]
- Francesco Baratta, ?–1666.** “Hercules and Omphale.” Marble sculpture group. Formerly Grosser Garten, Zwinger Palace, Dresden. [Pigler 1974, p. 121 / Bénézit 1976, 1:425]
- Ferdinando Tacca, 1619–1686.** “Hercules and Iole” (Hercules as woman). Bronze statuette. 3 examples known. National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh; 2 in private colls., London. [Florence 1986, no. 4.34—ill.]
- Jean Palaprat, 1650–1721.** *Hercule et Omphale*. Comedy. First performed 7 May 1694, Comédie-Française, Paris. [Lancaster 1929–42, pt. 4, 2:956]
- Balthasar Permoser, 1651–1732.** “Hercules and Omphale.” Ivory sculpture. c.1690–95. Grünes Gewölbe, Dresden. [Asche 1966, no. P26, pl. 28—ill.]
- André Cardinal Destouches, 1672–1749.** *Omphale*. Opera (tragédie lyrique). Libretto, Antoine Houdar de La Motte. First performed 10 Nov 1701, Académie Royale de Musique, Paris. [DLLF 1984, 2:1040 / Grove 1980, 5:402 / Girdlestone 1972, pp. 190–92]
- Sebastiano Ricci, 1659–1734.** “Hercules and Omphale.” Painting. c.1701 or later. Musée de Picardie, Amiens. [Daniels 1976, no. 3 / also Bordeaux 1984, fig. 393]
- . “Hercules and Omphale.” Painting. 1703 or later. Palazzo Fulcis-Bertoldi, Belluno. [Daniels, no. 20—ill.]
- . “Hercules and Omphale.” Painting. c.1713–14 (or earlier?). Private coll., Bologna. [Ibid., no. 61]
- Giovanni Battista Piazzetta, 1683–1754,** attributed. “Hercules and Omphale.” Painting. 1700–10? Formerly Heimann coll., New York. [Mariuz 1982, no. A63—ill.]
- , attributed (or Donzelli?). “Hercules and Omphale.” Painting. Residenz, Würzburg. [Ibid., no. A148—ill.]
- Gérard de Lairesse, 1641–1711,** follower. “Hercules Spinning at the Feet of Omphale.” Grisaille painting, part of series on deeds of Hercules. Early 18th century. Louvre, Paris, inv. 20770. [Louvre 1979–86, 2:378—ill.]
- Daniel Gran, 1694–1757.** “Hercules and Omphale.” Fresco. 1723–24. Kuppelsaal, Gartenpalais Schwarzenberg, Vienna. [Knab 1977, pp. 42ff., no. F4]
- François Le Moyne, 1688–1737.** “Hercules and Omphale.” Painting. 1724. Louvre, Paris, inv. M.I. 1086. [Bordeaux 1984, no. 47—ill. / Louvre 1979–86, 4:47—ill.] Variant. Private coll., New York. [Bordeaux—ill.] Copy in Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, no. 27.153. [Boston 1985, p. 164—ill.]
- Georg Philipp Telemann, 1681–1767.** *Omphale*. Opera. First performed 1724, Hofoper, Hamburg. [Baker 1984, p. 2290]
- Giovanni Battista Pittoni, 1687–1767.** “Hercules and Omphale.” Painting. c.1723–25. Palazzo Corsini, Rome. [Zava Boccazzi 1979, no. 165—ill.]
- . “Omphale.” Painting. c.1725. Pardo coll., Paris. [Ibid., no. 150—ill.]
- Giovanni Battista Foggini, 1652–1725,** attributed (also attributed to Laurent Delvaux, Pierre Puget). “Hercules and Iole” (“Hercules and Omphale”). Bronze statuette. 2 casts known. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, inv. A9–1956 (as Delvaux); the other sold Sotheby’s, London, 1967. [Montagu 1968, pp. 171ff.—ill. / also Herding 1970, no. 120—ill. / Düsseldorf 1971, no. 368—ill.] Another bronze version, sold London, 1903. [Montagu, p. 172] Terra-cotta models (?). City Museum and Art Gallery, Birmingham (as Puget); Heim Gallery, London. [Ibid., p. 175 n.13 / Herding] Related terra-cotta relief. Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge (as after Puget). [Herding]
- Jacques Dumont, called Le Romain, 1701–1781.** “Hercules and Omphale.” Painting. 1728. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Tours. [Bordeaux 1984, fig. 390]
- Charles-Antoine Coypel, 1694–1752.** “Hercules and Omphale.” Painting. 1731. Alte Pinakothek, Munich, no. 1168. [Munich 1983, p. 145—ill. / Bordeaux 1984, fig. 392]
- François Boucher, 1703–1770.** “Hercules and Omphale” (kissing). Painting. c.1734. Pushkin Museum, Moscow, inv. 2764. [Ananoff 1976, no. 107—ill. / also Bordeaux 1984, fig. 391] Copy, by Jean-Honoré Fragonard, 1748–52, lost. [Wildenstein 1960, no. 1]
- Anonymous English.** *Hercules and Omphale*. Entertainment. First performed 1746, Clerkenwell. [Nicoll 1959–66, 2:374]
- Jean-Honoré Fragonard, 1732–1806.** “Hercules and Omphale.” Painting, copy after Boucher (c.1734, Moscow). 1748–52. Lost. [Wildenstein 1960, no. 1]
- Hélène-Louise Demars, 1736–?** *Hercule et Omphale*. Cantatille. Published Paris: c.1751–52. [Grove 1980, 5:359]
- Francesco Fontebasso, 1709–1768/69.** “Hercules and Omphale.” Painting, for Palazzo Bernardi, Venice. 1750s? Szépművészeti, Múzeum, Budapest. [Budapest 1968, pp. 237f.]

- Carle van Loo**, 1705–1765. “Hercules and Omphale.” Painting. Musée Municipal, Alençon. [Bénézit 1976, 6:729]
- Gaspard Diziani**, 1689–1767. “Hercules and Omphale.” Painting. Musée, Bordeaux, on deposit from Louvre, Paris (no. M.N.R. 283). [Louvre 1979–86, 2:283]
- John Flaxman**, 1755–1826. “Hercules” “Omphale.” Plaster sculptures. Exhibited 1767 [*sic*, at age 11–12]. [Irwin 1979, p. 10]
- Jean-Baptiste Cardonne**, 1730–c.1792. *Omphale*. Opera (tragédie lyrique). Libretto, Antoine Houdar de La Motte. First performed 2 May 1769, L’Opéra, Paris. [Grove 1980, 3:776]
- Gregorio Guglielmi**, 1714–1773? attributed. “Hercules and Omphale.” Painting. Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig, no. 1071. [Braunschweig 1976, p. 30]
- Étienne-Joseph Floquet**, 1748–1785. *La nouvelle Omphale*. Comic opera. Libretto, “Mme. Beaunoir” (pseudonym of A. L. B. Robineau). 1777. First performed 22 Nov 1782, Versailles; 28 Nov 1782, Comédie-Italienne, Paris. [Grove 1980, 6:644]
- Bernard Germain Étienne Médard de la Ville-sur-Ilion Lacépède**, 1756–1825. *Omphale*. Opera. Libretto, La Motte-Houdar. 1783. Accepted by Opéra but unperformed. Lost. [Grove 1980, 10:345]
- Francisco Goya**, 1746–1828. “Hercules and Omphale.” Painting. 1784. Heirs of Marquesa de Valdeolmos coll., Madrid. [Gassier & Wilson 1981, no. 198—ill. / Gudiol 1971, no. 158—ill.]
- Jean Baptiste Rochefort**, 1746–1819. *Hercule et Omphale*. Pantomime. First performed 1787, Paris. [Grove 1980, 16:82]
- Bertel Thorwaldsen**, 1770–1844. “Hercules and Omphale.” Relief. 1792. / Plaster cast. Thorwaldsens Museum, Copenhagen, no. A749. [Thorwaldsen 1985, p. 74]
- Anonymous English**. *Hercules and Omphale*. Pantomime. First performed 1794, London. [Nicoll 1959–66, 3:331]
- William Reeve**, 1757–1815, with **William Shield**, 1748–1829, music. *Hercules and Omphale*. Pantomime ballet. First performed 17 Nov 1794, Covent Garden, London; choreography, James Byrne. [Grove 1980, 15:669f.]
- Italian School**. “Hercules and Omphale.” Painting. 17th/18th century. Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, no. 63.5. [Budapest 1968, p. 337]
- French School?** “Hercules and Omphale.” Painting. 18th century. Louvre, Paris, inv. 20394 (1024). [Louvre 1979–86, 4:315—ill.]
- William Hamilton**, 1751–1801, attributed. “Portrait of an Actress as Omphale.” Painting. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, no. 22.10. [Boston 1985, p. 129—ill.]
- Simon Mayr**, 1763–1845. *Ercole in Lidia*. Opera (dramma per musica). Libretto, G. de Gamerra. First performed 29 Jan 1803, Burgtheater, Vienna. [Grove 1980, 11:860]
- Joseph Anton Gegenbauer**, 1800–1876. “Hercules and Omphale.” Fresco (detached). 1826. Thorwaldsens Museum, Copenhagen, no. B314 [Thorwaldsen 1985, p. 97]
- Fernando Sor**, 1778–1839, music. *Hercule et Omphale*. Ballet. First performed 1826, Moscow. [Grove 1980, 17:534]
- Théophile Gautier**, 1811–1872. “Omphale, or, The Amorous Tapestry.” Painting. 1834. [Py 1963, p. 257 n.27]
- Victor Hugo**, 1802–1885. “Le rouet d’Omphale” [The Spinning-Wheel of Omphale]. Poem. 1843. No. 3 in *Les contemplations* book 2 (Paris: Hetzel, 1856). [Hugo 1985–86, vol. 5 / Py 1963, pp. 146, 158, 257 / Nash 1983, pp. 119–21, 297f.]
- Gustave Moreau**, 1826–1898. “Hercules and Omphale.” Painting. 1856–57? Musée Gustave Moreau, Paris. [Mathieu 1976, pp. 51f.]
- Thomas Unwin**, 1782–1857. “Hercules with the Distaff.” Watercolor. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, no. F.A.461. [Lambourne & Hamilton 1980, p. 390]
- Jean-Louis-Adolphe Eude**, 1818–1889. “(Hercules Spinning at the Feet of) Omphale.” Marble statue. 1859. Musées Nationaux, inv. RF 145, deposited in Musée, Champs-sur-Marne, in 1979. [Orsay 1986, p. 271 / Pigler 1974, p. 124]
- Charles Gleyre**, 1806–1874. “Hercules at the Feet of Omphale.” Painting. 1863. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Neuchâtel, inv. 86. [Winterthur 1974, no. 71—ill. / White 1984, p. 16—ill.]
- William Brough**, 1826–1870. *Hercules and Omphale; or, The Power of Love*. Burlesque. First performed 1864, London. [Nicoll 1959–66, 5:280]
- Léon Roques**. *Hercule aux pieds d’Omphale* [Hercules at Omphale’s feet]. Musical entertainment. Libretto, Félix Savard. First performed 1869, Paris. [Hunger 1959, p. 145]
- Camille Saint-Saëns**, 1835–1921. *Le rouet d’Omphale*. Symphonic poem, opus 31. 1869. First performed 9 Jan 1872, Paris. [Baker 1984, p. 1972 / Grove 1980, 16:405]
- Hans Makart**, 1840–1884. “Hercules and Omphale.” Oil sketch. c.1870–72. Unlocated. [Frodl 1974, no. 166—ill.]
- Alexandre Falguière**, 1831–1900. “Omphale.” Marble statue. Musées Nationaux, inv. RF 3975, deposited in Ministère des Postes, Paris, in 1879. [Orsay 1986, p. 271]
- Rubén Darío**, 1867–1916. (Hercules and Omphale in) “A un poeta” [To a Poet]. Poem, part of *Azul*. 1886. In *Excelsior* 30 Jan 1888. [Mendez Plancarte 1967 / Galinsky 1972, pp. 274ff., 292]
- Jean-Léon Gérôme**, 1824–1904. “Omphale” (leaning on Hercules’ club, with Cupid). Marble sculpture. 1887. Musée Garret, Vesoul. [Ackerman 1986, no. S.12—ill. (cf. no. 348)] Plaster model. Lost. [Ibid.—ill.]
- Henri de Régnier**, 1864–1936. (Hercules addresses Omphale in) “Prélude.” Poem, introductory to *Poèmes anciens et romanesques*. 1887–92. In *Poèmes: 1887–1892* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1913). [Nash 1983, pp. 117–20, 282ff. (reproduced)]
- John Bell**, 1812–1895. “Omphale Farnèse.” Marble sculpture. Museum, Salford. [Bénézit 1976, 1:589]
- T. Sturge Moore**, 1870–1944. *Omphale and Herakles*. Drama. 1895–1909. / Revised in *Poems* (London: Macmillan, 1932–33). [Bush 1937, p. 568 / Gwynn 1951, pp. 29, 31]
- Émile Bernard**, 1868–1941. “Hercules and Omphale.” Painting. 1911. Musée de l’Orangerie, Paris. [Luthi 1982, no. 822]
- Claude Adonai Champagne**, 1891–1965. *Hercule et Omphale*. Symphonic poem. 1918. [Grove 1980, 4:126]

- Peter Hacks**, 1928—. *Omphale*. Comedy. First performed 1970, Frankfurt. Published in *Vier Komödien* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1971). [Buddecke & Fuhrmann 1981, p. 293 / CEWL 1981–84, 2:315 / DLL 1968–90, 7:44]
- Siegfried Matthus**, 1934—. *Omphale*. Opera. Libretto, Peter Hacks (1970). First performed 29 Aug 1976, National Theater, Weimar. [Grove 1980, 11:838]

**Death of Heracles.** When Heracles (Hercules) had routed Oechalia and gained the princess Iole, he sent his companion Lichas to bring back from Deianeira a white garment to wear for a thanksgiving sacrifice. Deianeira, fearful that Heracles would put her aside in favor of Iole, remembered the dying words of the centaur Nessus: a garment dipped in his blood would win back her husband's love. Deianeira sent the blood-soaked shirt to Heracles, not realizing that Nessus had played a fatal trick on her.

As the hero approached the sacrificial flame, the poisoned shirt caught fire and clung to his flesh. Ravaged by pain, he threw Lichas into the sea and had himself brought back to Mount Oeta in Trachis, where he was placed on a huge funeral pyre. He then instructed his son, Hyllus, to marry Iole when he came of age and gave his bow to the shepherd Peoas (or to Peoas's son, Philoctetes) in exchange for lighting the pyre. Meanwhile, Deianeira, devastated at what she had done, committed suicide.

**Classical Sources.** Sophocles, *The Women of Trachis*; *Philoctetes* 14.07–51. Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca* 4.38.1–5. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 9.134–272; *Heroides* 9.3–6, 11–48. Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 2.7.7. Seneca, *Hercules oetaeus*. Hyginus, *Fabulae* 36. Lucian, *Dialogues of the Gods* 15, “Zeus, Asclepius, and Heracles.”

**Jean de Meun**, 1250?–1305? (Death of Hercules evoked in) *Le roman de la rose* lines 9184–202. Verse romance, completion of unfinished work begun by Guillaume de Lorris (c.1230–35). c.1275. Lyon: Ortuin & Schenck, c.1481. [Dahlberg 1971 / Poirion 1974]

**Anonymous French.** (Death of Hercules in) *Ovide moralisé* 9.646–1028. Poem, allegorized translation/elaboration of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. c.1316–28. [de Boer 1915–86, vol. 3]

**Giovanni Boccaccio**, 1313–1375. “De Deyanira Herculis coniuge” [Deianeira, Wife of Hercules]. In *De mulieribus claris* [Concerning Famous Women]. Latin verse compendium of myth and legend. 1361–75. Ulm: Zainer, 1473. [Branca 1964–83, vol. 10 / Guarino 1963]

**Sandro Botticelli**, 1445–1510. (Hercules and Lichas depicted in relief in setting of) “The Calumny of Apelles.” Painting. c.1494–95. Uffizi, Florence, no. 1496. [Lightbown 1978, no. B79–ill.]

**Albrecht Dürer**, 1471–1528, studio, under Dürer's direction. “The Death of Hercules.” Drawing, design for series of medals (unlocated) depicting the adventures of

Hercules. 1510–11. Formerly Kunsthalle, Bremen, lost. [Strauss 1974, no. 1511/32–ill.]

**Jacopo Tintoretto**, 1518–1594. “Hercules Killing Lichas.” Painting. 1551–52. Private coll. [Rossi 1982, no. 136–ill.]

**Giovanni Bernardi**, 1496–1553, and **Manno di Bastiano**, design. Statue representing dying Hercules, on “The Farnese Coffin.” Silver gilt coffin. Executed by another, 1548–61. Museo di Capodimonte, Naples, no. 10507. [Capodimonte 1964, p. 129]

**Francesco Primaticcio**, 1504–1570, design. “Deianeira Holding the Shirt of Nessus.” Fresco, for Salle de Bal, Château de Fontainebleau, executed by Niccolò dell'Abbate under Primaticcio's direction. 1551–56. Repainted 19th century. [Dimier 1900, pp. 160ff., 284ff.]

**Robert Garnier**, 1545–1590. (Antony's death reflects Hercules' in) *Marc Antoine*. Tragedy. Paris: Patisson, 1578. / Translated into English by Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke, as *The Tragedie of Antonie* (London: Ponsobnie, 1590). [Bono 1984, pp. 116, 119f.]

**Edmund Spenser**, 1552?–1599. (Allusion to Hercules donning the shirt of Nessus in) *The Faerie Queene* 1.2.27. Romance epic. London: Ponsobnie, 1590, 1596. [Hamilton 1977 / Galinsky 1972, p. 208]

**Pellegrino Tibaldi**, 1527–1596. “Hercules on the Pyre.” Drawing. Louvre, Paris. [Pigler 1974, p. 131]

——— (or Lorenzo Sabatini, c.1530–1576). “Hercules on the Pyre.” Painting. Palazzo Lambertini, Bologna. [Ibid.]

**Annibale Carracci**, 1560–1609. “The Death of Hercules.” Fresco, part of “Hercules” cycle. 1595–97. Camerino, Palazzo Farnese, Rome. [Malafarina 1976, no. 87h–ill. / Martin 1965, pp. 27ff.–ill. / also Martin 1965, fig. 13]

**Thomas Heywood**, 1573/74–1641. (Death of Hercules in) *Troia Britannica: or, Great Brittaines Troy* 7.96–104. Epic poem. London: 1609. [Heywood 1974]

———. (Episode, as above, in) *The Brazen Age*. Drama, partially derived from *Troia Britannica*. First performed c.1610–13, London. Published London: Okes, 1613. [Heywood 1874, vol. 3 / DLB 1987, 62:101, 122ff. / also Boas 1950, pp. 83ff. / Clark 1931, pp. 62ff.]

———. (Death of Hercules in) “Of Women That Have Come by Strange Deaths” (Deianeira), “Of Women Strangely Preserved from Death” (Iole). Passages in *Gynaikion: or, Nine Books of Various History Concerning Women* books 4, 7. Compendium of history and mythology. London: Adam Islip, 1624. [Ipsos]

**Jean Prévost**, c.1580–1622. *Hercule sur le Mont Oeta*. Tragedy, adaptation of Seneca. In *Les tragédies et autres oeuvres poétiques* (Poitiers: Thoreau, 1613). [DLF 1951–72, 3:817 / Lancaster 1929–42, pt. 1, 1:92f.; 2:760]

**Guido Reni**, 1575–1642. “Hercules on the Pyre.” Painting, part of “Feats of Hercules” (“Power and Triumph of the Gonzaga”) cycle. 1617. Louvre, Paris, no. 538. [Pepper 1984, no. 68–ill. / Gnudi & Cavalli 1955, no. 42–ill. / Louvre 1979–86, 2:226–ill.]

**Jean Rotrou**, 1609–1650. *Hercule mourant* [Hercules Dying]. Tragedy. First performed 1634, Paris. Published Paris: Sommerville, 1636. [Girdlestone 1972, pp. 139ff. / DLLF 1984, 3:2019]

**Francisco Zurbarán**, 1598–1664. “Hercules Burned by the Shirt of Nessus.” Painting, part of “Labors of Hercules” cycle, for Salón de Reinos, Buen Retiro, Madrid. c.1634.

- Prado, Madrid, no. 1250. [López Torrijos 1985, pp. 141ff., 406—ill. / Prado 1985, p. 790]
- Peter Paul Rubens**, 1577–1640. “Deianeira (Listening to Fama Loquax [advising her to send the shirt of Nessus to Hercules]).” Painting. c.1638. Galleria Sabauda, Turin. [Jaffé 1989, no. 1203—ill.] Oil sketch. Worsley coll., Hovingham Hall, Yorkshire. [Ibid., no. 1202—ill. / Held 1980, no. 235 n. (as copy after lost original sketch)—ill.] Copy in private coll., Switzerland. [Jaffé / Held, no. 235, p. 647—ill.]
- . “Hercules Tearing Off the Shirt of Nessus,” “Deianeira and Nymphs.” Sheet of drawings. Louvre, Paris, inv. 20.217. [Burchard & d’Hulst 1963, no. 189—ill.]
- Joost van den Vondel**, 1587–1679. *Trachiniai* [Women of Trachis]. Drama, adaptation of Sophocles. Published 1660. [McGraw-Hill 1984, 5:119]
- Pietro Andrea Ziani**, 1616–1684. *Le fatiche d’Ercole per Deianira* [The Trials of Hercules for Deianeira]. Opera. Libretto, Aurelio Aureli. First performed 1662, SS Giovanni e Paolo, Venice. [Grove 1980, 20:675 / Bianconi 1987, p. 188 / Worsthorne 1954, p. 106]
- Ciro Ferri**, 1634–1689, under direction of **Pietro da Cortona**, 1596–1669. (Hercules on the pyre in) Ceiling fresco, Sala di Saturno, Palazzo Pitti, Florence. Executed 1663–65 (from compositions of 1640s). In place. [Campbell 1977, pp. 134ff., 148—ill. / Pitti 1966, p. 30—ill.]
- John Milton**, 1608–1674. (Hercules in the shirt of Nessus evoked in) *Paradise Lost* 2.539–46. Epic. London: Parker, Boulter & Walker, 1667. [Carey & Fowler 1968]
- Pierre Puget**, 1620–1694. “Hercules Burned by the Shirt of Nessus.” Bronze sculpture. 1676–81. Metropolitan Museum, New York, no. 49.7.61. [Herding 1970, no. 42—ill.]
- Jean-François Juvenon La Thuillerie**, 1650–1688, attributed (possibly by Abbé Abeille, taking the other’s name to escape church censure?). *Hercule*. Tragedy, adaptation of Rotrou’s *Hercule mourant* (1634). First performed 7 Nov 1681, Comédie-Française, Paris. [Girdlestone 1972, pt. 127, 139 / EDS 1954–66, 6:1261 / Lancaster 1929–42, pt. 4, 1:194–200; 2:932]
- Florent Dancourt**, 1661–1725. *La mort d’Hercule*. Tragedy. First performed 1683, Paris. Published Paris: 1683. [Lancaster 1929–42, pt. 4, 1:194, 200ff., 578; 2:953]
- Marin Marais**, 1656–1728, and **Louis Lully**, 1664–1734. *Alcide, ou, Le triomphe d’Hercule*. Opera (tragédie lyrique). Libretto, Jean Galbert de Campistron. First performed 3 Feb 1693, Académie Royale de Musique, Paris. / Revised as *La mort d’Hercule*, 1705. [Grove 1980, II:329, 641 / Girdlestone 1972, pp. 126, 137–42]
- Luca Giordano**, 1634–1705. “Hercules Killing Lichas.” Fresco, part of “Hercules” cycle, for Buen Retiro, Madrid. c.1697. Destroyed. / Engraved by Giuseppe Castillo and Juan Barcelon, 1779. [López Torrijos 1985, p. 407 no. 54—ill. / Ferrari & Scavizzi 1966, 1:155, 2:278]
- . “Hercules on the Pyre.” Painting. c.1699–1700. Prado, Madrid, no. 162. [Ferrari & Scavizzi, 2:220—ill.] Variant. Casita del Principe, El Escorial. [Ibid., 2:238 / Prado 1985, p. 248]
- François de Saligny De La Mothe-Fénelon**, 1651–1715. (Hercules and the shirt of Nessus evoked in) *Les aventures de Télémaque, fils d’Ulysse* (The Hague: Moetiens, 1699). [Galinsky 1972, p. 229]
- Guillaume Coustou the Elder**, 1677–1746. “Hercules on the Pyre.” Marble sculpture group. 1704. Louvre, Paris. [Pigler 1974, p. 131 / Clapp 1970, 1:187] Bronze statuette. Löwenburg, Kassel, inv. G.K.III 3433; elsewhere? [Düsseldorf 1971, no. 324—ill.]
- Louis-Nicolas Clérambault**, 1676–1749. *La mort d’Hercule*. Cantata. Published in *Cantates françaises à I. et II. voix avec symphonie et sans symphonie*, book 3 (Paris: 1716). [Grove 1980, 4:492]
- George Frideric Handel**, 1685–1759. *Hercules*. Oratorio (“English opera,” or, in advertisements, “musical drama”). Libretto, Thomas Broughton, after Sophocles’ *Women of Trachis* and Ovid. First performed 5 Jan 1745, King’s Theatre, London. [Lang 1966, pp. 420–430 / Keates 1985, pp. 118, 256–60 / Hogwood 1984, pp. 190, 196–200, 289 / Fiske 1973, p. 203]
- Antoine Dauvergne**, 1713–1797. *Hercule mourant* [Hercules Dying]. Opera (tragédie lyrique). Libretto, Jean-François Marmontel. First performed 3 April 1761, L’Opéra, Paris. [Grove 1980, 5:257 / Girdlestone 1972, p. 325]
- Jean-Georges Noverre**, 1727–1810, choreography. *La mort d’Hercule*. Ballet-pantomime. Music, Florian Johann Deller (spuriously attributed to Jean-Joseph Rodolphe). First performed 11 Feb 1762, Hoftheater, Stuttgart; scenery, Innocenzo Colomba and J. J. Servandoni; costumes, Boquet. [Oxford 1982, p. 306 / Winter 1974, pp. 117–19, 153 / Grove 1980, 5:349; 13:443; 16:92 / Lynham 1950, pp. 60, 166f. (music by Rodolphe)]
- Étienne Lauchery**, 1732–1820, choreography. *La mort d’Hercule*. Ballet. Music, L. Toeschi. First performed 1767, L’Opéra, Paris. [Grove 1980, 5:349]
- Johann Friedrich Gräfe**, 1711–1787 (also attributed to Anton Schweitzer, 1735–1787, Joseph Aloys Schmittbaur, 1718–1809). *Herkules auf dem Oeta* [Hercules on Mount Oeta]. Singspiel. Libretto, Johann Benjamin Michaelis. First performed 4 June 1771, Hannover. [Grove 1980, 7:613, 17:46 / Strich 1970, 1:218]
- Francesco Clerico**, c.1755—after 1838, choreography. *Ercole e Deianeira (La morte di Ercole)*. Ballet. Music, Clerico. First performed 1789, Teatro Nuova, Padua. [EDS 1954–66, 3:967]
- Gaetano Vestris**, 1728–1808, choreography. *La mort d’Hercule*. Ballet. Music, von Esch. First performed 11 Apr 1791, King’s Theatre, London. [Guest 1972, p. 151]
- Charles Le Picq**, 1744–1806, choreography, after Noverre. *La mort d’Hercule*. Ballet. 1796. [EDS 1954–66, 6:1410]
- Jean-Baptiste Rochefort**, 1746–1819, music. *La mort d’Hercule*. Pantomime. First performed 1796, Paris. [Grove 1980, 16:82]
- Johann Friedrich Reichardt**, 1752–1814. *Hercules Tod*. Opera (melodrama). Libretto, after Sophocles. First performed 10 Apr 1802, National Theater, Berlin. [Grove 1980, 15:706]
- Francesco Benedetti da Cortona**, 1785–1821. *Deianira*. Lyric drama. 1811. In *Opere*, edited by F. S. Orlandini (Florence: Le Monnier, 1858). [DELI 1966–70, 1:318]
- Samuel F. B. Morse**, 1791–1872. “The Dying Hercules.” Painting. 1812–13. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven. / Study, terra-cotta statuette (“Hercules”). New Haven. [Metropolitan 1965–85, 1:187f.]
- Antonio Canova**, 1757–1822. “Hercules and Lichas.” Mar-

- ble sculpture. 1795–1815. Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna, Rome. [Pavanello 1976, no. 131—ill. / Licht 1983, pp. 188–91—ill. / also Janson 1985, pp. 53f.—ill. / Irwin 1979, fig. 73] Plaster model. 1795–96. Gipsoteca Canoviana, Possgno, no. 87. [Pavanello, no. 132—ill.]
- Charles Duquesnoy, 1759–1822.** *La mort d'Hercule*. Incidental music. [Grove 1980, 5:738]
- Friedrich Hölderlin, 1770–1843.** “Dejanira an Herkules” [Deianeira to Hercules]. Translation of Ovid’s *Heroides* 9.3–6, 11–48. First published in *Sämtliche Werke und Briefe*, vol. 3 (Leipzig: Insel, 1915). [Beissner 1943–77, vol. 5 / Galinsky 1972, p. 255]
- Nadar (Félix Tournachon), 1820–1910.** *La robe de Déjanire* [The Cloak of Deianeira]. Novel. New York: Gailardet, 1846. [DLLF 1984, 2:1599]
- Matthew Arnold, 1822–1888.** “Fragment of Chorus of a ‘Deianeira.’” Poem. 1847–48? In *New Poems* (London: Macmillan, 1897). [Allott & Super 1986 / Tinker & Lowry 1940, p. 162f. / Bush 1971, p. 47]
- Charles Marie René Leconte de Lisle, 1818–1894.** “La robe du centaure” [The Robe of the Centaur]. Poem. In *Oeuvres: Poèmes antiques* (Paris: Lemerre, 1852). [Pich 1976–81, vol. 1]
- August Strindberg, 1849–1912.** (Axel Borg muses on Hercules’ career and death as he seeks his own death in) *I havsbandet* [On the Seaward Skerries]. Novel. Stockholm: Bonnier, 1890. Translated by Ellie Schlessner as *By the Open Sea* (London: Palmer, 1913). [Carlson 1982, pp. 188f. / Algulin 1989, p. 124]
- John Payne, 1842–1916.** “The Last of Hercules.” Poem. In *Poetical Works*, vol. 1 (London: Brill-Leyden, for Villos Society, 1902). [Bush 1937, p. 566]
- Emile Verhaeren, 1855–1916.** “Hercule.” Poem. In *Les rythmes souverains* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1910). [Galinsky 1972, pp. 276f. and appendix]
- Camille Saint-Saëns, 1835–1921.** *Déjanire*. Opera (drame lyrique). Libretto, composer, after Louis Gallet. First performed 14 Mar 1911, Monte Carlo. [Grove 1980, 16:404]
- Frank Wedekind, 1864–1918.** (Hercules’ death in) *Hera-kles*. Drama. Published 1917. First performed 1 Sep 1919, Prinzregenten Theater, Munich. [Galinsky 1972, pp. 235–40 / McGraw-Hill 1984, 5:130]
- Per Hallström, 1866–1960.** *Nessusdräkten* [The Mantle of Nessus]. Comedy. Stockholm: Bonnier, 1919. [Gustafson 1961, p. 343]
- Ricciotto Canudo, 1879–1923.** *La mort d'Hercule*. Tragedy. [EDS 1954–66, 2:1703]
- Richard Edwin Day, b. 1852.** “The Gift of Hercules” (Hercules bequeaths his bow and arrows to Philoctetes as he mounts the pyre). Poem. In *Dante and Other Poems* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1924). [Boswell 1982, p. 83]
- Kurt Weill, 1900–1950.** *Royal Palace* (Deianeira theme in modern dress). Ballet-opera. Libretto, Yvan Goll. First performed 2 Mar 1927, Staatsoper, Berlin. [Grove 1980, 20:309]
- Juan José Domenchina, 1898–1959.** *La túnica de Neso* [The Tunic of Nessus] (symbolic evocation of myth in title). Novella. Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 1929. [Oxford 1978, pp. 167, 271]
- Ildibrando Pizzetti, 1880–1968.** Incidental music to Sophocles’ *Women of Trachis*. First performed 26 Apr 1933, Teatro Greco, Syracuse. [Grove 1980, 14:797]
- T. S. Eliot, 1888–1965.** (Allusion to shirt of Nessus, death of Hercules, in) “Little Gidding.” Poem, part 4 of *Four Quartets* (London: Faber & Faber, 1943). [Eliot 1964 / Matthiessen 1958, p. 191 / Smith 1974, p. 294]
- Cesare Pavese, 1908–1950.** (Prometheus foretells Hercules’ death in) “La rupe” [The Mountain]. Dialogue. In *Dialoghi con Leucò* (Turin: Einaudi, 1947). [Biasin 1968, pp. 203, 312] Translated by William Arrowsmith and D. S. Carne-Ross in *Dialogues with Leucò*, bilingual edition (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1965). [Ipsø]
- Vyacheslav Ivánov, 1866–1949.** “The chiton that the flame consumes” [English title of work written in Russian]. Sonnet, no. 3 of *De profundis amari* (1949). / Translated in *Modern Russian Poetry* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1967). [Ipsø]
- Ezra Pound, 1885–1972.** *The Women of Trachis*. Tragedy, modern version of Sophocles. 1953. In *Hudson Review* 67.4 (Winter 1954). Broadcast 25 Nov 1954, BBC, London. First book publication London: Spearman, 1956; New York: New Directions, 1957. [Kenner 1971, pp. 522–26 / Galinsky 1972, pp. 236, 240ff. / DLB 1986, 45:338]
- Lucia Długoszewska, 1925–.** Incidental music to Ezra Pound’s *Women of Trachis*. 1960. [Cohen 1987, 1:200]
- James McAuley, 1917–1976.** “The Tomb of Hercules.” Poem. In *Surprises of the Sun* ([Sydney]: Angus & Robertson, [1969–70]). [CLC 1987, 45:249]
- Andra Patterson, 1964–.** Incidental music for a production of Sophocles’ *Women of Trachis*, 1983, Wellington, New Zealand. [Cohen 1987, 1:534]

**Apotheosis.** As the body of Hercules (Hercules) was consumed by a flaming pyre, Zeus sent a thunderbolt to extinguish the fire and declared that only the hero’s mortal part was consumed, while his immortal part was going in a chariot to Olympus. There he was proclaimed the twelfth Olympian, reconciled with Hera (Juno), and united in marriage with her daughter Hebe, goddess of youthful beauty, who gave him a draught of the gods’ immortalizing nectar.

**Classical Sources.** Homer, *Odyssey* 11.602ff. Hesiod, *Theogony* 950ff. Epicharmus, *The Marriage of Hebe*. Pindar, *Nemean Odes* 1.69ff.; *Isthmian Odes* 4.61–67. Euripides, *Heracles* 915ff. Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca* 4.38.5–4.39.4. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 9.239–273, 400ff. Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 2.7.7. Hyginus, *Fabulae* 36.

**Baldassare Peruzzi, 1481–1536.** “The Wedding of Hercules and Hebe.” Fresco (detached), from Villa Stati, Rome. 1519–20? Metropolitan Museum, New York, no. 48.17.13. [Frommel 1967–68, no. 56—ill. / also Metropolitan 1980, p. 141 (subject unidentified)—ill.]

**Antonio da Correggio, c.1489/94–1534,** attributed. “(Hercules Introduced to) Olympus.” Painting, sketch. c.1566. Christ Church, Oxford. [Byam Shaw 1967, no. 164 (as imitator)—ill. / Gould 1976, p. 289]



- Paolo Veronese**, 1528–1588, assistant. "The Coronation of Hebe." Ceiling painting, for Palazzo della Torre, Udine. Gardner Museum, Boston, no. P25c26. [Hendy 1974, p. 284—ill.]
- Alessandro Allori**, 1535–1607. "Hercules Crowned by the Muses." Painting. Before 1589. Uffizi, Florence, inv. 1544. [Uffizi 1979, no. P29—ill.]
- Hans van Coninxloo**, c.1540–1595. "Hercules Received into Olympus." Painting. 1592. Národní Galeri, Prague. [Pigler 1974, p. 132]
- Ludovico Carracci**, 1555–1619. "Hercules and Jupiter." Fresco, part of "Hercules" cycle. c.1593–94. Palazzo Sampieri (Talon), Bologna. [Malafarina 1976, p. 103 / Ostrow 1966, no. 1/15 n.]
- Francisco Pacheco**, 1564–1654. "Apotheosis of Hercules." Ceiling painting. 1603–04. Casa de Pilatos, Seville. [López Torrijos 1985, pp. 129ff., 405 no. 1, pl. 12]
- Hendrik van Balen**, 1575–1632. "Repast on Olympus with Hercules and Minerva." Painting. Gemäldegalerie, Dresden. [Bénézit 1976, 1:401]
- Peter Paul Rubens**, 1577–1640. "The Apotheosis of Hercules." Painting, for Torre de la Parada, El Pardo, executed by Jan-Baptist Borrekens from Rubens's design. 1636–38. Prado, Madrid, no. 1368. [Alpers 1971, no. 28—ill. / Prado 1985, pp. 65f.] Oil sketch. Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts (Musée d'Art Ancien), Brussels, inv. 4103 (812). [Ibid., no. 28a—ill. / Held 1980, no. 195 / Brussels 1984a, p. 251—ill.]
- Simon Vouet**, 1590–1649, rejected attribution. "Hercules Receiving Hebe in Marriage." Painting. Hermitage, Leningrad (as Vouet). [Crelly 1962, no. 51 / Hermitage 1974, pl. 9]
- Laurent de la Hyre**, 1606–1656 (formerly attributed to Nicolas Poussin). "Hercules Crowned by Minerva." Painting. Formerly Marquis of Bute coll., Heim Gallery in 1966. [Blunt 1966, no. R78]
- Charles Le Brun**, 1619–1690. "The Apotheosis of Hercules." Ceiling painting. 1658. Salon d'Hercule, Château de Vaux. [Titcomb 1967, pl. 4]
- . "The Apotheosis of Hercules." Fresco, part of "Hercules" cycle, for Hôtel Lambert, Paris. c.1650s. / Drawing for. Louvre, Paris, inv. 27.684. [Versailles 1963, no. 73; cf. nos. 74, 76—ill.]
- Francesco Berni**, 1610–1673. *La filo, ovvero, Giunone repacificata con Ercole* [The Thread, or, Juno Reconciled with Hercules]. Verse drama. 1660. In *I drammi* (Ferrara: Bolzoni Giglio & Formentini, 1666). [Clubb 1968, p. 43]
- Francesco Manelli**, 1594–1667. *La filo, ovvero, Giunone repacificata con Ercole*. Opera. Libretto, Berni (above). First performed 1660, Teatro Farnese, Parma. [Grove 1980, II:613]
- Antonio Draghi**, 1634/35–1700. *Ercole, acquiretore dell'immortalità* [Hercules, Winner of Immortality]. Opera. Libretto, N. Minato. First performed 7 Jan 1677, Linz. [Grove 1980, 5:604]
- Carlo Francesco Pollarolo**, c.1653–1723. *Ercole in cielo* [Hercules in Heaven]. Opera. Libretto, Frigimelica Roberti. First performed 1696, San Giovanni Grisostomo, Venice. [Grove 1980, 15:47 / Worsthome 1954, p. 174]
- Luca Giordano**, 1634–1705. "Hercules Receiving Gifts from Minerva, Mercury, and Vulcan." Fresco, part of "Hercules" cycle, for Buen Retiro, Madrid. c.1697. Destroyed. / Engraved by Giuseppe Castillo and Juan Barcelon, 1779. [López Torrijos 1985, p. 407 no. 40 / Ferrari & Scavizzi 1966, 1:155, 2:278—ill.]
- Reinhard Keiser**, 1674–1739. *Die Verbindung des grossen Hercules mit der schönen Hebe* [The Union of Great Hercules and Fair Hebe]. Singpiel. Libretto, Christian Heinrich Postel. First performed 1699, for Royal Brunswick wedding, Hamburg. [Zelm 1975, p. 46]
- Anton Domenico Gabbiani**, 1652–1726. "Hercules Received into Olympus." Ceiling fresco. 1700. Palazzo Corsini, Florence. [Warburg]
- Sebastiano Ricci**, 1659–1734. "The Apotheosis of Hercules." Fresco, part of "Hercules" cycle. 1706–07. Sala d'Ercole, Palazzo Marucelli-Fenzi, Florence. [Daniels 1976, no. 110—ill.]
- . "The Apotheosis of Hercules." Grisaille ceiling fresco, part of "Hercules" cycle, for Portland House, London. 1712–13. Destroyed. [Ibid., no. 208]
- Andrea Stefano Fiorè**, 1686–1732. *Ercole in cielo*. Opera seria. Libretto, P. Pariati. First performed 1 Oct 1710, Neue Favorita, Vienna. [Grove 1980, 6:599]
- Nicolas-Antoine Bergiron de Briou**, 1690–1768, music. *L'apothéose d'Ercole*. Divertissement. First performed 15 Apr 1722, Paris. [Grove 1980, 2:549]
- Jacob de Wit**, 1695–1754. "Hercules Received into Olympus." Painting. 1725. Rothschild coll., Waddesdon Manor, Buckinghamshire, cat. 1967 no. 76. [Wright 1976, p. 222 / Pigler 1974, p. 132]
- . "Apotheosis of Hercules." Drawing, for lost ceiling painting. c.1746. Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam. [Staring 1958, p. 154, pl. 58]
- Georg von Reutter the Younger**, 1708–1772. *Alcide trasformato in dio* [Alcides transformed into a god]. Opera. First performed 1729, Vienna. [Grove 1980, 15:773]
- Carlo Innocenzo Carlone**, 1686–1775. "Olympus: Mercury Escorts Hebe [or Psyche?] to Her Wedding on Olympus." Ceiling fresco. 1727–30. Palais Clem-Gallas, Prague. / Study. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin-Dahlem, no. 2003. [Berlin 1986, p. 21—ill.]
- François Le Moine**, 1688–1737. "The Apotheosis of Hercules." Fresco. 1733–36. Salon d'Hercule, Château de Versailles. [Bordeaux 1984, pp. 61ff., no. 95—ill. / Girard 1985, p. 282—ill. / Versailles 1949, pp. 30f.—ill.] Modello, in Versailles. [Bordeaux—ill.] Copy in Musée des Augustins, Toulouse. [Ibid.—ill.]
- Nicola Porpora**, 1686–1768. *Le nozze d'Ercole e d'Ebe*. Cantata or serenata. First performed Carnival 1744, San Giovanni Grisostomo, Venice. [Grove 1980, 15:126]
- Francesco Solimena**, 1657–1747. "Hercules Received into Olympus." Painting. Museo di Capodimonte, Naples. [Pigler 1974, p. 132]
- Christoph Willibald Gluck**, 1714–1787. *Le nozze d'Ercole e d'Ebe* [The Marriage of Hercules and Hebe]. Serenata teatrale, for double wedding of Saxon and Bavarian nobility. First performed 29 June 1747, Pillnitz Castle, near Dresden. [Grove 1980, 7:436]
- Giovanni Battista Tiepolo**, 1696–1770. "Apotheosis (Triumph) of Hercules." Fresco. 1761. Palazzo Canossa, Verona, largely destroyed in World War II. [Levey 1986, pp. 228f.—ill. / Pallucchini 1968, no. 276—ill. / Morassi 1962,

brought back gruesome evidence of the success of his labors.

The number was set at twelve as early as the fifth century BCE. The labors were to (1) kill the Nemean lion and bring back its pelt; (2) slay the Lernean hydra; (3) capture the Erymanthian boar; (4) abduct the sacred Ceryneian hind (or Arcadian stag); (5) kill the Stymphalian birds; (6) clean the stables of Augeas; (7) capture the Cretan bull; (8) bring back the mares of Diomedes; (9) obtain the girdle of the Amazon queen Hippolyta; (10) retrieve the cattle of Geryon; (11) pick the golden apples of the Hesperides; and (12) fetch Cerberus from the Underworld. There is some disagreement about the order in which the labors were performed, but this is the most commonly accepted sequence.

Besides the twelve labors (Greek, *athloi*) some of Heracles' wanderings involved *parerga* (sidelines, sing. *parergon*), in which he performed other deeds or feats of strength. Some of these *parerga*, such as his establishment of the Pillars of Heracles, his battle with Cacus, and his defeat of Antaeus, are often included in cycles that describe or depict the labors themselves.

**Classical Sources.** Pindar, *Olympian Odes* 10. Sophocles, *The Women of Trachis* 1091ff. Euripides, *Heracles* 15ff. Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca* 4.11–27. Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.287–300. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 9.182–200. Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 2.4.12, 2.5.1–12. Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 3.17.3, 3.18.13, 5.10.9, 5.25.7. Hyginus, *Fabulae* 14, 20, 30–31, 151. Quintus of Smyrna, *Sequel to Homer* 6.208ff.

Listings are arranged under the following headings:

- General List
- The Nemean Lion
- The Lernean Hydra
- The Erymanthian Boar
- The Ceryneian Hind
- The Stymphalian Birds
- The Stables of Augeas
- The Cretan Bull
- The Mares of Diomedes
- The Girdle of Hippolyta
- The Cattle of Geryon
- The Apples of the Hesperides
- Cerberus

## General List

**Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius**, c.480–524. (Heracles' labors celebrated in) *De consolazione philosophiae* book 4 metrum 7. Dialogue. 524. [Stewart 1968] Translated into Anglo-Saxon by Alfred the Great (c.900), and into Middle English by Geoffrey Chaucer as *Boece* (1381–85). See *Chaucer*, below. [Ibid.]

**Anonymous French.** (Labors of Hercules in) *Ovide moralisé* 9.600–44. Poem, allegorized translation/elaboration of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. c.1316–28. [de Boer 1915–86, vol. 3 / Galinsky 1972, pp. 202f.]

**Geoffrey Chaucer**, 1340?–1400. (Hercules' labors cele-

brated in) *Boece* book 4 metrum 7. Prose translation of Boethius's *De consolazione philosophiae* (524). 1381–85. Westminster: Caxton, 1478. [Riverside 1987]

———. (Hercules' labors recounted in) "The Monk's Tale" lines 2095–2142. Poem, part of *The Canterbury Tales*. 1388–95. Westminster: Caxton, 1478. [Riverside / Bryan & Dempster 1958, pp. 629ff.]

**Coluccio Salutati**, 1331–1406. *De laboribus Herculis* [Of Heracles' Labors] (and other episodes). Poem, with moralizations. c.1406. Modern edition by B. L. Ullman (Zürich: Artemis, 1951). [DELI 1966–70, 5:26 / Trousson 1962, p. 86 / Galinsky 1972, pp. 196f., 226]

**Enrique de Aragon Villena**, 1384–1434. *Los doze trabajos de Ercules* [The Twelve Labors of Hercules]. Allegorical poem. 1417. First published in Catalan, Burgos: 1499. Modern edition, Madrid: 1876. [DLE 1972, pp. 939f. / Trousson 1962, p. 86 / Galinsky 1972, pp. 197, 226]

**Pietro Andrea de Bassi**, 1375–c.1447. *Le fatiche d'Ercole*. Poem. c.1420s. Ferrara: 1475. Modern edition, translated by W. K. Thompson as *The Labors of Hercules* (Barre, Mass.: Imprint Society, 1971). [Galinsky 1972, pp. 194, 225]

**Antonio del Pollaiuolo**, 1432/33–1498. "Hercules Killing the Hydra," "Hercules Strangling Antaeus," "Hercules Killing the Nemean Lion." Paintings, for Palazzo Medici, Florence. c.1460. Lost. [Ettlinger 1978, no. 44] Related drawing, "Hercules and the Hydra." British Museum, London, no. 5210–8. [Ibid., no. 32–ill.]

———, attributed. "Hercules and Antaeus," "Hercules and the Hydra." Paintings (possibly related to above). Dated variously c.1465–after 1475. Uffizi, Florence, inv. 1478, 8268 (possible third panel, Hercules and the lion, lost). [Ibid., no. 10–ill. / Uffizi 1979, nos. Pr222–23–ill.]

———, imitator (Florentine School). "Labors of Hercules." Fresco frieze. 15th century. Museo di Palazzo Venezia, Rome. [Berenson, p. 221–ill.]

**Raoul Lefèvre**, fl. c.1454–67. "Les prouesses et vaillances du preux Hercules" [The Deeds and Bravery of the Gallant Hercules]. Last 6 chapters of Book 1 and entire Book 2 of *Le recueil des hystoires de Troyes*. Prose romance. 1464. / English translation by William Caxton, as *The Recuyell of the Histories of Troye* (Bruges: Mansion, c.1474). / Modern edition (of original French) by Marc Aeschbach (Bern & New York: Lang, 1987). [DLF 1951–72, 1:459 / Galinsky 1972, pp. 191–94, 225]

**Andrea Mantegna**, 1430/31–1506. 4 ceiling frescoes, depicting labors of Hercules (Lion, Hydra, Cerberus, also Antaeus). 1468–74. Camera Picta (Camera degli Sposi), Palazzo Ducale, Mantua. [Lightbown 1986, no. 20, pls. 63–66]

**Italian School.** "The Twelve Labors of Hercules." Fresco cycle. Late 15th century. Castello di Bracciano, Rome. [Warburg]

**Giovan Antonio Amadeo**, 1447–1522. "The Twelve Labors of Hercules." Cycle of bas-relief sculptures. c.1491–1501. Colleoni Chapel façade, Bergamo. [Clapp 1970, 1:26]

**Desiderius Erasmus**, 1466–1536. (Hercules' labors evoked in) *Adagia* (*Chiliades adagiorum*). Compendium of adages. First published 1506; revised and expanded, published Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1508. [Galinsky 1972, p. 223 / Hallowell 1962, p. 247]

**Raphael**, 1483–1520. "The Labors of Hercules." Designs

- for series (of prints?), known only from 4 extant drawings: "Hercules and a Centaur," "Hercules and the Hydra" (2 versions), "Hercules and the Nemean Lion." c.1507–08. British Museum, London; Royal Library, Windsor; Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. [Joannides 1983, nos. 188–90—ill.]
- Albrecht Dürer**, 1471–1528, studio, under Dürer's direction (previously attributed to Lucas van Leiden). Series of drawings, depicting 12 deeds of Hercules (including Hercules with the Nemean Lion, Lernaean Hydra, Atlas, and Cerberus), designs for series of medals (unlocated). 1510–11. Formerly Kunsthalle, Bremen, lost. [Strauss 1974, nos. 1511/21–32—ill.]
- Baldassare Peruzzi**, 1481–1536 (formerly attributed to Giulio Romano). "The Labors of Hercules." Frescoed frieze. 1511–12. Sala del Fregio, Villa Farnesina, Rome. [d'Ancona 1955, pp. 91f.—ill. / Gerlini 1949, pp. 21ff.—ill. / Frommel 1967–68, no. 18a / also Berenson 1968, p. 334—ill.]
- . "Hercules and the Nemean Lion," "Hercules and the Lernaean Hydra." Ceiling frescos. 1510–11. Sala di Galatea, Villa Farnesina. [d'Ancona, pp. 25f., 86 / Gerlini, pp. 10ff. / also Frommel, no. 18c—ill.]
- Rosso Fiorentino**, 1494–1540, composition. "The Labors and Adventures of Hercules." 6 engravings (including Hydra, Cerberus), executed by Gian Jacopo Caraglio (Bartsch nos. 44–49). 1524. Original designs lost. [Carroll 1987, nos. 9–14—ill.; cf. nos. 15–16]
- Giulio Romano**, c.1499–1546, assistants, after designs by Giulio. Cycle of frescoes (imitation bronze plaques) depicting deeds of Hercules (including Hydra, Lion, Bull, Cerberus). 1527–28. Sala dei Cavalli, Palazzo del Tè, Mantua. [Hartt 1958, pp. 112ff., figs. 181–86 / Verheyen 1977, p. 115]
- Michelangelo**, 1475–1564 (authenticity disputed, possible copy or forgery). "Three Labors of Hercules" (Lion, Hydra, Antaeus). Sheet of drawings. c.1530. Royal Library, Windsor, no. 12770. [Goldscheider 1951, no. 68—ill.]
- Austrian School**. "The Twelve Labors of Hercules." Sgraffito stucco. Mid-16th century. Façade, Riederhaus, Althofen, Karnten. [Warburg]
- Lucas Cranach**, 1472–1553, studio. "Hercules and Nessus." Painting, part of "Hercules" cycle. After 1537. Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig, nos. 712–718. [Braunschweig 1969, pp. 47f.]
- Frans Floris**, 1516/20–1570. "The Labors of Hercules." Cycle of 10 paintings. 1554–55. All but "Hercules and Antaeus" lost since 1768. [de Bosque 1985, p. 55—ill.]
- Giorgio Vasari**, 1511–1574, and assistants. Cycle of ceiling paintings depicting labors (Hydra, Lion, Cerberus, Hesperides, Cacus, Bull) and other deeds of Hercules. 1557. Sala di Ercole, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence. [Sinibaldi 1950, pp. 13, 23 / also Lensi 1929, pp. 154ff, 163f.—ill. / Barocchi 1964, pp. 38ff., 147, 316—ill.]
- Vincenzo de' Rossi**, 1525–1587. "Labors of Hercules." Series of marble sculpture groups (12 ordered, 7 executed). c.1568. 6 (including Hercules and Antaeus, Nessus [or another centaur?], Cacus) in Salone dei Cinquecento, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence; 1 ("Hercules Holding Up the World") on Poggio Imperiale, Florence. [Lensi 1929, pp. 224f. / also Pigler 1974, pp. 112, 113, 128 / Pope-Hennessy 1985b, 3:49, 54—ill.]
- Giambologna**, 1529–1608. "The Labors of Hercules." 12 statuettes (medium unknown), for Francesco de' Medici. Before 1581. Lost. / 6 silver replicas. 1576–89. Tribuna, Uffizi, Florence, in 16th century, now lost. [Avery & Radcliffe 1978, pp. 122f. / Avery 1987, pp. 139ff.] *Bronze replicas and variants by Giambologna (?) and followers*: "Hercules and the Nemean Lion." Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich; National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin; Museo del Bargello, Florence; 1 unlocated. [Avery & Radcliffe, no. 75—ill. / also Avery, no. 77—ill.] "Hercules and the Lernaean Hydra." Dublin; Národní Galerie, Prague; 2 unlocated. [Avery & Radcliffe, no. 76—ill. / also Avery, no. 78—ill.] Wax sculpture (probably original model). Palazzo Vecchio, Florence. [Sinibaldi 1950, p. 28] Bronze variant, French School, mid-17th century. Frick Collection, New York, no. 15.2.53. [Frick 1968–70, 4:62f.—ill.] "Hercules and the Erymanthian Boar." Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, no. 5846; Museo di Capodimonte, Naples, no. 10785; Castello Sforzesco, Milan; Dublin; Bargello; Wallace Collection, London; National Gallery, Washington, D.C., no. A-115. [Avery & Radcliffe, nos. 78–79—ill. / also Avery, no. 81—ill. / Sienkewicz 1983, p. 14—ill.] Variant. 2 examples known. Louvre, Paris, no. 5425; Wallace Collection, no. S126. [Avery & Radcliffe, no. 80—ill.] "Hercules Carrying the Globe." Milan, no. Br. 142. [Avery, no. 80—ill.] *Works not in the Tribuna series, but presumably derived from the original series of 12*: "Hercules and the Arcadian Stag." Bargello; Hermitage, Leningrad, no. 222; Wallace Collection, no. S123; Hovingham Hall, Yorkshire. [Avery & Radcliffe, no. 77—ill. / also Avery, no. 83—ill.] Large variant (studio of Ferdinando Tacca, mid-17th century?). Louvre. [Avery & Radcliffe] "Hercules and the Pillars." Dublin; Palacio de Oriente, Madrid. [Avery & Radcliffe, no. 83—ill. / also Avery, no. 85—ill.] "Hercules and the Dragon (Ladon)." Louvre, no. OA5439 bis; Musée Royal d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels. [Avery & Radcliffe, no. 84—ill.] Bargello; Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, no. 54.695. [Avery & Radcliffe, nos. 84–85—ill. / also Avery, no. 84—ill.] "Hercules and Cerberus." Baltimore, no. 54.694. [Avery & Radcliffe, no. 86—ill. / Avery, no. 86—ill.]
- Cavaliere d'Arpino**, 1568–1640. Cycle of lunette frescoes depicting scenes from the life of Hercules (including Lion, Hydra, Bull, Birds, Cerberus). 1594–95. Loggia Orsini, Palazzo del Sodalizio dei Piceni, Rome. [Röttgen 1969, pp. 279ff., 285—ill.]
- Annibale Carracci**, 1560–1609. "Hercules Bearing the Globe," "Hercules and the Nemean Lion," "Hercules and the Hydra," "Hercules and Cerberus." Frescoes, part of "Hercules" cycle. 1595–97. Camerino, Palazzo Farnese, Rome. [Malafarina 1976, nos. 87a, c, d, f—ill. / Martin 1965, pp. 27ff.—ill.]
- Francisco Zurbarán**, 1598–1664. "The Labors of Hercules." Cycle of 10 paintings, depicting labors (Geryon, Lion, Boar, Bull, Cerberus, Augeas, Hydra) and other deeds of Hercules, for Salón de Reinos, Buen Retiro, Madrid. c.1634. Prado, Madrid, nos. 1242–45, 1247–49. [López Torrijos 1985, pp. 141ff., 406—ill. / Prado 1985, p. 790]
- José Ximénez Donoso**, 1628–1690, and **Claudio Coello**, 1642?–1693. "Labors of Hercules." Series of 6 ceiling paintings. 1673–74. Salón de Reyes, Casa de la Panadería, Madrid. [López Torrijos 1985, p. 406 nos. 19–24—ill.]

- p. 63 / also Galinsky 1972, pl. 16] Study. Currier Gallery of Art, Manchester, N.H. [Pallucchini—ill. / Morassi, p. 23—ill.] See also *Giovanni Domenico Tiepolo*, below.
- Giuseppe Antonio Paganelli**, 1710–c.1763. *Apotheosi di Alcide*. Cantata. Libretto, G. Zangarini. [Grove 1980, 14:85]
- Jean-Georges Noverre**, 1727–1810, choreography. *L'apothéose d'Hercule*. Ballet. First performed 10 Sep 1767, for betrothal of Erzherzogin Maria Josefa to the King of Naples, Burg or Kärntner Theater, Vienna. [Oxford 1982, p. 306 / Lynham 1950, p. 168]
- Giovanni Domenico Tiepolo**, 1727–1804 (previously attributed to G. B. Tiepolo). "Triumph (Apotheosis) of Hercules." Fresco, for Imperial Court, St. Petersburg. c.1762–70. Lost. / Studies. Thyssen-Bornemisza coll., Lugano; another, formerly Strauss coll., Vienna, sold 1926. [Mariuz 1979, pp. 123, 150—ill. / Morassi 1962, p. 21]
- Anton Raphael Mengs**, 1728–1779. "Apotheosis of Hercules." Ceiling fresco. c.1762–75. Antecámara de Gasparini, Palacio Real, Madrid. [Honisch 1965, no. 5, pp. 30, 40—ill.]
- Giuseppe Pasquale Cirillo**, 1709–1776. *Le nozze di Ercole ed Ebe*. Dramatic poem. [DELI 1966–70, 2:62–64]
- Ferdinando Bertoni**, 1725–1813. *Apotheosi di Ercole*. Cantata. c.1781. Libretto, Butturini. [Grove 1980, 2:647]
- Francesco de Mura**, 1696–1782. "Hercules Received into Olympus." Ceiling fresco. Palazzo Reale, Turin. [Pigler 1974, p. 132]
- Jeronymo Francisco de Lima**, 1743–1822. *Le nozze d'Ercole e d'Ebe*. Serenata. First performed 13 Apr 1785, residence of Count F. Nuñez, Lisbon. [Grove 1980, 10:863]
- Christoph Unterberger**, 1732–1798. "The Apotheosis of Hercules." Ceiling painting, surrounded by 4 scenes from the life of Hercules. 1784–86. Galleria Borghese, Rome. / Study in Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, inv. 37.1698. [Walters 1976, no. 427—ill.]
- Angelo Tarchi**, c.1760–1814. *L'apoteosi d'Ercole*. Opera (dramma per musica). Libretto, M. Butturini. First performed 26 Dec 1790, San Benedetto, Venice. [Grove 1980, 18:577]
- Jan Kamphuijsen**, 1760–1841. "The Apotheosis of Hercules." Ceiling painting, for Brentano house, Herengracht, Amsterdam, probably after a design by G. Maderni (1758–1803). 1790–91. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. A4140. [Rijksmuseum 1976, p. 311—ill.]
- John Flaxman**, 1755–1826. "Hercules and Hebe." Plaster sculpture group, full-scale study for unexecuted heroic-size marble. 1792. University College, London. [Irwin 1979, pp. 58f., fig.74 / Cologne 1977, p. 165—ill.]
- Friedrich Hölderlin**, 1770–1843. "An Herkules" (Hercules, on Olympus, encourages the poet to aspire to immortality). Poem. c.1796. First published by Karl Müller-Rastatt in "Aus dem Nachlasse von Friedrich Hölderlin," *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung* 27 (6 July 1893). [Beissner 1943–77, vol. 1 / Galinsky 1972, pp. 255f.]
- Friedrich von Schiller**, 1759–1805. "Zeus zu Herkules" [Zeus to Hercules] (welcoming the hero to Olympus). Distich. In *Musen Almanach für das Jahr 1796* (Tübingen: Cotta, 1796). [Petersen & Beissner 1943]
- Bertel Thorwaldsen**, 1770–1844. "Hercules Receiving the Draught of Immortality from Hebe" ("An Allegory of Strength"). Marble relief. Modeled 1808. Several versions, 1821–40. Thorwaldsens Museum, Copenhagen, no. A321; Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan; unlocated. [Thorwaldsen 1985, p. 45 / Cologne 1977, no. 33 / Hartmann 1979, pl. 75.3] Plaster original. Thorwaldsens Museum, no. A317. [Thorwaldsen]
- Pierre-Paul Prud'homme**, 1758–1823. "The Marriage of Hercules and Hebe." Painted frieze, decoration in Hôtel de Ville, for celebration of the marriage of Napoleon to Marie-Louise. 1810. Destroyed. / Sketch. Louvre, Paris, no. R.F. 363 (757, 1510). [Guiffrey 1924, no. 937, pp. 352f. / also Louvre 1979–86, 4:151—ill.]
- Friedrich Heinrich Füger**, 1751–1818. "Hercules before Jupiter and Juno." Painting, grisaille sketch. Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, no. 2129 (751a). [Budapest 1968, p. 252]
- . "Hercules Received into Olympus." Oil sketch. Deutsche Barockgalerie, Augsburg. [Pigler 1974, p. 133]
- Saverio Mercadante**, 1795–1870. *L'apoteosi d'Ercole*. Opera (dramma per musica). Libretto, G. Schmidt. First performed 19 Aug 1819, San Carlo, Naples. [Grove 1980, 12:174]
- Pietro Benvenuti**, 1769–1844. "The Nuptials of Hercules and Hebe." Ceiling painting. 1828. Saloncino d'Ercole, Palazzo Pitti, Florence. [Pitti 1966, p. 137—ill.]
- Sacheverell Sitwell**, 1897–1988. "The Hochzeit of Hercules." Poem. In *The Hundred and One Harlequins* (London: Richards, 1922). [Ips0]
- Antony Tudor**, 1908–1987, choreography and scenario. Suite of dances for Hercules and Hebe in J. V. Turner's *Jupiter Translated*. Play. Music, Bloch's *Concerto Grosso*. First performed 1933, Mercury Theatre, London. [Beaumont 1938, p. 830]
- , choreography and scenario. *The Descent of Hebe*. Ballet. Music, Ernest Bloch. First performed 31 Apr 1935, Mercury Theatre, London; scenery and costumes, Nadia Benois. [Oxford 1982, p. 423 / Beaumont, p. 829]
- Robert Graves**, 1895–1985. "To Ogmian Hercules." Poem. In *Poems, 1965–68* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1968). [Graves 1975]

**HERACLES, LABORS OF.** In a fit of madness caused by Hera, his implacable enemy, Heracles (Hercules) murdered his children and, according to some accounts, his wife, Megara. Horrified by this act, he went into exile and consulted the Delphic oracle to learn how he could expiate his crime. The oracle instructed him to serve King Eurystheus for twelve years. It also said that if he succeeded in performing the labors set for him by the king, he would become immortal.

Eurystheus occupied the throne of Tiryns, which was rightfully Heracles' but for Hera's trickery in delaying his birth, and this exacerbated Heracles' burden. In some versions of the myth, the king is portrayed as a coward who issued orders to Heracles through a messenger and hid whenever the hero

- Francisco Solis**, 1629–1684. “Hercules and His Twelve Labors.” Cycle of 13 paintings, for Plazuela de la Villa, Madrid. 1680. Lost. [López Torrijos 1985, p. 406 nos. 25–37]
- Pierre Beauchamps**, 1631–1705, choreography and music. *Les travaux d’Hercule*. Ballet, presented with the tragedy *Clovis*. First performed 1686, Collège Louis-le-Grand, Paris. [Astier 1983, pp. 153, 161]
- Eustache Le Noble**, 1643–1711. *Les travaux d’Hercule*. Poem, glorifying Louis XIV. Paris: Claude Mazuel, 1693. [DLLF 1984, 2:127]
- Luca Giordano**, 1634–1705. “The History of Hercules.” Cycle of 40 frescoes. c.1697. Formerly Buen Retiro, Madrid, destroyed. / Engraved by Giuseppe Castillo and Juan Barcelon, 1779. [Ferrari & Scavizzi 1966, 1:155, 2:278–ill. / López Torrijos 1985, p. 407 nos. 39–54]
- Sebastiano Ricci**, 1659–1734. “Hercules and the Lernaean Hydra,” “Hercules and the Nemean Lion,” “Hercules and Cerberus.” Frescoes, part of “Hercules” cycle. 1706–07. Sala d’Ercole, Palazzo Marucelli-Fenzi, Florence. [Daniels 1976, no. 110–ill.]
- Theodor van der Schuer**, 1628–1707. “The Labors of Hercules.” Paintings. Gemeentemuseum, The Hague, cat. 1935 no. 452, inv. 89–ZJ. [Wright 1980, p. 420]
- Bartolomeo Altomonte**, 1702–1779. “Labors of Hercules.” Fresco detail. 1773. Cloister, Fürstzell (Austria?). [Heinzl 1964, pp. 46f.]
- Raphael Mengs**, 1728–1779. “The Twelve Labors of Hercules.” Cycle of ceiling frescoes. Galleria Borghese, Rome. [Warburg]
- Johann Samuel Patzke**, 1727–1787. *Die Taten des Herkules* [The Deeds of Hercules]. Drama. 1780. [Hunger 1959, p. 144]
- Gustave Doré**, 1832–1883. “The Labors of Hercules.” Lithograph series. Published Paris: Aubert, 1847. [Leblanc 1931, p. 349]
- Robert Barnabas Brough**, 1828–1860. *The Twelve Labours of Hercules*. Extravaganza. First performed 1851, London. [Nicoll 1959–66, 5:278]
- Eugène Delacroix**, 1798–1863. “Hercules Skinning the Nemean Lion,” “Hercules Carrying the Erymanthean Boar on His Shoulders,” “Hercules, Conqueror of Hippolyta,” “Hercules Chaining Nereus” (part of the Hesperides adventure, q.v.). Ceiling paintings, in “Life of Hercules” cycle, for Salon de la Paix, Hôtel de Ville, Paris. 1851–52. Destroyed by fire, 1871. [Robaut 1885, nos. 1154–56, 1159–ill. (copy drawings) / Huyghe 1963, pp. 289, 423, 474]
- . “Hercules Rests from His Labors.” Painting. 1858. Wildenstein & Co., New York, in 1978. [Johnson 1981–86, no. 328a–ill. / also Robaut, no. 1351–ill. (copy drawing)]
- Honoré Daumier**, 1808–1879. “Labors of the Prussian Hercules.” Satirical lithograph. 1866. [Delteil 1906–30, 28: no. 3495–ill.]
- V. Galleani. Ercole ed Euristeo** [Hercules and Eurystheus]. Opera. Libretto, V. and G. Gargano. First performed 1888. [Hunger 1959, p. 145]
- George Meredith**, 1828–1909. “The Labourer.” Poem. In *Westminster Gazette* 6 Feb 1893. [Bartlett 1978, vol. 2]
- Gabriele D’Annunzio**, 1863–1938. “La tredicesima fatica” [The Thirteenth Labor]. Epyllion. In *Intermezzo* (Naples: 1894). [Palmieri 1953–59, vol. 1]
- Claude Terrasse**, 1867–1923. *Les travaux d’Hercule*. Operetta. Libretto, R. de Flers and G. A. de Caillavet. First performed 7 Mar 1901, Paris. [Grove 1980, 18:697]
- Paul Manship**, 1885–1966. “Labors of Hercules.” 6 bronze low reliefs on pedestal of “Infant Hercules Fountain.” 1914. [Murtha 1957, no. 54–ill.] 6 bronze casts, 1955. 4 in Minnesota Museum of Art, St. Paul, nos. 66.14.228 a-d. [Minnesota 1972, no. 5–ill. / Minnesota 1985, no. 69–ill.; cf. no. 70]
- Marianne Moore**, 1887–1972. “The Labors of Hercules.” Poem. In *Selected Poems* (New York: Macmillan; London: Faber & Faber, 1935). [Boswell 1982, p. 187 / Phillips 1982, pp. 159f. / Hadas 1977, pp. 16f., 22, 34, 216]
- Yvor Winters**, 1900–1968. “Heracles” (as servant of Eurystheus). Poem. In *Rockinghorse 2* (1935); collected in *Poems* (Los Altos, Calif.: Gyroscope, 1940). [Isaacs 1981, p. 87 / Powell 1980, pp. 129–33]
- Ossip Zadkine**, 1890–1967. “The Labors of Hercules.” Series of 28 lithographs. 1941–44. Published Cologne: 1960. [Jianou 1979, p. 35]
- John Fuller**, 1937–. *The Labours of Hercules*. Sonnet sequence. Manchester: Manchester Institute of Contemporary Arts, 1969. [Vinson 1985, p. 281]
- Pierrette Mari**, 1929–. *Les travaux d’Hercule*. Electronic composition for ondes Martenot, piano, and percussion. 1961–72. [Cohen 1987, 1:450]
- John Heath-Stubbs**, 1918–. “The Twelve Labours of Hercules.” Poem. In *The Watchman’s Flute* (Manchester: Carcanet, 1975). [DLB 1984, 27:147]

**The Nemean Lion.** In the first of his labors, Heracles (Hercules) was commanded to bring to King Eurystheus the invulnerable pelt of the Nemean lion, a fierce monster produced by the union of Echidna (or Chimaera) and Orthus (or Typhon). When Heracles found its cave and shot at it, the arrows bounced off. Heracles therefore cornered it in its lair, clubbed it, and strangled it with his bare hands.

As the hero approached Eurystheus with the dead lion slung over his shoulder, the king fled in terror. Heracles flayed the lion by using its own claws, the only objects sharp enough to penetrate its hide. He then donned the pelt as a cloak, with the scalp as a hood. The lion’s hide and the club he used against it became Heracles’ most common attributes.

In another adventure unrelated to this labor, Heracles also killed the marauding lion of Mount Cithaeron.

*Classical Sources.* Hesiod, *Theogony* 326ff. Sophocles, *The Women of Trachis* 1091ff. Theocritus, *Idylls* 25.162ff. Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca* 4.11.3ff. Virgil, *Georgics* 3.19. Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 2.5.1. Martial, *Epigrams* 4.64.30, 9.43.13. Statius, *Thebaid* 4.156ff. Hyginus, *Poetica astronomica* 2.24.

- Filarete**, c.1400–1469? “Hercules and the Nemean Lion.” Relief, on bronze door of St. Peter’s, Rome. 1433–45. In place. [Pope-Hennessy 1985b, 2:318]
- Antonio del Pollaiuolo**, 1432/33–1498. “Hercules and the Lion.” Painting, part of cycle for Palazzo Medici, Florence. c.1460. Lost. [Ettlinger 1978, no. 44] Conjectural related painting. Lost. [Ibid., no. 10 n.]
- , attributed. “Hercules” (with head of Nemean lion). Bronze statuette. Bode Museum, Berlin. [Ettlinger 1978, no. 16—ill.]
- Apollonio di Giovanni**, c.1415–1465. “Hercules and the Lion.” Painting. Cincinnati Art Museum, Ohio, no. 1933.9. [Berenson 1963, p. 18]
- Bertoldo di Giovanni**, c.1420–1491, attributed (probably executed by studio after Bertoldo’s design). “Hercules and the Nemean Lion.” Bronze statuette. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, no. A.77–1910. [Frick 1968–70, 3:44]
- Cosmè Tura**, before 1431–1495. “Hercules and the Nemean Lion.” Drawing. Museum Boymans-van Beunigen, Rotterdam. [Warburg]
- Florentine School**. “Hercules and the Nemean Lion.” Painting. 15th century. Blickling Hall, Norfolk. [Wright 1976, p. 97]
- Antico**, c.1460–1528. “Hercules Resting after Slaying the Nemean Lion.” Bronze plaque. c.1500. Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, no. 44.582. [Kilinski 1985, no. 13—ill.]
- Marcantonio Raimondi**, c.1480–1527/34. “Hercules Killing the Nemean Lion.” Engraving (Bartsch no. 290), in “Labors of Hercules” cycle. Early work. [Bartsch 1978, 26:279—ill.]
- Baldassare Peruzzi**, 1481–1536. “Hercules and the Nemean Lion.” Ceiling fresco, representing the constellation Leo. 1510–11. Sala di Galatea, Villa Farnesina, Rome. [d’Ancona 1955, pp. 25f., 86 / Gerlini 1949, pp. 10ff. / also Frommel 1967–68, no. 18c—ill.] “Hercules Strangling the Nemean Lion.” Engraving, by Agostino Veneziano (Bartsch no. 287). [Bartsch 1978, 26:274—ill.]
- Raphael**, 1483–1520, composition. “Hercules Strangling the Nemean Lion.” Engraving, by Agostino Veneziano (Bartsch no. 287). [Bartsch 1978, 26:274—ill.]
- Albrecht Altdorfer**, c.1480–1538. “Hercules Overcoming the Nemean Lion.” Engraving (Bartsch no. 26). c.1520–25. [Winzinger 1963, no. 144—ill.]
- Benvenuto Cellini**, 1500–1571. “Hercules and the Lion.” Gold medal. c.1528. Lost. [Pope-Hennessy 1985a, p. 46]
- Italian School**. “Hercules with the Nemean Lion.” Bronze statuette. Mid-16th century. New Orleans Museum of Art, no. 74.328. [Kilinski 1985, no. 14—ill.]
- Andrea Schiavone**, c.1522–1563. “Hercules and the Nemean Lion.” Painting. c.1555? Wellesley College Museum, Mass., no. 65.39. [Richardson 1980, no. 329—ill.]
- Peter Paul Rubens**, 1577–1640. “Hercules and the Nemean Lion.” Painting. c.1615. R. van de Broeck, Brussels. [Jaffé 1989, no. 290—ill.] Copy in Sanssouci, Potsdam. [Ibid.]
- . “Hercules and the Nemean Lion.” Painting, oil sketch. 1638–39. Kuhn coll., St. Louis. [Ibid., no. 1380—ill. / Held 1980, no. 227] Studio copy (or replica by Rubens?). Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris, inv. I–840. [Jaffé / Held, no. 242 (as Rubens)—ill. / also Alpers 1971, p. 277—ill. / cf. Burchard & d’Hulst 1963, no. 190, 192]
- , attributed. “Hercules and the Nemean Lion.” Painting, oil sketch. Los Angeles County Museum. [Alpers, p. 277]
- Jacob Jordaens**, 1593–1678. “July” (“The Lion”) (Hercules slaying the Nemean Lion). Ceiling painting, part of “Signs of the Zodiac” cycle for the artist’s house in Antwerp. Early 1640s. Senate Library, Palais du Luxembourg, Paris. [Rooses 1908, pp. 124f.]
- Luca Giordano**, 1634–1705. “Hercules and the Nemean Lion.” Painting. Walter Chryslar, Jr. coll., New York. [Ferrari & Scavezzi 1966, 2:367]
- Sebastiano Ricci**, 1659–1734. “Hercules and the Nemean Lion.” Painting, part of “Hercules” cycle. 1706–07. Sala d’Ercole, Palazzo Marucelli-Fenzi, Florence. [Daniels 1976, no. 110—ill.]
- . “Hercules and the Nemean Lion.” Grisaille ceiling fresco, part of “Hercules” cycle, for Portland House, London. 1712–13. Destroyed. [Ibid., no. 208]
- Benjamin Thomae**, 1682–1751. “Hercules with the Hide of the Nemean Lion,” “Hercules Leaning on a Hide Cartouche.” Sandstone statues. c.1716–18. Kronentor, Zwinger, Dresden. [Asche 1966, nos. T20–1, pls. 164–65]
- Friedrich Hölderlin**, 1770–1843. (Hercules’ conquest of the lion evoked in) “Hymne an die Menschheit” [Hymn to Mankind]. Poem. Early draft in *Poetische Blumenlese* (Stuttgart: Mäntler, 1791). / Revised 1792–93 as “Dem Genius der Kühnheit” [To the Genius of Daring]. In *Musenalmannach* (1793) and *Urania* (1794). [Beissner 1943–77, vol. 1 / Galinsky 1972, pp. 233ff.]
- Johann Gottfried Schadow**, 1764–1850. “Hercules Battling the Nemean Lion.” Sculpture, executed by Conrad Boy. 1792. Friedrichsbrücke, Schloss Monbijou. / Related (?) drawing. c.1792. Deutsche Akademie der Künste, Berlin, inv. Schadow 532. [Berlin 1965, no. 73]
- French School** (?). “Hercules Slaying a Lion.” Painting (ruined). 17th/18th century. Louvre, Paris, inv. 8635. [Louvre 1979–86, 2:360]
- Anthony Philip Heinrich**, 1781–1861. “The First Labor of Hercules.” Composition for piano. Begun c.1832, completed 1854. [Grove 1980, 8:442]
- José-Maria de Heredia**, 1842–1905. “Némée” [The Nemean Lion]. Sonnet, in “Hercule et les centaures” cycle. In *La légende du Parnasse contemporain* (Paris: 1884); collected with cycle in *Revue des deux mondes* 15 Jan 1888, and in *Les trophées* (Paris: Lemerre, 1893). [Delaty 1984, vol. 1 / Hill 1962]
- Émile-Antoine Bourdelle**, 1861–1929. “Herakles Nemean.” Drawing. 1913. [Galinsky 1972, p. 270]
- Peter Quennell**, 1905–. “The Lion in Nemea.” Poem. In *Masques and Poems* (Waltham St. Lawrence, Berkshire: 1922). [Boswell 1982, p. 283]
- Robert Graves**, 1895–1985. “Hercules at Nemea.” Poem. In *Poems*, 1933 (London: Cassell, 1953). [Graves 1975]
- Paulanship**, 1885–1966. “Hercules and the Nemean Lion.” Bronze statuette. c.1955–57? National Museum of American Art, Washington, D.C. [Kilinski 1985, no. 15—ill.]
- Earl Staley**, 1938–. “Hercules and the Nemean Lion.”

- Painting. 1983. Watson coll., Houston. [Houston 1984, p. 75—ill.]
- Joyce Treiman**, 1922—. "Hercules and the Nemean Lion." Painting. 1983. Tortue Gallery, Los Angeles. [Personal communication to author from Mark Thistlethwaite, Texas Christian University, 1984]
- The Lernean Hydra.** Offspring of Echidna and Typhon, the hydra was a poisonous water snake that lived in the marshes at Lerna. It had numerous heads, one of which was immortal; if one of the heads was cut off, two new heads grew in its place. As his second labor, Heracles (Hercules) was sent to destroy the hydra, a task made more difficult when Hera sent a giant crab to fight alongside the monster. Heracles killed the crab but required the assistance of his nephew Iolaus to complete his task. Each time the hero cut off one of the hydra's heads, Iolaus cauterized the stump with a hot poker so that no new head would grow. Finally, Heracles severed the immortal head and buried it under a large rock. He then dipped his arrows in the hydra's blood, poisoning them for later use.
- Classical Sources.** Hesiod, *Theogony* 313ff. Sophocles, *The Women of Trachis* 714ff. Euripides, *Heracles* 419ff. Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca* 4.2.5–6, 4.11.5. Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.803, 8.299ff. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 9.69ff. Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 2.5.2. Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 2.37.4, 5.10.9, 5.17.11. Hyginus, *Poetica astronomica* 2.11. Quintus of Smyrna, *Sequel to Homer* 6.212ff.
- Antonio del Pollaiuolo**, 1432/33–1498. "Hercules and the Hydra." Painting, part of cycle for Palazzo Medici, Florence. c.1460. Lost. [Ertlinger 1978, no. 44] Related drawing. British Museum, London, no. 5210–8. [Ibid., no. 32—ill.]
- , attributed. "Hercules and the Hydra." Painting, possibly related to above. Dated variously c.1465—after 1475. Uffizi, Florence, no. 8268. [Ibid., no. 10—ill. / Uffizi 1979, no. P1223—ill. / Berenson 1963, p. 178—ill.]
- , follower. "Hercules and the Hydra." Grisaille painting. Late 15th century. Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota, Fla., inv. SN16. [Sarasota 1976, no. 29]
- Andrea Mantegna**, 1430/31–1506. "Hercules and the Hydra." Ceiling fresco, part of "Labors of Hercules" cycle. 1468–74. Camera Picta (Camera degli Sposi), Palazzo Ducale, Mantua. [Lightbown 1986, no. 20, pl. 64]
- , composition. "Hercules and the Hydra." Engraving. c.1495. [Ibid., no. 229]
- , composition. "Hercules and the Hydra." Engraving (Bartsch no. 15), after presumed drawing by Mantegna, derived from figure of Vulcan in his "Parnassus" (1497, Louvre). c.1495–1500. [Ibid., no. 225 / Borenius 1923, no. 23—ill. / Louvre 1975, no. 107]
- Baldassare Peruzzi**, 1481–1536. "Hercules and the Hydra of Lerna." Ceiling fresco. 1510–11. Sala di Galatea, Villa Farnesina, Rome. [d'Ancona 1955, pp. 25f., 86 / Gerlini 1949, pp. 10ff. / also Frommel 1967–68, no. 18c—ill.]
- Rosso Fiorentino**, 1494–1540, composition. "Hercules Killing the Hydra." Engraving, in "Labors and Adventures of Hercules" cycle, executed by Gian Jacopo Caraglio (Bartsch no. 46). 1524. Original design lost. [Carroll 1987, no. 11—ill.; cf. no. 15]
- Alfonso Lombardi**, 1487/97–1537. "Seated Hercules" (with dead Hydra). Sculpture. c.1525. Museo Civico, Bologna. [Licht 1983, pp. 160, 162—ill.]
- Antico**, c.1460–1528. "Hercules Slaying the Hydra of Lerna." Bronze relief. Estensische coll., Vienna. [Pigler 1974, p. 115]
- Maerten van Heemskerck**, 1498–1574. "Hercules Slaying the Hydra." Painting, in "Gods and Heroes from Mythology and the Old Testament" series. c.1545. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, inv. 60.50b. [Groschans 1980, no. 30h—ill.]
- Giovanni Bandini**, 1540–1599. "Hercules Slaying the Hydra of Lerna." Sculpture group. c.1578. Camugliano. [Pope-Hennessy 1985b, 3:458] Another version/example in Palazzo Niccolini, Florence. [Pigler 1974, p. 116]
- Giorgio Ghisi**, 1520/21–1582. "Hercules Conquers the Hydra." Engraving, after composition by Giovanni Battista Bertani. Kunsthalle, Hamburg, inv. 1/726. [Hofmann 1987, no. 2.13—ill.]
- Edmund Spenser**, 1552?–1599. (Arthur fighting Orgoglio's beast likened to Hercules fighting the Hydra in) *The Faerie Queene* 1.7.17. Romance epic. London: Ponsobnie, 1590, 1596. [Hamilton 1977 / Galinsky 1972, pp. 206f.]
- Ludovico Carracci**, 1555–1619. "Hercules and the Hydra." Fresco (detached). 1594. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, no. 8368–1863. [Kauffmann 1973, no. 62—ill.]
- Tiziano Aspetti**, 1565–1607. "Hercules Slaying the Hydra of Lerna." Marble sculpture group. Scala d'Oro, Palazzo Ducale, Venice. [Pigler 1974, p. 116]
- Guercino**, 1591–1666. "Hercules Slaying the Hydra." Fresco, for Casa Provenzale, Cento. 1614. [Salerno 1988, no. 7D—ill. / also Bologna 1968, 2: no. 3—ill. (drawing)]
- . "Hercules and the Hydra." Fresco, for Casa Panini, Cento. 1615–17. Detached, unlocated. [Bagni 1984, p. 117, pl. 113]
- Guido Reni**, 1575–1642. "Hercules and the Hydra." Painting, part of "Feats of Hercules" ("Power and Triumph of the Gonzaga") cycle. c.1620. Louvre, Paris, inv. 537. [Pepper 1984, no. 70—ill. / Gnudi & Cavalli 1955, no. 43—ill. / Louvre 1979–86, 2:226—ill.] Copy in Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille. [Pepper]
- . "Hercules and Iolaus." Painting, lost. [Ibid., p. 306 no. A31]
- Adriaen de Vries**, c.1550–1626. "Hercules Slaying the Hydra of Lerna." Bronze sculpture group, in Hercules Fountain, Augsburg. [Pigler 1974, p. 117]
- Simon Vouet**, 1590–1649. "Hercules and Iolaus Slaying the Hydra." Decoration for Gallery of Hôtel Séguier, Paris. 1633–38. Lost. / Engraved by Michel Dorigny, 1651. [Crelly 1962, pp. 112ff., no. 248G—ill.]
- Peter Paul Rubens**, 1577–1640. "Hercules and the Hydra." Painting, for Torre de la Parada, El Pardo (executed by assistant from Rubens's design?). 1636–38. Lost. [Al-

- pers 1971, no. 30] Oil sketch. Courtauld Institute, London (ex-Seilern coll.). [Jaffé 1989, no. 1276—ill. / Alpers, no. 30a—ill. / Held 1980, no. 192—ill.] Copy, by Juan Bautista del Mazo (c.1612–1667), in Prado, Madrid, no. 1710. [Alpers—ill. / Prado 1985, p. 402]
- Alessandro Algardi, 1598–1654.** “Hercules and Iolau with the Hydra.” Sculpture group. Lost. [Montagu 1985, no. L.128—ill.] Bronze copies in Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 1358; Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Conn, no. 1926.440; Pope-Hennessy coll., New York. [Ibid., pp. 408f.—ill.] Ivory copy, in Museo degli Argenti, Palazzo Pitti, Florence. [Ibid.] Wax copy, model for untraced porcelain version, in Museo di Doccia, Sesto Fiorentino, inv. 54 (14.12). [Ibid.]
- Pierre Puget, 1620–1694.** “Hercules Conquering the Lernaean Hydra.” Sandstone sculpture. 1659–60. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen, inv. Sc.221. [Herding 1970, no. 12—ill.]
- Pietro della Vecchia, 1605–1678.** “Hercules and the Lernaean Hydra.” Painting. Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig, no. 489. [Braunschweig 1969, p. 139]
- François Girardon, 1628–1715.** “Hercules Slaying the Hydra.” Stone sculpture. 1679. Château de Versailles. Restored by Henri Chapu (1833–1891). [Francastel 1928, no. 46]
- Gian Lorenzo Bernini, 1598–1680.** “Hercules Slaying the Hydra of Lerna.” Drawing for a fountain group. [Pigler 1974, p. 116]
- Jan Claudius de Cock, c.1668–1736.** “Hercules Battling the Hydra.” Drawing. c.1700? Kunsthistorische Musea, Antwerp, inv. 1282. [Düsseldorf 1971, no. 204—ill.]
- Lorenzo Mattielli, 1682/88–1748.** “Hercules Slaying the Hydra of Lerna.” Stone sculpture group. Burggarten, Budapest. [Pigler 1974, p. 117]
- Corrado Giaquinto, 1703–1765.** (Hercules slaying the Hydra in) “Apotheosis of the Spanish Monarchy” (?). Ceiling painting, for Palazzo Santa Croce, Palermo. Now in Palazzo Rondinini-Sanseverino, Rome. c.1751? / Study. National Gallery, London, inv. 6229. [London 1986, p. 232—ill.]
- Jan Kamphuisen, 1760–1841.** “Hercules Fighting the Hydra.” Painting, part of “Hercules” ceiling decoration, for Brentano house, Herengracht, Amsterdam, probably after a design by G. Maderni (1758–1803). 1790–91. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. A4.141. [Rijksmuseum 1976, p. 311—ill.]
- John Flaxman, 1755–1826,** design. Hercules slaying the Hydra, relief on silver “Trafalgar Vase.” Executed by Benjamin Smith and Digby Scott, 1805–06. Numerous examples, Victoria and Albert Museum, London; elsewhere. [Irwin 1979, pp. 190f., fig. 262—ill. / also Bindman 1979, no. 182—ill.]
- Victor Hugo, 1802–1885.** “L’homme étreint dans ses bras l’obstacle, comme Hercule” [Man Locks His Obstacle in His Arms, Like Hercules]. Poem. 10 Feb 1854. No. 61 in *Toute la Lyre* part 3. In *Oeuvres inédites* (Paris: Hetzel, 1888). [Hugo 1985–86, vol. 7]
- Gustave Moreau, 1826–1898.** “Hercules and the Hydra of Lerna.” Painting. 1876. Art Institute of Chicago, no. 64.231. [Mathieu 1976, pp. 120f., no. 152—ill. / Chicago 1965] Wash study (“The Hydra”). Daniel Wildenstein coll. [Mathieu, no. 154—ill.]
- “Hercules and the Lernaean Hydra.” Painting. c.1876. Sold Paris, 1914, unlocated. [Ibid., no. 153—ill.]
- “Hercules and the Hydra.” Watercolor. 1876–80. Musée Gustave Moreau, Paris. [Mathieu 1985, pl. 24]
- Edward Burne-Jones, 1833–1898.** “Hercules and the Hydra” Drawing. Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Notebook E.3–1955). [Arts Council 1975, p. 29—ill.]
- Franz Barwig, 1868–1931.** “Hercules and Hydra.” Wood sculpture. 1914. Private coll. [Barwig 1969, no. 1—ill.]
- Franz von Stuck, 1863–1928.** “Hercules and the Hydra.” Painting. 1915. Private coll. [Voss 1973, no. 455—ill.]
- Paul Valéry, 1871–1945.** (Hercules and the Hydra evoked in) “Ode secrète.” Poem. In *Charmes* (Paris: Éditions de la Nouvelle Revue Française, 1922). [Hytier 1957–60, vol. 1 / Mathews 1956–71, vol. 1 / Crow 1982, pp. 217–23 / Bowra 1967, p. 38]
- John Singer Sargent, 1856–1925.** “Hercules and the Hydra.” Painting, part of a mural series. 1921–25. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. [Ratcliff 1982, p. 150—ill.]
- Marianne Moore, 1887–1972.** (Hydra compared to) “Paper Nautilus.” Poem. In *What Are Years* (New York: Macmillan, 1941). [Ips0]
- James McAuley, 1917–1976.** “The Hero and the Hydra.” Poem. In *Under Aldebaron* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1946). [CLC 1987, 45:246f., 250f., 254]
- Mathias Gasteiger, b. 1872.** “Hercules and the Hydra.” Sculpture. By 1951. City Art Museum, St. Louis. [Agard 1951, p. 152, fig. 82]
- Sidney Nolan, 1917–.** “Hydra.” Painting. 1956. Artist’s coll. in 1957. [Whitechapel 1957, no. 139]
- Jorge Luis Borges, 1899–1986.** “La hidra de Lerna” [The Hydra of Lerna]. Poem. In *El libro de los seres imaginarios* (Buenos Aires: Kier, 1967). / Translated by N. T. di Giovanni, with Borges, in *The Book of Imaginary Beings* (New York: Dutton, 1969). [Ips0]
- Carlos Fuentes, 1928–.** *La cabeza de la Hidra* [The Hydra Head] (symbolic evocation of the myth). Novel. Mexico: Mortiz; Barcelona: Liberia Editorial Argos, 1978. / Translated by Margaret Peden (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1978). [EWL 1981–84, 2:179 / LAW 1989, 3:1370–72]
- Earl Staley, 1938–.** “The Second Labor of Hercules: The Lernaean Hydra.” Painting. 1983. Contemporary Art Museum, Houston. [Personal communication to author from Mark Thistlethwaite, Texas Christian University, 1984 / also Houston 1984, p. 20—ill.]

**The Erymanthian Boar.** For his third labor, Heracles (Hercules) was charged with catching the boar that lived on Mount Erymanthus in Arcadia and bringing it back to Tiryns alive. He chased it into a field of snow, where it became exhausted, and captured it in a net.

In a *parergon* to this labor, Heracles battled Pholus



and other centaurs and accidentally wounded the immortal centaur Chiron.

**Classical Sources.** Sophocles, *The Women of Trachis* 1095ff. Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* 1.127. Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca* 4.12.1–2. Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 2.5.4. Statius, *Thebaid* 4.290. Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 8.24.5. Hyginus, *Fabulae* 30.

**Antico**, c.1460–1528. “Hercules and the Erymanthian Boar.” Bronze medallion, part of series depicting deeds of Heracles. c.1500? Victoria and Albert Museum, London. [Louvre 1975, no. 61]

**Lucas Cranach**, 1472–1553. “Hercules with the Boar of Erymanthus.” Painting. After 1537. Private coll., Lyon, in 1924. [Friedländer & Rosenberg 1978, no. 408B / also Warburg (as sold London, 1969)]

**Francesco Primaticcio**, 1504–1570, design. “Hercules and the Erymanthian Boar.” Fresco, for Salle de Bal, Château de Fontainebleau, executed by Niccolò dell’ Abbate under Primaticcio’s direction. 1551–56. Repainted 19th century. [Dimier 1900, pp. 160ff., 284ff.]

**Francesco Manelli**, 1594–1667, music. *L’Ercole nell’Erimanto*. Ballet. Libretto, Bernardo Morando. First performed Carnival 1651, Teatro Ducale, Piacenza. [Grove 1980, II:613 / DELI 1966–70, 4:60]

**Antoine-Louis Barye**, 1796–1875. “Hercules with the Erymanthian Boar.” Bronze statuette. c.1820. Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, no. 27.105; elsewhere. [Benge 1984, pp. 16f., pl. 3 / also Pivar 1974, no. F30—ill.] Variant. [Pivar, no. F31—ill.]

**The Ceryneian Hind.** The fourth labor of Heracles (Hercules) was to capture the Ceryneian hind (also known as the Arcadian stag). A deer with golden horns and bronze feet, the animal was sacred to Artemis (Diana) and could not be harmed without incurring the goddess’s wrath. Heracles tracked the hind for a year, finally catching up with it by the bank of the river Ladon. There, he grazed it with an arrow and slung it on his back, preparing to carry it back to Tiryns. On his way he met Artemis, who demanded the return of her sacred beast. Her wrath was appeased, however, when Heracles put the blame for his misdeeds on Eurystheus and promised to release the hind after showing it in Tiryns.

Pindar set his version of this tale in the land of the Hyperboreans and said that the deer’s golden horn was stamped with the name of Artemis. This story is often linked to that of Heracles’ eleventh labor, obtaining the apples of the Hesperides, and in some classical vase paintings the hind is depicted beside the tree of the Hesperides.

**Classical Sources.** Pindar, *Olympian Odes* 3.29ff. Euripides, *Heracles* 375ff. Callimachus, *Hymns*, 3, “To Artemis”

lines 89ff. Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca* 4.13.1. Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 2.5.3.

**Paolo di Stefano Badaloni**, 1397–1478. “The Labors of Hercules.” Painting, depicting Hercules fighting the Ceryneian Hind, Antaeus, and a centaur, in one composition. Metropolitan Museum, New York, no. 1971.115.4. [Metropolitan 1980, p. 139—ill.]

**Étienne-Barthélemy Garnier**, 1759–1849. “Hercules Receiving from Diana the Hind with Golden Horns.” Ceiling painting. c.1802. Salle d’Olympie, Louvre, Paris (inv. 20310). [Louvre 1979–86, 3:265—ill.]

**Gustave Moreau**, 1826–1898. “Hercules and the Hind with Brazen Feet.” Watercolor. c.1872. Daniel Wildenstein coll. [Mathieu 1976, no. 131—ill.] Related (?) painting. Unlocated. [Ibid., no. 135]

**Émile-Antoine Bourdelle**, 1861–1929. “Heracles with the Hind.” Bronze sculpture. 1910. 9 casts. Private colls.; elsewhere? [Jianou & Dufet 1975, no. 508]

**Paul Manship**, 1885–1966. “Hercules and the Ceryneian Hind.” Gilded bronze sculpture, sketch. 1955. Unique cast. [Murtha 1957, no. 570—ill.]

**Joyce Treiman**, 1922–. “Hercules and the Arcadian Stag.” Painting. 1983. Tortue Gallery, Los Angeles. [Personal communication to author from Mark Thistlethwaite, Texas Christian University, 1984]

**The Stymphalian Birds.** For his fifth labor (sometimes called the sixth), Heracles (Hercules) was to kill the birds that infested the woods by Lake Stymphalus in Arcadia. Some sources say that the birds were man-eating creatures with brazen claws and feathers that could be shot like arrows. Heracles flushed out the birds by making a great noise with a rattle—made by Hephaestus and given to him by Athena—and then shot them with his bow.

**Classical Sources.** Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* 2.382ff., 1036ff. Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca* 4.13.2. Strabo, *Geography* 8.6.8. Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 2.5.6. Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 6.32. Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 8.22.4. Hyginus, *Fabulae* 20, 30. Quintus of Smyrna, *Sequel to Homer* 6.227ff.

**Albrecht Dürer**, 1471–1528. “Hercules and the Stymphalian Birds” (as Harpies). Painting. 1501–02. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, no. Gm 166. [Strauss 1977b, p. 99 / Strauss 1980, p. 612—ill. (drawing) / Strauss 1974, no. 1500/8—ill. (drawing) / also Anzelewsky 1971, no. 67—ill.]

**Gustave Moreau**, 1826–1898. “Hercules and the Stymphalian Birds.” Painting. 1865. Sold Paris, 1922, unlocated. [Mathieu 1976, no. 70—ill.]

———. “Hercules at the Lake of Stymphalus.” Painting. c.1872. Private coll., Paris. [Ibid., no. 132—ill.]

———. “Hercules and the Stymphalian Birds.” Watercolor. c.1872. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon. [Ibid., no. 133—ill.]

**José-Maria de Heredia**, 1842–1905. “Stymphale.” Sonnet,

in "Hercule et les centaures" cycle. In *Revue des deux mondes* 15 Jan 1888; collected in *Les trophées* (Paris: Lemerre, 1893). [Delaty 1984, vol. 1 / Hill 1962 / Galinsky 1972, pp. 270f.]

**Émile-Antoine Bourdelle**, 1861–1929. "Heracles the Archer" ("Heracles Killing the Birds at Lake Stymphalus"). Bronze sculpture. 1909. 2 versions, 10 casts of each. Musée Bourdelle, Paris; Musée d'Orsay, Paris, inv. RF 3174; Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna, Rome; Metropolitan Museum, New York; elsewhere. [Jianou & Dufet 1975, no. 391—ill. / Cannon-Brookes 1983, pp. 63f.—ill. / also Orsay 1986, p. 55—ill. / Agard 1951, p. 149 / Clapp 1970, 1:104] 3d version, in plaster. Musée Ingres, Montauban; Nouveau Musée des Beaux-Arts, Le Havre; Musée Saint-Pierre, Lyons. / Bronze studies, numerous versions and casts. [Jianou & Dufet, nos. 391–94 / Cannon-Brookes, fig. 89] 2 bronze variants ("Mask of the Large Heracles," "Archer"). 1909. 2 casts of each. Private coll(s). [Jianou & Dufet, nos. 397–98] Variant ("Head of Heracles"). 1909. Bronze, plaster, terra-cotta, and *terre-sèche* versions. Musée Bourdelle, Paris; Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen; Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam; Dartmouth College Museum, Hanover, N.H.; private colls. [Jianou & Dufet, no. 396] Variant (mask). 1909. Bronze, terra-cotta, and *terre-sèche* versions. Private colls. [Ibid.]

**Paul Manship**, 1885–1966. "Hercules and the Stymphalian Birds." Gilded bronze sculpture (sketch). 1955. Unique cast. [Murtha 1957, no. 571—ill.]

**The Stables of Augeas.** A son of Helios, King Augeas of Elis in the Peloponnese owned vast herds of cattle, which he kept in stables that had never been cleaned. For his sixth labor (sometimes called the fifth), Eurystheus commanded Heracles (Hercules) to clean the stables, which were bringing sterility to the land. Heracles agreed with Augeas to cleanse the stables in exchange for one-tenth of the herd. He accomplished the task by diverting water from the Alpheus and Peneus rivers so that they flowed through the outbuildings. Augeas then reneged on his part of the bargain and expelled Heracles and his own son Phyleus, who had sided with the hero. After Heracles had completed the rest of his labors, he returned to Elis and killed Augeas, putting Phyleus on the throne in his place.

In a *parergon* to this labor, Heracles established the Olympic games, to be held at Olympia in honor of Zeus every four years. This distinction, however, has been alternately given to Heracles the Dactyl, of Mount Ida.

**Classical Sources.** Pindar, *Olympian Odes* 10.26ff. Theocritus, *Idylls* 25.7ff. Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca* 4.13.3. Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 1.9.16, 2.5.5. Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 5.1.9ff., 5.2.2, 5.3.1ff.

**Samuel Butler**, 1612–1680. (Hercules cleaning the Augean stables in) *Hudibras* 1.2.457ff., 3.139–44. Satirical mock-

heroic poem. London: Marriott, 1663. Modern edition by John Wilders (Oxford University Press, 1967.) [Ips] **René François Armand Sully-Prudhomme**, 1839–1907. "Les écuries d'Augeas" [The Stables of Augeas]. Poem. In *Poésies, 1865–67* (Paris: Lemerre, 1867). [DLLF 1984, 3:2244 / Galinsky 1972, pp. 272ff.]

**August Strindberg**, 1849–1912. (Hercules-figure in) *Et drömspel* [A Dream Play]. Drama. 1902. First performed 17 Apr 1907, Swedish Theater, Stockholm. [Carlson 1982, p. 157]

———. "Hercules." Short story. / Translated by H. Carlson in *Scandinavian Review* 64 (September 1976). [Ibid., pp. 157, 229]

**Friedrich Dürrenmatt**, 1921–1990. *Herkules und der Stall des Augias* [Hercules and the Stable of Augeas]. Radio play, comedy. Zurich: Verlag der Arche, 1954. Produced 20 Mar 1963, Radio Zurich. [McGraw-Hill 1984, 2:60, 62 / Moore 1967, p. 152 / Galinsky 1972, pp. 249, 279, 286ff., 293]

**Heiner Müller**, 1929–. *Herakles* 5. Drama. 1964–65. First performed 1968, Munich. Published with *Philoktet* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1966). [Demetz 1986, pp. 259f., 266 / McGraw-Hill 1984, 3:451 / EWL 1981–84, 3:31]

**The Cretan Bull.** For his seventh labor, Heracles (Hercules) was ordered to capture the Cretan bull (probably the bull sent from the sea by Poseidon, which had fathered the Minotaur on Pasiphaë). The bull was now wandering through Crete, where Heracles subdued it and brought it back to Tiiryns (some say riding across the sea on its back). He showed it to Eurystheus and then set it free. The bull roamed to Marathon, where it was eventually captured and sacrificed by Theseus.

**Classical Sources.** Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca* 4.13.4. Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.294ff. Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 2.5.7. Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 1.27.9–10, 5.1.9–2.2, 8.22.4.

**Pierre Puget**, 1620–1694. "Hercules and the Cretan Bull." Anonymous print, after presumed original drawing of c.1660. (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Marseilles.) [Herding 1970, p. 148, pl. 34]

**Charles-Joseph Natoire**, 1700–1777. "Hercules Battling the Bull of Crete." Overdoor painting. Sold Paris, 1888, untraced. [Boyer 1949, no. 109]

**Jan Kamphuisen**, 1760–1841. "Hercules Fighting the Bull." Painting, part of "Hercules" ceiling decoration, for Brentano house, Herengracht, Amsterdam, probably after a design by G. Maderni (1758–1803). 1790–91. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. A4141. [Rijksmuseum 1976, p. 311—ill.]

**Henry Fuseli**, 1741–1825. "Heracles Subdues the Cretan Bull." Drawing. 1798–1800. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, Calif. [Schiff 1973, no. 988—ill.]

**Théodore Géricault**, 1791–1824. "Bull Tamer" (Hercules and the Cretan Bull?). Drawing. 1816–17. Louvre, Paris, no. R.F. 795. [Eitner 1983, fig. 93, p. 336 n.44]

**Charles Marie René Leconte de Lisle**, 1818–1894. "Hé-

raklès au Taureau." Poem. In *Oeuvres: Poèmes antiques* (Paris: Lemerre, 1852). [Pich 1976–81, vol. 1]  
**Paul Manship**, 1885–1966. "Hercules and the Cretan Bull." Bronze statuette. 1956. National Museum of American Art, Washington, D.C. [Rand 1989, fig. 181]

**The Mares of Diomedes.** The Thracian king Diomedes, son of Ares and the nymph Cyrene, fed his four mares on the flesh of men. Heracles (Hercules) was required for his eighth labor to bring these horses to Eurystheus. After overpowering the grooms, Heracles drove the mares to the sea, where he was overtaken by Diomedes. He killed the king, whose body was then devoured by his own horses. Having eaten their master's flesh, the mares went tamely with Heracles. Eurystheus dedicated them to Hera and set them free, but they were eaten by wild animals on Mount Olympus.

*Classical Sources.* Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca* 4.15.3–4. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 9.194ff. Strabo, *Geography* 7 fragments 44, 47. Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 2.5.8. Philostratus, *Imagines* 25. Quintus of Smyrna, *Sequel to Homer* 6.245ff.

**John Gower**, 1330?–1408. (Story of Hercules and the horses of "Dionys, tyrant" in) *Confessio amantis* 7.3341–54. Poem. c.1390. Westminster: Caxton, 1483. [Macaulay 1899–1902, vol. 3 / Ito 1976, p. 7]

**Sandro Botticelli**, 1445–1510. (Hercules capturing the horses of Diomedes [?] depicted in frieze in setting of) "The Calumny of Apelles." Painting. c.1494–95. Uffizi, Florence, no. 1496. [Lightbown 1978, no. B79—ill.]

**Baldassare Peruzzi**, 1481–1536. "Hercules and the Man-eating Mares." Grisaille fresco, part of "Hercules" cycle. 1508–09. Castello, Ostia Antica. [Frommel 1967–68, no. 17—ill.]

**Charles Le Brun**, 1619–1690. "Hercules Slays Diomedes." Painting. c.1639–41. Castle Museum and Art Gallery, Nottingham, inv. 93.52. [Versailles 1963, no. 2—ill. / also Jacobs & Stirton 1984b, p. 156] Study. Private coll., Paris. [Versailles—ill.]

**Luca Giordano**, 1634–1705. "Hercules and the Mares of Diomedes." Painting. c.1685. G. Simonotti Manacorda coll., Villabella, Alessandria. [Ferrari & Scavizzi 1966, 2:140—ill.] Related drawing. Museo di San Martino, Naples, no. 20841. [Ibid., 2:265—ill.]

**Bernardo Sabadini**, ?–1718. *Diomede punito da Alcide* [Diomedes Punished by Alcides]. Opera. Libretto, Aurelio Aureli. First performed 1691, Piacenza. [Grove 1980, 16:363]

**Tomaso Giovanni Albinoni**, 1671–1751. *Diomede punito da Alcide*. Opera. Libretto, Aureli. First performed 1700, Venice. [Grove 1980, 1:219]

**Henry Fuseli**, 1741–1825. "Hercules Slays the Horses of Diomedes" (confusion of two versions of the legend). Drawing. 1798. Ulrich coll., Zürich. [Schiff 1973, no. 989—ill.] Another version of the subject, 1800–05. Art Institute, Chicago, inv. 2221/52. [Ibid., no. 1372—ill.]

**William Theed the Elder**, 1764–1817. "Hercules Taming the Thracian Horses." Sculpture. c.1816. Buckingham Palace, London. [Whinney 1964, pl. 166A]

**Eugène Delacroix**, 1798–1863. "Hercules Feeds Diomedes to His Mares." Painting, unused study for "Life of Hercules" cycle (Hôtel de Ville, Paris, 1851–52). Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen. [Johnson 1981–86, no. 312—ill. / Robaut 1885, no. 1274—ill. (copy drawing)]

**Gustave Moreau**, 1826–1898. "Diomedes Devoured by His Horses." Painting. 1865. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen. [Mathieu 1976, p. 96, no. 78—ill.] Smaller version. c.1865. Unlocated. [Ibid., no. 79] Watercolor variant. c.1885. Unlocated. [Ibid., no. 331]

**Remy de Gourmont**, 1858–1915. *Les chevaux de Diomède* [The Horses of Diomedes] Novel. Paris: Mercure de France, 1897. [DLLF 1984, 2:969]

**Gutzon Borglum**, 1867–1941. "The Mares of Diomedes." Bronze sculpture group. 1904. Metropolitan Museum, New York, no. 06.1318. [Metropolitan 1965, pp. 101f.—ill. / also Rand 1989, fig. 8] Reductions. Rhode Island School of Design, Providence; Newark Museum, N.J. / Fragments. Brookgreen Gardens, S.C.; Musée du Luxembourg, Paris. [Metropolitan]

**André Masson**, 1896–1987. "The Horses of Diomedes." Painting. 1934. [Rubin & Lanchner 1976, p. 137 / Clébert 1971, p. 11] Etching ("Diomedes"). 1934. [Clébert, pl. 79]

**The Girdle of Hippolyta.** The Amazon queen Hippolyta possessed a girdle (belt) given to her by her father, Ares. It was desired by Admete, the daughter of Eurystheus, who sent Heracles (Hercules) on his ninth labor to retrieve it for her. Hippolyta welcomed Heracles, boarding his ship at the mouth of the Thermodon River, and readily promised him the girdle. But Hera, disguised as an Amazon, instigated a battle between Heracles and the Amazons in which Hippolyta was killed. Heracles then removed the girdle from her body and brought it to Tiryns.

Many variants of this tale exist. In some, the Athenian hero Theseus joined Heracles in the expedition and was given Hippolyta's sister Antiope as a reward. In others, Heracles captured Hippolyta's second-in-command, Melanippe, who obtained the girdle for him as the price of her freedom. In differing accounts Antiope is sometimes confused or conflated with Hippolyta.

*Classical Sources.* Epicharmus, *Heracles' Voyage to the Sword-Belt of Hippolyta* (fragment). Euripides, *Heracles* 408ff. Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca* 4.16.1–4. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 9.189f. Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 2.5.8–9.

See also THESEUS, and the Amazons.

**Raoul Lefèvre**, fl. c.1454–67. (Hercules and Theseus fight the Amazons in) "Damosels of Scythie," part of *Le recueil des hystoires de Troyes* [Collection of the Stories of Troy].

- Prose romance. 1464. / English translation by William Caxton as *The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye* (Bruges: Mansion, c.1474). / Modern edition (of original French) by Marc Aeschbach (Bern & New York: Lang, 1987). [Kleinbaum 1983, pp. 62f.]
- Franco-Flemish School.** "Amazon Queens" (Orthia, Melanippe, and Hippolyta, preparing to fight Hercules and Theseus). Tapestry. Late 15th century. Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston. [Warburg]
- Luca Cambiaso,** 1527–1585. "Hercules Battling the Amazons." Fresco. 1544. Palazzo della Prefettura, Genoa. [Manning & Suida 1958, pp. 74f.—ill.]
- Nicolas Poussin,** 1594–1665. "Hercules and Theseus Fighting the Amazons." Drawing, study for (unexecuted or destroyed) decoration for the Long Gallery, Louvre, Paris. 1640–42. Royal Library, Windsor Castle, no. 11920. [Friedlaender & Blunt 1953, p. 11, no. 243]
- Pietro Andrea Ziani,** 1616–1684, with **Lodovico Busca,** fl. 1670–88, and **Pietro Simone Agostini,** c.1635–1680. *L'Ippolita reina delle Amazzoni* [Hippolyta, Queen of the Amazons]. Opera. Libretto, Carlo Maria Maggi. First performed 1670, Teatro Ducale, Milan. [Grove 1980, 20:676]
- Antonio Sartorio,** 1630–1680. *Ercole su'l Termodonte* [Hercules at the Thermodon]. Opera. Libretto, Giacomo Francesco Bussani. Jan/Feb 1678, San Salvatore, Venice. [Grove 1980, 16:508, 510]
- Johann Philipp Krieger,** 1649–1725. *Hercules unter denen Amazonen* [Hercules among the Amazons]. Opera. Libretto, Friedrich Christian Bressand. 1693–94. Probably composed for performance at Court, Weissenfels. [Grove 1980, 10:269 / DLL 1968–90, 2:38]
- Johann Christoph Graupner,** 1683–1760. *Il fido amico, oder, Der getreue Freund Hercules und Theseus* [The Faithful Friend, or, The Faithful Friend Hercules and Theseus]. Opera. Libretto, Breymann. First performed 1708, Hamburg. [Grove 1908, 7:648 / McCredie 1966, p. 79]
- Giuseppe Maria Orlandini,** 1675–1760. *Amazzoni vinte da Ercole* [Amazons Conquered by Hercules]. Opera (dramma per musica). Libretto, Antonio Salvi. First performed Apr 1715, Florence. [Weaver 1978, p. 228 / Grove 1980, 13:824 (Apr 1718, Emilia)]
- Giacomo Rampini,** 1680–1760. *Ercole su'l Termodonte* [Hercules at the Thermodon]. Opera. Libretto, G. F. Bussani. First performed June 1715, Teatro Obizzi, Padua. [Grove 1980, 15:578]
- Antonio Vivaldi,** 1678–1741. *Ercole su'l Termodonte*. Opera. Libretto, G. F. Bussani. First performed 23 Jan 1723, Teatro Capranica, Rome. [Grove 1980, 20:34, 44]
- Nicola Conti,** fl. 1733–54. *L'Ippolita* [Hippolyta]. Comic opera. Libretto, G. A. Federico. First performed Spring 1733, Fiorentini, Naples. [Grove 1980, 4:684]
- Sebastiano Nasolini,** c.1768–1806/16. *Ercole al Termodonte, ossia, Ippolita Regina delle Amazzoni* [Hercules at the Thermodon, or, Hippolyta Queen of the Amazons]. Opera (dramma/tragedia). Libretto, A. S. Sografi. First performed Spring 1791, San Pietro, Trieste. [Grove 1980, 13:43]
- Niccolò Piccinni,** 1728–1800. *Ercole al Termodonte (La disfatta delle Amazzoni)* [Hercules at the Thermodon (The Defeat of the Amazons)]. Opera seria. First performed 12 Jan 1793, San Carlo, Naples. [Grove 1980, 14:728]
- Anonymous.** *Hypolita, Queen of the Amazons*. Melodrama. First performed 1819, Royal Amphitheatre, London. [Nicoll 1959–66, 4:481]
- Théophile Gautier,** 1811–1872. "Le Thermodon." Poem. In *Emaux et camées* (Paris: 1852). [Bush 1937, p. 447]
- Gustave Doré,** 1832–1883. "The Combat of Hercules and the Amazons." Drawing. Sold 1885, unlocated. [Leblanc 1931, p. 494]
- Julian F. Thompson,** d. 1939. *The Warrior's Husband*. Comedy. First performed 11 Mar 1932, Morosco Theatre, New York. [Kleinbaum 1983, pp. 202–05]
- Richard Rodgers,** 1902–1979. *By Jupiter!* Musical comedy. Lyrics, Lorenz Hart. Libretto, Rodgers and Hart, after Thompson's *The Warrior's Husband* (1932). First performed 11 May 1942, Shubert Theater, Boston. [Oxford 1984, p. 116]
- Paul Manship,** 1885–1966. "Hercules Gets the Belt of Hippolyta, Queen of the Amazons." Drawing. National Museum of American Art, Washington, D.C. [Rand 1989, p. 13—ill.]

**The Cattle of Geryon.** The three-headed monster Geryon, son of Callirhoë and Chrysaor, lived on the island of Erytheia, located at the western edge of the world. He possessed a large herd of red cattle, which were tended by his herdsman, Eurytion, and a two-headed dog, Orthus. The tenth labor of Heracles (Hercules) was to bring the cattle back to Tiryns. When he reached northern Africa, Helios gave him a great golden cup in which to sail to the distant island. Once there, Heracles killed Eurytion and Orthus, then slew Geryon and took the cattle. He loaded the cattle into the cup, sailed with them back to the mainland, and herded them overland to Greece.

On the journey to and from Erytheia, Heracles was involved in a number of *parerga*, among them the establishment of the Pillars of Heracles at the Strait of Gibraltar and the killing of the monster Cacus in Italy. When at last he reached the court of Eurystheus, the king sacrificed the cattle to Hera.

**Classical Sources.** Hesiod, *Theogony* 287–94, 979. Stesichorus, *Geryoneis*. Herodotus, *History* 4.8. Euripides, *Heracles* 4.23ff. Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca* 4.17.1–18.6. Horace, *Odes* 2.14.7ff. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 9.184ff. Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 2.5.10. Hyginus, *Fabulae* 30, 151.

**Dante Alighieri,** 1265–1321. (Geryon, symbol of deceit, carries Dante and Virgil to Malebolge in) *Inferno* 16.124ff., 17.1ff. c.1307–c.1314? In *The Divine Comedy*. Poem. Foligno: Neumeister & Angelini, 1472. [Singleton 1970–75, vol. 1 / Samuel 1966, pp. 100f., 106f., 128]

**Sandro Botticelli,** 1445–1510. Geryon depicted in drawings illustrating *Inferno* 16, 17, 18 [*sic*], part of a series of

- illustrations to Dante's *Divine Comedy*. 1480s/early 1490s. Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin-Dahlem; Biblioteca Vaticana, Rome. [Lightbown 1978, 1:147ff., 2:172f., nos. E29–31, E38–ill.]
- Jan Gossaert**, called Mabuse, c.1478–1533/36. “Hercules Slays Eurytion.” Drawing. 1508–09 or 1517–19? Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam. [Rotterdam 1965, no. 67–ill.]
- Francesco Primaticcio**, 1504–1570 (previously attributed to Rosso Fiorentino). “Hercules and Geryon.” Painting. 1541–45. Porte Doré, Château de Fontainebleau. Repainted 19th century. [Dimier 1900, pp. 306ff. (as “Hercules on the Argo”)] Drawing for. Albertina, Vienna. [Ibid., no. 161] Engraved by “Master L. D.” (Bartsch no. 44) and by Hendrik Goltzius, c.1577 (Bartsch no. 267). [Ibid., no. 3 / Strauss 1977a, no. 5–ill. / Bartsch 1980–82, no. 267–ill.]
- Edmund Spenser**, 1552?–1599. (Geryon evoked in) *The Faerie Queene* 5.10.9–10. Romance epic. London: Ponsoblic, 1596. [Hamilton 1977 / Nohrnberg 1976, p. 369]
- Joos de Momper**, 1564–1635. “Hercules Stealing Geryon's Cattle.” Painting. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. A3894. [Rijksmuseum 1976, p. 392–ill.]
- Giovanni Battista Langetti**, 1625–1676. “Hercules Stealing the Cattle of Geryon.” Painting. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. 1878 (430B). [Vienna 1973, p. 97–ill.]
- Carlo Agostino Badia**, 1672–1738. *Ercole, vincitore di Gerione* [Hercules, Conqueror of Geryon]. Opera (poemetto drammatico). Libretto, Bernadoni. First performed 4 Nov 1708, Vienna. [Grove 1980, 2:9]
- John Flaxman**, 1755–1826. “Geryon Carrying Dante and Virgil.” Drawing, illustrating *Inferno* 17.100–20, part of series of illustrations to Dante's *Divine Comedy*. c.1792. Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge. / Engraved by Tomasso Piroli, published privately, Rome: 1793; London: Longman & Co., 1807. [Irwin 1979, pp. 94, 226 n. 41 / Flaxman 1872, 4: pl. 18 / also Bindman 1979, p. 179–ill.]
- Joseph Anton Koch**, 1768–1839. “Dante and Virgil on the Back of Geryon.” Drawing, illustrating *Inferno* 17. c.1802. Private coll. [Bindman 1979, no. 255–ill.]
- Robert Rauschenberg**, 1925–. Transfer-drawing, depicting Geryon carrying Dante and Virgil, illustrating Dante's *Inferno* 17. 1959–60. Museum of Modern Art, New York. [Berlin 1980, p. 184–ill.]
- The Apples of the Hesperides.** The tree of golden apples that Gaia gave to Hera as a wedding present grew in a garden at the edge of the world. It was guarded by the Hesperides and by the dragon Ladon, who was coiled around the tree. For his eleventh labor, Heracles (Hercules) was ordered to bring the apples to Eurystheus. To do so he first had to find the garden. In some versions of the myth, he forced the information from the sea-god Nereus, who transformed himself into many shapes in a vain attempt to escape the hero's grasp. Upon reaching the garden, Heracles killed Ladon
- and, according to Euripides, plucked the apples himself. According to other authors, the Titan Atlas obtained the apples while Heracles assumed his burden of shouldering the sky; Heracles then had to trick Atlas into resuming the irksome load. In some early tales, Heracles kept the apples, symbols of immortality, for himself instead of handing them to Eurystheus, but in later versions Athena eventually returned the sacred apples to the garden because it was forbidden for a mortal to possess them.
- The *parevrgon* in which Heracles killed the Libyan giant Antaeus is associated with this labor.
- Classical Sources.** Hesiod, *Theogony* 215ff. Euripides, *Heraclēs* 395ff. Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca* 4.26–27. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 4.637ff., 9.190. Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 2.5.11. Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 5.11.6, 5.18.4, 6.19.8. Hyginus, *Poetica astronomica* 2.3, 2.6. Philostratus, *Imagines* 2.2.
- Bertoldo di Giovanni**, c.1420–1491. “Hercules” (with the Apples of the Hesperides). Bronze statuette. Victoria and Albert Museum, London. [Pope-Hennessy 1985b, 3:4f.–ill.]
- Bernardino Luini**, 1480/85–1532, attributed. “Hercules and Atlas” (?). Fresco (detached), from Palazzo Landriani, Milan. Civico Museo d'Arte Antica, Castello Sforzesco, Milan. [Luino 1975, p. 92, pl. 59 / also Berenson 1968, 9:232]
- Giovanni Bernardi**, 1496–1553, and **Manno di Bastiano**, design. Statuette representing Hercules with the apples of the Hesperides, on “The Farnese Coffin.” Silver gilt coffin. Executed by another, 1548–61. Museo di Capodimonte, Naples, no. 10507. [Capodimonte 1964, p. 129]
- Vincenzo de' Rossi**, 1525–1587. “Hercules Holding Up the World.” Marble statue, part of “Labors of Hercules” cycle for Palazzo Vecchio, Florence. c.1568. Poggio Imperiale, Florence. [Lensi 1929, pp. 224f.]
- Lorenzo dello Sciorina**, c.1535–1598. “Hercules Killing the Dragon of the Hesperides.” Painting. 1570–73. Studiolo di Francesco I, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence. [Sinibaldi 1950, pp. 11f., 19]
- Ludovico Carracci**, 1555–1619. “Hercules and Atlas.” Fresco, part of “Hercules” cycle. c.1593–94. Palazzo Sampieri (Talon), Bologna. [Ostrow 1966, no. I/15 / Malafarina 1976, p. 103]
- Annibale Carracci**, 1560–1609. “Hercules Bearing the Globe.” Fresco, part of “Hercules” cycle. 1595–97. Camerino, Palazzo Farnese, Rome. [Malafarina 1976, no. 87a–ill. / Martin 1965, pp. 27ff.–ill.]
- . “Hercules and the Dragon.” Design for fresco, executed by studio under direction of Domenichino. c.1603–04 (or c.1608?). Galleria, Palazzo Farnese, Rome. [Malafarina 1976, no. 105j–ill. / Martin 1965, p. 140–ill.]
- Alessandro Allori**, 1535–1607. “Hercules in the Garden of the Hesperides.” Fresco. Villa Poggio, Caiano. [Pigler 1974, p. 115]
- Peter Paul Rubens**, 1577–1640. “Hercules and the Golden Apples of the Hesperides” (Hercules about to slay Ladon). Painted cut-out, part of Arch of the Mint, decoration for “Pompa Introitus Fernandi,” triumphal entry

- of Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand of Spain into Antwerp, 17 Apr 1635. Original decoration destroyed. [Martin 1972, no. 51—ill. (print)] Oil sketch. Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, no. 316. [Ibid., no. 50a—ill. / Held 1980, no. 163—ill. / Jaffé 1989, no. 1163—ill.]
- . “Hercules (Slaying the Dragon) in the Garden of the Hesperides.” Painting. Lost. / Copy by Juan Bautista del Mazo (c.1612–1667). Prado, Madrid, no. 1711. [Prado 1985, pp. 402f. / cf. Alpers 1971, pp. 274ff., fig. 199]
- . “Hercules in the Garden of the Hesperides” (with dead dragon). Painting. c.1638. Galleria Sabauda, Turin. [Jaffé, no. 1362—ill.] Oil sketch. Louvre, Paris. [Ibid., no. 1361—ill.]
- Pietro da Cortona**, 1596–1669. “Hercules in the Garden of the Hesperides.” Drawing. / 2 engravings by Johann Friedrich Greuter (1590/93–1662). [Pigler 1974, p. 115] Another version of the subject, painting, engraved by Albertus Clouwet (1636–1679). [Ibid.]
- Francisco de Herrera**, 1612/22–1685. “Hercules Supporting the Globe.” Drawing. 1668. Albertina, Vienna. [López Torrijos 1985, p. 409 no. 79—ill.]
- Michel Anguier**, 1612–1686. “Hercules Takes the World from Atlas.” Terra-cotta sculpture group. 1669. Louvre, Paris, inv. 900. [Pigler 1974, p. 113]
- Pedro Calderón de la Barca**, 1600–1681. (Hercules seeks the apples of the Hesperides in) *Fieras afemina Amor* [Love Tames the Wild Beasts]. Comedy (*fiesta de espectáculo*). 1669. First performed Jan 1670, Vienna? [Valbuena Briones 1960–67, vol. 1 / O’Connor 1988, pp. 153–70]
- Balthasar Permoser**, 1651–1732. “Hercules and the Hesperidean Dragon.” Sandstone sculpture. c.1689–95. Grosse Garden, Dresden. [Asche 1966, no. P21, pl. 27]
- . “Hercules with the Globe.” Sandstone statue. c.1715–16. Elstra. [Ibid., no. P64, pl. 53]
- . “Hercules with the Globe” (“Hercules Saxonicus”). Sandstone statue. c.1716–18. Wallpavillon, Zwinger, Dresden. [Ibid., no. P65, pl. 52]
- . “Standing Hercules with the Globe.” Sandstone statue. c.1723–28? Stadtpavillon, Zwinger, Dresden. [Ibid., no. P81b]
- Gérard de Lairesse**, 1641–1711, follower. “Hercules in the Garden of the Hesperides after the Battle with the Monster.” Paintings, part of series of grisailles on deeds of Hercules. Early 18th century. Louvre, Paris, inv. 20769. [Louvre 1979–86, 2:378—ill.]
- Giovanni Antonio Pellegrini**, 1675–1741. “Hercules in the Garden of the Hesperides.” Painting. 1724. Schloss Schönborn, Pommersfelden. [Pigler 1974, p. 115]
- Jean-Baptiste Lemoyne**, 1704–1778. “Hercules Reclining, Holding the Apples of the Hesperides.” Sculpture. Exhibited 1738. Lost. [Réau 1927, no. 13]
- Gian Francesco de Majo**, 1732–1770. *Alcide negli orti Esperide* [Hercules in the Garden of the Hesperides]. Opera. Libretto, M. Coltellini. First performed 7 June 1764, Burgtheater, Vienna. [Grove 1980, 11:543f.]
- Carlo Giuseppe Ratti**, 1737–1795. “Hercules Takes the Globe from Atlas.” Painting. 1787. Palazzo Rosso, Genoa. [Pigler 1974, p. 113]
- Henry Fuseli**, 1741–1825. “Heracles Kills the Dragon Ladon, as the Terrified Hesperides Huddle Together at the Foot of the Tree.” Drawing. 1814. Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Basel, inv. 1914.132.22. [Schiff 1973, no. 1528—ill.]
- Théodore Géricault**, 1791–1824. “Hercules Killing the Dragon in the Garden of the Hesperides.” Drawing. 1816–17. Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris, inv. 2896. [Eitner 1983, p. 335 n. 26]
- William Morris**, 1834–1896. “The Golden Apples.” Poem. In *The Earthly Paradise*, vol. 4 (London: Ellis, 1870). [Morris 1910–15, vol. 6 / Calhoun 1975, pp. 203–06]
- Henri Büsser**, 1872–1973. *Hercule au jardin des Hespérides* [Hercules in the Garden of the Hesperides]. Symphonic poem. 1900. [Grove 1980, 3:512]
- Georges Desvallières**, 1861–1950. “Hercules in the Garden of the Hesperides.” Painting. 1914. Musée d’Orsay, Paris, no. R.F. 1977–152. [Louvre 1979–86, 3:221—ill.]
- Paul Manship**, 1885–1966. “Hercules Upholding the World—Armillary Sphere.” Bronze sculpture. 1918. Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, Texas. [Murtha 1957, no. 107—ill.]
- Marianne Moore**, 1887–1972. (Allusion to Hercules’ search for the garden of the Hesperides in) “Marriage.” Poem. In *Selected Poems* (New York: Macmillan, 1935). [Ips0]
- Cerberus**. In his final and most difficult labor, Heracles (Hercules) was sent to fetch Cerberus, the three-headed hound who guarded the entrance to the Underworld. Guided by Hermes and Athena, Heracles descended and received permission from Hades, lord of the Underworld, to capture Cerberus as long as he did not use weapons. Heracles wrestled the hound into submission and carried him to Eurystheus, then returned him to Hades.
- While in the Underworld, Heracles released Ascalaphus, who was trapped under a stone for betraying Persephone, and found Theseus and Pirithous attached to their chairs after their attempt to carry off Persephone. He delivered Theseus but was unable to free Pirithous. Heracles also spoke with the shade of Meleager and agreed to marry Meleager’s sister, Deianeira, a promise which eventually led to his death.
- Classical Sources*. Homer, *Iliad* 8.366–69; *Odyssey* 11.623ff. Stesichorus, *Cerberus*. Euripides, *Heracles* 23ff., 1277ff. Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca* 4.25.1, 4.26.1. Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.294ff. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 7.408–19. Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 2.5.12.
- Christine de Pizan**, c.1364–c.1431. (Hercules and Cerberus in) *L’epistre d’Othéa à Hector* . . . [The Epistle of Othéa to Hector] chapters 3, 27. Didactic romance in prose. c.1400. MSS in British Library, London; Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; elsewhere. / Translated by Stephen Scrope (London: c.1444–50). [Bühler 1970 / Hindman 1986, p. 53, pl. 3]
- Baldassare Peruzzi**, 1481–1536. “Hercules and Cerberus.” Drawing. c.1521–23. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. [Frommel 1967–68, no. 97]
- Rosso Fiorentino**, 1494–1540, composition. “Hercules

- Fighting Cerberus." Engraving, in "Labors and Adventures of Hercules" cycle, executed by Gian Jacopo Caraglio (Bartsch no. 44). 1524. Original design lost. [Carroll 1987, no. 9—ill.]
- Parmigianino**, 1503–1540. "Hercules with Cerberus." Drawing. Duke of Devonshire coll., Chatsworth. [Warburg]
- Andrea Schiavone**, c.1522–1563. "Hercules Carries Cerberus from the Underworld." Painting. I. Brass coll., Venice. [Pigler 1974, p. 114]
- Lorenzo Sabatini**, c.1530–1576. "Hercules Carries Cerberus from the Underworld." Ceiling painting. Sala Ducale, Vatican, Rome. [Pigler 1974, p. 114]
- Francesco da Sangallo**, 1493–1576. "Hercules and Cerberus." Bronze sculpture. North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh. [Valentiner 1959, p. 42, pl. 13]
- Paolo Farinati**, 1524–after 1606. "Hercules Carries Cerberus from the Underworld." Drawing. Royal Library, Windsor Castle. [Pigler 1974, p. 114]
- Peter Paul Rubens**, 1577–1640. "Hercules and Cerberus." Painting, for Torre de la Parada, El Pardo, executed by Jan Boeckhorst (?) from Rubens's design. 1636–38. Lost. [Alpers 1971, no. 29 / Jaffé 1989, no. 1279—ill.] Oil sketch. Prado, Madrid, no. 2043. [Alpers, no. 29a—ill. / Held 1980, no. 193—ill. / Jaffé, no. 1278—ill. / Prado 1985, pp. 393f.]
- Jacob van Campen**, 1595–1657. "Hercules Hauling Cerberus Out of the Underworld." Painting. c.1645. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. A4254, on deposit at Museum Flehite, Amersfoort. [Rijksmuseum 1976, pp. 161f.—ill.]
- Pierre Puget**, 1620–1694. "Hercules Abducting Cerberus." Bronze sculpture. Modeled 1659–60. Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe, inv. 64/161. [Herding 1970, no. 14—ill.]
- Luca Giordano**, 1634–1705. (Hercules and Cerberus in) "Allegory of Human Life and the Medici Dynasty." Fresco. 1682–83. Palazzo Medici Riccardi, Florence. [Ferrari & Scavezzi 1966, 2:112ff.—ill.] Study. Denis Mahon coll., London. [Ibid.—ill.]
- Max Beckmann**, 1884–1950. "Perseus's [? or Hercules?] Last Duty" (Perseus [or Hercules] wielding a sword, decapitated female figures, Cerberus [?] to one side). Painting. 1949. Stanley J. Seeger, Jr. coll., Frenchtown, N.J. [Göpel 1976, no. 798—ill. / also Lackner 1977, 42—ill.]
- Joyce Treiman**, 1922–. "Cerberus." Painting. 1983. Torrey Gallery, Los Angeles. [Personal communication to author from Mark Thistlethwaite, Texas Christian University, 1984]

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