



ALEXANDER III

and the men who made him

GREAT



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Abstract

This paper intends to discuss the various artists and writers who created and maintained the legendary status of Alexander III of Macedon. Later rulers also tried to appropriate and incorporate some of the grandeur of their illustrious predecessor. Sculpture, painting, gems, and coins were all invaluable components of the Alexander's image-making. Writers contributed their share to his fame, aggrandising and eventually romanticising his feats, though the focus will be on the artists and successors to Alexander. The main issue at hand is what Alexander really looked like, since all the artwork that survives is copied from originals. We can only surmise and 'read between the lines' to determine maybe what he looked like. Through research in libraries, the Internet, and museums, the final outcome of this paper and catalogue will be a select overview of the art generated by Alexander and his long line of Successors.

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Introduction

ALEXANDER

Alexander III ascended the throne of Macedon in 336 BC upon the death of his father, Philip II. His kingship was anything but guaranteed; Alexander needed to prove himself worthy to those around him at court. Alexander was only twenty years old at the time, but he was more than ready to face the challenge presented to him. He eliminated all those who would oppose him, executed of the men involved in his father's murder and arranged an elaborate state funeral to honour his slain father, all the while continuing preparations Philip began for the reclamation of Greek city states in Asia Minor. In 334 BC Alexander left Macedonia with over forty thousand troops under his command, never to see or be seen there again in person.

Philip II had planned to invade Persia and take back all the Greek cities situated along the coastline and restore democracy to them. Before he could accomplish these objectives, he was killed in a theatre attending his daughter's wedding. In order to continue his father's plans, Alexander needed to dispose of his father's murderers as quickly as possible. He did so. Alexander maintained control over most of Greece, despite attempts to rebel against his kingship. Sparta remained independent throughout. After crushing Thebes in its attempt to throw

off the supposed yoke of Macedonian tyranny, Athens dismissed any notions of imitating their smouldering neighbours, and instead erected a monument to the generosity of Alexander for sparing them.

Alexander thereafter created a court of artists and writers that, in turn, reinvented the image of Alexander. He was described in ancient sources as being short; he had quite pale skin on his body and was covered with scars from constant use of the strigil, yet his face was red and worn from constant exposure to the elements. He was clean-shaven which was regarded as effeminate and yet this habit was to be copied by his generals and successors up to the reign of the Roman leader Hadrian. His hair had a rather unkempt look about it, standing up off his forehead into a natural cowlick and it was longer than of the norm of the time in the back. This combined to give a sense of a lion's mane, which, was, no doubt a comparison which Alexander would have encouraged. Some sources say he had dark penetrating eyes, while others claim that one eye was dark, the other a blue green.¹ His actual looks, however, cannot possibly ever be known. The few who were privileged enough to see Alexander gave idealised descriptions of him, including the fact that he smelled quite sweet.² The average person saw him only through his images, statues, paintings and coins. With the help of his court artists, Alexander became a myth in his own time, and

how much of his true image was incorporated into the public one, will remain a mystery.

Since the real Alexander remained unknown to the general public, the image created and presented displayed all those qualities that an ideal leader should embody. His was a symbolic image that exuded courage, determination, and his desires. It was his personality, his ethos, that mattered more than his appearance. Through the use of convention and characteristics, it was easy for his image to be recreated by artists outside his elite inner circle. And it was this manipulated and mass-produced appearance that was disseminated throughout his vast empire. ³



CHAPTER 2

THE MEN WHO MADE HIM GREAT

Who were these men charged with the daunting task of creating a believable living myth? They all knew that only a few people would actually see the king so, with this in mind, they were able to create a portrait showing a man extraordinarily gifted in strength and power, and perhaps even touched by the divine. The men in question were Callisthenes, who wrote of Alexander's great triumphs;⁴ Apelles, who painted him in many guises; Lysippos the sculptor; and Pyrgoteles Alexander's gem-cutter. Unfortunately, there is not one original piece extant, at least not one that can be claimed as original with any certainty. Even though the copies have lasted, it needs to be remembered that they are stylised and none show Alexander "warts and all." What has survived of these men's creations was a style of ruler portraiture that was to be emulated for centuries to come. Alexander's image became an icon for future generations of leaders to follow, and in some cases, to worship.

Through the work of these men a change in Greek art inevitably developed. Some art historians hold that the Hellenistic style of Greek art arose after Alexander's death in 323 BC / Callisthenes wrote the biography of Alexander, filling it with the details of the campaigns, how

2/

battles were won, the men lost on either side, and how brilliant Alexander was at defeating the Persian army time after time. Previously, biographies were virtually non-existent. Apelles painted “realistic” portraits, and Lysippos evoked Alexander’s inner strength, and both of these artists came close to what later Hellenistic art vividly depicted, naturalism. Granted Apelles augmented Alexander’s stature to that of a divine being through the use of attributes and Lysippos smoothed over some wrinkles, but it was in order to show Alexander as king, conqueror and demigod. He needed these men so that his personality and accomplishments, his imagination, ambitions and longings could be seen by all people, in turn showing them why he undertaken such lofty plans. And it worked. His subjects at home and those newly conquered fell under his spell with the help of just a few select individuals who were more than adequately skilled in their respective fields.

In the history of Greek portraiture, Alexander was the innovator. He chose specific artists who would best depict him. Previously, portrait statues were exceptions. When they were created, it was to honour men of outstanding achievements, such as Pericles (*Portrait Bust*, marble, London, British Museum, Townley Collection, no. GR 1805.7-3.91) or the *Tyrannicides* (marble, Naples, Museo Nazionale, nos. G 103-4), but they exhibited no real individual features. These sculptures were as severe and placid as the gods to whom they were dedicated. (Figures 1 and 2,

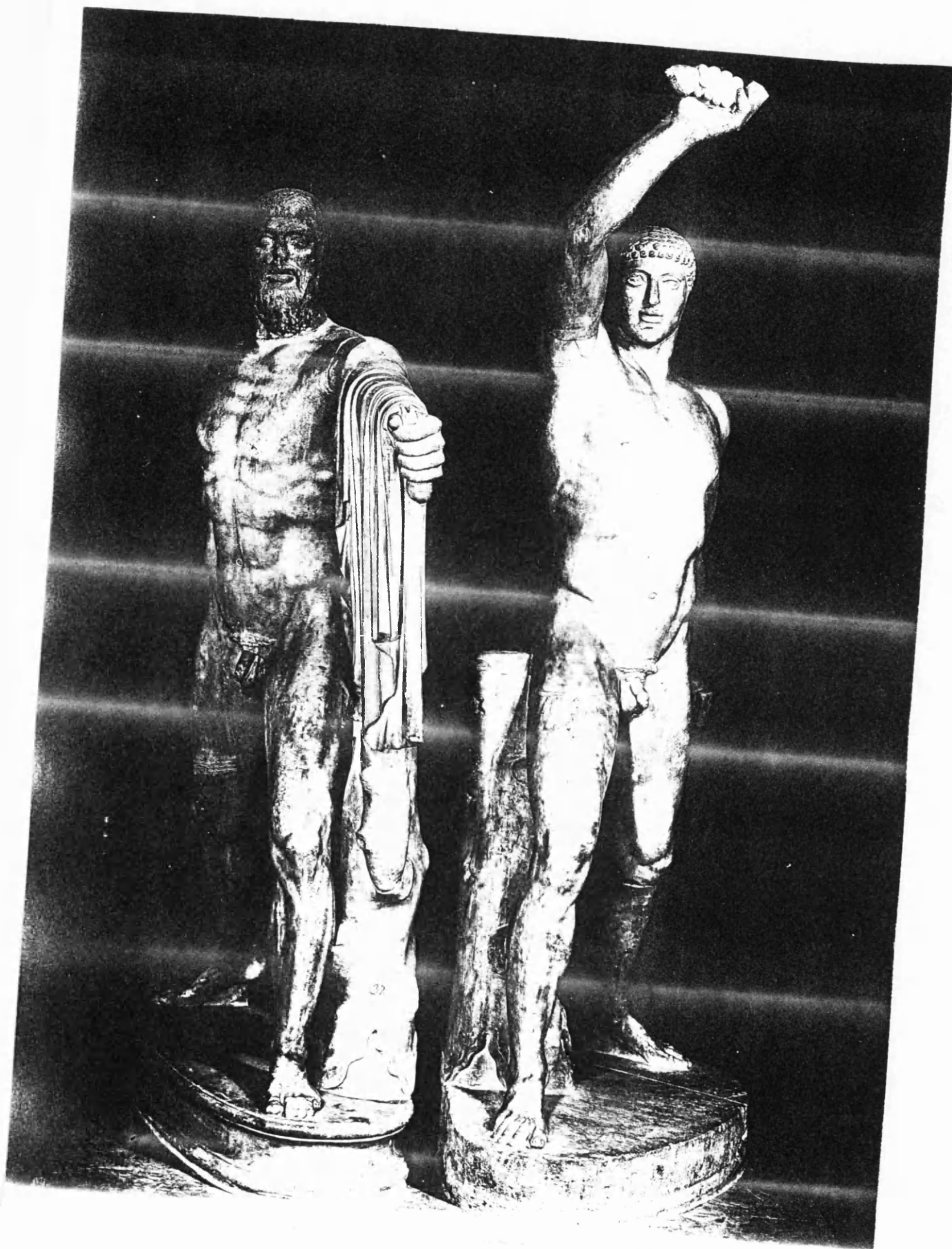


Figure 1. The Tyranicides. Marble, Roman copy, Naples, Museo Nazionale G
103-4.



Figure 2. Bronze Zeus. Bronze,
ca. 460 B.C., Artemisium.
Athens, National Museum.

Catalogue 15) Greek portraiture as a true art began in the early stages of Hellenistic art. It developed when individual features 'depart[ed] from the canonical or typological norm'.⁵ Whoever was creating the portrait had to remember that Alexander was capable of every human emotion, given to extremes and yet remained cautious and self-controlled. He was a general of unimaginable brilliance, outmanoeuvring any general that opposed him, and then when the battle was over, he returned to his tent to read Homer or to engage himself in philosophical discussions with his companions. This was a man whose curiosity was vastly greater than the lands he conquered.

These illustrious men were not the only artists who depicted Alexander; they simply were the only ones who were allowed portray him directly from life. Many other artists and writers copied from original sculptures and sources. Less familiar artists such as Philoxenos and Aetion were responsible for at least two well-known pieces from which copies derive such as the *Alexander Mosaic* (first century A.D., marble tesserae, 2.71m x 5.12m, Naples, Museo Nazionale, no. 10020).





Figure 3. Gold Medallion of Olympias. Gold, 3rd Century BC, Abukir Treasure, Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum.

Surrounded in myth from his birth, Alexander's legend continued throughout his life, and especially in death. Olympias, his mother, (fig. 3, left) repeatedly emphasised that Alexander descended from a great line of heroes and gods. Herakles

was claimed to be a distant grandfather on his father's side; Achilles, on his mother's side and, as his mother averred, he was the

son of Zeus-Ammon. Whether or not he was the latest semi-divine hero of Greece, he was definitely a favourite child of Fortune. He was able to defeat armies three times his size on countless occasions, take cities that an average commander would have thought twice about, make friends out of enemies, and lead an army across two million square miles of charted and uncharted territories.⁶ Whether or not Alexander believed he was the son of Zeus-Ammon, he acted as though he was under divine protection of sorts. During his Egyptian campaign, he made a pilgrimage to the oracle at the Siwah oasis where he was officially called the son of Amon-Ra, commonly known to Greeks as Zeus-Ammon.⁷ In honour of his newly confirmed ancestry, Alexander paid for a series of reliefs, executed in the traditional Egyptian style, to decorate the inside the

Temple of Ammon at Luxor. Within the temple he built a new shrine to house Ammon's sacred boat, called the Bark. (Cat. 9)

All paintings by Apelles have long since disappeared, but it is written that he once portrayed Alexander holding a thunderbolt, as if he were Zeus himself. Lysippos, on the other hand, emphasised Alexander's humanity by showing him holding a spear, similar in fact to the *Doryphoros* (Roman copy of Greek original, marble, Naples, Museo Nazionale, no. G146) by Polykleitos, (fig. 4). Pyrgoteles may be the brilliant force behind some of the coinage of Alexander, as a gem-cutter, it would be easy to transport various cameos with scenes depicted within them showing Alexander's many great deeds, such as on the *Porus medallions* (ca.325 BC, silver, London, British Museum, nos. 1887.6.9.1 and 1926.4.2.1). (Cat., Coins 2)

The pieces of art and literature that do exist are varied and the result of a prolific cult following of Alexander III. Through the written and artistic evidence documenting Alexander III's travels, conquests, and actions, he came to be known as 'the Great', a title given to him by the Romans. It is indisputable that he was a brilliant military man, with an army willing to do whatever he asked of them. Without artistic and archeological evidence, though, he may have not have been as well regarded, respected and copied by his successors.

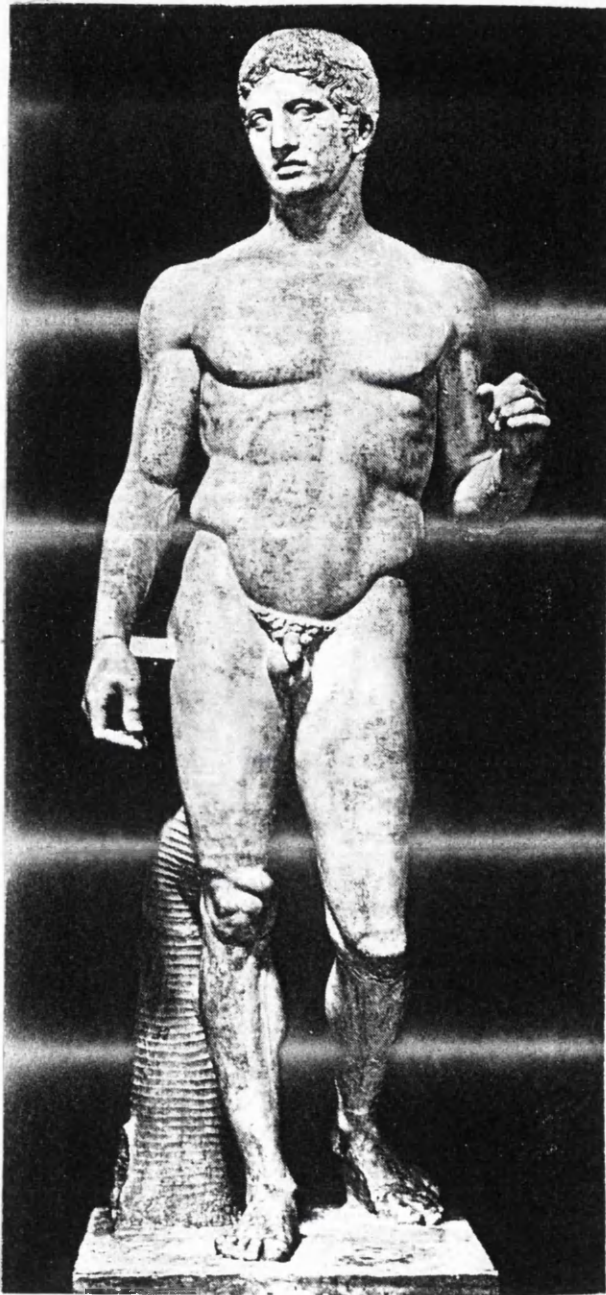


Figure 4. Doryphoros. Marble,
Roman copy, Naples,
Museo Nazionale, G146.

Immediately after Alexander's death in 323 BC, his empire was divided into three large areas to be ruled by the Diadochi, the Successors. Ptolemy took control of Egypt, Lysimachus took Asia and Antipater took Greece. After thirteen years of fighting to build a single united empire, it was gone virtually overnight. What did remain, though, was a style of art and architecture that was definitely Hellenistic and which was to survive well past Greek occupation. Not only did Alexander's portrait style influence his immediate successors who used his imagery initially to invoke the spirit and power of Alexander, it later influenced Roman rulers as well.

Chapter 3

The Artists

Ancient philosophers saw within each person's individual features symbolic meanings. This study of the physiognomy of faces was attributed to the school of Aristotle, the Lyceum, but not to him specifically. Alexander was not a big man; in fact in one instance his long time companion and friend Hephaisteion was mistaken for the king when they were standing together because he was taller and more attractive than Alexander.⁸ And when Alexander sat upon the throne of the Persian king, he needed a footstool to rest his feet on since they dangled above the ground.⁹ It was his gaze that commanded attention, not necessarily because it was dramatic, but rather because it was so full of enthusiasm. In physiognomics eyes that are bright and full of life are a sign of a brave man; additionally eyes that are full of moisture are said to resemble those of a lion and an upright character.¹⁰ Added to his gaze, his hair exemplified a man of strength and divine power, similar to the tales of Samson whose strength lay within his hair. It was also associated with a lion's mane since it covered his head and neck. The famous anastole was therefore a humanised lion's mane.

The Sculptors

The men responsible for showing a man of incredible intelligence, ingenuity, and strength were those who portrayed Alexander in bronze.

Leochares made a sculpture of Alexander when he was still the crown prince of Macedon. One of a chryselephantine sculpture group

commissioned by Philip, it was placed in the Philipeion in Olympia.

Another set of portraits in ivory depicting Alexander with his family

found in the tomb from Vergina shows him as a

young man. This portrait, if it is indeed Alexander,

shows the characteristic traits of deep-set eyes and

the turned head and may be a miniature version of

Leochares' chryselephantine portrait from Olympia,

right. (Cat. 4) Alexander's anastole is now missing,

and must have been made of a less durable

material, so its identification is still conjectural.

Alexander, upon ascension to the throne, chose

another sculptor, Lysippos, to execute his portrait. He saw Alexander as

a man unbelievably gifted in his talents and sought to depict him in this

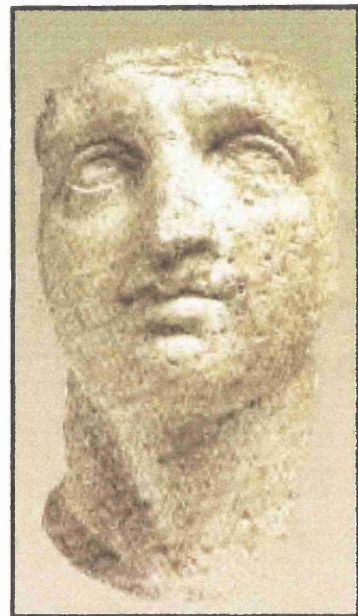
manner. To capture both his gifts and his faults within a single piece

may seem a daunting task, but Lysippos possessed the skill to do so.

Plutarch tells us in his Life of Alexander that Lysippos was the only artist

considered good enough to portray him. He managed to depict

Alexander's arete (strength of courage) and philotimo (yearning) through



his 'melting gaze', his leonine hair, and tilted neck. While Alexander may have been an attractive individual, Lysippos manipulated his appearance to idealise the features while still incorporating actual bits of Alexander's visage; for example thick hair, strong chin and deep set eyes. All these features became perfected in Lysippos' hands. The eyes stare off into the distance and yet at the same time penetrate into everyone who was to gaze upon the sculpture. His anastole, that is, his wild hair, is thick and dishevelled and yet it seems to frame his face with a part falling slightly off centre adding to the effect of Alexander's tilted head.

These traits must have existed at some level in Alexander's actual appearance. Leochares' chryselephantine depiction of Alexander may have been the inspiration, if not the model, upon which the marble bust found on the Athenian Acropolis, was based. (Cat. 5) The head does not tilt, but does show deep penetrating eyes, soft full lips, and the characteristic anastole. This bust also shares many attributes with other sculpture dated from the same period and quite possibly the same workshop.



The *Demeter of Knidos*' (338 –335 BC, marble, London, British Museum, no. 1300) facial features incorporate the same style of execution shown in the Alexander bust with its soft, supple manipulation of the facial traits is remarkably similar. (Fig. 5) Similarities in appearances also exist between this portrait and the Apollo Belvedere (marble, Vatican, no.1015) which has previously been attributed to Leochares. (Fig. 6)

Two of Lysippos' well-known pieces of Alexander, known only from copies, show Alexander as a *man among men*. One of these was a sculpture group dedicated to the memory of the men who died at the first battle of Alexander's campaigns. Twenty-five Hetairoi (Companions), a core of Alexander's elite guard, were killed at the battle of Granicus. Alexander commissioned Lysippos to design and create a memorial to be set up at the sanctuary to Zeus at Dion in Macedonia. It was to have included the twenty-five men who lost their lives, with Alexander amongst them fighting as they did at the battle, (*Alexander on Horseback*, first to second century A.D., bronze solid cast, Naples, Museo Nazionale, no. 4996). (Cat. 6) A later Roman copy, in a much smaller scale, survives from





Figure 5. Demeter of Knidos. Marble, ca. 340, London, British Museum 1300.



Figure 6. Apollo Belvedere.
Marble, Roman copy,
Vatican City, Vatican Museum 1015.

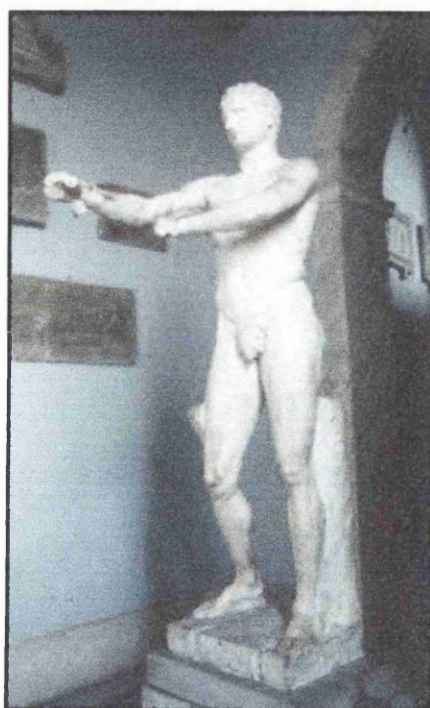
Herculaneum in addition to written accounts of it. The original was taken from Dion during the Roman occupation and brought to Rome by Caecilius Mettellus Macedonius.¹¹ Alexander is shown as a general, not a god, who fought in the thick of the battle, despite the imminent danger he faced, and who survived through his own military prowess.



Another sculpture that put Lysippos into direct opposition with Alexander's court painter, Apelles, was one showing Alexander in a pose similar to that of Polycleitus' *Doryphoros*, fig. 4, the *Fouquet Alexander* (Hellenistic/Roman, late fourth century BC, solid cast bronze, Paris, Louvre, no. Br 370). Here was the king of

Macedonia and Persia reaffirming that he had received Asia from the gods as spear-won land.¹² Again it is to copies that we must look to see how Lysippos' and Polycleitus' masterpieces mirrored each other. Lysippos was to have reinvented the canon of human proportion within sculpture, replacing the earlier canon created by Polycleitus. The only known full figure portrait sculpture by Lysippos is the *Apoxyomenos*, (330 – 320 BC, marble, Vatican) which shows an athlete using a strigil (Fig. 7, right, fig. 7a), and is a prime

Figure 7. *Apoxyomenos*.
Vatican City, Vatican Museum.



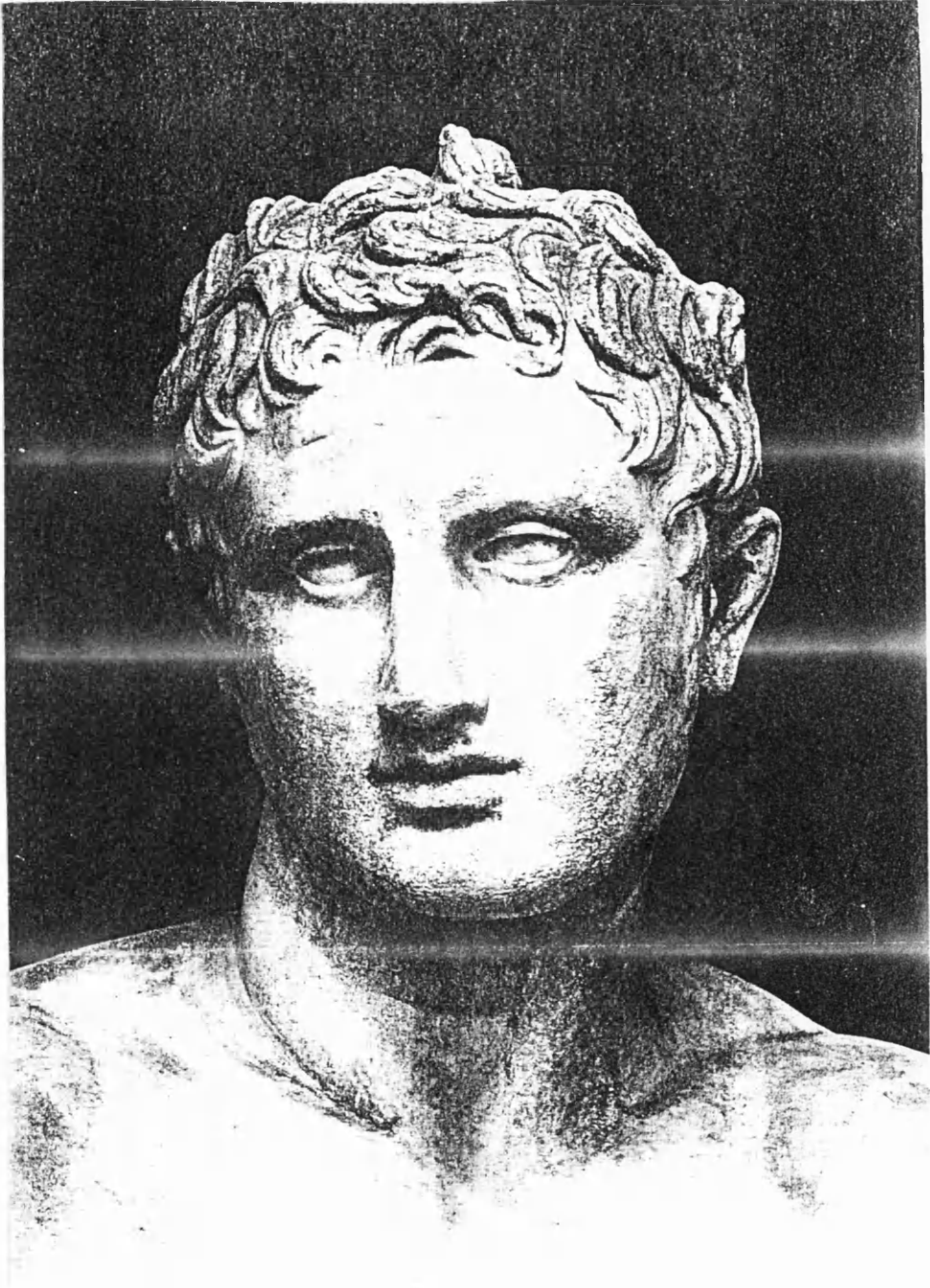


Figure 7a. Apoxyomenos, detail.

example of Lysippos' new canon of proportions. The figures that do exist show taller, more lithe men versus the heavier muscle bound men of the Polycleitan ideal. Additionally if one believes that the Doryphorus may have been a sculpture depicting Achilles, the protagonist of Homer's Illiad, then it would stand to reason why Lysippos showed Alexander in that manner. Alexander strove to emulate Achilles in his achievements, especially in winning over Persia through military strength versus divine intervention.¹³

The Painters

The second man in Alexander's elite corps of artists was the painter Apelles – of whose work none survives. Scholars and art historians can only surmise what his paintings actually looked like based on other more durable artefacts. Apelles has been given the credit for depicting Alexander as Keraunophoros – thunderbolt bearer. The best example of Alexander as thus can be found engraved on a carnelian called the *Neisos Gem* (300 – 250BC, red carnelian, St. Petersburg, no. 609). (Cat. 2) Here Alexander stands as a heroic nude, wielding a thunderbolt in his right hand, and an aegis draped over his left arm. He stands, poised on the brink of throwing his thunderbolt, which was to have been painted in bright colours to accent it and bring it out of the dark background.¹⁴ The painting was created for the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus. Though shown as a god himself, and Zeus' heir, Apelles, it is said, was to have painted Alexander with extreme realism as opposed to the idealised version sculpted by Lysippos. Apelles was considered to be a top painter in his day, and was the court painter for Philip before becoming Alexander's portraitist. In fact, Pliny mentions that there were more portraits of Alexander and his father than he cared to count.¹⁵ Pliny continues to list some of the portraits of Alexander that were on display in Rome: one showing Alexander with the mythical twins, the Dioskouroi, and another of Alexander triumphant in a chariot.¹⁶ Both of

these paintings were in Augustus' collection, but he, in a magnanimous gesture, dedicated them to the people of Rome and placed them in his Forum. No physical proof of these paintings remains except in the words of Pliny.

Just as the paintings mentioned above no longer survive, virtually all evidence of Greek painting in general has disappeared. The perception of Greek painting is that of very flat two-dimensional figures with extremely stylised backgrounds. This misconception is derived from Greek vases, which exist in abundance, (Cat. 3). Panel painting, on the other hand, was quite different. Despite the lack of evidence, painting in ancient Greece was a much sought after art. On the Acropolis in Athens, in addition to the Stoa Poikile, art galleries were built specifically for the display of paintings. Since these were done on wooden panels none have survived the ravages of time. Wall paintings and mosaics that have survived give hints of what such paintings may have looked like.

Magnificent examples of Greek frescoes survive on the walls of Macedonian tombs, for example the painting of the *Rape of Persephone* (fresco, late fourth century BC, Vergina, Tomb of Persephone). (Fig. 8)

Elsewhere in the same burial mound is a tomb thought by many to be that of Philip II.¹⁷ Above the entrance is a hunting scene, including a horse and rider that exhibits many of the characteristic traits of Alexander.

There are some scholars who think that this might actually be an early



Figure 8. Rape of Persephone fresco.

work of Apelles. It seems that within the period between the end of Pericles reign to that of the Successors to Alexander, painting took on a new approach to depicting man and his surroundings. Perspective and three-dimensionality, the sensual differences between the male and female body, realistic portrayals of man and his environment, and how dress could be used as an effective component in showing the human form were now being introduced into the art of painting.¹⁸ What was beginning and flourishing in this period was the art of naturalism, and its successor, realism. Apelles was said to be a master of realism.

More painters are known from the fourth century BC than any other, so it only stands to reason Alexander would be sure to have one of the best in his retinue of court artists. We are even told of how later artists copied these fourth century BC masters. In later centuries, Hellenistic and Roman rulers coveted originals, as well as copies. An example of this phenomenon is the grand *Alexander Mosaic*, (Cat. 1), from the House of the Faun in Pompeii. Conjecture has it that the mosaic was based on an original by Philoxenos and depicts the turning point in the Battle of Issus where Alexander defeats Darius. Another possibility is that it is not a specific moment from a specific battle, instead it perhaps is a genre scene.¹⁹ Darius, the Great King of Persia, was Alexander's elusive foe for many years before a traitor from within his own government killed him. Upon his death, Alexander assumed his title

of Great King and took on many aspects of Persian royalty, including the wearing of a diadem.²⁰ Alexander also wished that his subjects bow before him, a gesture called proskynesis. This edict was not looked upon with much favour.²¹

Since the paintings were done on wood, deterioration may have set in as early as the Roman Republic period. Therefore, it became necessary to adapt the paintings into more permanent wall decoration, either as frescos or mosaics, such as the *Alexander Mosaic*. (Cat.1) Where and when this particular mosaic was created remains a mystery. The fact that it depicts a quasi-historical moment is not strange; paintings depicting famous battles stretched as far back as the Battle of Marathon.²² Apelles may have been appointed by Alexander to execute the royal portraits, but at least five other artists are known to have painted him as well -- Philoxenos, the apparent genius behind the *Battle of Issus Mosaic* (or the *Alexander Mosaic*); Protogenes,²³ who was to have been instructed by Aristotle to paint Alexander's exploits; Aristides, Action, said to have painted the wedding of Alexander and Roxanne, the Persian princess; and Antiphilos.

The Gem-cutter

Completing this select triad of court artists was Pyrgoteles, Alexander's royal gem-cutter. Pyrgoteles, whose work, like the others, survives only in the words of the historians, especially Pliny. Speculation surrounds who first depicted Alexander with the attributes of Zeus, namely the thunderbolt, Apelles or Pyrgoteles. What is known about the gem-cutter is that he worked only with emeralds at Alexander's command. An intaglio in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford is carved into a tourmaline, which was considered a member of the emerald family.²⁴ It shows Alexander in profile with a diadem and the ram's horns of Zeus Ammon. (Cat. 14) This intaglio, if scholars are correct, predates the coins minted by Lysimachus, one Alexander's successors, with exactly the same motif on the coin's obverse. The intriguing detail of this gem is the small almost imperceptible monogram beneath the neck; the eastern language it is written in has yet to be concretely identified in turn it remains undeciphered. Perhaps the gem was given by Alexander to a local ruler, who had his own monogram inscribed in order to use it as an official seal, or it may be a well done reproduction of one of Pyrgoteles' pieces carved by a local artist with his signature below.

Chapter 4

The Coins

The legacy of coinage Alexander left when he died in 323 BC is virtually immeasurable. He set precedents consciously or unconsciously that are visible even in contemporary coins. Initially, the coins minted at the start of his reign continued the tradition set by his ancestors, that is, to place Herakles, his mythical ancestor, on the obverse and a personally significant design on the reverse. Philip had Zeus on the obverse, and there are some scholars who believe that Zeus's features mirror those of Philip.²⁵ However, this fact has never been proven. On the reverse of these coins, Philip initially had horse and bearded rider, only to amend this design later in his reign to that of a victorious youth holding a palm leaf, perhaps to remind his subjects of his Olympic victories. (Figs. 9a, 9b, 10a and 10b) When Alexander became King, he returned to the practise of placing Herakles on the coins, but continued with his father's use of Zeus, except Alexander placed him on the reverse, seated on a throne. (Cat., Coins 1) Scholars will agree that initially Alexander's coins showed a beardless Herakles wearing the Nemean lion's skin to signify Alexander's decent from the god-hero; it is after the founding of Alexandria and his conquests of India (326-323BC) that the coins begin to incorporate some of his own personal traits. It is quite possible to discount this theory and simply say the change in appearance is due to a



Figure 9a and b. Philip II Tetrachm. Ca. 356-336 B.C.

Figure 10a and b. Philip II Tetrachm. Ca. 336 B.C.

different die-cutter.²⁶ Only one type of coin exists that was minted during Alexander's lifetime that does in fact represent a portrait of the Warrior King. The decadrachm, or five-shekel piece minted in Babylon after Alexander's defeat of the Indian king Porus shows Alexander on the obverse dressed in military armour, holding a spear or staff, and being crowned by a Nike. The reverse shows the one-to-one engagement between Alexander, on a rearing horse and Porus fighting from atop a retreating elephant. (Cat., Coins 2)

Coins are the most valuable source of datable material. Combined with inscriptions, coins provide an invaluable amount of information about the time they were minted, the economic situation of a state and its monetary policy, historical events, governmental changes, military operations and commercial contacts. Their representations furnish information on lost artwork and architectural monuments that have disappeared.²⁷ The Successors were first to use their own portraits on coins, but that took place over time. Initially, they clung to the power and trust Alexander's coins provided. Five years after Alexander's death, Ptolemy I of Egypt minted coins with a deified Alexander wearing an elephant head-dress, the ram's horns of Zeus-Ammon, and an aegis tied around his neck. (Cat., Coins 3a) Later, when the rulers, such as Ptolemy, were firmly ensconced in their kingdoms, they began to put their own portraits on coins. For example, Ptolemy had his profile on his



coins wearing an elephant headdress, but only after initially issuing coins depicting Alexander in the same manner. (Cat., Coins 3b) In doing this, he simply showed the natural progression of one ruler to another. Elsewhere in Alexander's former empire, Lysimachus of Thrace minted a coin with a deified Alexander upon the obverse. Only the ram's horns of Zeus-Ammon were included to show symbolically his deified status. The eyes are larger, and his hair seems to be blown about by a playful breeze, fluttering behind his head. (Cat., Coins 4) Maybe this captures a moment of Alexander surveying his vast empire as the Great King of Persia, or maybe it is a reflection of the influence the gems of Pyrgoteles had on coins. The evidence the coins provide proves that the exemplary portrait statues must have existed. Greeks, as opposed to later Roman artists, always portrayed the whole figure, not just the head and face. Lysippos' *Alexander with the Spear* most likely stood in Alexandria, but based on Lysippos' dogged determination that Alexander be represented as a man of heroic character not a divinity. Therefore the representation on Ptolemy's coins must have derived from a cult statue by another artist.

Chapter 5

The Legacy

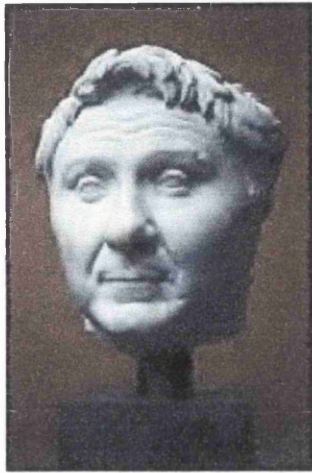
The influence Alexander had on later generations of rulers can only be described as monumental. His immediate successors drew upon their close ties to strengthen their individual claims to rule in their respective areas. Stories of his feats grew into romantic tales of adventure and daring. The Diadochi stressed his divinity more than ever and promoted his cult.²⁸ Eventually Alexander became a god himself, rivalling even Zeus.²⁹ Small cult statues were dedicated in sanctuaries. Statues such as the *Fouquet Alexander* and the *Alexander Aigiochos* (320 –300 BC, solid cast bronze, London, British Museum, no. GR 1922.7-11.1), wearing Zeus' Aegis. (Cat. 7 and 11) Elsewhere in his former empire, a Phoenician ruler, Abdalonymos, was buried in an elaborate sarcophagus. Discovered in 1887 in a suburb of modern Sidon it is decorated on all four sides with high relief panels, (*Alexander Sarcophagus*, Hellenistic, 330-300 BC, marble, Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, no. 68). (Cat. 13) There are two main themes in these reliefs, one of a battle and one of a hunt. The battle scene shows Alexander is shown on horseback, youthful, and wearing the lion's skin of Herakles on the left entering the fray. The sarcophagus is a unique combination of three distinct cultures that through Alexander were brought together, "Greek architectural carving, [a] Macedonian narrative, and a Phoenician patron." It also

supports the theory that Alexander's coins eventually did portray him, since they showed Alexander/Herakles in the Nemean lion's skin just as on the sarcophagus.³⁰

Roman rulers saw Alexander as a divine being to be emulated and resurrected. Augustus, Claudius, and Caracalla, to name but a few, all saw themselves as heirs to Alexander. Alexandria became a major stepping-stone between Greece and Rome; undoubtedly it was through this city that Alexander and his exploits were introduced on a massive scale to the Roman people. Statues of Alexander taken from his former empire were set up in the various forums or copied in order to be placed in private residences. Roman writers are the sources of the information about Alexander; for example, Horace is the first to tell us of Alexander's 'edict' regarding who would be allowed to portray him in sculpture and painting. Pliny, in the second century AD adds Pyrgoteles to the duo.

Eventually through time, Alexander's features became more and more idealised, to such an extreme that if it were not for his characteristic traits canonised by his court artists, these later representations would be near impossible to identify as Alexander. A large portrait bust of the deified Alexander in the British Museum (*Portrait bust of Alexander*, second to first century A.D., marble, London,

British Museum, no. GR 1872.5-15.1 (sculpture 1857)) is proof of the amount of idealisation incorporated into the sculpture. (Cat. 12)



As Rome began to assert its power and take control of the Mediterranean, Alexander's characteristic features were soon appropriated by the Roman conquerors. Pompey styled his hair as closely as possible to Alexander's anastole. He also added the title 'the Great' to his name, left. (Cat. 17a) Additionally, Pompey defeated many armies in the East, therefore the combination of all of these evoked in the minds of his men, memories of Alexander's mighty deeds, plus linked Pompey directly to him. In fact he even wore on one occasion, Alexander's chlamys instead of the coloured tunic of normally worn in traditional triumphant processions.³¹ Julius Caesar was not so overt in his desire to emulate Alexander. As a young army official, realised his own inadequacies when he compared himself to Alexander.³²

Augustus also looked to Alexander as a role model. He replaced the Porticus Mettelli, which contained the statue group of Alexander and his fallen comrades from the battle of Granicus, with the Porticus Octaviae, keeping the statues as a major part. It was now an Augustan monument with Alexander as its focus. He continued to outfit many of

his monuments and statues with references to Alexander. He even used Alexander's likeness on his seal ring. Augustus realised the power Alexander had in maintaining an eternally youthful and aloof appearance and instituted the same precedent in his own portraits throughout his life, especially as grew older and sickly.³³

In the second century A.D. Caracalla became emperor of Rome and its territories, not known for his kindness and generosity, but rather his psychotic brutality, he nevertheless was infatuated with Alexander the Great. An anonymous source wrote of Caracalla's expedition to Alexander's tomb,

*"After he had inspected the body of Alexander of Macedon, he [sc. Caracalla] ordered that he himself should be called "Great" and "Alexander," for he was led on by the lies of his flatterers to the point where, adopting ferocious brow and neck tilted towards the left shoulder that he had noted in Alexander's countenance, he persuaded himself that his features were truly similar."*³⁴

Portrait busts of Caracalla prove this statement. The Roman emperor's busts display the characteristic turning of his head. (Cat. 17b) Compare, for instance, the *Alexander Aigiochos* (cat. 11) in the British Museum with a now lost cameo made in the second century A.D. depicting either Alexander or possibly a young Caracalla wearing the aegis, and radiate crown (*Roman Cameo showing an Emperor (Caracalla?) as Alexander Aigiochos*, ca. A.D. 200, Formerly in the Cathedral Treasury at Cammin; destroyed or stolen 1945). (Fig.11) The very fact that the cameo is not



Figure 11. Cameo of Caracalla.
Formerly in the Cathedral Treasury
at Cammin; destroyed or stolen 1945.

positively identified as one or the other lends credence to Caracalla's desire to be seen and depicted as yet another Alexander.

Thirteen years of conquest, innovation, and exploration describe the all but too short reign of Alexander III of Macedon. Trends in art were allowed, if not encouraged, to flourish in Alexander's court. Lysippos discovered new techniques in bronze working, using less metal in shorter amounts of time. Apelles painted so realistically that as legend has it, a horse was said to have whinnied upon seeing a painting of Bucephalus, Alexander's treasured horse,³⁵ unfortunately less can be said of Pyrgoteles as a court artist, if he was indeed part of the select group. Alexander, the man and his feats, provided an infinite source of inspiration. The evolution of his coins from the depiction of a divine relation – his great, great grandfather Herakles – on the obverse, to the gradual incorporation of his own features in the guise of Herakles, and eventually his portrait, led the way for future generations of rulers, continuing throughout time to the present day. Coins, such as the *Porus Medallions*, also set a precedent by depicting a ruler on the obverse and reserving the reverse to commemorate a specific event.

The Romans took what Alexander began and 'ran with it', appropriating his innovations to their own personal needs. Pompey the Great, Augustus, and Caracalla all used Alexander's image to further

their own ends. Claudius and Nero even took established original pieces of art and, in Claudius' case, removed Alexander's face and replaced it with Augustus³⁶ – making the image a perfect assimilation of two great leaders. Nero, on the other hand, did not deface the artwork per se, a bronze portrait statue of Alexander, but tried in vain to improve and beautify it by gilding it. Later, the gold was removed, and despite the scars left behind by the grooves needed for the gilding, it was still considered a worthy piece of art.³⁷

Conclusion

Alexander wanted the world as his own, and he came very near to accomplishing that task. He established his presence in areas of the world through a variety of means and media, coins, statues, and the founding of cities bearing his name, Alexandria and possibly his claim to the divine. He needed these to spread his fame and exert his power. Alexander had no poet to sing his praises; instead he had a cult, a hero cult, which kept his feats alive long after Alexander, had passed away.

Through the ages Alexander has remained ever present in the minds of political and religious leaders, teachers and schoolchildren. Hellenistic Greeks, Romans, and Byzantines used magical amulets created from coins of Alexander. The Byzantines even made chains of replica coins depicting Alexander to wear around their heads and feet.³⁸ As a political visionary crusading for a unified empire, or a vainglorious megalomaniac, a folk hero from Jewish tradition, the epitome of a chivalrous knight of Medieval Europe, or the horrid Dhul Qarnain, the two-horned one of the Koran, Alexander never ceases to spark conversations and arguments in all who read of him.³⁹ It would appear that in death as in life Alexander was, and still possibly is, one of the most engaging men in history attracting historians and history buffs with equal zeal, if not fanaticism.

Glossary

Aegis: an attribute of the Greek gods Zeus and Athena, usually represented as a goat-skin or skin-covered shield, later having a fringe of snakes and a Gorgon's head, used to frighten enemies and protect friends.⁴⁰

Anastole: an off-centre parting of the hair with locks brushed up and back near the parting.⁴¹

Arete: strength of courage.

Chiton: a lightweight, single-piece garment, belted with a buttoned sleeve.

Chlamys: a short cloak.

Chryselephantine: of gold and ivory.

Contrapposto: a term applied to a pose where the body is both tensed and relaxed.

Cuirass: metal armour worn to protect the chest and back.

Darius III: king of Persia from 336 – 330 BC, overthrown by Alexander the Great and soon after, killed by a traitor.

Diadem: a white band tied around the head worn to designate rulers, similar to Greek victor's fillet.

Diadochi: 'Successors', the name given to the Greek rulers who succeeded to various parts of the empire of Alexander the Great after his death in 323 BC⁴²

Exergue: the area beneath the coin's type.

Field: area surrounding a coin's type.

Fresco: a type of wall painting where colour is added to the plaster while still damp.

Himation: a mantle worn over a chiton or peplos.

Keraunophoros: thunderbolt bearer.

Kline: sofa or couch.

Legend: inscription on a coin.

Mahout: elephant driver.

Nike: goddess of victory

Obverse: 'head' side of a coin.

Philotimo: yearning. ✕

Polykleitos: one of the most celebrated Greek sculptors, who worked in the second half of the fifth century BC, and was said to have written a book on proportion and embodied this ideal of perfection in his *Doryphoros*.

Proskynesis: the practice of prostrating oneself before a king or idol.

Reverse: 'tail' side of a coin.

Sarissa: a Macedonian long spear, approximately 16 feet long

Strigil: a tool used for scraping dirt and sweat off the body after exercise.

Thiasos: the staff carried by Dionysos and his followers, maenads. ✕

Tessera: small rectangular pieces of stone or glass set into a mosaic pavement.

Type: the design on a coin.

Votive: an object dedicated or vowed to a deity.

References

¹ Stewart, A., Faces of Power, Oxford, 1993, p.73.

² Plutarch, Life of Alexander, trans. by, Robin Waterfield, Oxford, 1998, 4.1-7.

³ Havelock, C.M. Hellenistic Art: The Art of the Classical World from the Death of Alexander the Great to the Battle of Actium, Second Edition, London, 1981, p. 23.

Alexander's empire included the Balkan Peninsula, Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, the Tigris-Euphrates Valley, the Iranian Plateau, and a section of Northwest India.

⁴ Arrian, The Campaigns of Alexander, London, 1958, trans. Aubrey de Selincourt, 4.10.5

...without the history he [Callisthenes] was writing, Alexander and his work would be forgotten...He used to declare that he had come not in hope of honour for himself, but merely to spread Alexander's fame throughout the world; adding that if Alexander was destined to have a share of divinity, it would not be owing to Olympias' absurd stories about his birth, but to the account of him which he would himself publish in his history.

⁵ Havelock, C.M. Hellenistic Art: The Art of the Classical World from the Death of Alexander the Great to the Battle of Actium, p.20

⁶ Arrian, The Campaigns of Alexander, pp.248 – 49.

Adding to his notoriety, Alexander took the Rock of Aornos, just over 7,000 feet high. The myth surrounding this mountain was that Herakles himself, the son of Zeus, could not capture it. Curtius claims Herakles had to abandon his siege because of an earthquake. Alexander through cunning, and the help of a local man and his two sons, managed to take it despite the rock being very steep-sided (Curtius 8.11.2) Alexander, is it said, also approached and spared the town of Nysa, founded by Dionysus, thereby equaling the deeds of yet another son of Zeus. (Arrian 5.2)

⁷Bieber, Margarete, Alexander the Great in Greek and Roman Art, , Chicago 1964, p.51.

Upon being crowned pharaoh he became a god automatically. Thus when he went to the Oracle at the Siwah Oasis, addressing Alexander as Son of Ammon would have been standard practise.

⁸ Arrian, The Campaigns of Alexander, 2.13

⁹ Q. Curtius Rufus, The History of Alexander, trans. by John Yardley, London, 1984, 5.2.13-15,

Alexander now sat on the royal throne, but it was too high for him and so, since his feet could not reach the step at the bottom, one of the royal pages set a table under them.

¹⁰ The Works of Aristotle: the Famous Philosopher, Containing his Complete Masterpiece and Family Physician; his Experienced Midwife, his Book of Problems and his Remarks on Physiognomy, p.471

¹¹ Zanker, P. The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus, Ann Arbor, 1992, p.23.

In 146 BC Metellus displayed in his portico the famous group of Alexander on Horseback with his fallen comrades at the Battle of Granicus. His intention was not only a spectacular exhibition of the spoils of war, but also an homage to the greatest hero of the Hellenistic world.

¹² Stewart, A. Faces of Power, p.78, Diodorus 17.17.2; cf. Justin Epit. 11.5.10.

¹³ Arrian The Campaigns of Alexander, 7.14.

Alexander was said to have kept a copy of Homer's Illiad with him at all times and from his childhood wished to be regarded as a new Achilles. (Callisthenes even went so far as to say Alexander surpassed the deeds of his heroic ancestor.

¹⁴ Yalouris, N. Painting in the Age of Alexander the Great and the Successors, Studies in the History of Art, Vol. 10, p.264.

¹⁵ Von Blankenhagen, P.H. Painting in the Time of Alexander and Later, Studies in the History of Art, Vol. 10, p. 252. Pliny Natural History 35.79-97

¹⁶ Stewart, A. Faces of Power, p.364 -65, T 62, T 64, P4 and 5, T 65.

¹⁷ Bosworth, A.B. and Baynham, E.J., eds, Alexander the Great in Fact and Fiction, Oxford, 2000, p.2.

¹⁸ Yalouris, N. Painting in the Age of Alexander the Great and the Successors, p.264.

¹⁹ Havelock, C.M. Hellenistic Art: The Art of the Classical World from the Death of Alexander the Great to the Battle of Actium, p252

²⁰ Stewart, A. Faces of Power, p. 91.

Curtius, 6.6. 4-5, Accordingly he wore on his head a purple head-band interwoven with white, like the one Darius once had, and he assumed Persian dress...

Plutarch 45.2, From this point he advanced into Parthia, and it was here during a pause in the campaign that he first began to wear barbarian dress...

²¹ Arrian 4.9.9 In this connection it is widely believed that Alexander wished his people to prostrate themselves in his presence. This was due partly to the notion that his father was not Philip but Ammon, and partly to his growing admiration, expressed also by the change in his dress and in the general etiquette of his court, of Median and Persian extravagance.

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- ²² Yalouris, N. *Painting in the Age of Alexander the Great and the Successors*, p.265.
- ²³ Von Blankenhagen, P.H. *Painting in the Time of Alexander and Later*, p. 252.
- ²⁴ Boardman, J. and Vollenwieder, M., Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Finger Rings, I. Greek and Etruscan, Oxford, 1978, p.77.
Pliny distinguishes twelve kinds of emerald. Among these the Persian emerald is not transparent and is dimmed in sunshine. With other types of opaque emerald the colour can assume a tint of gall or rancid oil.
- ²⁵ Sayles, W., Ancient Coin Collecting II, Iola, Wisconsin, 1997, p.122.
- ²⁶ Ridgway, B., Hellenistic Sculpture I: the Styles of ca. 331-200BC, Madison, WI, 1990, p.111
- ²⁷ Galani-Krikou et al., Coins and Numismatics, Athens, 1996, p.76.
- ²⁸ Bieber, M., Alexander the Great in Greek and Roman Art, p.51.
In 324 Alexander demanded to be recognised as a god by the Greek city-states. They obliged and officially deified him.
- ²⁹ Bieber, M., Alexander the Great in Greek and Roman Art, p.57.
- ³⁰ Smith, R.R.R., Hellenistic Sculpture, Oxford, 1988, p.192-91.
- ³¹ Zanker, P. The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus, p. 10.
- ³² Stewart, A. Faces of Power, p. 401, T 129.
Suetonius, from *Divus Julius* 7, ca. 170 A.D., "It fell to his lot as quaestor to serve in Farther Spain. There, when he was making a trip the court circuit as a judge appointed by the praetor, he came to Cadiz, and noticing a statue of Alexander the Great in the temple of Hercules, he heaved a sigh; and as if impatient with his own incapacity, since he had yet done nothing noteworthy at an age when Alexander had already subjugated the world..."
- ³³ Zanker, P. The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus, p.162.
- ³⁴ Stewart, A. Faces of Power, p. 348, T 21.
- ³⁵ Bieber, M., Alexander the Great in Greek and Roman Art, p.46.
- ³⁶ Stewart, A. Faces of Power, p.392-93, T 66.
- ³⁷ Stewart, A. Faces of Power, p.392-93, T 113.
- ³⁸ Maguire, H., The Icons of their Bodies: Saints and their Images in Byzantium, Princeton, 1996, p.136

³⁹ Wood, Michael, http://www.pbs.org/mpt/alexander/overview/the_mam.html

⁴⁰ Howatson, M.C. and Chilvers, I., Concise Companion to Classical Literature, Oxford, 1993, p.8.

⁴¹ Pedley, John Griffiths, Greek Art and Architecture, Second Edition, New York, 1993, p. 368.

⁴² Howatson, M.C. and Chilvers, I., Concise Companion to Classical Literature, p. 175.

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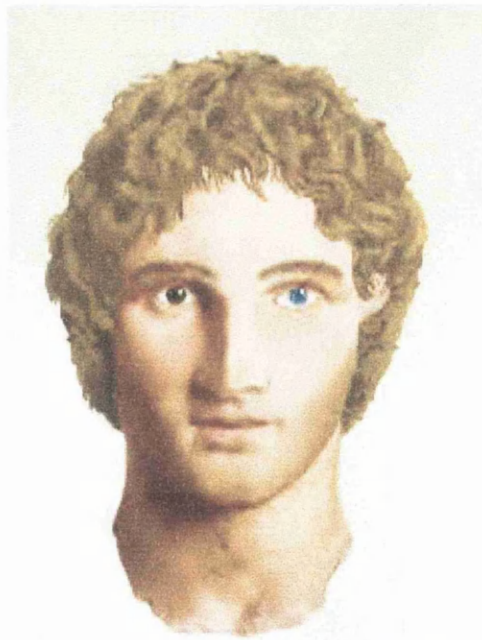
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THE CATALOGUE



MADE IN GERMANY

1. Alexander Mosaic

2.17 m. x 5.12 m. (7.125 x 16.8 ft) without border

Naples, Museo Nazionale,
no. 10020

Nearly ten feet high and nineteen feet long, this portrayal of a pivotal moment of the Battle of Issos cannot help but draw the viewer deep into the action. Alexander III is charging towards the Persian King, Darius from the left. Darius dominates the right hand side of the mosaic, if not the whole thing. He is the highest figure in the piece and shows the most emotion. He is in chariot retreating from the advancing Greek army, reaching out to his fallen men. Alexander, on the left, rides his beloved horse, Bucephalus and wields a sarissa, a Macedonian long spear. He is shown not idealised as later portraits show him, rather he is focused on his enemy and is slightly unshaven.

Everywhere in the mosaic are examples of foreshortening especially in the riderless horse in the foreground. The original was probably painted shortly after the event took place, since the amount of accurate details in the armour and weaponry of both armies would have been forgotten and improvised as time passed.

The technique of the mosaic is *Opus Vermiculatum*. The 1,000,000 tesserae making up the mosaic are minute pieces of marble and pebbles in only four colours - black, yellow, red, and white. And even with such a limited palette, shadows and gradations of colour have been created to give the mosaic movement and life.

"Philoxenos of Eretria painted a picture for Kassander (King of Macedon, c. 319-297 BC) which must be considered second to none; it contained the Battle of Alexander against Darius." It is this quote by Pliny that has led art historians to identify the mosaic as a copy of the work by Philoxenos.

In 62 A.D. the mosaic suffered damage from an earthquake and was amateurishly repaired, using plaster to fill in areas that were beyond help.



Literature: Schreiber 1903: 73, fig. 11; Bernoulli 1905: 31-34, fig. 4; Winter 1909; Fuhrman 1931; Kleiner 1951: 224-25, fig. 11; Bieber 1964: 46-48, figs. 28-29; Robertson 1975: 497-503, pl.155; Gage 1981; Nylander 1983; Pollitt 1986: 45-46, 191-92, fig. 2; Moerno 1987b: 125-28, figs. 27, 110, 137, 194, 197-200, 212-13, 216; Lauter 1988: 723-24, pl. 4; Salviat 1988; Smith 1988: 60; Messerschmidt 1989: 82-85; Stewart 1990: 194-95; Cohen 1997.



2. Neison Gem

300 - 250 B.C.

Red carnelian

St. Petersburg



The Keraunophoros Alexander engraved on this gem may be the result of Pyrgoteles' or Apelles' influence. Apelles' famous painting of Alexander wielding a thunderbolt at Ephesus would have been known throughout Alexander's empire; Pyrgoteles' gems would have held a similar celebrated status. The gem is identified as Alexander based on the attributes present, namely the anastole and diadem. Here Alexander stands contrapposto facing the viewer, heroically nude, holding a thunderbolt in his raised right arm. The thunderbolt is the focus of the gem, as it is being thrust out and towards us. His left arm is partially covered by an aegis and holds the hilt of a sword. On his left side is a shield, and on the right is an eagle that lifts its head to face Alexander. On his head, Alexander wears a diadem, which would date the gem to after 330 B.C. and Alexander's defeat of Darius. The gem must have been copied from another source, a painting, a statue or a gem because cameos were designed with the shape of the stone they were to decorate as a basis for the design. The original source for the gem would have been done during Alexander's lifetime; posthumous depictions showed him with the ram's horns.

The Neison Gem's Alexander shows a lack of planning since the left foot is awkwardly foreshortened and the thunderbolt, eagle, and sword are all cut to fit within the confines of the stone. Inscribed at a later date is the name NEISOY (Neison), perhaps a later owner.

Literature: Furtwangler 1900: 164-65, 302, pls. 32.11(1); 48.3(b); 65.48(a); Schreiber 1903: 205-7; Bernoulli 1905: 133-34, pl. 8.2(1); Neuffer 1929: 44; Gebauer 1939: 27, G31(1); Bieber 1949: 384; Kaiser 1962: 233-35, 239; Bieber 1964: 37-8; Michel 1967: 28-9; Neverov 1976: 61, no.53, pl. 53 (1: best reproduction, in colour); Zazoff 1983: 201; Pollitt 1986: 22-3, fig. 10(1); Megow 1987: 202, A84, pl. 27.2a; Stewart 1993: 43, 51, 54, 96, 198, 199-201, 203, 339, colour pl. 8, figs. 66-7.

3. Apulian Amphora

The Darius Painter

Ceramic

Ca. 330 B.C.

Naples, Museo Nazionale

No. 3220

Vase painting in Greek art deserves the utmost reverence, it is an artform as old as the civilisation of Greece itself. As Greece matured, styles changed as well as centres of production. Apulian vases were created on the Italian Peninsula by Greek colonists and local artists who had been influenced by their Greek counterparts. Vase painting on the mainland died out towards the end of the fifth century B.C. but flourished in Italy.

The amphora by the Darius Painter shows a remarkable similarity between its subject and the *Alexander Mosaic*. Intended as a funerary vessel, it is a strange theme to paint on the vase. Alexander, on horseback, charges after a fleeing and supplicating Darius, who rides in a chariot. Alexander, shown riding in from the left side, the place of victors in Greek art, holds his spear under his arm. Darius rides in his chariot, turning around and gesturing to Alexander, while his charioteer goads the horses forward. The similarity ends here though.

The Darius Painter depicts Alexander as bearded and in Greek, not Macedonian, armour including a Corinthian helmet. Darius is shown wearing theatrical barbarian dress and riding in a Greek chariot. The vase is the artist's conception of what a Greek warrior king should look like fighting a typical eastern barbarian. If he had seen the mosaic, or known of Alexander, he would have realised how important it was to show the young king as beardless, his most distinctive characteristic. The composition of the main scene is a compendium of basic clichés -- a charging Greek general on horseback, a defeated enemy who instead of tearing his hair out in grief, supplicates the victor, and theatrical costumes.

How did this scene make it so far west when Alexander the Great did not? In 333 B.C., Alexander the Molossian, Alexander's uncle, took control over the Tarentine army in Italy. He was extremely successful and perhaps he wanted his victories to mirror those of his illustrious nephew. This would also explain why Alexander was shown bearded, it would evoke both of the leaders.¹

The rest of side A of the amphora shows Boreas² rape of Oreithyia on the shoulder, above Alexander's pursuit of Darius. Darius shown as a typical Persian barbarian helps connect the two themes of side A. Alexander could be

¹ Trendhall, *Red Figure Vases of South Italy*, p. 15

² Howatson and Chilvers, *Oxford Concise Companion to Classical Literature*, p.90

Boreas was the Greek name for the north wind. He carried off as his wife the nymph Oreithyia, daughter of Erectheus. Athenians worshipped him in a state cult after he destroyed the Persian fleet at Cape Sepias in 480B.C.

seen as a mortal version of Boreas defeating the Persians yet again. Side B depicts Dionysos, with his thaisos, and Ariadne in a panther-drawn chariot. Above, on the shoulder, is a head wearing a Phrygian cap between two dancing maenads. Below both scenes is a band of youths, women, erotes interspersed among vegetal tendril motifs.

From Ruvo, Italy

Exhibitions: *The Art of South Italy*, May-August 1982

Literature: Metzger 1967: figs. 1,2(2,3); Holscher 1973: 174-77, pl. 14.1(2); Guiliani 1977: figs. 1, 2, 3, pl. 10.6; Trendhall and Cambitoglou 1978; LIMC, s.v. "Hellas," nos. 4, 6, 7, pls. 385-86 (1, 3); Moreno 1987b: 153-54, 196-97, figs. 124, 155, 192-93(1); Messerschmidt 1989: 83-84; Trendhall 1989: 15, 89, fig. 201.



4. Ivory Portrait of Alexander

Ivory

Ca. 350 B.C.

Vergina, Vergina Museum

The ivory head identified as Alexander is part of a set of ivory portraits of the Macedonian royal family. Originally set into wooden bodies, they were incorporated into a decorative frieze on a piece of furniture, most likely a couch or *kline*. All the heads are lacking their hair which makes the identification of Alexander conjectural since his "leonine mane" is one of his most striking attributes. The Alexander ivory exhibits his characteristic melting gaze, full brow and turned head. The date of the tomb is also under consider debate, pottery evidence places the burial to the mid-fourth century B.C., therefore the tomb could be that of Philip II's, but scholars argue for a date closer to 300 B.C.³



Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki

Exhibitions: *The Search for Alexander*, November 1980 – May 1982

Literature: Stewart 1993: 45-46; Briant: 17, 171; Vokotopoulou 1995: 168, fig. Bε12; Theodoru and Gratziou 1996: 40

³ Stewart, *Faces of Power*, p. 46.

5. Acropolis Alexander

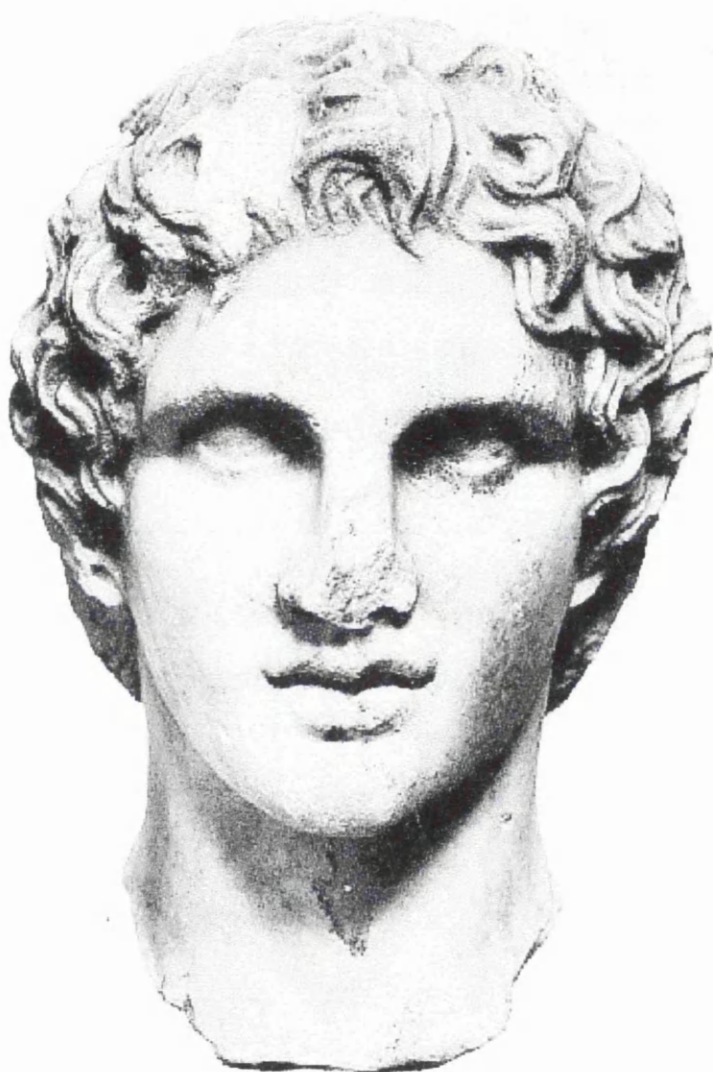
Marble

Ca. 340-330,

35 cm (13.8in)

Athens, Acropolis Museum

no. 1331



The head of Alexander as a young man, fifteen to sixteen years old as the crown prince of Macedon is attributed to Leochares as possibly an original. It is thought that it was erected after the battle of Charoneia in 338 BC when Alexander established himself as a competent general in his father's army, he even is said to have saved his father's life in that battle. It is also the time period when Alexander was still a student of Aristotle. This portrait has softened features, a full head of curly almost unruly hair, but not as defined an anastole as later depictions. His lips are full and slightly parted, his eyes stare intently ahead and his head is not turned or tilted. It is possible that

this may be a marble copy derived from Leochares' chryselephantine statue erected in the Philipeion at Olympia.

Exhibitions: *The Search for Alexander*, November 1980 – May 1982

Literature: Ujfalvy 1902: 88-90, fig. 27 (3); Schreiber 1903: 88-90; Bernoulli 1905: 39-42, fig. 9 (2), pls.2-3, (1-3); Blumel 1938: 7, K203, pl.17 (2); Gebauer 1939: 70-2, 98, 101-2, K67; Ashmole 1951: 15-16, pls. 11-12 (1); Kleiner 1951:

212, fig.3, (1); Bieber 1964: 25, fig.5 (1); Richter 1965: vol. 3: 255, fig.1727 (1); Michel 1967: 22, no. 2a, pls. 2-3 (3); Holscher 1971:10, pl.1 (1); von Graeve 1973: 246-50, figs. 5-6 (1), 13-14 (2); Robertson 1975: 462, 513, pl.144d (1); Fittschen 1977: 21-5, no. 7, pl. 8 (3), Beil. 2-3 (1-2); Lauter 1988: 735-36; Smith 1988: 60-1, 155-56, cat. no. 2, pl. 2 (1-3); Himmelmann 1989: 88, 92, fig. 28 (1); Ridgway 1990: 135, pl. 69a-b (1); Stewart 1990: 189, 284, fig. 560 (1); Smith 1991: 21-22, fig. 8 (1, but misleadingly identified as "Erbach Alexander").

6. Alexander on Horseback from Herculaneum

Bronze statuette,

Late Hellenistic/Roman, 1st Century BC

Museo Nazionale Naples, no. 4996

Alexander is shown on horseback in the midst of a battle. He wears a protective corselet and a diadem. The rudder that acts as support for the horse symbolizes the Granicus River that he and his army crossed before facing battle with the Persians. In his raised right hand he holds a sword about to strike his enemy. The characteristic anastole is evident as well as the penetrating gaze that Alexander was famous for.

This bronze solid cast statue is part of a larger figure group made as a copy in the lost wax process from the original cast by Lysippos. Alexander commissioned the sculpture sometime after 331 BC as a memorial to the Companions lost at the Battle of Granicus. The original bronze group would have been near life-sized and dedicated at the sanctuary of Zeus in Dion, just below Mount Olympus, in Macedonia. The army's main sanctuary was located here as part of the Macedonian National sanctuary. It also functioned as the site of the Macedonian Olympic festival. This was very sacred ground; Alexander, aware of its inherent holiness, dedicated the monument here as a major act of appreciation and tribute to his fallen comrades and their families. In 146 AD Quintus Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus removed the statue group and brought back to Rome as a dedication to his victory over the Macedonians.

The statue is of the Hellenistic tradition showing grand and elaborate movement. Here Alexander is not posing for a portrait but caught in motion where the viewer becomes an eyewitness to the event. The original statue group comprised at least twenty-five horsemen, a possible nine infantrymen and Alexander.

Found in Herculaneum in 1761

Literature: A. Ruesch, *Guida illustrata del Museo Nazionale di Napoli*, no. 1487; Koepp 1892: 15-16, fig. 29; Arndt and Bruckman 1900: nos. 479-80 (Amazon, Alexander); Brunn-Bruckman nos. 335a-b (Am., Al.); Ujfalvy 1902: pl. 17 (Al.); Schreiber 1903: 95-6, 282; Bernoulli 1905: 98-101, figs. 29-30 (Al., details); Johnson (1927) 1968: 225-26, pl. 48A (Al.); Gebauer 1939: 65-6, K62; von Roques de Maumont 1958: 23-5, fig. 11 (Al.); Bieber 1964: 34-6, figs. 19-21 (Al.); Siedentopf 1968: 15; Goukowsky 1978: 170-71 (Al.); Pollitt 1986: 43, fig. 36 (Al.); Moreno 1987a: 80-1, figs. 35 (Al.), 36-7 (horse); Neilsen 1987: 160-61, fig. 5 (Al.); Smith 1988: 153, no. 2, pl. 70. 1 (Al.); Calcani 1989: 34-6, 45, 55, 101-9, 121, figs. 6, 8, 61, 67 (Al.), 56-8, 62 (horse); Ridgway 1990: 119-21, cf. 142n. 26 for notes on the find circumstances, and pl. 65 (Am., back view); Stewart 1993: 124, fig. 22.



Begram Alexander
Bronze statuette,
Hellenistic/Roman from Kabul
Kabul (Afghanistan)

This bronze statue fragment also appears to have been copied from Lysippos' famous statue group. This particular fragment depicting Alexander on horseback was found in excavations in Begram, Afghanistan. It shows Alexander riding a now missing horse, wearing a typical Greek corselet and a sash across his chest designating him as a general. The statue represents the range of influence Hellenistic art reached.



Formerly in the Musee Guimet 1964

Literature: Bieber 1949: 383, figs. 22-4; Hackin 1954: 148, 287, no. 237, fig. 335; vonRoques de Maumont 1958: 25-6, fig. 12; Bieber 1964: 37, fig 23; Siedentopf 1968: 80; Goukowsky 1978: 213-14 (copies the Alexander *ktistes* of Alexandria, S18); Muscettola 1978: 87, fig. 35. 7; Hebert 1983: 192-93, fig. 21; Rolley 1986: 166, 214, cat. 278; Stewart 1993: 45, 172-73, fig. 52.

7. Fouquet Alexander

Bronze statuette of Alexander with a lance
Hellenistic or Roman, late 4th century B.C.

16.5 cm (6.5in)

Paris, Louvre

no. Br 370

The bronze figure stands naked, with his weight on the left leg, the right is slightly behind, his right arm hangs by his side, while the left is raised to hold a spear, now missing, and his head turns to the right. The left forearm and part of his right hand are also missing. The bronze is solid cast from a mould.

Lysippos was said to have reinvented the canon of statuary by changing the proportions of the head to the body, making his bronzes appear taller and leaner, less muscle bound and in poses that go beyond the body. In this small bronze statue this new canon of proportion is evident. Lysippos creation of a life-size bronze portrait of Alexander striding while holding a spear is similar in fact to the *Doryphorus* of Polykleitos, fig. 4, but even with this small figure it does seem tall and sleek.

The identification of the bronze as Alexander is based on the characteristic Alexandrian traits exhibited here: the turning of the head, the anastole, and deep set eyes. The head also resembles that of the Azara herm. In a passage from Plutarch, he touts the skill that made Lysippos Alexander's official portraitist,

For which Alexander gave to Lysippos the sole patent for making all his statues; because he alone expressed in bronze his character (ethos), and in his lineaments represented the lustre of his virtues; while others, who strove to imitate the turning of his neck and the liquid softness and brightness of his eyes were unable to preserve the manliness and lionlike fierceness of his countenance (On the Fortune or Virtue of Alexander, II 2).

In this particular statue, according to Plutarch, "When Lysippos had finished the first statue of Alexander looking up with his face to the sky (as Alexander was wont to look, with his neck slightly bent) he not improperly added to the pedestal the following lines:



*The statue seems to look to Zeus and say,
Take thou Olympus; me let earth obey!"*

At least six known replicas of the Lysippan original are known and they all have been discovered in Egypt. This figure type most likely functioned as votives to be dedicated to the cult of the deified Alexander, patron of the city of Alexandria.

From Alexandria, Lower Egypt

Exhibitions: *The Search for Alexander*, November 1980 – May 1982

Literature: Ujfalvy 1902: 65, 121, figs. 22, 35 (1,3); Schreiber 1903: 100-10, 124-26, pls. 6 (1,2) and 11.1 (4); Bernoulli 1905: 101-11, figs. 31, 35, 36 (1,3,2); Johnson (1927)1968: 216-17, pl. 47 (1); Gebauer 1939: 64-6, 99, K61; Kleiner 1951: 218-19; Bieber 1964: 34-5, fig. 18 (1); Schwarzenberg 1967: 94-6; Holscher 1971: 10, 33, 55, pl. 5 (1); Hafner 1978-80: 133; Andronikos et al 1980: no. 41; Pollitt 1986: 21-22, fig. 8 (1); Rolley 1986: 165, fig. 146 (1); Frel 1987: pls. 9-11 (1,6); Moreno 1987a: 94, fig. 44 (3); Killerich 1988: 56-8, fig. 6 (1); Nielsen 1988: 155-56, fig. 1 (1); Rolley 1988: 88-91, figs. 1-7; Smith 1988: 153, no. 8, pl. 70. 3-4 (1); Himmelmann 1989: 94-5, 108, 228, no. 176, colour pl.16 (1); Ridgway 1990: 115, 139n. 14; Stewart 1990: 189, fig. 564 (1); Stewart 1993: 45, 163-71, 243, 246, 338, fig. 32.

Nelidow Alexander
Bronze statuette of Alexander with a lance
Hellenistic/Roman,
10cm (4in)
Fogg Art Museum 1956.20

This statue is another example of the pervasiveness of Lysippos' original statue portrait of Alexander cast circa 330 BC. Alexander is shown the stance of the Doryphoros, nude and holding a spear (now missing) in his left hand. He turns to the left and faces the spear. Alexander's pose is more exaggerated, with hips swaying further to the right than the *Fouquet Alexander*. His right hand rests firmly on his right hip. The legs from the knees down have been restored.

Gift of C. Ruxton Love, Jr. From the collections of A.J. Nelidow and C. Ruxton Love, Jr. From Macedonia via Istanbul.

Exhibitions: *The Search for Alexander*, November 1980 – May 1982

Literature: Ujfalvy 1902: 109-16, pls. 15-16(1); Schreiber 1903: 104n.8; Pollak 1903: 3, 139, 184, 198; Bernoulli 1905: 106-8, figs. 33-34(1); Johnson (1927)1968: 217-18; Gebauer 1939: 54-56, 93, K46; Kleiner 1951: 219-21; Fogg Art Museum 1954: 31-32, no. 220, pl. 62; Manino 1956-57: figs. 10, 21(1, 5); Schwarzenberg 1967: 96; Holscher 1971: 55-56; Buitron *The Art Bulletin* 55, no. 3 1973: 393-400; Hafner 1978-80: 134; Andronikos et al. 1980: no. 38; Hundsalz 1985: pls. 36-37(1-3); Moreno 1988a: 259-61, figs. 1, 7(4); Himmelmann 1989: colour fig. 35(1), 135, 148(2 is a fake), 180; Ridgway 1990: 115, 139n.14; Stewart 1990: 189, fig 565(1); Stewart 1993: 45, 163-71, fig. 35.



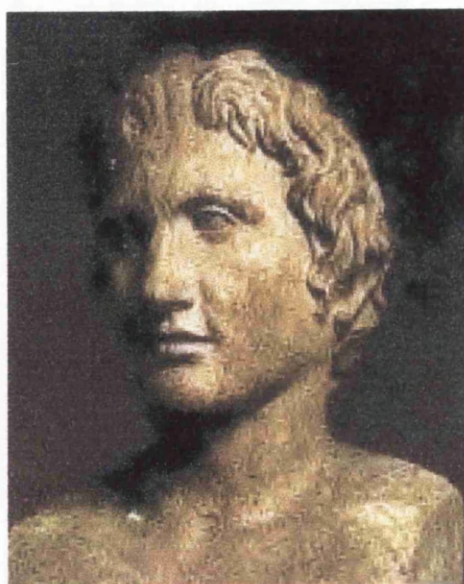
8. Azara Herm of Alexander

Roman copy 1st – 2nd century A.D.,
probably after a 4th century B.C. original
Marble

68 cm (26.75in)

Paris, Louvre

no. Ma 476



The *Azara Herm*, despite the reconstruction to the brow, nose and lips, is recognisable as Alexander. Confirming the characteristic identifying features is an inscription on the base of the herm, Alexander, son of Philip (ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΜΑΚΕ[ΔΟΝ]).

This shows Alexander as clean-shaven, with high cheekbones, and flat cheeks, and a low set mouth. His head turns to his right. The high voluminous anastole present in the *Acropolis Alexander* is replaced flatter heavier curls and waves. The hairstyle shows that a diadem may have been present in another material based on a slight indentation around the head. The whole herm is extremely weathered.

It is based on a Lysippan original, dated to approximately 325 –320 B.C., this marble bust is a later Roman copy because Greek artists always sculpted complete figures, not just the head and shoulders. All of the characteristics of this herm tend to suggest that it was created from a repertoire of clichés.

From Tivoli

Exhibitions: *The Search for Alexander*, November 1980 – May 1982

Literature: Koepp 1892: 8-11, figs., pl.1(1); Ujfalvy 1902: 77-84, fig.16, pls. 2, 8-9 (1-2); Schreiber 1903: 17-40, pl.1(1); Bernoulli 1905: 21-27, figs.1, 2, pl. 1(1, 2); Johnson (1927)1968: 213-15, pls. 43-44 (1); Gebauer 1939: 61-62, 96-97, K53-54; Kleiner 1951: 218, fig. 6(1); Bieber 1964: 32-34, figs. 13-17(1); Richter 1965: vol.3: 255, figs. 1730-35 (1, 2); Schwarzenberg 1976: 254-55; Andronikos et al. 1980: no.3 (1); Buitron and Oliver 1985: no. 60, colour pl.22 (b); Pollitt 1986: 21, fig. 7(1); Neilsen 1987: 162; Killerich 1988: 54-55, figs. 1-2(1); Lauter 1988: 723-34, pls. 1-3(1); Reeder 1988: no. 110(b); Smith 1988: 60-61, 155, no.1, pl.1 (1, 2); Himmelmann 1989: 32, fig. 30(1), 94, 99(3), 100,102, 118, 228; Ridgway 1990: 123, 135; Smith 1991: 21, fig. 6(1); Stewart 1993: 42, 44, 76n, 140, 165-71, 251, 331, figs. 45-46.

9. Shrine of the Bark reliefs

c.334 B.C.

Sandstone

Luxor, Temple to Zeus Ammon

In situ

Eighteen panels, 52 images in total, cover the eastern and western sides of the shrine. They are arranged in three registers, showing Alexander meeting Ammon-Ra and the Ka-bearing Ammon-Ra Khamutef. Four similar panels decorate the sides of the south entrance. Alexander is depicted entering the temple surrounded by the deities of Egypt as well as pharaonic symbols.⁴ The reliefs were executed in traditional canonical Egyptian style, solidifying Alexander's new title of pharaoh.

Literature: Abd el-Raziq 1984: figs. 53-54; Stewart 1993: 22, 45, 52, 64, 96, 174-78, 233, 250, 380-81(T 91), text fig. 6; figs. 53-54.

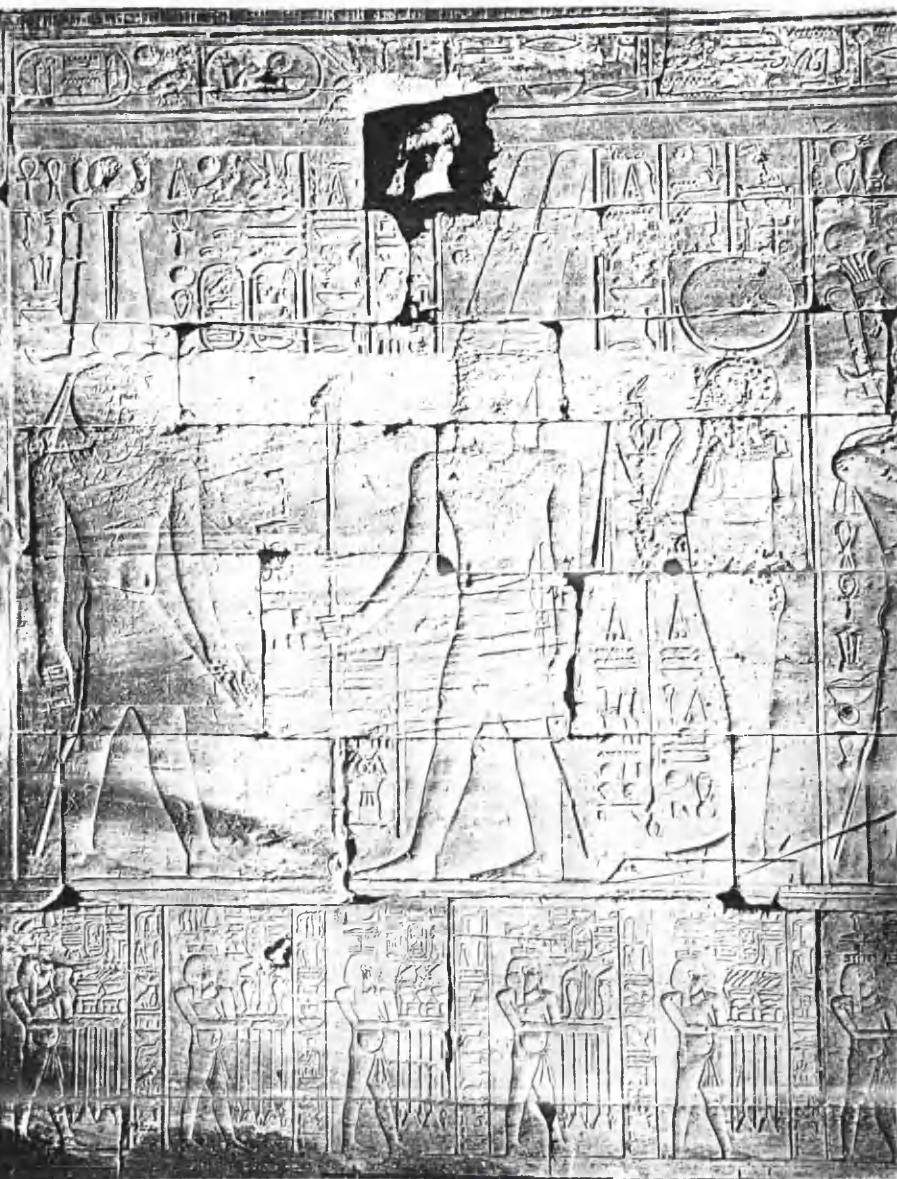
⁴ Stewart, Faces of Power, p.381, T91a and b.

A

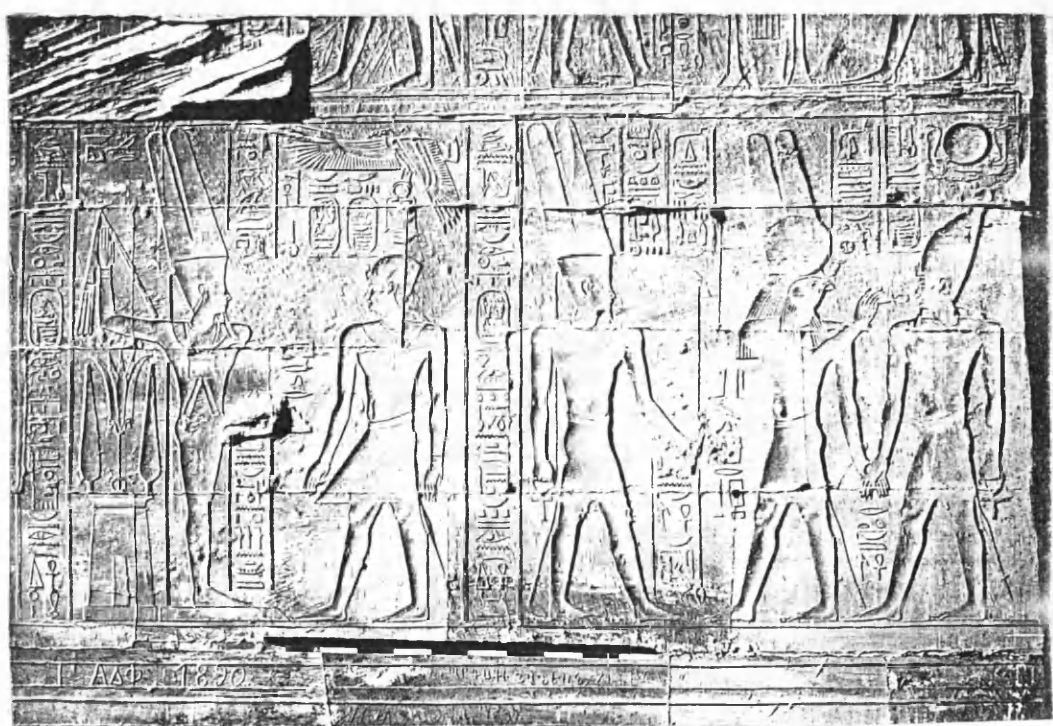
1. The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands, *Stp-n-Ra-mrj-Imn* (the Power of Ra, the Beloved of Ammon), the Son of Ra, the Lord of the Crowns, Alexander, endowed with life.
2. All protection, life, longevity, and luck be on him.
3. Pray to the god, four times
4. [Ammon-Ra, the Lord] of the Thrones of the Two Lands, who is on the peak of *Ipt-swt*, the Lord of the Skies, the Ruler of Thebes.
5. [Ammon] says: "I have granted you all the life and fortune that is in my power. I have given you the nine bow people altogether under your feet."
6. Khonsu in Thebes, fair in peace, Thot, who is in Heliopolis.
7. [Khonsu] speaks: "I have given you all the heart's delight that is in my power. I have bestowed Ra's kingdom on earth upon you. I have given you the crook and scourge, with which you will appear like Ra."

B

1. The Perfect God, the King of the Two Lands, Alexander.
2. The One who belongs to *Bhdt*.
3. To lead the king into the temple.
4. Month-Ra, the Lord of Thebes, says: "your nose is like life and fortune."
5. Ammon-Ra, the Lord of Thrones of the Two Lands, who is on the peak of *Ipt-swt*, the Lord of the Skies, the King of the Gods.
6. [Ammon] says: "I have given you the nine-bow people under your feet. I have granted you all life and fortune and all health."
7. He is the King, the Lord of the Two Lands, the Lord of the Ceremonies, *Stp-n-Ra-mrj-Imn*, in which [lands] he made a fine monument of sandstone for his father Ammon-Ra, the Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands. He acts for Him, the Lifegiver, forever.



Shrine of the Bark
in the Luxor Temple.
Alexander (left) before
Ammon-Ra and Khonsu-Thot.



71 Alexander before Ammon-Khamutef (left);
Monthu introduces Alexander to Ammon (right).

10. Rondanini Alexander
Marble
Munich, Glyptothek
No. 298

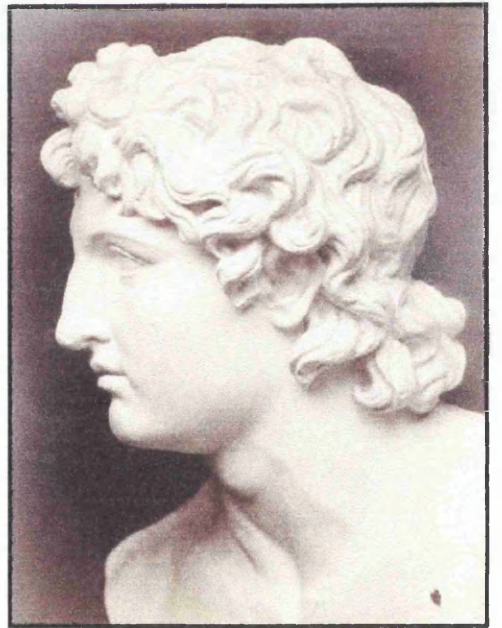
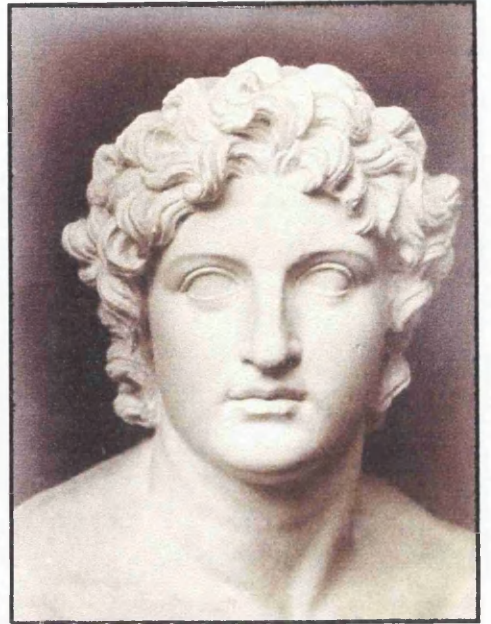
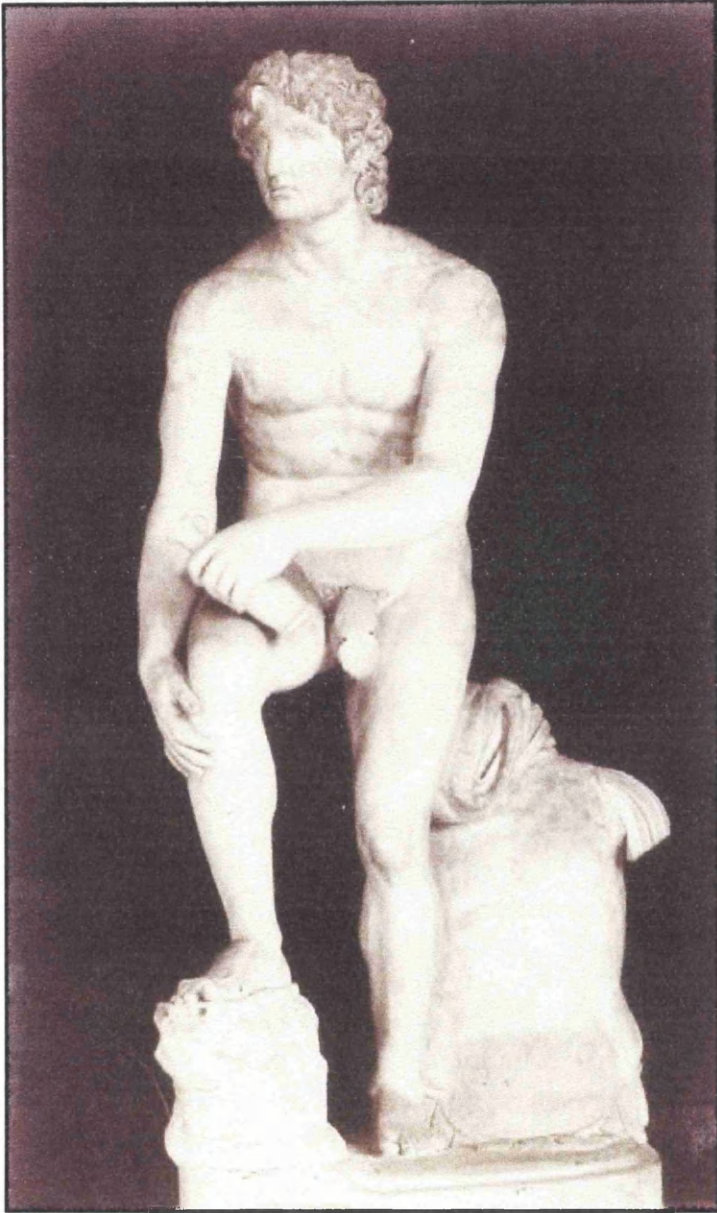
This marble sculpture was identified 1767 by Johann Winckelmann who judged it to be the only 'real' Alexander known at that time. Since then it is now regarded as a classicising work from the Hellenistic period. The figure has been variously identified as Achilles, Meleager, and possibly Jason, though most scholars accept it to be Alexander. It is a uniquely posed sculpture, no other sculptural copies exist.

Alexander raises his right leg up, and begins to lean over it. Against his left leg rests his cuirass, and chlamys. The arms just below the shoulder are original though the elbows and forearms are restorations, as is the right leg, but based on the remaining fragments and their positions, the restoration of the leg is most likely correct. The arms though are conjecture.

The face is heavily modelled and the hair is curlier than portraits showing Alexander at the same age. He is around eighteen years old and shown as a general, symbolised by the cuirass, therefore the original must post-date his battle at Charoneia, where he was said to have proved his military prowess, and even saved his father's life. The extreme amount of idealisation, though, points to portrait created from the end of his life or posthumously, if so, then it could simply be a heroic depiction of the mighty warrior.

Munich, Glyptothek, formerly in the Palazzo Rondanini, Rome.

Literature: Koepp 1892: 16-19, fig., pl.2; Ujfalvy 1902: 84-88, pls. 10-11; Schreiber 1903: 82-83, 272-77, fig. 33; Bernoulli 1905: 44-51, fig 10, pl.5; Gebauer 1939: 72-73, 102, K68; Kleiner 1951: 212-14, figs. 1, 2, 14; Bieber 1964: 24-25, figs. 6-8; Richter 1965: vol. 3: 255, fig. 1729; Holscher 1971: 10, 25, 30, 32, 33, 35-37, 49, pl. 2; Schwarzenberg 1975; Vierneisel-Schlorb 1979: 370-79, no. 33, figs. 180-88; Palagia 1980: 45-48, figs 62-65; Smith 1988: 61-62; Himmelmann 1989: 33, 62, 95-98, figs. 31-32, 100, 102; Ridgway 1990: 113-16; Stewart 1993: 53, 113-17, 121, 251, figs. 10, 12.



11. Alexander Aigiochos

320 – 300 B.C.

Bronze

London, British Museum

No. 1924.7-11.1

Alexander founded the city of Alexandria in April of 334 B.C. and thereafter became its protective deity. He is shown wearing Zeus' aegis, a apotropaic garment taken from the mythological gorgon who had the power to turn men to stone with a simple glance. By depicting Alexander wearing such an attribute gives him the same power, as well as reminding the Greek speaking people of Alexandria the derivation of his name which means "the averter of men", or defeater of armies.

The British Museum example is a reduced scale Roman copy of a larger original Hellenistic cult statue that stood in Alexandria. It is a solid cast bronze figure. Alexander is shown striding forward with his right arm raised and holding either a spear or sceptre, now missing. His left forearm, also missing, extended, perhaps to hold an offering. The aegis drapes around his shoulders and covers his left side except where he has raised his left arm up. The face of the gorgon rests on his left breast.

Alexander after his death was considered by many subsequent generations as a god and depictions of him served as magical protective tokens. Small statues acted as votive dedications to be placed at his sanctuary in Alexandria.

From Ptolemais, Lower Egypt

Literature: Schreiber 1903: 142-45, 228-29, pl.12 (14); Bernoulli 1905: 112, fig.38 (14); Perdrizet 1913: figs. 1-7, pls. 4-5 (1, 4, 7-8, 10, 12, 14); Johnson (1927) 1968: 229; Neuffer 1929: 15, 44-45; Gebauer 1939: 77-78, 104, K77; Bruns 1948: 16-17, fig. 11(16); Kleiner 1951: 215, fig. 12(14); Bieber 1964: 62, figs. 69-70 (4, 12); Michel 1967: 30, pl. 6.2(10); Schwarzenberg 1967: 92, 117n. 195; *Archeological Reports* 1970-71: 71, no.5, fig. 5(2); Schwarzenberg 1976: 233-35, figs. 6-8 (4, 12, 16); Grimm 1978: 103-4, figs. 76-77 (3, 11); Andronikos et al. 1980, Boston Supplement: no.9 (13); Megow 1987: 244, no. A 156, pl. 49.1 (16); Reeder 1988: no. 49 (13); Himmelmann 1989: 87; Ridgway 1990: 116-17; Stewart 1990: 189, fig. 563 (12); Stewart 1993: 246, fig.83.





12. Marble Bust of Alexander

Marble

2nd-1st Century B.C.

37 cm, (14.5in)

London, British Museum

GR 1872.5-15.1

Alexandria was home to the main centre of the posthumous cult of Alexander. Through out the city stood numerous statues of Alexander erected by the city's leaders. The statues, over time, became more and more idealised, as would befit a god. They still showed Alexander as beardless, dynamic, with thick curling hair, but displaying huge amounts of divinization, as opposed to his portraits taken from life.

Found Alexandria, Lower Egypt

Exhibitions: *The Story of Cleopatra*, pending.

Literature: Koepp 1892: 19-20, fig. ; Schreiber 1903: 45-46, 51-52, pl.2; Bernoulli 1905: 62-65, pl.6; Johnson (1927)1968: 220; Gebauer 1939: 38-39, 86, K9; Bieber 1964: 58-59, fig. 53; Pollitt 1986: 30, fig 18; Smith 1988: 62; Smith 1991: 22, fig 9; Stewart 1993: 54, 251, 331, fig. 124.

13. Alexander Sarcophagus

330-300 B.C.

Pentelic Marble

Height 1.95m (6.4 ft), Frieze 69cm (27.2in)

Istanbul, Archaeological Museum

No. M68

The Alexander Sarcophagus' name derives from the iconography of the two main scenes – the Battle of the Macedonians and the Persians and a hunting scene – not its patron. The sarcophagus most likely was created for the Phoenician ruler Abdalonymos, who was made king of Sidon by Alexander in 332 B.C. The battle shows Alexander on horseback entering the fray from the left. He is shown wearing a stylised lion helmet, versus the lion's skin. The battle imagery probably represents the Battle of Issos, when Alexander won Phoenicia and Sidon.⁵ The hunt relief shows Greeks and Persians hunting together, with emphasis on Alexander and Abdalonymos hunting as a pair. These are posthumous portraits of Alexander. The date of Abdalonymos' death is unknown.

Very high reliefs cover all four sides of the base of the sarcophagus and the pediments as well. The entire structure designed as a Hellenistic Greek temple was painted in vibrant colours, blue, yellow, red, and purple. Metal attachments were used to spears, swords, and reins, now missing. Women's heads and eagles alternate along the roofline; horned lion's heads are used at the corners. Vegetal tendril motif friezes decorate the cornices on the long sides of the lid. The reliefs are within a carved bead and reel frame.

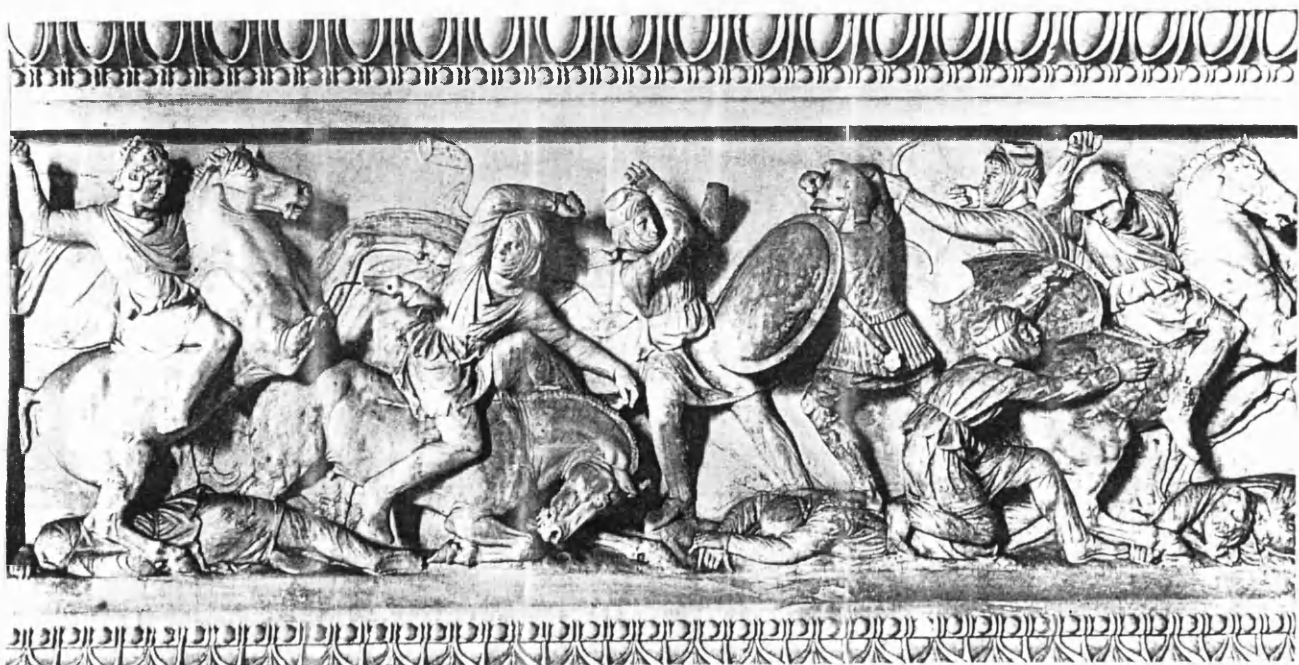
The sarcophagus is reminiscent of the elaborate tombs of the Macedonian kings, but differs in the fact that the Greeks were cremated before burial, not interred. Therefore the sarcophagus combines three different cultures, Greek architecture, a "Macedonian narrative and a Phoenician patron".⁶

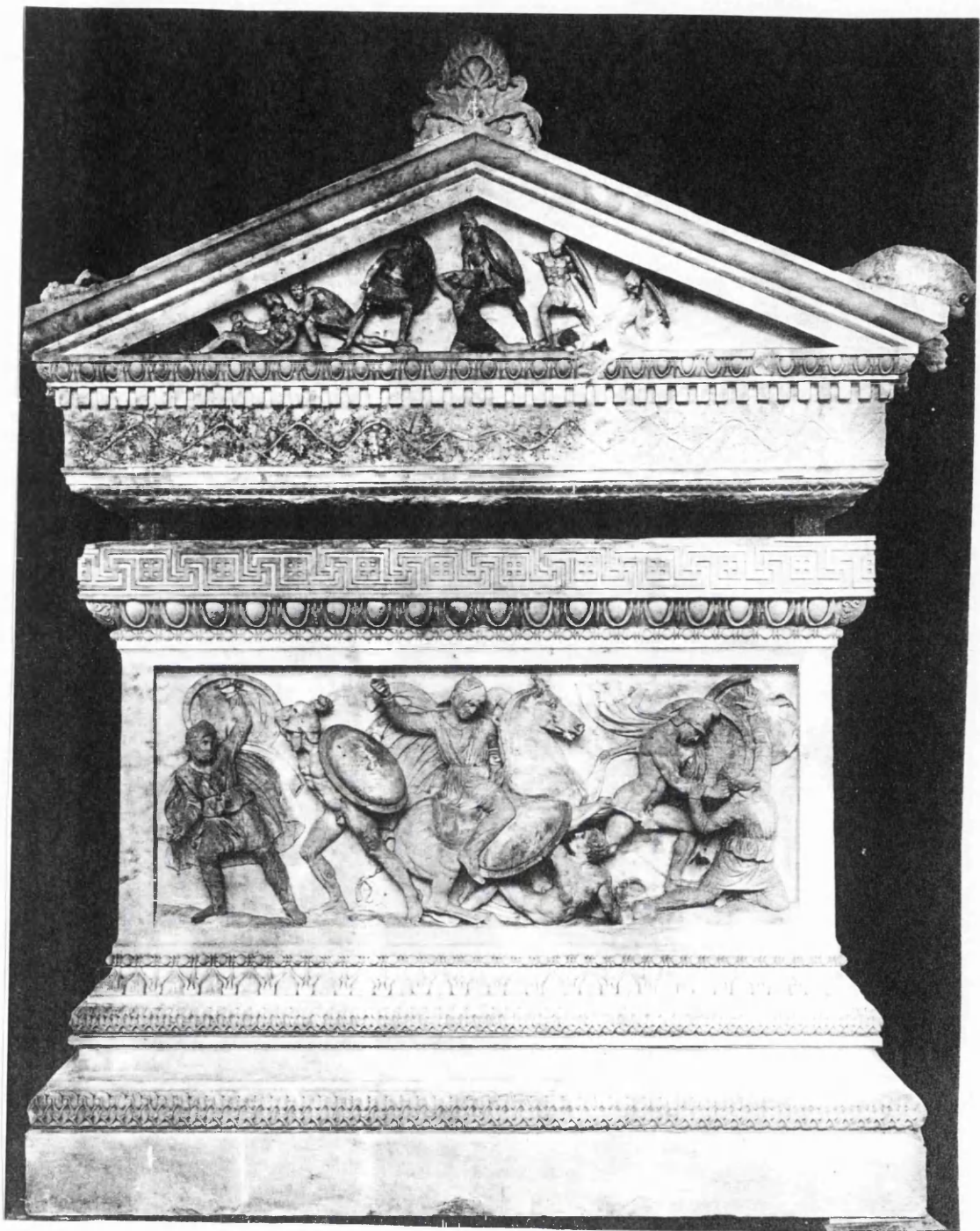
Found in the Royal Necropolis in Sidon 1887

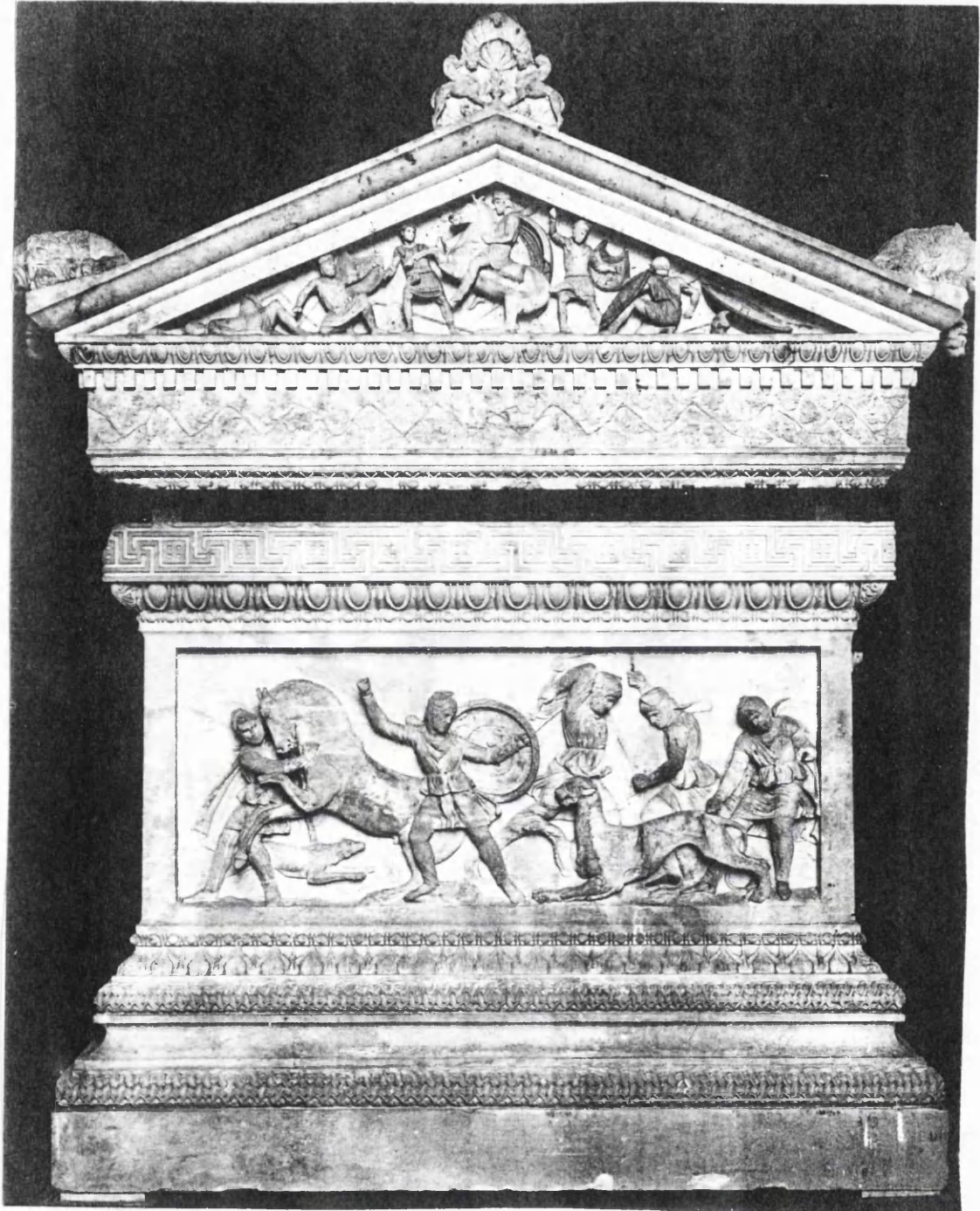
Literature: Hamdy Bey and Reinach 1892; Studniczka 1894; Schreiber 1903: 120-23; Bernoulli 1905: 118-22, fig. 40; Winter 1912; Mendel 1912-14: no. 68; Fuhrman 1931: 271-76; Gebauer 1939: 51-53, K43; Kleiner 1951: 224-25, fig. 9; Bieber 1964: 50-52, figs. 34-36; Schefold and Seidel 1968; von Graeve 1970; Holscher 1973: 189-96, pl. 16; Guiliani 1977; Borchhardt 1983: 120-21, pl. 24; Pollitt 1986: 38-45, figs. 32-33, 37-38; Smith 1988: 63-64; Stamatou 1988: 211-12; Calcani 1989: 47, 48, 55, 62, 64, 66, 100-01, 114, 121, 138-39, 147, figs. 12-13, 80, 83, 86; Messerschmidt 1989; Ridgway 1990: 37-45, pls. 10-16; Smith 1991: 190-92, fig. 226; Stewart 1993: 43, 44, 53, 64, 127, 128, 133, 159, 209, 223, 264, 274-75, 294-306, 312, 339, figs. 101-3, 105-6.

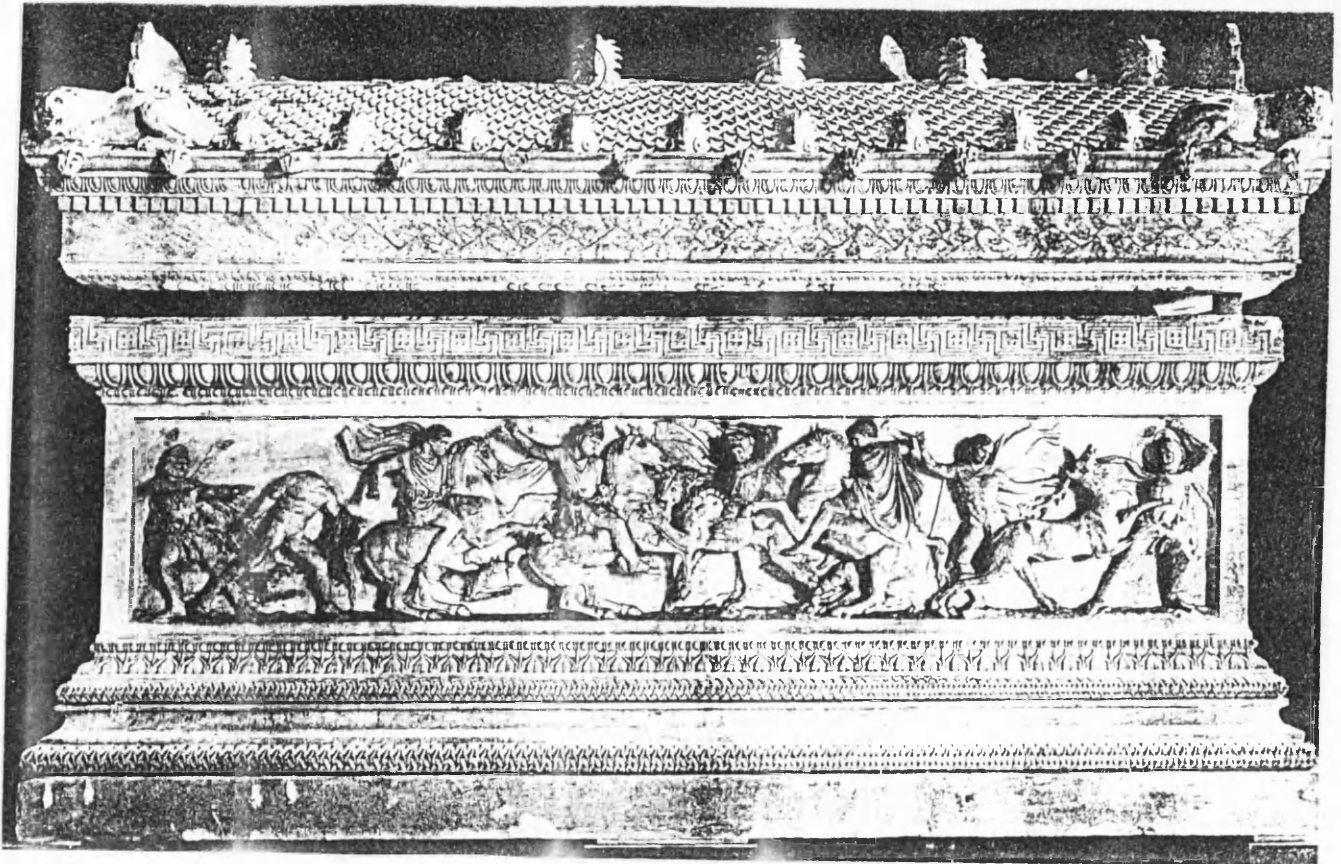
⁵ Smith, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, p. 191

⁶ Smith, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, p. 190









14. Alexander Intaglio

Late 4th century B.C. to mid 3rd century B.C.

Tourmaline

2.4 cm, (1in)

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Department of Antiquities

No. 1892.1199 G.J. Chester Bequest

The extremely convex intaglio showing Alexander wearing the horns of Ammon facing to the right is likely to be a piece of artwork made during Alexander's lifetime. It quite possibly is an original gemstone cut by Alexander's court gem-cutter Pyrgoteles for the mere reason of its stone, the tourmaline. In antiquity tourmaline was considered part of the emerald family and could not always be distinguished from emeralds. If it was considered an emerald, it would mean that this intaglio could be one of a scant few gems that Alexander had Pyrgoteles make.

Alexander has the characteristic anastole raising high over his forehead, and his eyes are set and focused dead ahead giving a sense of Alexander's intense personality and moments of erratic mania. The ram's horns curl around his ears as they do on the later coins of Lysimachus. Beneath Alexander's neck is a minute inscription identified as an eastern script, but not yet concretely deciphered.⁷

The reason for the gemstone is unknown, but perhaps it served as a gift from Alexander to an eastern governor appointed by him. The stone would have been set in a ring and used as a seal for important documents, the inscription serving as the local governor's signature. Or if the stone was cut in the East, the monogram may be the artist's signature. If the stone was cut in the east, it would date to shortly to after Alexander's trip to the Siwah oasis where he was recognised officially as the son of Ammon.



⁷ In GGFR 360 Boardman thought it might be Kharosti, of N.W. India where Alexander was active. Dr. Bivar advises us that it might more plausibly be Brahmi, although it is not altogether intelligible (*na-ta-bhu*). [I]n general it resembles letter forms of the period of Asoka, whose relations with Greek culture are well known. It may be taken that as a further indication that it was cut on the eastern borders of Alexander's empire, at a date not far removed from his death.

Purchased in Beirut

Literature: E. Babelon, *Catalogue des camees antiques et modernes de la Bibliotheque Nationale* (Paris, 1897), no.222; Gebauer 1939: 29, 83 (G35-40), pl. 4.14-15; Richter 1968: no. 597; Boardman 1970: no. 998; Boardman and Vollenwieder 1978: no. 280, pl. 43; Zazoff 1983: 199-200, pl. 46.10; Pollitt 1986:26; Stewart 1993: 51-2, 54, 321-23, figs. 118-19.

Portrait Bust of Pericles

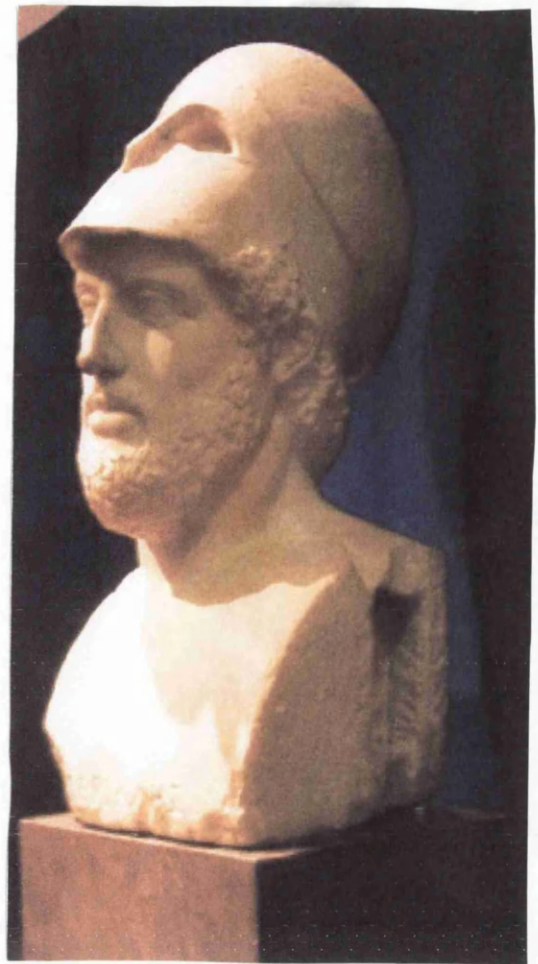
2nd century A.D.

Marble

London, British Museum

No. GR 1805.7-3.91 (sculpture 549)

The marble herm of the Athenian statesman Pericles is a Roman copy of a fifth century Greek bronze original. The sculptor Cresilas made a portrait of Pericles after his death in 429 B.C. at the request of Pericles' sons. The portrait is idealised without any specific individuality. Its identity could not be determined if it was not for the inscription upon the base of the herm. The bronze life-size original would have shown Pericles as a heroic nude warrior. The remaining attribute depicted on the marble portrait indicating that he is a warrior is the pushed back Corinthian helmet, which was necessary in order to show his face.



Pericles portrait was discovered on the Acropolis and no where else in the Athenian empire.⁸

Literature: Stewart 1993: 55, 61, 65-66, 111, 119, fig. 2; Spivey 1996: 135, 155-56, 157, 163, fig. 93; Boardman 1997: 100, fig 101.

⁸ Boardman, J., ed., The Oxford History of Classical Art, p.100, 90C.

16. Terme Ruler

3rd to 2nd Century B.C.

Bronze

2.20 m, (7.25ft)

Rome, Museo Nazionale delle Terme

no. 1049

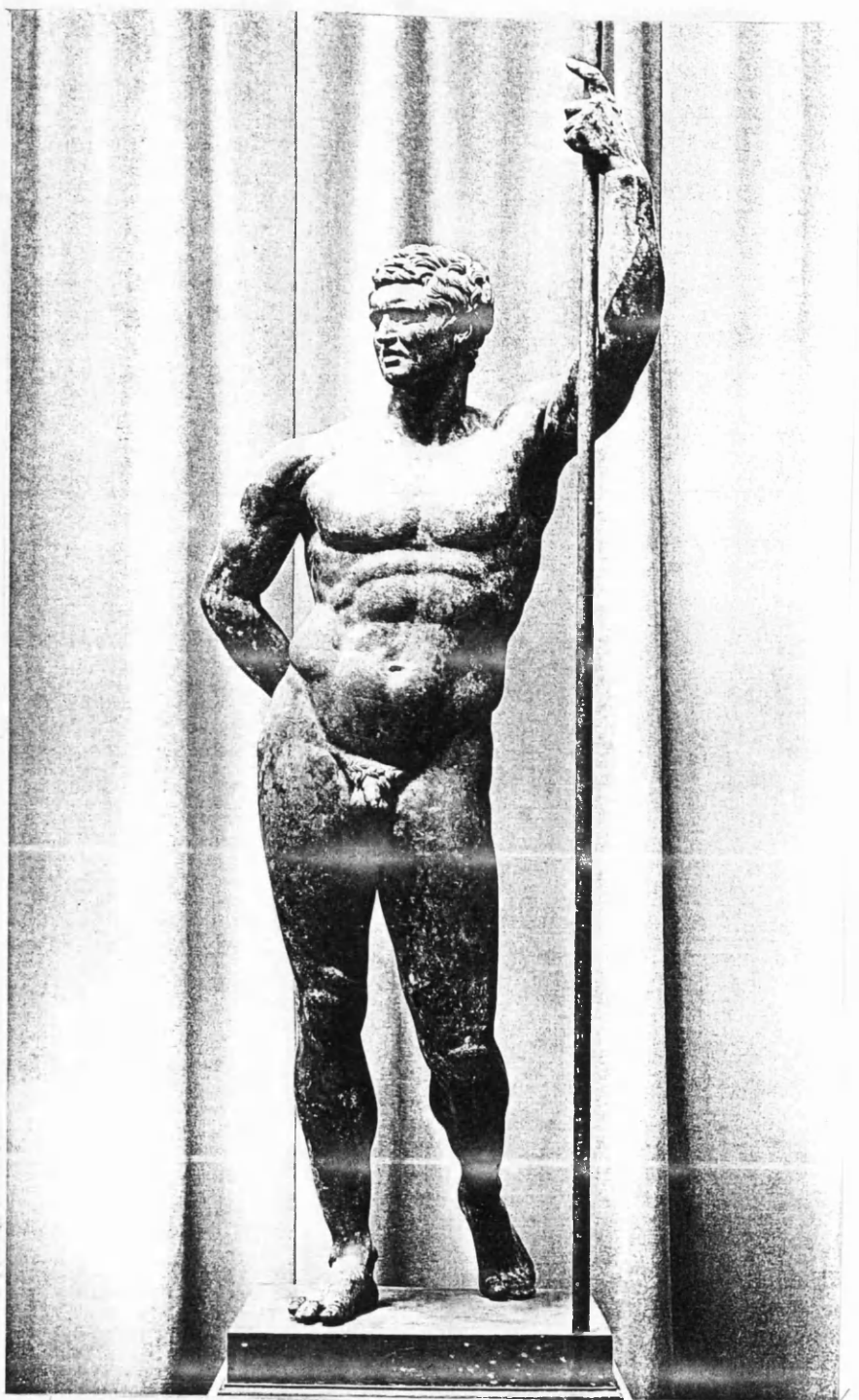
The unidentified Terme ruler (possibly Demetrius I Soter of Syria)⁹ is shown posed as Alexander Doryphorus, standing *contrapposto* holding a spear in his raised left hand. His right arm is bent and rests behind his right hip. His head turns to the right. His inlaid coloured glass or paste eyes were set deep beneath a heavily bulging brow, the inlay now missing. After Alexander the pose of a 'Spear-Bearer' came to signify a king, and later, simply a ruler.¹⁰ Alexander implemented a spear in his portrait statues to remind his people of his military accomplishments in Asia, the 'Spear-won land'. Nude portrait statues were usually reserved for gods and heroes, not rulers, so by depicting a ruler naked, slightly taller and more muscular, he was elevated to a higher, semi-divine status as would befit a Successor to Alexander.

Weathered to dark green with brown patches. Found in the Baths of Constantine in 1884.

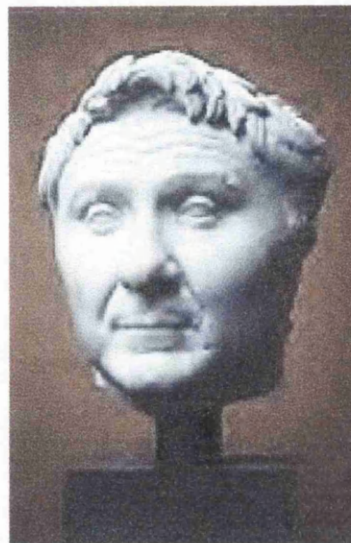
Literature: Williams 1945, *AJA* 49: 330-47; Carpenter 1945, *AJA* 49: 353-57; BM no. 35; Smith 1988: 19, 20, fig. 3; Boardman 1993: 209, fig. 195.

⁹ Havelock, C.M., *Hellenistic Art*, pp. 36-37.

¹⁰ Smith, R.R.R., *Hellenistic Sculpture*, p. 19.



17a. Marble Bust of Pompey
Marble
Roman, 1st century A.D.
26 cm (10.25in)
Copenhagen, Ny Glyptothek
no. 733



Pompey 'the Great' (106-48 B.C.) portrait bust is identified based on coin portraits in addition to the location of its discovery in a tomb just outside of Rome, which seemed to have belonged to a later generation of his family. The piece is most likely a copy from the first century AD, derived from an original created approximately 55 B.C. when he was consul in Rome.

The portrait combines the realism of Roman Republican portraiture with elements taken from Hellenistic portraits, especially those of Alexander the Great. Pompey is shown with small eyes, puffy cheeks, and a deeply lined forehead which very likely he had, but his hair is treated much like Alexander portraits. His hair is thick and unruly, raising up in the centre in an anastole. Some Romans mockingly called him Alexander, despite the tone of their jests, he no doubt considered himself very much an heir to Alexander.¹¹ He was a victorious general in the east, leaving military settlements behind to insure his newly won land.

Literature: Reece 1983: 168-169; Ramage and Ramage 1991 (1995): 14, 17, 121, fig. 2.31; Zanker 1992: 9-11, fig.6; Boardman 1993: 197, 224, 225, 243, 244, 262, no. 239;.

¹¹ Boardman, J. *The Oxford History of Classical Art*, p.243-44, no. 239.

17 b. Marble Bust of Caracalla

Marble

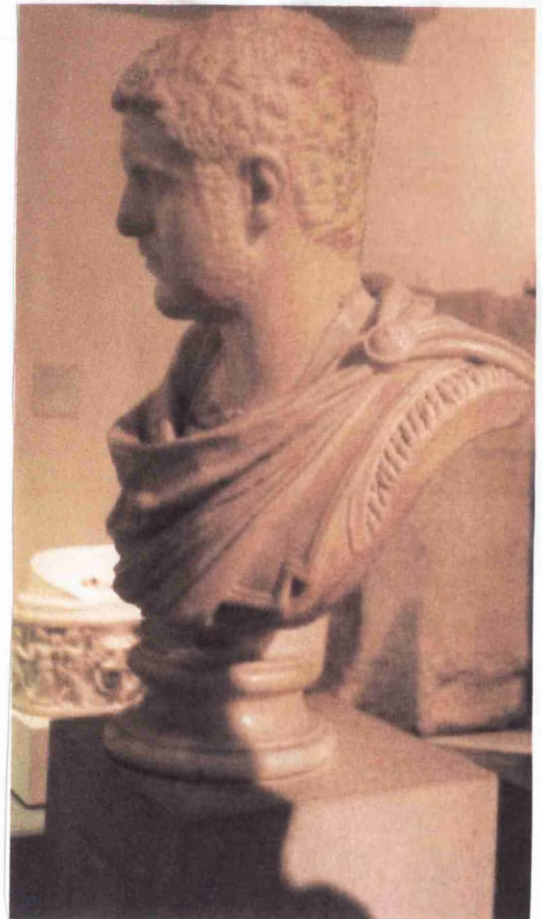
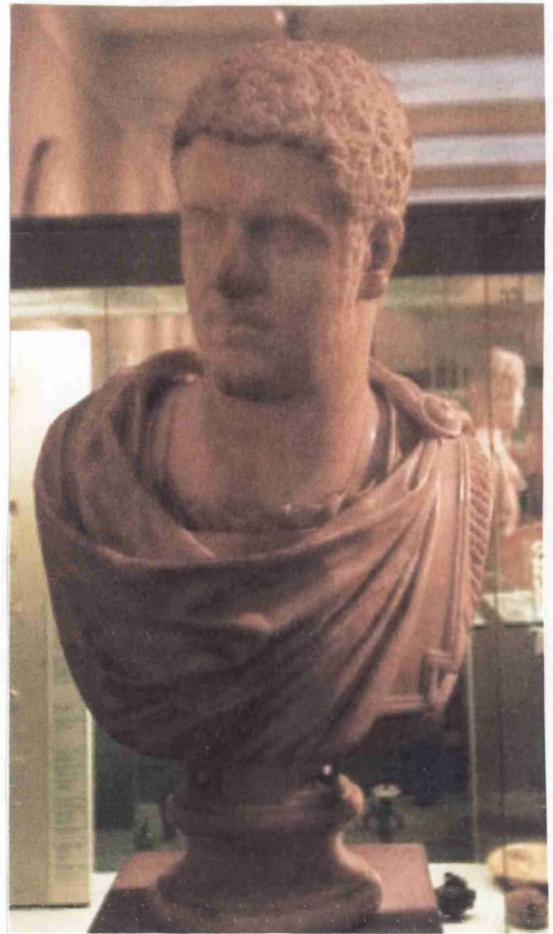
215 - 217 A.D.

London, British Museum

no. GR 1805.7-3.102(sculpture 1917)

Important in understanding the character of and Behaviour of Caracalla is his identification with Alexander the Great. It was by no means odd for Roman emperors to admire the achievements of the Macedonian king, but Caracalla became manically obsessed with Alexander, adopting his clothing, weapons, behaviour, travel routes, and portraits. He assumed the name Magnus, the Great, like Pompey before him. Caracalla also organised a Macedonian phalanx and an elephant division, and had himself represented as godlike on coins, like his Macedonian predecessor.

Literature: von Heintze 1972: 170, fig. 177;
Ramage and Ramage 1991(1995): 250, 251, 255, fig. 9.25;



The Coins



1. Alexander III, the Great, Tetradrachm

336-323 BC.


Greek/Macedonian

Silver

Weight 17.15 gm., diameter 1in

London, British Museum, room 69 (HSBC Money Gallery), Case 2

Obverse: Head of Herakles, right, wearing lion's skin headdress, knotted beneath his chin.

Reverse: Zeus seated left, with eagle in right hand, spear/sceptre in left. Symbol, sickle. Mintmark in exergue combining the Greek letters Φ and an upside down M, , and an M beneath the left leg of the throne. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ Beaded border.

This coin is a silver tetradrachm (four drachma) dated to the reign of Alexander the Great. Alexander brought this coin with him on his campaigns and introduced it to the lands he conquered, making it a universal coinage and successor to the Athenian "owls". Herakles wearing the lion's skin is both a claim of Alexander's divine decendancy in addition to being an idealised portrait of the king. The image of Zeus on the reverse may be an interpretation of an eastern statue type of the god Baal, or a miniature version of Pheidias's sculpture of Zeus at Olympia.

Purchased by the British Museum in 1907 from a Mr. Louisides

Exhibitions: *The Search for Alexander*, November 1980 - May 1982

Literature: May 1939; 1950;1966; Bellinger 1963; Price, *Coin Hoards*, vol.1 (London, 1975); LeRider 1977; Andronikos et al. 1980: 112, no.27; Price 1982b; Morkholm 1991; Price 1991b.



2. Porus Medallion

Silver Decadrachm, or Babylonian 5 shekel coin

c. 326 -323 BC

Diameter 3.2cm (1.25in); weight 39.62 grams

British Museum nos. CM 1887.6.9.1



This coin minted during Alexander's lifetime in Babylonia or Susiana shows an actual portrait of the king. The obverse of the coin shows Alexander on a rearing horse fighting two men on an elephant in retreat. The two men are most likely Porus and his mahout. The driver is seated just behind the elephant's neck and turns to throw a spear with his right hand. In his left hand are two more spears. Both men are bearded and wear conical helmets.

The reverse shows Alexander dressed as a general in armour wearing a Greek or Macedonian helmet topped with a high plumed headdress. He is holding a spear or sceptre in his left hand and a thunderbolt in his right. A Nike, flying in from the left, crowns Alexander with a wreath. The monogram AB is in field to the left.

The coins commemorate and romanticise Alexander's victory over the Indian king Porus, in 326 B.C. The reverse shows Alexander as Zeus, whose thunderbolt he holds. The coins were die cast in silver.

The pose of Alexander on horseback on the obverse refers back to that of Lysippos' statue group, and the reverse is reminiscent of Apelles paintings which show Alexander with the same attributes.

Exhibitions: *The Search for Alexander*, November 1980 - May 1982

Literature: Head 1911: 832-33; *Arabia, Mesopotamia, Persia* (London, 1922), 191 no. 61; Neuffer 1929: 9-10, 29, 37, 43; Fuhrman 1931: 313-14, 349-50; Gebauer 1939: 18; Whitehead 1943: 70; Kleiner 1951: 222; British Museum 1959: 49, pl.27, no. 4; Kaiser 1962: figs. 1-4; Bellinger 1963: 27, pl.1. 13; Bieber 1964: 36-7, fig. 22; Guepin 1964: 129, figs. 2-3; Michel 1967: 29, pl. 8. 4-5; Goukowsky 1972: 477-80; Kraay and Purvey 1973: 29, figs. 10-12; Goukowsky 1978: 61-6, figs. 1-3; Holscher 1973: 172-74; Scullard 1974: 70, 75-6; Mitchiner 1975: 8-9, 20, type 21; Price, *Coin Hoards*, vol.1 (London, 1975), 14, no. 38; Gobl 1978: no. 656; Andronikos et al. 1980: 109, no.21; Price 1982b: pls.9-11; von Bothmer et al. 1983: 209-10, no. 101; Vidal-Naquet 1984; Bernard 1985b: pl. 1; Price 1985: 244-45; Kienast 1987: 323-24; Hollstein 1989: figs. 1-2; Morkholm 1991: 52-4, pl. 3. 44; Price 1991a: 65-6, 70, nos. 9-13, pl. 15; Price 1991b: 451-53, pl. 159, G-H; Sayles 1997: 34.

3a. Ptolemy I Soter
Silver Tetradrachm
318-315 B.C.

Diameter 2.7cm (1in), weight 17.04 grams
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts
no. 04.1181



Obverse: Deified Alexander facing right with ram's horn of Ammon, elephant skin, and aegis tied at neck. Beaded border.



Reverse: Zeus seated facing left on throne without back, right foot pulled back, body twisting for left arm, raised, to hold a beaded staff/sceptre, right hand holds an eagle at rest. In left field a thunderbolt; under throne, PY ; at right, inscribed ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Beaded border.

As a trusted general and lifelong friend of Alexander, Ptolemy inherited the kingdom of Egypt after Alexander's death. Ptolemy founded his own dynasty, the Lagids (Ptolemy, son of Lagos) that lasted for almost three centuries, the last Ptolemaic ruler being Cleopatra VII. Ptolemy declared himself king of Egypt in 305 B.C. and thereafter minted coins with his image upon them. Minted in Alexandria.

Provenance: From the Greenwell Collection. Purchased of E.P. Warren, from the Henry Pierce Fund

Exhibitions: *The Search for Alexander*, November 1980 - May 1982

3b. Ptolemy I Soter

Silver Tetradrachm

315-305B.C.

Diameter 2.8 cm (1in), weight 15.64 grams

Boston, Museum of Fine Arts

no. 04.1185

Obverse: Male head facing right, (Ptolemy?) with ram's horn of Ammon, elephant skin, textured at neck, and aegis tied at throat. Beaded border.



Reverse: Athena Alkidemos striding to the right, spear in raised right hand, shield covering left. She wears a crested helmet, chiton belted at the waist with himation over top her shoulders. Inscribed at left ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ, right is monogram ΑΙ, right field shows an eagle grasping a thunderbolt.

The image of the male head on the obverse has been considered both that of Alexander as well as Ptolemy. When the coin was minted, it had been almost ten years since Alexander's death, so replacing his head with Ptolemy would be a natural and smooth evolution of coinage. The image of Athena Alkidemos is of Macedonian origin, signifying Athena prepared to defend Alexander's people (Akli=Alexander, demos=people), his empire. The eagle holding a thunderbolt was Ptolemy's royal crest in Egypt.

Provenance: From the Greenwell Collection. Purchased of E.P. Warren, from the Henry Pierce Fund

Exhibitions: *The Search for Alexander*, November 1980 - May 1982

Literature: Schreiber 1903: 167-68; Head 1911: 847; *BMC Ptolemies*, nos. 1-5, pl.1; Svoronos 1904: pl. 1.15-18; Babelon 1924: 98-101, pl. 18.5; Kuschel 1961: 7-16, pl.1.3; Bieber 1964: 52, fig. 40; Le Rider 1965: 301; Kraay and Hirmer 1966: pl. 217, no. 796; Michel 1967: 31-34; Zervos 1967: 1-16 (series B), pls. 2. 12-13; 3.14-18; Brett Catalogue, no. 2248 and 2257; Goukowsky 1978: 206-7; Gobl 1978: pl. 70, no.

Brett Catalogue, no. 2248 and 2257; Goukowsky 1978: 206-7; Gobl 1978: pl. 70, no. 1293; Smith 1988: 37, 40-41, 60, pl. 74.1; Morkholm 1991: 63-64, pl. 6.90; Price 1991b: 33-34; Sayles 1997: 124, 143.

4. Lysimachus of Thrace

Silver Tetradrachm

297-281 B.C.

Diameter 3.8 cm (1.25in), weight 17.15 grams

London, British Museum

no. 246.



Obverse: Deified head of Alexander facing right, with diadem and ram's horn of Ammon, ribbons in left field. Beaded border.



Reverse: Athena Nikephoros seated facing left, monogram in left field below Nike. Inscribed legend in left and right fields, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ. Nike crowns ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ.

Lysimachus was successor to Alexander in the area of Thrace. He chose for his coinage a simple, youthful, deified image of Alexander. The eyes look up and out, the hair wild and unruly. The image of Alexander as the son of Ammon presented a message to all people, that this was how Alexander should be remembered, as a god among men. Athena, on the reverse, is shown in a victorious repose, and it is no coincidence that the Nike crowns Lysimachus' name.

Exhibitions: *The Search for Alexander*, November 1980 – May 1982

Literature: Schreiber 1903: 159-60; Head 1911: 284-85, fig. 170; Bieber 1964: 53-54, figs. 43-46; Guepin 1964: 131-32, pl.1.1-2; Kraay and Hirmer 1966: pl. 176, nos. 580-82; Thompson 1968: 163-82, pls. 16-22; Holscher 1971: pl. 12.5; Hadley 1974a: 55, pl. 7k; Gobl 1978: pl. 49, nos. 736-37; Andronikos et al 1980: no. 16; Pollitt 1986: 26, fig. 14; Smith 1988: 40, 60, pl. 74. 5-6; Morkholm 1991: 81-82, pl. 11. 178-82.