HERCULES THE MOVIE STAR[30]

The *peplum* and after (1957–85)

Alongside his literary and theatrical incarnations, since the late 1950s Hercules has appeared as a hero of both the large and the small screen. The trend was set by the 1957 *Hercules*, originally produced in Italy as *Le fatiche di Ercole*, directed by Pietro Francisci, starring Steve Reeves and Sylvia Koscina. The film was marketed in the United States by Joseph E. Levine, who mounted a massive $1-million publicity campaign, the posters and billboards promising a 'cast of thousands' in 'the mighty saga of the world's mightiest man'. Interestingly, despite the wealth of stories provided by the ancient tradition, the film casts Hercules as the hero of the quest for the golden fleece. As we have seen (pp. 55 and 134–5), Hercules does have a role in the ancient Argonautika story, and indeed the well-known 1963 film *Jason and the Argonauts*, directed by Don Chaffey with animation by Ray Harryhausen, very properly features Nigel Green as an older Hercules. In *Hercules*, however, Jason's role is subordinated, and it is Hercules who plays the romantic lead, falling in love with the daughter of Pelias, king of 'Jolco'. There is a nod to the ancient tradition in the princess' naming as Iole, but the love story is very much a product of its time: at the outset of the film Hercules rescues the scantily clad Iole from a runaway chariot, the romantic nature of their relationship is confirmed by a passionate kiss within the first half hour, and the film concludes with the inevitable happy ending of their marriage.

If the romance was designed to appeal to the female audience, there is also plenty of action for the boys. Hercules throws a discus beyond the horizon, kills both the Nemean lion and the Cretan bull with his bare hands, and towards the end wraps chains around two pillars and pulls the entire palace down. This Samsonesque moment is typical of the tendency of 1950s and 60s films to conflate Hercules with other strongman figures, especially the Italian hero Maciste, who is often 'translated' into Hercules to appeal to a more international audience. Physical strength and monster-slaying prowess had of course been a feature of Hercules' character from his earliest appearances in ancient Greece, but the figure of the strongman had a particular appeal to the post-war Italian rural audience, while also playing to a view of bodybuilding as self-betterment, an important element of the American dream. The 'father of modern bodybuilding', Eugen Sandow, was photographed in 1897 posing as the Farnese Herakles, and Steve Reeves, star of both *Hercules* and its sequel *Hercules Unchained*, was the first of a succession of actors to play the part who began their careers as bodybuilders. At 6'1" Reeves was not the tallest of Herculeses, but he had already won the title 'Mr Pacific Coast' in Oregon at the age of twenty (1946), and he went on to become 'Mr Western America' and 'Mr America' (1947), 'Mr World' (1948), and ultimately 'Mr Universe' (1950).[31]

Hercules was not meant to be anything more than entertainment, but the film does make some attempt to deal with two important issues which we have already seen raised in ancient literature, and which become regular concerns of later Hercules movies The first is the idea of the flawed hero, which is flagged up in the opening titles: 'Even the greatest strength carries within it a measure of mortal weakness'. Hercules' impetuosity is blamed for the death of Iole's unpleasant brother Iphitus, and Hercules has to spend the rest of the film proving himself worthy. The second is the problem of Hercules' immortality: ancient myth marries the deified hero off to the goddess Hebe, but the conventions of modern storytelling require him to live happily ever after with the film's mortal heroine. *Hercules* solves the dilemma by having the hero renounce his divinity, a tactic which incidentally removes a major barrier to the audience's identification with him. Shortly after Iphitus' death the unhappy Hercules visits 'the Sibyl' in an anachronistically ruined Greek temple:

> HERCULES: I can't stand being superior. Let me experience the real things – love, or hate.
>
> SIBYL: Those are mortal states, Hercules.
>
> HERCULES: If it's my immortality making me unhappy, then I'll do without it!
>
> SIBYL: That's dangerous, Hercules. Don't you know how foolish you'd be to renounce it? To be born a man and see everything die is not to be immortal. Stay as you are, be a god – don't exchange immortality for fear, pain and sorrow.
>
> HERCULES: I want to live like any other mortal man. It is my prayer to have a family. I want children of my own. . To see the children growing up.

The immortality problem is variously handled in later Hercules films, and one might compare its treatment in completely unrelated stories, such as Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings*, in which the elf princess Arwen renounces her immortality for life with the mortal Aragorn.

The box-office success of *Hercules* laid the foundations for a whole genre of 'sword and sandal' films, sometimes referred to as the *peplum*, in reference to the short tunics of both make and female protagonists. Its immediate sequel was *Hercules Unchained* (1959), by the same director and with the same stars (Figure 7.4), again lavishly promoted in the States by Levine – a Hollywood garden party featured an ice statue of Hercules, and seven hundred guests went home with four-pound chocolate figurines of the hero. The film's framing narrative inserts Hercules into a myth with which he has no connection at all in antiquity, the Seven Against Thebes story, in which the brothers Eteocles and Polyneices fight over the kingship of Thebes. The

Reg Parke was longstanding mentor to Arnold Schwarzenegger, who was 'Mr Universe' by the age of twenty (1967) and went on to win the 'Mr Olympia' contest as many as seven times. His very first movie part, long before Conan the Barbarian and the Teminator, was the title role in *Hercules in New York* (1972), directed by Arthur Allan Seidlemann. At this stage Schwarzenegger was billed as 'Arnold Strong' and his voice had to be dubbed because of his heavy Austrian accent. The film's premise is that Hercules, after a lightning-bolt accident on Olympus, finds himself in present-day New York, where his inexperience of the modern world gets him into all kinds of comic problems, while various gods attempt to bring him home.

Even more preposterous is the *Hercules* of 1983, directed by Luigi Cozzi, starring Lou Ferrigno, who had begun body-building at the tender age of thirteen, citing Steve Reeves as one of his role-models, and won the 'Mr America' and Mr Universe' titles in 1973 and 1974. At 6'5" he tops all the 1960s Herculeses, and had made his name in the late 1970s and early 80s as the Incredible Hulk. The plot bears little resemblance to any ancient myth, beginning in outer space and involving Hercules in thwarting the wizard Minos' attempts to take over the world, battling with giant robots and avoiding the seductive temptations of the luscious princess Arianna (Sybil Danning). Amongst other negative distinctions, Ferrigno and Danning won the year's Golden Raspberry Awards for worst new star and worst supporting actress, but the film nonetheless spawned a sequel, *The Adventures of Hercules* (1985), in which Hercules is on the trail of the Seven Mighty Thunderbolts which have been stolen from Zeus.[34]

A hero for the 1990s

The 1990s saw a revival of Hercules' fortunes on screen, beginning with the series *Hercules: the Legendary Journeys*. This consists of five feature-length made-for-TV films, produced in 1994, followed by six seasons of forty-five-minute episodes released between 1995 and 2000, starring Kevin Sorbo, directed by Bill Norton for NBC Universal, and filmed largely in New Zealand. So successful was the series that it spawned two spin-offs, *Xena, Warrior Princess* (1995–2001), in which the Kevin Sorbo Hercules makes regular appearances with his Amazon friends, and *The Young Hercules* (1998–9), in which a teenage version of Hercules is at 'Cheiron's Academy' for heroes. As with the earlier films, the plots of the *Legendary Journeys* combine episodes traditionally associated with Hercules with exploits borrowed from other Greek heroes and elements from other mythologies entirely, including several Norse gods. The fourth film, *Hercules in the Underworld*, for example, includes a wrestling match with the giant Eryx

as well as featuring a splendid animatronic Cerberus in Hades, which Hercules eventually coaxes into submission rather than simply applying brute force, an approach we saw in some ancient representations of the labour, too (p. 165). The fifth film, *Hercules in the Maze of the Minotaur*, on the other hand, begins with the hero in retirement, working his farm with wife and children, before he is called away to fight a monstrous opponent traditionally associated with Theseus.

The feisty Deianeira first appears in the second film, *Hercules and the Lost Kingdom*, played by Renee O'Connor, where she has to compete with the distraction offered by Omphale; from the third film, *Hercules and the Circle of Fire*, onwards Tawny Kitaen's Deianeira has Hercules more firmly domesticated, until the beginning of the TV series, when Hera has destroyed the family. A seductive Iole briefly leads Hercules astray in *The Underworld*, the fifty daughters of Thespios pursue him in 'Eye of the Beholder', early in Season 1, and a second wife, Serena, appears for just two episodes in Season 3 before she too falls victim to Hera's hatred. As this list suggests, the 1990s Hercules is fairly firmly heterosexual, although there are occasional humorous hints of something beyond comradeship with Iolaus, the most explicit being in *Maze of the Minotaur*, when Deianeira interrupts a wrestling bout between the two of them, with torsos bare above their leather trousers, and the small child with her asks, 'Mommy, what's Daddy doing to Uncle Iolaus?'

While the *Legendary Journeys* is very light entertainment, it does an excellent job of 'translating' Hercules for a modern audience. Unlike the 1950s and 60s movies, it makes extensive use of the gods, with Anthony Quinn's Zeus an especially memorable character in the five films. The motif of Hera's hatred – part of the story since Homer – is well deployed, the goddess' presence frequently indicated by the appearance in the sky of just a pair of eyes and a peacock feather, to the accompaniment of a menacing musical theme. In addition to familiar Olympians like Apollo, Hephaestus, Artemis and Aphrodite, more minor deities and personifications also appear from time to time, like Nemesis, Discord, Fortune and Hope. The earlier films' focus on the body-building hero is wittily subverted in the casting of Cory Everson, a former Ms Olympia (1984–9), as Atalanta, a female Spartan blacksmith, in three episodes scattered across Seasons 1, 2 and 4. Kevin Sorbo's Hercules, on the other hand, is far from the muscle-bound heroes of the 1950s and 60s: at 6'3", and formerly a model, Sorbo is not implausible as a monster-slayer, but he is the long-haired, smooth-shaven romantic hero of the 1990s.[35]

The hero's revival received a boost in 1997 with the feature-length Disney animation *Hercules*. Though easy to criticize for its adherence to tried-and-tested formulae, and for its haphazard treatment of mythological

characters, the film has a number of interesting features which provide further indication of Hercules' adaptability to changing social *mores*, and particularly the challenges involved in presenting him to a young audience. The opening voice-over (a cameo role for Charlton Heston) establishes the film's general ethos:

> NARRATOR: Long ago, in the faraway land of ancient Greece, there was a golden age of powerful gods and extraordinary heroes. And the greatest and strongest of all these heroes was the mighty Hercules. But what is the measure of a true hero? Ah, that is what our story is . . .

The focus is clearly on Hercules' internal, moral qualities, rather than on the display of mere monster-slaying prowess – though there must of course be an element of the latter to provide the kind of excitement the 1950–60s films had made synonymous with the hero. One of the film's major departures from tradition concerns Hercules' parentage: rather than being the result of an adulterous relationship between a god and a mortal woman, he is the true child of Zeus and Hera, cruelly snatched away by the villainous Hades, almost (but not quite) drained of his divinity, and brought up on earth by the kindly foster-parents Amphitryon and Alcmene. This not only removes a moral difficulty which might have undermined the film's qualification for a U Certificate (suitable for children of four and over), but also paves the way for a handling of the immortality issues not dissimilar to that of the 1957 *Hercules*. Despite having spent most of the film trying to regain his godhood, in the end Hercules rejects a life on Olympus in favour of human love:

> HERCULES: Father, this is the moment I've always dreamed of. But . . . A life without Meg, even an immortal life, would be . . . empty. I . . . I wish to stay on Earth with her. I finally know where I belong.

The casting of 'Meg' as an experienced older woman is an innovative twist, fitting her for an equally innovative role as Hades' accomplice, although she is ultimately redeemed by her love for Hercules. There is of course no reference to the child-killing story attached to Megara in the ancient sources, and she is assimilated to Deianeira by her first appearance in the clutches of Nessus. Other characters mix elements from Hercules' story or are borrowed from other myths entirely: the winged horse Pegasus properly belongs to the Corinthian hero Bellerophon, while the jovial satyr 'Phil' (voiced by Danny DeVito) takes his name from Philoctetes, traditionally recipient of Hercules' bow from the pyre, and his role as Hercules' teacher confounds him with another hybrid creature, the centaur Cheiron, traditional educator of Greek heroes. The delightfully villainous Hades (voiced by James Woods) and his realm are strongly influenced by popular conceptions of the Christian Devil and Hell, the sharp opposition between Olympus and the Underworld emphasized by contrasting colour schemes: warm oranges, yellow and pink characterize the former, the gods each surrounded by a glow, while the latter and its denizens are all in cold blues, greys and black.

The film is indeed remarkable for its overall 'look', masterminded by the eminent British cartoonist Gerald Scarfe, which makes imaginative use of Greek artistic prototypes to establish a plausible setting. The teenage Hercules' first show of careless strength topples a colonnade in the mode of an authentic Greek stoa, while the architecture of Thebes, the 'Big Olive', is created by a piling up of pillars and pediments Manhattan-style. Particularly original is the recurrent use of vases, both within the plot – the young Hercules nearly destroys a potter's shop – and in stylized comment on the proceedings, as when Hercules' image is displayed on various Attic black-figure amphoras and hydrias ('they slapped his face on every vase'). Most engagingly, a chorus of Muses steps off a vase at the outset of the film and reappears at intervals to provide sympathetic comment on the action, performing the role of a Greek tragic chorus though in the musical style of a Gospel choir. The humour here is matched by some nice moments of self-parody, as in the cameo 'appearance' of the directors John Musker and Ron Clements as stone-masons, or the strong resemblance of Hercules' lionskin to Scar, villain of *The Lion King*, Disney's hit of 1994. The serious business of merchandizing is likewise sent up by the image of crowds flocking into the 'Hercules Store', and by the comic turn by Hades' incompetent sidekicks Pain and Panic proudly exhibiting their 'Air-Herc' sandals and drinking from a Hercules ™ plastic cup.

Whatever liberties the film may have taken with the mythological tradition, it grossed a very respectable $250 million worldwide, a figure not as impressive as *The Lion King*'s $780 million in 1994, but placing it in the twenty top-grossing films of 1997. The song 'Go the distance', sung by Hercules as he grows up, was nominated for Academy and Golden Globe Awards for Best Original Song, and various aspects of the direction and animation won Annie Awards.[36]

CONCLUSION: HERAKLES/HERCULES NOW

Our hero's post-classical development has, then, taken him in an almost bewildering variety of directions. In the Middle Ages and the Renaissance he is the pre-figuration of Christ, the incarnation of Virtue, and generally an allegory for all things morally correct. A favourite subject for painters

and sculptors, especially in the Renaissance but later too, he appears in this ethical guise, but also as monster-slayer *par excellence* and sometimes in his comic persona. At various times he has been a political symbol all over Europe, with particular significance in some Renaissance Italian city-states and both monarchical and revolutionary France. His story has been told and re-told, with tragic or comic emphasis, in poetry and prose, and especially in drama, on stage and screen.

What of Herakles/Hercules in the twenty-first century? Christian and moralizing allegory may no longer be in fashion, but the hero is alive and well in modern media. Jeanette Winterson's 2006 novella *Weight* focuses on the figure Atlas and his relationship to the universe he carries on his shoulders, a metaphor for the human condition, but gives Heracles a significant role. The hero is largely his comic self, a self-confessed braggart who in his youth 'killed everything, shagged what was left, and ate the rest' (Winterson 2006, 31–2). He has an erotically charged relationship with Hera, and experiences only a few qualms about cheating Atlas into resuming his burden once the Hesperides' apples have been collected. He nonetheless meets a properly tragic death in a close telling of the Sophoklean story.

In addition to the recent theatrical appearances of Hercules already noted, two plays produced in the north of England in 2010 further demonstrate our hero's continuing fascination for a modern audience, in both tragic and comic guise. In May, at the University of Leeds, George Rodosthenous and a team from the School of Performance and Cultural Industries presented *Heracles' Wife*, an updated reworking of the *Women of Trachis* which aptly cast the hero as a celebrity footballer, captain of an unspecified 'United'. The first act follows Sophokles in focusing on Deianira, here the independently minded owner of a hair salon, her gossipy girls playing the part of the chorus, their comic turns a foil to the mounting tension of Deianira's anxiety as we await Heracles' return. A radio announcement and conversation in the salon fill in the background that Heracles is to be questioned about the murder of his chauffeur Sam Nessus, and that his affair with Iole Gandenza has caused her father to withdraw his sponsorship from the team. The second act shifts attention to the hero, fresh from sporting triumph in Madrid, at a decadent party centred around a small swimming pool, where he is portrayed with all the callous self-indulgence modern culture associates with such stars. Here it is the teenage Hyllus who delivers the fatal gift from Deianira, in the shape of a bottle of foxglove liqueur, and Heracles dies in magnificent agony in the pool.

Two months later the comic hero returned in the opening season of Chester's Grosvenor Park Open Air Theatre, in Helen Eastman's *Hercules*, commissioned by Chester Performs. A Chorus of Rumours, a press-pack of journalists, follows Hercules and his practical nephew Iolaus as they work

their way through the twelve labours. The monsters are imaginatively portrayed, some by means of puppetry, others commuted into human opponents, like the wrestler stage-named 'The Nemean Lion', whom Hercules strips of his lycra leotard. Particularly memorable is the 'Bore' from the university town of Erymanthia, an elderly Classics don sipping sherry as he recites the dullest bits of Homer, his sleep-inducing ramblings about academic publications finally outdone by Hercules' tedious account of his own column in *Men's Health*. Despite a billing as suitable for children of seven and upwards, the play hints at Hercules' murder of his family from the outset, and it is explicitly discussed when Hercules meets 'Meg' in the Underworld. Like some of his cinematic predecessors, this Hercules is tormented by his hybrid status and tempted to forsake the chance of immortality in exchange for human love. Eventually, however, the conflict is cleverly resolved as Hercules agrees to become a god 'who remembers how it feels to be mortal / and tries to look out for all those who have only a mortal life to live' (final scene).

As for film and related media, 2010–11 has seen the re-release of the *Legendary Journeys* series Seasons 1 and 2 on DVD. Marvel Comics' series *Incredible Hercules* ran from 2008 to 2010, building on a character who had first appeared in 1965, and was a regular in the adventures of *The Mighty Thor* in the 1960s and early 70s, before becoming a founding member of the superhero teams the Champions (1970s), the Avengers (1980s and 90s) and the Mighty Avengers (2000s). Despite being apparently killed off in issue 141 of *Incredible Hercules*, the hero briefly lived on in the 2010 mini-series *Fall of an Avenger*, *Twilight of a God* and *Heroic Age: Prince of Power*, and may yet return to save the world. The Marvel character's conformity to modern superhero norms of extraordinary strength, speed and immortality is not out of keeping with his ancient persona, nor is his weakness for women, although the storylines take him far from his traditional exploits.

A contemporary visual incarnation of the hero with more substantial links to his ancient Greek image is the protagonist of Marian Maguire's *The Labours of Herakles*. First exhibited in Blenheim in 2008, with a tour of regional galleries of New Zealand scheduled to continue well into 2012, this set of twelve lithographs and eight etchings aptly casts the hero as a European colonist. He is depicted engaged in the 'labours' of a historical settler, hunting, clearing and cultivating the land, in hostile encounters with the natives, writing home, and is even a signatory to the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi, as Queen Victoria's representative opposite a Maori chief. The series' success must be due in large part to Maguire's inventive fusion of art-historical models, reflective of the complex relationships of colonialism, seen for example in *Herakles Takes Up Dairy Farming* (Figure 7.5). The figures in the foreground are straight from a late sixth-century BC Attic

Figure 7.5 Marian Maguire, *Herakles Takes Up Dairy Farming*, lithograph 2006/7. Photo: by kind permission of the artist.

black-figure amphora attributed to the Lysippides Painter (Boston 99.538), the bull of the original made into a cow to fit the modern narrative, while the background image of Mount Taranaki references Charles Heaphy's watercolour of 1840, *Mount Egmont from the Southward* (Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington C-025–008).[37]

And finally, at the end of our own 'Herculean task', we return to the name, which can be found today attached to the most unlikely variety of entities. We have already mentioned two modern Greek locations called Irakleia/Iraklion (p. 156), but across the Atlantic can be found the small city of Hercules, California. This was incorporated in 1900, having started life as housing for the workers when the California Powder Works moved out of San Francisco in 1881 and became the Hercules Dynamite Company. The association with strength must also explain the choice of name of Greece's major cement company Iraklis, founded in 1911, whose logo with the stylized head of a lionskin-clad head of Herakles can be seen all over the country (Figure 7.6a). A similar conceit lies behind the name of its long-standing rival group Titan, though the lack of an instantly recognizable iconography for this unspecified god has left the company with an entirely abstract logo.

The use of 'Herakles' and 'Hercules' for Greek and Roman ships noted in Chapter 6 (p. 176) has a number of modern counterparts. The Lockheed Martin Super Hercules C130J transporter plane, still in production, is the most recent version of a family of military aircraft whose design dates back

to the Second World War. The aircraft-carrier *HMS Hercules*, launched in 1945 and finally decommissioned in 1995, was the most recent ship to bear the name, in the tradition of the Hercules class of 74-gun ships of the line, designed for the British Navy by Sir Thomas Slade in the mid-eighteenth century. Less grandly, the Hercules Cycle and Motor Company founded in Birmingham in 1910 continued to produce bicycles until 2003, having apparently chosen the name for its association with durability and robustness.

The ancient hero's ability to see off all opponents presumably informs the naming of several football teams. Founded in 1908, Thessaloniki's first-division Iraklis is the oldest club in Greece, with an image of the Farnese Herakles as its logo (Figure 7.6b) – an idea imitated by its arch-rival in the city 'Aris', named after the god of war Ares, which makes similar use of a classical statue. The Iraklis club name also encompasses a whole host of sports besides football – basketball, track and field, swimming, cycling, ice hockey, water-polo, judo, fencing and table-tennis – being particularly successful in recent years in volleyball and wrestling. Even older is the Netherlands' second-division Heracles Almelo, founded in 1903, while in Spain, Alicante's second-division Hércules Club de Fútbol, founded in 1922, boasts a victory in the 2010–11 season over Barcelona FC.

The rationale behind the use of Hercules for red, white and rosé wines produced by Nemea Wines is presumably the hero's connection with the area via his first labour, though more obscure is any link justifying the Greek brand-name for tinned *gigantes* (broad-beans baked in a tomato sauce). The New York band *Hercules and Love Affair* has achieved both critical and

Figure 7.6 Herakles in modern Greece: logos of (a) the Greek cement company Iraklis, and (b) the Thessaloniki sports club of the same name.

popular success since its debut in 2008, its posters regularly featuring the hero of Greek myth. According to founder-member Andy Butler the name was carefully chosen, within a tradition of using Greek references in house music, inspired by the paradox of the world's strongest man vulnerable in respect of his young male lover Hylas: 'I was attracted by the Hercules story because it was about embracing the femine within the hyper masculine.'[38]

What is it, in the end, which has made Herakles such a long-lived and ubiquitous hero? The question is impossible to answer definitively, but the survey presented in this book suggests that there are two fundamental factors underlying his enduring popularity. First, Herakles is the original flawed superhero, a type that has never ceased to fascinate western audiences: by extraordinary feats of monster-slaying strength he is the reliable defender of civilization, but at the same time his excesses brings destruction on himself and others. These two sides to his character are in constant tension, but the balance between them is ultimately tipped towards the positive by the second factor: his apotheosis. In antiquity, those making sacrifice to Herakles the god would have been constantly aware of his mortal origins, and the stories about his weaknesses must have made him seem more approachable than the average Olympian – he was a model for the common man, who might ultimately hope to follow him into the company of the gods. When the pagan gods 'died' at the end of antiquity this hope could be translated into a Christian context by assimilating Herakles to Christ or Virtue, and even in the twenty-first century, when for many the expectation of an afterlife is faint, Herakles can still represent the triumph of good over evil in the here and now.

7 POST-CLASSICAL VARIATIONS

1 Herakles' post-antique survival is placed in a broader context in Seznec's classic work of 1953.
2 Simon 1955 examines Hercules' place in Christian discourse from the Church Fathers to the twentieth century. Toynbee (1939, 465–76) lists twenty-four correspondances between Hercules and Christ; Pfister 1937 surveys analogies between Hercules' life and the Gospel stories. Tronzo (1986) discusses the Via Latina catacombs (Hesperides scene = fig. 52); all three scenes are illustrated in Grabar 1967, figs 35, 87, 229 and 251.
3 Whitman (1987, 104–21) discusses the place of Fulgentius and Boethius in the development of allegory; for detailed discussion of Boethius' use of mythical *exempla*, see O'Daly 1991, 178–235.
4 See Miller 1984 on Dante's use of Hercules.
5 Dulac 2002 examines Christine de Pizan's treatments of Hercules; Jung (1966, 105–25) surveys 'L'Hercule chrétien' in Renaissance French literature.
6 See Smarr 1977 on Boccaccio.
7 On Salutati, see Witt 1983, especially 213–19 on the *Labours*.
8 Thompson 1971 provides some facsimiles illustrations from the Houghton manuscript in his selective translation of de Bassi. Full details of Ercole I's wedding are provided by Licht 1996.
9 Nees 1991 provides a thorough analysis of the throne and its place in the development of Hercules' image.
10 See Friedländer and Rosenberg 1978 on Lucas Cranach. Utz 1971 examines the evidence for Rossi's Herculean fountain project.
11 Simons 2008 explores the homoerotic potential of the Renaissance Hercules.
12 Mommsen (1953) traces the re-emergence of the Choice story. On Prudentius, see Whitman 1987, 83–91.
13 In addition to Panofsky 1930, see Warner (1985, 88–126) on the influence of Athena's image on representation of the virtues.
14 On Dürer's parody, see Wind 1939.
15 Rosenthal 1993 argues that Rubens' pairing of the *Drunken Hercules* and *The Hero Crowned by Victory* is a variation on the Vice or Virtue theme.
16 Evidence for the snowman is cited by Brown 1991, 95 and n.11; for detailed discussion of the Florentine Hercules, see Ettlinger 1972.
17 The Saint Mark's reliefs are discussed in Brown 1991, 516–17 figs 5–6.
18 Jung (1966, 30–7) reconstructs the performance at the Burgundian court. See Rosenthal 1973 on the origins and meaning of Charles V's Herculean device.
19 Polleross 1998 discusses the phenomenon of identification with Hercules in ruler-portraiture of the Renaissance and later.
20 King 2005 provides a lively account of Rudbeck's search for Atlantis (see 149–51 on Hercules).

21 The triumphal entries of François I and Henri II are discussed in Huon 1955 and Saulnier 1955. Trousseau 1962 provides an overview of Ronsard's use of Hercules; Hallowell 1962 looks specifically at his engagement with the Gallic Hercules. Jung 1966 situates sixteenth-century French literary treatments of Hercules in the context of earlier literature and the hero's contemporary political significance.
22 Vivanti 1967 reviews Henri IV's Herculean imagery; Bardon 1974 looks more broadly at political use of classical mythology under Henri IV and Louis XIII.
23 On the French revolutionary Hercules, see Hunt 1983; Aghulon 1981 outlines the development of the Marianne figure; see also de Baecque 1997, 310–14.
24 Details of performances of the relevant plays are gathered by the *Archive of Performances of Greek and Roman Drama* (http://www.apgrd.ox.ac.uk/). Poduska (1999, 199 and 225–6) lists musical treatments of Herculean themes.
25 E. R. OKell's discussion, 'Sophocles' Trachiniae, Martin Crimp's Cruel and Tender and Handel's Hercules' is available at http://www.classicalassociation.org/Audio/226-end.html.
26 Riley 2004 is an early version of the discussion of the Macleish and Armstrong plays included in her thought-provoking 2008 monograph.
27 See Waith 1962 on the 'Herculean hero' in seventeenth-century English drama.
28 See Rutter 1997 for a detailed account of Harrison's play at Delphi.
29 Schultz 1999 discusses the novel's exploration of the relationship between masculinity and Christian virtue.
30 I owe the title of this section to Blanshard and Shahabudin 2003, a brief account of the Hercules phenomenon. Solomon 2001 provides a useful overview of Hercules on film from 1909 to 1998; see especially 103–31 and 307–23.
31 Wyke 1997 discusses *Hercules*' place in the development of the cinematic strongman figure, with useful observations especially on the classicizing rhetoric of early body-building and of 1950s homoerotic photography.
32 Clauss 2008 notes parallels between the mythological figures of Hercules, Ulysses and Oedipus (who makes a brief appearance in the film) and offers a reading of *Hercules Unchained* as an articulation of the universal themes of death, rebirth and homecoming.
33 Shahabudin 2009 discusses the relationship of *Hercules Conquers Atlantis* to the *peplum* genre, ably demonstrating the potential of such films as social-historical documents. Both *Atlantis* and another Reg Park film of the same year, *Hercules at the Centre of the Earth* (directed by Mario Bava), are singled out for discussion by Winkler (2007, 466–9 and 472–3) in his short survey of 'Greek myth on the screen', and by Pomeroy (2008, 49–58) in a chapter on the *peplum*. A good deal of information on the Hercules films can be found at 'The Many Face of Hercules' site (http://www.briansdriveintheater.com/hercules.html).

34 The Lou Ferrigno films have an informative fan-site (http://bugaev.tripod.com/index.html).

35 Full details of the *Legendary Journeys* series can be found on the Xena fan site *Whoosh!* (http://www.whoosh.org/epguide/herk/herk.html), including a synopsis and transcript for each episode of the six TV seasons.

36 For the statistics, see http://boxofficemojo.com/. Lindner 2008 provides an overview of Greek myth in children's animation films, noting at least five in the 1990s apart from Disney on the subject of Hercules.

37 Maguire 2008 is the exhibition catalogue, with useful essays by Elizabeth Rankin and Patrick O'Sullivan; see also http://www.papergraphica.co.nz/ for information on the artist and the tour.

38 See the interview at http://pitchfork.com/features/interviews/7133-hercules-love-affair/.

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