

Some 5th–4th cent. representations have a pederastic coloring (3. 11. 30) and one (21) is openly sexual: an ithyphallic Marsyas, pretending to adjust the position of the flutes, reaches to embrace O. The painter may have been influenced by Plato's presentation of Marsyas as *hybristes* (*symp.* 215b–c), since the word has sexual as well as religious connotations (Dover, K. J., *Greek Homosexuality* [1989] 36). The scene may have been conceived as an erotic parody of the *Nekyia*, as Herrmann suggests (89).

Roman representations of O. as pupil, unlike other scenes from the Marsyas myth (→Marsyas I 59. 63), appear primarily on objects and places associated with the wealthy: gems (13b. 14), triclinia (13a. 18. 25. 31), peristyles (15a. 16a), and an odeon (23). They are often displayed with representations of Cheiron teaching Achilles to play the lyre (15. 15a. 16a. 31; cf. also Ov. *Pont.* 3. 3. 42) and sometimes with mythological lovers (16a. 18–19).

O. may also have appeared with Pan. Pliny refers to two statuary groups of Pan and O. which stood in the Saeptra Julia (39) and the Porticus Octavia (40). This, however, is disputed. O. has no connection with Pan in ancient literature so Pliny's statements are normally corrected to read «Marsyas and O.» in the Saeptra, and «Pan and Daphnis» in the Porticus Octavia. The Saeptra group, and a group of Cheiron–Achilles (→Achilleus 50) from the same precinct, are thought to be reproduced in the Roman wallpainting (15\*); →Achilleus 51\*). The Porticus Octavia group is identified with a series of marble copies showing Pan and a young boy with a syrinx (41). The arguments for these identifications are summarized by Reitzenstein (247–248), Klein, and others.

I am not convinced that these corrections of Pliny are warranted or that the Saeptra group is actually reproduced in Roman wallpainting. The iconographies of Pan and Marsyas are too different to assume that Pliny (or his sources) confused them (Weizsäcker 862–863), and the message of the Saeptra pendants may have been rejected by Roman artisans and their bourgeois patrons. Domestic representations of Marsyas–O. and Cheiron–Achilles (15. 15a) emphasize the *similitudines* between the two groups – the importance of musical training and the ethical character of the *paedagogus* (Scheffold, *o. c.* 15, 136–138).

The two Saeptra groups, as identified by Pliny, seem more likely to have emphasized their *differences*. Cheiron, the educator of heroes, instructs Achilles, who is destined to achieve literary renown, in the sophisticated rationalism of the lyre (→Achilleus, *Comm.* p. 54. 198–199). →Pan, the embodiment of destructive desire, importunes O., teaching him only the rustic emotionalism of the *syrinx*. The contrast in the characters of the two pedagogues, the one, *urbanus* and *politus*, the other *indoctus* and *agrestis*, is one which appears frequently in Roman authors of the late Republic and Empire (cf. Wille, G., *ANRW* I 4 [1973] 986–988). It would not be out of place in the Saeptra, an elegant metropolitan promenade (Martialis 9, 59). The choice of instruments may also contain a waggish nod to Plato (*pol.* 3. 399e), who allowed only these two instruments in his ideal city.

The case for identifying the syrinx-player of the marble copies (41) and/or the «O.» of the Porticus Octavia group (40) as Daphnis seems no more certain. No secure representations of Daphnis are known from antiquity (→Daphnis, *Comm.* p. 352), while O. had been the target of sexual advances since the 4th cent. B. C. (cf. 21). Given these uncertainties, my observations on the Roman monuments will assume that Pliny's identifications are correct: Roman artisans – or their patrons – were influenced by well-known representations of O., and the most important of these was, probably, the *Nekyia* of Polygnotus. (For the reputation of the Delphic paintings in the Roman period, see Welcker, *o. c.* 10, 81). Representations of Marsyas–O. in Roman wall painting (13–20) and on gems (13b. 14. 16b. 20a) are very close to Pausanias' description of the *Nekyia*; the marble statues of Pan and the syrinx-player (41) may parody it as well (Herrmann 89).

The formal similarity between Pan–O. in statuary (41), and Cheiron–Achilles in wall painting (→Achilleus 51\*), suggests that these compositions are derived from Pliny's groups in the Saeptra. It is not clear whether imperial images of Marsyas–O. with the syrinx (20) are also based on this monument, or on the older tradition that Marsyas invented the syrinx (Metrodoros of Chios, *FGH* 43 F 1; cf. Weiss, *ML* II 2, 2440 s. v. «Marsyas»).

Two images of O. trying to escape from Marsyas (22. 23) may be variants of the group in the Porticus Octavia. Pliny describes the group as a *symplegma*, or as Pan and O. «grappling» (*luctantes*), terms which fit these monuments better than the marble copies (cf. Herrmann 88).

Three late-imperial representations of O. are also known – two paintings described by Philostratus (1. 2) and a 4th-cent. mosaic (31). All seem conscious of early imperial tradition in their broad outlines, but they deviate from that tradition in the emphasis placed on O. He appears alone, a pupil *without* his pedagogue, in the paintings described by Philostratus. His beauty inspires lust (1) or comment (2), but he doesn't notice, sleeping (1) or devoting himself monastically to his flutes (2). The images are unprecedented and Philostratus' account of them (especially 2) contradicts long-held tenets: Aristotle's rejection of the flutes as undisciplined (*pol.* 1341a 18–24), and Plato's assertion that the music of O.'s flute belonged to Marsyas (*symp.* 215c). These contradictions, both visual and literary, are probably a demonstration of the sophist's art (cf. Anderson, G., *Philostratus* [1986] 259–268).

The 4th-cent. Portus Magnus mosaic (31) draws upon earlier comparisons of Marsyas–O. with Cheiron–Achilles, but here O.'s ineffectual grief appears in sharp contrast with Achilles' defense of Cheiron. His ineffectiveness may result from a variety of deficiencies: the boorishness of his pedagogue, the inadequacy of the flutes for character formation, or the *professionalism* suggested by his own costume. Disdain for professionalism was common in antiquity (cf. Aristot. *pol.* 1340b 20–1341b 18), and O. may have been accused of this before. Pind. *fig.* 157 Maehler has Marsyas say to him, «Alas, miserable Creature of the day, you

speak foolishness to me when you boast about money.» There is, however, no other evidence for this characterization in the visual arts.

ANNE WEIS

## OLYMPUS II

(*Ὀλύμπιος*, Olympus) Mountain-God of Mysia, modern Kişış or Ulu Dağ. Located on the border with Bithynia, O. overlooks Prusa ad *Olympum*, modern Bursa.

LITERARY SOURCES: O. was sometimes confused with Mt. Ida, since both were associated with the name «Olympus», with the goddess Cybele, and with flute-playing (Strabon 10, 3, 14 p. 479). It was known for its rich stands of trees for ship-building (Theophr. *h. plant.* 4, 5; Strabon 12, 8, 8 p. 574), and the fertility of its plains. In myth, O. was the husband of «Cybele» – not the Mater Magna, but the mother of Korybas, who brought the cult of Mater Magna and flute-playing into Phrygia (Diod. 5, 49). *Schol.* Theokr. 13, 30b identifies him as father of →Kios, mythical founder of the nearby port-city.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Drexler, W., *ML* III 1 (1897–1902) 859–860 s. v. «Olympus 5»; Ruge, W., *RE* XVIII 1 (1939) 314 s. v. «Olympus 16»; Stending, H., *ML* II 2 (1894–97) 2123 s. v. «Lokalpersonifikationen».

## CATALOGUE

### Coins of Prusa ad Olympum

O. is typically bearded and half-draped.

1. AE, Trajan (A. D. 98–117). – Imhoof-Blumer, *GrM* 606, 142 pl. 6, 14; *RecGén* I 4, 578, 13 pl. 99, 11. – Rev.: O. (*ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΣ*) reclining to l., holding branch, r. hand on knee. In front of him, a tree. Similar: a) AE, Pertinax (A. D. 193–195). – *RecGén* I 4, 584, 64 pl. 100, 15. – Rev.: O. reclining to l. on rock, leafy branch in r. 2. \* AE, Commodus (A. D. 180–192). – Imhoof-Blumer, *GrM* 606–607, 144 pl. 6, 16; *RecGén* I 4, 582, 45 pl. 100, 1. – Rev.: Mt. O. with trees on slope and waterfall. On peak, the reclining god with l. arm leaning on rocks.

## COMMENTARY

O. appears only on the coinage of Prusa. His depiction – as a reclining, half-draped, bearded male, who holds a tree-branch or bough – is similar to that of other mountain gods in Roman coinage and relief (see Steuding 2119–2121, 2123–2124, and →Montes [*LIMC* Suppl.]), and to that of some river gods. The iconography emphasizes his role as personification of place rather than as figure of myth.

O. appears first in the reign of Trajan, at a time of conflict between Prusa and the nearby port-city of Apameia; the type may have been intended to remind

the Apameians of their dependence upon Prusan timber (cf. Dion Chrys. 40, 30). The use of specific attributes to celebrate the interdependence of physical geography (especially rivers) and economic life in Asian cities has been discussed by Robert, L., *A travels in Asiae Minore* (1980), 86–104. 166–176. According to Robert (103–104), a tree or shrub appears as an allusion to commerce in timber on the coins of Prusa ad *Hypum*.

ANNE WEIS

## OLYNTHOS

(*Ὀλυνθος*) Son of Strymon, king of the Thracians, brother of Brangas and →Rhesos, O. was killed during the hunting of a lion; he was buried where he died, by Brangas, who gave the name of his dead brother to the city he founded later in Sithonia, Chalkidike. According to another myth, O. was the son of →Herakles and Bolbe, the nymph after whom the lake in Mygdonia was named. According to a literary source, there was a «mnemeion» for O. before the city of Olynthos.

LITERARY SOURCES: Konon, *FGH* 26 F 1, IV; Hegesandros, *FGH* IV p. 420 *fig.* 40 (Athen. 8, 334e); Steph. Byz. s. v. *Ὀλυνθος*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Höfer, O., *ML* III 1 (1897–1902) 866 s. v. «Olynthos»; Robinson, D. M., *RE* XVIII 1 (1939) 326 s. v. «Olynthos».

## Coins

1. AE, Apollonia (Macedonia), 187–168 B. C. – Gaebler, *Makedonia* II 47, 3; SNG Copenhagen 133. – Obs.: Young male unbearded head to r., crowned with ivy or laurel wreath (Heros O.?). Rev.: Amphora; leg. *ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ*.

The attribution of the male head to the Hero O. is tentative in the absence of any inscription, and there are no convincing arguments from the point of view of iconography: the wreathed head recalls rather Apollo or Dionysos. Moreover, one might expect to find the personification of the Hero on the coins of Olynthos itself, the place of his burial, rather than on those of Apollonia in Mygdonia. IOANNIS TOURATSOGLIOU

## OLYTTOI → Doroi

## OM(B)RIKOS → Eunoos

## OMPHALE

(*Ὀμφάλη*, Omphale) Queen of Lydia, daughter of Iardanos, widow of King Tmolos. Herakles (hereafter

= H. in this article) was enslaved to her to expiate his crimes, performs various exploits for her and is her lover. She obliges him to exchange roles and clothes with her.

LITERARY SOURCES: Names and locations are probably to be cited originally in north-central Greece (see Tümpel 870-872; Herzog-Hauser 387-389) but classical sources and artists refer only to the stories as located and developed in a Lydian setting, where H. had been regarded from the 6th cent. on as an ancestor of the royal house (through his son Alkaios). Sources for the exchange of roles and dress can be separated from those for H.'s bondage only, already alluded to in Aischyl. *Ag.* 1040-1041, but not located. There are satyr plays called O. by Ion of Chios (*TGF* I 19 F 17a-33) and Achaïos (*ibid.* 20 F 32-36) and Middle Comedies by Antiphanes (*PCG* II *fig.* 174-176) and Cratinus junior (*PCG* IV *fig.* 4-5), with perhaps *Herakles as Bride*, an Old Comedy by Nikochares (*PCG VII fig.* 7). The content of these later 5th cent. works is not known but if the last is about the O. episode it probably alludes to the change of dress. Soph. *Trach.* 70. 252-257. 356-357 alludes to H.'s labours for the Lydian woman, whom he served for one year (three years according to Herodotos, *FGH* 31 F 33; cf. Apollod. *bibl.* 2 [131] 6, 2). Hdt. 1, 7 records H.'s son Alkaios, and relationship with a slave girl of lardanos (Diod. 4, 31, 8 names the son Kleodaios, and his son by O. Lamos, while Apollod. *bibl.* 2 [165] 7, 8 has his son by O. Agelaos, and *Schol.* Hom. *Il.* 24, 616 Erbsbe, Acheles). Comic poets called Aspasia a 'new O.' (Plut. *Per.* 24; *Schol.* Plato *Menex.* 235e). The fullest record of the bondage is in Apollod. *bibl.* 2 (130-133) 6, 2-3 and Diod. 4, 31, 5-8 who name H.'s exploits with →Kerkopes, →Syleus, Ikaros, against the Itonoi, and on the Argo in the course of his bondage; and Apollod. has O. marry H. after the bondage. They do not explicitly deal with the exchange of roles and dress, rather than delight in the good Lydian life and feasting, though Cratinus junior *fig.* 5 dwells on a woman's head-dress (*hippiskos*) like that worn later by H. in art. A mime may set an encounter of H. and O. in a brothel (*POxy* 53, 3700; Jarcho, V. N., *ZPE* 70, 1987, 32-34).

The exchange of dress is a subject for authors from the 1st cent. B.C. on, especially Romans: Ov. *Her.* 9, 55-120; Propert. 3, 11, 17-20; Sen. *Hercl.* 371-377; Stat. *Theb.* 10, 646-649; Plut. *quaest. Graec.* 304c-e; Luk. 79, 15, 2, and 59, 10. They allude to his adoption of her dress, spinning for her, his clumsiness with her distaff, tympana and dress (Stat.), his love for her (Sen.), the way she beat him with a golden sandal (Luk.); while she adopts his lionskin and arms. The exchange of dress makes Faunus mistake H. for O. while they are asleep in a cave, and leads him to attempt a disastrous assault on H. (Ov. *fast.* 2, 305-358).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Brommer, *Herakles* II 126-128; *idem*, *Vasentisten* 174-175; *idem*, *Denkmäler* I 127-139; Caprino, C., *EAAV* (1963) 695-698 s.v. 'Omphale'; Furtwängler, A., *ML* I 2 (1886-90) 2247-2248 s.v. 'Herakles'; Gruppe, O., *RE* Suppl. III (1918) 972-977 s.v. 'Herakles'; Herbig, R., in *Corolla L. Curtius* (1937) 208-211; Herzog-Hauser, G., *RE* XVIII 1 (1939) 385-396 s.v. 'Omphale'; Horster, G., *Statuen auf Gemmen* (1970) 55-57; Lippold, G., *AA* 1955, 248-258; Schauenburg, K., *RHM*

102/3, 1959/60, 57-76; Scheffold, *SB* IV 199-204; Sieveking, J., *ML* III 1 (1897-1902) 887-899 s.v. 'Omphale'; Suhr, E. G., *AJA* 57, 1933, 251-263; Tümpel, K., *ML* III 1 (1897-1902) 870-887 s.v. 'Omphale'; Voegtli, *Heidentum* 85-86; Vollkommer, *Herakles* 31-32 (= Vollkommer); *idem*, 'Die früheste Darstellung der Omphale?', *Annales d'Hist. de l'Art et d'Arch.* 10, 1988, 27-37 (= Vollkommer 2).

## CATALOGUE

### I. Omphale and Herakles (roles not exchanged)

#### GREEK

##### UNCERTAIN

(Criteria are regality for O., or intimations of spinning or of possible intended exchange of roles and dress; pieces not satisfying these criteria but sometimes associated with H. and O. are the 4th cent. Ephesos relief →H. 1707, and, wrongly, the Etruscan scarab →Herakles/Heracle 360).

1. (= H. 1537\* with *bibl.*) Skyphos, Boeotian rf. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. VI. 3414. From Boeotia. Vollkommer 32 no. 216; Scheffold 200 *fig.* 246. About 425 B.C. — A youth and H., holding out his bow, approach two women, a loom at the r., a column at the centre. The woman seems surprised.

2.\* (= H. 1680, = Lichas 7 with *bibl.*, = Nessos 93) Pelike, Attic rf. London, BM E 370. From Nola. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1134, 7; manner of Washing P.; Vollkommer 32. 34 no. 217 *fig.* 42; Vollkommer 2, 35-37 *fig.* 7. 440-430 B.C. — H. holding the lionskin receives a garment from a woman, the club between them. On B a second woman extends one hand. Taken by Vollkommer for O. (on B), with her servant giving H. her clothes (on A); otherwise as Deianeira offering the pointed robe (an abbreviation of the event). The woman on B is not queenly.

3. (= H. 1524\* with *bibl.*) Bell crater, Campanian rf. London, BM F 494. From the Basilicata. — LCS 251, 164; Parrish P.; Vollkommer 32 no. 219. — About 350 B.C. — A woman enthroned, on rocks, and young H. seated on the ground.

4.\* Pelike, Lucanian rf. Paris, Louvre K 545. — LCS 184, 1119, Primato Group; Schauenburg 74 *fig.* 3; Vollkommer no. 220. — Late 4th cent. — Young naked H. leans on club talking to O(?), wearing headcloth and crown, with distaff and spindle (B Eros). Cf. Lucanian hydria, Montpellier, Mus. Fabre 836.4.338 (Schauenburg, K., *AuA* 10, 1961, pl. 21, 38; Vollkommer no. 221) where the woman is less regal but there is a kalathos also.

5. (= Aphrodite 1514\*, = Eros 913, = Hedone 6, = Hera 476, = H. 1525 with *bibl.*, = H. 3343) Hydria, Apulian rf. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. F 3291. From Ceglie. — *RI/4p* I, 426, 60 pls. 156, 4; 157, 1-2; Chamay P.; Vollkommer 31 no. 218 *fig.* 43. — About 340 B.C. — An enthroned queen holding a sceptre topped by a flying griffin turns to a woman behind whom is another woman, with a child. The queen (O?) gestures towards a young, naked H., with lionskin, who is approached by a flying Eros with taenia. Other women attend (one with swan = Aphrodite?) and a youth with

Phrygian cap. Only the last figure suggests an Anatolian setting. The seated figure seems to be associating the woman behind her with H., and if so is Hera, with Hebe and Aphrodite attending, as taken in some of the *LIMC* articles cited.

#### INCORRECT

6. Kantharos, Cabirion style bf. Munich, *Antikensgl.* 3057. — Wolters, P./Bruuns, G., *Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben I* (1940) 112, 2 M 30 pl. 55, 4; Braun, K., *Das Kabirenheiligtum ... IV* (1981) 67 no. 403 pl. 23, 5. — 4th cent. B.C. — Wreathed man with stick or club is led by a woman holding fillet and oil bottle towards a man holding branches. In *Kabirenheiligtum* as H. and O. with a priest or lardanos.

#### ETRUSCAN

(The Acropolis relief, →Herakles/Heracle 121\*, has wrongly been taken to show O. and H.; cf. Suhr 261.)

7.\* (= Herakles/Heracle 106\*) Buckle, bronze. Toronto, ROM 918.3.113. — Richardson, E. H., *MAAR* 21, 1953, 87 *fig.* 4; Mitten, D./Doeringer, S., *Master Bronzes* (1968) no. 193. — Late 6th cent. B.C. — H. in lionskin holds club upright before him, faced by a woman with hand extended. It is not clear whether she is taking the club, but this seems improbable.

#### ROMAN

8. Painting, Pompeii VI 7, 6 (Casa di Ercole). Destroyed. — Helbig, *Wandgemälde* no. 1148; Scheffold, *WP* 99; Herbig, R., *MusHelv* 8, 1951, 223-227 *fig.* 1. — 1st cent. A.D. — A half-naked woman stands with her l. hand on the r. shoulder of young H. seated on his lionskin on a rock, holding his club. Palatial setting. Herbig suggest the gesture is of *manipatio*. Uncertain if O. Other paintings identified uncertainly as H. with O. are Pompeii VI 15, 6 (*WP* 151), IX 5, 2 (*WP* 252), IX 5, 14-16 (*WP* 259) and I. cub. no. 2 (NSc 1923, 283, 286).

9.\* Cameo. St. Petersburg, Hermitage 294. — Neverov, *Cameos* no. 27. — 1st cent. B.C. — H. seated on the ground, his lionskin on a stump before him. Eros pours water over his head and a naked woman seated behind him washes his back or combs him (*cf.* 38). For a complementary scene see the relief, →H. 2942.

10. (= H. 1737, = Amazones 140\* with *bibl.*) Marble relief dedicated by Cassia Priscilla. Naples, Mus. Naz. 6683. From Velletri. — Cancik-Lindemaier, H., in Schlesier, R. (ed.), *Faszination des Mythos* (1985) 209-228 (suggesting O.'s gesture is of *manipatio*). — Mid-2nd cent. A.D. — The centre panel surrounded by the 12 Labours has O., crowned and half naked, with her l. hand on the shoulder of young H. to her l., naked holding skin and club. In the panel below, to l. bow and quiver; to r. kalathos and spindle, perhaps suggesting the exchange of gear.

#### UNCERTAIN

11. (= H. 1693 with *bibl.*) Painting, Pompeii VI 10, 11. — H. seated before a woman and a child wearing a Phrygian cap, this being the only feature to suggest O.

12. Painting. Providence, Rhode Island School of Design 1938.058.10. From Scatani, villa, cub. 3. — Winkles, R., *Cat. of the Classical Coll.: Roman Paintings and Mosaics* (1982) 52 no. 22. — Mid 1st cent. A.D. — H. naked but for skin on l. shoulder and club, puts his r. hand on the shoulder of a seated, dressed woman who looks queenly but need not be O.

13. Marble relief. Venice, Mus. Arch. 123. — Sperti, L., *Rilievi greci e romani del Mus. Arch. di Venezia* (1988) no. 39. — 1st/2nd cent. A.D. — At the l. a woman dressed in a light chiton holding a mantle over her legs, in the Venus Cnidia pose and perhaps with a portrait head, looks towards a naked H., club in l. hand and lion-skin over arm; an Eros between them skips to the woman. H.'s r. hand is on her shoulder, her l. on his r. forearm. The woman could as easily be Deianeira. Other marble groups of H. with a woman are equally uncertainly or incorrectly identified: e.g., *MusNaz-Rom* I 3, VI, 28.

### II. Omphale and Herakles, roles exchanged

#### A. Heads and busts

14.\* Painting. Naples, Mus. Naz. 9004. From Pompeii. — Helbig, *Wandgemälde* no. 1134; HBr pl. 207; Scheffold, *WP* 333. — Mid 1st cent. A.D. — Busts of H. at r., with ivy wreath; O. shouldering club. He has his r. arm behind her, hand on her r. shoulder; she stretches her r. hand to his shoulder. A similar group from Pompeii VII 3, 29 (Helbig no. 1133; Scheffold, *WP* 178) and *cf.* that from Pompeii VII 12, 26, 27 (Helbig no. 1135; Scheffold, *WP* 203) where the wreathed profile head behind H.'s l. shoulder may be a maenad rather than O.

15. Cameo. Unknown whereabouts. — Raspe, E., *Cat. raisonné d'une Collection générale de Pierres gravées antiques et modernes ... tirées des Cabinets les plus célèbres de l'Europe* (1791) no. 6027. — Ancient? — Head of O. to r., head of H. beyond. Cf. *ibid.*, no. 6028, with busts.

16.\* Intaglio, cornelian. Vienna, Kunsthist. Mus. IX B 1560. — *AGOe* I no. 269 pl. 46. — 1st cent. B.C. — Busts of H. at l., dress over r. arm and lower chest; O. in three-quarter back view, wearing lionskin. They seem about to kiss. H.'s club behind his head.

17.\* Intaglio, glass in bronze ring. Vienna, Kunsthist. Mus. VII A 192. — *AGOe* II no. 666 pl. 16. — 1st cent. B.C./A.D. — Busts of a woman and man, dressed and veiled, the man holds a wavy object (wool?), his features are Heraklean. Identity most uncertain.

18.\* Candelabrum capital, bronze. Vienna, Kunsthist. Mus. VI 3170. From Ephesos, harbour gymnasium. — Eichler, E., *OeJh* 24, 1929, 207 *figs.* 143-146 pl. 3; *Kat. der Antikensammlung II* (1978) 107 no. 139 *fig.* 86. — 1st cent. B.C. — Addressed heads: H. with headcloth (= H. 1059\*/1211), O. with lionskin.

19. Candelabrum capital, bronze. Naples, Mus. Naz. 461. From Pompeii. — NSc 1890, 221; Pernice, E., *Gefäße und Geräte aus Bronze* (1925) 55-56 *fig.* 74; *Pompeii AD* 79 (ed. J. B. Ward-Perkins, 1976) no. 126a. — Late 1st cent. B.C. — Addressed heads on a herm.

**20.\*** Herm, marble. Copenhagen, Mus. Nat. ABb 291. - Sieveking 893 figs. 4-5. - Copy of Hellenistic original. - Adorsed heads: young H. with headcloth, O. with lionskin.

### B. Standing groups (or figures from probable groups)

**21.** Intaglio, cornelian. Braunschweig, Mus. - AGD III no. 69 pl. 9. - 1st cent. B.C./A.D. - Both are frontal, naked, looking at each other. O. has dress hanging behind her and holds a club on the ground in her r. hand. H. has the lionskin at his back and beside him, possibly handing it over. His arm is round her shoulders, hers at his back (taking the lionskin?).

**22.\*** AE coin, Lampakos, M. Aurelius (A.D. 161-180). - MacDonald, *Hunter* II no. 13 pl. 48, 5; Voegtli, *Heldene* pl. 20b, c; Schauenburg 63. - Rev: They look at each other. H. is in woman's dress, O. is seen from behind, naked to the thighs, and seems to be taking the lionskin(?) from him. The action and identity are not altogether clear.

**23.\*** Marble group. Naples, Mus. Naz. 6406 (299). - Sieveking 891 fig. 2; Herbig 208-209 pl. 66, 1; Suhr pl. 73, 1. - 1st cent. B.C. (after Hellenistic original or a 'Pasitelean' creation?) - H. wears a loose dress slipping from his r. shoulder, holds a spindle in his lowered r. hand. The l. hand with distaff is modern. O. stands by him, naked but for lionskin, looking at him with her l. hand on his l. shoulder. Her r. arm is probably correctly restored holding a club on the ground. The H. can be restored from a copy in Copenhagen (Glypt. 529; Poulsen, *CatNyCarlsbergGlypt* no. 265; *Billedtavler* pl. 19) which shows that the l. hand was lowered, and that there was a kalathos at his feet. Copenhagen Glypt. o.c. no. 266, *Billedtavler* pl. 19, has a similar H. torso and lower part with l. hand lowered, but the dress differently disposed. Cf. also the statuette Pompeii Mus. 1187-4 (Schauenburg 61 n. 23; *non vidit*).

**24.\*** Herakles head, marble, from a statue. Dresden, Staatl. Kunstlg. ZV 1644. From Nicaea. - EA 743-744; AA 1898, 54-55 fig. 4. - 1st cent. B.C., copy? - He wears the headcloth. The type is not quite that of **23** but presumably from a similar figure or group.

**25.\*** Marble child Omphale. Copenhagen, Glypt. 2600. - Poulsen, *CatNyCarlsbergGlypt* no. 265a; *Tillaeg til Billedtavler* pl. 5; EA 4284-4286 (O. Brendel). - 1st cent. B.C./A.D., copy of Hellenistic original? - A girl dressed in a high-girt peplos with long overfall, wearing lionskin, and looking to her l., as it were to an accompanying figure, perhaps of a child Herakles (but how dressed?).

**26.** Statuette, bronze. Baltimore, Walters Art Gall. 54.1004. - Hill, D. K., *Cat.* 50 no. 102 pl. 23; Suhr pl. 74, 2. - Late Hellenistic? - Naked H. standing with r. hand lowered, l. hand raised, as if spinning. Perhaps grouped with an O. but the authenticity of the piece has been questioned and the nudity is surprising (also if it is a forgery of a spinning H.).

### C. With Herakles drunk

The exchange is barely intimated in **27. 28.** O. has none of H.'s weapons or lionskin, but the weapons are being stolen from the drunken H. by Eros and on **27** Dionysos observes. H. wears light feminine dress, otherwise this might be taken for a Dionysiac scene, with Ariadne. The setting is rustic, not palatial. The subject has been appropriately added to the O. theme rather than borrowed from it. On **29-31** the schemes are different and O. is now wearing the lionskin.

**27.** (= Eros/Amor **616\*** with bibl., H. **3431**) Painting. Pompeii II 1, 25 (house of Siricus). - Helbig, *Wandgemälde* no. 1139; Scheffold, *WP* 164. - About A.D. 70. - Young H. reclines, wreathed, his r. hand raised snapping his fingers, dressed in a light chiton. Eros takes his cup and club, and three on an altar hold his quiver. Top l. Dionysos watches with four companions. Top l. O. sits on a rock, naked but for dress over her legs, with two companions. There is a pot on a column behind O., a tree behind H. H.'s pose and gesture seem almost to mock that of Ariadne discovered by Dionysos.

**28.\*** (= H. **3429**) Painting. Naples, Mus. Naz. 9000. From Pompeii II Is. Occid. 15. - Helbig, *Wandgemälde* no. 1137; Scheffold, *WP* 209; Rizzo, *PER* pl. 119a. - Mid 1st cent. A.D. - H. as on **27** but with shoes also and reclining on his lionskin. Eros as on **27**, the three on the altar fastening the quiver to a pole. The O. group as on **27** but O.'s upper body is clothed. Similar painting (the upper part missing) from Pompeii VI, 13, 6 (Casa del Forno di Ferro): → H. **3430**; Helbig, *Wandgemälde* no. 1138; Scheffold, *WP* 130.

**29.\*** Painting. Naples, Mus. Naz. 8992. From Pompeii IX 3, 5 (house of M. Lucretius). - Mid 1st cent. A.D. - Helbig, *Wandgemälde* no. 1140; Scheffold, *WP* 249; HBr pl. 59-60; Rizzo, *PER* pl. 73-74; Lippold 248-254; Matz, F., *Ein römisches Meisterwerk* (1958) 186-187 pl. 37b; Scheffold 202 fig. 249. - About 70 A.D. - H. stands naked but for light dress hanging over his back and leg; he wears wreath, necklet, finger ring and shoes and holds a staff with ribbons attached. He leans on a foreign-looking figure (usually called Priapus) who wears a cap, earrings and long dress which an Eros is raising. The kolpos of his dress is filled with fruit. H. is assaulted by noise - a maenad with tympanon at his r., an Eros with pipes at his l. ear. On the ground Eros has his cup and quiver. At the r. O., with lionskin over her dress, one breast bared, wearing armlets, fingerring and sandals, leans on H.'s club, propped on a stone. Behind her a dusky youth and a wreathed woman; another woman behind the tympanon-player. Matz suggests that the O. is an addition to the original composition; Lippold that the original was of about 300 B.C.

**30.** Mosaic. Tunis, Bardo 2788. From Thina. - Poinssot, L., *BullArchCTh* 1936/37, 120-1; Dunbar, *Mosais* 273 no. 3. - 3rd/4th cent. A.D. - H. reclines under a tree, dress round legs, club, bow and quiver on ground. A youth behind him holding a rhyton (young Bacchus or Iolaos, but see *LJMC* V p. 693). At the l. stands O., naked but for lionskin. An Eros beside both H. and O.

once) in long cloak, two spears and shouldering a horn- or club-like object. A complete mould in Boston (1898.870; Sieveking 898 fig. 8; Chase, *Cat.* no. 9 pls. 7-8) has the scene, but the woman with the basket is replaced by one with a fan; and there are fragments in other collections (Brommer, *Denkmälerlisten* I 175; Dragendorff, H./Watzinger, C., *Arretinische Reliefframik* [1948] 81-84 pl. 8, 88-92; Oxé, A., *Bonifbb* 138, 1933, 94-96) which repeat the main scheme but may put a lyre-playing woman and plump dadouchos before H.'s chariot (Oxé, *Arret. vom Rhein* pl. 42, 150a. b; Dresden; Bargathes). (The mould in New York [CVA I, pl. 24, 1] is a forgery; I am indebted to Dr Porten Palange for information on the authenticity of works mentioned here.) For H. in a centaur chariot → H. **1428-1433**; on the Attic r.f. vase → H. **1429** (= Athiopes **22\***) their hands are bound.

### INCORRECT

**32.** Sarcophagus fr. Oslo, Nat. Mus. 116. - Brommer, *Denkmälerlisten* I 128 (fraglich); EA 16, 1961, no. 4234; *SarkRel* IV 1 no. 46A pl. 53, 1; L'Orange, H. P., *Acta Inst. Rom. Norv.* 1, 1962, 41 ff. pls. 1-3 (no. O). - 3rd cent. A.D. - H. drunk, with Ariadne asleep and Cupid and Psyche.

### D. Herakles is amatorus

**33.\*** Marble puteal. London, BM 2541. - Schauenburg 60-61 fig. 1. - 2nd cent. A.D. - In the setting of a thiasos with Eros holding a torch, women and satyrs. H. attacks O. He is dressed in a woman's cap and long chiton (as in the statue **23**) which has been pulled up at the front to expose his genitals. He seizes by the arms O., naked but for lionskin hanging from her shoulder, who is seen twisting away from him in back view. The group is borrowed from a Bacchic revel but identities changed.

**34.\*** Intaglio, cornelian. Vienna, Kunsthist. Mus. IX B 1364. - AGOe I no. 270 pl. 47. - Late 1st cent. B.C. - H. kneels between O.'s legs, reclining on the lionskin. They are naked but O. wears the lionskin over her head, and H. her cloth cap. Compare the young H. with a woman on the intaglio, → H. **1558\***, where O. is also identified by some; and the fr. gem by Dioskourides (lost) of a man with a naked woman seated on a lionskin (Vollenweider, *Steinschnittkunst* pl. 68, 7).

**35.\*** Clay relief mug, Pergamene. Copenhagen, Nat. Mus. 13530. From Pergamon. - 1st cent. B.C./A.D. - Beside various Bacchic figures and groups. H. half sits on a rock, dressed in a cloth cap and a chiton pulled up over his swollen genitals. Behind him stands a woman, dressed, holding distaff and spindle (?).

### E. In a chariot drawn by centaurs

**36.\*** Arretine clay relief chalice. Paris, Louvre 436. - Rayet, O./Collignon, M., *Hist. céram. grecque* (1888) 357 fig. 131; Oxé, A., *Arret. Reliefframik vom Rhein* (1933) pls. 27-28 no. 117a. - 1st cent. B.C./A.D. - A: (*TJGRA* sign.) In a wagon drawn by two centaurs with their hands bound behind their backs rides H. in female dress, looking back. Beyond is a woman looking at him; a youth with whip leads. Behind is a woman holding in her r. hand a parasol (?), then one holding a large cylindrical basket. B: (*MPRN* sign.) In a similar wagon O. rides, naked but for lionskin and holding the club. Beyond is a youth holding a large (H.'s) cup; a youth with whip leads. Behind is a youth (repeated

### F. Other groups

(The subject appeared on an Homeric bowl but the inscr. alone remains: *Jdl* 34, 1919, 76-77 fig. b.)

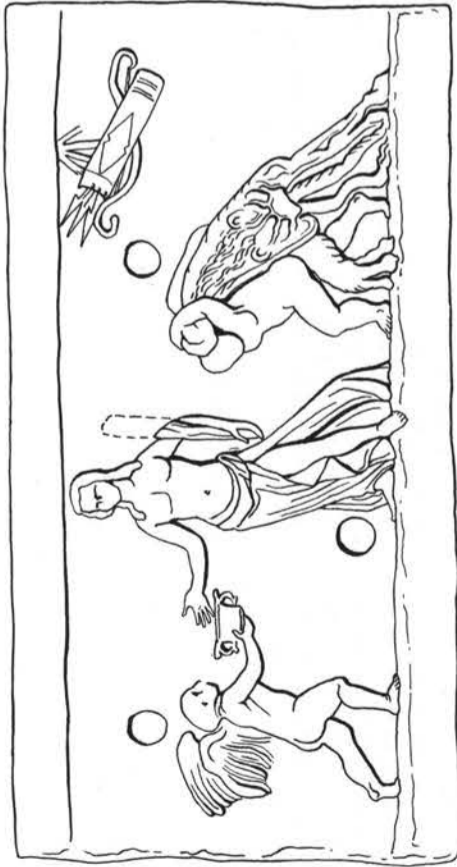
**37.** Painting. Pompeii III, 4, 34 (Strada d'Iside 9 [4]). Destroyed? - Helbig, *Wandgemälde* no. 1136. - 1st cent. A.D. - H. seated on his lionskin on a rock, his club against it, dressed in headcloth, woman's dress and shoes, holding a spindle and thread. At either side women; at the r. one standing, one seated, both half-naked, and a satyr holding thyrsos and tympanon; on the l. a seated dressed woman (O.?) who points at H., a kalathos beside her.

**38.** Paintings (imaginary?) described by Plut. *an seni* 785c, H. in woman's dress being fanned and having his hair dressed by women; and *idem Ant.* 90, 4. O. taking H.'s lionskin and club (likened to Antony and Cleopatra).

**39.** (= H. **1741\*** with bibl.) Mosaic. Madrid, Arch. Mus. 2/1943. From Liria. - Lippold 13 pl. 1. - 3rd cent. A.D. - In a central panel surrounded by the Twelve Labours. O. is seated at the r., naked but wearing lionskin, holding club and a stick with wool attached (?), a bowl beside her. Before her stands H. in woman's dress with spindle and distaff.

**40.\*** Sarcophagus fr., marble. Vatican 18919. From the Catacomba di Pretestato. - Helbig, no. 140; Helbig<sup>4</sup> IV p. 438; Schauenburg 61; Caprino fig. 851; *SarkRel* IV 1 no. 41 pls. 40-42. - 3rd cent. A.D. - In a thiasos with Dionysos, satyrs, Pan and a silen on a mule playing a kithara, O. appears naked except for the lionskin and a *strophion* with, perhaps, a drunken H. on the ground. Eroses play with H.'s quiver but the whole context is obscure. Cf. the fr., Providence, Rhode Island School of Design 1902.004 with head of O. and a woman (Ridgway, B. S., *Cat.* no. 40).

**41.\*** Clay relief plaque. Fr. in Tübingen, Univ. and Rome, Mus. Naz. Rom. 39600. - *NotSc* 1908, 326 fig. 3; *BollArte* 7, 1913, 128-130 fig. 1; *AA* 1927, 38-39. - 1st cent. B.C./A.D. - O. frontal, naked to waist, holding club in l. hand. From l. and r. approach Eroses holding (H.'s) large cup and dragging his lionskin to her. His bow and quiver hang.



Omphale 41

42.\* Ivory relief. Once Aquinum Mus. From Aquinum. - *AA* 1925, 289; Szilágyi, J., *Aquinum* (1956) pl. 34, 2. - 1st cent. B.C./A.D. - O. at the centre, frontal, naked, wearing the lionskin and holding the club upright in her l. hand, a bow on the ground in her r. To her r. a woman looking at her. To her l. Herakles in woman's dress and cap, looking at her, holding a small basket in his l. hand.

III. Omphale alone, wearing the lionskin

A. Heads and busts

Since Artemis or Artemis-Bendis may wear a lionskin, and there might be other candidates (Atalante, maenads), heads alone, even with clearly feminine hair, cannot be safely identified unless the context offers strong circumstantial grounds. Tarentine antefixes (as → Artemis 927) are accordingly ignored here; they closely match the head types for whole Artemis figures. It is also not always possible to distinguish feminine physiognomy from that appropriate to a young H. (→ H. 99-104). Busts which show the breasts bared may be more securely identified. I list, therefore, a selection which includes probable and uncertain examples.

43.\* Intaglio. Unknown whereabouts; paste in Würzburg, Wagner Mus. - *GlaspastenWurz* I no. 417 pl. 75. - 1st cent. B.C. - Head of O. in profile wearing lionskin. This is taken as typical of many with this motif, but here the features are unmistakably feminine. The head may face either way. Most of those in Raspe, *o.c.* 15, nos. 6037-6090 may be ancient. Variants show also either the bare shoulder (near or far; cf. Wälfers, *BMGems* no. 1096 pl. 24) or a club in the field (Raspe, *o.c.* no. 6066). Given the popularity of the whole O. figure on gems the identity of these heads is almost certain, although on the whole figure the lion head is seldom worn.

44.\* Intaglio, cornelian. Xanten, Regionalmus. XA 1104, L 95. From Xanten. - Platz-Horster, G., *Die antiken Gemmen aus Xanten* (1981) no. 219 pl. 44. - 1st cent. A.D. - Frontal head wearing a lionskin. Uncertain.

tain; cf. the even more doubtful AGOe I no. 275 pl. 47, and Raspe, *o.c.* 15, nos. 6032-6036.

45.\* Intaglio, cornelian. Switzerland, Private (once A. J. Evans Coll.). From Salona. - Middleton, S. H., *Engraved Gems from Dalmatia* (1991) no. 147. - 1st cent. B.C. - Three-quarter facing bust with breasts bared. Cf. Florence 14875 (*GlaspastenWurz* I no. 416 pl. 75); Raspe, *Tassite* nos. 6029-6031; Furtwängler, *AG* pl. 26, 34, for a bust holding club. A red jasper with a profile half figure including an arm and the club upright before her is possibly not ancient. *Southesk* I.E. 7 pl. 5.

46.\* Clay relief heads applied to a stamnos. Manisa, Mus. P. 59.412:1802. From Sardis. - Hanfmann, G. M. A., *Sardis* (1983) 133 fig. 185. - Hellenistic. - Facing head wearing lionskin on the vase shoulder.

47.\* Black clay amphora. Warsaw, Mus. Nat. 142274. - *ClVA* Poland I pl. 52, 7. - Hellenistic. - Facing heads with lionskin at each handle base.

48. Clay guttus. Calene. San Simeone, State Hist. Mon. 529-9-682. - 3rd/2nd cent. B.C. - Facing head wearing lionskin. Cf. Pagenstecher, *Calen* 112 no. 260.

49. Clay bust. St. Petersburg, Hermitage. - *CRPetersb* 1871 pl. 5, 7; Winter, *Typen* 2, 38, 5. - 1st cent. B.C./A.D. - Lionskin on head, club in l. hand.

50.\* Clay tondo relief. Naples, Mus. Naz. 20409. From Pompeii. - v. Rohden, H., *Terr. aus Pompeii* (1880) 43 pl. 30, 1 (Levi, A., *Cat.* no. 846). - 1st cent. A.D. - Facing bust with lionskin on head, breasts bare.

51.\* Clay relief. Munich, Glypt. 186. From Porphigiano. - Furtwängler, A., *Beschreibung der Glyptothek* (1910) no. 63; *ArchDelt* 13, 1920/21, 94 fig. 35. - 1st cent. B.C./A.D. - Profile head wearing lionskin. One of a set of reliefs with heads of deities.

52.\* (= Artemis 936 with bibl.) Fibula, gold. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. 302.19.453. From Macedonia. - 4th cent. B.C. - Facing head wearing lionskin on box end to fibula bow. Uncertain. Similar examples in New York: Becatti, G., *Oreficerie antiche* (1955) pl. 105, 396.

53.\* Appliqué relief, bronze. Bad Dt.-Altenburg, Mus. Carnuntum 12019. From Carnuntum(?). - Fleischer, R., *Die röm. Bronzen aus Österreich* (1967) 130 no. 172 pl. 92. - Roman. - Facing head with lionskin. Cf. Carapanos, C., *Dodone* (1878) pl. 17, 8.

54. Chariot attachment, bronze. Unknown whereabouts. - *Jdl* 48, 1933, 113 no. 56. - Roman. - «Bust with lionskin.»

55.\* EL hekte, Phocaea, 387-326 B.C. - *BMC* Ionia 211, 52-55 pl. 5, 8; Bodenstedt, F., *Die Elektronmünzen von Phokäa und Mytilene* (1981) 96, 175-176 no. 107 pl. 10, 49; Alföldi, *Kontorniat-Medaillons* II pl. 246, 6; SNG Copenhagen 1029; SNG Cambridge 4564-4566. - Obv.: Head wearing lionskin to l., club obliquely beyond; sometimes below a bow.

56.\* AE contorniates, A.D. 350-425. - Alföldi, *Kontorniat-Medaillons* I 19 nos. 63-66 pl. 23, 3-11; II 86-87. - Obv.: Bust of Olympos (Alexander's mother) as O., wearing lionskin over head to l. holding small club vertically, handle up. Rev.: wrestlers; Athena and H.; Roma; or H. and centaur.

57.\* (= H. 1732\* with bibl.) Sarcophagus, Asiatic. Antalya Mus. A 928 (1004). From Perge. - A.D. 150-200. - Intercolumniated, with Labours of H. In centre niche at one end a woman naked to the waist, holding quiver and bow. Wiegartz, *KISäulensark* 78 sees a possible bow at the l. shoulder of a woman similarly placed on another sarcophagus (→ H. 1730\*) and publishes the fr. of another, feet only preserved (pl. 32b, 2 fr. 1, Aydın Mus.).

B. Standing figure

58. Relief token, lead. Athens, Nat. Mus. From Taranto. - *ArchEph* 1899 pl. 4. - 4th cent. B.C. (?) - Figure in long dress wearing lionskin.

59.\* Gold ring. London, BM, WA Antiquities. - Dalton, O. M., *The Oxus Treasure* (1904) pl. 16, 102; Boardman, *GGFR* 225 fig. 228. - Late 4th cent. B.C. - O. stands naked with the lionskin over her l. arm, holding the club on the ground in her r.

60.\* Intaglio, sardonyx. Naples, Mus. Naz. 273 (26111). - Horster 56 pl. 10, 4. - 1st cent. B.C. - Frontal three-quarter naked figure holding lionskin in one hand, club on the ground in the other. The cornelian, once Southesk and Harari (Furtwängler, *AG* pl. 50, 25; Boardman, J./Scarabrick, D., *Ralph Harari Coll.* [1977] no. 73) is similar but she wears the lionskin over her head and is walking.

61.\* Cameo, brown glass. Munich, Münzslg. A 2926. - *AGD* I 3 pl. 331. - 1st cent. A.D. - O. frontal, naked, wearing the lionskin which she holds out with her r. hand, her l. hand on the club (rather than a colonette?).

62. Marble herm. Thessaloniki, Arch. Mus. 2487. - Roman. - Hip herm with naked body but for lionskin, worn on head and the r. arm wrapped in it (cf. the gems 71-78).

63. Marble statue. Once Paris, Private. - Curtius, L., *Antike* I, 1925, 52 fig. 13; Lippold, *GrPl* 387; Hafner, G., *JBRGZM* 5, 1958, 150-151 with bibl.; Horster. - 2nd cent. A.D., but also suspected as modern (answered by Horster). - Type of Aphrodite of Cyrene (→ Aphrodite 455\*) with lionskin at shoulder; headless. Compare Julia Dorma as O., Kaschnitz, *ScultMus-Vat* no. 727 pl. 113.

64.\* Marble statue. Rome, Mus. Cap. - Pietrangeli, C., *Mus. Cap.: I monumenti dei culti orientali* (1951) 45 no. 45; *CrArt* 1942, Not. iii fig. 5; Schauenburg, K., *Gymnasium* 70 (1963) 132 n. 136 pl. 12, 2. - 1st/2nd cent. A.D. - Naked dancing figure, head turned back and r. hand lowered holding a missing staff (? a club), wearing lionskin flying behind her.

65.\* Marble statue. St. Petersburg, Hermitage A 394. - Waldhauer, *Skulpt* III no. 295 fig. 44. - 1st/2nd cent. A.D. - Lower part of dressed figure of a woman wearing a lionskin at her back. Uncertain.

66.\* Marble head from statue. Izmir, Mus. 2651. - *IstanbForsch* 17 (1950) 104-105 pl. 40c. d. - Archaising hair; lionskin on head. Other less certain marble heads: Louvre 378 (Reinach, S., *Recueil de têtes antiques* [1903] 154 pl. 154).

67.\* Clay statuette fr. Paphos Mus. 3942. From Nea Paphos, Villa of Dionysos. - *BCH* 95, 1971, 416 fig. 127; *AJA* 76, 1972, 305 pl. 66, 36. - Roman. - Upper part of O. wearing lionskin on head and sleeved jacket of oriental type (?) swinging the club in her l. hand behind her head.

INCORRECT OR UNCERTAIN

68. Stone head, Cypriot. Athens, Nat. Mus. 1738. From Lycia. - Taken as O. by Kastriotis, P., *ArchEph* 1899, 51-56 pl. 4. - Young H., as → H. (Cypr) 9\*, 10\*.

69. Stone heads. Aphrodisias, portico of Aphrodite. - *MonAnt* 38, 1939, pls. 1, 15 (no. 24); 25 (no. 83); 28 (no. 99). - 1st cent. A.D. - Frontal heads in lionskin with a variety of other heads, with swags, including a youth in lionskin. Only the site suggests O.

70. Clay statuette. Budapest, Mus. Beaux-Arts T 324. From Tarentum. - Oroszlan, Z., *Kat.* (1930) F 34. - 4th cent. B.C. - Upper part of grotesquely featured naked woman wearing lionskin. A caricature?

C. Pensive standing/walking figure

(Most popular on intaglios of the 2nd cent. B.C. - 1st cent. A.D. She is naked, in three-quarter profile, head inclined down, wearing the lionskin and holding the club on her farther shoulder, usually with both hands, her near arm being wrapped in the skin. The lion head hangs at her back but is sometimes worn. Horster rightly dissociates the type from the statue 63, but it probably derives from a Hellenistic or even 4th cent. statue, the lion paws being given freer movement by some engravers. The pose with lowered head resembles that adopted by engravers for → Methe.)

71.\* Scaraboid, green/black serpentine. London, BM Walters no. 572. - Boardman, *GGFR* 209-210 pl. 635. - Late 4th cent. B.C. - From its shape this is unlikely to be later.

72.\* Gold ring. Switzerland, Private. - Bielefeld, E., *WissZGreifswald* 4, 1954/55, 92, fig. 2; Boardman, *GGFR* pl. 766; Scheffold 200 fig. 247. - Late 4th cent. B.C. (?)

73.\* Intaglio, amethyst. Chatsworth, Devonshire Coll. - Vollenweider, *Steinschneidekunst* pl. 32, 3-5; *GlaspastenWurz* I no. 411 pl. 74. - 1st cent. B.C. -

*Ibid.*, for references to some of the many other examples. Raspe, *o.c.* 15, nos. 6097–6126 (about a quarter face I., not r. in impression). The intaglios include Italic, Hellenistic and early Imperial. The Etruscan ringstone, Oxford 1892.1570 (Richter, *EngelGemsRom* pl. 284) is taken by W. Martini (*Ringssteinglyptik* 156, 308) for modern.

**74.\*** Intaglio, nicolo. Leiden, Rijksmuseum, Royal Coin Cab. 755. – Maaskant-Kleibrink, *CatGemsTheHague* no. 225 pl. 46. – 1st cent. B.C. – As **73**, with a small figure of Eros behind her, of a youth before her. The latter is taken *ibid.* as a H. with hands in the club-carrying position.

**75.\*** Cameo, glass. Vienna, Kunsthinst. Mus. XI B 197. – *AGOe* II no. 1027 pl. 69. – 1st cent. B.C./A.D. – As **73**, more active. Cf. Walters, *BMGems* no. 3913 pl. 37.

**76.\*** Intaglio, amethyst. Once Marlborough Coll. (Story-Maskelyne no. 314). – *GlaspastenWurz* I no. 414 pl. 74. – 1st cent. B.C. – As **73** but wearing the lion-skin head and her head raised: 'Umbildung der sinnlichen Liebenden zur stolzen Herrscherin' (Zwierlein).

**77.\*** Intaglio, red jasper. Copenhagen, Nat. Mus. 4941. – 1st cent. A.D. – As **73**, to hips only. Cf. Berlin FG 2328 (*GlaspastenWurz* I no. 415 pl. 74).

**78.\*** AE coin, Maconia, autonomous, A.D. 150–250. – *BMC* Lydia 129–130, 17–23 pl. 14, 2; Voegl, *Heldenepl.* 201; SNG v. Aulock 3012; SNG Copenhagen 221–225. – Rev.: as **73**. Obv.: Head of bearded H. – Similar from the Sardinia mint, *BMC* Lydia 247, 79–80 pl. 25, 11; Voegl pl. 20e. f; SNG Paris BN 1103A; SNG Copenhagen 509.

#### D. Sleeping, with Eros

**79.\*** Clay lamp relief. Brugg, Vindonissa Mus. 13297. From Vindonissa. – Loeschcke, S., *Lampen aus Vindonissa* (1919) pl. 7, 396; Niebling, G., 'Die schlafende Omphale', *FuF* 30, 1956, 57–60; Leibundgut, A., *Die römischen Lampen in der Schweiz* (1977) pl. 25 no. 21, with refs. to replicas. – 1st cent. A.D. – O. is asleep, face down on her arms, wearing a breastband and her legs covered, on the lionskin. Two Eroses beside her; H.'s club and bow. An example from Carthage, *BullSantF* 1913, 371 fig. 2 is inscribed *OMPHALE*, yet the identity is doubted in *Agora* II no. 56 (with pl. 3) and Ariadne preferred, but the club and bow are decisive. For a comparable Ariadne on a panther skin with Eroses, → Ariadne **149\***, cf. **97\***.

**80.\*** Silver bowl, emblemata. Paris, Cab. Méd. From Berthouville. – Babelon, E., *Le Trésor de Berthouville* (1920) pl. 15; Strong, *Silver Plate* pl. 43a. – A.D. 1–50. – O. as on **79**. Three Eroses around, and H.'s club, bow and cup. A fr. cameo with this subject (including the skin and club): Cades IIIA, 261 ('Naples Museum', as if Hermaphroditos).

#### E. Other

**81.\*** Statuette, bronze. Paris, Cab. Méd. 597. – Babelon/Blanchet, *BiblNatBronzes* 249 no. 597 fig. –

Hellenistic? – O., naked but for the lionskin, sits on the ground with her legs open, in the pose of → Baubo. The club is raised in her r. hand as if to strike the small herm (of H.?) which she holds upright on or beside her l. foot.

#### INCORRECT

**82.** Amphora, Attic bf. Malibu, Getty Mus. 77.AE.45. – Brommer, *Herakles* II 127 pl. 48; *GettyVases* 2, 1985, 210–212 fig. 34. – Mid 6th cent. B.C. – Woman seated wearing lionskin and holding bow, before her a kithara-player and another seated woman. Brommer's identification was supported by Scheffold (199) and H. Metzger (*REG* 102, 1989, 77. 118) but rejected by several other scholars who see Archaic Artemis here (as → Artemis **1162**, **1327**): Boardman, J., *CIRev* 1986, 338; Tiverios, M., in *Ametos* (Festschr. M. Andronikos, 1986) 873–880; Shapiro, H. A., *AA* 1987, 623–628; Bérard, C., *AION* 9, 1987, 159–165; Vollkommer 2, 28–34.

#### COMMENTARY

Without inscriptions, the only sure identifications depend on the exchange of role between O. and H., and especially the exchange of dress, and there are no candidates before the 5th cent.

Where there is no exchange of clothes or roles, as on the 5th/4th cent. vases **1–5**, it is difficult to explain the context of the scenes in terms of any significant episodes in O. and H.'s story, rather than H. and any other woman. Closest is **2** where the O. on *B* is convincing. Nevertheless, Schauenburg has made a spirited case for admitting some of the early scenes, although associating any with known play titles seems impossible. It should be noted, however, that an H. and O. has been suggested as the theatrical subject of the Pronomos vase (→ Dionysos **835\***; see Simon, E., *AA* 1971, 199–206; Simon/Hirmer, *Vasen* pl. 228). Doubts also surround the Roman scenes **8–13**, except for the assured **10**, where the *manipatio* gesture has been detected, as also on **9**.

Expressions of the exchange are confined to O. alone from the 4th cent. on, or O. with H., from the 1st cent. on. Earliest is the head on the Phocaeian coin **55**, and whole figures in lead relief **58**, and on a scaraboid and gold rings (**71**, **72**, **59**). The naked figures on these intaglios are prototypes for the naked, pensive figures which must have been created in the Hellenistic period, and perhaps the 3rd cent., but are most popular in the 1st cent. B.C./A.D. (**71–78**). Many other heads and busts listed leave an element of doubt unless nudity and H.'s weapons are prominent; latest are the 4th cent. A.D. contorniates **56** where Alexander's mother Olympias impersonates O. The popularity of the naked figure on ringstones might suggest that the motif of feminine domination was appealing to women-wearers, but this is a figure that is modest in pose yet erotic in execution and the message is ambiguous. The sleeping O. with Eros (**79**, **80**) copies Ariadne, and the erotic **81** is a singleton, but re-

and Bildkunst selten gestalthaft auf. Das liegt an seiner unbegrenzten Wandlungsfähigkeit. Der erste Auftritt eines personalisierten O. in der europäischen Literatur findet sich Hom. *Il.* 2, 6–22. O. wird von → Zeus zu → Agamemnon gesandt und erscheint dem Schlafenden als → Nestor. Homer gibt dem O. dabei das bis heute umstrittene Beiwort *oizos*, das «lockig» und «trügerisch» bedeuten kann. Obwohl sich Kenner 450 für die erste Übersetzung entscheidet, da sie die Personifikation intensiviert, ist die zweite vorzuziehen (so auch R. Hampe in seiner Übersetzung). Zeus möchte ja Agamemnon täuschen. Dazu kommt, daß im Volksglauben, in der Poesie wie in der reichen Traumwissenschaft der Antike die Träume immer wieder mit Begriffspaaren wie wahr/unwahr oder ephemer/prophetisch definiert werden (s. zu **3**). So benutzen in Hom. *Od.* 19, 560–569 die wahren Träume das aus Horn gebildete Tor an ihrem Haus, die unwahren das aus Elfenbein (ebenso Verg. *Aen.* 6, 893–896). Der Traumspezialist Artemidoros (2. Hälfte 2. Jh. n. Chr.) beginnt sein Werk *Oneirokritika* wie folgt (1, 1): «Die Unterscheidung zwischen dem Traum (*éviaziwov*) und dem Traumgesicht (*ôvekos*) ist von grundlegender Wichtigkeit. ... Das Traumgesicht unterscheidet sich vom Traum dadurch, daß jenes die Zukunft, dieser Zustände der Gegenwart enthüllt» (Übers. Brackertz).

In der Homerforschung wurde durch Hundt eine Einteilung in Außen- und Innenräume vorgenommen, wobei der von Zeus zu Agamemnon gesandte O. einen typischen Außenraum darstellt. Der Traum der → Penelope vom Adler und den Gänsen (Hom. *Od.* 19, 535–551) ist dagegen ein Innenraum, in dem O. keinen Platz hat. Allgemein herrschen im Epos Außenräume vor, da O. als Götterbote die Verbindung zwischen Göttern und Menschen herstellt. Das gilt selbst noch für das vergilische Epos (vgl. Perutelli). Ov. *met.* 11, 633–645 bringt eine sehr differenzierte Einteilung der Träume – bei ihm Kinder des Somnus – nach ihren Erscheinungsformen. Da *somnium* ein Neutrum ist, entspricht dem homerischen O. der Traumgott Morpheus, der sich in verschiedene Gestalten (*μορφαί*) verwandeln kann. Er ist geflügelt, legt aber bei den Schlafenden ankommen die Schwingen ab, um dem vor-gesehenen Traumbild zu gleichen. Schwarze Flügel haben die Träume Eur. *Hekabe* 70–71; sie sind dort nicht Kinder der Nyx sondern der Chthon (ebenso Eur. *Iph. Taur.* 1262). Flügel an Schultern und/oder Schläfen gehören auch zu Hypnos/Somnus, dem O.-Bilder sicher sehr ähnlich waren (ebenso Bisi).

Auf die große Bedeutung des Traumes in der Philosophie (etwa bei Pythagoras und Platon) wird hier nicht eingegangen, wohl aber auf seine Verwendung in der Heilkunst, da sich die literarisch überlieferten O.-Darstellungen (**1–3**) auf dieses Gebiet beziehen. Das Schlafen im heiligen Bezirk von Heilgöttern oder Heroen (*ἐγχοίματος, incubatio*) geschah, um im Traum von dem Inhaber des Temenos – oft vom Gott → Asklepios selbst – Anweisungen zur Genesung zu erhalten (vgl. Weinreich; Hopfner 2235–2236; Zintzen 930).

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Bisi, A., *EAA V* (1963) 692–693 s. v. «Oneiros»; Brackertz, K., *Artemidor von Daldis. Das Traumbuch* (1979) Nachwort 349–391 und Bibl. 452–454; Del Corneo, D.,

fects other erotic elements in the story, expressed in the groups.

H. seems to retain some measure of dignity in the heads and busts **14–20**, in the free-standing and some relief groups (**21–24**, **37**, **39**, **42**), and in the centaurchariots **36**. But most of the scenes with both figures stress O.'s dominance and H.'s weakness. Campanian paintings are the prime source. H.'s drunkenness which O. clearly scorns is expressed in **27–32**, **35**, cf. **40**. The paintings **27–29** seem created from combination of groups and figures, probably of Hellenistic origin. H.'s erotic attack on **33** seems drunken, more compliant on **34–35**. He submits to being groomed on **9**; **38**. The Dionysiac element or presence appears in several scenes **32–33–35–40**. Eros or Eroses appear in several scenes but their special role is to steal H.'s equipment for O. On **41** the eros and O. alone appear. The stealing is seen on **27–29**; the subject has been appropriately added to the theme rather than borrowed from it (see also → Eros/Amor **616–621**, → H. **3419–3428** and Woodford, S., *JHS* 109, 1989, 203).

With the exchange H. commonly wears a very light dress (the *kekotos*), sometimes with a cap or head-cloth, otherwise wreathed, and is shown with spindle and distaff, sometimes with a basket (**42**; at his feet on **23**).

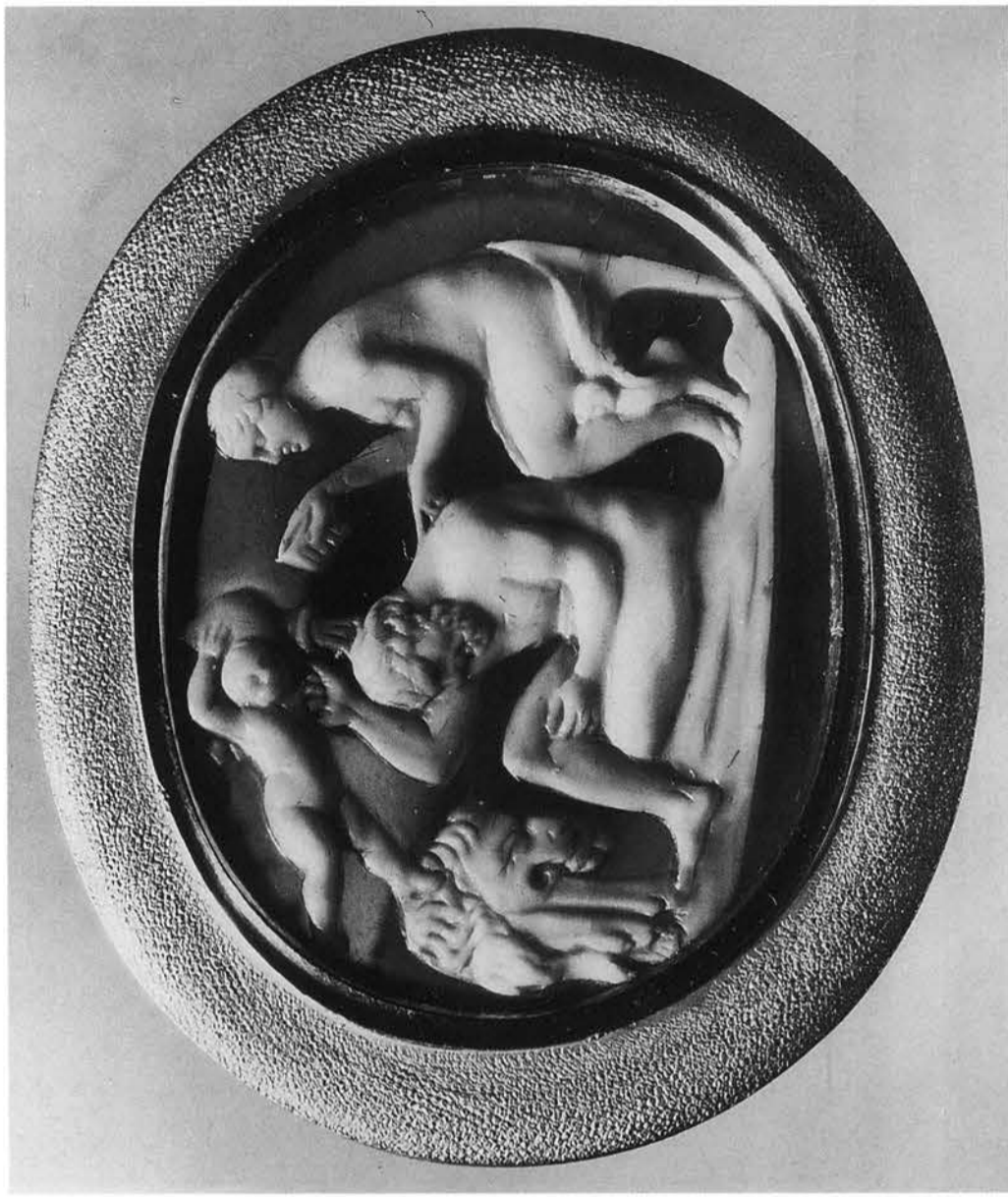
Although the subject is Anatolian only the Phocaeian coin **55** seems prompted by propinquity. Roman items from Anatolia need not have had local relevance since the subject was very common by that period: coins of Lampsacus, Maconia (**22**, **78**), the Pergamene and Sardis vases (**35**, **46**), the Izmir head **66**, the Aphrodisias heads **69**. There are probably no Etruscan scenes; cf. **7** and under **73**. Early Imperial Roman Italy seems the main focus of interest for the exchange scenes. O. as a paradigm for dominant women appears in literature for Aspasia and Cleopatra, neither probably mirrored in art though a case has been made for the latter. The choice of an O. for Olympias (**56**) was probably complimentary though she was a passionate woman in a family of would-be H.'s, and the use of O.'s body with portrait heads of noblewomen (under **63**) must be basically complimentary.

JOHN BOARDMAN

OMRIKOS → Eunoos

#### ONEIROI, ONEIROI

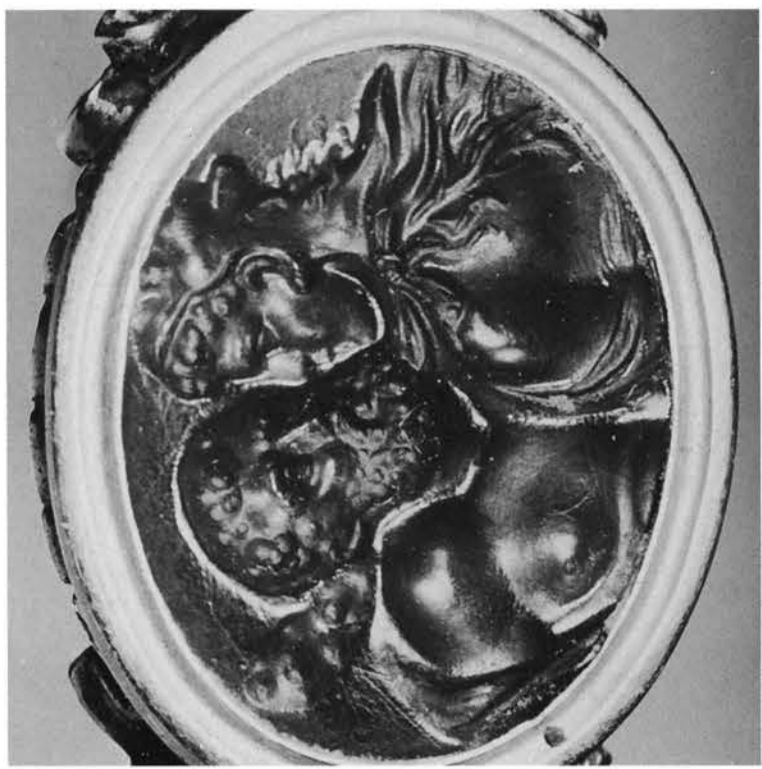
(*ὄνειρος, Oneiros*, somnium, somnia) Personifikation/en des Traumes/der Träume. Obwohl O. und seine Brüder → Nyx zur Mutter haben (Hes. *Itheog.* 211) und → Hypnos sowie → Thanatos als Geschwister, obwohl sie ein zweitüriges Haus bewohnen (Hom. *Od.* 19, 560–569) und in der Nähe des Totenreiches angesiedelt sind (Hom. *Od.* 24, 12–13), tritt O. in Dichtung



Omphale 9



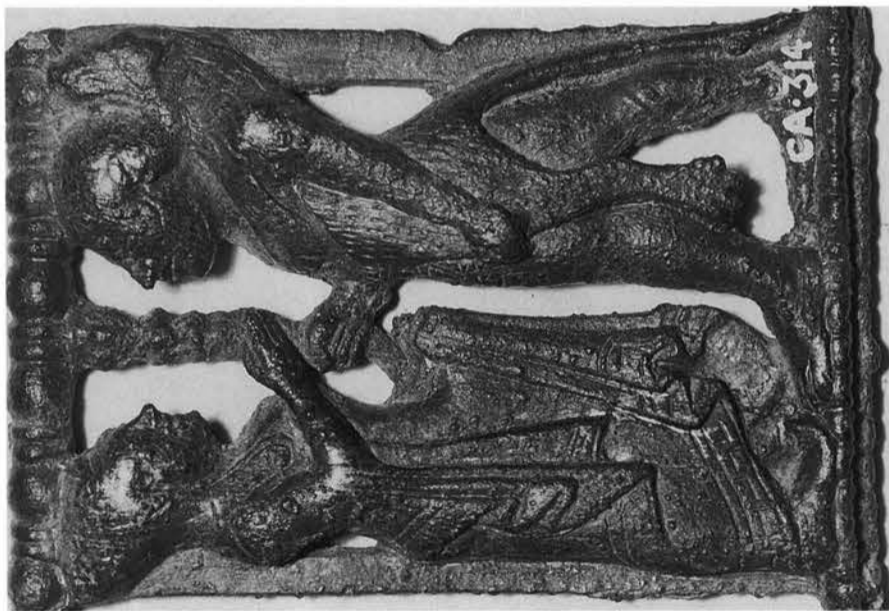
Omphale 14



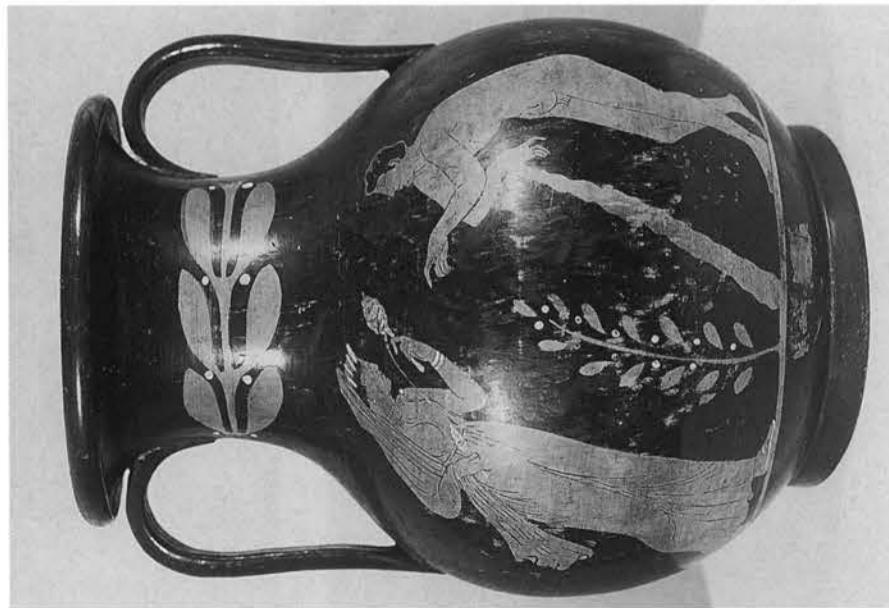
Omphale 16



Omphale 2



Omphale 7



Omphale 4



Omphale 17



Omphale 18



Omphale 20



Omphale 22



Omphale 23



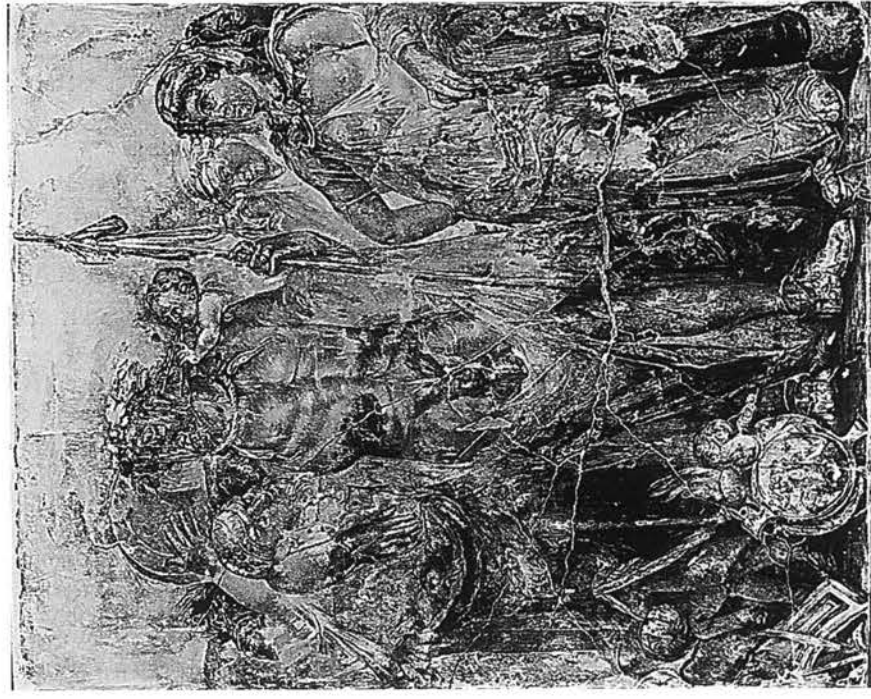
Omphale 25



Omphale 24



Omphale 28



Omphale 29



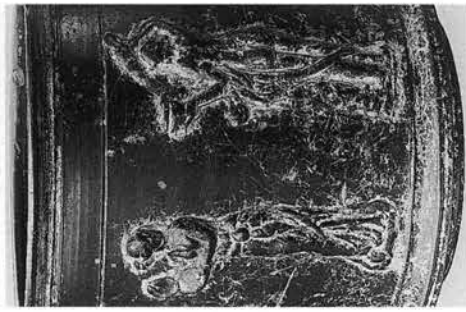
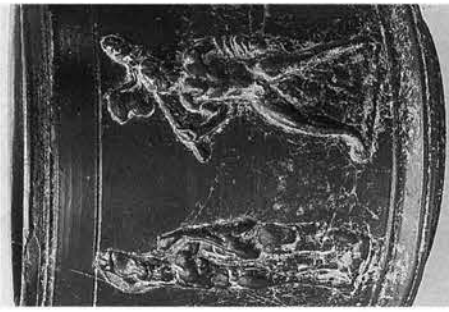
Omphale 31



Omphale 33



Omphale 34



Omphale 35

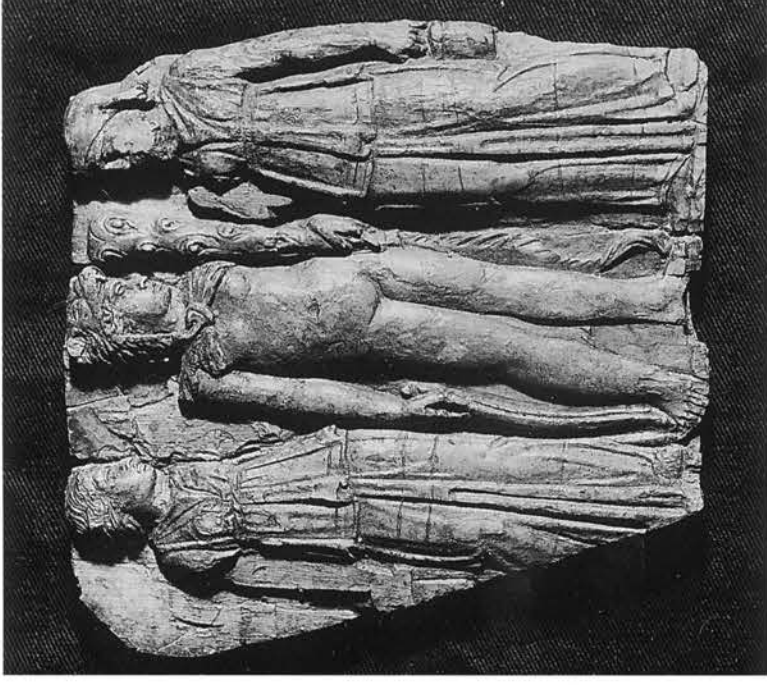




Omphale 36



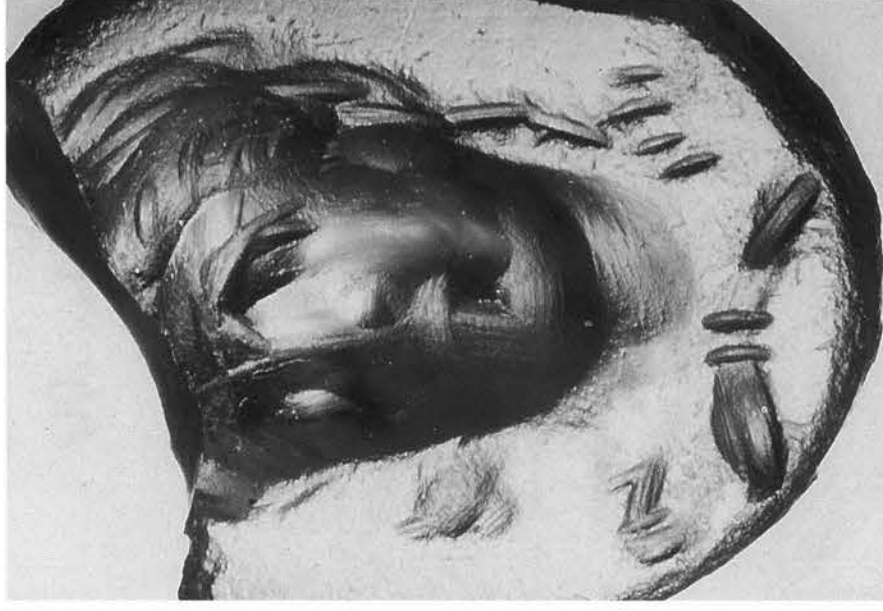
Omphale 40



Omphale 42



Omphale 43



Omphale 44



Omphale 51



Omphale 50



55

56

Omphale 55 (cast) - 56



Omphale 53



Omphale 45



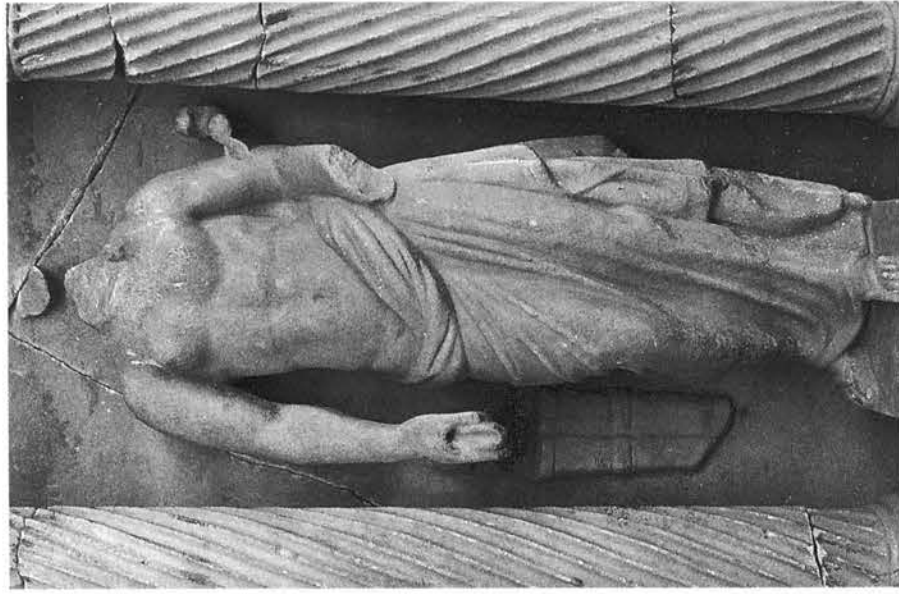
Omphale 46



Omphale 49



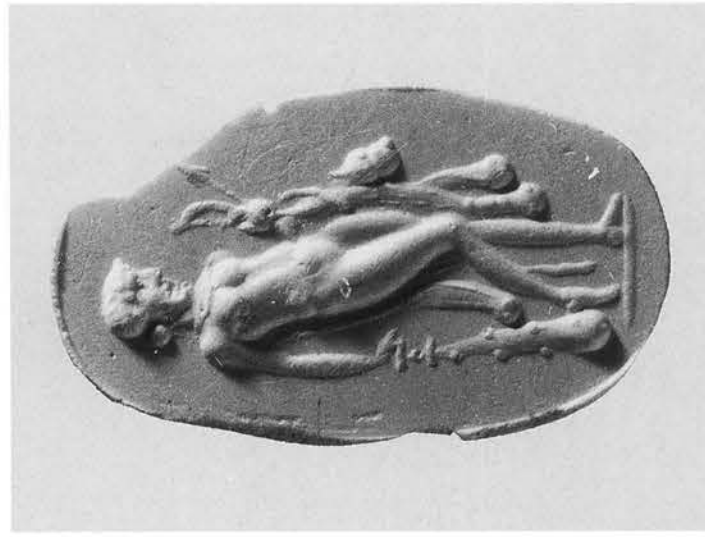
Omphale 47



Omphale 57



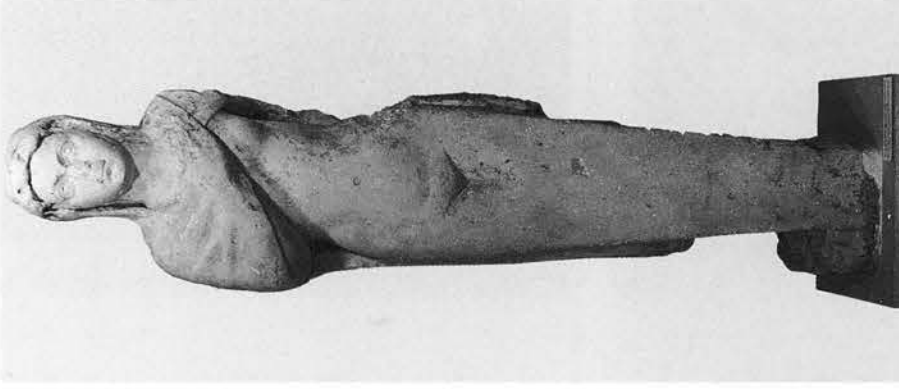
Omphale 59 (impression)



Omphale 60 (impression)



Omphale 61



Omphale 62



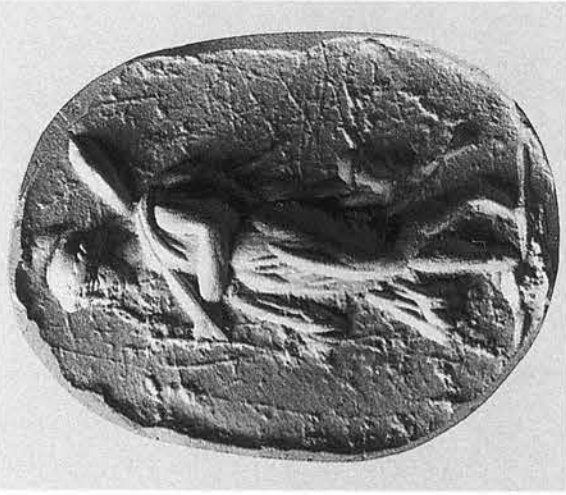
Omphale 64



Omphale 66



Omphale 67



Omphale 71 (impression)



Omphale 72



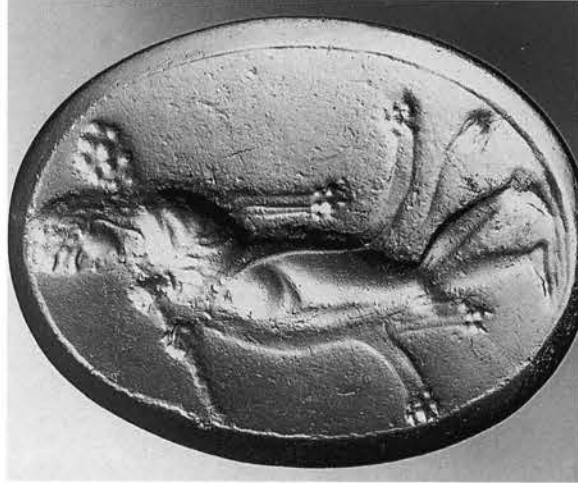
Omphale 73



Omphale 74



Omphale 75 (impression)



Omphale 76 (impression)



Omphale 77 (impression)



Omphale 78 (cast)



Omphale 79



Omphale 80



Omphale 81