

A NEW HERACLES RELIEF

(PLATE 34)

IN JULY, 1947, after my professorship in the American School of Classical Studies was ended, on a tour of exploration I saw a relief (Plate 34, 1) of Pentelic marble.¹ It was found to the south of the Ilissus, near where I should place the site of the Cynosarges.² It has a molding at the top, on three sides, but not on the rough rear. There are five little projections or antefixes above the entablature besides the corner ones. At either end is a pilaster with capital. On the architrave or projection above is the inscription ΠΑΝΙΞ ΑΙΓΙΡΙΟΞ ΗΡΚΛΕΙ. Alpha seems to be omitted in the first (Πανιάς) and last words. There is no such name as Πανίς, though it might be possible. Αἰγίριος is a new name. Αἰγείρος or Αἰγίρος is known as a nymph's name,³ and we have the form Αἰγειρεύς, so perhaps we can have a masculine, Αἰγίριος: Πανι(ά)ς, Αἰγίριος, Ἡρ(α)κλέϊ. The relief was bought and given by me to the Agora Museum.

The sculptured slab is a votive offering to Heracles, who stands at the right facing the procession which is approaching him from the left. He leans his bent right arm on his club which rests on a rock. His lion's skin is thrown over his left elbow, and his left hand holds an apple. He stands in frontal position, with right foot and head turned to left. A big majestic bull is being brought to him as a sacrifice or offering by a young man with long stride. He is dressed in a short garment and is nude above the hips. His legs also are bare. His left hand is advanced and probably held a bridle or rope which was attached to the bull's mouth. This was probably painted, as on vases and on slab XLI on the Parthenon frieze.⁴ Behind the bull with his long tail, which ends in three strands, is Aigirios, a bearded man with right hand raised. A child is in front of him. Behind him is his draped wife with her garment pulled over her head, Panias or Panis. She is making a similar gesture. She is followed by a female servant or companion who is in nearly front view. She bears on her head a circular draped box or *κίστη* covered with a cloth, as an additional offering to Heracles. Such are often found in votive reliefs to Asclepius, Amphiaraüs, as well as to Heracles.⁵

The relief takes its place with the nine Heracles column-reliefs published by Frickenhaus,⁶ which date 480-380 B.C., especially with the three votive reliefs to

¹ Width at top, 0.43 m. Height, 0.27 m. Thickness, 0.06 m. to 0.07 m. Height of scene, 0.21 m.; of projection below, 0.05 m. (0.08 m. wide and 0.07 m. thick).

² Cf. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*, plan 1, G. 8, Windmühle and my remarks in *A.J.P.*, XXVIII, 1907, p. 425-426.

³ Cf. Athenaeus, III, 78b.

⁴ Cf. Robinson, *A.J.A.*, XXXVIII, 1934, pp. 45-48, pl. V. Replica on a hydria in Leipzig.

⁵ Cf. Svoronos, *Das National-Museum*, pl. XXXV (1345), LIX (1395, with ram and pig).

⁶ *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXVI, 1911, pp. 113-144, pls. II-III.

Heracles in Boston, Athens, and Venice.⁷ Only two others have a bull, the one from Ithome, now in the Athens Museum, and the one in Venice. That in Venice shows a bull being led by an attendant. Heracles holds the club in his left hand, however, and stands in front of a two-columned shrine, placing his right hand on the bull's left horn. The reliefs in Boston⁸ and Athens⁹ also have two-columned shrines and the figure of Heracles but no bull. That from Ithome, in Athens,¹⁰ represents a two-columned shrine in front of which stands a beardless Heracles with right arm bent and a lion's skin over his left arm. An attendant is bringing a bull and ram. In Opus the *suovetaurilia* is anticipated by the bull, boar, and ram as a sacrifice to Heracles.¹¹ A bull as a sacrifice to Heracles at Athens is mentioned by Theophrastus, *Characters*, 27.¹² A similar sacrifice is known at the port of Lindos.¹³ In the newly opened museum at the Peiraeus is a relief (33) representing Heracles with club in left hand and lion's skin below it at the right of an altar holding his right hand over it, a boy behind the altar and a ram and pig in front and an attendant at the left.

It would seem that such reliefs come from some shrine or temple of Heracles. The antefixes¹⁴ on top of the relief might indicate the side of a heroön or shrine. Temples and shrines of the "Greek happy warrior"¹⁵ existed in many parts of Greece, including Thasos,¹⁶ Corinth (at the west end of the agora, to be published

⁷ Reinach, *Répertoire de Reliefs Grecs et Romains*, III, Venice, p. 430, 2; Valentinelli, *Marmi scolpiti del. mus. arch. della Marciana*, 1866, pl. 40 (no. 200); Furtwängler in Roscher, *Lexikon*, s. v. Herakles, cols. 2156-2158; *Abh. Bay. Ak.*, XXI, 2, 315; Friederichs-Wolters, *Gipsabgüsse*, no. 1134; Zanetti, *Delle antiche statue di S. Marco*, I, pl. 49; Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, I, 1, pp. 116-117; *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXVI, 1911, pl. III, 2.

⁸ A votive relief (early fourth century) to Herakles Alexikakos with a wine-cup on the shrine representing the ceremony called *οἰνοθήρεια*: *A.J.A.*, VII, 1903, p. 85; *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXVI, 1911, pp. 121 ff., pl. II; *A.A.*, 1897, col. 73, no. 5; *Ath. Mitt.*, XXIV, 1899, p. 145; *Mus. Fine Arts Bull.*, Boston, VIII, 1910, p. 27, no. 46; Reinach, *Répertoire de Reliefs*, II, p. 201, 4; Chase, *Greek and Roman Sculpture*, p. 99, fig. 117; Caskey, *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture*, pp. 102-104; Kent, "The Baffled Hercules from Sparta," *Proc. Num. Ant. Soc. of Philadelphia*, XXIX, 1923, p. 16, fig. 9.

⁹ *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXVI, 1911, pl. III, 1 (Athens National Museum, 2723); Svoronos, *Das Athener National-museum*, pls. 101, 121 (Heft 13, pp. 378-379); Süsserott, *Griechische Plastik des 4. Jahrhunderts vor Christus*, pl. 16, 4.

¹⁰ Cf. Schöne, *Griechische Reliefs*, p. 55, pl. XXVII, 112; Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, p. 32; Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, s. v. Heracles, p. 116, fig. 3793; Svoronos, *op. cit.*, pl. 60 (Heft 13, pp. 352-353); Roscher, *Lexikon*, cols. 2157, 2173; Reinach, *Répertoire*, II, p. 352; Süsserott, *op. cit.*, pl. 14, 1.

¹¹ Cf. Diodorus, IV, 39.

¹² Cf. also Zenobius, V, 22.

¹³ Cf. Apollodorus, II, 5, 11.

¹⁴ For such on a relief cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIX, 1945, p. 264, fig. 13.

¹⁵ Cf. Agard, "The Greek Happy Warrior," in Arnold, *Classical Essays presented to James A. Kleist*.

¹⁶ Cf. *B.C.H.*, LIX, 1935, pp. 293-297.

by Scranton), Pagae,¹⁷ Marathon,¹⁸ those at Porthmos at Sunium,¹⁹ at the Porthmos to Salamis,²⁰ where only a narrow passage separates Salamis from Attica, at Athens in Melite,²¹ and at Cynosarges,²² where our relief belongs. In the Mesogaia a decree of the Mesogeioi mentions a procession and sacrifice for Heracles.²³

The figure of Heracles on the relief is surely an adaptation of some well-known statue by some famous sculptor. Heracles was not entirely eclipsed by Theseus in the sixth or fifth or fourth century B.C.²⁴ To Myron (460-450 B.C.) is attributed a bearded Heracles with lion's skin over his left arm and resting his right hand on a club which is supported by a rock.²⁵ The idea of a resting Heracles, beardless and with right arm bent and with lion's skin over the left arm, is anticipated by figures on Greek vases of the fifth and early fourth centuries and by certain reliefs such as that from Ithome mentioned above. Lysippus, however, in the fourth century to which our relief belongs, also sculptured a resting Heracles, who was beardless. He probably created also the bearded type which was continued in a later adaptation in the Hellenistic Farnese Heracles in Naples.²⁶ Lysippus was probably not the first to represent such a resting weary Heracles,²⁷ but the hip-shot stance, the head turned to his right, and the general style of the figure on our relief is Lysippan. There is such similarity in every detail to the Ludovisi marble statue of Heracles in the Museo Nazionale in Rome (Plate 34, 2),²⁸ to the Heracles (Plate 34, 3) on the neo-classical marble

¹⁷ *I.G.*, VII, 192.

¹⁸ Cf. Herodotus, VI, 108; Pindar, *Ol.*, IX, 88 ff.; *A.A.*, XLIX, 1934, col. 147.

¹⁹ *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 20, 22, 26, 43, 64; X, 1941, pp. 169-170; a Heracleum of the Tetrakomoi, Peiraeus, Phalerum, Xypete, and Thymoetadae.

²⁰ Cf. Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 13.

²¹ Possibly the fifth-century boundary stone, *i*[ερὸν τὸ 'Ε]ρακλῆος, published in *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 64-65, no. 56, may belong to the famous shrine in Melite. Cf. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*, p. 396; *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 410, line 105.

²² *I.G.*, II², 1596.

²³ Cf. *I.G.*, II², 1247. Cf. also for worship of Heracles outside Athens Hesychius, *s.v.* Ἡράκλεια; *I.G.*, II², 2609, 2610; Solders, *Die Ausserstädtischen Kulte und die Einigung Attikas*, pp. 76 ff.

²⁴ Cf. Nilsson, *Origin of Greek Mythology*, pp. 163 ff.

²⁵ Cf. Miss Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, pp. 55, 211, fig. 39; Caskey, *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture*, no. 64 for statuette copy in Boston.

²⁶ Cf. Miss Richter, *op. cit.*, fig. 56; Johnson, *Lysippus*, pp. 197 ff. For different Lysippan types of Heracles, cf. *ibid.*, pls. 16, 37, 41, 42, and index for passages in Johnson's text which discuss these.

²⁷ Cf. Furtwängler, in Roscher, *Lexikon, s.v.* Herakles, col. 2173; *Mon. Grece*, 1880, pl. 1; Heuzey, *Mont Olympe et L'Acarmanie*, pls. XI, XII.

²⁸ Cf. Welcker, *Alte Denkmäler*, 1864, V, p. 81, no. 4; Schreiber, *Die antiken Bildwerke der Villa Ludovisi in Rom*, p. 71, no. 45; Paribeni, *Le Terme di Diocleziano e il Museo Nazionale Romano*, 1932, pp. 115-116, no. 169 (8573), "forse derivante da un' opera del ciclo lisippeo"; Cultréra, "Una Statua di Ercole," *Memorie della R. Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, XIV, III, 1910, p. 182, fig. 1; Reinach, *Répertoire*, II, p. 209, 1, and V, p. 80, no. 9, fig. 6; Phyllis Williams Lehmann, *Statues on Coins*, New York, 1946, pl. 1, 6.

puteal in Naples,²⁹ and to the Heracles (Plate 34, 4 and 5) on coins of Heracleia (dating about 295 and 281-272 B.C.)³⁰ that all these representations must go back to a Lysippan lost archetype. Welcker, Schreiber, and Graef³¹ as well as Paribeni classified the type as Lysippan.³² The lithe athletic figure of Heracles on our relief is probably a replica of a lost statue of Lysippos made long before 295 B.C. Surely it dated even before the end of the fourth century B.C. to which Mrs. Lehmann³³ assigned the original of the statue represented on the coins of Heracleia. There is certainly a typological identity of coin and statue, and even the irregular rocky support for the club is, as she says,³⁴ "foreign to a purely numismatic concept and inexplicable save as the literal reflection of an actual plastic support." On our relief the forward oblique position of the right leg, the knobby club held at precisely the same spot on the right thigh, as on the coins and in the Ludovisi Heracles, the separation of the shoulders from the chest, of the ribs from the abdomen, the same full things, and the same form of pelvis, even the rough support for the lion's skin (which is not an addition of the Roman copyist, as Mrs. Lehmann says),³⁵ the heavy execution, the whole outline, and every detail (except the turning of the head, which, however, does occur also on the coins) correspond to the later copies. Probably a bronze copy of the original statue was set up at Heracleia after 300 B.C. This was reproduced on the city's coins, but the type is much earlier. It was not the original statue, as Mrs. Lehmann says. Our relief, dating from the first half of the fourth century, shows that the original archetype is much earlier than 300 B.C.

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²⁹ Cf. *Real Museo Borbonico*, Naples, 1, 1824, pl. XLIV, pp. 5 ff.; Gerhard-Panofka, *Neapels Antike Bildwerke*, 1828, p. 78, no. 257; Ruesch, *Guida illustrata del Museo Nazionale di Napoli*, p. 94 and English edition fig. 24; Mrs. Lehmann, *op. cit.*, pl. 1, 7.

³⁰ Cf. Mrs. Lehmann, *op. cit.*, pl. I, 1 and 5; Grose, *Catalogue of the McClean Collection of Greek Coins*, Cambridge, 1923, pp. 113-114, pl. XXIX, no. 17; pl. XXX, 4 (no. 861); *Num. Chron.*, XVIII, 1918, pp. 153 ff.

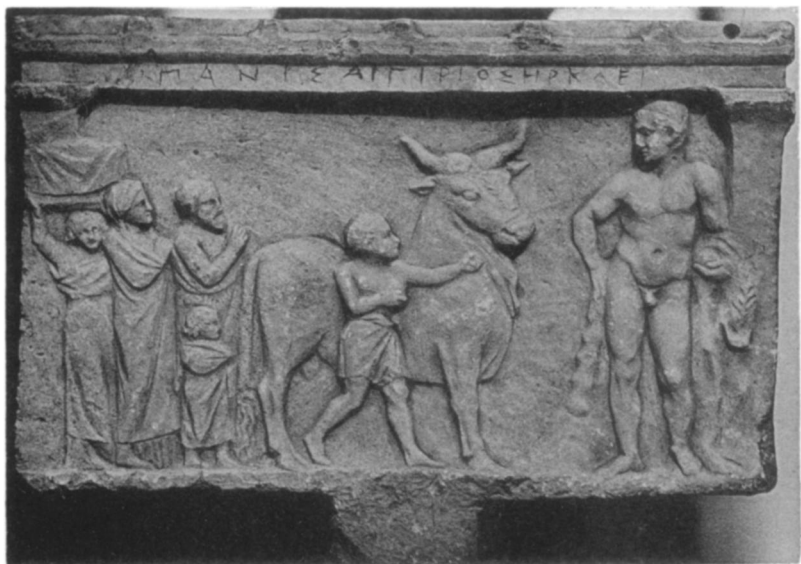
³¹ Cf. *Röm. Mitt.*, IV, 1889, p. 214, note 2.

³² Mrs. Lehmann, *op. cit.*, p. 8, note 37, rightly objects to Schick, "Zwei römische Kolossalstatuen und die hellenistische Kunst Syriens," *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum*, XXXIII, 1914, pp. 18 ff. He thought that the Ludovisi Heracles was a variant of a lost statue representing Melquarth at Tyre, second century B.C. It is known in such replicas as the colossal gilded Heracles in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (cf. Jones, *Sculptures of the Palazzo dei Conservatori*, pp. 282 ff., pl. 113) and a bronze statuette from Byblos in the British Museum (Walters, *Catalogue of the Bronzes*, no. 827). There are similarities, but even a Roman copyist would hardly change a statue with a lion's skin over the left forearm into a statue with an extended left hand holding only the apples of the Hesperides. It seems indeed that even the left hand of Heracles in our relief holds a single apple, though in a very different position. The Conservatori Heracles suggests a Lysippan prototype. It is derived from the earlier Ludovisi type, but I am inclined to think that there is no connection and that no Phoenician is represented. Our relief shows that the original type has been little changed.

³³ *Op. cit.*, p. 6.

³⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 7.

³⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 8.



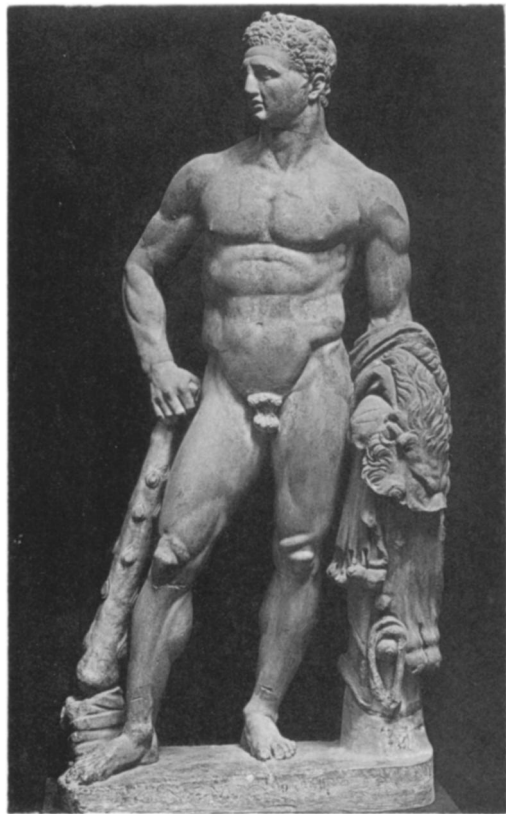
1. A New Heracles Relief



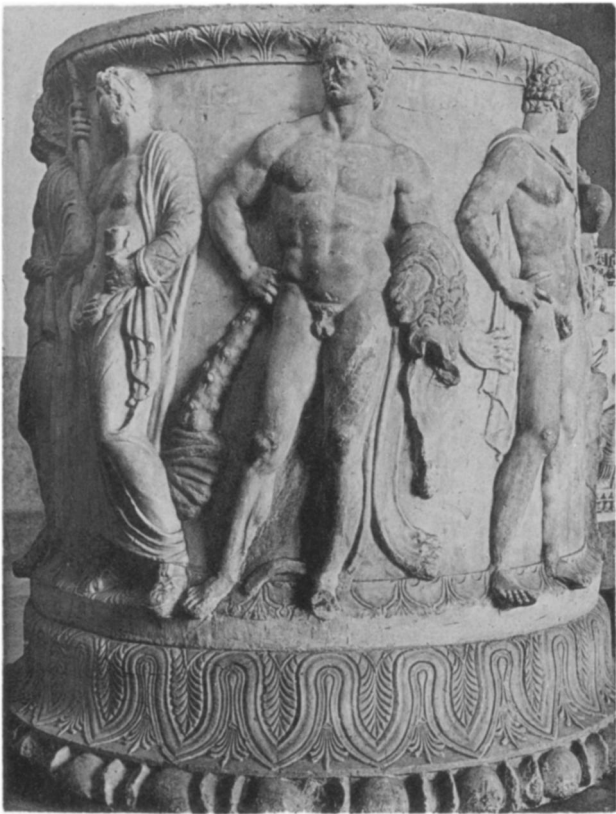
4. Stater of Heracleia
(Fitzwilliam Museum)



5. Didrachm of Heracleia
(Fitzwilliam Museum)



2. Ludovisi Heracles, Rome



3. Heracles on Altar in Naples
(Courtesy Professor Maiuri)

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