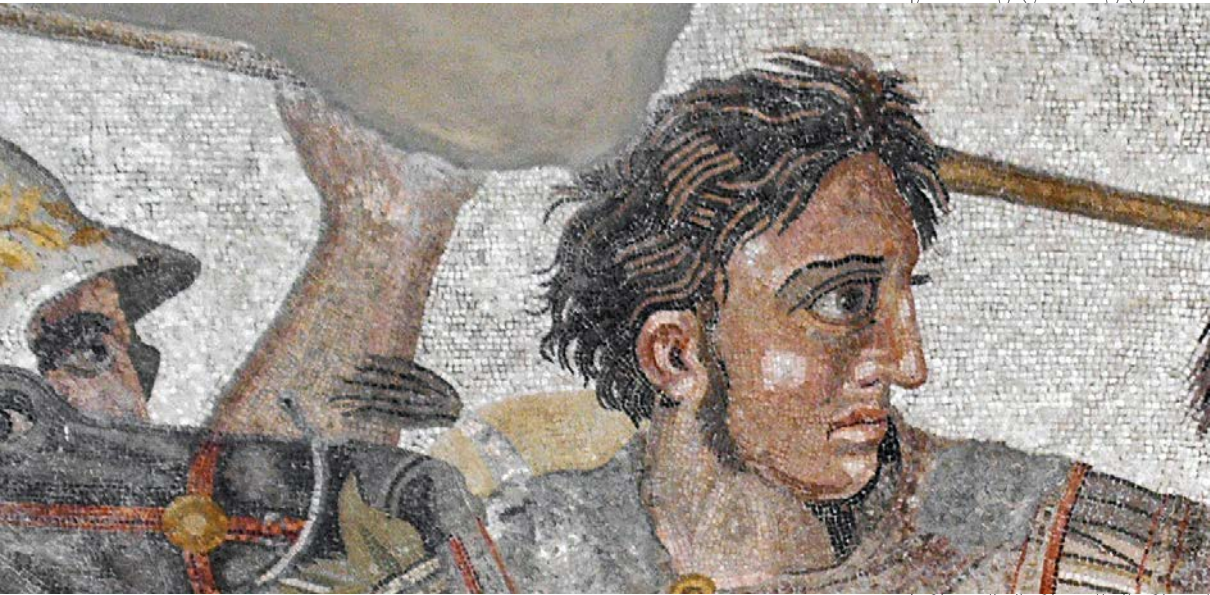
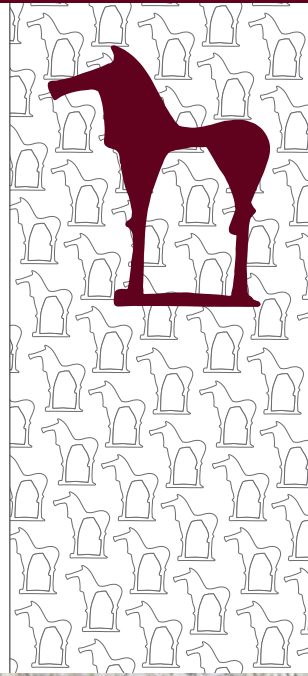


B A B E S C H

Ninth BABESCH Byvanck Lecture

Olga Palagia

*The Impact of Alexander The Great
on the Arts of Greece*



*Tuesday 15 December 2015
at the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden*

The BABESCH Foundation



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Dear reader,

In your hands is the second issue of the annual Byvanck Lecture in printed form. It is the 9th Byvanck Lecture in the series, organized by the BABESCH Foundation. For the 2015 lecture, the board has invited Prof. Dr. Olga Palagia, Professor of Classical Archaeology at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens. The theme of her lecture, the impact of Alexander the Great on the arts of Greece, touches upon one of the most seminal events in Mediterranean history – the birth of the Hellenistic period – and happily coincides with the re-opening of the splendidly refurbished department of Greeks, Romans and Etruscans at the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, which has kindly hosted the Byvanck lecture since its inception.

The peer-reviewed periodical *BABESCH – Annual Papers on Mediterranean Archaeology* (formerly *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving*) was founded in 1926 by Prof. Dr. C.W. Lunsingh Scheurleer (1881-1941). The journal publishes scholarly articles, short notes of wider archaeological significance and academic book reviews. Scholars from all over the world contribute to the journal, which has individual and institutional subscribers in over 30 countries. Since 1975, the BABESCH Supplements are also published, a series of specialist monographs, congress proceedings and edited volumes in the same sphere of interest. Both are being published by Peeters International Academic Publishers Leuven. The BABESCH Journal and the BABESCH Supplements are both administered by the BABESCH Foundation.

The rise of BABESCH to an established forum for international scholarly exchange has been due in no small part to the tireless efforts of the late Lili Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford (1907-2002). BABESCH has benefited greatly from the generosity bestowed on Leiden University and the BABESCH Foundation in her will. The Byvanck Fund, as it is now called, also has enabled the BABESCH Foundation to develop various new activities geared to a wider audience, especially the Byvanck Lecture series. The board is very happy to see how this initiative has grown into a renowned and widely appreciated event, drawing its audience from far and wide in the Netherlands and Flanders. At the opening of the lecture evening, the Byvanck Award is presented to the best contribution of a young, debutant scholar in the BABESCH journal, as selected by the editorial board. Last but not least, in recent years the Byvanck Lecture has become an appreciated means to strengthen the bonds with the Leiden University Fund, keeper of the

Byvanck Fund, and with representatives of the Byvanck family. The Board of the BABESCH Foundation is very grateful for this fruitful exchange.

Enjoy reading!

On behalf of the Board of the BABESCH Foundation,

Demetrius Waarsenburg, President

The Impact of Alexander The Great on the Arts of Greece

I am grateful to the Board of the BABESCH Foundation for the invitation to Leiden and the opportunity to share some thoughts on how Alexander the Great may have influenced the arts of Greece. He was, of course, no artist. But he had a finger in everything. And the conquest of the Persian Empire liberated not only his imagination but also his treasury. It was by setting trends and inventing new roles and new images for the ruler that Alexander had his greatest impact on the arts of Greece. This paper will discuss selected examples not only of Alexander portraiture but also of its impact on the representation of mythological figures.

When Alexander the Great died in Babylon in June, 323, he was the richest man in the world thanks to his accumulation of Persian treasure. He left behind his notebooks containing his future plans. His successor Perdiccas promptly referred these last plans to the Macedonian army in order to quash them. Alexander's agenda included the erection of extravagant new temples, each at a cost of 1500 talents, an enormous sum by the standards of the day as one silver talent amounted to approximately 27 kilos of silver. Alexander was planning to build new temples of Apollo at Delphi and on Delos even though those sanctuaries already had monumental temples. He additionally planned temples of Zeus at Dodona, Epirus, and Dion, Macedonia, to replace the very modest ones that were already in place. His plans to erect a temple of Artemis at Amphipolis and a large new temple of Athena in Troy that was to surpass all other temples in size were meant as thank-offerings to two goddesses that had aided his Asian campaign. We will see shortly how he honoured Artemis at Ephesos as well. He finally intended to build a tomb to his father Philip in the shape of a pyramid that was going to be larger than the pyramids of Egypt. The pyramidal design for funerary monuments can also be found in the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus which Alexander must have been familiar with; we should therefore envisage Philip's pyramid as a hellenized version of the Egyptian prototype.

The Macedonian army decided that Alexander's last plans were too extravagant to be realized. They would have no doubt revolutionized Greek architecture and would in fact have reversed the trend to minimize the size of Greek temples that was already underway in 323. The great Macedonian sanctuary of Zeus at Dion,

for example, was never to acquire more than a very modest temple of its chief god despite all the wealth that the Macedonians accumulated with the conquest of the Persian Empire.

Extravagance was the key word of Alexander's last plans. He died, however, before he had a chance to embellish the sanctuaries of Greece and Macedon with new monumental temples. Even though other Macedonians tried to imitate his munificence, their money was directed towards private and secular establishments. Alexander's cousin and renegade treasurer Harpalos, for example, ran away from Babylon to Athens with large sums of money once Alexander was deemed lost in India in 324. Harpalos was responsible for the grandest tomb of classical Athens. On the Sacred Way from Athens to Eleusis, Harpalos erected a cenotaph for his wife, the Athenian courtesan Pythionike, who had died in Babylon. He spent the enormous amount of 30 talents on what was described by the ancient traveller Pausanias as the most noteworthy of all Greek funerary monuments. Pythionike's tomb can be understood as the forerunner of the splendid Macedonian tombs that were set up in the countryside of Macedon by Alexander's veterans. Its erection in Athens, however, was criticized as typical of Macedonian excess, and the fact that a courtesan's tomb outshone the funerary monuments of Kimon and Perikles was lamented by Hellenistic historians.

Harpalos paid 30 talents for a building whereas Alexander was ready to pay 20 talents for his painted portrait. The greatest artist of his day was Apelles of Kos, and Alexander commissioned him to paint his portrait, which he dedicated in the temple of Artemis at Ephesos. According to two ancient authors, Plutarch and Pliny, the portrait was painted in the four-colour palette, which was typical of the fourth century. This palette included the colours white, black, yellow and red, which could be mixed in various ways. Apelles' panel painting showed Alexander enthroned, holding the thunderbolt of Zeus. They also point out that Alexander's skin was painted darker than it really was. A wall-painting in Pompeii, House of the Vettii, is generally thought to copy Apelles' painting (Fig. 1). The earth tones of the picture indicate the use of the four-colour palette. Alexander, wearing a purple himation that covers his lower body and wreathed with oak, Zeus' sacred tree, sits on a throne, his feet resting on a footstool. He holds a sceptre in the right hand and Zeus' thunderbolt in the left. The enthroned image, oak wreath and thunderbolt belong to the standard iconography of Zeus. A Roman painting of enthroned Zeus from Eleusis illustrates the similarities of the images. However, Alexander is identified by his youthful face, long, straight hair and up-

ward gaze. He was in fact responsible for introducing the ruler's youthful image because he was always clean-shaven contrary to the usual practice of sporting a beard once you reached adulthood. A portrait of Aischines, an Athenian politician who was Alexander's contemporary, may serve to illustrate the contrast and highlight the degree of innovation introduced by Alexander to the statesman's self-presentation.

The fact that Alexander sat on Zeus' throne and held his thunderbolt did not entail identification with the god though borrowing the god's attributes suggested that the king had reached a higher level of existence and was on his way to deification. We do not know when Apelles' portrait was painted but the high fee commanded by the artist suggests that it postdates the battle of Gaugamela in 331, which made Alexander master of Asia and of all the Persian treasures. We know that the Ephesians gave Alexander divine honours in his lifetime and he offered to pay for the rebuilding of the temple of Artemis even though he was tacitly refused. The divine honours are of course suggested by his image assuming the attributes of Zeus.

The painting in Pompeii is a Roman copy and some scholars are still skeptical about its interpretation but we do have a lifetime representation of Alexander with the thunderbolt which leaves no doubt as to his intentions. The so-called Porus medallions are a series of silver decadrachms that were minted in Babylon by Alexander himself in commemoration of his victory over the Indian Porus at the Hydaspes River in 326. They are thought to be products of a mobile mint because they are inexpertly struck and Alexander's image is incomplete. The reverse shows Alexander on horseback pursuing Porus riding an elephant, an episode that probably never occurred but serves to illustrate the triumph of the Macedonian cavalry over the Indian elephants. The obverse presents a striking image of Alexander as army commander wearing his armour and plumed helmet and wielding the scepter and thunderbolt of Zeus (Fig. 2). He is crowned by a flying Victory that hovers above his head. The divine attributes leave no doubt as to Alexander's assumption of equal status to the gods.

His sculptured portrait by the Sikyonian sculptor Lysippos, on the other hand, represented him as a mortal commander holding a spear, and Lysippos was said to have boasted that the spear symbolized Alexander's military glory that time would not varnish. A bronze statuette of Alexander from Lower Egypt now in the Louvre (Fig. 3) is thought to copy Lysippos' image. A similar statuette from

Velleia, now in Parma, reproduces the same type in mirror-image (Fig. 4). It is remarkable that Alexander is shown naked, entailing heroization. The Azara herm, also in the Louvre (Fig. 5), is generally taken to copy Alexander's portrait by Lysippos.

The warrior Alexander and his battles against the Persians also left their mark on the imagery of the Greek conflict with Persia. Until his time, battles of Greeks and Persians in Greek art commemorated the Persian Wars of 490 and 480 B.C. They were chiefly an Athenian affair and the composition was evenly distributed in groups of combatants, where nobody was allowed to dominate the scene. In sum, they were the products of a democracy, the Athenian democracy. The sculptured frieze of the south side of the Nike temple on the Athenian Acropolis is a good example of this approach.

Alexander's battles, on the other hand, were focused on Alexander. He himself is not known to have commissioned any art works showing combat with the Persians but after his death two major battle paintings celebrating his encounters with Dareios III, great king of Persia, on the battlefields of Issos and Gaugamela were painted in the late fourth century by Philoxenos of Eretria, a member of the Attic School of painting, and by Helena of Alexandria. Alexander was victorious in both battles but failed to capture Dareios. Each time Alexander drew close to Dareios' chariot, he was intercepted by self-sacrificing Persians, who enabled Dareios to escape the battlefield on a horse. Philoxenos' picture was commissioned by one of Alexander's Successors, Cassander, king of Macedon and Helena's painting by Ptolemy I, king of Egypt. Helena was specifically said to have painted the battle of Issos. We do not know which one of the two battles was painted by Philoxenos. One of the two pictures was copied in the late second century B.C. in the so-called Alexander mosaic which was found in Pompeii and is now in the Naples National Museum (Fig. 6). Considering that Helena's painting had been removed from Alexandria to Rome, it is more likely to have served as a model for the mosaic in Pompeii.

This picture too was created with the four-colour palette of the late Classical period and the accurate observation of the clothing and equipment of both Persians and Macedonians points to a work from the lifetime of Alexander's veterans. Alexander's cuirass and sword, for example, have their nearest parallels in the armour excavated in Tomb II in Vergina, Macedonia, as well as in his equipment illustrated in the Porus medallions (Fig. 2). Even though the action (Fig. 6) is

telescoped within a narrow frame, the narrative has been convincingly shown to reflect a specific episode of the battle of Issos in 333 B.C. as described by the historian Diodoros.

Alexander rides a chestnut horse, almost certainly Boukephalas, charging to right. He is easily recognized by his straight hair and large eyes. His fierce expression shows that the painter made no attempt at idealization. Alexander's thrust to capture Dareios is checked by the king's brother, Oxathres, who gathered his men around him to resist Alexander, thus allowing Dareios time to escape. One of Dareios' noblemen has thrown himself into Alexander's path and is pierced by Alexander's spear, while his horse, wounded by a sword, collapses under him. The young nobleman wears hoop earrings and a sword with a duck-head hilt. He is obviously not anonymous and may be one of the prominent Persians cited in the ancient sources as having perished on that day. The Persian horseman right behind him wears a diadem over his tiara, signifying that he is a member of the royal court and related to the king. This man may be Dareios' brother, Oxathres. Dareios is distinguished because he towers above all others in his chariot and on account of his royal dress, the upright tiara and tunic with white centre-piece. Even though the picture was painted by a Greek to celebrate Alexander, it nevertheless respects Persian protocol by representing the king higher than mere mortals. Dareios' chariot was accompanied by a riderless horse. He leaped from his chariot onto the spare horse and escaped from the battlefield. Dareios' horses belonged to the Nisaiian breed, a powerful and fast breed that was the property of the Achaemenid court. We will have occasion to discuss these horses later.

The faces of Alexander's companions have all but disappeared, we are therefore unable to discuss the issue of portraiture on the Macedonian side, though they too would not have been anonymous. If the picture had been commissioned by Ptolemy I, we would expect to see him represented close to Alexander in order to commemorate his participation in the famous battle of Issos.

In addition to the art works depicting Alexander's battles which were all commissioned after his death, there is also a series of representations of Alexander hunting a lion alongside at least one of his Companions. Actual lion hunts are mentioned by the historians of Alexander as taking place in the game parks of the Persian Empire during Alexander's expedition in Asia. The works commemorating them were posthumous too, designed to enhance the prestige of Alexander's fellow hunters. In fact, they introduce a new kind of iconography, an intimate of the

king sharing the excitement of the hunt, entailing that they were also entitled to a share of his empire. These works fall into two groups, hunts on foot and mounted hunts. The Greeks usually hunted on foot. Hunting on horseback followed the Persian custom and the historian Arrian says that it was introduced to Macedonia by Philip II. But Alexander followed his own rules.

A sculptured hunt in the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi, now lost, is well documented by a dedicatory inscription and a number of literary references. A colossal bronze group showed Alexander hunting a lion on foot, with his friend Krateros coming to the rescue. The composition also included hunting dogs. It was created by the Sikyonian Lysippos and the Athenian Leochares, two sculptors that had portrayed Alexander in his lifetime. Krateros dedicated this impressive monument around 321 B.C. to commemorate his participation in a hunt in what Krateros calls Syria but in modern terms would have been Lebanon. The phrasing of the dedicatory epigram, calling the lion a bull-killing beast is an allusion to the Persian Empire, indicating that the hunt was understood as a metaphor for the conquest of the East. We have no reflections of this lost group but a late-fourth-century mosaic found in a mansion in Pella shows two Macedonians hunting a lion on foot (Fig. 7). They are depicted in heroic nudity, attacking the lion with their swords. The hunter on the left, wearing a petasos, is usually taken for Alexander. The hunter on the right, coming to the rescue, may well be Krateros. Another intimation of Alexander hunting lions on foot is Curtius' statement that Alexander exposed himself to so much danger during a lion hunt in Bazeira, Sogdiana, that he had to promise the army that he would never again hunt on foot.

Alexander hunting a lion on horseback (Fig. 8) is depicted in a fragmentary mosaic from a Hellenistic house in Palermo, which also involves a boar hunt. The Oriental background of the scene is highlighted by the appearance of a hunter in Persian dress and the exotic plants. The mosaic is thought to copy a painting of the late fourth or early third century on account of the use of the four-colour palette. On the left a rider in short chiton is about to spear a lion which has attacked a naked hunter sitting on the ground. This rider is thought by some to represent Alexander. A second horseman attacks a boar, while a Persian escapes to right. The presence of two different types of quarry indicates a game park.

Another mounted hunt involving a great variety of beasts, a pair of deer, a boar, a lion and a pair of bears can be seen in the hunting frieze painted above the entrance of Tomb II at Vergina (Fig. 9). The date and identity of the two occupants

of this tomb, a man and a woman, are controversial and there is no time to go into this here. Manolis Andronikos, who excavated it, attributed it to Philip II but this possibility is weakened by the lion hunt iconography which was actually invented after Alexander's conquest of Persia. An additional difficulty is the battle of Greeks and Persians depicted on the gold and ivory funerary couch found in the ante-chamber of the tomb. Since Philip II never made it to Persia, the iconography of the couch points to a veteran of Alexander's Asian campaign. Even though the features of the hunters are strongly idealized and we cannot really talk about portraits, Alexander himself is recognized in the mounted hunter at the centre of the scene (Fig. 9). He is at some distance from the lion which is in fact being killed by another mounted hunter who towers above it; his presence nevertheless is enough to indicate another instance of the hunting iconography used as a tool by his friends to emphasize their close proximity to the seat of power. The tomb has been alternatively attributed to Alexander's half-brother, Philip III Arrhidaios and his wife Adea Eurydice. They were both murdered in 317 and Adea was not older than 20 when she died. A new complication in the identification saga has arisen by a fresh examination of the woman's bones. The new age proposed is over 30, which should rule out Adea and perhaps indicate that the tomb did not belong to royalty but to one of Alexander's Companions.

A sculptured representation of a lion hunt by a Macedonian on horseback can be found on a block that formed part of a circular frieze of the early Hellenistic period, obviously involving more hunters and perhaps more beasts (Fig. 10). The Macedonian is recognized by his kausia and is assisted in his efforts by another hunter with an axe. The block was removed from Messene in the early 19th c. and is now in the Louvre. No other evidence of this frieze or of the building to which it belonged have come to light in Messene. It is uncertain whether the hunter in the kausia can be identified with Alexander but his presence can be surmised somewhere near the lion, perhaps on the adjacent block which is now lost. The presence of a Macedonian so far south in the Peloponnese can be explained if we bear in mind that Polyperchon, after he surrendered the regency of Macedonia in 316, retreated to the Peloponnese and is thought to have established himself in Messene.

We will have a chance to see another of Alexander's lion hunts a little further on. Meanwhile, we come back to Greek painting to observe how Alexander's impact on it took an unexpected turn. In the Olympic Games of 324 B.C., which incidentally happened to be the last year of his life, Alexander sent an envoy to read

a royal edict which is now known as the Exiles' Decree. The implications were that Alexander was treating the Greek cities as his subjects and was coercing them to restore all political exiles, thus threatening the economic and political stability of notably Athens and the Aitolians, as it was forcing them to give up their occupancy of Samos and Oiniadai respectively. It was probably during the political turmoil created by Alexander's edict that the painter Aetion was peddling his painting of the Marriage of Alexander and Rhoxane which had taken place in 327. Aetion was a contemporary of the painter Apelles and a practitioner of the four-colour palette. According to the Greek writer Lucian, he painted Alexander's marriage of his own volition and tried to find a buyer among the crowds at the Games. The painting was bought by Proxenides, one of the Olympic judges, and was eventually removed to Rome. Lucian's detailed description inspired the Renaissance painter Sodoma to recreate it in his fresco painted in the Villa Farnesina in Rome around 1516. Aetion depicted the bridal chamber, with Rhoxane sitting on the bed, with cupids removing her veil and her sandals. Cupids also led Alexander towards his bride, some playing with his weapons. His best friend, Hephaestion, holding a bridal torch, was shown leaning on an unidentified youth. This painting not only mythologized Alexander's marriage but also subtly promoted Hephaestion's role as Alexander's confidant and power behind the throne. Hephaestion was still alive in the summer of 324 during the Olympic Games since he died in the autumn of that year. The theme of Aetion's painting smacks of political propaganda and one wonders if it was not, in fact, suggested by Alexander or his entourage with a view of keeping Alexander in the public eye. We do not know if Aetion had ever seen Alexander, Rhoxane or indeed Hephaestion and whether the painting contained accurate portraits of the main figures or whether they were all idealized.

A fresco in Pompeii (Fig. 11), probably copying an original of the late fourth century, and showing the amorous encounter of a couple in the company of a cupid handling the man's shield, might have been taken for a scene of Ares and Aphrodite but for the appearance of a Persian wearing trousers and tiara and carrying a second shield. The existence of a Persian attendant has suggested to some scholars that the bridegroom, shown in heroic nudity with highly idealized features and curly hair (as opposed to Alexander's straight hair), is meant to be Alexander. In that case, he was painted by someone who had not seen him. But of course we do not know if the wall-painting in Pompeii was inspired by Aetion's picture or some other work representing Alexander and his bride. Another image of Alexander, sculpted by someone who had never seen him, appears on the so-

called Alexander sarcophagus from Phoenicia now in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum. This sarcophagus is a masterpiece by a Greek sculptor, made in Pentelic marble. It belonged to Abdalonymos, who had been appointed king of Sidon by Alexander himself after the battle of Issos. One of the long sides of the sarcophagus depicts Alexander hunting a lion in the company of Abdalonymos and Hephaestion. He has short curly hair even though he had never adopted this hairstyle. A depression on his head would have supported a royal diadem. On the other side of the sarcophagus he is shown fighting the battle of Issos wearing a lion head helmet which he did not actually possess (Fig. 12). The helmet is inspired by the headgear of Herakles on the obverse of Alexander's silver coins. The sarcophagus is a typical example of Alexander images created by artists who knew of him only through hearsay.

A similar case can be found in a handful of Apulian vases of the 320s now in the Naples Museum, showing Alexander on horseback pursuing Dareios on his chariot (Fig. 13). Alexander is shown as a bearded Greek commander wearing a Corinthian helmet, while Dareios rides a Greek chariot. Obviously the artists had no first-hand knowledge of their subject.

The Athenians, on the other hand, had familiarized themselves with Alexander at the battle of Chaironeia in 338 B.C. and during his visit to Athens shortly thereafter, when he came as an envoy of his father Philip II, carrying the cremated remains of the Athenian dead as a show of respect. The Athenians commissioned a bronze chariot group of Alexander and Philip II from their state artist, Euphranor, and set it up in the Agora. This group is now lost but its erection was a political statement, intended to flatter and placate a conquering power. Chariots had ceased to play a role in battles since Homeric times and chariot groups were normally set up after victories at the chariot races in panhellenic sanctuaries like Olympia and Delphi. The famous Charioteer of Delphi formed part of such a dedication. Before Alexander and Philip's chariot, the Athenians had dedicated only one other chariot group denoting military rather than athletic victory. It was set up on the Acropolis to commemorate their victories against the Chalcidians and Boeotians who threatened the newly established Athenian democracy in 506 B.C. This chariot group was so significant that it is even mentioned by Herodotos. Alexander's and Philip's chariot served as a model for the gilded chariot that the Athenians erected in the Agora in 307 B.C., honoring Demetrios Poliorketes and his father Antigonos the One-eyed, who liberated them from the tyranny of Demetrios of Phaleron. As a special privilege, the chariot of Antigonos and

Demetrios was erected near the statue group of the Tyrannicides, who represented the supreme symbol of the Athenian democracy. Eventually the Athenians went so far as to dedicate chariot groups on the Acropolis honouring the kings of Pergamon as benefactors to their city. There is no doubt, however, that such chariots drew their inspiration from the original chariot group of Philip and Alexander in the Athenian Agora.

Alexander's portrait on a chariot by Euphranor has not come down to us and neither has the painting by Apelles depicting him on a chariot, which is mentioned by Pliny. This painting was presumably commissioned by the king himself and we must visualize it in a completely different context, perhaps dedicated in a sanctuary of one of the Greek cities of Asia Minor, possibly Ephesos, which also housed a painting of Alexander on horseback, also by Apelles. Alexander's image riding a chariot eventually acquired a more Asiatic character, and we have to assume that after his conquest of Persia he took to riding a Persian royal chariot similar to that used by Dareios on the Alexander mosaic (Fig. 6). This is implied by Diodoros' description of one of the panel paintings decorating Alexander's funeral cart, where Alexander was shown sitting on a chariot, holding a sceptre and surrounded by his army of mixed Macedonian and oriental warriors. Greeks never sat on chariots but we do have a fifth-century image of a local ruler from Xanthos in Lycia seated on his chariot following Achaemenid practice.

Alexander's portrait as a member of the Macedonian cavalry is preserved in a modest Athenian monument of a private nature. The grave relief of the Athenian Panchares who fell in the battle of Chaironeia, now in the Piraeus Museum, shows him as a foot soldier fighting against Alexander on horseback (Fig. 14). Alexander is distinguished by his youthfulness and luxuriant hair. Two sculptured portraits of Alexander have been associated with Athens so far, the so-called Alexander Rondanini in the Munich Glyptothek (Fig. 15) and the herm head of Alexander from the Akropolis now in the Akropolis Museum (Fig. 16).

The Alexander Rondanini is a Roman copy of a Greek prototype. Alexander is shown naked, heroized, in the guise of Achilles (some scholars believe that the statue actually shows Achilles). Achilles served as a role model to Alexander, who claimed to be following in his footsteps, so the association with him is not unexpected. The style of this portrait is radically different from the type of Alexander portraiture created by Alexander's court sculptor, the Peloponnesian Lysippos. Compared to the harsh conqueror depicted on the herm in the Louvre (Fig. 5)

which is generally thought to copy an original by Lysippos, the features of the Alexander Rondanini (Fig. 15) are softer and more idealized and his hair elegantly waved. The fact that this statue was designed to be viewed in profile suggests that it was part of a chariot or some other group composition.

The Alexander head from the Akropolis (Fig. 16) is also known from other copies now in German museums. None preserves a body and they were likely all part of herms. Because of its notable youthfulness and Akropolis findspot, the Akropolis Alexander has been thought to derive from a portrait created by an Athenian sculptor shortly after the battle of Chaironeia. However, the stylized hairstyle, particularly evident in side views, indicates that this was a posthumous portrait, highly idealized and created beyond living memory of the real Alexander.

Alexander's youthful image and distinctive leonine hair, parted in the middle and forming the so-called *anastole* served as a model for the representation of mythological personifications like river gods or Helios, the Sun god. Even fatherly gods like Asklepios adopted Alexander's *anastole* like a statue of Asklepios from Piraeus in the Athens National Museum (Fig. 17).

The affinity of river-god images to Alexander is attested by an inscribed bust of the river-god Olganos (Fig. 18) from Beroea which dates from the Roman period. Nearer to Alexander's own period is a youthful head in the Pella Museum which is often described as a posthumous portrait of Alexander but is more likely to belong to a river-god statue because it lacks Alexander's *anastole*. The mythological figure of Phorbas, Theseus' charioteer, from a mosaic in Pella dating from the end of the fourth century, was also inspired by Alexander's imagery (Fig. 19).

For centuries after Alexander's death, images of Helios, the Sun, adopted his luxuriant hair. Miniature shields in clay from the Macedonian Tomb of the Erotes in Eretria are decorated with heads of Helios reminiscent of Alexander. The temple of Athena in Troy that Alexander intended to build was eventually erected by his Successors in the third century. One of its metopes in the north side carries an image of Helios in his chariot, and he looks similar to Alexander (Fig. 20). A colossal head of Helios from Rhodes also has Alexander overtones (Fig. 21).

But Alexander's impact on Greek art extended beyond his own image. I would like to conclude my lecture with his effect on the funerary imagery of Athens and the representation of horses in Athenian art. Before Alexander's conquest of Persia,

horses in Greece were small, as depicted on the Parthenon frieze. This situation changed after 324 B.C. Upon his return from India, Alexander came across the Nisaian fields in Media and captured the famous Nisaian horses. These horses were described by Herodotos as drawing the Persian king's chariot, which was preceded by riderless Nisaians as spares. On the Alexander mosaic we see the king's chariot drawn by such horses (Fig. 6). Alexander not only made use of Nisaian horses but also distributed them to his friends. One of the Macedonian cavalrymen fighting in the battle of Issos shown on the Alexander sarcophagus rides a Persian horse, complete with a Persian panther-skin saddle-cloth. The diffusion of Nisaian horses beyond Alexander's entourage is attested by the representation of such a horse, with panther-skin saddle cloth, on an Athenian grave relief dating from around 320 B.C. (Fig. 22). Such a horse would have been a spectacle in Athens at that time, and it could only have got there as a gift from Alexander or one of his Companions. The idea of depicting not the deceased but his horse on an Attic grave relief was also new. This new departure, however, was destined to remain without following because costly funerary monuments like this relief were shortly to be banned in Athens by Demetrios of Phaleron, who ruled the city from 317 to 307 B.C.

The dead man's military equipment is painted on the horse's back, perhaps suggesting a funeral parade. The oriental splendour of the horse, as well as the possession of an African groom, smack of conspicuous consumption. The family of the deceased seems to have flaunted both its wealth and its Macedonian associations. Extravagance is again at play here. Citizen equality and democracy no longer inform the funerary imagery of Athens. Alexander has heralded the dawn of a new age.

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Fig. 1. Alexander enthroned as Zeus, possibly echoing a painting by Apelles. Wall-painting from the House of the Vettii, Pompeii. From Stirpe 2006, 172.



Fig. 2. Alexander wielding the thunderbolt of Zeus. Reverse of a silver decadrachm, known as Porus medallion. New York, American Numismatic Society. From Palagia 2012, fig. 3.



Fig. 3. Bronze statuette of Alexander, from Lower Egypt. Paris, Louvre. From Stewart 1993, fig. 32.



*Fig. 4. Bronze statuette of Alexander, from Velleia.
Parma, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. From Stirpe 2006, 134.*



Fig. 5. Azara herm of Alexander the Great. Paris, Louvre. Photo: H.R. Goette.



*Fig. 6. Alexander mosaic from Pompeii.
Naples, National Museum. Photo: H.R. Goette.*



*Fig. 7. Mosaic with lion hunt, from the House of Dionysos,
Pella. Pella Museum. From Lilimpaki-Akamati/Akamatis 2004, fig. 14.*



*Fig. 8. Alexander (?) striking down a lion.
Mosaic in a Hellenistic house in Palermo. From Wootton 2002, fig. 12.*



*Fig. 9a. Hunting frieze painted above the entrance of Tomb II, Vergina.
Photo: H.R. Goette.*



Fig. 9b. Reconstruction of the Vergina hunt. From Brinkmann 2013, fig. 271.



*Fig. 10. Circular frieze with mounted lion hunt, from Messene.
Paris, Louvre. Photo: O. Palagia.*



Fig. 11. Wall-painting possibly showing Alexander and Rhoxane. Pompeii. From Messina 2007, 44.



Fig. 12. Alexander sarcophagus, from Sidon. Detail of Alexander wearing a lion head helmet. Istanbul Archaeological Museum. Photo: O. Palagia.



Fig. 13. Apulian amphora by the Darius Painter, from Ruvo. Naples National Museum. Photo from Stirpe 2006, 158.



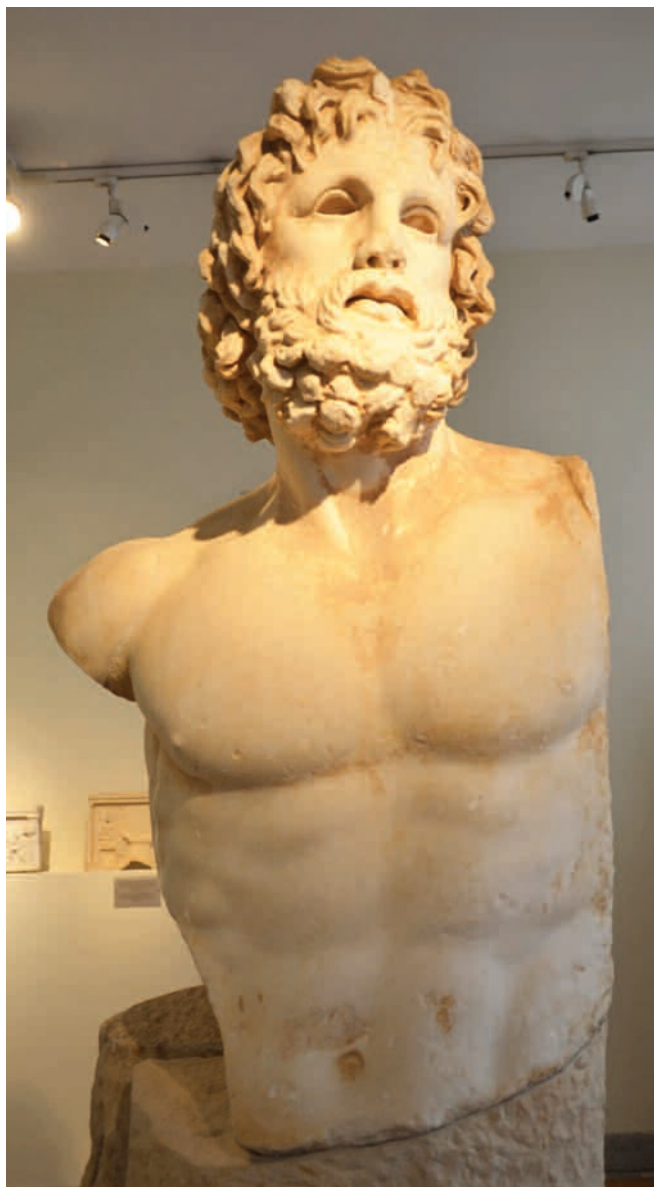
Fig. 14. Grave stele of Panchares. Piraeus Museum. From Steinhauer 1998, 79 with fig.



Fig. 15. Alexander Rondanini, detail. Munich Glyptothek. Photo: H.R. Goette.



*Fig. 16. Head of Alexander, from the Akropolis.
Athens, Akropolis Museum. Photo: H.R. Goette.*



*Fig. 17. Statue of Asklepios, from his sanctuary in Mounichia, Piraeus.
Athens, National Museum. Photo: O. Palagia.*



Fig. 18. River-god Olganos, from Beroea. Beroea Museum. Photo: O. Palagia.



Fig. 19. Phorbas. Detail of mosaic from the House of the Rape of Helen, Pella. From Palagia 2011, fig. 58.



*Fig. 20. North metope with Helios, from the temple of Athena in Ilium.
Berlin, Antikenmuseum. Photo: O. Palagia.*



Fig. 21. Head of Helios, from Rhodes. Rhodes Museum. Photo: O. Palagia.



*Fig. 22. Grave relief showing horse and groom, from Athens.
Athens, National Museum. Photo: O. Palagia.*

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