Zeitschrift: Entretiens sur l'Antiquité classique
Herausgeber: Fondation Hardt pour l'étude de l'Antiquité classique
Band: 22 (1976)

Artikel: The portraiture of Alexander
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DOI: https://doi.org/10.5169/seals-660707

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THE PORTRAITURE OF ALEXANDER

No life of Alexander is felt to be complete without some attempt at illustration, without at least a reference to the monuments. Apart from the subject-matter it is perhaps the only thing that the latest books on Alexander have in common. And yet the attitude of modern writers towards illustration is different from Varro's. The former give us as many pictures as the publisher will allow, the latter cared about a frontispiece epitomizing the virtues displayed by the *Vita* [1].

The fear of leaving something out has led M. Bieber into reproducing many photographs of heads that do not represent Alexander at all [2]. Other scholars have collected much material that neither supports their theories nor furthers whatever case they are making. The attitude of most historians towards archaeology, and in particular towards that section of art history dealing with portraiture, is to blame for such compilations. Professors of ancient history do not as a rule feel qualified to deal with the monuments except as regards epigraphy. They are happy to leave the choosing of their illustrations to a private

[1] Plin. *Nat.* XXXV 2, 11. Varro's collection of worthies is bound to have included Alexander. Cf. *Suda*, s.v. Βάρρων.

[2] M. BIEBER, *Alexander the Great in Greek and Roman Art* (Chicago 1964).

secretary, an assistant, or the editor. They accept without query the traditional interpretation of the material provided by others. Scholars are on the whole as blind as moles. The more a historian sharpens his wits to deal with written documents, the more his natural gift for appreciating form seems to atrophy. It is too much to ask of a busy professor that he should meditate on the meaning of the visual arts and of portraiture ; he can at least be shown what *naiveté* has led to.

If scholars since the Renaissance had not taken for granted that the aim of Greek art was an exact reproduction of a person's outward appearance instead of a rendering of man, if their preference had not gone to the historical rather than to the divine and the ideal, the statue-heads of mythological heroes would never have been mistaken for portraits of Alexander. What the modern historian tends to look for in a likeness is the rendering of a particular moment in a person's life, rather than the definitive, the permanent expression of his character. Th. Birt, for instance, recognised in a statue of Achilles putting on his greaves, the Achilles Rondanini in Munich, a portrait of Alexander looking out over his army on the eve of his greatest battle [1]. It is not necessary to quote Plutarch, who reports that Alexander slept soundly on that occasion [2], to show up the absurdity of Birt's interpretation [3]. A fourth-century artist had a different field of interests altogether.

It is better to give up looking at ancient sculpture than to look for the wrong thing in it. Whoever believes that the

[1] Th. BIRT, *Alexander der Grosse und das Weltgriechentum* [4] (Leipzig 1928), 494 f. A sentence from Alexander's speech to the army at Opis as quoted by Arrian (*Anab.* VII 9, 9) was obviously at the back of Birt's mind.

[2] Plut. *Alex.* 32, 1.

[3] E. SCHWARZENBERG, *Zum Alexander Rondanini oder Winckelmann und Alexander*, in Festschrift E. Homann-Wedeking, in *Wandlungen* (Waldsassen 1975), 163-88.

Guimet [1] and Sieglin [2] heads are portraits of Alexander taken from life is tempted to detect traces of sensuality or even cruelty in him. One might then proceed to find instances of either in the sources. This is easier than it is to realise that those heads can tell us a good deal about Alexandrian sculpture in the late third and second centuries, but nothing about Alexander's appearance and character.

Visual images do not, like the written or the spoken word, appeal primarily to reason : they act on the affective, the sentimental man ; they may lead to unconscious prejudice, to subjective opinions. Considering how misleading visual images are, it would be better for the historian to do without them. Unfortunately this is impossible, since the brain is not a computer that can be disconnected from its memory-bank. At least we can become aware of the danger. Images that are too weak to be recalled can still colour our judgment. A memory-image drawn from a children's picture-book may influence the views of a mature scholar. The only way to neutralise a visual image is to look again at the picture from which it was taken and to impress the conscious mind with its irrelevance. A fresh impression will help to correct misleading memories.

There is no time to indulge in a catalogue of wrong attributions, leading to mistaken views about Alexander. Let me quote only one other, blatant, instance. A head of a sea-god, now in the Uffizi, was taken in the sixteenth century to represent the dying Alexander [3]. As a result the meaning of a sentence in Plutarch (a crucial one to the understanding of Alexander

[1] Th. SCHREIBER, *Studien über das Bildnis Alexanders des Grossen*, Abh. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss. Leipzig 21 (1903), 45-51 ; K. GEBAUER, "Alexanderbildnis und Alexandertypus", in *MDAI(A)* 63-64 (1938-9), 44 ; 88 Nr. 22.

[2] M. BIEBER, *op. cit.*, 27, fig. 10 f.

[3] E. SCHWARZENBERG, "From the Alessandro morente to the Alexandre Richelieu", in *Journ. Warb. & Court. Inst.* 32 (1969), 398-405.

portraiture) was distorted to fit the head's pathetic expression [1]. It has remained so in every translation I was able to consult.

In order to explain the many successive interpretations of the figure of Alexander, it is important to find out what portraits mattered to each generation. It is good to know that the mosaic with the representation of the battle between Alexander and Darius was discovered about the very time of the publication of J. G. Droysen's history [2]. It would no doubt be a rewarding task to collect all the monuments that have at one time or another been thought to represent Alexander, and try to discover why they were believed to do so. It would be the work of a lifetime. The little that I have done so far has led me a long way away from Alexander. I have decided to limit my investigation to monuments that contribute to our knowledge of him. Specifically they should further our understanding of Alexander portraiture during classical times. We shall be looking for copies of those works about which the ancient sources believed that they had something to say about the historical figure.

Plutarch draws on the bronzes by Lysippus as a source for the appearance and character of Alexander. Since Plutarch is by far our best guide, since his descriptions enable us to identify portraits of the king, it would be foolish to forsake him when it comes to interpreting them. Plutarch provides the best introduction to the study of ancient Greek portraiture, provided we read him the way he wants to be read. He is not a historian but a biographer. He only relates such episodes out of Alexander's life as best reveal his character. He believes that little intimate details tell us more about human nature than events that changed the course of history [3]. He paints his life of Alexander as an artist would a portrait.

[1] Plut. *De Alex. M. fort. Or. II* 2, 335 C; *Alex.* 4, 1.

[2] The mosaic was discovered in 1831; J. G. DROYSEN's *Geschichte Alexanders des Grossen* appeared in 1833.

[3] Plut. *Alex.* 1, 2.

Whereas archaeologists are fond of quarrying information about ancient works of art out of Plutarch, no great trouble has been taken to look at these works from his own point of view. What he has left us is a work of art, not a collection of historical and archaeological material. He would have been more than ready to refer historians and archaeologists alike to the sources that he used himself. He could not know that he was fated to preserve them for posterity. His ideas about the meaning of portraiture differ widely from those of most modern scholars. They are not even those of his contemporaries. They tally on the other hand to such an extent with those of Aristotle and of his school that it is reasonable to assume a dependence on the latter, probably through some later eclectic author.

The aim of the fine arts, and not only of the art of portraiture, is to express the ἦθος of man [1]. The task of the artist is made possible because of an unfailing correspondence between the body and the soul. Plutarch does not take every sign to be equally meaningful. He compares himself to the portrait-painter who is at pains to catch the expression of the eye and the features of the face, but hardly bothers about the rest [2]. Only a poor artist tries to achieve likeness through a naturalistic rendering of detail unimportant except for passport identification—of warts, furrows and the like [3]—or through items of adornment and dress. Now what in the eyes of Plutarch is secondary and liable to distract from the study of character usually matters most to the patron. Alexander's successors expected court-artists to underscore the emblems of power, the insignia of royalty. Plutarch professes to despise such art because it ministers to the vanity of the monarch : art that contrives to flatter but faithfully mirrors the fault most conspicuous in its patron.

[1] E. SCHWARZENBERG, "Der lysippische Alexander", in *Bonner Jahrb.* 167 (1967), 64 n. 17 & 26.

[2] Plut. *Alex.* 1, 3.

[3] Plut. *Quomodo adul. ab amico internosc.* 9, 53 D.

Plutarch asks of his readers that they should look at Alexander the way he saw him. He demands an ability no different from that required by the study of classical art in general. Because the aim of art is to improve human nature—thus Aristotle and all ancient theoreticians except the Epicureans—its study will also deepen our knowledge of man. This is not true of art-history only. It is what Herodotus and his pupils expected from history. It is why Plutarch chose to be a biographer rather than a historian, since Thucydides deviated from history's original aim. Plutarch hoped that his readers would learn from his *Lives* what he himself had learnt from Theophrastus and Lysippus, both experts on human nature. He demands and is ready to bestow the sort of general knowledge most wanting among the specialists of today, who are distressingly naive and take everything for granted in a field nor their own.

The main difficulty in trying to understand Alexander as well as other great men of antiquity is their simplicity. Modern man seems to differ from his ancient counterpart only in his awareness of his own complexity. Fr. Hegel is chiefly responsible for this turning inward of consciousness upon itself, for what psychologists might call the split personality of our times. It takes imagination and a considerable amount of mental discipline to put oneself into an antique frame of mind.

What Plutarch tells us about Alexander's physical appearance agrees so well with his description of character that one suspects the one to be construed to harmonise with the other [1]. This is not Plutarch's doing ; whatever did not fit Alexander's inner self is unlikely to have been remembered by contemporary sources. His hair may have been tawny [2], he may have had a

[1] Once the character was known, it was perfectly possible to reconstruct the appearance : Diog. Laert. VII 173, quoting Zeno and Cleanthes ; cf. Fr. Leo, *Die griechisch-römische Biographie* (Leipzig 1901), 182.

[2] Ael. *VH* XII 14 ; Iul. Val. I 7.

rough voice [1]. Such details may on the other hand have been invented to complete the portrait of the young lion, a simile that (as we shall see) Plutarch took over from earlier descriptions. Alexander's physical characteristics are, if not derived from, at least subservient to his moral ones [2]. It is these and these only that Plutarch cares about.

He endows Alexander with nature's best gifts. He joined the bravery of Achilles to the indomitable energy of Heracles. He was indeed descended from these heroes [3]. His education was worthy of his lineage. Philip selected the best tutors for him. He developed remarkable self-control as regards sleep and food and sex [4]. Unfortunately even the most careful education cannot stamp a character so permanently that life will not contrive to wear it down. Alexander used to be the fairest, the most considerate of judges ; later on he became hasty and harsh, owing to the pressure of business and to disappointment [5]. He seems in his early days to have believed in the gods in a naive, refreshingly uncomplicated way [6], but his faith degenerated into superstition [7]. After he had won the throne of Darius

[1] Plut. *Quomodo adul. ab amico internosc.* 9, 53 D.

[2] Plutarch says at the beginning of his *Life of Kimon* that the rendering of ἦθος and τρόπος matters more than the rendering of the body. He says at the beginning of his *Life of Lucullus* that the literary portrait is more beautiful than the painted one, because the latter merely reproduces the features. Cf. A. E. WARDMAN, "Description of personal appearance in Plutarch and Suetonius", in *CQ* 17 (1967), 420. Such remarks strengthened a prejudice against the visual arts, supposedly unable to express disposition and character. Domenico Ghirlandaio painted the following distich below his portrait of Giovanna degli Albizzi in 1488 : *Ars utinam mores animumque effingere posses | Pulchrior in terris nulla tabella foret* (J. POPE-HENNESSY, *The Portrait in the Renaissance* (Phaidon Press 1966), fig. 25).

[3] Plut. *Alex.* 2, 1 ; Vell. I 6, 5.

[4] Plut. *Alex.* 22, 3 f.

[5] Plut. *Alex.* 42, 2.

[6] L. EDMUNDS, "The religiosity of Alexander", in *GRBS* 12 (1971), 363-91. Cf. Plb. V 10, 6-8. Aristobulus catches the spirit of Alexander's faith.

[7] Plut. *Alex.* 75, 1 f.

he lost his temper on occasion, indeed he could burst into uncontrollable rage. Plutarch lays the blame for this worsening of Alexander's character less on circumstances [1] than on the king's flatterers [2]. Because of his great generosity, which begged to be abused [3], he was most vulnerable to their attacks, especially after dinner. Although temperate by nature, he would linger over his cups for company's sake [4]. That is when flatterers managed to catch him and lead him astray. The flatterer who was chiefly responsible for Alexander's ruin was Anaxarchus. In order to cheer the king up after the killing of Cleitus, he used arguments that made him conceited and lawless [5]. Anaxarchus was equally to blame for antagonising Callisthenes and for making him unpopular with the king.

If Alexander was poorly served by poets and philosophers, he did not fare any better at the hand of court-artists. The kind of portrait that he deigned to accept after his return from India was probably no longer the same as before that great adventure. Decadence sets in with Alexander. The Diadochoi did nothing to stop it, having already been accustomed to

[1] The deterioration of Alexander's character was usually attributed to an excess of good fortune : Cic. *Tusc.* III 10, 21. This had been the view taken by Theophrastus and Diogenes of Babylon : A. E. WARDMAN, "Plutarch and Alexander", in *CQ* 5 (1955), 96.

[2] Plut. *Quomodo adul. ab amico internosc.* 24, 65 C-D ; *Alex.* 23, 4. Arrian also comments on the bad influence of the king's flatterers (VII 29, 1).

[3] Plut. *Alex.* 39, 1-3. Cf. Cic. *Off.* II 15, 53 on the corrupting influence of Alexander's largesses.

[4] Plut. *Alex.* 23, 3. Arrian, quoting Aristobulus, says that Alexander drank out of consideration for his companions (VII 29, 4).

[5] Plut. *Alex.* 52, 4. Arrian also blames Anaxarchus : IV 9, 11 f. The murder of Cleitus is the turning-point in Alexander's moral career. Arrian also links the murder of Cleitus to the fall of Callisthenes (IV 8, 9). The relevant chapters in Diodorus Book XVII are lost, but we know from the summary that the one followed upon the other in the narrative. Plutarch is following a source that is aware of the antagonism between Callisthenes and Anaxarchus. Cf. L. EDMUNDS, *art. cit.*, 386-90.

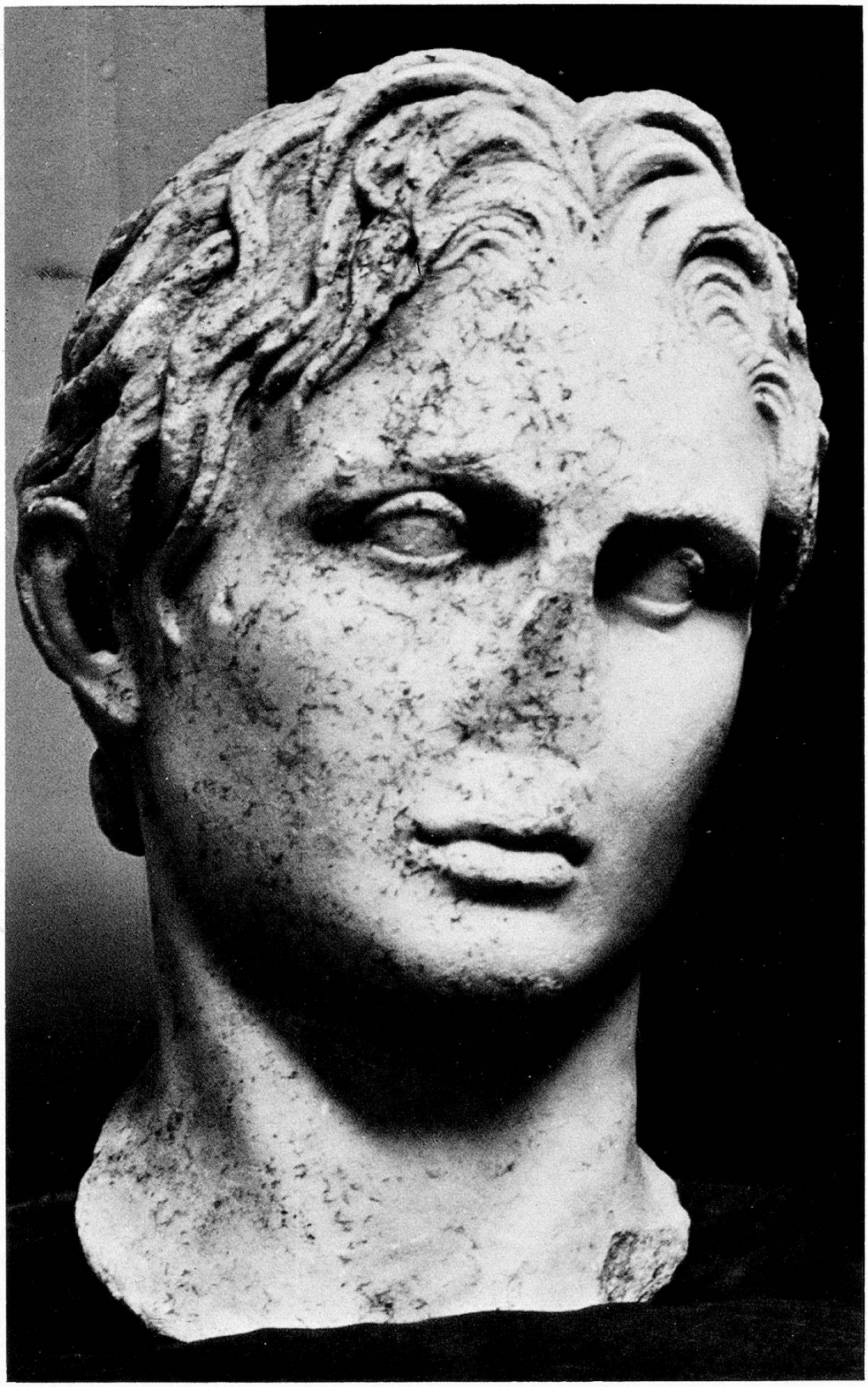

Fig. 1 Alexander. Vienna. Sammlung E. Schwarzenberg.

Fig. 2 Cameo. Leningrad. Ermitage.

greater luxury while he was alive [1]. As for Plutarch, he could look down on the appalling taste of his own day. The age of Alexander was generally recognised to be a turning-point in the arts, especially oratory [2]. When dealing with the monuments, it is important to remember that the very notion of portraiture changed during Alexander's short reign.

Recent scholarship has failed to take Plutarch at his word, for it is interested only in the information that his sources are able to give. We are not asking what source-material Plutarch owes to whom, but who inspired him, what earlier portraits appealed to him, which previous artists taught him to portray Alexander. He probably owes his notion of a noble, dashing conqueror to a single source. A devoted, unstintingly admiring author is bound to be a contemporary one. Later writers cannot help taking adverse criticism into account. Fourth-century sources may be favourable to Alexander or they may not, but they cannot help taking sides, their portrayal is either all white or all black. Something of this contemporary one-sided attitude still pervades Plutarch's *Life*, although less than his earlier Alexander essay. When reading it, it is easy to forget that the potential to do evil was present in Alexander from birth [3].

Now Callisthenes depicted Alexander as the hero of an epic in Homeric style. Plutarch may well have turned to him, especially as he had stopped writing after Alexander's character was supposed to have deteriorated. The knowledge that Callisthenes had flattered Alexander even as Choerilus, as Agis [4] and Cleon, as Anaxarchus, as Apelles and Aristobulus [5] had done did not deter Plutarch from using him, since he had

[1] Plut. *Alex.* 40, 1. Compare Alexander's argument in Arr. VII 9, 9.

[2] Dion. Hal. *Orat. Vett.* 1.

[3] Cf. Curt. X 5, 26 : *bona naturae eius fuisse ; vitia vel fortunae vel aetatis.*

[4] Plut. *Quomodo adul. ab amico internosc.* 18, 60 B ; Arr. IV 9, 9 ; Curt. VIII 5, 8.

[5] Lucian. *Hist. conscr.* 12.

redeemed himself over the προσκύνησις episode. Callisthenes had turned Alexander into a god, by giving him the attributes of Zeus [1]. Plutarch cannot have ignored them, since he takes Apelles to task for using them too.

Callisthenes was a sophist, trained to respect and to instruct men of action, politicians and statesmen. Those who remained unaffected by Alexander's success were as a rule of a philosophical bent of mind. I do not believe that Dicaearchus appraised Alexander's career in positive terms [2]. Although he gives precedence to the πρακτικὸς βίος over the θεωρητικός, he is not likely, as an Aristotelian, to have thought of Alexander's conquests in terms of ἔργα. He is less likely even to have called them πράξεις, deeds. Alexander was prodded on by cupidity and ambition; his actions deserve to be thought of in terms of κίνησις, not ἐνέργεια. He was being driven, instead of creating. Dicaearchus nowhere mentions Alexander as an example of the πρακτικὸς βίος, in fact he mentions no politicians or generals at all, but the Seven Sages. These furthered the interests of the city-state through their advice and legislation, but did not wish to increase it by conquest.

It took longer for members of the Lyceum or for other philosophers to take an interest in Alexander's achievements; longer even than it took for the dust raised by the anabasis to settle, and for historians to gain an insight into facts obscured by prejudice and controversy. Those furthest away in time may have succeeded best, as Arrian did, and Plutarch.

After Callisthenes, it was Eratosthenes who influenced Plutarch's thoughts, although this influence is less obvious in the *Vita* than in his Alexander essays. Eratosthenes had been invited by Ptolemy III to come to Alexandria to direct the great library. He was requested to preside over the education of

[1] Plb. XII 23, 4 & XII 12b, 3 quoting Timaeus = *FGrH* 124 T 20.

[2] E. MENSCHING, "Peripatetiker über Alexander", in *Historia* 12 (1963), 282; E. ISTLER, *Aristoteles und der Peripatos in ihrem Verhältnis zu Alexander* (Diss. Wien 1968), 189.

Ptolemy IV. He was very much of a professor [1], and he saw the work of Alexander in the world that he lived in. If the Mediterranean of middle-Hellenistic times could be thought of as a scholar's paradise, that, in Eratosthenes' eyes, was Alexander's merit. Although it only became so after Alexander's death, he had willed it and would have made it so himself, if he had lived longer. Fate had granted him enough time to conquer the eastern half of his realm, but he had left plans concerning the rest. Although his kingdom was divided up by the Successors, it still formed a geographical and cultural unity [2].

Alexandria, the capital of the Ptolemies, was also the centre of the world. Alexander founded it where the *sphragides* met, and he was fully aware of its future importance. Plutarch describes the foundation of the town in detail, although he does not quote Eratosthenes for it [3]. The cult-statue of Alexander κτίστης [4] is preserved in a number of copies [5]. The

[1] Ed. SCHWARTZ, *Charakterköpfe aus der Antiken Literatur* [2] (Leipzig 1910), 75-106 ; P. M. FRASER, "Eratosthenes of Cyrene", in *PBA* 56 (1970), 1-35. These and other scholars recognised the importance of the Eratosthenean Alexander, but did not distinguish sufficiently clearly between him and the historical figure.

[2] Eratosthenes realized the significance of Alexander's conquests for the science of geography (Strab. I 2, 1, p. 14 ; I 3, 3, p. 48).

[3] Plut. *Alex.* 26, 2-6. The islet of Pharos is mentioned in the *Odyssey* IV 355-6. Behind it could be found the only good anchorage along Egypt's Mediterranean coast. Homer is supposed to have appeared to Alexander in a dream before he founded a city and built a harbour there : Strab. XII 2, 4, p. 536 ; XVII 1, 6, p. 791. Alexander is bound to have been aware of this passage in Homer, while Callisthenes is bound to have made the most of it. But Eratosthenes probably mistrusted his poetic enthusiasm.

[4] The ἱερεὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου κτίστου τῆς πόλεως is mentioned. Cf. B. A. van GRONINGEN, *A family-archive from Tebtunis*, Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava 6 (Leiden 1950), Nr. 20, lines 2-5, pp. 73 f., n. 3 ; P. M. FRASER, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford 1972), 212 n. 182.

[5] P. PERDRIZET, *Un type inédit de la plastique grecque*, MonPiot 21 (1913), 59-72 ; K. GEBAUER, *art. cit.*, 77 f., 104 f., No 77 ; K. PARLASCA, "Alexander Aigiochos", in *Antike Plastik* (not yet published). The equestrian statue of Alexander the founder described by Libanius may never have existed and is of another type (*Descr.* 27, ed. R. FÖRSTER, VIII, 533-6 ; P. M. FRASER, *op. cit.*, n. 182, to chapt. 5).

founder of Alexandria is clad in the aegis of Zeus (our Fig. 7). It is longer than usual, and it has the shape of a Macedonian chlamys. An allusion to the shape of the city has been recognised in it [1], in support of the ancient authorities, who make its length rather than its tassels the mean of the comparison [2]. Alexander holds the attribute of the hero the spear. He is carrying the palladium in his left hand (our Fig. 6) [3]. Alexandria must have been spoken of as the new Ilion. The story is told that Diomedes stole the palladium and brought it to his native Argos [4]. Aeneas is reputed to have rescued it from burning Troy and brought it to Rome [5]. So many ancient cities claimed to be in possession of the original relic [6] that we are entitled to assume the same of Alexandria also. Alexander had visited Ilion at the outset of his campaign, mainly for the sake of Homer and of Achilles, but also of Athena, whose special *protégé* he was. Let us presume that according to local Alexandrian legend Alexander brought the palladium from Troy.

[1] Plin. *Nat.* V 11, 62 ; P. PERDRIZET, *op. cit.*, 67.

[2] Strab. XVII 1, 8, p. 793 ; Diod. XVII 52 ; C. PRÉAUX, "Alexandre et la Chlamyde", in *Chronique d'Egypte* 43 (1968), 176-87.

[3] The foot of the shaft is preserved in a bronze replica in Berlin. Th. SCHREIBER (*op. cit.* n. 1, p. 225) thought it belonged to a Nike (pp. 143 & 145). The same applies to a limestone statuette from the Fouquet collection (p. 64). The attribute is best seen on a cameo in Cammin cathedral. It is published by G. BRUNS, "Staatskameen des 4. Jhdts. n. Chr.", in *104. Winck. Progr.* (Berlin 1948), 16, fig. 11 = our Fig. 6. A marble hand in Munich holding the palladium belongs to a copy of our Alexander statue, and not to the Diomedes attributed to Kresilas : P. HARTWIG, "Die linke Hand des Diomedes", in *JDAI* 16 (1901), 56-61 ; J. SIEVEKING, *Palladion in der Kunst*, in W. H. ROSCHER, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* III 1, col. 1329.

[4] L. PRELLER, *Griechische Mythologie* [3] II (Berlin 1875), 405 f.

[5] E. PARIBENI, in *Boll. d'Arte* 49 (1964), 198.

[6] Even Constantine was said to have brought the palladium to his new city : Io. Mal. *Chron.* XIII, p. 320 (ed. Bonn) ; Procop. *Goth.* I 15, 14 ; *Chron. Pasch.* on Ol. 277, 4 (I p. 528, ed. Bonn), cf. G. BRUNS, *op. cit.*, 17.

A snake winds itself around the support of one of the copies of the Alexander κτίστης (our Fig. 8) [1]. It would appear to testify to the conflation between the hero and the ἀγαθὸς δαίμων of the city. Any Greek would recognise in the snake the chthonic form of the soul of the founder, the hero who lay buried in the middle of the city. The snake was a *genius loci* to the natives too [2]. Pseudo-Callisthenes has Alexander build him a temple [3]. There were many non-poisonous benevolent snakes in Alexandria, born in the temple, that entered private homes to eat the porridge left for them at the altars [4]. The number of replicas of our statue [5], all of them found in Egypt, implies that every self-respecting Alexandrian household had a shrine dedicated both to the founder of the city and to its good genius.

Alexander was of course the founder not only of Alexandria, but also of the kingdom of the Ptolemies. That was the aspect of the worship of Alexander that interested Eratosthenes least. The king was above all the creator of the Oikoumene. He had done much to bring mankind together, to make it conscious of inhabiting one world. He had gone further in this respect than the heroes of old, than Heracles, than Dionysus, whom

[1] Louvre, from the Collection Lambros-Dattari ; cf. P. PERDRIZET, *op. cit.*, 62 f., pl. 4 = our Fig. 8.

[2] L. R. TAYLOR, "Alexander and the Serpent of Alexandria", in *CPh* 25 (1930), 377 ; P. M. FRASER, *op. cit.*, 211.

[3] Ps.-Callisth. I 32, 5 ; W. W. TARN, "The Hellenistic Ruler-Cult and the Daemon", in *JHS* 48 (1928), 214.

[4] Ps.-Callisth. I 32, 4 ; P. M. FRASER, *op. cit.*, 209-11.

[5] Since a good many copies of the Aigiouchos have come down to us without their heads, we expect some loose heads of Egyptian provenance to have belonged to copies of the same type. I suspect that the Sieglin and Guimet heads (nn. 1 & 2, p. 225) as well as a head at the Liebighaus in Frankfurt and the Horn one belonged to such copies (N. HIMMELMANN (ed.), *Antiken aus rheinischem Privatbesitz*. Ausstellung Bonn 1973, Nr. 352). The Horn and Bodmer heads have holes for the insertion of metal rays (J. DÖRIG (ed.), *Art antique. Collections privées de Suisse Romande*, Genève 1975, Nr. 7). The rays were presumably added in the third century A.D. Almost all the replicas are smaller than life, suggesting a household cult; cf. H. KYRIELEIS, "Zur Eigenart der Ptolemäerbildnisse", in *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologen-Verbandes* 6 (1975), 43.

Megasthenes described as having brought civilisation to India [1]. Eratosthenes on the other hand was more reserved in his appreciation of such tales. The Greek Dionysus never visited India. This story is a fabrication of Alexander's flatterers, who were trying to turn him into a new Dionysus [2].

Eratosthenes looks at Alexander as a professor would, which means that he is careful about facts but totally ignorant about motive. He believed that Alexander's conquests were not motivated by thirst for glory, but by the curiosity of the scholar, the inquisitiveness of the scientist. Eratosthenes attributes his own interests as a geographer to Alexander, he makes him into a precursor of Alexander von Humboldt. Now Alexander was unquestionably filled with a longing to reach the ends of the earth and find out what he could about its inhabitants. He must have been fascinated by the trees growing in the damp heat of India ; he preferred hunting in the game-reserves of the Great King to looking for boars on the slopes of Pindus. It is another thing to turn him into a geographer, a botanist or a zoologist. Although he may have given orders for collecting rare plants and exotic animals, it is doubtful whether he gave the natural sciences the incentive that they may have lacked until then, or encouraged them by conspicuous grants [3], as he

[1] Arr. *Anab.* V 1, 5 f. ; *Ind.* 1, 4-7 ; 7, 4-8, 3. The source of Diodorus is probably Hecataeus ; cf. Diod. II 38, 3 ; 38, 6 ; III 65, 4 ; 65, 8 ; IV 3, 1 ; Ed. SCHWARTZ, "Hekataeos von Teos", in *RhM* 40 (1885), 254. The theory that all gods were human beings was put forwards by Euhemerus in the same generation as Megasthenes and Hecataeus.

[2] Megasthenes records the journeys of Dionysus and of Heracles through India. He also locates the cave of Prometheus in Paropamisus, further east than the Caucasus. Eratosthenes discredits these tales by pointing out their underlying features : Strab. XI 5,5, pp. 505 f. ; XV 1, 7-10, pp. 687-689 ; XV 1, 58, pp. 711 f. ; Arr. *Anab.* V 3, 1-4 ; *Ind.* 5, 8-13 ; P. M. FRASER, in *PBA* 56 (1970), 24-26. Eratosthenes calls the tradition of the worship of Dionysus in Bactria, as well as in some other places mentioned in the prologue of the *Bacchae*, unfounded and mythical. Strabo does not realise that the *Bacchae* was Alexander's favourite play, and that vv. 14-19 provided him with an incentive for conquest.

[3] Athenaeus mentions the sum of 800 talents as a gift for research (IX 398 e).

appears to have sponsored the fine arts. Indeed, to judge from his self-centred interest in the arts also, he is not likely to have furthered knowledge very much. It was the Successors who were goaded by rivalry into providing such emoluments.

The source that made Alexander endow research institutions is probably also responsible for turning him into a discerning patron of the arts [1]. Here again there is no doubt that Alexander gave grand commissions and granted magnificent rewards to painters, sculptors and architects alike. Indeed under his reign the remuneration of artists grew out of proportion to the amount of time that their work required [2]. Here too Alexander's reign marks a turning-point. The artist, if he manages to gain the court's favour, no longer gets paid by the day, he is no longer the equal of the potter and the cobbler. He can command vast sums, he is a genius and deserves to be honoured as much as the poet. Alexander's untold generosity, his squandering the reserves of the Persian treasury, is to blame for this change. But he was not concerned with the fine arts in a theoretical way, his interests were self-centred. Nor had he had the time to give his own taste, that of the court of Pella, much thought. If that taste influenced the whole of Hellenistic art, it is because of the king's success as a conqueror. A fondness for colossal size, for expensive materials, for over-rich ornament, as many departures from an Aristotelian ideal, are the legacy of Alexander in the visual arts.

The cultural unification of the world, Alexander's great merit in the eyes of Eratosthenes, did not manifest itself in the arts and sciences only. Alexander erased the difference between Greeks and Barbarians in many ways. He civilised the latter [3] and

[1] Plut. *De Alex. M. fort. Or. II* 1, 333 E.

[2] Apelles is reported by Pliny to have received 20 talents by weight, as a reward for the Keraunophoros (*Nat.* XXXV 36, 92 ; G. BUDAEUS, *De Asse* (Paris 1541), fol. 55^{v}-56^{r}).

[3] Hostility to foreigners is a trait shared by all barbarians, according to Eratosthenes : Strab. XVII 1, 19, p. 802. The site of what later became Alexandria

taught the former to overcome their prejudice [1]. He mixed the Greek and the Iranian race, even as the wine that he served was mixed in a common crater. The metaphor is not Tarn's but Plutarch's, who may well have borrowed it from Eratosthenes himself [2]. The marriage of Alexander's Greek and Macedonian Companions to Persian brides, the recruiting of Iranian soldiers, were, I believe, brought up by Eratosthenes as so much proof of that policy.

He showed how considerate Alexander had been of the beliefs and customs of the countries he conquered. He had indeed conquered the hearts of his Egyptian subjects by behaving differently from their former Persian overlord. Eratosthenes believed that if Alexander allowed himself to be called son of Zeus, it was because he wanted to endear himself to the Egyptians by conforming to their notion of royalty [3]. Eratos-

was occupied by brigand-shepherds who prevented merchants from landing and from using the only anchorage (cf. n. 3 p. 233). Eratosthenes knew what the foundation of Alexandria meant to commerce and to civilisation. Andron of Alexandria also praises the city's civilising influence : *FGrH* 246 F 1, *ap.* Athen. IV 184 b.

Alexander brought civilisation to the whole of mankind: Plut. *De Alex. M. fort. Or. I* 5, 328 B-329 A. Onesicritus related how he persuaded the Sogdians not to do away with their old parents (Plut. 328 C ; Strab. XI 11, 3, p. 517 = *FGrH* 134 F 5).

[1] Strab. I 4, 9, p. 66 ; Plut. 329 A-B ; Arist. Fr. 658 Rose [3].

[2] Plut. 329 C. Cf. W. W. TARN, *Alexander the Great* (Cambridge 1948), I 116 ; II 441 n. 2. Ed. SCHWARTZ (in *RhM* 40 (1885), 253) attributes the passage dealing with the crater to Eratosthenes. Tarn follows (*op. cit.*, II 438). E. Badian shows that there is no evidence for attributing the simile of the "loving-cup" to Eratosthenes, but admits that Plutarch "quite possibly" had him in mind when writing 329 A-D ; cf. *Historia* 7 (1958), 432-40.

[3] Alexander could not avoid being thought a god if he meant to rule over barbarians (Arr. VII 29, 3). Arrian appears to reflect the point of view of Eratosthenes, who did not believe in Alexander's divine descent, but assumed that there had been reasons of state behind it. Eratosthenes or, for that matter, most educated men coming after Euhemerus were not likely to appreciate or even understand the simple faith of Alexander. (Eratosthenes does not criticize Euhemerus' views but merely finds fault with his method : P. M. FRASER, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 295.) Scholars are fond of quoting a fragment of Eratosthenes in order to show that the latter did believe that Alexander was conceived supernaturally. Olympias

thenes is looking at the simple faith of Alexander from the point of view of an intellectual of his own day and milieu, of a late third-century Museum. He is attributing to the king the traditional policy of his successors. Ptolemy III and IV did try to secure the loyalty of the natives by a show of devotion to gods they probably did not believe in. They treated the priesthood with great respect, for they were aware of its hold over the fellahin. What was a generous impulse on Alexander's part degenerated into mere policy in the hands of his more "modern" successors [1].

Eratosthenes mentions Alexander's semi-Persian dress as visible evidence of his conciliatory attitude towards the barbarians [2]. It is hard to say exactly why Alexander wore this

revealed the mystery of her son's conception to him alone and entreated him to behave accordingly. Olympias' convictions do not of course entail those of Eratosthenes, or even those of Alexander: *FGrH* 241 F 28, *ap.* Plut. *Alex.* 3, 2.

Eratosthenes is bound to have thought about how the priest of Ammon had spoken at Siwa, especially as the oasis was near and dear to his native Cyrene. The sources give several explanations for the way the oracle addressed Alexander. I suggest that Eratosthenes favoured the one exploiting the difference between the Greek and the native Libyan mentality, the one that plays on the language difficulty and sees a misunderstanding in the whole thing. Eratosthenes is likely to have taken the Egyptian version of the story into account (Plut. *Alex.* 27, 6 quoting Psammon). While realising that Alexander could not help being the son of Ammon to Egyptians, Eratosthenes was aware that Alexander did not need to impose the belief in his divine descent on his Greek retainers, the way he tried to impose προσκύνησις. Eratosthenes realised that Alexander's flatterers had of their own accord upheld and propagated the myth of Zeus consorting with Olympias. Eratosthenes says that the story of the Indian campaign of Dionysus is a fabrication of Alexander's friends (see n. 2 p. 236). This story aims at turning Alexander into a νέος Διόνυσος, into the παῖς Διός praised by Euripides in the *Bacchae*.

[1] Ptolemy III owed his cult-name Εὐεργέτης to his policy of restoring native cults after the Persian profanation. Ptolemy IV made many concessions to the natives after the victory of Raphia (Plb. V 65, 9 ; 107, 2 f.). This policy got out of hand under the weak Ptolemy V. Euergetes II made a renewed attempt at winning over the natives (U. KAHRSTEDT, *Geschichte des griechisch-römischen Altertums* (München 1948), 221 ; W. W. TARN & G. T. GRIFFITH, *Hellenistic Civilisation* [3] (London 1952), 205 f.).

[2] Plut. *Alex.* 45, 1-2 ; *De Alex. M. fort. Or. I* 8, 330 A, where Eratosthenes is quoted. Eratosthenes sees in Alexander's Persian regalia a fit reward for Darius'

costume. He seems to have been fond of individualistic weapons and picturesque items of dress. I have difficulty in believing that it was a calculated move, designed to win the sympathies of the Iranians without offending the Macedonians. It reminds one of similar compromises popular in middle-Hellenistic times, of religious syncretism, philosophical eclecticism, and the mixed constitutions of contemporary political theory.

Plutarch would seem to be embroidering an Eratosthenean pattern, whenever his Alexander appears as a wise administrator. Callisthenes, on the other hand, is the source of his portrait of the dashing conqueror. These qualities are seldom found together. Plutarch blends them skilfully, while attributing that exceptional mixture to Alexander's own nature.

The study of Plutarch's *Life of Alexander* has helped me most to understand the portraiture. Every age had its own ideas about his appearance, sometimes combining and sometimes contrasting them with those of the preceding age. We propose to use a method older than excavation, one dear to philology. It consists in peeling off every layer until the original stratum is left. Unfortunately too much has been lost to enable it to be used consistently. The paintings and statues that Plutarch knew have all been lost. Scholars live by the hope of recognising copies of these masterpieces. Such copies, if they should be found, are not likely to tell us anything essential. Roman work lacks the finish of the Greek originals ; it was on the finishing touches that the Hellenistic portraitist relied most to express character. He showed his bravura by giving life to the lips and light to the eyes. The ancient descriptions of famous portraits of Alexander, Plutarch's scant but apt words, are more helpful than what remains. They have the power to

conqueror (*Alex.* 31, 2). The explanation that Arrian (VII 29, 3) gives of Alexander's mixed dress is similar to Plutarch's. Contrast IV 7, 4, where Arrian disapproves of the fad and is obviously following another source, perhaps the same as Curtius X 5, 33.

fire the imagination, and they have occasionally done so in the right direction.

Too little is known about the copying of ancient paintings. Indeed, next to nothing is known about Roman painting after A.D. 79. But copies of Greek statues are common from about 50 B.C. to A.D. 190, particularly in the reigns of Augustus and of Hadrian. Interest in Alexander did not remain constant during this long period. He was much in people's minds during the late Republic and the opening years of Augustus' reign. His fame suffered an eclipse under the Flavians. There is a great revival under Trajan, with Plutarch and Arrian. We are entitled to expect good copies of portraits made in or shortly after Alexander's reign from the Augustan and Trajanic periods. Archaeologists may one day be in a position to question their exactitude, but not, I think, their good faith. In the case of well-known works like the Doryphoros, the degree of objectivity reached by the copyists, especially under Augustus, was greater than either before or after [1]. Despite his great learning, or perhaps because of it, Eratosthenes did not succeed in understanding the figure of Alexander as his contemporaries did. As for the authors of the third and fourth centuries A.D., they did not even try.

What we do know about the imitation of Alexander by Trajan must be gathered from Arrian and from Dio. In order to understand the Trajanic figure, we must study the Augustan Alexander first. Augustus was compared to Alexander, like so many sovereigns before him [2]. He could only hope to dis-

[1] P. ZANKER, *Klassizistische Statuen* (Mainz 1974), 42.

[2] The Alexander *imitatio* by the Emperor is most apparent in the ten years following Octavian's visit to Alexandria. It is during those years that he used the seal with the impression of Alexander (Suet. *Aug.* 50) : D. KIENAST, "Augustus und Alexander", in *Gymnasium* 76 (1969), 435. It is then that the poets praise him in ways reminiscent of Alexander. Ed. NORDEN has shown how Virgil's panegyric in Book VI of the *Aeneid* is modelled on an encomium of the king (*P. Vergilius Maro. Aeneis VI* [2] (Berlin 1916), 322 f. = vv. 788-805). Horace plays with the same ideas in his third Roman *Ode*. See H. J. METTE, " 'Roma'

tinguish himself from his predecessors by seeking a new relationship to the common model and by fulfilling the claims that this relationship entailed. Under his rule the Roman commonwealth became equal to the Macedonian empire [1]. Augustus could be firm about the way in which his contemporaries compared him to Alexander. He had the final say about the definition of his own image. He was so successful about directing imperial propaganda that he discouraged posterity from probing his intimate thoughts. He impressed it with the rule that a monarch does not have a private opinion different from its expression in public, that his private life must correspond to the image entertained by his people.

On the face of it, Augustus' verdict about Alexander seems to have been objective enough. He recognised his good qualities without being blind to his faults [2]. He is bound to have admired his generosity and his creativity. But he found fault with his fits of rage, with the amount he drank, with the irregularity of his married life, with his generally impulsive ways. His way of starting major battles seemed to Augustus irresponsible

(Augustus) und Alexander", in *Hermes* 88 (1960), 459-61 ; D. KIENAST, *art. cit.*, 435. The poets start mentioning Alexander by name only after the Emperor was no longer interested in him as a model : Hor. *Epist.* II 1, 232 f. (13 B.C.). In his funeral eulogy in Dio, Tiberius only mentions Alexander to show how superior Augustus had been (Dio Cass. LVI 36, 3). To look for external events in order to explain why Augustus gradually lost interest in Alexander may well be irrelevant. Other ideals and other embodiments of those ideals became more appealing.

[1] Cf. the beginning of the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti : orbem terra[rum] imperio populi Rom[a]ni subiecit* ; G. NENCI, *Introduzione alle Guerre Persiane e altri saggi di storia antica*, Studi e Testi 15 (Pisa 1958), 285-308 : "L'imitatio Alexandri nelle Res gestae Divi Augusti."

[2] Vell. II 41, 1-2 (comparison between Alexander and Julius Caesar). Compare Tacitus' report of people's praise of the dead Germanicus (*Ann.* II 73). P. Treves believes that the comparison between Germanicus and Alexander is Tacitus' own. But Alexander is not likely to have come out inferior in a comparison of Trajanic date. Germanicus did not live long enough to develop a projection of himself distinguishable from Augustus' own.

in a general [1]. Above all he accused him of being accessible to flattery.

If Augustus' judgment appears a bit condescending, or at least lacking in the tolerance due to so great a figure, we must remember that the emperor grew up in an age in which lesser men were compared to Alexander. He lived to accept this comparison and had plenty of time to reflect on what it implied. He let it be believed that he thought virtue to be the only valid mean term of the comparison. He looked down on all those who had been satisfied with an exterior likeness, the mannerisms of greatness, the attributes of virtue. He condemned all flatterers, who through comparing their masters to Alexander on every occasion encouraged them to ape him [2].

He declared war on the spoilt and arrogant Alexander of the Diadochoi, as well as on the figure that the East had fabricated out of resentment against victorious Rome. Octavian was particularly annoyed at Antony, because he had appropriated the Alexander myth to give glamour to his selfish schemes [3]. This is perhaps what impelled Augustus more than anything else to separate the wheat from the chaff, the historical figure from what the Epigoni had made out of it. Thus his urge for objectivity is in itself polemical, the severity of his demands on the historians has a personal motive. He nevertheless managed to inspire them with a need for pragmatism in Alexander studies. Both Livy and Strabo caught the spirit of Augustus' age, they went straight to Polybius for their scholarly scientific notions. Livy confounds the irresponsible Greeks

[1] The two faults that Augustus condemned most strongly in a military commander were recklessness and haste (Suet. *Aug.* 24).

[2] Augustus may well have had Pompey in mind, as well as Antony (Plut. *Pomp.* 2, 1). See D. MICHEL, *Alexander als Vorbild für Pompeius, Caesar und Marcus Antonius*, Coll. Latomus 94 (Bruxelles 1967), 35-66.

[3] On the Alexander imitation of Antony and Octavian's reaction, cf. D. KIENAST, *art. cit.*, 441-7.

who had chosen to forget Pydna [1], Strabo opposes the figure of Alexander to the flatteringly subjective or passionately resentful Alexander histories [2].

Augustus' own attitude was clearly revealed during his stay at Alexandria after Antony's defeat. He wished to see Alexander's tomb. His guides asked him if he also wanted to see the tombs of the Ptolemies in the same compound. He answered that he had come to see a king and not corpses [3]. Peaceful years went by. Augustus now felt that he could afford to forgive the Alexandrians their loyalty towards Octavian's enemies, to forgive them for their own sake and not, as he had put it to them at the time, for the sake of Alexander and of philosophy [4]. He could by then safely grant Alexandria's Greek-speaking inhabitants their memories.

In his youth, the Emperor had been as enthusiastic about Alexander as Caesar ever had. It was the wish to find out for himself what Alexander really looked like, and not the illustrious precedent of Caesar [5], that drew him to the tomb. The body was kept underground [6] inside a glass coffin [7]. Octavian was

[1] Liv. IX 16, 19-19, 17. See H. R. BREITENBACH, "Der Alexanderexkurs bei Livius", in *MH* 26 (1969), 146-7.

[2] Strabo grows almost eloquent on the untrustworthiness of the Alexander historians (XI 6, 4, p. 508). He mutters about the run of merely flattering memoirs (XVII 1, 43, p. 814; XI 5, 5, p. 505). The king's contemporaries indulged in the telling of miraculous stories, that aimed at increasing his fame (XI 7, 4, p. 509). Onesicritus is singled out for rebuke (XV 1, 28, p. 698). And then there were the forged letters (XV 1, 35, p. 702). The little that is reliable has to be handpicked (XI 5, 4, p. 505; XVII 1, 43, p. 814). Strabo concludes that Alexander was better informed than his entourage (II 1, 6, p. 69).

[3] Dio Cass. LI 16, 5.

[4] Plut. *Ant.* 80, 1-2; Dio Cass. LI 16, 3.

[5] Lucan. X 19-22.

[6] Lucan. X 19; VIII 694.

[7] The golden coffin was replaced by a glass one because of the cupidity of Ptolemy Pareisaktos (Strab. XVII 1, 8, p. 794). See H. THIERSCH, "Die alexandrinische Königsnekropole", in *JDAI* 25 (1910), 63. P. M. FRASER, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 15 f., translates ὑαλίνη "out of alabaster" without giving another example for this meaning of the word.

not content to peer at it through the glass, he had the coffin brought up and opened. He gazed intently on the king's features, then crowned his head with a golden diadem and scattered flowers on his chest as if he had died but recently. We know these particulars, for the visit impressed the Alexandrians, who remembered it a quarter of a millennium later.

By then Alexander's body had acquired a significance very different from the one it had for Augustus and his contemporaries. His visit was interpreted in the same light as the one by the Emperor Septimius Severus, who ordered all books on magic containing spells and formulae on how to conjure up ghosts collected and walled up inside the tomb [1]. Why did he not have them burnt? They had proved useful to him, the last person, or so he fancied, to visit Alexander's body. The Emperor believed that the spirit of Alexander had entered his own self. He wanted to prevent others from gaining access to the body, to deprive them of what they needed to entice his soul from entering their own. There were enough adventurers around, eager to wrench the empire away from its legitimate owner by appropriating Alexander's invincible soul. The Genius of Alexander was an important force in Coptic magic. The Arabs made great use of his djinn. Coins and other effigies of Alexander were commonly worn as talismans [2]. Severus was not alone in believing that the soul of the dead can be forced through incantations to leave one body and enter another. We hear of several pretenders claiming to be Alexander, one of whom, a private person, was remarkably successful in the Balkan provinces [3]. Caracalla believed that he had been

[1] Dio Cass. LXXV 13, 2. Dio says how deeply the Emperor was involved in magic.

[2] Cf. E. SCHWARZENBERG, in *Bonner Jahrb.* 167 (1967), 117, n. 197 ; also P. BAYLE, *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, s.v. Macédoine ; B. de MONTFAUCON, *L'Antiquité expliquée* [2] II 2, 372 f.

[3] This happened in A.D. 221 (Dio Cass. LXXIX 18, 1-3). Cf. E. GROAG, "Alexander in einer Inschrift des 3. Jhdts. n. Chr.", in *Wiener Eranos 1909* (Wien 1909), 251-5.

Alexander in a former life. His soul therefore had also dwelt for a while in the body of Augustus [1]. It was obvious, by the way the emperor looked at you and carried his head, that he was Alexander *redivivus* [2]. He had the tomb that Severus had so carefully sealed reopened [3]. Souls were most commonly believed to pass from one body into another through contact. The people of Alexandria remembered that Augustus had touched the mummy. Now the tip of its nose happened to be missing. It was believed to have crumbled under his fingers [4].

The Emperor would perhaps have found the interpretation given by late antiquity of his visit to the σῶμα amusing. What he cared for was firsthand knowledge about Alexander. Since physiognomy could draw accurate, infallible deductions about character, it was essential to draw them from life [5]. Indeed why make do with a portrait, when Alexander's body was extant? Alexander's entourage knew it to be imperishable, even while he was alive, for it gave off a sweet odour as would a god's [6]. It did not decay although it lay in state for 30 days in the hot Babylonian summer [7]. Posterity fancied that it was bathed in the substance to which the gods owe their immortality, nectar [8].

[1] Dio Cass. LXXVII 7, 2.

[2] Cf. Ps.-Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 21, 4 ; *HA*, Spart. *Carac.* 2, 2.

[3] Hdn. IV 8, 9.

[4] Dio Cass. LI 16, 5.

[5] According to Pliny, Apion was able to tell the age at which a person had died from his portrait, painted by Apelles (*Nat.* XXXV 36, 88). This was not the original purpose of physiognomy, the science invented by Zopyrus and defined by Socrates. Later physiognomists, probably under the influence of a fatalism of Chaldaean origin (although they thought of themselves as stoics), became increasingly concerned with predicting the future. Cf. F. R. KRAUS, *Die physiognomischen Omina der Babylonier* (Leipzig 1935), 15 ; 17.

[6] Plut. *Quaest. conv.* I 6, 623 E ; *Alex.* 4, 2, quoting the Peripatetic Aristoxenos. See E. ISTLER, *op. cit.* (n. 2 p. 232), 181.

[7] Plut. *Alex.* 77, 3 ; Ael. *VH* XII 64.

[8] Stat. *Silv.* III 2, 117 f.

Fig. 3 Glass-paste, cast from Gem. Late IV century B. C. Berlin. Staatliche Museen, Antiken Abteilung.

Fig. 4 Contorniate. Auktion 35, Münzen & Medaillen AG, Basle.

Fig. 5 Cameo. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale.

Fig. 6 Cameo. Cammin, Domschatz.

Fig. 7 Bronze Statuette. London. British Museum.

Fig. 8 Marble Statuette. Paris. Musée du Louvre.

In fact stronger herbs than honey were used in preparing it for its slow conveyance towards its last resting-place [1]. R. M. Errington has reminded us of the events that account for its not getting further than Memphis. Now Egypt happened to be the country of the world's best embalmers. Anthropologists even to-day are able to reconstruct the exact appearance of persons who lived 4000 years ago. Professional undertakers put their skill at the service of Ptolemy and of the veterans of Alexander's army, who wanted to have their king with them always. Through his mummification Alexander broke even in death with the customs of his Macedonian ancestors [2]. The conservative element of Greek Alexandrian society must have been unhappy at the thought of Alexander lying in the capital of the Pharaohs. His body was quickly moved to the city he had founded. It took longer before an opportunity arose for his body to be put on display in a glass cage, much as the relics of saints and martyrs are displayed even now in Roman Catholic churches.

It would be foolhardy to guess at Alexander's features on the basis of a mummy that has disappeared. All mummies look alike to the layman. The nose of Alexander's mummy (or what was left of it) stuck out sharply and had a broken profile. Whereas nature may have forgotten to endow Alexander with the aquiline nose obligatory in the ruler [3], Augustus is bound to have recognised it in the mummy. This is conceivably the only criterion the Emperor brought back with him to check the accuracy of the Alexander portraits then extant.

Augustus' opinion on works of art, his judgment of the old masters as well as of contemporary artists, mattered, for his own

[1] Curtius says that the Egyptians and Chaldaeans removed the entrails and filled the gold coffin with *odores* (X 10, 13). Diodorus likewise speaks of ἀρώματα (XVIII 26, 3).

[2] H. THIERSCH, in *JDAI* 25 (1910), 56, quoting Ps.-Callisth. III 33, 6.

[3] E. SCHWARZENBERG, in *Bonner Jahrb.* 167 (1967), 110, n. 112.

taste and preferences became those of his age. It is unlikely that works frankly disagreeable to the imperial court were copied. Much of Hellenistic art has been lost because of the severity of Augustan eclecticism.

Augustus searched for an original, a truly contemporary Alexander portrait. He must have been convinced that all the posthumous ones falsified his features, even as the later sources were untrue to his nature. The Emperor realised that the many contemporary artists who aimed at flattery could only have betrayed Alexander. The portraitists who reproduced his character in an objective spirit must have been few indeed. Augustan art historians know of three artists who did not play Alexander false. The choice of a sculptor, a painter and a gem-carver, a selection prepared by generations of art critics, was sanctioned by the authority that only Augustus could confer. We think of Augustan art, at least as displayed on public monuments, as official art. "Official" in fact meant what was pleasing to Augustus. He must have decided himself what was to be represented on the Ara Pacis and who should figure on its procession frieze, even as he obliged Horace through the offices of Maecenas to write the *Carmen saeculare*. It would have been normal for Augustus' contemporaries to assume that Alexander too had told his court artists exactly how to portray him. Indeed he was said to have threatened punishment to those unable to curb their creative freedom, those who took liberties with his own august features. By placing ourselves in an Augustan perspective, we shall understand why Alexander was believed to have forbidden all artists except Lysippus, Apelles and Pyrgoteles to portray him [1]. Since one took it for

[1] Hor. *Epist.* II 1, 232-250 (Lysippus and Apelles); Plin. *Nat.* VII 37, 125 (Lysippus, Apelles and Pyrgoteles); XXXV 36, 85 (Apelles); XXXVII 4, 8 (Pyrgoteles); Plut. *De Alex. M. fort. Or. II* 2, 335 A; *Alex.* 4, 1 (Lysippus); Apul. *Flor.* 7 (all three, since Polycleitus is an obvious mistake for Lysippus); Arr. *Anab.* I 16, 4 (Lysippus); Chor. XXXIV (*Dial.* 21), Cod. Matr. fol. 164^{v} = *JDAI* 9 (1894), 173 (Lysippus).

granted that no artist would have dared to disobey Alexander, Euphranor and Leochares were simply forgotten. The Alexander portraits of these artists were not copied because of Augustan prejudice in favour of the great three.

Let us thank Augustus if the work of Lysippus was not discarded offhand. Almost all we know about Lysippean Alexander portraiture is due to Plutarch, who draws on it for the description of Alexander's body that was lacking in the sources. Early (fourth-century) sources were interested in character only, so Plutarch made the best of extant portraits. He turned to Lysippus as the only sculptor who had done justice to Alexander's virtues. Lysippus best expressed the regal bearing and the warrior's manliness. He availed himself of a poetic simile in order to do so. He compared Alexander to a lion. It was not the first time that an artist had used that comparison. The lion of Chaeroneia extols the courage of the fallen Thebans [1]. Lysippus is perhaps the first artist to use this simile for the representation of a living contemporary. The Greeks recognised in the lion an embodiment of courage and of majesty. Among the many features that reveal the manliness of the lion, Aristotle mentions the texture and colour of his mane. According to views contemporary with Lysippus, hair should be tawny and curl only slightly; it should be ξανθός and ἄκρουλος [2]. Hair that is neither black and curly nor pale and lank is manly. Lysippus transposed into statuary the most telling particular of a lion's mane, its ἀναστολή. It would be misleading to compare a live lion to a portrait statue by Lysippus. Nature is best compared to nature and art to art.

On the hopelessness of trying to enforce such a law, cf. A. SHAFTESBURY, *Characteristics of men, manners, opinions, times, etc.* III 2,1.

[1] Paus. IX 40, 10; J. BURCKHARDT, *Antike Kunst*, Gesamtausgabe XIII (Stuttgart 1934), 101.

[2] E. SCHWARZENBERG, in *Bonner Jahrb.* 167 (1967), 105, n. 53.

Enough Greek lions are preserved from the second half of the fourth century B.C. to show us what to expect from a Lysippean ἀναστολή [1].

The ἀναστολή has been recognised on a number of beardless heads that have been called portraits of Alexander on the strength of this feature alone. Obviously much abuse can be expected here. The indiscriminate use of the ἀναστολή for the identification of Alexander portraits is responsible for many of M. Bieber's wrong attributions. There are all kinds of ἀναστολαί and only those conforming closely to the manes of fourth-century lions may be attributed to Lysippus or to his imitators.

We owe the understanding of the lion simile, as Lysippus' own way of expressing a fundamental trait of Alexander's character, to Plutarch. We may forgive him for mistaking it for a naturalistic touch in the portrayal of the king's hair style.

Plutarch does not tell us much that we should like to know about Lysippus' statue : where it was set up, on what occasion, to which god it was dedicated. But we are able to say on the strength of his description that it was a heroic statue. From the spear, and from what we know about Lysippus' veneration for the Polycleitan Doryphoros, it is probable that Alexander was portrayed in the likeness of Achilles [2]. The sculptor's creation conformed to the young king's wishes, since he modelled himself on the Achilles of Homer [3]. All that Plutarch says about the statue applies to a hero better than to a human being. Modern archaeologists have nonetheless taken for

[1] Cf. a lion from a tomb in Piraeus : F. WILLEMSEN, *Die Löwenkopf-Wasserspeier vom Dach des Zeustempels*, Olymp. Forsch. 4 (Berlin 1959), 51, Pl. 60.

[2] G. LIPPOLD, *Griechische Porträtstatuen* (München 1912), 101 f. ; E. SCHWARZENBERG, in *Bonner Jahrb.* 167 (1967), 106, n. 66. The Lysippean Alexander must have had heroic proportions, just as the Polycleitan Achilles has (Chor. XXXVII (*Dial.* 23), Cod. Matr. fol. 174^{v} = *JDAI* 9 (1894), 168). Pausanias, after seeing Polydamas' statue by Lysippus in Olympia, says that he must have been of heroic size (VI 5, 1).

[3] E. SCHWARZENBERG, *ibid.*, 68 ; 70.

granted that Lysippus portrayed the physical shortcomings of a human being rather than the ideal characteristics of the hero [1]. Alexander's leonine appearance belongs to the Achilles comparison. Achilles is very much a lion in Homer : he resembles it down to its tawny shock of hair.

The Alexander of Lysippus carried his head a little to one side and glanced up ever so slightly. This was the sculptor's way of expressing the pride of youth and the self-assurance of the athlete, as well as the indomitable will of the hero. The Lysippean pose is known to us from the Agias and the Apoxyomenos, two undisputed works, as well as from a Heracles [2]. An attitude characteristic of Lysippean heroes was mistaken for the naturalistic rendering of Alexander's body. The level look of the victorious athlete was turned into the inimitable gaze of Alexander, privileged while alive to look up to Zeus as to his father. Callisthenes described Alexander looking up in prayer to his Father in Heaven [3]. An epigram which, if it is by Asclepiades, must date from the first half of the third century B.C. refers to the Lysippean Doryphoros as proof of Alexan-

[1] Physicians mistake the inclination of Alexander's neck, recognised by Plutarch on his portrait statue, for a malformation of his body. A. Winkelbauer diagnosed it as an obstipum (see F. SCHACHERMEYR, *Alexander der Grosse* (Wien 1973), 95 n. 76). A. DECHAMBRE thought it was a clear case of torticollis (*Gazette médicale de Paris*, 1851, 717-20, 745-8). Oculists have taken a Byzantine story about Alexander's heterochromy at face value (A. ESSER, in *Klinische Monatsblätter für Augenheilkunde* 84 (1930), 704-6) : see Iul. Val. I 7 ; Ps.-Callisth. I 13, 3 ; Tzetzes, Io., *Hist. Chil.* XI 368, 97-99 ; Glycas, Michael, pp. 267 f. (ed. Bonn, Vol. 14) ; Io. Mal. *Chron.* VIII, p. 194 (ed. Bonn). According to Glykas, Candace read into Alexander's heterochromous eyes that he would conquer the world, and be conquered by a woman in his turn. We do not know what they signified to Pseudo-Callisthenes, the principal source of Byzantine historians. See J. J. BACHOFEN, *Das Mutterrecht* I (Basel 1948), 451-5.

[2] A Heracles of Lysippean style is known from two statuettes and clay heads, all found in Smyrna : 1) Louvre : A. de RIDDER, *Collection De Clercq* 3 (Paris 1905), no. 227, Pl. 37 ; 2) Smyrna : E. SCHWARZENBERG, in *Bonner Jahrb.* 167, fig. 21 on p. 95 ; 3) Copenhagen : V. POULSEN, *Publications de la Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg. Catalogue des terres cuites grecques et romaines* (København 1949), no. 64 f., Pl. 40.

[3] Plut. *Alex.* 33, 1 = Callisthenes, *FGrH* 124 F 36.

der's divine sonship [1]. Plutarch quotes it with distaste, seeing in the statue's proudly lifted head the influence of flattery [2]. In fact the neck of the original statue was only slightly inclined, corresponding in Plutarch's eyes to a habit of Alexander's [3]. The Diadochoi found the Lysippean Doryphoros inspiring for self-representations. Their portraitists were expected to exaggerate the angle of the King's glance and to stress the familiarity with Zeus that it implied.

Plutarch was not fooled by these theatrical displays. He felt that Lysippus was not likely to have had recourse to external means (such as the direction of Alexander's look presupposing an object in Heaven) to express the *arete* of his hero and to show that he was truly the son of Zeus. Alexander was not in the habit of raising his eyes to search for his father's celestial realm. They were, on the other hand, full of life and of energy. This is the true meaning of the words διάχυσις [4] and ὑγρότης [5]. Alexander never longed for the unattainable, and it is wrong to read πόθος into representations of him [6]. Plutarch was helped in recognising the manliness of his hero by realizing that his flatterers had been mistaken in trying to turn him into a god. It is doubtful whether he would have appreciated the simple spear of the Lysippean statue if Apelles had not given a thunderbolt to his portrait painting of Alexander. Plutarch has helped posterity to an understanding of the art of Lysippus

[1] *Anth. Pal.* XVI 120 ; Th. PREGER, *Inscriptiones Graecae Metricae* (Leipzig 1891), 228, no. 279. The verses are attributed to Archelaos as well. He may have added the first two verses, which attribute the statue to Lysippus. Indeed Tzetzes seems to have known only the last two.

[2] Plut. *De Alex. M. fort. Or. I* 9, 331 A ; *Or. II* 2, 335 B ; Tzetzes, Io., *Hist. Chil.* VIII 200, 421-427 ; XI 368, 100-108.

[3] Plut. *De Alex. M. fort. Or. II* 2, 335 B ; *Alex.* 4, 1.

[4] E. SCHWARZENBERG, in *Bonner Jahrb.* 167, 72. Cf. also Plut. *Alex.* 19, 4.

[5] E. SCHWARZENBERG, *ibid.*, 107 n. 80. Cf. also Polemo, *Anecdota Graeca* descripsit J. CRAMER, IV (Oxford 1837), 255 : ὀφθαλμοί... ὑγροὶ λάμποντες ὡς λιβάδες, ἤθη χρηστὰ ἐκφαίνουσιν.

[6] J. P. GUÉPIN, "Leonine brows and the shadow of Pyrgoteles", in *BVAB* 39 (1964), 132 f.

by challenging the preposterous airs of Alexander's imitators, as well as the pretentious imitations of Lysippus' followers.

Lysippus' reputation as a master of portraiture prevented the greater part of antiquity from appreciating his aims. It is hard to tell how he came by his reputation. The sins of distant pupils were perhaps attributed to him [1]. Plutarch stands alone in not allowing common views to prejudice his appreciation of Lysippean portraiture. He realized that too great a facility impairs a grasp of the essential, that the eye trained to perceive details important in a passport photograph cannot understand human nature.

The discrepancy between portraits by Lysippus and current opinion about them shows that ancient connoisseurs did not know, any more than more recent ones, what they were talking about. Augustan monuments give the lie to contemporary talk about Lysippus. No copies or echoes of his Alexander portrait can be dated to the period of Augustus. Patrons must have felt uneasy about it. The reason is not far to seek : late Republican portraiture was too obviously inspired by the famous work, for people in the know, eager to abide by the Emperor's preferences and able to follow his artistic guidance,

[1] Lysippus was thought in antiquity to have been the sculptor who copied nature most closely of all. He was praised above all other artists for *ad veritatem ... accessisse optime* (Quint. *Inst.* XII 10, 9). Now, he is certain not to have wanted something different from contemporary students of human nature, from all those for whom Socrates meant the true beginning of philosophy and who wanted *ad veritatem vitae propius accedere* (Cic. *De orat.* I 51, 220). Cicero knew that the purpose of the visual arts was no different from that of the dramatic arts : that they should study human nature and remain true to life and to man. The aim of the artist has ever been *veritas* (Cic. *De orat.* III 56, 214, of the actor ; *Inv.* II 1, of the painter, quoted by C. L. URLICHS, *Observationes de arte Praxitelis* (Würzburg 1858), 9). The Lysippean imitation of nature was unfortunately interpreted in a naturalistic way, his conception of *veritas* being understood in a veristic sense. The Romans believed that the art of Lysippus displayed the kind of verism found for instance in the famous wounded bitch on the Capitol. Pliny praises its *indiscreta veri similitudo* (*Nat.* XXXIV 17, 38). On this whole question, cf. R. KEKULÉ von STRADONITZ, "Über einen angeblichen Ausdruck des Lysipp", in *JDAI* 8 (1893), 39-50 ; E. SCHWARZENBERG, in *Bonner Jahrb.* 167, nn. 2, 24, 25.

to feel safe in harking back to it. They preferred to revive the style of the pre-Lysippean pre-Hellenistic period and to copy the works of Polycleitus. They found the dignity and the restraint of the Doryphoros ideally suited to representations of the Princeps. The Augustus from Prima Porta is different indeed from an honorary statue of Hellenistic or late Republican date, whose arrogantly [1] lifted head seems like a caricature of Alexander's stance. The portraits of the Epigoni were too blatantly derived from the famous statue by Lysippus, they were too deliberate a falsification of the master's aim, to permit Augustan craftsmen to copy him in a serene and objective spirit. The "Alexandros Doryphoros" was consequently not taken up in the smallish repertoire of Greek statuary that early Imperial workshops copied. We must expect a weak transmission in later times also.

The Azara herm is generally believed to be a copy of the spear-bearing Alexander [2]. It owes its fame to its inscription [3], as well as to the fact that Napoleon owned it. It belongs to a large group of herms found in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries in a villa near Tivoli [4]. They were made by the same workshop, apparently in Hadrianic or post-Hadrianic times,

[1] Quint. *Inst.* XI 3, 69 : *caput supinum* = *arrogantia*, quoted by E. C. EVANS, "Roman descriptions of personal appearance in history and biography", in *HSPh* 46 (1935), 47.

[2] M. BIEBER, *op. cit.*, 32 f. ; T. HÖLSCHER, *Ideal und Wirklichkeit in den Bildnissen Alexanders des Grossen* (Heidelberg 1971), Pl. 3 f.

[3] W. FROEHNER, *Inscriptions grecques du Louvre*, no. 71 ; *IG* XIV 1130 ; Th. SCHREIBER, *op. cit.* (n. 1 p. 225), 28-40. The inscription should read Ἀλέξανδρος Φιλίππου Μακεδόνιος as it must follow the titulature of the other herms from the same workshop. The correct form Μακεδών is too short. See the Comte de Clarac quoted in *IG* XIV *cit.* The Latin *Macedonius* has probably contaminated the form of the ethnic. The reading suggested by W. Froehner and generally accepted since, Μακεδόνων βασιλεύς, raises more difficulties than it solves. It is not a titulature Alexander would have used himself. It was used later only to avoid confusion. See R. M. ERRINGTON, "Macedonian 'Royal Style' and its historical significance", in *JHS* 94 (1974), 31 ; 37.

[4] *IG* XIV p. 304 ; T. LORENZ, *Galerien von griechischen Philosophen- und Dichterbildnissen bei den Römern* (Mainz 1965), 20-25.

and are easily recognised by the letter-forms of their inscriptions, by the square omicrons and thetas in particular. The Alexander herm is so badly worn as to be practically worthless. All the recognisable features, the mouth and the eyelids, have been recut. The nose, needless to say, was missing. The face is in fact a blank. Enough is left of the hair to enable us to call the Campana herm a replica [1]. Both show the ἀναστολή that we have been taught to expect on a Lysippean head. The face of the Campana herm is modern. In the original the hair must have been bound by a simple fillet. Indeed we would expect the Alexander Doryphoros not to wear any diadem or emblem of royalty.

A head in the British Museum was taken by F. Studniczka for a copy of the same original. I believe, as K. Gebauer says, that it is a mid-nineteenth-century forgery based on the Azara herm [2]. The mouth is especially unconvincing.

A claim has recently been made for a head in Vienna (in my possession) [3] (our Fig. 1). It is different from the herms, especially in the turn of the head to the left. It is at least preserved well enough to make comparisons with work attributed to Lysippus meaningful. It bears being put next to the so-called Diphilos [4], as well as to the head of an athlete, a boxer

[1] K. Gebauer, *art. cit.*, 62, 97, no. 54; G. M. A. Richter, *The portraits of the Greeks* 3 (London 1965), 255, figs. 1730-1733.

[2] *B.M. Cat.* III 1859; F. Studniczka, *Zur Erinnerung an Theodor Schreiber*, Ber. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss. 64 (1912), 197 f.; K. Gebauer, *art. cit.*, 62, 97, no. 55.

[3] E. Schwarzenberg, in *Bonner Jahrb.* 167, 86-92; H. Döhl, *Der Eros des Lysipp* (Diss. Göttingen 1968), Anm. 110; T. Hölscher, *op. cit.*, 54 f.; E. Berger, "Ein neues Porträt Alexanders des Grossen", in *AK* 14 (1971), 142; E. Paribeni, in R. Bianchi Bandinelli (ed.), *L'Arte dell'Antichità classica* I (Torino 1976), Nr. 496.

[4] E. Schwarzenberg, *ibid.*, 88, 90, figs. 11-13. The "Diphilos" may be compared to the Olympiodorus in Oslo, the original of which probably dates from soon after his archonship of 294-3: G. M. A. Richter, *op. cit.*, II 162, figs. 894-896. In so far as it is possible to make chronological deductions from arguments about style based on Roman copies only, the Olympiodorus would appear to be older than the Demosthenes of 280 B.C., but younger than the "Diphilos". The latter may be compared to a head known to me only through a photograph from a sale catalogue (Sotheby 27.VII.1933, no. 113, Pl. 2).

or a pankratiast, known in two copies [1]. It reminds us of a Dionysus in Venice, recently attributed to Lysippus [2]. Nor are there any stylistic incompatibilities between it and the Apoxyomenos.

All this does not entitle us to attribute the original, of which the head in Vienna is a copy, to the Master himself. It is on the whole safer to refrain from attributing works known only through copies to a particular master, and from entering a battle, in which so many German art historians have discredited themselves of late. Let us say no more than that it is a faithful copy of a late fourth-century original, and that it does represent Alexander. The copy seems to be of Trajanic date, therefore to be contemporary with Plutarch's *Life*. Like his portrayal, it is not so much preoccupied with rectifying earlier prejudice as with trying to be fair to Alexander. It is less aggressively objective than an Augustan copy would have been. It is eminently suited for the cultured non-specialist beholder to enjoy. I propose that you imagine a portrait by Lysippus along the lines suggested by this head.

Because of the still greater appeal of the two-dimensional, it would be even more important to provide a non-misleading painted portrait, an image capable through its colour of satisfying the senses as well as the intellect. Augustus knew at least two representations of Alexander by Apelles, great panels that hung in his Forum [3]. They were originally intended for Ptolemy I, to whose court Apelles went after Alexander's death. Octavian carried them away to Rome, together with the art treasures that had belonged to Cleopatra.

[1] T. Dohrn, "Athletenkopf aus Lucus Feroniae", in *Antike Plastik* 6 (1967), 71-74. A replica in Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, *Inv.* I 1023.

[2] J. Dörig, "Le Dionysos de l'Hélicon, œuvre de Lysippe", in *Antike Plastik* 12 (1973), 125-30.

[3] Plin. *Nat.* XXXV 10, 27 ; 36, 93 f.

One of the panels represented Alexander as Dionysus triumphant on his way home from India. Alexander was commonly imagined to have achieved apotheosis as a new Dionysus[1]. The notion of his return from the East, of his victorious *thiasos* through Carmania, particularly appealed to the Alexandrians [2]. They depicted him as the young god, wearing, instead of a *nebris*, the skin of an elephant, the trunk of which is artfully entwined about one of its tusks on a glass paste [3]. The theme of the triumphant Dionysos-Alexander was central to the *pompai* that the Ptolemies organised at their accession. The Roman triumphal processions of late Republican times owe a lot to these Alexandrian ones, with their oriental splendour and their elephants. Elephants, whether of Indian or of African origin, were to the people of Alexandria a reminder of Alexander. Ptolemy I used the animal as his emblem for that reason [4].

Apelles in this painting played on the aspect of Alexander least palatable to Augustus. He is likely to have displayed it in Rome during the victory celebrations only as an example of the art of the captured Alexandria. The Roman people would have recognised Antony's motley levy from the East in the chained Indian prisoners. The painting was not put on public display for years afterwards, until it found a permanent home in Augustus' Forum. By then it was no longer associated with a particular victory. The Indian prisoners had become per-

[1] Diog. Laert. VI 63 (Athens).

[2] P. M. FRASER, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 202. Arrian does not name the source for his description of Alexander's *thiasos* (VI 28, 1 f.). It is likely to have been Cleitarchus of Alexandria. Cf. *Schol.* in Apoll. Rh. II 904 = Clitarchus, *FGrH* 137 F 17; E. SCHWARZENBERG, *Zum Alexander Rondanini...*, 174 n. 177.

[3] A. FURTWÄNGLER, *Antike Gemmen*, Pl. 37, no. 23; G. LIPPOLD, *Gemmen und Kameen des Altertums und der Neuzeit* (Stuttgart 1922), Pl. 68, no. 1. The features are those of the young Dionysus.

[4] P. M. FRASER, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 205; E. SCHWARZENBERG, *Zum Alexander Rondanini...*, 174.

sonifications of the woes of war, banished by the Pax Augusta [1]. Augustus himself was recognised under the features of Alexander. Claudius had the face of the one altered into the other [2].

It was not the Emperor's modesty that prevented the overpainting of Apelles' masterpiece. Had he felt shy at being identified with Alexander in this way, he would not have worn a signet-ring bearing his own effigy immediately after discarding the stone with the king's portrait [3]. Augustus was prevented from doing what Claudius did by consideration for the past. He realised that the art of Apelles was irreplaceable. He must have felt that whoever was capable of falsifying the work of Apelles did not deserve to know about the original Alexander. With Augustus the Romans entered an age of greater awareness of the value of artistic and historical documents. Earlier, perhaps more creative periods had fewer qualms about deleting a person's effigy if he became unpopular, about replacing the head of a portrait-statue if it was needed to represent somebody else. We would like to think that it was not Julius Caesar himself but the vulgar Claudius who altered the equestrian statue of Alexander in the Forum Iulii into a portrait of the former [4].

The other panel represented Alexander in the company of his half-brothers, the Dioscuri, crowned by Victory. The two paintings obviously formed a pair. They must have borne some formal resemblance to each other. I suggest putting a chariot in the second painting as well. Nike is habitually represented on Greek commemorative monuments crowning the

[1] Serv. *Aen.* I 294 ; cf. E. SCHWARZENBERG, *ibid.*

[2] On both paintings : Plin. *Nat.* XXXV 36, 94. Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis* would have fallen flat, if Claudius had not taken the prospect of his own apotheosis, and hence the apotheosis of Augustus, very seriously. The same lack of humour may be detected in the portrait statue of Claudius described in n. 3 p. 260.

[3] H. U. INSTINSKY, *Die Siegel des Kaisers Augustus* (Baden-Baden 1962), 31 ; 36 ; D. KIENAST, *art. cit.*, 435.

[4] Stat. *Silv.* I 1, 84-87.

victorious team of horses [1]. I suggest placing Alexander in the chariot, led by the Dioscuri, with Nike hovering above or behind the King [2]. Rome was at liberty to recognize Gaius and Lucius marching on either side of the triumphal chariot.

What Apelles painted while Alexander was alive, at least before the Indian expedition, was different in spirit from what he did for the Diadochoi. The early portraits are those that would have appealed to Augustus most. They were also the ones most difficult to secure. Augustus, far from extorting the works he fancied from the sanctuaries of the Greeks, is known to have returned some of those that had been illegally removed during the civil wars. The 'Αλέξανδρος κεραυνοφόρος was the property of Artemis at Ephesus [3]. The painting had been commissioned by her high priest, the Megabyzos, to com-

[1] Cf. the Lysander dedication at Delphi (Paus. X 9, 4) and the Syracusan Demarateia.

[2] *Anth. Pal.* XVI 345 (statues of Alexander and of Victory next to each other); Athen. V 202 a (statues of Athena and of Nike on either side of Alexander).

[3] Plin. *Nat.* XXXV 36, 92. The painting is mentioned in Plut. *Alex.* 4, 3 and Cic. *Verr.* V 60, 135. Ael. *VH* II 3 may well refer to the same painting. In that case Alexander was painted on horseback. Alexander took part in a *pompe* at Ephesus that was part religious procession, part military parade. Arrian says that the whole army participated, as if it was going into battle (I 18, 2). Now Alexander normally fought on horseback, indeed he had distinguished himself by leading the cavalry attack at the Granicus shortly before. He must have ridden in the procession. The Keraunophoros and the *Pompe* of the Megabyzos may be the same painting (Plin. *Nat.* XXXV 36, 93).

Alexander was represented on horseback at Olympia, at Delphi and at Dion, each time as part of a group: Paus. VI 11, 1 (Olympia); H. von Roques de Maumont, *Antike Reiterstandbilder* (Berlin 1958), 26-28 (Craterus' dedication at Delphi); H. B. Siedentopf, *Das hellenistische Reiterdenkmal* (Waldsassen 1968), 46 f. (*turma Alexandri* at Dion). If the equestrian portrait statue took on a new importance and significance after Alexander, it is probably because of these dedications (G. Hirschfeld, in *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, cols. 127 f.). The first honorary equestrian statue recorded was put up by Athens for a Macedonian Asandros in 314-3 B.C. (H. B. Siedentopf, *op. cit.*, 83).

The interpretation of the painting given in the text can be combined with its reconstruction suggested in this footnote only if the reader will accept the representation of a mounted Zeus in the late fourth century B.C.

memorate Alexander's visit to the Artemisium in 334 B.C. It must have been dedicated to the goddess as an expression of the thanks of the city because Alexander had been instrumental in the completion of her temple [1]. Plutarch is referring to this painting when he takes Apelles to task for having painted Alexander with the thunderbolt of Zeus instead of being satisfied, as Lysippus was, with the weapon of a hero [2].

Plutarch takes it to be a portrait-painting not different in nature from contemporary ones. There is a statue of Claudius, of which Plutarch may have seen a replica at Olympia, that shows the Emperor as Zeus, with an eagle at his feet, looking up adoringly at its master [3]. This is the kind of portraiture Plutarch disapproved of. Having seen with his own eyes what art driven by flattery can lead to, he felt entitled to speak about conditions at Alexander's court. In fact the painting is not a portrait at all, unless one takes the word portrait in a meaning different from the established one.

The Thunderbolt-bearer was dedicated in commemoration of an important local event. Contemporary Ephesians are bound to have seen it as a replacement for the statue of Philip that the pro-Persian oligarchs had smashed a year before Alexander's arrival. The statue had been put up by the Demos after Parmenion had freed Ephesus together with a number of

[1] E. SCHWARZENBERG, *Zum Alexander Rondanini*..., 166.

[2] Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* 24, 360 D. Plutarch praises the painting in *Ad princ. iner.* 3, 780 F.

[3] E. CURTIUS/F. ADLER, *Olympia. Die Ergebnisse der von dem Deutschen Reich veranstalteten Ausgrabung* III (Berlin 1894), Pl. 60, no. 1, signed by Philathenaios and Hegias ; G. LIPPOLD, *Die Skulpturen des Vaticanischen Museums* I (Berlin 1936), Sala Rotonda 550 ; A. HEKLER, *Die Bildniskunst der Griechen und Römer* (Stuttgart 1912), Pl. 18 a. A cameo represents Claudius naked except for the aegis shaped like a cloak or perhaps a *paludamentum*. He carries a thunderbolt. He is standing next to a trophy and a chained barbarian prisoner. The Emperor is leaning on a spear, the weapon of Achilles as well as the *summa imperii*. The eagle is gazing at his features. See F. EICHLER and E. KRIS, *Die Kameen im Kunsthistorischen Museum Wien* (Wien 1927), no. 20, Pl. 7.

other cities [1]. While Ephesus was setting up its statue of Philip, the Demos of Eresos was erecting an altar to him [2]. Actually not even a hatred for oligarchy would have induced the Eresians to sacrifice to Philip as to a god. The altar was dedicated to Zeus. But not to any Zeus, certainly not to the one by whom their political opponents were wont to swear. He was the one who had saved them by counselling Philip, Ζεὺς Φιλίππιος. Hence the painting by Apelles also may have represented Zeus Alexandreios. Suppose a Roman tourist had seen the painting without guide or guide-book. He would have assumed that it represented Zeus because of the thunderbolt.

When and why was Zeus mistaken for Alexander? What mistake there was must have been deliberate and must have occurred not long after Alexander's visit. It was impossible to tell whether the statue of Glykera put up by Harpalos represented a *hetaira* or Aphrodite [3]. Who knows if Zeus Seleukios was not as deliberately equivocal [4], and whether he was not Seleukos as much as he was Zeus? Apelles must have painted his Zeus sufficiently like Alexander to make the confusion possible, or at least to invite comparison. He was of the young, beardless type that is common in antiquity. He was armed,

[1] On Parmenio's campaign of 336-5 and the events in Ephesus prior to Alexander's visit, cf. E. BADIAN, "Alexander the Great and the Greeks of Asia", in *Ancient Society and Institutions*, Studies presented to V. Ehrenberg (Oxford 1966), 40-42. On the statue of Philip, see Arr. I 17, 11 ; Chr. HABICHT, *Gottmenschentum und griechische Städte* [2] (München 1970), 14-16.

[2] W. DITTENBERGER, *OGIS* I (Leipzig 1903), no. 8 a I, lines 5 f., p. 24 ; U. von WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF, *Der Glaube der Hellenen* II (Berlin 1932), 263 n. 1 ; *IG* XII Suppl. (Berlin 1939), p. 66.

[3] Harpalos also dedicated a shrine to Aphrodite Pythionike in honour of an early mistress : Athen. XIII 595 c-d. Was Aphrodite Stratonikis a goddess or a queen ? See *Anth. Pal.* XVI 79 ; Chr. HABICHT, *op. cit.*, 100 f. ; E. SCHWARZENBERG, "Knidische Miscelle", in *Bonner Jahrb.* 169 (1969), 91 line 6. Female portraits remained ideal longer than male ones.

[4] Zeus Seleukios is attested by an inscription found in Lydia, dating from between 228 and 224 B.C. : A. D. NOCK, "Notes on Ruler-Cult", in *JHS* 48 (1928), 42.

as often in Asia Minor, especially in Caria [1]. A gem shows a Zeus of the type that Apelles probably used: indeed most modern archaeologists mistake it for a portrait of Alexander [2].

Zeus and Alexander have often been confused, because the portraiture of Alexander influenced the iconography of that god. The fact that Zeus is often given an ἀναστολή misled Winckelmann into believing that the portraiture of Alexander was derived from representations of Zeus.

An artist asked to paint the Zeus of a particular king was bound to mould his idea about the god on the king's character. Everybody imagines God in his own way. God is but the projection, the extrapolation, the sublimation of man. We make God after our own image. How is a fourth-century artist likely to have conceived the Zeus of Philip as well as the Zeus of Alexander? [3] The former must have shown Olympian gravity and been reminiscent of the god in Homer: he wills war, mindful of its necessity. The latter is equally war-minded, but as swift as Ares. Thought does not appear to precede action in Alexander.

[1] The god may be represented on a silver medallion from the province of Asia in Berlin: F. IMHOOF-BLUMER, "Beiträge zur Erklärung griechischer Münztypen", in *Nomisma* 6 (1911), 15, Pl. 2, no. 4; London: *ibid.*, 16, Pl. 2, no. 3; A. B. COOK, *Zeus* II (Cambridge 1925), 577 f.; 705 f.; A. LAUMONIER, *Les cultes indigènes en Carie* (Paris 1958), 44; 186. But what is now generally thought to be a reproduction of Zeus Ogmios may simply represent Hadrian. See C. O. MÜLLER and F. WIESELER, *Denkmäler der alten Kunst* [3] (Göttingen 1877), 22 f., no. 22 b. The Carians gave to the Emperor the attributes of their local god, encouraged by his new epithet "Olympius".

[2] On the Neisos gem (after the name engraved upon it): A. FURTWÄNGLER, "Gemmen mit Künstlerinschriften", in *JDAI* 4 (1889), 69; Th. SCHREIBER, *op. cit.* (n. 1 p. 225), 205-7; O. WASER, *Zeus*, in W. H. ROSCHER, *Ausführliches Lexikon* ... VI, cols. 756 f.; W. B. KAISER, "Ein Meister der Glyptik aus dem Umkreis Alexanders des Grossen", in *JDAI* 77 (1962), 239; 233; 237. A possible replica in E. GERHARD, *Antike Bildwerke* (Cotta 1844), Pl. 308, no. 32, p. 421 b.

[3] Attempts to identify portraits of Philip without this question having been tackled previously are likely to be unfortunate. See V. von GRAEVE, "Zum Herrscherbild Philipps II. und Philipps III. von Makedonien", in *AA* 1973, 252-4.

Plutarch cannot be blamed for having been misled by all the available evidence in the interpretation of a painting that he perhaps never saw, the more so as its theme may have been deliberately ambiguous. Antiquity preserves the memory of a similar ambiguity. Pausanias mentions a statue of Alexander in the Altis made to look like Zeus [1]: Διὶ εἰκασμένος δῆθεν. We are not told why it was made to resemble the many statues of Zeus, such as were permitted in early times in that location. If we were dealing with a work from Alexander's own times, it would probably have been intended as a representation of Zeus. It appears to have been put up by one of the settlers whom Augustus had brought to Corinth after Actium and was in all likelihood intended to honour this emperor. There can be no doubt that the statue was dedicated to Alexander: Pausanias must have read the inscription. We are left to wonder how pleased the emperor would have been by a work identifying him not only with Zeus but also with Alexander.

A figure on a wall-painting from the house of the Vettii at Pompeii has been identified as a copy of the Keraunophoros [2]. Indeed its youth and its proudly lifted head have reminded archaeologists of Alexander from the moment of its discovery, and the identification has been sustained recently [3]. It will presumably be proposed for as long as the context of the fresco is not taken seriously. It is imperative to take the plan of the entire room into account. The so-called Alexander belongs to a series of four figures illustrating the amours of Zeus. Danae, Leda and another unidentified female conquest are represented

[1] Paus. V 25, 1; E. SCHWARZENBERG, *Zum Alexander Rondanini*..., nn. 55 f., where another date and a different explanation are given.

[2] *Regio* VI 15, 1, of late Neronian date: see K. SCHEFOLD, *Die Wände Pompejis* (Berlin 1957), 142.

[3] G. de LORENZO, *Una probabile copia pompeiana del ritratto di Alessandro Magno dipinto da Apelle* (Napoli 1900); J. SIX, "Apelleisches", in *JDAI* 25 (1910), 155; P. MINGAZZINI, "Una copia dell'Alexandros Keraunophoros di Apelle", in *JbBerlMus* 3 (1961), 7-17.

facing him on the other walls [1]. The god is characterised by the thunderbolt and by the eagles forming the arm-rests of his throne.

I have nothing to offer in helping the reader to imagine what the painting by Apelles must have looked like. It is a great pity that Justus Lipsius or some other humanist did not suggest the thunderbolt-bearing Alexander as a theme to Rubens. We have tried to gain an insight into the portraits by Lysippus and Apelles. We know nothing about the third master who mattered to Augustus, Pyrgoteles, except that he is connected with Alexander [2].

The king did not advertise his features on his coins [3]. He is therefore not likely to have sealed with them either. I take all Alexander portraits on coins and on gems to be posthumous. Pyrgoteles probably worked for the Diadochoi. The degree of resemblance between his Alexander portraits and the coins of Lysimachos with the head of Alexander-Ammon can only be guessed at.

Augustus sealed letters and documents with his own effigy, carved by Dioscurides [4]. But during the years following his victory over Antony he sealed with a head of Alexander carved by an artist whose name is not recorded. Augustan critics are not likely to have praised Pyrgoteles as the only carver

[1] A. MAU, "Scavi di Pompei", in *MDAI(R)* 11 (1896), 23 ; A. SOGLIANO, "La casa dei Vettii", in *Monumenti Antichi pubbl. della Accad. dei Lincei* 8 (1898), 262 ; E. PETERSEN, "Zeus oder Alexander mit dem Blitz", in *MDAI(R)* 15 (1900), 160-4 ; Th. SCHREIBER, *op. cit.*, 93 f.

[2] H. von BRUNN, *Geschichte der griechischen Künstler* [2] (Stuttgart 1889), 320.

[3] As far as I know, numismatists have not yet been able to disprove the old dictum that there are no portraits on Greek coins before Alexander's death. See F. IMHOOF-BLUMER, *Porträtköpfe auf antiken Münzen* (Leipzig 1885), 5 : "Die sicheren Anfänge des eigentlichen Porträtwesen fallen ... frühestens in die Diadochenzeit. Als erster und blosser Versuch in dieser Richtung kann etwa der Kopf Alexanders des Grossen gelten, welchen Ptolemaios Soter als Statthalter ... auf seine Münzen gesetzt hat." Cf. E. Q. VISCONTI, *Iconographie grecque* I (Milan 1824), 9.

[4] H. von BRUNN, *op. cit.*, 320.

capable of representing Alexander if the Emperor had owned a work attributed to some other master.

Copies of Pyrgoteles' work have been looked for among the cameos of Augustan and post-Augustan date. They were made for the Court and are faithful reflections of Imperial propaganda. H. Kyrieleis has shown that the cameo once in the possession of Christina of Sweden does not represent either Alexander or Ptolemy, and that it is of late or post-Augustan date. It must represent Augustus himself [1] (our Fig. 2). Earlier scholars were misled by the features and attributes undoubtedly derived from Alexander portraits. Indeed the aegis, side-whiskers and the hair escaping from under the helmet belong to Alexander and not to Augustus. It is only the helmet that prevents the hair from springing up into a regular ἀναστολή.

The head resembles the head of Alexander on coins of Ptolemy I [2]. The double profile, one head overlapping the other, is normal for representations of the Ptolemaic king and queen. These features point to Alexandria. The Roman carver probably used an Alexandrian model. H. Kyrieleis tentatively identifies the female head as Livia. Roma is a further possibility. It resembles the Aphrodite of Praxitelean type that was used for Berenike portraits. Whenever it occurs next to an Alexander portrait it must represent Olympias. Only in Egypt, where brother married sister to form the ruling pair, is Alexander likely to have been portrayed next to a woman. The artist did not choose one of Alexander's wives or his sister Cleopatra, because of the part played by Olympias in the Egyptian story about Alexander's birth. Olympias was shown beside her son almost as the Virgin Mary is shown next to Christ Cosmocrator on Byzantine coins.

[1] H. KYRIELEIS, "Der Kameo Gonzaga", in *Bonner Jahrb.* 171 (1971), 162-89. On the cameo's history, cf. N. T. de GRUMMOND, "The real Gonzaga Cameo", in *AJA* 78 (1974), 427-9.

[2] M. BIEBER, *op. cit.*, fig. 40.

The cameo is an adaptation of an Alexander portrait made in Alexandria under Ptolemy I. It must have been kindred in spirit to the paintings by Apelles in the Forum of Augustus. Although representing Alexander, they flattered Ptolemy and underlined his claims to legitimacy. A gem-portrait of Alexander not done for Ptolemy would no doubt have been more pleasing to Augustus.

Such a thing may exist. An Alexander portrait on a gem of late fourth-century date has come down to us in two copies, glass pastes of presumably Augustan date [1] (our Fig. 3). The approximate date of the original is not open to doubt. It is enough to compare it to coins. We need look no further than Lysimachus. Notice what a recent specialist on fourth-century art was bold enough to call the Pyrgotelean brows [2]. Notice the absence of all attributes indicative of royalty. The gem resembled the head in Vienna in the rapid flow of the hair, different from the showy calligraphic locks on the coins. The most pleasing feature of these Alexander portraits is the look of freshness, of eager youth. The King has not taken on airs yet. He knows how to command without striking an attitude.

The same features occur on a contorniate [3] (our Fig. 4). But here the neck thrown back and the eyes turned to Heaven have been added to indicate Alexander's divine origin [4]. These

[1] Berlin : *Antike Gemmen in deutschen Sammlungen* II (München 1969), 98 f., no. 227, Pl. 48 = our Fig. 3 ; Munich : I 1 (München 1968), no. 399, Pl. 46.

[2] J. P. Guépin, *art. cit.*, 129-39.

[3] Münzen und Medaillen AG, *Auktion 35*, 1967, no. 189 = our Fig. 4 ; A. Alföldi und E. Alföldi, *Die Kontorniat-Medaillons*, Teil I in neuer Bearb. (Berlin 1976).

[4] Late antiquity, forgetting that the epigram by Asclepiades (n. 1 p. 252) contains more of a challenge than of a supplication, saw in the Alexander by Lysippus a prefiguration of the statue of Constantine, praying to his Father *qui es in coelis* ; it was haunted by the heavenward gaze of the monarch. See H. P. L'Orange, *Apotheosis in ancient Portraiture* (Oslo 1947), 19-27. The upward glance of Alexander on the contorniate resembles that of the Emperor Constantine on contemporary coins. Constantine decreed that he should be

features, not present in Alexander and in Lysippus' representation of him, were recognised by the Epigoni, who tried to imitate them in order to justify their claims to Alexander's throne. A cameo in the Bibliothèque Nationale of roughly the same date derives from a similar model [1] (our Fig. 5). There can be no doubt as to the identification, since Olympias appears on the reverse. An early portrait of Alexander, close to the one known through the Augustan casts, has been preserved by late Antiquity.

I have shown you only what is helpful in order to recreate the Alexander portraits by the three artists praised by all sources later than Augustus. Accept it as a compensation for all that should be discarded.

represented on his coins in an attitude of prayer (Eus. *De vita Const.* IV 15). The notion that the Emperor's contemporaries had about his appearance was not based on observation (for who would dare to look at his face?), but on the study of physiognomical handbooks. Constantine was given an aquiline nose and leonine eyes, thereby causing him to be compared to Alexander, because that is how the handbooks said a ruler ought to look (cf. Cedrenus, Georgius (ed. Bonn 1838), I 472 f.). The personal descriptions of the Emperors that Malalas, for instance, gives in his *Chronography*, are based on what the handbooks said about how persons with such a career behind them must have looked. Dionysius ek Phourna instructs painters on how to represent the saints according to the same principle. The Byzantine world considered all attempts at naturalistic portraiture to be sinful. The realm of *vanitas* in the visual arts must have been defined by documents such as the beginning of Porphyry's *Life of Plotinus*.

[1] *Cat. Babelon* no. 230, Pl. 22 ; H. KYRIELEIS, in *Bonner Jahrb.* 171 (1971), 177-9, fig. 12 = our Fig. 5.

DISCUSSION

M. Badian: It seems to me that two important questions arise, concerning the influence of Eratosthenes on the literary and of Augustus on the artistic portrait of Alexander. To take the first one first: I am not really aware that any evidence justifies the great importance that has been assigned to Eratosthenes in shaping Plutarch's picture of Alexander in particular and the literary portrait in general. I have shown in *Historia* 7 (1958), 432-40, how the "Romantic" *Quellenforscher* (Ed. Schwartz and W. W. Tarn, in this case) could create Eratosthenes fragments in Plutarch out of practically nothing. This—and whatever else I at present remember of Eratosthenes' references to Alexander—does not seem to add up to anything very decisive; certainly by no means to any suggestion that Eratosthenes thought the flourishing of learning and of science in Alexandria under royal patronage due in any way to Alexander.

M. Schwarzenberg: The Eratosthenes fragments, important to Alexander scholars, have not been systematically collected. F. Jacoby lists the fragments from his historical works, while H. Berger limits his discussion to passages of geographical interest. Eratosthenes stresses the significance of Alexander's conquests for the knowledge of Asia minor, of the Balkans, of the entire oecumene. He realised geography would be in its infancy but for Alexander (sources quoted n. 2 p. 233). I was induced by the scantiness of the evidence to include in my Hellenistic Alexander-portrait material not specifically attributed to Eratosthenes. If the result should turn out to be only partially Eratosthenean, it still amounts to an image of Alexander typical of Hellenistic times, and corresponds to the notion entertained by cultured people in third century Alexandria.

M. Wirth: Wie Eratosthenes im einzelnen Alexander sah, scheint m.E. ungeklärt und aus den Fragmenten kaum zu klären. Der

stoische Tenor der hier zu strapazierenden Plutarchstelle legt Zweifel nahe.

Indes bringt besonders seine Auseinandersetzung mit den Alexanderhistorikern in gewissen zeitlichen Zusammenhang mit Abfassung des Alexanderromans, die ich aus vielen Gründen in der 2. Hälfte des 3. Jhdts. ansetzen möchte. Sie wäre damit vielleicht Bestandteil einer alexandrinischen Alexander-Renaissance, die von offizieller Seite inauguriert wurde, die Existenz eines Ptolemäerreiches wie auch dessen bisherige Entwicklung zu rechtfertigen.

M. Schwarzenberg: Sie warnen mit Recht davor, einen stoischen Einfluss auf Eratosthenes anzunehmen. Wir verdanken den Vergleich zwischen dem Alexanderreich und Zeno's Republik Plutarch und nicht Eratosthenes, der nicht einmal dort erwähnt wird, wo er tatsächlich benützt wurde, für den Meinungsunterschied zwischen Aristoteles und Alexander in der Frage, wie man die Barbaren behandeln soll (*De Alex. M. fort. Or. I* 6, 329 A-B). Eratosthenes wird von Strabo genannt (I 4, 9, p. 66). Wenn der eine einen so wesentlichen Gedanken wie die Brüderschaft aller Menschen Zeno's Republik entnommen hätte, hätte der andere ihm nicht vorgeworfen, die Philosophie (gemeint ist die Stoa) nicht ernst zu nehmen, und die Lehre ihres Gründers zu übergehen (I 2, 2, p. 15).

M. Errington: One ought perhaps also to remember that at about this time (reign of Philopator) the *sema* was built in Alexandria.

M. Badian: As Errington implied in his paper, the burial of Alexander in the *sema* really marks an important stage in what one might call his removal from reality. Connections with the early Alexander Romance could be imagined. I still do not see any possible influence of Eratosthenes in all this.

M. Cahn: Herr Schwarzenberg hat einen Cameo gezeigt, auf dem Alexander mit Strahlenkrone, Aegis und Lanze dargestellt ist, in der Linken das Palladion. Darf man annehmen, dass dieser Cameo die

Statue Alexanders als κτίστης von Alexandria genau kopiert und dass damit der König als Gründer eines neuen Ilion aufzufassen ist?

M. Schwarzenberg: Ich habe Ihnen den späten Cameo nicht gezeigt, weil ich mir etwa einbilde, er wäre eine genaue Kopie des Aigiouchos. Die Strahlenkrone z.B. ist auf keiner der Repliken ursprünglich, und war am Original nicht vorhanden. Aber das Palladion, das bei rundplastischen Repliken fehlt, ist am Cameo gut erhalten. Der Cameo erlaubt uns, die Spuren des fehlenden Attributs an anderen Denkmälern zu erkennen. Der unterste Teil des viereckigen Schaftes ist an einer Kalksteinreplik erhalten. Eine Hand mit dem Palladion in München gehört nicht, wie bisher angenommen wurde, einer Replik des dem Kresilas zugeschriebenen Diomedes, sondern dem Aigiouchos an. Bereits J. Sieveking musste feststellen, dass der Schaft ein nachklassisches Profil aufweist (cf. n. 3 p. 234).

M. Cahn: Die ἀναστολή, d.h. die hohe Stirnlocke, die in einem Bogen wieder nach unten fällt, ist ein spezifischer Zug des Alexanderbildnisses. Sie ist aber keine Bilderfindung der Alexanderzeit. Zeusköpfe auf den fest datierten Prägungen des Arkadischen Bundes (herausgegeben zu Anlass der Gründung von Megalopolis durch Epameinondas, 368-7) [1] weisen zum ersten Mal diese Stirnlocke auf. K. Schefold hat in diesem Kopf einen Reflex des Zeus Brontaios von Leochares vermutet [2]. Es ist also anzunehmen, dass die ἀναστολή Alexander als Zeussohn charakterisieren soll.

M. Schwarzenberg: 'Αναστολή-ähnliche Gebilde kommen tatsächlich in der Plastik vor Alexander vor, z.B. auf einem Kopf des Mausoleums, jedoch keine ἀναστολή im Sinne meiner Definition. Sollte Ihnen eine solche auf einer Zeusdarstellung in der Zeit vor Alexander wirklich begegnen, so müsste Winckelmann rechtgegeben werden, der die ἀναστολή Alexanders von der des Zeus ableitet,

[1] P. R. Franke / M. Hirmer, *Die griechische Münze* [2] (München 1972), Abb. 512.
[2] In *MDAI (R)* 57 (1942), 254.

und sie als ein Wahrzeichen der göttlichen Abstammung des Königs bewertet.

M. Cahn: Das Referat von Georges Le Rider hätte eine willkommene Ergänzung des von Herrn Schwarzenberg so gedankenreich vorgelegten Bildmaterials gebracht. Ich kann nur eine improvisierte, in groben Strichen skizzierte Übersicht geben.

Die spätesten Alexanderbildnisse auf Münzen finden sich auf den Contorniaten. A. Alföldi [1] hat nachgewiesen, dass die Prägung der Contorniaten um 350 unter Constantius II. in Rom beginnt und sich in drei Hauptgruppen bis ins frühe 5. Jhdt. fortsetzt. In ihnen manifestiert sich der geistige Widerstand der stadtrömischen Elite gegen das Christentum; Alexander, Nero und Trajan werden als heidnische Exempla hingestellt.

Die Alexander-Renaissance unter den Severern, besonders von Caracalla propagiert, hat ihren Niederschlag in den prächtigen Goldmedaillons gefunden, die in Beroia geprägt wurden und von denen sich Exemplare in den Funden von Abukir und Tarsos [2] erhalten haben. Hier wird ein ganzes Bilderbuch des Alexandermythos aufgeschlagen. Gleichzeitig mit diesen Medaillons werden vom κοινὸν Μακεδόνων zahlreiche Bronzemünzen mit dem Alexanderbildnis geprägt [3]: typischerweise gehen diese z.T. nicht auf das Bildnis der Lysimachosmünzen, sondern auf den Kopf Alexanders als Herakles zurück.

Mit den hellenistischen Alexandermünzen hat sich gestern Herr Giovannini beschäftigt.

[1] A. Alföldi, *Die Kontorniaten* (1943), 85-8 und 102. Eine Neuauflage mit vielem neuen Material soll dieses Jahr in der Reihe *AMuGS* des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Berlin, erscheinen.

[2] Tarsos: A. de Longpérier, in *Revue numismatique* 1868, 309; R. Mowat, in *Revue numismatique* 1903, 1.

Abukir: H. Dressel, *Abh. d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin, Phil.-hist. Kl.* 1906; J. Svoronos, in *Journ. Int.d'arch.numis.* 10 (1907), 309. Weitere Bibliographie: Münzen und Medailen AG, *Auktion 25*, 1962, 40.

[3] H. Gaebler, *Die antiken Münzen von Makedonia und Paionia* III 1 (1906), 94 ff.

Alexanders eigene Münzprägung hat die Forschung der letzten Generation wieder neu beschäftigt, seit den grundlegenden Arbeiten von E. T. Newell [1]. Gerhard Kleiner wollte die grosse Ausgabe von Goldstateren (Athenakopf/Nike mit Kranz und Stylis) und von Tetradrachmen attischen Fusses (Herakleskopf/Thronender Zeus Aëtophoros) in Zusammenhang mit der Eroberung von Tyros und der Rückkehr des Königs aus Ägypten 331 bringen [2]. Seine Spätdatierung ist mehrfach widerlegt worden, namentlich von A. R. Bellinger [3] und G. Le Rider [4], der in den Berichten über seinen Kurs in der Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes die Alexanderprägung seit mehreren Jahren zum Thema hat und eine aktuelle Übersicht über den Stand der Forschung gibt. Die Massenprägung ist also von Makedonien um 335 ausgegangen und diente vor allem zur Truppenzahlung der Feldzüge. Münzstätten, die autonome Münzen ausgaben oder für die persischen Satrapen prägten, werden geschlossen oder geben Alexandergeld aus ; neue Münzstätten werden aufgemacht.

Uns interessiert hier die Entwicklung des Herakleskopfes. Seit Amyntas III. erscheint Herakles als Stammvater des Hauses auf den makedonischen Königsmünzen. Alexander übernimmt den unbärtigen Kopf im Löwenfell von den Didrachmen Philipps II. ; dieser Kopf hat zunächst in allen Münzstätten keinerlei Bildniszüge. Der entscheidende Schritt erfolgt um 326 in der neu errichteten Münzstätte Alexandria. Hier erhält der Herakleskopf von Anfang an Bildniszüge [5]. Es muss das Werk eines hochbedeutenden Stempel-

[1] E. T. Newell, "Reattribution of certain Tetradrachms of Alexander the Great", in *Amer. Journ. of Numismatics* 46 (1912), 5.

Weitere Arbeiten E. T. Newells zitiert bei A. R. Bellinger, H. A. Cahn und G. Le Rider.

[2] *Alexanders Reichsmünzen*, Abh. d. Deutschen Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin, Phil.-hist. Kl. 1947, 5 (1949).

[3] *Essays on the Coinage of Alexander the Great*, Numismatic Studies 11 (New York 1963).

[4] *Annuaire de l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes*, IVe section, 1968-9, 173; 1969-70, 266; 1970-1, 241.

[5] H. A. Cahn, *Frühhellenistische Münzkunst* (Basel 1948). Neudruck in *Kleine Schriften* (Basel 1975), 115, bes. 118 f.; neuere Literatur S. 131.

schneiders sein, der an den Hof Alexanders berufen wurde; der alexandrinische Herakleskopf mit den Bildniszügen Alexanders strahlt auf die anderen Münzstätten aus, was z.B. in Tarsos noch zu Lebzeiten des Königs beobachtet werden kann. Dass spätere Generationen diesen Herakleskopf als Alexanderbildnis verstanden haben, lässt sich z.B. an der Prägung des baktrischen Königs Agathokles belegen [1], auf denen der Herakleskopf mit der Inschrift ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ versehen ist.

Ein neues Alexanderbildnis wird wohl vom gleichen Stempelschneider in Alexandria unter Ptolemaios I. geschaffen, als dieser noch Satrap von Ägypten unter der nominellen Oberherrschaft Alexanders IV. war (318) [2]. Es hat nicht mehr die Heraklesattribute, sondern Königsdiadem, Aegis, Elefantenhaut mit Stosszähnen und Ammonshorn, dazu die ἀναστολή. Eine flachere Version dieses Meisterwerks erscheint auf den Münzen der nächsten 15 Jahre in Ägypten. Nach der Annahme des Königstitels setzt Ptolemaios I. sein eigenes Porträt auf seine Münzen; es beginnt die Serie der Münzbildnisse hellenistischer Herrscher.

Anders Lysimachos, der in seinem Königreich, in Europa wie in Kleinasien, zahlreiche Münzstätten eröffnete und überall Gold und Silber mit dem Bildnis Alexanders als Zeussohn (mit Ammonshorn und Königsbinde) prägte. In der Frage der Aufteilung dieser Münzprägung auf Münzstätten, die von Margaret Thompson nach den E. T. Newell'schen Notizen versucht wurde [3] bleiben noch viele Fragen offen [4]. Die ganze Lysimachos-Prägung sollte einmal von der kunstgeschichtlichen Seite angegangen werden, namentlich auf das Œuvre von Stempelschneidern hin. Jedenfalls zeigt die Lysimachosprägung eine breitere Fächerung verschiedener Bildnistypen, die

[1] A. R. Bellinger, *op. cit.*, Tf. 2, 7.

[2] A. R. Bellinger, *op. cit.*, Tf. 2, 4; H. A. Cahn, *op. cit.*, Abb. 10.

[3] "The Mints of Lysimachus", in *Essays in Greek Coinage presented to Stanley Robinson* (Oxford 1968), 163.

[4] S. vor allem N. Dürr, in *Schweizer Münzblätter* 23 (1973), 93.

vielleicht von plastischen Alexanderbildnissen abhängen oder auch auf solche ausgestrahlt haben.

Mit dieser unvollständigen und kurzen Übersicht sollte gezeigt werden, wie reich das Alexanderbildnis aus zeitgenössischen Münzen und Gepräge der Jahrzehnte unmittelbar nach seinem Tode zu dokumentieren ist.

M. Dürr: Der grösste Teil der gesicherten Zuteilungen an die zahlreichen Münzstätten ist noch im Ungewissen. Neuere Beobachtungen regen jedoch zur Wiederaufnahme der Probleme der Zuteilung an [1].

Michel E. Dürr versucht gegenwärtig an Hand der Stempelschneider Gruppen zu formen, welche sich möglicherweise auf einige wenige Zentren zu reduzieren scheinen.

Das bekannte Dekadrachmon für Poros zeigt Alexander stehend mit Flügelhelm, in der Rechten das Blitzbündel des Zeus. Die Ansichten der Datierung dieses Stückes — Lebenszeit oder posthum — gehen auseinander. Durch einen 1972-3 in Babylonien gemachten grossen Schatzfund von mehreren Hunderten von Alexanderreichsmünzen, Löwenstateren und Athenanachprägungen kamen auch einige Porosmünzen zu Tage [2]. Die kurz vor dem Tode Alexanders beginnende Emission mit dem Münzzeichen M-ΛΥ war im Funde noch nicht vertreten; bei der Parallelemission der Löwenstatere trat mindestens ein Stück, in frischer Erhaltung, mit dem Münzzeichen M-ΛΥ auf. Der Münzschatz muss also beim Tode Alexanders vergraben worden sein. Die Porosmünzen zeigen Spuren von Abnutzung; sie dürften wohl 325 zu Anlass der Festlichkeiten in Susa geprägt worden sein.

Gibt es Reichsmünzen zu Lebenszeit Alexanders welche Züge Alexanders aufweisen? Herbert Cahn erinnerte an die Emission der Münzstätte Alexandria (Rose-Δ10) die deutlich individuelle Züge

[1] *Schweizer Münzblätter* 23 (1973), 93.

[2] *Schweizer Münzblätter* 24 (1974), 33 ff.

erkennen lässt. O. H. Zervos datiert diese Emission auf 325 [1]. Im Babylonfunde (möglicherweise, wie wir gerade gesehen haben, in Folge des Todes Alexanders vergraben), fand sich unter Hunderten von Reichsmünzen keine einzige der Münzstätte Alexandria. Dagegen können Angleichungen an die Gesichtszüge Alexanders an einigen Stempeln der letzten Babylonemission dieses Fundes (M, Monogramm und Symbol), wohl auf private Initiative einiger Stempelschneider ausgeführt, beobachtet werden.

M. Badian: The chronology of the coinage is still very much debated. I am by no means happy about the very early dating of the "Nike with stylis" coins (where G. Kleiner's date made much better historical sense), and my recent personal enquiries among numismatists have produced a range from 331 to just after Alexander's death in 323 for the "Porus" coins. I am glad to hear from M. Dürr that the new hoard may have brought us closer to a solution of this latter problem.

M. Schwarzenberg: Indem M. Cahn und M. Dürr nachgewiesen haben, dass die Alexandermünzen Alexandriens und Babylons bereits kurz vor Alexanders Tod Bildniszüge enthalten, haben sie zugleich auf den ersten bescheidenen Anfang der griechischen Porträtkunst gewiesen. Was nämlich für Halb-Barbaren geltend gemacht wurde, trifft für Griechenland nicht zu [2]. Die Tatsache, dass sich das eigentliche Porträt vom idealen Heroenbildnis ausgerechnet zur Zeit Alexanders trennt, ist eine späte Bestätigung für Hegels Urteil. Dieser erkannte in Alexander "die freieste und schönste Individualität, welche die Wirklichkeit je getragen" [3]. Das Auftreten von Bildniszügen bereits zu Alexanders Lebzeiten zeigt, dass die Zeitgenossen im Herakleskopf der Münzen auch der anderen Präge-

[1] " The Early Tetradrachms of Ptolemy I ", in *ANSMusN* 13 (1967), 1-16.

[2] W. SCHWABACHER, "Lycian Coin-Portraits", in *Essays in Greek Coinage presented to Stanley Robinson* (Oxford 1968), 111-24.

[3] Fr. HEGEL, *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte* [2] (Berlin 1840), 274.

stätten das Porträt des Königs erkannt haben müssen. Es sei daran erinnert, dass die meisten Numismatiker des 16.-18. Jhdts. in den Heraklesköpfen der Alexandermünzen den König selbst erkannten.

M. Cahn: Die Frage wurde gestellt, welcher Zusammenhang zwischen Gemmenschneidern und Münzgraveuren besteht. Diese Frage kann positiv beantwortet werden. Die Technik des Steinschneidens und Stempelschneidens ist im Grunde die gleiche: es muss mit einem Bohrinstrument (Grabstichel oder Rundbohrer) ein negatives Relief aus einer harten Materie gegraben werden. Die Stempelschneider konnten nicht nur von den Staatsaufträgen — Herstellung der Münzstempel — existieren; daneben schnitten sie Steine und waren wohl auch als Gold- und Silberschmiede tätig. Ein Fall lässt sich belegen. Phrygillos ist der Name eines Stempelschneiders, der gegen Ende des 5. Jhdts. in Thurioi, Syrakus und wohl auch in Terina tätig war und zahlreiche Stempel signierte. Der Name ist italisch. Es gibt eine von ihm signierte Gemme [1].

M. Dörig: M. Schwarzenberg a retracé l'histoire de la gloire d'Alexandre à travers les siècles. Il a eu raison d'écarter la tête de sa collection [2] de l'œuvre de Lysippe et de la rapprocher étroitement du buste de Diphilos à Vienne [3], qui date du début du IIIe siècle avant J.-C.

Le problème du portrait d'Alexandre reste entier. Comment le jeune conquérant apparaissait-il à ses contemporains? Comment Lysippe l'avait-il représenté?

Aucune copie directe de la statue d'Alexandre n'est conservée. La tête de Pergame, à Istamboul [4], représente, certes, Alexandre; mais il s'agit d'une œuvre du sculpteur de la plaque d'Athéna du

[1] Heute verschollen. G. M. A. Richter, *Engraved Gems of the Greeks and Etruscans* (London 1968), 16; 18; 76; J. Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings* (London 1970), 200.

[2] In *Bonner Jahrbücher* 167 (1967), 58 sqq.

[3] Cf. K. Schefold, *Die Bildnisse der antiken Dichter, Redner und Denker* (Basel 1943), 112 sq.

[4] R. Lullies / M. Hirmer, *Griechische Plastik* (München 1956), pl. 260 sq.

Grand Autel de Pergame [1]. La tête de Dionysos du Musée de Venise [2] reflète une image plus proche du portrait d'Alexandre ; elle n'en représente pas moins la statue du dieu de l'Hélicon.

Le portrait du roi est préfiguré par les statues de Zeus que Lysippe a sculptées pour Sicyone, Mégare, Argos et Tarente [3]. Si Alexandre a fait appel à Lysippe, c'est qu'il souhaitait être représenté par lui à l'image de Zeus, ce qui s'explique peut-être par le fait que les discussions concernant sa divinité ont commencé de son vivant [4].

M. Schwarzenberg : Je n'ai pas d'arguments nouveaux capables de vous faire accepter l'attribution de mon Alexandre à Lysippe ; mais je n'ai pas non plus de raisons péremptoires pour l'écarter, ni pour dater le "Diphilos" de Vienne du début du III^e^ siècle (cf. n. 4, p. 255).

Il n'est nullement prouvé que le Dionysos de Venise soit une copie de la statue de l'Hélicon. Nous n'avons pas de copies d'originaux du sanctuaire delphique. J'ai peine à croire qu'un mouleur ait pu opérer dans le sanctuaire moins accessible encore de l'Hélicon.

A en croire des témoignages antiques, c'est l'image d'Achille et du lion et non celle de Zeus qui a déterminé le portrait lysippéen.

M. Bosworth : A most important feature of M. Schwarzenberg's paper was his argument about the importance of Augustus' role in moulding the tastes of his generation. Could we be a little more specific about the precise evidence for this? Augustus' visit to Alexandria is well known, as is his *imitatio Alexandri* in the *Autobiography*. But can we go further and argue that he had definite views about Alexander, which he imposed upon the artistic tradition of the reign? It would be pleasant to believe that he was responsible

[1] R. Lullies / M. Hirmer, *op. cit.*, pl. 253.

[2] *Antike Plastik* 12, 10, 125 sqq.

[3] Cf. J. Boardman, J. Dörig, W. Fuchs, M. Hirmer, *L'art grec* (Paris, Flammarion, 1966), 246 sq.

[4] *Antike Plastik* 12, 10, 130 n. 32.

for the canonical triad of Alexander portraiture—but is there precise evidence?

M. Schwarzenberg: Horace compares Roman poetry to Greek sculpture (*Epist.* II 1, 232-50). This is to be expected from the author of the famous phrase "ut pictura poesis" (*Ars* 361). Horace compares masters of different periods and countries, because eminence in the arts is seldom found together, both in one place and at the same time. To judge from Choerilus, the poets of Alexander's day were notoriously bad, whereas sculpture was still, even as oratory and astronomy, a Greek monopoly in the time of Augustus : Verg. *Aen.* VI 847-50. Horace judges the sculpture of Alexander's day according to the standards set by Augustus for poetry. He compares the portraits that Virgil and Varius painted of the Emperor to the one of the Macedonian King cast in bronze by Lysippus. Horace proclaims that Alexander had forbidden all other artists but Lysippus and Apelles to portray him, while Pliny, who is bound by no meter, mentions Pyrgoteles as well (cf. n. 1, p. 248).