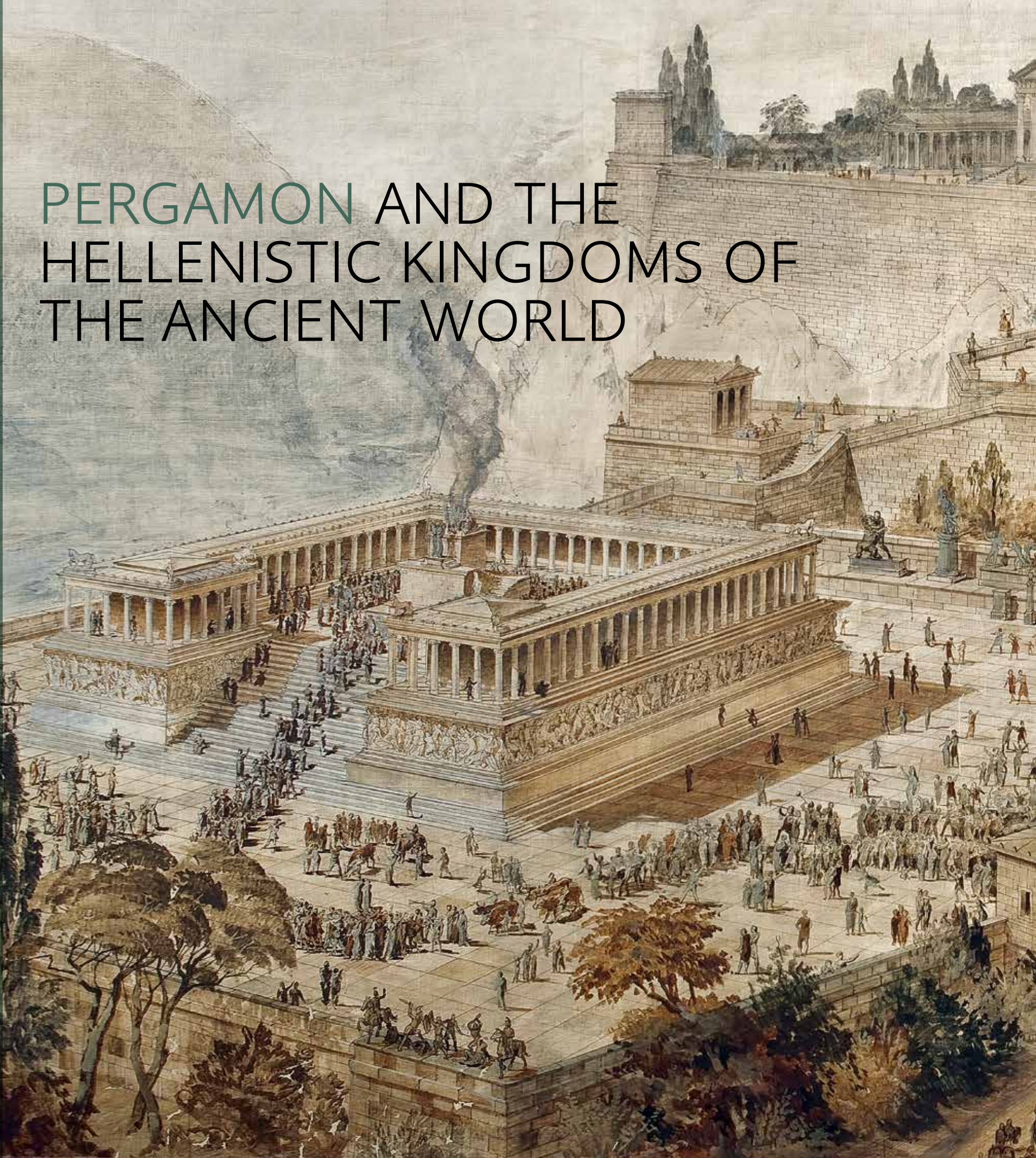


PERGAMON AND THE HELLENISTIC KINGDOMS OF THE ANCIENT WORLD







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Edited by Carlos A. Picón and Seán Hemingway



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DIRECTOR'S FOREWORD

The Hellenistic period—the nearly three centuries between the death of Alexander the Great, in 323 B.C., and the suicide of the Egyptian queen Kleopatra VII (the famous “Cleopatra”), in 30 B.C.—is one of the most complex and exciting epochs of ancient Greek art. The unprecedented geographic sweep of Alexander’s conquests changed the face of the ancient world forever, forging diverse cultural connections and exposing Greek artists to a host of new influences and artistic styles. This landmark exhibition examines the rich diversity of art forms that arose through the patronage of the royal courts of the Hellenistic kingdoms, placing a special emphasis on Pergamon, capital of the Attalid dynasty, which ruled over large parts of Asia Minor. It also represents a historic collaboration between The Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Pergamon Museum in Berlin, whose celebrated collection of sculptures from the ancient city accounts for nearly one third of the works in the exhibition, many traveling to the United States for the first time. Pergamon, with its long history of German-led excavations, provides a superb paradigm of a Hellenistic capital, appointed with important civic institutions—such as a great library, theater, gymnasium, temples, and a healing center—that we would recognize today as central features of modern urban life.

The military triumphs of Alexander and his successors led to the expansion of Greek culture out from the traditional Greek heartland to the Indus River Valley in the east and as far west as the Strait of Gibraltar. These newly established Hellenistic kingdoms concentrated wealth and power in a way that fostered an unparalleled burst of creativity in all the arts, from architecture and sculpture to seal engraving and glass production. The works in the exhibition, complemented by The Met’s beautifully installed permanent collection of Hellenistic masterpieces, reveal how the art of Classical Greece was transformed during this period, melding with predominantly Eastern cultural

traditions to yield new standards and conventions in taste and style.

We are grateful to Carlos A. Picón, Curator in Charge, and Seán Hemingway, Curator, as well as the entire curatorial team of the Department of Greek and Roman Art, ably assisted by Ariel Herrmann, guest curator, for their careful selection of works that serve to illustrate the achievements of this momentous period of Greek art. Likewise, we gratefully acknowledge the international team of scholars who have come together to provide the latest research on these works and, especially, to the lenders throughout Europe, North Africa, and the United States who have so generously shared their national treasures.

This monumental exhibition would not have been possible without significant grants from our lead sponsors and the champions of this project, the Stavros Niarchos Foundation and Betsy and Edward Cohen / Areté Foundation. We are also grateful to Dorothy and Lewis B. Cullman, Renée Belfer, Diane Carol Brandt, Gilbert and Ildiko Butler, and The Vlachos Family Fund for their generous commitment to the exhibition and the work of Carlos Picón and his team; the Federal Council on the Arts and the Humanities for its important support in the form of an indemnity to the exhibition; the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation) for underwriting the participation of our European colleagues in the symposium; The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, James and Mary Hyde Ottaway, and Jenny Boondas, who have made possible this beautiful book; The Isaacson-Draper Foundation for their support of the accompanying performance; and, finally, Mary and Michael Jaharis for their extraordinary contributions to the exhibition, symposium, and publication.

Thomas P. Campbell
Director, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

PERGAMON AT THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART: A HISTORIC COLLABORATION

The excavations in Pergamon initiated by the Berlin Museums toward the end of the nineteenth century number among the most successful undertakings of German Classical archaeology. The most important discovery from that Hellenistic metropolis, the altar now reconstructed in Berlin's Pergamon Museum, is unquestionably one of the most famous works of art on the city's Museum Island and in world art in general.

Understandably, the dramatic staging of that unique monument has overshadowed the remaining, far more extensive Berlin holdings of the Pergamene excavations. Indeed, numerous objects from the ancient city—including sculptures, architectural fragments, and inscriptions in marble as well works in bronze, terracotta, and ceramic—found their way to Berlin at the end of the nineteenth century as a result of the official division of finds between Germany and the Ottoman Empire. Until recently, the greater portion of these works had never before been shown to the public.

The antiquities from Pergamon have been the subject of decades of scholarly study by the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin's Antikensammlung, which in 2011 took advantage of a unique opportunity—the long-planned renovation of the Pergamon Museum beginning in January 2013—to present its extensive holdings from Pergamon in a major exhibition and to document its archaeological research to a broad public. That exhibition,

“Pergamon: Panorama der antiken Metropole” (Pergamon: Panorama of the Ancient Metropolis), was on view from 2011 to 2012 in the Pergamon Museum's north wing. As part of the installation, in the immediate vicinity of the Pergamon Altar was a panorama of the ancient city as envisioned by Berlin architect and artist Yadegar Asisi measuring 82 feet tall and 341 feet long: a breathtaking evocation of one of the great cities of Classical antiquity.

The Pergamon exhibition in Berlin proved to be a spectacular success with the public, attracting more than 1.5 million visitors from around the world. We are delighted that this positive reception by the public, the media, and, especially, the art-historical community inspired The Metropolitan Museum of Art to mount a major exhibition of its own, one that places the Pergamon phenomenon in the broader context of the entire history of Hellenistic art and, thereby, virtually revisits the whole epoch. As the main lenders to “Pergamon and the Hellenistic Kingdoms of the Ancient World,” we gladly support this unparalleled, historic presentation.

Dr. Michael Eissenhauer, *General Director,
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin*

Dr. Andreas Scholl, *Director, Antikensammlung*

SPONSOR'S STATEMENT

“Pergamon and the Hellenistic Kingdoms of the Ancient World” affirms The Metropolitan Museum of Art’s status as one of the world’s greatest encyclopedic institutions. Ours is a digital era that constantly questions the role of “traditional” cultural organizations and the ways art is collected, displayed, and viewed. The more we gravitate toward the fragmentary, the pixilated, and the impermanent, the more critical becomes art’s ability to recount long and complex historical, social, and cultural narratives. With this exhibition, The Met succeeds once again in retelling a story of extraordinary artistic richness, creativity, and cultural exchange that the general public has not heard and experienced before in the United States.

At a time when the Mediterranean region is defined by a debate about fences, closed borders, and the need to restrict and limit movement between countries and cultures, The Met opens before our eyes a world that achieved unparalleled cultural and economic greatness by means of the opposite.

The Stavros Niarchos Foundation is proud to continue its extensive and fruitful collaboration with The Metropolitan Museum of Art by providing major support for the ground-breaking spring 2016 exhibition “Pergamon and the Hellenistic Kingdoms of the Ancient World.”

The Board of Directors
Stavros Niarchos Foundation

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The culmination of more than five years of dedicated planning, “Pergamon and the Hellenistic Kingdoms of the Ancient World” tackles one of the most complex periods of Classical antiquity. The scale and scope of this landmark exhibition, which includes loans from fifty-one public institutions and private collections, would not have been possible without the immense effort made by staff at the Metropolitan Museum and at institutions across Europe, Northern Africa, and the United States who have generously shared their expertise and their invaluable works of art. The names and affiliations of the authors of the essays and catalogue entries are cited in the Contributors to the Catalogue, and their excellent work enriches this book immensely. I wish to take this opportunity to thank the numerous individuals who contributed their time and energy to this project.

Within the Museum, I am grateful to Thomas P. Campbell, Director, for his steadfast support of this major project, and to Jennifer Russell, Associate Director for Exhibitions, who guided and advised us throughout the formulation and realization of the exhibition. Within the Department of Greek and Roman Art, I wish to thank first and foremost Seán Hemingway, Curator, who supervised the exhibition from its infancy to the actual installation, overseeing every detail of its organization with unflagging persistence and meticulous attention; Kiki Karoglou, Assistant Curator, who was closely involved in nearly all aspects of the exhibition and was enormously helpful in collaborating with our Greek colleagues; Lillian Bartlett Stoner, Research Assistant, who tirelessly tended to innumerable tasks; and Ariel Herrmann, our guest curator, who shared her outstanding knowledge of Hellenistic art and was instrumental in the selection of loans. This core team demonstrated tenacious dedication to the exhibition, lending energy and good humor in addition to their expertise. Joan R. Mertens and Christopher S. Lightfoot, Curators, and Paul Zanker, Dietrich von Bothmer Distinguished Research Scholar, helped shape the development of the exhibition with their erudition and insight and contributed significantly to its didactic materials. Elizabeth J. Milleker, Mary B. Moore, and Maya Muratov also provided generous assistance. Fred A. Caruso, Jennifer S. Soupios, John F. Morariu Jr., and Katherine Daniels contributed enormously in the preparation of the exhibition space and the installation of nearly three hundred works of art,

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This complex and beautifully illustrated catalogue was produced by the Editorial Department at the Metropolitan Museum, under the direction of Mark Polizzotti. Special thanks to the team of editors led by Dale Tucker, including Margaret Donovan, Livia Tenzer, and Kamilah Foreman, who carefully reviewed every line of this volume and enriched its contributions. Jayne Kuchna painstakingly reviewed the bibliography and ensured the accuracy of the citations, and Pamlyn Smith provided the beautiful maps. Christopher Zichello coordinated the production of this handsome volume, and Crystal A. Dombrow worked tirelessly to track down photography for each illustration. Thanks are also owed to the designers, Miko McGinty and Rita Jules, and to Peter Antony, Anne Rebecca Blood, Elizabeth Gordon, Tina Henderson, Amelia Kutschbach, Briana Parker, Michael Sittenfeld, Jane S. Tai, and Elizabeth Zechella. For the excellent Greek translations, we are grateful to Joseph Alexander MacGillivray and Maria Xanthopoulou. Jane Marie Todd, Russell Stockman, Lawrence Jenkins, and Frederika Randall provided translations from the French, German, and Italian. Likewise, we are grateful to Barbara J. Bridgers and her extraordinary team in The Photograph Studio, especially Paul H. Lachenauer, Thomas Ling, and Bruce J. Schwarz, for their excellent work.

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"Pergamon" is the direct result of the generosity and goodwill of our lenders. Foremost among these are our colleagues at the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. The temporary closing of Berlin's famous Pergamon Museum in 2013 for a complete renovation afforded us the extraordinary opportunity to bring a large selection of statuary and finds from the ancient site of Pergamon to New York for the first time. We are indebted to Michael Eissenhauer, Director General, for making our show possible, as well as to Andreas Scholl, Director of the Antikensammlung, and his staff, including Martin Maischberger, Agnes Schwarzmaier, and Ursula Kästner. From the very beginning Andreas Scholl had the vision and determination needed to bring this project to fruition, and it has been a pleasure to collaborate with him. I would like to thank in particular Volker Kästner for his invaluable help with catalogue entries and

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CHRONOLOGY

B.C.	MAINLAND GREECE AND THE AEGEAN	ASIA MINOR, EGYPT, AND THE EAST	ROME, ITALY, AND THE WEST
350	<p>338 King Philip II of Macedon (r. 359–336) defeats Athens and Thebes at the Battle of Chaironeia. Greek city-states come under Macedonian control.</p> <p>336 Assassination of Phillip II. His son Alexander (III) the Great (r. 336–323) succeeds him to the throne.</p>	<p>334–324 Alexander conquers the territories of the Persian Empire and lays the foundations for the Hellenistic kingdoms.</p> <p>333 Alexander defeats the Persians at the Battle of Issos, Achaemenid king Darius III (r. 336–330) flees.</p> <p>331 Alexander founds Alexandria in Egypt.</p> <p>326 Alexander invades India, defeats King Porus at the Hydaspes River, and annexes a large part of the Punjab region.</p>	<p>334–264 Gradual expansion of the Roman Republic (founded in 509) through Italy by colonization and conquest.</p>
325	<p>310 Kassander (r. 305–297) executes Roxane, widow of Alexander the Great, and their son Alexander IV, the last of the Argead dynasty of Macedonian kings.</p> <p>306 Antigonos I Monophthalmos (the “One-Eyed”) (r. 306–301) claims kingship for himself and his son Demetrios I and establishes the Macedonian dynasty of the Antigonids.</p> <p>305–304 Unsuccessful siege of Rhodes by Demetrios I, who assumes the title Poliorketes (the “Besieger”).</p>	<p>323 Alexander dies in Babylon.</p> <p>323–281 Alexander’s generals and Successors, called the Diadochi—Perdikkas, Antipater, Seleukos, Ptolemy, Kassander, Antigonos, and Lysimachos—fight for control of his empire in a series of wars.</p> <p>Ptolemy I Soter (the “Savior”) (r. 323–282) founds the Ptolemaic dynasty of the Lagidai (Lagids) in Egypt.</p> <p>Seleukos I Nikator (the “Conqueror”) (r. 306–281) founds the Seleucid dynasty, creating an empire centered in modern-day Syria and Iran.</p> <p>302 Lysimachos, ruler and later king of Thrace and Mysia (r. 288–281) deposits 9,000 talents of silver at the fortress of Pergamon and appoints Philetairos as its commander and guardian of the treasure.</p> <p>301 Battle of Ipsos. Lysimachos, Seleukos, and Ptolemy defeat and kill Antigonos I.</p>	<p>Agathokles, tyrant of Syracuse (317–304) and self-styled king of Sicily (304–289)</p>
300	<p>280–279 Migrating Celtic tribes (called Gauls or Galatians) invade the Balkan Peninsula, attack Delphi, but are defeated by the Aetolians and their allies.</p>	<p>Philetairos becomes ruler of Pergamon under Seleucid suzerainty (282–263) and founds the Attalid dynasty after his father, Attalos.</p> <p>281 Battle of Koroupedion. Lysimachos is defeated and killed by Seleukos I. End of the Wars of the Successors.</p> <p>Ptolemy II Philadelphos (r. 282–246) marries his sister Arsinoe II, inaugurating dynastic intermarriages among the Ptolemies.</p> <p>Antiochos I Soter (r. 281–261) makes Antioch on the Orontes the capital of the western Seleucid Empire.</p> <p>278 Gauls invade Asia Minor and settle in central Anatolia (Galatia).</p>	<p>280–275 Pyrrhos, king of Epeiros (r. 319/318–272), invades Southern Italy to assist the Greek cities in their fight against Rome and Carthage.</p> <p>279 Battle of Ausculum. Pyrrhos defeats the Romans but suffers severe casualties (“Pyrrhic victory”).</p>
275		<p>Eumenes I, nephew and adopted son of Philetairos, becomes ruler of Pergamon (263–241). The cult of Asklepios is brought to Pergamon from Epidaurous.</p> <p>Diodotos I (256–248) establishes the kingdom of Bactria.</p>	<p>275 Battle of Beneventum. Final battle and defeat of Pyrrhos by the Romans.</p> <p>272 Rome conquers Tarentum. The Roman Republic becomes the dominant power on the Italian Peninsula.</p> <p>264–241 First Punic War. Rome fights Carthage for control of the Western Mediterranean.</p>
250		<p>238? Attalos I of Pergamon (r. 241–197) defeats the Gauls at the battle of the Kaikos River and is proclaimed king and Soter (the “Savior”).</p> <p>Antiochos III, the Great (r. 223–187), declares war against Rome using Gauls as mercenaries.</p> <p>Ptolemy III Euergetes (“Benefactor”) (r. 246–222) marries Berenike II.</p>	<p>241 Sicily (except Syracuse) becomes the first Roman province.</p> <p>230–228 First Illyrian War. Rome sends troops across the Adriatic for the first time.</p>

B.C.	MAINLAND GREECE AND THE AEGEAN	ASIA MINOR, EGYPT, AND THE EAST	ROME, ITALY, AND THE WEST
225	220–170 Rhodes becomes the leading naval power in the eastern Mediterranean. 214–205 King Philip V of Macedon (r. 221–179) wages the First Macedonian War against Rome and its Greek allies, including the Aetolian League and Attalos I of Pergamon.	Ptolemy IV Philopator (r. 222–205)	218–201 Second Punic War. Hannibal invades Italy by crossing the Alps. 212 The Roman general Marcellus captures Syracuse. Hannibal is confined to southern Italy. 202 Battle of Zama in North Africa and defeat of Hannibal.
200	197 Final defeat of Phillip V at the Battle of Kynoskephalai in Thessaly by the coalition of Rome, Rhodes, and Pergamon led by the Roman general Flamininus. End of Second Macedonian War. 196 Flamininus declares the freedom of Greece at the Isthmian Games. 179 Death of Philip V; his son Perseus becomes king of Macedon (r. 179–168)	190 Final defeat of Antiochos III by Rome and its allies, including Pergamon, at the battle near Magnesia by Sipylos. 188 Peace of Apamea. The Seleucids lose all territories north of the Taurus Mountains. Rhodes and Pergamon divide western Anatolia. Greatest expansion of the kingdom of Pergamon. 186–179 King Eumenes II of Pergamon (r. 197–158) wages war against the kingdoms of Bithynia and Pontos.	
175	174–171 Open hostility between Rhodes and Pergamon. 171–168 Third Macedonian War. Perseus is defeated and captured at the Battle of Pydna (168) by the Roman general Aemilius Paulus. End of the Antigonid dynasty. 166 Delos is given to Athens and is declared a free port by Rome.	170s–160 Eumenes' building program at Pergamon including the construction of the Great Altar of Zeus. 167–160 Revolt of the Maccabees in Judaea against King Antiochos IV (r. 175–164) and his Hellenization policies. 166 Eumenes II defeats the Galatians but Rome proclaims their territories free. Attalos II Philadelphos of Pergamon (r. 158–138)	172 Eumenes II visits Rome, denounces Perseus.
150	149 Macedon becomes a Roman province. 146 Roman general Lucius Mummius destroys Corinth. Looted art arrives at Rome and Pergamon.	133 Attalos III Philometor (r. 138–133) wills the kingdom of Pergamon to Rome. 127 The Parthians conquer the Seleucid Empire.	146 Destruction of Carthage by Rome. End of the Punic Wars.
125		150–67 Pirates based in fringe areas such as Cilicia dominate the Mediterranean Sea.	
100	88 Mithridates sacks Delos. 86 Roman consul Sulla sacks Athens.	89–63 Mithridates VI Eupator, king of Pontos (r. 120–63) wages a series of wars against Rome. 88–84 Mithridates resides at Pergamon.	80 Sulla settles Roman veterans in Oscan Pompeii.
75	67 Pompey sweeps the pirates from the Mediterranean Sea.	65 Final defeat of Mithridates by Pompey. Syria is annexed by Rome.	Rise of Pompey the Great (106–48)
50	48 Caesar defeats Pompey at Pharsalus in Thessaly. 42 Battle of Philippi. Mark Antony and Octavian defeat Brutus and Cassius, the assassins of Caesar. 31 Octavian defeats Mark Antony and Kleopatra at the naval battle of Actium.	51 Kleopatra VII Philopator (r. 51–30) and her brother Ptolemy XIII (r. 51–47) become joint rulers of Egypt. 48–47 Caesar meets Kleopatra in Alexandria. 42 The Roman general Mark Antony takes control of the Roman East. 30 Antony and Kleopatra commit suicide. End of the Ptolemaic dynasty. Egypt becomes a Roman province.	49 Julius Caesar becomes dictator of Rome after his return from Gaul. 49–44 Roman Civil Wars. 44 Assassination of Caesar. 27 Gaius Octavius (Octavian) becomes Augustus. Beginning of the Roman Principate. 25? Juba II (52–A.D. 23), king of Numidia and later Mauretania, marries Kleopatra Selene II, daughter of Kleopatra and Mark Antony.
A.D.			
25			14 Death of Augustus. Ptolemy of Mauretania (r. 23–40)

For comprehensive lists of the Hellenistic dynasts, see Department of Greek and Roman Art, "List of Rulers of the Ancient Greek World," in *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*, New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000–, http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/gkru/hd_gkru.htm (October 2004)

HELLENISTIC KINGDOMS, CA. 185 B.C.





ITALY AND THE WEST



PERGAMON AND THE
HELLENISTIC KINGDOMS
OF THE ANCIENT WORLD



INTRODUCTION

Carlos A. Picón

Of all the Hellenistic realms, Pergamon—the ancient Greek capital of the Attalid Kingdom, located in the area of northwestern Asia Minor called Mysia—is arguably the best known, having been excavated by German archaeologists for nearly 140 years. In 2015, the temporary closure of the magnificent Pergamon Museum, Berlin, for a total refurbishment has afforded us the unique and unprecedented opportunity to bring to New York a large selection of Hellenistic finds from the ancient city. The resulting exhibition, “Pergamon and the Hellenistic Kingdoms of the Ancient World,” presents an important royal capital at its heyday, under the Hellenistic dynasty of the Attalids (282–133 B.C.), when it was the center of a thriving empire that at times covered vast portions of western and southern Asia Minor.

In 2011–12, the Berlin State Museums (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin) mounted the landmark exhibition “Pergamon—Panorama of the Ancient Metropolis,” which thoroughly explored almost every aspect of the city throughout antiquity.¹ It is not our intention to replicate or abridge this vast exhibition; rather, our aim is to offer an expansive selection of Hellenistic art in all its glory and complexity, utilizing Pergamon and the excavated finds currently housed in Berlin as an anchor and a case study. In other words, the present exhibition places Pergamon and its artistic traditions within the broader context of art from other major Hellenistic centers. It would be nearly impossible, of course, to represent in their entirety all the major Hellenistic kingdoms—from Ptolemaic Egypt, Macedonia, and the Seleucid territory to Bactria and India as well as Bithynia and Pontus. Further, doing so would prove somewhat redundant, given that Hellenistic art, as we will see, is markedly international and often transcends regional classifications.

The Hellenistic period—traditionally defined as encompassing the years 323 B.C. to 30 B.C., or from the death of Alexander the Great to the suicide of the famous Ptolemaic queen Kleopatra VII (“Cleopatra”)—is one of the most complex epochs in all of art history. Several loan exhibitions in North America have illuminated the earliest years of this era, often referred to as the Age of Alexander, but there has never been a comprehensive exhibition devoted to the entire Hellenistic period and its complex transition into the Roman world.² Unabashedly an “objects show,” the Metropolitan Museum’s exhibition does not pretend to offer a straightforward art-historical survey; indeed, there is no single approach to the study of most branches of Hellenistic art. One can only examine the artistic trends and attempt to discover avenues that either lead to further study or, at the very least, allow us to look at this rich material with fresh eyes.

Our story begins with the age of Alexander the Great of Macedon (r. 336–323 B.C.), whose conquests changed the face of the ancient world forever, opening trade routes and encouraging cultural exchanges that had far-reaching implications. Alexander’s retinue of court artists and his extensive artistic patronage set the example for his Successors, or Diadochi, the numerous Hellenistic kings who came to rule over much of Alexander’s vast empire. Works from Macedonia and the rest of the Greek world as well as a series of large-scale portraits of major Hellenistic rulers introduce the historical background of the Hellenistic age. Of key importance here is the renowned Alexander Mosaic (fig. 1) from the House of the Faun at Pompeii (represented in the exhibition by a dramatic full-scale reproduction). This Roman mosaic, no doubt a copy of a long-lost painting from the late fourth century B.C., preserves one of the most grandiose and dramatic compositions to have survived



Fig. 1. Alexander Mosaic, detail showing Alexander the Great (see fig. 8)

from the early Hellenistic world.³ In her essay “Art in the Age of Alexander,” Ariel Herrmann assesses the importance of recent archaeological finds in Macedonia; discusses the contribution of the court sculptor Lysippos and his brother Lysistratos; and notes the appearance of new themes of Eastern origin during these formative years. What becomes apparent is that during the Hellenistic period, one can no longer speak of stylistic trends developing in a unified, linear fashion; instead, the style adopted for any given commission was a matter of conscious choice. Herrmann also reminds us that the surviving original sculptures from Pergamon have a central place in the study of Hellenistic art. Polyxeni Adam-Veleni chronicles the strengthening of the Macedonian kingdom under Philip II (r. 359–336 B.C.) and his illustrious son and examines the concept of monarchy and the role of elite army officials who surrounded the king.

The next section introduces the impregnable citadel of Pergamon as an archaeological site and gives an overview of the excavations periodically conducted there by the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut beginning in 1878. Among the historical archaeological materials are a field notebook from early excavations, technical drawings, and two large nineteenth-century

panoramic paintings of the Hellenistic acropolis and upper city. Ursula Kästner chronicles the German excavations at Pergamon, which remains one of the most thoroughly investigated ancient sites in Asia Minor.

The Hellenistic city of Pergamon is brought to life through select works of art and architectural elements, most notably the colossal marble statue of Athena from the main room of the Pergamene Library (fig. 2; cat. 39). Certainly one of the most impressive and evocative masterpieces the site has yielded, the statue is an adaptation, at a reduced scale, of the chryselephantine Pheidias cult statue of Athena Parthenos, which once stood majestically on the Athenian Acropolis. Indeed, Pergamene art was often acutely conscious of the past, especially of Periklean Athens, a phenomenon we shall encounter again when considering the spectacular Gigantomachy Frieze of the Great Altar. The themes presented by these works of art include the gods and religion, intellectuals and learning, the theater, athletics, medicine and healing, and funerary practices. Ceramic vases as well as bronze and terracotta statuettes represent artistic traditions from every corner of the Greek world. These so-called minor arts are further explored by Joan R. Mertens in her essay “Earthy



Fig. 2. Athena Parthenos from Pergamon (detail of cat. 39)

Arts: Vases, Terracottas, and Small Bronzes.” Discussing continuity and innovations in these traditional media, Mertens points out that figured terracottas, in particular, were no longer primarily votive dedications or funerary offerings but works of art made to be displayed and enjoyed at home.

Pergamon began to gain real prominence in the ancient world during the reign of Attalos I (r. 241–197 B.C.) (fig. 3), when the city managed to defeat the Galatians (or Gauls).⁴ These dreaded invaders—migrating Celtic tribes that originated in central and western Europe and advanced into different parts

of the Greek world, often as mercenaries—wreaked havoc as they crossed into Asia Minor, exacting tributes from cities and dynasts alike, and they eventually headed for the rich city of Pergamon. The capital reached its apogee under Eumenes II (r. 197–159 B.C.) and his brother Attalos II (r. 159–138 B.C.), becoming one of the most splendid cities of the Hellenistic world. The distinguished Pergamene scholar Volker Kästner presents the history of the Attalid dynasty and its numerous military encounters in his essay “Pergamon and the Attalids.”



Fig. 3. Portrait head of Attalos I from Pergamon. Greek (Pergamene), Hellenistic period, ca. 200–170 B.C. Marble, H. 15 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (39 cm). Pergamon Museum, Berlin (AvP VII 130)

The accomplishments of the Attalid kings are showcased through two of their royal sculptural monuments, which were originally set up in the citadel at Pergamon as well as in Athens, where members of the Attalid royal family studied at the city's famed philosophical schools. Although these monuments—the so-called Greater and Lesser Attalid Dedications, commemorating the defeat of the Gauls—are known only through literary sources, inscribed bases, and a series of later Roman marble copies, they nevertheless rank among the most celebrated of the Hellenistic period. Both the reconstruction and actual date of the original mythological and historical bronze groups continue to be hotly debated. Massimiliano Papini discusses these two



Fig. 4. Telephos Frieze, detail showing King Tethys. Greek (Pergamene), Hellenistic period, ca. 160 B.C. Marble, H. 62 in. (157.5 cm). Pergamon Museum, Berlin (T.I.20)

Attalid victor monuments, posing relevant questions, but without new evidence there seems to be no possibility of consensus.

The colossal Great Altar of Pergamon of course cannot travel, as the huge marble slabs of the Gigantomachy Frieze (or Great Frieze) are deeply embedded in the walls of the Pergamon Museum itself, but several sculptural elements from it constitute a highlight of the exhibition. Among these are several slabs from the Telephos Frieze (fig. 4), an episodic narrative of the life of Telephos, the legendary founder of Pergamon, that originally embellished the Great Altar's interior colonnade (see cats. 126, 127). In the exhibition, these sculptures allow the visitor to fully experience the dramatic baroque style of the Great Frieze as

well as the complex decorative program of this monument. Additionally, a large architectural model of the Great Altar serves to orient the visitor and incorporates the latest theories of how the monument looked in antiquity. The architecture and the sculpture of the Great Altar are analyzed in this volume by Andreas Scholl, who concludes that the altar represents the mythical palace of Zeus on Mount Olympus. Scholl sees the Great Frieze as a celebration of Zeus, the decisive force in the gods' victory over the giants. By extension, one could argue that it is also a celebration of the Attalid dynasty itself: just as Zeus defeated the giants, the Pergamene kings defeated the invading barbarian Gauls. Surely the Great Altar must also have been regarded as some kind of memorial to these victorious wars and to the ensuing expansion of the state.

The Great Altar stands as the single most important sculptural monument of the Hellenistic period, and the sheer scale of its Great Frieze, at more than three hundred feet long and almost eight feet high, makes it emblematic of Pergamene sculpture. Yet we know that this baroque style did not originate in Pergamon, since it is attested at an earlier date in other parts of the Greek world, notably at Taranto, in South Italy.⁵ Nor is the baroque trend the only style evident at Pergamon. The pictorialism of the altar's Telephos Frieze, for example, contrasts sharply with that of the Great Frieze, and there are notable instances of an Archaistic style, such as a marble statue found in one of the royal palaces on the citadel (fig. 5; cat. 184). In addition, there is a strong element of Classicism in other sculptural productions from the site, as clearly seen in the colossal statue of Athena. We thus now speak of trends in Hellenistic sculpture and of certain styles as being appropriate to particular genres.⁶ Kiki Karoglou discusses some of these stylistic trends in her essay, where she also examines the functions, settings, and types of Hellenistic sculpture, from royal portraiture to individualized honorary likenesses.

Both the exhibition and this volume examine in detail Hellenistic luxury arts in general and the royal palaces at Pergamon in particular. On the upper citadel of the site, there are traces of five distinct palace complexes (some with large peristyle courts) as well as a group of adjoining rooms directly south of Palace V that were probably used for military purposes.⁷ A selection of ruler portraits from various regions of the Greek world evoke the Attalid family, who ruled Pergamon and much of western and southern Asia Minor during the third and second centuries B.C. Of the palaces themselves, little remains other than foundation walls, but they are represented here by architectural elements, marble furnishings, and decorative sculpture, including the Archaistic draped statue of a female "dancer"



Fig. 5. Archaistic statue of a dancer from Palace V at Pergamon (cat. 184)



Fig. 6. Gold and garnet *naiskos* with Dionysos and a satyr. Greek, Hellenistic period, 2nd century B.C. National Archaeological Museum, Athens (ST 379)

noted above (fig. 5), which was found in Palace V. Exquisite ancient glass, gold and silver vessels, coins bearing royal portraits, and sumptuous gold jewelry reveal both the mastery achieved by Hellenistic artisans in the employ of royalty and the *koine*, or common language, that evolved in the luxury arts made across the markedly disparate parts of the Greek world. Of particular importance is the discovery in Thessaly of a hoard of spectacular gold objects (fig. 6), from which a representative selection of jewelry in the collection of the Benaki Museum, Athens, is presented in the exhibition (see cats. 167, 169–173).

The Hellenistic world was in many ways awash in gold and silver, and much of it ended up in Rome as war booty. Christopher S. Lightfoot’s essay “Royal Patronage and the Luxury Arts” remarks on the vast amount of precious metals that Alexander the Great removed from the Persian treasuries at Susa and Persepolis alone. Hellenistic gold jewelry, increasingly more colorful and elaborate than the Classical production, reached flamboyant new heights of sophistication and craftsmanship. Exotic and costly materials such as ivory, rock crystal, pearls,

onyx, and banded agate were amassed in ever larger quantities from across the ancient world, including from the East and from as far away as India. The Greek glass industry underwent radical transformations during this time, producing luxury glass tableware imitating vessels made of precious stones or sometimes composed of brilliant mosaic elements of sharply contrasting colors. We also witness the introduction of the gold-band technique, in which gold foil encased between colorless layers allows glass vessels to shimmer. Given these remarkable advances, it is easy to forget that prior to the invention of glassblowing (toward the end of the first century B.C.), the best Hellenistic glasswares were costly luxury objects requiring considerable technical virtuosity. This changed radically with the mass production that glassblowing allowed.

Equally opulent and seductive are the engraved gems and the numismatic production of this period; the latter preserves a splendid series of royal portraits spanning three centuries, a fascinating topic discussed with authority by George Kakavas in his essay “Hellenistic Royal Portraiture on Coins.” The practice of introducing the portrait of a mortal ruler on coins—unthinkable before the Hellenistic period—was initiated by Ptolemy I (r. 306–282 B.C.) in Egypt at the end of the fourth century B.C. Kakavas also explores the use of political propaganda in Hellenistic coinage (in order to establish a ruler’s legitimacy of succession, for instance) and reminds us of the wealth of historical information afforded by the numismatic record; this is particularly relevant for the kingdom of Bactria, about which relatively little is known.

The story behind this exhibition and its accompanying volume concludes with the advent of Rome as the center of the Hellenistic world. We are so accustomed to speaking of Greek versus Roman art that it is indeed difficult to fully comprehend the concept of a *fusion* of Greek and Roman art into a Hellenistic *koine*, centered in Rome, during the first century B.C. Pivotal to this theme is the vast quantity of Greek art collected by the Romans (fig. 7).⁸ In the second century B.C., Rome may have been the mistress of a relatively united Italy, but she was not yet a creative center for the arts. Paul Zanker and Seán Hemingway expand on this topic in their respective essays, emphasizing the phenomenon of a new art market that developed to satisfy the increasing demand for Greek art. Here the Pergamene kings led the way, as they had already collected works by famous Greek artists, especially those of the Classical period, the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. They were not, however, the only Hellenistic rulers to collect. One must also keep in mind that Greek masterworks were not only avidly collected but also widely copied and adapted, creating a thriving business of



Fig. 7. Borghese Krater (detail of cat. 230)

reproductions that transformed the homes of affluent Romans within and outside the city of Rome, in the Alban Hills, and on the Gulf of Naples.

An array of sculptures recovered from two ancient shipwrecks—one off the island of Antikythera, south of the Peloponnesos, the other off the coast of North Africa near Mahdia, in modern Tunisia— vividly demonstrates the kind of artworks, both originals and copies, that were being supplied to the west as early as the first half of the first century B.C. The workshops in Greece responsible for this copying industry, presumably located for the most part in and around Athens, were unable to meet the insatiable demand for Greek art, prompting many Greek craftsmen (sculptors, architects, painters, gem engravers, metalworkers, etc.) to migrate to

Rome and other Roman centers in the west in ever-growing numbers. Rome thus emerged as the unequivocal center of Hellenistic culture, giving rise to a hybrid Greco-Roman art that would later blend or coexist with the markedly austere Classicism favored by the Augustan age that followed. In more recent times, we are familiar with comparable artistic migrations resulting in remarkable explosions of artistic activity: one thinks of Italy in the Renaissance, or of Deccan India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁹ But it seems fair to claim that Republican Rome witnessed the greatest artistic boom the ancient western world had ever witnessed. It was truly the triumph of Rome, in which the Pergamene tradition persisted from the era of the Hellenistic kingdoms to the nascent Roman Empire.

I

ALEXANDER THE GREAT AND HIS WORLD



ART IN THE AGE OF ALEXANDER

Ariel Herrmann

Macedon, the homeland of Alexander the Great, lay directly on the land route between Greece and the territories of the Persian Empire and for a time in the late fifth to early fourth century B.C. had been under Persian rule. To the north were the Illyrian and Thracian tribes, and beyond them the Greek cities fringing the Black Sea. Macedonian interactions, diplomatic or hostile, with all of its neighbors and with other, more distant powers were constant, while cultural influences were reciprocal over a time period that began long before Alexander. Under Alexander's predecessors, however, and especially under his father, Philip II (r. 359–336 B.C.), the Macedonian elite adopted Hellenic culture.¹

The eastward spread of Greek civilization throughout the lands of the former Persian Empire in the wake of Alexander's conquests is well known. Another significant result was the complete reintegration into the Greek world of the great historic cities along the Aegean and Hellespontine coasts of Asia Minor. These, along with other, newly prominent places in the region, including Pergamon, would be among the most important artistic and intellectual centers of the Hellenistic period.

Pergamon was a naturally secure site, with an extraordinarily high and steep citadel that fortification could render almost impregnable. It is said that after Alexander's death, it became a refuge for an infant son of his, named Herakles, and the child's mother, Barsine. Their story has interesting resonances with the myth of Pergamon's founder, Telephos, his exiled mother, Auge, and his father, the hero Herakles. As the daughter of Artabazos, satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia, Barsine would have had powerful connections at Pergamon and may already have owned property there.²

In the struggle for succession after Alexander's death, Barsine and Herakles were eliminated, but the stronghold of

Pergamon was chosen by one of the early contenders, Alexander's officer Lysimachos (ca. 362/361–282/281 B.C.), as a repository for a huge treasure of war funds. The commander appointed to guard these moneys—Philetairos (ca. 343–263 B.C.), who would be the founder of Pergamon's royal house—earned respect as a loyal subordinate until almost the end of Lysimachos's life. He defected to one of Lysimachos's rivals, Seleukos, just before the latter's death, in 280 B.C., leaving the treasure under Pergamene control. Philetairos, who was a eunuch, enabled the rise to power of his nephews and great-nephews, who became kings of Pergamon and were known as the Attalid dynasty.³

Alexander's interest in the arts and his desire for affirmation through them are obvious from his many commissions and benefactions across Greece and Asia Minor. These projects must have been arranged and supervised primarily by agents, however, since he was engaged in distant campaigns for all but the first two years of his reign. Artists, even those from his inner circle, are unlikely to have followed him—especially with the cumbersome tools of their trade—beyond the cities of western Asia Minor, where many of their works are attested. An exception might have been Deinokrates (or Stasikrates), who had proposed the reshaping of Mount Athos in Thrace as a colossal seated figure of Alexander and whose broad expertise ran from sculpture to earthworks and city planning.⁴

Scholarly efforts to reconstruct Alexander's artistic impact long concentrated on the literary evidence for famous artists in the service of the Macedonian court and on identifying copies or other reflections of their work. Monuments whose iconography connects them with Alexander were also considered, in particular the so-called Alexander Sarcophagus from the Royal Necropolis of Sidon (fig. 21) and the Alexander Mosaic from Pompeii (fig. 8).



Fig. 8. Alexander Mosaic, from the House of the Faun (VI, 12, 2) at Pompeii. Roman, Late Republican period, 2nd century B.C.; copy of a Greek painting of the late 4th or 3rd century B.C. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples (10020)

Alexander's preferred artists are said to have been the sculptor Lysippos, the painter Apelles, and the gem cutter Pyrgoteles. Roman sources insist that Alexander allowed no others to portray him, but this exclusivity is surely exaggerated.⁵ Ancient writers frequently mention Apelles, but most accounts embroider personal anecdotes, especially about his interaction with Alexander, or express generic admiration for the verisimilitude of his art. Although new developments in the art of gem cutting came about with the rise of courtly luxury and the influx of precious stones from the East, little is known of Pyrgoteles beyond his name. Only for Lysippos has academic research been to some degree productive.

LYSIPPOS

Lysippos was a native of Sikyon, a city in the northern Peloponnese with strong artistic traditions. The son of a bronze caster, he is said to have begun his career as a metalworker, only later advancing to the role of *plastēs* (modeler), the sculptor who uses clay or wax to build up the master models for statues to be cast in bronze. As far as we know, he worked exclusively in this medium and never learned the very different craft of marble carving. For this reason he would have had no involvement with

relief or architectural sculpture, although his style probably influenced sculptors who worked in those genres.

No original sculpture by Lysippos can be convincingly identified. It has also proved difficult to reconstruct his oeuvre from replicas—Roman reproductions—of his statues. Indeed, consistent series of high-quality replicas are lacking, or have yet to be recognized, for most of the famous statues specifically mentioned by ancient authors as his creations.⁶ The broad outlines of his activity, however, can be inferred from the literary and epigraphic evidence. Pliny the Elder, apparently relying on the near-contemporary and well-informed source Xenokrates (probably himself a sculptor), lists many of his productions and gives a succinct description of his style: "His chief contributions to the art of sculpture are said to consist in his vivid rendering of the hair, in making the heads smaller than older artists had done, and the bodies slimmer and with less flesh [*corpora graciliora siccioraque*], thus increasing the apparent height of his figures. There is no Latin word for the canon of symmetry which he was so careful to preserve, bringing innovations which had never been thought of before into the square canon of the older artists."⁷

Lysippos had a long career and seems to have traveled widely. Bases for his statues, some datable well before the middle of the



Fig. 9. Statue of the Apoxyomenos, found in the sea near Croatia. Roman, Late Republican period, 1st century B.C. Bronze, H. 75 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (192 cm). Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia, Zagreb

fourth century B.C., have been found at Olympia and in cities and sanctuaries all over central Greece.⁸ Since he made portraits of Alexander “from his boyhood on,”⁹ he must have been summoned to Macedon by Philip II. Several productions at northern sites confirm his activity in the region. As Lysippos achieved recognition, important commissions, some of which, at least, must have required his presence, are attested at locations from Macedonia to southern Italy and the cities of coastal Asia Minor.¹⁰ His brother Lysistratos, also a sculptor, was an innovator in the field of portraiture. Sons and numerous other pupils continued the Lysippian tradition into the next generation and beyond.

Lysippos was known primarily as an *andriantopoi*os, a maker of human figures, rather than an *agalmatopoi*os, a maker of cult statues or divine images.¹¹ A list of his works implies that he was a specialist in the male nude; it includes athletes, hunters, rulers, mythological heroes, and active, muscular gods. There was apparently little emphasis on drapery, although portrait statues of older men, such as Aristotle or a retrospective Socrates, would have been at least partly clothed.¹² Some images of Alexander or his companions probably wore armor.

A celebrated statue by Lysippos was known as the Apoxyomenos (“Man Scraping Himself”). The subject, rather unusual but by no means unique, was a victorious youth using a strigil to scrape the sweat, oil, and dust from his body after an athletic contest. The original was brought to Rome by Augustus’s right-hand man, Agrippa, and displayed in front of the Baths of Agrippa in the Campus Martius. Later, the emperor Tiberius was so infatuated with the image that he had it removed to his private quarters, substituting another statue, but he was forced to return it after a crowd in the theater created an uproar shouting, “Put back the Apoxyomenos!”¹³

A marble statue in the Vatican Museums has long been identified as a replica of the Apoxyomenos by Lysippos and used as a touchstone for the study of his work. The Vatican type was rarely reproduced in Roman times, however; except for a torso excavated at Side (in modern Turkey), the few other versions are problematic as to relevance or authenticity.¹⁴ Evidence is mounting that a different Apoxyomenos figure, of which a well-preserved bronze example was found recently in the sea near Croatia (fig. 9), was much more famous in antiquity and may have a better claim to reproduce Lysippos’s masterpiece. Three full-size bronze replicas of this type are now known as well as a superb torso in polished black stone and an almost complete marble statue. Other examples include variants, stray heads, and a precisely detailed miniature version in marble (fig. 10).¹⁵



Fig. 10. Statuette of the Apoxyomenos. Roman, Early Imperial period, 1st–2nd century A.D. Marble, H. 28 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (71.5 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (304)

A set of mold-made terracotta reliefs, found at Rome and datable to the Early Imperial period, show an Apoxyomenos figure of the “Croatian” type displayed with other Greek athletic statues in front of a colonnaded and pedimented facade. Well-preserved examples are in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (fig. 11), and in the Musée du Louvre, Paris.¹⁶ Although the architectural setting is surely not literal, it may be at least partly inspired by Agrippa’s building complex. The unusual pedimental sculptures—a pair of Tritons holding up a shield—seem to celebrate his victories as a naval commander.

Lysippos was a pioneer in the development of a genre that would be important for Hellenistic sculpture: the multigure group. After the Battle of the Granikos, in May 334 B.C., the first of three major engagements between the Macedonian and Persian armies, Alexander commissioned equestrian images of some twenty-five or more comrades who had been killed in the encounter. The resulting bronze *turma* (troop) of warriors on horseback was dedicated in the Macedonian sanctuary of Zeus at Dion below Mount Olympus. In the middle of the second century B.C., the group was taken to Rome and displayed in the Porticus Metelli, where it remained a familiar sight down to late antiquity.¹⁷ Pliny praised the “likenesses,” which implies that the heads of the horsemen were at least somewhat individualized. The bronze statuette from Herculaneum of a mounted, armored Alexander (cat. 15) may reproduce part of this monument.



Fig. 11. Relief with statues of athletes. Roman, Early Imperial period, ca. 1st century A.D. Terracotta, H. 15¾ in. (40 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (03.883)

Although it is not known whether the figures at Dion interacted in some way or were simply a set of equestrian statues, another sculptural group, displayed at Delphi in a large inscribed niche that is still partly preserved, would no doubt have had a unified composition. It represented a lion hunt by Alexander and his trusted general Krateros, who came to Alexander’s rescue at a dangerous moment of the action. The ensemble was commissioned by Krateros from Lysippos, who was celebrated as a sculptor of animals, and another well-known artist, Leochares. It was completed and dedicated only after Krateros’s death, in 321/320 B.C. Plutarch, who served as a priest at Delphi, describes bronze figures of “the lion, the dogs, the king engaged with the lion, and himself [Krateros] coming to his assistance.”¹⁸ The large statuette of an Alexander-like hunter in the British Museum, London (cat. 17), may reflect part of this or a similar group.

In addition to lifesize statues and probably statuettes,¹⁹ Lysippos is known to have produced colossal figures. A type reproduced in all formats throughout Hellenistic and Roman art, the Farnese Hercules (see cat. 14) is seemingly derived from a statue of Herakles by Lysippos, although the evidence for this is the questionable inscription *ΛΥΣΙΠΠΟΥ ΕΡΓΟΝ* (“Work of Lysippos”) on an over-lifesize Antonine/Severan version.²⁰ The figure survives in countless examples, categorized by scholars into subgroups according to scale, accessories, and degree of muscular overdevelopment. The composition, expressing overwhelming power temporarily at rest, is indeed brilliantly conceived and innovative in showing the hero as wearied by his endeavors. The type demonstrably entered the repertoire in Lysippos’s time and may have had some association with his native region, since a minute version of the figure is discernible in the field behind the main figure of a seated Zeus on coins struck for Demetrios Poliorketes at Sikyon, Argos, or Corinth.²¹ Another early reflection appears on a silver frontlet from a set of horse trappings recently excavated in Ukraine (fig. 12).²² The figure’s derivation is clear, although the lion’s skin has migrated to Herakles’ head in a war bonnet-like arrangement. As if to underline the Macedonian connection, rein ornaments from the same find group have facing heads of a youthful, Alexander-like Herakles.

RULER PORTRAITS

With his images of Alexander, Lysippos created a formula for ruler portraits that would be dominant throughout the Hellenistic period and influential far beyond. The overall appearance of these figures is best conveyed by statuettes, such as one from Alexandria now in the Louvre (cat. 11), that reproduce larger



Fig. 12. Frontlet with Herakles, excavated in Babyna Mohyla, Dnipropetrovs'ka Oblast', Ukraine, 1986. Greek, Early Hellenistic period, late 4th–early 3rd century b.c. Silver, H. 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (20 cm). Institute of Archaeology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kiev (KP- IV- 283a)

originals. Alexander is shown in heroic nudity. Glancing to his right as he strides forward, he sets his left hand high on a missing spear or scepter, in a pose that reaches far outside the body core but retains elasticity and balance. The higher, indented waist and the rotating rather than side-to-side movement of the upper torso are Lysippian characteristics. Many of the adaptations by later artists take on a baroque swagger.

The heads of Alexander's portrait statues were also something new, primarily because Alexander, unlike earlier Greek leaders, is shown beardless even as an adult. The turn of his head on the long muscular neck, his windblown hair, and his upraised eyes convey youthful energy and godlike inspiration. In the portrait now in Munich (cat. 7) and similar renderings, the face—at once fleshy and bony—and the choppy, not overly long hair may reflect something of Alexander's real appearance.²³ They recall the likeness in the Alexander Mosaic

(fig. 1), a work whose original must, like Lysippos's Alexander portraits, have been created close to his lifetime. The over-lifesize head from Pergamon, now in the Istanbul Archaeology Museums, transmits a similar image, albeit in intensified, high Hellenistic form (fig. 13).²⁴

The portraits of Alexander's Successors created by Lysippos and his circle are known mostly from later reflections. An important series comes from the Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum, where the heads of full-length nude or armored statues were reproduced as herm busts in the Roman manner (cats. 24, 25). Although most of these rulers reached middle or old age as survivors of the fierce power struggles that followed Alexander's death, all are clean-shaven, both in imitation of Alexander and to recall their youthful days as members of his entourage. Individual peculiarities and any marks of age, hesitantly rendered, are subordinated to an overall Alexander-like look.



Fig. 13. Head of Alexander, found at Pergamon. Greek, Late Hellenistic period, early 2nd century B.C. Marble, H. 16½ in. (42 cm). Istanbul Archaeology Museums (1138)

A few original ruler portraits correct the lackluster impression made by these copies. An over-lifesize head found at Ephesos has been tentatively identified as Lysimachos, the Macedonian refounder of the city (fig. 14).²⁵ Despite its almost ideal features and porcelainlike surface polish, the head projects a stormy energy absent from the copies. The same power is evident in a colossal bronze head from Italy, now in the Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid. Since it does not wear the royal diadem, it has been considered the portrait of an early Hellenistic leader who had not yet assumed the kingship, or even a likeness of Hephaestion, Alexander's close friend and second-in-command (fig. 15).²⁶ The regular features and short curly hair are consistent with his only certain image: a relief from Pella inscribed with a dedication by one Diogenes to "the Hero Hephaestion" (fig. 17).²⁷ This conservative representation shows Hephaestion not in heroic nudity but dressed in the chiton and mantle that were often preferred locally for depictions of nonmythological personages.

Contemporary with but completely different from these creations is the bronze portrait of the Thracian king Seuthes III (fig. 16). Seuthes, a warlord active in the latter part of the fourth century B.C., was occasionally forced into cooperation with



Fig. 14. Head of Lysimachos(?), from Ephesos. Greek, Early Hellenistic period, early 3rd century B.C. Marble, H. 16½ in. (42 cm). Ephesos Museum, Selçuk (1846)

Macedon but was more often an antagonist; connections with Athens are also attested. Found in 2004, the bronze portrait head had been intentionally detached from its statue and ritually buried in the entrance corridor of his monumental tomb near Kazanlak, Bulgaria.²⁸ Executed with Greek sophistication and technical expertise—but on the evidence of its core material manufactured locally—the startling image owes more to representations of unkempt Cynic intellectuals or even of savage mythical beings like the Centaurs than to the portraiture of Alexander and the Successors.²⁹ It seems improbable that the artist would have produced such a likeness except with Seuthes' approval, and unless he had actually seen him. This creation may be the most telling evidence for a talented Greek artist transferring his activity, at least temporarily, to a remote region and adapting his style to a local patron's requirements.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS IN NORTHERN GREECE

In modern times, extraordinary discoveries at Vergina, Pella, and elsewhere in northern Greece have focused attention on the material culture of Alexander's homeland.³⁰ Precise dating of these finds depends partly on still-controversial identifications, but they clearly belong to the period of Macedonian ascendancy



Fig. 15. Head of a Ruler(?), from Italy. Greek, Early Hellenistic period, late 4th–early 3rd century B.C. Bronze, H. 17¾ in. (45 cm). Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (E00099)

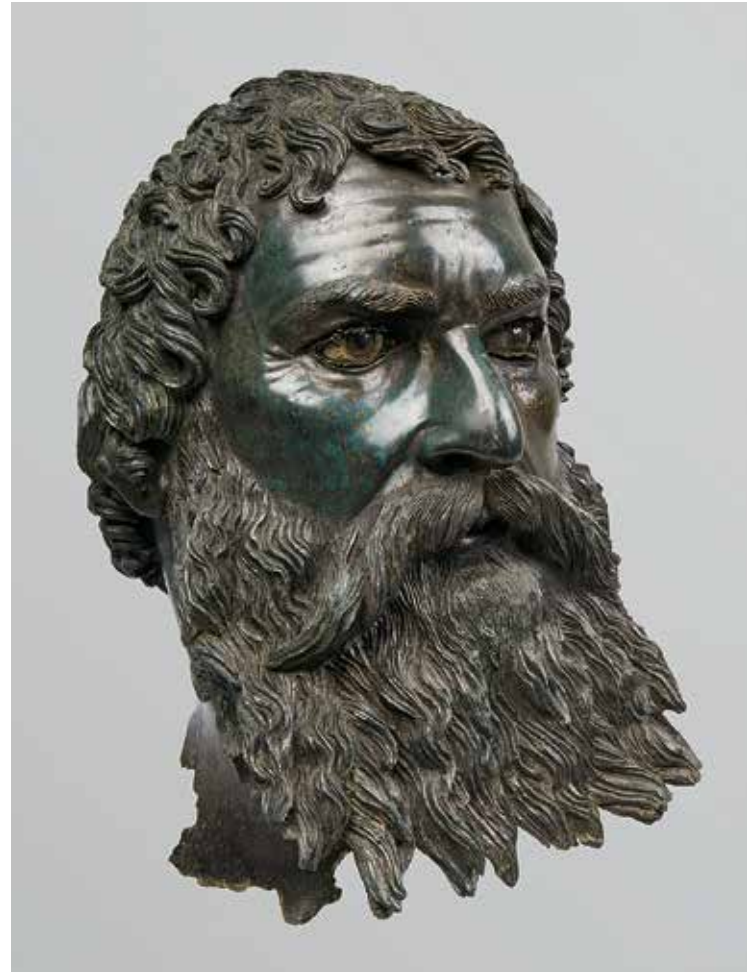


Fig. 16. Head of Seuthes III, from Kazanlak, Bulgaria. Scythian, Early Hellenistic period, late 4th century B.C. Bronze, H. 12¾ in. (32.5 cm). Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, National Institute of Archaeology and Museum, Sofia (8594)



Fig. 17. Relief with Hephaisstion, from Pella. Greek (Macedonian), Early Hellenistic period, late 4th century B.C. Marble, H. 12⅝ in. (32 cm), W. 24 in. (61 cm). Archaeological Museum, Thessaloniki (1084)

under Philip II, Alexander, and the Successors.³¹ Luxury objects in precious or perishable materials—ivory, wood, and textiles as well as gold and silver—have survived in the protected environment of the tombs. Diodorus Siculus’s account of the gilded and jeweled, fabulously ornate wagon constructed to transport Alexander’s body from Babylon and of the gigantic sculpture-covered funeral pyre designed for Hephaisstion no longer seem far-fetched.³²

Artistic themes of Eastern origin appear in the paintings and furnishings discovered at the Macedonian sites. There are scenes, new to Greek art, of the royal or aristocratic hunt and of battles and ceremonial events that may be contemporary rather than mythological. Friezes of racing chariots evoke the funerary games associated with heroic burials. Decorative motifs include the Eurasian “vegetation goddess” and her male counterpart (frontal figures terminating below in foliate scrolls).³³ Orientalizing griffins or lion-griffins (winged and horned lions) are composed in heraldic pairs, as in the seldom-illustrated frieze

that runs below the larger figural representations in Tomb I at Vergina.³⁴ These fabulous creatures attack real animals, such as horses, deer, or bulls, in the animal combat groups—pervasive in the art of the Central Asian steppes—that return to fashion all over the Greek world at this time.³⁵

After Philip's rise to power and his conquest of the region around Mount Pangaion, with its rich silver and gold mines, it would have been worthwhile for highly trained metalworkers from elsewhere to set up workshops in Macedonia. Armorers, obviously, would have found a ready market for their skills in this warlike milieu. A few objects from the tombs, such as the gold-faced *gorytos* (bow-and-arrow case) and the Thracian gorget from Tomb II, are clearly of foreign design and must have been gifts, heirlooms, or plunder. However, much of the armor, superbly crafted but evidently functional, is likely to have been produced locally rather than imported.

The same may be true of the magnificent silver drinking vessels, not to mention the massive gold *larnakes* (chest-shaped boxes for the ashes of the dead; see fig. 98). The vessels are largely consistent as to style, and in some cases their forms reflect regional preferences.³⁶ The sumptuous ceremonial couches, decorated with gold, ivory, and glass, must have been produced by a specialized atelier that, whatever its origin, flourished and evolved over at least one generation in Macedonia. Numerous examples have been found in the region, in addition to the parade shield from Tomb II that was made using the same technique.³⁷ These fragile assemblages, once completed, would not have been easily transported over long distances.

MARBLE SCULPTURE

Although they have so far received less attention than the precious tomb furnishings, some monumental marble sculptures of the mid- to late fourth century B.C. have come to light at Vergina and Pella. These seem to be of a different order from the modest, locally made grave stelai recovered from the fill of Vergina's Great Tumulus or the elegant but unpretentious "apartment sculptures" from the Early Hellenistic houses at Pella. All of these more ambitious works are Attic in their marble and workmanship but are made to the iconographic specifications of a Macedonian clientele.

The statue of Eurydike, mother of Philip II, from the Sanctuary of Eukleia at Vergina has a draped body carved, in an accomplished if conservative style, from Pentelic marble; the subtly individualized portrait head, however, is separately worked in a different marble.³⁸ A lifesize boar-hunt group, now in the museum at Veria, was excavated many years ago at Vergina (fig. 18).³⁹ Hunting was of special importance for the

Macedonian aristocracy, and a young man was not allowed to recline at feasts until he had killed a wild boar. However, the sculptural group is made of Pentelic marble and the clothed hunter is very similar to other figures in northern Greek attire, carved from Pentelic marble and presumably by Athenian sculptors, that have been found elsewhere in Greece.⁴⁰ A large-scale horseman in high relief from Pella wears non-Attic garb—the mantle and double-belted "oriental" chiton favored by Alexander⁴¹—but is made of Pentelic marble. The stone was also used for an entire hexastyle Doric facade dedicated on Samothrace in the names of the joint Successor kings Alexander IV and Philip III.⁴²

These finds and the logistics they imply invite further consideration. Ambitious marble work often seems to have been "outsourced" by the powerful in places where premium materials or specialized craftsmen were not readily available.⁴³ Athens had long been a center of artistic production for export as well as for local use, and with the decline of public building projects there in the fourth century B.C., stone carvers would have turned to new markets. Pentelic marble was convenient for sculptors working at Athens because it was quarried just outside the city and was available in large blocks. Although rather opaque, it was close grained and could take crisp detail. Select pieces could be of very fine quality; however, much of it was prone to discolorations and flaws, rendering it less desirable for statuary than the widely traded marbles of Paros and other Aegean islands,



Fig. 18. Boar Hunt, from Vergina. Greek (Macedonian), Early Hellenistic period, late 4th–early 3rd century B.C. Marble, H. of hunter as preserved 61 in. (155 cm), L. of boar 55½ in. (140 cm). Archaeological Museum, Veria (BA 1703)



Fig. 19. Hunt Scene, facade of Tomb II, Vergina. Greek (Macedonian), Early Hellenistic period, late 4th century B.C.

especially to craftsmen not experienced with its peculiarities. During this period, it may have been frequently exported in the form of partly or fully finished sculptures and architectural elements rather than as a raw material.⁴⁴ It is evident, however, that the Pentelic marble components for major projects at distant locations were produced to the patron's order, whether the work was carried out entirely at Athens or was executed by migrant Athenian craftsmen.

PAINTINGS AND PEBBLE MOSAICS

Painted decoration is preserved in many of the Macedonian tombs, both on facades and within, while figural pebble mosaic floors appear in palatial houses at Pella and at other Macedonian sites. These creations form a unique repertory of large-scale two-dimensional works from a famous, but otherwise almost entirely vanished, period of Greek painting. They are also informative for scholars because the artists who created the mural paintings and the floor mosaics, unlike the makers of sculpture and portable luxury objects, had to perform their work on site.

Some of the designs of the paintings and mosaics are comparable to those in Late Classical Apulian vase painting or to the incised drawings inside Greek mirror covers. A calligraphic beauty of line is cultivated, with figures expressed mainly in terms of contour against a plain background; depth is suggested by three-quarter views and occasional foreshortening. Sometimes a figure is repeated: for example, at Pella the right-hand hunter in the Stag Hunt floor mosaic is the same as the right-hand hunter in the Lion Hunt mosaic. In one notable instance, an entire scene—Hades' abduction of Persephone, with its foreshortened chariot, the X-shaped composition of the struggling couple, and a nude Hermes running ahead—is used

both in the painted wall decoration of Tomb I at Vergina⁴⁵ and at least one generation later, in a floor mosaic of the newly found Amphipolis Tomb.⁴⁶ The artists seem to have had access to a limited pool of models, but they evidently felt free to adapt or rearrange borrowed components as well as to improvise new ones. A capacity for spontaneous creation is especially evident in the jaunty, down-to-earth figures of the banqueting frieze discovered at Aghios Athanasios in 1994.⁴⁷

The painters and mosaicists at the Macedonian sites had mastered a variety of up-to-date techniques. The throne back in the Tomb of Eurydike at Vergina, for example, is the most old-fashioned of the paintings, but even here an accomplished use of shading makes the chariot horses look startlingly solid and "real" despite their stylized conformation.⁴⁸ Shading, achieved with pebbles of carefully graded color, is added to reinforce contour in the Stag Hunt mosaic and several others. In the vigorously sketched Hades and Persephone painting of Tomb I at Vergina, the shading is slashed on with bold diagonal hatching, even on the underside of Persephone's smooth, outstretched arm.⁴⁹ The figures of the Moirai (Fates) in the same tomb are less well preserved, but their heavily draped forms and brooding countenances seem to be rendered mainly with light and shade rather than with contour.⁵⁰ In many works, a cast shadow appears beneath each figure, a pool of darkness implying brilliant Mediterranean sun or strongly directional torchlight. It was a convention that would have a long currency in antiquity and beyond.

The most important of the paintings at Vergina is the hunt scene on the facade of Tomb II (fig. 19).⁵¹ The royal or aristocratic hunt was a theme of ancient Near Eastern origin that continued in Greco-Persian examples of the fourth century B.C., such as a sarcophagus recently excavated at Çan in the Troad with a boar and stag hunt by a nobleman and his entourage



Fig. 20. Sarcophagus from Çan, detail of Boar and Stag Hunt. Greek, Early Hellenistic period, late 4th century B.C. Archaeological Museum, Çanakkale

on horseback (fig. 20).⁵² Similarly, in a monumental tomb found recently at Mylasa in Caria, and tentatively attributed to Mausolos's father, Hekatomnos, the sarcophagus is carved in relief with a princely horseman's lion hunt as well as a feasting scene.⁵³

This kind of hunt is a much more prestigious affair than the rustic and informal pursuit, always on foot, that was usual in central Greece. The participants in the courtly hunt are on horseback, although they sometimes dismount to engage with the quarry, and they hunt a variety of large, dangerous animals, such as wild boar, bear, panthers, deer, bulls, and especially that most regal prey, the lion. Such diversity of game in the same place, if it indeed reflects a real situation, would have been possible only in an enclosed and stocked preserve like those maintained by the Persian king and his vassals.⁵⁴

The facade painting of Tomb II has striking compositional affinities with the Alexander Mosaic (fig. 8),⁵⁵ which decorated one of the oldest and grandest houses in Pompeii. This floor mosaic from the second century B.C. is composed of very fine tesserae and must have been copied from a painting created close to Alexander's lifetime. The subject is Alexander's irresistible charge toward the Persian king, Darius III. He spears a prominent Persian defender, who slides from his dying horse, as Darius's charioteer struggles to turn the king's four black horses in flight. The action unfolds behind a shallow band of foreground space, void except for a few scattered weapons and other props. The battle is a dense wall of figures, all of them shown on the same scale and many of them foreshortened as they burst directly out of or into the melee; only Alexander's movement—the most decisive—is parallel to the picture plane. Above the figures, against an empty background and around the silhouette of a withered tree (like the ones on the Çan sarcophagus), the rhythmically spaced spears of the combatants suggest the flow

of battle. Those at the left, behind Alexander, advance in orderly alignment, while those at the right, behind Darius, fall into disarray. There is no heroic nudity; the Greeks wear contemporary armor very much like the examples found in the Macedonian tombs. The alien dress and equipment of the Persians, such as Darius's cumbersome vehicle, decorated with rows of stamped heraldic animals, are recorded with a documentary precision unique in Greek art.

Like the Alexander Mosaic, the facade painting of Tomb II is a long, horizontal composition with a shallow strip of foreground that is mostly empty. Behind this is a crowd of human and animal figures, with foreshortened horses charging directly toward or away from the viewer. Above the figures, the background is rhythmically punctuated by trees withered or in leaf. Despite these similarities, the painting lacks the dramatic and compositional unity of the mosaic and its character of historical specificity. Some of the hunters are shown in heroic nudity, while others are in full or partial Macedonian dress. The overall effect is not easy to evaluate because of the painting's damaged condition, but there seems to be a tension between two centers of interest: the frontal, Alexander-like rider in the middle, and the figures grouped at the far right, which are larger in scale than the others and intrude on the foreground stage as they surround a lion. It would seem that the artist of the hunt frieze was aware of, and had partly assimilated, the innovations of the master painter who created the original of the Alexander Mosaic.

THE ALEXANDER SARCOPHAGUS

Although it was found far from Athens, in modern Lebanon, the Alexander Sarcophagus from the Royal Necropolis at Sidon is carved from Pentelic marble. It was probably made for Abdalonymos, a local king who had been set on the throne by Alexander and Hephaestion.⁵⁶ The subjects of the two long sides are a battle where Greeks and Persians meet as opponents and a mounted hunt in which they participate together (fig. 21). The figures are carved in an extremely refined and precise but rather conservative style. All are ideal types; in the battle scene, Alexander is identifiable only by his lion's-skin headgear and by the motif of his headlong charge to attack an adversary who tumbles from his fallen horse. Some of the Greeks wear contemporary armor, while others, in both the battle scene and the hunt, are shown in heroic nudity. In the hunt scene, two Greek horsemen (Alexander? Hephaestion?) gallop to the aid of a majestic rider in Persian attire, at the center of the composition, who directly confronts the lion. The slender but defined physiques and lunging diagonal poses of other, dismounted hunters reflect up-to-date stylistic trends. Painted details include the



Fig. 21. Alexander Sarcophagus, from Sidon (detail). Greek, Early Hellenistic period, late 4th century B.C. Pentelic marble, H. overall 76¾ in. (195 cm), L. 125⅙ in. (318 cm), W. 65¾ in. (167 cm). Istanbul Archeology Museums (370)

men's purple cloaks, their reddish hair, and the deftly flicked-in highlights of their eyes. Elaborate decoration, now faded, once enlivened the clothing and equipment.

Monumental sarcophagi with figural relief decoration developed early in Asia Minor and the Levant, where they appear sporadically from Archaic times on. In the mid- to late fourth century B.C., the most imposing often had Attic stylistic affinities and were carved from Pentelic marble.⁵⁷ An Athenian connection for the Alexander Sarcophagus is borne out by the resemblance of the horses—in their proportions as well as the rendering of their musculature—to the horse in the Horse and Groom relief found at Athens (fig. 22).⁵⁸ Like the horses on the sarcophagus, the horse in the relief ultimately descends from the horses in the Parthenon frieze. He has a dish-faced head, not exaggeratedly small, with flaring nostrils and large eyes in prominent, bony sockets. His neck is triangular, his well-nourished body compact and powerful, with a muscular chest and shoulders.

The Horse and Groom relief projects a sense—unaccustomed at Athens—of almost regal ostentation and privilege.⁵⁹ There are hints of the wider Hellenistic world; the riderless stallion is accompanied by a young African groom and is draped with an exotic saddlecloth made from the skin of a large feline.⁶⁰ The

horse, with its front part in higher relief than the hindquarters, seems to burst out of the background, his power only emphasized by the efforts of the groom to control him. The forelegs are carved in naturalistic, threatening-looking detail. The right front hoof overhangs the base, and the left is raised high in an impatient, pawing motion; this high-stepping gait was, perhaps not coincidentally, familiar from the horse on the Macedonian coinage of Philip II.⁶¹ The animal's head turns outward, away from the groom's restraining hold high on the reins.⁶² Its rolling eye seems to catch sight of the beholder, who is drawn into and completes the scene.⁶³

It is not known for whom or even for what kind of monument this sculpture was created. There is also disagreement as to whether the representation is essentially complete except for framing elements or if it was part of a larger scene. A faintly discernible helmet and other equipment painted on the background above the horse's back are attributes commonly found in funerary reliefs as symbols of a deceased person's status. Sculptured tomb monuments, however, were outlawed in Athens by Demetrios of Phaleron (in power 317–307 B.C.). If the relief postdates that proscription, then it must be, at least technically, something other than a privately commissioned



Fig. 22. Horse and Groom Relief, found at Athens. Greek (Attic), Early Hellenistic period, late 4th or early 3rd century B.C. Marble, H. 78³/₈ in. (199 cm), W. 75¹/₄ in. (191 cm). National Archaeological Museum, Athens (4464)

grave marker. Its flamboyance seems to imply monarchic and pro-Macedonian sympathies on the part of the unknown but obviously prominent man who is honored.

The extraordinary career of Alexander the Great, appearing at the beginning of this new age of artistic expression, became the model for royal patronage of the arts by his Successors. In the Hellenistic period, the sophistication of luxurious courts and the diversity of great cosmopolitan cities had a transformative effect on artistic creation. There was a tremendous widening of possibilities as to both subject matter and means of expression. A powerful baroque style developed, culminating at Pergamon in the Gigantomachy Frieze (see the essay “The Pergamon Altar: Architecture, Sculpture, and Meaning” in this volume), which shows, with a wealth of imaginative detail, the confrontation between the gods and giants, superhuman and subhuman forces of the cosmos.

Hellenistic art can be difficult to date because style no longer evolved in a consistent, linear fashion, as it had in the Archaic and Classical periods. Bold innovations appeared

side by side with eclectic or deliberately retrospective developments. Many artistic currents ran parallel, so that style could become a matter of conscious choice for the versatile ateliers—working primarily for the Roman market—of later Hellenistic times. As attested by the cargoes of shipwrecks from the first century B.C. (see the essay “Seafaring, Shipwrecks, and the Art Market in the Hellenistic Age” in this volume), something like an art market grew up, trading in antiques and reproductions as well as newly created works.

The minor and luxury arts of the Hellenistic period are informative as to chronology because jewelry, engraved gems, silverware, pottery, and glass have reliable typologies. The magnificent coin images of rulers provide securely dated points of reference. The study of sculpture is more problematic, especially because many of the key works are known only in copies. The original Hellenistic sculptures from Pergamon, with an ancient urban context that has been systematically excavated and studied since the 1870s, are an essential resource for the understanding of Hellenistic art.

SYMBOLS OF POWER: KINGS, HETAIROI, AND COMMON PEOPLE IN THE KINGDOM OF MACEDONIA

Polyxeni Adam-Veleni

KINGS

Toward the end of the Greco-Persian Wars, in the early fifth century B.C., a series of able kings ascended to the throne of Macedon and began to consolidate the kingdom's power.¹ Alexander I (r. 495–452 B.C.), proclaiming his Hellenic origins, declared to the rest of Greece his descent from the Temenids of Argos, in the Peloponnesos, and competed in the Olympic Games. Perdikkas II (r. 434–413 B.C.) took part in the Peloponnesian Wars, siding with Sparta. Archelaos (r. 413–399 B.C.), realizing the prestige and strategic potential of having a powerful navy and an outlet to the sea, moved the kingdom's capital from mountainous Aigai to coastal Pella. Amyntas (r. 393–370 B.C.) methodically developed diplomacy as a means of turning Macedon into a global power, all the while emphasizing the descent of the Macedonian kings from their legendary forefather, Herakles. Finally, after a brief period of turbulence and hostilities between Macedon and its neighboring kingdoms of the Molossoi and the Illyrians, the throne passed to Philip II (r. 360/359–336 B.C.), who—by dint of diplomacy, control of the production of gold and other raw material, and army reforms—led Macedon to the apex of its glory and pried supremacy of the Greek world from Athens.²

With the strengthening of the Macedonian kingdom under Philip II and his illustrious son, Alexander the Great, monarchy became identified with Macedonia's victories and with the glory of the state. Long after the death of Alexander, monarchy remained the most popular and prescribed institution for any state with claims to great power, a view that was in force throughout the Hellenistic period.³ The Macedonian kings resided in huge, luxurious palaces in Aigai and Pella during the Classical period and, during the Hellenistic period, in Thessaloniki. Exquisite objects of luxury and refinement, such as a bronze medallion depicting Athena (cat. 104a) and four

animal heads (cats. 104b–e) that decorated the royal chariot used for official ceremonies and parades, attest to the refinement of the Hellenistic palace at Thessaloniki.

The foundation for much of the king's authority and for Macedonia's power was the army, which, beginning with the reign of Philip II, had been an instrument of vital importance both for extending the kingdom's frontiers and for imposing stability and cohesion therein. This was particularly true following Philip's military reforms, in which the capabilities of the army were upgraded with new defensive and offensive systems. The introduction of the phalanx (infantry formation), for example, and the *sarissa* (six-meters-long spear) increased the Macedonian army's efficacy and, for a time, rendered it nearly invincible. The cavalry also benefited from similar innovations, and the Macedonian fleet was equipped with the latest weaponry, from catapults to battering rams.⁴ These reforms, in turn, necessitated the participation of a greater number of men in the army, significantly enlarging the class of elite officials known as the *hetairoi*.⁵

HETAIROI

The *hetairoi*—the administrative and military coterie surrounding the king—comprised wealthy landowners and royal officials from throughout the kingdom, the Macedonian mountains, and the rest of Greece.⁶ Their sons were raised in the royal court as *basilikoi paides* (“royal children,” or stepbrothers and companions to the king's children) and grew up to form each king's inner circle of *philo*i (friends), a kind of council to the crown. Administrative positions were filled from this council, the most important being the head of the royal secretariat and head of the royal guard, but also the king's bodyguards and the head of the elite infantry (*hegemon ton peltaston*).

In addition to offices and prominent positions in the army, Philip II instituted a kind of “feudal” system in which the *hetairoi*



Fig. 23. Ivy wreath, from Apollonia. Greek (Macedonian), Late Classical period, middle of the 4th century B.C. Gold, Diam. 13 in. (33 cm). Archaeological Museum, Thessaloniki (APO 662)

were given large tracts of land to exploit. When not involved in public affairs in the royal court or in diplomatic or military missions, the *hetairoi* lived with their families on these estates in large (about two thousand square meters) luxurious villas decorated with colorful pebble mosaics of mythological scenes and with wall paintings imitating marble revetment. A number of such houses have come to light in Pella, the kingdom's magnificent capital, where Alexander the Great was born and raised. Complete with peristyle courtyards in the Ionic or Doric style, these urban villas featured numerous rooms, including

andrones—men's reception halls, where banquets (*symposia*) were held—as well as a “private” wing for the women and children.⁷ During the banquets, which were held almost daily in either the enormous *andrones* of the royal palaces or those of the luxury houses, the *hetairoi* discussed the kingdom's affairs, philosophized, and were entertained. The symposiasts wore wreaths (fig. 23), mostly made of gold (see cat. 1), and drank wine, which was mixed with water in opulent metal or clay vases (*kraters*) and served with ladles and jugs into elegant silver, bronze, or clay drinking cups (*kylikes*). The interiors of the latter were decorated on the bottom with mythological figures for the amusement of the drinking party (see cat. 3). Many such drinking sets have been found, along with weapons and jewelry, in Macedonian tombs and cist graves, where they were deposited as grave gifts to accompany the deceased in the afterlife.

The tombs built for Macedonian kings and nobility from the fourth to the second century B.C. proved widely influential. This type of funerary structure, a few examples of which appear in Thessaly, southern Greece, and Asia Minor, also influenced the funerary architecture of the East, such as the tombs of Petra in Jordan. With a characteristic facade resembling a Doric or Ionic temple, they typically contain one or two vaulted rooms furnished with funerary beds, often painted or decorated with ivory and glass inlay (fig. 24). The funerary edifice and its *dromos* (entrance corridor) were covered by an artificial mound, which acted as grave marker. Although Macedonian tombs were originally intended for single burials, from the end of the fourth century to the early second century B.C. they housed multiple burials of the same family. Particularly noteworthy among the



Fig. 24. Painted daybed, from a tomb at Potidaia. Greek (Macedonian), Early Hellenistic period, late 4th–early 3rd century B.C. Marble with a secco painting, L. of longest side 82 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (210 cm). Archaeological Museum, Thessaloniki



Fig. 25. Banquet scene from a wall painting, from a tomb at Agios Athanasios. Greek (Macedonian), Early Hellenistic period, late 4th century B.C.



Fig. 26. Volute-Krater (The Derveni Krater), from Derveni (ancient Lete). Greek, Late Classical or Early Hellenistic period, ca. 330–320 B.C. Bronze, H. with handles 35 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (90.5 cm), Diam. 20 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (51.5 cm). Archaeological Museum, Thessaloniki

approximately two hundred Macedonian tombs excavated in Macedonia are the royal tombs of Aigai (some unlooted) and the tombs of the nobility—*hetairoi* at Lefkadia, Foinikas, and Agios Athanasios (fig. 25), whose exquisite wall paintings depict aspects of daily life for both the nobility and the simple townspeople in ancient Macedonia.

The undisturbed fourth-century B.C. cist graves in the cemetery at ancient Lete (Derveni) contained impressive assemblages of drinking sets, weapons, jewelry, and gold wreaths, all splendid examples of their owners' high standards of living. After death, these treasures were intended to accompany them into the afterlife for the eternal symposium, imperishable symbols of power and social status. Particularly noteworthy is the Derveni Krater,⁸ made of an alloy of copper and tin that resembles gold and embellished with relief scenes from the sacred marriage of Dionysos and Ariadne (figs. 26–29).

The divine couple sits on a rock surrounded by satyrs and maenads, who are absorbed in either orgiastic dancing or inebriated languor. Among the many figures is a one-sandaled man, probably King Autolykus of Thrace, his presence an indication that the krater's relief decoration narrates scenes from *Autolykus*, a lost play by Euripides. The owner's name is inscribed on the krater's rim: Astyon, son of Anaximandros, from Larissa, a noble Thessalian *hetairos* who was active in the fertile region of Lete.

The reign of Philip II brought drastic changes to the Macedonian economy, commerce, and land management. The closed system of exploitation of the vital areas surrounding the cities, for example, which had been introduced by the founders of the Second Colonization (8th–6th century B.C.), was abandoned. After about 346–345 B.C., Philip also implemented large-scale population movements in order to promote his



Figs. 27, 28. Details of the Derveni Krater (fig. 26)



Fig. 29. Rollout of the figural scene on the body of the Derveni Krater (fig. 26)

military and political objectives. Macedonian commoners were forced to migrate to the kingdom's border regions, whereas the *hetairoi* of the *hippeis* (horse-owning, or cavalry class) and soldiers were given fertile lands in the conquered coastal cities. The allotments were hereditary and transferable and entailed the obligation to provide services and pay taxes.

Phillip II knew well that a strong state required a sound economy based on the adequacy of the goods produced. His program of land distribution to the upper class of Macedonian aristocrats improved both the exploitation of natural resources

and the supervision of the kingdom's territory, a key concern since the rural complexes of the Macedonian kingdom occupied strategic positions.⁹ Covering an area of approximately two to four hectares each, these complexes were protected by strong fortification walls with towers. They also followed the urban model of the inward-facing ancient Greek house, featuring an enclosed inner courtyard surrounded by galleries and rooms. Several excavated examples provide evidence for specialized production of goods: honey in Apollonia, animal husbandry in Asprovalta, wine in Pieria, and olive oil in Vrasna and Argilos.

After Philip's untimely death, his twenty-year-old son Alexander III undertook—with unexpected fortitude for someone so young—the realization of his father's goal: to unite the Greeks in a campaign against the mighty Persian Empire and to avenge the Greco-Persian Wars, from which the Greek cities had suffered so badly. Alexander's vast state, after his own unexpected death, was eventually divided into four major kingdoms—Macedonia, Thrace, Syria, and Egypt—and, later, into several smaller ones, each of which struggled to maintain its power and dominate its competitors.

In Macedonia, the Temenids were succeeded first by the Antipater dynasty and soon after by the Antigonids, whose notable rulers brought glory and power to Macedonia during the Hellenistic period (3rd–2nd century B.C.) until the Roman conquest, in 168 B.C. Like their predecessors, the Antigonid kings of Macedonia were surrounded by *hetairoi*, who in the Hellenistic period came primarily from the privileged class of the *hippeis* (cavalry) and were often referred to as the king's *philo*i (friends) or as *hegemones* (officials).¹⁰ Members of this class were often “heroized” for their exploits and given divine honors, as demonstrated by the relief of the hero Hippalkos (cat. 75).

From the end of the fourth to the mid-second century B.C., Macedonia witnessed another period of considerable power as capable kings maintained Macedonian sovereignty in most Greek cities. With the return of war veterans and the thriving trade established after Alexander's campaign in the East, wealth flowed into the kingdom. A new class of merchants and entrepreneurs emerged from this milieu and contributed to the further development of metalwork and jewelry and to the production of luxurious wares for daily life, symbols of power for their wealthy owners. The less affluent settled for imitations of luxury products in more common materials, as demonstrated by a refined Attic jug with West Slope decoration (cat. 84).

COMMON PEOPLE

Life and death for the ancient Macedonians unfolded as in any other Greek city-state. The male population of free citizens, artists, merchants, and nobles followed the lifestyle of the kings and the *hetairoi*. In their daily life, they performed their civic duties, attended spectacles and athletic games,¹¹ managed their movable property and estates, participated in religious ceremonies, hunted, and took part in symposia. Free women, aided by their servants, managed the household, organized their husbands' symposia, took care of the domestic cult and funerary duties, and looked after their slaves (fig. 30). They were also responsible for overseeing household finances and raising their children until the age of seven. Teachers educated boys in the

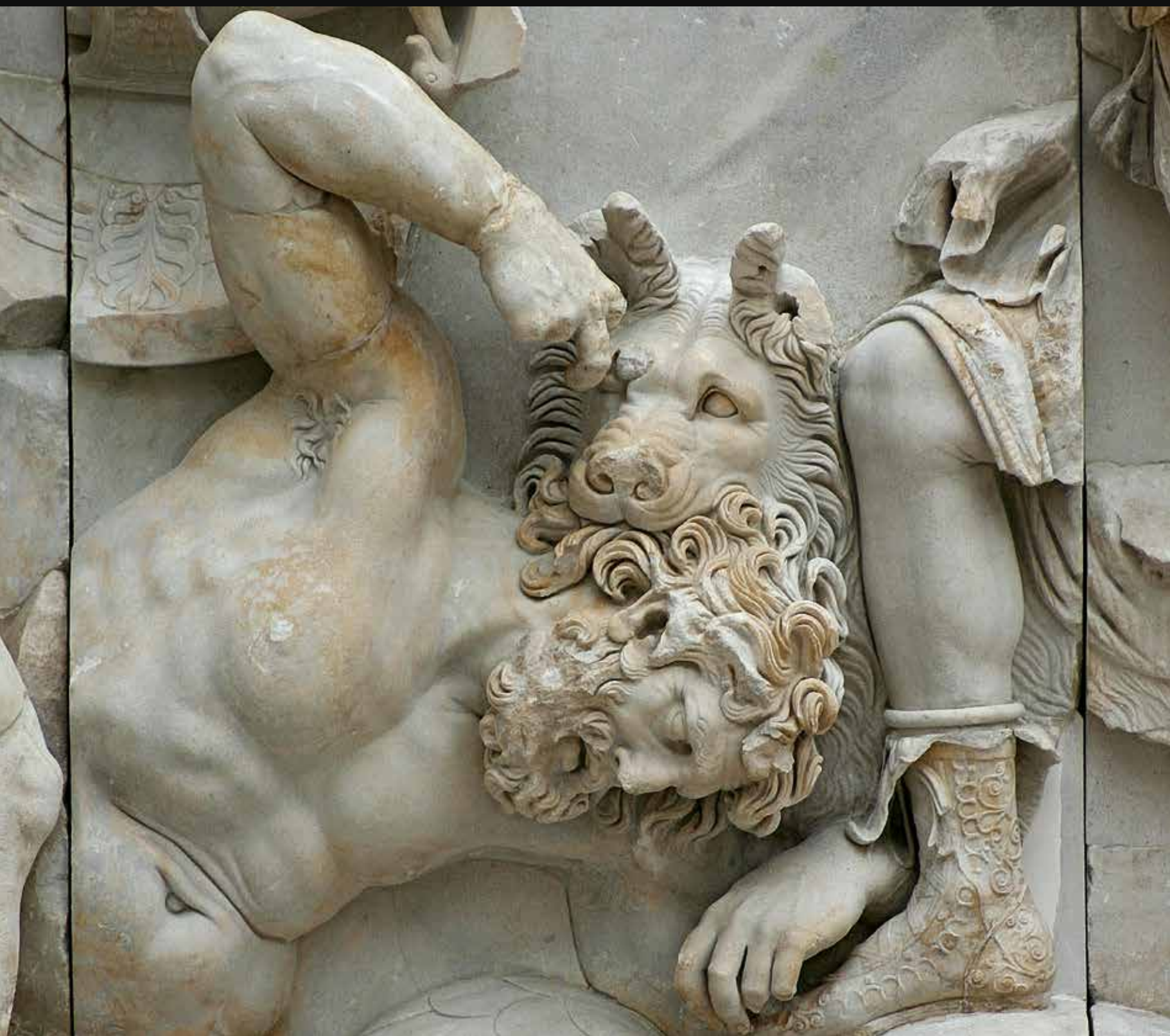


Fig. 30. Wall painting with objects from a woman's boudoir (detail), from a cist grave at ancient Aineia. Greek (Macedonian), Late Classical or Early Hellenistic period, 4th century B.C. Limestone with fresco on mortar. Archaeological Museum, Thessaloniki

home and, during adolescence, in gymnasiums. The sons of the nobility took part in official coming-of-age ceremonies¹² and athletic events. A boy's education included reading and writing, mathematics, music, and sports. Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and the tragedies of Euripides, which were particularly popular in Macedonia, were used as primers. A girl's education continued inside the house, where she learned the art of weaving, the only “professional” training available for women. From the fourth century B.C. onward, especially after Alexander's campaign in the East, and thus owing to the scarcity of men, women began selling products in markets and participating more frequently in public events.

The dynamic character of a number of Temenid queens of the fourth century B.C. played a decisive role in the increasing presence of women in public life. Olympias, first wife of Philip II, and Alexander's mother, demanded, for example, that she be allowed to participate in official banquets; Philina, Philip's fourth wife and a dancer herself, introduced dance to events held at the royal court; and Philip's daughter Thessaloniki was the first woman of royal descent to influence politics. In the years immediately following Alexander the Great's reign, a middle class of businessmen and merchants prospered and expanded, new customs and habits were introduced from the East, and people and ideas circulated faster and more freely in the Hellenistic ecumene: a society unified by a common Greek language and culture.

II
THE KINGDOM
OF PERGAMON



THE GERMAN EXCAVATIONS AT PERGAMON: A CHRONOLOGY

Ursula Kästner

1878–86

The scientific excavations in the ancient city of Pergamon that led to the rediscovery of its Great Altar were initiated by German engineer Carl Humann (1839–1896).¹ From 1864 to 1865, Humann was employed by the Ottoman Empire as a surveyor, scouting potential road and railway routes through the Levant from the Balkans to Palestine. Upon arriving in Bergama, in western Turkey, Humann saw the town's residents digging up fragments of ancient works in marble to burn in a lime kiln. After he successfully petitioned local officials to protect the ancient monuments, Humann appealed to the Berlin Museums (Königliche), hoping to convince them to undertake excavations there. To that end, he excavated reliefs from the Byzantine ruins of the city and sent them on to Berlin, where they attracted the attention of noted archaeologist Alexander Conze (1831–1914),² who in 1877 would be named director of the Berlin sculpture collection. As Conze recalled in his family records, “There I found [the reliefs] in the so-called hall of heroes in the Altes Museum, placed on the wall slightly above the floor; some of the broken-off pieces had been restored in plaster. I have always suspected that it was the excellent [archaeologist] Friedrich Matz, who passed away prior to my arrival, who happily associated the piece with the description in [Roman writer] Lucius Ampelius’s ‘Wonders of the World.’”³ Indeed, the altar is catalogued by Ampelius, in his *Liber memorialis*, as one of the *miracula mundi*: “In Pergamon there is a huge marble altar, forty feet tall with large sculptures; it also includes a Gigantomachy.”⁴

Once the Ottoman Ministry of Education had issued the necessary permit, or *firman* (cat. 26), for excavations in Pergamon, between 1878 and 1886 significant portions of the ancient

city were uncovered by the German team.⁵ Conze served as scholarly director of the excavations, while the on-site work was led by Humann, assisted by architect Richard Bohn (1849–1898) as well as other architects and classical scholars. As a first priority, Humann was commissioned to search for additional fragments from the altar reliefs and to locate the structure’s foundations. Slabs from a frieze depicting the Gigantomachy—a mythical battle between gods and giants—and from a smaller frieze on the life of Telephos, Herakles’ son, were found built into the Byzantine defense walls. Other architectural elements, roof figures (acroteria), and inscriptions from the altar came to light as more post-antique structures were removed. Other areas of the acropolis were also excavated, including a large Roman temple to Zeus at the crown of the hill, later dedicated to Emperor Trajan (Trajaneum), and a gymnasium on the south slope. Humann made pen drawings of the slabs (cats. 34a, b) from the two frieze cycles, which helped to establish the original sequence of scenes. In addition, the first documentary pictures of the excavation (cats. 31–33) were drawn by the Berlin painter Christian Wilberg, who arrived in Pergamon in the spring of 1879. Photographs were also taken that year.

According to the antiquities laws in force at the time,⁶ the finds were to be distributed in thirds among the excavators, the state, and the owner of the property. Given their established priority of recovering the altar, in the first division of finds the excavators sought to obtain, where possible, all fragments related to the Gigantomachy and Telephos friezes, leading to further negotiations between the German embassy and the Sublime Porte (the Ottoman authorities). Ultimately, the Berlin Museums were able to acquire all the slabs and other sculptural



Fig. 31. Theater at the Pergamon acropolis during excavation in November 1883, with the terrace and foundation of the Great Altar in the background. Antikensammlung Archiv, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (PM 231/232)

fragments from the altar after the Ottoman Empire agreed to sell its portion of the finds. Shipped back to Germany, the reliefs and other sculptures were displayed temporarily in the Altes Museum, where they triggered immense excitement in archaeological circles and in Berlin society in general. As Humann asserted enthusiastically in his working report, “We have found an entire artistic epoch!”⁷

The success of the first campaign encouraged further study of the acropolis as Pergamon’s religious, political, and cultural center. The Athena sanctuary, on the terrace above the Great Altar, was investigated and excavated, and while searching through rubble from the altar and the Athena terrace a third campaign discovered a large theater, with its own terrace and temple, on the west side of the acropolis (fig. 31). Additional excavations at the top of the hill exposed the royal palace and arsenal, and the upper agora also came to light, identified thanks to an inscription on the base of a water clock. Even Pergamon’s technologically advanced ancient drainage system was studied. In each of these campaigns, Conze took an integrated approach to the excavations. Remains dating through Ottoman times were investigated in addition to those of the ancient ruins, and comprehensive topographic studies were

carried out. The manifold results of these early Pergamon excavations continue to provide valuable study material for modern researchers.

In 1884 a new antiquities ruling took effect. Written primarily by the Ottoman Empire’s curator of antiquities, Osman Hamdi Bey,⁸ the law permitted the export only of fragments that could be joined together. Thus, when four larger portions of the Telephos slabs and one from the larger frieze were found, an unusual arrangement was agreed upon in which the Berlin Museums would send two statues back to Turkey—a hermaphrodite and a Zeus Ammon, both from an earlier division of finds—in exchange for the frieze slabs. With this, the first major excavations in Pergamon by the Berlin Museums ended. Conze went on to become secretary general of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (DAI), and Humann, working under Conze’s successor at the museum, Reinhard Kekulé von Stradonitz (1839–1911), began investigating the site of Magnesia on the Meander, also in western Turkey.

1900–1913

From his new post, Conze pressed for a continuation (or revival) of Pergamon research, championing the publication of the

previous results and convincing Wilhelm Dörpfeld (1853–1940), an architect and archaeologist who had found earlier success in Olympia and Troy, to lead new excavations. These began in 1900 and continued until 1913.⁹ Dörpfeld, whose meticulous and informative excavation journals (fig. 32) were models for his contemporaries and later excavators, uncovered the buildings on the lower part of the acropolis, the Eumenian Gate, the lower agora, and the so-called Attalos House, a sumptuous residence with wall paintings and floor mosaics. He also erected a new excavation headquarters on the ruins of a peristyle house next to the agora and, adjacent to it, built a depot for excavation finds kept on site, the “Market Museum.” The gymnasium, with its sports facilities dating from various periods on three levels, and which had been partially explored in the first campaign, was now investigated further.¹⁰ The nearby Temple of Hera and the Demeter sanctuary, with its stoas and ceremonial staircase, were also uncovered. In addition, the team explored some of the areas surrounding the ancient city, such as the Meter shrine of Mamurt Kale sanctuary (in the Yündağ mountains), which was excavated by Conze and Paul Schazmann (1871–1946).

In 1906 a new law prohibiting the export of antiquities had gone into effect, but a special accord reached between the Sublime Porte and the Berlin Museums in 1899 continued to

provide for an equal division of finds at certain excavations, including Pergamon.¹¹ The outbreak of the First World War and the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, however, brought an end to this era of the excavations.

1927–38

Following the First World War and the ensuing global economic crisis, the Berlin Museums resumed excavations at Pergamon in 1927 under Theodor Wiegand (1864–1936),¹² director of the Berlin Antiquities Departments, assisted by Erich Boehringer (1897–1971). Trial digs were made in the Asklepieion, the shrine dedicated to Asklepios, god of healing, which lay outside the city (fig. 33). With its healing spring, health facilities, theater, and stoas, this shrine, where the influential physician Galen did his initial studies, was widely renowned in Roman times. In addition to those investigations, Schazmann documented the ruins of the “Red Hall” in the modern city of Bergama—a shrine to Egyptian gods, named after the color of its exterior brickwork—as well as the Roman theater and amphitheater there. The arsenal on the crown of the hill was uncovered at this time, as was the heroon (shrine) for the cult of Pergamon’s rulers.

In 1930 the Pergamon Museum in Berlin was formally inaugurated. At the same time, an archaeological museum in

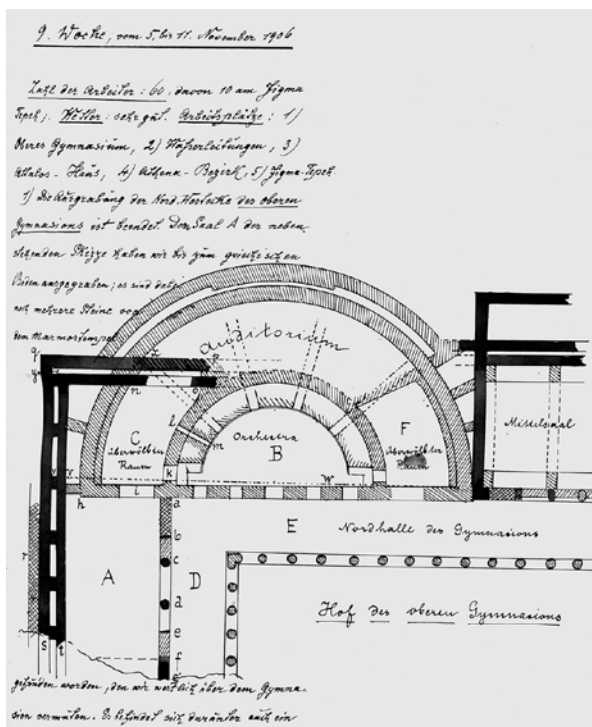


Fig. 32. Excavation diary of Wilhelm Dörpfeld, November 1906, with drawing of upper gymnasium. Antikensammlung Archiv, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (P 91)



Fig. 33. Theodor Wiegand at the Asklepieion theater, Proedrie, 1932. Antikensammlung Archiv, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Perg. 1932,67)



Fig. 34. View of the Trajaneum from the west, after anastylosis. Archive of the Pergamon Excavation, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut

Bergama was opened, financed in part by the German excavations.¹³ After Wiegand's death, direction of the excavation was transferred to the DAI, which remains active there to this day, but in 1938, on the eve of the Second World War, excavations were once again suspended.

1955–71

Excavation resumed at Pergamon in 1955.¹⁴ Erich Boehringer, by then president of the DAI,¹⁵ directed the work until 1968, assisted by Oskar Ziegenaus and Gioia De Luca; Ziegenaus then led the campaign until 1971. After the refurbishment and enlargement of the excavation headquarters, the main goals during this period were the further exploration of the Asklepieion and the search for the so-called Nikephorion, a still-unidentified sanctuary of Athena Nikephoros. Although test excavations in

the Musala Mezarlik, the old Turkish cemetery in the vicinity of the amphitheater, produced no definitive results, Hellenistic structures could be identified in the Asklepieion,¹⁶ and the colonnaded street connecting it to the city, the Via Tecta, was uncovered. Clearance and restoration work was also undertaken on the acropolis.

1972–2004

In 1972 Wolfgang Radt (b. 1940), scientific director of the Istanbul Department of the DAI, took over the excavation, opening a new chapter in the exploration of Pergamon. Beginning in 1973, Radt and his co-workers investigated the ancient residential structures on the acropolis lining the ancient main street above the Demeter sanctuary, especially to the east. The street network was studied, and dwellings as well as the heroon of Diodorus Paspurus were

uncovered. At the same time, the later layers of Byzantine building on top of the ancient ruins were carefully documented. The remains of an archaic city wall were also discovered.

In 1990 research on the Great Altar was resumed as a collaboration between the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin and the Technische Universität Karlsruhe. An exact inventory of its structural elements and a new measurement of the foundation¹⁷ were taken, and in 1994 excavations were made into a few of its foundation chambers. Analysis of ceramic finds confirmed that the altar dates to about 170 B.C.¹⁸ One of the largest monument-protection projects of this period was the partial reconstruction of the Trajaneum under the direction of Klaus Nohlen (b. 1945), completed in 1995 (fig. 34). Portions of the temple and the surrounding stoas were rebuilt, providing visitors with a vivid impression of the elaborate and imposing Roman architecture on the highest spot of Pergamon's acropolis (fig. 35).¹⁹

During the same period, a sizable peristyle house (Building Z) containing valuable mosaics and wall stuccos was enclosed within a protective structure and made accessible to visitors,²⁰ and the Red Hall was studied photogrammetrically, necessitated by the wartime destruction of important documents from earlier surveys. The restoration and partial renovation of a circular structure from the Red Hall was continued by Adolf Hoffmann beginning in 2001 and concluded, after Radt's retirement, under the direction of his successor.²¹

2005–15

Beginning in 2005, excavations at Pergamon have been overseen by Felix Pirson (b. 1968), director of the Istanbul Department of the DAI, assisted by architect Martin Bachmann (b. 1964), who is currently restoring the gymnasium.²² Geodetic measurements of the street network have been carried out using the latest scientific methods, and the entire urban area and its surroundings have been explored, including the harbor of Elaia and the settlement at Atarneus.²³ Nature sanctuaries on the east slope of the acropolis and various necropoleis have also been studied.

Although there is still much to be discovered at Pergamon, especially in the Roman residential quarters, thanks to decades of research the site is one of the most fully investigated metropolises in Asia Minor. Over the course of 138 years of excavation, beginning with the search for the Great Altar, the acropolis has been systematically studied and the Hellenistic and large portions of the Roman buildings investigated and surveyed. Extensive restoration has secured the structures in situ, moreover, making them accessible to visitors and assuring that they will remain an inspiration for future generations.



Fig. 35. View of the acropolis from the south. Archive of the Pergamon Excavation, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut

PERGAMON AND THE ATTALIDS

Volker Kästner

In contrast to the famous coastal cities of ancient Asia Minor—Miletos, Ephesos, and Smyrna—the kingdom of Pergamon lay twenty-five kilometers inland, apart from the major trading routes, in what was then the heavily forested region of Mysia. Pergamon was further isolated by a mountain chain along the coast, the headwaters of the river Kaikos (Bakırçay) to the south, and a generally rugged landscape that would have discouraged overland travel to much of the surrounding territory. To the east, however, there was easier passage by way of Thyateira (Akhisar) to the Hermos Valley and Sardis, capital of the ancient kingdom of Lydia.

In antiquity, the local populace made their living from agriculture, as is still the case today. Olives thrive near the coast to such a degree that the Greek word for olive gave its name to Pergamon's harbor, Elaia. Wine, which is still produced in parts of the Kozak Mountains, was once the chief article of trade for the city of Perperenion, Pergamon's neighbor to the northwest, but it has since been displaced in the region by tobacco, cotton, and vegetables. The tall oak forests of antiquity have similarly disappeared, owing to logging and overgrazing, and given way along the coast to maquis scrub, which has also supplanted the pine trees once found in the higher mountain regions.

Pergamon's acropolis (fig. 36) consists of an andesite massif washed by the mountain streams Selinos (Bergama-Çay) in the west and Ketios (Kestel-Çay) in the east, whose gorges make the hill a natural fortress. In fact, the name Pergamon, a pre-Greek word meaning “castle,” derived from the massif's distinctive position. Only its less steep south slope, especially once terraced, was suitable for habitation.

Although the settlement of the region can be traced archaeologically to the Early Bronze Age (late fourth millennium B.C.), the Greek legend of Telephos, the son of Herakles who became king of Mysia (see cats. 126, 127)—and whose myth

Pergamon's Attalid rulers exploited to enhance their genealogy—places the origin of the settlement in the time of the Trojan War. Certainly, by the beginning of the first millennium B.C., Thraco-Phrygians had migrated into the area and mixed with the indigenous population, and Aeolian Greeks (members of northern and central Greek tribes) were settled along the coast. Greek influence, however, never penetrated far beyond the immediate coastal region, at most providing representatives of an upper class to the adjacent settlements of the hinterland. Early Greek ceramics and Late Archaic roof terracottas of the Lydian type indicate that Pergamon's acropolis was inhabited at this time.

The town is first mentioned in historical sources in the *Anabasis* of Xenophon, the Greek adventurer who led a mercenary force deep into Persia. On its return march from the East, in 399 B.C., Xenophon's army, the “Ten Thousand,” passed through Pergamon. Xenophon tells of the widow and sons of



Fig. 36. Acropolis of Pergamon and modern town, view from the west. Watercolor on paper by M. Koch, 1866



Fig. 37. Temple and altar, Sanctuary of Demeter, Pergamon

Gongylos, a Greek from Euboea who had placed himself under the protection of the Persian king during the earlier Greco-Persian Wars, and of a raid on nearby Persian estates.¹

Persian domination of Mysia ended with the triumphal advance of Alexander the Great. Pergamon became Macedonian, and it was chosen to serve as the residence of Barsine, the wife of a defeated Persian general, with whom Alexander sired a son. It was probably during this period that the Temple of Athena was erected on the acropolis, as yet the oldest structure in Pergamon whose shape can be reconstructed. The hill town took on political importance during the time of struggles among the Diadochi (or Successors) after Alexander's death. The Macedonian general Lysimachos advanced to become king of Thrace and, beginning in 301 B.C., brought Mysia under his rule. He placed his war booty, totaling nine thousand talents of silver, in Pergamon's hilltop fortress and installed his retainer Philetairos as its guardian.²

Born in Tieion, on the Black Sea, Philetairos was the son of a Macedonian father and a Paphlagonian mother. In 282 B.C., he rose up against his former lord and defected to the rival general Seleukos, who had gained control over Alexander's far eastern territories. Lysimachos fell to Seleukos at the Battle of Koroupedion, but the victor was murdered shortly afterward. This gave Philetairos the unique opportunity, thanks to astute political maneuvering with Seleukos's heir and a considerable sum of "start-up capital," to put together his own dominion in northwestern Asia Minor. He was the founder of the Attalid dynasty, named after his father, Attalos, which subsequently managed to dominate an important expanse of Asia Minor with Pergamon as its seat.³

Gifts were routinely employed by Hellenistic rulers to better their reputations and gain political influence, and thanks to generous donations, Philetairos acquired the favor of the nearby Greek cities of Aigai and Pitane as well as Kyzikos, on the Sea of Marmara. He used gifts not only to consolidate his newly won position but also to enlarge the existing settlement of Pergamon, where he regularized the streets of the residential areas in accordance with contemporary practice in urban design and erected a new city wall. In addition, inscriptions document two sacred complexes as Philetairos's foundations: the temple and altar of the Sanctuary of Demeter, in the south of the city (fig. 37), and the Sanctuary of Meter Theon at Mamurt Kale, on the highest peak of the Yündağ mountain chain. The construction of the Demeter terrace and the up-to-date layout of Mamurt Kale, where the Temple of Meter was positioned on the central axis of a symmetrical enclosure of stoas, were important engineering achievements. These structures, however, were still relatively simple and built primarily of the local andesite. A hard local tufa was employed for most of the capitals and architectural ornaments. On the Temple of Demeter, and somewhat later on the Asklepieion, outside the city walls, imported marble—for the first time verifiable at Pergamon—was used for the entablature friezes and possibly the column capitals as well. It came from a place with which the Attalids always maintained close and friendly relations, the island of Prokonnesos in the Sea of Marmara, controlled by the city of Kyzikos. Under the Attalids and into Roman imperial times, Pergamon was one of the chief consumers of Prokonnesian marble.



Fig. 38. Palm-leaf capital from the Sanctuary of Demeter

Regardless of material, the architectural ornamentation of Philetairos's structures was distinctive. On the colonnades of the Demeter sanctuary, traditional chalice-shaped, palm-leaf capitals were employed (fig. 38), whereas on the temple's marble frieze a contemporary Hellenistic decorative element, the garland swag, made its appearance. This deliberate blend of traditional and innovative decorative motifs would become a characteristic of Attalid architecture in Pergamon. A further feature, perhaps dating back to Philetairos, was the imposing dynastic donor inscription. Under the Attalids, Pergamon had its own municipal administration, to be sure, in which its rulers rarely intervened, but all the known public buildings were royal foundations and, as such, bore the Attalids' names. In this way, the dynasty engaged in the same euergetism (philanthropy) displayed with political calculation by other Hellenistic rulers. Honorary statues were also erected at this time to members of the dynasty, persons close to it, or especially deserving priestesses of Athena.

Since Philetairos had no offspring, he adopted Eumenes, his brother's son, to ensure the continuation of the family's reign. As Pergamon's ruler, Eumenes I (r. 263–241 B.C.) managed to expand his sway in the north as far as Adramytteion (Edremit) and to the south along the Gulf of Elaia as far as Myrina, though the coastal cities remained free. He ended dependency on the Seleucids and began, as an obvious sign of increasing self-importance, to place the portrait of Philetairos on Pergamon's coins as the heroicized founder of the Attalid dynasty. These coin portraits make it possible to securely identify a marble bust in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples, as Philetairos (cat. 25). With but one exception, his would remain the sole portrait of an Attalid in the Hellenistic coinage of Pergamon. According to the sources, it was by this time, at the latest, that the cult of Asklepios was brought to Pergamon from Epidauros by a certain Archias. The Asklepieion—established southwest of the city in a low area featuring springs, and on the site of an earlier, prehistoric cult—soon developed into the city's most important suburban shrine.

From early on, Eumenes was forced to protect his lands from ravaging and plundering by the Galatians—a Celtic tribe that had migrated to Asia Minor as mercenaries—by paying them tribute. It was only his successor, Attalos I (r. 241–197 B.C.), who would manage to defeat the Galatians (sometimes called

Gauls) in a battle at the source of the Kaikos. The liberation from danger was gratefully acknowledged by the Greek coastal cities, and Attalos was given the honorary title Soter (Savior). Outside the city, he founded a sanctuary to Athena Nikephoros, the “victory bearer.” This new epithet indicates that Pergamon's municipal goddess had now evolved into the patron deity of the Attalids. Her central sanctuary in Pergamon's royal palace precinct on the acropolis was redesigned at this time to receive major honorary monuments (fig. 39). Impressive bronze statues, known today from the fragments of their marble bases with dedicatory inscriptions, proclaimed the military successes of the king and his army, while in the center of the square *temenos* (sacred enclosure) a round monument to the battle at the headwaters of the Kaikos was erected, whose inscription for the first time referred to Attalos by his new title, *basileus* (king). Victory monuments were also set up in a long row in front of the south wall of the *temenos* along the route from a new entrance structure. Of these, statues of defeated Gauls—the Ludovisi Gaul and the Dying Gaul (cat. 97)—are preserved in Roman copies. The most famous depictions of Celts from antiquity, they document the distinctive style of this major votive gift of Attalos. Indeed, it was at this time, in response to the need of its kings for imposing display, that Pergamon began to develop into a center for the visual arts.⁴

The victory over the Gauls brought increased political importance to the Attalid empire, but over time relationships with its neighbors proved unstable. A series of both successes

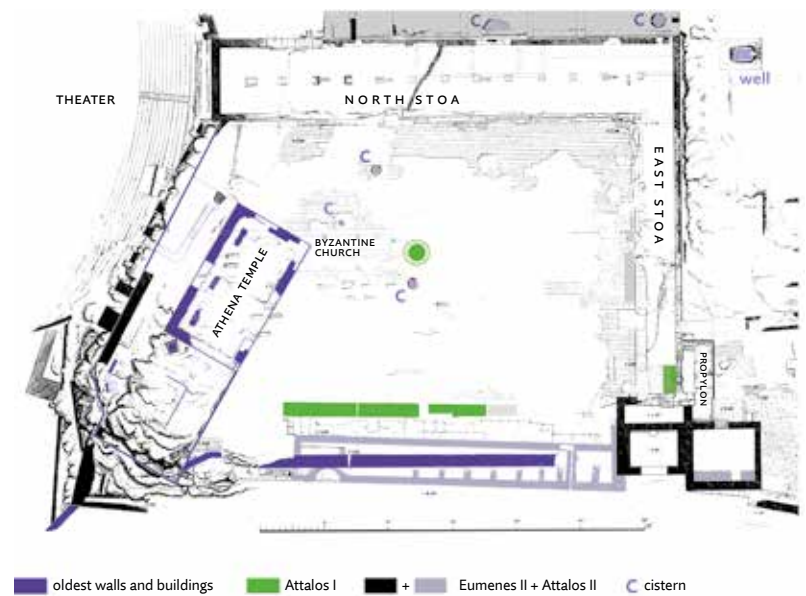


Fig. 39. Plan of the Sanctuary of Athena (AvP II, pl. III, modified by the author)

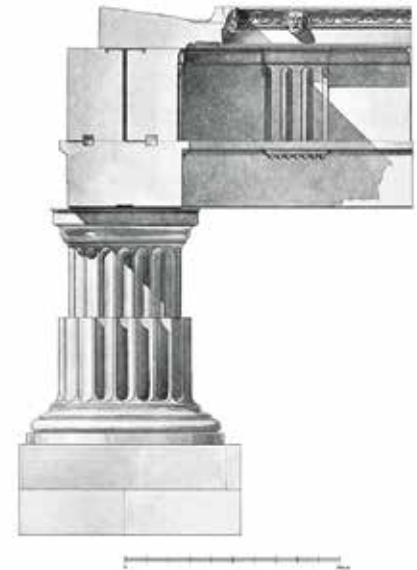
and defeats against the Seleucids made clear that there were few opportunities to expand Pergamon's territory in the east. Attalos therefore turned his attention to the west. He formed an alliance with the Aetolian League, which in cooperation with Rome fought the Macedonian king Philip V, an ally of Hannibal, Rome's bitter enemy. Thus Pergamon became an ally of Rome, sent troops for support, and purchased the island of Aegina from the Aetolians as a base for its fleet. When an oracle advised the Romans to establish a cult of the mother goddess of Asia Minor, Attalos presented them with the cult image of Kybele from Pessinous. This suggests that good relations had meanwhile been developed with the Galatian priesthood based there. In further battles both at sea and on land in Thrace and Asia Minor, Philip V sought to expand his rule at the cost of the Pergamenians and the Rhodians allied with Rome. Attalos did not live to see the final victory of this coalition against Philip at Kynoskephalai in Thessaly in 197 B.C.

Attalos married Apollonis from Kyzikos, who gave him four sons: Eumenes, Attalos, Philetairos, and Athenaios. The family bond in this generation was especially close. The ancient historians Livy and Polybius praise the queen's motherly love and the family harmony among the Attalid siblings, as contrasted with the rivalries in contemporary Hellenistic royal families. Apollonis enjoyed numerous honors and was even given a cult shrine in her native town. Her son Attalos erected a statue to her in Pergamon, of which a round inscribed base survives. The construction of the Sanctuary of Zeus with a small marble temple in the Upper Market (fig. 40) and new buildings in the Asklepieion also dates from the time of Attalos I. Foundations in Delos and Delphi must also be mentioned. At the latter's Sanctuary of Apollo, an entirely new terrace with a columned hall and honorary monuments was constructed as an annex to the old *temenos*.

Above all, the Attalids maintained close relations with Athens, the undisputed spiritual center of ancient Hellenism. Under Eumenes I there had been contacts with Plato's Academy, and later Attalos I donated a "philosophers' garden" there, called the *Lakydaion* after Lakydes, the head of the school at the time. Ties originally based on cultural interests, such as philosophy, would later assume a definite political character. Ultimately the Athenians honored Attalos by naming one of their phylai, or citizen units, after him and adding his portrait to the statues of phylai heroes in the agora.

The Pergamenian empire experienced its greatest flowering and extent under Eumenes II (r. 197–159 B.C.) and his brother Attalos II (r. 159–138 B.C.). Early in this period Rome was exerting new influence in Greece and forming strategic alliances. Eumenes

Fig. 40. Pergamenian-style elements from the Temple of Zeus in the Upper Market (detail of AvP III.1, pl. XXXIII)



supported the Romans and Achaeans with ships and troops in their wars against the Spartan king Nabis. In return, he could hope for Roman assistance in his dealings with Antiochos III, ruler of the Seleucid empire, in Asia Minor. His brother Attalos was constantly involved in military campaigns and in diplomatic missions to Rome. In a decisive battle near Magnesia ad Sipylum (Manisa) in 190 B.C., Romans and Pergamenians were at last able to defeat Antiochos, who was in league with the Galatians, for good. In later battles, with Roman support Attalos successfully brought an end to the Galatians' marauding in the countryside, and they were finally forced to withdraw beyond the Halys River (Kızılırmak). Pergamene ships helped the Romans transport their immense Galatian booty.

In the subsequent negotiations between Rome and Antiochos, Eumenes successfully represented Pergamene interests, to the extent that with the Peace of Apamea, in 188 B.C., Pergamon became the leading power in Asia Minor. Its territory now extended to the east as far as the borders of Cappadocia. The only areas excluded were Caria and Lycia, to the south, and a few coastal cities to the west that had not affiliated themselves with Antiochos. On the south coast, the port of Telmessos (Fethiye) was part of Pergamon's zone, and in the north the former possessions of the Seleucids in Thrace. Eumenes soon established friendly relations with Cappadocia—Ariarathes IV gave him his daughter Stratonike in marriage—and the Pergamenians helped with peace negotiations with the Romans.

The Attalids' major territorial expansion cannot obscure the fact that their dependency on Rome had increased. There were still problems with bordering Bithynia in the north and with the Galatians. It was only in 183 B.C. that these struggles could be ended victoriously, and Eumenes assumed the title *Soter* (Savior). Once again the Roman Senate ruled in favor of the Attalids in territorial disputes, so that Galatia came under their suzerainty.

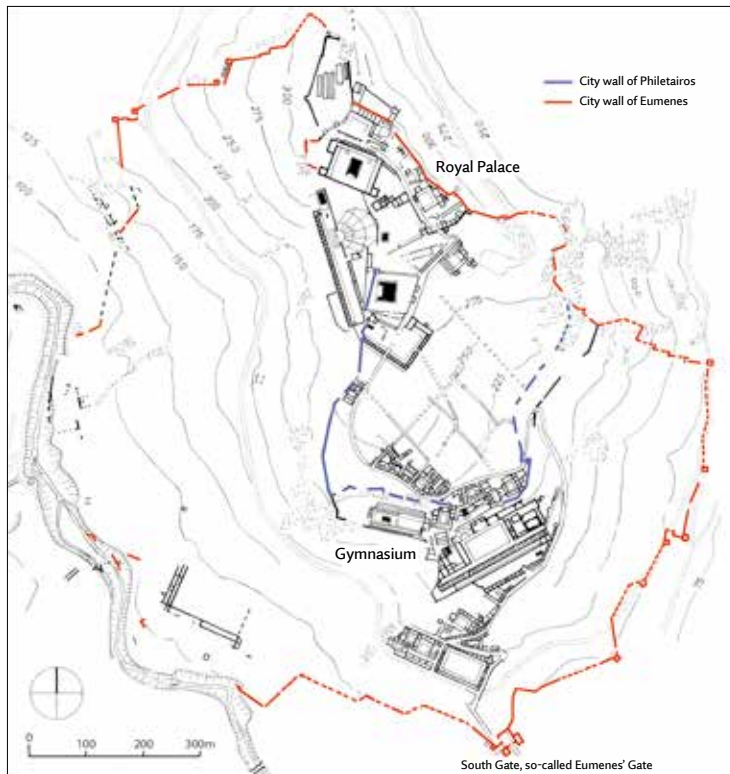


Fig. 41. Pergamon as expanded and rebuilt by Eumenes II

This led to conflicts with the bordering kingdom of Pontos, however, in which the Roman Senate played a dubious role, but with the help of his Cappadocian father-in-law, Eumenes was also able to settle that conflict in his favor in 179 B.C.

Early in his reign, probably after the Peace of Apamea, Eumenes launched an extensive rebuilding program in Pergamon that would transform the city (fig. 41). With a considerably enlarged ring of city walls roughly four kilometers in length, he expanded the town's area from twelve to ninety hectares, allowing for major new public structures. The central sanctuary to Athena was redesigned and provided with two-story stoas with marble facades in the north and east. Marble panels picturing captured weapons decorated the upper stories (see cat. 109a, b). The entrance was formed by a propylon, now reconstructed in the Pergamon Museum in Berlin, with relief panels depicting Athena in various mythical scenes. According to the architrave inscription, the entire building complex, an architectural victory monument, was dedicated by the king to Athena Nikephoros (fig. 42).

With the building of the new wall and redesign of the Athena sanctuary, Pergamon's acropolis began to be transformed into a royal residence, and in the following decades the entire settlement area was turned into a building site. Ruins of the buildings dating from this Hellenistic flowering determine the appearance of the acropolis to this day. Adjoining the two-aisle north stoa of the Athena sanctuary, on the upper floor at the back,



Fig. 42. Propylon of Eumenes II from the Sanctuary of Athena

were rooms that are believed to have housed the storied Library of Pergamon (fig. 43). This new amenity was evidence of the passionate cultural engagement of the Pergamene dynasty, which always considered itself a champion of Greek culture in Asia Minor. Scholars such as the Stoic Krates of Mallos arrived to study Homeric and other prized texts, following the famous precedent of the scholarly community at the Mouseion of Alexandria. Part of the library complex was a large cult room in which stood a marble copy of the Athena Parthenos, a third smaller than the original in Athens but still colossal (cat. 39). Here the goddess was venerated as the patron of philosophy and the visual arts. Indeed, the Sanctuary of Athena came to hold numerous marble sculptures, in addition to bronze victory monuments added by Eumenes. Among the marble works was the Prometheus Group (cat. 110a–c), an ensemble of three statuettes subsequently placed in the sanctuary's north stoa. Fragments of Archaic marble sculptures, copies of Classical works, and statue bases inscribed with famous sculptors' names suggest that a virtual museum was established, mainly with war booty. Immediately adjacent to the acropolis gate there was a shrine in a vaulted room in which the sculptures of Kybele (cat. 64) and Attis (cat. 65) found nearby may have stood (fig. 44).

Unfortunately, the excavators of the residential buildings in the royal precinct to date have found only the foundation walls. To judge from their size, the Attalids' royal dwellings do not compare with the extensive palace complexes of Pella



Fig. 43. Model of the upper city of Pergamon with the Sanctuary of Athena

or Alexandria. In accordance with the “bourgeois” self-image of the dynasty, they are more reminiscent of the homes of well-to-do Hellenistic citizens. Even so, excavations did uncover fragments of precious mosaic floors and stucco wall decoration. Pergamon was famous in antiquity for its mosaicists. According to Pliny the Elder, both the “unswept floor” (*asarotos oikos*), a motif repeatedly copied in Roman banquet rooms—and the model for the Musei Capitolini’s dove mosaic, renowned for its trompe l’oeil realism—were inventions of the Pergamenian artist Sosos. The excavated mosaic floors in the palaces reveal how tiny blocks of stone and glazed terracotta cones were employed to achieve effects of perspective and shading much like those in contemporary paintings. The detailed center panels were usually created separately, using especially small tesserae, then incorporated into more crudely worked ornamental frames. On the center panel of the banquet hall floor in Pergamon’s Palace V, the artist’s signature survives, proclaiming his achievement: the mosaic depicts a label, seemingly attached to the floor with sealing wax but with a corner already lifting up, bearing the name Hephaestion (see cat. 36). According to the excavators’ notes, the rooms and stoas of the Sanctuary of Athena must also have been adorned with precious mosaics.

In the palace interiors, the wainscoting was executed in white and dark blue marble with niches, and the walls were stucco in various colors. To judge from the excavators’ finds, the wall surfaces could also have been ornamented with cornice



Fig. 44. Possible shrine of Kybele and Attis near the acropolis gate

moldings, ornamental friezes, and even small stucco reproductions of architecture. Architectural ornament in Pergamon throughout the Hellenistic era and into the time of the early Roman Empire was detailed and playful, rococo-like in its reliance on botanical and figural motifs.

The above-mentioned rebuilding under Eumenes II was by no means limited to the upper acropolis area, with its arsenals, workshops, barracks, palace structures, and the central Athena sanctuary. Below the palace precinct, in a square space visible from afar, a terrace was created for the Great Altar—the supreme expression of Attalid dynastic ideology and to this day the city’s most famous Hellenistic monument (see the essay “The Pergamon Altar: Architecture, Sculpture, and Meaning” in this volume). Based on archaeological and architectural evidence, the altar was most likely dedicated to Zeus and erected as a central monument of the new residence in the second quarter of the second century B.C. It stood adjacent to the *temenos* of Zeus, to the south, which was now expanded into the Upper Market. On the western slope of the acropolis a large theater with a terrace in front and the Temple of Dionysos were constructed, and on the south slope the magnificent cascade of terraces for the large gymnasium with an additional marble temple. Finally, a new lower commercial market was created near the main gate in the city wall.

The Pergamenians now took great efforts to improve their water supply, since the system of springs, cisterns, and a clay-

pipe conduit from the Selinos Valley, probably installed under Attalos I, was no longer adequate. The conduit was itself a remarkable piece of technology, running through the valley, nearly five hundred feet deep, in front of the northern tip of the acropolis, with a pressure line of stone pipes. One of the new conduits led from springs in the distant Madradağ Mountains to a reservoir north of the acropolis. From there it continued through the valley and up to the palace precinct at the top of the hill as a high-pressure line of lead pipes fastened to the ground with stones, unquestionably a masterpiece of ancient hydraulic engineering (fig. 45).

In 182 B.C., Eumenes revived the festival games of the Nikephoria, which were likened to the Panhellenic festivals at Delphi and Olympia. The sacred grove of Athena Nikephoros outside the city, laid to waste by Philip V, was splendidly restored (the geographer Strabo expressly refers to it in his description of Pergamon) and along with the Asklepieion survived well into Roman imperial times; however, its location is unknown today. Under Eumenes, the Asklepieion was linked to the city by a sacred way and underwent major expansion and new temple building.

Finally, it should be noted that local craftsmanship expanded greatly at this time. In the Ketios Valley, outside the city, an extensive ceramics quarter was discovered during dam construction. Evidently terracotta figures and various types of Hellenistic ceramics—from kitchenware to the more elaborate drinking vessels with applied clay reliefs that were a Pergamene specialty (see cats. 90, 91)—were produced there in great quantities.

With its ever-increasing political importance, the Attalid court became a major cultural patron in the eastern Mediterranean. Philetairos and Attalos I had already made donations outside Pergamon, and the latter's sons were considerably more active, intensifying cultural contacts with Athens. Eumenes II and his brothers participated in the Panathenaia and erected magnificent stoas and pillared monuments in the city. The material used in the building of the two-story stoa to the south of the Athenian Acropolis, donated by Eumenes II, was imported from Asia Minor and worked by stonemasons schooled in Pergamon.

After the death of Philip V, his son Perseus (see cat. 151) continued his anti-Pergamon policies and organized an assassination attempt in which Eumenes was badly wounded near Delphi. Paradoxically, the only slight successes against Perseus in the Third Macedonian War led the Romans to suspect that Eumenes was conspiring with Macedonia behind their backs. The Roman Senate felt that Pergamon had grown too powerful, and relations with the kingdom worsened. When Eumenes sent Attalos to Rome to seek its support against a renewed uprising of the Galatians in 168/167 B.C., the Senate intrigued to drive a



Fig. 45. Stone braces that supported water pipes serving the acropolis of Pergamon

wedge between the brothers in the hope that Eumenes, if left alone, would succumb to the Celtic attack. Attalid family loyalty could not be shaken, however, and even the Greeks of Asia Minor recognized that help in the face of the Celtic threat could be found only among the Pergamenians. Without Roman help, in 166 B.C. Eumenes managed to defeat the Galatians in Phrygia with an army of mercenaries. The grateful Greek cities of Asia Minor heaped honors on the victor, and monuments were once again erected in Pergamon. In the last years of his reign Eumenes named his brother Attalos co-regent.

In 159 B.C., Attalos II assumed the throne at the age of sixty-one. He was primarily concerned with acceding to the wishes of the Romans. Nonetheless, Rome's hesitant stance toward Pergamon led to the attacks by King Prousius II of Bithynia that placed Pergamon in dire straits. The enemy got as far as the city walls and ravaged the surrounding shrines. The grove of Athena Nikephoros was again destroyed, and the famous statue of Asklepios by the Attic bronze caster Phryomachos was stolen. The conflict ended only with the murder of Prousius in 149 B.C. and the accession of his son Nikomedes. In 146 B.C., a Pergamene contingent took part in the Roman conquest of Corinth, and accordingly a portion of the Corinthian war booty found its way to Pergamon. There Attalos continued the numerous building projects begun by his brother and brought them to completion. Among his own foundations in Pergamon were the Temple of

Hera above the gymnasium. He also built stoas in Athens and Termessos. His stoa along the east side of the Athenian Agora, which has been reconstructed by American archaeologists as a museum (fig. 46), impressively exhibits the type of two-aisle, multistory stoa architecture developed in Pergamon. On the south coast of Asia Minor, Attalos founded the city of Attaleia (Antalya), which would become an important port.

Likely another of his gifts to Athens was the so-called Little Donation of the Attalids on the Acropolis. Following the pattern set at Pergamon's Athena sanctuary, groups of statues were placed in a row along the Acropolis's south wall. Extending to a length of nearly five hundred feet all together, they depicted the mythical battles against giants (cat. 100c) and Amazons (cat. 100a) as well as the historical struggles against the Persians (cat. 99) and Galatians (cat. 100b). These bronze statues were somewhat smaller than lifesize but must have been very effective grouped against an open landscape. In that politically significant location, they illustrated the Attalids' self-image as defenders of Greek culture against the barbarians.

According to the ancient sources, the last of the dynasty's rulers, Attalos III (r. 138–133 B.C.), was a somewhat problematic personality who lived in retirement and was considered pathologically suspicious. Interested primarily in zoological and botanical studies, he wrote a treatise on agricultural cultivation

methods that was later admired and quoted. He eventually turned to sculpture and is said to have died of sunstroke suffered while he was working on a tomb monument for his mother. There are no known foundations from his brief reign, although a statue was erected to him in the Temple of Asklepios and a gilt equestrian monument near Pergamon's Prytaneion.

In a realistic assessment of the power relationships affecting Pergamon, the last Attalos bequeathed his empire—a most unusual act in antiquity—to the Romans. At first this led to quarrels in the Senate, and in Asia Minor it incited Aristonikos of Ephesos, who posed as an illegitimate son of Eumenes II, to lead an insurrection. Rome had difficulty putting down the uprising, even though larger cities such as Pergamon did not allow themselves to be drawn into the revolt. Asia Minor was finally pacified under Manius Aquillius, and a part of the Pergamene empire was declared the province of Asia; its Roman governor soon moved his seat from Pergamon to the port city of Ephesos. Pergamon continued to be a cultural center, however, and was the first city in the province to receive a temple for the cult of the emperor. And while Pergamon remained a highly valued health resort in Roman imperial times thanks to the Asklepieion (fig. 47), with its famous school of medicine, the city forever lost its political importance with the end of the Attalid dynasty.⁵



Fig. 46. Stoa of Attalos II in the Athenian Agora



Fig. 47. Model of Pergamon's Asklepieion in Roman times

COMMEMORATIONS OF VICTORY: ATTALID MONUMENTS TO THE DEFEAT OF THE GALATIANS

Massimiliano Papini

The late-born Titans from the farthest West will rush on like snowflakes.

—Kallimachos, *Hymn to Delos*

The third century B.C. marked the limit of expansion by the Celtic peoples—they were also known as the Galatians, or Gauls, as the Romans called them—from homelands in Central Europe toward the south and east. Their advance in the Balkans was halted in the winter of 279 B.C. by the allied defenders of Greece, who viewed the invaders as the latest in a line of barbarians to attack Hellenic liberty. Having overwhelmed the Greeks at Thermopylae, the Gallic chieftain Brennos and his army pressed on, hoping to take the Sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi. Here the Gauls were driven off in a battle that took on mythical and supernatural significance, as a great thunderstorm came up, said to have been orchestrated by Apollo himself with Artemis and Athena. Contemporaries held the victorious defense on a par with Greek heroism during the Greco-Persian Wars, and monuments, statues, and ceremonies abounded in commemoration. The architraves of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi were decorated with Gallic shields dedicated by the Aetolians, who had played a major part in the rout. Statues depicting the Aetolian generals with Apollo, Artemis, and Athena were erected, as was, according to the traveler and writer Pausanias, a “trophy,” or war memorial, displaying “the image of an armed woman, supposed to represent Aetolia” atop a hexagonal base with three steps.¹ The Gauls and their unprecedented brutality would not be forgotten, especially the way they had slaughtered the people of Kallion, near Delphi, even “children at their mothers’ breasts,” Pausanias went on, so that “every woman who chanced to find a Gallic sword” courageously killed herself rather than submit.² Henceforth, as the Successor kingdoms of the Hellenistic era looked for ways to legitimize their position as heirs to the

empire of Alexander the Great, victories over the Gauls would be exploited to show off the charismatic power and dynastic prestige of the Hellenistic sovereigns and to present them as guardians of Greek identity.

From 240 B.C. onward, the Celts who had reached Asia Minor, now joined together in a Galatian federation based in northern Phrygia, plundered willfully and served as mercenaries. Often interfering in Hellenistic affairs of state, they were subject to frequent reprisals by Attalos I of Pergamon, who protected his city’s northern territories with military might. His victories over the Gauls earned Attalos the title of *basileus* (king) and the appellation Soter (Savior). They furthermore shaped a foundation myth for the Attalid dynasty that was celebrated in several monuments at Pergamon and beyond, including at the sanctuaries of Apollo at Delphi and Delos. In the first century A.D., the people of Pergamon resisted in vain as Romans under Nero’s orders stripped “signa et tabulae” (statues and paintings) from conquered provinces in Greece and Asia. It is thought that sculpture groups celebrating the wars Attalos and his successor, Eumenes II, waged against the Gauls—by artists such as Epigonos, Phyromachos, Stratonikos, and Antigonos, as recorded by Pliny the Elder—were among the works unceremoniously sent off to Rome, first to adorn Nero’s Domus Aurea, and then the Temple of Peace built by Vespasian.³

The Sanctuary of Athena Nikephoros at Pergamon served as a principal site of Attalid commemoration of victory over the Gauls and other foes. At its center stands a monumental circular pedestal (3.2 meters in diameter, 2.48 meters high), with three steps and a slightly conical upper surface, that was inscribed with Attalos I’s dedication to the goddess for a victory, early in his reign, over the Tolistoagian tribe of Galatians near the source of the river Kaikos.⁴ On the south side of the sanctuary, another monument to Athena, built in 223–222 B.C., stood on

an elongated base 1 meter high, 1.1 meters deep, and divided into sections, possibly eight, each about 2.4 meters wide. The six extant inscriptions from this base accompanied statues that commemorated a series of battles, beginning with that at the river Kaikos against the Tolistoagians, followed by those against Antiochos Hierax, and, finally, against the combined forces of the Lycian dynasty of Phrygia and the generals of Seleukos III.

The rectangular base bore an inscription naming the sculptor of its bronze statues: Epigonos, the same artist to whom Pliny attributes two works famous in his day, the “Trumpeter” (*tubicen*) and the “Weeping Child Pitifully Caressing Its Murdered Mother.”⁵ The latter was in the tradition of a fourth-century B.C. painting by Aristides of Thebes, an artist so adept at depicting emotion as to have painted a child in a defeated city crawling to the breast of his dying mother, she fearing her milk has dried up and that her baby will suck blood.⁶ We can at best glimpse Epigonos’s group with the dying mother today through its echo in the figure of a Dead Amazon from the Lesser Attalid Dedication on the Athenian Acropolis (cat. 100a).⁷ Epigonos’s Trumpeter, however, is almost certainly replicated in two marble copies discovered in Rome: a fragmentary example now in the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden, that may have been excavated in the area of Piazza di San Gregorio,⁸ and the Dying Gaul in Rome’s Musei Capitolini, likely to have come from the Horti Sallustiani (cat. 97; fig. 48).

Another copy in marble, the so-called Ludovisi Gaul, or “Gaul Killing Himself and His Wife” (fig. 49), pertaining to the same original monument as the Trumpeter, may also come from



Fig. 48. Dying Gaul (cat. 97)

Fig. 49. Ludovisi Gaul. Roman, Late Republican or Imperial period, 1st century B.C.–early 2nd century A.D.; copy of a Hellenistic bronze statue of ca. 230–220 B.C. Asiatic marble, H. 83⅞ in. (211 cm). Museo Nazionale–Palazzo Altemps, Rome

the Horti Sallustiani.⁹ The work, slightly larger than lifesize, privileges two points of view, from the front and from the Gaul’s right, and indeed the inclined plinth is finished only on those two sides. The Gaul’s dynamic pose, legs spread apart, draws the viewer’s attention toward the focal point of the composition above, following an oblique line from the right leg to the raised head, which is turned so far to the right as to make the face visible only in profile. Viewed from the front, the figure reveals the purpose of its tension and energy: the Gaul is violently stabbing himself in the breast¹⁰ while his limp wife hangs on his left arm. The dramatic moment is underscored by the figure’s musculature, which is more pronounced than that of the Dying Gaul. The oval shields of both the Ludovisi Gaul and the Dying Gaul rest on the ground, signaling their defeat. In Kallimachos’s *Hymn to Delos*—celebrating the victory over the sacrilegious Gauls at Delphi by Ptolemy II Philadelphos, who suppressed a mutiny of Galatian mercenaries in Egypt in 276–75 B.C.—Apollo





Fig. 50. Reconstruction of Gauls on a cylindrical base, Sanctuary of Athena, Pergamon (Schober 1936)

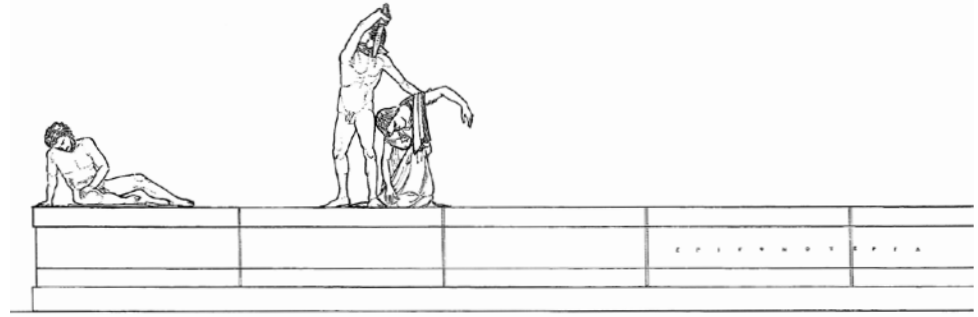


Fig. 51. Reconstruction of Gauls on a rectangular base, Sanctuary of Athena, Pergamon (Künzl 1971)

prophecies that the Gallic shields will become votive offerings, both to himself, at Delphi, and in Egypt. They will be “the prizes of a king who labored much,” for as Kallimachos depicts them, the Gauls were a veritable moving forest of weapons, personified by their swords, military belts, and, especially, their shields.¹¹

Leaving aside improbable attempts to attribute the original bronzes of defeated Gauls reflected in the large-scale copies (see figs. 48, 49) to Attalos I’s terrace at Delphi, and even more the interpretation of the marble pieces as Roman works evoking Pergamon “in the grand manner,”¹² we might instead consider the debate that began in the mid-twentieth century about where the originals were placed at Pergamon. Did they stand on the circular pedestal, with the Ludovisi Gaul as the centerpiece (fig. 50),¹³ or on the rectangular base (fig. 51)?¹⁴ There are weak points in the arguments on both sides because the archaeological evidence is both scarce and ambiguous, but the matter is important, for it is linked to the question of how visitors to the Sanctuary of Athena in the third and second centuries B.C. perceived the sculptures and their staging, as well as to modern interpretations of their significance.

The hypothesis that these works, slightly larger than lifesize, were displayed on the rectangular base and made by Epigonos remains in favor today despite the discovery of what appears to be an imprint of a lifesize horse’s hoof on a surviving slab of the base.¹⁵ Other difficulties remain as well, for of the approximately eighteen statues formerly belonging to the long base, we can identify just two and propose at most a few others based on, for example, the head of the Dying Persian and the “dying” barbarian woman in Rome’s Museo Palatino (cat. 98a, b). Indeed, we don’t know whether the statues represented only the defeated Gauls and not the victors, as scholars have often too hastily assumed, convinced that ancient viewers would have been able to see the winning side in their imagination. The circular pedestal, for its part, was rare in the Hellenistic period,

although it was used at Miletos to support a gilded statue of Eumenes II dedicated in 167–166 B.C. in a precinct honoring the ruler. In the case of the Sanctuary of Athena, we could imagine an Athena standing at the center, or war trophies, or both.¹⁶

The Gaul Killing Himself, whether belonging to the circular or long base, has presented a further puzzle. It is a powerful and tragic image, and like the Murdered Mother, clearly made by someone skilled at evoking emotions: is this a monument to human suffering, to the tragedy of war that brings even the bravest to ruin, and thus a model of pure heroism?¹⁷ Or does it merely exemplify a lack of restraint?¹⁸

Keeping in mind the statue’s context—the Sanctuary of Athena and the celebration of Attalid victory—the Gaul Killing Himself surely represents the topos of the excessive violence of a fighter in his prime, and the theme of irrational despair (*aponoia*) and panic among barbarians in wars of annihilation, leading to the slaughter of their own women and children.¹⁹ There would be no pity for the defeated before the overwhelming superiority of the victors. It is inconceivable that the people of Pergamon would have burst into tears when faced with such images, as the Romans did during the triumph of Julius Caesar in 46 B.C. when shown paintings of the suicides of his adversaries, Quintus Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio Nasica, Marcus Petreius, and Cato the Younger.²⁰ Those men, however, were victims of civil wars and “domestic ills,” political martyrs. While at the Stoa Poikile in the Athenian Agora, built in the fifth century B.C., a painting of the Battle of Marathon showed the Persians—the original “barbarian” foe—in the ignoble grip of panic, fleeing wildly and pushing one another into the swamps.²¹

The Attalids maintained close relations with Athens after 200 B.C., closer than that of any other Hellenistic dynasty. From the days of Alexander, the Athenian Acropolis had been a privileged locus for the memory of wars with Persia. Alexander celebrated his first great victory over the Persians, at the

Granikos River in 334 b.c., by sending three hundred enemy shields and sets of armor to the Acropolis. Fourteen holes below the metopes on the east side of the Parthenon are thought to indicate where the shields were hung. The Attalids themselves were honored in Athens by a sequence of pillars built at key points along the route of the Panathenaic procession: near the Dipylon, in the Agora facing Attalos II's stoa and in front of the far west side of the Middle Stoa, and most significantly at the entrance to the Acropolis and near the northeast corner of the Parthenon. Nearby, at the south wall of the Acropolis, one of the Attalids also dedicated a set of sculpture groups consisting of a Gigantomachy, an Attic Amazonomachy, and depictions of the Battle of Marathon and the massacre (*phthora*) of the Gauls in Mysia.²²

This so-called Lesser Attalid Dedication on the Athenian Acropolis can be reconstructed from the blocks of Pentelic marble that made up its four bases (overall 124 meters long and about 1.8 meters high), which once supported approximately 130 bronze figures, including some on horseback. Certain of the bronze originals seem to have been reproduced in at least ten marble statues of the wounded and dead in two-thirds scale, which once decorated a building in Rome's Campus Martius (see cats. 99, 100a–c). We can't be certain which Attalos is the one Pausanias refers to in connection with this monument, however. Was it Attalos I who dedicated the gift, on the occasion of one of his many visits to Athens between 200 and 198 b.c., during the turbulent years of war against the Macedonians?²³ Or was it Attalos II, as part of one of the multiple Pergamene donations made from the time his older brother and co-regent Eumenes II had come to the throne?²⁴ The second possibility cannot be ruled out, for the colossi of Eumenes II and Attalos II may have stood in topographical proximity.²⁵ The heads of the copies from the Lesser Attalid Dedication show a growing emotional expressiveness, and the treatment of the hair and beard (the length and consistency of the locks, for example, which tend to curl) is quite different from that of both figures of the Gauls mentioned above; the copies from the group are closer overall, formally and temporally, to the figures on the Great Altar of Pergamon. And while it is true that Hellenistic art does not follow a linear development, a formal comparison between similar subjects, such as these battle scenes, may still be valuable.

In a laudatory, vaguely Homeric poem honoring a third-century b.c. ruler (possibly a Macedonian king, such as Attalos I or Ptolemy II), the Gauls are described as hubristic and foolish (*hybristai te kai aphrones*), much like mythical *hybristai* such as the giants, and are compared to the Persians despite the sharp differences in their ways of life, the latter being dedicated to



Fig. 52. Column of Trajan, Rome, detail showing the Suicide of Decebalus. A.D. 113. Carrara marble

luxury while the former, accustomed to all kinds of hardship, lived outdoors.²⁶ In Athens, the depiction of the Battle of Marathon in the Stoa Poikile had once served the same paradigmatic function, presenting an important historical battle alongside mythic episodes such as the Attic Amazonomachy and the epic tale of Troy, the *Ilioupersis*. In the Attalid dedication on the Athenian Acropolis, the battle against the Gauls similarly came to stand for a universal victory in a mythical-historical sequence, the apex of a crescendo—after the victories of the gods and the Attic heroes and then the Battle of Marathon—in which giants, Amazons, and Persians were all brutally defeated. Here the *Ilioupersis* was replaced by the Gigantomachy, a subject visible on the eastern metopes of the Parthenon but which on the Great Altar of Pergamon also contains allusion to the Attalid's historic enemies.

The image of the noble adversary committing suicide would recur in Roman triumphal art with Decebalus, the Dacian king, portrayed at the top of the Column of Trajan (fig. 52). The king who killed himself, we learn from Cassius Dio, was a fearsome adversary worthy of having been defeated by the Romans.²⁷ The fearsome Gauls, too, were enemies worthy of being slaughtered by the Attalids. Thus shone the glory of rulers “who labored much to win.”

THE PERGAMON ALTAR: ARCHITECTURE, SCULPTURE, AND MEANING

Andreas Scholl

“ARA MARMOREA MAGNA”: THE GREAT MARBLE ALTAR AND ITS SCULPTURES

To understand the architecture and sculpture of the Pergamon Altar and its potential meaning, one must begin with the justly famous reconstruction of the altar in the Pergamon Museum, Berlin (fig. 53).¹ Unprepared visitors to the museum are often overwhelmed by the monumentality of the altar within its grand, theatrical setting, and yet it bears remembering that only the west side of the altar has been rebuilt at its original size.

Five steps rise from the nearly square foundation (36 meters wide by 34 meters deep) to support a monumental pedestal, a massive substructure on which rests the most spectacular feature of the entire monument: the 2.3-meter-high Great Frieze. In terms of sculptural quality and iconographic audacity, the Great Frieze not only marks the crowning achievement of Greek relief sculpture—a medium that had been developed by Greek artists in marble since the seventh century B.C.—but also stands as one of the finest works in the history of world art.



Fig. 53. Reconstructed west side of the Pergamon Altar, Pergamon Museum, Berlin



Fig. 54. Telephos Frieze, detail showing Telephos receiving arms from Auge

The Great Frieze is carved in extremely high relief and crowned by a large projecting cornice. Gracefully fluted columns with Ionic capitals surround the entire altar structure, whose interior is designed as a peristyle courtyard, similar to those of the royal Attalid palaces nearby on the acropolis of Pergamon. The interior walls of this beautifully proportioned space were decorated with a smaller frieze—different in style from the Great Frieze and much more intimate in character—illustrating the adventurous life and deeds of Telephos (fig. 54; see also cats. 126, 127), son of Herakles and founder of the city of Pergamon. Alongside Zeus himself, this Greek hero was a central figure of the Great Frieze, and his prominent appearance in the smaller frieze provides the mythological link between the two strips of relief sculpture.

Originally a large number of sculptures in the round, representing the Olympian gods, stood on the peristyle's flat roof; Athena (cat. 116), Poseidon (cat. 117), and Apollo are

still preserved. Along with their chariots and entourage, these roof figures, or acroteria, were depicted just after the moment when, according to myth, they arrive at the battlefield around the peak of Mount Olympus to await the brutal combat of the Gigantomachy: the battle for cosmic supremacy between the Olympians and a race of primordial giants, shown so vividly in the Great Frieze. Especially impressive when viewed on the roof of the altar must have been the well-preserved statue of Poseidon, represented with his hair still wet from a rapid journey across the ocean in his Triton-drawn chariot. Poseidon's chariot was also shown on the north side of the Great Frieze together with spectacular sea monsters. Other well-preserved acroteria include horses (cat. 120), centaurs, Tritons (cats. 118, 119), and griffins.

Within the Great Frieze itself, more than one hundred over-lifesize figures of unbelievably high artistic invention and sculptural quality crowd together in dramatic action. These almost freestanding figures are represented in a wide variety of



Fig. 55. Great Frieze, detail showing Athena battling the giants

scenes and depictions of fierce fighting. A number of goddesses join the battle (fig. 55); although they are seldom shown physically overcoming their enemies, their dominance is made evident through their cool and commanding gestures. In contrast, the bodies and faces of the giants reflect with unsparing realism the pain and suffering inflicted upon them by their adversaries (fig. 56; see also illustration on p. 26). It is nothing less than an artistic miracle, and an almost unbelievable achievement of the unknown artist responsible for these figures, that no fighting group resembles another; differences in clothing, weaponry, hair, and even footwear are elaborated down to the smallest detail. These included many attributes that were added in metal and enhanced by polychromy, of which only faint traces have been found: mainly red pigment to indicate the giants' gruesome, bleeding wounds.

The battle of the gods and the giants was a popular theme in Greek art from Classical times onward, and the monumental

gathering of the Olympian gods on the altar's roof clearly alludes to Classical prototypes, such as those known from Greek vases of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. A primary literary source for the Gigantomachy is Hesiod's *Theogony* (Creation of the Gods), an epic poem dating to the seventh century B.C., but the version depicted on the Great Frieze was derived from contemporary Hellenistic poetry in addition to older narratives, including allusions to Homer.² The myth of the Gigantomachy tells the story of the earth mother, Gaia, who from the blood of the emasculated Uranos gives birth to the giants—a monstrous, aggressive race imbued with great strength—who then attempt to overthrow the reign of the Olympians and rule the world. An oracle predicts that the gods will be able to resist the giants only if a mortal can be persuaded to fight on their side. Not surprisingly, this role falls to the hero Herakles, whose figure in the Great Frieze (destroyed in antiquity) was next to that of Zeus, one of the most prominent positions in the entire composition.



Fig. 56. Great Frieze, detail showing Triton, son of Poseidon, battling a fallen giant

The East Frieze, on the back of the building—but actually the first section seen by ancient visitors as they entered the surrounding walled sanctuary—was reserved for the Olympians. Hera participates in the battle on the left, and Herakles, Zeus (fig. 57), Athena, and Ares fight at center and on the right. Visual references to the genealogical relationships among the gods pull the narrative around the corners of the frieze and give it a certain continuity. On the southeast corner, for example, appear the names of goddesses such as Leto, Hekate, Phoebe, and Asteria, while on the northeast corner Aphrodite fights together with Ares. The gods of day and night—Eos (goddess of the dawn), Helios (sun god), and Selene (goddess of the moon)—wage war on the South Frieze, and the sea gods, who fight on the western side, spill over onto the adjacent northern corner and onto the monumental flight of stairs leading to the peristyle courtyard, with its sacrificial altar at center. The North Frieze provides the battlefield for both the followers of Ares

(god of war) and the Fates and the Furies (the goddesses of destiny and retribution, respectively).

THE ARCHITECTURAL FORM OF THE PERGAMON ALTAR AND ITS MEANING

Other than the first publication of the architecture of the Pergamon Altar, in 1906,³ archaeological research has tended to concern itself less with the typological and semantic derivation of the monument's architectural form than with the interpretation of the two famous relief friezes described above. The following lines will therefore focus on a synthesizing explanation of the interaction between the altar's architectural form and its sculptural decoration.

When the first two fragments—containing the scenes of the gods' battle against the giants—arrived in Berlin, in 1871, archaeologist Alexander Conze immediately concluded that they must have originated from the large marble altar mentioned



Fig. 57. Great Frieze, detail showing Zeus battling the giants

in a late Roman compendium, the *Liber memorialis* of Lucius Ampelius. Among the text's catalogued *miracula mundi*, or "wonders of the world," Conze found the following reference to a monument that, evidently, was already famous in antiquity: "Pergamo ara marmorea magna, alta pedes quadraginta cum maximis sculpturis, continet autem gigantomachiam" (In Pergamon there is a huge marble altar, forty feet tall with large sculptures; it also includes a Gigantomachy).⁴ Thus, the monument had a generic name even before scholars began to reconstruct a picture of it through excavations.

Jakob Schrammen, one of the original excavators of the altar, credited fellow excavator Richard Bohn "for re-erecting before us the architectural superstructure of the ruined edifice from the jumbled mass of broken, disjunct building elements."⁵ Schrammen's 1906 publication of the altar's architecture, which added newly incorporated architectural members, gave further credence to Bohn's proposed reconstruction.⁶ In 1901, the French archaeologist and numismatist Antoine Héron de Villefosse had identified what is still the only ancient depiction of the altar,

found on the reverse of a coin from the reign of Septimius Severus (cat. 28). The image shows the front of the Great Altar, although not naturalistically proportioned.⁷ "It can be discerned," wrote Schrammen, "that a broad flight of steps led up to a platform on which stood a sacrificial altar roofed by a baldachin. Right and left of the stairway, at the height of the platform, four columns on each side carry an entablature upon which figures stand. Underneath these rows of columns are two pedestals, each of which carries a huge zebu."⁸ Yet Schrammen did not let himself get carried away by the discovery, highly interesting though it was: "As pleasing as this find is, and however important it is for confirming what we know of the altar's form from the architectural remains, no details of arrangement can be discovered from this depiction; indeed it would rather seem to me as though the monument, as already reassembled from the remains, might contribute more to an understanding of the face design of the coin than the latter does to reconstruction of the altar building."⁹ Indeed, it soon became clear to those studying the finds that there was little to be gained from comparisons not

only with the coin but also with other known altar buildings, since the Pergamon Altar was, and to this day remains, the sole monument of its kind.

For many years scholars believed that the Pergamon Altar derived typologically from Ionian altar buildings, a tradition dating back to the Archaic period. (Typically, these buildings comprise a massive podium for the sacred precinct with the sacrificial altar on top; a broad flight of steps flanked by protruding walls, for easy access; and, on top of the podium, a *temenos*, or sanctuary wall, surrounding the relatively small altar.) This basic assertion was repeated in an almost mantra-like fashion by scholars, yet as early as 1978 archaeologist Klaus Stähler had identified certain structural features that distinguish the edifice of the Pergamon Altar from the development of the Ionian altar.¹⁰ For one, the architectural framing of the altar proper forms an enclosed court, with an interior facade and a prospect-like exterior facade above the monumental stairway (fig. 58). The outward-facing colonnaded halls on top of the socle are also deep enough to step inside. Compared to the at-best “implied” inner halls of older courtyard altars, they have a true spatial dimension, and the column-framed court on the altar-building podium is conceived as a fully formed peristyle.

In addition, the lofty podium of the Pergamon Altar is completely at variance with the scale of older monumental altars in Ionia. It provides the colonnaded court around the sacrificial altar with a plateau, for example, not just a flat socle, as is the case with earlier monumental altars, beginning with the Poseidon altar of Cape Monodendri (6th century B.C.) and continuing to the Poseidon altar of Tenos (2nd century B.C.). Moreover, the exterior design of the colossal podium is highly sophisticated and graphically illustrative compared to those

examples. From these observations, Stähler concluded that the altar building could not be explained by reference to itself alone, owing to the alleged lack of starting points for an interpretation. Yet the sculptural decoration and, especially, the architectural form of the Pergamon Altar contain clues to its meaning that have yet to be recognized.

A RARITY IN GREEK ARCHITECTURE: THE STOA WITH PROJECTING WINGS

In antiquity, visitors entered the sanctuary of the Pergamon Altar from the east, as noted above, and first saw the rear of the altar. Once they had passed along the north or south side, where they encountered the extraordinary scenes from the Gigantomachy, they stood in front of the monumental flight of stairs framed by two long *risalits*, or projecting wings, and crowned by an Ionic colonnade. Only now did they realize that the building, which was hermetically sealed on three sides, could be entered, and that the dramatic, tumultuous action depicted in the reliefs of the Great Frieze culminated in the tapering ends on either side of the stairway. If we do not wish to speculate about what associations this unusual architectural ensemble may have evoked in those who saw it in antiquity, then to understand the altar we must instead search for typological comparisons among entrance facades in earlier Greek architecture. In doing so, it becomes clear that colonnaded halls with precisely symmetrical projecting wings were rare and, in terms of semantics, a highly specific motif in classical architecture.¹¹

John James Coulton, who has examined the typology of wing-*risalit* stoas in depth,¹² cites as the oldest specimen the great Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios in the Agora at Athens, dating from the last third of the fifth century B.C. He compares this monumental Zeus-dedicated edifice with other classical ensembles that combine a central building with wings of different lengths and designs, such as the asymmetrical propylaea of Mnesikles and the Braurion, both on the Athenian Acropolis; the asymmetrical stoa in Brauron itself; “and possibly some sort of *paraskenia* at the Theatre of Dionysos.”¹³ The latter example is perhaps most compelling, because there are indications that the stage of the high Classical Theatre of Dionysos, on the south slope of the Athenian Acropolis, indeed incorporated *paraskenia* (side stages, or wing buildings) in its original wood superstructure in the second half of the fifth century B.C. Although this cannot be proved archaeologically, stage practice—insofar as what can be inferred from the dramatic plays of the three great tragedians of the fifth century B.C. and from Old Comedy—suggests the existence of such *paraskenia*. This supposition is further supported by the stone *skene* (a background building attached to the stage)

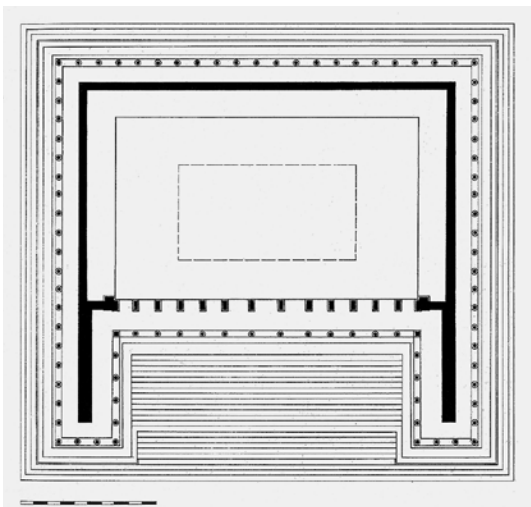


Fig. 58. Plan of the Great Altar



Fig. 59. Cup with the Gigantomachy, detail showing Zeus driving his quadriga into battle before the gates of his palace on Olympus, as suggested by the large Doric column in the background. Greek (Athenian), Late Archaic period, ca. 490 B.C. Attributed to the Brygos Painter. Terracotta, red-figure, H. 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (13.7 cm). Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (F 2293)

added at the end of the fourth century B.C. by Lykurgos, the politician in charge of Athenian finance and building policy after 338 B.C. Indeed, the manifestly Classicist and restorative tendencies of the Lykurgian building program make it not unlikely that when fifth-century plays came to be performed again in the fourth century B.C.—by which time they were already perceived as canonical—the type of stage associated with them had likewise been monumentalized in stone. Hence, in the Athens of the late fifth century B.C., in addition to the Stoa of Zeus, the only other structure with this type of symmetrical wing-*risalit* stoa was the *paraskenia* stage of the Theater of Dionysos.

Virtually all theater historians believe that this specific form of the Classical stage represented a palace. The evidence for this supposition comes from images of stages on Greek vases and, above all, from the fact that in two-thirds of the surviving classical tragedies the action is set in front of a palace or temple. The great Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, erected in the Athenian Agora in 430–420 B.C., can thus be seen as a quotation, in form and format, of a palace facade that would have been familiar to the public from contemporary theater, and one that was meant to allude to the mythical abode of the supreme god. Thus, by the beginning of the fourth century B.C. at the latest, the symmetrical wing-*risalit* stoa had acquired the connotation of a “palace.” Translated into real architecture, the *paraskenia* stage makes its first appearance in the safely reconstructable marble *skene* building of the Athenian Theater of Dionysos, commissioned by Lykurgos and built between 338 and about 331 B.C.

In the third century B.C., we encounter buildings that combine the wing-*risalit* stoa with the architectural motifs of the stairway and the peristyle court, creating a thoroughly “theatri-

cal” monumental facade. The stoa and propylon of the grandiose Sanctuary of Athena Lindia at Lindos on Rhodes, the most significant testimony to this development, link the freestanding wing-*risalit* stoa of the Classical style with the composite structure that the Pergamon Altar building represents. In the case of both the propylaea of Lindos and the Pergamon Altar, the monumental *risalit* facade is backed by a colonnaded court, but only at Pergamon does it form a fully enclosed peristyle. If we take the concept that the *risalit* facade of the Pergamon Altar represents a palace and extend it to the column-framed interior courtyard, then it becomes apparent that such peristyles must have been a regular component of Hellenistic palace buildings, such as those at Vergina and Demetrias but also at Pergamon itself. Indeed, some peristyle structures of Hellenistic *basileia*, as Wolfram Hoepfner has noted, are comparable to the peristyle of the Pergamon Altar, even in terms of architectural detail.¹⁴

THE PERGAMON ALTAR AND HOMER’S PALACE OF ZEUS

If we consider the evidence gathered here, then there are grounds to suppose that the colonnaded facade and peristyle court of the Pergamon Altar represent a visualization in stone of the mythical palace of Zeus on Mount Olympus in Thessaly—as the ancient Greeks imagined it—assembled at Pergamon from the repertory of forms and types of Classical and Hellenistic architecture. That the father of the gods and mortals dwelled in a magnificently appointed palace on Olympus was a fact known to every Greek from Homer’s epics—especially the famously erudite Pergamenians—all the more so during the Hellenistic period, a time of intensive study of Homer and, indeed, when a cult of Homer flourished. The abode of the supreme god is



Fig. 60. Inner side of the right (south) *risalit* of the Great Altar at Pergamon, detail showing the eagle of Zeus attacking a serpent-legged giant

mentioned several times in both of Homer's great poems. In a vivid picture of the palace of Zeus from the *Odyssey* (4.71–79), for instance, Homer chooses the word *aulé*, meaning an open courtyard or hall of a lord's residence, whose essential furnishings included an altar.

It is unquestionably an archaizing, if not a *Homerizing*, trait of the Pergamene sanctuary of Zeus that the supreme god was worshiped there not in a conventional temple but at an open-air altar, as at Olympia, on the Acropolis of Athens, and in many genuinely old sanctuaries of Greece. Determined to lend their new sanctuary of Zeus the greatest possible degree of venerable antiquity, the Pergamenians, it seems, not only built a Homeric ash altar, possibly modeled on the one at Olympia, but also framed it and heightened it by means of a palace sanctuary composed of Classical and Hellenistic architectural forms. They may have gone even further and imagined the spectacular setting of the altar building to be an allusion to the mythological location of the palace of Zeus. This interpretation finds solid support in the long iconographic tradition of the Gigantomachy in Greek art, for beginning in the fifth century B.C., Greek artists—in a radical break with literary tradition, which sites the battle in the Phlegraeon Fields or on the Pallene peninsula—regularly showed the battle taking place on the summit of Mount Olympus, even directly in front of the palace of Zeus (fig. 59).

In the interpretative model proposed here, then, the relief-decorated socle of the Pergamon Altar is an allusion to the steep summit zone of Mount Olympus, crowned with the palace of Zeus, and around whose exterior walls rages the savage battle between the gods and the giants in its decisive stage. The deep relief carving of the figures, which achieve maximum possible detachment from the architectural field surrounding them, reinforces the impression of the tempestuous, endlessly surging flood of nearly freestanding sculptures encircling the podium.

The breathless drama of the battle as it plays out in the altar's series of fighting groups reaches a climax in the tapered ends of the Great Frieze on either side of the stairs. The design of these sections, which in antiquity the visitor saw only when ascending the stairway, is frequently misunderstood. On the inward-facing sides of the north and south *risalits*, some of the giants have almost reached the Ionic colonnaded facade of the palace on the summit of Olympus and are about to storm the peristyle court containing the altar of Zeus, the imaginary seat of the father of the gods, but at the last possible moment they are halted by Zeus's eagles. In the better-preserved southern end section, on the right-hand *risalit*, the eagle of Zeus has sunk its claws into the lower jaw of a serpent-leg of a winged giant (fig. 60). On the opposite side of the stairway (figs. 61, 62), two giants have charged past the sea god Okeanos and his now all

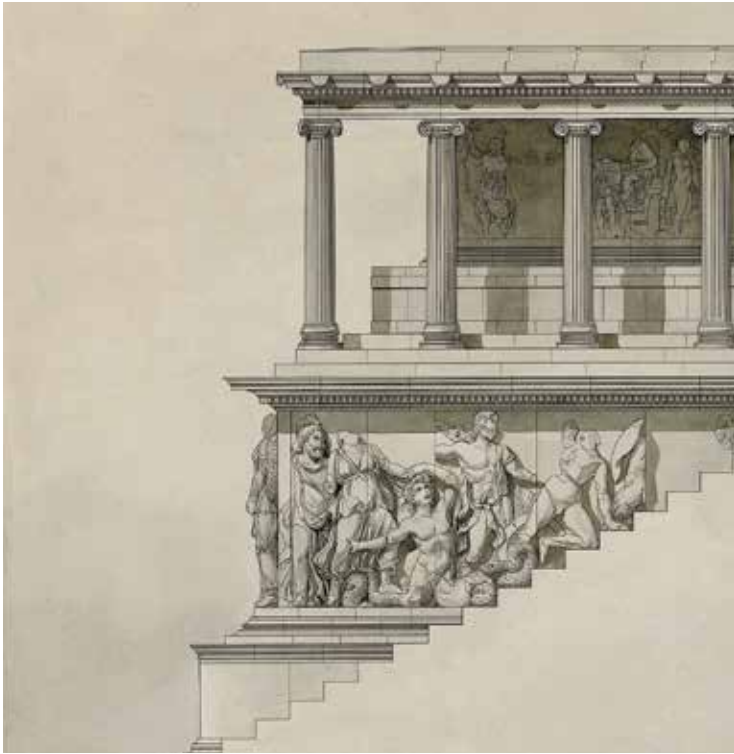


Fig. 61. Reconstruction of the north *risalit*

but completely destroyed spouse, Tethys. Defending themselves from the sea gods at their rear, the giants are on the point of breaking through to the altar courtyard; the giant on the left, as he rushes forward, grasps a rock lying on a step in order to hurl it at the supreme deity (fig. 63). Here, too, Zeus (in the form of an eagle) is barely able to prevent the giants from bursting through. Consequently, it is the ends of the Great Frieze, on the inner faces of the *risalits*, that show how the battle for world dominion was decided by the intervention of Zeus at the gates of his own palace on Mount Olympus. At the same time, it is clearly a celebration of Zeus as the victorious force in the Gigantomachy; not only does he appear in person and in all his majesty in the East Frieze (see fig. 57), he also battles against the giants in the form of an eagle at least four times in the frieze as a whole. Nowhere else in the altar did the master of the Great Frieze weave architecture and sculptural action so closely together as in these end sections on either side of the stairway. In an almost spectral manner, the larger-than-life figures seem to leave the cold stone, detach themselves from the relief ground, step out onto the stairs, and stand in front of their human spectators—quite literally on the same level.





Fig. 63. North *risalit*, detail showing Okeanos fighting two giants charging up the stairs

Unlike the giants, who were decisively repulsed at the last moment, it was granted to the Pergamenians and their visitors to enter the palace and altar of their victorious patron deity to give thanks and offer sacrifices. The inner courtyard of this sanctuary of Zeus—which we can probably take to be a stylized reflection of the contemporaneous royal palace at Pergamon—was decorated with a frieze that, as noted above, celebrates the hero Herakles in the presence of Zeus, imagined to be ever-present at the sacrificial altar. As savior of the world, without whose help the gods would have failed—and also as the father

of Telephos, the city's founder—Herakles is accorded the place of honor in the Homeric-inspired *aulé*, the court of Zeus. This high-profile role links into the history of Pergamon and its kings, who built a palace for Zeus the Savior here, not far from their own residence, much as the Athenians may have done in the late fifth century B.C. when erecting the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, preserver of their liberty. Just as Zeus defeated the giants in a colossal struggle, so the Pergamenians, under the leadership of their kings, defeated the barbarian Gauls at the very gates of their city by dint of a supreme effort.

Opposite: Fig. 62. Inner side of the north (left) *risalit*, detail showing Okeanos and Tethys battling the giants

III

ARTS OF THE
HELLENISTIC AGE



EARTHY ARTS: VASES, TERRACOTTAS, AND SMALL BRONZES

Joan R. Mertens

From prehistoric times, clay figured prominently in the material culture of the Greek world, either as the substance of which objects were made or as an intermediary in the production of objects in other media. Our concern will be with the vases, terracottas, and small bronzes that fall under the rubric of “art” rather than “craft” and with the changes in the function of these works during the Hellenistic era. Although artistic developments in all media at this time combined continuity from the preceding Classical and earlier periods with radical innovations, the three groups of material considered here reveal different proportions of continuity relative to change.

In many ways the most far-reaching developments affected pottery. Between the ninth and fifth centuries B.C., the primary Greek center for the production of fine wares was Athens, in the region of Attica. Particularly between the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., potters and painters made and embellished a quite standardized range of shapes, whose function and iconography were to a considerable extent tied to the city’s institutions and traditions. The best examples are the vases integral to the symposium, the drinking parties where Athenian male citizens gathered for conversation and entertainment. The tableware included drinking cups (kylikes and skyphoi), large bowls for mixing wine with water (kraters), jugs (oinochoai), and various special shapes for the participants’ diversion. During the sixth century B.C., the prevailing decorative technique was black-figure, in which, after firing, the figurework appears black against the orangey background of the clay (see cat. 59). Beginning about 530 B.C., the predominant technique was red-figure, with the figurework clay colored against the black background (see cat. 6). The subjects favored on these vases included the wine god Dionysos, Athenians drinking, and mythological scenes of

significant local interest, including the hero Herakles, the Olympian gods (notably Athena), or episodes of the Trojan War. Such vases were used by Athenians in Athens but were also exported, notably to an avid clientele in Etruria, in west-central Italy.

With the end of Athenian political domination of Greece brought about by the Peloponnesian Wars (431–404 B.C.) and with the ascendancy of Macedonia, among other factors, Athenian pottery workshops lost the social and institutional structures to which they had catered. Remarkably, but characteristically given its longevity and strength, Athenian ceramic production nonetheless figured significantly during the Hellenistic period, albeit within a vastly more diverse environment. The main legacy of Archaic and Classical Greek pottery traditions was the repertoire of shapes. They were continuously modified and rendered to an unprecedented degree in other media, notably bronze and marble (see cat. 230). For the first time, vases also acquired a primarily decorative rather than utilitarian function.

By about 400 B.C., black-figure and red-figure were no longer the predominant techniques, although still exhibiting brilliant moments, as in the hydria from Amphipolis (cat. 23), a late, particularly polychrome variant of red-figure. More long-lived survivors were the Panathenaic prize amphorae, characterized in part by their black-figure decoration. They continued to be made through the Hellenistic and into the Roman period (see cat. 59).¹ As Susan I. Rotroff has observed, the figure of Athena that invariably appears on the front of these vases is an early manifestation of a deliberately archaizing style.² The demise of traditional Greek vase painting that occurred with the advent of the Hellenistic period marked the end of a phenomenon unique in Classical art in which figural representations that are complex



Fig. 64. Hydria (water jar), from Haghios Sideros, Rhodes. Greek (Attic), Black-glazed Ware, Late Classical period, ca. 340–330 b.c. Terracotta, H. 23¼ in. (59 cm). Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (F 2854)

in composition and content decorated utilitarian wares. This artistic form had flourished because it was tied to the institutions of the Athenian polis. In Hellenistic pottery, figural and narrative subjects continued, but rendered in a form that was more workmanlike than artistic, and production centers for similar types of wares were often widely dispersed. The media for high-quality two-dimensional depictions became wall painting and mosaics.

The predominant type of Hellenistic painted vase is known as West Slope Ware, named after the west side of the Athenian Acropolis, where many examples were found. Developed during the early third century b.c., it came to be produced in local workshops throughout the Greek world, from Crete to Cyrenaica, until the first century b.c. (see cats. 82–84, 89). Its Late Classical antecedents consisted of vases with a glossy black surface

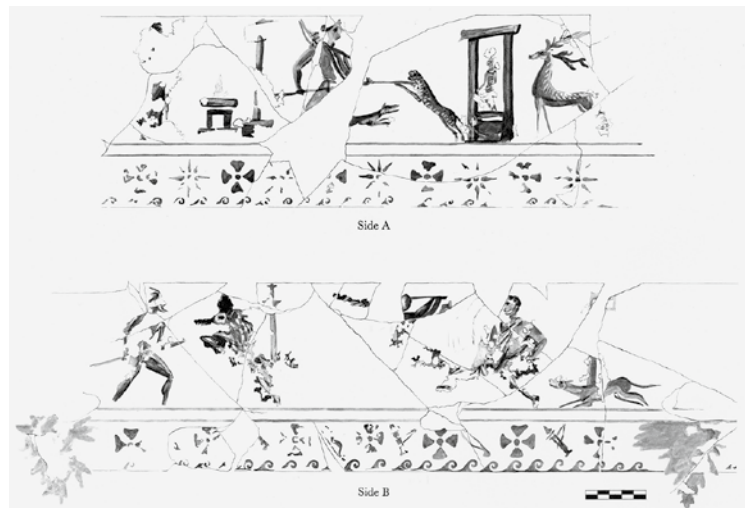


Fig. 65. Skyphos (drinking cup), from the Athenian Agora. Greek (Attic), Figured West Slope Ware, Hellenistic period, ca. 250–200 b.c. Terracotta, H. 12½ in. (31.7 cm). Athenian Agora (P 6878)

highlighted by gilding, often around the neck to evoke women’s pendant necklaces (fig. 64; see also cats. 85, 171).³ West Slope pottery combines incised and painted motifs, most typically on a black ground but also on red.⁴ Exceptional pieces show more ambitious scenes. A skyphos (deep drinking cup) from the Athenian Agora (fig. 65) depicts, on the front, an outdoor scene that includes an altar, a column, the goddess Artemis spearing a panther, and a small raised shrine containing a figure who holds a phiale (libation bowl). The reverse shows several figures hunting. An inscription suggests that one “Menekles” dedicated the vase to Dionysos and Artemis. The decoration evokes wall paintings both of an earlier age in Macedonia⁵ and later in Roman Campania.⁶

Painted wares with decoration on a light background were particularly favored in the eastern Greek world. Hadra vases,

named after a major cemetery near Alexandria, Egypt, where many were found, flourished during the third and second centuries B.C. Hydriai (water jars) were the prevailing shape and continued to be used in a traditional function as ash urns. The most common—with vegetal ornament, occasional figural subjects, and inscriptions executed in black glaze—seem to have originated in Crete (fig. 66).⁷ From the end of the third to the mid-first century B.C., another popular vase in western Asia Minor was the lagynos, a container with a squat body, broad shoulder, tall neck and spout, and single vertical handle. The surface is generally slipped and painted in brownish glaze with wreaths, musical instruments, and representations of lagynoi, baskets, and other motifs associated with the worship of Dionysos (see cats. 92–94).⁸

Beginning in the last quarter of the third century B.C., the significant rise in the use of molds changed the production process and appearance of Greek pottery (see cat. 87a, b). Although mold-made adjuncts had existed since the eighth century B.C., they were always subordinate to the wheel-made vase and its painted decoration. The primacy of readily replicated relief decoration during the Hellenistic period thus marks a major break with the past. Perhaps the most characteristic Hellenistic vases are the hemispherical bowls with relief decoration⁹ formerly and erroneously known as “Megarian bowls.” (During the late nineteenth century, they were associated with a vessel ostensibly favored in the region of Megara, Greece). In reality, they were made principally in Greece, the islands of the Aegean Sea, and western Asia Minor, with their shape influenced by silver prototypes (see cat. 182a–c). Used for drinking, the ceramic examples are decorated on the exterior with vegetal (see cat. 88) and figural motifs. A subgroup of the latter are called “Homeric bowls” after their subject matter (see cat. 45).¹⁰ Production of the relief bowls began with the creation of a mold: a rather deep, thick-walled bowl that was turned on the wheel (fig. 67). With stamps and other tools, the decoration of the future relief vase was impressed into the mold’s interior wall. After the mold was fired, clay was pressed into the concavities to form the bowl which, in turn, was finished on the wheel to smooth the lip and inner surface. As the clay dried, it shrank until the hemispherical bowl could be safely removed from the mold. Numbers of such bowls would have been stacked in a kiln for firing. The process was more cumbersome than turning an individual pot on the wheel, but a mold allowed for the creation of multiples and for endless combinations of decorative elements.

Mold-made adjuncts were applied to vases of various types. Especially distinctive are the “Plakettenvasen” (appliqué vases;



Fig. 66. Hydria (water jar), from Alexandria, Hadra. Greek (Ptolemaic), Hadra Ware, Hellenistic period, ca. 226–225 B.C. Terracotta, H. 16 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (42.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, 1890 (90.9.5)



Fig. 67. Mold, from the Athenian Agora. Greek (Attic), Hellenistic period, Mold-made Relief Ware, ca. 225–175 B.C. Terracotta, H. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (8.8 cm). Athenian Agora (P 18688)



see cat. 89), which have mythological reliefs applied more for their decorative effect than iconographic significance to large black-glazed shapes often also embellished with West Slope decoration. They flourished from the end of the fourth to the middle of the third century B.C., with their centers of production having evidently migrated from Tarentum, in southern Italy, to Alexandria and Crete.¹¹ Also of note is the black-glazed calyx-krater with appliqué (compare, for example, cats. 229 and 230). Particularly attractive, and anticipating Roman wares, are the red-glazed relief vases that were a specialty of Pergamon from the middle of the second into the first century B.C. Of these, skyphoi and goblets were common shapes (see cats. 90, 91).¹²

Even the briefest summary of Hellenistic pottery from the Greek East calls for the mention of a group of braziers found on the island of Delos that represent virtuoso craftsmanship and pretentious display exceptional in pottery (cat. 96). Their vertical walls are punctuated with large openings, and their surfaces are encrusted with figural and ornamental friezes as well as theatrical masks. It is noteworthy that even here a Galatian is incorporated into a frieze of combat between Greeks and “barbarians.”¹³ While the braziers can be dated to the first century B.C., their place of production remains uncertain, possibly Alexandria or Asia Minor.

As the braziers from Delos document with particular verve, Greek pottery reinvented itself during the Hellenistic period through new forms created in response to new functions, the variety and versatility occasioned by the extensive use of molds, and often widely dispersed production centers for the same kind of ware. With small sculpture in terracotta, a more creative use of molds and more numerous production centers heightened the greater iconographic range manifest in all forms of Hellenistic sculpture.

As in the case of pottery, Athenian workshops were instrumental in shaping the development of clay statuettes. By the late fourth century B.C., large-scale marble sculptures, particularly those more or less directly associated with Praxiteles (fig. 68), showed a new focus on drapery folds and textures playing over the female body. Their influence decisively affected the appearance of small-scale terracottas, as did a growing tendency to dissociate this type of object from religious beliefs and practices. No longer primarily dedications and funerary offerings, these objects came to reflect contemporary family and public life and

Fig. 68. Statue of a draped woman (The Large Herculaneum Woman). Roman, Early Imperial period, 1st century A.D.; copy after a Greek statue of the late 4th century B.C. Marble, H. 77¼ in. (1.96 m). Skulpturensammlung (Albertinum), Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden (Hm 326)



Fig. 69. Statuette of a draped woman. Greek (Attic), Hellenistic period, 3rd century B.C. Terracotta, H. 7⁷/₈ in. (19.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1909 (09.221.29)

Fig. 70. Statuette of Aphrodite, from Myrina. Greek, Hellenistic period, 2nd century B.C. Terracotta, H. 14³/₄ in. (37.6 cm). Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (31272)



to be displayed in homes.¹⁴ The coroplasts' facility with assembling figures from separate molds for heads, arms, legs, wings, and other parts allowed for considerably more active and diverse poses.¹⁵

The Hellenistic terracotta figure par excellence shows a standing woman of fashion swathed in several layers of garments and often provided with an accessory such as a fan or hat (fig. 69). The type originated and flourished in Athenian workshops from the third quarter of the fourth until the end of the third century B.C. It is commonly known as a Tanagra, however, after the site in nearby Boeotia where, beginning in the 1870s, thousands of examples came to light in local cemeteries. Besides fashionable ladies, there were also seated figures, young men, girls, children, and erotes, representations of Eros, god of love, a much-favored subject (see cat. 81). The many Attic examples and the availability of imported molds served as the basis for a flourishing Boeotian production and widespread diffusion of the Tanagra type to both the western and eastern Mediterranean.

The southern coast of the Black Sea, the great cities of western Asia Minor, and Alexandria on the Nile Delta were also major Hellenistic centers for the production of small terracottas from the late fourth century B.C. into Roman times. For present

purposes, it is pertinent to single out three of them. Pergamon had an active industry, but because well-preserved objects are most commonly found in graves and the city's necropoleis have not yet been investigated, the evidence is scant and in poor condition.¹⁶ Considerably better known is the production of Myrina, which was under Pergamene rule from the mid-third century B.C. Its cemeteries were excavated in quantity between 1880 and 1883, with the major concentration of finds acquired by museums in Paris, Istanbul, and Athens. While figures of fashionable women remained popular, the ravishing "Aphrodite Heyl" (fig. 70) integrates the influence of large sculpture, an emphasis on movement in both the body and drapery, and total mastery of the smaller scale. Diametrically different iconographically are the figures of actors (fig. 71; see also cat. 52) produced in large numbers throughout the Hellenistic world, reflecting a preoccupation in all the arts with the theater and performance. And, although references to contemporary historical events remain exceptional, it is important to note the statuette of a Galatian warrior, one of several found in graves at Myrina (see cat. 22).¹⁷

A further center of particular pertinence is Smyrna, like Myrina a thriving coastal city receptive to commodities and



Fig. 71. Statuette of a comic actor, from Myrina. Greek, Hellenistic period, 2nd century B.C. Terracotta, H. 7 5/8 in. (19.5 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (MYR 316)



Fig. 72. Statuette of the Diadoumenos (cat. 61)



Fig. 73. Statuette of an emaciated woman, said to come from Smyrna. Greek, Late Hellenistic period, 1st century B.C. Terracotta, H. 6 5/8 in. (16.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of Mrs. Lucy W. Drexel, 1889 (89.2.2141)

influences of all sorts. The Metropolitan Museum's terracotta version of the Diadoumenos, or Fillet-Binder (fig. 72), illustrates an apparent predilection of Smyrna's coroplasts for reductions of famous sculptures. Originally of bronze and much copied, the Diadoumenos was made by Polykleitos of Argos, among the foremost sculptors of the fifth century B.C. This interest in past, by and large idealizing masterpieces was paralleled by a penetrating fascination with diseased, deformed, and otherwise grotesque manifestations of the human body (fig. 73). The popularity of such figures, which appear throughout the Hellenistic world, was related to the caricatural aspects of theatrical depictions.

Although certain subjects are associated with specific locations, the reality in the Hellenistic period is ubiquity. From southern Italy comes the imposing representation of a reclining Herakles with club and cornucopia (cat. 78).¹⁸ Note the startling assumption of his lion's skin by an energetic Eros (cat. 81). Theater-related figures include poets such as Menander (cat. 53f) and specific types of comic actors (cats. 51, 53). Moreover, although the works mentioned thus far all represent single figures, there was also an interest in groups,

which, though nothing new, manifest greater plasticity and complexity in the compositions (cat. 80).

The major trends and innovations evident in the development of small-scale terracotta sculpture appear in small bronzes to an even greater degree because the metal's tensile strength and malleability facilitated the rendering of active poses. It is important also to remember that the two media are linked by the fact that many bronzes began with clay models. While there are several technical variants,¹⁹ the production of bronze sculptures large and small most commonly entailed a clay core over which a model of the desired object was sculpted in wax and then enveloped in additional clay that formed a mold. The wax was melted out and replaced by hot liquid bronze; when the bronze had cooled sufficiently, the resulting work of art was separated from the mold and its surface finished.

The epitome of Hellenistic bronze-working was probably the Colossus of Rhodes, the roughly 35-meter-high (115 feet) statue of Helios, the sun god, that dominated the harbor of Rhodes for about fifty years until it was toppled by an earthquake in 227 B.C.²⁰ While only accounts of it survive, many objects of far smaller scale in the exhibition either evoke monumental

works or testify in their bravura execution to their makers' skill. A fine head of Alexander the Great on display in the Metropolitan Museum's Hellenistic galleries conveys the impact of an over-lifesize image.²¹ The smaller representations of the ruler are fully resolved reductions or variations of larger works (cat. 11 and, especially, cat. 15), while catalogue number 12, though not definitely a depiction of Alexander, implies an Eastern individual of status. Other "small statues" include those of Demosthenes (cat. 9) and the hero Herakles (fig. 74). With respect to the scale of Hellenistic bronzes, it is noteworthy that they occasionally introduce a size, not previously favored, that is neither large nor small (cats. 71, 223).

Among the most accomplished Hellenistic bronzes are those that capture a transitory state, either physical or psychological (see cat. 2). Prominent in this respect are the athletic group (cat. 62) and its historicizing variant (cat. 63), both from Egypt, as well as the dynamic satyr (cat. 189) from Pergamon. However extreme the contrast, a paradigm of arrested transcendence is the Metropolitan Museum's so-called Baker Dancer (cat. 158); with her body entirely covered except for the eyes, the figure is all about the interplay between her movement and her diverse garments. The depiction of youth and age, infirmity, and deformity was popular as never before. The statuette of an old woman, now in the Getty (cat. 72) and a seated emaciated youth (cat. 73) from Soissons in France are representative, on a high qualitative level. This category of object is perhaps most closely paralleled in terracotta. The widespread diffusion of genre representations in bronze makes it impossible to isolate specific centers of production. As with the other media considered here, Asia Minor, the Levant, and Egypt figured significantly. The city most frequently discussed with regard to such works is Alexandria, by virtue of subjects such as pygmies, dwarfs, votaries of Isis, and blacks, all closely connected with Egypt and North Africa (see cats. 232, 233). Indeed, the Baker Dancer and the figure of an artisan (cat. 71) have been attributed to Alexandria.²²

Most every discussion of the mobility of works of art, the multiplicity of concurrent artistic styles, and the replication of specific types, especially in bronze, during the Hellenistic period includes mention of the ship that foundered off the fishing port of Mahdia, Tunisia, in the early first century B.C. (see the essay "Seafaring, Shipwrecks, and the Art Market in the Hellenistic Age" in this volume).²³ It was laden with finished marble columns and capitals as well as large and small decorative statuary of marble and bronze to embellish the premises of wealthy patrons. The Mahdia shipwreck is important to our discussion. As a time capsule, its contents frozen by the ship's



Fig. 74. Herakles from Sulmona (cat. 14)

destruction, the cargo documents a rare assemblage of superlative works of art that modern archaeologists and art historians would never have brought together. Their presence on a ship, together with the utilitarian utensils of the crew, is emblematic of the complex interrelations of Hellenistic art on an unprecedentedly broad scale.

TRENDS IN HELLENISTIC SCULPTURE

Kiki Karoglou

Most of the statuary of the ancient Greek and Roman world is now lost. Monumental bronzes, which were frequently melted down when their initial purpose faded, survive in even fewer numbers than works of marble. The resulting gaps in the historical record present a challenge for the study of sculpture across antiquity, but for the Hellenistic¹ period (323–30 B.C.), in particular, additional problems make it notoriously difficult to systematize sculpture by chronology or style.² These issues include the paucity of securely dated works, a penchant for stylistic eclecticism, and the fact that we often have access to Hellenistic works only through Roman copies, which offer ambiguous evidence of the originals. Literary sources and signed statue bases attest names of sculptors, but little else is known about these individuals and their works. The use of stylistic evidence to attribute sculptures to regional schools active in the major Hellenistic centers of Athens, Pergamon, Rhodes, Priene, Smyrna, and Alexandria is also problematic.³ A more fruitful way of discussing Hellenistic sculpture is to examine some of its types, functions, and settings and, when possible, to focus on original works from the period.

Hellenistic sculpture displays a constant interplay of tradition, innovation, and adaptation. Although sculptors worked within long-established religious and civic frameworks to satisfy demand for votive statues and reliefs—from images of a city's patron gods, mythological heroes, and athletic victors to war monuments, portraits of distinguished statesmen, and funerary statues and reliefs—these traditional types were often expressed in new figural styles and compositions. Furthermore, the political institution of Hellenistic kingship (*basileia*) and subsequent ruler cults ushered in novel types, such as royal portraiture. Following Alexander's precedent, Hellenistic kings adopted in their portraits the iconography of idealized nude or seminude statues of gods in order to convey the superhuman nature of royal power while also drawing on the tradition of cuirassed eques-

trian statues of victorious generals.⁴ Their portraits combined divine attributes with royal insignia, such as the scepter, spear, and, notably, the diadem (a cloth headband knotted at the back). Only fragments, mostly heads, of these portrait statues survive, but we can glimpse their original appearance in a number of bronze statuettes (see cats. 11, 12, 15) and in representations on coins and gems.

The wealth and pomp of Hellenistic monarchies provided the impetus for ever more elaborate settings for sculpture and architecture. Nowhere were competition and self-promotion among royals so manifest as in the era's newly founded cities, where lavish temples were dedicated, victory monuments erected, and public buildings donated. New contexts of viewing emerged in city planning, characterized by a conscious staging of vistas controlled by stoas (porticoes) and propyla (gateways) that were built on ascending plateaus to take advantage of naturally sloping terrains or steep hills, as in the case of the city of Pergamon, which was laid out on the south slope of a precipitous ridge in the Kaikos River Valley (see cat. 29).⁵

The honorary bronze portrait statue was a staple of Hellenistic sculpture. Honorary statues were typically commissioned by city officials to honor kings and royal associates as well as wealthy local elites for their public benefactions, and hence to attract their ongoing favor and goodwill (*eunoia*). Thousands of surviving inscribed statue bases and honorary decrees record the formulaic language of benefaction (*euergesia*) that operated on the principle of honor (*time*). Arranged on rectangular or semicircular bases (the latter called *exedrae*), often of conspicuous dimensions, these statues crowded the sanctuaries, agoras, and theaters of every Hellenistic city.⁶ Many of these honorary portraits adopted the standardized look of a standing elderly citizen wearing a short beard, leather-strapped sandals, and a long himation draped over one shoulder and



Fig. 75. Statue of a “Philosopher,” from Delphi. Greek, Hellenistic period, early 3rd century B.C. Marble, H. 81.5 in. (207 cm). Archaeological Museum, Delphi (1819)



Fig. 76. Statue of a “Philosopher,” from Antikythera. Greek, Hellenistic period, late 3rd century B.C. Bronze. Reconstruction drawing by Joannes N. Svoronos (1903)

leaving part of the chest exposed. One such example is the “Delphi philosopher,” a marble statue of the early third century B.C. that was part of a multifigure group dedicated at the Sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi (fig. 75).⁷ Yet another is the bronze statue of the Athenian orator Demosthenes, erected posthumously in 280/279 B.C. in the Agora of Athens and famed in antiquity. Made by the sculptor Polyeyktos, it is known today in numerous Roman copies (see cat. 9). The portrait, which masterfully captures the orator’s strong convictions through his pensive yet determined facial expression, became a powerful symbol of anti-Macedonian and antimonarchical sentiment.⁸

Often the arms of these portrait statues extend in gestures of public speaking and oratory, as in the “Antikythera philosopher” (fig. 76), a fragmentary bronze statue of the late third century B.C. retrieved from a shipwreck off the island of Antikythera (see the essay “Seafaring, Shipwrecks, and the Art Market in the Hellenistic Age” in this volume). It probably belonged to a statue group consisting of at least four honorary portraits of orators, philosophers, politicians, or other public officials.⁹ Like the Demosthenes portrait, the Antikythera bronze exhibits individualized, physiognomic traits such as a long nose with broad nostrils, thin lips, wrinkled forehead, and expressive eyes. The subjects of both the Antikythera sculpture and the aforementioned statue

from Delphi are usually identified as philosophers or intellectuals because of their mature age, alert expression, and unkempt looks, features that contrasted with the youthful clean-shaven image fashioned by Alexander the Great and his Successors.¹⁰

Throughout the Hellenistic period, Athens remained the center for philosophical study. It was common for pupils to erect portrait statues, often in bronze, of the philosophers who had founded their schools. Revealing of temperament and character, these portraits also served didactic purposes; they survive only in later Roman marble copies and adaptations that circulated widely throughout antiquity.¹¹ Such works include the portraits of Epikouros, the founder of Epicurean philosophy and the Kepos (Garden) where it was practiced (cat. 47), and that of Antisthenes, a pupil of Socrates and forefather of Cynic philosophy (cat. 48). The latter was created by the Athenian sculptor Phryomachos, who worked for the Attalids at Pergamon.¹²

The Attalids had a long-standing relationship with the philosophical circles of Athens and were generous benefactors to the city. Attalos II studied as a young man under Karneades, the head of the New Academy and one of the most influential thinkers of his time (cat. 49).¹³ Eumenes II and his brother Attalos II built magnificent two-story stoas: Eumenes’ was adjacent to the Theater of Dionysos, on the south slope of the

Acropolis, and Attalos's in the Athenian Agora (fig. 77).¹⁴ Influenced by Classical Athens and the building program of Perikles, the Attalids invested in monumental architecture and sculpture at Pergamon to promote their political and cultural aspirations. Both on Pergamon's acropolis and that of Athens, they dedicated multifigure bronze groups celebrating their victories over the Gauls, the marauding Celtic tribes that invaded Asia Minor in 278 b.c. and were defeated by Attalos I in a series of battles in the 230s. While the originals are lost, these groups of fighting giants, Amazons, Persians, and Gauls, known today as "Large and Small Gauls," are mentioned in the ancient literary sources and are known from inscribed bases at both locations as well as from a series of later Roman marble copies (see cats. 97–100; see also the essay "Commemorations of Victory" in this volume). The groups offered a radically new visual manifestation of heroism expressed in a style of exaggerated forms and movement that produce emotional drama and exuberance, a style that is known today as Hellenistic "baroque."

The most prestigious commissions of the Hellenistic era were set up in sanctuaries and sacred precincts, where sculpture continued to operate under the mechanism of dedication. The best insight into the types and arrangement of statuary comes from the surviving works themselves and rare contemporary literary accounts, which emphasize their lifelike quality and dramatic effect.¹⁵ The celebrated Nike of Samothrace offers a unique chance to experience the grandeur of a significant



Fig. 78. Nike of Samothrace. Hellenistic period, early 2nd century b.c. Marble; H. of statue 9 ft. ¼ in. (275 cm), H. of base 9 ft. 3 in. (282 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (MA 2369)



Fig. 77. Stoa of Attalos II (reconstructed), view from the north-northwest with the Athenian Acropolis in the background. Hellenistic period, 159–138 b.c.



Fig. 79. View of Exedra F, the relief of the prow of a *triemolia* (warship) by Pythokritos of Rhodes, and remains of the Hellenistic staircase, lower terrace of the acropolis of Lindos. Hellenistic period, early 2nd century B.C.

Hellenistic victory monument (fig. 78). It consists of a statue of the winged goddess Nike, the personification of victory, who is alighting on the prow of a warship that serves as a base, itself resting on a low pedestal. The monument enjoyed a dramatic setting on a terrace above the theater of the Sanctuary of the Great Gods on the island of Samothrace, overlooking the North Aegean Sea. The statue's positioning dictated a viewpoint from its left at a three-quarter angle, heightening the visual effect of the strong wind upon Nike's garments. Her thin chiton clings against her body and her himation, gathered in deeply carved folds between her legs, billows behind her. Nike's large, widely spread wings test the limits of stone carving, while the theatricality of the entire display is enhanced by the chromatic contrast between the white Parian marble used for the statue and the gray Rhodian marble of its base. Although the Nike is frequently associated with Rhodes or Pergamon, both the occasion of its dedication and the identity of its virtuoso artist remain uncertain.¹⁶

The ship that serves as the base for the Nike statue has been identified with the *triemolia*, a light and fast warship used by the Rhodian fleet that was equipped with three rows of oars. The same type of vessel figures in an impressively large rock-cut relief at the lower terrace of the acropolis of Lindos on Rhodes (fig. 79), which was carved by Pythokritos, the Rhodian sculptor often associated with the Nike.¹⁷ In characteris-

tic Hellenistic staging, the stern of the ship merges into the staircase that leads up to the Sanctuary of Athena Lindia at the acropolis's summit. A similar incorporation of receding space is masterfully achieved in the figures of the giants climbing either side of the stairway between the wing projections of the Great Altar of Pergamon (fig. 80; see also fig. 62).



Fig. 80. Gigantomachy Frieze, northwest wing, Great Altar of Pergamon. Greek, Hellenistic period, 2nd century B.C. Pergamon Museum, Berlin



Fig. 81. Poseidon, from Melos. Greek, Hellenistic period, late 2nd century B.C. Marble, H. 85 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (217 cm). National Archaeological Museum, Athens (235)

The traditional theme of military victory was treated by Hellenistic sculptors not only in the new stylistic idiom of the baroque, as in the Nike of Samothrace, but also in a new compositional scheme that appears on the balustrade reliefs from the Sanctuary of Athena Polias Nikephoros at Pergamon, the city's patron goddess (cat. 109a, b; see also the essay "Pergamon and

the Attalids" in this volume). Devoid of human figures and representing only the spoils of war—disparate weapons and trophies—these friezes effectively convey the clamor and tumult of actual battle by successfully combining abstraction and realistic detail.

The Attalids were avid collectors of Classical painting and sculpture and acquired, among others from the period, works by Praxiteles and Myron.¹⁸ They also supported scholarship and amassed a vast number of scrolls in the Library of Pergamon, which was founded by Eumenes II on the model of the famous Mouseion of Alexandria, the first ever sponsored research institute, established by Ptolemy I. Pergamon's library has traditionally been identified with a complex of rooms adjacent to the North Stoa of the Athena sanctuary.¹⁹ In front of the complex, a colossal marble statue of Athena and bases for statues of Homer (cat. 41), Herodotos, and other illustrious figures of the past were found. The Pergamon Athena, dated about 170 B.C., is the best-known example of Pergamene Classicism (cat. 39).²⁰ At 3.51 meters high, it is a scaled-down (by one-third) free copy of the Athena Parthenos, Pheidias's chryselephantine cult statue that stood in the Parthenon on the Athenian Acropolis. The sculptor at Pergamon omitted some of the attributes of the original and gave his version a contemporary look, evident in the elongated proportions of the face, the pronounced swing of the body, and the deeply carved drapery of the peplos. Because of its find spot, the Pergamene statue is thought to represent Athena in her guise as goddess of wisdom, and thus, along with other sculptures set up in the library, to have functioned as an emblem of erudition.

Excavations at Pergamon have revealed a wide range of statuary and inscribed statue bases, dating mostly to the late third and the second centuries B.C., which constitute valuable evidence for developments in Hellenistic sculpture as a whole.²¹ These works include royal portraits (cat. 145), statues of divinities related to the major cults fostered by the Attalids—Athena, Zeus, Dionysos, Demeter, Asklepios, Kybele (cat. 64), and her oriental consort Attis (cat. 65)—as well as votive statues of athletes (cat. 60) and heroes (cats. 40, 57). A series of over-lifesize draped female statues found on or near the terrace of the Great Altar has been variably interpreted as representing personifications, Muses, or priestesses of Athena (cats. 111–113). Homogeneous in style as well as scale, the statues resemble typical female honorary portraits of the period, with their restricted range of ideal faces, set number of body types, and seemingly transparent drapery evoking the different textures of overlaying garments.

Beyond Pergamon, Classicism, especially a revival of the Pheidian style, is evident in a number of statues of gods, some

of colossal size, made by sculptors active in Athens and the Peloponnesos in the second century B.C. Prominent among these were the Messenian sculptor Damophon²² and the Athenian Eukleides, with whom a fragmentary statue of Zeus from Aigeira has been associated (cat. 56). The three-times-lifesize head bears characteristic Classical features, such as a broad forehead and smooth face, which contrast with the deeply cut locks of the tousled hair and beard. An over-lifesize marble statue of Poseidon from Melos, dated to the late second century B.C., which has survived almost intact, gives a clearer idea of the appearance of these Hellenistic classicizing statues of divinities (fig. 81).²³ The god, who once held a trident in his raised right hand, stands in a majestic contrapposto pose, his upper-body muscles strongly modeled, while his lower body is covered by his himation, draped over his left shoulder and gathered in his left hand. Summarily worked at the back, the statue was set up against a wall or niche and served as dedication rather than cult statue.

Alongside the adaptation of Classical models, novel types of statues were created in the Hellenistic era for the gods of recently founded cities in the East, especially those of the Seleucid Kingdom, where Greek settlers were the minority among the native populations and the cult framework of the Greek polis was absent. Among them were statues of personifications of abstract concepts, such as Tyche (Fortune), who gradually became associated with the good fortune and prosperity of individual cities. Among these city Tychai, the most celebrated and influential in antiquity was the Tyche of Antioch, an early Hellenistic bronze cult statue made for the western Seleucid capital by the sculptor Eutykhides of Sikyon, a pupil of the famous Lysippos. The original statue is lost, but numerous later Roman reproductions survive in a variety of media, from under-lifesize marble copies (fig. 82) to small-scale adaptations, mostly in bronze, as well as representations on coins.²⁴ The goddess is shown seated on a rock representing Mount Silpios and stepping on a swimming figure that personifies the Orontes, Antioch's river. She wears a mural crown, a traditional Near Eastern symbol of a city's fortification walls, and holds ears of grain in her hand, an allusion to the city's abundance. The work's artistic legacy lies in its innovative iconography, which visualizes in anthropomorphic terms the actual topography of Antioch, as well as its groundbreaking pyramidal composition, which offers multiple viewpoints in an attempt to conquer three-dimensional space.

The trend of integrating physical landscape into sculptural compositions further evolved into a new kind of complex narrative sculpture, the "group in space," where figures were arrayed on two or more pedestals. A prime example is the marble group from Pergamon that shows Herakles freeing Prometheus



Fig. 82. Tyche of Antioch. Roman, Imperial period, 1st–2nd century A.D.; copy of an Early Hellenistic statue of ca. 300 B.C. Marble, H. with plinth 35¼ in. (89.5 cm). Galleria dei Candelabri, Musei Vaticani, Vatican City (2672)

from Zeus's cruel punishment for presenting fire to humans (cat. 110a–c). According to Hesiod's *Theogony*, Zeus chained Prometheus to Mount Caucasus for eternity and sent his eagle to eat the Titan's liver every day. Here a male figure reclining on a rocky terrain personifies the mountain, Herakles is identified by his iconic lion's skin, and Prometheus is shown in full nudity. All three under-lifesize figures are completely worked in the round and can be viewed from multiple angles. Original coloring and additions in metal, including Herakles' bow or Zeus's



Fig. 83. Dioskourides and Kleopatra, from Delos. Greek, Hellenistic period, late 2nd century B.C. Marble, H. of Dioskourides, 57½ in. (145 cm), H. of Kleopatra 58½ in. (149 cm), H. of base 27½ in. (70 cm). Archaeological Museum, Delos (A.07763, A.07799, A.07997)

eagle, would have enhanced the overall pictorial effect of the composition. The group was probably set up in the North Stoa of the Sanctuary of Athena Nikephoros, perhaps as part of a sculptural cycle depicting the deeds of Herakles.²⁵ Although the figure of Herakles is sometimes seen as a portrait of an Attalid king, it is now more often identified with Mithridates VI of Pontos, the sworn enemy of Rome who briefly ruled at Pergamon from 88 to 85 B.C. (cats. 213, 214). Accordingly, the entire group can be considered an encomiastic allusion to Mithridates' attempt to liberate the Greeks from Roman rule.²⁶

The Apotheosis of Homer, a votive marble relief signed by Archelaos of Priene and possibly dated to the late third century B.C., is a visual, annotated commentary on poetic inspiration that, like the aforementioned Prometheus group, hints at historical figures and events (cat. 44). Although found on the outskirts of Rome, the relief was originally dedicated at a Hellenistic shrine, perhaps the Homereion at Alexandria, which was built for the cult of the deified Homer by Ptolemy IV and his sister-wife, Arsinoe III. Their portraits are often identified in the personifications of *chronos* (time) and *oikoumene* (inhabited

space), the two figures who crown the poet at the lower left corner of the relief.²⁷ The importance of Homer as a universal vehicle of Hellenism is also reflected in the Hellenistic "Blind Homer" portrait type, transmitted by numerous Roman busts, which continued the tradition of fictional portraits of the legendary poet (cat. 42).

The Late Hellenistic period (150–30 B.C.) has been succinctly described as a "mass market in nostalgia."²⁸ It showed a preference for recycling the styles of past periods of Greek art and a trend for new contexts for the display of sculpture, now frequently installed in the upscale urban houses of Pella, Priene, Rhodes, and Delos. Delos, in particular, a major commercial center of the eastern Mediterranean from 166 to 69 B.C., attracted large numbers of sculptors from Athens and other cities who catered to the tastes and social aspirations of its prospering international mercantile community. Sometime after 137 B.C., Kleopatra and Dioskourides, an Athenian couple who lived in the island's theater quarter, placed marble statues of themselves opposite the main entrance of the peristyle court of their newly refurbished house (fig. 83). Ostentatiously, Kleopatra announces both

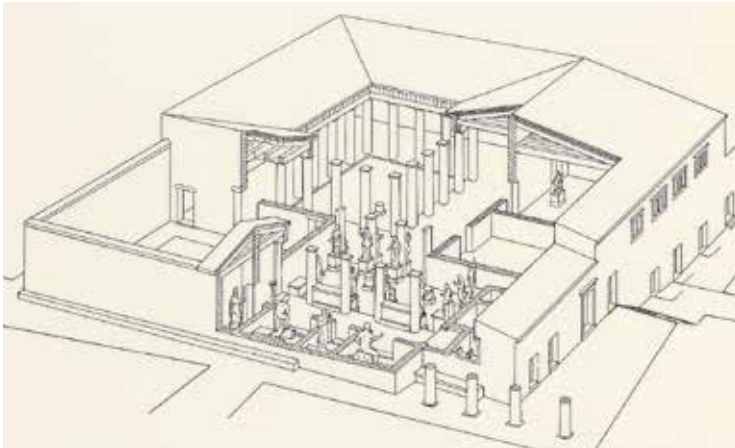


Fig. 84. Koinon of the Poseidoniasts, Delos. Late Hellenistic period, ca. 110 B.C. Reconstruction drawing after C. Picard 1921, p. 32, fig. 36

the piety and wealth of her husband in the inscription on the tall base of the group: “Kleopatra, daughter of Adrastos from Myrrinous, dedicates the statue of her husband, Dioskourides, son of Theodoros of Myrrinous, who dedicated two silver Delphic tripods, one at either side of the entrance to the temple of Apollo, when Timarchos was archon of Athens.”²⁹

One of the sculptures adorning the Koinon of the Poseidoniasts (fig. 84) at Delos—a large complex built about 110 B.C. that served as the religious, commercial, and residential quarters of a guild of Syrian merchants—was a marble group of Aphrodite, Pan, and Eros. A certain Dionysios of Berytos (Beirut), a benefactor of the establishment, dedicated the statue on behalf of himself and his children to his ancestral gods, who probably included Aphrodite-Astarte. The under-lifesize figures survive complete with their plinth and low rectangular base. Pan grasps Aphrodite by the wrist while a flying Eros hovers above her shoulder and tries to push him away; the goddess raises her sandal in defense, as all of the figures smile (fig. 85).³⁰ The statue group is often considered a characteristic example of the “Hellenistic rococo,” an ornate style usually applied to compositions that draw their themes from the world of Dionysos and Aphrodite. Late Hellenistic statue groups with satyrs, nymphs, and hermaphrodites become more daring both compositionally, in their intertwined, physically connected figures, and in their sexually explicit imagery (cat. 226). They are often interpreted as the realization of male erotic fantasies, and even as a subversion of middle-class ideals about heterosexual romance that were promoted in the plays of New Comedy.

Most of the types and trends briefly surveyed here—individualized honorary portraiture, heroic baroque, classicism



Fig. 85. Aphrodite with Pan and Eros, from Delos. Greek, Late Hellenistic period, ca. 100 B.C. Marble, H. with base 61 in. (155 cm). National Archaeological Museum, Athens (3335)

and stylistic retrospection, dramatic setting and staging, allegory and historical allusion—had an enduring afterlife in Roman and later Western art. Classically educated Roman elites followed the example of the Hellenistic kings in acquiring Greek sculpture to indicate elevated social status and cultural sophistication. The high demand for copies of famous works for their villas and houses (see the essay “Greek Art in Rome” in this volume) opened a new chapter in the function and display of Greek sculpture that still resonates today.

HELLENISTIC ROYAL PORTRAITURE ON COINS

George Kakavas

Alexander III of Macedonia (356–323 B.C.), who came to be called “the Great,” is regarded as one of the most influential personalities of all time, having left his mark on world history like no other ruler.¹ His effect on political life, culture, and art across a territory extending from the eastern Mediterranean to India and into remote regions of Europe and Asia became apparent not only during his short lifetime, much of which was devoted to military campaigns, but especially during the centuries after his death. Alexander’s status as a military genius is undisputed, and by crafting far-sighted policies, he shaped the administration and changed the economic course of the territories that he occupied. He created a single imperial monetary system as the principal medium for exchange in the Mediterranean region. He founded more or less twenty cities from Egypt to India, each bearing his name, that laid the foundations for the development of trade. He converted the markets of the East into busy hubs, stimulating export, while Greek-type cities were established at strategic points in the kingdom’s mainland and coasts. Overland trade routes, securely connected to the Mediterranean ports, facilitated the movement of goods and people throughout Alexander’s multiracial state, which was ruled both by Macedonians and by natives of the conquered regions. Finally, Alexander designed and supervised expeditions, like that of his navarch (admiral) Nearchos from the Indus River to the Persian Gulf, in order to explore new trade routes and further boost the economy.

The centuries that followed Alexander’s brief reign saw the development of his empire into an ecumenical commonwealth, not united politically but sharing Greek language and culture, an interconnected economic and social life, and mutual customs and traditions. Works of art and science produced in the Greek cities became models for imitation and variation, spreading new artistic trends and the adoption of new techniques throughout

the eastern and southern Mediterranean. This *koine*, or common culture, extended to the north and west with the conquests of the Roman Empire and became the harbinger of a united Europe.

Alexander gave splendor to the institution of monarchy, while strengthening it, and bequeathed his model of a ruler to his Hellenistic Successors, or Diadochi. After his death, his realm was divided into several kingdoms, the most important taking on dynastic and regional identity from the beginning of the third century B.C.: the Antigonid Kingdom in Macedonia and Greece, the Seleucid Kingdom in Syria and Asia Minor, the Lagid Ptolemaic Kingdom in Egypt, and the Attalid Kingdom, which was centered at Pergamon. Along with the Attalid state, several lesser kingdoms expanded in Asia Minor: the Bithynian, Cappadocian, and Pontic. Alexander’s ambitious generals fought ruthlessly among themselves for succession and territorial control, even after the establishment of kingdoms by Ptolemy, Seleukos, and Lysimachos. The claim on border territories often led to conflict between the Ptolemies and the Seleucids. The brief co-regency of Lysimachos I of Thrace and Pyrrhos of Epeiros in Macedonia (288–285 B.C.) typifies the short-lived alliances between the Hellenistic rulers. At Pergamon, Philetairos founded the Attalid dynasty, his successor Eumenes wrested independence from the Seleucids, and Attalos I was proclaimed king after his victory over the Gauls in 238 B.C. The Hellenistic Bactrian kingdom, in Central Asia, also splintered off from the Seleucids. About 250 B.C., its founder, Diodotos I, satrap of Bactria, appropriated lands belonging to his overlords. Dynastic conflicts, common throughout the Hellenistic world, were rife here: Diodotos was overthrown by Euthydemus, satrap of Sogdiana, in 223 B.C., and in 170 B.C. Eukratides, an ally of the Seleucids, usurped the throne. During his twenty-five-year reign he extended Bactrian sovereignty to northwest India, as evidenced by the distribution of his coins.²

Alexander was the first of all these rulers to enjoy the status of god in his own lifetime, as indicated by the practice of prostration in the Persian court, his adoration as son of the gods in Egypt, and the Greek mission to Babylon to pay divine honors to him. After his death, the worship and deification of the rulers of the Hellenistic kingdoms were established gradually. All of his Successors received devotion in the cities that they founded or controlled. Their military and political achievements, as well as specific deeds or gifts that benefited the cities, legitimized acts of gratitude toward them, similar to those deemed appropriate for the gods. The cult of the monarch was most common, but occasionally also that of his wife. At the same time, the monarch might institute divine honors for himself and his *oikos* (family). In Egypt, the Ptolemies imposed themselves as god-kings easily because of the pharaonic tradition. In other kingdoms, kings were given honors similar to those of the gods without, however, being assimilated into godhood, because of their mortal nature. In 307 B.C., Antigonos Monophthalmos (“the One-Eyed”) and Demetrios Poliorketes (“the Besieger”) were honored as Soter (Savior) and were received with divine honors in Athens. At Pergamon, Attalos III (r. 138–133 B.C.) shared the same temple as Asklepios. Antiochos III introduced the cult of the living king in the Seleucid Kingdom. Kleopatra VII (r. 51–30 B.C.), the last of the Ptolemies and the most ambitious and interesting queen of antiquity, established her worship as the “new Isis” independently of the king’s worship. The Romans received the same treatment in the Hellenistic East. Julius Caesar was honored as a god in Alexandria, Mark Antony was identified with Dionysos and Herakles, and Octavian Augustus was proclaimed a god in the temples of the goddess Roma at Pergamon and Athens.

Alexander the Great’s conquests led to important changes in the character of the ancient Mediterranean. The Hellenistic kingdoms created after his death brought about the dissolution of the traditional political configuration of the city-state. This transformation affected the development of Hellenistic coinage. The period’s coins are rich in information both on the autonomous coinage of cities and on that of the various kings and leagues. The economy of the Seleucid Kingdom, for example, was open and relied on trade. The coins circulating there followed the Attic weight standard, and Seleukos I minted coins with his own types only toward the end of his reign. By contrast, the Ptolemies imposed a monopoly by issuing their own coins of reduced weight shortly after Ptolemy I became king, and the Attalids followed the same policy.

In antiquity, coins often carried a message or were used for propaganda. Until the Hellenistic period, the images employed

for this purpose either were associated with deities or comprised various symbols with civic or mythic import. In the Hellenistic period, however, this practice took on new form and meaning. The portrait of the ruler came to adorn the coins’ obverse, proclaiming his sovereignty and implying his identification with the gods, whereas the image of the god was relegated to the reverse.³ This shift may have reflected Eastern practice: already from the last decades of the fifth to the mid-fourth century B.C., figures of satraps and rulers of Asia Minor, within the Persian Empire’s sphere of influence, appear on coins. In the Mediterranean, the first ruler depicted on coins is undoubtedly Alexander the Great. After his victory against the Indian king Poros at the Hydaspes River, in 326 B.C., Alexander struck at the mint of either Babylon or Susa a series of silver decadrachms, widely known today as the five-shekel “Poros medallions.” On the reverse appears the imagery of Alexander: the king wears military attire, holds the thunderbolt of Zeus in his right hand and a *sarissa* in his left, and is crowned by Nike flying above right.⁴ It has been argued by some scholars that Alexander also issued gold commemorative medallions on the same occasion. On the obverse of these, the king depicts himself with divine symbols: an elephant hide over his head, Zeus’s aegis, and the horns of Zeus Ammon. Since many questions remain about this problematic commemorative issue, any interpretation of its authenticity and identification must be viewed with caution.⁵ It has also been suggested that the portrait of a ruler wearing a Phrygian *pilos* (cap) on the bronze coins of Memphis, Egypt, dated about 332–323 B.C. could be identified as a portrait dating to Alexander’s lifetime.⁶

A number of scholars, however, believe that the first realistic imagery of a king is that of Alexander’s father, whose mounted figure appears on his silver tetradrachms. With regard to the coinage of Philip, the king is believed to have been depicted on the reverse of the first series of silver tetradrachms issued by him from 359 B.C. to about 349/348 B.C. Philip himself can be recognized in the figure of the horseman wearing Macedonian military attire with the *kausia* (brimmed hat) and raising his right hand in salute. In some specimens, even the tails of a diadem are visible.⁷ Moreover, it has been suggested that Philip is also portrayed on an electrum stater from Kyzikos, dated about 336 B.C., issued either by himself or by Alexander in his father’s memory.⁸

Alexander’s deification became more widely accepted after his death, and he became useful as a symbol of Hellenistic monarchy. The Diadochi made use of his portrait, for example, to confirm their own legitimacy. According to the description of Alexander by Plutarch: “The outward appearance of Alexander is best represented by the statues of him which Lysippos made,



Fig. 86. Silver tetradrachm of Ptolemy I with portrait of Alexander the Great, ca. 320 B.C. Numismatic Museum, Athens (I. Demetriou Collection 3A)

and it was by this artist alone that Alexander himself thought it fit that he should be modelled. For those peculiarities which many of his Successors and friends afterwards tried to imitate, namely, the poise of the neck, which was bent slightly to the left, and the melting glance of his eyes, this artist has accurately observed.⁹⁹ Indeed, many portraits of Alexander appear on the coinage of the Diadochi.

Ptolemy I Soter and Lysimachos of Thrace depicted Alexander's portrait on coins with idealized characteristics and divine symbols only posthumously. Ptolemy replaced the head of Herakles with Alexander's portrait on coins in approximately 320 B.C., showing Alexander with the familiar divine symbols of the elephant hide over his head, Zeus's aegis, and the horns of Zeus Ammon (fig. 86). Lysimachos introduced the head of the heroized and deified Alexander, with the horns of Zeus Ammon and a fillet diadem, in the early 290s B.C. From then on, the fillet diadem that Alexander wore became the royal emblem par excellence and appears on most of the royal portraits of his Successors' coins.¹⁰

Portraits of living rulers of the time of Alexander's Successors were first introduced on coins by Ptolemy I in Egypt in the last decade of the fourth century B.C. (fig. 87). Demetrios Poliorketes circulated coins bearing his portrait in Macedonia in the first decade of the third century B.C. (fig. 88), and previously he had issued silver drachms and half-drachms featuring his



Fig. 87. Gold pentadrachm of Ptolemy I bearing his own portrait, ca. 300–283/282 B.C. Numismatic Museum, Athens (I. Demetriou Collection 264a)

portrait at Asia Minor and Cyprus mints, in about 301–294 B.C. This new fashion soon became the rule in all of the Hellenistic kingdoms. Very early on, from the time of Antiochos I, the obverse of all Seleucid coins featured the ruler's portrait.

The great artistic significance of royal portraits on coins is the transition from the representation of a divine figure with human features to the realistic depiction of the head of a specific mortal ruler. This new and revolutionary concept had already appeared in portraits on monumental sculpture and affected all the royal monetary issues of the Hellenistic period. Thereafter, coins were associated with rulers, and numismatic iconography projected their personal aspirations. Indeed, the iconographic development of the depiction of specific persons on coins is a characteristic aspect of Hellenistic coin production and, among other things, an important source for the prosopography of the Hellenistic dynasties and the identification of individual rulers. Because they depicted rulers, coins now transmitted a new symbolism and message beyond their practical economic use: the purpose of the ruler's portrait was not to render him and his particular facial features recognizable—although this did happen—but to inform and affirm the king's, or in some cases the queen's, power. Coins were a link among the merchants, soldiers, pilgrims, and other inhabitants of the region in which they circulated, but they were also a vehicle for communicating the concept and image of a ruler's sovereignty. Furthermore, coins made clear that the person depicted was the rightful heir to the throne, an issue that plagued the Hellenistic kingdoms with numerous alliances and betrayals, conflicts and wars. Legitimacy of succession could also be indicated by placing the portrait of the previous ruler with the inscription of the successor on the coin's obverse or reverse.

Finally, we should note that the study of the production and imagery of coins securely fills critical gaps in the historical record. Modern-day knowledge of the kingdom of Bactria demonstrates this point: coins and coin hoards with royal portraits are perhaps



Fig. 88. Silver tetradrachm of Demetrios Poliorketes bearing his own portrait, ca. 289/288 B.C. Numismatic Museum, Athens (N.M. 1616)

the only reliable evidence for the names and succession of that region's rulers. In what follows, we survey the production and circulation of coins in each of the Hellenistic kingdoms, with attention not only to the economics of coins but also to the historical value of the portraits and symbols stamped on them.

THE PTOLEMAIC KINGDOM

The rulers of the Ptolemaic Kingdom exploited the rich gold mines of the eastern Arabian Desert and Nubia and issued high-quality coins from the mint at Alexandria. The circulation of their coinage was limited to Egypt and territories under Ptolemaic influence, such as Syria, Phoenicia, and Cyprus. Fourteen kings, all of them named Ptolemy, ruled in Egypt from 305 to 30 B.C., and some of their mothers and sisters, named Kleopatra, Berenike, or Arsinoe, were proclaimed queens. The Ptolemies were depicted on Egyptian coins, either alone or with another Ptolemy, to affirm the legal continuity of power and succession. Majestic in appearance, they are shown with their divine symbols and usually with highly realistic portrayals that, particularly toward the end of the Hellenistic period, include even flaws in facial features.

Ptolemy I was first to depict his portrait on Egyptian coins. A gold coin issued shortly after his accession to the throne, in 305/304 B.C., features his head with a diadem on the obverse and Alexander holding a lightning bolt on a chariot pulled by elephants on the reverse. A little later, Ptolemy's head replaced Alexander's on silver coins as well, with his personal features clearly denoted, carrying Zeus's aegis and wearing a royal diadem. From 304 B.C. onward, Ptolemy I bore the epithet Soter, first attributed to him by the Rhodians, and was also given divine honors. In the Ptolemaic Kingdom's lavish monetary production, the Attic weight standard was replaced with a new, lighter standard, and the ruler's portrait was established on the obverse of coins, along with Zeus's eagle and lightning bolt, symbols of the Lagid dynasty, or a single or double cornucopia, symbols of the kingdom's prosperity, on the reverse. These types lasted until the dynasty's end, in 30 B.C.

Women's portraits first appear on the coins of the Hellenistic kingdoms in Ptolemaic Egypt. By marrying his sister Arsinoe II (316–270 B.C.), Ptolemy II Philadelphos ("the Brother-loving") restored the pharaonic custom of intermarriage within the Egyptian royal family and was the first of the Ptolemies to portray his queen on his monetary issues. The gold coins he produced in the 260s B.C. feature the heads of the deceased and deified Ptolemy I and Berenike I, the first royal couple of the Lagid dynasty, with the inscription *Theon* (Gods) on one side and the heads of himself and his sister-wife, with the inscription



Fig. 89. Gold octadrachm of Ptolemy II with double portraits of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II (obverse) and Ptolemy I and Berenike I (reverse), ca. 261/260–240 B.C. Numismatic Museum, Athens (I. Demetriou Collection 455)



Fig. 90. Silver tetradrachm of Syracuse with the portrait of Philistis, 265–216 B.C. Numismatic Museum, Athens (Empedokles Collection)

Adelphon (Siblings), on the other (fig. 89). This iconography both emphasized the Lagid line of succession and inaugurated the dynastic cult of "sibling gods." Ptolemy II's pairing of royal couples' portrait heads, overlapping each other in profile, new to monetary iconography, was adopted by both his successors and other Hellenistic kings.

In honor of Berenike II, her husband, Ptolemy III Euergetes ("Benefactor") (r. 246–222 B.C.), introduced an important series of gold and silver coins with her portrait, noteworthy for both its high artistic quality and high denominations (dodecadrachms, decadrachms, octadrachms, pentadrachms).¹¹ The expressive depiction of a dreamy woman draped in a peplos, with her deep, humane gaze and almost imperceptible smile, is one of the most impressive female portraits of the third century B.C. Berenike's portrait became the model, with few variations, for almost all of the Lagid queens. Even the portrait of Philistis, the noble wife of Hieron II, tyrant of Syracuse, which appears on a coin struck in 218/217–214 B.C., copied that of Berenike (fig. 90). (It is well known that the style and general character of the Syracusan coinage follows the models of the friendly kingdom of Ptolemaic Egypt.) Only two portraits of Lagid queens were exceptions to this rule: the posthumous portrait of Arsinoe III, from 204/203 B.C., which introduced a new, powerful, realistic type that replaced the passive, deified beauty of the earlier queens, and the realistic portraits of

Kleopatra VII, the last queen of the Ptolemaic dynasty and last of Alexander's Successors. Kleopatra was the only woman who exercised real power and determined policy, especially through her interpersonal relations. With her charm, she convinced two of the most important Roman leaders of her time, Julius Caesar and Mark Antony, to support her demands; this approach proved fatal for her kingdom, however, and led to Egypt's gradual integration by and subordination to the Roman state. The monetary series with portraits of herself and Mark Antony reflect Kleopatra's ambitious political vision: the union of the Greek East with mighty Rome.

THE MACEDONIAN KINGDOM

By exploiting the silver and gold mines of Mount Pangaion, the rulers of the Macedonian kingdom were able to issue high-quality coins throughout the kingdom's history. Unlike the other Hellenistic rulers, however, Macedonian kings were not frequently depicted on the coins they issued, following instead Alexander the Great's types on their tetradrachms. Demetrios Poliorketes was the first of Alexander's Macedonian Successors to be depicted on coins (see fig. 88), a revolutionary practice for Greece, where, in contrast with the East and Hellenized Asia Minor, placing portraits of mortals on coins had been extremely rare. Demetrios's early idealistic portraits were later replaced by realistic ones, with his characteristic pointed nose and minimal smile, particularly at mints outside Macedonia. Other rulers did not follow Demetrios's example until the time of Philip V, whose coins of 188/187–179 b.c. picture him as a young man with a short beard and determined gaze (fig. 91). His son and successor, Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, adopted a portrait almost identical to his father's, obviously in an attempt to legitimize his succession. Later, however, he is shown as a mature man with his facial features accentuated in the realistic portraits his personal engraver, Zoilos, created. The coins of Perseus issued directly after his accession to the throne and featuring Zoilos's signature beneath the ruler's neck are considered to be commemorative issues (fig. 92).

THE THRACIAN KINGDOM

Lysimachos, king of Thrace from 306 b.c. onward, chose an idealistic portrait of Alexander the Great for the silver and gold coins he issued from 297/296 to 282/281 b.c., thus breaking away from the realistic representation of the Macedonian king's facial features (fig. 93). Lysimachos presumably chose the portrait of the heroized and deified Alexander in order to be associated with him as his successor and acknowledged as an able general. Indeed, these coins were issued after the Battle of Ipsos (301 b.c.),

when Lysimachos, aided by his allies Seleukos, Kassandros, and Ptolemy, defeated Antigonos and managed to expand his territory in Macedonia and Asia Minor, after also marrying Ptolemy's daughter Arsinoe. These posthumous portraits of Alexander, with the characteristic curl over his forehead, are among the most skillful and impressive royal portraits of the Early Hellenistic period. They demonstrate that art was still in the service of the Classical ideal of beauty and that Alexander's image was by then idealized.



Fig. 91. Silver tetradrachm of Philip V bearing his portrait, ca. 188/187–179 b.c. Numismatic Museum, Athens (Empedokles Collection)



Fig. 92. Perseus commemorative silver tetradrachm signed by Zoilos, 179/178 b.c. Numismatic Museum, Athens (N.M. BE 880ε)



Fig. 93. Gold stater of Lysimachos with portrait of Alexander the Great, 297/296–ca. 282/281 b.c. Numismatic Museum, Athens (N.M. 1205)



Fig. 94. Silver tetradrachm of Mithridates V bearing his own portrait, ca. 150–120 B.C. Numismatic Museum, Athens (N.M. 1976/33)

THE PONTIC KINGDOM

The rulers of Pontos followed the example of the other Hellenistic kingdoms and issued coins with their mostly realistic portraits. That of King Pharnakes I (r. ca. 185–ca. 170 B.C.), with its pronounced chin and features that verge on deformity, is representative of this style. The portraits of Mithridates IV (r. ca. 170–150 B.C.) and his wife Laodike, which follow the Ptolemaic model of husband-and-wife busts in profile, stress particular features, such as neck folds, a sign of advanced age. The same realism pervades the portrait of Mithridates V (r. 150–120 B.C.) (fig. 94). The engravers of these issues did not seek to beautify the rulers' images; rather, they created portraits of fascinating individuality that convey the principal facial features with extreme precision, making them easily recognizable.

The last king of Pontos, Mithridates VI Eupator (r. 120–63 B.C.), broke with tradition: the portrait on his gold and silver coins differs considerably from those of his predecessors. The king is depicted with idealized features on this exquisite currency, with wavy hair and a dreamy gaze, his image resembling that of a god. Furthermore, in order to legitimize and strengthen the king's political power, Mithridates' coins associate his image with astronomical phenomena: two comets. Justin's epitome of the otherwise lost *Historiae Philippicae* of Pompeius Trogus notes about Mithridates that "the greatness that was to be his had been foretold even by strange celestial phenomena. On two occasions, both in the year of his birth [134 B.C.] and in the year he began his reign [120 B.C.], a comet burned so brightly for seventy days that the entire sky seemed to be on fire. In its greatness it filled a quarter of the heavens, and with its brilliance it outshone the sun, while its rising and setting each took a period of four hours."¹²



Fig. 95. Silver tetradrachm of Antiochos Hierax bearing his own portrait, ca. 240–239 B.C. Numismatic Museum, Athens (Empedokles Collection)

THE SELEUCID KINGDOM

In the Seleucid Kingdom, the depiction of rulers on coins began with its second ruler, Antiochos I Soter (281–261 B.C.). In addition to the royal portrait type with only royal diadem and no divine symbols, Antiochos introduced the depiction of Apollo on the coins' reverse, probably as an affirmation of dynastic continuity, since the god of light and music was considered not only the founder and protector of the Seleucid dynasty but also the father of Seleukos. Antiochos I's realistic portrait, with its deep pensive gaze, obvious emotional tension, and the intense drive and determination that it conveys, recalls known statue types and breaks away from the portraits of other dynasties. All subsequent Seleucid kings followed Antiochos's example and depicted their portraits on the obverse of their silver and gold coins, as on the silver tetradrachms issued by Antiochos Hierax ("the Hawk") in 240–239 B.C. (fig. 95). Even in the rich numismatic output of the Hellenistic rulers, Syria's complete series of royal portraits, which covers a period of approximately two centuries, is particularly noteworthy.¹³

THE ATTALID KINGDOM

Taking advantage of the Seleucid Kingdom's inability to become Asia Minor's great power in the third and second centuries B.C., Philetairos, Lysimachos's treasurer at Pergamon, founded the independent Attalid dynasty in about 282 B.C. Unlike his contemporary kings, Philetairos did not depict his portrait on the coins that he issued, but that of Seleukos. His successors, however, systematically depicted Philetairos on their coins in honor of and out of respect for the founder of their dynasty. His portrait decorated silver Pergamene tetradrachms, which followed the Attic weight standard, until 133 B.C., when the kingdom came under Roman control as a Roman province. On all these issues, Philetairos's portrait is highly realistic, with individual characteristics that often verge on ugliness, making these royal portraits some of the boldest in monetary history.



Fig. 96. Silver tetradrachm of Prusias II bearing his own portrait, 182–149 B.C. Numismatic Museum, Athens (Empedokles Collection)



Fig. 97. Silver tetradrachm of Heliokles I Dikaios (“the Just”) bearing his own portrait, ca. 145–130 B.C. Numismatic Museum, Athens (N.M. 1912/3 Δ4)

THE BITHYNIAN KINGDOM

Like other small kingdoms in Asia Minor, the kingdom of Bithynia issued coins with its ruler’s portrait on the obverse. The coins of Prusias I Kholos (“the Lame”) (r. ca. 230–182 B.C.) and Prusias II Kynegos (“the Hunter”) (r. 182–149 B.C.) (fig. 96) depict the rulers with royal diadem and individual characteristics. The monetary portrait of Nikomedes II Epiphanes (“the Manifest”) (r. 149–127 B.C.) with royal diadem had the purpose of legitimizing the usurper king’s power, after he murdered his father, Prousius II.

THE CAPPADOCIAN KINGDOM

Cappadocia was a satrapy (province) of the Persian Empire before it became a powerful independent kingdom in the third century B.C. Its most important cities were Mazaka (later Eusebeia or Caesarea) and Tyana. The kingdom was founded by Ariarathes I (r. ca. 331–322 B.C.), and Archelaos Philopatris Ktistes (“Lover and Founder of his Country”) (r. 36 B.C.–A.D. 14) was its last ruler. The Cappadocian kings’ monetary portraits were influenced by those of the neighboring kingdoms (Seleucid and Attalid) and reached their final form on Ariarathes III’s (r. 262/255–220 B.C.) coins, which featured the king’s head with royal fillet diadem on the obverse and Athena Nikephoros enthroned or standing on the reverse. Only Ariarathes IX Eusebes Philopator (“Pious and Father-Loving”) (r. 101–89 B.C.), son of King Mithridates VI of Pontos, broke from this tradition with his silver tetradrachms, which copied the iconography of his father’s staters and silver tetradrachms by featuring an idealistic portrait of Mithridates on the obverse and Pegasos and vine wreath (instead of a deer and ivy wreath) on the reverse.

THE BACTRIAN KINGDOM

The Bactrian Kingdom is a characteristic example of the wealth of information that coins provide. Despite the paucity of historical evidence about the region, coins shed ample light on

the Hellenistic period and the succession of the kings who ruled there. Antimachos I (r. ca. 185–170 B.C.) issued a large number of silver coins that follow the Attic weight standard, and on them he called himself Theos (God), an epithet that appears for the first time in the Hellenistic kingdoms. Furthermore, in order to establish an official dynastic cult, he issued commemorative silver drachmas in honor of Euthydemos I, calling him Theos, and the dynasty’s founder, Diodotos, calling him Soter. Agathokles, his contemporary and ruler of the Greco-Indian Kingdom, adopted the same practice of honoring predecessors. Almost all the Bactrian and Greco-Indian royal portraits on coins are realistic, often with the person’s individual characteristics stressed (fig. 97). Particularly noteworthy among Bactrian coins is the ancient world’s largest known gold coin (weight 169.2 grams, diameter 5.8 centimeters), which was equivalent to twenty staters and issued by the war-loving Eukratides I (r. ca. 171–145 B.C.), last Greek king of Bactria and India. Eukratides’ rich silver and gold monetary output demonstrates his rule’s importance and the Hellenistic kings’ use of coins for propaganda.¹⁴

EPILOGUE

With Alexander the Great’s Successors, the royal portrait became the main monetary type, represented in many ways in the rich coinage of the Hellenistic kingdoms. The coin’s small yet precious surface was perfectly suited to preserving a gallery of historical portraits of each region’s successive rulers. With their realistic or idealized features, the Hellenistic kings conveyed political and ideological messages that spread through the territories where their coins circulated and left their indelible mark on history. Several of these rulers would have been lost to oblivion, in fact, had their coins not preserved their faces and names to this day. The portraits of the Hellenistic kings and queens have always been a fascinating field of research and an inexhaustible source of information on history, politics, economy, society, and the art of portraiture.

ROYAL PATRONAGE AND THE LUXURY ARTS

Christopher S. Lightfoot

When Alexander and his victorious troops set fire to Persepolis in 330 B.C., they destroyed not only the Achaemenid Empire's seat of government, but also the city's sumptuous palace and much of its luxurious wealth.¹ The gold and silver was carried off as bullion, becoming the economic base on which the Successor Kingdoms of the Hellenistic world were founded. But other treasures—rich garments in silk and gold thread, carpets and tapestries, jewelry in Eastern styles, and tableware in semiprecious stone and glass—were lost to the Macedonians' looting and vandalism. Indeed, few of the luxury works of art with which the royal treasuries were undoubtedly filled survived. Yet Alexander and his generals must have been overawed by what they saw, and they did not fail to acquire a taste for Achaemenid opulence. The luxury arts of the Hellenistic kingdoms were directly inspired by the extravagant decorative arts and personal ornamentation that had characterized the Persian world. At the same time, however, the Macedonians sought to establish their place as leaders of the civilized world by cultivating Greek tastes. Hellenistic luxury arts span the divide between the two cultures, and the conflicting reactions to them, both in antiquity and in modern times, underline the dilemma inherent in their appreciation.²

Luxuries had in fact never been far distant in ancient Greece, though in the Classical era of the fifth and fourth centuries Spartan ideals and Athenian democratic sensitivities kept them in check on the mainland. This restraint was not practiced in Asia Minor, where Greek-style local dynasts felt the influence of Persian wealth, nor in Thrace and Scythia, where barbarians (the term used in ancient Greece to denote all non-Greek speakers) regaled themselves with rich jewelry and accoutrements, nor indeed in Macedonia itself, as evidenced by the sumptuous finds from the royal tombs at Aigai (Vergina) (fig. 98).³ So it is no surprise that Alexander's Successors

quickly fell under the spell of collecting treasure, seeing its potency to symbolize regal power and prestige as well as provide the means to display kingly munificence and patronage. Their royal capitals—Pella, Alexandria, Antioch, Seleucia, and eventually Pergamon—became magnets for artists and craftsmen just as much as for philosophers, poets, and scholars. Indeed, the skilled craftsmen, workshops, and sources of the precious materials exploited in Achaemenid times cannot all have disappeared after Alexander's conquest. Nor could the Eastern artisans' skills be learned overnight by Greeks, who, despite modern assumptions, were not always the most gifted at producing objects of beauty and grace.



Fig. 98. Chest from Tomb II, Aigai (Macedonia). Greek, Early Hellenistic period, late 4th century B.C. Gold, H. 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (20.5 cm). Museum of the Royal Tombs of Aigai, Vergina (BM 2630)



Fig. 99. Libation bowl dedicated by Demarchos, son of Achyris, probably from Monte Riparato di Caltavuturo (Sicily). Greek, Early Hellenistic period, ca. 325–275 b.c. Gold, Diam. 9 in. (22.9 cm). Antiquarium di Himera (12184)

Alexander is said to have taken 160,000 talents of gold and silver from the Persian treasuries at Persepolis and Susa alone.⁴ Precious metal was, therefore, much more plentiful in the Hellenistic world than it had been in Classical Greece. Some was used, as before, as offerings to the gods by individuals (fig. 99). Setting the example for royal donations, Alexander's wife, Roxane, was able to dedicate gold vessels on the Acropolis at Athens.⁵ Similar lavish offerings were made by a number of the Successors at other Greek sanctuaries; Seleukos I and his son Antiochos, for example, contributed to the treasure stored in the Temple of Apollo at Didyma, which included gold crowns, jewelry, and vessels. With such generosity, Hellenistic kings were in large part following in the footsteps of earlier Eastern potentates such as the sixth-century Lydian king Kroisos (Croesus), whose dedications to Greek sanctuaries are recorded in Herodotos.⁶ However, large amounts of precious metal were diverted by the Successors to sustain and symbolize a lifestyle of extraordinary personal wealth. Opulence was a defining aspect of Hellenistic art and served a number of purposes within the sphere of the royal courts and in the world at large. It aided the personal aggrandizement of an individual ruler, who might clothe himself (and his consort) in garments that were richly embroidered, purple dyed, or made of fine linen and even silk. Such dress singled him out, whether he was giving an



Fig. 100a, b. Two rings with heads of Athena, from Pantikapaion (Crimea). Greek, Early Hellenistic period, early 3rd century b.c. Gold, garnet; H. of bezels 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (4.8 cm) and 2 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (5.4 cm). State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (П.1838.15, П.1838.16)



Fig. 101. Ring engraved with the portrait of a Ptolemaic ruler. Greek, Hellenistic period, mid-2nd century b.c. Gold, H. 1 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (3.4 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (Bj1092)

Fig. 102. Seal stone with the portrait of a Hellenistic ruler, possibly Philetairos of Pergamon. Greek, Hellenistic period, late 3rd–early 2nd century b.c. Chalcedony, H. 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (2.8 cm). The British Museum, London (GR 1872.6-4.1333)

audience in his palace or presiding over a public festival. Doubtless, too, the armor and weaponry of the Hellenistic kings were extremely impressive (see cat. 106), although little evidence for this now survives.⁷

The primary use of gold was for jewelry, of which the Hellenistic period provides a wide variety of sumptuous examples. Greek jewelry had already reached a high level of technical virtuosity and intricate design in the fourth century B.C., but much of it was made for clients around the periphery of the Greek world.⁸ In the Hellenistic period, royal patronage made the use of jewelry for self-promotion more acceptable in Greek eyes. At court it served as regalia, including gold diadems (see cat. 157) and other flamboyant items such as large finger rings (fig. 100a, b), often with signet stones engraved with the portrait of the king. Gold rings (fig. 101), gemstones (fig. 102), and coins (see, for example, cats. 131–136 and “Hellenistic Royal Portraiture on Coins” in this volume) all bore the royal portrait, stemming from the iconography that Alexander created for himself as the personification of power. But some types of Hellenistic jewelry derived not from earlier Greek but from barbarian models. Torques, for example, were worn in Achaemenid Persia and also later among the Celts, who overran parts of the Hellenistic world in the third century B.C. (see cat. 172).⁹ Elaborate bracelets (see cat. 177), armbands (see cats. 166, 175), and headdresses (see cat. 160) represent other forms of sumptuous jewelry and personal items that filtered down from the royal courts to the higher strata of Hellenistic society across the Mediterranean world.

Gold and silver were also extensively used for vessels that in the Classical period had typically been made of pottery. In particular, drinking cups, jugs, and other utensils associated with the symposium—the traditional drinking party that played an important social and political role in the Hellenistic kingdoms—became showpieces.¹⁰ At Ptolemy II’s great banquet in the 270s B.C., ten thousand talents of gold plate and utensils are said to have been used.¹¹ This would have amounted to approximately 570,000 pounds in weight. While most Hellenistic tableware did not reach that level of extravagance, silver plate was not unusual, often embellished with gilding (see cats. 178, 182) and figural decoration that was intended to provide subjects for discussion by the guests.¹² Some vessels were encrusted with gems, another feature that speaks to Eastern, rather than purely Greek, tastes (see cat. 182).¹³ Drinking cups, often produced in pairs or sets, form one of the most important groups of Hellenistic silverware. Many adhere to established Greek shapes. Others, however, are more unusual and reflect tastes that go beyond the Classical world. Of these, the most spectacular are the drinking horns (rhyta) that are richly decorated in



Fig. 103. Drinking horn (rhyton) with forepart of a zebu. Greek, Late Hellenistic period, 2nd century B.C. Gilt silver, H. 16 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (42.9 cm). Toledo Museum of Art; Purchased with funds from the Libbey Endowment, Gift of Edward Drummond Libbey (1988.23)

repoussé and have finials modeled as protomes of animals or mythological creatures (fig. 103; see also cat. 181). Many examples have been found in the lands to the north of Greece and the Black Sea, especially in Thrace and Scythia, but their inspiration derives from the Achaemenid Empire.¹⁴ Rhyta were made not only in silver but also in ivory, glass, and faience (see cat. 164).¹⁵ Animal-headed buckets and cups are another type that has antecedents in the East.¹⁶ Such vessels enabled Hellenistic rulers at important functions such as symposia to display their wealth in terms that reinforced their position as the inheritors of Alexander’s conquests.

Colorless glass tableware, another luxury inspired by Achaemenid antecedents, made its first appearance at Greek symposia in Hellenistic times and created a fashion that brought large-scale glass vessels to people as far away as Magna Graecia and the North Pontic region. Previously, the Greek glass industry had restricted its production to miniature core-formed containers in a limited number of shapes—alabastron, amphoriskos,



Fig. 104. Alabastron. Greek, Early Hellenistic period, late 4th–early 3rd century B.C. Glass, H. 6 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (17.6 cm). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Bequest of Theodore M. Davis, 1915 (30.115.34)

oinochoe, and aryballos—mainly used for perfume or oil. These had copied full-size pottery and, in some cases, silver or stone vessels. Core-formed glass vessels continued to be made in the Hellenistic period, but they now tended to be larger, reaching up to twenty centimeters high, and more impressive (fig. 104). Cast glass, meanwhile, could be much more substantial in size; for example, a composite cast-glass amphora said to be from Olbia measures nearly sixty centimeters high (fig. 105).¹⁷ The luxury glass tableware of the period appears to have been produced at factories associated with Hellenistic royal capitals. Indeed, new sources of the raw materials for making glass were exploited, notably in Macedonia, probably as a result of royal demand for glass. The extent of the role played by Alexandria in the Hellenistic glass industry remains unclear, but the most impressive examples of glass, such as the so-called Canosa Group (cats. 206, 207), arguably made at Alexandria, were inspired by royal taste for extravagant tableware in precious metals and other luxury materials.¹⁸ New methods of enhancing glass with gold were also developed. Whereas glass inlays

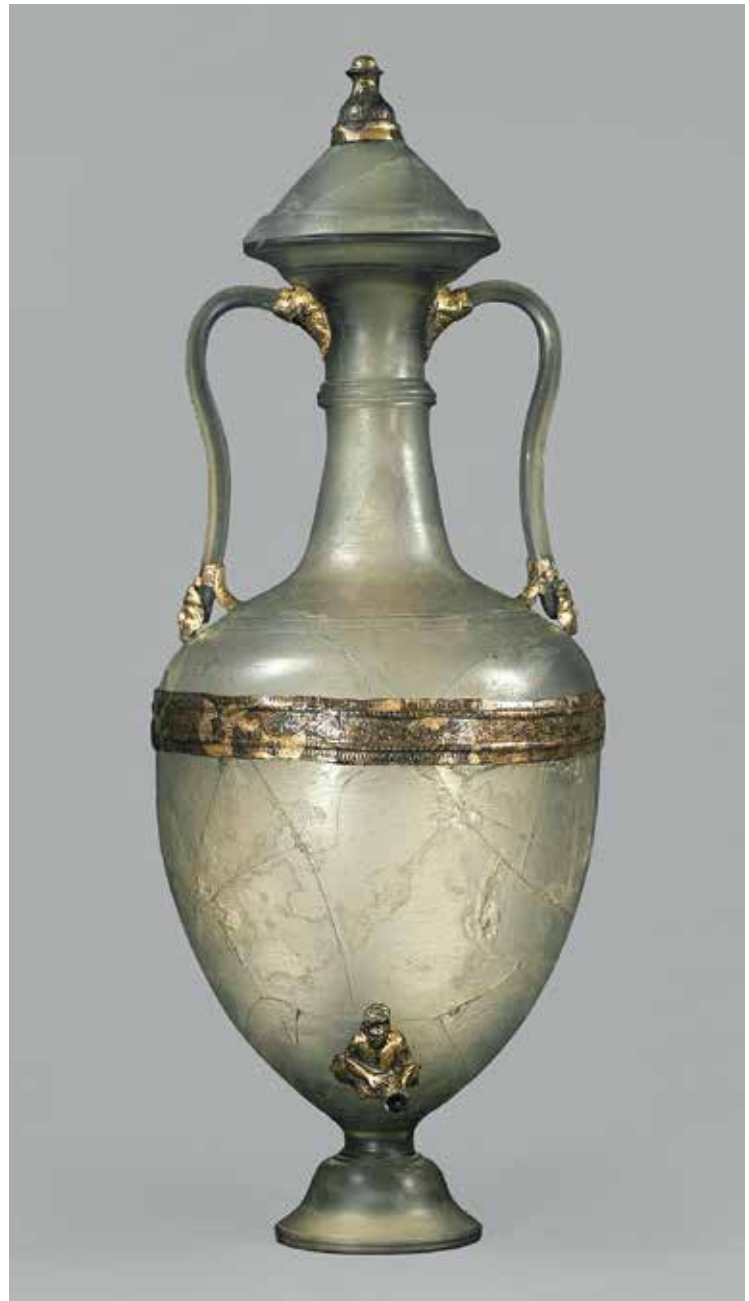


Fig. 105. Amphora, probably from Olbia (Ukraine). Greek, Late Hellenistic period, end of 2nd–beginning of 1st century B.C. Glass, gilded copper; H. 23 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (59.6 cm). Altes Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (30219.54)

backed with gold foil had existed in the Classical period, gold was now used to enrich tableware by sandwiching intricately worked foil between two layers of glass (see cats. 195, 196).¹⁹ Decorative geometric and vegetal patterns were the norm, but in rare examples figural scenes were etched out in the gold decoration—the first representations of human or divine figures to appear on glass vessels (see cat. 20). Mosaic glass was also introduced now (see cats. 200, 201), providing the brilliant colors that characterize much of Hellenistic art. Some combinations

had the aim of imitating precious stones such as banded agate (see cat. 202), but others sought to provide vivid contrasting panels (see cats. 206, 207) or enhance color by the addition of gold-glass segments or bands (see cat. 201).²⁰

The expansion of the Hellenistic world introduced the Greeks to exotic materials that had been previously unattainable because of either their remoteness or their rarity and value. Some were used in new and striking ways, such as the carving of onyx and banded agate to make cameo gems and even vessels (see cat. 203). By exploiting the natural layering of these stones, artisans created three-dimensional images. One of the most famous examples, known as the Gonzaga Cameo (fig. 106), is widely believed to depict Ptolemy II Philadelphos and his sister Arsinoe II, although the allegorical nature of the imagery allows other interpretations of its subject and date (see cat. 129).²¹ Ivory was another material that became more readily available as the supply of elephants and carved ivories from Africa and India increased under the Ptolemies and Seleucids. Even in its raw state as unworked tusks, ivory brought status and prestige to its royal owners.²² Exquisite examples of worked ivory that were used to decorate a funerary couch (*kline*) have been found at Aigai in what is thought to be the tomb of Alexander IV, the son of Alexander the Great.²³



Fig. 106. Gemstone with double royal portrait (Gonzaga Cameo). Greek, Hellenistic period, 3rd century B.C. or later. Sardonyx, H. 6½ in. (15.7 cm). State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (H 291)

India was a primary source in antiquity for many precious stones, but only in Hellenistic times did gems such as garnet and sapphire start to make their way from there to the Mediterranean. Garnet, in fact, became one of the most popular stones. Because of its rich color and relatively large size, it was used in all manner of jewelry (see cat. 157) and applied as inlay on vessels and even furniture and architectural elements. A large garnet carved as a portrait head of the Ptolemaic queen Berenike II (ca. 267–221 B.C.) was perhaps intended as a setting for a ring or other piece of jewelry, much like the amethyst portrait head of earlier queen Arsinoe II (cat. 161).²⁴ Pearls, too, rarely appear in Greek jewelry before the third century B.C. (see cat. 177). The Hellenistic liking for them derived from Achaemenid Persia, as the remains of pearl necklaces found at Pasargadai and Susa show.²⁵ They were imported into the Mediterranean world from the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and India.²⁶ The last queen of Egypt, Kleopatra VII (r. 51–30 B.C.), is said to have owned a pair of earrings that contained the most expensive pearls known in antiquity.²⁷

Great efforts were made by Hellenistic rulers to obtain gems from other lands as well. The Ptolemaic kings, for example, exploited emerald mines in Egypt's southern desert and imported other precious stones from islands in the Red Sea and beyond.²⁸ Indeed, there was considerable rivalry among the various Hellenistic rulers in amassing collections, for they viewed gems as part of their power base. Mithridates VI, king of Pontos (r. 120–63 B.C.), was a passionate collector of gems and precious-stone vessels, a hobby subsequently followed by several famous Romans, including Julius Caesar.²⁹ Carved gems could be especially powerful symbols of their owners' taste and refinement, encapsulated by the elaborate scenes etched on them in minute detail. Often these had political overtones.³⁰ According to Plutarch, in 86 B.C. the Roman general Lucullus was offered a gold ring with an emerald (*smaragdus*) as a bribe by Ptolemy XI. Although tempted by the jewel, he turned it down since it was carved with the king's portrait, which would have made his (bought) allegiance too obvious.³¹ Overall the semiprecious stones and gems that were garnered from the East and channeled through the satrapies of the vast Seleucid Kingdom made Hellenistic jewelry more colorful than that of Classical Greece and more in keeping with the inlaid polychrome decoration characteristic of Achaemenid ornaments.³²

As the Hellenistic kings outfitted their persons and tables lavishly, so too their palaces (and, subsequently, their tombs) were richly appointed. Mosaics in particular gave a new dimension to domestic architecture.³³ It was during the course of the third century B.C. that proper mosaic tesserae were first used in



Fig. 107. Mosaic roundel from Alexandria. Greek, Late Hellenistic period, second half of 2nd century B.C. Stone tesserae, Diam. 27 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (69 cm). Greco-Roman Museum, Alexandria (32044)

place of pebbles, providing a wider range of colors, a greater ability to create three-dimensional effects, and a much smoother polished surface. The technique called *opus vermiculatum* also increased the refinement of mosaic imagery, with the placement of tesserae in curving rows that accentuate form. A fine example of the naturalism achieved in Hellenistic mosaic floors is provided by a roundel excavated from the site of the modern Library of Alexandria (Bibliotheca Alexandrina), showing a dog seated beside a large metal pitcher, or askos (fig. 107).³⁴ Such was the prestige of mosaics that artists signed their works and rulers competed to furnish their palaces with mosaic floors of the finest quality (see cats. 35–37). Finally, this expression of luxury (and, because of the durability of mosaics, permanency) was transferred to Rome, where, by means of such tours de force as the floor panel from Pompeii known as the Alexander Mosaic (see fig. 1), it became a major feature of Roman art.

The Hellenistic palace was also filled with movable luxuries and furnishings, few of which now survive. Some idea of this wealth can be gleaned from ancient sources, such as a contemporary account of the Ptolemaieia held at Alexandria in the 270s B.C., a festival during which precious objects were

prominently displayed, presumably with the intention of impressing the spectators with the power and good fortune of their Macedonian ruler, Ptolemy II.³⁵ Thus luxury arts, made by the most skilled craftsmen from the finest and most precious materials, not only brought pleasure to their owners but also signaled prestige and status. Hellenistic rulers and, to a lesser extent, wealthy private individuals understood the social value of amassing collections of objets d'art, a habit that the Romans readily adopted. For example, according to the historian Cassius Dio, the wealthy Roman Seneca, adviser to Nero in the mid-first century A.D., had a collection of five hundred expensive tables with ivory legs and citrus-wood tops.³⁶ Indeed, many hoards of Hellenistic treasure were destined to fall into the hands of victorious Roman generals or rapacious governors, such as the infamous Verres in Sicily during the late 70s B.C.³⁷ Their subsequent fates, however, are not recorded.

Color and radiance were sought-after qualities in Hellenistic luxury arts, imbuing objects with high visibility. Many objects, too, were intended to be handled and admired by touch as well as close inspection.³⁸ Surface variations in color and texture were integral to the appeal of individual pieces, as indeed was their weight, often recorded in inscriptions that not only guaranteed their integrity but also advertised their value. Especially with regard to works fashioned from gold or silver, economic and artistic value were not mutually exclusive. Although Pliny the Elder states that high-quality workmanship enhanced their value, it was the weight and purity of the metal that ultimately set their market price.³⁹ Sadly, few large-scale works of art in precious metal have survived since they could readily be melted down, but the impressive size and appearance of Hellenistic coinage gives some idea of the royal and personal wealth of the period. Although the use of gold thread in textiles is said to have been invented by Attalos of Pergamon (hence the term “Attalid cloth”), Pliny acknowledges that the practice derived from the earlier kingdoms of the Near East, where not only kings but also nobles, courtiers, and guards were bedecked in cloth of gold.⁴⁰ Alexander's troops found many rich textiles, some made of expensive purple cloth, others with gold embroidery, when they sacked private residences in Persepolis.⁴¹ Persian robes were not only woven with gold thread but also, it seems, frequently decorated with golden ornaments.⁴² Demetrios Poliorketes, one of the most flamboyant of Hellenistic rulers, wore a robe that Plutarch later described as having a lustrous dark background emblazoned with gold stars and the twelve signs of the zodiac; perhaps these were gold ornaments that were sewn on to it.⁴³ Certainly, the custom persisted in the East, as evidenced by the appliqués that adorned the burial clothes



Fig. 108. Libation bowl with allegory of Ptolemaic Egypt (Tazza Farnese). Greek, Late Hellenistic period, second half of 2nd century–late 1st century B.C. Sardonyx/banded agate, Diam. 8½ in. (21.7 cm). Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples (30219.54 / 27611)

found in the princely Bactrian tombs at Tillya Tepe, dating probably to the second quarter of the first century A.D.⁴⁴

No doubt the finest luxury items made impressive possessions and served their owners well in the competitive arena of Hellenistic kingship. Those that were highly portable, such as gems and hard-stone vessels, made ideal diplomatic gifts that could be offered to the gods, potential allies or in-laws, or important and powerful supporters.⁴⁵ As such, they were the ultimate messengers of regal power. An outstanding example is the cameo-cut libation bowl (phiale) known as the Tazza Farnese, with a Medusa head (*gorgoneion*) carved in low relief on the exterior and a complex scene of Egyptian gods and personifications occupying the interior of the bowl (fig. 108).⁴⁶

Its date and origins are uncertain, though its imagery most likely reflects the self-promotion of the Ptolemaic dynasty with the fertility of the Nile implying the family's wealth and life-giving power. It had a spectacular later history, probably passing from Alexandria to Rome and thence Constantinople before it was recorded at the court of the Mongol conqueror Timur (Tamerlane, r. 1370–1405) in Central Asia, and then returning to the West to form part of the collection of Lorenzo de' Medici in Florence.⁴⁷ Lorenzo's death in 1492 coincided in date with Christopher Columbus's arrival in the New World, and the subsequent Spanish conquest of the Americas brought wealth to Europe on a scale not seen since Alexander's conquest of the Achaemenid Empire.

IV

THE HELLENISTIC KINGDOMS AND ROME



SEAFARING, SHIPWRECKS, AND THE ART MARKET IN THE HELLENISTIC AGE

Seán Hemingway

The sea always played a prominent role in ancient Greek life. Tales of maritime voyages to distant lands, such as the account by Apollodorus of Jason and the Argonauts' journey in search of the Golden Fleece and, of course, Homer's *Odyssey*, were popular in the Hellenistic period. Myths had been used for centuries to explain the vast waters that covered the earth; the Titan Okeanos (fig. 109), for example, personified a river that was thought to encircle the globe.¹ A basic understanding of world geography began in early Hellenistic times, when the word *geographia* is first attested.² By the late fourth century B.C., Greek mariners had acquired considerable knowledge of the Mediterranean Sea and had ventured well beyond its shores in numerous expeditions, from the return voyage of Alexander the Great's Cretan admiral Nearchos along the northern coast of the Indian Ocean to explorations beyond the Pillars of Hercules (Strait of Gibraltar) into the Atlantic Ocean.³ In the third century B.C. the scholar Eratosthenes from Cyrene estimated the circumference of the earth with remarkable accuracy, and other great minds such as Archimedes were inventing new tools for navigating and for understanding the movements of the stars.⁴ Seafaring was an important aspect of life in the Hellenistic world that connected many of its disparate regions and served as a conduit for trade in a wide variety of commodities, not least of all artworks.

The Mediterranean Sea was not, however, as united as it would be later under the Roman Empire or even as the Aegean Sea had been under the hegemony of Perikleian Athens in the fifth century B.C. Many different Hellenistic kingdoms lay along its shores, and constantly shifting political alliances caused the period to be fraught with battles on land and sea. As in most periods of extended military conflict, technological innovations helped to shape the strategies of Hellenistic kings, who sought



Fig. 109. Okeanos, from the Roman baths at Sidi el-Hani, Tunisia. Roman, Imperial period, late 2nd century. Mosaic. Musée National du Bardo, Tunis (A 12)

to protect their maritime interests, expand their territorial reach, and display their naval might. The power vacuum left in the wake of Alexander the Great's death led to the fragmentation of his empire and the development of large navies with increasingly larger warships. In the Classical period (480–323 B.C.), the standard Greek warship was the highly maneuverable trireme (or “three”), meaning a three-tiered, oar-powered warship; this was followed by the introduction of “fours” and “fives” that were probably developed for the siege warfare of maritime cities.⁵ During the Early Hellenistic period, the ability to cast superior large bronze fittings advanced, as attested by the 465-kilogram Athlit Ram (fig. 110), found off the coast of Israel in 1980.⁶ Much larger warships were similarly developed—“sixes,” “sevens,” “eights,” “nines,” and so on up to megawarships called “forties,” which were the largest on record.⁷ Such huge vessels were designed for frontal ramming and discharging long-range projectiles, two of the main tactics of Hellenistic naval warfare.⁸

Among the most famous naval conflicts of the period was the yearlong siege of Rhodes in 305–304 B.C. by Demetrios I of Macedonia, whose ultimate failure lent an ironic tinge to his epithet, *Poliorketes* (“Besieger of Cities”).⁹ Despite having 40,000 soldiers, 30,000 workmen, 200 warships, and 170 transport ships¹⁰ at his disposal as well as sophisticated catapults and monumental siege machinery, Demetrios could not take Rhodes, whose people fought valiantly with the support of supplies and soldiers sent from Egypt by their longtime ally Ptolemy. The Rhodians had stood fast because they could not allow the capture of their harbor, which would have meant the end of their freedom and control of their livelihood as a maritime

commercial center. In thanks for their victory, they erected the Colossus to the sun god Helios, one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World, and which inspired New York City's Statue of Liberty (built to a similar scale and with similar techniques).¹¹ The Greeks often celebrated naval victories with sculptural monuments dedicated to the gods, of which the most famous extant example from Hellenistic times is the Nike of Samothrace (see fig. 78). The traditional end of the Hellenistic period is marked by a naval conflict, the Battle of Actium (see cat. 256), in 31 B.C., at which Octavian, the future emperor Augustus, and his navy defeated Mark Antony and Kleopatra, who ruled the last Macedonian kingdom independent from Rome.

Another of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World was inspired by the sea: the great Pharos, or Lighthouse, of Alexandria, a technical marvel whose reflected light (sunlight during the day, firelight at night) could be seen for miles. It served as a beacon to guide ships into the harbor at Alexandria, the cosmopolitan capital city of the Ptolemies, along the otherwise nondescript North African coastline. Little remains of the monument today, but ancient literary descriptions and artistic representations, especially a series of Roman coins minted in Alexandria (fig. 111), give a sense of what it looked like.¹² A tall tower with a large door near its base, it was decorated with sculptures of Tritons on the corners of its upper story and with a large statue of Zeus Soter on its roof.¹³

Throughout antiquity, the sailing season on the Mediterranean was primarily from May to October. Prevailing trade winds blowing from the north in summer aided in travel from major ports in the north, such as Rome, to those in the south,



Fig. 110. The Athlit Ram. Greek, Hellenistic period, late 4th or 3rd century B.C. Bronze, L. 89 in. (226 cm), Wt. 1,025 lbs. (465 kg). The National Maritime Museum, Haifa



Fig. 111. Billon tetrachm of Commodus with the Pharos of Alexandria. Roman, Imperial period, A.D. 188–189. Bronze, Diam. 1 in. (2.5 cm), Wt. .38 oz. (10.69 g). American Numismatic Society, New York (1974.26.3917)

such as Alexandria. After a merchant vessel passed through the Straits of Messina and the northeastern tip of Sicily, it could sail with good winds across open sea to Alexandria in five to ten days.¹⁴ The return trip against the wind could take as long as two months. Frequently, though, ships would hug the coastline to ensure greater safety from squalls, and time was thus added to their journey. Cicero, for example, traveling from Athens to Ephesus in July of 51 B.C., took sixteen days to make the crossing through the Aegean Islands, stopping each night en route at a different port for a good meal and a comfortable bed on land.¹⁵

Treacherous seas, a very real source of danger for sailors, were sometimes personified in mythological sea creatures. The tricky currents of the Straits of Messina were associated with “dread-yelping” Scylla,¹⁶ who lived in a cave opposite Charybdis, a sucking whirlpool; steering too close to either could lead to shipwreck and death. Scylla was a common mythological subject in Classical and Hellenistic art, especially popular in the decoration of drinking vessels. An outstanding example is the gilt-silver medallion found in a hoard of silver associated with the House of Eupolemos at Morgantina, in eastern Sicily (cat. 178) and once set inside the most elaborately decorated drinking vessel from the treasure (fig. 112). It must have provoked lively conversation at drinking parties where the guest who drank wine from it would have been confronted by the awesome sight of Scylla emerging from the depths of the “wine dark” sea and hurling a boulder directly at him while literally in his cups.

Piracy, a widespread problem during the Hellenistic Age, was another peril of travel by sea. In the late fourth and early third centuries B.C., Tyrrhenian pirates were rampant along the

coasts of southern Italy and Sicily as well as in parts of the Aegean. Hellenistic kings sometimes made the best of a bad situation by working in concert with these brigands. Diodorus Siculus relates that in the Early Hellenistic period Agathokles of Syracuse provided them with boats in return for a share of their booty.¹⁷ Philip V of Macedonia (r. 221–179 B.C.) made similar arrangements with marauders active in Aetolia and Illyria.¹⁸ Pirates were also sometimes employed by Hellenistic kings as auxiliary naval forces.¹⁹ Polybius tells us that Rome’s need to protect the Straits of Otranto from Illyrian pirates and to provide safe passage for merchant ships across the Adriatic was a major cause of its first military intervention on the Greek mainland in 229 B.C. and the outbreak of the First Illyrian War.²⁰ Crete, on a major eastern Mediterranean trade route lying somewhat isolated along the southern fringe of Greek waters, was another infamous pirate stronghold, as was the coast of Cilicia in southeastern Asia Minor. Although piracy can seldom be identified with certainty from the remains of ancient shipwrecks, the *Kyrenaia*, a Greek merchant vessel with a cargo of wine, olive oil, millstones, and almonds that sank off the northern coast of Cyprus in the early third century B.C., is a notable



Fig. 112. Bowl and Scylla medallion, part of the silver treasure said to be from the House of Eupolemos at Morgantina. Greek, Hellenistic period, 3rd century B.C. Gilt silver, Diam. of bowl 9 in. (22.8 cm); Diam. of medallion 4 7/8 in. (10.5 cm). Museo Archeologico di Aidone, Sicily (1981.11.20, .22)

exception: the iron spearheads driven into the exterior of its hull are remnants of the pirates who scuttled the ship.²¹

Contemporary plays of New Comedy by Menander (see cats. 53f, 54), Plautus, and Terence relating stories of hapless individuals captured by pirates and sold into slavery make clear that such events were an ever-present part of life in the Hellenistic world.²² Human captives were a valuable part of a pirate's plunder, whether they were sold into slavery at one of the major slave markets—such as existed on Rhodes, Crete, and Delos—or ransomed back to their relatives for a tidy sum. City-states sometimes forged alliances to try to gain immunity from pirate raids. They even entered into political agreements to ensure that by law individuals would not knowingly buy slaves who were citizens of each other's polis, as was done between Miletos and various city-states on Crete.²³

Alexander the Great's unprecedented conquests in the East fostered widespread cultural connections, and the vast sums of gold and silver that he seized from the Persian royal treasures at Susa and Babylon and put into circulation changed the economy of the ancient world forever. In addition, Rome's

growth into a formidable power by the first century B.C., its need for basic commodities such as grain, olive oil, and wine, and the Romans' fervent desire for Greek artworks and Eastern luxuries led to an unprecedented expansion of maritime trade on the Mediterranean and beyond, despite the turbulent politics of the time and the dangers of sea travel. It is not surprising, therefore, that more shipwrecks have been discovered from Hellenistic times than from any other period in ancient history. The vast majority of known Hellenistic shipwrecks are transport vessels that were shipping goods around the Mediterranean. The most common cargo freight consisted of amphorae, the two-handled storage jars with pointed bases (see figs. 113, 114) that were designed to be stowed in the hulls of ships and used as containers for a wide variety of commodities from olive oil to garum (fish sauce) but especially wine.²⁴ Some fourteen different types of amphorae made in various regions have been found on Hellenistic shipwrecks.²⁵ The ancient practice of stamping amphora handles can provide fascinating information, including the original owner's name, a date for the container, and in some cases the contents of the amphora.

By far, the most common type of amphora found on Hellenistic shipwrecks is the Rhodian amphora—an indication of the island's prominence as a commercial center in Hellenistic times. A characteristic example, found on Cyprus and said to come from Idalion (fig. 113), has stamps on its handles indicating the name of the maker and the date of manufacture.²⁶ Another type of transport amphora used in the Hellenistic world (fig. 114) comes from a shipwreck of the late second or early first century B.C. off Grand Congloué Island, near Marseilles.²⁷ The ship's hold contained some 1,200 to 1,500 Roman wine amphorae that were made at or near the coastal town of Cosa, in central Italy, a cargo evidently intended for markets in Gaul, when the vessel sank en route. An exceptional find from a Late Republican merchant shipwreck that foundered in the Gulf of Baratti (near Piombino, in northern Italy) in the late second or early first century B.C. is an apothecary's chest filled with boxwood vials, some of which still contained round tablets of herbal medicine that look just like modern aspirin.²⁸

Of particular interest are the Hellenistic shipwrecks with cargoes of artworks, many of which seem to have been destined for Rome and the Roman art market. The earliest excavation of a shipwreck in Greek waters, conducted at Antikythera in 1900, yielded a remarkable array of artworks that ranged from large-scale statues of marble (cat. 243) and bronze—both individual sculptures and monumental mythological groups—to luxury items, such as glass vessels (cats. 239–241) manufactured in Syro-Palestinian workshops, to bronze statuettes



Fig. 113. Transport amphora, said to be from Idalion, Cyprus. Greek (Rhodian), late 3rd–mid 2nd century B.C. Terracotta, H. 32 in. (81.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Cesnola Collection, Purchased by subscription, 1874–76 (74.51.357)

Fig. 114. Wine amphora of Dressel Type 1, from the Grand Congloué B shipwreck, near Marseilles. Roman, Late Republican period, late 2nd–early 1st century B.C. Terracotta, H. 40½ in. (102.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of Captain Jacques-Yves Cousteau, 1953 (53.70)



Fig. 115. Horse and jockey, from the Cape Artemision shipwreck. Greek, Hellenistic period, ca. 150–146 B.C. Bronze, H. 80 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (205 cm), L. without modern tail 98 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (250 cm). National Archaeological Museum, Athens (B15377)

(cats. 248–250) and red-slipped pottery (cat. 242a, b).²⁹ A cache of silver coins found on board that were minted in Pergamon (see cats. 237, 238) and Ephesos suggest that these cities may have been destinations along the ship's route. The most extraordinary item was the remains of a complex navigational device, known as the Antikythera Mechanism (fig. 116), whose system of interlocking gears contains multiple calendars and mathematical notations that have been the subject of intensive investigation. The device seems to be a descendent of the celestial globes devised by Archimedes and coveted by the victorious Roman general Marcellus after the sack of Syracuse, in 212 B.C. Although incompletely understood, the Antikythera Mechanism is a concrete example of the technological advances of the Hellenis-

tic Age and its cosmopolitan spirit, so akin to the ethos of the modern world. A recent comprehensive study of the finds from the Antikythera shipwreck has led scholars to believe that the ship was heading west from the west coast of Asia Minor to Rome when it sank. New investigations of the wreck site, begun in the fall of 2014 and using the latest technology for deepwater exploration, are yielding additional information about the ship and its cargo.

The Artemision shipwreck, which sank off the northern coast of the Greek island of Euboea, most likely in the third quarter of the second century B.C., contained two spectacular examples of large-scale Greek bronze sculpture, the Early Classical striding statue of a god and the dramatic Hellenistic horse and jockey from an equestrian victor's monument (fig. 115).³⁰ The sculptures were likely war booty, perhaps from Mummius's sack of Corinth, in 146 B.C. Some of the spoils were sent back to Attalos II at Pergamon in gratitude for his assistance in the battle, as the travel writer Pausanias records.³¹ Little else from the ship was found, the most notable items being some of the lead lining from its hull and fragments of East Greek skyphoi, probably of Pergamene manufacture, that may have belonged to the crew.

Better preserved was the cargo of the Mahdia shipwreck, discovered in 1907 off the coast of Tunisia.³² The large cargo ship carried some sixty monolithic marble columns and elaborate home furnishings, including candelabra (cat. 234), *klinai* (dining couches), and monumental marble kraters with relief decoration as well as a significant cargo of artworks. Especially prominent among the latter were sculptures of marble (see cat. 236) and



Fig. 116. The Antikythera Mechanism, found in the sea off Point Glyhadia, Antikythera, Greece. Greek, Late Hellenistic period, early 1st century B.C. Bronze, approx. 13 x 7 x 4 in. (33 x 18 x 10 cm), reconstructed. National Archaeological Museum, Athens (15087)

bronze (cat. 233), some belonging to types popular among Roman clientele and known from other copies. The bronze fittings for the dining couches have been attributed to a Delian workshop, and the kraters, with their neo-Classical designs, are probably of Athenian workmanship. Two of the kraters (for example, fig. 117) were of the same type as the famous Borghese Krater (cat. 230) and, like that exquisite work, were probably intended for display in a Roman villa. It is thought that the ship was bringing artworks from Greece to Rome when it was blown off course and sank in a storm. The variety of objects included in the cargo and the high quality of many of them provide a poignant glimpse into the art market of the Late Hellenistic period. A series of letters written from 68 to 65 B.C. between Cicero and his Greek purchasing agent, T. Pomponius Atticus, discussing the acquisition of Greek artworks for the statesman's Roman villa offers insight into the taste of one



Fig. 117. Krater of Borghese type, from the Mahdia shipwreck. Greek, Late Hellenistic period, early 1st century B.C. Marble. Musée National du Bardo, Tunis (C 1202)



Fig. 118. Situla handle attachment with a mask of Dionysos, from the Fourmigue C shipwreck, near Golfe Juan, France. Greek, Late Hellenistic period, early 1st century B.C. Bronze, H. 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (19.5 cm). Musée et Site Archéologiques de Nice-Cimiez, France

distinguished collector and makes clear that such shipments of artworks from Greece to Italy were a common occurrence.³³

The Fourmigue C shipwreck, found near Golfe Juan, off the coast of France, affords another snapshot from about 80–60 B.C. of a precious cargo of fine Greek metalwork being shipped together with some three hundred wine-filled amphorae, many of Dressel Type 1 (see fig. 114).³⁴ Its elaborate bronze fittings for dining couches, lampstands, and drinking vessels for banqueting present a cohesive group of artifacts with a strong Dionysian character. The handle attachment of a large situla, or wine bucket, with a mask of Dionysos (fig. 118) is among the earliest dated examples of a Late Hellenistic type that became popular in Roman Imperial times.

Major Hellenistic bronze sculptures, presumably the remnants of shipwreck cargoes, have been brought up from the sea from time to time. Works such as the head of a man wearing a *kausia* (cat. 138), the draped lady from Kalymnos, and a number of fragments of equestrian statues may come from shipwrecks of the Hellenistic period.³⁵ Alternatively, they could have been in transit during Roman Imperial times or later, as were the second century B.C. bronze statue of a man tentatively identified as Aemilius Paullus, found in the Adriatic Sea near Punta del Serrone (north of Brindisi, in southern Italy), and the marvelous statue of a dancing satyr found by fishermen deep in the Mediterranean between Sicily and Tunisia.³⁶ One of the most interesting Hellenistic bronzes from the sea is the small statue of Apollo that was discovered near Piombino in 1832 (fig. 119). Its date—whether Archaic or later—was long debated, but it is now recognized as a Late Hellenistic work in the Archaic style



Fig. 119. The Piombino Apollo. Greek, Late Hellenistic period, ca. 120–100 B.C. Bronze with copper and silver inlays, H. 46 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (117 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Antiquités Grecques, Étrusques et Romaine (Br. 2)

belonging to a type known in other replicas from Early Imperial Rome. It may well have been made as a forgery, although a recent interpretation suggests that it was created as a dedication to Athena Lindia on Rhodes.³⁷ Certainly the demand for ancient Greek sculptures by wealthy Roman patricians in the first century B.C. exceeded their availability and fostered a lucrative market for carefully crafted forgeries.³⁸ Another likely candidate in this respect is a large bronze statuette of a horse (fig. 120) that was long identified by scholars as an outstanding example of Early Classical Greek art before its authenticity was questioned and then vindicated.³⁹ Now understood as a refined example of Late Hellenistic art that imitates Classical Greek bronze-casting techniques and style, the statuette was likely made for the Roman art market to satisfy the fervent desire for evocative artworks that would reflect the owner's appreciation for the glorious artistic accomplishments of Classical Greece.



Fig. 120. Statuette of a horse. Greek, Late Hellenistic period, late 2nd–1st century B.C. Bronze, H. 15 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (40.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Fletcher Fund, 1923 (23.69)

GREEK ART IN ROME: A NEW CENTER IN THE FIRST CENTURY B.C.

Paul Zanker

After its conquests of southern Italy and Sicily, Greece and Macedonia, and, finally, the Greek cities of Asia Minor, Rome became over the course of the second century B.C. the center of the Hellenistic world. At the same time, the Roman upper classes gradually adopted important elements of Greek culture. Greek teachers tutored the children of influential families, for example, and Greek philosophers became the houseguests of Roman aristocrats eager for learning. Even generals celebrating triumphs on the battlefield summoned Greek architects to Rome to erect temples to their victories on the Campus Martius (Field of Mars). Some of these new temples were designed in a purely Greek style, but more often they were built in a new, hybrid Greco-Roman style so as to reflect religious ties between the two cultures extending back to the time of the Etruscan kings.

With Greek learning came an increasing interest in Greek art. Roman generals first requisitioned masses of sculptures from conquered cities in order to parade them triumphantly before their fellow countrymen, and early on famous works of Greek art were set up in Roman victory temples as votive gifts. But Romans began collecting Greek works and displaying them in their private homes as well. This was especially true outside Rome, in villas in the Alban Hills, for example, or on the Gulf of Naples. Demand for such works grew rapidly and at first could be filled only by workshops in Greece, primarily Athens. This is attested above all by the finds from the Antikythera and Mahdia shipwrecks (see the essay “Seafaring, Shipwrecks, and the Art Market in the Hellenistic Age” in this volume). Soon, however, Greek workshops were no longer able to satisfy the enormous demand, causing Greek craftsmen to migrate in great numbers to Rome and to the Roman cities of the West.

The kingdom of Pergamon, which was “bequeathed” to the Roman Republic by Attalos III in 133 B.C., played an import-

ant role at the beginning of this process, for Pergamon’s kings had already begun collecting works by famous Greek artists. They were not alone in this; other rulers and individual Greek cities were doing so as well. Works of art from the “Classical” fifth and fourth centuries B.C., especially, were held to be unequalled and exemplary and were not only collected but also widely copied (see cat. 61). Accordingly, the Romans derived from the Greeks a new concept of art, one that looked to the past and was well suited to their situation as learners and collectors.

But admiration for the Classical masters by no means put an end to Hellenistic art, which continued to be cultivated by the Greeks and displayed, copied, and varied by the Romans as eagerly as that of the Classical period. This was especially true of works associated with the deities Dionysos and Aphrodite or representations of dramatic myths for which Classical art could provide few models. For examples, one need only think of the Laocoön, sculptures of the blinding of Polyphemos or of the Scylla, which devoured Odysseus’s companions (fig. 121), as well as the extremely appealing works of later Hellenism, which earlier archaeologists rightly compared to the art of the European Rococo. A lovely example of the latter is the sleeping hermaphrodite from a large, villa-like *domus* in Rome (cat. 219). The viewer delights in the rounded forms of its back and buttocks, notes how the extremely well built, apparently female figure has freed itself from its coverlet in uneasy sleep, and marvels at the slender face, with its half-open mouth and exquisite coiffure. Only from the back does one discover the engorged penis and recognize that one has been admiring a hermaphrodite. In the Hellenistic period, such figures had no negative connotations; on the contrary, they represented an ultimate erotic fantasy.

II

Just how were these variously stolen, purchased, or copied statues and pictures arrayed in Roman villas and houses? The Greek sculptures had come from either shrines or public squares, where they commemorated notable figures. Today we might assume that the sculptures, robbed of their original functions and context, were displayed in Roman villas much like the works of art in a modern museum, solely for aesthetic pleasure, but that was not the case. To the Romans, they had wholly different meanings that are not always easy to identify. Take an example we know of through literature: Cicero ordering suitable statues for the gymnasium in his villa, near Tusculum, and being appalled when the delivery from Athens brings instead works on Dionysian subjects, namely satyrs, maenads, and such. Unfortunately, as yet we know how larger numbers of sculptures were displayed from only a few examples, the most extensive group of which comes from the so-called Villa of the Papyri, in Herculaneum (cat. 24a–e).¹ There, lining a long watercourse (*euripus*) and on either side of a smaller portico, stood a large number of herms bearing portraits of famous Greek kings, generals, philosophers, and poets. All were identified by name so that viewers would be reminded of the most



Fig. 121. Reconstruction of the sculptural groups in the Grotto of Tiberius at Sperlonga, after Andrae 2001, p. 123, fig. 83

varied aspects of Greek history and culture. It is somewhat surprising that they included portraits of famous kings, yet apparently Rome's aristocrats admired them no less than Greece's great thinkers, perhaps because they themselves toyed with the idea of a kingship in Rome, as exemplified by the *dictator in perpetuum* Caesar. The owner of the villa had the portraits copied, but only in the form of herms, not the entire original statues. Viewers were meant to be prompted by this partial representation to concentrate solely on the portraits and thus contemplate, through study of a subject's physiognomy, his character as well as his works and deeds.

Two of the portraits of Hellenistic rulers in this exhibition could once have been displayed in a villa in the same manner as these herms. One is very likely a portrait of the Seleucid ruler Antiochos III (r. 223–187 B.C.) (cat. 143),² a great general who campaigned successfully in Asia Minor against both Attalos I of Pergamon and the king of Egypt, Ptolemy IV. His portrait shows him to be a gaunt man, no longer young, with a bony face and stern, resolute features. The other represents Mithridates VI Eupator, king of Pontus, on the Black Sea (r. 120–63 B.C.) (cat. 214), who resisted Roman domination in the eastern Mediterranean with some success until he was finally defeated by Pompey. In his struggle, Mithridates thought of himself as a successor to Alexander the Great, whom he tried to imitate in both manner and appearance. Like Alexander, he compared himself to Herakles, and in emulation of the famous hero he had himself portrayed wearing the skin of a slain lion, its head resting atop his own like a hood.

Not far from the herm gallery at the Villa of the Papyri stood a few bronze statues at the ends of the long *euripus*. These, too, represented aspects of Greek culture and were meant to signal their incorporation into Roman life. Two copies of nude wrestlers recall physical training in the *palaestra*, and a satyr drunkenly sinking back onto a stone block suggests the liberating influence of Dionysos at a banquet. The two spheres were invoked not merely as nostalgic memories; they were intended to allude to physical exercise before a visit to the baths and to the subsequent enjoyment of a communal meal. Next to them there was also a statue of Hermes (Mercury), whom the Romans venerated primarily as the god of commerce and thus frequently portrayed carrying a money pouch in his hand. Guests of the owner of the large villa next to the sea at Sperlonga could enjoy looking at large Greek sculpture groups in a wholly different setting. On hot days, while banqueting in the cool sea grotto, a frightening Scylla stood directly in front of them, and in an adjacent stage-like cave they could view the blinding of Polyphemus (see fig. 121).³

There are numerous examples of less spectacular displays of sculptures in villa gardens, some of which can be associated with the sculptures either in the present exhibition or in the Metropolitan Museum's Roman Court. The group in which a satyr attacks a hermaphrodite and is fought off, for example (cat. 226), comes from the garden area of the large Villa Oplontis (Torre Annunziata) on the Gulf of Naples. The hermaphrodite clutches the foot of the satyr, who has wrapped his legs around him, and presses his hand against his face. Flailing back and forth, he attempts to free himself from the wild assailant, a moment rendered with great ingenuity and one that the viewer is meant to experience viscerally. In the villa's garden, in front of this group, stood a marble krater (fig. 122).⁴ The famous Borghese Krater (cat. 230) may once have been displayed in a similar way. Found in the sixteenth century in the so-called Horti Sallustiani (Gardens of Sallust), where it presumably stood in the garden of that expansive urban villa, it was among the most splendid of the marble kraters produced in Athens, primarily for export to Rome, beginning in the late second century B.C. Other such exports included marble candelabra, like those among the finds from the Mahdia shipwreck (cat. 234), and marble kraters that imitate the smaller bronze vessels used by the Greeks to mix wine with water. At least four marble kraters of the same size, two with precisely the same reliefs as the Borghese Krater, were also found in the Mahdia shipwreck (see fig. 117). The high-relief scene depicts Dionysos with Ariadne, who is playing a kithara; satyrs and maenads dancing and playing music; and the drunken Papposilenus, whom a strapping young satyr is holding in his arms. A bronze cauldron (*lebes*), preserved complete with feet, handles, and lid, gives an



Fig. 122. Satyr-Hermaphrodite sculptural group (cat. 226) and marble krater in situ in the Villa of Poppaea at Oplontis



Fig. 123. Bronze *lebes* (detail of cat. 261)

excellent idea of an original Hellenistic mixing vase (cat. 261). This extremely high-quality piece is decorated with finely wrought ornaments out of which emerges the bust of a laughing satyr. He holds a cup in his left hand and with a wave of his raised right hand invites the guests to drink (fig. 123).

To return to works that might have been displayed in the villa gardens, there is the Spinario (cat. 221), who with intense concentration bends over his raised foot, from which he attempts to remove a splinter. His tension emphasizes the realistic forms of his adolescent body. This marble statue is probably a copy of a bronze original from an earlier stage of Hellenism. Dating, perhaps, from the early empire (1st century A.D.), it served as a fountain sculpture in a villa garden. Water flowed into a basin from the two holes drilled into the rock on which he is seated, lending this Spinario, unlike the Hellenistic original, an idyllic quality. The Metropolitan Museum's bronze sculpture of a sleeping Eros (cat. 218), a favorite of visitors, could once have been displayed in a villa garden as well. Exhausted, the capricious god of love has fallen back onto his wings and drapery as though overcome with sleep, looking perfectly innocent.

Two statues currently on display in the Metropolitan's Roman Court—an almost skeletally emaciated fisherman and an old woman laboriously dragging herself along with a walking stick—illustrate other major Hellenistic types that were popular in Roman villa gardens of the Imperial period. The old woman is carrying three chickens and a woven basket full of vegetables



Fig. 124. Statue of an old woman. Roman, Julio-Claudian period, A.D. 14–68; copy of a Greek work of the 2nd century B.C. Marble, H. 49 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (126 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1909 (09.39)

and fruit (fig. 124). Although seemingly a market woman, she is wearing an elegant double-belted gown, pretty sandals, and a wreath of ivy on her head, suggesting that she is more likely, to judge from literary sources, an aged *hetaira*, or courtesan, on her way to a festival like many other old and poor people. The Roman copyist has slightly softened the nude forms of her ancient body, especially the exposed breast, for, like Romans in general, he was uncomfortable with the stark realism of the Early Hellenistic period. The emaciated fisherman also copies a Hellenistic original. On replicas that are better preserved one can see that he, too, carried a walking stick in his right hand and in his left a satchel and a net with fish that he hopes to sell at market. The head from another fisherman statue in the

Metropolitan's collection wears the same characteristic cap, and his face has the scruffy beard associated with the inferior classes (fig. 125). Although today one would feel empathy for such pathetic figures, in antiquity they were seen as subhuman creatures, and the sculptures themselves would have been intended as objects of derision.

The display of Greek sculptures in villa gardens was so fashionable among Romans that it was occasionally imitated even in middle-class houses. A good example of this was discovered in the House of Marcus Lucretius, in Pompeii (IX 3.5).⁵ His small garden, accessed from most of the more important rooms of the house, exploited the rising terrain. In it a watercourse fell down a “staircase” into a round basin, around which stood small Dionysian figures and slender herms, as in a small shrine. One small satyr is removing a thorn from Pan’s foot, and another is shading himself from the sun with a raised hand, in the gesture known as *apokopein*; a goat is leaping up onto a herm, from which another satyr emerges, and around the herms and small figures all manner of animals cavort in the grass (fig. 126). In the even smaller House of the Ephebe, also in Pompeii (I 7.10–12), was found the perfectly preserved bronze statue of an adolescent boy, which once stood as a lampstand (*lychnouchos*) in the open courtyard next to the



Fig. 125. Head of an old fisherman. Roman, Imperial period, 1st–2nd century A.D.; copy of a Greek statue of the late 2nd century B.C. Marble, H. 8 in. (20.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Fletcher Fund, 1926 (26.60.72)



Fig. 126. Reconstructed garden at the House of Marcus Lucretius, Pompeii (IX 3.5)



Fig. 127. Ephebe from the House of the Ephebe, Pompeii (I 7.10–12). Roman, Early Imperial period, 20–10 B.C. Bronze, H. 58 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (149 cm). Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples (143753)

masonry couch (fig. 127).⁶ It is an eclectic work of art from the first century B.C., one that combines a male body in the style of Polykleitos with the head of an Early Classical kore. Executed with extreme care, it presumably once stood in a much more sumptuous villa setting or elegant house, but where it likewise served as a lampstand.

Happily, we can get a good idea of what the frescoed living rooms of just such a first-century B.C. villa would have looked like through an example in the Metropolitan Museum itself. Relatively few rooms of the *villa rustica* at Boscoreale, on the slopes of Vesuvius, were painted with frescoes. It was the center of a wine-growing estate whose owner visited only occasionally. A portion of the well-preserved paintings came to the Metropolitan Museum, among them the frescoes from the right-hand long wall of the spacious dining room, which depict members of the Macedonian royal family (fig. 128). Like the owner of the Villa of the Papyri with his herms, the Boscoreale estate owner chose to surround himself with images of regal splendor. The same desire is evident in the smaller bedroom (*cubiculum*), which was screened by an anteroom and from which the entire suite of frescoes came to New York. The modern viewer is virtually overwhelmed by their extremely rich painted architecture. The right- and left-hand walls present identical compositions: in the center there is a view over a barrier into a shrine, and on either side, set off by elegant columns entwined with gold vines, are the crowded and overlapping buildings of a city or luxurious residence. The back wall of the *cubiculum*, against which a wide couch once stood, is more restrained. On either side there is again a glimpse of an inaccessible shrine, with a

view of a garden in front and below it a rock grotto with statuettes. In the center is a fountain with a marble basin. As in the dining room, the pictures were meant to evoke a world of greater elegance than that of this rural estate. Remarkable here, as in other frescoes of the first century B.C., are the close-up pictures of shrines, which were doubtless meant to lend the spaces a reverent aura.

III

The small selection of portrait busts in the exhibition serves to illustrate the close similarity between Late Hellenistic Greek and Late Republican Roman portraiture. Most come from statues that were once displayed in shrines or in public spaces, but that is not true of all of them. The portrait of Pompey from Copenhagen, for example (cat. 251), once stood in the tomb of a family that numbered him among its forefathers. Viewers can hardly resist the direct appeal of the bronze head of an older man (cat. 216), who seems to be actually in front of us as he spontaneously turns his head to the side, gazing with furrowed brow at something unexpected. The momentary effect derives in large part from the inset eyes—rarely preserved—of white glass paste and black stone. Presumably the head, which was found on the island of Delos, came from a statue dating from the last decades of the second century B.C.

A wholly different expression is worn by the “General” from Tivoli (cat. 212), whose statue was found in the shrine of Hercules Victor, outside the city. In contrast to the Greek bronze head from Delos, this man also on the threshold of old age, with a heavily wrinkled face, gazes powerfully and resolutely into

the distance. The forehead creases extending outward from the top of his nose attest to energy, but also strain. As was customary for statues in honor of worthy men in both Greece and Rome, the military man is portrayed in “heroic nudity” and is barefoot. But unlike other portrait statues that are completely naked, he has a long cloak thrown about his hips, so that his ageless and ideally formed body is not completely exposed, possibly in consideration of his age. The Hellenistic cuirass that serves as a support alludes to his military exploits. The work of a sculptor from the early first century B.C., the statue compares favorably with another portrait in the exhibition of an elderly man who turns his head with a certain pathos (cat. 217). This one also comes from Delos and, with its more compact forms, dates somewhat earlier than the General. But like him, the old man from Delos has a beautifully shaped full mouth, again an idealized detail.

The portrait of Pompey (106–48 B.C.) (cat. 251) introduces a series of likenesses from the last phase of the Republic. It probably represents the great general around the year 55 B.C., following his victories in Asia and at roughly the time his huge theater was being constructed on the Campus Martius in Rome. Pompey thought of himself as a new Alexander, proudly called himself *magnus*, and, like his model, had himself portrayed with



Fig. 128. Detail of a ruler with his wife from Room H of the Villa of P. Fannius Synistor, Boscotrecase. Roman, Late Republican period, ca. 40–30 B.C. Fresco, 69 x 76 in. (175.3 x 193 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1903 (03.14.6)

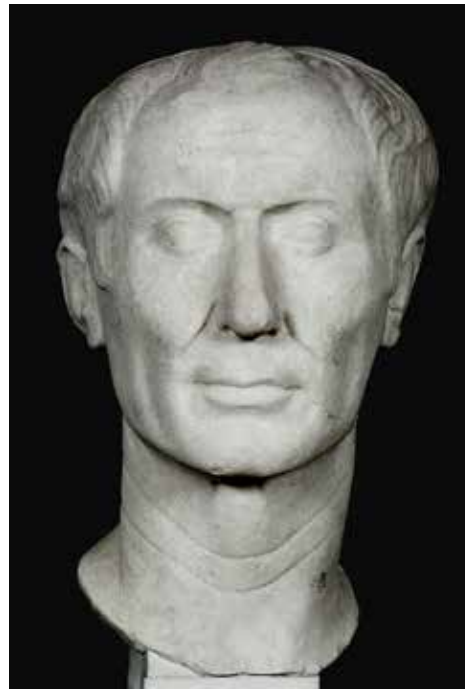


Fig. 129. Portrait of Gaius Julius Caesar from Tusculum. Roman, Late Republican period, ca. 50 B.C. Marble, H. 13 in. (33 cm). Museo di Antichità, Turin (2098)

a shock of hair falling onto his forehead. His amiable, realistically rendered, puffy face, with its small, slightly heavy-lidded eyes, contrasts sharply with this borrowing. A contemporary portrait of his adversary, Gaius Julius Caesar (100–44 B.C.), is altogether different. It is an extremely realistic representation of him at roughly fifty years of age, in the last years before his assassination (fig. 129).⁷ His gaunt face with a high forehead, sparse hair, and long wrinkled neck is depicted without emotion. The powerful man gazes at us attentively with squinting eyes and a slightly sneering upper lip.

The portrait of Caesar’s lover, Queen Kleopatra VII Philopator (“Father-loving”) of Egypt (69–30 B.C.) (cat. 253), from the Vatican, was once inserted in a statue and was probably produced in Rome while Caesar was still alive. The queen has a broad, by no means particularly seductive face with full lips and wears the typical wide diadem of late Hellenistic royalty; possibly a metal band lay on top of it. The protrusion above the middle of her forehead could be a remnant of either a lotus crown or a uraeus of the sort worn by Egyptian gods and rulers. On one of the silver drachmas in the exhibition (cat. 254) the queen wears the same coiffure, with a thick knot at the neck, and an equally wide diadem. A later portrait of Caesar (cat. 252), dating from the reign of Augustus, depicts him in an idealized form as the deified “Divus Iulius.” His features, so incisive in the earlier portrait, have given way to a dignified, more impersonal physiognomy beneath a full head of hair.

With the reshaping of the Roman Empire, Augustus created the kingdom of Mauretania as a vassal state in the western part of present-day Algeria and Morocco, and in 25 B.C. he installed



Fig. 130. Statue group of the Three Graces. Roman, Imperial period, 2nd century A.D.; copy of a Greek work of the 2nd century B.C. Marble, 48½ x 39⅞ in. (123 x 100 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, Philodoroï, Lila Acheson Wallace, Mary and Michael Jaharis, Annette and Oscar de la Renta, Leon Levy Foundation, The Robert A. and Renée E. Belfer Family Foundation, Mr. and Mrs. John A. Moran, Jeannette and Jonathan Rosen, Malcolm Hewitt Wiener Foundation and Nicholas S. Zoullas Gifts, 2010 (2010.260)

Juba II, a prince raised in Rome, as king. Juba was highly educated and also trained as a scholar, a role to which his portrait's meditative expression was probably meant to refer. The superbly worked bronze bust from Rabat (cat. 262) depicts the young king without emotion; his head, with its broad face and obviously Berber features, is turned to the side.⁸ Juba's diadem lies almost hidden behind the abundant locks of hair above his forehead, the arrangement of which follows relatively faithfully that of early portraits of Octavian/Augustus, suggesting his close association with the emperor and with Rome.

That association is also evoked in the high-quality bronze bust of his son and successor, Ptolemy of Mauretania (r. A.D. 23–40) (cat. 264). Through his mother, Kleopatra Selene (cat. 263), he was a grandson of Mark Antony and Kleopatra VII and ruled until Caligula had him murdered in Rome and his kingdom incorporated into the Imperium Romanum. He wears his hair in the manner of Gaius Caesar (20 B.C.–A.D. 4), the older

of Augustus's adoptive sons. Since he changed his hairstyle after the latter's death in favor of that of Tiberius's son, Drusus the Younger, the lovely bronze portrait can be dated to the first years of the new millennium, when Ptolemy was still a boy.

IV

With the accession of Augustus, Roman tastes turned definitively toward Classical Greek art of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., no doubt owing in large part to the politics of the day. In the East, Mark Antony, with the Ptolemaic queen Kleopatra at his side, had behaved altogether like a Hellenistic prince and had had himself celebrated as a new Dionysos. This posturing prompted his adversary, Octavian/Augustus, to react in the opposite manner and claim an allegiance to the god Apollo, to whom in the late 30s B.C. Augustus had had the famous temple on the Palatine erected, in the immediate vicinity and protection of which he then established his residence. The cult images in this

new Apollo temple were three original statues by famous Classical sculptors from the fourth century B.C., a selection wholly in conformity with his programmatic predilection for Classical Greek art. Considered the most sublime legacy of Greek culture, the display was meant to manifest the dignity and permanence of the new age Augustus was bringing into being. In line with that presumption, not only were new temples furnished with either Classical works or copies of them, but Classical forms were also chosen for statues of gods and mortals, for portraits themselves, and even for architectural ornamentation.

The new, programmatic classicism of the Augustan age was by no means based only on this political decision. As mentioned at the beginning of this essay, starting in the second century B.C. more and more neo-Classical sculptures and copies of famous Classical sculptures were produced alongside Late Hellenistic art. One need only think of the Athena Parthenos (cat. 39) from the “library” in the Athena sanctuary on the acropolis at Pergamon, or the careful copies, such as the Diadoumenos by Polykleitos, and neo-Classical adaptations of statuary that Greek sculptors produced on the island of Delos. Presumably they were already making works for export to Rome; in any case, the predilections of Roman connoisseurs and art lovers appear to have considerably encouraged this turn toward a neo-Classical art. Otherwise it would be impossible to explain how, around the middle of the first century A.D., there were even adaptations of Greek works in the so-called Severe Style, such as the figure of a nude athlete that bears the name of the Greek sculptor Stephanos. Augustus’s art advisers could point to the preference for Classical sculptures developed over several previous generations, but this in no way detracts from the wholly new quality of Augustan Classicism and its importance for the coming generations.

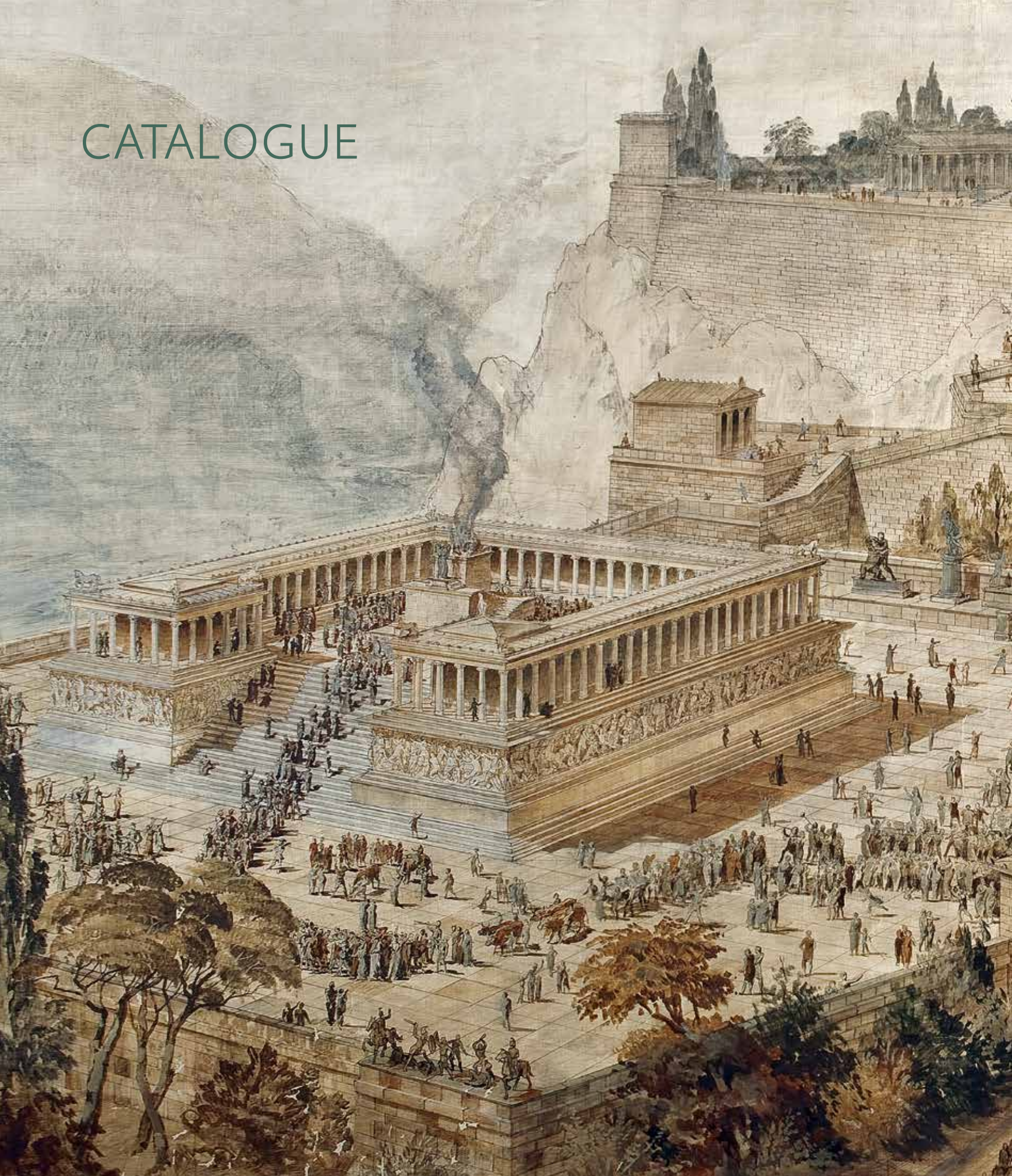
Appreciation for Hellenistic art was doubtless lessened by this comprehensive and ideologically charged classicism of the Augustan age and its persistence in the later empire. Such enthusiasm was by no means eradicated, however, because for whole areas of Greek imagery there were no Classical models, only Hellenistic ones, above all for representations of Dionysos with his *thiasos* (entourage of ecstatic revelers) or for the nude body of Aphrodite/Venus and her attendant nymphs and the Three Graces (fig. 130). To be sure, satyrs standing at rest in the manner of Praxiteles from the fourth century B.C. were widely copied, but on the whole it was dancing satyrs, erotic groupings with satyrs and nymphs, and fat-bellied Silenuses that predominated, and defined, the genre. The same can be said of statues of the nude Venus, which were extremely popular in statuette format during the empire and proudly displayed in town houses and villas. Of equal importance were depictions of battles, for

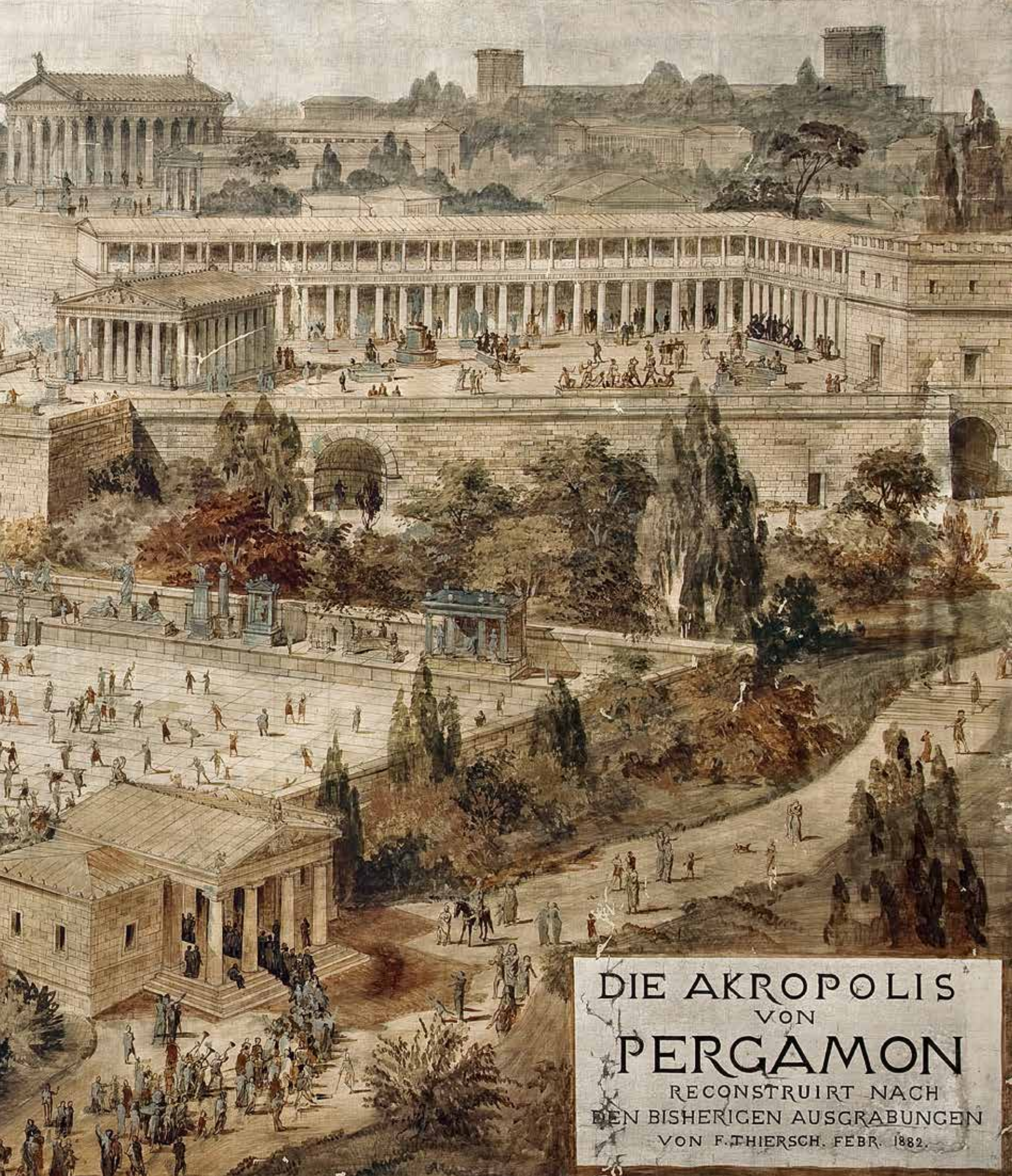
which sculptors could fall back on Hellenistic models. Especially impressive in this regard are sarcophagi from the second and third centuries A.D., on which Romans do battle with Gauls, where entire scenes were borrowed from high Hellenistic models. Altogether, one has the impression that sarcophagus workshops had greater freedom of expression, as in their depictions of Dionysos’s triumphal return from India, in which one could marvel at elephants, tigers, and lions in addition to leaping satyrs and dancing maenads. Although classicism appears to have had a greater influence on statues, there was by no means any objection to stylistic contrasts, and Classical and Hellenistic statue types were placed side by side. In the Canopus at Hadrian’s Villa, for example, two fat-bellied Hellenistic old Silenuses (Papposilenuses) stood next to copies of four of the caryatids from the Erechtheion on the Acropolis at Athens (fig. 131). From this, one sees that a succession of styles, of the sort that characterizes modern art history, played no role at all in the empire. Greek art as a whole was seen as exemplary, and that extended even to its fat-bellied Papposilenuses.



Fig. 131. View from the northwest of the Canopus at Hadrian’s Villa at Tivoli showing Papposilenuses and caryatids

CATALOGUE





DIE AKROPOLIS
VON
PERGAMON
RECONSTRUIRT NACH
DEN BISHERIGEN AUSGRABUNGEN
VON F. THIERSCH. FEBR. 1882.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT AND HIS WORLD

1 Myrtle Wreath

Greek (Macedonian), Late Classical period,
350–325 B.C.

Gold and enamel, Diam. 7½ in. (19.2 cm)

Found at Tomb Δ, Necropolis of Derveni
(ancient Lete)

Archaeological Museum, Thessaloniki (Δ1)

This wreath represents flowering myrtle branches.¹ The main shaft, twigs, leaves, and flowers are made of hammered gold strips, whereas the stems, stamens, and tendrils

are of gold wire. Fifty large myrtle leaves are attached to the circular shaft at regular intervals. Between them sprout twelve leafy twigs, six on each side, with smaller leaves. For each leaf, small or large, there is a stem with five rosette-shaped flowers. A large vegetal ornament decorates the wreath's crown: it consists of a four-petal rosette from which rise seven consecutive rings, each with twelve eight-petal rosettes, twelve enameled four-petal ornaments, and twelve five-petal radiating blossoms, forming a rich and colorful bouquet.

Vegetal wreaths were used throughout Greek antiquity at various times during a person's life and at death. Depending on their specific properties, plants from the Greek landscape were often associated with myths relating to deities and their cult. Myrtle wreaths, for example, were normally associated with Aphrodite, youth, and beauty, even if this example accompanied the burial of a man. Wreaths were used in public ceremonies, but also in private life. In fact, symposia (banquets), an important part of daily life in Greece since Homer's



day, were the occasions that established the use of wreaths more than any other.

In Macedonia, because of the abundance of precious metals, highly skilled craftsmen could use gold to create vegetal wreaths that closely imitated nature. The symposiasts in the royal court's *andrones* (banquet halls), the *hetairoi* (royal officers), and the wealthy veterans of Alexander the Great's army all wore gold wreaths rather than simple flowers. From the fourth to the early second century B.C., gold wreaths played an important role in Hellenistic society, which experienced one of the first forms of "globalization" and whose common Greek language extended well into Asia. Indeed, rather than a privilege of the gods, such wreaths were common among wealthy mortals, whom they accompanied after death to the eternal symposium in the beyond. PA-V

1. Themelis and Touratsoglou 1997, p. 110, pl. 22; Ignatiadou and Tsigarida 2011, no. 6.

2

Statuette of a Dancing Youth

Greek, Early Hellenistic period, late 4th–early 3rd century B.C.

Bronze, H. 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (20.1 cm)

Said to have been found at Knidos

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York;

Bequest of Walter C. Baker, 1971 (1972.118.94)

Although the identity of this youth is not obvious, his crown of leaves and fruit suggests that he may be Dionysos, god of wine.¹ This statuette admirably represents the type of a youthful Dionysos that was introduced during the Classical period and given extraordinary vitality by Hellenistic artists through their interest in capturing motion and momentary situations. Indeed, in his introspective expression, the arm gracefully raised to his head, his softly muscular body, and full wavy hair, he bears comparison with the Dionysos on the roughly contemporary bronze volute-krater from Derveni (fig. 26).² JRM

1. Von Bothmer 1950, p. 9, no. 45; Mertens 1985, pp. 46–47, no. 31; Picón et al. 2007, pp. 200–201, 451, no. 236.

2. Gioure 1978, especially pls. 1, 6, 8. The most accessible publication in English is Barr-Sharrar 2008, although various conclusions have been questioned.





3

3 Calyx (Drinking Cup)

Greek (Macedonian), Late Classical to Early Hellenistic period, last quarter of the 4th century B.C.
Silver with traces of gilding on the shoulder and base, H. 23¼ in. (59 cm), Diam. of rim 3⅝ in. (9.3 cm), Diam. of base 1⅞ in. (3 cm), Wt. 6.8 oz. (192.69 g)
From Tomb B, Necropolis of Derveni (ancient Lete)
Archaeological Museum, Thessaloniki (B11)

This perfectly preserved calyx is one of the best examples of a Macedonian drinking cup with characteristic Achaemenid decoration.¹ Concentric circles of varying widths framing an embossed rosette, which consists of three eight-petal motifs of different sizes surrounding the pistil, decorate the base. Radiating leaves rise from the base and cover the entire body. On the shoulder, three rows of bead-and-reel pattern define two bands: a narrow lower band decorated with a relief braid motif and a wider upper band featuring a Lesbian kymation (egg-and-dart motif). In the interior, the base features a medallion with a Medusa head.

This luxurious cup—a symposium vessel—indicates that its owner belonged to the Macedonian royal court's noble class of *hetairoi* (royal officers). Similar vessels of the same period have been found at various Balkan sites, particularly in Thrace, where many of the Macedonian army's officers originated. The cup is influenced by similar examples produced for the Achaemenid dynasty in the powerful Persian Empire and



demonstrates the effects of cultural osmosis as well as the wealth that flooded into Macedonia from the East after Alexander the Great's campaigns in Asia. PA-V
1. Themelis and Touratsoglou 1997, p. 65. See also Zimi 2011, pp. 217–18, no. 72.

4 Oinochoe (Jug)

Greek (Macedonian), Late Classical to Early Hellenistic period, last quarter of the 4th century B.C.
Silver and gold, H. 5⅝ in. (13.6 cm), Diam. of rim 2¼ in. (5.8 cm), Diam. of base 1⅞ in. (4.2 cm), Wt. 6.78 oz. (192.19 g)
From Tomb B, Necropolis of Derveni (ancient Lete)
Archaeological Museum, Thessaloniki (B14)

The jug's body is richly decorated with vegetal motifs on three levels in a layering pattern that gives the impression of depth.¹ Four large silver leaves rise from four gilt grooves that circle the body above the ring base. Smaller gilt leaves appear between them, while a third row of smaller leaves appears behind these. Each of the large leaves is crowned by an ornate gilt palmette. A gilt Ionic kymation (egg-and-dart motif), standing out in high relief, marks the base of the tall neck, which ends in an out-splayed rim. An egg-and-dart motif also decorates the strap handle, which is bordered by a bead-and-reel motif and ends above in two repoussé volutes and below in a large five-petal palmette. The metal was hammered, except for the handle, which was produced separately.

The jug's shape and decoration, particularly the use of the stylized leaves of the white lotus (*Nymphaea alba*), recall jugs of the Achaemenid dynasty of Persia. Similar vessels have been found in Thrace and along the Sea of Marmara, the region where they were probably produced. The Derveni and Rogozen (Thrace) jugs are noteworthy for the three-dimensional rendering of the decorative elements. PA-V

1. Themelis and Touratsoglou 1997, pp. 68–69, pls. 10, 71. See also Zimi 2011, pp. 182–84, no. 9.

5 Volute-Krater

Greek (Macedonian), Late Classical period, ca. 400 B.C.
Bronze (lower part restored), H. 21⅞ in. (54.9 cm), Diam. of rim 12 in. (30.5 cm), Diam. of base 6⅞ in. (15.6 cm)
From Tomb A, Necropolis of Derveni (ancient Lete)
Archaeological Museum, Thessaloniki (A1)

This krater features a plain, ovoid body, cylindrical neck with two incised rings on its upper part, and a rim decorated in



4



5

relief with an Ionic kymation (egg-and-dart motif).¹ The highly ornate base features a crude Ionic kymation, an inverted echinus decorated with concave tongue-shaped and pointed leaves, an astragal, and a cylindrical ring over the join between the base and body. The composite volute handles consist of two superimposed parts: the lower is an angled strap, which rests on the krater's shoulder and ends in a goose head, while the upper, with its decorative volutes, attaches to the rim. Seven-petal palmettes adorn the volutes' joints and the two ends of the upper part's deep internal recess.

In the fourth century B.C., clay kraters were gradually replaced by metal ones, which had a greater capacity and played a key role in symposia (banquets). The size of the vessels grew as banquets held during this period expanded to include larger numbers of participants because of the wealth amassed by some after Alexander the Great's campaigns. Kraters also played an important role in ritual until the end of the Hellenistic period, as indicated by depictions—usually of volute-kraters—on reliefs showing funerary banquets.

The well-known Derveni Krater (fig. 26) with relief representations of the sacred marriage of Dionysos and Ariadne conducted among drunken satyrs dancing with maenads, also from a tomb in the Necropolis of Derveni (ancient Lete), belongs to this type. Representative of Macedonian courtly art, they should be attributed to Macedonian workshops, where craftsmen, possibly of Apulian origin, were active. Similar volute-kraters have been found at several South Italian sites and on Rhodes. PA-V 1. Themelis and Touratsoglou 1997, p. 31, pls. 1, 30, 31; Gaunt 2002, p. 669, no. 99.

Volute-Krater (The Darius Krater)

Greek (South Italian, Apulian), Late Classical or Early Hellenistic period, ca. 330–320 B.C.

Namepiece of the Darius Painter

Terracotta, H. 51 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (130 cm)

Obverse: King Darius surrounded by his court;
on the neck, Amazonomachy

Reverse: Bellerophon slaying the Chimera;
on the neck, youths and women at a laver

Found in the Hypogeum of the Darius Krater
at Canosa di Puglia, 1851

Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples
(81947/H. 3253)

This monumental volute-krater was found in a chamber tomb along with weapons, Daunian pottery, and Apulian red-figure vases, four of them decorated with mythological scenes.¹ Unlike the other decorated vases, this one bears on its belly a tableau drawn from a historical episode associated with the conflicts between Greece and the Persian Empire. Two names—PERSAI, on the plinth in the center of the image, and DAREIOS, to the right of the king's head—help us locate the scene in the court of the great king Darius of Persia. Scholars have tended to identify him as Darius I (r. 522–486 B.C.), but Darius III (r. 336–330 B.C.) may well be represented.

Darius is shown seated on a throne and listening to a messenger, whose account prompts heated discussions among his advisers. Below, a worried steward packs up belongings being handed to him by Oriental subjects, three of whom supplicate the king. Gods look down on this agitated human world as they celebrate the future victory of Hellas, whose modest bearing contrasts sharply with the haughty air of Asia. The latter is depicted as a victim of Deceit, whose personification is shown beside her.

The vase's dramatic iconography has often been seen to reflect the influence of Greek theater (perhaps even as the depiction of a lost tragedy) as well as large-scale wall painting. However, the disposition of the decoration on three levels also brings to mind friezes that throughout antiquity were made to exalt the glory days of conquerors, from those on the funeral carriage of Alexander the Great to the images on Trajan's Column in Rome. Here,



in the announcement to Darius of the Greek victory, we can infer the concomitant fall of the Persian Empire. One of the elements making the case that this decorative program echoes Alexander the Great's momentous victories over the Persians at Issus (333 B.C.) and Gaugamela (331 B.C.) is the depiction on the reverse of Bellerophon's fight with the Chimera, in which the Greek hero is shown being assisted by the Lycians. Through that alliance, the battle thus represents the end of the conflicts between Greece and Asia, whose beginning is marked by the Amazonomachy on the neck of the vase. This program finds a precise parallel in the scenes of war and alliance between Greeks and Persians on the so-called Alexander Sarcophagus from Sidon.² CP

1. Heydemann 1872, pp. 571–79, no. 3253; Anti 1952, pp. 23–45, pls. 12–14; Rocco 1953; Pugliese Carratelli 1988, ill. no. 327; Raffaella Cassano in *Magna Grecia* 1996, pp. 152–53, no. 11.15.

2. Pouzadoux 2013.

7

Portrait of Alexander the Great (The Alexander Schwarzenberg)

Roman, Early Imperial period, 20 B.C.–A.D. 20;
copy of a Greek original of ca. 330 B.C.

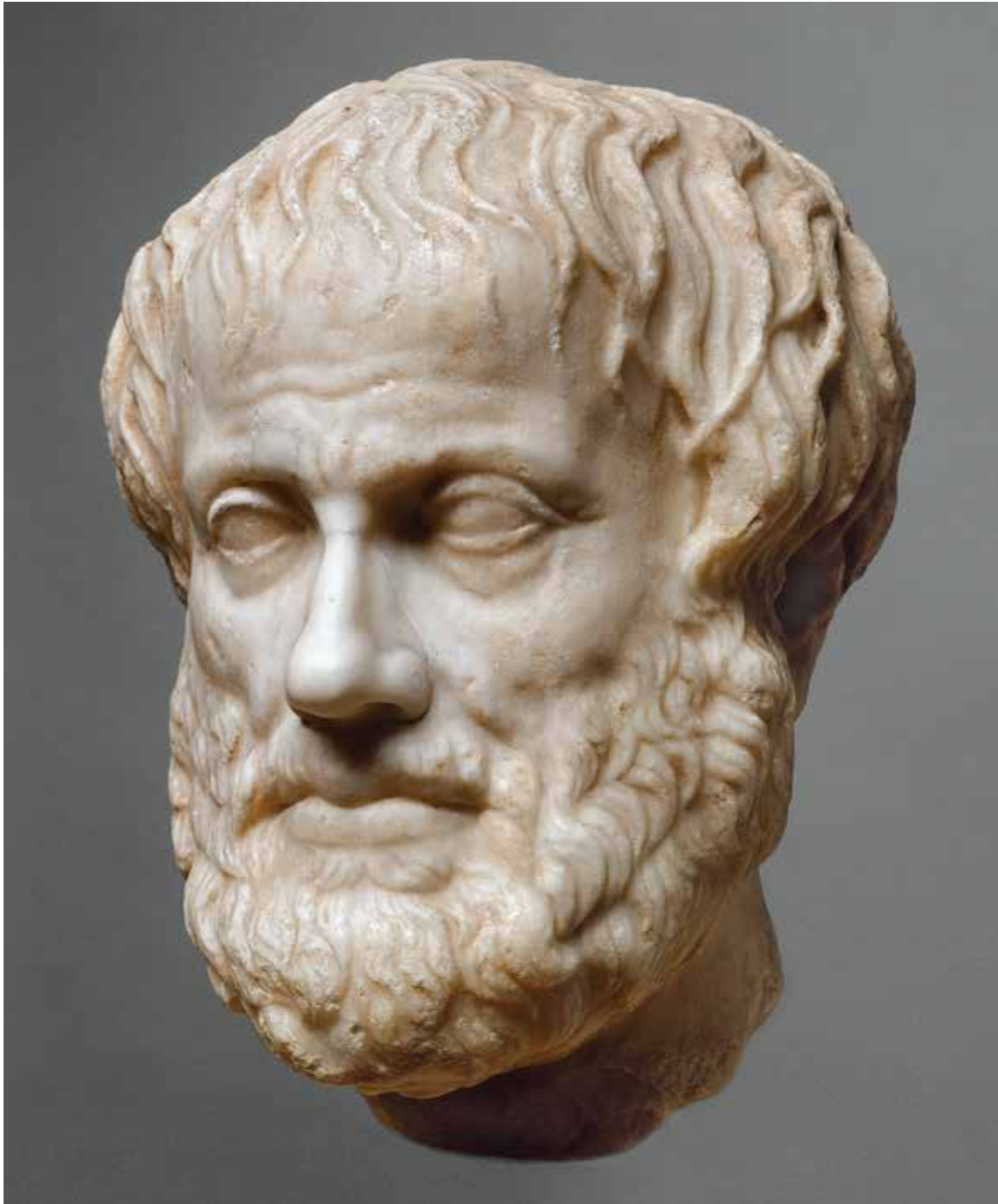
Marble, H. 14 in. (35.5 cm)

Glyptothek, Munich (GL 559)

Slightly larger than lifesize, this marble head represents Alexander the Great and is named after its former owner, Prince von Schwarzenberg.¹ Apart from the missing nose, it is very well preserved. The head is slightly inclined and turned to the left. The striking characteristic *anastole*—the hair shooting up like a fountain above the forehead—is meant to symbolize the lionlike courage of the Macedonian king. Also typical of portraits of Alexander are the clean-shaven face and shoulder-length, flowing hair. The tufts of hair are layered and clearly structured by deep furrows, resulting in an intense play of light and shadow that clearly sets the mass of hair apart from the smooth areas of the face.

The head is a Roman copy of a Greek bronze original from about 330 B.C. Since several replicas have survived, the model must have been a famous work, probably by Alexander's court sculptor, Lysippos.





The even execution on the underside of the neck proves that this head was originally inserted in a statue. Comparisons with other portrayals indicate that the original showed the youthful ruler with a lance held in his raised right hand and clothed only in a commander's robe.

Many Alexander portraits are clearly idealized, conforming to the depiction of gods and heroes. The lean face and small, deep-set eyes distinguish the portrait here from the large number of Alexander images;

these clearly individual features give the ruler a serious, forceful appearance. Of all the surviving portraits of the Macedonian, the Alexander Schwarzenberg probably comes closest to the image of himself that he wished to be circulated: a shining ideal of an exemplary warrior and ruler. FSK

1. Von Schwarzenberg 1967; Himmelmann 1989, pp. 84–99; Jucker 1993; Carola Reinsberg in *Ägypten, Griechenland, Rom* 2005, pp. 550–51, no. 115; Reinsberg 2005; Wünsche 2006; Andrae 2008, pp. 50, 53; *Gandhara* 2008, p. 86, no. 2.

8

Head of Aristotle

Roman, Imperial period, mid-1st century A.D.; copy after a Greek original of the 4th century B.C. Marble, H. 12 in. (30.5 cm)
Antikensammlung, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (I 246)

In Greek art, portraits rendered with the greatest possible realism were not yet as important a genre as they would later become, especially in the Roman era.

Philosophers, for example, were mainly meant to be recognizable as “thinkers.” One of the few exceptions is this portrait of Aristotle, which does not follow the usual type of the philosopher but is instead striking in its distinct individuality.¹ The Vienna head is probably the most faithful of some twenty surviving Roman copies, which were presumably based on the statue set up in Aristotle’s school in Athens after his death. It is said that Alexander the Great, who was one of Aristotle’s students, commissioned Lysippos to create a statue of him, but it is uncertain whether that work was the statue surviving in the Roman copies.

That Aristotle does not wear the usual long beard of the philosopher but rather a short, “fashionable” one nicely reflects the fact that, unlike others of his profession, he participated in society and, especially, in political life. The creased forehead is probably to be seen literally as a “thinker’s brow.” The somewhat scanty hair is arranged in such a way as to mask the onset of baldness. Unobtrusive but by no means hidden signs of age, such as the crow’s-feet and the slightly sunken cheeks, underscore his experience and knowledge more than his age. By its individualization, the portrait succeeds in presenting not only Aristotle’s appearance but also his personality. GP

1. Gift to the Imperial Collections, 1846. Von Sacken and Kenner 1866, p. 37, no. 226b; Studniczka 1908, p. 25, pls. II, 3, III, 1; Hölscher 1964; Buschor 1971, pp. 14, 70, no. 28; Gschwantler 2001.

9

Statuette of Demosthenes

Roman, Imperial period, 1st century B.C.–2nd century A.D.; copy of a Greek bronze statue of ca. 280–279 B.C.

Leaded bronze, H. 9⅞ in. (23.2 cm)

Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Cambridge; Gift of John W. Straus in honor of David Mitten (2007.221)

Contemplative, tense, helpless, mournful—the pose of the orator Demosthenes has been interpreted in various ways.¹ His

portrait belongs to the tradition of Classical Greek depictions of male citizens with beard and mantle, but it is characterized by a distinctive combination of features, including a gaunt body largely hidden by somber drapery, hunched shoulders, and a slightly inclined head. The furrowed brow and wrinkled face suggest an elderly intellectual. The trimmed beard is neater than the unkempt facial hair of many philosophers, and the arms and hands are exposed rather than enveloped in the mantle as in other orator portraits. Demosthenes was known to gesticulate in his speeches, but here his hands are quietly clasped. Hands, arms, shoulders, and head are composed as a hexagon, drawing attention to the mind rather than the body.²

Demosthenes’ portrait conveys mental resolve, not physical strength. An epigram on the base of the original statue contrasted the orator’s intellectual power (*gnome*) with his lack of strength (*rhome*).³ Indeed, his warnings of the threat posed by the Macedonians to the freedom of Greece did not halt Macedonian expansion, and he committed suicide in 322 B.C. Forty-two years later, in 280/279 B.C., the Athenians honored Demosthenes with a bronze statue in the Athenian Agora, executed by Polyeuktos, an otherwise unknown sculptor. Polyeuktos’s statue is known from numerous marble copies, two small bronze herms, and several gems, all of Roman date.⁴ The present bronze statuette is remarkable because it preserves the statue’s clasped hands, which Plutarch mentions in an anecdote.⁵ SE

1. See von den Hoff 2007, p. 49; von den Hoff 2009, pp. 205–12. The statuette was first published in S. Reinach 1924a, p. 504 and fig. 19.

2. Ridgway 1990–2002, vol. 1 (1990), pp. 224–26, pl. 107.

3. Pseudo-Plutarch, *Vitae decem oratorum*, *Demosthenes* 847a. See Zanker 1995, pp. 83–89; von den Hoff 2009.

4. Richter 1965, vol. 2, pp. 215–23; Richter 1984, pp. 108–13.

5. Plutarch, *Lives*, *Demosthenes* 31.1. For recent discussions of the statuette, see Houser 2010; Stähli 2014, pp. 140, 142, fig. 6.7a–d. Doubts of the statuette’s authenticity (see, for example, Richter 1965, vol. 2, p. 222) are not corroborated by scientific analysis: see the entry for 2007.221, part of the digital resource *Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Bronzes at the Harvard Art Museums*, harvardartmuseums.org/ancientbronzes.





10a



10b



10c

10a–c

Coins of Alexander III (Alexander the Great)

Babylonian(?), ca. 323–320 B.C.

Silver

a. Diam. 1¼ in. (3.1 cm), Wt. 1.37 oz. (38.71 g)

b. Diam. 1 in. (2.6 cm), Wt. 0.59 oz. (16.71 g)

c. Diam. 1 in. (2.7 cm), Wt. 0.57 oz. (16.20 g)

American Numismatic Society, New York
(1959.254.86, 1995.51.68, 1990.1.1)

These three coins are among the most intriguing objects in the field of Greek numismatics.¹ Rare numismatic testimonies of the famous Asian campaigns of Alexander the Great, they were made either during his lifetime or perhaps shortly after his death. The largest of them (cat. 10a), a five-shekel piece that shows Alexander himself, is undoubtedly one of the earliest depictions of the king. The thunderbolt in his right hand, the attribute of the Greek god Zeus, reflects the iconographic transformation of Alexander, from military leader to god, that began during his lifetime. Barely visible above Alexander on this specimen is a small winged Victory, who crowns him. The message is clear: Alexander's achievements on the battlefield set him apart from other men. The other side of this coin illustrates an actual battle scene, memorable in Greek coinage: Alexander, on his famous horse Bucephalos, attacks an elephant with a *sarissa*, the famous long spear of the Macedonian army. Mounted on the elephant are an attendant and another man, probably the Indian king Poros, who encountered Alexander in the famous Battle of the Hydaspes River during the monsoon season in 326 B.C. The two other coins, both two-shekel pieces, illustrate an Indian archer, an elephant, and a chariot. The series may have been issued as part of Alexander's campaigns in Persia to commemorate his

victories and to show his Persian and Indian allies in his campaigns. UWK

1. *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum* 1961, pl. 11, no. 295; Price 1991a; Lane Fox 1996; Holt 2003.

11

Statuette of Alexander the Great with a Spear

Greek (Ptolemaic), Hellenistic period, late 4th–early 3rd century B.C. (?); after a Ptolemaic variant of a Greek original

Bronze, H. 6½ in. (16.5 cm)

Discovered in Lower Egypt

Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Antiquités Grecques, Étrusques et Romaines (Br 370)



The figure represented here is recognizable by his facial features—high cheekbones, small eyes deep-set in their sockets—and by the particular arrangement, called the *anastole*, of the locks of hair above his forehead: it is Alexander the Great. The attention given to defining the musculature and the mobile attitude of the figure, which takes possession of the three-dimensional space (although the profile views are not entirely satisfying), invite us to consider the statuette a likely echo of a vanished work by Lysippos, the conqueror's official portraitist. The original statue—no doubt the sculptor's Alexander with a Spear, made in bronze in the third quarter of the fourth century B.C.—represented the young king resting his hand on a spear stuck in the ground, a sword in his other hand. It occasioned many replicas, an iconographic program through which the Hellenistic kings, successors of the Macedonian sovereign, sought to consolidate their legitimacy.

The Louvre statuette would seem to indicate the existence of a variant of the original, since an attachment hole at the top of the head confirms the presence of an additional attribute that can be reconstituted on the basis of a painting from Antinopolis, in Middle Egypt, dating to the second century A.D. In that work, the statue is depicted wearing an Egyptian crown—the *atef* crown of legitimation. Such an eclectic effigy of Alexander would have been understood both by a Greek and by an Egyptian, for it combined the emblematic portrait of Alexander with the Egyptian solar crown worn by the god who legitimately exercises kingship over the world or by the pharaoh when represented performing actions inherent to his mission on earth. The statuette thus illustrates the creation by the Lagids (descendants of

Ptolemy) of “iconic” images linking the two cultures, with the aim of placing the Lagids within the continuity of the Egyptian pharaohs even as the dynasty laid claim to the glory of the Greek conqueror.¹ SD-L/ME

1. Formerly in the collection of Antoine Barthélémy Clot-Bey; acquired by the Louvre in 1852. Sophie Descamps-Lequime and Marc Étienne in *Au royaume d’Alexandre le Grand* 2011, pp. 644–45, no. 410 (with bibliography).

12

Statuette of a Rider Wearing an Elephant Skin

Greek, Hellenistic period, 3rd century B.C.

Bronze, H. 9¾ in. (24.8 cm)

Said to be from Athribis, Egypt

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York;

Edith Perry Chapman Fund, 1955 (55.11.11)

This finely modeled bronze statuette originally depicted the nude rider astride a horse, which is now lost.¹ Aside from a hole between the legs, where the rider and horse were once joined, and an area of corrosion on the left foot, the statuette is in excellent condition; it is covered by a reddish patina. The left hand is held to the chest and the right arm held aloft, most likely to grasp a spear or scepter vertically. The rider wears high sandals and an elephant hide over the head, tied at the neck and draped down the back. This unusual garment gives the best indication of his identity. The image of Alexander the Great wearing an elephant skin in a fashion resembling Herakles’ lion skin appears first on the coinage of Ptolemy I, where it symbolized that ruler’s effort to lay claim to Alexander’s Eastern conquests and heroic persona. Later Ptolemaic rulers were similarly represented, as were several Bactrian kings nearly a century later. The best parallel for the costume is a statuette of Ptolemy II in the British Museum, London, also allegedly from Egypt. The purported findspot of the present work—Athribis, in the Nile Delta—and the absence of other royal or divine attributes make an identification with a Ptolemaic ruler most likely.² However, given this rider’s fierce gaze and youthful features, it is also possible that the statuette is a posthumous



12

portrait of Alexander, perhaps even a small-scale rendition of a larger equestrian monument. LBS

1. First published by Rubensohn 1905, p. 67. See also S. Reinach 1906, pp. 2–3, figs. 2, 3, pl. IV (considered there as a portrait of Alexander the Great); Picón et al. 2007, pp. 172, 441, no. 202.

2. On the Ptolemaic and Bactrian coinage types, see Mørkholm 1991, pp. 63–64; Svenson 1995, no. 78. On the basis of the Bactrian coinage, some have identified the rider as Demetrios of Bactria; see Bieber 1961b, p. 84, fig. 298. For an analysis of the London statuette (38442), see Schwentzel 1996, pp. 76–77.

13a, b

Portraits of Alexander the Great and a Youth (Hephaestion?)

Greek, Hellenistic period, ca. 325–320 B.C.

Marble

a. Alexander the Great, H. 11½ in. (29.1 cm)

b. Youth (Hephaestion?), H. 10⅝ in. (27 cm)

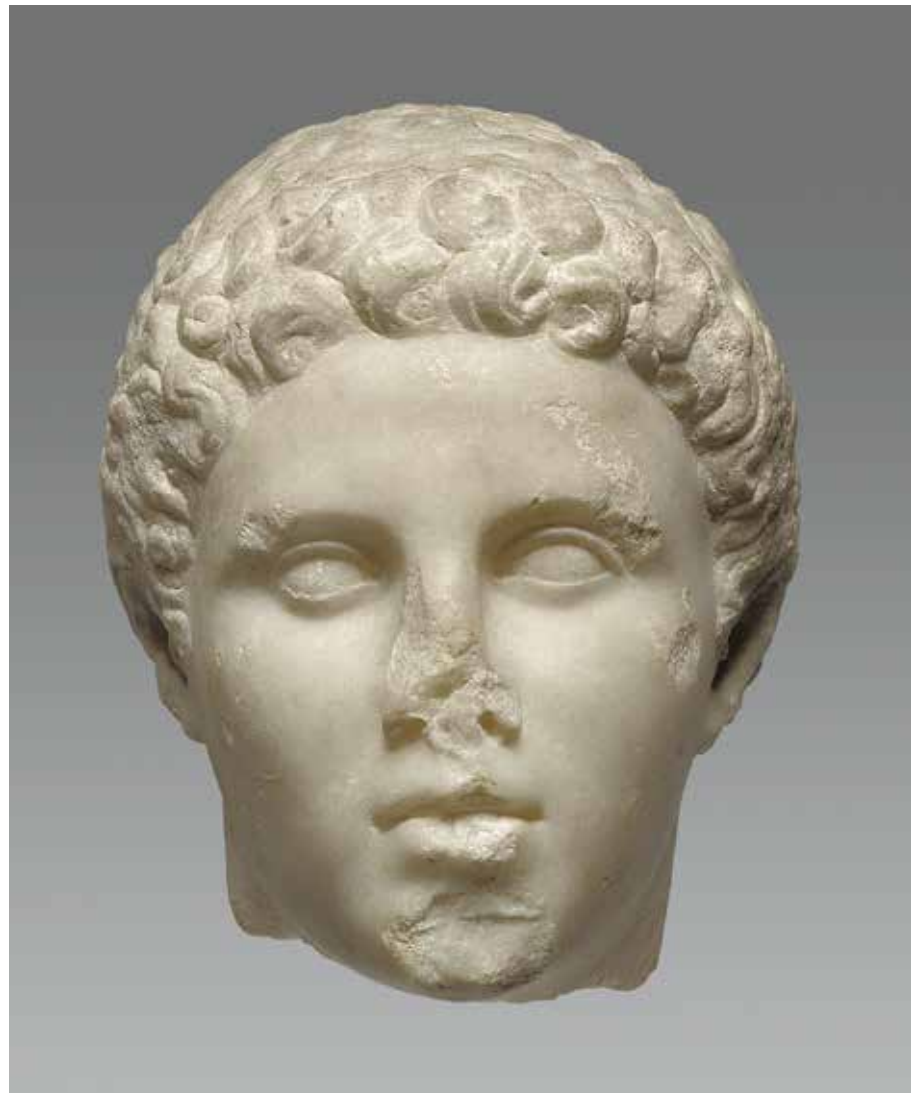
The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (73.AA.27, .28)

Made of marble probably from the island of Paros, these two heads are part of a group of more than thirty related fragments of figures, fauna, and fruits, all acquired by the Getty Museum on the European art market between 1973 and 1988, but with no documentation of their archaeological origin.¹ Their similar material, style, workmanship, and state of preservation—badly battered, they may have been destined for recycling in a limekiln—suggest they belonged together. If so, they may be the remains of a multigure monument, either a tomb or a dedication. Andrew Stewart advanced the hypotheses that this monument included a scene of sacrifice and that, judging from its style, it could be dated to about the time of Alexander’s death, in 323 B.C. Given the minimal weathering of the stone surfaces, he also proposed that the sculptures were protected by a covered structure such as a stoa.²

The most distinct common feature of the heads is the contrast between the silky, smooth skin and the sketchy, roughly



13a



13b

textured hair. The youthful Alexander's portrait—his head turned and slightly tilted to his left—is one of the earliest to have survived. Unmistakable in its long, wavy hair and characteristic *anastole* above a furrowed brow, it displays an intensification of dynamism and expression that was to become a hallmark of Hellenistic style, particularly in the context of ruler iconography.

Like the portrait of Alexander, the less individualized head of a youth (optimistically identified as Hephaestion, his general and close companion) has a groove carved in the hair for the placement of a diadem or wreath. In contrast to the ruler's leonine mane, his hairstyle of shorter, compact curls terminating in small circles around

the forehead resembles that of athletes or the god Hermes. JMD

1. Cornelius C. Vermeule in *Search for Alexander* 1980, p. 101, no. 6, colorpl. 2, p. 105, no. 13, colorpl. 2; Frel 1981, pp. 68–69, 112, nos. 19, 20; L. Giuliani 1986, pp. 153–55, fig. 34; R. R. R. Smith 1988, p. 158, no. 16, pl. 12, 5, 6; Stewart 1993, pp. 116–18, 121–22, 209–14, app. 5, pp. 438–40, nos. 1, 2, app. 6, p. 453, no. A 1, colorpls. 2, 3, figs. 16, 146–53; J. B. Grossman 2001b, pp. 51–53, no. 1, fig. 1a–d.

2. Stewart 1993, pp. 209–14.

14

Statuette of the Weary Herakles

Greek, Hellenistic period, 3rd century B.C.; base early 1st century A.D.

Bronze and silver, H. including base 15 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (39 cm), W. 6 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (17.5 cm), Diam. of base 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (14 cm)

Discovered in Sulmona, Italy, in 1959 in the small temple on the uppermost terrace of the Sanctuary of Hercules Curinus Museo Archeologico Nazionale d'Abruzzo, Villa Frigerj, Chieti (N. 4340)

This statuette gives its name to a type of representation of Herakles, known as the Anticiter-Sulmona, that depicts the hero at rest.¹ Because of its monumentality and detailed rendering, it has been attributed to the Sikyon School of sculptors. Given that the vitality and expressiveness of a full-scale masterpiece are evident in this smaller object—a quality rare in ancient bronzes—it can be identified as close to works made by Lysippos himself.²

Judging by the base, which was added later (early years of the first century A.D.) and inscribed *M(arcus) Attius Peticus Marsus v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)* in silver damascene, the statuette was a votive offering to Herakles made by a member of the Roman gens Peticia. This family, known in the Augustan period for trading throughout the Mediterranean world, is mentioned in inscriptions in the Paeligni area from the first century B.C. through the fourth century A.D.

The statuette represents the nude hero standing and leaning on his club, from which the lion's pelt hangs. The lower part of Herakles' left leg and its supporting rock are missing, as are the Apples of the Hesperides in his right hand and the crown on his head. There is a broad lacuna on his chest as well as a crack at the base of his neck, between the nape and shoulder. The club is not attached to the statuette, and the lion's skin was cast separately. A higher-quality bronze or copper was used for the lips and nipples.

Herakles' left arm rests loosely on the animal's fur, while his right arm is behind his back (his right hand once clasped the now-lost apples). His right leg is weight-bearing and taut, the left at rest and slightly bent—a posture that, along with the figure's powerful muscles, suggests energy and the potential for movement. The slight torsion in the body and the way in which the head leans forward reinforce a sense of circular motion through the figure. The thoughtful face, surrounded by a mop of wavy hair and a curling beard, the large eyes, and the small, slightly open mouth distill and express the latent energy of the hero who, once finished with his human labors, will be made a god. RT

1. Cianfarani 1960; Buonocore 1988, pp. 38–39, no. 2; Gianfrotta 1989; Moreno 1989; Tuteri 1989; Paolo Moreno in *Lisippo* 1995, pp. 104–6, no. 4.14.1; Tuteri 1998; Tuteri 1999, pp. 365–66; Tuteri 2002, pp. 37–39; De Vito et al. 2004; Tuteri 2005; Rosanna Tuteri in *De la Grèce à Rome* 2009, pp. 174–75, 199, no. 333, fig. 141; Tuteri in *Arte dall'Abruzzo* 2010, p. 116; Tuteri 2010; Tuteri in *Ercole il fondatore* 2011, pp. 50–51, no. 2.

2. Moreno 1989; Moreno in *Lisippo* 1995, pp. 104–6, no. 4.14.1.





15

Small Statue of Alexander the Great Astride Bucephalos

Roman, Late Republican or Early Imperial period, second half of the 1st century B.C.; copy of a Greek original of ca. 320–300 B.C.
Bronze, H. 19 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (48.6 cm), L. 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (47 cm)
Found at Herculaneum, near the theater
Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples (4996)

The statue depicts a horseman prepared to strike a foe; the body is turned three-quarters to the right, and the right arm, raised, held aloft a sword (of which the hilt remains); the left arm, pointed down, must have held the reins, likely made of bronze foil.¹ The horseman is dressed in typical

Macedonian style, with a chiton, leather cuirass with metal studs, girdle, chlamys pinned to the right shoulder, baldric tied to the left flank, pteryges (skirt) made of leather strips, and sandals on the feet. On the figure's head, a typical Macedonian diadem rests on thick locks of hair. The rearing horse is saddled with a pelt tied under the belly and a bridle embellished with two square plaques.

The positioning of the head and features of the horseman's face have given rise to various interpretations, the most accepted being that the statue depicts Alexander the Great astride Bucephalos, his favorite horse, in a miniature copy of the statue of Alexander featured in the monumental

equestrian group made by Lysippos to commemorate the horsemen who fell during the Battle of the Granikos against the Persians, in May 334 B.C. In another hypothesis, the statue portrays one of Alexander's companions depicted in the same sculpture; in yet another, the subject is Achilles. The statue was recovered along with another equestrian figure in bronze, also now in Naples, with which it seems to have formed a pair.²

The fact that the figure wears no helmet suggests the statue portrays Alexander after he was attacked by the satrap Spithridates, a nearly fatal event during the 334 B.C. battle. Furthermore, the supporting piece, a rudder that was restored and rebuilt

based on remains visible at the time of excavation, probably alludes to the river Granikos, another evident reference to the battle represented in the artwork. FG

1. *Delle antichità di Ercolano* 1771, pp. 235–38, pls. LXI, LXII; Ruesch 1911, pp. 353–54, no. 1487; *Collezioni del Museo Nazionale di Napoli* 1989, p. 140, no. 216, ill. p. 141; Moreno 1994, vol. 1, pp. 120, 149, 155, fig. 127; Giuliana Calcagni in *Alessandro Magno* 1995, pp. 234–35, no. 27 (with bibliography); De Caro 1999, p. 112; Coarelli et al. 2002, p. 237; Lane Fox 2004, pp. 24–25, n. 4 (with bibliography).
2. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples (4894).

16

Metope with Battle Scene

Greek (South Italian, Tarentine), Hellenistic period, late 3rd–mid-2nd century B.C.

Limestone, H. 20 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (53 cm), W. 19 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (50.2 cm), D. 4 in. (10.2 cm)

Found at Tomb 1, Via Umbria, Taranto, March 20, 1959

Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Taranto (113,768)

Carved in high relief, this sculpture made up part of the decoration of a small temple-like building (on which the Doric frieze, composed of six metopes, was the most striking element) marking the tomb that lay below it.¹ The reliefs, worked in local limestone and displaying a strong chiaroscuro effect, depict a battle in the wars between Greeks and “barbarians,” following the iconographic traditions of the period.

In the armored Hellenic warrior on horseback, brandishing a sword and poised to deliver another fierce blow to an adversary who has already fallen to the ground, some experts have identified Pyrrhos, the king of Epeiros, who was called in by the people of ancient Tarentum to defend the Greek colony against the Romans. The sculptor of the temple-like building was certainly evoking the figure of Alexander the Great at the Battle of the Granikos but may have wanted to refresh the Macedonian archetype by giving the horseman the features of the king, known to us from his marble portrait from Herculaneum (cat. 24c).²

The Tarentine metope, held to be among the earliest examples of Hellenistic pathos, represents one of the fullest and most interesting products of an artistic workshop particularly active in the city



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between the end of the third century and mid-second century B.C., with a production that reached its high point in large metopes showing heroic battle scenes. The strong expressive quality of the relief is heightened by the dramatic handling of volume, the attention paid to anatomy, the fierceness of the battle, and also by the roughness of the surfaces, on which the sculptor’s toolmarks remain to facilitate the application of color to the stone.³ LMas.

1. J. C. Carter 1975, pp. 69–74.

2. Moreno 1999, pp. 28–31.

3. Enzo Lippolis in *Alessandro Magno* 1995, pp. 313–15, no. 109; Lippolis in *Arte e artigianato in Magna Grecia* 1996, pp. 505–7, nos. 409–11; Masiello 2014.

17

Statue of Alexander the Great as a Hunter

Greek, Hellenistic period, ca. 250–100 B.C.
Bronze, H. 18 in. (45.7 cm)

The British Museum, London (GR1868,0520.65 [Bronze 1453])

The man depicted in this powerfully modeled, dynamically composed figure concentrates on one thing: a now-missing figure or animal with whom he is in combat.¹ His upper body swings around sharply, the abdomen taut, the pectoral muscles and rib cage pulsing with life. As he twists, the bulging muscles of his weight-bearing, right leg are shaped almost like a protective metal greave. The man’s cloak is fastened securely around his neck and then wraps tightly over and under his upper and lower arm, respectively. His left arm is poised to thrust a now-missing object, probably a spear; the right hand hovers lower down, perhaps steadying the weapon or protecting himself from a counterattack. Apart from some missing fingers and its base, the statue is intact.

Once identified as the heroic hunter Meleager or even the doomed Aktaion, this figure exhibits portraitlike features thought by some scholars to resemble those found in the surviving portraits of Alexander the Great. If so, the work may have been



Base of a Statue with a Lion Hunt

Greek, Hellenistic period, early 3rd century B.C.
Marble, H. 23 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (59.5 cm), W. 47 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (120 cm)
Discovered at Messene, Greece
Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des
Antiquités Grecques, Étrusques et Romaines
(Ma 858)

This block was probably part of a large circular base that perhaps supported a statue of the Younger Krateros, son of one of Alexander the Great's chief officers. It was discovered on April 23, 1829, by the Morée scientific expedition,¹ near the gymnasium of Messene in the Peloponnesos. The bas-relief scene, from which the heads have been chopped off, represents a lion hunt, a well-known royal image in the Persian Achaemenid tradition that was subsequently adopted by the kings of Macedonia. The painting on the facade of the tomb of Philip II, for example, depicts a hunt with the entire court of Macedonia, including Philip and his son Alexander. A large rectangular niche near the theater in Delphi also held a statuary group in bronze that represented a royal hunt. Made by the sculptors Lysippos and Leochares, that work had been commissioned by Krateros and dedicated by his wife, Phila, to their son, the Younger Krateros, in about 320 B.C. According to Plutarch,² the statues showed Krateros loyally assisting the king during a lion hunt. For that reason, the scene decorating the Messene base has been considered a possible reflection of the Delphi group, likening Alexander the Great to Herakles: dressed in a lion's skin, he is fighting a lion on foot and is rescued by Krateros, who wears the Macedonian *kausia* on his head.³ LL

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inspired by the king's most famous hunting group, a monument dedicated at Delphi by Krateros, who, according to the accompanying inscription and the words of Plutarch and Pliny, saved Alexander from a lion attack.²

Although Plutarch is our only source concerning the composition of the monument, the niche in which it was displayed remains, along with the dedicatory inscription that briefly describes the scene. Plutarch and Pliny note that the group was modeled in bronze by Alexander's court sculptors,

either Leochares and Lysippos together or by Lysippos alone. Other versions of the scene in different media survive showing Krateros on horseback (cat. 18), while the lion either attacks Alexander or prepares to. This single bronze figure appears sufficiently confident not to need a rescuer. PH

1. Formerly in the collection of Ferenc Pulszky and the Collalto family. Walters 1899, p. 238, no. 1453; Janós György Szilágyi in Pulszky Ferenc 1997, pp. 188–89, no. 59.15; Burn 2004, pp. 48–49, fig. 20.

2. Plutarch, *Lives, Alexander* 40.4; Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 34.64.

1. Beginning in medieval times, Peloponnesos was often called Morea (Morée in French). See Blouet 1831–38, vol. 1 (1831), p. 35, pl. 35, fig. II.

2. Plutarch, *Lives, Alexander* 65.

3. Künzl 1968, p. 39; Hölscher 1973, pp. 181–85; Stewart 1993, pp. 45–47, 53–54, 270–77, fig. 89; Moreno 1994, vol. 1, p. 74, fig. 123; Paolo Moreno in *Lisippo* 1995, p. 174, no. 4.22.1; Moreno 1995a; Rolley 1999, pp. 340–41.



18



19

19 Funerary Relief with a Hunt

Greek (Tarentine), Hellenistic period, 290–250 b.c.
Limestone with polychromy, H. 14¾ in.
(37.5 cm), W. 13¾ in. (34 cm), D. 2¾ in. (7 cm)
The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (74.AA.7)

Part of a decorative frieze from the facade of a tomb monument, this relief plaque shows two hunters attacking an unseen animal, perhaps a boar or a lion.¹ As the snarling hound at his feet menaces its prey, a youth lunges to strike with a spear (now missing). Nude except for a peaked cap, boots, and a cloak wrapped to protect his left arm, the youth exemplifies manly courage and valor. The torso and flying drapery of a second hunter are visible behind a horse that instinctively rears up in fear. The limestone was originally painted to highlight the figures against a blue background. Red pigment is evident on the frame below the scene and on the horse, boots, cloaks, and sword hilt; traces of brown are visible on the dog.

At the Greek colony of Taras (Taranto), in southern Italy, limestone friezes, metopes,

pedimental sculptures, and acroteria ornamented funerary chapels were built in the form of miniature temples (*naiskoi*).² Contemporary Apulian red-figure vases illustrate these grand architectural memorials, which represent the most common type of grave marker in the cemeteries of Taranto.³ Tarentine workshops, adapting the style and funerary iconography developed by Athenian sculptors to suit the tastes of local patrons, produced funerary statues and reliefs of mythical battles, Dionysian and marine revels, and hunts. CLL

1. J. B. Grossman 2001a, pp. 144–45, no. 54.

2. J. C. Carter 1975; Lippolis 1994.

3. Pontrandolfo et al. 1988; Lippolis 2007.

20

Bowl with a Hunting Scene

Greek, Hellenistic period, 3rd–2nd century B.C.

Glass with gold inlay, H. 1 $\frac{3}{8}$ (3.4 cm),

Diam. 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (16 cm)

Found at Tresilico (Italy), 1904

Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Reggio di Calabria (6171)

This bowl was found at Tresilico, near the hilltop town of Oppido Mamertino, some 24 miles (38 km) northeast of Reggio di Calabria.¹ The rim and side are decorated with conventional wave and meander patterns, but on the bottom is a figural hunting scene unique among surviving examples of Hellenistic gold-glass vessels. Technically as well as artistically sophisticated, the scene was made by enclosing a thin layer of gold foil between two layers of glass. Several elements repeatedly draw one's attention to the lively figures, including, across the bottom, the main scene: a huntsman on a rearing horse who thrusts a long spear at a leopard that turns to face its attacker. A tree at right gives the impression of the woodland setting and fills the upper part of the tondo, where two birds with spread wings are also shown. Below the ground line is a second hunting scene, in which a diminutive figure armed with bow and arrows aims from cover at two leaping, long-horned goats or antelopes as a hare emerges from below.² CSL

1. For details of the find, see Harden 1968a, pp. 32–33.

2. The last animal has also been identified as a hunting dog, but it has short legs, a stocky body, and long ears.



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21

Plate with Elephants

Greek, Hellenistic period, 3rd century B.C.

Clay with painted polychrome decoration, black glaze, Diam. 11 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (29.5 cm)

Discovered at the Necropolis of Le Macchie, Capena, chamber tomb 233, before 1918

Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome (23949)

In 275 B.C. the Romans, led by the consul Marcus Curius Dentatus, met the Greek general Pyrrhos in battle at Beneventum and won a crushing victory. In what was the decisive encounter in the bloody conflict, Indian elephants in full panoply of war were used to terrorize and sow panic in the enemy. Pyrrhos lost ten of the animals, eight of which fell alive into the hands of the Romans. Historians of the Classical period relate that in the same year, four of the captured elephants were exhibited in the Roman procession that marked the triumph of Curius Dentatus.

Tangible evidence of these events appears in this plate painted with the scene of an adult elephant followed by a baby one. Found in Capena,¹ it is the finest example of a class of black-glaze vases with painted decoration known as *pocola* after the epigraphs sometimes inscribed on them, which consisted of a deity's name in genitive form followed by the word *pocolom* (sacred temple vessel). Apart from the plate from Capena, other examples with similar representations of elephants come from Aleria (Corsica) and Norchia. Studies of their details have revealed that such scenes, showing the elephant in full battle array, led by an Indian and mounted by two Westerners, are meant to take place not on an actual battlefield but in a ceremonial parade. This suggests that the plates belong to a series specifically created on the occasion of the triumph of Curius Dentatus. MADLB

1. Ambrosini 2005 (with bibliography).



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accommodate soldiers, was attached to the pachyderm's back. The bell around its neck and the large piece of red fabric covering its back heightened the terror caused by the animal. Indeed, Lucian writes of the Battle of Antiochos against the Tectosagi (a Galatian tribe) in Phrygia in these terms: "The elephants followed, trampling on them, tossing them aloft in their trunks, snatching and piercing them with their tusks."²

Both Galatians and elephants, then, took on singular importance for the Attalids, and one such pachyderm is even said to have been painted in Pergamon,³ of which Myrina was a dependency at the time. Such historical connotations are extremely rare in terracotta figurines. vj

1. Salomon Reinach in Pottier, S. Reinach, and Veyries 1887, pp. 318–27, pl. X; Besques 1963, p. 125, pl. 150d, f; Perrot 2013, pp. 30–31. The group does not necessarily depict a precise historical battle.

2. Lucian, *Zeuxis or Antiochus* (English trans., Lucian 1959, p. 167). See also S. Reinach in Pottier, S. Reinach, and Veyries 1887, p. 322.

3. S. Reinach in Pottier, S. Reinach, and Veyries 1887, p. 322.

23

Hydria with Lid

Greek (Attic), Late Classical period, last quarter of the 4th century B.C.

Terracotta and lead, H. 20 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (51 cm), Diam. of rim 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (18.5 cm), Diam. of base 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (13.2 cm)

Found in the cemetery of Amphipolis (ancient Kastri)

Archaeological Museum, Amphipolis (3399)

A scene from the Amazonomachy, the mythological battle between the ancient Greeks and the Amazons, decorates the main side of this Kerch-style hydria, which was used as an ash urn.¹ The vignette on the front is highlighted with vivid colors (red, blue, and white, with added gold ornaments), while the palmettes and other vegetal motifs that decorate the back have no added color. Arranged in a dynamic, symmetrical composition, the scene on the main side includes five battling figures. At far left, an Amazon on foot fights a male warrior wearing a helmet and chiton. The warrior is about to throw a spear with his right hand, as indicated by the position of his torso and left leg; in his left hand he holds a shield, whose interior faces the



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22

Galatian Warrior Crushed by an Elephant

Greek, Hellenistic period, first half of the 2nd century B.C.

Terracotta, molded and painted with traces of blue and red, H. 4 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (11.2 cm), W. 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (10.7 cm)

Discovered at the Necropolis of Myrina
Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Antiquités Grecques, Étrusques et Romaines, 1883 (Myr 284)

Found in a grave in the Necropolis of Myrina, this group is remarkable for its astonishing iconography.¹ It tells of the wars against the Galatians waged by the rulers of Asia Minor, who were assisted by elephants: living weapons introduced into battle in the age of Alexander the Great. A wood tower, protected by metal shields (here formerly painted blue) and spacious enough to



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viewer. He battles an Amazon who raises a sword over her head with her right hand and bears a shield in her left. Below, her compatriot tries to lift herself up with her right arm. To the right, the corresponding pair includes an Amazon on horseback attacking a warrior with a spear that she holds in her right hand. The helmeted warrior holds a shield in his left hand and raises his right arm to counterattack. His opponent's shield is visible on the ground between his legs.

A vertical band of vegetal motifs separates the two pairs of combatants, and further vegetal ornaments appear between

the two combatants within each pair. An Ionic kymation (egg-and-dart motif) defines the scene's lower edge, and a relief gold wreath decorates the base of the neck. The swords, spears, shields, and the jewelry worn by the Amazons also feature gold details. White paint is used for the flesh of the female figures, the garments, and the horse; red for the shield interiors; and blue for the men's garments. The color of the clay was left in reserve to denote the flesh of the male figures. κρ

1. Nikolaidou-Patera 1993, pp. 480, 484, fig. 7; Nikolaidou-Patera 1994, p. 600, pl. 188e; Katerina Peristeri in *Au royaume d'Alexandre le Grand* 2011, p. 534, no. 333.

24a–e

Group of Five Busts

Roman, Late Republican period, ca. 50–25 B.C.; adaptations or copies after statues from the Hellenistic period

From the Villa of the Papyri, Herculaneum

a. "The Young Commander"

Bronze, H. 22 in. (56 cm)

Excavated September 22–24, 1752

b. Demetrios Poliorketes

White marble (Pentelic?), H. 17½ in. (43.5 cm)

Excavated April 7, 1752

c. Pyrrhos of Epeiros

White marble (Pentelic?), H. 18½ in. (46 cm)

Excavated October 15, 1757

d. Antiochos I Soter

Bronze, H. 18½ in. (46 cm)

Excavated January 10, 1755

e. Ptolemy II Philadelphos

Bronze, H. 21⅞ in. (55.5 cm)

Excavated March 23, 1754

Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples (5588, 6149, 6150, 5596, 5600)

The enormous and luxurious Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum has been partially excavated, revealing structures that contained ninety-seven bronze and marble sculptures datable to the period between the third quarter of the first century B.C. and A.D. 79, the year the villa was buried by Mount Vesuvius. The largest concentration of these—forty-seven pieces—stood in the great rectangular peristyle (more than 90 meters long and 30 meters wide), with lesser numbers in the atrium, *tablinum* (receiving room for business), square peristyle, and other smaller and less public spaces. The rectangular peristyle, organized around a long ornamental pool, was decorated with statues arranged in a semantic pattern fairly easy to interpret: the villa's public spaces were intended to celebrate Hellenistic culture and thus presented references alternately to the contemplative life, in portraits of poets and thinkers, and to the active life, extolling great condottieri and athletes. Intermingled were works pointing to the Dionysian and Classical world in general.

The bronze bust generically known as the Young Commander (a) comes from the smaller, square peristyle.¹ Whom it represents is a matter of debate; some believe





24b



24c

the subject is a Roman, perhaps the owner of the villa, who wished to be portrayed in the manner of a Hellenistic sovereign. The fact that the piece stood in the peristyle in a position visible from the atrium (the space that typically housed a portrait of the owner) supports this hypothesis. Many other subjects have been posited over the years: a Greek gymnast; the hero Castor watching the boxing match between his brother, Pollux, and King Amykos; the Attalid king Eumenes II; the Seleucid king Demetrios I Soter or his successor, Alexander I Balas; and, from among the Romans, Titus Quinctius Flamininus and even Lucullus.

From the great rectangular peristyle comes the marble bust of a young man wearing a band and bull's horns in his thick locks (b). Comparisons with a bronze from Herculaneum (Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples, 5026) and with numerous portraits on coins minted after 295 B.C. (see cat. 140) have led to a certain consensus that the subject is Demetrios Poliorketes, although some scholars see Alexander the Great or a generic Hellenistic sovereign.² Most likely this is a Roman copy of a portrait made by Teisikrates between 320 and 280 B.C. A bust of Pyrrhos of Epeiros (c) wearing a typical conical Macedonian helmet crowned by a wreath of oak leaves

also stood in the large peristyle.³ It has been identified largely because of the report in Plutarch that the king of Epeiros wore an oak wreath on his helmet like that worn by Zeus in the local Sanctuary of Dodona, marking the special link the sovereign had with that shrine.⁴ The herm representing Pyrrhos appears inspired by an original stylistically datable to about 290 B.C.; it is akin to portraits of that period associated with Lysippos, but their flair is muted here by a Classicist interpretation.

The atrium was home to a slightly larger-than-lifesize bronze bust (d) of a youthful-looking Hellenistic sovereign, his head bound by the royal band. The fine modeling,



24d

suggesting an original made in the first half of the third century B.C., led some scholars in the past to see the bust as a copy of a portrait of Alexander the Great, but today it is believed to represent one of the Diadochi, or Successors, who fought to succeed him, perhaps one of the Seleucids—thus Antiochos IV Epiphanes,⁵ Demetrios II Nikator of Syria, Nikomedes I of Bithynia, or, according to the most accepted suggestion, Antiochos I Soter.

Also from the atrium is the lifesize bronze bust (e) of a young Hellenistic sovereign wearing the royal headband, identified from coin portraits as Ptolemy II

Philadelphos⁶ (r. 283–246 B.C.), although some maintain the subject is Antigonos Gonatas of Macedonia (r. 277–239 B.C.). FG

1. The chlamys pinned at the shoulder that covers part of his chest is modern, and the presence of a *tainia* (cloth band) around the head remains uncertain. Baiardi 1755, p. 171, no. CCXXVIII; *Delle antichità di Ercolano* 1767, pp. 177–78, pls. LI, LII; Moesch 2008, pp. 74–79 (with bibliography).

2. The bust was found in the southwest area of the rectangular peristyle toward the eastern hemicycle of the pool. Comparetti and De Petra 1883, p. 275, no. 73, pl. XX, 3; Ruesch 1911, p. 273, no. 1146; *Collezioni del Museo Nazionale di Napoli* 1989, p. 124, no. 147, ill. p. 125; Mattusch 2005, pp. 161–62, figs. 4.35–38; Moesch 2008, pp. 74–79 (with bibliography).



24e

3. Small missing pieces of the visor have been repaired. Wojcik 1986, pp. 64–65, no. B 10, pl. XXXIX; De Caro 1994, p. 287; *Ancient Roman Civilization* 2003, pp. 58–59, figs. 4.39–42; Mattusch 2005, pp. 163–64; Moesch 2008, pp. 74–79 (with bibliography).

4. Plutarch, *Lives*, *Pyrrhos* 3.6.

5. *Delle antichità di Ercolano* 1767, p. 233, pls. LXIX, LXX; Comparetti and De Petra 1883, p. 264, no. 22, pl. IX, 3; *Collezioni del Museo Nazionale di Napoli* 1989, p. 130, no. 175, ill. p. 131; Adamo Muscettola 2000, p. 16 (with bibliography); Mattusch 2005, pp. 262–63, 266–68, figs. 5.166–69; Moesch 2008, pp. 74–79 (with bibliography).

6. *Delle antichità di Ercolano* 1767, p. 227, pls. LXVII, LXVIII; Moreno 1994, vol. 1, pp. 322–23; Mattusch 2005, pp. 264–68, figs. 5.170–74; Moesch 2008, pp. 74–79 (with bibliography).

EXCAVATIONS AT PERGAMON



25

Herm of Philetairos of Pergamon

Roman, late 1st century B.C.; copy of a
Greek statue of ca. 250 B.C.

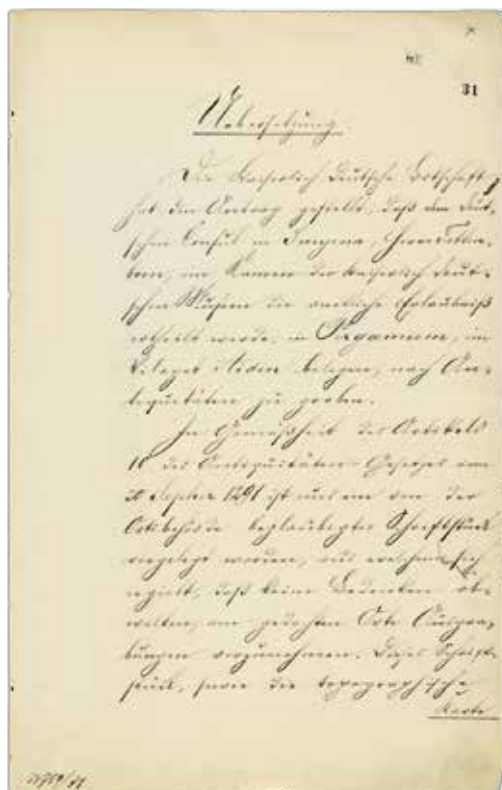
Pentelic marble, H. 16½ in. (42 cm)

Excavated at the Villa of the Papyri,
Herculaneum, September 16, 1757

Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples (6148)

The herm, as customary, rests on a quadrangular base with flat vertical planes and represents a mature male, whose head is turned slightly to the left.¹ The face, surrounded by short curls, is vigorously shaped, with small, deep-set eyes, a long nose, a protuberant lower lip, and a square jaw. A chlamys (cloak) covers the base of the neck and shoulders. From the garment and a comparison with known Hellenistic portraits on coins, the statue can be identified as an official portrait of Philetairos of Pergamon, based on a prototype from the mid-third century B.C. Here, the symbols that characterize Philetairos's heroization (headband, laurel wreath), as seen on later coins with his image, are absent; instead, the sovereign is depicted as he was before Eumenes I elevated him to divine status.

The herm originally belonged to a pair with one depicting Archidamos III (Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples, 6156). Along with other pairs of Hellenistic sovereigns, they decorated the north side of the rectangular peristyle of the Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum. An analogous series of paired herms embellished the south side of the peristyle, whose decorative program played on a contrast between figures of thinkers and those of Hellenistic rulers. In the villa's sculptural decoration we thus see a counterpoint between the *vita activa* (*negotium*), or the political role, and the *vita passiva*, which was dedicated to *otium*, the cultivation of the mind, and to study. Both were considered necessary in order to lead a balanced life. FG



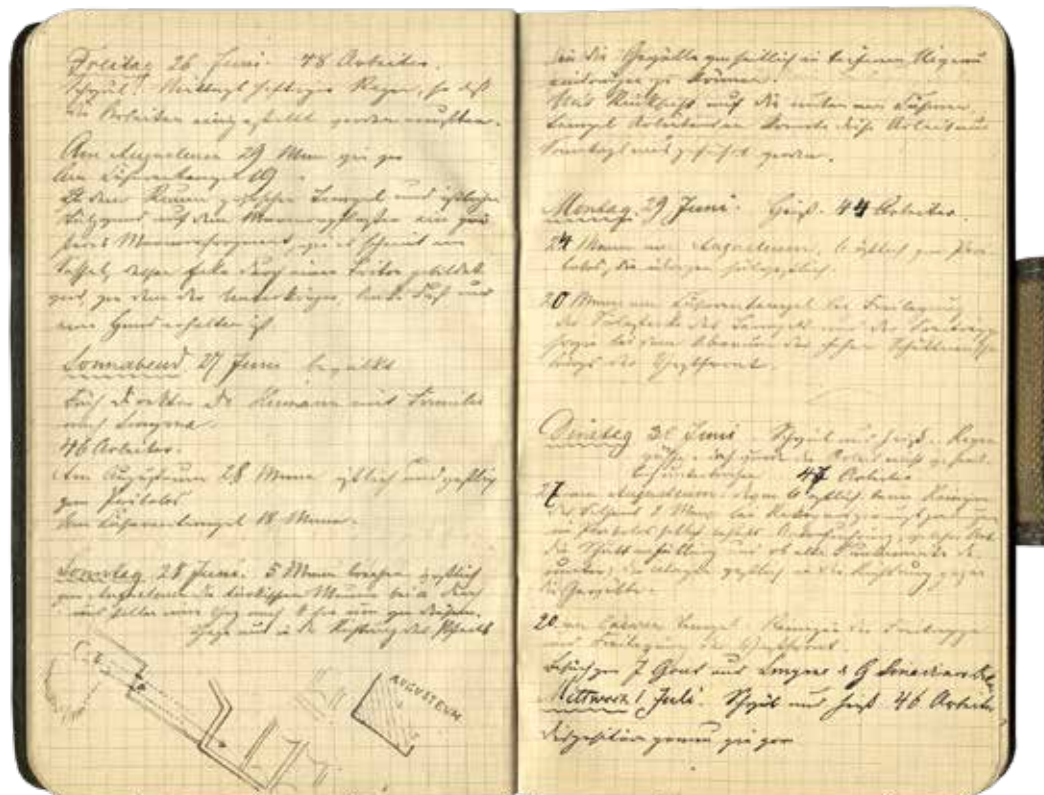
26

1. Real Museo Borbonico 1852, pl. XII; *Collezioni del Museo Nazionale di Napoli* 1989, p. 124, no. 144, ill. p. 125; Mattusch 2005, pp. 159–60, figs. 4.30–33; Valeria Moesch in Ercolano 2008, p. 276, no. 100 (with bibliography); Moesch 2008, pp. 74–75. See also Mattusch 2005, fig. 4.34.

26 Firman (Excavation Permit) for the First Campaign and Receipt

Contemporary translation, dated July 25, 1878
Paper, 5 sheets, folio format
Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin (Rep. 76 V e, Sekt. 15, Abt. VI, no. 20, vol. 1, pp. 31–35)

This first *firman*, issued in Smyrna (Izmir) to the German consul Adolph Friedrich Tettenborn, was valid for a year and established that the excavators were to bear all costs, including that of the overseer; that a list of finds was to be kept; and that all finds were to be stored in a central location until a division was made.¹ Three Turkish gold pounds were levied as an administrative fee. The *firman* is signed by the Minister of Education, named Münif.



27

The receipt for the fee was written in Arabic and German and sealed. $\cup\kappa$
1. Schulte 1963, p. 42; U. Kästner 1997, p. 12; Ursula Kästner in Pergamon 2011, p. 426, no. 1.7.

27 Pergamon Excavation Diary of 1885–86

Carl Humann (1839–1896)
Paper, bound in linen, H. 6½ in. (16.5 cm), W. 4¾ in. (11 cm)
Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Archiv, Rep. 1, Abt. B, P 82)

Humann's handwritten notebook documents activities during the third excavation campaign in Pergamon.¹ Serving as the basis for the official diary for the years 1885–86 (Antikensammlung, Berlin, Archiv, Rep. 1, Abt. B, P 81), it contains more information than the official record in that it describes some of the excavation events in greater detail. JA

1. Volker Kästner in *Herenizumu no hana* 2008, p. 163, no. 32, ill. p. 74; Johanna Auinger in Pergamon 2011, p. 424, no. 1.2.

28 Medal with Image of the Pergamon Altar

Roman, Severan period, A.D. 193–211
Bronze, Diam. 1¾ in. (4.5 cm), Wt. 1.89 oz. (53.64 g)
Inscribed: on obverse, AVT KAI Λ CEΠ – CEONHPO – C ΠEP // IOV ΔOMNA / CEBACTH; on reverse, EΠI CTPA KΛAVΔIANON TEPΠANΔPOY // ΠEPΓAMHNON / B NEOKOPON (under the magistrate Claudianus Terpandrus // [coin of] the Pergamenions / which is the city of imperial cult temples
Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (1932/328, no. 18200904)

On the obverse, facing to the right, a draped bust of Septimius Severus, wearing a cuirass and laurel wreath, appears opposite a draped bust of Julia Domna facing left. The reverse shows the Pergamon Altar, with, at center, a vaulted-gable architectural element flanked by four-column porticoes, each topped with two statues; in the foreground below each portico is a statue of a steer on a base.

The issue of Claudianus Terpandros, of which this medal is an example, consists of large bronzes of a medallionlike nature. The series presents a number of unusual



29



28

coin images in which distinctive features of the city of Pergamon are celebrated. Indeed, the image on the reverse is the only known illustration of the monumental altar to Zeus and Athena, which Phlegon of Tralles numbered among the wonders of the architectural world.¹ BW

1. Weisser 1995, 11.2. T (1560), no. 2429; Bernhard Weisser in *Pergamon* 2011, p. 550, no. 6.63. See also Wroth and Poole 1892, p. 152, no. 315.

29

Acropolis of Pergamon

Friedrich (von) Thiersch (1852–1921), 1882

Pen and ink with watercolor on canvas, 78 in. x 11 ft. 5¾ in. (198 x 350 cm) without frame

Inscribed: at bottom right corner, *Die Akropolis von Pergamon. Reconstruiert nach den bisherigen Ausgrabungen von F. Thiersch. Febr. 1882*

(The Acropolis of Pergamon. Reconstructed according to the excavations to date by F. Thiersch. Febr. 1882)

Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Archiv. Rep. 1, Abt. B, Inv. Graph 91)

This monumental *veduta* reflects the excavators' first published findings regarding the structures on Pergamon's acropolis.¹ The chief interest of the draftsman, Friedrich (Max) Thiersch, was the Great Altar. At the time the drawing was made, the precise arrangement of the frieze and the orientation of the altar stairs to the west were still unknown. There were also no clues as to the reconstruction of the wall projections, which are shown as too wide, or to the existence of the colonnade at the top of the open staircase. For that reason, Thiersch based his view on the medal image of the altar (cat. 28) and left the courtyard open to the south. Most unusual are the colonnade in the inner courtyard, which is not seen in Richard Bohn's drawings, and the towerlike burnt-offering altar. Aside from the propylon before the altar precinct and the small temple structure atop a bastion in the background, the rest of the architecture corresponds to what was then known from excavation of the topography



30

of the acropolis. Especially charming and lively here are the greenery placed around the altar precinct with casual brushstrokes and the humorous figural staffage.

As an architect, Thiersch was one of the most prominent exponents of late historicism in Germany. Many of his buildings were erected in Munich, where he worked at the Technische Hochschule, and where he was ennobled with the award of the Order of Merit of the Bavarian Crown in 1897. Wilhelm II awarded him the commission for the spa hotel in Wiesbaden and is said to have also commissioned him to reconstruct the newly discovered Pergamon Altar. To that end, Thiersch undertook a journey to Pergamon in 1881. He published the present picture, together with a description of that journey and of the excavated structures, in a small book in 1883. vk

1. F. Thiersch 1883; H. Thiersch 1925; V. Kästner 1986, p. 31, no. 43, fig. 35; Volker Kästner in *Pergamon* 2011, pp. 556–57, no. 7.11.

30

Acropolis of Pergamon

Otto Dannenberg (1879–1932), 1903

Pen and ink with watercolor on canvas, 78 in. x 11 ft. 5¾ in. (198 x 350 cm) without frame

Inscribed: *Die Hochstadt von Pergamon nach der Reconstruction von R. Bohn 1888* (The Acropolis of Pergamon in the Reconstruction by R. Bohn 1888)

Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Archiv. Rep. 1, Abt. B, Inv. Graph 92)

The results of the first three major excavation campaigns were collected in a third preliminary report that appeared in 1888 in the *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*. Accompanying the text was a two-page heliograph with a view of the acropolis of Pergamon from the southwest in the second century A.D. based

on the drawings by excavation architect Richard Bohn, which Otto Dannenberg used as the pattern for this *veduta*.¹ The picture now shows the altar oriented toward the west, with the correct projection widths and also with a portico closing off the courtyard, but still without the placement of the column pillars, which were not published until 1906, in Jakob Schrammen's book on the altar.² The depiction has the quality of a scientifically exact illustration; apparently for that reason, there was no inclusion of figural staffage. The contemporary style in painting is manifested only in the rendering of the cliffs and vegetation. vk

1. Humann, Bohn, and Fränkel 1888, pp. 80–81, and heliograph of drawing by Richard Bohn. See also V. Kästner 1986, p. 32, no. 45; Volker Kästner in *Pergamon* 2011, p. 557, no. 7.12, ill. p. 558.

2. Schrammen 1906.

Excavation Site on the Altar Terrace

Christian Wilberg (1839–1882), 1879

Graphite on brown paper, highlighted in white,
11 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 18 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (30.2 x 47.4 cm)

Inscribed: in pencil, on verso at lower right,
Pergamon 1879. / Ausgrabungsplatz. Chr. Wilberg
(Pergamon 1879. Excavation site. Chr. Wilberg)
Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin
(43 [formerly F 262])

This view of the site clearly shows the already excavated portion, with foundation structures, a capital, and pieces of the altar's architecture as well as a draped statue that had been set up again.¹ In the background, the stratigraphic section of the excavation is seen cutting into the hill, and remains of the Byzantine fortification lie above. UK

1. Wilberg 1880, pl. VII; U. Kästner 1986, p. 20, no. 17;
Ursula Kästner in *Pergamon* 2011, p. 428, no. 1.13.



31

Excavation of the Byzantine Wall

Christian Wilberg (1839–1882), 1879

Graphite on brownish paper, highlighted in white,
11 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 18 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (29.8 x 46.7 cm)

Inscribed: in pencil, on verso at lower right,
Pergamon, 79. Chr. Wilberg. Byzantinische Mauer
4–6 Meter breit. Hierin wurden die ersten Stücke
der Reliefs gefunden (Pergamon, 79. Byzantine
wall 4–6 meters thick. In it the first pieces of
the relief were found)

Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu
Berlin (44 [formerly F 259])

Most of the slabs of the Gigantomachy were found in the masonry of a wall erected below the altar terrace in the Byzantine era for protection against Arab attacks.¹ This explains why the projecting portions of the frieze slabs were struck off in order to make more uniform blocks. UK

1. Wilberg 1880, pl. IX; U. Kästner 1986, p. 20, no. 19, fig. 14;
U. Kästner 1997, p. 13, ill. no. 7; Ursula Kästner in *Pergamon*
2011, pp. 427–28, no. 1.11.



32



33

Transport of the Frieze Slabs from the Acropolis

Christian Wilberg (1839–1882), 1879

Graphite and ink wash on brownish paper, highlighted in white, 12 x 18 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (30.5 x 46 cm)

Inscribed in pencil, on front at lower left:

Pergamon, 79. Chr. Wilberg. Transport der grossen Reliefplatten der Gigantomachie (Pergamon, 79. Chr. Wilberg. Transport of the large relief slabs of the Gigantomachy)

Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (46 [formerly F 264])

The relief slabs were brought down from the acropolis on wood sleds drawn by teams of buffalo.¹ The narrow, crudely paved street in the foreground was an added difficulty that could easily cause the sleds laden with the heavy slabs to tip over, as seen in the middle distance. UK

1. Wilberg 1880, pl. X; U. Kästner 1986, p. 21, no. 20, fig. 15; Ursula Kästner in *Pergamon* 2011, p. 428, no. 1.12.



34a

34a, b

Fragments from the Great Altar, East Frieze

Carl Humann (1839–1896)

Pen on oilcloth, mounted on cardboard

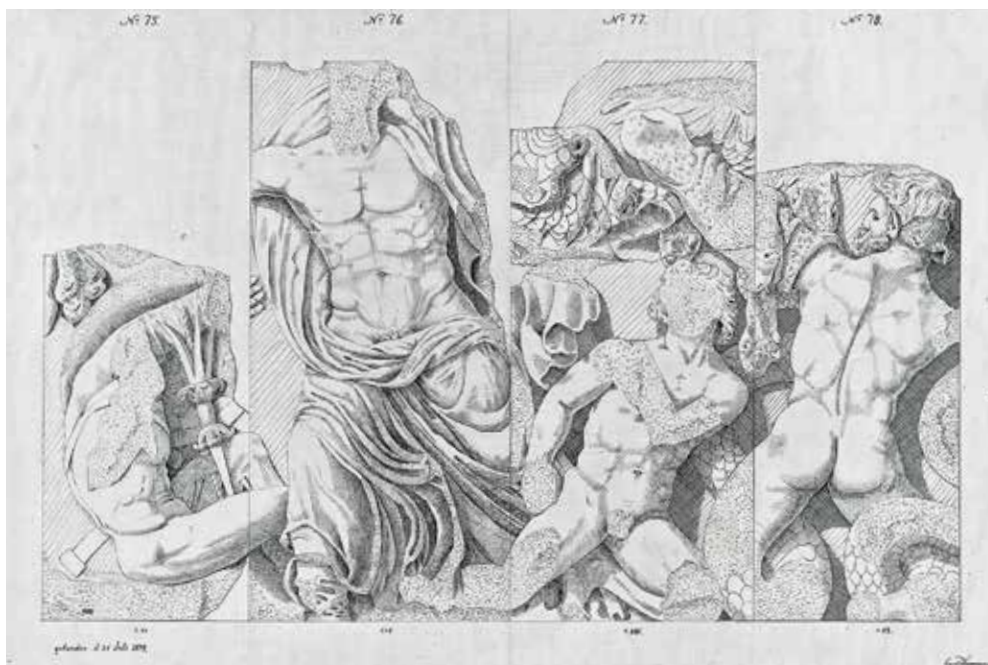
a. Athena in Battle with the Giant Alcyoneus; on the right, Ge and Nike, 15 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 21 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (39.2 x 53.5 cm)

Fragment excavated April 28–May 3, 1879

Inscribed: on front, bottom right, *gefunden. 28/4-3/5 79 Carl Humann*

b. Zeus in Battle with Porphyryon and Two Young Giants, 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 21 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (39.5 x 53.5 cm) Fragment found on July 21, 1879

Inscribed: on front, bottom left, *gefunden d. 21. Juli 1879*; on front, bottom right, *Carl Humann Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Archiv, Rep. 1, Abt. B, P 288, XX, XXIV)*



34b

Humann's pen drawings were helpful in reconstructing how the excavated frieze fragments fit together.¹ They were executed on thin oilcloth on a 1:10 scale and partially tinted in yellow and pink. For some relief slabs, they also note the find date. Humann compared the individual drawings of the finds and pasted pieces that fit together

onto a cardboard support. In some spots, drawings were again removed or additional corrections sketched in, in pencil. In this way, Humann was able to get a clearer idea of the relief scenes in Bergama and thereby draw conclusions for his reconstructions.

Later, in the Berlin workshops, the fragments were laid out on wood trestles, photo-

graphed, and their possible relationships studied by the Italian restorers. UK

1. Schulte 1959, pp. 160ff., nos. 63–66, pp. 181–89, nos. 75–78; Volker Kästner in *Herenzumano no hana* 2008, p. 162, nos. 16, 17, ill. p. 69; Volker Kästner in *Pergamon* 2011, pp. 429–30, nos. 1.17, 1.18.

Alexandrine Parakeet

Max Lübke or Steinhauer

Gouache, partially varnished, with annotations in pencil, 16 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 19 in. (41 x 48.3 cm)

Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, (Archiv, P 378)

The emblem depicted here comes from a mosaic in the altar chamber of Palace V on Pergamon's acropolis (Antikensammlung, Berlin, Mos. 71).¹ Its subject, an Alexandrine parakeet (*Psittacula eupatria*), is identifiable from the green plumage with red necklace and the red-brown spots on the shoulders. The species, which is from Asia, became known in antiquity after Alexander's campaigns, and the birds were considered precious possessions as well as status symbols. The indications of the tesserae here clearly show the surviving portions and the restored sections on the bird's head and breast.

Along with catalogue numbers 36 and 37, this undated gouache served as a model for the 1930 publication on Pergamon's palaces. According to the foreword of that volume, by Theodor Wiegand, director of the Berlin Antiquities Departments, the gouaches were "produced, based on the original pieces in Berlin, by the painters M. Lübke and Steinhauer."² The present one obviously served as the model for the

reconstruction of the Alexandrine parakeet in the mosaic that was in the Telephos Room of the Pergamon Museum. UK

1. Kawerau and Wiegand 1930, foreword and pl. XV; Kriseleit 2000, p. 27, fig. 23; Volker Kästner in *Herenizumu no hana* 2008, p. 164, no. 59, ill. p. 84; Ursula Kästner in *Pergamon* 2011, pp. 521–22, no. 5.47. For the original mosaic, see Kawerau and Wiegand 1930, pp. 58–62; Salzmann 1995, pp. 108–10; Kriseleit 2000, pp. 24–27, figs. 21, 22.

2. Kawerau and Wiegand 1930, foreword.

36

Mosaic Fragment with Artist's Signature

Max Lübke or Steinhauer

Gouache, partially varnished, with annotations in pencil, 12 x 15 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (30.5 x 39 cm)

Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Archiv, P 375)

This undated gouache of an irregular mosaic fragment on a dark background pictures a piece of parchment affixed on three corners with wax, but whose fourth corner curls upward, on which appears the signature of the artist Hephæstion: *ΗΦΑΙΣΤΙΩΝ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ* (Hephæstion made [it]).¹ Like the vine frieze (cat. 37), the fragment comes from the Hephæstion Mosaic (Antikensammlung, Berlin, Mos. 70), which was discovered in 1886 and decorated the banquet hall of Palace V in Pergamon. UK

1. Kawerau and Wiegand 1930, pl. XIX; Volker Kästner in *Herenizumu no hana* 2008, p. 164, no. 61, ill. p. 85; Ursula Kästner in *Pergamon* 2011, p. 523, no. 5.50. For the original mosaic, see Kawerau and Wiegand 1930, pp. 58–61, 63–65; Salzmann 1995, pp. 103–7, pl. 17, 2; Kriseleit 2000, pp. 17–23.

37

Vine Frieze

Max Lübke or Steinhauer

Gouache, partially varnished, with annotations in pencil, 11 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 16 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (29.5 x 42.4 cm)

Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Archiv, P 376)

Reproduced in this undated gouache is a section of the vine frieze that forms the border of the Hephæstion Mosaic in the banquet hall of Palace V on Pergamon's acropolis.¹ Above the interlacing double band are acanthus and grape vines—with seemingly three-dimensional grapes, flowers, and curling tendrils—joined by a grasshopper. The original mosaic (Antikensammlung, Berlin, Mos. 70) dates from shortly before the middle of the second century B.C. The gouache minutely reproduces the placement of the tesserae and depicts minor damages, such as cracks and shifting. It was also apparently used as the model for the restored mosaic floor in the Pergamon Museum. UK



35



36

1. Kawerau and Wiegand 1930, pl. XVII; Volker Kästner in *Herenizumu no hana* 2008, p. 164, no. 60, ill. p. 85; Ursula Kästner in *Pergamon* 2011, pp. 522–23, no. 5.49. For the original mosaic, see Kawerau and Wiegand 1930, pp. 58–61, 63–65; Salzmänn 1995, pp. 103–7; Kriseleit 2000, pp. 17–23, fig. 14; Dieter Salzmänn in *Pergamon* 2011, pp. 520–21, no. 5.43.

38

Block with Elephant's Head

Greek, Hellenistic period, ca. 3rd–1st century B.C.
Marble, H. 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (15 cm), W. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (21.5 cm),
D. without relief head 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (26 cm)

From Pergamon, former Greek quarter of the city of Bergama

Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (AvP VII 265)

A naturalistic elephant's head with outspread ears completely fills the front of the block.¹ The trunk and mouth have broken off, and the separately carved and inset tusks are also missing. A hole, measuring 13 by 16 centimeters and with a maximum depth of 7.6 centimeters, has been crudely drilled through the elephant's forehead and is related to a nearly square cavity in the interior of the block. A second hole has been made in the left-hand side wall of the box, while the center of the back wall has a deep, U-shaped drain. The right-hand side wall has broken off. Since the sophisticated relief carving hardly accords with the crude drilling in the forehead, the boxlike cavity with its various holes very likely reflects a second use of the block, perhaps as part of a fountain or nymphaeum. Originally, however, it must have been incorporated into a wall, so that only the relief-ornamented front was visible. RG

1. Winter 1908, p. 225, no. 265, supplementary sheet 28; Ralf Grüssinger in *Pergamon* 2011, pp. 466–67, no. 3.41.



37



38

THE HELLENISTIC CITY OF PERGAMON

39

Statue of Athena Parthenos

Greek, Hellenistic period, ca. 170 B.C.; after the mid-5th century B.C. chryselephantine cult statue of Athena Parthenos by Pheidias
Marble, H. without base 10 ft. 2¼ in. (310.5 cm), W. 46⅝ in. (118.5 cm), D. 27⅞ in. (69 cm), H. of base 16 in. (40.5 cm)

Discovered at Pergamon in the Sanctuary of Athena (body in rubble of North Stoa, head in courtyard in front of it), 1880
Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (AvP VII 24)

Of the head, the front half of the face and the right side of the neck are preserved. The bottom part of the statue has been lost, and the arms, feet, and portions of the drapery are missing as well. The spear that presumably belonged to it could have been secured in a depression at the proper left edge of the base. The back of the figure was only cursorily carved, and of the base only a block survives. Six relief figures are still visible on the badly battered front side of the base.

As its attributes indicate, this monumental statue is a smaller version of the famous Athena Parthenos by Pheidias from the mid-fifth century B.C., which stood as the cult image in the Parthenon on the Acropolis in Athens.¹ Facing forward, with her weight on her right leg and her left drawn slightly back, she wears a belted peplos. Across her shoulders and down to her breast lies a collarlike aegis with *gorgoneion*. Her head, with the hair parted in the center and lying in a long shock down her back, is protected by a helmet; recesses in the helmet indicate three attachments, possibly crests. It is not entirely clear how the position of the arms should be reconstructed. The Pheidias original supported a spear with her left arm. Whether the right, extended hand held a small Nike, like that of the Pheidias Athena Parthenos, is unknown.

The Pergamon Athena wears a helmet, but without the elaborate accessories of the original. The Hellenistic sculptor appears to have left out a few attributes, such as, perhaps, the Nike with the column on her

right, the shield, and the serpent on her left. The absence of the serpent indicates that Athena is not appearing here as protector of the Athenian Acropolis. The sculptor has adopted only the spear from the original, as a hole in the base makes clear. A depiction of the birth of Pandora does adorn the base of the Pergamon Athena, just as it is attested on the original by Pausanias and Pliny the Elder.²

The statue was found directly in front of the largest of the rooms behind the North Stoa of the Athena Sanctuary, roughly two meters above the level of the basement floor. It was suspected early on that these rooms contained the famous Pergamon Library—and indeed Athena appears here primarily as the goddess of wisdom, science, and the arts. J-PN

1. Winter 1908, pp. 33–46, no. 24, pl. VIII, supplementary sheets 2, 3; Niemeier 1985, pp. 24–27, 62–64, 114–29; von Prittwitz und Gaffron 2007, pp. 252–54; Schraudolph 2007, pp. 218–20; Jörg-Peter Niemeier in *Pergamon* 2011, pp. 559–60, no. 8.2.

2. Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 1.24.7; Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 36.19.







40

Statue of a Seated Male Figure

Greek, Hellenistic period, 170–150 B.C.

Marble, H. approx. 66 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (170 cm), W. 27 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (70 cm), D. 35 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (90 cm)

Discovered at Pergamon, 1878–80

Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (AvP VII 122)

This statue was broken into numerous pieces, most of which could be fitted together again.¹ Many parts of it, now lost, were also carved separately and attached, including the face, the right side of the head, and possibly the top of the head as well. The back at the top is only summarily carved; the drapery is cut off and roughened with a toothed chisel.

The largely nude figure places his right leg slightly forward and draws his left one back. His right hand touches his left breast. To judge from a projection in the palm of the hand, it held some kind of object. The head bends slightly forward and turns a little to the left. Long locks are preserved at the nape of the neck.

The subject's nudity recalls representations of heroes such as Achilles and Theseus. Theoretically, a bearded hero is also conceivable, for the now-missing attachments on the head do not preclude a short, full beard.² The fact that the body forms are those of a more mature man would also be appropriate to such a figure. Ultimately the identification must remain a puzzle, for any clues to interpretation, such as attributes, are lacking. From the beginning, the figure was compared with the seated man in the painting from the villa at Boscoreale (fig. 128), thought by some to represent Ptolemy III.³ Any interpretation of the present sculpture as a portrait of a ruler needs, however, to take note that there is no indication of a headband in the hair at the back. Stylistic comparisons with seated figures in the Telephos Frieze, already undertaken by Franz Winter, serve to date the work to the same time. wg

1. *Führer* 1904, p. 47; Kekulé von Stradonitz 1907, p. 330; Winter 1908, pp. 137–38, no. 122, pl. XXIX; Himmelmann 1989, pp. 112–14, fig. 45; Wilfred Geominy in *Pergamon* 2011, p. 559, no. 8.1.

2. For the attachments, see Hoffer 2015, pp. 145, 150, figs. 7, 14, 15.

3. See Andreae and Kyrielleis 1975, ill. no. 68 following p. 83; Pfrommer 1993a; R. R. Smith 1994, p. 113.

Base for a Statue of Homer

Greek, Late Hellenistic period,

2nd–1st century B.C.

Bluish marble, H. 16 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (41.5 cm), W. 27 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (70 cm), D. 29 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (75.5 cm), H. of letters $\frac{7}{16}$ – $\frac{9}{16}$ in. (1.2–1.4 cm)

Discovered at Pergamon, in North Stoa of Sanctuary of Athena, May 1881

Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (IvP 203)

This reused block, inscribed on the front with three epigrams, came to light in the eastern part of the North Stoa of the Sanctuary of Athena.¹ The inscription is badly weathered. The traces of where a statue once stood on the underside and the chiseled-off inscription, perhaps the artist's, on the right side next to them survive from a previous use of the block.

The three poems deal with the question of where the poet Homer was born:

These [cities] have competed, with arguments for and against, about your myths: Smyrna and the place in the land of the Oinopion, and Colophon and Cyme; among all cities there is a desire to contend for the fame of your birth. So great is the fame of your singing among the living, as long as night and Helios continue to circle above.

The disputed, divine Homer, the celebrator [of heroes], whom all cities have competed for: Smyrna, Chios, Colophon, Cyme, and the entire Palasgian Hellas and the cities of the islands and the landscape of Troy. There is no need to be offended: for just as Helios shines among the stars, so does he shine as the light of the Muses on Earth.

Endless effort do we have on account of you, Homer, the Cymaeans descended from Aiolos and the people of Chios, endless conflict did you leave behind for Smyrna and Colophon. But only to Zeus is the place of your birth known; but they [the cities] bark senselessly, just as eager, predatory dogs do for the bones, lusting for a feast.²

In the second half of the third century B.C. there was a temple to Homer in Alexandria, in which personifications of the cities that vied for this honor were arrayed around a statue of the poet.³ It is also known that poetry contests were held in honor of him. The epigrams on the base could be the



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results of such a contest, which listed the four names Smyrna, Chios, Colophon, and Cyme as his possible birthplaces. Homer was considered the archetypal poet, the highest authority and source of all wisdom.⁴ It is attested that he was venerated in Hellenistic times in a Homereion in other places besides Alexandria. Study of his works was a central focus for philologists in Alexandria and Pergamon. sb

1. Fränkel 1890–95, vol. 1 (1890), pp. 119–21, no. 203; Peek 1978, pp. 704–6, no. 12; *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* 1982, p. 279, no. 968; Merkelbach and Stauber 1998, pp. 598–99, no. 06/02/18 Pergamon; Sylvia Brehme in *Pergamon* 2011, p. 561, no. 8.4.

2. Translated from the German translation by Merkelbach and Stauber 1998, p. 598.

3. For the Homer Temple in Alexandria and the poet's possible birthplaces, see Hillgruber 1994, pp. 84–86.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 5–34; Zanker 1995, pp. 158–62.

42

Imaginary Portrait of Homer

Roman, Early Imperial period, 1st century A.D.;

copy after a Greek bronze statue of the 2nd century B.C.

Marble, H. 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (57.1 cm)

Discovered at Baiae, Italy, 1780

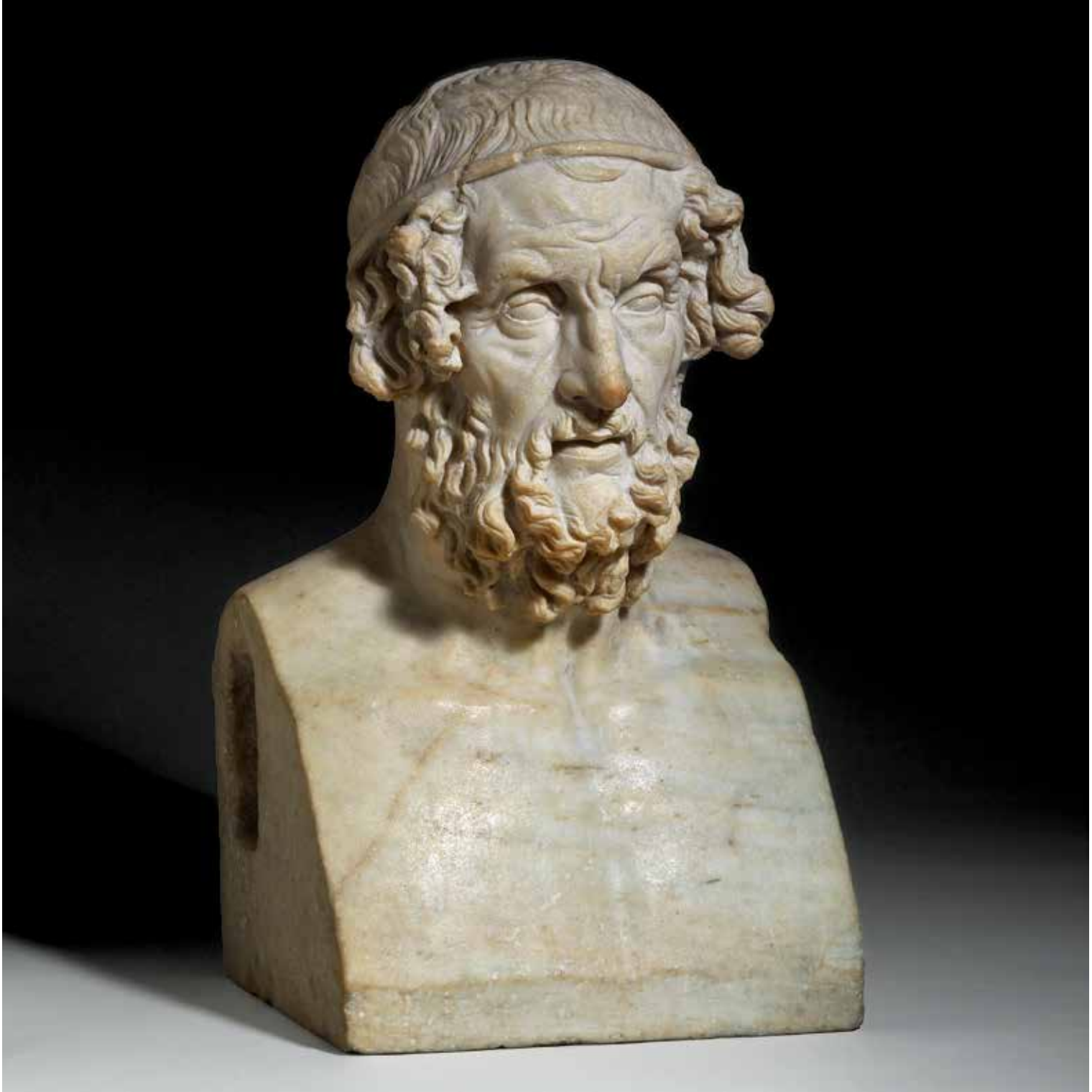
The British Museum, London (GR 1805,0703.85 [Sculpture 1825])

Homer, the legendary poet of all antiquity, is thought to have lived in Greece from about 750 to 700 B.C. Tradition holds that he

was the author of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, epic poems focusing on the heroes Achilles and Odysseus, respectively. As the forebear of Greek culture, Homer was honored with a hero cult and temples, particularly during the Hellenistic period. His tomb was allegedly on the Greek island of Ios.

Several ancient portrait types have been interpreted as portraits of Homer, each surviving in several copies, although now only in the form of busts, whereas the originals would have been full-length statues. The originals are thought to be Greek in origin, but all versions come from Roman contexts. Pliny the Elder notes that in the second century B.C. a portrait of Homer was made for the library at Pergamon.¹ Cast in bronze, this work has since been lost. The original portrait would have been full-length and possibly seated: the body was as integral a part of the image of a living man as the physiognomy. The sculptor created a portrait type in a modern style, as fitting for the production of portraits of historical figures. In the present work, the expressive, potent treatment of the features, marked by age, emphasizes the physical deterioration of an aging man, charged with extra poignancy as Homer was allegedly blind. A knitted brow, deep-set hooded eyes, ruffled hair, and a venerable beard all enrich this study of engrossed contemplation.

This Roman adaptation in marble, in which the tip of the nose is restored,



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reduced the image of Homer from a statue into a terminal bust.² Greek letters carved on the sides perhaps indicate that it was part of a series of historical portraits, conceivably set up in a Roman villa or library. PH

1. Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 35.9.

2. From the collection of Charles Townley. A. H. Smith 1904, pp. 129–30, no. 1825, pl. X, fig. 1; R. Boehringer and E. Boehringer 1939, pls. 81, 82; Richter 1965, vol. 1, p. 51, no. 13, figs. 88–90; B. F. Cook 1985, p. 37, fig. 33; Walker 1995, p. 24, fig. 14.

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Papyrus with Lines from the *Odyssey*

Greek (Ptolemaic), Early Hellenistic period, ca. 285–250 B.C.

Papyrus, H. 7 ½ in. (19.1 cm)

Found outside El-Hibeh, Egypt, 1902

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York;

Gift of Egypt Exploration Fund, 1909 (09.182.50)

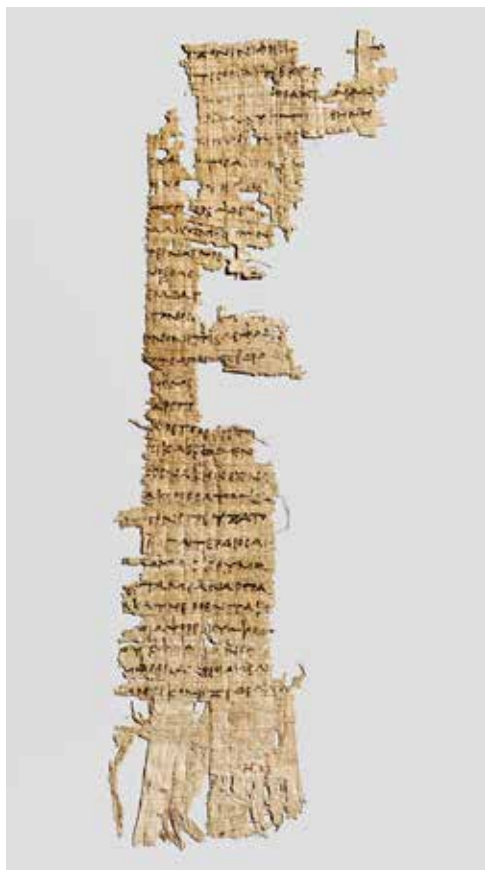
Found loose in debris outside the modern Egyptian city of El-Hibeh during British investigations there in 1902, this papyrus preserves lines from Book 20 of Homer's *Odyssey*.¹ Although it was not discovered in a tomb, proximity to a Ptolemaic necropolis yielding comparable fragments of papyrus, together with details of the script, indicate a date of about 285–250 B.C., making it the earliest written fragment of the *Odyssey* ever discovered.²

Papyri such as this, which survive for the most part because they were reused as mummy cartonnage, offer a tantalizing glimpse of the activities at the Library of Alexandria, founded by Ptolemy I in the early third century B.C. to preserve the rich literary heritage of Archaic and Classical Greece. Homer's works loomed large in this atmosphere of retrospection, and the compilation and collation of variant editions of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were central to the scholarly mission of the newly established Hellenistic libraries, resulting in the standardization of the text.³ Three lines unknown from the vulgate (the standardized text familiar to modern readers) are partially preserved in this fragmentary scroll, a testament to the numerous variations of the famous epic that once circulated around the Mediterranean. LBS

1. Grenfell and Hunt 1906, pp. 106–8, no. 23, pl. VI; Picón et al. 2007, pp. 188, 448, no. 218.

2. Grenfell and Hunt 1906, p. 106.

3. On the subject of “multiformity” in Homeric epic and the role of Alexandrian scholars in its eventual standardization, see Nagy 2004, especially pp. 25–39.



The Archelaos Relief (The Apotheosis of Homer)

Greek, Hellenistic Period, late 3rd to

2nd century B.C.

Signed by Archelaos of Priene

Marble, H. 47 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (121 cm)

Said to have been found at Bovillae (Lazio, central Italy), mid-17th century

The British Museum, London (GR 1819.0812.1 [Sculpture 2191])

During the Hellenistic period, art and poetry began to merge, forming some of the most iconographically complex and richly metaphorical compositions from Classical antiquity. This marble relief, which might be termed a poem in stone, was probably set up in honor of a victorious poet, who features as a statue on a plinth, shown on the far right in the middle of the relief. The sculptor has conveyed his intricate and sophisticated message by using a host of deities, abstract personifications, and Hellenistic dynasts(?) bestowing honors and sacrifices in various settings—from the mountains and caves where the gods reside, on the top three registers, to the bottom register, with a curtain backdrop perhaps indicating a temple setting or even a theatrical stage. Remarkably, an inscription, carved below the figure of Zeus at the top of the panel, gives us the name of the sculptor, one Archelaos of Priene. Indeed, Archelaos aided the viewer's understanding of the scene by carving the names of the figures who feature in the lower register. The upper sections of the relief and various heads and limbs of some figures were previously restored, but the restorations were removed sometime in the twentieth century.¹

Inspiration in the arts and culture was thought to come from Zeus, king of the gods, and from Mnemosyne (Memory), here personified near the top of the panel as the mother of the Nine Muses, gazing up at Zeus. Zeus was the father of the Muses, who occupy the middle two registers of the relief, and of Apollo. Acting here as the god of music and prophecy, Apollo stands in a cave by an omphalos (symbol of his oracle at Delphi) and holds a kithara. Outside the cavern the statue of the winning poet is shown standing confidently like a god or

hero. Above him is his trophy, a tripod, which was a popular prize in contests because it represented a significant amount of expensive metal.

The lowermost register holds the most complex scene. On the left are incarnations of Oikoumene (Inhabited World) and Chronos (Time), the portraitlike faces of whom have been thought to resemble the Ptolemaic ruling couple Ptolemy IV and Arsinoe III (r. 221–204 B.C.). They crown a seated figure that, on any other Greek sculptural composition, we would not hesitate to identify as Zeus. But here we have the legendary poet Homer, the ancestor of writers and poets, flanked by kneeling figures representing his two most famous works, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. This ritual act provides the sculpture with its other name, the Apotheosis of Homer Relief.

The rest of the scene is one of sacrifice in honor of Homer: the personifications of Myth, History, Poetry, Tragedy, and Comedy, joined by Nature, Excellence, Memory (again), Faith, and Wisdom, worship him as the semidivine hero that he has become. The setting could be a stage, hence the curtain behind them, or one of the temples being built to commemorate the poet across the Greek-speaking world, including a sanctuary at Alexandria established by Ptolemy IV. Ultimately this relief conveys how inspiration filtered through from the divine, Zeus and his family, through the hero, Homer, to the mortal poet. The monument celebrates the great achievements of the living man who aspires to be as renowned as Homer but who is humble enough to have his image represented apart from the others in the scene, separated by the walls of the cave from the world of the divine and the allegorical representations.

Scholars vary broadly as to where and when the monument was carved and dedicated. Nor can we be completely sure of its original context. Because of Archelaos's origin, in Priene, it is reasonable to suggest that the sculpture was produced in the eastern Mediterranean and then taken to Italy during the Roman period, but nothing is definite. The panel may have been part of a larger monument, celebrating a host of victorious poets whose brilliant words shone through at one of the many well-established



and more recent festivals of drama in old and new Greek cities alike. PH

1. A. H. Smith 1904, pp. 244–54, no. 2191, fig. 30; Pinkwart 1965b, pp. 19–90; Newby 2007, pp. 156–78, fig. 6.1; Stewart 2014, pp. 135–36, 139, fig. 75.

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Homeric Bowl

Greek (probably Boeotian), 200–150 B.C.
Orange-red clay, H. 2 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (7.3 cm), Diam. of rim 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (13 cm), Diam. of base 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (4 cm)
Excavated in a tomb in the Kokalata cemetery on Cephalonia
National Archaeological Museum, Athens (14624)

On the exterior of this semi-globular, relief-decorated, black-glazed bowl is a continuous band of eleven figures in four groups, illustrating three episodes from the *Iliad* and one myth known from epic and drama.¹ Inscriptions in the same frieze identify all the figures. The Homeric scenes represented are the duel between Menelaos and Paris (Alexander), with Aphrodite on their right and Agamemnon with Odysseus running toward them on the left (*Iliad* 3.369–78); the arrow shot at Menelaos by Pandaros with Athena standing near the former (*Iliad* 4.105–26); and Diomedes's outstanding bravery (*aristeia*), with the hero appearing alone and leaning on his spear (*Iliad* 5). The sacrifice of a willing Polyxena by the sword of Neoptolemos, as his father, Achilles, as a ghost (*eidolon*) in full armor sits nearby on his open cist grave, is the last and latest scene depicted (Euripides, *Hecuba* 37.109–11, 189, 220, 389, 521, 558). The only landscape is the large funerary mound and stele, meant for Achilles (Euripides, *Hecuba* 37.189, 220), at the foot of which the human sacrifice is performed. The large or grotesque features



of most humans and gods on the vase lend a theatrical sense to the scene.²

The body of the object was made on one mold, probably of metallic origin. A rosette with dots on its perimeter decorates the underside of the bowl, and a guilloche, composed of laurel or myrtle leaves and fruits, runs below the rim as well as the main decoration zone. Ceramic workshops in Athens, Boeotia, Delos, Asia Minor, and other regions produced and exported mold-made relief bowls. Some are called Homeric bowls, after the epic scenes depicted on them, whereas others are decorated with scenes from drama.³ Zones of floral, animal, and linear motifs in relief were also used. By the Early Hellenistic period, Homeric poems had become familiar topoi in elite and literate circles, and particular episodes had acquired tutorial or axiomatic values in wider social groups. MC

1. Reassembled and restored. Small parts from the body are missing. Kyparissis 1914, pp. 210–22, pl. 6; Courby 1922, pp. 305–6, no. 30; Bulas 1929, pp. 116–17, fig. 58; Bethe 1945, p. 79, fig. 47; Hausmann 1959, pp. 36, 55, no. HB 25, pls. 35, 36, 37, 2; Sinn 1979, p. 117, no. MB 62, pls. 2, 1, and 25, 4 (with bibliography); Roland Hampe in Hampe and Krauskopf 1981, pp. 514–15, no. 81; Odette Touchefeu in Touchefeu and Krauskopf 1981, p. 268, no. 66; Delivorrias 1984, p. 141, no. 1485; Demargne 1984, p. 1009, no. 571; Boardman and Vafopoulou-Richardson 1986, p. 407, no. 108; Canciani 1994, p. 160, no. 4; Siebert 2004, p. 26, figs. 18, 19.

2. On Late Classical and Hellenistic theater performances, see, for example, Hunter 2002; H. Csapo et al. 2014.

3. On Homeric cups, see also Dietrich von Bothmer in Metropolitan Museum of Art 1980, p. 15.

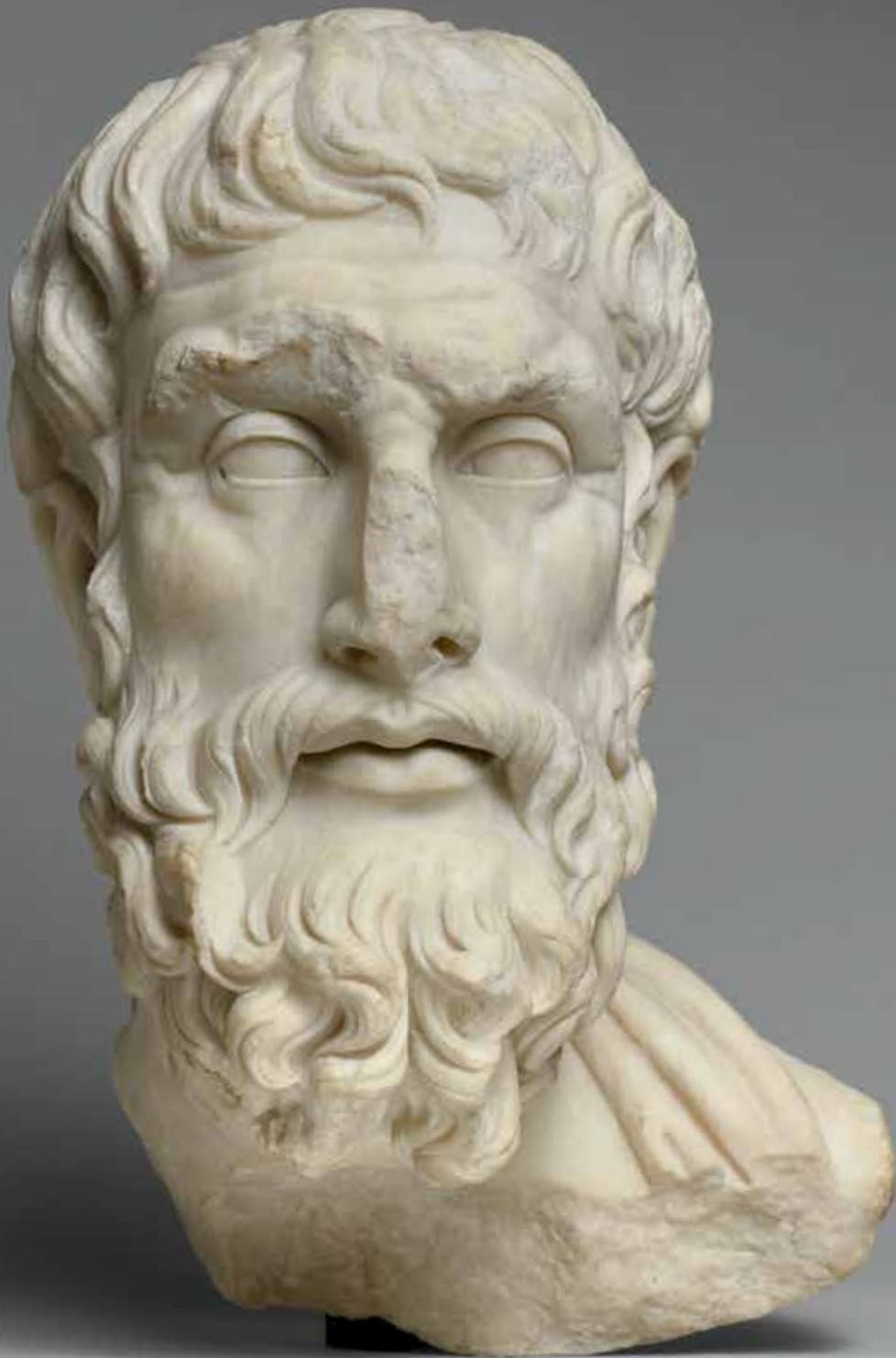
46

Relief Fragment with Scenes from the Trojan War

Roman, Early Imperial period, first half of the 1st century A.D.
Palombino marble, overall 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 7 in. (18.1 x 17.6 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Fletcher Fund, 1924 (24.97.11)

This fragment belongs to a group of miniature marble reliefs known as *tabulae iliadae* (Iliad tablets), which are inscribed in Greek and illustrate episodes from Homer's *Iliad* and the Trojan epic cycle.¹ Most surviving examples were found in Rome or its environs and date to the Early Imperial period. On each tablet, a large central panel illustrates scenes from the fall of Troy (*Iliouperis*)—here depicted amid a schematically rendered cityscape—surrounded by twenty-four smaller panels showing stories from the books of the *Iliad*, each labeled with the book's letter, title, and names of the protagonists (only Books Σ–Ω are preserved





here). On the reverse, an epigram inscribed in a “magic square” (a grid of single letters that can be read in any direction) associates the New York tablet with the artist Theodoros. Sophisticated pictorial and textual devices, the *Iliad* tablets demonstrate the Hellenistic experimentation with scale as well as the appreciation of Homeric poetry among learned Romans.² κκ

1. The tablet was purchased in Rome in 1924 and was first published in Pinney 1924, pp. 240–41, fig. 2. See also Bulas 1950, pp. 112–14, pl. XVIII; Richter 1954, pp. 116–17, no. 236, pls. CLXI, d, CLXII; Squire 2011, pp. 105, 178–81, 237–42, app. 1, pp. 391–92, tablet 2NY, figs. 36, 77, 78, 119–21, pls. IV, 5, V, 6; Petrain 2014, pp. 79–81, 204–9, pl. 2, figs. 7, 8.

2. On the *tabulae iliaca*e, see most recently Squire 2011; Petrain 2014.

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Portrait Head of Epikouros

Roman, Imperial period, 2nd century A.D.; copy after a Hellenistic original of the first half of the 3rd century B.C.

Pentelic marble, H. 15⁷/₈ in. (40.3 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1911 (11.90)

In 306 B.C. the philosopher Epikouros (342/341–270/271 B.C.) moved to Athens, where his own house and gardens served as both school and residence for him and his pupils. Known as the *Kepon* (Garden), Epikouros’s philosophical school was one of the most influential of the Hellenistic age and was also the first to admit women and slaves as students. There, withdrawn from public life, Epikouros developed the doctrine of pleasure—defined as tranquillity of mind (*ataraxia*) and freedom from pain and fear (*aponia*)—as the ultimate good in life.¹

This lifesize head, which is broken from a seated statue, is one of the finest Roman copies of an early Hellenistic honorary portrait statue of Epikouros erected either shortly before or after his death.² It represents the philosopher in advanced age, seated calmly on an elaborate throne with a himation arranged over his shoulders and with signs of poor health evident on his frail body.³ The portrait masterfully blends physiognomic traits—including the long narrow face, aquiline nose, overhanging furrowed brows, and deep-set, small eyes—with full hair and the long, well-

groomed beard traditionally worn by citizens of Classical Athens. The apparent ubiquity of Epikouros's portrait in Roman times testifies to the high esteem of his teachings and to the extent of his followers' devotion. Indeed, T. Pomponius Atticus—Cicero's friend and correspondent, and a convinced Epicurean himself—complained that he could not forget Epikouros if he wanted to because the philosopher's image was even on the drinking cups and rings of his fellow devotees.⁴ κκ

1. The main ancient source on Epikouros's life and philosophy is Diogenes Laertius's early third-century A.D. *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, book 10. For a collection of sources on the Epicureans, see Long and Sedley 1987, pp. 25–157.

2. The head, which preserves part of the neck and left shoulder, was first published in Robinson 1911. See also Richter 1954, pp. 96–97, no. 186, pl. CXXX; Bieber 1961b, p. 55, figs. 161, 162 (as the best head replica); Richter 1965, vol. 2, p. 197, no. 28, figs. 1200–1203; Picón et al. 2007, pp. 220, 455, no. 257.

3. Although none of the more than fifty Roman copies survives intact, the composition of the original is considered fairly secure; see the new reconstruction of the statue by Fittschen 1992. On the portrait type of Epikouros, see Richter 1965, vol. 2, pp. 194–200, figs. 1149–1225; von den Hoff 1994, pp. 69–75, with latest additions and critical analysis of the copies; on the portraits of the Epicureans, see more recently Zanker 1995, pp. 113–29.

4. Cicero, *De finibus bonorum et malorum* 5.1.3.

48

Herm with a Portrait of Antisthenes

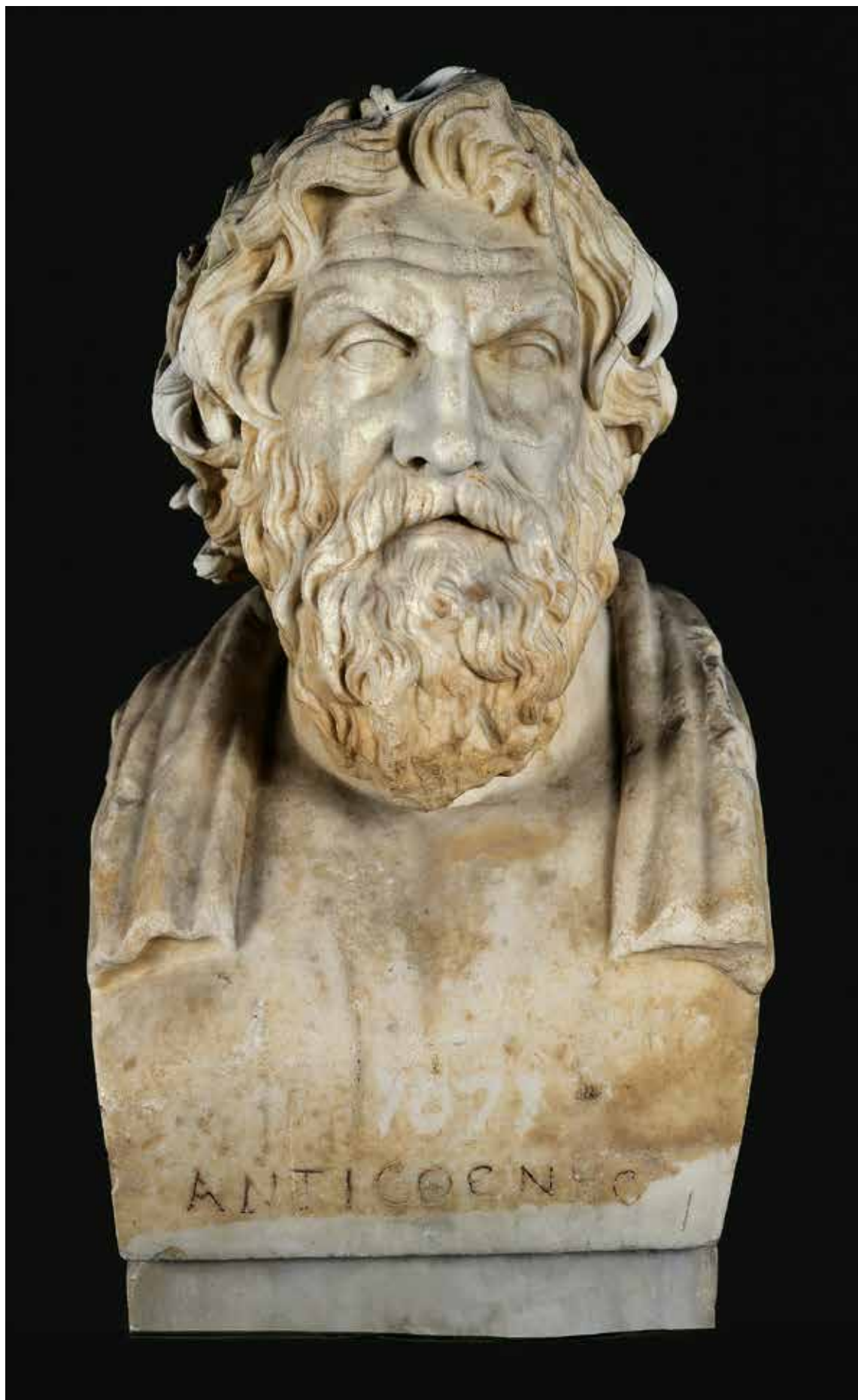
Roman, Imperial period, late 1st or early 2nd century A.D.; copy of a Greek bronze statue by Phryomachos of ca. 250–150 B.C.

Pentelic marble, H. overall 22 in. (56 cm),
H. of head 14 in. (35.5 cm)

Discovered in the ruins of the so-called Villa of Cassio, near Tivoli, 1773

Museo Pio Clementino, Musei Vaticani,
Vatican City (288)

The discovery in 1773 of this herm, inscribed with the name of Antisthenes,¹ provided a definitive identification for a series of portraits that, at that time, were still erroneously identified as depictions of the philosopher Carneades (see cat. 49).² They show the image of an old man with an intense gaze and heavily wrinkled forehead and cheeks, his eyebrows knit together. His face is framed by a long beard and unkempt hair. Antisthenes, who was born in Athens



between 450 and 444 B.C., was a pupil of Gorgias and Socrates and is considered the founder of Cynicism. He is also considered, at least in part, a precursor of the Stoic philosophers.

At present, about ten copies of this portrait are known.³ The original was most likely cast in bronze; its date has been the subject of debate, and estimates vary between the second half of the third century B.C. and the first half of the second century B.C. Although there is no literary reference to a portrait of this Athenian philosopher, an extraordinary find in the 1960s may well have revealed the identity of the sculptor who made it. The travertine base of the original statue of Antisthenes, executed by Phromachos, was discovered at Ostia, where it had been reused in an Augustan-era structure near the small temple known as the *Tempietto dell'Ara Rotonda*.⁴ Phromachos was a well-known Athenian sculptor who was very active in the court of the Attalid dynasty. An echo of the bronze original has also been recognized by some scholars in a small terracotta discovered at Pompeii and now in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Naples.⁵ It shows the philosopher dressed in a long tunic and mantle and seated on a chair with his arms folded in his lap. The Vatican *Herm*, which perhaps best captures the expressive temperament that must have characterized the original portrait, is usually dated to the first decades of the second century A.D., but it might also be placed earlier, among the copies of Greek originals made at the end of the Flavian period. cva./Gs

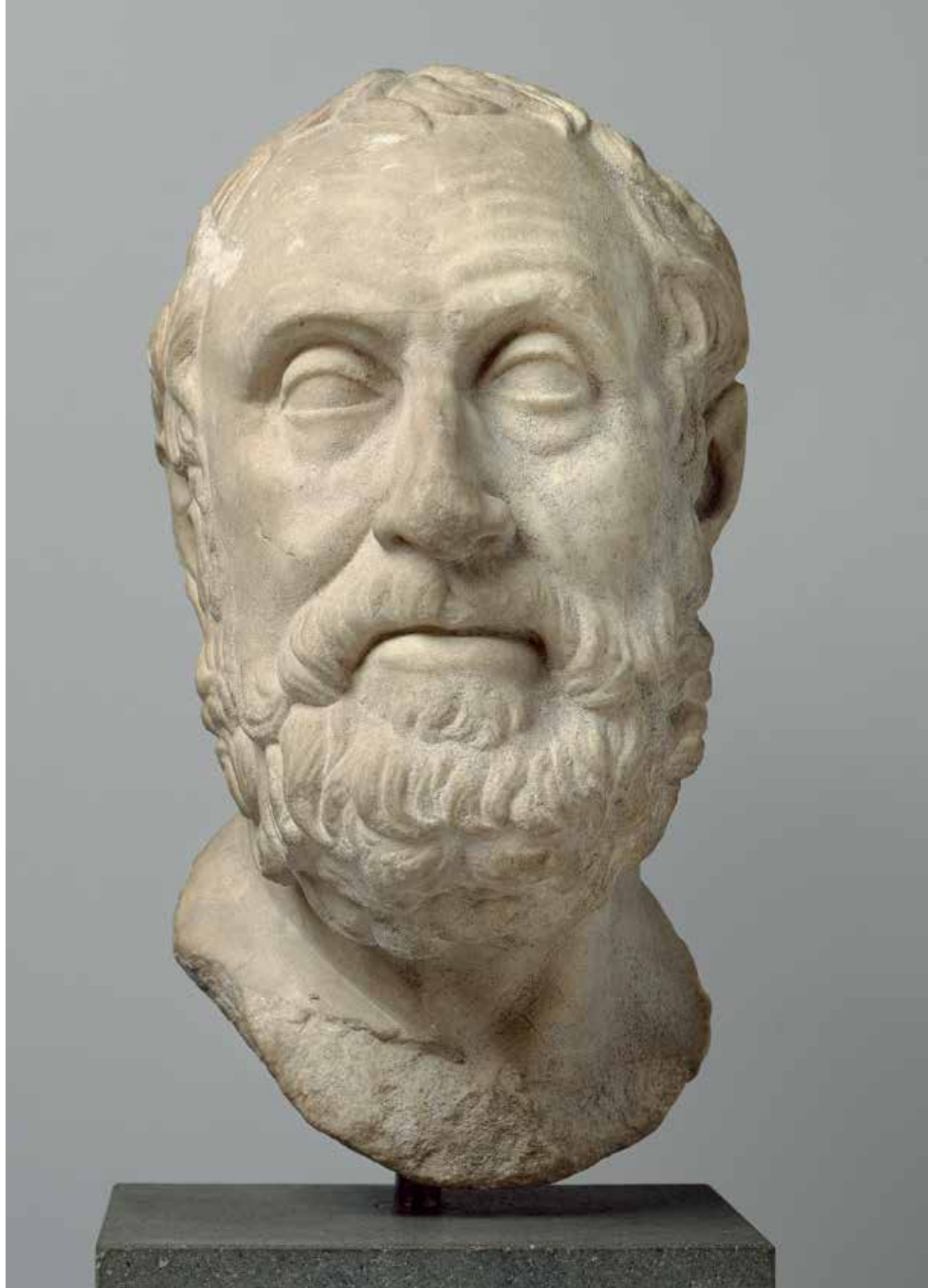
1. Discovered by Domenico De Angelis, it was immediately sold to the Musei Vaticani and restored by Giovanni Pierantoni in 1780–81. These restorations include the nose, a small portion of the left cheek, and the coiffure. For the inscription, see *Inscriptiones Graecae* 1890, p. 305, no. 1135.

2. Lippold 1936, pp. 38–40, no. 507, pl. 23 (with bibliography); Schefold 1943, pp. 86, 206–7; Helga von Heintze in Helbig 1963–72, vol. 1 (1963), pp. 52–53, no. 67; Richter 1965, vol. 2, p. 180, no. 1, figs. 1037–39; Neudecker 1988, pp. 231–32, no. 66.32; Himmelmann 1990; Di Leo 1992, pp. 250–52, figs. 366–69; von den Hoff 1994, pp. 19, 137, n. 5, figs. 148–51; Moreno 1994, vol. 1, pp. 203–5; Picozzi 1994; Schefold 1997, pp. 502–3, fig. 78; Spinola 1999, pp. 227–28, no. 52, fig. 38; Andreae 2001, pp. 132–36, pl. 104.

3. Von den Hoff 1994, pp. 136–39.

4. Zevi 1969–70, pp. 110–14, fig. 20.

5. Richter 1965, vol. 2, p. 181, fig. 1056.



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Portrait Head of Karneades

Roman, Augustan period, late 1st century B.C.; copy after a Hellenistic portrait of the Athenian philosopher Karneades (214–129/28 B.C.).

Marble, H. 13¾ in. (35 cm)

Antikemuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig (Kä 201)

This extremely lifelike head is one of eight surviving Roman marble heads copied after a Hellenistic portrait of the Athenian philosopher Karneades (214–129/28 B.C.), an identification confirmed by an inscription on one of the copies.¹ Born in Cyrene, Karneades rose to become the most important head of the New Academy in

Athens. As such he took part in 156/155 B.C. in the famous Athenian embassy to Rome, where he especially impressed the young aristocrats with his brilliant rhetoric and dialectic.

The original on which the copy was based stood in the Agora in Athens in the vicinity of the Stoa of Attalos, where its marble base survives. According to its inscription, two Attic citizens, Attalos and Ariarathes, from the demos Sypalettos, commissioned the statue. It was made of bronze and pictured the academician seated and speaking to an imaginary interlocutor. This pose is impressively attested by the copy of the head, with its distinct turning to the right, its raised eyebrows, and slightly parted lips. In the Karneades portrait the weighty forms of High Hellenism appear to have been repressed in favor of a firmer bone structure and more detailed modeling. The original portrait would therefore appear to have been produced in the last quarter of

the second century B.C., probably shortly after the philosopher's death.

The sculptor of the present copy repeated only the head of the original work, probably for insertion—slightly straightened—into a separately carved herm shaft. The subtle modeling of the eyelids and other parts of the face would suggest a Greek sculptor from the waning first century B.C., who appears to have reproduced certain details (the arrangement of the hair, for example) in a somewhat simpler form than in the original. TL

1. From the Roman art market, formerly in the Käppeli collection, in the Antikenmuseum Basel since 1966. *Kunstwerke der Antike* 1963, no. A 19; Lullies 1964, no. 8; Rácz 1965, no. 114; Richter 1965, vol. 2, p. 250, no. 5, figs. 1689–92; Lullies 1979, p. 135, no. 277; Hafner 1981, pp. 190–91; Richter 1984, pp. 152–55, fig. 114; Scheibler 1989, p. 72, no. 11.5; Stähli 1991, especially p. 232, n. 51, figs. 28–31; von den Hoff 1994, pp. 14, 78; Schefold 1997, pp. 316–19, 527–28, figs. 197, 198; Blome 1999, p. 100, fig. 138; Seilheimer 2002, pp. 208–9; Guido Petras in *Schau mir in die Augen* 2006, p. 93, no. 225; Piekarski 2009, p. 60, fig. 20; Esaü Dozio in *Wann ist man ein Mann?* 2013, p. 78, no. 47.

50a–f

Fragments of the Altar of Dionysos from the Theater Terrace

Greek, Hellenistic period, 3rd–2nd century B.C.
Marble

- a. Base molding with fillet from northeast corner of altar, H. 11¼ in. (28.5 cm), L. 50¾ in. (129 cm), W. 31⅛ in. (79 cm)
- b. Torus corner with interwoven band, H. 4¾ in. (12 cm), L. of left side 25⅜ in. (64.5 cm), L. of right side 9⅝ in. (24.5 cm), D. approx. 7⅞ in. (18.6 cm)
- c. Torus fragment, L. 19¼ in. (49 cm), D. 7⅞ in. (18 cm)
- d. Torus fragment, L. 19¼ in. (49 cm), D. 7⅞ in. (18.6 cm)
- e. Ionic kymation with inscription, H. 5⅝ in. (13.6 cm), L. 24⅜ in. (61.7 cm), max. D. 8½ in. (21.6 cm)
- f. Altar volute, H. 8⅞ in. (20.5 cm), L. 10¼ in. (26 cm), W. 9⅞ in. (23.2 cm)

Discovered at Pergamon, Theater Terrace in front of the Temple of Dionysos, 1884
Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (V 2.2-173a–c, 177, IvP 46, V 2.4-38)

The open-air Ionic altar for burnt offerings in front of the Temple of Dionysos on the Theater Terrace at Pergamon is probably older than the Hellenistic cult building since their axes diverge slightly.¹ It was renovated repeatedly up until the time of the Roman Empire. In these renovations, older elements of its marble facing were reused, however, and probably only the



50a–d



50e



50f

base layer was created from fragments of a Hellenistic marble coffered ceiling.

The altar, whose core is made of blocks of tufa, consisted of a step and a rectangular podium with moldings at bottom and top. At the shorter sides of the podium were horn acroteria with volutes. Immediately upon its discovery, it was still more than fifty centimeters higher than the base molding, but it has now weathered without a trace. The altar podium was oriented to the east, perpendicular to the terrace; on the west side, for access, it had a broad marble step twenty centimeters high. The bottom part of the base molding, with carefully worked attachments, consists of a light gray, fine-grained marble and has a groove all the way around that ends with a decorative border molding (a). Above this, the molding recedes some twenty-three centimeters in order to accommodate torus pieces with a convex three-part guilloche band of white coarse-crystal marble (b–d). At the corners of the band are applied acanthus leaves, out of which a pair of volutes emerge that are crowned by a seven-leafed palmette.

Although no remains of the marble slabs of the podium facing were found, a whole block and a few fragments of the top molding were discovered. Also, a volute fragment from the lateral-horn acroteria still lay on the temple steps (f). The base blocks, torus sections, and egg-and-dart moldings bear placement markings from Hellenistic and Roman times. On the kymation the fragment of an inscription is preserved between the astragal and the egg-and-dart molding (e). The findings suggest—if one imagines orthostats and a top slab—an altar podium 2.56 meters deep and 7.05 meters long with a height of 1.30 meters above the base level. The height of the volute acroteria on the small sides can be estimated to have been roughly fifty centimeters.

The use of various types of marble is worth noting. The torus moldings, Ionic kymation, and acroteria volutes were created from an island marble different in color and crystal size from that of the base molding; the former was commonly used in similar architectural moldings on the island of Chios. This also confirms the inscription on the kymation giving the name

of this island: “. . . (ΕΙΠΓ) ΑΣ(Σ) ΑΤΟ ΧΙΟΣ” (. . . made by . . . [from] Chios). Whether this identified a workshop or an artist is unclear. vk

1. Fränkel 1890–95, vol. 1 (1890), pp. 39–40, no. 46; Bohn 1896, pp. 68–70; Rumscheid 1994, vol. 1, pp. 135, 256, n. 518, pp. 286, 328–29, vol. 2, p. 61, no. 232, pl. 135, 3; Volker Kästner in *Pergamon* 2011, pp. 532–33, no. 6.16.

51a–c

Theater Masks

Pentelic marble

a. Greek, Hellenistic period, 2nd century B.C.

H. 21¼ in. (54 cm)

b. Greek, Hellenistic period, 2nd century B.C.

H. 12⅝ in. (32 cm)

Found in Athens in the Kerameikos near the Dipylon Gate

c. Greek, Early Imperial period, 1st century A.D.

H. 11⅞ in. (30 cm)

Found in Athens in the necropolis along the Sacred Way

National Archaeological Museum, Athens

(1977, 3373, 5437)

Marble masks were made in Attica, the land where the art of drama was born, at least as early as the mid-fourth century B.C. Later on, the production of stone masks spread to many parts of the ancient Greek world. Marble masks formed part of the sculptural decoration of buildings associated with theatrical contests, such as theaters or odea (small covered theaters used primarily for musical performances), and were used to decorate or to crown tomb monuments. They also served as dedications by the sponsors (*choregoi*) after a victory in drama competitions, either as self-standing representations or as reliefs in stone.

Valuable evidence for the form of theater masks and the attribution of each type to a particular genre, sex, or character is derived from comparisons with vase paintings, in which characters are accompanied by inscriptions, as well as with wall paintings and terracotta models. The identification of a particular mask with a specific theatrical role, although extremely difficult, relies mainly on the analytic descriptive catalogue of the second century A.D. lexicographer Julius Pollux, who presented a total of seventy-two tragic, satyr, and comic types of masks.



51a

Catalogue number 51a is a tragic mask of a Late Republican or Early Imperial male figure with wide openings for the eyes and mouth. His abundant luxuriant hair and beard is artificially arranged with twisted locks and a built-up hairpiece, or *onkos*.¹ Based on its provenance, this mask has been attributed to a grave monument from the necropolis along the Sacred Way. Catalogue number 51b exemplifies a comic mask: this characteristic second-century B.C. example is of a male type with the stereotypical features of the New Comedy “leading servant.”² The mask’s findspot, near the Dipylon Gate, in the Kerameikos, suggests that it was associated with either a funerary monument or the council house of the Dionysian artists.³ Another mask of a New Comedy character (cat. 51c) is that of a young woman, but the lack of evidence about its archaeological context makes it impossible to assign it to a certain building.⁴ CT

1. Philios 1904, cols. 78, 86, fig. 10; Webster 1967, p. 114, no. AS 30; Zoumpaki 1987, pp. 60–61, no. 39, pl. 12δ. The sculpture is dated from 50 B.C.–A.D. 50.

2. Brueckner 1915, pp. 32–36, pls. IV–VI; Bieber 1961a, p. 245, fig. 810a–c; Webster 1969, p. 161, no. AS 9; Karouzos and Karouzou 1981, pp. 93–94; Zoumpaki 1987, p. 52, no. 21, pl. 8B; Krien-Kummrow 1988, p. 72; Webster 1995, vol. 2, p. 270, no. 4AS 3; Kaltsas 2002, p. 283, no. 595; Bizaki 2014, p. 267, fig. 4.



51b



51c

3. Alfred Brueckner (1915, p. 36) as well as Christos Karouzos and Semni Karouzou (1981, pp. 93–94) have associated this mask, owing to its monumental size, with the seat or the council house of the Dionysian artists, which, according to Philostratus (*The Lives of the Sophists* 2.8.2), was located near the Kerameikos gate. This opinion has been accepted by Nikolaos Kaltsas (2002, p. 283) and Sofia Zoumpaki (1987, p. 52). Gisela Krien-Kummrow (1988, p. 72), on the other hand, believes that the mask would have adorned a, still unidentified, shrine of Dionysos Eleutherios near the Kerameikos.

4. Zoumpaki 1987, p. 55, no. 27.

52

Statuette of a Mime

Greek (possibly made in Myrina), Late Hellenistic period, ca. 100 B.C.
Terracotta and polychromy, H. 7½ in. (19 cm)
The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (96.AD.166)

Caught in midpose with her arm extended in a declamatory gesture, this figure exudes the expressiveness that must have been an essential talent of the mime actor. To allow unencumbered movement, the full-length chiton has been pulled up and over a belt formed by the mantle, leaving an overfall of fabric. The hair is pulled up and knotted over the forehead with a kerchief, the

eyebrows modeled into an expressive scowl. Once brightly painted, the statuette now bears only traces of pink pigment on the sleeves and headdress and vermillion on the shoes.¹

Mime was an unmasked prose skit that emerged from the performance culture of ancient Sicily. The routines, which parodied classical Greek comedy and tragedy, favored colorful vernacular characters, especially those providing obscenely comic scenarios. The “mimes” of Sophron, a fifth-century B.C. Syracusan poet whose work was popular during the Hellenistic era, were divided into Male and Female types, each apparently performed by an actor of the corresponding gender.² Interpreted as a parody of the goddess Artemis,³ the subject here may also be the lampooning of any number of female types, such as a disagreeable woman complaining of her abandonment by a lover. MLH

1. Christie's 1990, no. 239; Ariel Herrmann in *Passion for Antiquities* 1994, pp. 235–37, no. 119; “Museum Acquisitions” 1998, p. 67.

2. Boshier 2013, pp. 113, 116, 118. This is in contrast to Athenian drama, in which all roles were played by men.

3. Herrmann in *Passion for Antiquities* 1994, p. 235.



52



53a, b



53c, d



53e



53f

53a-f

Six Roundels with Theater Masks and Heads

Greek, Late Hellenistic or Early Roman period, 1st century B.C.–1st century A.D.

Terracotta, H. of each approx. 3 in. (7.6 cm),
Diam. approx. 5¾ in. (14.6 cm)

Said to have been found in a chamber tomb near Balıkesir (northwest Asia Minor)

53a–e: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, David L. Klein Jr. Memorial Foundation Inc. Gift, 1999 (1999.316a, b); Purchase, The Fried Foundation Gift, 2001 (2001.767.1, .2); Purchase, The Concordia Foundation Gift, 2003 (2003.286)

53f: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Purchase (64.701)

These six high-relief terracotta roundels, or tondi, were dispersed upon their discovery and are reunited for this exhibition. The set was reportedly found in a Late Hellenistic chamber tomb at the Balıkesir necropolis, situated in the vicinity of Pergamon near ancient Hadrianotherae, Emperor Hadrian's hunting city in Mysia.¹ The roundels are decorated with heads of the gods Pan (e) and Serapis, the poet Menander (f), and a variety of theatrical masks representing stock characters of New Comedy: the shrewd *hetaira* (a), the cunning slave (b, d), and the enamored youth (c).² Both heads and comic masks were molded separately in high relief and attached to thin, flat disks rimmed by a raised fillet molding. The roundels were all originally vividly painted; most still bear traces of white slip, while Menander's pupils and hair are painted dark. The eyes and mouth of the theatrical masks and of Pan are hollowed. Their viewpoint indicates that the roundels were designed to be mounted on a wall, probably suspended by the venting holes at their back.

The Balıkesir roundels are quite uniform in style and echo compositionally, albeit in a much reduced format, the shield-framed portrait bust (*imago clipeata*), which originated in the Late Hellenistic period and was widely employed in later Roman art.³ They belong to a small, short-lived class of objects that attest to the popularity of Menander in the Late Hellenistic period and were perhaps made to commemorate a performance of one of his plays.⁴ KK

1. The terracotta roundels appeared on the art market around 1962. The discovery of the tomb is briefly mentioned in Mellink 1964, p. 164, ill. no. 1 (plan). A roundel with the head of the god Serapis that comes from the same find is now in the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg (1962.125); see Hoffmann 1963, p. 8, pl. 33. For a survey of the type, see Seeberg 1988, pp. 121–32, pls. 13.1–10.

2. MMA 1999.316a, b (*Hetaira* and Slave) and MMA 2003.286 (Pan): first published in Vermeule 1965, p. 364, fig. 6; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 64.701 (Menander): Vermeule 1965, p. 363, figs. 4, 5 (erroneously identified as Augustus); see more recently Fittschen 1991, p. 252, no. 66. MMA 2001.767.1, .2 (Slave and Youth): first published in Seeberg 1988, p. 125, no. 15, pl. 13.17, and no. 14, pl. 13.16.

3. See, for example, the colossal *imago clipeata* of a youth (cat. 58) that adorned one of the halls of the Hellenistic gymnasium at Pergamon. On the tondo portrait in general, see Vermeule 1965, pp. 366–97.

4. Seeberg 1988, p. 128.

54

Head of Menander

Roman, Early Imperial period, ca. 1st century A.D.; copy of a Greek statue probably set up at Athens in the early 3rd century B.C.

Marble, H. 13³/₈ in. (34 cm)

Said to be from Corneto (Tarquinia)

Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. (46.2)

The portrait of Menander (ca. 342/341–293/292 B.C.) survives in more than seventy replicas, far more than that of any other ancient writer. The dramatist's comedies were admired down to the end of antiquity, both in performance and as a source of wittily expressed maxims.

Menander is clean-shaven, and his handsome features wear a sensitive yet urbane expression.¹ His hair is artfully combed back from the temples and then forward in a characteristic S-shaped wave across the brow. While most examples of the portrait are heads, the body type has also been identified and the appearance of the original seated statue convincingly reconstructed.² In the full-length version Menander lounges in a massive *klismos* chair with a cushioned seat and wears a himation over a chiton of soft, thin fabric rather than over the bare torso usual for such statues. Various interpretations have been suggested for this image. The chair, the beardlessness, and the soft clothing have been taken to imply a luxurious, even foppish lifestyle. Others see the chair as



one of the stone *klismoi* that served as front seats in the theater and point out that beardlessness was frequent in theatrical circles, at least for actors, who had to wear masks. For some, the wearing of the chiton

and the early adoption of a fashion for shaving, both associated with Alexander's entourage, hint at the Macedonian sympathies that can be inferred from Menander's biography. AH



1. Once in the Brandegee collection, Brookline, Mass. Norton 1913, pp. 46–47, fig. 3; Richter 1956, pp. 4–10, no. 4, pl. II; Richter 1984, p. 162, fig. 126.

2. Fittschen 1991; Palagia 2005; Bassett 2008 for the type, its reconstruction, and possible interpretations. The inscribed base of the probable original, signed by Praxiteles' sons Kephisodotos II and Timarchos, has been found in the Theater of Dionysos at Athens.

55

Emblema with Itinerant Musicians

Roman, Late Republican period, 2nd–1st century B.C.

Signed by Dioskourides of Samos

Mosaic, H. 18 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (48 cm), W. 18 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (46 cm)

Excavated at the Villa of Cicero/Diomedes, Pompeii, 1749–63

Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples (9985)

Once an *emblema* (inset figure) in a floor, this mosaic panel depicts a group of *metragerytai*, or itinerant musicians, dedicated to the cult of the goddess Kybele.¹ The figures are seen on a bare stage or city sidewalk; behind them we can make out the entrance to the house to which they are heading, moving in time to the music being played. They wear masks associated with the type of theater known as New Comedy, which flourished during Macedonian rule. The percussionist, the stock figure of the *parasitos*, or “sponger,” has an aquiline nose and knotted brow; next to him the *kolax*, or “sycophant,” is identifiable by his prominent nose and the cymbals he plays. Behind him comes the *diamitrosetaira*, a female figure playing the double flute, her

hair covered by a kerchief. The last is a child or dwarf who wears no mask and whose hair is disheveled; he wears a short tunic and plays some kind of horn. The scene probably comes from Menander's comedy *Theophoroumene* (The Possessed Girl), of which only a few verses survive.

The chiaroscuro technique, the absence of outlining around the figures, and the achievement of three-dimensionality using only color suggest that it is either a copy after an Alexandrine painted original or, alternatively, the influence of the Asia Minor school of the third century B.C. The same scene is reproduced in a wall painting from Stabiae,² but it is of inferior quality to the mosaic.

Veritable paintings in stone, *emblemata* were made individually in workshops using miniature mosaic tiles, which were set on a sheet of terracotta, stone, or marble and, once completed, laid as centerpieces in mosaic or polychrome stone floors. This example belongs to those the poet Lucilius described as the elegant and expensive mosaics known as *opus vermiculatum* (fine, undulating technique), which were destined for the upper classes. Their rarity is illustrated by the fact that in all the material to emerge from excavations of Pompeii to date, a mere thirty-four *emblemata*, taken from twenty-one houses and made over a fairly large time span, have been recovered. FG

1. The *emblema* was originally surrounded by a marble frame; tesserae are missing here and there. Brilliant 1979, p. 180; *Collezioni del Museo Nazionale di Napoli* 1986, p. 116, no. 1, ill. p. 117; Maria Rosaria Borriello and Valeria Sampaolo in *Unter dem Vulkan* 1995, pp. 120–21, no. 31; *Romana pictura* 1998, p. 320, no. 162; Barbet 1999, p. 66; De Caro 1999, p. 66.

2. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples (1989).

56

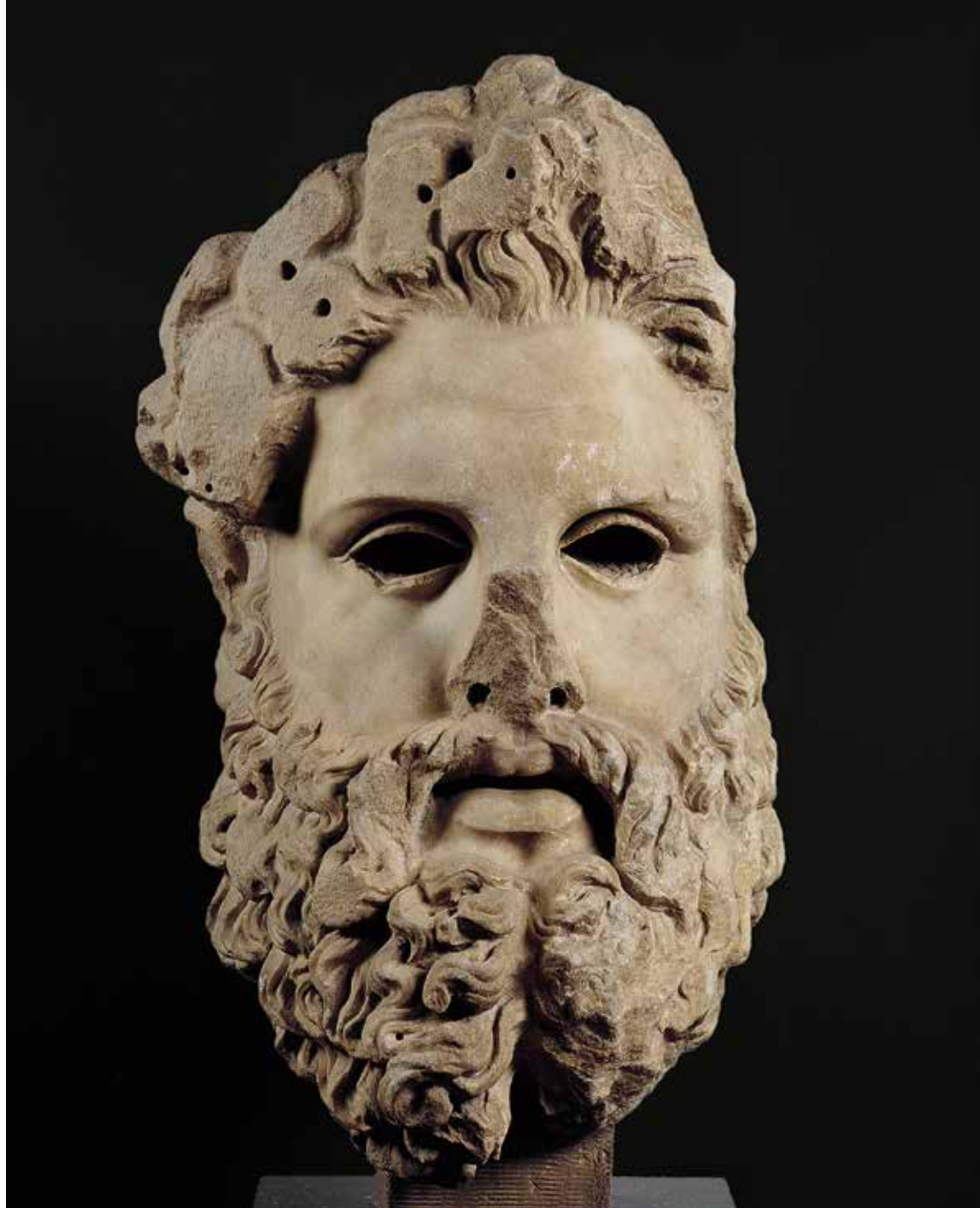
Head and Arm of a Colossal Statue of Zeus

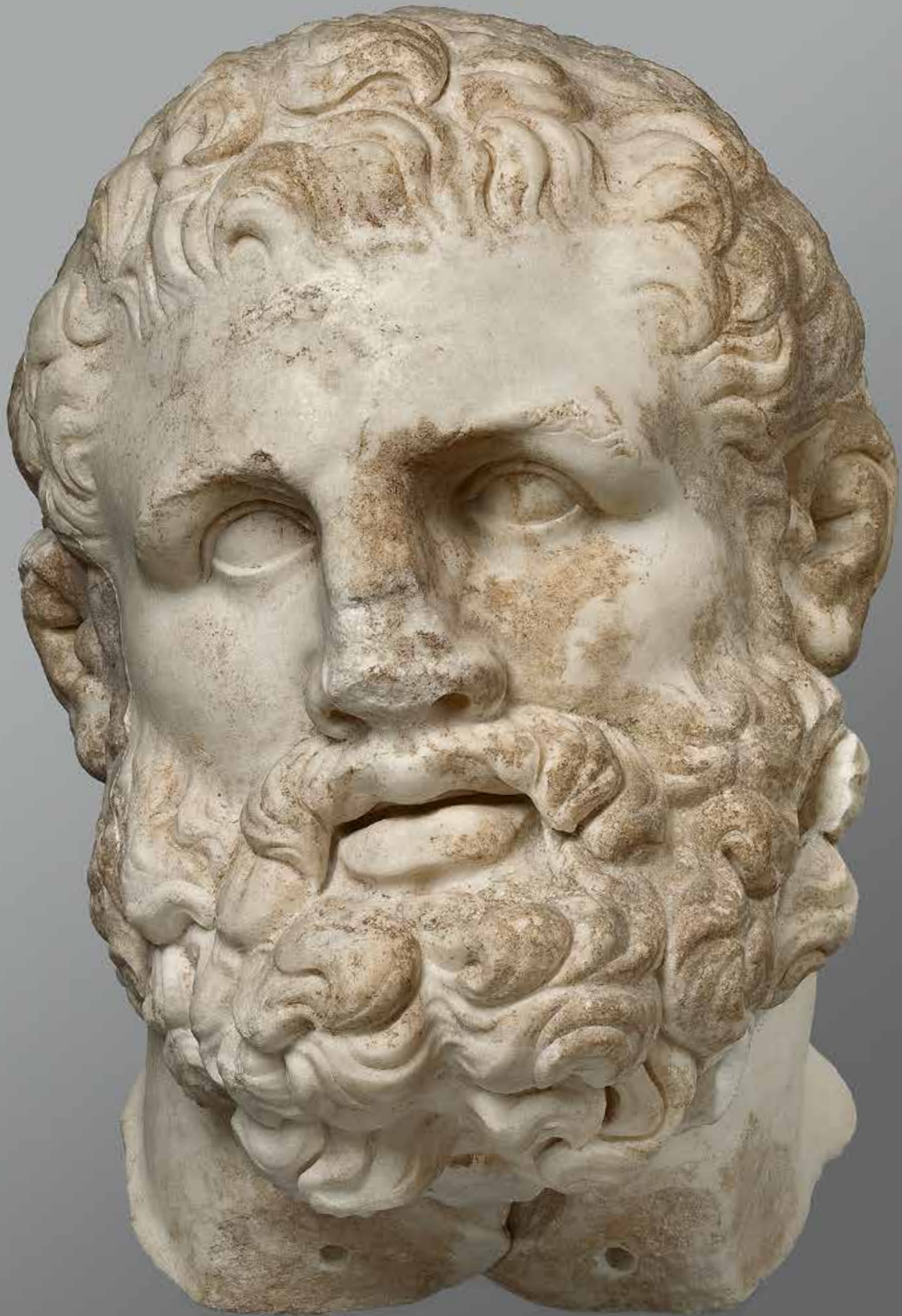
Greek, Hellenistic period, 150–100 B.C.

Marble: head, H. 34¼ in. (87 cm), W. 21¾ in. (55 cm); arm, L. 35⅞ in. (91 cm), H. 21¾ in. (50 cm), W. 15¾ in. (40 cm)

Found in Aigeira, Peloponnesos

National Archaeological Museum, Athens
(3377 [head], 3481 [arm])





These two fragments belong to a cult statue of Zeus that once stood in the cella of the Temple of Zeus in Aigeira, Peloponnesos.¹ During the Hellenistic period, Aigeira was one of the cities in the Achaean League, a confederation of northern and central Peloponnesos city-states. According to Pausanias, the oversize cult statue, whose surviving parts are the head, left arm, and a finger from the right hand, was made of Pentelic marble by the Athenian sculptor Eukleides.² The god has a long shapely face with inlaid eyes (now missing), a wide nose, fleshy lips, short tousled hair, and a long beard parted in the middle. The back of the head is obliquely cut around a quadrangular cavity, which indicates that the marble part was originally assembled on a wood pole. The upper front locks of hair were sculpted flat, and holes were drilled to accommodate a (gold?) pediment-shaped diadem, which is clearly visible in representations of the god that also appear on Roman bronze Aigeira coins.³ Here, the left arm was bent upward with the hand tightly gripping the upper section of a cylindrical marble scepter. The surviving iron clamps at the upper extremity were perhaps intended to secure in place an appropriate finial.⁴ On the coins, the god is shown nude from the waist up and is seated on a throne with a tall backrest.⁵ He holds a tall scepter in his raised left hand while supporting a winged Nike with his extended right. DI

1. It is unclear if the statue originally stood where the surviving parts were found.

2. Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 7.26. The city was originally called Hyperesia and was renamed Aigeira (from *aiga*, or goat) after its inhabitants tied torches to the horns of goats to ward off attacking enemies.

3. A wreath would not require a flat surface to rest on, while the underlying locks would remain visible through the openings of such a three-dimensional construction.

4. Pollitt 1986, p. 166; Kaltsas 2002, p. 282, no. 592 (with bibliography); Nunzio Giustozzi in *Giorni di Roma* 2010, pp. 265–66, no. I.23.

5. A.D. 202–5. On the obverse, the bust is placed to the right and the coin reads ΦΟΥΛΒΙΑ ΠΛΑΥΤΙΛΛΑ. On the reverse, Zeus holds the scepter and Nike is seated to the left, with text that reads ΑΙΓΕΙΡΑΤΩΝ. *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum* 1958, no. 3556.

57

Colossal Head of Herakles

Greek, Hellenistic period, first half of the 2nd century B.C.

Marble, H. 19¼ in. (49 cm)

Discovered at Pergamon, in a late wall in Room H of the gymnasium, 1906

Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Sk 1675)

This head of a bearded man belonged to a statue that was twice lifesize.¹ An unworked strip at the nape of the neck marks the spot where the statue must have stood next to a wall. Since the locks of hair are carved only around the face, it is probable that the head was meant to be viewed mainly from the front.

The massive head is characterized by the athlete's cauliflower ears, swollen nose, and short hair. The man wears a thick headband in his hair, which is swept up dramatically above his forehead. The abundant locks of his beard are tightly curled. Deep-set eyes beneath hairy, prominent brows and an open mouth in which the top incisors are visible combine with the turning of the head and the upward gaze to give the subject a distinct dynamism, while the thick headband above the forehead heightens his athletic appearance.

The identification of the subject as a heavy athlete, the larger-than-lifesize scale, and the thick headband, typical for figures who were the focus of cults, all suggest that this is a depiction of Herakles, but it was not necessarily a cult image. The colossal statue, which emphasized athletic training, impressive strength, and Herakles' heroic status, was set in Room H of the Pergamene gymnasium, as attested by recent studies, where it was visible side by side with statues of the Attalid kings dressed in cuirasses. RvdH

1. Damaskos 1998, pp. 129–36, figs. 1–4; Queyrel 2003, pp. 86, 101–2, pl. 66, 2; Paul Zanker in *Tre vite del Papirò* 2006, pp. 242–43, no. 69; Ralf von den Hoff in *Pergamon* 2011, p. 462, no. 3.27; von den Hoff in *Skulpturen in Pergamon* 2011, pp. 82–83, no. 6; von den Hoff 2013a; Auinger 2015, pp. 64–69, fig. 1.

58

Fragmentary Colossal Head of a Youth

Greek, Hellenistic period, 2nd century B.C.(?)

Marble, H. 22⅞ in. (58 cm), W. at edge of bust 17¾ in. (45 cm), D. 17⅞ in. (44 cm)

Discovered at Pergamon, on upper terrace of gymnasium, 1879

Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (AvP VII 283)

This head, approximately twice lifesize and carved flat on the back for attachment, represents a young, beardless man with long curly hair extending far down onto the nape of his neck.¹ Corresponding to the dramatic turning of the head is the slightly open mouth. This could be either a depiction of a youthful god (Dioskouros, Helios) or, more likely, a portrait of Alexander the Great.

The technique suggests that the head was part of a marble tondo image (*imago clipeata*). That such colossal decorative tondi were displayed in the Pergamon gymnasium is documented by another marble head of similar technique and by a tondo bust, now lost, found there with dimensions corresponding to those of the present head fragment. A suggested reconstruction of that tondo would have a diameter of roughly 1.2 meters, into which the bust was set. A similar case can also be postulated for the present head. Since the head was carved as an insert, it was presumably destined for a clothed bust, as suggested by the raised rim on the right edge of the neck, to which drapery was apparently attached.

Because of its findspot and size, the tondo, together with other similar busts, may well have adorned the walls of Room H, which lies directly behind the north hall of the upper gymnasium terrace. Hence, considerable technical and sculptural expense was involved in making the large-format sculptural ornament for the High Hellenistic gymnasium, whose furnishing included no other marble except the statues of rulers and of Herakles (cat. 57) also found in Room H. RvdH

1. Winter 1908, p. 234, no. 283, supplementary sheet 32; Kreikenbom 1992, pp. 17, 120–21, no. I 9; Ralf von den Hoff in *Pergamon* 2011, p. 459, no. 3.22; von den Hoff in *Skulpturen in Pergamon* 2011, pp. 74–75, no. 2; von den Hoff 2013b. For the findspot, see von den Hoff 2015, pp. 55–63, figs. 1–5, 11.





59

Panathenaic Prize Amphora with Lid

Greek (Attic), Hellenistic period, first half of the 2nd century B.C.

Terracotta, H. with lid 30 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (78.4 cm),
Diam. 12 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (31.5 cm)

Discovered at Olbia (Black Sea)

Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin
(V.I. 4950)

On side A (the main side), this Late Hellenistic prize amphora¹ pictures Athena Promachos turned to the right and wearing a high-belted peplos with a small painted *gorgoneion* on her breast. A narrow mantle falls symmetrically across her shoulders. Her head is adorned with a tall helmet with crest. With her left hand she holds a round shield horizontally, exposing its grip on the underside, and in her raised right hand she holds a spear. Behind her is a column

with an Ionic capital, on which a sphinx lies atop a tall pedestal.

Side B depicts the chariot race (*συνωρίς*). The two black horses, whose musculature, manes, and tails are rendered with incised lines, are racing to the left toward a goalpost. They are drawing a biga, on which the wreath-crowned charioteer stands dressed in white. In his left hand he holds the reins, painted in white, while swinging a whip with his raised right arm.

The Great Panathenaic Games, the major festival of the city goddess Athena, are documented in Athens beginning in 566 B.C. They were held every four years. The victors in the various gymnastic, poetic, and musical competitions received prize amphorae containing large quantities of oil that they could also export and sell.² Secondarily, prize amphorae were used as grave goods or placed as votives in shrines. Most of the surviving examples date from

the sixth to the fourth century B.C. However, the games continued in Hellenistic and even Roman times (as late as Hadrian's reign), as inscriptions, finds of amphorae, and their depictions make clear.³ The most numerous Hellenistic examples come from Cyrenaica, the Black Sea region, Macedonia, and Italy. An amphora fragment dating from the same period as this one was found in Pergamon.⁴ UK

1. Purchased in 1908 from the South Russian A. Vogell collection. *Griechische Altertümer* 1908, p. 14, no. 108, fig. 6, pl. IV, 5; Zahn 1913, col. 114; Trever 1918, pp. 3–4, fig. 1; Mommsen 1980, pp. 70–71, pl. 52; Demargne 1984, p. 972, no. 152, pl. 722; Beazley 1986, p. 92, pl. 104, 2, 3; Heilmeyer 1988, p. 173, no. 1; Platz-Horster 1995, p. 36; Herzog 1996, p. 162, n. 128.

2. Neils 1992, pp. 13–27; Bentz 1998, pp. 23–40; Neils 2007, pp. 41–44.

3. Edwards 1957, pp. 321, 323–37; Maffre 2001, p. 32, n. 40; Tsouklidou 2001, p. 33, n. 3; Williams 2007.

4. Sarah Japp in *Pergamon* 2011, p. 440, no. 2.29 (erroneously as “neck-fragment from a vessel in the shape of a loutrophoros,” dated “5th–4th century B.C.”).



60

Head of a Young Man

Greek, Hellenistic period, second half of the 2nd century B.C.

Marble, H. 11 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (29.5 cm)

Discovered at Pergamon in the Gymnasium, next to East Gate steps, 1883

Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (AvP VII 136)

As evidenced by the straight-cut surface at the neck, this separately carved head of a young man with long locks originally belonged to a lifesize statue and was turned to the left.¹ The carefully rendered hair was subsequently crossed by a groove that probably served to secure or support a metal wreath or headband. The quite uniformly idealized features argue against

interpreting the head as the portrait of a Hellenistic king—quite apart from the difficulty of identifying which one. It seems much more probable that the head belonged to an athlete crowned with a victory wreath, as its findspot in the gymnasium would suggest. AS

1. Winter 1908, pp. 154–55, no. 136, pl. XXXIV; most recently Andreas Scholl in *Pergamon* 2011, p. 503, no. 5.14; Emanuel Seitz in *Skulpturen in Pergamon* 2011, pp. 76–77, no. 3 (illustrated from a cast).

61

Statuette of the Diadoumenos

Greek (Asia Minor), Late Hellenistic period, 1st century B.C.

Terracotta, H. 11 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (29 cm)

Said to be from Smyrna

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Fletcher Fund, 1932 (32.11.2)

A terracotta iteration of Polykleitos's famous Diadoumenos (Fillet-Binder), this statuette is notable for both its excellent state of preservation and sensitivity of modeling.¹ Its glossy orange surface is almost burnished, and traces of gilding remain on the fillet. The pupils and hair have been incised with a sharp tool. Although the legs are broken below the knees and the arms at midforearm, the youth clearly stood resting his weight on his right leg and raised his arms to grasp the two ends of a fillet, as in the original Classical bronze masterpiece (ca. 430 B.C.), which is known from a number of Roman copies in marble.

Although its precise place and date of manufacture are difficult to establish with certainty, the statuette was acquired in Smyrna, a well-known center of coroplastic production that flourished in the Early Hellenistic period. Its relatively large size and rich orange color conform to what we know of other terracottas produced in Smyrnian workshops. While the statuette is immediately recognizable as a small-scale version of the famous masterwork, its elongated proportions are a clear adaptation to taste prevalent in the second and first centuries B.C.; it is therefore an example of the stylistic eclecticism and experimentation characteristic of the period.² The type of the victorious athlete

remained popular into the Roman period, as the Greek institution of the gymnasium was exported and popularized. LBS

1. The statuette was acquired in Smyrna in the early 1880s by W. R. Paton, a well-known British epigraphist, and was exhibited at the Louvre before being acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in 1932. First published in A. S. Murray 1885, pp. 243–47, pl. LXI; see also Richter 1932; Picón et al. 2007, pp. 217, 454, no. 253; Isabelle Hasselin Rous in *D'Izmir à Smyrne* 2009, pp. 134–35, no. 56.
2. Hasselin Rous in *D'Izmir à Smyrne* 2009, p. 134. Terracotta miniature versions of Classical types were popular during this period and are often notable for their relatively large size; see Bartman 1992, pp. 21–22.

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Wrestling Group

Greek, Hellenistic period, 2nd–1st century B.C.
Bronze, H. 9 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (25 cm), W. 5 in. (12.7 cm),
D. 7 in. (17.8 cm)

From Egypt, probably Alexandria

National Archaeological Museum, Athens;
Egyptian Collection (AIG.2548)

In a grappling contest just before its climactic finish, an upright wrestler in standing position (*orthopale* or *stadaia pale*) holds his opponent firmly by the waist and upside down in order to throw him to the ground and win.¹ Because the winner bears the iconography of Herakles, the duo may refer to the hero's mythical struggle against the giant Antaeus. In Ptolemaic Egypt, the genealogical association between the ruling Ptolemies and Alexander's royal family through their common patriarch, Herakles, would have lent the mythological subject of Herakles' struggle an allegorical quality as a symbol of the king's victory over his enemies.² Wrestling, a sport practiced in Egypt since the time of the pharaohs and enhanced by the use of daggers, remained particularly popular throughout the Greco-Roman period.³ ET

1. From the collection of Ioannis Dimitriou of Lemnos; donated to the National Archaeological Museum in 1880. Peter G. Kalligas in *Mind and Body* 1989, pp. 274–75, no. 165; *Sport dans la Grèce antique* 1992, p. 320, no. 208; Eleni Tourna in *Alexandros kai Anatole* 1997, p. 109, no. 17; Spathari 2000, pp. 124–25, 195–96; Cladaki-Manoli, Nicolakaki-Kentrou, and Tourna 2002, pp. 31–35; Tourna in *Agon* 2004, pp. 214–15, no. 105; Tourna in *Magna Graecia* 2004, pp. 196–97, no. 118; Tourna in *Leaving a Mark on History* 2013, p. 97, no. 73.

2. Fraser 1972, vol. 1, pp. 44–45, 202–3, 208, 666; Kyrieleis 1973, pp. 133–36, pls. 45–48.

3. Poliakoff 1987, pp. 50–52.



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Allegorical Group of a Triumphant Ptolemy

Greek (Ptolemaic), Hellenistic period,
early 2nd century B.C.

Bronze, H. 7 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (19.5 cm), W. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (8.9 cm)

Said to be from Kharbia, Egypt

The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (54.1050)

This bronze sculptural group of two beardless, nude men struggling exemplifies Hellenistic enthusiasm for dynamic figural groups that elicit viewing in the round.¹ Also characteristic of the period are the pyramidal structure, the entwining of the figures, and the naturalistic treatment of the bodies.² Like many others of its type,



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the group was solid cast from a wax model; some of the joins, including the one at the top of the crouching figure's left leg, remain visible.³ Such a process of multiple production facilitated substitutions to the head of the victor.⁴ Here, the serenely smiling subjugator is no ordinary wrestler but a Ptolemaic king. He wears both a uraeus (the royal cobra above his forehead) and a broad diadem. The grimacing figure, with limbs contorted by his adversary's grip, personifies Asian (or native Egyptian) resistance.

The composition plays upon the Egyptian artistic topos of Horus, the god of kingship, subduing Set, god of disorder, the desert, and foreigners. Helmut Kyrieleis identifies the king as Ptolemy V (r. 204–180 B.C.), on the basis of his portraiture, and suggests that the piece may celebrate victory over indigenous groups in southern Egypt in 197 B.C. It probably replicates an important public monument in miniature.⁵ MFN

1. Dorothy Kent Hill and Marvin Chauncey Ross in *Greek Tradition* 1939, p. 74, no. 83.

2. Sabine Albersmeier in Albersmeier 2008, pp. 152–53, no. 54.

3. Hill 1958; Reeder 1988, pp. 151–52, no. 63.

4. Kyrieleis 1973; Thomas 1999; Rabe 2010.

5. Kyrieleis 1975, pp. 54–55, 173, no. E7, pl. 43, 2, 5, 6; Barr-Sharrar 1990, pp. 221–22.

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Seated Statue of Kybele

Greek, Hellenistic period, second quarter of the 2nd century B.C.

Marble, H. 59½ in. (151 cm), W. 28 in. (71 cm), D. 18⅞ in. (46 cm)

Discovered at Pergamon on the Altar Terrace, north of the Peribolos Wall, 1879

Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (AvP VII 45)

Slightly larger than lifesize, this statue depicts a female figure, elaborately draped in a chiton and mantle, seated on a throne with a footstool.¹ Although her head is not preserved, the tympanon she holds helps to identify her as the Anatolian mother



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goddess Kybele. Interestingly, the prototype of this very Classical representation of the goddess is most likely a famous cult statue of the late fifth century B.C. by Agorakritos that was set up in the Metroon in Athens.² Her head, arms, and right foot were carved separately and attached. The base was already hollowed out in the back during antiquity, probably to reduce the weight. The chiton is belted below her breasts, and her mantle is drawn from her shoulders down across her back, then forward along her right hip and across her lap and knees. She wears high sandals with decorated soles. Her entire upper body is pressed against the backrest, and her thighs press heavily into the seat cushion, while her feet rest lightly on the footstool. From the surfaces where they were attached, it is possible to reconstruct the original position of the arms. The left arm extended forward slightly and her hand rested on the upright tympanon next to her left hip. The channel-like depression for the tympanon has a

long, narrow rectangular dowel hole that suggests a marble attribute, which needed to be only minimally secured owing to its own weight. The more complex doweling for the right arm indicates that this arm was bent but not extended, and that the hand, in analogy with corresponding copies of the type, probably held an offering bowl.

Comparison with copies and variants of the Athenian original and their iconography offers a number of arguments as to why the Pergamon statue should be definitively identified as Kybele. First, the erect pose of the body and position of the legs in the Pergamon Kybele are typical of those of the type. Second, the mantle is drawn across her lap and knee from right to left in a similar way and gathered up into a wad of fabric. Third, in all the copies and variants of Agorakritos's statue, the goddess is seated on a throne with a footrest. Comparison of the surviving throne fragments and the legible outlines of its ornaments with Classical and Hellenistic examples permits a reliable reconstruction based on a Classical pattern. Here, the fronts of the solid armrests are adorned with support figures: on the left a seated sphinx, and on the right another sphinx or a lion, this one lying on its belly with its forepaws extended. A fourth argument for the attribution of certain features to the type of the Kybele of Agorakritos is provided by the attributes and their position, for the tympanon gripped from above is specific to the Athenian cult image. Since a head type cannot be securely ascribed to either the cult statue by Agorakritos from Athens or the other copies and variants, its reconstruction for now must remain uncertain. MKr.

1. Winter 1908, pp. 69–71, no. 45, pl. XII; Naumann-Steckner 1983, p. 359, no. 554; Despinis 2005; Geominy 2007b, pp. 35–67, fig. 14; Xagorari-Gleissner 2008, p. 131; Margrith Kruip in *Pergamon* 2011, pp. 533–34, no. 6.18.

2. On the type and its original, which is known from ancient literary sources, see L. E. Roller 1999, p. 145, n. 8. Examples of the Athenian type include the statue from Livadia (2nd century A.D.; Archaeological Museum, Chaeronea, AM 10), Moschaton (Late Classical period; Piraeus Museum, Athens, 3851), Athens (1st century A.D.; National Archaeological Museum, Athens, 3265), at the Pincio, Rome (date uncertain; without number), and from the Palatine Hill (Hadrianic?; Museo Palatino, Rome, 425523). See also von Salis 1913; Naumann-Steckner 1983, pp. 162–68; Koch 1994, pp. 25–27, 46–48; Despinis 2005; Geominy 2007b; Xagorari-Gleissner 2008, pp. 44–45.



Statue of Attis

Greek, Hellenistic period, second quarter of the 2nd century B.C.

Marble, H. 59 in. (150 cm), W. 26 in. (66 cm), D. 16½ in. (41 cm)

Discovered at Pergamon, 1878–80, map quadrant D5, D8; right arm fragment C7

Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (AvP VII 116)



Attis is the consort of the Phrygian goddess Kybele, who is known to have venerated in Pergamon. He can be identified as the subject of this statue from his typical clothing: over his Eastern trousers (*anaxyrides*) the figure wears a short chiton belted just below his chest with an overfold (*apodygma*); the short mantle is secured at the right shoulder and drawn across the left shoulder, so that its ends fall down both in front and in back. It is unclear whether the long sleeves belong to the trousered garment or the chiton. One also has to imagine the head with a Phrygian head covering, because the inset head is missing, as are the right arm except for a fragment of the elbow (not attached), the left attached forearm, the right foot, the plinth, and a pillar support once attached beneath the left arm.¹ The back is only crudely blocked out, for the figure was intended to be viewed solely from the front.

Judging by its style, this Attis dates from the time of the Great Altar and, given its stylistic differences, may not have been created at the same time as the seated statue of Kybele (cat. 64). Indeed, the artistry of the Attis sculpture is purely of the High Hellenistic period, whereas the Kybele evinces a strong Early Hellenistic style.² The two sculptures could have been contemporary only if the sculptor of the Kybele deliberately imitated an earlier style. Thematically congruent, they may have been displayed together, but it is equally possible that the Attis joined the Kybele at a later date. wg

1. *Führer* 1904, p. 46; Winter 1908, pp. 133–34, no. 116, pl. XXVII; Schober 1951, p. 118; Stähler 1966, p. 134; R. Horn 1972, p. 86; Naumann-Steckner 1983, pp. 249–50; Vermaseren 1987, pp. 112–13, no. 359; von Prittwitz und Gaffron 2007, pp. 250–51; Auinger 2011, p. 48, fig. 3 (for the findspot); Wilfred Geominy in *Pergamon* 2011, pp. 534–35, no. 6.19.

2. Geominy 2007b, pp. 53–54 and n. 65, pp. 61–62. I date the Kybele—unlike Margrith Kruij in this catalogue—to the third century B.C.

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Round Altar with Antlers

Greek, Hellenistic period, 3rd–1st century B.C.
Marble, H. 24 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (62.5 cm), max. Diam. at top molding approx. 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (52 cm)

Discovered at Pergamon, north of the acropolis, near the so-called Queen's Garden
Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (AvP VII 419)

This round altar, from which roughly half has broken off, has lost large chips and been badly battered.¹ Its cylindrical shaft rests on a smooth base molding consisting of a torus and cyma recta; at the top it ends with a richly carved cornice consisting of an astragal, an egg-and-dart, a dentil, and a cyma reversa. Set back on top of this lies a ledge that shows slight traces of carving. The shaft is ornamented with a garland of laurel affixed to fallow deer antlers. The lower section is damaged, so one can only surmise that entire skulls were depicted along with the antlers.



Artemis, who was venerated as mistress of animals and a powerful fertility goddess, was commonly thought of as accompanied by does or stags. On the balustrade slabs of the opisthodomos of the Temple of Artemis Leukophryene in Magnesia on the Meander, for example, the heads of the hinds bearing garlands identify her as mistress of the shrine.² According to Pausanias,³ in Patrai the main offerings to Artemis were deer. This round altar from Pergamon could accordingly be associated with the cult of the goddess. RG

1. Winter 1908, p. 338, no. 419; Grüssinger 2001, p. 46 and n. 222; Ralf Grüssinger in *Pergamon* 2011, p. 540, no. 6.28.

2. See Humann 1904, pp. 78–83, figs. 76, 77; Rumscheid 1994, vol. 1, pp. 278–79, vol. 2, pp. 37–39, no. 137.32, pl. 85, 1; Webb 1996, pp. 89–90, fig. 52.

3. Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 7.18.7.

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Box Mirror

Greek (possibly Corinthian), Early Hellenistic period, 290–280 B.C.

Bronze, Diam. 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (18 cm)

National Archaeological Museum, Athens (X 16115)

Bronze folding box mirrors consist of two parts, a reflecting disk and a lid, the latter usually decorated with relief or engraved mythological scenes or deities, such as Dionysos and Ariadne or Aphrodite and Eros, or female heads with ornate hairstyles and jewelry. The user opened the hinged lid to view his or her image on the disk. This example is decorated with a relief of Nike on a bull.¹ The goddess wears a chiton, which reveals her left shoulder and breast, and a himation. She rests her left knee on the bull's back and her right foot on the rocky ground below. She holds the bull's muzzle with her left hand and a sacrificial knife in her right hand.

The iconography of Nike sacrificing a bull has a long history in Greek art. It appears on the parapet of the Athena Nike temple on the Athenian Acropolis and has many resonances in the Late Hellenistic period and, especially, in the art of Augustan Rome. The mirror may be of Corinthian workmanship; Corinth and Athens were the two most important metalworking centers in Greece in the fourth and third centuries B.C. EZ

1. Provenance unknown (possibly from Athens). Züchner 1942, pp. 47–48, no. KS 63, fig. 22; Alexandra Goulaki-Voutira in Moustaka, Goulaki-Voutira, and Grote 1992, p. 866, no. 170, pl. 577; Schwarzmaier 1997, p. 251, no. 39.





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68 Hydria (Water Jar) with Lid

Greek, Hellenistic period, 3rd century B.C.
Bronze, H. including lid 19½ in. (49.5 cm)
Said to be from Alexandria

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York;
Rogers Fund, 1966 (66.11.12a, b)

The hydria is one of the standard shapes in the repertoire of ancient Greek metal-smiths. The shape developed over centuries, and in the Hellenistic period the proportions became more slender and elongated, as seen in this example.¹ The base features a delicate Lesbian leaf pattern in shallow relief while the outer rim evinces an egg-and-dart molding surmounted by a tiny bead-and-reel motif. The lid, rarely preserved on such vessels, repeats the same patterns but in reverse order and tapers to a fine point. All three handles are likewise embellished with vegetal decorations in delicate relief. Traces of the hinge attachment for the lid are present at the top of

the vertical pouring handle. Cleaned of all its archaeological corrosion, the vessel's exterior surface has recently been coated with removable pigments to imitate an ancient bronze patina. Like the Hadra hydria from Alexandria (see fig. 66) and the polychrome terracotta hydria from Amphipolis (cat. 23), this vase was likely used as a burial container for cinerary ashes. SH

1. Hôtel Drouot 1910, p. 11, no. 95, pl. XIII; Sotheby's 1966, p. 57, no. 267; B. F. Cook 1968–69, especially pp. 118–19, n. 7; von Bothmer 1975, p. 114, fig. 15; Dietrich von Bothmer in Metropolitan Museum of Art 1975, p. 116.

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Lamp

Greek (Ptolemaic?), Late Hellenistic period,
2nd–1st century B.C.

Bronze, silver, and copper, L. 10⅞ in. (27.5 cm),
H. 5⅞ in. (12.8 cm)

Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des
Antiquités Grecques, Étrusques et Romaines
(Br 4634)

Countless terracotta oil lamps, commonly employed as light sources, exist in various types. This lamp can be distinguished from those versions by its medium (copper alloy, which was originally gilded in appearance, combined with copper and silver) as well as its overall form and vegetal decoration.

Most notably, the lamp has an unusual high foot, an elongated spout, and a small human figure on the spheroid reservoir; the displacement of the fuel hole to the back and a complex handle with a foliaceous thumbpiece and finger grip are also distinguishing characteristics.¹ The wick hole is surrounded by the corolla of a flower, which is poised at the end of a stem emerging from broad sheathing leaves (two of them digitate, one smooth) and from a ring of ribbed tongue forms. The fuel tube, made separately from the lamp, depicts a cluster of superimposed leaves (some denticulate, others not) held together by a beaded fastener. The hole at the top, in the center of another flower corolla, once had a lid; only the hinge, equipped with an iron pin, remains.

The small figure crouched on the reservoir is an adult black male whose physical stature is consistent with achondroplastic dwarfism. With his strained neck, head turning to his right, lips jutting out,

and bloated cheeks, he created the illusion, when the lamp was lit, that he was blowing on the flame. The plastic treatment of the figurine is remarkable in both the modeling of the back muscles and the features (bumpy forehead, prominent arch of the eyebrows, deep depression of the nasal bridge, flattened nose, pointed chin). His thick hair, which is curly at the temples and nape of the neck, is partly concealed by a band over the forehead and a cap adorned with a circle of copper and two dots on either side of a four-leaf clover; these motifs are inlaid with silver. Two curved locks of hair slip out of the head covering, although there is no visible opening.

This lamp, which is very complete, has made it possible to understand the original function of two small black figurines that are now removed from their original context.² The well-established Egyptian provenance of these figurines as well as comparison with a similar footless lamp with a vegetal decoration, long spout, and wick hole³ could suggest an Egyptian origin for the present example. SD-L

1. Acquired in 1987. Pasquier 2011.

2. Perdrizet 1911, p. 57, no. 93, pl. XXV; Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Antiquités Égyptiennes (E 11750).

3. Edgar 1904, p. 38, no. 27781, pl. XI.

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Statuette of an African Youth

Greek, Hellenistic period, ca. 150–50 B.C.
Bronze, H. 3⅞ in. (8 cm)

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; John H. and
Ernestine A. Payne Fund (59.11)

In this fine statuette, a young Ethiopian, as black Africans were known in ancient Greece, stands in the pose and garb of a Greek philosopher.¹ The boy wears a knee-length himation draped over one shoulder and wrapped around his left arm while his right hand once held a missing attribute, most likely a papyrus or parchment scroll. Despite the object's small size, the subject is portrayed with great sensitivity and care, evoking the presence of a much larger sculpture. Remarkably, the statuette may represent an Ethiopian who has come to study at one of the great Hellenistic cities, such as Alexandria,



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that had become a cultural center of learning and erudition. Indeed, Diodorus Siculus states that Ergamenes, the third-century b.c. Ethiopian king of Meroë (also known as Arkamani I, r. 295–275 b.c.), had a Greek education and studied philosophy.² Greek literature of the period also shows a greater awareness of African peoples.³ Arguably a rare example of the integration of an African into the upper levels of Greek society, the figure demonstrates the cosmopolitan world of cultural interaction and assimilation during the Hellenistic period. SH

1. Found at Chalon-sur-Saône, France, 1763–64. Marion True in *Gods Delight* 1988, pp. 124–27, no. 19 (with bibliography).

2. Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History* 3.6.3. See Snowden 1983, pp. 93, 143, n. 156. See also Leclant 1976, pp. 120, 296, n. 89 (with bibliography).

3. For example, a treatise by Agatharchides, a second-century b.c. geographer and historian, discusses many different tribes of Africa. See Snowden 1983, p. 49.

71

Statuette of an Artisan

Greek, Late Hellenistic period, mid-1st century b.c. Bronze and silver, H. 15 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (40.3 cm), W. 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (13 cm), D. 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (10.8 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1972 (1972.11.1)

Although missing his right arm and leg, the figure has great presence.¹ His stocky build, muscular arm, and short heavy tunic, known as an *exomis*, clearly identify him as an artisan. The deeply receding line of his carefully articulated curly hair suggests an older man, while his penetrating gaze and the tablet tucked in his belt—a small hinged wood notebook that would have held two wax sheets for notations or sketches—indicate that no ordinary day laborer is represented. If the statuette does not depict an artist who was successful enough at his craft to have commissioned such a poignant portrait, then the figure may well represent a famous historical or mythological figure. His identification has ranged from Pheidias, master sculptor of the Parthenon on the Athenian Acropolis; Epeios, mythical creator of the Trojan Horse; Daidalos, master craftsman of the labyrinth at Knossos; to a bold and innovative representation of Hephaistos, the patron deity of metalworkers.² The interest in portraying historical and mythological figures in the Late



Hellenistic period and the ability of Hellenistic artists to employ realistic styles for such figures make determining his identification particularly difficult. SH

1. Before 1953, said to have been found in the sea off the coast of North Africa, or possibly at Cherchell, Algeria. Boucher-Colozier 1965, p. 25, n. 1, figs. 1, 7, pl. V; Marion True in *Gods Delight* 1988, pp. 137–41, no. 22. Hollow cast in several pieces with inlaid silver eyes.

2. For the identification as Pheidias, see Frel 1981, p. 17, fig. 44a, b; for the suggestion of Epeios, see Picón et al. 2007, p. 452, no. 244; for the identification as Daidalos, see Himmelmann 1983, p. 78, nos. 283, 284; for the identification as Hephaistos, see Seán Hemingway in *Power and Pathos* 2015, pp. 262–63, no. 36. I gratefully acknowledge David H. Fox for initially suggesting the identification of Hephaistos.

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Statuette of an Old Woman

Greek, Hellenistic period, 1st century B.C.

Bronze, H. 5 in. (12.6 cm)

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (96.AB.175)

This sensitive rendering of an elderly woman typifies the Hellenistic taste for depictions of figures that lie outside the ideal. Such works manifest both an attention paid to realistic features, seen elsewhere in portraiture, and an interest in extreme physical states, be it suffering, ecstasy, or infirmity. Wearing a long-sleeved chiton beneath a mantle that is tied around her waist, this old woman shuffles unsteadily. Nothing remains of what she held, but her posture suggests wool-working—holding a distaff in her left hand and twisting away the thread with her right.

The woman's attire has led some to suggest that she may be a priestess, and other elderly women are indeed depicted with attributes that indicate religious activity.¹ This woman is engaged in a rather more quotidian occupation, but such a generic task acquires particular poignancy given the association between mortality and the thread woven by the Fates (Moirai). Her disheveled state seems less a sign of a dissolute life, as some have suggested, than an evocation of pathos. DS

1. Ariel Herrmann in *Passion for Antiquities* 1994, pp. 264–65, no. 132. The figurine has subsequently been published in J. Paul Getty Museum 1997, p. 31; "Museum Acquisitions" 1998, p. 65; see also J. Paul Getty Museum 2010, p. 50.

Statuette of an Emaciated Youth

Greek, Late Hellenistic or Early Roman period, after a Late Hellenistic original, 1st century B.C.–1st century A.D.

Bronze, H. 4½ in. (11.5 cm), W. 3¼ in. (8.3 cm), D. 3 in. (7.6 cm)

Discovered near Soissons, France

Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. (47.22)

The depiction in Hellenistic art of specific states of being included representations of diseased individuals. This haunting statuette of a gaunt young man holding with his right hand the stool on which he sits, elevating his left arm as the hand hangs limply, and wearing a kind of shoe on his right foot has,

to date, been identified with several documented individuals. These identifications are prompted by two inscriptions on the figure, rendered in Greek with dots, one reading “Eudamidas,” the other “Perdik.”¹ Recently, Horton A. Johnson, M.D., a pathologist, has proposed that the combination of emaciation, the position of the left hand, and the booted foot correcting the relation of the ankle to the toes is a typical manifestation of chronic lead poisoning.² Ancient literary sources—Greek and especially Roman—contain considerable information about the uses of lead, particularly for water pipes, and both Vitruvius and Pliny explicitly comment on the toxicity of lead to humans and dogs.³ The ramifica-

tions of the statuette go beyond the purely art historical and make the presence of the inscriptions all the more tantalizing. JRM

1. The statuette was first published when it was in the collection of the Vicomte de Jessaint; see de Longpérier 1844–45, pp. 458–61, pl. 13. See also Richter 1956, pp. 32–35, no. 17, pl. XIV; Marion True in *Gods Delight* 1988, pp. 151–54, no. 25; John Hanson in Bühl 2008, pp. 24–25.

2. Dr. Johnson emphasizes that the foot is not a club foot, as some scholars have written.

3. On the subject generally, see Nriagu 1983. Of interest is that the preference for terracotta pipes in Greece and the eastern Mediterranean continued during Roman times, while in the west lead pipes predominated; see Wilson 2008, p. 303. I appreciate Dr. Johnson’s comments on the statuette and his bibliographic references. Should the figure in fact display lead poisoning, the attribution of the work to an Alexandrian workshop may warrant reconsideration (for instance, True in *Gods Delight* 1988, p. 153).



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Hero Relief

Greek, Hellenistic period, first half of the 2nd century B.C.

Marble, H. 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (34.8 cm), W. 17 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (44.2 cm), D. 3 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (8 cm)

Discovered at Pergamon; acquired before beginning of excavations at the site Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (AvP VII 305)

The top right corner of this funerary relief has broken off and been reattached. At bottom right, the edge with the figure's feet has broken away, and the entire surface is heavily abraded.¹ The heroicized deceased is seated on a rock, looking down at his dog; next to the animal is a thick, leafless tree trunk, around which a serpent winds upward. A curtain stretched across the background hangs in broad curves to either side of the seated figure. Behind the right-hand curve appear the head and neck of a horse. In Greek iconography, the horse and snake had been standard attributes of the heroicized dead since the Classical age. AS

1. Winter 1908, pp. 250–51, no. 305, supplementary sheet 34; Pfuhl and Möbius 1977, pp. 214–15, no. 817, pl. 118; Andreas Scholl in *Pergamon* 2011, p. 494, no. 4.13, ill. p. 493.

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Votive Relief of the Hero Hippalkos

Greek, Hellenistic period, end of 3rd–early 2nd century B.C.

Marble, H. with peg 27 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (69 cm), W. 26 in. (66 cm), Th. 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (13.5 cm), H. of letters 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ –5 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (1.2–1.5 cm)
From Thessaloniki
Archaeological Museum, Thessaloniki (888)

The architectural frame of the relief features two pilasters that rest on a flat base and support an epistyle and cornice with antefixes.¹ The peristyle is inscribed *Ἰππάλκῳ ἥρωι Σελευκεύς με ΑΝ . . .* (. . . from Seleucia dedicated [this relief] to the hero Hippalkos). The inscription, which was probably metrical, suggests that the relief was dedicated to Hippalkos by a foreigner, no doubt a native of one of several cities named Seleucia in Syria or Asia Minor.

The panel depicts a man on horseback wearing a short chiton, billowing cloak, and closed shoes. In his raised right hand he holds a spear, which he uses to attack a bull, aiming at the beast's head. The bull, at right, is also attacking the rider, standing on its hind legs with raised tail and outstretched horns.

The name Hippalkos, meaning “he who is associated with the power of horses,” is characteristic of Boeotian and Peloponnesian heroes. Although representations of riding hunters were common in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, most depict the pursuit of a wild boar rather than a bull, which links this relief to a local cult. PA-V

1. The relief was secured by an integral peg on a tall base. Em. Voutiras in Despinis, Stefanidou-Tiveriou, and Voutiras 1997, pp. 93–95, no. 68, fig. 151.

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Medallion with Gorgoneion

Greek (Pergamene), Hellenistic period, first half of the 2nd century B.C.

Terracotta, Diam. 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (9.5 cm), D. 2 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (5.5 cm)

Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig (BS 328)

The Medusa head, or *gorgoneion*, with two small wings above the temples and an entwined pair of serpents is shown in three-quarter view.¹ It is in high relief, and its details are unusually sharp. The medallion was not formed in a mold but modeled freehand. Presumably it served as a pattern in a toreutics workshop.

The high baroque shape of the eyes, the powerful modeling, and the lively configuration of the hair accord with the style of the Pergamon Altar frieze. Given its singular quality and baroque style, the piece must have been produced within the Pergamene artistic landscape. There are no actual indications, aside from iconographic considerations, for the earlier assignment of the piece to Taranto. TL

1. From the art market; formerly in the collection of Ernst Langlotz, Bonn; later in the collection of Barbara L. Begelsbacher, Basel; gift from Barbara L. Begelsbacher to the Antikenmuseum Basel, 1995. *Münzen und Medaillen* 1951, p. 34, no. 375, pl. 17; Buschor 1958, p. 18, pl. 20, 1; Floren 1977, p. 212, no. b, pl. 20, 6; Herdejürgen 1978, p. 64, no. b; Reinsberg 1980, pp. 103–4, figs. 69, 70; Krauskopf 1988, p. 298, no. 136, p. 328; Blome 1999, p. 14, fig. 3.



74



75



76

77

Statuette of a Goddess

Greek (Asia Minor), Hellenistic period, mid- to late 2nd century B.C.

Terracotta, H. 24¾ in. (63 cm)

Said to be from Myrina

Collection of Thomas Colville, Guilford, Connecticut; Promised gift to The Metropolitan Museum of Art

This finely executed large statuette shows a draped female figure leaning with her left elbow on a pillar. Her diaphanous, high-belted, sleeveless chiton has slipped off her shoulders, exposing her chest and right breast. A heavier himation, wrapped around her hips, drapes over her advanced bent left leg. Her hair, secured by a ribbon, falls in two long locks on either shoulder. The figure is crowned by a polos headdress decorated with rosettes and surmounted by a wreath. She wears a necklace with spearhead-shaped pendants and has pierced

earlobes. The ornate appearance of the statuette would have been greatly enhanced by the original rich polychromy and gilding, many traces of which survive. Because of the polos, the statuette probably represents a goddess, perhaps Aphrodite, Persephone, or Tyche, the personification of Fortune, who enjoyed widespread popularity in Hellenistic and Roman times.¹

The statuette belongs to a class of large-scale high-quality terracottas that were produced in the major coroplastic workshops of Asia Minor, such as Myrina, Priene, or Smyrna, during the second and first centuries B.C. and that echo monumental sculptures in bronze or marble. The pose and the arrangement of the drapery find parallels in marble sculpture from Pergamon² as well as in a similar, securely dated large-scale terracotta from Priene.³ A late second-century B.C. date is further supported by the figure's elongated proportions and classicizing face, with its long, straight profile. KK

1. Sotheby's 1985, no. 96; Uhlenbrock 1990, p. 134, no. 23, colorpl. 3. Jaimee Pugliese Uhlenbrock suggests that the two holes along her left arm were probably for the attachment of a bronze cornucopia, an attribute often carried by the goddess Tyche.

2. See, for example, the fragmentary draped female statue Antikensammlung, Berlin (AvP VII 76); Schober 1951, pp. 108, 173, fig. 63.

3. Antikensammlung, Berlin (TC 8553). H. 52.2 cm. From House 29, destroyed sometime before 135 B.C. See more recently Rumscheid 2006, p. 416, no. 24, pls. 10.3–10.11.

77





78

Statue of the Reclining Herakles

Greek (South Italian), Hellenistic period,
probably late 2nd century B.C.

Terracotta, H. 12 in. (30.4 cm), W. 20 in. (50.8 cm)

From Capua, in southern Italy

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Museum purchase
with funds donated by contribution (01.7967)

The Herakles Epitrapezios (“Herakles
at the Table”) is the only work that can
be certainly identified with the great Late
Classical sculptor Lysippos. It was a

miniature Herakles created for Alexander
the Great, perhaps as a table piece.¹ From
the many copies in different media and
sizes, it can be deduced that the lost
original represented the hero seated on a
rock over which the lion’s skin was spread;
he held a club in his left hand and a cup in
a raised extended right hand. The Boston
terracotta (with missing right hand) may
well be a free copy, also on a smaller scale,
of the lost masterpiece.²

Herakles wears a fillet, and his hair,
beard, and facial expression combine with

the articulation of the muscles to evoke the
Hellenistic baroque tradition. The exagger-
ated musculature contrasts with the relaxed
position of the hero, who appears in banquet
mode. Are we meant to witness the hero
on Mount Olympus after attaining immortal-
ity, at rest after his labors? The addition of
the cornucopia in his left hand suggests that
here Herakles takes on the role of agrarian
hero associated with fertility.³ Throughout
the Hellenistic and Roman periods, Herakles
is repeatedly depicted as a symposiast on
votive reliefs. The Boston piece, although

not part of a relief but created as an independent object, perhaps once served as a decoration in a shrine.⁴ CK

1. Olga Palagia in Boardman 1988, pp. 774–75, where it is noted that Martial (*Epigrams* 9.43–44) describes a bronze table ornament of Herakles seated at the table that was perhaps signed by Lysippos and that was allegedly once in the possession of Alexander the Great. Palagia also notes: “All copies and variants are small-scale.”

2. Bieber 1945, pp. 272–73, no. B.1, pl. XXXIX, 4; Mommsen 1971, pp. 30–32, fig. 14; Sabine Albersmeier in *Heroes* 2009, pp. 212–13, no. 32.

3. It has been suggested that the cornucopia is a conflation with the horn of Acheloos and that the image of Herakles as a reclined bearded figure blends with the imagery of river gods and becomes a source of fertility himself; see Gais 1978, especially pp. 367–70, fig. 18.

4. Such as the limestone statuette found at the sanctuary of Hercules Cubans in Rome; see Estienne 2003.

79

Relief Sketch with Dionysos at a Feast(?)

Greek (Pergamene), Hellenistic period, 2nd–1st century B.C.(?)

Terracotta, H. 1 5/8 in. (4.2 cm), W. 2 in. (5 cm)

Said to be from Pergamon

Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (TC 8865)

This small terracotta relief of high quality depicts a scene set in an interior.¹ The work is difficult to read since in many spots only the scored outlines have survived, while the applied three-dimensional elements have fallen off. A male figure wrapped in a mantle is seated on a *kline*, with a footstool in front of it, and is being served by two nearby figures. The *thyrsos* diagonally behind the seated figure identifies it as a Dionysian scene. One figure, who could be



bringing a drinking vessel, approaches the *kline* from the right. In the left foreground there is a crouching figure turned toward a basin or vessel on the floor. Two others come from behind on the left, one smaller servant supporting his master, perhaps another guest. Presumably the small relief served as a workshop sketch for a larger work. ASchw.

1. Purchased in 1910 from the collection of Pierre Mavrogordato. Agnes Schwarzmaier in *Pergamon* 2011, p. 531, no. 6.12.

80

Statuette of Three Figures Watching a Cockfight

Greek, Hellenistic period, 2nd–1st century B.C.

Terracotta, H. 4 1/4 in. (10.9 cm), W. 5 1/2 in. (14 cm)

Said to be from Amisos, Kingdom of Pontus

The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (48.1714)

At the center of this complex terracotta, two cocks have reached the last gasp of a deadly conflict.¹ Although the claw that strikes the deathblow is a modern restoration, the bird on the left is clearly the victor. Cockfighting, a popular sport in ancient Greece, was represented in art as a game for children and even toddlers.² Here, the expressions of delight and dismay on the faces of the two young observers

suggest that they are the birds' respective owners. Folds of drapery clothing a central female figure, whose body above the waist has broken off, provide a backdrop for the skirmish. Smiling and clapping with pleasure, the half-draped boy on the left looks intently at the fight. The nude boy on the right slumps over a wood box, which perhaps was used to transport the birds. He cradles his head in his right hand, in a posture that recalls that of the famous fourth-century B.C. statue known as the Weary Herakles. The pose suggests a note of humor, however, for the boy's physique and achievements are far from Heraklean.³ The staging of the scene in front of a woman's groin, the resemblance of the children to erotes, and the frequency with which cocks were given as love gifts from men to young boys all imply erotic connotations.

This terracotta was probably made in Amisos (Samsun) in northern Anatolia on the south coast of the Black Sea, where other multifigured terracottas have been found.⁴ The drapery of the female figure corresponds to that of East Greek grave reliefs from around Smyrna.⁵ MFN

1. Sieveking 1913, p. 76, no. 15.

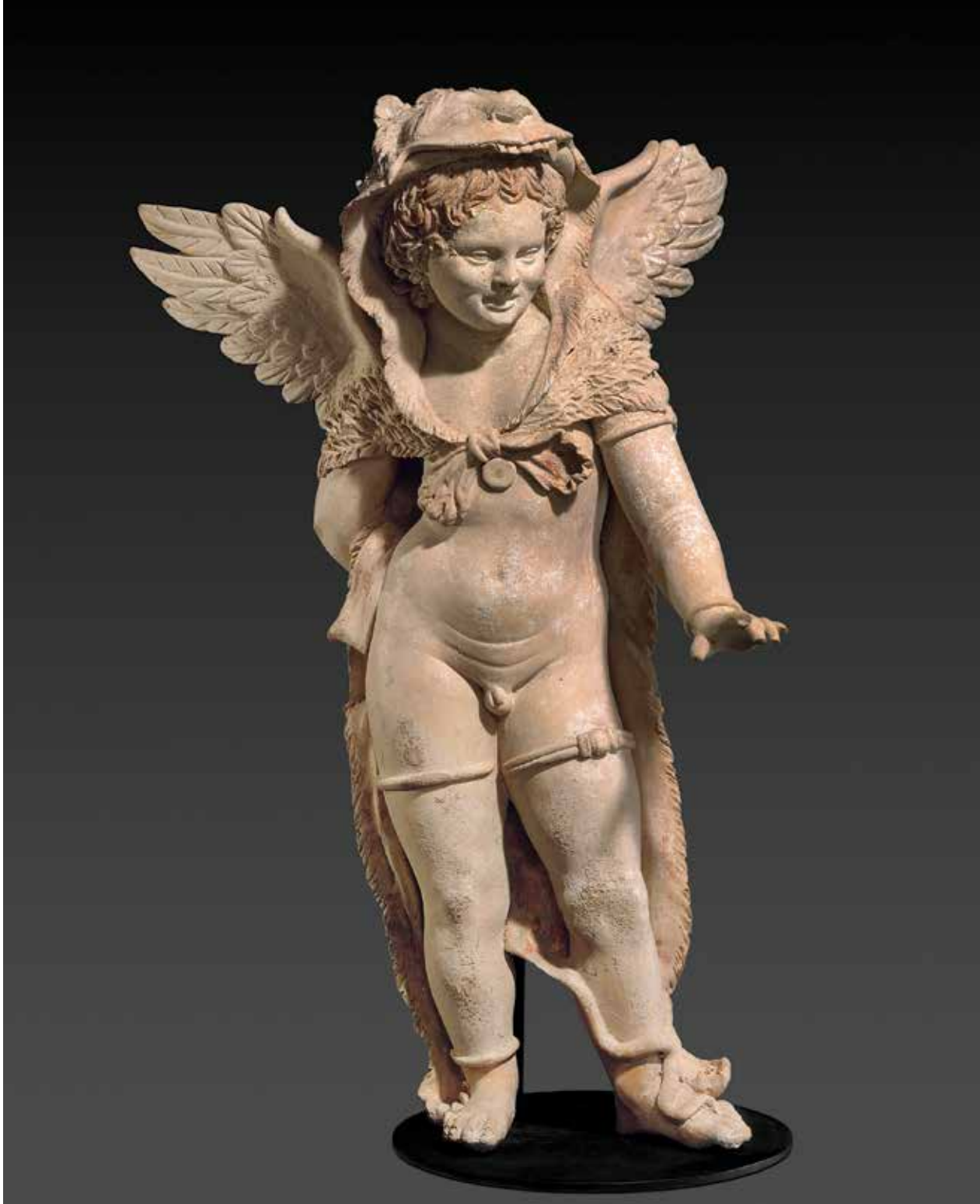
2. E. Csapo 1993; Neils and Oakley 2003, p. 282, no. 94.

3. Reeder 1988, pp. 183–84, no. 90.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 183.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 184.





81

**Statuette of Eros Wearing the
Lion's Skin of Herakles**

Greek (Asia Minor), Hellenistic period,
1st century B.C.

Terracotta, H. 15½ in. (39.4 cm), W. 10½ in.
(26.7 cm), D. 6½ in. (16.5 cm)

Said to be from Myrina

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Henry Lillie
Pierce Fund (00.321)

This exceptional depiction of the winged Eros expresses the sensibilities of later Hellenistic art, which took particular interest in the depiction of children, a subject much less explored during the Classical period.¹ Eros teasingly smirks as he hides something behind his back (now lost), presumably an object related to one of Herakles' labors, perhaps the Apples of

the Hesperides. He pushes his left hand out as if to hold someone back.

This playful characterization of Eros fits well with the innovative themes of the Hellenistic age. A Hellenistic epigram describes a statue of Herakles by Lysippos in which the hero is dejected because Eros has stripped him of his attributes.² Hellenistic artists often recast myths as

allegories in order to highlight their moral implications—in this case, love is mightier than even Herakles. Technically accomplished and artistically inventive, this figurine was produced in the ancient city of Myrina, a noted center of coroplastic art in western Asia Minor situated midway between Smyrna and Pergamon. СК

1. D. B. Thompson 1934, pl. VII, no. 17; Besques 1963, pp. 41, 160; Kondoleon, R. A. Grossmann, and Ledig 2008, p. 90; Kondoleon 2011, pp. 108, 119; Kondoleon, Segal, and Saunders 2011, p. 201, no. 99.

2. Woodford 1989, p. 202, nn. 21, 22.

82

Pyxis with Lid

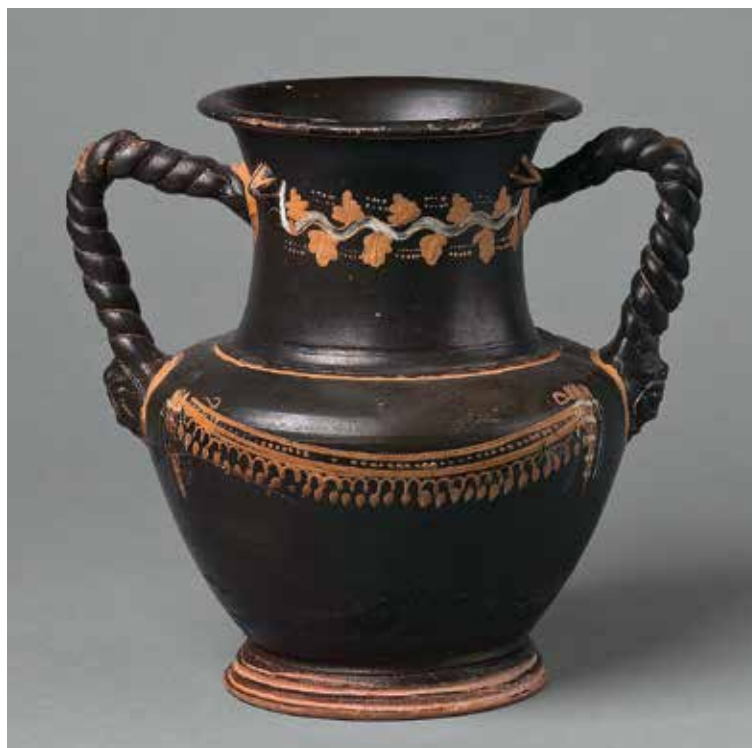
Greek, Early Hellenistic period, end of the 4th century B.C.

Terracotta, black-glaze; body: H. 9 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (23.2 cm), Diam. of rim 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (26 cm), max. Diam. 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (32.2 cm); lid, H. 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (19.4 cm), Diam. of rim 11 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (30.2 cm), max. Diam. 13 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (33.6 cm)

From Piraeus, Athens

National Archaeological Museum, Athens (2401)

Considering its size and the ashes inside, this pyxis was intended exclusively for funerary use, specifically as an ash urn.¹ Known since the fifth century B.C., this type of vessel is characterized by a deep cylindrical, domed lid (known as Type A), which rests on the ledge of the cylindrical body. The latter has slightly concave sides and a tall foot. The vase is decorated with West Slope floral motifs, including an olive branch with leaves and fruit that



83

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West Slope Amphora

Greek (probably Attic), Early Hellenistic period, first half of the 3rd century B.C.

Terracotta, black slip and paint, H. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (17.1 cm), Diam. at rim 4 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (11 cm), Diam. at foot 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (9.5 cm)

Probably found at Kerch (Ukraine)

Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (V.I. 4982, 68)

encircles the lid's vertical wall. Its dome features three concentric decorative motifs: a ring of semicircles around the knob, an olive wreath in the middle, and a myrtle wreath, all rendered with applied red clay. Alternating large and small dots form a circle near the edge. The quality of manufacture, the highly domed lid, and simple decoration recall Late Classical Greek metalwork. EO

1. Kopcke 1964, pp. 28–31, 71, 74, pl. 14, 1, 2.

This complete small amphora has a foot with molding and a conical body with a nearly horizontal shoulder, a tall, concave neck, and an out-turned rim.¹ At roughly the middle of the neck, twisted round handles are attached that end at the bend of the shoulder in appliquéd heads, probably Dionysian. Next to the handles, two clay prunts are painted with rayed designs in beige slip. Between them, beige oak leaves emerge from a double wavy line in beige and a simple one in white with beige dots appearing between the leaves. The belly is decorated with two beige lines having a row of dots between them and arches and teardrop shapes below them. SJ

1. Purchased from the Merle de Massonneau collection, 1907. Sarah Japp in *Pergamon* 2011, p. 474, no. 3.83. See also Rotroff 1991, pp. 65–66, fig. 2; Rotroff 1997, p. 286, nos. 412, 414.





84

84 Oinochoe (Jug) with West Slope Decoration

Greek (Attic), Early Hellenistic period,
second quarter of the 3rd century B.C.
Terracotta, black-glaze, H. 7½ in. (19 cm)
Excavated at Potidaia, Chalkidiki
Archaeological Museum, Thessaloniki (5152)

This jug is one of the most elegant examples of a highly decorative Early Hellenistic style known as West Slope ware, after the west slope of the Athenian Acropolis, where it was first identified. Probably produced in Attica, the jug was excavated from an unlooted cist grave of a man at Potidaia, in Chalkidiki.¹ The grave gifts also included a gold oak wreath tied with a Herakles knot. The jug has a stepped base, pyriform (pear-shaped) body, well-marked shoulder, tall neck, and flaring rim. The twisted handle begins below the rim and ends on the shoulder; two incisions and two small nipples mark the beginning of the handle. A relief ornament is attached directly below the handle, slightly off-center; the surface around it was lightly damaged from pressure applied by the potter.

The ornament depicts a male head in three-quarter view, possibly that of Dionysos,

as suggested by the traces of ivy leaves and berries framing his face. A necklace consisting of a painted chain with elongated pendants of applied clay decorates the neck. Two chains with pendants hang from the ends of the necklace, on either side of the handle. Below the shoulder, at the body's widest section, is a wide band of engraved ornaments alternating with vertical bands of painted black and white checkered motifs.² Both the West Slope decoration and the figure on the edge of the handle find parallels in Attic production.³ PA-V

1. Karamanoli-Siganidou 1966, p. 342; E. Zografou in *Au royaume d'Alexandre le Grand* 2011, p. 443, no. 276.

2. With its conical body and long neck, the vessel belongs to Drougou-Touratsoglou type D; Drougou and Touratsoglou 1991.

3. Rotroff 1997, p. 266, no. 233, pl. 22, p. 355, no. 1171, pl. 85, p. 375, no. 1358, pl. 103.

85

85 Strap Necklace with Pendants

Greek, Late Classical or Early Hellenistic period,
4th–early 3rd century B.C.

Gold, L. 11⅞ in. (29.5 cm)

Said to have been found at Cumae
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York;
Rogers Fund, 1914 (13.234.7)





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Necklaces made of gold-wire chains with delicate pendants were popular throughout the Greek world during Late Classical and Hellenistic times.¹ Painted or gilded counterparts of such necklaces were typically applied to ceramic vases, notably black-glazed and West Slope wares (see fig. 64, cats. 83, 84). JRM

1. Richter 1915b, p. 26; Alexander 1928, no. 12. For a discussion of the production of wire chains, see Williams 1994, p. 26.

86

Hemispheric Bowl (“Football” Cup)

Greek (Pergamene), Hellenistic period, late third–first half of the 2nd century B.C.

Terracotta, H. 2¼ in. (5.7 cm), Diam. of rim 5 in. (12.7 cm)

Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (30854)

The exterior of this complete hemispheric bowl is decorated with inscribed pentagons; the base is inscribed with a hexagon.¹ Such bowls, including some with heptagons, are classified as variants of West Slope ware and often called “football cups” (German *Fußballbecher*) owing to their resemblance to the design of modern footballs (or soccer balls). A similar design can be observed on relief bowls, where the pattern is not incised but made of raised lines or dots. Such bowls are also known in gilded silver (cat. 178).² The interior of this example has a reddish brown slip; the outside of the rim is unslipped while the rest of the exterior has a slip whose color changes from brown to red and again to brown. SJ



87a, b

1. Inventoried at the Antikensammlung in 1920 from a box with pottery from Asia Minor. Sarah Japp in *Pergamon* 2011, p. 473, no. 3.75. See also J. Schäfer 1968a, p. 117, fig. 10; Hayes 1991, pp. 6–7, fig. III, 7; De Luca and Radt 1999, pp. 84–85, 88, nos. 433–38; Rotroff and Oliver 2003, p. 49, nos. 133–35.

2. For two examples in the al-Sabah collection, Kuwait, see M. L. Carter 2015, pp. 172–75, no. 38.

87a, b

Fragment of and Mold for a Thumb Plate

Greek (Pergamene), Hellenistic period, 2nd–1st century B.C.

a. Terracotta, H. 2¾ in. (5.9 cm), W. 1⅞ in. (4.8 cm)

Discovered at Pergamon, between theater and Trajaneum, 1886

b. Terracotta, H. ¾ in. (1.9 cm), L. 3 in. (7.7 cm), W. 2⅜ in. (6.1 cm)

Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Y 835 [AvP VIII 152], TC 6290)

Thumb plates with concave sides, raised edges, and different motifs on top were produced with molds and served as decorative handles of drinking vessels. On the top of this thumb plate (a),¹ which was produced from a mold similar to the one illustrated next to it (b),² the letters *ερωc* (Eros) were scratched after firing. The mold is unslipped, while the thumb rest fragment was covered with a brown slip. SJ

1. Fränkel 1890–95, vol. 2 (1895), p. 502, no. 1329; Conze 1913, p. 271, no. 8; Sarah Japp in *Pergamon* 2011, p. 472, no. 3.71. For the inscription, see J. Schäfer 1968a, p. 100, no. E 107; for similar inscriptions, Hübner 1993, p. 188, no. 47, p. 189, nos. 60, 61.

2. Gift of Carl Humann. Sarah Japp in *Pergamon* 2011, p. 472, no. 3.70. See also J. Schäfer 1968a, p. 100, no. E 110.



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Relief Cup (“Megarian” Bowl)

Greek, Hellenistic period, 2nd century B.C.

Terracotta, H. 2⅞ in. (7.2 cm), Diam. at rim 5⅞ in. (13.5 cm), Diam. of medallion 1⅞ in. (4 cm)

From Pergamon

Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (V.I. 5860)

Below the slightly projecting rim, this hemispheric cup is completely covered with scalelike oval leaves having double outlines and a pronounced center rib.¹ A similar ornament is seen on a fragmentary relief cup from Pergamon’s residential area.² UK

1. Purchased by the Antikensammlung from the Pierre Mavrogordato collection, 1910. Ursula Kästner in *Pergamon* 2011, p. 476, no. 3.97, ill. p. 477.

2. Storeroom of the Pergamon Excavation, Bergama, PE 94/39 + 95 + 113; see De Luca and Radt 1999, p. 113, no. 551, pl. 19.



89

89
**“Plaketten” Hydria with
 West Slope Decoration**

Greek (Ptolemaic), Hellenistic period,
 200–100 B.C.

Terracotta, black glaze and white paint,
 H. 19 in. (48 cm)

National Archaeological Museum, Athens;
 Demetriou Collection (2547)

Intact, although slightly chipped at the edges, this black-glazed hydria with a ribbed body and four relief emblems (*Plaketten*) has a wide articulated rim, high neck, and a torus foot with a rounded disk on its top.¹ The relief emblems are oval, made of the same mold, and depict a battle melee between two warriors and an Amazon. A helmeted warrior in a corselet prepares to strike with his sword a female figure who wears a short chiton and faces him on the right, with her right arm raised. His comrade has fallen to

the ground on the left, holding his shield over his head. Friezes filled with white ivy branches with fruit of West Slope type appear on the neck and midbody, with the main twig incised; a line of white dots runs atop and below the border of each ivy band. A maenad’s head in relief decorates the lower end of the large vertical handle of the vase, and two pairs of impressed lines create a corner motif below the head.

Black-glazed ribbed vases with relief emblems, such as amphorae and hydriai, were made in Alexandria and Crete from the late fourth to the end of the third century B.C., and their use was mainly funerary. Chemical analysis conducted on a group of this type of vases in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens, including this hydria, identified their clay as of Egyptian origin, supporting the attribution of the vases to an Egyptian workshop, probably in Alexandria.²



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Many parts of this vase echo metal prototypes. The original mold for the relief figures may have been taken from a metal artwork, and a good parallel for the battle group can be found on a bronze relief mirror in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris.³ One of the best-known representations of Amazons fighting Greeks is on the shield of the gold-and-ivory statue of Athena Parthenos in the Athenian Acropolis.⁴ By the time of the production of the black-glazed ribbed vases with fighting Amazons in their relief emblems, the subject had become generic without losing its heroic overtones, which was especially appropriate in their funerary contexts. MC

1. Zervoudaki 1997, pp. 107–20. For *Plaketten* vases, see also Courby 1922, pp. 201–19; Züchner 1950–51, pp. 182–92; Andreassi 1979; Dohrn 1985, pp. 77–106, pl. 72; Siebert 2004, pp. 17–27.

2. Magou 1997.

3. Courby 1922, p. 210, fig. 33, 7.

4. For the shield of the Athena Parthenos statue, see, for example, Hölscher 1973; Hölscher and E. Simon 1976.

Drinking Vessel with Appliqués

Greek (Pergamene), Hellenistic period, second half of the 2nd century B.C.

Terracotta, H. 6¼ in. (15.8 cm), Diam. of rim

3¼ in. (8.1 cm), Diam. of foot 1⅜ in. (3.6 cm)

Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (1966.10)

Most of the images on this drinking vessel belong to the erotic, Dionysian sphere and indicate that it was intended as a vessel for use at a symposium. A complete tall beaker, the vessel has a funnel-like body and a concave curved rim.¹ The surface has a red-brown slip. There are horizontal grooves at the transition from the body to the shoulder and in the middle of the body. Six appliqués appear on the belly: a draped figure striding to the right supporting a nude man, possibly Dionysos or Silenus; a draped woman (a Niobid?); a pair of lovers, the male (perhaps a satyr) nude and standing behind the draped woman; a draped woman turned to the left; an actor with a mask; and a woman running to the right with a musical instrument, possibly cymbals. sj

1. Findspot unknown; purchased in 1966 from a private collection in Frankfurt am Main. Heilmeyer 1988, p. 179, no. 7; Hübner 1993, p. 203, no. 261, p. 205, no. 276, p. 208, no. 314, p. 211, no. 356; Sarah Japp in *Pergamon* 2011, p. 471, no. 3.65. For the motifs, see J. Schäfer 1968a, p. 97, no. E 18; Bruneau 1991, pp. 612–13, nos. 4, 5, p. 617, no. 15, p. 624, no. 32; Hübner 1993, p. 196, nos. 158, 159, pp. 204–5, nos. 272a, b, p. 211, no. 357; Rotroff and Oliver 2003, p. 160, no. 680.



Skyphos (Drinking Cup) with Appliqués

Greek (Pergamene), Hellenistic period, second half of the 2nd century B.C.

Terracotta, H. 2⅞ in. (7.4 cm), Diam. of rim

4⅜ in. (11.2 cm), Diam. of foot 3⅜ in. (8.7 cm)

Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (1966.11)

This complete skyphos has a flat foot with molding, a body narrowing upward, an outward-curving rim, and two strap handles decorated with rotelles.¹ On one side are three appliqués: a maenad seen from the side, with a fluttering gown and presumably crotala (small cymbals) in her hands; a nude man, probably a young satyr, seen from the back seated on a rock and reaching into a vine; and a female musician with a kithara. On the other side are two appliqués: a crouching woman opening a basket (the so-called *cista mystica*), out of which a snake emerges, and a nude youth representing Ganymede with his arm around the head of the eagle standing behind him. The exterior has an iridescent brown slip, the interior a red-brown slip. The images are all from the Dionysian sphere and indicate that the skyphos was a vessel used at symposia. sj



1. Findspot unknown; purchased by the museum from a private collection in Frankfurt am Main, 1966. Heilmeyer 1988, p. 179, no. 6; Hübner 1993, p. 197, no. 177, p. 202, no. 246, p. 203, nos. 259, 260, p. 206, no. 296; Sarah Japp in *Pergamon* 2011, pp. 470–71, no. 3.64. See also Bruneau 1991, pp. 619–20, no. 21.

Lagynos

Greek, Hellenistic period, 125–100 B.C.

Terracotta, white and reddish brown paint,

H. 7⅞ in. (18.5 cm), Diam. of rim 1¼ in. (4.2 cm)

National Archaeological Museum, Athens (26176)

White painted lagynoi are a Hellenistic type of squat pitcher (late 3rd–mid-1st century B.C.) in which the entire vessel is slipped in white paint and then typically embellished with brown painted decoration, especially on the pronounced shoulder.¹

This one features reddish brown painted wreaths, musical instruments (lyre, syrinx), and a *kalathos* (basket) on the shoulder as well as horizontal bands on the rest of the body, the carination, and the foot.² EO

1. R. M. Cook 1972, pp. 206–7.

2. Confiscated in Piraeus.



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Lagynos with Relief Decoration

Greek (Pergamene), Hellenistic period,
125–100 B.C.

Terracotta, black-glaze, H. 10 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (27 cm),
Diam. of rim 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (4.2 cm), Diam. of base
6 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (16.2 cm)

National Archaeological Museum, Athens (2170)

The body of the vessel is decorated with a Dionysian *thiasos* (ecstatic retinue) consisting of six relief figures: a woman dancing to the sound of clappers and moving toward a Silenus, who holds a gourd in his raised right hand; a group of two men, one of whom is nearly unconscious from revelry while the other holds him up with both arms; and a woman (parts of her forearms, legs, and body are missing) accompanied by a Papposilenus holding a gourd on his head with both hands raised.¹ The manufacturing technique, which recalls metal prototypes and decoration, indicate that this lagynos is a Pergamene product.² EO

1. Acquired in 1886. Courby 1913, p. 424; Kübler 1928, p. 122; H. A. Thompson 1934, p. 425; Bruneau 1991, pp. 613, 615.

2. Courby 1922, pp. 452–54, fig. 97, ll.

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Dwarf with a Rooster and a Lagynos

Greek (Ptolemaic?), Late Hellenistic period,
1st century B.C.(?)

Bronze, H. 2 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (7.2 cm)

Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des
Antiquités Grecques, Étrusques et Romaines
(Br 4275)

This statuette has no clear provenance,¹ but both its subject matter and the use of bronze recall similar works produced in Alexandria during the Hellenistic period that evince an interest in the “common” people (itinerant merchants, different races) and, frequently, their physical woes.² An aged, hunchbacked dwarf with skeletal limbs is captured at the moment when his rooster—which is scratching the dwarf’s knee and groin—grasps his lower lip with its beak. The figure is nude except for a rolled-up piece of cloth whose zigzagging ends fall toward the back. The figurine’s subtle artistry includes many finely observed details, both modeled and incised, especially on the oversize head:

bushy eyebrows, wrinkles running across the forehead, hooked nose, beard, enormous ears. A head covering, from which a tuft of hair escapes at the top of the skull, partly conceals his short coiffure.

In his left hand, the figure holds the handle of a lagynos: a long-necked vase with a carinated body, examples of which—made variously of ordinary clay, ceramic embellished with painted decorations (cat. 92) or reliefs (cat. 93), and even glass (cat. 95)—were used to hold wine. Produced between the third and first centuries B.C. and particularly appreciated in the Pergamon region, if the number of examples found there is any indication, the lagynos is known to have been associated with the Lagynophoria, a popular festival in Alexandria during the third century B.C. to which participants were supposed to bring their own food and drink.³ An identical but incomplete figurine was found in Augst, Switzerland, in a context that can be dated to A.D. 100.⁴ It may be that such figurines, which combine pathology and an ithyphallic character, were considered to have an apotropaic function. SD-L

1. Formerly in the Campana collection; acquired in 1862.

2. Himmelmann 1983, p. 75, n. 267.

3. Athenaios, *Deipnosophistai* 7.276a–c.

4. Kaufmann-Heinimann 1977, pp. 81–82, no. 84, pls. 88, 89. Another example of the type, probably Roman in date, is in the collection of the Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven; McCarty 2006, pp. 30–31.



94



95

95

Lagynos

Greek (probably eastern Mediterranean),

Late Hellenistic period, 1st century B.C.

Glass, H. overall 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (21.4 cm), Diam.

6 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (20.9 cm)

The Corning Museum of Glass, New York (71.1.18)

Concealed beneath the ring foot of this squat pitcher, a shape called a lagynos, is a separately cast and cut disk that closes the body of the vessel.¹ The body was also cast, and the handle was not added separately but was integral to the original casting. Once cast and cooled, the vessel was ground down to remove any imperfections as well as any excess glass from the handle. The square form at the base of the handle gives some indication of its original thickness in this area. A series of vertical and horizontal grooves decorates the outside of the handle; at its apex, at the point of attachment to the neck, it has been cut in the form of a lozenge.

Such vessels are known in ceramic (see cats. 92, 93) and metal, but glass examples are quite rare. David Whitehouse expanded the known group from Corning's two examples to four, including a less squat, cobalt blue example formerly in the Benizian collection (current location unknown) and an opaque blue example

now in the collection of the Miho Museum, Shigaraki, Japan.² kw

1. Oliver 1972, pp. 17–22, figs. 1, 2.

2. Whitehouse 1999; Sidney Merrill Goldstein in *Ancient Glass* 2001, pp. 216–17, no. 64.

96

Brazier with Vegetal Motifs and Mask

Greek, Late Hellenistic period, 1st century B.C.

Terracotta, H. 26 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (67.5 cm), Diam. of base

12 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (31 cm)

Archaeological Museum, Delos (B 10790)

The ceramic brazier, an important household appliance, was used for cooking as well as for heating. Cooking vessels were placed on its top over a coal receptacle with a slotted floor, through which the ashes dropped into the brazier's foot. The foot's opening was necessary for cleaning out the ashes and airing the interior.

Most Delian houses contained braziers of different shapes and sizes, some unique to this cosmopolitan island. This example belongs to the tall-footed type, which originated in the East and was particularly common throughout the eastern Mediterranean and Asia Minor in the Hellenistic period. A laurel (?) wreath with appliqué

leaves decorates the partially preserved upper part of the body.¹ Two solid rectangular vertical handles decorated with incised zigzags are placed where the body meets the tall foot. The foot features elaborate appliqué decoration of rosettes, bunches of leaves, spirals, and incised vegetal motifs. Above the trapezoidal opening is a relief mask. The base features egg-and-dart and bead-and-reel motifs.

The elaborate decoration illustrates the opulence that characterized daily life in Delos in the late second and early first centuries B.C. In general, eating appears to have been not just a necessity but a great pleasure for the island's residents, given the number and variety of cooking utensils identified in homes. One moderately sized house, for example, was found to contain eighty-three different ceramic cooking vessels.² MKO.

1. Upper part missing; recomposed and restored. Le Roy 1961, pp. 474–500, figs. 6–14, 16–18, pls. XV, XVI; Didelot 1990; Hadjidakis 2003, pp. 260, 432, no. 403.

2. See Didelot 2000; Hadjidakis 2000.



96

ROYAL MONUMENTS OF THE ATTALIDS

97

Dying Gaul

Roman, Late Republican to Early Imperial period; copy of a Greek bronze statue of the late 3rd century B.C.

Marble from Dokimeion, Turkey, H. 36 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (93 cm); base, 72 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 35 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (185 x 89 cm)
From the Villa Ludovisi (ancient Horti Sallustiani), Rome, between 1621 and 1623
Musei Capitolini, Rome (S.747)

The celebrated marble statue, larger than lifesize, depicts a figure who is identifiable as a Celtic warrior by the style of the hair and mustache as well as the typical torque (neck ring) and the oval shield that rests beneath him on the base.¹ Mortally wounded, the warrior is making a mighty effort to rise, as evinced in the muscular tension of the body and the dramatic grimace. The statue appeared at the beginning of the seventeenth century in the Villa Ludovisi in Rome, where the Horti Sallustiani (Gardens of Sallust, formerly owned by Julius Caesar) were located. Most likely it was unearthed there along with another statuary group, the Gaul Killing Himself and His Wife, also known as the Ludovisi Gaul.² The Dying Gaul was quickly separated from its probable companion piece, restored, and made part of the collection of the Musei Capitolini. Centuries passed before a correct interpretation could be made of the two statues, which were assigned numerous fanciful identities; the one on exhibit was held to be a gladiator, among other things. It was only during the nineteenth century that the interpretation of the two as Celtic warriors, or Gauls, gained currency, and their connection to a series of works recorded by Pliny the Elder as celebrating the victories of Pergamon over the Gauls of Asia Minor was recognized.³ The Dying Gaul was then identified as the Trumpeter (*tubicen*), which Pliny

attributes to the sculptor Epigonos.⁴ On the base, a trumpet with a long, curving tube lies around the oval shield.

Recent archaeometric investigations confirm that both sculptures are made of marble from the quarries of Dokimeion, in Phrygia,⁵ but given that Pliny refers to bronze statues, there is general consensus that the two must be ancient copies of lost bronze originals made during the rule of the first Pergamene king, Attalos I (r. 241–197 B.C.). The bronze originals were probably removed to Rome from their original location during the reign of Nero (if not previously); they were used to decorate the emperor's Domus Aurea (Golden House) and then moved to the Templum Pacis (Temple of Peace) built by Vespasian.

Excavations on the acropolis of Pergamon have uncovered the remains of the Sanctuary of Athena Nikephoros—expressly dedicated to celebrating the victories of Pergamon—where the originals of the statues found in Rome must have stood in a spectacular arrangement that has been and remains a subject of lively controversy (see the essay “Commemorations of Victory” in this volume; see also figs. 50, 51).⁶ Just as controversial is the date affixed to the copies, which oscillates between the age of Caesar (100–44 B.C.), a period corresponding to the probable archaeological context in which the Dying Gaul was found, and the second century A.D.⁷

Just one other ancient version of the Capitoline statue, now reduced to the mere torso, is known to exist, in Dresden.⁸ Numerous modern copies, beginning as early as the statue's excavation, have made this a classic subject, much imitated and admired for its dramatic intensity and fine sculptural work. At the same time, it has emerged as one of the signal works of art in a heated debate about the image of the “barbarian” in Classical times.⁹ EP

1. Stuart Jones 1912, pp. 338–40, no. 1, pl. 85; Schober 1938, especially pp. 136–38; Hans von Steuben in Helbig 1963–72, vol. 2 (1966), pp. 240–42, no. 1436; Künzl 1971, pl. 14; Wenning 1978; Özgan 1981; Schalles 1985, passim, especially pp. 95–96, pl. 2, 6; Mattei 1987; Coarelli 1995, passim, figs. 9, 14–16, 20, 27, 28, 32–35, 39, 40, 44–49; Polito 1999, passim, especially pp. 72–85; Marszal 2000; Andreae 2001, pp. 92, 171, pls. 47, 48; C. Kunze 2002, p. 40 and n. 147, pp. 47, 185, 224–25 and n. 1295, pl. 29, fig. 101; Stewart 2004, pp. 148, 207–12, figs. 28, 167, 240–42; Cain 2006, pp. 9–30, fig. 1; Kistler 2009, pp. 327–33, pl. 37; Eugenio Polito in *Musei Capitolini* 2010, pp. 428–35; Winkler-Horaček 2011; Coarelli 2014, pp. 38–95, 138–40, no. 17; Gasparri 2014.

2. See the essay “Commemorations of Victory: Attalid Monuments to the Defeat of the Galatians” in this volume; see also fig. 49.

3. Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 34.84. The detailed description of the Gauls by Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History* 5.28.1–3, was a key text in the identification of the statues.

4. Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 34.88. For the identification, see Brunn 1853, pp. 442–59, and Michaelis 1893, pp. 130–34; *contra*, see von Biełkowski 1908, pp. 2–4, and discussion in Marszal 2000, pp. 194–97.

5. Attanasio, Bruno, and Prochaska 2011.

6. Most researchers have believed the originals were supported by low rectangular bases. A recent objection argues that the cuttings on such blocks and the dimensions of those same blocks were suitable for lifesize statues (Marszal 2000, p. 230, n. 73), while a well-argued minority position, traceable back to Schober 1938, attributes the statues to a large circular base in the area; see most recently Coarelli 2014, and for sharp criticism of this view, Gasparri 2014. Some scholars place the two statues of Gauls elsewhere than Pergamon: for example, Stewart 2004, pp. 207–12.

7. Attanasio, Bruno, and Prochaska 2011, pp. 584–85; cf. Coarelli 2014; Gasparri 2014.

8. Christiane Vorster in Knoll, Vorster, and Woelk 2011, vol. 2, pp. 678–82, no. 157, with dating to the first century B.C.

9. On the subject's modern fortune, see Polito in *Musei Capitolini* 2010, pp. 428–35 (with bibliography); on contrasting views of the image of the barbarian, see most recently Cain 2006; Kistler 2009; Winkler-Horaček 2011; Coarelli 2014.



98a, b

Heads of a Dying Woman and Dying Persian

Roman, Imperial period, first half of the 2nd century A.D.; copies of Greek bronze statues of the late 3rd century B.C. Marble from Asia Minor

a. Female head, H. 9 in. (23 cm)

b. Persian head, H. 12⁵/₈ in. (32 cm)

Found on the Palatine Hill, Rome Museo Palatino, Rome (4283, 603)

The two heads were recovered at different times and in different places on Rome's Palatine Hill: the female head in 1892–93, near the stadium-shaped sunken garden of the Domus Augustana, the imperial palace built in the first and used throughout the second century A.D.; the Persian in 1866, near the north side of the Domus Tiberiana, another imperial residence, where an ancient road, the Clivus Victoriae, climbed the hill. Although discovered in different contexts, both heads, recent studies have shown, are linked to one of the bronze-sculpture donations dedicated by the Hellenistic sovereigns of Pergamon beginning in 230 to 220 B.C. at Athens, Delos, Delphi, and Pergamon itself.¹ They are unique copies in Asian marble, datable to the first half of the second century A.D.

The heads, which belonged to sculptures of heroic dimensions, appear to pertain to the group known as the “large barbarians” (to distinguish them from the so-called Lesser Attalid Dedication in Athens, containing sculptures no more than two cubits high) most likely dedicated at Delphi by Attalos I about 210 B.C. and placed on a long base in front of his eponymous stoa there. In another hypothesis, the large barbarians were dedicated at Pergamon to celebrate Attalos's victories of 220 B.C. and placed near the south wall of the Sanctuary of Athena Nikephoros.

A stylistic analysis suggests the heads may have been the products of a workshop of artisans from Asia Minor resident in Rome, makers of various copies of Pergamene originals during the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian (A.D. 98–117 and 117–38) and continuing on through the Antonine age (A.D. 138–93). These sculptors would have worked with casts made directly from the originals in order to fulfill demanding and prestigious, almost certainly imperial, commissions. SP

1. Cat. 98a: Tomei 1997, p. 146, no. 126; Stewart 2004, fig. 246. Cat. 98b: Tomei 1997, p. 147, no. 127; Stewart 2004, fig. 247.

99

Kneeling Persian

Roman, Imperial period, early 2nd century A.D.; copy of a Greek bronze statue of the early 2nd century B.C.

Marble from Asia Minor, H. overall 23³/₄ in. (73 cm), H. of base approx. 4³/₈ in. (11 cm), H. of head 7¹/₈ in. (18 cm)

Galleria dei Candelabri, Musei Vaticani, Vatican City (2794)

This sculpture of a Persian soldier, approximately two-thirds lifesize, can most likely be identified as one of the “figures” discovered at a building site in Rome in 1514.¹ For some time, it has been associated with the so-called Lesser Attalid Dedication, the monumental complex of figures erected along the southern wall of the Athenian Acropolis, as described by Pausanias.² This bronze monument was built on a rectangular base, the blocks of which have been recently discovered.³ It included numerous figures that represented participants in mythical battles (the Gigantomachy and Amazonomachy) as well as in the epic struggles between the Greeks and “barbarian” peoples (the victory over the Persians at the Battle of Marathon and the defeat of the Galatians). The dating of this figural group has been much debated, although a



98a



98b



99

date of about 200 B.C. now seems to be the most commonly accepted. Patronage of the figures has been assigned to Attalos I, who, as Pausanias tells us, twice defeated the Galatians at Mysia and who in about 200 B.C. was honored by the city of Athens as a hero.

The Vatican sculpture is a copy of one of the figures in the scene depicting the battle between the Greeks and Persians. After an initial restoration by Gaspare Sibilla in 1781–82, the statue underwent modern restorations that included the top part of the cap, the nose, both arms, the right leg, part of the left knee, the left foot, and the whole of the base. Modern restorations did not change the original position of the right arm, however, which is held in a defensive posture and in antiquity must have borne a shield. Because of its style and the quality of the marble—long identified as coming from Asia Minor—the Kneeling Persian has been connected with nine other sculptures: four from the Farnese collection, now in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples (see cat. 100a–c); three

from the Grimani collection, now in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Venice; the Galatian in the Musée du Louvre, Paris; and the Persian now in the Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence.⁴ The dating of the series of copies of the original bronzes has also been much discussed. Representing a careful selection from the Lesser Dedication groups, these figures were made by a workshop of sculptors/copyists originally from Aphrodisias,⁵ and they were intended to decorate an important urban building. Scholars vacillate between a date in the Caesarian period or the Severan era, although the prevailing opinion today points to a date in the second century A.D. and most likely in its first decades.⁶ GS/CVA.

1. Giustiniani collection, from 1638; sold in 1771 by Bartolomeo Cavaceppi to Pope Clement XIV. Lippold 1956, pp. 436–38, no. 32, pl. 184 (with bibliography); Bieber 1961b, p. 109, fig. 433; Hans von Steuben in Helbig 1963–72, vol. 1 (1963), pp. 450–51, no. 574; Palma 1981, pp. 59–60, no. 4; Bober and Rubinstein 1986, p. 184, no. 148; Ridgway 1990–2002, vol. 1 (1990), pp. 292–96; R. R. R. Smith 1991, pp. 102–3, ill. no. 129; Gallottini 1998, pp. 84, 137, 188, 224; Marszal 2000, p. 204; Andreae 2001,

pp. 168–71, pls. 150, 151; Cellini 2001, p. 42, figs. 4, 5; Spinola 2004, pp. 355–56, no. 32, fig. 39; Stewart 2004, p. 296, no. 3; Attanasio et al. 2012, pp. 67–73, fig. 4; Coarelli 2014, pp. 19–27, fig. 8, p. 128, no. 8.

2. Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 1.25.2.

3. Korres 2004.

4. See Stefania Pafumi in *Sculture Farnese* 2009, pp. 168–76, nos. 78–81 (Naples); Stewart 2004, pp. 298–99, nos. 7, 8, p. 300, no. 10 (Venice); Stewart 2004, p. 298, no. 6 (Paris); Stewart 2004, pp. 296–97, no. 4 (Aix-en-Provence).

5. Stewart 2004, p. 142. For the possibility that they came from the quarries at Göktepe, see Attanasio et al. 2012.

6. Palma 1981, p. 52 (Caesarian period); Coarelli 2014, pp. 36–37 (Severan era); Stewart 2004, pp. 136–41 (second century A.D.).

100a–c

Dead Amazon, Dying Gaul, and Dead Giant

Roman, Imperial period, probably early 2nd century A.D.; copies of Greek bronze statues of the early 2nd century B.C.

Marble from Asia Minor, possibly Göktepe (near Aphrodisias)

Found in Rome, 1514

- a. Amazon, H. 10 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (27 cm), L. 50 in. (127 cm)
- b. Gaul, H. 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (57.2 cm), L. 42 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (107 cm)
- c. Giant, H. 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (57.2 cm), L. 54 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (139.1 cm)

Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples (6012, 6013, 6015)

Discovered at the beginning of the sixteenth century while the cellar of a convent in Rome (location unknown) was being walled up, these three sculptures¹ along with another depicting a dead Persian,² are generally held to be copies based on the sculpture group at Athens known as the Lesser Attalid Dedication. Related to a similar group in the Sanctuary of Athena at Pergamon, this large monument, according to Pausanias, was made up of four sections showing the mythic battles fought by Athens against the Giants and Amazons, its historic victory over the Persians at Marathon, and Pergamon's successful struggle against the Gauls in Mysia.³ One of Pergamon's kings dedicated the monument by the south wall of the acropolis—perhaps Attalos I, about 200 B.C. (the year he visited Athens), or Attalos II, victor over the Gauls in 189/188 B.C., and again in 167/166 B.C. On its long rectilinear base, of which many blocks with traces of fastenings for bronze



100a



100b

sculptures have recently been recovered,⁴ stood more than one hundred smaller-than-lifesize figures (approximately two-thirds scale) on foot and on horseback, in an interconnected battle scene.

The action represented in the Dead Amazon and Dead Giant in the Naples collection develops horizontally, and the two pieces were probably intended to be viewed from the left side. The Amazon lies prone on a wavy surface imitating stony

soil, while beside her rest two spears, partly covered by her body. The figure wears a short chiton of light fabric with narrow, flat pleats; draped to leave her right breast exposed, the garment is tied at the waist to form an *apoptygma* (overfold). As with the other figures in the group, her face is psychologically expressive. According to information from the time of excavation and a drawing in Basel attributed to Frans Floris or his circle (made ca. 1542–47), the

Amazon once held a baby to her breast, yet the child is no longer present in the drawing made a century later for Cassiano dal Pozzo's Museum Chartaceum (Paper Museum).⁵ The figure of the baby may have been added by the Renaissance restorer and later removed.

The Dead Giant, too, lies prone, completely nude, on an irregularly shaped base that holds the figure's weapons—a sword still clenched in the right hand and, by its right side, an object difficult to identify, perhaps a slingshot or a baldric that would be slung over the shoulder to hold the sword sheath. The body is fully humanized, unlike those of serpent-footed Giants in other depictions from the Hellenistic period, and the musculature is emphasized, with rounded pectorals and a sunken stomach. The face is covered by a thick beard and bristly mustache and eyebrows, while the untamed hair and hirsute torso add to the impression of savagery. The Naples Giant is the only known copy of this subject traceable to the Lesser Attalid Dedication. The original would have belonged to the section of the monument devoted to the Gigantomachy, on which, according to Plutarch, some of the gods—Dionysos, for example—were depicted alongside the Giants, recognizable



100c

today from copies and versions made in the Roman era.⁶

The third figure in the Naples collection is composed on a triangular scheme. Although it presents no definitive evidence of ethnicity, it has generally been interpreted as the depiction of a Gaul. Whether the head, while itself antique, is part of the piece has long been debated. Even quite recently, it has been argued that the head belongs to another statue from the same series, now lost.⁷ The figurative representation of the Gaul fits the iconography used by Roman sculptors portraying the Gigantomachy on sarcophagi.⁸

Complex as it was, the Lesser Attalid Dedication was probably never copied in full, but only in parts. Among the numerous works related to its themes, the group of ten sculptures that includes, in addition to the four pieces in Naples, the Persian in the Vatican Museums (cat. 99), the Persian at Aix-en-Provence, the Gaul in Paris, and the three Gauls in Venice⁹ makes up a distinctive group, homogeneous in material, dimensions, style, and technique. There is broad agreement that the pieces are one-of-a-kind copies made for an illustrious client, probably imperial, by a single workshop of copyists in Rome using a

white marble from Asia Minor, recently identified as having come from the quarries of Göktepe, near Aphrodisias.¹⁰

For the sculptures of this group—the four in Naples and the six others—the question of where they stood in Rome and when they were made remains unresolved. Once considered copies made during the Antonine era (A.D. 138–193), they have been dated as early as the second half of the first century B.C., on the supposition that they were originally displayed in the Baths of Agrippa, Octavian's general who defeated the Gauls in 37 B.C.¹¹ More convincing, however, is the hypothesis that places them in the first quarter of the second century A.D., based on a close stylistic analysis now strengthened by the recent petrographic research on the marble employed and what we know today about the extraction of stone from the Göktepe quarries.¹² SP

1. The property of Alfonsina Orsini from 1514 and displayed in the Palazzo Medici-Medina; transferred to Margaret of Austria and later to the Farnese collection, Rome, from 1587 to 1790; entered the Museo Nuovo, Naples, in 1796. Restored by Giovanni Battista de' Bianchi (1520–1600) and Carlo Albacini (ca. 1735–1813). Restored sections: cat. 100a: curls between left ear and shoulder, nose, several fingers of the right hand, fingers of the left hand, lower half of the left leg with foot, big toe and two adjacent toes on the right foot, small portions of drapery; cat. 100b: left arm below the shoulder, right foot, toes of the left foot, thumb

and middle finger of the right hand, upper half of helmet, nose, chin, upper lip, part of mustache, part of right ear; cat. 100c: nose, left leg below the knees, big toe of the right foot, fingers of the right hand, parts of sword. Ruesch 1911, pp. 102–3, nos. 301–3, figs. 38, 40; Palma 1981, pp. 56–58, 61–62, nos. 1, 2, 7; Ridgway 1990–2002, vol. 1 (1990), pp. 290–92; R. R. Smith 1991, pp. 99–104, ill. nos. 123, 124; Kaminski 1999, pp. 95–113, pls. 21–25; Marszał 2000; Andreea 2001, pp. 168–71, pls. 146, 155, 157; Stewart 2004, passim and pp. 294–96, nos. 1, 2, pp. 299–300, no. 9; Stefania Pafumi in *Sculture Farnese* 2009, pp. 168–76, nos. 78, 79, 81 (with bibliography); Attanasio et al. 2012, pp. 65–87, figs. 1, 2; Coarelli 2014.

2. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples (6014); Ruesch 1911, pp. 99, 102, no. 300, fig. 37; Palma 1981, p. 59, no. 3; Pafumi in *Sculture Farnese* 2009, pp. 174–75, no. 80.

3. Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 1.25.2.

4. Korres 2004.

5. Vermeule 1966, p. 12, no. 8227, fig. 14; Palma 1981, p. 58; Bober and Rubinstein 1986, p. 180, fig. 143a; Kaminski 1999, pp. 103–5, fig. 1; Stewart 2004, p. 171, fig. 193 and table 4, pp. 202–3.

6. Plutarch, *Lives, Mark Antony* 60.2–3. See also Palma 1981, pp. 54, 70–71.

7. Stewart 2004, p. 171, fig. 193 and table 4, pp. 299–300, no. 9. The head of the Gaul (H. 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. [20 cm]) is approximately the same size as the head of the Giant (21 cm) and slightly larger than that of the Amazon (16 cm).

8. Palma 1981, p. 61, no. 6, and p. 80, no. 26.

9. Stewart 2004, pp. 294–300, nos. 1–10.

10. Attanasio et al. 2012.

11. Palma 1981, p. 52.

12. Stewart 2004, pp. 136–41; Attanasio, Bruno, and Yavuz 2009; Attanasio et al. 2012.



Male Torso

Greek, Late Hellenistic period, or Roman, Late Republican or Early Imperial period, 1st century B.C.

Marble, H. 23⁵/₈ in. (60 cm)

Antikemuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig (Kä 204)

The muscular male torso twists with both arms raised as if to swing a heavy two-handed weapon. It was carved separately from the lower part of the body and joined to it with a large rectangular tenon. The left arm was joined from below the biceps. The back of the torso was carefully carved and polished for a view fully in the round.¹

Traces of a garment fastened around the waist of the torso, in what would have been a rather unusual arrangement in antiquity, have suggested to some scholars the kiltlike attire of an attendant at a sacrifice, who is stunning an animal with a mallet. However, most such scenes show the ritual presentation of the victims and appear in relief, although one version of the subject, from the Caelian Hill in Rome, was part of a small terracotta pediment.² If the Basel fragment indeed belonged to a lifesize, freestanding marble sacrificial group—especially one that showed the actual killing—it would be unique.

Another possibility is that the torso belonged to a trouser-wearing barbarian warrior like the one whose legs (comprising the lower body from the hips down), are in the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art and reputedly come from the vicinity of Rome.³ The scale of the fragment and the type of marble used are similar to those of the Basel torso, and each piece preserves a similar rectangular cutting for a large tenon, but the cuttings on the two do not appear to line up.

Nonetheless, the lower-body fragment in the Metropolitan is evidence for the existence of lifesize battle groups that include figures of Gauls or Germans wearing trousers. The detailed, rather dry musculature of the Basel torso is in the Late Hellenistic manner. Its wiry physique suggests that of Northern warriors such as the Dying Gaul (cat. 97). Whatever its subject, the rendering descends stylistically

from figures in the battle scenes commissioned by the rulers of Pergamon. AH

1. Ernst Berger in *Kunstwerke der Antike* 1963, no. A25; Blome 1999, pp. 77–78, fig. 104.

2. Ryberg 1955, pp. 22–23, pl. VI, fig. 14.

3. MMA 08.258.48; Richter 1954, pp. 105–6, no. 205, pl. CXLV. It has been pointed out that the Gauls in the Attalid groups are nude, while some in later renderings wear trousers.

Statuette of a General and Haruspex (Diviner)

Greek, Early Hellenistic period, late 4th–early 3rd century B.C.

Bronze, H. 7¹/₄ in. (18.5 cm)

From the Sanctuary of Zeus at Dodona (Epeiros) National Archaeological Museum, Athens (X 16727)

The general, whose contrapposto pose recalls statues of athletes by the Classical sculptor Polykleitos,¹ directs his gaze toward a liver² that he holds in his right hand. He wears a chiton, breastplate, greaves, and a helmet of Corinthian type,³ but his feet are bare, recalling the barefoot priests of the Dodona sanctuary, who could thereby receive messages more directly from the earth during divination. The liver is related to the ancient practice of hepatoscopy, a form of divination based on scrutiny of the liver from a sacrificed animal. The general thus also happens to be a haruspex, or diviner, who is probably attempting to foresee the outcome of a battle.

The statuette is a miniature version of the monumental statues of generals that decorated the space next to the Bouleuterion of the Koinon of Epeiros (the generals were the heads of the Koinon, an ancient form of collective government).⁴ It probably represents the philosopher Kineas, adviser to King Pyrrhos of Epeiros (297–272 B.C.). A votive offering to the Dodona sanctuary, the statuette likely expresses either the donor's gratitude for or supplication in favor of the successful outcome of a battle. NP

1. Vokotopoulou 1997, p. 276, no. 208.

2. Karouzou 1979, pp. 99, 101.

3. Sharpe 2006, pp. 271–72, no. 106, figs. 86, 87.

4. Polyxeni Bouyia in *Leaving a Mark on History* 2013, p. 182, no. 169; Katsikoudis 2014, p. 56, fig. 37.



Bridle Ornaments: Six Phalerae (Roundels) and a Frontlet

Greek, Hellenistic period, 3rd century B.C. Silver with gilding, Diam. of phalerae 2³/₄–2⁷/₈ in. (7–7.2 cm), H. of frontlet 7¹/₂ in. (19 cm), W. of frontlet 3 in. (7.6 cm)

103a, b: Princeton University Art Museum, New Jersey (y1951-5, y1951-6); 103c–f: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (59.299, 60.1152, 60.1153, 60.1154); 103g: Private collection, Switzerland

These silver ornaments, now divided between three collections, are thought to belong to a group found at Taranto (Greek Taras, Roman Tarentum) in the 1940s. The set comprises six roundels and a larger plaque of elongated oval form.¹ The borders of the saucer-shaped roundels are incised with a wave pattern. They encircle inset disks with high-relief busts of Athena, Herakles, Hermes, Perseus, and Medusa (twice). Each bust is seen in frontal or three-quarter view and wears identifying



103a-f

headgear. The oval plaque, with a much more refined and original image, shows a frontal Nike whose mantle slips down to reveal her nude torso as she lifts a weighty *tropaion* (trophy) over her left shoulder. In fairly low relief, the figure completely fills the plaque. Details of all the reliefs are picked out with gilding.

Such roundels, or phalerae, decorated horses' bridles at the junctures of the headstall with the browband and noseband. The oval would have been set on a vertical strap running down the center of the horse's face.² While they were probably made at the same time, the roundels and the more



103g

sophisticated oval relief are not necessarily by the same hand.

Comparable bridle ornaments are best attested in Thracian and Scythian tombs, because in these regions horse sacrifices were customary (fig. 12) and the burial contexts preserved valuable objects. Elements of similar trappings appear all over the ancient world, however, as do plaster (see cat. 187) or terracotta casts from such decorations.³ A fine horse, richly caparisoned, was perceived everywhere as the embodiment of prestige and power. AH

1. Princeton: Jones 1954, p. 241; Art Museum, Princeton University 1986, p. 30; Boston: Vermeule 1962, pp. 7–9, figs. 8–11; Basel: Schefold 1960, p. 264, no. 349; Ernst Berger in *Kunstwerke der Antike* 1963, no. E4. Segall 1965 for the entire group.
2. *Scythian Gold* 1999, p. 54, fig. 12, for Babyna Mohyla horse skulls with similar bridle ornaments still in place.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 282–98, nos. 137–52, for Babyna Mohyla horse trappings with notes on comparable material elsewhere in Ukraine. *Alten Zivilisationen Bulgariens* 2007, pp. 220–21, no. 157a–i, for a set from Mound 2 at Ravnogor and pp. 228–29, no. 173a–c, for a group from Krumovgrad. On the category as a whole, see Segall 1965; Pfrommer 1983; Cahn 1989, p. 26.



104a

104a-e

Roundel with Athena and Four Animal Heads

Greek, Hellenistic period, first half of the 2nd century B.C.

Bronze

- a. Athena, Diam. 10 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (27 cm)
- b. Panther, H. 2 in. (5.2 cm), W. 2 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (6.1 cm)
- c. Dog, H. 3 in. (7.7 cm), W. 2 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (7.4 cm)
- d. Dog, H. 3 in. (7.7 cm), W. 2 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (7.3 cm)
- e. Panther, H. 2 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (5.4 cm), W. 2 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (6.2 cm)

Found in Kyrprion Agoniston Square, Thessaloniki
Archaeological Museum, Thessaloniki (17540, 17538, 17539, 17536, 17537)

The roundel (a) depicts the goddess Athena in the form of a bust.¹ Her head turns slightly to her left and tilts back so that it touches the disk. Her right arm is raised as if ready to throw a spear. She wears a translucent, sleeveless peplos, secured at

the right shoulder with a circular fibula. The aegis, with feathers and a snake on its border, covers the left shoulder. A faint smile enlivens Athena's ovoid face. The white paste denoting the eyeball is preserved in the left eye. Her neck features two folds. Her hair falls in small unruly curls that frame her face, and three curls fall on her right and left shoulders. The front of the goddess's helmet features a *gorgoneion* (Medusa head) with a calm face and eyes closed, as though in sleep or death.

The goddess is depicted in the type of Athena Promachos or Alkidemos, Athenian and Macedonian versions, respectively, of the goddess in battle, posed to hurl a spear or thunderbolt. The roundel was found together with four bronze animal heads (two panthers and two dogs) during rescue excavations in a Hellenistic public building, possibly the palace of the Macedonian kings, in Kyrprion Agoniston Square in Thessaloniki.² The five bronze objects decorated a luxurious two-wheel chariot, which probably belonged to a wealthy *hetairos* (royal officer) or a member of the Macedonian royal family. The medallion was probably manufactured in a Delian workshop. PA-V

1. The piece is made of cast bronze except for the hammered frame with four attachment holes on the periphery. Adam-Veleni 2000; Polyxeni Adam-Veleni in Pandermalis 2004, p. 62, no. 17; Adam-Veleni in *Au royaume d'Alexandre le Grand* 2011, pp. 430–31, no. 269; Adam-Veleni in *Power and Pathos* 2015, pp. 232–33, no. 22.
2. Adam-Veleni in Pandermalis 2004, p. 62, nos. 18, 19.



104b-e



105

Helmet

Greek, Hellenistic period, 250–200 B.C.
 Bronze, hammered, chased in spots, and riveted,
 H. 7¼ in. (18.4 cm), L. with restoration 9½ in.
 (24.2 cm), W. with restoration 8⅝ in. (20.5 cm)
 Discovered on the island of Melos (Greece)
 Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin
 (Fr. 1010)

The helmet consists of two parts riveted together.¹ Originally, the comb was strengthened by a wood insert. On the front, above the visor, is an ornamental relief in the form of a bust of Athena; the volute eyes above the ears were decorated with *gorgoneia* (the left one restored). A hinge inside the right side of the visor indicates that the helmet originally had movable cheek flaps. In the technical terminology, this type is called an “Attic helmet with visor,” for it has been pictured on Attic monuments since Archaic times. As an actually usable helmet type, it appears only in the late fourth century B.C. in northern Greece and thus may have been a Macedonian invention.²

Judging from its proportions and the style of the Athena bust, the Berlin helmet would appear to date from the second half of the third century B.C. More complete examples for comparison come from a



tomb in Prodrumi in northwest Greece and from Kerch (Pantikapaion, the chief city and port of the Kimmerian Bosphoros).³ Aschw.

1. Formerly in the Halgan collection, then the Pourtales collection; purchased by the Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, in 1865. See von Lipperheide 1896, p. 157, no. 8 (drawing; state before restoration); Götz Waurick in *Antike Helme* 1988, pp. 443–45, no. 52; Waurick 1988, p. 170; Pflug 1989, pp. 28, 64–65, no. 33; Hermann Pflug in *Alexander der Grosse* 2009, p. 266, no. 63; Uwe Peltz in *Pergamon* 2011, p. 524, no. 5.54.

2. Waurick 1988, pp. 169–72, 177.

3. For the dating of the Berlin example, see Schwarzmaier 1997, p. 150, n. 779. For comparable examples, see Waurick 1988, figs. 48–50, supplementary sheet 1 (facing p. 174). In my opinion, the tomb in Kerch should be dated no earlier than the second half of the third century B.C.

106

Shield

Greek, Hellenistic period, 185–160 B.C.

Bronze, H. 31 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (79.7 cm), W. 32 in. (81.4 cm)

Discovered in Pontos (present-day Turkey)

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (80.AC.60)

The star pattern with six rays decorating the front of this shield represents the sun, an important symbol of Macedonian kingship in the Hellenistic period. A Greek inscription between the concentric bands encircling the star reads, *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΦΑΡΝΑΚΟΥ* (Of King Pharnakes), a reference to Pharnakes I, who ruled Pontos (in present-day northern Turkey) in the second century B.C.¹

This example is one of the few well-preserved, relief-decorated Hellenistic bronze shields in existence. It was created from a very thin sheet of metal that must originally have been supported by a base of wood or leather. Macedonian shields with inscriptions bearing the name of the king have been discovered in sanctuaries of Zeus at Dodona and Dion as well as at Vergora (Florina), Bonče (in ancient Pelagonia), and Orestis (modern Kastoria), all located in northern Greece and Macedonia.² Shields of this type may have belonged to soldiers of the royal guard and been dedicated as votive offerings to local deities. Similar examples appear on Hellenistic coinage and on stone monuments, including the Aemilius Paulus monument at Delphi and a relief discovered at Memphis in Egypt that bears an inscription with the name

Ptolemy.³ The motif of the sun shield and its association with royalty, however, can be traced back to Assyria, as depicted in a bas-relief that decorated the throne of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III (r. 858–824 B.C.). AB

1. Melikian-Chirvani 1992, pp. 10–12, fig. 5; Bernard 1993, pp. 11–19, figs. 1, 2; Melikian-Chirvani 1993, pp. 21–29, figs. 1, 2; Liampi 1998, pp. 7, 54, pl. 22, 1; Peltz 2001, pp. 336–37, fig. 12.

2. Dodona: Dakaris 1968, p. 58; Liampi 1998, pp. 52–53, no. S 2, pls. 1, 2, and 33, 1. Dion: Pandermalis 2000; Semele Pingiatoglou in *Au royaume d'Alexandre le Grand* 2011, p. 335, no. 213. Vergora: Adam-Veleni 1993; Liampi 1998, pp. 53–55, no. S 3, pl. 1, 3; Konstantinos Soueref in *Au royaume d'Alexandre le Grand* 2011, p. 336, no. 214. Bonče: Bitrakova Grozdanova 2007; Tsoungaris 2009, pp. 579–89. Orestis: Tsoungaris 2009. An additional example is currently on loan to The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Christie's 2013, no. 115, private collection).

3. Ascribed to Ptolemy II (r. 283–246 B.C.); Ponger 1942, pp. 78–85, pl. XL, no. 180; Liampi 1998, pp. 59–60, no. S 9, pl. 5, 1.

107

Trumpet (Salpinx)

Greek or Roman, Hellenistic or Imperial period, 3rd century B.C.–2nd century A.D.

Bone and bronze, L. 61 in. (155 cm), D. 3 in. (7.7 cm)

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Frederick Brown Fund (37.301)

With its loud, sharp, clear sound, the *salpinx* was the ideal instrument for use in war, where it could be heard above the din of battle.¹ Probably originating in Etruria, it was also used in religious ceremonies and athletic contests. In 396 B.C., the *salpinx* was introduced at an event at the Olympics, and the winner was given the honor of signaling important moments such as athletes' entrance into the stadium, the start of the games, and victories.

This example, the only complete Greek trumpet that survives, is composed of thirteen sections of bone tubing of various lengths joined together by bronze ferrules. It has a bell of cast bronze and a mouthpiece that flares slightly to a rounded rim; a bronze chain would have helped the player (*salpingitis*) to steady the long instrument. Fragments of a trumpet with a similarly shaped bell and chain found in 1998 in a tomb in Lamia (Greece) dated to 350–150 B.C. indicate a Hellenistic date





108

Stele with Letters by Attalos II and Attalos III

Greek, Hellenistic period, second half of the 2nd century B.C.

White marble, H. 25 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (85 cm), W. at top 17 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (44 cm), W. at bottom 19 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (48.5 cm), D. 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (8.5 cm)

Discovered at Pergamon, North Stoa, Sanctuary of Athena, 1880 and 1883

Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (IvP 248)

Still visible at the damaged top of the stone is the final clause of a decree by the people of Pergamon calling for publication of a ruling inscribed on a marble slab in the Sanctuary of Athena and ordering that the decree itself should be incorporated into the sacred laws of the city and thus be forever valid.¹ Below this decree on the stele are three royal letters, each dated to the year and the day, about filling Pergamene priesthoods with relatives of the royal house. The names of the bearers of the messages are also recorded.

The first letter, dating from December 25, 141 B.C., and addressed by Attalos II to his cousin Athenaios, informs the latter that after long service, Sosandros, Athenaios's son-in-law, the priest of Dionysos Kathegemon installed by Eumenes II, had been no longer capable of performing his duties for health reasons, and that accordingly he, Attalos II, had installed as his substitute his son, also called Athenaios. Since he had proved to be outstanding, after the death of Sosandros, Attalos II and his nephew Attalos (the future Attalos III) had decided that this Athenaios should assume the priesthood in his own right.

Years later, on October 8, 135 B.C., Attalos III finally informs the council and the people of Kyzikos of this same situation in the second letter, with the inclusion of detailed references to his family's relationship to that of Athenaios. This was based on the fact that Apollonis, the wife of Attalos I and thus the writer's grandmother, was the daughter of a citizen of Kyzikos. The occasion for this belated notification is clear from the third letter. A few days before the letter to Kyzikos, on October 5,

135 B.C., Attalos III had informed the council and the people of Pergamon that in memory of his loving mother, Stratonike, who had introduced to Pergamon her god Sabazios from her native Cappadocia, he had decided that this god was to be venerated along with Athena Nikephoros and that Athenaios was to function as his hereditary priest. He further ordained that his directives regarding the veneration of the god as well as the privileges of Athenaios be included among the city's sacred laws, so that they might be assured for all time. HM

1. Fränkel 1890–95, vol. 1 (1890), pp. 164–71, no. 248; Dittenberger 1903, pp. 509–13, no. 331; Welles 1934, pp. 65–67; Helmut Müller in *Pergamon* 2011, pp. 503–4, no. 5.15. See also Welles 1934, pp. 265ff.

109a–c

Balustrade Reliefs with Military Spoils, from the Athena Sanctuary

Greek, Hellenistic period, ca. 180 B.C.

Proconnessian marble

a. H. 34 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (87 cm), W. 53 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (135 cm)

b, c. W. of left slab 55 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (142 cm), W. of right slab 25 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (65 cm)

Discovered at Pergamon, 1878–86: (a), in rubble near east end of North Stoa, Sanctuary of Athena (sector M 10); (b), in Turkish corner tower (Q 8) Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Pe 2.4-1a, Pe 2.4-3a, b)

Balustrade fragments with relief depictions of weapons were part of the two-story column architecture of the stoas along the north and east sides of the Sanctuary of Athena. They were inserted between the Ionic columns of the upper story. Each of the spaces between two columns was filled by two reliefs: a wider slab and a narrower one. The reliefs had a separate foot molding that adjoined the Attic column bases as well as a separately worked complex top molding. Pictured in high relief on their front sides were various weapons and pieces of armor. In the center of one relief here, for example (a), the headguard of a horse with a feather crown and a mask helmet are shown.

The wider portion of the complete balustrade relief (b) bears a round shield placed in front of an oval (Gallic) one. At bottom left, behind the shields, is a richly decorated rudder. On the narrower slab,

for the present instrument, although it remains difficult to date precisely because there are so few parallels.² Its substantial length and its rumored findspot near Olympia suggest that it was used in an athletic context. However, it also calls to mind the trumpets depicted in the so-called weapon reliefs adorning the balustrade of the stoas that Eumenes II erected in the first half of the second century B.C. in the Sanctuary of Athena Polias at Pergamon (see cat. 109a, b).³ ps

1. Caskey 1937, pp. 525–27, figs. 2–5; Kuronen 2004, p. 75; Xanthoulis 2006.

2. *Gifts of the Muses* 2004, no. 66.

3. Webb 1996, pp. 57, 59.



109a



109b



109c

the crest of a ship's standard (*stylis*) is ornamented with a flower and palmettes. Below this one can make out the outlines of a ship's ramming spur that has been chiseled off. The representation of parts of ships on this balustrade is notable as an indication that Pergamon also commanded a powerful fleet.

These reliefs with spoils refer to the military successes that Pergamon's kings had achieved, together with the Romans, in battle against the Seleucids and other kings of Asia Minor. They identify as victory monuments the stoas in the Sanctuary of Athena erected under Eumenes II.¹ vK
 1. H. Droysen 1885, pp. 95–96, pls. XLIII, XLIV, 2; Jaekel 1965; Polito 1998, pp. 91–95.



110

110a–c

Sculptural Group with the Freeing of Prometheus

Greek, Hellenistic period, late 2nd–early 1st century B.C.

Marble

a. Herakles, H. 28½ in. (72.5 cm)

b. Prometheus, H. 27½ in. (70 cm)

c. Caucasus, L. 30¾ in. (77 cm)

Excavated at Pergamon, North Stoa, Sanctuary of Athena, November/December 1880

Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (AvP VII 168)

This group of three barely half-lifesize figures illustrates the end of a well-known myth. Prometheus appears at the center helplessly chained to a rock; on his bent right thigh a metal eagle of Zeus was attached, as is clear from a dowel hole. From the right Herakles approaches, drawing his bow to shoot the eagle and free Prometheus. The scene is completed by a recumbent male figure, the personification of the Caucasus.¹

A rectangular mortise on Prometheus's right buttock shows that the figure was

originally mounted high up on a rock wall. The arrangement of the remaining figures is derived from details of their execution: the figures of Caucasus and Herakles were meant to be seen mainly from the back, for example, and were thus facing Prometheus. The viewer perceived the group as a three-dimensional composition, while the original polychromy together with the metal attributes, Herakles's bow, and the eagle on Prometheus's leg further heightened its illusionistic charm.

The archaeological context and an analysis of the sculptures themselves suggest that the group was set up in an open space within the North Stoa of the Sanctuary of Athena. A large number of additional sculptural fragments discovered in the same area may have belonged to another pendant group displayed nearby. One thinks, for example, of the painting in the Temple of Zeus at Pelusion, where a scene of Perseus freeing Andromeda, chained to a rock, formed a counterpart to the freeing of Prometheus.² CVO.

1. Winter 1908, pp. 175–80, no. 168, supplementary sheet 25, pl. XXXVII; Krahrmer 1925, pp. 183–205, figs. 2, 11, 12;

Schober 1951, pp. 137–39, fig. 133; Himmelmann 1989, pp. 140, 210, 216, no. 7, ill. p. 141, fig. 57, and pp. 212, 213; Ellen Schraudolph in Dreyfus and Schraudolph 1996–97, vol. 1 (1996), pp. 86–87, no. 21, pp. 88–89, figs. 7–10; Fröhlich 1998, pp. 140–47, 262–64, no. 5, p. 316, fig. 9; Queyrel 2003, pp. 153–61, pls. 22, 3, and 23, 1–4 (with bibliography); Vorster 2007, pp. 311–12, fig. 310; Kreuz 2009, pp. 133–34; Christiane Vorster in *Pergamon* 2011, pp. 511–12, no. 5.31. 2. Amedick 2002, p. 528.

111

Draped Female Figure

Greek, Hellenistic period, end of the 4th century B.C.

Marble, H. 70⅞ in. (180 cm), W. 23⅝ in. (60 cm), D. 15¾ in. (40 cm), H. of plinth 4 in. (10 cm)

Discovered at Pergamon, Byzantine wall, 1884
Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (AvP VII 89)

The once-inset head of this female figure and attached body parts (right forearm, left hand, and ends of the feet) are missing.¹ The free-hanging portions of the cloak are heavily damaged. The back is carved only superficially. The figure faces frontally in a calm stance, with her weight

on her left leg, the right one free. She is almost completely encased in her mantle, from which only her right arm projects, as though resting in a sling; the mantle is draped over her left shoulder and left arm and partly folded back in front of her left breast. Other portions of the mantle, apparently held tight by her left arm, hang vertically along the left side of her body.

In its construction, the statue is reminiscent of the woman associated with the so-called Delphian Philosopher (see fig. 75), which together formed a couple that presumably depicts sponsors of the Soteria, the festival instituted after 279 B.C. to commemorate victory over the Gauls. The two figures are not contemporary, however. Whereas the woman from Delphi is more pyramidal in structure, the Pergamene woman seems almost pudgy and more closely resembles the Early Hellenistic Nikeso from Priene, with which she also shares the rounded body forms visible beneath the mantle. In this stylistic and iconographic analysis, then, the statue predates the emergence of the ruling house of the Attalids in Pergamon and, judging from its style, was probably produced about 320 B.C., before the Nikeso. Accordingly, this figure and the Nikeso constitute the earliest images of female citizens in Asia Minor. The Nikeso suggests one occasion for such a portrait dedication, namely, the assumption of the office of priestess.² Another possibility was euergetism, the practice of civic philanthropy that probably led to the creation of the Delphic couple.

The fourth-century B.C. date of the Pergamene statue proposed here raises new questions about the history of the city, where archaeologists would not expect to find pre-Hellenistic sculpture. Indeed, of Late Classical sculptures, as yet only fragments of Attic tomb reliefs have been found in Pergamon.³ Perhaps by the fourth century B.C. Pergamene society had acquired some type of structure that was open to forms of Greek bourgeois ostentation.⁴ It was already an urban center at that time, for there was pre-Philetairian building with the corresponding wall. In addition, its coinage and the Temple of Athena point to Greek influence in Pergamon in the third quarter of that century. wg





1. Winter 1908, pp. 115–16, no. 89, supplementary sheet 14; R. Horn 1931, p. 20; Schober 1951, p. 137, fig. 128; Linfert 1976, p. 110, n. 438b; Eule 2001, pp. 42–43, 178–79, no. 41, fig. 75; Wilfred Geominy in *Pergamon* 2011, pp. 449–50, no. 3.10, ill. p. 448.

2. For stone bases for Athena priestesses in Pergamon, see Eule 2001, pp. 93–95.

3. For Late Classical tomb reliefs in Pergamon, see Habicht 1969, p. 1, n. 4; Pfuhl and Möbius 1977, p. 33, nos. 82, 84, pl. 20, p. 35, nos. 90, 92, pl. 22.

4. For Greek acculturation in pre-Attalid Pergamon, see Scheer 1993 (skeptical view); Wulf 1999.

112

Female Statue in Theater Costume with a Sword

Greek, Hellenistic period, end of the 3rd century B.C.

Marble, H. overall 71 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (182 cm);
plinth: H. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (9 cm), W. 35 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (90 cm),
D. 23 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (60 cm)

Discovered at Pergamon, north edge of Great Altar, spring 1879

Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (AvP VII 47)

Long considered among the most original and highest-quality creations of Pergamon's sculptors, the figure stands calmly with her free leg placed slightly to the left. Her left arm originally hung slightly bent next to her left side, and she held her right arm, sharply bent, before her breast. She wears a long chiton with long sleeves cinched by a broad band directly beneath her breasts. From her left shoulder, her mantle fell to the ground, a portion of it gathered up in her left hand. It twisted into a coil at the top edge of her back, then ran from her right hip, across her stomach, and back to her left hand. The figure wears a baldric diagonally across her breast; the haft of the sword projects upward, the scabbard disappears beneath her drapery. The head was carved separately; the left hand and front half of the left foot, portions of a sword, the right arm, and two sections of drapery at the back were also attached.

The closed, delicately decorated shoes with high soles, like the sleeved garment and high, broad belt, are part of a theater costume, although this is not an actor, for the subject depicted is clearly female. Gerhard Krahmmer and Rudolf Horn related it to the Great Altar frieze, but Ludger

Alscher and Jörg-Peter Niemeier correctly pointed out the formal differences and the links to the Early Hellenistic tradition.¹ Because of the sword, the shoes, and the sleeved chiton with a broad, high belt, the figure has been interpreted as a theater figure, a Muse, or an allegory. Franz Winter noted the similar motifs in the Tragodia of the Archelaos Relief (see cat. 44). Yet that personification of Tragedy is clearly male, a costumed actor, and lacks the sword as an attribute. The reference to the relief is therefore arbitrary, motivated merely by the theater costume. An interpretation as a Muse is also unsupported by the relief, for other figural types were employed for those goddesses.

The movement of the right hand can be reconstructed only as reaching for the sword, and with this the figure would be a tragic heroine. One thinks first of Medea, in whom the reluctance to kill her children is also expressed by an indecisive toying with the sword. This motif of inner ambivalence appears as early as Euripides' tragedy; it is also presented in a painting by Timomachos from the first century B.C. and then in Pompeian wall painting. Aside from the above-mentioned Archelaos relief, the type is also quoted on two lost tomb reliefs from the second century B.C., formerly in Smyrna. MRH

1. Winter 1908, pp. 76–80, no. 47, pls. XIV, XV; Kraemer 1923–24, pp. 173–75; R. Horn 1931, pp. 51–52, 73, pl. 18, 2; Alscher 1957, pp. 63–65; Pinkwart 1965a, p. 57; Pinkwart 1965b, pp. 25, 111; Wegner 1966, pp. 99, 106; Niemeier 1985, pp. 58–59; Faedo 1994, p. 1003, no. 261a; Kossatz-Deissmann 1997, pp. 48–49, no. 4, pl. 27; Mandel 2007a; Mandel 2007b, pp. 133, 137; Schraudolph 2007, pp. 212–13, fig. 181b; Mathias René Hoffer in *Pergamon* 2011, p. 456, no. 3.17, ill. p. 455.

113

Seated Draped Female Statue on a Round Base

Greek, Hellenistic period, after the mid-2nd century B.C.

Marble, H. overall 71 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (180.5 cm), H. of head 15 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (40 cm), W. 31 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (80 cm), D. 30 in. (76.2 cm)

Discovered at Pergamon, at beginning of excavations in vicinity of Great Altar, 1878 Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (AvP VII 62)



The figure sits calmly on a round base, her right leg extending forward and the left drawn back.¹ Her left arm was raised and extended, as her right one probably was, given how firmly it was anchored. She wears an undergarment made of a thick fabric and a mantle. Drawn across her head but leaving the front of the head free, the mantle forms a fold above the part in her hair. It hangs across her back and down across the left side of her body to cover her lap and knee; both the upper and lower edges of the cloak are twisted into coils that run together and meet on the left side of her left thigh. The coil beneath her breast could belong to a second, cloaklike garment.

The head has been attached, but that it belonged to the statue is assured by the dowel hole in the neck. It is tilted slightly to her right, with the hair parted in the center and dressed toward the back. The hair above her forehead disappears beneath a headband in front of the veil. The locks of hair are separated by deep drilled lines, each one subdivided into uniform thick, twisted strands.

Scholars date this work, on the basis of its style, to about the time of the Great Altar.² Despite the careful execution, however, the fold motifs are less three-dimensional than those on the Great Altar frieze. In this respect, the statue recalls the figure of Auge from the wedding scene of the Telephos Frieze. Also comparable are the figure of Attis (cat. 65) and the neo-Classical *Peplophoros* (Antikensammlung, Berlin, AvP VII 26) from the Athena Terrace.

The same illusionistic concept is found in the design of the hair, in which there was also no attempt at a three-dimensional layering. Most closely related, even in the technical aspect of the inset head, is a veiled female head from Pergamon (Antikensammlung, Berlin, AvP VII 95). The summary rendering of the hair again recalls heads from the Telephos Frieze, although thoroughly carved hair still predominates there. This hair treatment on three-dimensional sculptures, therefore, has to be interpreted as a stylistic characteristic from a later date than the Great Altar friezes.

The woman's seat, a round base with molding at top and bottom, is of no help in identifying her. Muses seated on an altar



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are rare, and it is uncertain whether this base argues against identification as a bourgeois figure. MRH

1. Winter 1908, pp. 94–95, no. 62, pl. XXII; Schober 1951, p. 110, fig. 73; Stähler 1966, p. 131; Linfert 1976, p. 109, n. 416; Koch 1994, pp. 100–101, 221, no. 86; Mathias René

Hofter in *Pergamon* 2011, p. 450, no. 3.12, ill. p. 451. For a muse on a round altar, see Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, pp. 37–38, no. 650, pl. 14; Lancha 1994, p. 1018, no. 33, pl. 730.

2. R. Horn 1931, p. 30; Özgan 1982, pp. 199–200, pl. 44, 1.

Statue of a Running Man Clothed at the Hips

Greek, Hellenistic period, first quarter of the 2nd century B.C.

Marble, H. overall 60¼ in. (153 cm); plinth:
W. 27½ in. (70 cm), D. 20⅞ in. (53 cm)

Discovered at Pergamon, Altar Terrace,
before 1880

Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin
(AvP VII 112)

A male figure is depicted racing to the right. His right arm was raised high, his left arm extended slightly away from his torso.¹ His head faced straight ahead. He wears only a long mantle that hangs down to the ground and leaves the upper body free. Given that the back is unfinished, the figure was meant to be viewed not frontally but from slightly to the left of its axis. The rendering of the folds is very different from a linear, elongated arrangement of ridges and hollows; instead, it is fussy, nervous, the fabric lightened with restless drilled furrows.

The figure presupposes the achievements of the Zeus from the Great Altar's East Frieze, which is comparable in motif but stands in an older tradition. The additive structure of shifted views that causes the body axes to diverge as well as the staggered, shaded drapery folds can be seen on the altar figures from Magnesia (Antikensammlung, Berlin, Sk 1929) and even more prominently on the Nike from Samothrace. Comparisons between the East and South Friezes of the Great Altar reveal that in Pergamon there were still sculptors working in this tradition. The statue would thus appear to date from the earliest phase of work on the Great Altar, perhaps as early as the first quarter of the second century B.C.

Because of the hip mantle and articulated musculature, the figure has been interpreted as Zeus, although the closely cropped hair argues against this. The motif of movement and the fact that it is merely lifesize (i.e., not larger) suggest that the statue could have belonged to a group. MRH
1. Conze 1880, p. 187; *Führer* 1904, p. 40; Winter 1908, p. 130, no. 112, pl. XXVII; Schober 1951, p. 106, fig. 65; Stähler 1966, p. 134; Mathias René Hoffer in *Pergamon* 2011, p. 570, no. 9.11, ill. p. 571.



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Female Head (The Beautiful Head)

Greek, Hellenistic period, 200–175 B.C.

Marble, H. 11⅞ in. (30 cm), W. 12⅞ in. (32 cm),
D. 9¼ in. (23.5 cm)

Discovered at Pergamon, Altar Terrace, “in
spring 1879 in a cistern southeast of the altar”
Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin
(AvP VII 90)

The head is turned to its left, the mouth slightly open.¹ The hair is drawn back off the forehead in thick, wavy locks around a headband and gathered into a knot at the back. The melting, exaggerated pathos of the facial expression is seamlessly carried over into the blurred, soft execution of the skin and hair. Because of this quality, the head (known as the *Schöner Kopf*, or “Beautiful Head”) enjoyed great esteem

immediately after its discovery: from the beginning it was placed in the tradition of Praxiteles and Skopas and associated with masterworks especially valued at the time, such as the Olympia Hermes or the head from the south slope of the Athenian Acropolis.² Since then, however, a dating to the second century B.C. has become generally accepted.

In its spatial and three-dimensional conception, the work exhibits marked similarities to the heads from the Great Frieze. But in the execution of its expressive movement, a delicate, uniform vibrancy of flesh takes the place of the detailed refinement of the frieze figures. This difference is also noticeable when the Beautiful Head is compared with the more concentrated heads of the Telephos Frieze, which are meant to be viewed up close. In the treatment of the hair, the skin, and the individual forms, however, the Poseidon from Melos is closely comparable.³ Even though that work represents the style of a later period, it identifies the type of artistic milieu in which the sculptor of the Beautiful Head may have been active. MRH

1. Winter 1908, pp. 117–18, no. 90, supplementary sheet 15, pl. XXV; Doris Pinkwart in Pinkwart et al. 1972, no. 23; Max Kunze in Scholl and Platz-Horster 2007, p. 210, no. 127; Mathias René Hoffer in *Pergamon* 2011, pp. 444–45, no. 3.4.

2. Kaltsas 2002, p. 260, no. 542.

3. National Archaeological Museum, Athens (235); von Prittwitz und Gaffron 2007, pp. 251–52, 403, fig. 216.

116

Athena (Acroterion from the Roof of the Great Altar)

Greek, Hellenistic period, ca. 160 B.C.

Marble, pieced together from two fragments, H. 43¼ in. (110 cm)

Discovered at Pergamon, Altar Terrace(?)

Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (AvP VII 146)

The goddess wears a long peplos with an overfold, which is belted below her breasts.¹ She is shown rushing to the left, so that the aegis with the Medusa head shifts to the side and the folds of her long overgarment are caught between her legs. A few missing pieces, such as the shoulder, the neck and head, the left foot, and a section of drapery next to the right foot, had been



attached; the back of the sculpture is only roughed out. The figure must be imagined as carrying a spear and shield. In its motif, it follows Classical models such as the Athena in the west pediment of the Parthenon and depictions on Attic votive reliefs (National Archaeological Museum, Athens, 2812). Along with other figures of deities (cats. 117–119), this smaller-than-lifesize sculpture was part of the ornamentation of the altar roof. vk

1. Winter 1908, pp. 163–64, no. 146, pl. XXXV; Heres 1986, p. 55, no. 91; Volker Kästner in *Pergamon* 2011, p. 565, no. 9.1.

117

Poseidon (Acroterion from the Roof of the Great Altar)

Greek, Hellenistic period, ca. 160 B.C.

Marble, pieced together from ten fragments, H. 52 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (133 cm)

Discovered at Pergamon, north side of altar foundation, 1879

Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (AvP VII 149)

The sculpture, clearly one of the gods given its motif and form of the head, can be identified as Poseidon thanks to the Triton figures found together with it. In its execution, it is the finest of the acroteria: the sculptures in the round that originally decorated the roof of the Great Altar of Pergamon. The bearded god is depicted in midstride, his left foot forward.¹ His mantle, a corner of it hanging loose, is slung around his hips, then led at an angle across his back to his left shoulder, where it falls to cover his upper left arm and is dramatically blown back in a high curve. This motif of drapery blown by the wind is characteristic of the figures from the altar roof, but here it is especially prominent. The drapery leaves the god's muscular chest exposed. The missing raised right arm was attached with a dowel, while the left, hanging down and slightly bent, is complete except for the broken hand. A recess in the area of the forearm could have held a dolphin once attached with dowels. Framed with long, wavy strands of hair, the bearded head is raised and gazes toward the extended right arm, which was probably supported by a trident. Except for a small piece of the





mantle drapery lying at the bottom on the right, the plinth is modern. A large section of the windblown mantle has broken off. vk

1. Winter 1908, pp. 165–67, no. 149, pl. XXXVI; Thiemann 1959, pp. 66–69; Heres 1986, pp. 55–56, no. 94; E. Simon 1994, p. 452, no. 33, pl. 354; Dagmar Grassinger in *Rückkehr der Götter* 2008, pp. 110–11; Volker Kästner in *Pergamon* 2011, p. 566, no. 9.4, ill. p. 567.

118

Triton (Acroterion from the Great Altar)

Greek, Hellenistic period, ca. 160 B.C.

Marble, pieced together from roughly five fragments, H. with plinth 44½ in. (113 cm)

Discovered at Pergamon, north side of altar foundation, 1878–86

Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (AvP VII 167)

In the literary tradition of the myth, Triton was originally the son of Poseidon and Amphitrite. He is depicted as a sea creature, with a human torso and a single or double fish tail. In later Greek imagery, a number of Tritons are found together with the Nereids, the daughters of the ancient sea god Nereus, as attendants of the sea gods and Aphrodite. In imitation of the Dionysian *thiasos* (ecstatic retinue), they are also described as lecherous creatures, devoted to the enjoyment of wine, who continue at sea the bucolic activity seen on land.

The torso of this Triton bends backward and turns to the right.¹ The arms, directed downward, are broken off above the elbow. Portions of the neck, head, and strands of hair are preserved. The lower body, with a peg hole at the back for the tailfins, and the form of the plinth correspond to those of catalogue number 119. This Triton, the other presented here (cat. 119), and the Poseidon statue (cat. 117) were found together on the north side of the Great Altar. All three belonged to an acroterion group in the center of the north altar roof. This location is confirmed by the weathering marks found on a coffer slab from the roof that conforms to the outline of the plinth of the present Triton sculpture.

The acroterion figures—gods, mythical creatures, and animals—are documented

by the well-known Severan medal image (cat. 28) and by corresponding traces of weathering on the Great Altar's marble roof. Some ten fragments from the altar roof show signs of a rectangular plinth's having stood on top of them. These conform to the format of the bases of the quadriga horses found next to the altar's foundation. Other four-legged creatures such as griffins, centaurs, and lions must also have had such rectangular plinths. Since two marble slabs covered each gap between columns, it seems likely that the acroterion figures were grouped in pairs—for example, pairs of deities framed by quadrigas or two horses from a team. In this way it was possible to accommodate three pairs of deities with attendant figures (animals or mythological creatures) on the long sides of the altar to the east, south, and north. On the west there were acroterion figures only on the fronts of the projections. vk

1. M. Kunze 1993–94, pp. 55–56, fig. 58, 59; M. Kunze 1996; V. Kästner 2000, pp. 76–78; Volker Kästner in *Pergamon* 2011, pp. 569–70, no. 9.10.

119

Triton (Acroterion from the Great Altar)

Greek, Hellenistic period, ca. 160 B.C.

Marble, H. with plinth 35 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (91 cm)

Discovered at Pergamon, north side of altar foundation, 1879

Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (AvP VII 166)

What survives from this smaller-than-lifesize marble sculpture is the torso of a Triton, a mythical sea creature with a fish's tail, whose upper body was twisted to his left.¹ Resting on a nearly wholly preserved thin, egg-shaped base, the muscular nude torso has only minor breaks at the neck and the beginning of the right arm. The raised right arm and head, carved separately and pieced on, are not preserved. The missing arm, which possibly held a rudder, was secured with a dowel, and the head, turned to his right, was set into the neck with a strong square peg.

Held in the crook of the left arm is a twisted, fluted conch shell. At hip level a



jagged wreath of short fin tips separates the torso from the fish's tail. The freely carved projecting tips of the wreath have broken off. The fins end in pointed lobes and surround the lower body like an apron. They obscure the fish tail, which bends backward and rests on the base. Covered with scales, the tail ends at the back in a flat cut surface with a large

square peg hole (14 by 14 cm); it was here that the end piece with tailfins was inserted. The back side is only roughly carved, the surface badly weathered. vk

1. Winter 1908, pp. 173–74, no. 166, supplementary sheet 24; Volker Kästner in *Rückkehr der Götter* 2008, pp. 112–13; Volker Kästner in *Pergamon* 2011, pp. 568–69, no. 9.9. See also Icard-Gianolio 1997a; Icard-Gianolio 1997b.



120

120

Horse from a Quadriga (Acroterion from the Great Altar)

Greek, Hellenistic period, ca. 160 B.C.

Marble, pieced together from four fragments, with added support and base, H. 31½ in. (80 cm), L. approx. 35⅞ in. (90 cm)

Discovered at Pergamon, Altar Terrace

Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (AvP VII 152)

This is the freestanding left inner horse from a three-quarter-lifesize quadriga, with a slender square support beneath its body.¹ A long rectangular base had to be added as well; this has been replaced by a modern sandstone slab. In addition, the greater part of the legs, the tail, and an attached section on the top of the rump are missing. The horse's harness, with neck and chest straps, is indicated in flat relief. The surface is badly weathered.

Together with the rein horse (Antikensammlung, Berlin, AvP VII 151), this sculpture would form half a quadriga. These quadrigas were mounted on the roof of the Great Altar together with pairs of gods. Numerous fragments of additional horses' bodies were found to the north and east of the altar foundation. √κ

1. Winter 1908, p. 170, no. 152, supplementary sheet 23; Heres 1986, p. 56, no. 97; Volker Kästner in *Pergamon* 2011, pp. 566–67, no. 9.6, ill. p. 568.

121

Ionic Capital (Type A) from the Great Altar

Greek, Hellenistic period, second quarter of the 2nd century B.C.

Marble, H. 5⅞ in. (15 cm), W. of abacus 13½ in. (34.2 cm), W. between volute eyes 14⅝ in. (37 cm), D. at bottom 13⅝ in. (34.5 cm)

Discovered at Pergamon, early excavations Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (V 4.2-247 [Pe.1.140])

Roughly half of this capital, of the Asia Minor Ionic type (A), is preserved, with a division of the side of the abacus into four deep paratactic channels edged by thin, round moldings.¹ In the spandrels between the bottom channels are delicate lotus blossoms. In addition to this example, which has a continuous echinus cyma (rounded molding with an egg-and-dart pattern) under the cushions, there are others on which the egg-and-dart ornament is limited to the front of the capital. This type and variants of it were found in the altar precinct in great numbers. They belonged—together with column bases that were also traditional in Asia Minor, monolithic fluted Ionic column shafts, and the Ionic entablature without frieze—to the outer colonnades on the three long sides of the Great Altar. √κ

1. Schrammen 1906, p. 34; Bammer 1974; V. Kästner 1986, pp. 29–30, nos. 26, 27; Volker Kästner in *Pergamon* 2011, pp. 571–72, no. 9.13.



121



122



123

122

Ionic Capital (Type B) from the Great Altar

Greek, Hellenistic period, second quarter of the 2nd century B.C.

Marble, H. 6 in. (15.2 cm), W. of abacus 12 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (32.2 cm)

Discovered at Pergamon, early excavations Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (V 4.2-274 [Pe 1.144])

This fragment of a capital from the altar colonnades is of a different type (B) than catalogue number 121.¹ Here the volute cushion is cinched in the center by a band (balteus) that is then drawn up above the top of the cushion to the abacus. Between round moldings on either side, the band is ornamented with rows of convex scales. It is further edged by small acanthus leaves, from which narrow, hollow tips emerge that are rounded at the end of the cushion. The abacus is similarly ornamented with an Ionic kymation. With its decorated volute cushion, this capital type corresponds to a contemporary trend in Asia Minor toward an increasingly ornamental style of the Attic type, such as that realized on the capitals of the Temple of Artemis in Magnesia on the Meander. It was used in the Pergamon Museum's Altar Gallery for the row of columns above the altar steps. This configuration could conform to that in ancient times, which raises the question of whether these columns also had correspondingly "modern" bases. vk

1. Schrammen 1906, p. 34; V. Kästner 1986, p. 30, no. 28; Rumscheid 1994, vol. 1, p. 306; Heilmeyer 1997, p. 180, no. 33; Volker Kästner in *Pergamon* 2011, p. 572, no. 9.14.

123

Ionic Capital (Type C) from the Great Altar

Greek, Hellenistic period, second quarter of the 2nd century B.C.

Marble, pieced together from three fragments, H. 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (14.8 cm), W. of abacus 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (34.4 cm)

Discovered at Pergamon, early excavations Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (V 4.2-153 [Pe 1.158])

This capital, roughly three-quarters of which survives, corresponds in structure to the

capitals of the altar colonnades (or Type B; see cat. 122).¹ The volute cushions, however, are structured as bundles of lightning bolts (Type C): on either side of the smooth, convex balteus (ribbon in the middle of the cushion), which here reaches only up to the top of the cushion, twisted “thunderbolts” emerge beneath a wreath of smooth, half-round scales, between which stylized tongues of flame lick outward. As lightning bolts are an attribute of the weather god Zeus, these could be a direct allusion to the god to whom the altar was dedicated. Such symbolic depictions are rare in the Hellenistic period but become increasingly common in Imperial Roman architecture. Next to the dowel hole on the upper side, the placement mark ΠB is preserved. vκ

1. Schrammen 1906, p. 34; V. Kästner 1986, p. 30, no. 29; Heilmeyer 1997, p. 182, no. 35; Volker Kästner in *Pergamon* 2011, p. 572, no. 9.15.



124

124

Fragment of an Ionic Corner Column Capital from the Great Altar, with Diagonal Volute

Greek, Hellenistic period, second quarter of the 2nd century B.C.

Marble, pieced together from two fragments, H. 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (14.9 cm), W. 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (21.2 cm), D. 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (20.5 cm)

Discovered at Pergamon, early excavations Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (V 4.2-143 [Pe 1.161])

This fragment consists of a complete corner volute and a part of the connected body of the capital.¹ On the underside of the capital are rough outlines for the division of the egg-and-dart molding, and in the eyes of the volutes, the holes for the compass used to make the spirals are preserved. The egg-and-dart molding of the echinus runs below the volute, its underside additionally decorated with a palmette ornament. The flat abacus of the capital is concave on the sides and adorned with an Ionic kymation.

Several volutes from the colonnades of the Great Altar, found with paired palmette ornaments along with concave weathering traces of where they rested on the undersides of the corner architraves, indicate that the outside corner capitals of the peristyle

should be reconstructed with diagonal volute capitals. Despite this known finding, Ionic corner capitals of the traditional Asia Minor type (see cat. 122) were used in the reconstruction in the Altar Gallery of the Pergamon Museum. vκ

1. Schrammen 1906, pp. 36–37; V. Kästner 1986, p. 30, no. 30; Rumscheid 1994, vol. 1, p. 307; V. Kästner 1998, p. 151; Volker Kästner in *Pergamon* 2011, pp. 570–71, no. 9.12.

125a–e

Fragments from the Gigantomachy Frieze of the Great Altar

Greek, Hellenistic period, second quarter of the 2nd century B.C.

Proconnessian marble

- a. Head of a young giant, H. 12 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (31 cm)
- b. Helmet, H. 11 in. (28 cm), W. 11 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (30 cm)
- c. Helmet crest, H. 15 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (40 cm)
- d. Left foot of a giant, H. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (14 cm), L. of foot 12 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (31 cm)
- e. Serpent's head, H. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (17 cm), L. 10 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (27 cm)

Discovered at Pergamon, excavations, 1878–86 Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (AvP III.2 no. 56 [a], 39 [b], 57 [c]; two fragments without inv. nos. [d, e])

The heavily battered head (a), pieced together from two fragments, was found

on the west slope of the acropolis.¹ Its expressive, youthful face, with furrowed forehead, bushy eyebrows, and prominent nose, is turned in profile, looking to the right. The twisted cord securing the mass of hair is strikingly rendered with deep drilled channels. While the right ear is fully preserved, a large portion of the cheek is missing below the deep-set eye, and the top of the nose has broken off. The lower part of the face is missing and its left half, which receded into the background of the relief, is only suggested.

The inattention to the half of the face turned away shows that the head was tilted backward, for only in this way would that area not be seen. The loose strands of hair blown onto the face suggest violent flinching or falling. From this it is possible to relate the giant's head to the adversary of the winged Ares, who falls beneath the hooves of the war god's rearing mount in the East Frieze of the Great Altar. The rendering of the hair links the head stylistically with those of the adversaries of Athena and the Earth Mother, directly adjacent.

The Hellenistic helmet (b), of an Attic type, belongs to a giant who has fallen to the ground to its right.² The neckguard and visor are missing. What survives is the



125a



125b



125c



125d



125e

grooved upper edge of the visor, the pointed ends of which curl into a volute. The break on the back side shows where the helmet was attached to the relief ground.

Of the giant's head, only tips of the hair at the nape of the neck and unclear traces of the hair at the forehead are recognizable. The crest has been cut off just above its mounting. This cut surface belongs to the right edge of a relief slab. The helmet fragment could belong to a fallen giant to the left of the Hera group in the middle of the East Frieze.

The helmet crest (c) consists of three fragments pieced together that were found near the northeast corner of the altar foundation.³ Its upright tufts were limited by the top edge of the relief slab, and their upper surface is recessed to accommodate the architectural element resting on it. A peglike piece of marble that has been broken off tied the crest to the relief ground. The fragment belonged to a helmet of the Hellenistic-Attic type, like the one worn, for example, by the youthful opponent of Artemis in the Great Altar's East Frieze. The helmet was worn by a standing combatant looking to the left.

The larger-than-lifesize foot (d), pieced together from four fragments, belongs to a giant who has fallen to the ground.⁴ The toes have broken off, and the broken surface is partly discolored. Carved fully three-dimensionally, the foot twists forward from the surface of the frieze. It lies at an angle on its left outer edge. An unshod foot in this position can come only from a figure that has fallen backward to the right. Perhaps it belonged to the combatant beneath the lion of Kybele in the South Frieze.

The serpent head (e) is composed of three fragments and looks in profile to the right. Its surface is weathered, and the lower jaw and the part of the half of the head turned away on the left are missing.⁵ The back of the head was tied to the relief ground. The head belonged to the serpent leg of a giant. Giants are frequently depicted with serpent legs in the Great Frieze. Presenting these mythical creatures with such a beastly attribute was meant to underscore their savagery and menace. The serpent was also closely related to chthonic cults. Depictions of giants with

serpent legs had appeared in Greek art since the Late Classical period.

In 1963 the head was attached, together with other fragments of serpent bodies, to the left serpent leg of the bearded giant of the Biting Group in the North Frieze. In the most recent restoration, however, it was removed from this new placement, because it did not precisely fit onto the surviving serpent's body. vκ

1. Winnefeld 1910, p. 102, no. 56, pl. XXVII, 1; Volker Kästner in *Rückkehr der Götter* 2008, p. 383, ill. p. 382.

2. Winnefeld 1910, pp. 95–96, no. 39, fig. 31; V. Kästner in *Rückkehr der Götter* 2008, p. 394.

3. Winnefeld 1910, pp. 102–3, no. 57, fig. 47; V. Kästner in *Rückkehr der Götter* 2008, p. 395.

4. V. Kästner in *Rückkehr der Götter* 2008, p. 399.

5. Rohde 1964; V. Kästner in *Rückkehr der Götter* 2008, pp. 390–91.

126a, b

Building the Boat for Auge (Reliefs from the Telephos Frieze)

Greek, Hellenistic period, ca. 160 B.C.

Proconessian marble, two slabs; a. (slab no. 5): H. 58¼ in. (148 cm), W. 30⅞ in. (76.5 cm); b. (slab no. 6): H. 61⅞ in. (157 cm), W. 29½ in. (75 cm) Discovered at Pergamon, 1878–86: slab no. 5, near west end of second terrace wall between altar foundation and Upper Market (Sector H 5); slab no. 6, from Byzantine wall (Sector M 6) Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (TI 10, 11)

These frieze slabs with a boatbuilding scene belonged to the north wall of the Great Altar's courtyard,¹ where events surrounding the birth and childhood of the hero Telephos were illustrated. The scene is almost fully preserved. The right shoulder of the figure at the left edge was not firmly attached, and the top molding is missing on the left slab. In the foreground, at the center, pieces of wood are stacked one behind the other, each of them being worked on by two craftsmen, left and right, who wear short garments belted at their hips. The boatbuilders standing on the right are working with hammers and chisels as well as a plane with a duck's head. At left, one craftsman crouches on the ground with a bow saw, while behind him another stands operating a bow drill. At the left edge, the work is being overseen by an

older man wearing a long garment and cloak.

Three female figures are shown in the background at top. At right, a seated woman, completely enveloped in her mantle, bends forward, resting her head on her hand; only her profile, facing to the left, is visible. In front of her stand two younger women, each wearing a mantle and a chiton gathered at the shoulders and belted under the breast. They are showing the seated woman a small open box. The crude carving of the upper bodies and heads of the craftsmen on the right and the younger women in the background indicates that the relief was left unfinished.

The scene pictures King Aleos of Tegea supervising the building of a boat for his daughter Auge. Because she has given birth to an illegitimate son, Telephos, the princess is to be banished, placed in the boat and put to sea. It is the grieving Auge who appears together with her two attendants in the background. The only account in literature of Auge's banishment is related by the early Greek historian Hekataios of Miletos. vκ

1. Winnefeld 1910, pp. 162–64, nos. 5, 6, fig. 120, pl. XXXI, 3; Bauchhenss-Thürdiel 1986, p. 49, no. 25; Ellen Schraudolph in Dreyfus and Schraudolph 1996–97, vol. 1 (1996), pp. 56–57, nos. 2, 3; Schraudolph 1997, pp. 151–53, fig. 32; Massa-Pairault 1998; Queyrel 2005, pp. 79–100, 104–9; Huberta Heres in Schwarzmaier, Scholl, and Maischberger 2012, pp. 346–54.

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Herakles Finding the Infant Telephos Suckled by a Lioness (Relief from the Telephos Frieze)

Greek, Hellenistic period, ca. 160 B.C.

Proconessian marble, H. 42½ in. (108 cm), W. 29⅞ in. (74 cm)

Discovered at Pergamon, 1878–86: large fragment, in Byzantine wall (Sector N 7); small fragment, in Sector D 5

Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (TI 17, 18)

The relief pictures a scene in the mountains.¹ In front of a plane tree at the left edge, a nude Herakles stands bent forward and facing to the right, one leg crossed over the other. He braces himself on his club, which rests under his left armpit. On the





floor of a cave directly in front of him a lioness lies on its belly and suckles an infant. The child's head and upper body are preserved; a paw of the lioness was attached beneath his left armpit. The entire scene probably extended across three slabs, of which the third is also preserved. Located at the northeast corner of the altar courtyard, it ends with the goddess Arcadia enthroned on a rock and a nymph preparing bathwater for the infant.²

This depiction of Herakles finding his son Telephos, who had been exposed in the Parthenion Mountains of Arcadia, is one of the key scenes by which the small altar frieze was identified as a narration of the Telephos myth. The motif was frequently represented, as for example on a fresco from the "Basilica" in Herculaneum.³ Telephos is always suckled by a hind, however, and also juxtaposed to the image of the Roman twins suckled by a wolf.⁴ The lion in the Telephos Frieze can be explained either as reflecting the political self-definition of the altar's donor or as referring to the Asia Minor mother goddess Kybele, who was associated with the animal. vk

1. The slab (no. 12) is missing its bottom left corner and upper third portion. Six matching fragments were also found, two of which—the left knee of Herakles and the lion's paw (Antikensammlung, Berlin, Tl 18)—were lost again before 1930. See Winnefeld 1910, pp. 170–71, no. 12; Huberta Heres in Heres and Strauss 1994, p. 857, pl. 12; Ellen Schraudolph in Dreyfus and Schraudolph 1996–97, vol. 1 (1996), pp. 60–61, no. 5; Schraudolph 1997, p. 146, fig. 23; Massa-Pairault 1998; Queyrel 2005, pp. 79–100, 104–9; Heres in Schwarzmaier, Scholl, and Maischberger 2012, pp. 346–54.

2. Heres in Heres and Strauss 1994, p. 857, pl. 8.

3. Matthias Strauss in *ibid.*, pp. 856–57, 863–66, nos. 18–42.

4. Strauss in *ibid.*, pp. 856–57, 862–63, nos. 5–17.

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Fragment of a Male Figure

Greek (Pergamene), Late Hellenistic period,
2nd century B.C.

Marble, H. 13 in. (33 cm), W. 11³/₈ in. (29 cm)

Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples (205253)

The larger-than-lifesize head portrays a male figure facing left.¹ The modeling of the powerful features conveys a strong *chiaroscuro* effect and makes the face very



expressive. Yet the features are somewhat subordinate to the adjustments the artist evidently made to accommodate the position in which the fragment likely stood originally: the right side of the face, for example, is only lightly worked, the eye is cast downward and only crudely outlined, and the surface of the marble overall was left rough. The hair—a thick head of curling locks—is styled in wide waves that add movement to the piece. The base of the neck has been chiseled, and the wisps of hair at the temples are incised. These adjustments for perspective would seem to indicate that the relief was meant to be viewed from below, from the left, and at a distance.

Stylistic analysis suggests the fragment belongs to Pergamene production of the second century B.C. and, according to the most accepted hypothesis, was part of the Gigantomachy.² The head is thus one of the dispersed fragments (*disiecta membra*) of the Great Altar of Pergamon. Analysis of the features suggests that it belongs to one of the "barbarians" (Gauls) fighting on the side of the giants. FG

1. The tip of the nose and the end of forelock are missing. Scratches are evident on the hair behind the ear. The base is present only as a small portion under the throat. The back of the relief has irregular fractures. Brommer 1970, pp. 199–210, figs. 12–14; Zevi 1982, p. 357, pl. LXVIII, 4; Papadopoulos 1984, pp. 30–32, no. 8, figs. 22, 23.

2. The details of its provenance, however, are unknown; it was part of the Astarita collection in Naples before donation to the Museo Archeologico Nazionale.

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HELLENISTIC LUXURY ARTS



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The Vienna Cameo

Greek (Ptolemaic), Early Hellenistic period,
278–270/269 B.C.

Ten-layered onyx (Indian sardonyx);
setting: gold hoop, 16th century(?); H. 4½ in.
(11.5 cm), W. 4 in. (10.2 cm)

Antikensammlung, Kunsthistorisches Museum,
Vienna (IXa 81)

Among the few surviving large, showy cameos from the Hellenistic period is this Ptolemaic cameo from the early third century B.C.¹ It features the heads of the

second Ptolemaic couple, Ptolemy II Philadelphos and his sister-spouse, Arsinoe II. As a successor to Alexander the Great, Ptolemy I, himself supposedly a son of Philip II and therefore Alexander's half-brother, founded the Ptolemaic dynasty in Egypt. The Macedonian general and his Successors reigned there in the pharaonic tradition and, beginning in the second generation, they sought through sibling marriages to retain power within the family, a concept that apparently persisted for three hundred years, ending only with the death of Kleopatra VII, in 30 B.C.

Ptolemy II is portrayed as a general, wearing a helmet with a large crest. His face, like that of his wife, is carved in one of the white layers of the stone, while dark brown layers have been utilized for the hair, helmet, and background. The head of Ammon on the neck guard of the helmet may be a reference to Alexander, who was greeted at the Oracle of Zeus Ammon in Siwa as a son of the god. The serpent on the helmet possibly recalls the dream of Olympias, Alexander's mother, that such a creature had lain with her. Queen Arsinoe II has an ornate band in her hair and, above, it

the sort of veil worn at weddings. Perhaps the stone was carved in 278 B.C. on the occasion of the couple's marriage.

This splendid cameo is documented in the thirteenth century in Cologne, where it was affixed as a showpiece to the front of the gold reliquary containing the bones of the Three Kings. Apparently, the couple's heads were even thought to be portraits of two of the Magi, and the head of Ammon on the neck guard associated with the dark-skinned king. In 1574 the stone was stolen one morning at dawn and removed from the city in spite of an intensive search for it. A few years later it was purchased by Vincenzo Gonzaga for his collection in Mantua and by a circuitous route found its way into the Imperial Collections in Vienna, where it is first documented in 1668–69. GP

1. Von Eckhel 1788, pp. 28–29, pl. X; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, pp. 59–62, 237–41, 370–71, 466, figs. 219, 824–26; Zwierlein-Diehl 2008, pp. 56–73, 238–47.

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Appliqué of a Ptolemaic King as Dionysos

Greek (Ptolemaic), Hellenistic period,
3rd century B.C.

Bronze, H. 4½ in. (11.4 cm), W. 3¾ in. (8.6 cm)

Said to be from Tarentum

The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (54.598)

Bronze reliefs of figural busts like this one, common during the Hellenistic age, were often affixed as appliqués to the fulcra of beds or couches (*klinai*).¹ The unusually large size of this example suggests that it may have decorated an oversize, perhaps regal, piece of furniture.² Dionysos was among the most popular subjects for such busts, and on this head we see his characteristic ivy wreath, tied with ribbons. The face, however, bears the portrait features of a Hellenistic ruler: deep-set eyes with overhanging brows, flared nostrils, widely parted lips, and jutting chin.³ The head's three-quarters turn to the left, although it may appear a deliberate echo of Lysippos's portrait of Alexander,⁴ was common in fulcrum busts of this type. This portrait has



been identified as that of the Macedonian king Ptolemy I (r. 306–283 B.C.) because images of the dynast fashioned after his death represented him in the guise of Dionysos.⁵ A statue of Ptolemy I, crowned with an ivy-wreath of gold, appeared in the procession of Ptolemy II Philadelphos in the 270s B.C.⁶ Beryl Barr-Sharrar, however, for stylistic reasons, including the “baroque qualities” of the face and similarity to coinage, argues that the portrait represents

Ptolemy III Euergetes (r. 246–222 B.C.).⁷ Either way, this bust may be modeled after a larger-scale work in marble or bronze. MFN

1. For the bust, see Hôtel Drouot 1912, p. 30, no. 254, pl. XVII; S. Reinach 1924b, p. 50, no. 5.
2. Barr-Sharrar 1987, p. 52, no. C 79.
3. Kyrieleis 1975, pp. 7–8; Reeder 1988, p. 134.
4. Reeder 1988, p. 134.
5. Segall 1946, pp. 54–55; Kyrieleis 1975, pp. 7–8.
6. Athenaios, *Deipnosophistai* 5.201.
7. Barr-Sharrar 1987, p. 52, no. C 79.



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131 Octadrachm of Ptolemy II Philadelphos

Greek (Ptolemaic), Hellenistic period,
ca. 262–246 B.C.

Gold, Diam. 1⅞ in. (2.8 cm), Wt. 0.99 oz. (27.93 g)
Minted in Alexandria

Obverse: veiled, right-facing profile of Arsinoe II,
wearing a crown and resting a scepter on the
left shoulder

Reverse: double cornucopia adorned with fillets;
inscribed *ΑΡΣΙΝΟΗΣ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ*

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York;
Theodore M. Davis Collection, Bequest of
Theodore M. Davis, 1915 (30.115.23)

This large gold octadrachm features the veiled and crowned right-facing bust of Arsinoe II holding a scepter on the obverse and a double cornucopia draped in fillets on the reverse.¹ The queen's ear is encircled by a delicate ram's horn, which alludes to her divinized status, and her large, protruding eyes bear a marked resemblance to those of her parents and brother. Fueled by the immense riches brought back from the East by Alexander's Successors, the extensive gold coinage of the Ptolemies and the other Hellenistic kingdoms was created to pay veterans of their ongoing wars. This type was first struck during the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphos as part of a larger effort to commemorate his deceased sister-wife, by all accounts a formidable woman who played a significant role in the complex politics of her time and whose legacy proved influential even after her death and subsequent deification.² LBS

1. Richter 1931, p. 13, fig. 1; Picón et al. 2007, pp. 191, 448–49, no. 221. On the type in general, see Mørkholm 1991, pp. 102–4; Hazzard 1995, pp. 2–5; on the iconography, see Parente 2002 and Müller 2009; on the function of the Arsinoe and Philadelphoi *mnaiēia* to pay troops, see Olivier and Lorber 2013, pp. 86–89, who propose that the Arsinoe type was made for distribution to the veterans of the Second Syrian War.



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132 Octadrachm of Ptolemy III Euergetes

Greek (Ptolemaic), Hellenistic period,
ca. 246–221 B.C.

Gold, Diam. 1 in. (2.5 cm), Wt. 0.98 oz. (27.77 g)
Minted in Alexandria

Obverse: right-facing conjoined busts of
Ptolemy I and Berenike I; inscribed *ΘΕΩΝ*

Reverse: right-facing conjoined busts of
Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II; inscribed *ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ*

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York;
Theodore M. Davis Collection, Bequest of
Theodore M. Davis, 1915 (30.115.22)

Both sides of this gold octadrachm feature pairs of right-facing jugate busts.¹ The obverse depicts the portraits of Ptolemy II and his sister-wife, Arsinoe II, whereas the reverse portrays Ptolemy I Soter and his queen, Berenike I. A strong contrived familial resemblance can be discerned between generations, most notably in the large, protruding eyes, although the features of the younger pair are clearly more idealized. The legend “Theon Adelphon,” split over obverse and reverse, refers to the cult name of Ptolemy II and his queen. The type was first minted under Ptolemy II, contemporaneously with his coinage commemorating Arsinoe II alone, as an effort to bolster an impression of dynastic harmony and continuity, and it was utilized through the early reign of his son Ptolemy III.² LBS

1. Richter 1931, p. 13, fig. 1; Picón et al. 2007, pp. 191, 448–49, no. 222. On the type more generally, see most recently Olivier and Lorber 2013, pp. 52–78 (with a catalogue and bibliography).



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133 Decadrachm of Berenike II

Greek (Ptolemaic), Hellenistic period, 246–221 B.C.
Gold, Diam. 1¼ in. (3.3 cm), Wt. 1.51 oz. (42.75 g)

Minted in Ephesos

Obverse: bust of Berenike II facing right, with
royal diadem, veil, earrings, and necklace, within
dotted circle

Reverse: *ΒΕΡΕΝΙΚΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ*, cornucopia
with fruit bound with fillet, star on either side,
within dotted circle; in the field, below the
cornucopia, the monogram *E* denoting the mint
Numismatic Museum, Athens; Demetriou
Collection (724)

Berenike's majestic representation and her title “queen” (*basilissa*) emphasize her prominence and political role, both of which went beyond the norm for the consort of a Hellenistic king.¹ Berenike helped to reconnect Cyrene to Egypt and refounded the ancient city on the site of modern Benghazi, giving it her name. In approximately 243 B.C., she owned a chariot that won a race in the Nemean Games and also participated in the Olympic Games. Only two other queens of the Ptolemaic dynasty—Kleopatra I Syra and Kleopatra VII—carried the title of “queen” on their coins because they were deified during their lifetime and reign. The Egyptian priesthood proclaimed Berenike and her husband, Ptolemy III Euergetes, Osiris's *synnaoi theoi euergetes* (benefactor gods sharing Osiris's temple), as suggested by the two stars on the coin's reverse.

To honor Berenike, Ptolemy introduced an important series of gold coins with her portrait, which are noteworthy not only for

their aesthetics but also for their unusually large value (decadrachms, octadrachms, pentadrachms). The veiled female figure here, expressive and dreamy, with a deeply humane gaze and faint smile, is among the finest and most impressive female portraits of the third century B.C. GK/AN

1. Svoronos 1904–8, vol. 1 (1904), no. 972δ; Oikonomidou 1996, pp. 34, 181, 246, no. 164; Fulińska 2010, pp. 83–86; Lorber 2011, pp. 327–29, 353, fig. 12.

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Decadrachm of Berenike II

Greek (Ptolemaic), Hellenistic period, 246–221 B.C. Silver, Diam. 1½ in. (4.2 cm), Wt. broken 1.63 oz. (46.28 g)

Minted in Alexandria

Obverse: bust of Berenike II facing right, with diadem, veil, earrings, and necklace, within dotted circle

Reverse: *ΒΕΡΕΝΙΚΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ*, cornucopia with fruit bound with fillet, laurel-wreathed cap of the Dioskouroi on either side, within dotted circle Numismatic Museum, Athens; Demetriou Collection (224c)

Issued by Ptolemy III Euergetes in honor of his wife, Berenike II of Cyrene, this coin is one of the largest ever minted in antiquity, its value being equal to twelve Attic drachmas (51.6 grams of silver)¹ or fifteen drachmas following the Ptolemaic standard.² The queen's portrait, with her noble face and faint smile, adhering to Classical models, exudes an exquisite splendor and occurs on a series of gold and silver coins issued in her honor. This representation of her may not be far from reality, since Berenike was known for her rare beauty and her lush and long blond hair, which she cut and offered as a gift to the goddess Aphrodite in exchange for her husband's safe return from his campaign in

Asia. The event passed into myth, with the story that the goddess accepted the gift and turned the hair into a constellation by the name of Coma Berenices (Lock of Berenike). The poet Kallimachos, a contemporary of Berenike and scholar at the great Mouseion of Alexandria, included the origin story in his *Aetia* (*Causes*) in honor of the queen. Conventionally called the *Coma Berenices*, the poem is best known from a Latin translation by Catullus. GK

1. Von Reden 2007, p. 54; Lorber 2011, pp. 327–29, 353, fig. 13; George Kakavas in *Leaving a Mark on History* 2013, p. 142, no. 118.

2. Vagi 1997; Lorber 2012, p. 217, fig. 12.10.

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Octadrachm of Ptolemy IV Philopater

Greek (Ptolemaic), Hellenistic period, ca. 221–204 B.C.

Gold, Diam. 1⅞ in. (2.7 cm), Wt. 0.98 oz. (27.77 g)

Minted in Alexandria

Obverse: right-facing profile of Ptolemy III wearing radiate crown and aegis, with trident over left shoulder

Reverse: double cornucopia adorned with fillets; inscribed *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ*

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Theodore M. Davis Collection, Bequest of Theodore M. Davis, 1915 (30.115.21)

The fleshy, right-facing male portrait bust of Ptolemy III Euergetes on the obverse of this gold octadrachm bristles with royal and divine attributes.¹ The radiate crown and scaly aegis allude to Helios and Zeus, the latter having also been applied to the posthumous coin portraits of Alexander the Great. The trident carried over the king's right shoulder is a clear reference to Poseidon, while the lotus-bud finial on its middle prong echoes the scepter finial of the coinage representing his mother, Arsinoe II. In this coin, struck under his famously dissolute son Ptolemy IV Philopater, the

sheer concentration of attributes highlights Ptolemy III's dominion over land and sea, perhaps celebrating his famous victories over the Seleucids in 246/245 B.C., and most likely was intended to bolster morale under Philopater's troubled reign.² LBS

1. Richter 1931, p. 13, fig. 1; Picón et al. 2007, pp. 191, 449, no. 223. On the type, see Mørkholm 1991, pp. 108–9.

2. Mørkholm 1991, p. 108; Hazzard 1995, p. 7.

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Octadrachm of Arsinoe III

Greek (Ptolemaic), Hellenistic period, 204–203 B.C.

Gold, Diam. 1⅞ in. (2.8 cm), Wt. 0.98 oz. (27.8 g)

Minted in Alexandria

Obverse: bust of Arsinoe III facing right, with royal diadem, earrings, and necklace, within a dotted circle; on the right shoulder a fibula retains the chiton; on the left rests a scepter with, its lotus-shaped finial appearing behind the head

Reverse: *ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΑΡΣΙΝΟΗΣ*, cornucopia with fruit bound with fillet, single star above, within dotted circle

Numismatic Museum, Athens; Demetriou Collection (FCD.241)

Arsinoe III, sister and wife of Ptolemy IV Philopater, was actively involved in Egypt's governance. In 217 B.C., she participated in the Battle of Raphia, leading with Ptolemy the infantry and cavalry against the Seleucid king Antiochos III. After the battle's victorious outcome and the annexation of the region of Koile Syria by the Ptolemaic kingdom, the royal couple was incorporated into the worship of the Ptolemaic house as *theoi philopatores* (father-loving gods). Arsinoe was murdered in the summer of 204 B.C. during a coup carried out by the government minister Agathokles and organized by those who wanted her underage son, Ptolemy V, on the throne. The conspirators were discovered



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and punished by the people of Alexandria.¹ The issue of gold octadrachms with Arsinoe's portrait in posthumous honor of the queen dates from this period.²

The queen's portrait is unusual. Although it follows the typical Ptolemaic iconography, with the large eyes and small mouth and chin, the protruding nose disrupts the Classical profile, and the folds on the neck show the queen as a woman of a certain age rather than an idealized figure. Her diadem and scepter are royal—not divine—attributes. This portrait of Arsinoe introduces a new, markedly realistic kind of image, which conveys the determination of a woman of power and replaces the passive, deified beauty of earlier queens. GK/AN

1. See account in Polybius, *The Histories* 15.25–34.

2. Svoronos 1904–8, vol. 1 (1904), no. 1159δ; Mørkholm 1991, pp. 109–10, p. 254, no. 322; Fulińska 2011, p. 186.

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Oval Gem/Intaglio with the Head of a Ptolemaic Queen as Isis

Greek (Ptolemaic), Hellenistic period, mid-2nd century B.C.

Chalcedony, H. 1¼ in. (3.3 cm), W. 1 in. (2.6 cm)

Signed by Lykomedes

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Francis Bartlett Donation of 1912, 1927 (27.711)

On this highly convex, deeply carved gem, a female head in profile wears an elaborate hairstyle in the form of corkscrew curls that hang to the side of the face and neck and are gathered in a bun at the back of the



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head.¹ A fillet tied about the head with the symbol of Isis, a sun between a pair of cow horns, associates this Ptolemaic queen with the Egyptian fertility goddess. Interpretations of the identity of the queen vary: the facial features have suggested Berenike I and Arsinoe II, but the presence of a royal diadem may point to Kleopatra II, the only Ptolemaic queen to reign alone during the second century B.C. The gem was made about a century after kings—and particularly queens—in Ptolemaic Egypt first took on the personae of divinities and established a dynastic ruler cult.² PS

1. Beazley 1920, p. 80, no. 95, pl. 6; Richter 1968–71, vol. I (1968), p. 160, no. 635; Kyrieleis 1975, p. 117; Spier 1989, p. 21; Beazley 2002, p. 62, no. 95, pl. 19.

2. Plantzos 1999, pp. 42–44; Clayman 2014b.



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Male Head Wearing a Kausia

Greek, Hellenistic period, 3rd century B.C.

Bronze with copper and faience or alabaster inlays, H. overall 12⁵/₈ in. (32 cm)

Found in the sea off Kalymnos, Greece, 1997
Archaeological Museum, Kalymnos (3901)

This male head was found in the sea off Kalymnos in 1997.¹ The same area has yielded a number of fragmentary statues—a bronze female known as the “Lady of Kalymnos,” two torsos wearing cuirasses, and three legs from equestrian statues—whose association with this male head has yet to be confirmed. The head and neck were hollow cast separately. The inlaid eyes feature a white substance (faience or alabaster) for the pupil and copper alloy

for the iris; a thin metal strip surrounds the latter. Originally they also had bronze eyelashes, now lost.

The mature bearded man wears the distinctive *kausia*, a broad textile or leather headdress worn for protection against both heat and cold.² Representations of the *kausia* (mostly on coins and figurines) became more common in the Hellenistic period, following Alexander the Great's conquests. Together with the Macedonian *chlamys* and the *krepis* (a thick-soled sandal combining a network of straps over a leather "sock"), the *kausia* identified the wearer as Macedonian. Alexander's Successors are often depicted on coins wearing a royal diadem over the *kausia* in order to associate their power with the great Macedonian king. On this head, the cylindrical element below the *kausia* is probably a band for securing the headdress rather than a diadem.

The fold of the himation on the neck indicates that the head belonged to a clothed statue. The features—a strong forehead, wrinkles, and a short beard—denote the man's mature age or military occupation. The use of details to convey the figure's status is characteristic of the representational art of the third century B.C.³ Given the other finds from the area, it is possible that this head belonged to a cuirassed equestrian statue of an important Macedonian, perhaps Philip V⁴ or Perseus,⁵ as some have suggested based on comparison with their numismatic portraits.⁶ ΚΒ

1. For the first publication of the head and other finds from the same area, see Kazianis 1997, p. 1201, pl. 444b. On the head, see also Dellaporta 2005, p. 440, fig. 677; Koutsouflakis 2007; Lichtenberger 2012, esp. pp. 173–74, fig. 29; Ma 2013, p. 270, n. 15; Kalliope Bairami in *Nautilus* 2014, p. 238, no. 82; Koutsouflakis and Simosi 2015, p. 78; Bairami in *Power and Pathos* 2015, pp. 194–95, no. 5.

2. D. B. Thompson 1963, pp. 53–55; Kingsley 1984; Kingsley 1991; Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 1993; Janssen 2007; Heinrichs and Müller 2008.

3. Raeck 2013.

4. Palagia 2014, p. 213, n. 35.

5. Koutsouflakis and Simosi 2015, p. 81, n. 26.

6. On the portraits of the Diadochi, see Richter 1965, vol. 3, pp. 252–57, especially pp. 256–57, figs. 1746, 1749.

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Tetradrachm of Lysimachos

Greek (Seleucid), Hellenistic period, 297/296–282/281 B.C.



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Silver, Diam. 1½ in. (3.7 cm), Wt. 0.60 oz. (16.99 g)

Minted in Lysimacheia

Obverse: head of deified Alexander the Great facing right, with diadem and horns of Zeus Ammon

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ, enthroned Athena Nikephoros, left hand resting on shield with a lion's head *epistema*, right hand holding a Nike wreathing Lysimachos's name; below, lion's-head symbol of the mint and monogram; monogram below the goddess's left hand
Numismatic Museum, Athens (NM 1204)

Lysimachos, one of Alexander the Great's Successors, proclaimed himself king of Thrace in 306 B.C. He sided with Seleukos, Kassandros, and Ptolemy against Antigonos, whom they defeated at the Battle of Ipsos, in 301 B.C. Lysimachos married the daughter of Ptolemy, Arsinoe II, and managed to expand his kingdom into Macedonia and part of Asia Minor until his defeat and death at the Battle of Koroupedion, in 281 B.C. His entire kingdom was subsequently annexed by the victorious Seleukos.

On his silver tetradrachms, as in the present example,¹ Lysimachos depicted an idealized Alexander, deified as Zeus Ammon with ram's horns, whereas his contemporaries Ptolemy I and Demetrios Poliorketes portrayed themselves. A characteristic feature of these issues is the curly hair strand on the Macedonian commander's forehead. Lysimachos made the connection between himself and the hero-deity Alexander especially after his victory at the Battle of Ipsos. He adopted this particular iconographic theme on the obverse together with the representation of the enthroned Athena on the reverse for both his silver and gold coins. In these issues, Alexander's posthumous portraits are considered among the most impressive of the early Hellenistic period. ΓΚ

1. Mørkholm 1991, p. 81; Oikonomidou 1996, pp. 160–61, 239–40, no. 141.



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Tetradrachm of Demetrios Poliorketes

Greek (Macedonian), Hellenistic period, 290–288 B.C.

Silver, Diam. 1½ in. (2.9 cm), Wt. 0.60 oz. (16.90 g)

Minted in Pella or Amphipolis

Obverse: head of Demetrios Poliorketes facing right, with fillet tied at the back and bull's horn in hair

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ, Poseidon nude, right foot resting on a rock and left hand on trident
Numismatic Museum, Athens (NM 1905/6 E1)

Demetrios Poliorketes (r. 294–288 B.C.) was the first of Alexander the Great's Successors to depict himself on his coins.¹ The bull's horn is a divine symbol that associates him with Dionysos, who was his ideal, and the way it is represented on his head recalls images of Alexander with the ram's horn of Zeus Ammon. The horn is also a reference to the king's patron god, Poseidon, whose sacred animal was the bull. Indeed, written sources present Demetrios as son of the sea god, particularly after his victory against Ptolemy I at Salamis in 306 B.C. In earlier issues of Demetrios, Poseidon is depicted standing, brandishing his trident menacingly, or sitting on rocks holding the trident and a ship's stern ornament (*aplustre*). On this issue, Poseidon's muscular body recalls Early Hellenistic statues. Portraits of Demetrios on early issues tend to be idealized, like the one here, in accordance with the description of the king given by Plutarch and with his famous sculpted portrait from the Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum (see cat. 24b).² It is worth mentioning that some realistic portraits of Demetrios also occur, particularly on coins issued outside of Macedonia, which feature a pointed nose and faint smile. ΓΚ/ΣΔΡ.

1. Mørkholm 1991, pp. 27, 78–81; Oikonomidou 1996, p. 239, no. 140.

2. Plutarch, *Lives, Demetrios* 2.1–3; R. R. R. Smith 1988, pp. 51–52, 64, 111–12, 156, no. 4, pls. 4, 5.



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Tetradrachm of Antiochos I Soter

Greek (Seleucid), Early Hellenistic period, 281–261 B.C.
 Silver, Diam. 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (3 cm), Wt. 0.60 oz. (17.04 g)
 Minted in Seleucia on the Tigris
 Obverse: head of Antiochos I facing right, with royal diadem, within dotted circle
 Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ, Apollo sitting on the omphalos, right hand holding an arrow, left hand resting on bow, within dotted circle; monograms on the field, left and right
 Numismatic Museum, Athens (NM 6009)



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Antiochos I, elder son of Seleukos I, the officer of and a successor to Alexander the Great, headed the Seleucid cavalry in the Battle of Ipsos in 301 B.C., where Antigonos I of Macedon and his son Demetrios Poliorketes were defeated. After his father's assassination, Antiochos became ruler of the extensive Seleucid Kingdom in the Near East and founded many cities, to which he gave his name and which became centers of Greek culture. After his victorious battle against invaders from Gaul in 277 B.C., in which he used war elephants, Antiochos was named "Soter" (Savior) and worship was established in his honor.

Antiochos was the first Hellenistic ruler to be depicted without divine attributes, only with his royal diadem in a realistically human manner.¹ This innovation was followed by subsequent Seleucid kings. Characterized by a deep contempla-

tive gaze and emotional anguish, reflecting probably his inner tension for the survival of the Seleucid dynasty, his image is thus quite recognizable among ruler portraits.

It has been suggested that his strongly modeled figure recalls certain statue types of the famous Greek sculptor Skopas.² ΓΚ/ΑΝ

1. R. R. Smith 1988, pp. 74, 112, pl. 76, 3; Oikonomidou 1996, pp. 175, 244, no. 157; Houghton and Lorber 2002, vol. 1, pp. 111–16, 140, no. 379 (6), vol. 2, p. 141, pl. 19, no. 379.6a; Kroll 2007, pp. 120–21.

2. *Coins & Numismatics* 1996, p. 180.

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Portrait of a Greek King

Greek, Hellenistic period, 3rd century B.C.
 Bronze, H. 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (19.5 cm), W. 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (20 cm), D. 9 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (25 cm)

Princeton University Art Museum, New Jersey; Museum purchase, Fowler McCormick, Class of 1921, Fund (1996-183)

Although most of the face is missing, this over-lifesize head of a man exhibits a remarkable dynamism.¹ The hair is vigorously modeled, with short locks falling on a notably furrowed forehead. The central cowlick evokes the so-called *anastole* of Alexander the Great, while the downy beard on the right cheek recalls that of the famous Terme Ruler in Rome.² These marks of kingship are confirmed by a depression encircling the head that once accommodated a diadem, possibly of gilt bronze.³ In the front and back, this channel was interrupted by pairs of tubular appliques, the upper one smaller and striated. On the nape, where the larger appliqué is missing, the ribbonlike diadem may have been tied off to trail onto the shoulders. It has been suggested that a pair of small Hermes wings were secured by the larger appliqué in front, thus identifying the sitter as Antiochos II Theos, king of Syria between 261 and 246 B.C.⁴ JMP

1. H. Meyer 2000, pp. 9–36, figs. 1, 7, 14–16, 42; Hugo Meyer in Padgett 2001, pp. 376–81, no. 162.

2. Himmelmann 1989, pp. 126–49.

3. Compare a similar depression on a bronze portrait of Ptolemy of Mauretania; see Sotheby's 2004, pp. 94–99, no. 284.

4. H. Meyer in Padgett 2001, pp. 380–81.

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Portrait of Antiochos III

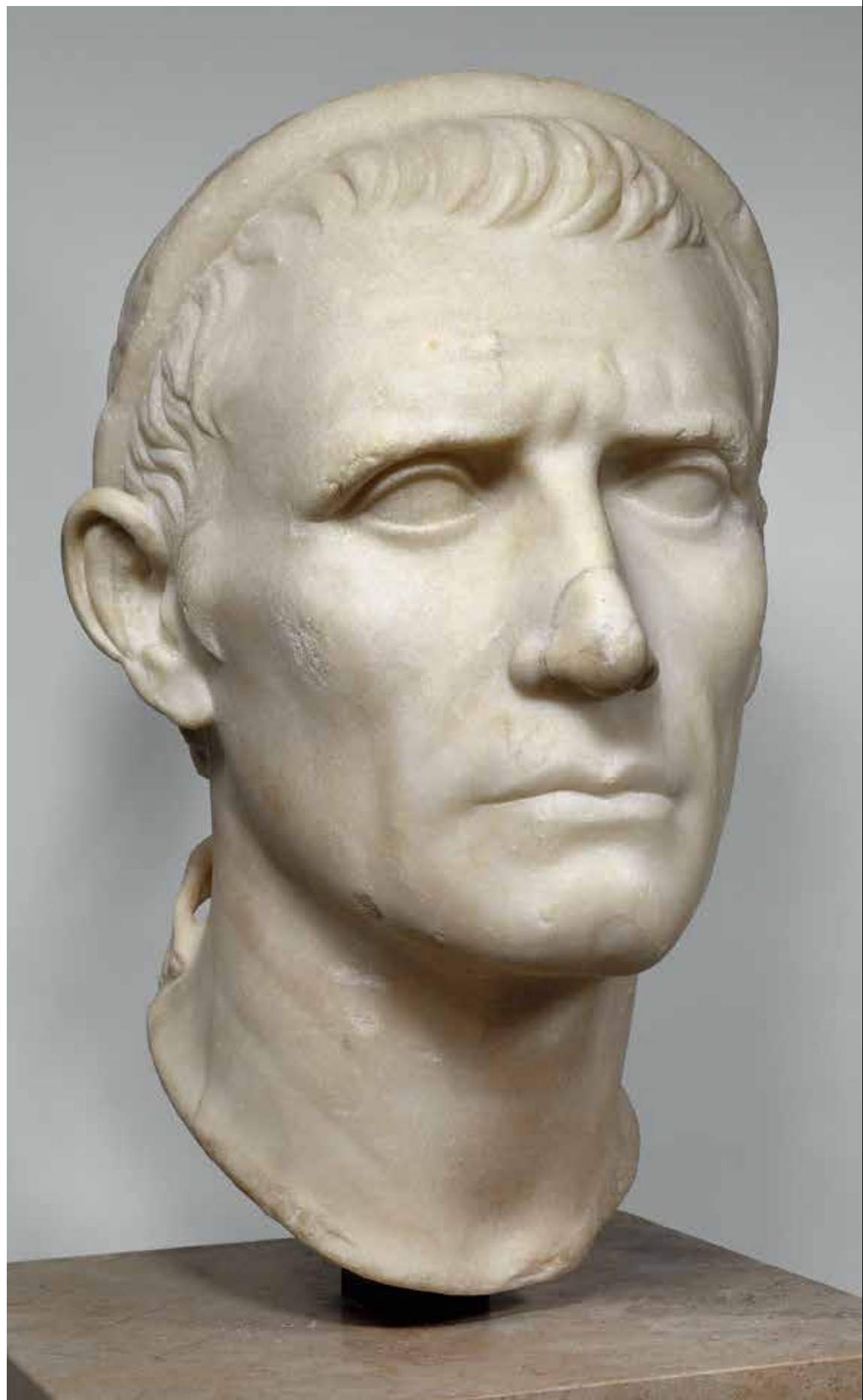
Roman, Early Imperial period, early 1st century A.D.; possibly a copy of a Greek statue of the late 3rd century B.C.

Carrara marble, H. 13³/₈ in. (34 cm)

From Italy

Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Antiquités Grecques, Étrusques et Romaines (Ma 1204)

Napoleon III acquired this head from Count Carlo Pepoli as a portrait of Julius Caesar; the nose and ears have been restored in marble.¹ Subsequently, the face, with its pointed nose and resolute features, has been linked to the profiles of the Seleucid king Antiochos III the Great (r. 223–187 B.C.) on coinage, especially Attic tetradrachms with his effigy. It is possible, but impossible to prove, that this is a quotation of the equestrian statue of the monarch executed in bronze in the late third century B.C.,



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attested by an inscribed base found at Delphi bearing the signature of the sculptor Meidias.

It should be pointed out that a priest's head from the Agora in Athens, dated to the first century A.D., displays a similar headband, and his face is treated in a similar manner. Thus, given the unusual form of the diadem, the Louvre portrait may simply represent a high-ranking priest from the end of the Republican period. LL

1. Wace 1905, p. 96; Musée du Louvre 1922, p. 69, no. 1204; Pfuhl 1930, p. 45; Richter 1965, vol. 3, p. 271, figs. 1878, 1879; R. R. R. Smith 1988, pp. 4, 35, 81–82, 112, 161, no. 30, pl. 24; Fleischer 1991, pp. 99–102, pl. 56a–d.

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Ring with Intaglio Portrait

Greek (Seleucid), Hellenistic period, ca. 220 B.C.

Gold and garnet, H. 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (2.8 cm),

W. $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (2.3 cm)

Signed by Apollonios

Said to be from Kerch (Ukraine)

The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (57.1698)

Set in a gold swivel-ring, this garnet intaglio depicts a man in profile.¹ A wispy sideburn creeps down to his doughy jawline. His hairstyle, with curls clinging to the dome of his skull and puffing out around his face, evokes the effect of a diadem, which may have been its inspiration.² The identity of the sitter is a matter of debate: Marie-Louise

Vollenweider suggests a prominent figure in the Seleucid court, such as Hermias, adviser to Seleukos III;³ Jeffrey Spier and Dimitris Plantzos counter that he must be a Pontic or Bosphoran ruler.⁴ Distinctively Hellenistic are the use of garnet, which became more widely available from Eastern sources after Alexander's conquest, and the setting within a hinged ring.⁵

Using a diamond point, the gem carver cut *ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ*, the genitive form of his own name, beneath the figure's neck. Such signatures of virtuosity attest to the high status and royal patronage of gem carvers during this period. A gem representing the Seleucid king Antiochos III in the collection of the Numismatic Museum, Athens, also bears this name (in the nominative form "Apollonios") and appears to be a work of the same hand.⁶ Antiochos III's assumption of the throne in 220 B.C. therefore aids in the dating of both gems.⁷ MFN

1. Christie's 1898, p. 33, no. 261, pl. II; Furtwängler 1900, vol. 1, pl. LXIII, no. 36, vol. 2, pp. 285–86, no. 36.

2. Megow 1999, p. 90.

3. Vollenweider 1980, pp. 151–52, pl. 40, 3.

4. Spier 1989, p. 29, no. A, p. 35; Plantzos 1999, p. 116, no. 101, pl. 18. Dorothy Kent Hill identifies the figure as Asander, a first-century B.C. Bosphoran dynast; Hill 1943, p. 62. Pantos A. Pantos suggests he is the Athenian statesman Echedemos; Pantos 1989.

5. Spier 1989, p. 21.

6. For the Athens garnet, see Richter 1968–71, vol. 1 (1968), p. 145, no. 678; Plantzos 1999, p. 115, no. 71, pl. 12.

7. Reeder 1988, p. 241, no. 136.

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Upper Body of a Queen(?)

Greek (Pergamene), Hellenistic period, second quarter of the 2nd century B.C.

Marble, H. 25 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (65 cm), W. 26 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (68 cm),

D. 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (47 cm)

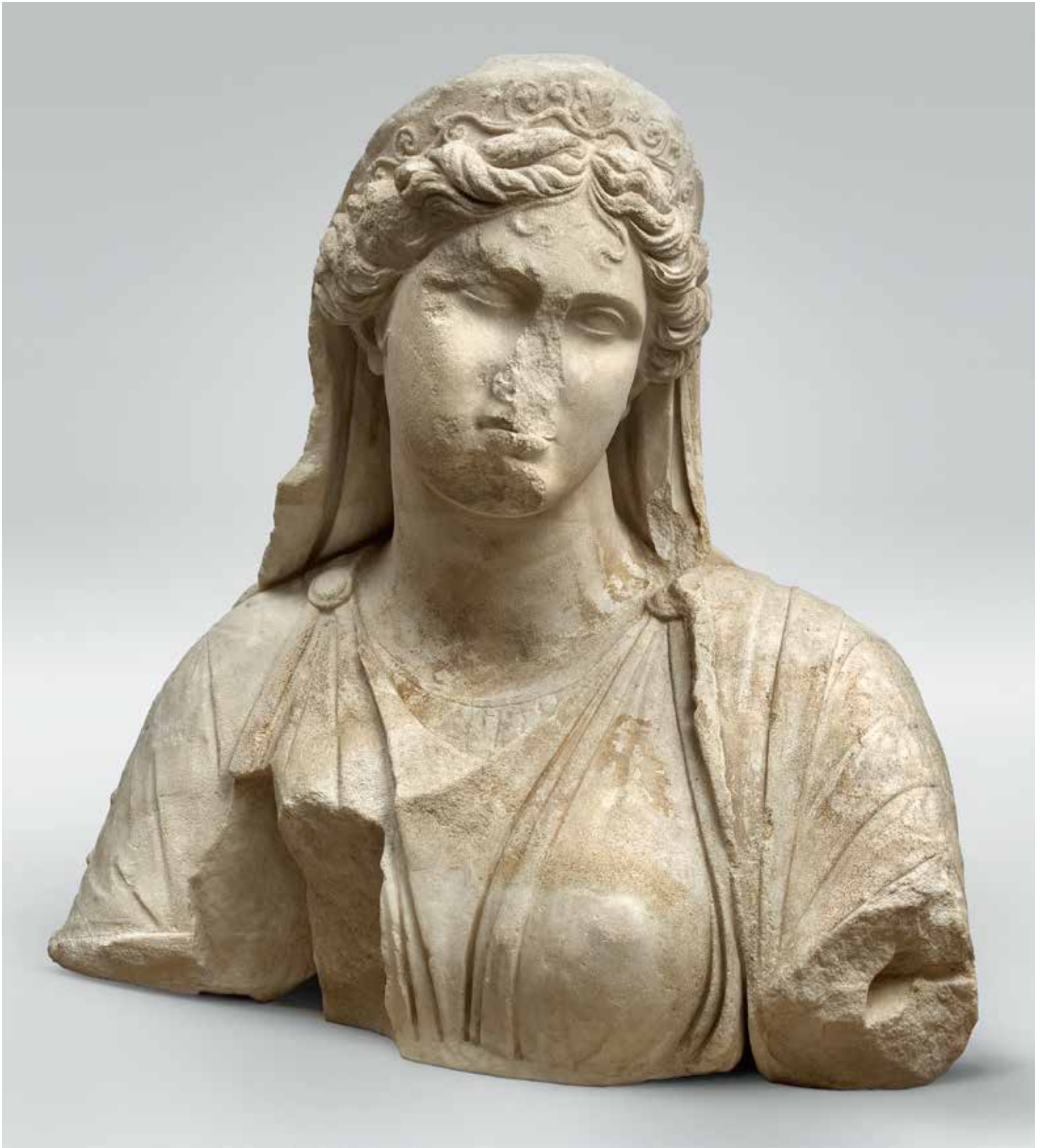
Discovered at Pergamon, in cistern at southeast corner of Great Altar, 1879

Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (AvP VII 87)

Whether this figure was originally standing or seated is unclear. The upper body was separately carved and has broken into four pieces; nothing is preserved of the rest.¹ The woman's head is turned in three-quarter profile to her left and slightly downward; her upper left arm was extended forward slightly and to the side, while her right arm hung straight down. She wears a chiton buttoned along the arms, a sleeveless peplos secured at the shoulders with round clasps, and a mantle, which is drawn across the top of her head as a veil. A diadem ornamented with a wavy vine secures her coiffure.

Compared with the Great Frieze, this work presents a more homogeneous arrangement of hair and drapery. The restrained movement of the flesh and the shape of the forehead and eyes lend the figure a neo-Classical quality. A very similar conception in terms of style is represented by the Offering Attendant (Antikensammlung, Berlin, AvP VII 69); the drapery of that work is analogous in that it does not compete with the body, the head forms a correspondingly uniform oval, and the eyebrows and eyelids are equally straightforward. Also comparable is the head of the Athena Parthenos (cat. 39), whose hair likewise forms an unlayered, heavy mass. Thus the figure must be dated a short time later than the altar friezes.

The similarity to coin portraits of the female Ptolemies, especially Arsinoe II (r. 278–270 B.C.), is striking.² In its details, the Pergamon head is even closer to the coin portraits of the Ptolemaic queens than their sculpted portraits are. It has frequently been suggested that the present figure represents Apollonis, the wife of Attalos I, who also had a cult in Pergamon, but this cannot be confirmed since there



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are no known depictions of Attalid women. If the head is indeed meant to portray an Attalid queen, the coin portrait of a Ptolemaic queen was obviously used as a model. MRH

1. Found together with the "Beautiful Head" (cat. 115) in 1879; the fragment of a right arm was found in map quadrant C7 at the northeast corner of the altar: Winter 1908, pp. 112–14, no. 87, supplementary sheet 12; Lawrence 1927, p. 119; Schober 1951, p. 136; Schneider 1973, p. 76, table XVIII, p. 79, table XXX, p. 141, no. 282; Queyrel 2003, pp. 264–67; Mathias René Hofter in *Pergamon* 2011, pp. 500–501, no. 5.10.

2. For the stephane on the portraits of Arsinoe II, see D. B. Thompson 1973, pp. 28–29.

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Fragment of a Hellenistic Portrait (Attalos III?)

Greek (Pergamene), Hellenistic period,
mid-2nd century B.C.

Marble, H. 9 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (25 cm)

Discovered at Pergamon in the Temple of
Dionysos, next to the theater, 1885

Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin
(AvP VII 132)

The front of the head, including the entire face, is preserved; the missing back was carved separately and attached.¹ The beardless, chubby visage is characterized by a bent nose, a small mouth with full lips, and an especially fleshy chin. Since there is no royal headband and there are no assured numismatic portraits of Attalos II or Attalos III, identification is ultimately uncertain. AS

1. Winter 1908, pp. 150–52, no. 132; most recently Max Kunze in Scholl and Platz-Horster 2007, p. 118, no. 67; Andreas Scholl in *Pergamon* 2011, p. 500, no. 5.9.

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Tetradrachm of Eumenes I

Greek (Pergamene), Hellenistic period,
263–241 B.C.

Silver, Diam. 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (2.8 cm), Wt. 0.59 oz.
(16.84 g)

Minted in Pergamon

Obverse: head of Philetairos facing right, with
fillet tied in hair, within dotted circle

Reverse: $\Phi\iota\lambda\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota\rho\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, enthroned Athena, with
helmet, right hand resting on a shield with

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gorgoneion, left hand holding a spear that rests on the left shoulder; bow on the right, monogram A under throne, ivy leaf under right hand
Numismatic Museum, Athens (NM 5103)

Eumenes I, nephew and successor of the eunuch Philetairos, founder of Pergamon's Attalid dynasty, was the kingdom's first ruler to become autonomous after annexing the territories around the city of Pergamon and breaking free from Seleucid domination. He ruled for twenty-two years and introduced the Eumenia, a series of festivals in his honor.

He was the first of Philetairos's successors to depict the founder's portrait on the kingdom's coins, in the tradition of the earlier Hellenistic kingdoms. The depiction is utterly realistic, as the engraver did not hesitate to portray Philetairos's characteristics in a manner that verges on deformity: a crude face, with low forehead, jutting chin, small eyes, and puffy cheeks.¹ This particular portrait was Pergamon's main numismatic type for more than a century and is considered one of the most daring and naturalistic portraits on coins. The same portrait type occurs in Philetairos's marble herm from the Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum (see cat. 25).² GK/SDr.

1. Oikonomidou 1996, p. 243, no. 154; *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum* 2001, nos. 1604–9.

2. R. R. R. Smith 1988, pp. 13, 74, 79, 159, no. 22, pl. 17, 1, 2.

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Tetradrachm of Attalos I Soter

Greek (Pergamene), Hellenistic period, 241–197 B.C.

Silver, Diam. 1¼ in. (3.1 cm), Wt. 0.61 oz. (17.2 g)
Minted in Pergamon

Obverse: head of Philetairos facing right, with laurel wreath in hair, within dotted circle
Reverse: ΦΙΛΕΤΑΙΡΟΥ, enthroned Athena, with



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helmet, left elbow resting on a shield with *gorgoneion* as *episema*, right hand holding a wreath over Philetairos's name; grape bunch on the left, bow on the right, monogram A under Athena's hand

Numismatic Museum, Athens (NM 5105)

Attalos I Soter, nephew of Philetairos, founder of the Attalid dynasty and adopted nephew of Eumenes I, whom he succeeded, was the first ruler of Pergamon to bear the title of "king" (*basileus*). He defeated the Gauls repeatedly and the Seleucid Antiochos Hierax; he also sided with the Romans against King Philip V of Macedon. In a series of votive offerings in the Sanctuary of Apollo at Delos, he attributed his victories over the Gauls to his predecessor, and he continued to finance games in the name of Philetairos. Attalos followed the tradition started by Eumenes (see cat. 147) and issued coins with the portrait of Philetairos, with strong features, such as the fleshy face, low forehead, and thick neck.¹ GK/SDr.

1. Richter 1984, pp. 243–44; Oikonomidou 1996, p. 34; *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum* 2001, nos. 1616–20.

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Tetradrachm of Eumenes II Soter

Greek (Pergamene), Hellenistic period, 197–159 B.C.

Silver, Diam. 1½ in. (3.1 cm), Wt. 0.6 oz. (17.15 g)
Minted in Pergamon

Obverse: head of Philetairos facing right, with laurel wreath in hair, tied at back

Reverse: ΦΙΛΕΤΑΙΡΟΥ, enthroned Athena, with helmet, left hand resting on shield with *gorgoneion* as *episema*, right hand holding wreath over Philetairos's name; palm branch on left, bow on right, monogram AP under Athena's right arm
Numismatic Museum, Athens; Empedoklis Collection (NM III, 9, no. 249)



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Eumenes II of Pergamon, son and successor of Attalos I—and an ally of the Romans, like his father—was rewarded for this with territories in Thrace and Asia Minor. After 180 B.C., to celebrate his victory against the Gauls, he built the Altar of Zeus and founded the renowned Library of Pergamon. His coins typically depict the portrait of Philetairos, founder of the Attalid dynasty, continuing the numismatic tradition of his predecessors,¹ although Eumenes II also occasionally struck a small issue, known from very few specimens, depicting his own portrait.² The coins of Pergamon, which followed Attic weight standards, featured the head of Philetairos for more than one hundred years, until Eumenes' son, Attalos III (r. 138–133 B.C.), bequeathed the kingdom to Rome. Subsequently Pergamon was absorbed into the new Roman province of Asia Minor and served briefly as its capital. GK/SDr.

1. C. Boehringer 1975, p. 58, pl. 7, C; Richter 1984, p. 243; Oikonomidou 1996, p. 34.

2. R. R. R. Smith 1988, p. 79, pl. 74, 13, 14.

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Portrait of a Bearded Man

Greek, Hellenistic period, ca. 150 B.C.

Marble, H. 16 in. (40.7 cm), W. 9¾ in. (25 cm), D. 12½ in. (31.7 cm)

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (91.AA.14)

Broken in two, this expressive head originally belonged to a statue some 2.4 meters tall.¹ The identity of the bearded subject remains uncertain, but his deeply furrowed brow, seemingly broken nose, weathered cheeks, bags under the eyes, and thin lips impart an experienced, ruthless individualism. Drapery at the back of the neck indicates that the figure was clothed, at least partially, and the absence of a



diadem suggests that he was not a king. The superhuman scale has heroic connotations.

The style of the carving and the coiffure—rows of flat, side-swept locks radiating from a central starfish-shaped cowlick—have strong affinities with Pergamene sculpture (see cats. 60, 146), and the portrait is often identified as an Attalid, but this remains speculative. Even the date of the portrait is tentative: some scholars have placed it in the third century B.C., recognizing the sitter as Eumenes I (r. 263–241 B.C.),² while others prefer the second century, associating it with Eumenes II (r. 197–159 B.C.)³ or his brother Attalos II (r. 159–138 B.C.).⁴

The head presents several traits associated with bronze sculpture: sharply outlined lips—rendered as if overlaid in copper—and finely incised eyebrows, mustache, and beard. Moreover, the plastically modeled forehead and eyebrows, highly modulated cheeks, intricate ears, and fleshy neck would all have been more easily modeled in clay and wax than carved in stone.

Undoubtedly, the head belongs among the portraits of elites that arose in the wake of Alexander the Great, which, being intended to legitimize power and dynastic connections, combined individual traits with dramatic, idealized features. But whether it represents a Pergamene king, is an honorific portrait or cult statue of a politician,⁵ depicts an unknown benefactor, or, given its monumental scale, is a fictive image of a founding hero, remains uncertain. KL

1. A. Herrmann 1993, pp. 29–42, figs. 1a–e; Kenneth Lapatin in *Power and Pathos* 2015, pp. 250–51, no. 30.

2. H. Meyer 1996, pp. 174, 176; Gans 2006, pp. 67–68.

3. Queyrel 2003, pp. 86–88.

4. A. Herrmann 1993.

5. Stewart 2014, pp. 151–52.

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Tetradrachm of Perseus

Greek (Macedonian), Hellenistic period,
179–174/173 B.C.

Silver, Diam. 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (3.1 cm), Wt. 0.59 oz. (16.9 g)
Minted in Pella

Obverse: head of Perseus facing right, fillet in
hair, tied at the back

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΕΡΣΕΩΣ, eagle with open
wings on a lightning bolt, monogram of the
engraver Zoilos above right, letter Λ between
the eagle's legs, all within oak wreath with
eight-pointed star below

Numismatic Museum, Athens (NM 1902/3, 018)

Perseus is depicted as a mature man, with a short beard and accentuated personal features (a long, fine nose, high cheekbones), in an effort by his personal engraver, Zoilos, to lend realism to this exquisite portrait of the king who would be the last Antigonid to rule Macedonia.¹ Coins of Perseus with Zoilos's full signature (ΖΩΙΛΟΥ) below the king's neck were issued directly after Perseus's ascension to the throne and are considered celebratory. In these early issues, the king's prosopographical type closely resembles that of his father, Philip V (r. 221–179 B.C.). The eagle of Zeus Dodonaïos within an oak wreath on the issues of Perseus might be considered a variation on his father's coinage, replacing Herakles' club depicted there on the reverse.

Perseus's reign was fatefully sealed by the struggle of the Antigonids against the Roman invasion of Greece. His defeat by Aemilius Paullus at Pydna, in 168 B.C., marked the end of Macedonian rule in Greece and the beginning of Roman domination. GK/SDr.

1. Newell 1937, pp. 37–39; Oikonomidou 1996, p. 248, no. 170; *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum* 2005, no. 962, pl. L

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Tetradrachm of Demetrios I Soter

Greek (Seleucid), Hellenistic period,
162–155/154 B.C.

Silver, Diam. 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (3.4 cm), Wt. 0.59 oz. (16.8 g)
Minted in Antioch

Obverse: beardless head of Demetrios I, facing
right, with lean features and royal diadem,
within laurel wreath

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ, Tyche draped,
seated on a backless throne decorated with a
winged Tritoness, holding a short scepter and
cornucopia; monogram in the field on the left
Numismatic Museum, Athens; Empedoklis
Collection (NM IV, 2, no. 17)

According to the terms of the Peace of Apamea (188 B.C.), Demetrios I was sent to Rome as a hostage by his father, Seleukos IV, in place of his uncle Antiochos IV. He managed to escape, however, and with the help of a mercenary army invaded Syria and took power in 162 B.C., after killing the king, Antiochos V Eupator, then a minor, and the regent, Lysias. According to Appian, Demetrios was named “Soter” (Savior) by the Babylonians, whom he freed from the tyrant Timarchos.¹

Demetrios was the first Hellenistic king to depict Tyche (Fortune) on the reverse of his coins, because it was with Tyche's help that he managed to go from hostage to king.² Previous members of the Seleucid dynasty had favored Apollo and Zeus, their Olympian patrons. Demetrios's numismatic portrait stands out among those of Hellenistic rulers for its depiction of personal features and facial expressions. GK/AN

1. Appian, *Roman History, The Syrian Wars* 11.8.47.

2. *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum* 1998, p. 176, no. 1259, pl. 83; Houghton, Lorber, and Hoover 2008, vol. 1, pp. 151–56, 168–69, no. 1638.1g.



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Oval Gem with the Head of an Eastern Ruler

Greek, Hellenistic period, 2nd–1st century B.C.
Garnet, H. 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (2.7 cm)

Said to have been found in Suleimanieh
(present-day Iraqi Kurdistan)

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Francis Bartlett
Donation of 1912, 1927 (27.710)

The identity of the Eastern man, probably a ruler, portrayed in this superbly carved portrait gem is unknown.¹ Depicted in profile bust format, typical of Hellenistic ruler portraits, he wears a cloak (*chlamys*) fastened in a bow and a conical felt cap.² Such caps, associated with Phrygia, a region in western Asia Minor, point to the Eastern origin of the subject. In fact, the gem is said to have been found in Suleimanieh (present-day Iraqi Kurdistan). With parted lips and eyes open wide beneath a furrowed brow indicating his age, the man appears animated, if somewhat anxious. His curly hair and wavy beard are rendered in exquisite detail. ps

1. Beazley 1920, pp. 81–82, no. 97, pl. 6; Richter 1968–71, vol. 1 (1968), p. 166, no. 665; Beazley 2002, p. 63, no. 97, pl. 20; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, pp. 74, 379, fig. 274; Snitkuvienė 2008, p. 224, no. 711.

2. Plantzos 1999, pp. 59–60.



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Tetradrachm of Antimachos I Theos

Greek (Bactrian), Hellenistic period,
ca. 185–170 B.C.

Silver, Diam. 1¼ in. (3.13 cm), Wt. 0.58 oz. (16.4 g)
Minted in Bactria

Obverse: Bust of Antimachos I facing right,
with diadem and Macedonian *kausia* (flat hat),
within dotted circle

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ, Poseidon
standing, frontal, holding a trident in his right
hand and a palm branch in his left; below right,
monogram N within circle

Numismatic Museum, Athens (NM 6517)

Antimachos I was the last of the Greek dynasts in Bactria, son of Euthydemos I, and grandson of the dynasty's founder, Diodotos I. He reigned over a territory that included part of Bactria and Arachosia (southern Afghanistan). Upon his death, his kingdom came under the jurisdiction of Eukratides I. In this realistic portrait, Antimachos appears fairly aged, with strong facial features.¹ The engraver endows him with a thick neck, wrinkled forehead, relatively broad nose, and pensive gaze, creating one of the best Hellenistic monetary portraits.

Antimachos's coins are the only Bactrian issue to feature Poseidon, his patron god, victorious on the reverse. The choice of the sea god in a landlocked region is noteworthy and has been attributed to the Hellenization of an Indian deity, possibly Shiva, who also carries a trident in his depictions. Some scholars see the water god as a reference to the provinces around the Indus River, where Antimachos had probably served as governor.²

Antimachos issued a large number of silver coins of Attic weight standard on which he calls himself "Theos" (God), a title applied to rulers for the first time in the Hellenistic kingdoms. Extending this

propagandistic gesture in order to establish an official dynastic cult, he issued commemorative silver tetradrachms in honor of Euthydemos with the title "Theos," and in honor of Diodotos with the title "Soter" (Savior). Agathokles, ruler of the Greco-Indian kingdom and his contemporary, adopted the same practice.³ ΓΚ

1. Newell 1937, pp. 80–81, fig. 8; Bopearachchi 1991, series 1D, p. 183, pl. 9, nos. 5, 6; Bopearachchi and Aman ur Rahman 1995, pp. 98–99, nos. 176–78; *Coins & Numismatics* 1996, p. 182.

2. Jakobsson 2007, p. 59.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 59–60.

Tetradrachm of Eukratides I Megalos

Greek (Bactrian), Hellenistic period, 170–145 B.C.
Silver, Diam. 1¼ in. (3.2 cm), Wt. 0.53 oz. (14.99 g)
Minted in Bactria

Obverse: bust of Eukratides I facing right,
with diadem, Boeotian-type helmet decorated
with bull's horn and ear, garment, and cuirass,
within bead-and-reel circle

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ,
Dioskouroi on horseback galloping right, each
with cuirass, mantle, and cap, holding long
spears and palm branches; monogram
below left

Numismatic Museum, Athens (NM 1912/3Δ2)

Eukratides I, one of the most important kings of Bactria, fought against the Indo-Greek kings in the far eastern reaches of the Hellenistic world, extended his territory as far as the Indus River (167–159 B.C.), and became ruler of Areia, Arachosia, Drangiana, Sogdiana, Paropamisada, and Gandhara. The Bactrian Kingdom reached its peak during his reign and he added the epithet "Megalos" (the Great) to his royal title "Megas Basileus" (Great King). His excessive ambition, however, led him into conflict with the Parthian Kingdom, thereby depleting his resources and

ultimately weakening Bactria. After his defeat by Mithridates I he was murdered, possibly by his own son.

This realistic portrait of Eukratides highlights his particular facial features.¹ The founder of the third Greek dynasty of Bactria is depicted as strong and mature, with a determined and rugged look befitting the last warlike Greek king in Bactria and India. At the same time, the bull's horn and ear on his helmet are divine attributes, in the tradition of the ram's horn of Alexander the Great when depicted as Zeus Ammon on coins.

Eukratides issued the largest known gold coin of the ancient world, equivalent to twenty staters, which weighed 169.2 grams and had a diameter of 5.8 centimeters. It was found in Bukhara and acquired by Napoleon III, who later donated it to the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris.² Eukratides' abundant silver and gold coinage indicates the importance of his rule and of coinage as a propaganda instrument for the Hellenistic kings. ΓΚ/SDP.

1. Bopearachchi 1991, series 6, 35, p. 205, pl. 17; Bopearachchi and Aman ur Rahman 1995, pp. 106–7, no. 244; *Coins & Numismatics* 1996, p. 182; Jakobsson 2007, pp. 61–63.

2. Jakobsson 2007, p. 61, fig. 4.

Tetradrachm of Nikomedes II Epiphanes

Greek (Bithynian), Hellenistic period,
149–127 B.C.

Silver, Diam. 1⅞ in. (3.5 cm), Wt. 0.58 oz. (16.56 g)

Obverse: Nikomedes II facing right,
with royal diadem

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΝΙΚΟΜΗΔΟΥ,
Zeus standing, holding a long scepter and
wreath; in the field at the left, eagle on lightning
bolt, monogram, and year of issue (ΘΞΡ)

Numismatic Museum, Athens (NM 4978)



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Nikomedes II was son of King Prousius II of Bithynia, one of the four important Hellenistic kingdoms of Asia Minor, the other three being Pergamon, Pontos, and Cappadocia. Owing to his popularity, his father sent him away to Rome. Nikomedes, however, with the help of his ally Attalos II of Pergamon, invaded Bithynia, killed his father, and became ruler in 149 B.C.

Nikomedes' monetary portrait is intended to legitimize the rule of the usurper king, who is depicted with royal diadem following the iconographic tradition of the other Hellenistic rulers.¹ His face is rendered realistically, with no attempt to idealize his particular facial features.

GK/AN

1. Waddington, Babelon, and T. Reinach 1908, p. 229; R. R. R. Smith 1988, pp. 2, 13; Hoover 2012, pp. 220–21.

157 Diadem with Herakles Knot (The Loeb Diadem)

Greek, Hellenistic period, 200–150 B.C.
Gold, garnet, carnelian, and sardonyx,
Diam. 9 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (23.1 cm)

Said to be from the Crimean Peninsula
Staatliche Antikensammlungen, Munich (SL 589)

Made by Greek craftsmen in the first half of the second century B.C., this magnificent diadem was found on the Crimean Peninsula by the Black Sea.¹ It probably came from a tomb in the ancient Greek city of Pantikapaion (Kerch). Since the exact details of the discovery remain unknown, it cannot be determined whether the piece was made for one of the native Scythians or for a Greek settler.

At the center of the diadem is a so-called Herakles knot fashioned from garnet and gold. The ends of the knot on either side are encased in sheaths of gold plate, to which the two arms of the diadem are attached with hinges. The arms are adorned with a leaf pattern made of gold plate, wire, and beads and interrupted by strips of garnet. The front of the diadem is decorated with nine pendants consisting of rosettes, hung with garnet beads encased in gold leaf, and little tassels. Gold and garnet beads, along with carnelian and brown-white striped sardonyx set in gold, hang from the ends of the tassels. The goldsmith created the figures soldered to the upper part of the diadem in a separate step. A winged goddess forming the centerpiece holds a wreath in her right hand; one of her



legs and her left hand are outstretched. This is presumably Nike, the goddess of victory, flanked here by two large, coiled sea dragons. FSK

1. From the collection of James Loeb. Hoffmann and Davidson 1965, pp. 51–55, no. 1, fig. 1a; Deppert-Lippitz 1985, pp. 256, 275, fig. 212, pls. XXVIII, XXIX; Pfrommer 1990, p. 314, no. HK 144; Christian Gliwitzky in Wünsche and Steinhart 2010, pp. 60–61, no. 28.

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Statuette of a Veiled and Masked Dancer (The Baker Dancer)

Greek (Alexandrian?), Hellenistic period, 3rd–2nd century B.C.

Bronze, H. 8⅞ in. (20.5 cm), W. 3½ in. (8.9 cm), D. 4½ in. (11.4 cm)

Said to be from Alexandria

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Bequest of Walter C. Baker, 1971 (1972.118.95)

The Baker Dancer is one of the most seductive works surviving from the Hellenistic period.¹ The subject is a woman tightly swathed in a long pleated undergarment, a lighter-weight mantle that covers her head and body to below the knee, and a sheer veil. On her right foot she wears a laced slipper. The only uncovered parts of her body are her eyes and the fingers of her left hand. The body bends downward to her right while her foot points slightly to her left. Her right arm is bent over her chest, her left hand pulls the mantle taut.

The figure is generally identified as a type of entertainer—part dancer, part mime—for which Alexandria was famous in antiquity; less memorable representations exist, notably as terracotta statuettes.² However, the woman's identity resides principally in the interplay between her garments and the dramatic placement of her arms and head. The play of opposites, here adumbrated nudity and dress, is nothing unprecedented in Greek art, but in Hellenistic art it is developed to new, often provocative, extremes. Other instances in this volume include the hermaphrodites (cats. 219, 226), the Metropolitan Museum's youthful Eros (cat. 218), with its averted sleeping head but genitals on display, and the emaciated youth (cat. 73), who, rather than squatting on the ground, is dignified with fine drapery and a stool to sit on.

What would have been the Baker Dancer's function? She most likely belongs to the genre of Hellenistic bronzes made for the pleasure of private individuals and, specifically, for the enrichment of their dining rooms and dining rituals. The range of subjects was extensive, from dwarfs and grotesques to mythological figures.³ We

a

e

b



h, i

j, k

f, g

c, d

159a–k

can imagine her complementing the live entertainment. JRM

1. Von Bothmer 1950, p. 9, no. 46. D. B. Thompson 1950 is still the best publication. See also von Bothmer 1961, pp. 37–38, pls. 44, 50, 51; Dietrich von Bothmer in Metropolitan Museum of Art 1975, p. 120; Mertens 1985, pp. 48–49, no. 32; Joan R. Mertens in Metropolitan Museum of Art 1987, p. 70, pl. 52; Marion True in *Gods Delight* 1988, pp. 102–6, no. 14; Pfisterer-Haas 1994, pp. 485, 501, n. 16, fig. 9; Llewellyn-Jones 2003, p. 64, figs. 72, 73, and frontispiece; Hemingway 2007, pp. 50, 52, fig. 2; Picón et al. 2007, pp. 202–3, 451, no. 237.

2. See D. B. Thompson 1950, pp. 371–79.

3. See Barr-Sharrar 1996, pp. 108–11.

159a–k

Ensemble of Ptolemaic Jewelry
Greek (Ptolemaic), Hellenistic period,
220–100 B.C.

Gold with various inlaid and attached stones, including garnet, carnelian, pearl, bone, moonstone, amethyst, emerald, and glass paste
The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (92.AM.8.1-11)

This extraordinary ensemble of jewelry comprises a hairnet, a diadem, two pairs of ibex-head earrings, one pair of Eros earrings, one pair each of snake armlets and bracelets, and two engraved carnelian cabochon rings as well as beads of gold and semiprecious stones that could have belonged to one or more necklaces.¹ The jewelry was probably made in more than one workshop in Alexandria, Egypt. Specific Ptolemaic imagery includes the symbolism of the Herakles knots on the diadem and hairnet, the identification of

Tyche/Fortuna with Arsinoe II on the carnelian ring, and the association of Arsinoe II with Aphrodite on the hairnet. Yet while a royal context can be ascribed to the group, the association cannot be extended to the royals themselves. It therefore seems possible that the original owner was an elite of the exclusive circle of dynastic priestesses, who, ornamented in her golden finery, served the queen in one of the royal cults devoted to her worship.

That the master metalsmiths who created these ornaments probably worked in Ptolemaic Alexandria in the second century B.C. seems likely owing to the specifics of their style, technique, and manufacture. The homogeneity of the group cannot be proved, although it is probably the case for

certain pieces. An early examination found traces of the same very light sandy soil on the hairnet, gold beads, one of the Eros earrings, and armlets, which suggests a common findspot. The hairnet and diadem, similarly, share technical characteristics, such as the running filigree, and so may have been made in the same workshop. The identical techniques used to fabricate the armlet and bracelets show they were evidently made as a set, and in the same workshop. However, because they do not use the running filigree, this may have been a different workshop from the one in which the hairnet and diadem were created.

a. Hairnet

Gold, garnet, and glass paste, H. 8½ in. (21.6 cm), W. 3⅞ in. (7.9 cm), D. 3 in. (7.6 cm)

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (92.AM.8.1)

The elaborate hairnet is one of the few surviving from antiquity; the Schimmel hairnet (cat. 160), contemporary to the Getty assemblage, is another. It is composed of a relief band at the base of the bun linked to a crowning central medallion by eight triple rows of spool beads intersected by filigreed chains anchored by tiny masks of Dionysos and actors. A fully sculpted head of Aphrodite, with Eros tugging at her shoulder, emerges from the medallion. The Ptolemaic queens often presented themselves as descendants of Aphrodite; here, the goddess's features and hairstyle are similar to those of Queen Arsinoe II. The figures were raised by repoussé from a single sheet of gold leaf and then chased and finished. The sculpted disk is encircled by bands of filigree and applied decoration consisting of two primary bands of filigree: one of acanthus leaves bordered by linear organic motifs (identical to the similarly located band on the Schimmel hairnet), and one of triangular steps that may once have been inlaid with enamel. Running filigree, such as used here and on the Schimmel hairnet, is constructed from long lengths of wire rather than shorter connected lengths and indicates the work of a master metal-smith. A gold filigreed tassel embellished with red carnelian beads dangles from the medallion; a second embellished tassel of shorter length hangs from the relief band.

b. Diadem (stephane)

Gold, bone or pearl, garnet, carnelian, moonstone, and glass paste, Diam. 6⅞ in. (17.5 cm)

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (92.AM.8.2)

The bands of the diadem support applied torches made from sheet gold and decorated with complex granulation and filigree. On each side the twisting gold-filigree flames reach toward the Herakles knot (once inlaid with garnet or red glass) covering the double-hinge construction that connects the two sides at the center of the woman's forehead. Delicate floral tendrils are worked in gold filigree around the torches. From the lower edge of the band drop five tassels (surviving from an original eight). These are ornamented with carnelian, crizzled green glass, and possibly shell. Torchets are symbolic of many divinities, including Nike, Eros, and Dionysos, and of religious rites generally; in Egypt they were also important to the cult of Isis.

c. Hoop earrings with ibex-head finials

Gold, Diam. ⅞ in. (2.2 cm)

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (92.AM.8.3)

d. Hoop earrings with ibex-head finials

Gold, Diam. ⅞ in. (2.2 cm)

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (92.AM.8.4)

First appearing in Egypt during the Ptolemaic period, hoop earrings with animal-head terminations are the most well-known Hellenistic earring type and would have found a favored place in any elite jewelry collection. Although this earring type is small, the construction is complex: the heads are made in two parts soldered together, with the horns and ears fashioned and assembled separately. The tubes are made from a single sheet of folded gold overlaid with fine wires composed of twisted strip-twist wires.

e. Disk pendant earrings with a figure of Eros

Gold and pearls, L. 1⅞ in. (4.8 cm)

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (92.AM.8.5)

Each Eros is a tiny gold sculpture in the round, made from more than a hundred components, beginning with two sheet-gold halves soldered back-to-back to form the figure of the god. The figures each hold a patera in one hand and an upraised torch in the other; their golden cloaks drape behind them.

f. Pair of upper arm bracelets in the form of a coiled snake

Bracelets: gold; fastening pin: copper alloy; max. Diam. of each 3⅞ in. (7.8 cm)

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (92.AM. 8.6)

Each armlet is composed of a single coiled gold snake sized and shaped to fit the wearer's upper arm. The pieces were embellished with decorative engraving and punching and were designed to mirror one another to enhance their appearance when worn. Traditional pin-and-hinge construction closes the bracelets at the elaborately filigreed clasp. Snakes were considered to have protective and fertility associations; bracelets featuring them first appear in Egypt during the Ptolemaic period.

g. Pair of wrist bracelets in the form of coiled snakes

Bracelets: gold; fastening pin: copper alloy; Diam. 2¾ in. (7.1 cm), 2⅝ in. (6.8 cm)

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (92.AM.8.7)

Their similarity of construction and design indicates that these bracelets were certainly conceived to pair with the armlets (f), which weigh approximately twice as much. The pin-and-hinge construction is also the same, but in this case each bracelet is composed from two coiled snakes facing in opposite directions.

h. Ring inset with intaglio representing Tyche/Fortuna

Gold and carnelian, L. 1½ in. (3.8 cm)

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (92.AM.8.9)

This massive ring—worn across the finger—is an extraordinary example of a well-known Hellenistic type. Intentionally impressive, the oval cabochon carnelian is encased in a hammered gold setting. On

it is carved an elegantly attenuated figure of the goddess Tyche, or Fortuna. Like the Artemis/Diana figure on the other ring (i), she leans on a pillar; she holds a double cornucopia and a scepter. The presence of the double cornucopia, which was uniquely commissioned by Ptolemy II for his second wife, Arsinoe II, to symbolize their union, indicates that Arsinoe is meant to be identified with Tyche/Fortuna.

i. Ring inset with intaglio representing Artemis/Diana

Gold and carnelian, L. 1 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (4.1 cm)

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (92.AM.8.8)

The goddess Artemis/Diana leans on a pillar and reaches toward the head of a stag, one of her attributes, that faces toward the left. The portraitlike quality of the goddess's face has been noted, and her features (the large Ptolemaic eye, the pointed nose) have been attributed to Queen Arsinoe II herself.²

j. Twenty-eight beads and one stud

Gold, carnelian, amethyst, and emerald, Diam. $\frac{5}{16}$ – $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (0.8–0.9 cm)

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (92.AM.8.10)

The random stringing of the beads on a cord here is modern. The gold separator beads are made of two strings of granulation joined lengthwise; eight faceted beads are formed from gold sheet; five carnelian and four amethyst beads are biconical; and the three large, round beads are emeralds, which first came into favor during the Ptolemaic period. The piercing of the stem of the unstrung piece of carnelian accompanying the set suggests that it was once strung in an arrangement that does not survive; the piece may also have been an ear stud.

k. Twelve gold beads in the shape of cowrie shells

Gold, L. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (17 cm)

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (92.AM.8.11)

The absence of clasps at either end of this string raises the possibility that it may once have been longer. It is made up of twelve hollow gold cowrie-shaped beads connected by twisted double strands of gold



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wire. The ovals are incised with strokes radiating from a central line in the manner of cowrie shells. MLH

1. "Chronique des arts" 1993, p. 39, no. 190; Pfrommer 1996, p. 182, fig. 18; Pfrommer 2001a, figs. 1–6, 16, 17, 21, 22, 24, 27, 32, 35–37; Pfrommer 2001b, pp. 79–114, figs. 1, 5, 6, 9–15, 17.

2. Pfrommer 2001a, p. 40.

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Openwork Hairnet with Medallion

Greek (Ptolemaic), Hellenistic period, ca. 200–150 B.C.

Gold, H. 2 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (6 cm), Diam. of hoop 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (9 cm), Diam. of disk 2 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (5.5 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of Norbert Schimmel, 1987 (1987.220)

In this striking gold hairnet, a central medallion adorned with the bust of a maenad in high relief is framed by two concentric bands of delicate filigree ornament. Radiating from the medallion

are eight triple-chain bands linked by spool-shaped beads; these attach at the bottom to a hinged, fluted hoop terminating in simple loop clasps.¹ The maenad wears a wreath of vine leaves and grapes, spiral earrings, and a panther skin tied over her dress. These female followers of Dionysos and members of his wild entourage appear frequently on jewelry of the Hellenistic period, their popularity often explained by the freedom allowed to women in the god's rites.

An outstanding example of Hellenistic gold work, this hairnet probably adorned the coiffure of an upper-class woman with courtly connections. Its Dionysian iconography and alleged Egyptian provenance point to the luxury arts of Ptolemaic Alexandria.² КК

1. *Search for Alexander: Supplement to the Catalogue* 1981, no. S-15; Milleker 1992, pp. 50–51; Williams and Ogden 1994, p. 254, no. 197; Picón et al. 2007, pp. 192, 450, no. 228.

2. Pfrommer 2001a, pp. 56–57, fig. 34.

Head of Arsinoe II

Greek (Ptolemaic), Early Hellenistic period,
3rd century B.C.

Amethyst and gold, H. $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (2.2 cm),

W. $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (1.5 cm)

Said to be from Egypt

The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (42.190)

In the portraiture of Ptolemaic royals, both Greek and Egyptian stylistic traditions flourished. Rather than blending the two, however, artists created parallel portrait types. Representations of Arsinoe II, wife and sister of Ptolemy II Philadelphos, epitomize this stylistic dualism.

This amethyst portrait of the queen is set in a modern gold mount.¹ In a Greek manner, the bridge of the nose rises from below a prominent forehead in a smooth contour extending from the hairline to the tip of the nose. Hair parted in the center and crowned with a diadem ripples from the brow in waves that frame her broad cheeks. The slightly bulb-shaped face has small lips and a weak chin. All of these features draw attention to the large, wide-set eyes, to which have been added the fine details of recessed irises and pupils.

Carved in the round, the image bears a strong resemblance to coin portraits of Arsinoe II. There are also comparable amethyst busts in the Cleveland Museum of Art, the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris, and the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Florence.² Theokritos's *Idyll 17* draws a parallel between the "sacred marriage" of



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the divine siblings Zeus and Hera and the union of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II. Similarly, the mantle the queen wears on the coins and in the amethyst busts may gesture toward this identification. The link with Hera could also help date the head to the era of her marriage to Ptolemy (276/275 B.C. to her death, in 270 B.C.), since the queen was more commonly connected to Isis after she died.³ Perhaps a priest or priestess of Arsinoe's cult wore this as a forehead jewel.⁴ Amethysts were used in Egyptian jewelry from the Predynastic period onward. MFN

1. Sotheby's 1926, p. 42, no. 375; *Pompeiana* 1948, no. 33.

2. Vollenweider 1966, pp. 12–13, pls. 3–6.

3. Reeder 1988, p. 244, no. 139.

4. Vollenweider 1966, p. 14.

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Queen's Vase with Berenike II

Greek (Ptolemaic), Hellenistic period,
243–221 B.C.

Faience, H. $8\frac{3}{4}$ in. (22.2 cm), Diam. $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. (14 cm)

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (96.A1.58)



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Particularly well preserved, this oinochoe is an example of the so-called Queen's Vases that were produced in Ptolemaic Egypt.¹ A female figure stands before an altar, pouring a libation from a phiale in her right hand; on the right is a tall, garlanded pillar. The woman can be identified as Berenike II (273–221 B.C.) from similar portraits on coins and also from the inscription on the altar, which reads, “Of the benefactor gods.” This is probably a reference to the epithet that the queen’s husband, Ptolemy III (r. 246–222 B.C.), received on returning successfully from fighting in Asia in 243 B.C. A second Greek inscription, located on the shoulder of the vase, reads, “For the good fortune of Queen Berenike,” made manifest by her large cornucopia, with its bounty of cakes and fruit (partially preserved).

These vases are among the most eloquent manifestations of Ptolemaic culture, with its blend of Greek and Egyptian traditions. The shape is Greek, but the method and material of its production—cast in faience from molds—are Egyptian. More broadly, they exemplify how the ruler cult, which had long been traditional in Egypt, was adopted and adapted by the Ptolemaic royal family. The queen, closely identified with Isis, became an object of devotion herself.

Although this practice was first established for Arsinoe II (316–268 B.C.) after her death, it came to apply as well to living queens such as Berenike II.² DS

1. Manchester 1994, figs. 1–4; Kozloff 1996, p. 252, fig. 4; Friedman 1998, p. 15, fig. 22; Arielle P. Kozloff in *Gifts of the Nile* 1998, p. 200, no. 62, ill. p. 99; “Museum Acquisitions” 1998, p. 69; Pfrommer 2001a, p. 36, fig. 25; J. Paul Getty Museum 2010, p. 99.

2. See D. B. Thompson 1973, pp. 49–75, 117–22; most recently Clayman 2014b, p. 53, is skeptical about the association of these vases with the Arsinoea.

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Vase in the Shape of a Duck

Greek (Ptolemaic), Hellenistic period, 3rd–2nd century B.C.

Faience with polychrome glaze, H. 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (8.5 cm), L. 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (18 cm)

Said to be from Alexandria, Egypt

The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (48.421)

A duck with folded wings rests on its feet.¹ The bird’s body was mold-made of Egyptian faience, a nonclay ceramic composed of silica with small amounts of lime and alkali. Faience is often distinguished by its monochromatic bright blue glaze, but here brown, blue, blue-gray, yellow, green, and white evoke the variegated brilliance of a

duck’s plumage. Finishing off this complex process was a layer of white glaze dotted across the wings, throat, and head, conjuring tufts of down. Another use of color that suggests texture appears in the feathers striped with white that emerge midway down the bird’s back. The duck’s right eye contains a blue glass ball; the left is missing. Remains of a ring handle are found on the left side, and a small hole above the tail would have allowed for its use as a vessel.

Although images of ducks in faience had a long history in the eastern Mediterranean, the closest parallels to this unique vase are a polychrome duck, now in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens, with a puffed-out breast and uplifted wings, and another in the British Museum, with a somewhat similar pattern of feathers, particularly the white belly with dark spots.² All three attest to the influence across media of Etruscan and South Italian red-figure duck vases.³ MFN

1. Hill 1946, pp. 197–98, fig. 5.

2. British Museum, London (GR 1875.11–10.2); for the Athens duck, see Wallis 1898, pp. 81–82. See also Hill 1946, p. 198; Parlasca 1976.

3. Hill 1946, p. 198; Reeder 1988, p. 208.

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Rhyton (Drinking Horn) with Griffins

Greek (Ptolemaic), Hellenistic period,

3rd–2nd century B.C.

Faience, H. 8¼ in. (21 cm), Diam. 3½ in. (8.9 cm)

Said to be from Egypt

The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (48.368)

Egyptian faience with registers of motifs sunk in low relief, as seen on this drinking vessel, is referred to as Naukratis Ware, owing to the prevalence of examples from that site.¹ The two-tone effect in dark and light green resulted from the firing process, during which the glaze in the recessions became more saturated with color.² The shape of the rhyton and much of its decora-

tion, including the striding griffins, rosettes, and palmettes, reveal the impact of Near Eastern models on Egyptian art. The lower third of the rhyton has been restored. MFN

1. Sotheby's 1922, p. 29, no. 212; Hill 1946, pp. 195, 196–97, fig. 3.

2. Reeder 1988, p. 204, no. 105. See Mao 2000 for scientific analysis of this vessel.

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Alabastron

East Greek, Hellenistic period, 2nd century B.C.

Faience, H. 9 in. (23 cm), Diam. 2⅞ in. (5.5 cm)

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (88.A1.135)

This type of vessel takes its name from examples of the same shape made in Egypt using the translucent white stone

known as alabaster. Such containers often held perfumed oil, and the flat rim, which regulated the amount of liquid poured from the vessel, may have aided in the application of the oil to the skin.

Here, the rosettes along the edge of the rim and the petals at the foot are mold-made in relief, while the brown and light blue bands of meander, wave, and bead-and-reel patterns decorating the narrow body were set on a white-ground slip that covered the exterior of the vessel.¹ The white surface and luster of the faience (a ceramic composed primarily of silica) may have been intended to imitate more costly ivory or alabaster.

In color and decoration, this work is unusual among contemporary faience



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alabastra, which were typically bright blue or light green and commonly presented figural and vegetal motifs. A white faience lagynos dating to the second century B.C., found in Syria but possibly of Egyptian origin, repeats the colors as well as some of the ornamental motifs and provides the closest parallel in decorative style, medium, and technique of manufacture.² However, this alabastron also resembles vessels made of precious metal. Silver alabastra of the Hellenistic period are similarly decorated with horizontal patterned bands and a rosette on the bottom.³ AB

1. Parlasca 1991, p. 55, n. 34, pl. 21e; Towne-Markus 1997, p. 67.

2. Klaus Parlasca in *Land des Baal* 1982, p. 224, no. 212, ill. p. 177; Parlasca 1991, p. 55 (Egyptian origin).

3. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (1974.138); Oliver 1977, p. 70, no. 34 (with additional examples).

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Pair of Armbands

Greek, Hellenistic period, ca. 200 B.C.
Gold, H. of Triton armband 9 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (25 cm),
H. of Tritoness armband 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (26.5 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York;
Rogers Fund, 1956 (56.11.5, .6)

This elaborate pair of armbands belongs to a popular type of serpentine bracelets, designed to encircle the wearer's upper arm or wrist. Composed of coiled gold bands chased with scales, they terminate at the bottom in sea monsters (*kete*), now only partially preserved, and at the top in finials modeled in high relief representing a bearded Triton and a Tritoness.¹ Each of the two figures holds a baby Eros with one arm and raises a billowing drapery behind its back with the other. A swirl of serrated fins resembling acanthus leaves covers the transition from their human torsos to their fish tails.

Three suspension loops, necessitated by the armbands' considerable weight, are soldered at the top to secure attachment, presumably to the sleeves of a garment. The dotted letters *ZOI* are inscribed upside down inside both hoops; these are probably an abbreviation of "ZOILAS," and may refer to the female owner Zoila or, alternatively, to the maker of the armbands.²

A masterpiece of craftsmanship and a powerful expression of the wealth of their owner, these armbands transcend the confines of jewelry and can rightly be considered miniature sculptures in gold. Although marine creatures abound in Hellenistic jewelry, this pair of armbands is the only known example with Tritons. κκ

1. Redmond and Rorimer 1959, pp. 30, 34, 36; Williams and Ogden 1994, pp. 82–83, no. 37 (as "probably from northern Greece"); Picón et al. 2007, pp. 193, 450, no. 229.

2. The same inscription appears on five pieces from the so-called Karpenisi Hoard (also referred to as the Thessaly Treasure), a group of forty-five jewels that appeared on the Athens antiquities market in 1929. On the group, see Segall 1938, pp. 31–50; Amandry 1953, pp. 89–195; and cats. 167, 169–73.

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Hair Ornament with Bust of Athena

Greek, Hellenistic period, 2nd century B.C.

Gold, red garnets, and blue enamel, Diam. of roundel $4\frac{3}{8}$ in. (11.1 cm)

Found in Thessaly

Benaki Museum, Athens (1556)

An exquisite example of the goldsmith's art of the second century B.C., this profusely decorated hair ornament features a large roundel with a relief bust of Athena, her head rendered in the round, with a triple-crested helmet and laurel wreath. The aegis, with a winged *gorgoneion* (Medusa head), covers the left breast and shoulder. The goddess's irises were originally inlaid with light blue enamel. The background rosettes are secured with wire on the reverse. Three decorative bands frame the bust. The inner band features an embossed egg-and-dart motif and rosettes rendered with granulation. The middle band is decorated with spiraling tendrils, filigree rosettes, filigree palmettes with embossed centers, and inlaid garnets; blue enamel highlights the centers of the rosettes



and the shoots of the tendrils. The outer band consists of a leaf garland growing from an inlaid garnet at the bottom and ending on either side of a garnet over Athena's head. Surrounding the medallion is a chain mesh, with rosettes at the joins and rings on the periphery, through which a ribbon or cord could be passed.¹

This ornament, together with nine others in the Benaki Museum and thirty-five in the Stathatos Collection, now in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens, was allegedly found inside a bronze vase at Almyros, near Gardiki (ancient Larisa Kremaste), Thessaly, in 1929. A clay vase containing a hoard of nine hundred silver Attic tetradrachms, with dates that cover the entire second century B.C. up to 124–123 B.C., is also said to have been found with the jewelry.²

The mesh's construction is identical to that on three similar hair ornaments with busts of Artemis and Aphrodite from the same treasure, now in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens.³ Two of these also feature similar decoration on the bands surrounding the roundel. Several gold hair ornaments of this type are known today and are dated from the late third to late second century B.C.⁴ Formerly thought to be lids for cylindrical vessels, these roundels, according to a more recent hypothesis, are hair ornaments worn on the back of

the head.⁵ The mesh and a ribbon threaded through the rings and tied into a knot would have secured the roundel while creating an impressive effect. IP

1. Segall 1938, pp. 42–44, no. 36, pls. 13, 14; Barr-Sharrar 1987, p. 123, no. H 3, p. 127, pl. 64; Pfrommer 1990, pp. 217–19, n. 1475 (with bibliography); Andrew Oliver Jr. in *Greek Jewellery* 1999, pp. 207–8, no. 69.

2. According to another source, the jewelry was found in Karpenisi, in Central Greece. On the find's provenance, see Kambanis 1934, pp. 101–2; Pfrommer 1990, pp. 215–20.

3. Amandry 1953, pp. 97–105, nos. 233–35, pls. XXXVI–XL; Barr-Sharrar 1987, pp. 122–23, nos. H 2, H 4, pls. 64, 65, pp. 124–25, no. H 8, pl. 65, pp. 127–28, 131; Kaltsas 2007, ill. p. 358.

4. See an ornament of the second half of the third century B.C. in the Musée du Louvre, Paris (Barr-Sharrar 1987, p. 122, no. H 1, pp. 125–26, pl. 64); another from Taranto in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, which is an ancient *pasticcio* of various pieces of the last quarter of the third century B.C. (Formigli and Heilmeyer 1990, pp. 66–78, figs. 48–68); two ornaments of the second century B.C., reportedly from Egypt and now in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (cat. 160) and the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (cat. 159a); two ornaments of the late second century B.C. in the Princeton University Art Museum, New Jersey (cat. 176); and another of the second century B.C. in the Rhode Island School of Design Museum, Providence (Barr-Sharrar 1987, pp. 123–24, no. H 5, pp. 128, 130–31, pl. 64). On the hypothesis that most of the known hairnets, including those of the Thessaly Treasure, were made using the bronze molds from the Galjüb Treasure, see Treister 2001, pp. 254–58.

5. For the first hypothesis, see Amandry 1953, pp. 100–101; Barr-Sharrar 1987, pp. 119–22. For the second, see Benton 1955, p. 175; Higgins 1980, pp. 166–67; Formigli and Heilmeyer 1990, pp. 66–78, especially pp. 73–74; Pfrommer 1990, p. 217; Oliver in *Greek Jewellery* 1999, p. 207.

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Diadem

Greek, Hellenistic period, 3rd–2nd century B.C.
Gold, garnet, and enamel, Diam. 17¾ in. (45.1 cm)
Said to be from Macedonia
The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (57.1541)

Alexander the Great's adoption of the Persian diadem as a sign of his kingship altered both its form and its connotations. The conqueror identified himself with Herakles, and at the center of this open-work diadem is a large garnet-enameled "Herakles knot," mimicking the one Herakles used to tie the paws of the Nemean lion's skin around his throat.¹ Appearing frequently on Hellenistic diadems, knots such as these symbolized strength and fertility, two qualities embodied by the hero of the Twelve Labors and the purported father of seventy children.² This diadem, which may have been worn by an elite woman, has a miniature snake on each of the four edges, twelve gold rosettes, and two long tassels; it would have adorned the forehead.³ MFN

1. Hôtel Drouot 1903, p. 68, no. 259, pl. IX, 11; Segall 1946, p. 65, fig. 12.

2. Pfrommer 2001a, pp. 21–25.

3. Reeder 1988, pp. 229–30, no. 127.





169
Diadem with Herakles Knot and Braided Bands

Greek, Hellenistic period, late 3rd–early 2nd century B.C.

Gold, garnets, agate, blue and green enamel, and glass paste, H. 1¾ in. (4.5 cm), L. 20⅝ in. (52.4 cm)

Found in Thessaly
 Benaki Museum, Athens (1548)

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Fragmentary Diadem with Herakles Knot

Greek, Hellenistic period, early 2nd century B.C.

Gold, garnets, and white, blue, and green enamel, H. 2 in. (5.2 cm), L. 9½ in. (24 cm)

Found in Thessaly
 Benaki Museum, Athens (1549)

This complete diadem (cat. 169) and part of another (cat. 170) both come from the Thessaly Treasure (see also cats. 167, 171,

172). Each features an impressive Herakles knot decorated with garnets alternating with gold decorative motifs, which give the impression of a continuous red cord secured with gold strips. At the knot's center, acanthus leaves surround a rosette on the complete diadem (cat. 169) and an inlaid garnet on the fragmentary one (cat. 170). The knots are decorated with rosettes and feature spirals in their outer corners. They are encased in gold frames with filigree tongue motifs, and on catalogue number 169, alternating blue and green enamel inlay. Trapezoidal plaques in the shape of pilaster capitals are hinged onto each knot's side. These are decorated with a central inlaid garnet surrounded by acanthus leaves and rosettes, while catalogue number 169 also features rows of enameled tongue motifs. On this diadem the trapezoidal plaques are attached to braided straps with leaf-shaped finials featuring lugs, through which a ribbon would have passed for securing the diadem

to the head. On the ends of the fragmentary diadem, two gold bulls' heads with garnet collars were probably the attachment pieces for a chain. Tassels hang from small chains held by agate and glass-paste beads on the complete diadem.¹

Diadems of this type were worn over a tall coiffure, with the pendant ornaments falling over the forehead and temples.² This popular type occurs in Ithaka, Ptolemaic Egypt, and Pantikapaion in the Crimea. Catalogue number 169 is probably the earliest and finest example.³ IR

1. For the complete diadem (1548), see Segall 1938, pp. 32–36, no. 28, pls. 8, 9; Despini 1996, p. 215, figs. 32, 33; Andrew Oliver Jr. in *Greek Jewellery* 1999, pp. 202–3, no. 67 (with bibliography). For the diadem fragment (1549), see Segall 1938, pp. 36–37, no. 29, pl. 10; Despini 1996, pp. 215–16, fig. 34; Oliver in *Greek Jewellery* 1999, pp. 204–5, no. 68 (with bibliography).

2. See *Schmuckarbeiten in Edelmetall* 1932, p. 74, and, for example, the band with pendant ornaments worn by Aphrodite on terracotta busts from Myrina: Besques 1963, p. 34, Myr 35, Myrina 661, pl. 38a, b.

3. See, for example, Pfrommer 1990, pp. 299–300, no. HK 4, fig. 43n, pl. 29, 46 (Egypt, early 2nd century B.C.), p. 311, no. HK 112, pls. 12, 1, and 29, 31 (Pantikapaion, early 2nd century B.C.); Despini 1996, p. 216, fig. 35 (now in the Metropolitan Museum, 58.11.5; Ithaka, late 3rd to early 2nd century B.C.). See also the diadem from the Thessaly Treasure, now in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens (Amandry 1953, pp. 118–24, no. 264, pl. XLVIII; Despini 1996, pp. 216–17, figs. 36, 37). For the closest parallel for diadem number 1548, now in a private German collection, see Hoffmann and Davidson 1965, pp. 56–59, no. 2, figs. 2a, 2b, pl. II.





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171

Necklace with Pendants

Greek, Hellenistic period, 2nd century B.C.

Gold, red garnets, and green enamel,

L. 14 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (36 cm)

Found in Thessaly

Benaki Museum, Athens (1554)

This necklace from the so-called Thessaly Treasure comprises a braided gold band and three rows of pendants hanging from rings and small chains. The pendants of the first and middle row are shaped like vases; those of the middle row are made of garnet set in gold. The pendants of the third row are shaped like pointed amphorae. Small disks and rosettes cover the places where the pendants adhere to the chains and the chains to the braided band. At either end of the band, square plaques in the shape of pilaster capitals are crowned by a stylized three-leaf palmette. A garnet forms the

central leaf, and enamel is used to denote the side leaves.¹ In a narrow band at the bottom of the capital, the word *ZOILAC* (Zoilas) is written in granulation, possibly indicating the name of the object's craftsman or owner.²

This type of necklace with vase-shaped pendants, which occurs from the late fourth to the second century B.C., probably corresponds to the *hormos amphoreon* (necklace of amphorae) mentioned in the lists of the *hieropoioi* (officials in charge of the temple's finances) of Delos from the year 279 B.C.³ IP

1. Segall 1938, p. 40, no. 34, pls. 12, 24; Despini 1996, p. 251, figs. 155, 156 (with bibliography); Andrew Oliver Jr. in *Greek Jewellery* 1999, p. 209, no. 70.

2. This name, complete or abridged, appears on five other pieces of jewelry from the same hoard: a ring now in the Benaki Museum, and a hair ornament, a ring, and two bracelets now in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens (Oliver in *Greek Jewellery* 1999, p. 209, no. 70).

3. See Amandry 1953, pp. 110–12.



Torque with Lynx-Head Terminals

Greek, Hellenistic period, 2nd century B.C.
Gold, garnets, and traces of green enamel,
Diam. 4¾ in. (12 cm), Diam. of tubes ¾ in.
(1.75 cm)

From Thessaly

Benaki Museum, Athens (1555)

This piece of jewelry consists of two curved tubular sections, fashioned from gold sheet and decorated with reticulation bearing a granule at the points of intersection. Affixed to the free ends of the torque, which rested on the collarbone, are hollow lynx heads, hammered in two parts and soldered together along the vertical axis of the face. Both ends of the tubular sections are invested with sheet-gold collars embellished with filigree heart-shaped motifs and green enamel, and a garnet behind each animal head.¹ The terminals that rested on the nape of the neck are capped with sheet gold, to which are soldered small gold links for fastening the ornament.

Particularly impressive is the naturalistic treatment of the feline, the dominant feature of which is the thick fur, rendered by fine chasing. The open mouth with prominent fangs, the intent gaze, and the backward slope of the ears leave no doubt that the lynx is represented poised to pounce on its prey.

The torque, together with two others with terminals in the form of bulls' heads, now in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens, comes from the Thessaly Treasure. There is a fourth torque of similar style from Asia Minor, with lynx-head and antelope-head terminals, in the Musée du Louvre, Paris.² Torques of this kind were worn by the Persians and Scythians as well as by the Celts (or Gauls) of Central Europe, who invaded Italy, Greece, and Asia Minor in the third century B.C.³ This custom—evidently the prerogative of warriors originally but adopted by women and children from the fourth century B.C. onward—is attested by torques found as grave goods, represented on sculptures, and depicted in mosaics. When imported to Greece, the type was modified by local artisans in accordance with current aesthetic preferences to create an ornament worn by females.

The lynx-head finials of the Benaki Museum torque were chosen by the artist because of the animal's special place in the iconographic repertoire of the Hellenistic period. Thanks to its brightly gleaming eyes and sleekly robust body, the lynx was a creature attributed with supernatural qualities,⁴ and its representation on items of jewelry must have reinforced either their magical character or their role as eloquent insignia of office, prestige, and social status. IP



1. Segall 1938, pp. 40–42, no. 35, pl. 10; Amandry 1953, p. 114, fig. 69; Irini Papageorgiou in *Greeks: Art Treasures* 2007, pp. 116–17 (with bibliography).

2. For the parallels in the National Archaeological Museum, see Amandry 1953, pp. 113–16, nos. 253, 254, pls. XLIV, XLV; Kaltsas et al. 2010, p. 64, ill. no. 11. For the torque in the Louvre, see Hoffmann and Davidson 1965, pp. 147–51, no. 53, figs. 53a–d, pl. IV.

3. For the torque in the art of the Achaemenids, see Françoise Tallon in *Royal City of Susa* 1992, pp. 245–46, no. 171. For Scythian torques, see *Or des Scythes* 1991, p. 108, no. 56, p. 131, no. 65, pp. 134–35, no. 66; Podvysockaja 1991, p. 252; Rolle, Müller-Wille, and Schietzel 1991, pp. 314–15, nos. 105–7; *Scythian Gold* 1999, p. 168, no. 55, p. 262, no. 125, p. 307, no. 157, p. 309, no. 159. For the torque in Celtic art, see Champion 1995, pp. 413–14; Birkhan 1999, ill. nos. 135, 136, 150, 153, 155–57.

4. See Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 28.32.122.

Pin with Crouching Aphrodite and Erotes

Greek, Hellenistic period, late 2nd century B.C.
Gold, garnets, and emeralds, H. 6¼ in. (16 cm)
Benaki Museum, Athens (2062)

The vertical shaft is shaped like a column with a Corinthian capital, the sides of which are decorated with alternating garnets and emeralds. The capital supports an exquisitely detailed miniature group. Aphrodite, arranging her hair, squats in the center and is surrounded by four erotes holding a folding mirror, plain mirror, butterfly, and perfume bottle.¹ The chains hanging from the capital's base were used to secure the pin. Aphrodite's pose also occurs on Hellenistic statues that copy a bronze model of the third century B.C., the famous Aphrodite by Doidalsas, which depicted the goddess in her bath.²

The pin belongs to a small group of Hellenistic examples whose heads are decorated with miniature versions of various statue types of Aphrodite.³ These pins occur alone (i.e., not in pairs), suggesting that they were used both for fastening garments and as head ornaments to secure fillet diadems or headdresses.⁴ IP

1. Lemerle 1938, pp. 447–48, fig. 4; Delivorrias 1984, pp. 105–6, no. 1038, pl. 103; Despini 1996, p. 256, figs. 178, 179 (with bibliography); Andrew Oliver Jr. in *Greek Jewellery* 1999, pp. 200–201, no. 66.

2. For this type of statue and its variants, see Delivorrias 1984, pp. 104–6, nos. 1018–43.



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3. See, for example, the second-century B.C. gold pin from the Thessaly Treasure in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens (Amandry 1953, p. 107, no. 241, pl. XLI; Kaltsas 2007, ill. p. 400); the second-century B.C. gold pin from Syria in the British Museum, London (Delivorrias 1984, p. 68, no. 590, pl. 58; Despini 1996, p. 255, fig. 176); the third- to second-century B.C. gilt-silver pin, possibly from Alexandria, in the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg (Hoffmann and von Claer 1968, pp. 157–58, no. 99; Delivorrias 1984, p. 77, no. 683, pl. 68).

4. Despini 1996, p. 41.



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Statuette of Aphrodite

Greek, Hellenistic period, first half of the 2nd century B.C.

Bronze, H. 15 in. (38 cm), W. 7¼ in. (18.5 cm)

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (96.AB.149)

The apple held in the outstretched hand of the statuette is an attribute of Aphrodite, awarded to the goddess by Paris of Troy as a prize in a beauty contest with Hera and

Athena. Certain elements of the figure, however, suggest that she may actually represent a Hellenistic queen portrayed as Aphrodite. Thong sandals with high platform soles were fashionable in the early second century B.C., and her modest garment of heavy drapery, visible below a transparent mantle and coiffure rolled back into a chignon, are typical of the Hellenistic style.¹ In addition, the crescent-shaped diadem, decorated with foliate



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scrolls and worn with a veil, resembles one seen in a fragmentary marble statue of a queen, perhaps Apollonis of Pergamon (cat. 145).² Finally, the way in which the veil clings to and outlines the hairstyle underneath is a detail conspicuous in coin portraits of Hellenistic queens.³

In the Late Hellenistic period, bronze statuettes became common among household furnishings for both decorative and religious purposes. Figures of Aphrodite were especially popular for domestic display because of their themes of love and beauty. Their popularity may also be attributed to the special status certain deities held among the Hellenistic rulers. Queen Arsinoe II of Egypt, for example, associated herself with Aphrodite as a means of articulating and emphasizing her power, blurring the human and the divine to serve a political purpose. AB

1. Ariel Herrmann in *Passion for Antiquities* 1994, pp. 208–11, no. 101.

2. *Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin* (AvP VII 87).

3. Coins of Arsinoe II (r. 278–270 B.C.), Berenike II (r. 246–221 B.C.); R. R. Smith 1988, pl. 75, nos. 5–7.

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Armband with Herakles Knot

Greek, Hellenistic period, 3rd–2nd century B.C.
Gold inlaid with garnets, emeralds, and enamel,
W. 3½ in. (8.9 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York;
Purchase, Mr. and Mrs. Christos G. Bastis Gift,
1999 (1999.209)

Superbly preserved, this large gold armband consists of an open framework filled with scrolls of ivy made of gold wire to which are attached finely chased leaves and clusters of berries. At its center, an ornate Herakles knot (*Herakleion amma*), composed of two antithetically intertwined loops inlaid with garnets, is set between two large rectangular cabochons. The knot is further adorned by a blossoming plant, whose central leaf is inlaid with an emerald, while green enamel is used for the rest of the leaves.¹

The association of this decorative device with the hero Herakles is perhaps through the resemblance with the knot of his lion's skin. As symbol of the ties of marriage, the Herakles knot became particularly popular in women's jewelry from the Late Classical period on. KK

1. *Münzen und Medaillen* 1986, pp. 53–54, no. 178, pl. 29; Carlos A. Picón in "Recent Acquisitions" 2000, pp. 10–11; Picón et al. 2007, pp. 192, 450, no. 227.

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Roundels with Busts of Artemis and Athena

Greek, Hellenistic period, late 3rd–early 2nd century B.C.

Gold, garnet, and enamel, Diam. of each
3⅞ in. (7.9 cm)

Princeton University Art Museum, New Jersey;
Museum purchase (y1938-49, y1938-50)

These gold roundels were said to have been part of a hoard of Hellenistic jewelry and coins found near Almyros, in Thessaly, but

that provenance has been questioned.¹

Clearly made by the same craftsman, they differ in detail. In the center of each, in high relief, is a separately made bust of a goddess, one with Artemis, who turns her head to the left, the other with Athena, who looks to her right. Artemis wears a chiton and has her hair pulled into a chignon. Her bow and quiver appear over her right shoulder. Athena wears the aegis over her chiton and her Corinthian helmet pushed up on her head. Her shield is visible over her left shoulder. Surrounding each bust are three concentric bands of ornament, the first consisting of oblong garnets (now mostly lost) alternating with gold bands. Around this are two additional bands of filigreed decoration, with traces of enamel. On the disk with Artemis, a Lesbian kymation is surrounded by an outer band of ivy leaves; on the one with Athena, the inner band features palmettes and lotus buds, and the ivy leaves of the outer band are interspersed with tiny inlaid garnets, of which only one survives. On both disks a thin sheet of gold covers the back.

The four pairs of loops placed symmetrically around the circumference of each roundel suggest that they functioned as *periammata* (ornaments held on the breast between crossed straps or chains), as seen on some terracotta statuettes.² A woman adorned with these rich jewels proclaimed her elite status and her devotion to two powerful—and chaste—Olympian goddesses. JMP

1. Segall 1945, pp. 2–11, fig. 1 and cover ill.; Hoffmann and Davidson 1965, pp. 226–27, no. 92; Higgins 1980, p. 167, pl. 52A (Artemis); Ariel Herrmann in *Search for Alexander* 1980, pp. 142–43, no. 78, colorpl. 13 (Artemis); *Princeton University Art Museum* 2013, p. 84.

2. Higgins 1980, p. 167; Johns 2003. *Terracottas: Albanien* 1988, p. 316, no. 200 (Aphrodite); Russell 1995, p. 16, no. 27, and cover ill. (Eros).

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Pair of Bracelets with Baskets Flanked by Snakes

Greek, Late Hellenistic or Early Imperial period,
1st century B.C.–early 1st century A.D.

Gold, emeralds, and pearls (modern),
H. 2½ in. (6.5 cm), max. Diam. 2⅜ in. (6.1 cm)

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Classical
Department Exchange Fund (1981.287, 1981.288)



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Worn on separate wrists as a matched pair, these unusual and elaborate bracelets make a bold statement about the taste in jewelry during the Late Hellenistic and Early Imperial periods.¹ The design consists of a central deep, flared vase (*kalathos*) flanked by two coiled gold wires that suggest snake handles. Two rows of pearls are threaded or wired around the band at the back, which is secured to the front by pinned hinges. More pearls and cabochon emeralds of varying shapes in square box settings add a colorful ornamental effect.

As the emeralds are thought to come from Egypt and the snake iconography may relate to the goddess Isis, the bracelets may be the product of an Alexandrian workshop. Their technique and style find close parallels in an emerald-and-gold bracelet and pendants discovered in a female grave in Piraeus.² In their chromatic exuberance and baroque style, these pieces reflect developments associated with Late Hellenistic jewelry-making that continued well into the Roman period. ck



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1. Deppert-Lippitz 1985, pp. 256, 294, pl. XXXII; Kondoleon, R. A. Grossmann, and Ledig 2008, p. 143; Markowitz 2011, p. 55.
2. Benaki Museum, Athens (1618-22); Andrew Oliver Jr. in *Greek Jewellery* 1999, pp. 252-53, no. 92.



Group of Hellenistic Silver

Sixteen objects: deep bowls (3), medallion, pyxides (2), hemispheric bowl, skyphos, pitcher, situlae (2), phiale, arula, kyathos, pair of horns

Greek, Hellenistic period, 3rd century B.C.

Silver, Diam. of medallion $4\frac{1}{8}$ in. (10.5 cm)

Said to be from Morgantina, House of Eupolemos

Museo Regionale di Aidone

The hoard from Morgantina consists of sixteen gilded-silver pieces, attributed to the site through an investigation supported by excavations in the House of Eupolemos, where they were probably hidden in advance of the Second Punic War.¹ The group consists of tableware plus an arula (small portable altar), a phiale (libation bowl), and two pyxides probably used for the symposium's ritual libations as well as a pair of silver horns from a helmet. Most of the silver objects bear punch-dotted and incised inscriptions that give names, monograms, or weight indications.² The chisel and embossed techniques employed on the bowls, medallion, pyxides, and arula represent some of the best surviving examples of Hellenistic metalworking. The figure of Scylla on the medallion evinces a dramatic baroque style popular in Pergamene sculpture, and the phiale bears the well-known Macedonian star, but the shapes of many objects are paralleled in Sicily, where the particular system of writing numbers evinced on some of the pieces was also common.³

Digital X-radiographs, UV fluorescence, and X-ray fluorescence recently performed on all the silver objects give us information on the technology of assembly, the execution of the embossing, the silver alloy, and the application of gold-leaf decoration, all of which show the Morgantina group to be quite homogeneous.⁴ Precisely where these silver objects were made is not known, but metal tools from the House of Eupolemos and from the adjacent area clearly show the presence at Morgantina of an artisans' quarter that specialized in metalworking. Furthermore, the skill of Syracusan silver-smiths at the time of Hieron II (r. ca. 270–



216/215 B.C.) is well known from several episodes recorded in ancient literary sources.⁵ LMan.

1. Bell 1997; Guzzo 2003; Maniscalco 2015, pp. 145–50.

2. Bell 1997, p. 34; Guzzo 2003, pp. 84–86. The shape of the pyxides is very similar to that of another example, from Paternò; Platz-Horster 2003.

3. This system of number writing is attested in Sicily, and the pseudoascendant acrophonic numerical writing is documented in Morgantina; see Guzzo 2003, p. 77.

4. "Argenti di Morgantina" 2014.

5. After an earthquake in 224 B.C., Hieron II donated silver vessels to Rhodes (Polybius, *The Histories* 5.88.5). A golden Nike was donated to Rome after the Battle of Cannae, in 216 B.C. (Livy, *History of Rome* 22.37.5), and Vitruvius (*On Architecture* 9, preface 9–12) recalls the famous episode of Archimedes and the golden crown commissioned by Hieron. The production of silver coins demonstrates once again the expertise of the city's *argyrokopei*. Polybius (*The Histories* 9.10.1–13) refers to the amount of gold and silver taken by Marcellus in Syracuse in 212 B.C.

Appliqué with Satyr Walking to the Left

Greek, Hellenistic period, 2nd century B.C.

Ivory, H. $9\frac{1}{8}$ in. (23.3 cm), W. $6\frac{1}{4}$ in. (15.8 cm)

Said to be from Sicily

The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (71.557)

The large size of this ivory appliqué makes it a spectacular survival from the Hellenistic period.¹ Peg holes, for fastening the flat-backed relief to a couch or other piece of furniture, appear in the right shoulder, cloak, and groin. In the early fourth century B.C., Demosthenes' father, so his son tells us, made a fortune manufacturing couches decorated with ivory.² The modeling of the figure demonstrates a deft



The small round ivory medallion in low relief depicts the god Pan in profile.¹ A hybrid creature native to Arkadia in Greece, he displays both human and goatlike characteristics in this remarkably realistic portrait. His hair curls wildly and is encircled by a fillet, a headband often associated with the Dionysian revelry in which he participates. Pan's sharp gaze and slightly open mouth reveal small teeth and denote a sense of wonder or surprise, as does his ear, perked up and forward with alertness. The lightly incised beard gives way to a tufted goatee tucked under his chin.

A perforation in the god's cheek, just below his eye, indicates that the appliqué was attached with a pin to a larger object. A second hole, angled behind the fillet, probably secured the attachment of Pan's goat horn, now missing. The circular shape of the appliqué and its worked reverse surface indicate that it may have been used as an inlay for a fulcrum, the armrest of a banqueting couch. Opulent Hellenistic furniture was often decorated with precious materials, as literary sources attest.² The imported ivory from which this appliqué was crafted may have come from either an Indian or an African elephant and was considered a luxurious material of great value.³ JHC

1. "Acquisitions" 1988, p. 144, no. 10; Lapatin 2015, p. 265, pl. 158.

2. J. Paul Getty Museum 2010, p. 101.

3. Doumeyrou 1989, p. 8.

appreciation for perspective: the nearer leg (left) is in higher relief than the farther.³

Befitting a companion of Dionysos, the satyr wears a wreath on his pointy ears. His *perizoma* (loincloth) consists of five rows of overlapping leaves cinched with a diamond-patterned belt. The dynamic gesture and pose, in an open stride with right arm extended, suggest that he formed part of a narrative scene or figural group.⁴ The knotted *pedum*, or shepherd's crook, that he carries is held in a pose evoking Herakles with his knotted club.⁵ Also reminiscent of Herakles is the deerskin knotted at his throat. In Greek art, satyrs dressed in such garb poke fun at the hero's Labors.⁶ Much of this cloak, once unfurling in the breeze over his left

shoulder, has been lost; his right arm, left forearm (and adjacent section of the crook), and feet are modern restorations. MFN

1. Sambon 1907.

2. Demosthenes, *Speeches* 27.9–10.

3. Diana Buitron and Andrew Oliver Jr. in Randall 1985, p. 70, no. 79.

4. Reeder 1988, p. 216, no. 115.

5. Marden Nichols in *Sicily: Art and Invention* 2013, p. 109, fig. 60.

6. Walsh 2009, p. 238.

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Appliqué Depicting the Head of Pan

Greek, Late Hellenistic period, ca. 100 B.C.
Ivory, H. 3⅜ in. (8.6 cm), W. 2¾ in. (6.9 cm)
The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (87.AI.18)

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Rhyton in the Form of a Centaur

Greek (Seleucid), Hellenistic period, ca. 160 B.C.
Silver, partially gilt, H. 8⅝ in. (22 cm),
Wt. 24.30 oz. (689 g)
Discovered in Falerii Novi (Civita Castellana),
Italy, 1810
Antikensammlung, Kunsthistorisches Museum,
Vienna (VIIa 49)

Drinking vessels, including this silver rhyton in the form of a centaur, were part of an important find in ancient Falerii Novi, in Italy.¹ A major portion of the body of the vessel has been lost, but the circular seam at the bottom of the hybrid creature's torso indicates where it was attached.



Centaurs are known from many ancient myths as wild and almost proverbially uncivilized creatures. The one pictured here, however, seems serene and focused. The plectrum in his right hand indicates that he was depicted playing music; a lyre or kithara can be assumed to have been in his left hand. In this he resembles Chiron, tutor and friend of many heroes of antiquity, who among other things taught the arts of healing and lyre playing.

The outstanding craftsmanship of this piece deserves special mention. With the exception of the attached arms and legs, the entire body of the centaur was produced in repoussé from a single sheet of silver. Accordingly, even the hair and the tips of the beard are hollow. Fire gilding is preserved on the laurel wreath in the creature's hair and on the plectrum. The entire surface was finally carefully reworked with chasing of the tiniest details. The Hellenistic pathos of the head, especially, links this masterpiece with the art of Pergamon and most notably with the Pergamon Altar. Nevertheless, it was probably made in a Seleucid workshop, for all the known drinking horns with centaur protomes come from the Hellenistic East. The ornaments of the drinking cups found together with the rhyton (cat. 181) can also be ascribed to Seleucid art. GP

1. Purchased for the Imperial Collections in Vienna, 1825. A. Visconti 1823, pp. 305–7; R. von Schneider 1895, p. 13, pl. XXXIII; Reinsberg 1980, pp. 106–12, 200, figs. 73, 101, 102; Gschwantler 1986, pp. 42–43, no. 35, figs. 76, 77.

182a–c

Three Cups

Greek, Hellenistic period, 2nd century B.C.
Gilded silver, Diam. (a, b) 7¼ in. (18.3 cm),
(c) 5¼ in. (13.4 cm)

Found at Falerii Novi (Civita Castellana), Italy, 1810
Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples (25284,
25285, 25288)

Found at the ancient city of Falerii Novi, near present-day Civita Castellana, these silver cups are examples of the most distinguished Pergamene craftsmanship and are not, as once believed, of the Tarentine school.¹ Of the finest craftsmanship, they are composed of a double layer of silver; the exterior is very thin and decorated, while

the inside stratum is thicker and smooth. The exterior surfaces of the cups are decorated in high relief with lightly gilded acanthus leaves, reflecting the naturalistic style of Hellenistic art, including botanically precise details such as serrated borders and veining. Additional naturalistic elements, such as tendrils and leaves, were picked out

by the engraver. An ovule motif decorates the borders. Only one of the cups has handles, but all have settings for gemstones—inside the decorative foliage in one case, and underneath the bases in all three.

The use of silver services was quite common among the upper social classes in the Roman period, as we learn from the



182a



182b

182c

“Cena Trimalchionis” in the *Satyricon*, in which Petronius describes the pompous Trimalchio showing off his expensive table service to his guests to boast of his wealth. Pliny the Elder also denounced this taste for luxury, observing that the Romans had picked up such habits in Asia, and blamed it on the triumph of the consul Lucius

Aemilius Paullus, a celebration that deployed some three thousand men bearing coins, silver horns, and richly decorated vases brought home from his victory at the Battle of Pydna, in 168 B.C. FG

1. Borgia collection, 1811. The cups are engraved and embossed; small missing pieces have been repaired. A. Visconti 1823, pp. 303–5; Coarelli 1977, p. 529, n. 471, pl. 66a, b; De Caro 1994, p. 375.



183

Vessel with Leaf Ornament

Greek, Hellenistic period, mid-3rd–early 2nd century B.C.

Gilded silver, H. 2 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (6.8 cm), Diam. 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (8.1 cm)

Said to be from Kavala, Greece

The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (57.911)

Reflecting the Hellenistic flair for Dionysian imagery, this silver vessel has a profusion of alternating vegetal motifs, including acanthus, lilies, and lotus leaves, which radiate from a rosette at the center of the base.¹ During the Hellenistic period, vessels in ceramic and precious metals took similar forms, and borrowings may have occurred in either direction.² The stippled-dot pattern across the background on the body here increases the illusion of movement and the impression of depth. Much of the high relief is repoussé (hammered from the reverse side). Traces of gilding appear on the engraved shoulder and some of the motifs. MFN

1. Segall 1966, fig. 5. Eleni Zimi suggests that the vessel may have come from ancient Amphiopolis; Zimi 2011, p. 240, no. 105.

2. Vickers, Impey, and Allan 1986, pl. 26; Oliver 1977, p. 71.

184

Female Figure in the Archaic Style (The Dancer)

Greek, Hellenistic period, 150–125 B.C.

Marble, H. with plinth 47 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (120 cm)

Excavated at Pergamon, from banquet hall with Hephaestion Mosaic, Palace V, March 1866

Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (AvP VII 43)

This young girl with a slender, elongated figure is striding straight with her left leg extended.¹ Her right arm, separately carved and inset, was originally raised; her lowered left arm gathered up her garment. Her head gazes toward the raised right hand, so that the figure is captured in a dynamic *contrapposto* movement, as though she wishes to turn around or point to something. The pose of the right foot, turned out slightly, suggests this. Along with the base, the feet, portions of the drapery, and the left forearm have been restored in artificial marble. The restoration of the feet, with heels not touching the ground, is likely correct. It conforms to the poses of the extended legs and underscores the graceful, strutting movement of the figure; it is also confirmed by typologically similar relief depictions.

The girl wears several filmy garments that in some places cling to her body as

though wet and in others form opulent, deeply stepped folds. Above a delicately draped sleeved chiton is a second, sleeveless garment, whose flowing fabric is edged at the neck and shoulders by broad cording. Yet the overall appearance is dominated by the abundant mantle, which in structure and draping resembles the short, angled cloaks of Archaic korai from the sixth century B.C.

The special charm of the figure derives from its sophisticated play of opposites: between the tiptoe stance and the distinct torsion of the upper body, for example, or between the Archaistic drapery of the mantle in the front and the wafting folds beneath the left hand and at the rear side. Similar contrasts characterize the form of the head. The soft face with swelling cheeks, deep-set eyes, and a small, full mouth is framed by long, wavy hair secured by a headband at the forehead and temples. In contrast to this, stiff spiral locks hang down in front of the ears and at the nape of the neck.

The figure, found in a banquet hall, has been interpreted as a lamp holder, but there are no analogous works that would confirm this interpretation. More likely, the dancing maiden held a garland or wreath in her extended right hand, as seen in reliefs.² Thus it might even have belonged to a figural grouping associated with *candelabra*. The torso of another figure of this type from Pergamon is now in the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul.³ cvo.

1. Winter 1908, pp. 63–64, no. 43, supplementary sheet 8; Schober 1951, pp. 145–46, fig. 148; Schneider 1973, p. 76, table XVIII, p. 79, table XXX, p. 143, no. 295; Fullerton 1987, pp. 266ff., pl. 18, 1; Zagdoun 1989, pp. 174–76, no. 89, fig. 190; Brahm 1994, pp. 261ff., 361–63, no. 91, figs. 97, 98; C. Kunze 1996b, pp. 116–17, fig. 5; Huberta Heres in Scholl and Platz-Horster 2007, pp. 114–15, no. 63; Christiane Vorster in *Pergamon* 2011, pp. 508–9, no. 5.24; Vorster 2011b.

2. Borbein 1968, pp. 189–90, pls. 42–44; Cain 1985, pls. 9, 2, 21, 3, 4, and 65, 1, 2; Gianfilippo Carettoni in *Kaiser Augustus* 1988, p. 270, no. 124, ill. p. 271.

3. Mendel 1912–14, vol. 2 (1914), pp. 367–68, no. 623 (with indication of the findspot in a mosque at Bergama); Zagdoun 1989, p. 238, no. 208, pl. 52, fig. 191; Brahm 1994, p. 363, no. 92, fig. 99; C. Kunze 1996b, p. 117, n. 58.





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185 Medallion with Head of a Centaur or Silenus

Greek, Hellenistic period, 200–150 B.C.
Silver, chased and gilt, Diam. with mounting $3\frac{5}{8}$ in. (9.3 cm), Diam. without mounting $3\frac{3}{8}$ in. (8.5 cm), max. D. $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. (3.2 cm)
Said to have come from Miletopolis (Kirmasti, Turkey)
Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Misc. 10840)

This tondo presents a nearly frontal depiction of the head of a wild male with animal ears and a beard; the head projects the farthest from the surface at the upright shock of hair above the forehead.¹ The expressiveness of the face derives from the open mouth and the piercing gaze of the wide-open eyes as well as from the locks of the hair and beard standing out in every direction. A wreath of vine leaves lies in the hair, with two bunches of grapes above the temples and large serrated leaves on the top of the head, accented in gilding. Traces of gilding also appear on the lips, against

which the lower row of teeth stand out in contrasting silver.

The pointy animal ears and the vine-leaf wreath are attributes of both Silenus and centaurs. However, comparing this work with the front of a silver rhyton in the form of a centaur in Vienna's Kunsthistorisches Museum (cat. 181)²—in which the head features similarly tousled hair and beard and a vine-leaf wreath—leads me to the conclusion that this is the head of a centaur. By Hellenistic times at the latest, centaurs, together with satyrs, maenads, and Pan, were part of the entourage of the wine god Dionysos and were frequently depicted on wine vessels and in table services. The present relief could have adorned the inside of a showy silver cup.

Scholars have frequently seen parallels between the pathetic style of the medallion and that of the Great Frieze of the Pergamon Altar and have thus proposed a dating of about 180/170 B.C.³ They have also even proposed that the medallion was created in Pergamon in the ambience of the court, partly because the presumed findspot of



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Kirmasti in Mysia lies only about one hundred kilometers northeast of Pergamon. Nevertheless, our knowledge of precious metalwork at the Hellenistic courts is at present insufficient to resolve such questions. ASchw.

1. Purchased in 1908. Winnefeld 1908, pp. 3–12, pl. 1; Ulrich Gehrig in *Meisterwerke aus dem Antikemuseum Berlin* 1980, pp. 100–101, no. 43; Reinsberg 1980, pp. 105–6 and n. 375, pp. 110, 201, figs. 71, 72; G. Zimmer 1996, pp. 130–31, fig. 3; Morawietz 2000, pp. 53, 55, and, for interpretation, pp. 52–56.
2. Villa 49; Reinsberg 1980, pp. 106–7, figs. 73, 101, 102.
3. Winnefeld 1908, p. 12; Reinsberg 1980, p. 108; G. Zimmer 1996, p. 131.

186 Bowl with a Medallion Depicting Dionysos

Greek, Late Hellenistic period, late 2nd century B.C.
Silver and gold, Diam. overall $5\frac{5}{8}$ in. (14.4 cm), Diam. of tondo $4\frac{1}{8}$ in. (10.4 cm), D. $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. (3.2 cm), preserved Wt. 4.56 oz. (129.3 g)
The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (83.AM.389)

Rare survivals today, vessels fashioned from precious metals were produced throughout the Hellenistic world as the wealth of the Persian kings came into Greek hands in the wake of Alexander's conquests.¹ The center of this shallow, flat-rimmed bowl is decorated with a separately made *emblema* (medallion), which was hammered from the back using the repoussé technique and further embellished from the front to depict the wine god Dionysos, Ariadne, and a bearded Silenus surrounded by two sinuous, leafy grape tendrils that sprout from a rocky landscape. The youthful god is largely nude, wearing only a short cloak. He stands embracing his consort with his right hand, which is visible on her shoulder, while caressing her chin with his left—a gesture often seen in depictions of Eros and Psyche. Ariadne is half-draped, with her right hand on hip, wearing an armlet, a snake bracelet, and a jeweled thigh band. Behind the god, on the other side of an upright *thyrsos*, a bearded Silenus, draped like a philosopher, sits on a rock looking into the distance. Gold adorns the figures' hair and ivy crowns, drapery, jewelry, the *thyrsos*, and the rocks and tendrils as well as the two plain bands surrounding the medallion and, at the outermost edge, a beaded molding and Ionian kymation. Although about a third of the rim and the heads of Dionysos and Ariadne are damaged, this opulent bowl still conveys in both its materials and its imagery the allure of *tryphe* (luxury) prevalent in the Hellenistic East. KL

1. "Acquisitions" 1984, p. 256, no. 140; Pfrommer 1993b, pp. 218–19, no. 127; Treister 1997, pp. 128–32; Treister 2001, pp. 205–6.

187

Cast of a Horse's Nosepiece (Prometopidion)

Greek, Hellenistic period, 3rd–2nd century B.C.
Plaster, H. 6½ in. (16.6 cm), W. 3⅞ in. (8 cm)
Princeton University Art Museum, New Jersey;
Museum purchase, Caroline G. Mather Fund
(y1948-52)

A mold taken from a *prometopidion* (metal armor to protect the nose of a horse) was used to cast this pointed oblong relief.¹

Sitting in a relaxed pose on a shield, a beardless warrior rests his right foot on a cuirass and helmet. He is nude except for a chlamys, or short cloak, that trails over his left arm, which rests on a second shield. With his right hand he holds a spear, planted upright. Behind the warrior is a trophy (*tropaion*), consisting of a wood post clothed with an empty chiton, chlamys, and helmet, which victorious armies traditionally erected to mark possession of the battlefield.

Many such plaster casts of Hellenistic metalwork are known, including groups from Begram (Afghanistan) and Memphis (Egypt).² They apparently circulated widely and functioned as models for metalworkers. Most probably date soon after the creation

of their metal antecedents. On the basis of the letter forms, an inscription incised on the back of the Princeton relief has been dated to the third or second century B.C.³ It reads, *Isidórou tó gúpsinon* ("the plaster of Isidoros") perhaps the name of the original metalworker. JMP

1. Richter 1959, pp. 53–59, figs. 1, 7, 8; Reinsberg 1980, pp. 209–10, fig. 103; Rabe 2008, pp. 132, 189–90, no. 77, pl. 42, 3; Picón 2014, p. 454, fig. 4.

2. Begram: Kurz 1954. Memphis: Reinsberg 1980. The Memphis group, now in the Hildesheim Pelizaeus Museum, includes other casts of *prometopedia* of this shape; see Richter 1959, p. 56, fig. 3; Reinsberg 1980, p. 294, no. 4, fig. 7. For an actual silver example in Basel, with Nike carrying a trophy, see Reinsberg 1980, fig. 92; Cahn 1989, p. 26, no. W 16; Rabe 2008, p. 190, no. 78, pl. 22, 1.

3. Raubitschek 1959.



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188

Cast of an *Emblema* (Medallion) with Aphrodite and Eros

Greek (likely Ptolemaic), Hellenistic period, 2nd–1st century B.C.

Plaster, Diam. $4\frac{1}{8}$ in. (10.5 cm), D. $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. (2.8 cm)

Said to be from Afghanistan

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of Alexander Götz, in honor of Samuel Eilenberg, 1996 (1996.472)

Depicting the widely popular Classical subject of Aphrodite and Eros, this plaster cast is a reminder that our knowledge of the gold and silver wares of Hellenistic antiquity is in part based not on the repertoire of vessels themselves, of which a pitiful number have survived, but on ancient plaster cast replicas such as this.¹ These low-value copies probably served as artists' models in gold and silver workshops and as samples to guide clients in commissioning such wares. The originals were typically serving dishes,

drinking bowls, and mirror backs decorated in high-relief repoussé with scenes from Classical mythology.² Typically in gilt silver, they were an important aspect of luxury consumption in the Hellenistic world of the third through first century B.C. A corpus of plaster casts of such vessels with high-relief decoration has been recovered from ancient cities spanning from North Africa to the Black Sea (Chersonesus) and extending to Afghanistan (Kapisi) and Taxila (Sirkap), signaling the remarkable geographic reach of the artistic tradition these objects represent. The most spectacular group was recovered at Memphis, near Fustat (Old Cairo), Lower Egypt, in a Late Ptolemaic silversmith's workshop.³

Circumstantial evidence suggests that this *emblema* was recovered in Afghanistan, which makes the data proffered by a hoard of plaster casts excavated at the ancient city of Kapisi (now Begram), in north central Afghanistan, central to this discussion.



Fig. 132. Clay impression of an *emblema* (medallion) with a satyr and woman drinking. Excavated at Buddhist monastic site of Sanghol, ca. 1st–2nd century A.D. Punjab, North India. Sanghol Archaeological Museum, Punjab

Kapisi emerged as a Greco-Bactrian trade center in the third and second centuries B.C., and then continued as an Indo-Parthian city until the first century A.D., when the Kushans integrated it into their empire. The so-called Begram Hoard was excavated in 1937–39 in a suite of rooms best interpreted as a palace treasury complex.⁴ In addition to Late Roman luxury trade objects, a significant number of which were likely sourced from Alexandria via the Red Sea route, this hoard also contained some fifty plaster *emblema*, which suggests that royal workshops may also have been associated with these storeroom facilities. Like the ones discovered at Kapisi, this *emblema* can be envisaged as a valuable model for a merchant to show clients desiring silver wares from the Hellenistic West. A terracotta *emblema* depicting a satyr and woman drinking (likely a secondary copy made from a plaster “original”) excavated at the Buddhist monastic site of Sanghol, near Chandigarh,

in the Indian Punjab, is assigned to the first to second century A.D. (fig. 132).⁵ Sanghol is located on the historic highway connecting Taxila, in ancient Gandhara, to Mathura and sites east in the Gangetic Plains, including Pataliputra.

The cast depicts Aphrodite seated on a rock formation and clad only in a skirt partially covering her legs. Her general posture is echoed in a number of other plaster casts recovered from Memphis with variant themes depicting Aphrodite.⁶ In her raised left hand she holds a mirror into which the winged-infant figure of Eros gazes. Eros leans nonchalantly on a shield, seen in upright profile. Above is an unidentified third person, or more probably the sculpture of a herm, adding to the outdoor setting. A suspension hole in the upper center indicates that this cast could be hung for display, likely in a silversmith's workshop or merchant's storeroom, to serve as a sample for prospective clients. JG

1. Picón 2014, p. 452, fig. 3.

2. Attested by a silver dish from Memphis, preserved in Hildesheim, Germany, and a silver mirror excavated at Pompeii; see Hackin 1954, figs. 426, 392.

3. Reinsberg 1980.

4. As originally proposed by Hackin 1954; see also Lightfoot 2010.

5. Gupta 1987, p. 98, fig. 14.

6. Reinsberg 1980, figs. 81, 84.

189

Young Satyr with a Syrinx

Greek, Hellenistic period, ca. 160–150 B.C.

Bronze, H. 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (15 cm)

Discovered at Pergamon, next to Byzantine wall above the foundations of Hellenistic dwellings, October 7, 1879

Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Misc. 7466)

This small bronze figure of a youthful satyr in dramatic movement is partially worked on the back and fitted with an ancient bronze peg, indicating that it was mounted on a support.¹ Retreating with his feet far apart, the satyr holds a panpipe (syrinx) in his left hand, with the skin of a beast of prey wrapped around his left elbow. In his right hand, raised above his head, he probably held a *pedum*, a throwing stick used to hunt rabbits, with which he was



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defending himself from an attack from the left, perhaps by a panther. The panther, like satyrs, belonged to the entourage of Dionysos. It cannot be determined with certainty what the piece might have been mounted on: a piece of furniture, perhaps, or a larger statue.² Aschw.

1. Furtwängler 1880; Neugebauer 1951, pp. 66–69, no. 61, pl. 29; Rolley 1983, p. 200, ill. no. 180; Klages 1997, pp. 100–101, 153, no. 76, fig. 71; Nele Hackländer in Scholl and Platz-Horster 2007, pp. 115–16, no. 64; Norbert Franken in *Pergamon* 2011, p. 532, no. 6.15.

2. Franken 2000.

190

Statuette of a Giant(?)

Greek (Pergamene?), second quarter of the 2nd century B.C.

Bronze, silver, and copper,¹ H. 9 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (25 cm), W. 3 in. (7.6 cm), D. from right elbow to left foot 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (14.5 cm)

Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Antiquités Grecques, Étrusques et Romaines (Br 4307)

In this dramatic statuette of a warrior preparing to strike an adversary, both the



The warrior appears somewhat squat, for example, since his head, whose volume is increased by the thick hair and beard, seems to be more than a fifth of the size of the body. The locks of hair stand up and twist above the bumpy forehead. The extremely large bulge at the arch of the eyebrows partly conceals the lacrimal caruncle and forms a triangle between the eye and temple. The mouth is open, and the notch in the upper lip is particularly deep. The considerable thickness of the neck is especially visible on the left. The interplay between the highly developed muscular surfaces and the underlying anatomy attests to the artist's mastery of a body engaged in action, like that of the giants on the Great Altar of Pergamon, such as Alcyoneus on the East Frieze.³ Providing further evidence of Pergamene influence, the statuette has been linked stylistically to that of a young satyr found in Pergamon (cat. 189). SD-L

1. Silver for the eyes and copper for the nipples.

2. Formerly in the Jameson collection; acquired in 1950. Alain Pasquier in *Hommes et dieux de la Grèce antique* 1982, pp. 80–84, no. 32.

3. Massa-Pairault 2007, pl. LXII.

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Tritoness Relief Appliqué

Greek, Late Hellenistic period, late 2nd century B.C.

Bronze with copper inlay, H. 8⁷/₈ in. (22.4 cm), W. 9⁵/₈ in. (24.5 cm), D. 3¹/₈ in. (7.8 cm)

The Cleveland Museum of Art; Leonard C. Hanna, Jr. Fund (85.184)

With its head turned up and to the left, this masterful bronze relief appliqué depicts the bust of a Tritoness, one of the sea god Triton's female counterparts.¹ The pointed ears and two gills at the lower corners of the jaw, dangling like pendant earrings, support this identification. Her luxurious hair falls down her shoulders in snaky tendrils, clinging in wet curls against her forehead and cheeks. Behind her head, her right hand grips the handle of an instrument, perhaps a sword. Falling in an arc from her wrist to below her exposed left breast are overlapping masses of leafy marine vegetation, presented as if animated

weapon—most likely a sword held in the right hand and raised above the head—and the sheath, which the left hand was clasping, have disappeared.² A hole for insertion, visible on the left thumb, indicates that the digit, part of which was cast with the sheath, was used to attach the sheath. Patches to conceal flaws in the casting were made with great care.

In terms of pose, the figure is reminiscent of works in the Severe Style produced during the Early Classical period—for example, Harmodios in the tyrannicide group, the god of Cape Artemision, statuettes of Zeus with a lightning bolt or of Herakles brandishing a cudgel—but here the treatment is completely different.

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by an unseen current. Copper inlay is present in the eyes, lips, nipple, and possibly the undulating leaves at the figure's right side. MB

1. Cleveland Museum of Art 1991, p. 12. The figure has also been identified as Scylla; see Walter-Karydi 1988.

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Head of a Centaur

Roman, Early Imperial period, late 1st century B.C.–early 1st century A.D.

Bronze, silver, and lead, H. 5¾ in. (14.5 cm), Wt. 8.9 lbs. (4,040 g)

Found in the Roman town at Schwarzenacker, Germany, 18th century

Historisches Museum der Pfalz, Speyer (B 125)



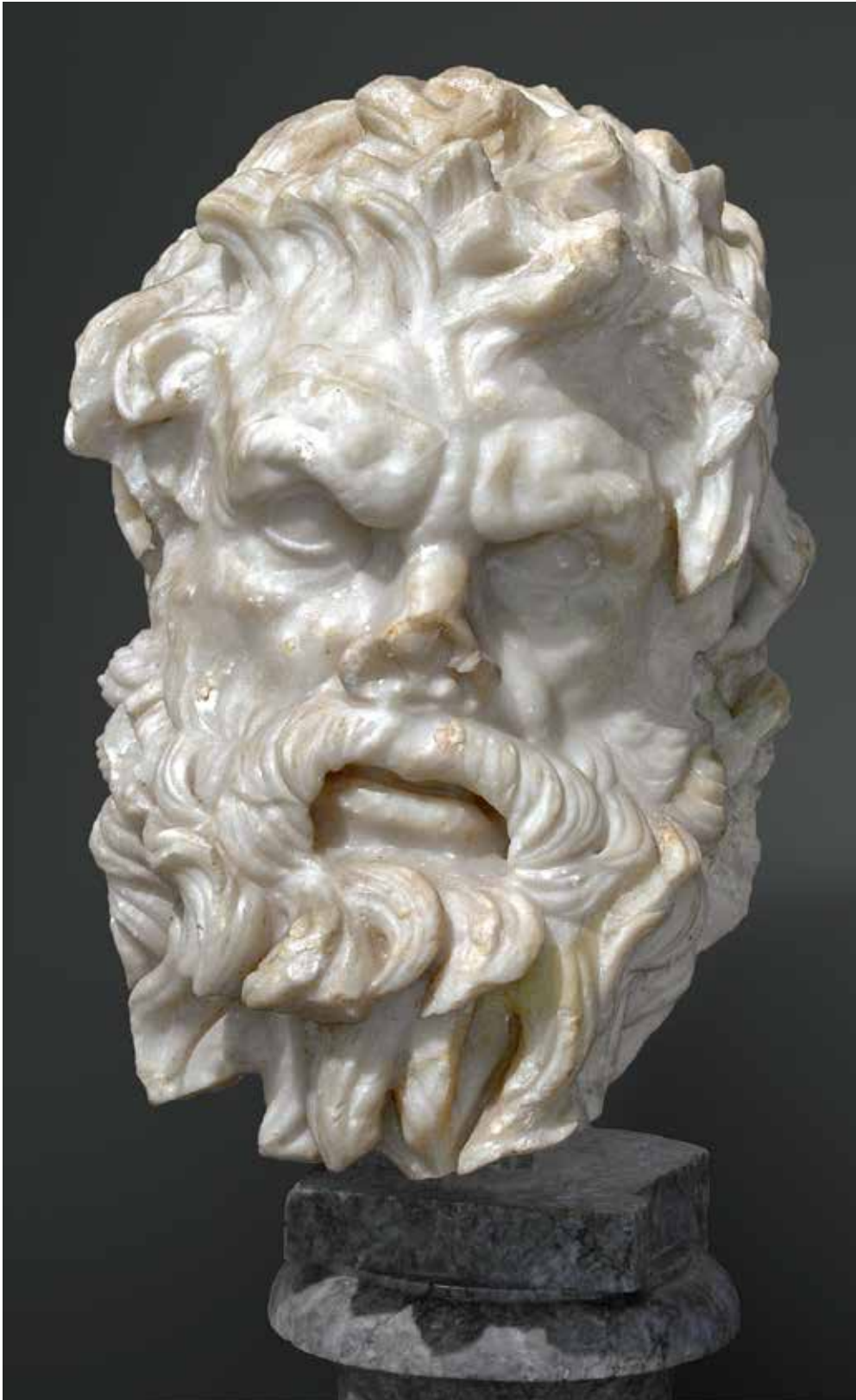
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This exquisite bronze head was found in the eighteenth century at the site of the Roman town at Schwarzenacker, in the Saarland.¹ Initially thought to be an example of Hellenistic bronze casting, it later came to be understood as a neo-Classical copy after a Hellenistic original, most likely produced in the second half of the first century B.C. Either way, it is one of the most outstanding monuments of the bronze art of antiquity. Hollow cast and fully three-dimensional, the head is a remnant of a statuette of a centaur that was destroyed in antiquity. The head was then filled with lead and reused as a scale weight.

According to myth, centaurs were wild, unruly creatures—half horse, half man—that lived in the forests of Thessaly and were enemies of the noble, giant Lapiths, by

whom they were defeated with the aid of the demigod Theseus. This conflict, known as the Centauromachy, symbolized the battle between people of culture (Greeks) and the impetuous and primitive (barbarians). The Centauromachy was a favorite subject in Greek art, one frequently adopted by the Romans as well. The Temple of Zeus, the Parthenon in Athens at Olympia, and the Theater of Perge in Asia Minor were all adorned with depictions of the Centauromachy. The agitated features of this scraggly, bearded head, with wide-open eyes executed in silver and niello and a slightly open mouth with silver teeth, clearly express the emotional state of this lecherous predator. RP

1. Harster 1888, p. 24; S. Reinach 1894, pp. 114–16, no. 117; Schoppa 1957, p. 53, no. 66, pl. 66.



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Head of a Centaur or Silenus

Greek (Rhodian?), Late Hellenistic or Early Imperial period, 2nd century B.C.–1st century A.D.

Marble, H. 16 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (41 cm)

Found on the Esquiline Hill (Horti Lamiani), Rome
Musei Capitolini, Rome (1137)

The magnificent huge marble head¹ of a mature wild creature (marked by the animalesque pointed ears) wears an intensely dramatic expression, the lines of the face sharply etched, the heavily furrowed eyebrows low over deep-set eyes, the whole visage complemented by the tension in the neck muscles, the half-closed lips, and untamed beard and hair, of which numerous locks have broken off, partly spoiling the effect. The high quality of the artistry and the fine finish of the surfaces are accentuated by the translucence of the stone. Found in 1874 on the Esquiline Hill in Rome, the head in all probability belonged to a decorative scheme in the *horti* (gardens) planted there, believed to have been the Horti Lamiani, one of the luxurious villas built in early imperial times, then joined to the neighboring Horti Maecenatis to become a single large imperial property.² Sadly, other fragments of the statue, recorded at the time it was discovered, are now lost.

From the moment it was found, various suggestions on the subject of the statue have been advanced: Silenus, giant, or centaur?³ The centaur hypothesis holds the widest consensus today, although no firm proof has been offered. The stylistic interpretation is less simple. At first a majority of scholars were inclined to attribute the work to the school of Pergamon, noting a similarity with the giants on the Great Altar,⁴ but in recent years the hypothesis that the piece comes from the Rhodian school has gained ground, based on the handling of the surface and the extreme pathos of the work.⁵ In this view, the piece should be considered in light of Rhodian works such as the group depicting the blinding of Polyphemos at Sperlonga,⁶ in particular the head of Odysseus, and more generally with reference to works associated with the Laocoön, with its known link to the sculptors of Rhodes. The date of the head is also a matter of controversy—suggestions range from High Hellenism to the Early Imperial period—as well as whether this is an original or a copy.⁷

Whatever the case, the piece is a very fine example of the baroque sculptural tradition that originated in Pergamon under the Attalids and persisted into the

early Roman Empire via schools like that of Rhodes (particularly appreciated by wealthy Roman clients) from which pieces were combined in large scenic displays such as that in the grotto of the so-called Villa of Tiberius at Sperlonga as well as other comparable arrangements in the splendid gardens of Rome. EP

1. "Elenco degli oggetti di arte antica" 1874, p. 249, no. 9; *Monumenti inediti* 1885, pl. I; Stuart Jones 1926, pp. 128–29, no. 3, pl. 47; Hans von Steuben in Helbig 1963–72, vol. 2 (1966), pp. 303–4, no. 1483; Doris Pinkwart in Pinkwart et al. 1972, no. 10, pl. 13; Chrystina Häuber in *Tranquille dimore degli dei* 1986, pp. 97–99, fig. 67; Elena Ghisellini in *Augusto* 2013, p. 206, no. III.7.1.

2. On the scarce information about the discovery, see Häuber 1986, pp. 179, 196, n. 70; Häuber 2014, pp. 611–26, fig. 82, who identifies the place of excavation as the Horti Maecenatis.

3. The statue has even been identified as Chiron the wise centaur, depicted in a group with Achilles that once stood in the Saepta Julia. See Moreno 1994, vol. 1, pp. 405–7.

4. See, for example, von Steuben in Helbig 1963–72, vol. 2 (1966), pp. 303–4, no. 1483; Häuber in *Tranquille dimore degli dei* 1986, pp. 97–99 (with bibliography).

5. La Rocca 1998, pp. 212–19. Such was observed by Kraemer 1931, p. 146, fig. 6.

6. Thus Andreae 1974, p. 80; also Himmelmann 1995, pp. 63–65, 72–73, pls. 32, 33. Contrast, however, C. Kunze 1996a, pp. 153–58. For discussion, see Häuber 2014, pp. 614–15.

7. For the stylistic analysis and dating, see most recently Vorster 2007, pp. 308–9; Häuber 2014, pp. 611–26.

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Painted Situla

Greek, Early Hellenistic period, late 4th–early 3rd century B.C.

Glass with silver handles, H. 10½ in. (26.7 cm), Diam. 8 in. (20.3 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, The Bernard and Audrey Aronson Charitable Trust Gift, in memory of her beloved husband, Bernard Aronson, 2000 (2000.277)

Situlae were part of the set of vessels and utensils used for cooling and serving wine at banquets. Similar vessels in bronze and terracotta were used by the Greeks and Etruscans from an early period, but the first luxury silver examples occur in the royal Macedonian tombs of the third quarter of the fourth century B.C. This vessel, one of the earliest-known glass examples, is highly unusual in technique, shape, and decoration.¹ It is made of almost colorless glass that was



cast and carved, with two projecting attachments for the swing handles, made separately in silver. Its slightly convex bottom would have required a stand; other examples have an integral ring base and a more pronounced convex-curving side. Recently, a glass psykter (wine cooler) with an inner cup shaped like this situla has been published from a late fourth-century B.C. tomb in Aetolia, Greece.² It, however, is undecorated, and the present situla is unique in having gilded and painted decoration on its exterior: horizontal bands of small budlike

objects in shades of pinkish red and two vertical stripes that run down its sides below the handle attachments. These are block-filled with purplish red paint, into which the lines of slender, wavy tendrils have been incised freehand.³ The decoration would have been enhanced when the situla was full of dark red wine, since the contents would have been visible through the translucent glass. CSL

1. Lightfoot 2003, pp. 19–21, figs. 3, 4; Picón et al. 2007, pp. 194, 450, no. 230.

2. Triantafyllidis 2011.

3. See Phipps 2010, p. 6 and fig. 7.

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Gold-Glass Bowl

Greek, Hellenistic period, 250–200 B.C.
Glass and gold leaf, H. 4½ in. (11.4 cm),
Diam. 7⅝ in. (19.3 cm)

Discovered in Canosa di Puglia, Italy; made in
the eastern Mediterranean, perhaps Alexandria
The British Museum, London (GR 1871,0518.2)

A technical masterpiece, this gold-glass bowl was found with nine other glass vessels in the same tomb, including one in the same technique.¹ It actually consists of two colorless glass bowls, created with different molds to fit inside each other perfectly, and a layer of patterned gold leaf stuck to the inner bowl. Once the inner bowl was inserted into the larger one, the whole was gently heated in a kiln and fused together, although not uniformly throughout.

A few of these so-called sandwich gold-glass bowls have been found around the Mediterranean: on Rhodes, in Olbia

(Ukraine), and in Gordion, Phrygia (modern Turkey). This example from Canosa shows gold-sheet decoration in the shape of a rosette from which alternating lotus leaves and acanthus leaves and scrolls rise, surrounded by a double-wave pattern. There is a clear connection between these vessels and similarly shaped gold and silver bowls, which sometimes display the same decorative patterns (cat. 182), as well as many imitations in pottery and faience. Possibly, these glass bowls are of the type called *diachrysa* (“with gold in it”) by Athenaios in his description of the Grand Procession of Ptolemy II Philadelphos (270s B.C.). This, as well as the fact that one bowl shows a Nilotic scene, has given rise to the suggestion of an Alexandrian origin. On the other hand, Egyptianizing scenes on luxury goods were popular throughout the ancient Mediterranean. DB

1. Tatton-Brown and Andrews 1991, p. 49, pls. 54, 55;
Williams 2009, p. 190, no. 86.



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Gold-Glass Bowl

Greek, Hellenistic period, early 3rd–late 2nd
century B.C.

Glass and gold leaf, H. as restored 3¼ in.
(8.4 cm), Diam. as restored 4⅞ in. (10.6 cm)
Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of
Missouri-Columbia (77.198)

This bowl is an important, rare example of a type of luxury glass that displays exceptional technical and artistic qualities.¹ It is decorated with gold-leaf designs set between two closely fitting bowls of colorless glass that were then fused together. Occasionally, the gold leaf is enhanced with blue enamel dots.² Although the decoration lacks the flamboyance of the gold-glass bowls from Canosa (cat. 195), it is highly ornate and well executed, comprising six horizontal bands with vegetal, geometric, and architectural elements. There is a very close parallel to the present example in the collection of the World of Glass, St. Helens.³ Such combinations are found frequently in Hellenistic art, especially on silver, faience, and terracotta bowls.⁴ CSL

1. Overby 1982, p. 27, no. 64; Kidd 2003, pp. 10–11, fig. 6.
2. See Oliver 1969b.
3. SAHGM.1974.021; see Grose 1989, p. 187, fig. 98.
4. See Oliver 1969b.



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Fragmentary Inlay Formed as a Collar or Pectoral

Greek (Ptolemaic), Hellenistic period, 300–50 B.C.

Glass, H. overall $4\frac{3}{4}$ in. (12 cm), W. $6\frac{5}{8}$ in. (16.8 cm), D. 2 in. (0.5 cm)

From Egypt

The Corning Museum of Glass; New York (94.1.1)

This inlay¹ is composed of individual mosaic cane elements that were combined first into long rows of repeating pattern and then into a rectangle of nine rows, separated by bands of opaque white. From innermost to outermost, the patterns are: alternating upright palmettes and ivy leaves (primarily

blue, with two green) resting atop curling tendrils; a four-petaled yellow flower with red tips, set into a green matrix; an eight-petaled white flower with a central red dot, set into a dark blue or black matrix; a uraeus (rearing cobra) set into a red matrix; an eight-petaled white flower with a central yellow dot, set into a turquoise matrix; downturned white lotus blossoms connected by tendrils, with blue-green leaves between, set into a red matrix; an eight-petaled white flower with a central blue dot, set into a matrix of red; an eight-petaled dark blue flower with light blue rim, with central red dot, set into a matrix of yellow; and three red tongues outlined in white, alternating with three yellow

tongues, all set within a blue-green matrix. After the pattern was established and joined, this mass was then carefully reheated and pushed into its current U-shaped configuration in order to be placed as an inlay within a figural scene as the pectoral (collar) for a human figure.

Glass inlays were used frequently as elements of jewelry and as insets into furniture or relief scenes. The uraeus is a symbol signifying both royal sovereignty and the Egyptian goddess Wadjet. Its presence in this collar could indicate that the figure who wore it was a ruler or perhaps a deity. KW

1. "Recent Important Acquisitions" 1995, frontispiece and cover ill.

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Mosaic Plate

Greek, Hellenistic period, 225–200 B.C.

Glass and gold leaf, H. 2 in. (5.2 cm),

Diam. 11¾ in. (29.9 cm)

Discovered at Canosa di Puglia, Italy; made in the eastern Mediterranean

The British Museum, London (GR 1871,0518.3)

This mosaic-glass plate was made by fusing together sections of cane (translucent deep blue and opaque white spirals with scattered segments of yellow and opaque white glass) and gold leaf sandwiched between layers of colorless glass.¹ The disk so created was then heated and mold-pressed to form a flat plate with flaring sides, which, once cooled, was ground and polished. Inside the rim, two concentric lines were cut.

The plate was found in a chamber tomb in southern Italy with nine other glass vessels, including a gold-glass bowl (cat. 195). Mosaic vessels, which became one of the hallmarks of Hellenistic glass production—and Hellenistic culture in general—were distributed throughout the Mediterranean as magnificent luxury goods. DB

1. Tatton-Brown and Andrews 1991, pp. 48–49, pl. 53.

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Piriform Mosaic Jar

Greek, Hellenistic period, 225–100 B.C.

Glass and gold leaf, H. overall 7¼ in. (18.5 cm),

Diam. at shoulder 2⅝ in. (6.6 cm)

Possibly from Italy or the eastern Mediterranean
The Corning Museum of Glass, New York

(58.1.38)

Made in two parts, this remarkable vessel¹ is composed of various canes: a blue star with white rays and a central yellow dot; colorless glass with gold leaf; and opaque white. These were initially laid out as two flat disks, one perhaps with a central opening. The lower body portion was then carefully slumped over a conical mold or core to create its pearlike shape while maintaining the pattern of the canes.

Finally, a separate hot gather of the same canes was placed at its apex and pulled up in a spiral fashion to produce the swirling pattern of the foot. The manufacturing process for the shoulder and neck is more difficult to discern and must have involved pushing through the hot disk to make an opening (if one was not already present) while elongating the neck. Holes were carefully drilled at two opposite points



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on the shoulder and body to mechanically combine the two elements. An additional two holes near the rim may have attached a lid, a stopper, or a suspension chain. The remains of bronze pins or staples appear in three of the six holes.

Some additional examples of this shape in variously colored glasses are known. Three of these were excavated from Palaiokastro, a site in Thessaly, Greece, two made with brown and white “agate” glass, the third of colorless glass.² All were probably produced in the second century B.C. kw

1. “Recent Important Acquisitions” 1959, p. 107, no. 4, ill. p. 106; Goldstein 1979, pp. 176–77, no. 461, pl. 21.

2. For vessels from Palaiokastro, see Oliver 1967, pp. 16–17; Weinberg 1992, pp. 97–99, nos. 48–50.

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Hemispheric Mosaic Bowl

Greek (probably eastern Mediterranean),

Late Hellenistic period, 125–1 B.C.

Glass, H. overall 2⁷/₈ in. (7.4 cm), max. Diam. at rim 4⁷/₈ in. (12.3 cm)

The Corning Museum of Glass, New York (55.1.2)

To make this bowl, separately formed segments of two different canes were first laid out in a pattern and then fused into a disk.¹ The two cane patterns consist of a green star cane with yellow rays and a

central yellow circle, and an amethyst star cane with white rays and a central yellow circle. At least three sections of a green cane with a yellow spiral trail were fused to the periphery of the disk to create the edge. The disk was then slumped over a mold to form the hemispheric shape of the bowl. Adding a length of cane at the edge removed the necessity of grinding down the edge to a smooth finish once the slumping was completed.

Hemispheric bowls such as this are located in collections around the world. They were used to consume a beverage, presumably wine, and counterparts exist in both terracotta and precious metal. kw

1. *Antikes Glas* 1951, p. 5, no. 8.

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Gold-Band Mosaic Alabastron

Greek, Late Hellenistic period, 1st century B.C.

Glass and gold leaf, H. 7¹/₈ in. (18 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.194.286a, b)

This cast and carved perfume container belongs to a distinctive group of Late Hellenistic glass vessels that were made in two separate parts—a body joined to a neck and rim section.¹ The latter was probably attached with pitch to the opening at the



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top of the body. Practically, this allowed the bottle to be filled easily before the neck was added, and the narrow opening in the neck limited the flow of liquid as it was poured out, thus emphasizing the precious nature of the contents. In addition, this alabastron is an example of a rare type of luxury mosaic glass in which the colored bands on the body include ones made of gold leaf sandwiched between layers of colorless glass (cats. 195, 196). Gold-band mosaic glass was an innovation of the Late Hellenistic period but became popular with Romans in Early Imperial times. csl

1. *Collection Julien Gréau* 1903, p. 112, no. 783, pl. 111, 2; Oliver 1967, p. 20, no. 3, pp. 21–22, fig. 12.



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Mosaic Jar

Greek, Late Hellenistic period, 2nd–early 1st century B.C.

Glass, H. 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (13.8 cm), Diam. 6 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (15.6 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Edward C. Moore Collection, Bequest of Edward C. Moore, 1891 (91.1.1303)

Most cast mosaic-glass vessels of the Late Hellenistic period are of a fairly simple, open shape—usually hemispheric and shallow bowls or large plates such as those found at Canosa, in southern Italy.¹ This jar, one of the star pieces to have survived from the period, is a tour de force of the Hellenistic glassworker's skill, for considerable dexterity was required to shape its ovoid body, turned-in shoulder, flared rim, and added coil base ring while the glass was still hot and malleable.² The large canes of glass, comprising spirals of opaque white glass in a translucent golden brown matrix, were also carefully arranged to provide a very eye-catching pattern. It is likely that the glassworker deliberately chose the design in order to imitate luxury vessels carved in semiprecious stone, such as banded agate.

The jar thus gives an idea of the opulent tastes of the age. Such mosaic vessels were probably made in the eastern Mediterranean, presumably at one of the major centers of the Hellenistic world such as Alexandria, although it is not known exactly where. They were exported widely; many examples are known from sites in Italy, and fragments of mosaic jars similar to this one have been found even in Rome.³ CSL

1. See Grose 1989, pp. 185–89; Stern 1994.

2. Oliver 1967, p. 15, fig. 3; Picón et al. 2007, pp. 338, 483, no. 394.

3. Grose 1989, pp. 193, 203–4, no. 210.

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Askos (Vessel)

Greek (Ptolemaic), Hellenistic period, 2nd–1st century B.C.

Agate and gold, H. at handle 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (6.5 cm), diagonal L. 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (8.4 cm)

The Cleveland Museum of Art; Andrew R. and Martha Holden Jennings Fund (64.92)

Most probably used to store and dispense perfume, this unique vessel is carved from a single piece of sumptuously veined agate,



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polished to a high luster.¹ Known as an *askos*, the vessel type derives its name from the Greek word for a leather wine bag. The rounded, baglike body rests on a low, circular base and gracefully tapers to a sloping spout with an applied cover of worked gold sheet. A motif in soldered gold resembling three papyrus stalks decorates the underside of the base. Along the top is a handle supported by two flaring posts; just behind the handle is the image of a crab in intaglio, its original inlay now missing. The vessel is designed to stand upright when full. An elegantly simple valve, manipulated by a knob on the outside of the cover of the spout, restricts the pouring out of the contents. Refilling is possible with the valve completely open.

Such fine workmanship and distinctive decorative details virtually assure that this exquisite vessel was made in Egypt during the Ptolemaic period, when expert carving of hard stones was already a centuries-old tradition. Agate is found in Egypt, in the Eastern Desert, as well as on the southwest coast of the Arabian Peninsula and in India. MB

1. Cooney 1965, pp. 45–46, figs. 1–3; Berman 1999, pp. 484–85, no. 381.

Mosaic Vase

Greek, Hellenistic period, second half of the 2nd–early 1st century B.C.

Glass, H. overall 13¾ in. (34.9 cm), Diam. of rim 7/8 in. (2.1 cm), Diam. of foot ¾ in. (1.8 cm)

Discovered in a grave in Palaiokastro (ancient Metropolis), Thessaly

National Archaeological Museum, Athens (A 14261)

The vase is made of brown, white, and purple glass cane slices. It consists of two parts, upper and lower, each produced by sagging over a former mold. Two small holes were drilled in each section, above and below the join, on opposite sides, for metal fittings that once held the two parts together.¹ Two more glass vessels of identical shape and with similarly placed holes were found in the same grave, one imitating agate and one colorless, the latter bearing traces of a metal band covering the junction of the upper and lower sections. These features relate the three pieces to a famous glass amphora from Olbia (fig. 105), attributed to the Canosa Group,² and suggest that they may have been manufactured in Italy; however, the date and origin of the Canosa Group remain the subject of much discussion.

The grave in which these glass vessels were found should be dated to the mid-first century B.C. and probably belonged to a woman. Among its other contents were silver-plated bronze mirrors, a silver spindle, parts of a bronze balance, a gold wreath, silver vases, and a figural group, made of polychrome glass paste, comprising pygmies on a boat and a crocodile. The possible Italian origins of the glass vessels and the technique and subject of the glass-paste group have led to the suggestion that the owner of the tomb was a foreigner, perhaps an Italian, living in Thessaly.³ CA

1. Weinberg 1992, pp. 23–25, 56–57, 97, no. 48, ill. p. 98. There are three more holes on the shoulder near the base of the neck and one just above the foot; their function remains uncertain.

2. The Olbia amphora is also pointed and composed of two separate parts covered at their junction with a gilded-metal band. For its similarities with the Palaiokastro vessels, see Weinberg 1992, pp. 24–25; Ignatiadou 2012, p. 236. For a discussion of the Canosa Group, see Grose 1989, pp. 185–89; Stern 1994, pp. 100–108.

3. Zervoudaki 2002–3, pp. 55–58, 66–67.

Mosaic Alabastron

Greek, Late Hellenistic or Early Imperial period, 1st century B.C.–early 1st century A.D.

Glass, H. 8¼ in. (21 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.194.282)

This perfume bottle marks a transitional stage in the production of closed forms in glass, from the core-formed and cast vessels of the Hellenistic world to the ubiquitous blown glass of the Roman Empire.¹ Like the large mosaic jar (cat. 202), this spindle-shaped alabastron was produced in imitation of vessels made in semiprecious stone. Similar small containers carved from banded agate have survived from the Early Imperial period. An early parallel is provided by two glass onyx mosaic bottles (cat. 204),



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although they have a more conical shape and were made in two separate (top and bottom) halves. They formed part of a rich grave group, found near Palaiokastro in Thessaly, Greece, which also included a third bottle in shades of colorless glass.² All three bottles as well as a mosaic example (cat. 199) have holes drilled in the middle of their sides for metal fittings that held the two halves together. They recall the famous amphora said to be from Pontic Olbia and now in the Antikensammlung, Berlin, with its composite construction and metal fittings (see fig. 105; see also the essay “Royal Patronage and the Luxury Arts” in this volume).³ CSL

1. *Collection Julien Gréau* 1903, p. 119, no. 830, pl. 134, 6; Oliver 1967, p. 16, fig. 5.

2. Oliver 1967, pp. 16–17; Weinberg 1992, pp. 97–99, nos. 48–50.

3. Platz-Horster 1976, pp. 16–20, no. 17; Grose 1989, pp. 187–88, fig. 96.



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**Conical Bowl with Blue and
 Colorless Bands**

Greek, Late Hellenistic period, 1st century B.C.
 Glass, Diam. 10½ in. (26.7 cm)
 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York;
 Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.194.2535)

It required great skill and knowledge to make bicolored glass vessels, since the two contrasting elements had to be compatible in order to fuse them together and to prevent them from cracking apart as the completed vessel cooled. It is a technique

that glassworkers mastered in the Hellenistic period, and that mastery led to the growth of the cameo glass industry in Early Imperial Rome.

Very few examples in the same combination of translucent cobalt blue and colorless glass survive from antiquity, and it is likely that they were all made in the same workshop. This bowl is the largest known example.¹ There is a very similar bowl in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva, as well as a smaller one found in Paphos at the Tombs of the Kings site, which is decorated with incised geometric



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lines (for similar decoration on pottery and silver bowls, see cats. 86 and 178).² Two slender bicolored alabastra are known, one of which comes from Kurion in Cyprus.³ To these may now be added the perfume bottle in the Corning Museum of Glass (cat. 207). CSL

1. *Collection Julien Gréau* 1903, p. 183, no. 1321, pl. 250; Oliver 1967, p. 18, figs. 8, 9.

2. Maier 1973; Hadjisavvas 2011, p. 39, fig. 39.

3. Nicosia Museum, Cyprus (Oliver 1967, pp. 19–20, fig. 10); British Museum, London (Harden 1968b, p. 34, no. 39). In addition, a slender alabastron in the J. Paul Getty Museum is composed of bands in three colors (Wight 2011, fig. 20).

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Perfume or Unguent Bottle

Greek (probably eastern Mediterranean),
Late Hellenistic period, 1st century B.C.
Glass, H. 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (21.3 cm), Diam. 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (9.5 cm)
The Corning Museum of Glass, New York;
purchased with the assistance of the Clara S.
Peck Endowment (98.1.97)

Like the bicolored bowl in the Metropolitan Museum (cat. 206), this bottle is composed of blue and colorless glass. To create the striping, the glassmaker first fashioned a monochrome vessel and then carefully cut and reassembled it, adding in the colorless band. The separate parts had to be reheated in order to fuse the glass together, a challenging maneuver since possible damage or unwanted slumping of the hot glass could occur.

The Corning bottle is one of only three known bicolored alabastra to survive from antiquity (see cat. 206 for a discussion of other examples).¹ The alabastron formerly in the Oppenländer collection, and now at the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu,² is distinct from this corpus since it is composed of three colors: cobalt blue for the top and bottom sections, colorless glass for two middle segments, and a greenish dark blue for the central segment. Corning's bottle is much wider than the other alabastra and has a single lug handle added at the shoulder. Its wider mouth would enable the insertion of an implement such as a rod or spoon to remove unguent. kw

1. "Recent Important Acquisitions" 1999, p. 177, no. 1; see also Oliver 1967, pp. 17–20, figs. 10, 11.

2. 2004.21. Oliver 1969a, p. 17; Wight 2011, fig. 20.

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Stele of the Hero Makedon

Greek (Asia Minor), Hellenistic period,
ca. 150 B.C.; reused in the 1st century A.D.,
with added inscription
Marble, H. 36 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (92.5 cm), W. 48 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.
(124 cm), D. 11 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (29 cm)
Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig
(Lu 244)

This imposing fragment of a longer relief from the mid-second century B.C. preserves a man standing next to a horse and a Molossian hound; the man's head was originally separately attached and is now missing.¹ From an adjacent figure of the same size on the left, only a hand in front of a shield survives. All the remaining attendant figures are presented on a smaller scale: on the left, fragments of two smaller



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figures, and on the right, three squires with weapons. Above these are a wall and curtain of a shrine. Behind the hero's back a serpent coils around a tree trunk.

On the base molding beneath the main figure is the Greek inscription *ΜΑΚΕΔΩΝ ΗΡΩΣ* (The Hero Makedon). At the far left, fragments of another hero's name have survived: [. . . Η]ΡΩΣ. The forms of the letters, which belong to the first century A.D., indicate that the inscriptions were a secondary addition.

Most probably produced in Smyrna, the relief quotes an apparently important and only slightly older three-dimensional figural grouping that is repeated in various combinations in numerous other Late Hellenistic tomb reliefs from that city and others in northwestern Asia Minor. The hero is generally associated with a rider on horseback and servants or female companions either draped, nude, or wearing armor. The characteristic cult symbols of the serpent, tree, or altar are always present. All these reliefs document how, in the Late Hellenistic period, the deceased were generally venerated as heroes and how the distinction between tomb and votive reliefs was not always evident.

Ernst Berger suspected that the Makedon stele was originally a votive relief that was reused in the Roman era as a tomb monument for an important man of that name. The reverse is also possible: namely, that an older tomb relief was later turned into a cult monument—perhaps in honor of the eponymous god of the Macedonians or a related hero. It could have been associated with the descendants of Macedonian veterans, who had settled in Asia Minor since the time of Alexander. Cult sites of Macedonian families are particularly well attested in northwestern Asia Minor. TL

1. Provenance unknown, presumably from the region of Smyrna. Formerly in a German private collection; in the Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig since 1983. Ernst Berger in *Antike Kunstwerke aus der Sammlung Ludwig* 1990, pp. 251–82, no. 244; Vassiliki Machaira in Cermanović-Kuzmanović et al. 1992, p. 1026, no. 33, pl. 674; Blome 1999, pp. 116–17, fig. 160.



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209b

209a, b

Male and Female Portrait Heads

Greek, Late Hellenistic period, late 2nd–early 1st century B.C.

Parian marble

a. H. 44 cm (17³/₈ in.)

b. H. 45.5 cm (18 in.)

Found in Smyrna (Izmir), 1884, and purchased by the Greek Archaeological Society National Archaeological Museum, Athens (362, 363)

Both heads, probably of man and wife or brother and sister, are larger than lifesize¹ and were inserted into the draped torsos of statues. The back of each head is flat, since the statues to which they belonged most likely stood in front of the niche of a grave monument (*naiskos*).² While the heads have been preserved together with their necks and are in good condition, the nose of the male head is chipped while that of the female is broken.

The male head is beardless with short hair whose locks, worked with the drill, fall above the forehead. Part of the mantle is preserved around the base of the neck. The head is turned to its left and, along with the eyes, directed upward. The face, creased and aging, appears realistic. Such real-looking physiognomy linked with personal identity signifies the typical self-definition of a citizen who wanted to project the virtuous image of a learned, self-restrained man.³

The veiled female head is turned to its right and gazes slightly upward. The almost imperceptibly wavy hair is parted above the forehead, covers the top of the ears, and is brought together at the nape of the neck, revealing close affinities with Late Classical hairstyles. The oblong oval face with the triangular forehead and the deep-set, almond-shaped eyes follow the facial features of mortal women on Late Classical grave reliefs repeated on Classicizing examples of the second century B.C. Her appearance befits an elegant, fashionable lady—a proper matron—with a serene, idealized face.⁴ Virtue and modesty, endowed with ideal beauty, were typical



traits expressed in the portraiture of elite women citizens. Altogether, the heads reflect the strong Classicism of the Late Hellenistic period that also appeared in the artistic production of Smyrna.⁵ EV

1. Kavvadias 1890–92, p. 251, nos. 362, 363; Zanker 1983, p. 256, fig. 3 (no. 362); Kaltsas 2002, p. 288, nos. 607, 608; Dillon 2010, p. 112, fig. 53 (no. 363); Caterina Mascolo and Massimiliano Papini in *Ritratti* 2011, pp. 160–61, nos. 2.23, 2.24.

2. For the Hellenistic grave naiskoi from Smyrna, see Pfuhl and Möbius 1977, passim; S. Schmidt 1991, pp. 10–12; Ridgway 1990–2002, vol. 2 (2000), pp. 193–94; Laugier 2009.

3. Zanker 1995, pp. 188–94; Fabricius 1999, pp. 248–53. For the representation of males on grave stelae from Smyrna, see S. Schmidt 1991, pp. 15–20.

4. For the female portrait face of the Hellenistic period, see Dillon 2010, pp. 103–34. For the representation of females on grave stelae from Smyrna, see S. Schmidt 1991, pp. 12–15.

5. For the Classicism of the Late Hellenistic period, see Niemeier 1985. For the sculpture production of Smyrna in the Hellenistic period, see Martinez 2009.

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Grave Relief of an Enthroned Woman with an Attendant

Greek, Late Hellenistic period, ca. 100 B.C.
Marble, H. 37¼ in. (94.6 cm), W. 47½ in. (120.7 cm), D. 8½ in. (21.6 cm)

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (72.AA.159)

A woman lounging on a cushioned throne reaches out delicately to lift the hinged lid of a shallow box or mirror held by a young servant girl.¹ Her high status is conveyed by her dress, a sleeveless chiton under a loosely draped cloak, and the snake bracelets and armbands she wears on each arm. The high-backed throne has an elaborately carved arm formed of an eagle, multiple turnings, and a lion's paw topped by volutes, the style of which has clear Persian antecedents.² Technical analysis has revealed the presence of Egyptian blue pigment on the edges of the drapery of the woman and the girl, on the cushion, and in the background of the relief.

At some point in its history, the relief's top and left sides were cut down, perhaps for display in Lansdowne House, home of its original owner, Sir William Fitzmaurice Petty. The sculptural technique, style of

drapery, and poses of the figures are paralleled in funerary reliefs from Hellenistic Delos and its neighboring island necropolis, Rheneia, all of which point to a date in the late second or early first century B.C.³ JHC

1. Michaelis 1882, p. 443, no. 26; J. B. Grossman 2001a, pp. 125–29, no. 46; Nagle and Burstein 2007, p. 298, fig. 8.5.
2. J. B. Grossman 2001a, pp. 125–26, no. 46.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 125.

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Oval Gem/Intaglio with Cassandra Kneeling at the Palladion

Greek, Late Hellenistic period,
late 1st century B.C.
Carnelian, H. 7⁄8 in. (2.1 cm)

Said to have been found in Chalkis,
Euboea (Greece)

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Francis Bartlett
Donation of 1912, 1927 (27.713)

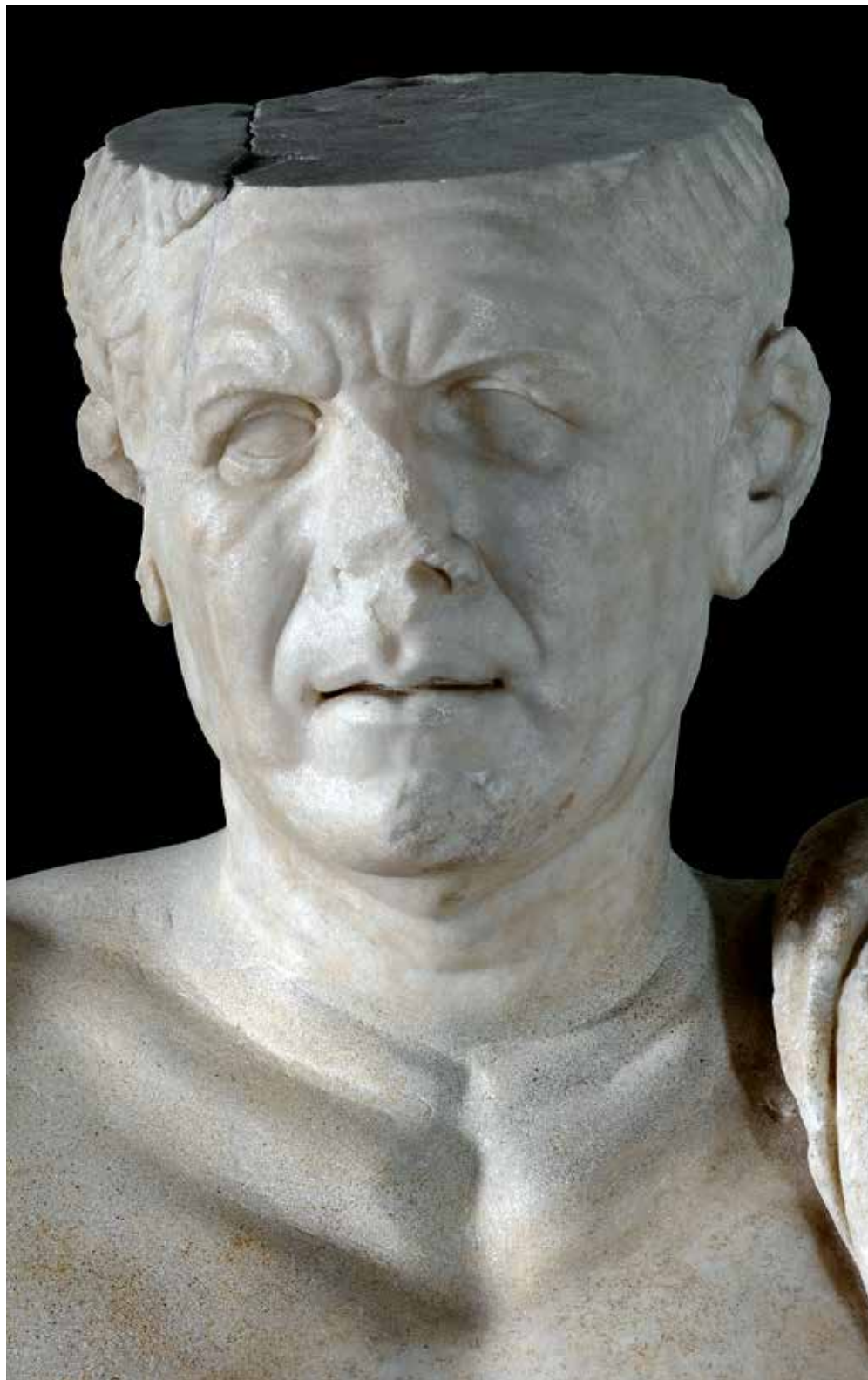


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This gem belongs to a common Late Hellenistic type that represents the Trojan prophetess Cassandra kneeling at the base of the cult statue of Athena in a vain attempt to take refuge.¹ In the final moments of the Greeks' ruinous siege of Troy, the warrior Ajax the Lesser savagely accosted and raped Cassandra; her nudity here underscores the defilement of both the maiden and the virgin goddess. Her head, with a laurel wreath encircling it, is bowed respectfully, and wavy flowing locks rest on her shoulders. The dynamism of Cassandra's kneeling three-quarter pose, which contrasts with the frontality of the armed goddess, and the thin, rippling drapery covering her right knee recall images of Nike sacrificing a bull in Roman art. PS

1. Beazley 1920, pp. 78–79, no. 93, pls. 7, 10; Richter 1968–71, vol. 1 (1968), p. 144, no. 558; Beazley 2002, pp. 61–62, no. 93, pl. 19; Linant de Bellefonds 2004, pp. 457, 463, no. 428, pl. 111.

THE HELLENISTIC KINGDOMS AND ROME



Detail of cat. 212

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Statue of a Roman General (The Tivoli General)

Roman, Late Republican period, ca. 80–60 B.C.
Greek marble, H. 74 in. (188 cm), H. with plinth
76³/₈ in. (194 cm)

Found at the Temple of Hercules Victor, Tivoli
Museo Nazionale—Palazzo Massimo alle Terme,
Rome (106513)

The statue depicts a standing male figure in heroic nude style.¹ The body is unclothed apart from a mantle that falls back from the left shoulder, comes round to circle the flanks with rich folds, and is gathered to hang over the left forearm. The figure seems originally to have included a sword held in his left hand and a lance on which his right rested.² A cylindrical cuirass cinched at the waist in the Hellenistic manner supports the statue, with a central Medusa head (*gorgoneion*) and a skirt made of a double row of fringes (*pteryges*).

The presence of a cuirass and the site where the sculpture was found—the Sanctuary of Hercules Victor at Tivoli³—have suggested the subject depicted was a Roman general who dedicated the statue in celebration of his victory (or alternatively a work donated in his honor by one of his supporters). The sobriquet given to the piece derives from this assumption. While the body appears idealized as muscular and powerful in the Hellenistic tradition, the head depicts instead a precise and realistic portrait of a mature man with strongly marked features. The brow is deeply lined, the eyes small and deep-set with thick arched eyebrows and strong surrounding creases that lend expressiveness to the gaze, suggesting a resolute man of action. The lips are just slightly parted and the hair worked as flat bands. The statue belongs to the type known as Hüftmantel (“cloak wrapped around the flanks”), an iconographic model used in Late Republican



Rome to portray high-ranking persons in heroic guise.

Various proposals have been put forward to identify the subject and thus date the work. The most accepted at present suggests the statue was made between the second and the fourth decades of the first century B.C.⁴ Tonio Hölscher has sought to locate the subject among the members of two important families originating in Tivoli: the Caecilius Metellus family (Quintus Caecilius Metellus Pius, consul in 80 B.C. who suppressed a revolt in Spain, or Quintus Caecilius Metellus Creticus, consul in 69 B.C. and conqueror of Crete) or the Munatius Plancus family (Lucius Munatius Plancus, Sulla's envoy in Greece against Mithridates during the second decade of the first century B.C.). MP

1. Paribeni 1925, pp. 252–54, pl. XVI; Emilia Talamo in Giuliano 1979, pp. 267–69, no. 164; Tonio Hölscher in *Trionfi romani* 2008, p. 179, no. II.2.1; Cadario 2010, pp. 119–24, fig. 5; Cadario 2011, pp. 213–15, fig. 4; Giuseppe Scarpati in Gasparri and Paris 2013, pp. 48–51, no. 8 (with bibliography).

2. Also missing: the top of the head (a separate piece), the right arm and shoulder (at present the space between the neck and the right side of the chest is filled in with stucco), the fingers of the left hand, and the right leg below the knee. There is chipping on the nose, chin, and ears. The left top side of the cuirass has been restored.

3. It was recovered among the ruins of the foundations of the temple in 1925, during works undertaken by the Società delle Cartiere Tiburtine. On the sanctuary, see C. F. Giuliani 2004.

4. See the bibliography in note 1 above, in particular Hölscher in *Trionfi romani* 2008, p. 179, no. II.2.1; Scarpati in Gasparri and Paris 2013, pp. 48–51, no. 8.

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Stater of Mithridates VI Eupator Dionysos

Greek, Late Hellenistic period, 86–85 B.C.

Gold, Diam. $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (2.1 cm), Wt. 0.3 oz. (8.45 g)

Minted at Pergamon

Obverse: Head of Mithridates VI facing right, with fillet in hair

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΙΘΡΙΑΔΑΤΟΥ ΕΥΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ, grazing deer, crescent and star on left, year of issue Δ (= 4) and monogram ΠΕ indicating the mint on right, monogram ΣΚ below, within wreath of ivy leaves and flowers

Numismatic Museum, Athens (NM BE 717a/1998)

The portraits of Mithridates VI Eupator, last king of Pontus, break with the tradition



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of his predecessors' realistic portraits and return to an idealized and idealistic style reminiscent of earlier figures of gods, such as Dionysos, whose name this ruler adopted as a surname.¹ In this monetary portrait, one of the finest, the engraver departs from the representation of personal features and depicts instead a wavy mane and idealistic gaze.

The symbols on the reverse are particularly interesting. As part of the propaganda implemented through coins for the legitimization and strengthening of his political position, Mithridates was associated with auspicious astronomical phenomena: the passing of two comets. Justin's epitome of the *Historiae Philippicae* (*Philippic Histories*) of Pompeius Trogus mentions about Mithridates that "the greatness that was to be his had been foretold even by strange celestial phenomena. On two occasions, in the year of his birth [134 B.C.] and in the year he began his reign [120 B.C.], a comet burned so brightly for seventy days that the entire sky seemed to be on fire."² The crescent and star to the left of the deer refer to these heavenly events. It is worth mentioning that the wreath follows the iconographic tradition of the Pergamene mint and is identical to that of the city's cistophoric tetradrachms. ΓΚ

1. *Coins & Numismatics* 1996, p. 176; Oikonomidou 1996, pp. 194, 251, no. 181; de Callataÿ 1997.

2. Justin, *Philippic Histories* 37.2.1–2 (English trans., Justin 1994, p. 233).

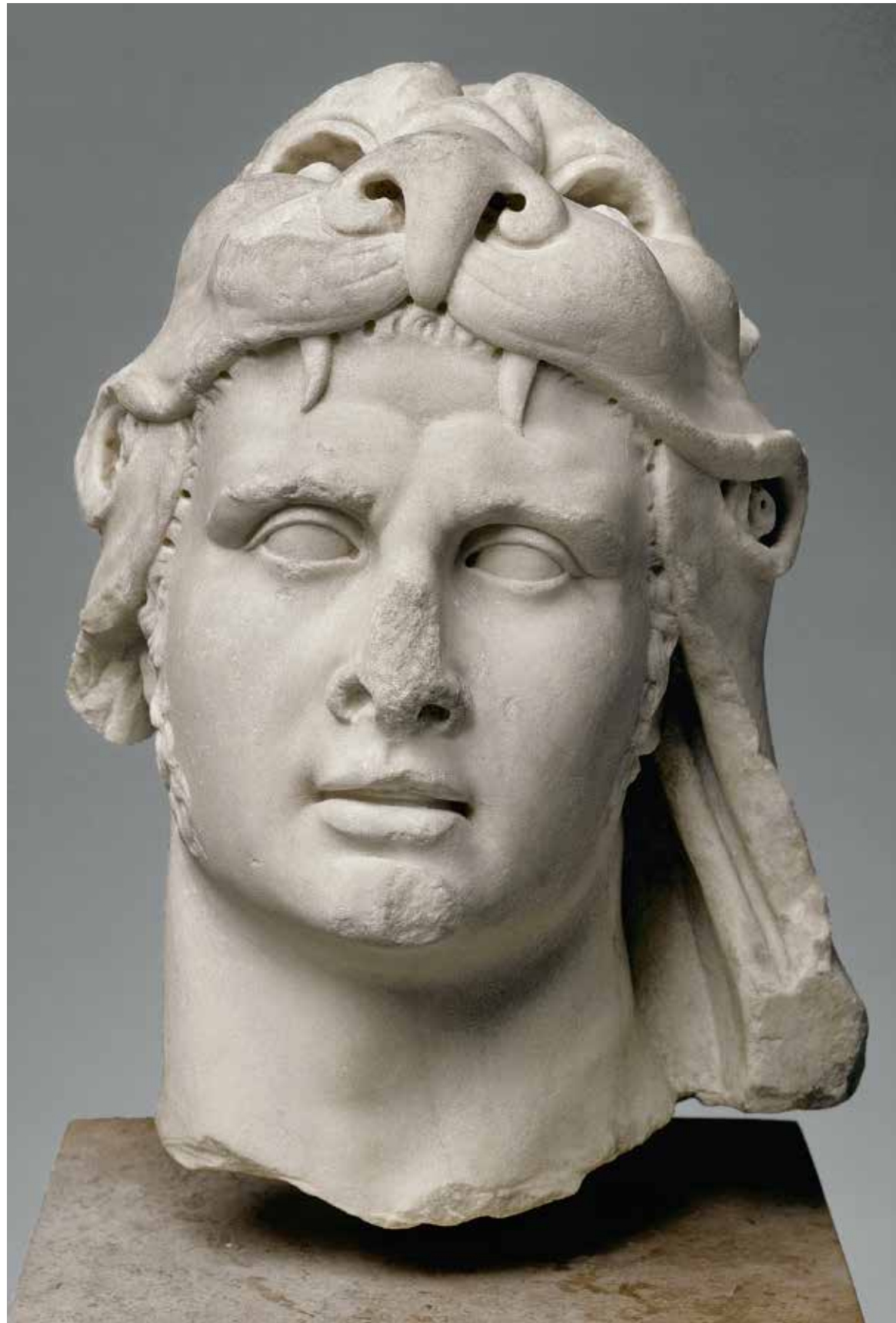
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Portrait of Mithridates VI Eupator

Roman, Late Republican or Early Imperial period, 1st century B.C.; copy after a Hellenistic Greek original of the late 2nd century B.C.

Marble, H. 13⁷/₈ in. (35 cm)

Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Antiquités Grecques, Étrusques et Romaines (Ma 2321)



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Mithridates VI Eupator (“of noble birth”) ruled over Pontos from 112 to 63 B.C. That kingdom, northeast of present-day Turkey, had been founded by Mithridates I Ktistes in the early third century B.C. on the ruins of the Persian Empire, after Alexander’s conquest. Mithridates VI thus belonged to a line of kings of Persian stock—largely Hellenized, however—who imposed their power against the Seleucids, heirs to Alexander’s empire, and then against the Romans.

In this figure,¹ the lion’s head and skin that cover Mithridates’ pate directly refer to the iconography commonly used in portraits of Alexander the Great.² Between 326 and 323 B.C., didrachms struck in Babylon and tetradrachms from Alexandria display the profile of Herakles, Alexander’s mythical ancestor, wearing the skin of the Nemean Lion on his head. Yet, the individual features are reminiscent of those of the young Macedonian, and the type was widely replicated in other mints during the Hellenistic period.³

Identified with the help of coinage and gems bearing his effigy, the Louvre head is the only securely attested portrait in the round of Mithridates VI and clearly imitates the marble portraits in which Alexander appears wearing a lion’s skin on his head.⁴ It also alludes to the Macedonian’s desire to unite the Greeks of Asia, this time against Rome. Under the animal’s jaw, a trepanning tool (or hole saw) was used to trace the hair that stands upright above the forehead, a reference to the Macedonian conqueror’s *anastole*. The Louvre portrait, however, belongs to a period well after Alexander’s death: the twist of the neck; the corners of the half-open mouth, marked by the saw; and the sharp modeling of the animal’s skull place the work among the rather baroque artworks from the turn of the first century B.C.⁵ DR

1. Unknown provenance; acquired by the Louvre in 1870. Winter 1894, pp. 245–46, pl. 8; Musée du Louvre 1898, p. 135, no. 2321; Himmelmann 1989, p. 109, fig. 43; Mayor 2010, fig. 6.1.

2. For example, National Archaeological Museum, Athens (366); Winter 1894.

3. Arnold-Biucchi 2006, pp. 32–35, 41, 51–59, nos. 7–15, pp. 72–73, nos. 28, 29.

4. R. R. R. Smith 1988, pp. 122–23, 171, no. 83, pl. 51.

5. Federica Smith in *Ritratti* 2011, p. 318, no. 5.4.



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215 Portrait of a Hellenistic Ruler

Greek, Late Hellenistic period,
2nd–1st century B.C.

Marble, H. 17¾ in. (45 cm)

Found on the west slope of the Acropolis,
Athens (W. Dörpfeld excavation, 1893–97)
National Archaeological Museum, Athens (3556)

This slightly larger-than-lifesize bust of a beardless man was originally part of a statue.¹ It is well preserved, although chipped on the forehead, nose, chin, and hair. The top and back are roughly hewn, whereas the right side of the hair is treated in greater detail. Part of a pleated garment is preserved on the back.

The head turns and gazes intently upward toward its left. The ovoid face features a broad, rounded forehead; strong, curved nose; and narrow, elongated eyes. The lips are full. Soft facial volumes lend the portrait an almost effeminate quality. The rendering of the hair, which frames the face with crescent-shaped curls, is impressive. Longer curls fall on the nape. The head may originally have worn a metal wreath.²

With features that are both divine (Dionysian)³ and royal (in the mode of Alexander the Great),⁴ and with a close resemblance to coin portraiture,⁵ this youthful, dynamic figure probably represents a Late Hellenistic ruler.⁶ He is often identified as one of the kings of northeast-



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ern Asia Minor: either Ariarathes V Eusebes Philopator (r. 163–130 B.C.) or Ariarathes IX Eusebes Philopator (r. ca. 101–87 B.C.) of Cappadocia,⁷ or even Mithridates VI of Pontos (r. 120–63 B.C.).⁸ The head has also been thought to depict Eumenes II of Pergamon (r. 197–159 B.C.).⁹ Its effeminacy may reflect the subject's intellectual eminence as well as the Greek tradition to which it belongs.¹⁰ AK

1. Schrader 1896, pp. 281–83, no. 3, pl. X; Karouzou 1948–49, pp. 27–31, pls. 15–17; Hafner 1954, pp. 35–36, no. MK 8, pl. 12; Richter 1965, vol. 3, p. 276, figs. 1942, 1943; R. R. R. Smith 1988, pp. 99, 122–24, 171–72, no. 85, pl. 53, 1, 2; Kaltsas 2002, p. 287, no. 605; Queyrel 2003, pp. 180–84, no. D7, pls. 29, 4, and 30, 1, 2; Flashar 2007, p. 365; Vorster 2007, pp. 278, 406, fig. 241.

2. R. R. R. Smith 1988, p. 99; Queyrel 2003, p. 180.

3. See R. R. R. Smith 1988, pp. 122–23, and, for example, the head of Dionysos in the Archaeological Museum of Thasos (16); Salviat 1979, pp. 163–65, figs. 5, 6.

4. R. R. R. Smith (1988, p. 123) argues that Mithridates VI and his circle used elements from the iconography of both Alexander and Seleukos in their portraits. See also Queyrel 2003, p. 183.

5. See, for example, the young idealistic portrait of Mithridates VI on coins of Pontos; Kraay 1966, p. 377, nos. 774, 775; R. R. R. Smith 1988, pl. 77, 14.

6. Schrader 1896, pp. 282–83, pl. X.

7. Karouzou 1948–49, pp. 25–31, pls. 15–17 (Ariarathes V); Six 1897 (Ariarathes IX); Richter 1965, vol. 3, p. 276, figs. 1942, 1943 (Ariarathes IX); Stewart 1979, pp. 54, 64, n. 103, pl. 17d (Ariarathes V or Ariarathes IX).

8. R. R. R. Smith 1988, pp. 99, 171–72, no. 85, pl. 53, 1, 2.

9. Queyrel 2003, pp. 180–84, no. D7, pls. 29, 4, and 30, 1, 2.

10. Karouzou 1948–49, pp. 29–30; R. R. R. Smith 1988.

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Portrait of a Man

Greek, Late Hellenistic period,
early 1st century B.C.

Bronze, H. 12¾ in. (32.5 cm)

Found in Room R of the Old Palaistra, Delos,
1912 excavation

National Archaeological Museum, Athens
(X 14612)

The bust, with head and neck complete, belonged to a statue that probably stood in an open public space.¹ A square hole on the top of the head may have held a protective shield against bird droppings, a common device in antiquity. The head is tilted to the left and upward, following the man's gaze. His thick neck and broad face are carefully individualized with a narrow forehead,

small eyes, a fleshy nose with flaring nostrils, flat cheeks, a small mouth, an uplifted round chin, and small ears. The soulful eyes are intricately rendered: the whites inlaid with white stone with beige veins, the irises of dark gray stone (probably steatite), the pupils also inlaid (now missing), and fringed copper strips placed in the eye sockets to form eyelids with eyelashes (now missing). The face is framed by wavy locks. The details of the hair and eyebrows are incised.

The subject—a mature man, perhaps a politician or official, a benefactor, or a man of letters—is characterized by emotional turmoil. The wrinkles on the forehead and around the mouth, the prominent, wavy eyebrows—one of which is raised—the intense, melancholic gaze, and the half-open mouth convey expressiveness, passion, anguish,² and bewilderment. At the same time, the bust possesses the ease of movement of the baroque style of the first quarter of the first century B.C.³ The sculptor, whom Paolo Moreno associates with the Ephesian School,⁴ renders the bust's features with plasticity and succeeds in conveying the portrayed man's character and personality, a dominating trend in Late Hellenistic portraiture.⁵ NP

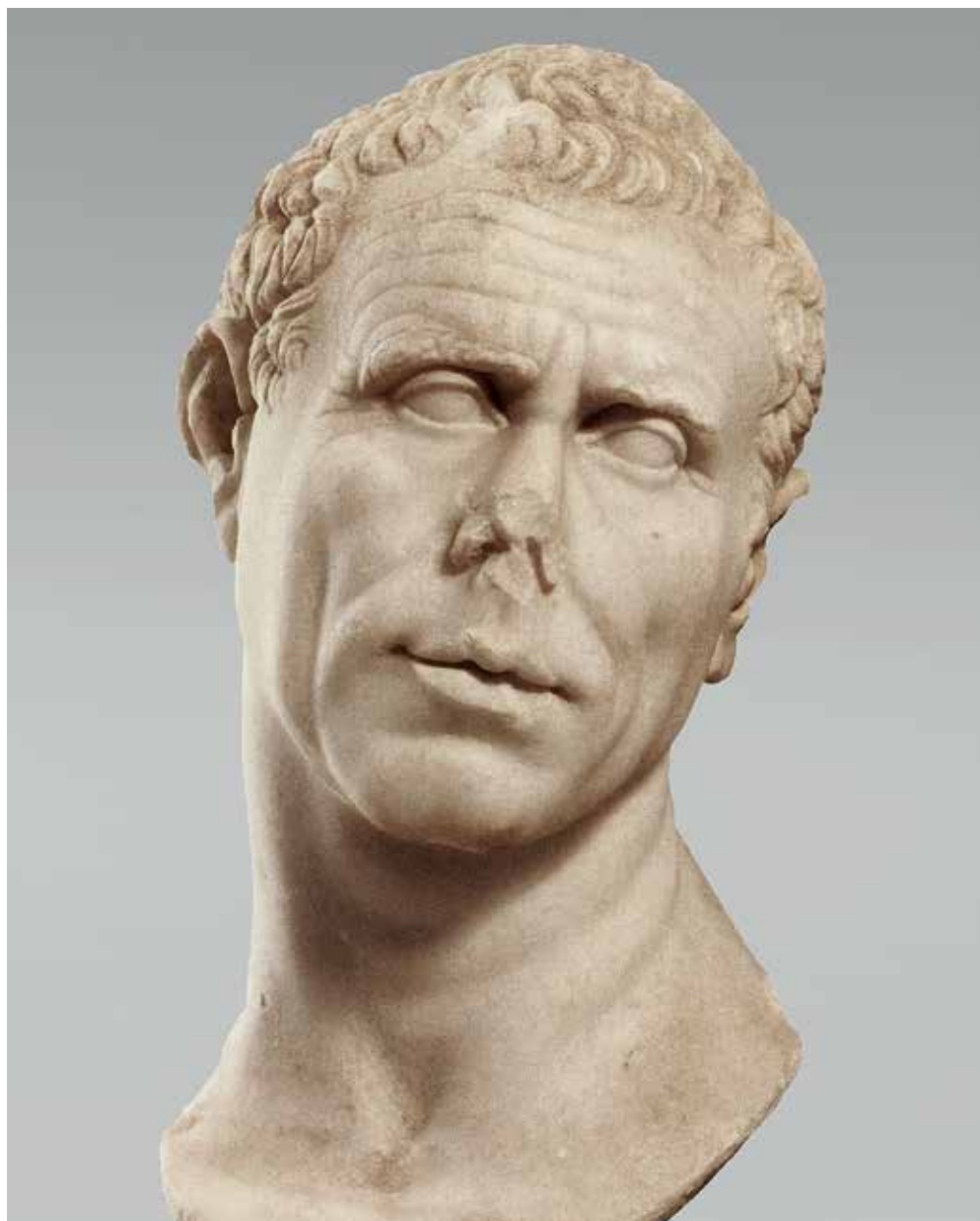
1. Homolle 1912; on the Old Palaistra, see Delorme 1961, pp. 35–36, pl. II, fig. 37, pl. III, figs. 40, 44, pl. IV, fig. 45, pl. VI, figs. 61, 63, pl. XXIII.

2. Kaltsas 2002, p. 298, no. 623.

3. Buschor 1995, p. 57.

4. Moreno 1994, vol. 2, pp. 685–87, 824, n. 1081, fig. 837.

5. Jens M. Daehner in *Power and Pathos* 2015, pp. 248–49, no. 29.



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Head of a Mature Man

Greek, Late Hellenistic period,
early 1st century B.C.

Marble, H. 16 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (43 cm)

Found on Delos in House II.f, in the Theater
Quarter, 1905

Archaeological Museum, Delos (4187)

This expressive portrait depicts a mature man, as indicated by the deep wrinkles on the face and the receding hairline.¹ The short, tousled hair is rendered with wavy curls, and the robust features are accentuated by the sharp turn of the head and its slight inclination toward the left shoulder.

The body, which is not preserved, was probably that of an athlete of a type similar to the Pseudo-Athlete from the House of the Diadoumenos in Delos,² whose realism is limited to the rendering of the face. The hairstyle and the face, with its high cheekbones and deep-set eyes, have suggested to some that the man portrayed originated in the East, possibly Syria, like many of the bankers and merchants who lived in Delos at that time and who established clubs and sanctuaries and commissioned statues and mosaics.

The Hellenistic portraits from Delos, of which this is a characteristic example, are one of the most important groups from

the ancient world, not so much for their originality but because in general they can be securely dated between 166 B.C., when the Roman Senate ceded Delos to the Athenians, and 88/69 B.C., when Mithridates VI and his allied pirates under Athenodorus pillaged the island during their war against Rome. This period witnessed the development of a pronounced realism in the rendering of facial characteristics, a trend usually associated with the preferences of the many Roman and Italian inhabitants of Delos who, proud of their wealth, decorated their opulent houses with their portraits. MKO.



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1. The tip of the nose and part of the base are missing; the lower lip and ears have been chipped. The base of the neck is carved for attaching onto the body of a statue. Michalowski 1932, pp. 27–28, fig. 15, pls. XXIII, XXIV; Fittschen 1988, pp. 22, 26, pl. 152; Moreno 1994, vol. 2, pp. 549–50, figs. 677, 680, 681; François Queyrel in Hermary, Jockey, and Queyrel 1996, pp. 212–13, no. 96; Zapheirou 1998, pp. 171, 278, no. 173; Hadjidakis 2003, p. 254, no. 391.

2. National Archaeological Museum, Athens (1828).

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Statue of Eros Sleeping

Greek, Hellenistic period, 3rd–2nd century B.C.

Bronze, W. 33 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (85.4 cm)

Said to be from Rhodes

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York;

Rogers Fund, 1943 (43.11.4)

The god of love lies asleep outdoors as if he has just stopped to take a nap in the midst of his labors.¹ Eros rests on a cloth that has been laid on a rock, here restored in Tennessee marble. His bow has presumably fallen from his right hand, which hangs down across his chest, palm open and fingers utterly relaxed in slumber. His large wings, naturalistically rendered like a bird's, lie folded against his back; the strap across his chest is for his quiver of arrows, of which only one feather guide is visible by his head. The manner in which his bow has fallen and the open quiver add

to the impression of a captured moment created by the artist.

The high quality and large scale are most appropriate to a religious sculpture, one that was likely dedicated at a sanctuary either to Eros or his mother, Aphrodite. The image is quite different from Classical sculptures of the god, which typically portray Eros as a capricious youth. Here, by contrast, the artist has chosen to emphasize the purity and innocence of love in the form of a sleeping baby. By representing Eros as babylike, the sculpture refers to the tradition that he was born of the union between Aphrodite, the goddess of love, and Ares, the god of war, a myth that gained currency in the Hellenistic period. The image of the winged baby Eros became the canonical type and inspired many representations of the Roman Cupid and, much later, the cherubs and putti of the Renaissance.

The statue was cast in seven sections that were expertly joined together: head, body, right arm, right wing, right leg, left leg, and the drapery between the legs. There are very few flaws in the casting. The “Sleeping Eros” type had wide appeal to the ancient Romans and is known in a large number of replicas, mostly from the Imperial period. The many variants of the type served to decorate villa gardens, fountains, public baths, and funerary monuments.

This sculpture is the finest example and arguably also the earliest. Differences in the metal alloy of the drapery between the legs as well as its technique of manufacture suggest that this part of the statue was restored at a later date, likely during Early Imperial times. SH

1. Richter 1943, pp. 365–78, figs. 1–7, 13; Richter 1950, p. 68, fig. 121; Richter 1953, pp. 123–24, pl. 102; Charbonneau 1962, p. 129, pl. XXV, 3; Robertson 1975, p. 553, pls. 175c, 176a; Mertens 1985, pp. 52–53, no. 34, p. 63; Söldner 1986, vol. 2, pp. 596–619, especially p. 605, no. 17; Mattusch 1996, pp. 161–65, fig. 5.9, pl. 4; Burn 2004, p. 148, fig. 85; Hemingway 2007, pp. 50, 54–55, fig. 1; Picón et al. 2007, pp. 206–7, 451, no. 240; Seán Hemingway in *Power and Pathos* 2015, pp. 228–29, no. 20.

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Sleeping Hermaphrodite

Roman, Imperial period, first half of the 2nd century A.D.; copy of a Greek original of the 2nd century B.C.

Marble from Asia Minor, H. 9 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (25 cm),

W. 58 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (148 cm)

Found in Rome during the construction of the Teatro Costanzi, 1879

Museo Nazionale–Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, Rome (1087)

This fine sculpture in marble from Asia Minor was unearthed in a niche of the peristyle of a wealthy private dwelling in Rome.¹ The subject can be identified as



Hermaphroditos, son of Hermes and Aphrodite, adored by the water nymph Salmakis. According to the myth, the youth rejected the nymph, who, not wishing to be abandoned, called on the gods for help. The gods assented, forging the two into one being forever, a creature bearing both masculine and feminine traits.²

Hermaphroditos is portrayed in sleep, resting on a coverlet that winds around the left arm and part of the legs. The head rests on the right arm and the body on its right side, flanks and torso posed as if just about to change position. The sculpture is designed to lead the viewer to discover, by steps, the dual nature of the figure. Because of the way the body is twisted, both the face and the back are visible at once. From that perspective, Hermaphroditos displays the delicate features of a girl's face and a femininely soft and sinuous body. The elegant hairstyle and the jewelry adorning it enhance this impression. The other side of the statue, however, bears the sexual attributes of both a man and a woman, revealing the figure's unusual nature.

The Sleeping Hermaphrodite, characterized by the complex movement of the figure in space and the very fine detail of hair and drapery, was a type created in the Late Hellenistic era. A majority of scholars identify the sculptor as Polykles of Athens, who worked in the second century B.C.³ While the original is lost, its fame is evident from the numerous replicas made in the Roman period (the Borghese Collection had two, one of which is today in the Galleria Borghese, Rome, the other in the Musée du Louvre, Paris). The Sleeping Hermaphrodite of Palazzo Massimo is generally considered the most faithful copy. VI

1. Von Kieseritzky 1882, pp. 245–73; Lucilla de Lachenal in Giuliano 1979, pp. 123–26, no. 89; Moreno 1994, vol. 1, pp. 526–27; von Prittwitz und Gaffron 2007, pp. 264–66; Marina Caso in Gasparri and Paris 2013, pp. 260–61, no. 189.

2. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 4.285.

3. See Ajootian 1990, pp. 276–77, no. 56c, pl. 193; Raehs 1990, pp. 62–63; Ridgway 1990–2002, vol. 1 (1990), pp. 328–30; Moreno 1994, vol. 1, pp. 526–30; Moreno and Viacava 2003, pp. 213–14, no. 196; Marina Minozzi, Marie-Lou Fabréga-Dubert, and Jean-Luc Martinez in *Borghese e l'antico* 2011, pp. 312–15, no. 35.



Table Leg with Vine Decoration

Greek (Pergamene), Late Hellenistic period,
1st century B.C.

Marble, H. 28 in. (71 cm), W. at bottom 13 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.
(34.5 cm), W. at top 12 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (32 cm), max. D. at
top 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (12 cm)

Discovered at Pergamon, allegedly in the
Asklepieion

Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin
(AvP VII 407)

Since the plaque has been cut down on both vertical sides, the vinework is incompletely preserved.¹ The decorative scheme is identical front and back. A twisted double vine emerging from an acanthus leaf is depicted with the strictest symmetry, down to the tiniest details. The figural groups in the main panels—satyrs observing a sleeping maenad on the front, two he-goats supported by an amphora on the back—follow precedents from the Classical era. The dimensions, orientation, and decor of the plaque suggest that it was originally an elaborate base for a table leg. Fragments of other such feet produced with the same pattern are known from Athens, Crete, and Rome, the latter in the Thorvaldsen Museum, Copenhagen. CB

1. Winter 1908, pp. 323–25, no. 407, supplementary sheet 43; Bakalakis 1951; Börker 1973, pp. 284–93, fig. 2; Sauron 1988, pp. 13, 15, fig. 8; De Luca 1990, pp. 160–61, pl. 27, 1; *Antikensammlung* 1992, p. 191, no. 86; Ingrid Krauskopf and Erica Simon in Krauskopf, E. Simon, and B. Simon 1997, p. 789, no. 81; Mathea-Förtsch 1999, p. 38; Christof Berns in *Pergamon* 2011, p. 541, no. 6.31; Berns 2013.

Statue of a Boy Removing a Thorn (The Spinario)

Greek, Hellenistic period, 3rd century–1st
century B.C.

Marble, H. 27 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (69 cm)

Said to have been found on the Esquiline Hill,
Rome

The British Museum, London (GR 1880.0807.1)

Several versions of the “Spinario,” or Thorn-Puller, exist from antiquity, presumably after a Hellenistic original of the third century B.C. The present example lacks the right leg below the knee and part of the left foot, which were carved separately



and attached, but subsequently lost.¹ The rear top part of the head, now restored in plaster, has been cut flat, perhaps originally completed with a separately carved section that was perhaps a repair made by its sculptor or by a later restorer. Two large holes were drilled through the rock on which the boy sits to secure water pipes when the statue was converted into a fountain at some point in its later history, and there are plaster repairs to the rear and base.

Deep in concentration, the young boy, about seven to ten years old, raises his left leg to examine his foot with his right hand. With a furrowed brow, anxious eyes, and slightly parted lips, he appears to breathe sharply as he attempts to remove a thorn from his now missing foot. He may be a peasant child who labors in and roams the countryside barefooted and who thus would be vulnerable to the hazards of nature. His body has not yet developed into



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that of a muscular youth, but his soft flesh is beginning to firm up, his limbs starting to lengthen.

Of all the surviving variations of the Spinario type, this figure is the most naturalistically composed. Scholars have suggested an origin in Alexandria or Asia Minor, but the variations of this figural type lead us to conclude that there was more than one prototype.² The sculptor has captured a moment in time, turning a troublesome and frequent event in the subject's life into an enduring and intense image. PH

1. A. H. Smith 1904, pp. 108–9, no. 1755; Fuchs 1958; Parisi Presicce 2005; Ambra Spinelli in *Power and Pathos* 2015, pp. 306–7, no. 55.

2. Parisi Presicce 2005, p. 9.

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Relief with Artemis at an Altar

Greek, Hellenistic period, late 3rd century B.C.
Bronze, H. 19½ in. (49.5 cm), W. 17⅜ in. (44 cm),
Th. 2 in. (5 cm)

Found on Delos, in the area of the Fountain of Minoë, 1908
Archaeological Museum, Delos (A 1719)

Artemis, at center, walks toward an altar decorated with a foliate scroll and a bull's head.¹ The goddess is depicted in profile to the right, her head turned frontally. She wears a short belted chiton with a long fold, a himation draped over the left shoulder and under her chest, and tall footwear

fastened with straps. She holds two torches, using one to light a fire on the altar. Opposite Artemis, a small satyr in ritual attire blows over the altar to strengthen the fire. Another satyr watches the goddess while holding a basket with the necessities for the sacrifice in his right hand and a wine jug in his left. To the right, in the background, atop a slender pillar, is the statue of a deity with a long garment and a torch, identified as either Artemis or Agathe Tyche (Good Fortune). The presence of satyrs in a sacrifice scene involving Artemis can be explained by the goddess's close association with Dionysos in Delos.

In ancient Greek religion, torches were attributes primarily of female deities associated with fertility, fruit bearing, and the protection of young offspring, but they were also identified with purification rituals. Such deities include Artemis, Artemis-Hekate, Eileithyia, Demeter, and Kore as well as Dionysos. The figure of Artemis holding torches (*amphipyros*, *dadouchos*, *phosphoros*) becomes especially prevalent in ritual and iconography in Delos during the third to first century B.C.

This relief was placed on a stele, possibly an inscribed one² found together with another, almost identical stele in the Agora of the Delians. The lists of the Sanctuary of Agathe Tyche describe, shortly before the mid-second century B.C., a pair of stelae with inlaid bronze elements like those featured on the stelai from the Agora of the Delians, one of which (E 378) fits perfectly with this bronze relief. Therefore, the relief probably comes from the Sanctuary of Agathe Tyche, which has tentatively been identified as the Philadelphieion mentioned in inscriptions. The relief's central figure, moreover, has been identified as Arsinoë II in the guise of Artemis, but there is no evidence to support this hypothesis. ZP

1. Courby 1910, pp. 19–35, pl. VI; Vallois 1921, pp. 242–69, fig. 2; Marcadé 1969, pp. 37, 87, 191, n. 2, pp. 215, 217, 443–54, pl. XXXIX; Bruneau 1970, pp. 541–43, pl. IX, 1; Ridgway 1990–2002, vol. 1 (1990), pp. 319–20, pl. 158; Philippe Jockey in Hermary, Jockey, and Queyrel 1996, pp. 176–77, no. 78; Zapheiroupolou 1998, pp. 134, 267, no. 124.

2. Archaeological Museum, Delos (E 378 = IG XI 4 1026).



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Statuette of Dionysos

Greek, Hellenistic period, mid-2nd century B.C.
Bronze, H. 18⁷/₈ in. (48 cm)

Found in Chochlia, Eurytania (Central Greece)
National Archaeological Museum, Athens
(X 15209)

Dionysos is depicted as a beardless youth.¹ He rests his weight on his left leg, while his right leg bends back, touching the ground with the ball of the foot. He leans slightly to his right and turns his head and gazes upward, also to the right. His raised left hand probably held a *thyrsos*, his customary staff. The god wears a short, sleeveless chiton, a deer hide cinched at the waist, and tall walking boots. He is wreathed in ivy, and grape bunches hang behind his ears.

With its opposing yet balanced movements, the figure “opens up” to the space around it, asserting three-dimensionality—a prevailing trend for sculpture during the Hellenistic period.² The large head, low waist, and powerful legs recall the heavy proportions of Argive sculpture, while the turn of the head and unfocused gaze convey Dionysian ecstasy.

Son of Zeus and Semele, Dionysos was the god of wine, the vine, fertility, and vegetation. Toward the end of the fifth century B.C. he appears in art as a beardless youth. He was especially popular in the Hellenistic period as a symbol of nature’s regeneration, an eternally youthful god.

This statuette probably belonged to an Aetolian sanctuary.³ However, already in the Late Hellenistic period, similar statuettes decorated the peristyles and gardens of villas for religious and aesthetic reasons. NP

1. The statuette is hollow cast, and the right arm was repaired in the Late Hellenistic or Roman period.

Karouzou 1975, pp. 205–16, pl. 121a–δ.

2. Vokotopoulou 1997, p. 277, nos. 211, 212.

3. Sharpe 2006, pp. 247–48, no. 85, fig. 62.



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Roundel with Bust of Dionysos

Greek, Hellenistic period, ca. 150–125 b.c.
Bronze, Diam. 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (20 cm)
The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (96.AC.150)

Hollow cast in high relief, with the head almost entirely in the round, this appliqué preserves three attachment holes; two sections of the rim on top and bottom are missing but appear to be intentionally cut out.¹ Irises and pupils are inlaid in different metals for polychrome effect. Given the size of the roundel, it may have been attached to a piece of furniture, such as a large chest, or perhaps to a chariot (see cat. 104a).²

Like much of Hellenistic art, images of a youthful and rather feminine Dionysos appealed to the viewer's senses.³ Here the god of wine and spectacle appears with his typical paraphernalia, which includes a wreath of ivy and *korymboi*, or berry clusters; a fillet whose long ends fall onto his chest; long curls of hair on the shoulders; and his ceremonial staff, the *thyrsos*.



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A similar bust of Dionysos—dated to the late second century b.c. and paired with an image of Ariadne—decorates a large bronze fitting from the shipwreck discovered off the coast of Mahdia, Tunisia.⁴ JMD

1. *Bronzes* 1989, no. 10; Ariel Herrmann in *Passion for Antiquities* 1994, pp. 210–11, no. 102.
2. Polyxeni Adam-Veleni in *Power and Pathos* 2015, pp. 232–33, no. 22.
3. See Zanker 1998a.
4. H. G. Horn 1994.

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Head of Silenus

Greek (Rhodian), Hellenistic period,
2nd century b.c.
Red Rhodian limestone, H. 7 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (19.5 cm)
From Rhodes, probably from the city of Rhodes
Archaeological Museum, Rhodes (13641/Γ 2946)

The pointed ears indicate that this head represents a Silenus, or satyr, and not Dionysos, as suggested in its first publication.¹ Parted at the middle, the hair is wreathed in ivy with two clusters of berries

at the center, above the soft forehead. The half-closed, slanted eyes were originally inlaid. The prominent cheekbones, wide nose, full lips, and casual smile of drunken exhilaration are rendered with great vitality on the wine-red stone.

The frontal orientation indicates that the head probably belonged to a herm. The large series of Rhodian sculptures carved in local red limestone, which includes several bearded and beardless Silenuses or satyrs,² may have been produced in a workshop that also specialized in architectural elements, mostly the circular and rectangular bases for funerary monuments found in excavations in the ancient city's cemetery.

Scholars have compared this head of a bearded, wreathed Silenus with that of Silenus in the Lysippian group, which includes the infant Dionysos, in the Musei Vaticani.³ The Rhodian head, with its plasticity and highly refined details of curling hair and ivy wreath, where the use of the drill is evident, can be dated to the second century b.c., when sculptures



drawing from the rich repertoire of Dionysian iconographic subjects became extremely popular and were often used in natural or artificial landscape settings within the Hellenistic city of Rhodes and its cemetery.⁴ EK

1. Jacopi 1931, p. 47, no. 8, figs. 47, 48. The chin, neck, part of the left jaw, and upper left part of the head are missing. The tip of the nose is chipped. The thick mustache surrounding the mouth (tips broken) forms curls, as does the beard, which is preserved mostly on the right jaw.

2. Gregarek 1991, pp. 53–64, 162–68. See also A. Herrmann 1988, pp. 244–46, pl. 68, 2.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 167; Amelung 1903, pp. 16–17, no. 11, pl. 2. This sculptural type is repeated in several copies with variations on the original composition, which is attributed to Lysippos. See Moreno 1987, pp. 185–90; Linfert 1994, p. 840, fig. 6.

4. See Patsiada 2013, *passim*, which, on the basis of recent excavation data, addresses natural or artificial landscape settings in the city and cemeteries of Hellenistic Rhodes, including underground grottolike nymphaea, public open spaces, or *temeni* with groves, alcoves, rock-cut staircases, water-supply tunnels, cisterns, etc., which very often were decorated with sculptures, such as the well-known bronze sleeping Eros now in the Metropolitan Museum (cat. 218).

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Satyr and Hermaphrodite

Roman, Early Imperial period, 1st century A.D.; copy of a Greek original, probably in bronze, of the 2nd century B.C.

Marble, H. 39³/₈ in. (100 cm), W. 35³/₄ in. (91 cm), D. 22¹/₄ in. (58 cm)

Found at Villa A, Oplontis (Torre Annunziata), during the 1977 excavation, with additional fragments discovered in 2013

Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Pompei, Ercolano e Stabia (72800)

The sculpture was discovered at the site of a large residential villa at Oplontis, at the foot of Mount Vesuvius, known today as the Villa Poppaea after its possible owner, the wife of the emperor Nero, who hailed from nearby Pompeii. It depicts an elderly satyr poised on a rock, violently seizing and molesting a young hermaphrodite.¹ The youth struggles to get free, trying to break the grasp of the satyr's legs with the left hand, while the right pushes back the satyr's head. The hermaphrodite's resistance does not appear to be entirely effective, although the satyr's left leg is blocked by the youth's right.

This statue, two-thirds lifesize, is one of thirty copies—twenty-eight in marble and two in bronze—of the figure, which is known as the “Dresden Wrestling Group” after one of the finest examples (Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden). The striking number of copies and the fact that the group has also been reproduced in two-dimensional images—a painting from Pompeii in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples, and a floor mosaic in the House of the Boat of Psyche at Antioch that depicts the subject from two different points of view²—as well as on gems and seals indicate that these are replicas of a famous Greek original. A few decades ago, this original was thought to belong to Pergamene production of the third century B.C., owing to the virtuoso rendering of tension in the limbs and the expressiveness of the violence, comparable to these qualities in the Pergamon Altar. Further, it was at Pergamon that Pliny the Elder located the famous *symplegma* (erotic entanglement) sculpted by Kephisodotos the Younger, son of Praxiteles, which Johannes Overbeck had identified in the nineteenth century as belonging to the Dresden type.³

More recently it has been noted that Late Hellenistic sculptural modeling reveals a flowering of the satyr-and-hermaphrodite motif between the second and first centuries B.C., as can be seen on a terracotta plate from Cales, southern Italy, and in a statuette of Magna Graecia production today in the Staatliche Antikensammlungen, Munich. In

these works the spectator's point of view plays an essential role and the narrative surround is often portrayed as bucolic, sensual, and Dionysian. These images can perhaps be linked to the “Hermaphroditus nobilis” that Pliny attributed to one of the Polykles, the celebrated family of Attic sculptors of the second century B.C.⁴

The Oplontis example belonged to an extended series of sculptures made in the first decades of the first century A.D., many of which had been damaged in the earthquake preceding the eruption of A.D. 79 and were undergoing restoration. It decorated the villa's *natatio* (pool) complex (see fig. 122), along with heroic-athletic sculptures, a neo-Attic krater, and several portraits. While there is no doubt that the cult of Hermaphroditos, son of Hermes and Aphrodite in myth, had religious origins in the Greek world and the East, in Roman Italy the figure played an essentially decorative role. The satyr figure was extensively used in garden decoration, while the theatrical effect of the surprise discovery of the youth's genitals is intensified at Oplontis by the statue's position on the edge of the pool where the underside was reflected in the water. SDC

1. De Caro 1987, pp. 98, 100, no. 12, figs. 15a, b, 16a, b; Ajootian 1990, p. 279, no. 63p; Stähli 1999, pp. 24, 37, n. 26; Ciarallo 2007, p. 169; Lorenzo Fergola in *Giardino antico* 2007, p. 268, no. 3.B.14, ill. p. 269; Marisa Mastroroberto in *Giardino antico* 2007, p. 307; Retzleff 2007; Mattusch 2008, pp. 201–2, no. 90; Cadario 2012, pp. 237–38, fig. 4.

2. Kondoleon 2000, pp. 71–74.

3. Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 36.4.24.

4. Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 34.19.80.

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Statuette of Aphrodite Emerging from the Sea

Greek (eastern Mediterranean), Hellenistic period, 150–100 B.C.

Marble, H. 16 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (42.9 cm), W. 11 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (28.9 cm)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Frank B. Bemis Fund (1986.20)

The sculptor of this marble statuette created a particularly dynamic version of the type known as the Anadyomene Aphrodite, who rises from the sea either at

her birth or from her bath.¹ She is a sensually carved nude, boldly stepping forward out of her watery realm and onto land. The physical energy of the figure is underlined by the fact that her left leg remains immersed in the sea up to the knee. As she steps out, she reaches up with her left arm, causing her draperies to billow in the seaside wind. The arms were made separately and attached with iron dowels (one partly remains in the right shoulder). The back of the sculpture is more roughly finished—it is curved and flattened—suggesting that the piece was positioned to be seen from the front, perhaps in a niche.

The goddess's watery realm is composed of a deep bowl with irregular edges, perhaps meant to evoke the waves of the sea (other less likely options are a rocky shore or shell, but not the typical scallop shell associated with the birth of Aphrodite). It tapers down to a narrow point that must have fit into some kind of support. On the right side of this lower area, a fragment of a lost part of the sculpture protrudes, perhaps a dolphin (now indeterminable). Below the fragment is a hole that goes through the base and could have served as a conduit for piping, if the piece functioned as a fountain. There are two very similar sculptures found in Rhodes and in Asia Minor (Stratonikeia), suggesting that they are all part of a replica series.² The Rhodian school of sculpture in the later Hellenistic period is known for a number of sculptures with rocky bases.³ The island, meanwhile, is known for its many grottoes.⁴ Is it possible that this piece served as a votive sculpture in a rock-cut shrine or grotto nymphaeum? CK

1. Vermeule and Comstock 1988, pp. 7, 23–25, no. 12; Kondoleon, Segal, and Saunders 2011, p. 190, no. 18; Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti 2011, p. 47.

2. For the example from Rhodes, see Machaira 2011, pp. 89–90, no. 59, pl. 78; and from Stratonikeia, now in storage at the Bodrum Museum of Underwater Archaeology, see Özgan 1999, pp. 42–45, no. H 13, pl. 10c.

3. For Rhodian sculptures of nymphs or Aphrodites resting on rocky bases, see Merker 1973, pp. 15, 26–27, figs. 6–15.

4. For a discussion of the use of landscape elements such as rocks in Rhodian sculpture, see Ridgway 1990–2002, vol. 2 (2000), pp. 277–78.





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Bust of a Youth with Attributes of Herakles

Greek, Late Hellenistic period, ca. 110–100 B.C.
Bronze, H. 6 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (17.5 cm)
The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (96.AB.31)

A lion's skin crowns the head of this tousle-haired youth, evoking associations with the hero Herakles. Scholars have identified him as Eros, who was often depicted with the attributes of other deities.¹ In this case, the lion's skin, as a symbol of Herakles' conquest of the Nemean Lion, would signal the triumphs of the god of love. The pres-

ence of a quiver strap across the youth's chest as well as possible traces of wings on his shoulders supports the identification, as do the delicate facial features and top-knotted hairstyle characteristic of Eros. It has been suggested that the high-relief bust had a decorative function,² and indeed, judging from the two small holes along the bottom edge, it may have been attached to a piece of furniture. JHC

1. Matheson 1982, pp. 24–31, figs. 1–3; Hadzi 1983, pp. 20–21, no. 6; Uhlenbrock 1986, p. 12, no. 33; Barr-Sharrar 1987, pp. 76–77, no. C 172, pl. 51; Ariel Herrmann in *Passion for Antiquities* 1994, pp. 213–14, no. 104.

2. Matheson 1982, p. 25; Barr-Sharrar 1987, p. 77.

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Krater with Applied Decoration

Greek (Pergamene?), Hellenistic period,
150–110 B.C.

Terracotta, black-glaze, H. 10 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (27 cm),
Diam. of rim 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (21.2 cm), Diam. of base
4 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (10.6 cm)

Excavated in the southwestern area of the
Athenian Agora

Museum of the Ancient Agora, Athens (P 3155)

This vase rests on a hollow, stepped foot with a relief ring marking the join with the hemispheric body. Ovoid motifs decorate the shoulder. Two horizontal handles framed by thick leaf-shaped ornaments begin at the shoulder, above relief lion's heads, and curve upward. The cylindrical neck with flared rim features applied decoration comprising nine terracotta plaques, which make up a Dionysian theme.¹ The plaques depict a nude male figure moving to the left holding a branch (the *thyrsos*?); a nude male figure moving to the right carrying a wineskin; a frontal female figure holding a torch and wearing a chiton and himation that covers her head (Leto?); an ecstatic dancing maenad holding an animal(?); a frontal female figure holding a bowl and a torch (or scepter) wearing a chiton and himation that covers her head (Demeter?); a frontal nude Dionysos with himation pleated around the hips supported by Ariadne (a third figure, possibly a satyr, was depicted on the plaque's missing left side); a satyr wearing a cloak or panther hide moving to the left and playing the double flute; a male figure with a long cloak (the upper part is missing); and a satyr carrying a large object on his shoulder.

This vase has been linked to the pottery with applied decoration produced in Pergamon during the second century B.C.² Similar Dionysian *thiasoi* (ecstatic retinues) and scenes from the life of Dionysos are often depicted on Pergamene relief ware.³ Attalos II (r. 159–138 B.C.) fervently promoted the cult of Dionysos, in which he actively participated as a living hero and successor to the deified Eumenes II (r. 197–159 B.C.), who had been celebrated as a new Dionysos and for whom processions, mystic rituals, and banquets were held in his honor.⁴ The decorative motifs on



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Pergamene pottery reflect these feasts and rituals. Moreover, religious groups used vases with Dionysian scenes during their celebrations. If this vase was produced in Asia Minor, it probably reached Athens as the precious personal property of a foreign visitor or immigrant. The vase's shape and subject matter recall the Late Hellenistic large marble neo-Attic kraters (see cat. 230), of long-lasting popularity, and probably reflect common metal prototypes.⁵ ML

1. Fine gray fabric; black glaze, unevenly fired; recomposed from several fragments. Rim, body, and one handle restored. Chips throughout, including on applied decoration. Hole at base opened after firing. The potters

probably created molds for the friezes, which they then cut into individual figures, from which they chose those most appropriate for their compositions. As a result, some relief plaques on this vase feature parts of limbs from other figures. H. A. Thompson 1934, pp. 424, 426, with reference to Courby 1922, pp. 456, 473–74.

2. See H. A. Thompson 1934, although most Pergamene production features pink fabric and smooth, shiny coral red glaze (Bruneau 1991, p. 600). Gerhild Hübner (1993, p. 52) doubts the vase's Pergamene origin because this shape does not occur in Pergamon. Susan I. Rotroff (2007, p. 244) believes that the vase was imported from the East.

3. Besides Pergamon, the Attalids were also active on Delos and other coastal cities from Olbia to Laodikeia, reflecting the trade routes of the time. For a detailed catalogue of the findspots of pottery with applied decoration, see Bruneau 1991, p. 610.

4. For the history and use of this pottery in Pergamon in the 2nd–1st centuries B.C., see Hübner 1993, pp. 181–82.

5. Rotroff 2007, p. 244. On marble neo-Attic kraters, see Fuchs 1959.

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Calyx-Krater (The Borghese Krater)

Greek (Neo-Attic workshop),

Late Hellenistic period, 40–30 B.C.

Marble, H. 67 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (172 cm), Diam. 53 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (136 cm)

Discovered in the Gardens of Sallust, Rome, ca. 1569

Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Antiquités Grecques, Étrusques et Romaines (Ma 86)

On this vase, commonly known as the Borghese Krater, a bas-relief vine shoot appears under the everted lip and is decorated with pearls and gadroons replicating those that decorate the lower part of the vase.¹ Below it, a frieze in high relief depicts the procession of Dionysos, or Bacchus as the Romans called him. On the principal face of the krater, the god stands semi-nude next to a lyre player, probably Ariadne if not simply a maenad. Seen from the front, the back, and in three-quarter profile, five fauns and three maenads dance and play music along the rest of the body.² Monumental marble kraters, derived from ceramic banquet vases in which water and wine were mixed, were commonly adorned with Dionysian decorations, and dance was considered an apt theme considering the vessel's shape; indeed, scenes with dancing appear frequently on other rounded forms, such as the surfaces of lampstands, the copings (tops) around wellheads, and altars used as garden decorations.

First appearing at the end of the Hellenistic period, marble ornamental vases were made in imitation of metal kraters (e.g., cat. 5), of which the best surviving example is the Derveni krater (fig. 26), produced in the fourth century B.C.³ Its body is festooned with a vine shoot, fauns, and maenads. Extremely popular during the Roman period, these decorations were eclectic creations that reinterpreted ancient models.⁴ Here on the Borghese vase, Bacchus's pose is inspired by the Lycian Apollo created by Praxiteles in the fourth century B.C.; the satyr flutist appears in



early fourth-century B.C. iconography; the tambourine player seems to be a combination of the early third-century B.C. Aphrodite Kallipygos type and of Archaic korai of the sixth century B.C. who lift a fold of their chiton; and the satyr supporting a drunken companion is a figure known from the fourth century B.C. onward.

The discovery and exploration between 1907 and 1913 of a shipwreck that had occurred between 100 and 80 B.C. off the coast of the Tunisian city of Mahdia attested to the Attic origin of this type of work: among the art being sent to rich Roman clients, the wreck contained four kraters, including two very similar to the Borghese vase. A comparison with that cargo makes it possible to date the Borghese krater to a few decades after the wreck, or about 40–30 B.C.⁵

The similarity among these vases suggests a common prototype,⁶ which may also be the source of certain terracotta appliqués found on ceramic vases produced in Pergamon,⁷ the oldest of which date to the 110s B.C. These appliqués show that, shortly before the production of luxurious neo-Attic marble vases, the models for Dionysian figures were already known and reproduced in Pergamon. The city thus played a role, although one difficult to assess, in the development of the neo-Attic style, which also was revealed in the elaboration of the satyrs' faces.⁸ DR

1. Among later changes to the original krater, the attachment points for the handles, which are lost, were reworked into Silenus masks, and the chalice-shaped foot is a modern addition. Musée du Louvre 1898, p. 5, no. 86; Fuchs 1959, pp. 108–18, no. 1, pls. 23b, 24b; Haskell and Penny 1988, pp. 347–48, no. 169; Truskowski 1988, pp. 3–16, figs. 1–10; Grassinger 1994, p. 259; Holtzmann and Pasquier 1998, p. 283, fig. 197; Giorgia Pellini, Marie-Lou Fabréga-Dubert, and Jean-Luc Martinez in *Borghese e l'antico* 2011, pp. 238–39, no. 3.

2. Hamiaux 1998, pp. 199–201, no. 217.

3. Archaeological Museum, Thessaloniki (B1).

4. Fuchs 1959, pp. 108–18.

5. Grassinger 1991, pp. 181–83, no. 23.

6. These neo-Attic representations can also be considered ancient motifs composing a repertoire that evolved and stabilized over time, as workshops enriched one another with various motifs; *ibid.*, pp. 56–57.

7. Bruneau 1991, pp. 604–5.

8. Truskowski 1988.

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Sow at Bay

Greek or Roman, Hellenistic or Imperial period, 2nd century B.C.–1st century A.D.

Bronze with silver inlay, approx. L. 7½ in. (19 cm), H. 4 in. (10 cm)

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; William Francis Warden Fund (64.510)

The dynamic pose and open mouth of this endearing sow suggest that the animal once belonged to a sculptural group.¹ Such groups came into fashion in the Hellenistic period and engaged the viewer in stories through exciting compositions with multiple figures. A Roman example, which depicts a boar harried by two hounds, was found in the garden of the House of the Citharist at Pompeii and dates from the first century B.C. to the first century A.D.² The face of the sow is enlivened by silver inlay for the eyes and a mouth articulated by the inclusion of the tongue and teeth. Tufts of wavy hair, which gather at the ridge of the back, have a naturalistic three-

dimensionality. Nipples underneath the barrel-shaped belly confirm that it is female and hint at her fertility. ps

1. Comstock and Vermeule 1971, p. 86, no. 92; Vermeule and Comstock 1988, p. 120, no. 92 (with bibliography).

2. Mattusch 2008, pp. 190–91, nos. 81–83.

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Statuette of a Dwarf Carrying an Antelope

Greek or Roman, Late Hellenistic or Early Imperial period, 1st century B.C.–1st century A.D. Bronze, H. 4⅞ in. (12.4 cm)

Private collection, lent through the Princeton University Art Museum, New Jersey

This bronze statuette of a dwarf is remarkable for its dynamic pose and elegantly refined craftsmanship.¹ With a small antelope slung across his shoulders, the dwarf strides forward deliberately with his right leg, gazing upward and to the left at the animal, which stares back with wide, alert eyes.² Where visible, the original surface speaks to



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the highest level of finishing, with delicate incision used for the antelope's hide and the dwarf's eyebrows and hair. The eyes of both man and beast were most likely inlaid. The dwarf wears a lotus-bud crown and a short tunic knotted at the waist, which partially exposes his overlarge phallus.

Representations of dwarfs became popular during the Hellenistic period, largely owing to the strong associations that these figures had with Egypt, where dwarfs had served important cultic func-

tions since the sixteenth century B.C. Dwarfs are present in Greek art of earlier periods, but in smaller numbers and in a more restricted mythological repertoire (such as the Battle of Pygmies and Cranes). Representations of dwarfism might also be plausibly linked with the new Hellenistic interest in realism and the depiction of congenital deformity.³ Statuettes of dwarfs in bronze and terracotta have been found in archaeological contexts throughout the Mediterranean, datable from the second

century B.C. through the first century A.D. Although they are often depicted with Egyptianizing costumes and attributes—such as the antelope and the lotus-bud crown of this statuette—the workshops from which they originate are more difficult to determine.⁴ The lotus-bud crown was a primary attribute of the dwarfish god Harpokrates, in whose cults dwarfs were frequently employed.⁵ In Egyptian religion, antelopes became associated with chaos and disorder beginning in the Ptolemaic period and were sacrificed to the deity in a demonstration of his power.⁶ This statuette, unique among surviving examples, most likely represents a temple attendant carrying the victim and possibly, in his right hand, now-lost sacrificial implements. LBS

1. First published in *In Celebration* 1997, pp. 2, 16, no. 14; see also *Memorial Exhibition* 1999, no. 16, and frontispiece.

2. The antelope represented is most likely a juvenile scimitar-horned oryx, a species known to have flourished in North Africa in antiquity. The dwarf's pose is somewhat similar to that of a smaller, ivory dwarf in Florence (Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 91673), who slings a crane over his shoulders; Giuseppina Carlotta Cianferoni in *Piccoli grandi bronzi* 2015, pp. 187–88, no. 167.

3. For a useful overview of dwarfs in Egyptian and Greek art and society, see Dasen 1993, pp. 53–103, 156–59. On Hellenistic realism and its association with an Alexandrian school, see Adriani 1963, pp. 84–85; Himmelmann 1983, p. 75.

4. See, for example, the statuette from the Mahdia shipwreck (cat. 233) and the bronze dwarf carrying a lagynos (cat. 94). For statuettes with known findspots in Egypt, see Garmaise 1996, pp. 148–49. Numerous examples, evidently of Roman craftsmanship, have survived from the Bay of Naples; see Garmaise 1996, pp. 162–63. A fine, gilded example dating to the reign of Vespasian was recently excavated in Mainz, demonstrating how far afield these small objects could travel; see Witteyer 2003, pp. 11–12, fig. 14.

5. The lotus buds are erroneously described in *In Celebration* 1997, p. 2, as goat horns. On the use of dwarfs in the cults of Bes and Harpokrates in New Dynasty Egypt, see Dasen 1993, pp. 55–103; on the double lotus-bud crown, see Tran Tam Tinh, Jaeger, and Poulin 1988, pp. 432–35, nos. 233–74, p. 443; on the crown worn by dwarfs, see Garmaise 1996, pp. 78–79, nos. 17, 18, 23–26, 41, 52, 73, 91.

6. Of special interest is a Ptolemaic inscription and relief at the Temple of Philae, with a spell for “slaughtering the antelope”; see Frankfurter 2004, pp. 101–2, fig. 7. On the long-lived iconography of the bound antelope in Egypt more generally, see Leclant 1984; Quaegebeur 1984.



THE MAHDIA SHIPWRECK

An ancient ship, apparently driven off course by bad weather during a voyage from the eastern Mediterranean, was wrecked near Mahdia on the Tunisian coast sometime in the first half of the first century B.C., perhaps in the 70s.¹ The vessel was laden with architectural elements, luxury objects, and works of art suitable for the villas of a wealthy Roman clientele. Much but not all of the cargo, including more than sixty monolithic, roughed-out column shafts of Pentelic marble and numerous examples of highly finished neo-Attic kraters and candelabra, appears to have been of recent production. Along with some older inscriptions and votive reliefs, these works were being transported from Athens, via its Piraeus harbor, but the ship would have called and possibly taken on cargo at many ports. A set of marble busts representing mythological personages, once set in tondi, are in a discrete style and are made of Parian marble; they show signs of having been removed from a previous installation.² The bronze couch fittings, appliqué, and decorative statuettes form another group that can be tentatively attributed, at least in part, to an atelier on the island of Delos. AH

1. Merlin and Poinssot 1930; Fuchs 1963; *Wrack* 1994; Ridgway 1995.

2. Fiorentini and Hoernes 1994, p. 1098.

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Statuette of a Dancing Dwarf

Greek, Late Hellenistic period,
early 1st century B.C.

Bronze, H. 12 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (32.1 cm)

From the Mahdia shipwreck, off the coast
of Tunisia

Musée National du Bardo, Tunis (F215)

The figure bounds forward in a twisting posture, holding a castanet in his uplifted left hand and part of a now missing object clasped against his chest with his right.¹ His unbelted garment, fastened on the left shoulder, clings to his torso but does not cover his substantial genitals. Over his short hair, he wears a special, usually feminine headdress: a fringed face veil with



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eyeholes, flipped back in the manner of a kerchief (see cat. 158). Among the bronzes from the Mahdia ship, this male dancer has a female partner who capers with similar abandon, playing a pair of castanets; their cylindrical stone bases have recently been identified among the material from the wreck.² A third, youthful dwarf in the same scale was evidently airborne, with a loop for suspension.

Statuettes like this but smaller and often more grotesque are quite frequent, especially in Egypt where such entertainers had been popular since pharaonic times. This

subject matter probably entered Hellenistic art through Alexandrian versions but would not have been limited to the Ptolemaic sphere of influence. The Mahdia examples, which for all their rococo charm exude a Dionysian energy, are by far the largest and finest known. AH

1. Alfred Merlin in *Catalogue du Musée Alaoui* 1922, pp. 127–28, no. F 215, pl. XIII, 2; Fuchs 1963, pp. 17–18, no. 7, pl. 16; Pfisterer-Haas 1994, especially pp. 484–86, figs. 6, 7, 13–15.

2. Ridgway 1995, p. 342.



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Candelabrum

Greek, Late Hellenistic period,
early 1st century B.C.

Marble, H. 56 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (143.2 cm)

From the Mahdia shipwreck, off the coast
of Tunisia

Musée National du Bardo, Tunis (C1208)

Monumental candelabra like this were derived from metal prototypes that would have served as temple lamps.¹ The five marble versions from the Mahdia shipwreck stand at the beginning of a series that continued into Imperial times. The candelabra were used in pairs, typically flanking a portal, and seem to have been purely ornamental; the “fire bowls” of the Mahdia examples are not hollowed out. Although their overall appearance is Classicistic, they incorporate lion-griffins, an orientalizing and regal motif from the age of Alexander. There are some differences with respect to later members of the series. In the Mahdia candelabra, the framed side panels of the triangular base, decorated with figural reliefs in other versions, are left plain; they may have had painted decoration. The lower edge of this element is cut out in an apronlike arrangement, following the contours of the ornament, rather than being straight, as in later examples. AH

1. Alfred Merlin in *Catalogue du Musée Alaoui* 1922, pp. 47–48, no. C 1207–11, pl. VII; Merlin and Poinssot 1930, pp. 112–30, fig. 9, pls. XXXVI–XL; Fuchs 1963, p. 46, no. 63, pl. 80; Cain and Dräger 1994, pp. 239–57, figs. 1, 8–11, 14, pls. 6, 7.

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Lamp

Greek, Late Hellenistic period,
early 1st century B.C.

Bronze, H. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (11.4 cm), W. 14 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (37.5 cm)

From the Mahdia shipwreck, off the coast
of Tunisia

Musée National du Bardo, Tunis (F111)

The large three-nozzle lamp would have been a luxury object in a world where extensive artificial lighting at night, costly and not very practical, was reserved for important tasks or rituals, and for the

festivities of the wealthy. The long nozzles of this example are typically Hellenistic, as is the bold plasticity of the garlands, modeled freehand on the wax original from which the elegantly shaped body was cast.¹ The theatrical mask, originally one of three, was cast separately, as was the foot. There would originally have been a lid. A lamp of the same form, with slightly simpler rendering of the garlands but with all of the masks preserved, was found at Pompeii. AH

1. L. Drappier in *Catalogue du Musée Alaoui* 1910, p. 130, no. F 111; Fuchs 1963, p. 30, no. 36, pl. 44, 2; Barr-Sharrar 1994, pp. 639–44, figs. 1–4, pl. 27.



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Seated Child

Greek, Late Hellenistic period,
early 1st century B.C.

Marble, H. 19¾ in. (50.2 cm)

From the Mahdia shipwreck, off the coast
of Tunisia

Musée National du Bardo, Tunis (C1178)

The plump toddler sits with legs bent under him for balance and ankles crossed as he leans far over, toward the viewer's left, with his hands cupped and joined in front of him in a scooping gesture, as if to splash water.¹ It is thought that the playful statue would have been placed on a low wall bordering an ornamental pool. It is the best preserved of four similar examples from the Mahdia shipwreck, one of them a duplicate and two of them mirror images of this piece, evidently for display in pairs.

A replica of the figure at Sperlonga preserves the head in good condition. Its rounded, impishly smiling face and pointed animal ears show that the child is a satyr-boy, although neither it nor any of the Mahdia examples has a tail. At Sperlonga two extra pairs of hands suggest that the splashing child was grouped with others. Since the Mahdia figures were almost certainly on the sea bottom by the time the Sperlonga version and its companions were carved, both sets must be copies going back to a common original. AH

1. Alfred Merlin in *Catalogue du Musée Alaoui* 1922, p. 42, no. C 1178; Fuchs 1963, pp. 39–40, no. 51, pls. 62, 63; Andrae 1994, pp. 365–74, figs. 1, 2, pl. 12.



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THE ANTIKYTHERA SHIPWRECK

In the second quarter of the first century B.C., a ship foundered off the coast of the small island of Antikythera, located deep in the Mediterranean Sea between Crete and the Peloponnesos. The ship carried a sizable cargo of large-scale sculptures in marble and bronze as well as other artworks, including bronze statuettes and relief-decorated *klinai* (banqueting couches), considerable quantities of pottery (notably some fifty transport amphorae), and luxury items such as gold jewelry, silver vessels, a variety of precious glassware, and a complex, multigearred mechanical device for navigation known today as the Antikythera Mechanism. A small hoard of silver tetradrachms minted in Pergamon and Ephesos and found on board may indicate that those cities were destinations along the ship's route. It is thought that the ship was heading west to Rome from the west coast of Asia Minor when it sank.¹ Discovered in 1900, it was the first ancient Greek shipwreck explored in modern times. A team accompanied by Jacques Cousteau returned to the site in 1976. An ongoing third campaign of investigations, begun in 2014 and utilizing the latest technology for underwater archaeological research, is yielding significant new information about the ship and its cargo.² SH

1. See *Antikythera Shipwreck* 2012a, especially pp. 14–34, 274–92.

2. For the most recent research, see Foley 2015.



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Cistophoric Tetradrachm

Greek (Pergamene), Late Hellenistic period, ca. 95–92 B.C.

Silver, Diam. 1⅞ in. (2.6 cm), Wt. 0.33 oz. (9.38 g)

Minted in Pergamon

Obverse: *Cista mystica* with a partially open lid and snake emerging from the left, within a wreath of ivy and flowers

Reverse: Two opposed snakes wrapped around a bow and quiver in the center; monogram *MA* of the mint officer, between the heads of the snakes; snake wrapped around a stick on the right

From the Antikythera shipwreck, material retrieved in 1976

Numismatic Museum, Athens (NM 19.024/2, B[] 707/1988)

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Cistophoric Tetradrachm

Greek (Pergamene), Late Hellenistic period, ca. 85–76 B.C.

Silver, Diam. 1 in. (2.5 cm), Wt. 0.28 oz. (7.9 g)

Minted in Pergamon

Obverse: *Cista mystica* with a partially open lid and snake on the left, within a wreath of ivy and flowers

Reverse: Two opposed snakes wrapped around a bow and quiver in the center; monograms *KT* and *ΠPY* of the mint officers, between the heads of the snakes; snake wrapped around a stick on the right; monogram *ΠPE* indicating the mint on the left

From the Antikythera shipwreck, material retrieved in 1976

Numismatic Museum, Athens (NM 19.024/9, B[] 707/1988)

These two silver coins belong to a hoard of thirty-six found in 1976 in the Antikythera shipwreck, providing the most secure evidence dating the wreck.¹ The introduction of cistophoric tetradrachms in Pergamon about 190–170 B.C. was a significant change, since they were approximately 25 percent lighter than the Attic weight standard and were intended for use exclusively within the kingdom. Nonetheless, Pergamene coins of the Attic weight standard continued to be minted for use in

foreign exchange. These coins were named after the *cista mystica*, or sacred basket, depicted on the obverse. Their iconography draws from the cults of Dionysos and Herakles, whom the Attalids considered their ancestors. GK

1. Kleiner 1978; Howgego 1995, pp. 54–56; Oikonomidou 2001; Panagiotis Tselekas in *Antikythera Shipwreck* 2012a, pp. 220–26, nos. 294, 295; Tselekas 2012.

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Handleless Bowl

Greek, Late Hellenistic period, first half of the 1st century B.C.

Glass, H. 4¾ in. (12 cm), Diam. of rim 6¼ in. (15.9 cm)

From the Antikythera shipwreck, material retrieved in 1900–1901

National Archaeological Museum, Athens (A 23712)

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Lobed Bowl

Greek, Late Hellenistic period, first half of the 1st century B.C.

Glass, H. 4 in. (10.1 cm), Diam. of rim 9½ in. (24 cm)

From the Antikythera shipwreck, material retrieved in 1900–1901 and 1976

National Archaeological Museum, Athens (A 23714)

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Striped Mosaic Bowl

Greek, Late Hellenistic period, second quarter of the 1st century B.C.

Glass, H. 1¾ in. (4.3 cm), Diam. of rim 3¾ in. (9.3 cm), Diam. of base 2⅞ in. (5.3 cm)

From the Antikythera shipwreck, material retrieved in 1976

National Archaeological Museum, Athens (A 23723)

The bowls presented here belong to a group of twenty monochrome and polychrome glass vessels, whole or fragmentary, yielded by the underwater investigations of the shipwreck off Antikythera, an Aegean island northwest of Crete. They represent

the most impressive glassworking techniques of the Hellenistic period and were luxury wares destined for the markets of Rome. Despite the great depth at which they were found and the adverse conditions under which they were hoisted from the sea, they are in excellent condition; this is because the hard lime incrustation that covered them created a protective shell that upon removal revealed them almost intact.

The handleless bowl, of bluish green color, was made by rotary pressing in a mold. Its decoration must have been highlighted after pressing by short, hand-cut grooves. It shows two olive branches that burst forth from the mouth of a stylized vase and spread over the surface to the opposite side, where they nearly touch one another and are joined by a fillet. On the bottom is an eight-petaled rosette.¹

The lobed bowl, of golden brown color, was made by rotary pressing. It is decorated with sixteen lanceolate leaves, each with a central vein, alternating with sixteen projecting lobes. On the bottom, enclosed in a medallion of concentric circular grooves, is an eight-petaled rosette.²

The mosaic pattern of the third bowl is formed from narrow yellow bands, twisted trails of colorless and yellow glass, and irregularly shaped tesserae of yellow, purple (some with a narrow white stripe), and white, which are randomly inserted. The rim is finished with a twisted coil of colorless and yellow glass. At one point below the rim, a small twisted trail of colorless and yellow glass approximately three centimeters in length occupies an intervening space between rim and body. The vessel's applied conical base ring is made of light green glass with purple, white, and yellow trails.³ CA

1. Weinberg 1992, pp. 62, 105–6, no. 62; Christina Avronidaki in *Antikythera Shipwreck 2012a*, p. 138, no. 100.

2. Weinberg 1992, pp. 61, 104–5, no. 61; Avronidaki in *Antikythera Shipwreck 2012a*, p. 137, no. 99.

3. Weinberg 1992, pp. 64, 110–12, no. 75; Avronidaki in *Antikythera Shipwreck 2012a*, pp. 144–45, no. 114.



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242a, b

Two Vases

Eastern Mediterranean workshop, Late Hellenistic period, 1st century B.C.

Terracotta, Eastern Sigillata A

a. Red-Slipped Plate

H. 1¼ in. (3.1 cm), Diam. of rim 6¼ in. (16 cm)

b. Red-Slipped Hemispheric Cup

H. 2⅞ in. (7.3 cm), Diam. of rim 4¾ in. (12.1 cm)

From the Antikythera shipwreck, material retrieved in 1976

National Archaeological Museum, Athens (A 30640, A 30654)

The plate (a) is complete except for a small loss to the rim.¹ The red slip is well preserved, with only minor chips and scratches and a few sea incrustations, thus giving a metallic texture to the surface. In the center is a stamped rosette. Two groups of concentric circles (“rouletting”) surround five stamped palmettes arranged in a circle. On the hemispheric cup (b), the red slip is

largely effaced.² In the center there was rouletting: two stamped concentric circles are barely discernible.

These vases belong to so-called Eastern Sigillata A (ESA), a highly standardized ware of Late Hellenistic pottery produced in numerous Syro-Palestinian centers along the Levantine coast and widely disseminated in the eastern Mediterranean. ESA vases are mainly open tableware forms. They were constructed at least partly on a mold using fine, light brown clay. This was covered by a light to dark reddish slip in imitation of metal prototypes, possibly bronze vases. The pieces are decorated simply with impressed rouletting and palmettes.

Recent research has proposed that Antioch and its region of northern Syria was one of the main centers of ESA production. According to this hypothesis, ESA ware is none other than the *rhosica vasa* mentioned by Cicero, the eminent Roman orator and politician, in the first

century B.C. and cited again by Athenaios of Naukratis, a rhetorician and grammarian of the late second and early third century A.D., as *rhosikon keramon*, or sympotic vases produced for elite Romans. Indeed, Cicero, who was appointed proconsul of Cilicia in 50 B.C., sent his old fellow student and patron Atticus a letter from his seat in Laodikeia in which he refers to having ordered vases from Rhosos (Arsuz), a coastal city on the Gulf of Issos and a major export harbor for neighboring Antioch.

All of the almost thirty ESA vases retrieved from the Antikythera shipwreck are dated to the final phase of this ware (ca. 60–50 B.C.). They form a homogeneous group of hemispheric cups and plates of various sizes and must be assigned to the cargo of the vessel. ΓΚαβ.

1. George Kavvadias in *Antikythera Shipwreck 2012a*, p. 179, no. 189.

2. Kavvadias in *ibid.*, p. 180, no. 194.



242a



242b

Statue of a Youth

Greek, Late Hellenistic period,
early 1st century B.C.

Parian marble, H. 45¼ in. (115 cm)

From the Antikythera shipwreck, material
retrieved in 1900–1901

National Archaeological Museum, Athens (2773)

The left side of the statue is corroded, but the right is in exceptionally good condition, preserved in a smoothed and polished state.¹ Separately made were the left arm and the upper part of the head and hair. Struts join the plinth with different members of the statue.² The youth is depicted nude and half-bent over with his head raised.³ He stood with weight resting on his left leg and his right leg drawn back. The upper part of the torso leans sharply forward. The left arm was raised while the right arm is lowered. The most likely interpretation⁴ proposed for the figure is that of a wrestler or a *pankратиast* (a kind of wrestler-boxer) represented at the moment of assuming his start position just prior to a match.⁵ His stance and expression imply the presence of a second, opposing figure. Doubtless he formed part of a group. Comparisons of the boy's face with portraits from Delos,⁶ and especially with the statue of a boy from the Roman villa at Fianello Sabino,⁷ allow its dating to the early first century B.C. The sculpture reflects the charming spirit of the Late Hellenistic period. EV

1. The erosion was caused by lithophagous organisms and marine incrustations, while the well-preserved parts were covered by the sand of the seabed. These factors affect all the marble sculptures retrieved from the Antikythera wreck.

2. For struts and their use, see Hollinshead 2002. For the thin struts bridging the gaps between the fingers, for example, the thumb and forefinger of the right hand, compare with the right hand of a male statue from the same shipwreck (cat. 244) and the foot of the cyclops Polyphemos from the eponymous group found in the grotto at Sperlonga (Hollinshead 2002, fig. 6.21).

3. On the statue, see Svoronos 1908, pp. 66–69, no. 25, pl. XII, 1, 1a; Bol 1972, pp. 69–72, no. 25, pls. 38–40, 41, 6; Vorster 1998, p. 33; Kaltsas 2002, p. 299, no. 626, ill. p. 300; Ridgway 1990–2002, vol. 3 (2002), pp. 74, 98, n. 17, pl. 27; Vorster 2007, pp. 309–10, 412, fig. 304; Elena Vlachogianni in *Antikythera Shipwreck* 2012a, pp. 104–5, no. 50.

4. Vlachogianni in *Antikythera Shipwreck* 2012a, pp. 104–5 (with all proposed interpretations).



5. Miller (Stephen G.) 2004, p. 47. On wrestling and the *pankration* in ancient Greece, see *ibid.*, pp. 46–50 and 57–60, respectively.

6. Vorster 2007, fig. 251f.

7. Vorster 1998, pp. 30–33.



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244 Right Hand of a Male Statue

Greek, Late Hellenistic period,
early 1st century B.C.
Parian marble, W. 12¼ in. (31 cm), Diam. of
cylindrical strut 1⅞ in. (3 cm)
From the Antikythera shipwreck, material
retrieved in 1900–1901
National Archaeological Museum, Athens
(15550)

The fragment is reassembled from two pieces, the right hand of the statue together with the wrist and part of the forearm.¹ The hand is in excellent condition,² as is the underside of the forearm; in contrast, the upper portion of the latter is corroded.³

The fingers are bent inward in a relaxed pose. Very thin transverse struts bridge the gaps between thumb and forefinger and between forefinger and middle finger.⁴ On the lower left part of the palm there is a trace of a broken cylindrical strut.⁵ The hand belonged to a larger-than-lifesize male statue.⁶ It probably hung loosely down, alongside the body. The strut on the palm would have connected the hand with the hip. EV

1. The match of the two pieces was made in the 1970s.
2. Svoronos 1908, p. 77, no. 60, pl. XVI, 6 (only the hand is pictured); Bol 1972, p. 92, n. 176.
3. On corrosion of underwater finds, see catalogue number 243, note 1.

4. For the use of thin struts between the digits, see the hand of the statue of a youth from the same shipwreck (cat. 243) and the foot of the cyclops Polyphemos from the eponymous group found in the grotto at Sperlonga (Hollinshead 2002, fig. 6.21).

5. For struts and their use, see Hollinshead 2002.

6. Elena Vlachogianni in *Antikythera Shipwreck* 2012a, pp. 110–11, no. 58.

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Right Arm of a Male Statue

Greek, Early Hellenistic period, last quarter
of the 3rd century B.C.

Bronze, W. of upper arm to elbow 11⅞ in.
(30 cm), W. of forearm 19¾ in. (50 cm)

From the Antikythera shipwreck, material
retrieved in 1900–1901

National Archaeological Museum, Athens (X 15112)

The entire right arm, from below the shoulder to the forearm and hand, is preserved. Part of the elbow is lost. The surface is slightly worn, and a longitudinal crack runs along the upper arm and forearm. On the interior of the hand, remains of the coarse clay core used in casting are visible.

The arm belongs to a male statue that was larger than lifesize.¹ It is delicately modeled, without abrupt transitions among its individual parts. The slight bend at the elbow and the partially closed palm, with the ring and little finger more strongly bent than the others, present a gesture characteristic of orators. It is also very similar to that



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of the right arm of the “Philosopher” from the Antikythera shipwreck,² although the quality of workmanship is different. That has led to the hypothesis that the statue to which this arm belonged was part of the same sculptural group as the Philosopher but was created by a different artist. PK

1. *Archaïologikē ephemeris* 1902, col. 154, no. 12, fig. 4 (bottom row, second from left); Svoronos 1903, pp. 36–37, no. 5, pl. V, 2; Bol 1972, p. 33, pl. 17, 1, 2; Elena Vlachogianni in *Antikythera Shipwreck* 2012a, pp. 86–87, no. 25, ill. p. 87.
2. National Archaeological Museum, Athens (X 15105).

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Left Leg of a Male Statue

Greek, Early Hellenistic period, last quarter of the 3rd century B.C.

Bronze, H. 17³/₈ in. (44 cm), W. 12⁵/₈ (32 cm)

From the Antikythera shipwreck, material retrieved in 1900–1901

National Archaeological Museum, Athens (X 15114)

The fragment consists of the greater part of the left shin, in excellent condition, together with the foot wearing a type of leather sandal (*trochades*) with a triple sole (*kattumos*).¹ A leg peg is preserved beneath the sole, in order to secure the statue to its stone base. The sandal entirely covers the heel and sides of the foot, leaving exposed the instep, toes, and ankle. Thin straps passing through oval slots on the sides of the sandal are crossed above the instep and bound in front of the ankle.

The leg belongs to a male statue that was slightly larger than lifesize. In size and sandal type it closely resembles the right foot that is attributed to the statue of the “Philosopher,” also found at the Antikythera shipwreck,² a similarity perhaps explained by the hypothesis that the statue from which the leg derives belonged to the same group as the Philosopher. MS

1. *Archaïologikē ephemeris* 1902, col. 154, no. 5, fig. 3 (top row, first from left); Svoronos 1903, p. 37, no. 10, pl. V, 10; Bol 1972, p. 31, pl. 13, 5, 6; Morrow 1985, p. 115, pl. 101a, b; Elena Vlachogianni in *Antikythera Shipwreck* 2012a, p. 90, no. 31. On the sandal type, see Morrow 1985, pp. 63–64, 84–86, 114–17; Calcani 1989, pp. 54–55.
2. National Archaeological Museum, Athens (X 15091).

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Left Arm of a Statue of a Boxer

Greek, Late Hellenistic period, late 2nd–early 1st century B.C.

Bronze, W. 30¹/₈ in. (76.5 cm)

Antikythera shipwreck, material recovered in 1900–1901

National Archaeological Museum, Athens (X 15111)

This arm, identifiable by its protective wrappings as that of a boxer, belonged to a larger-than-lifesize statue. It is preserved from the shoulder down and was cast separately from the body.¹ The interior has traces of clay residue from the casting process. Thick straps crisscross tightly around the thumb, wrist, and lower forearm, and five hard leather bands held by two perpendicular straps, known as *himantes oxeis*, cover the knuckles. These bands were introduced in the late fourth century B.C. when boxing became a more violent event.

The soft musculature of the arm suggests that the boxer is an adolescent, not an adult athlete, yet the over-lifesize scale does not suit the statue of one so young, by Classical norms. An antithesis between size and subject is common in the Hellenistic period. It is possible that the young athlete’s statue had stood in a public space, a *palaestra*, or gymnasium. EZ

1. *Archaïologikē ephemeris* 1902, col. 154, no. 11, fig. 4 (bottom row, fourth from left); Svoronos 1903, p. 3, no. 2; Maria Zapheiroupolou in *Agon* 2004, pp. 219–20, no. 109; Elena Vlachogianni in *Antikythera Shipwreck* 2012a, pp. 88–89, no. 30.



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Statuette of a Boxer

Greek, Hellenistic period, late 2nd century B.C.
Bronze, H. 9 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (24.4 cm)

From the Antikythera shipwreck, material
retrieved in 1976

National Archaeological Museum, Athens
(X 18958)

Recovered at a depth of fifty meters below the sea, the statuette is nearly intact, although missing the tips of the fingers on the right hand and the ends of the toes on the left foot. The bronze surface has suffered intensive corrosion. Beneath the left sole is a rectangular peg for securing the statuette to its stone base, now lost.

The statuette depicts a nude boxer supporting himself on his left leg while his

right, drawn to the side and back, rests with just its toes on the ground.¹ The athlete is wearing boxer's thongs (*oksyes pyktikos imas*) on his hands, made of a purer copper alloy and added after the statuette's casting. With his left hand the young athlete is poised to deliver a direct blow to his opponent, while keeping him at a distance with his extended right arm. His head is turned away to the right. His short hair is held in place by a narrow fillet. The modeling of the body is flat, with no apparent interest in the rendering of detail.

This pose—with the body rising onto its toes, the head pulled back, and the arms raised—might capture the moment just before the start of a match (as described in detail by Virgil²) or that stage in the training with the athlete at the punching

bag (*kōrykos*), i.e., the hanging leather bag that received the practice blows, normally filled with sand, flour, or even figs.³ MS

1. Peter C. Calligas in *Mind and Body* 1989, p. 286, no. 174; Thomas 1992, pp. 149, 150, 185, n. 322; Elena Vlachogianni in *Antikythera Shipwreck* 2012a, pp. 96–97, no. 42. On ancient boxing, see Jüthner and Mehl 1962.

2. Virgil, *Aeneid* 5.426–29.

3. On the punching bag (*kōrykos*), see Philostratus, *De Gymnastica* 57; Antylos in *Oribasios* 6.33.1.

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Male Statuette

Greek, Hellenistic period, late 2nd century B.C.
Bronze, H. 16 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (43 cm)

From the Antikythera shipwreck, material
retrieved in 1900–1901

National Archaeological Museum, Athens
(X 13398)



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Although severely corroded over its entire surface owing to exposure to seawater, the statuette is mostly intact, missing only parts of the extremities and the genitals. The statuette represents a young man, standing in a frontal pose.¹ His weight is carried on his right leg while the relaxed left, slightly bent, is drawn back. A chlamys, draped over his left shoulder and folded around his left arm, partly covers the left side of his body. The right arm, slightly bent, extends to the right with hand open, while the head is turned to his left. The short hair is secured by a fillet. The irises of the eyes, the nipples on the chest, and probably the genitals were inset.

The slightly dramatic expression of the face recalls Late Classical or Early Hellenistic work, and the figure's antithetical movement echoes the Polykleitan pattern of support (*contrapposto*). The stance of the statuette and the chlamys suggest that he might be a young Hellenistic ruler, who possibly held a spear and a sword, or the god Hermes with the caduceus. PK

1. Frost 1903, pp. 226–30, no. III, fig. 2; Svoronos 1903, pp. 42–43, no. 19, pl. VII; Alscher 1956, p. 190; Christos Karouzos in Karouzos and Karouzou 1981, pp. 98–99, pl. 127a–d; Leibundgut 1990, p. 417, fig. 251; Linfert 1990, pp. 290, 297, n. 157; Elena Vlachogianni in *Antikythera Shipwreck* 2012a, p. 94, no. 39.

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Statuette of an Ephebe on Two Superimposed Bases

Greek, Late Hellenistic period, late 2nd century B.C.

Bronze, green and white marble, red Laconian stone (*rosso antico*), iron, and lead, H. overall 14 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (37 cm), H. of statuette 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (26 cm); circular base: H. 2 in. (5 cm), Diam. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (17 cm); square base: H. 2 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (6 cm), L. 6 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (17.3 cm), W. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (17 cm)

From the Antikythera shipwreck, material retrieved in 1976

National Archaeological Museum, Athens (X 18957)

This standing nude ephebe (adolescent male) is shown frontally. He supports his weight on his right leg, while his bent left leg reaches slightly backward, the foot resting on the toes. His right palm is held before his chest, and his extended left hand



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probably carried a bowl. His head is turned to the left as he gazes at the object he held. The torso is sharply bent toward the left so that the body forms an S curve. The ephebe's posture, his slightly raised left shoulder, and the partially preserved cylindrical bronze object inserted in a hole on the base to the statuette's left indicate the presence of a support, on which the left palm's flat exterior probably rested. The posture reflects a Praxitelean model, but the frontality and absence of details in the modeling of the body are characteristic of the Hellenistic period's Classicism.¹

The statuette was attached by means of integral bronze pegs to a solid cylindrical base of greenish marble. An iron rod connected the cylindrical base to the square

base below it by means of molten lead. A fragmentary bronze cylindrical object is embedded by almost a centimeter in the center of the upper base's front side. The lower base, whose interior is hollow, is made of white marble and features a square plaque (12.4 x 12.4 x 1.8 cm) of red Laconian stone on its top side. The cavity under the lower base was filled in with mortar. The presence and the characteristics of the two bases, the mortar under the lower base, and the bronze cylindrical object in the cylindrical base suggest that this statuette was once affixed, possibly as part of a group used in the architectural decoration of a villa.² NP

1. Elena Vlachogianni in *Antikythera Shipwreck* 2012a, p. 96, no. 41.

2. Sharpe 2006, pp. 172–76.



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Pompey the Great

Roman, Early Imperial period, first half of the 1st century A.D.

Marble, probably from Dokimeion, H. 9 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (25.1 cm)

From Rome, Tomb of the Licinii
Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen (IN 773)

This portrait bust is broken off at the neck.¹ There are chipped patches on the face and hair, and both ear rims are damaged.

The hair behind the right ear has been heavily reworked, presumably in antiquity. The head of the slightly stocky subject was originally turned a little to the left. There are no traces of clothing, but he was probably a *togatus*, that is, a Roman of civilian status who is wearing a toga. His wavy hair grows elegantly from a starfish-shaped whirl in the back, ending in a cowlick above his wrinkled forehead. The portrait was acquired in 1887 from the collection of Michel Tyszkiewicz with the

information that it had been excavated in 1884 at the so-called Tomb of the Licinii, on the Via Salaria in Rome.²

The bust depicts the Roman general and politician Pompey the Great (106–48 B.C.).³ Comparison with his posthumous portrait on coins minted by his son, Sextus, and the former's officer Quintus Nasidius excludes any doubt of the identification. The cowlick emulates that of Pompey's model and idol, Alexander the Great. Yet the Roman's small intent eyes, coarse nose, and fleshy

cheeks add something common to the idealized image of the statesman. The portrait was made in the first century A.D., but many scholars consider it a copy from the statue at the Theater of Pompey, at the base of which Julius Caesar was murdered on the Ides of March in 44 B.C. during a meeting of the Senate. AMN

1. Helbig 1886, pp. 37–41, pl. II; Kragelund, Moltesen, and Østergaard 2003, p. 113, no. 24, pl. 57 (with bibliography); Moltesen 2012, pp. 88–89, figs. 77, 78.

2. On the tomb, see Kragelund, Moltesen, and Østergaard 2003. On the acquisition of the bust, see Moltesen 2012, pp. 85–87.

3. Junker 2007, pp. 69–94, figs. 1–3.

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Portrait of Julius Caesar

Roman, Julio-Claudian period,
first half of the 1st century A.D.

Luna marble, H. overall 20½ in. (52.1 cm),
H. of head 10¼ in. (26 cm)

Museo Pio Clementino, Musei Vaticani,
Vatican City (713)

This head¹ and the one now at the Camposanto Monumentale in Pisa² are the best examples of the so-called Pisa/Chiaramonti portrait type of Julius Caesar. Both the former and the Tusculum portrait type of Caesar are enormously significant. The head discovered at Tusculum, now in the Castello Ducale di Agliè, near Turin,³ can be compared to the dictator's image on the denarius coins of Marcus Mettius minted shortly before Caesar's assassination, in March 44 B.C.⁴ The Tusculum type was thus created while Caesar was still alive, although all surviving copies date at the earliest to the beginning of the Augustan period.⁵ The Pisa/Chiaramonti type, in contrast, represents a clearly idealized image of the dictator and suggests the influence of the dynastic portraiture of the Hellenistic period. There is general agreement that this second iconographic type can be dated immediately after 42 B.C., the year when Caesar was officially deified, a move that legitimized Octavian's ambition for supreme power. It is not unreasonable to assume that it was Octavian himself who was the "patron" of the Pisa/Chiaramonti type even if we cannot be sure that it replicates the statue of Divus Iulius in the





sanctuary of the homonymous temple in the Roman Forum, begun by Octavian in 42 B.C.⁶ Of the dozen or so copies of this portrait type, the Vatican portrait is distinguished by its softer modeling and greater chiaroscuro effect, which give the face its rather pathetic look. These characteristics, combined with the treatment of the curls in the hair, bear some similarities with portraits of Augustus's immediate successors and might suggest a date early in the Julio-Claudian period. GS/CVA.

1. Sold to the Musei Vaticani by Vincenzo Pacetti in 1804. The head has a restored nose, surface repolished in the modern period, and modern bust. Bernoulli 1882, p. 156, no. 6; Amelung 1903, pp. 367–68, no. 107, pl. 39, 107; Helga von Heintz in Helbig 1963–72, vol. 1 (1963), p. 120, no. 158; Spinola 1999, pp. 136–37, no. 122, fig. 22.
2. Johansen 1967, pp. 25–26, pl. I; Faedo 1995.
3. Borda 1940; Johansen 1967, pp. 20, 23–24, 34–35, pl. XVI; Framarin 1995; Laura Buccino in *Trionfi romani* 2008, p. 184, no. II.2.5.
4. Alföldi 1964.
5. The recent example found on Pantelleria is particularly worth noting. See Osanna, T. Schäfer, and Tusa 2003; T. Schäfer 2004.
6. Pollini 2005, p. 98.

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Portrait of Kleopatra VII (“Cleopatra”)

Greek (Ptolemaic), Late Hellenistic period, third quarter of the 1st century B.C.

Parian marble, H. 15 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (39.1 cm), W. 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (20 cm)

Discovered near the Villa of the Quintilii on the Via Appia, Rome, 1783–84

Museo Gregoriano Profano, Musei Vaticani, Vatican City (38511)

Intended to be mounted on a statue, this head shows all the characteristics of Late Hellenistic portraiture, including a marked

realism, but one that does not undermine the graceful, youthful features of the woman represented.¹ The oval face is distinguished by a slightly receding chin, a small mouth with a pronounced lower lip, and a high forehead. The nose is missing, but we can imagine it had rather broad nostrils. The handling of the hair is of particular interest; it is a typical Hellenistic melon coiffure: a series of undulating plaits pulled back from the forehead and temples and collected at the nape of the neck in a bun. A broad diadem—perhaps meant to represent a gold crown—holds the curls down at the top of the head and then circles behind the hair bun. A royal symbol of the Egyptian pharaohs was originally attached at the crest—perhaps a uraeus (the snake of the Nile), which had an apotropaic function, or a lotus flower, a symbol of rebirth. The identification of this portrait with Kleopatra VII was securely made by Ludwig Curtius in his 1933 study, which compared it to portraits of that queen on several coins minted in Alexandria.

The head is close to a second marble portrait, now in Berlin,² and is perhaps based originally on a high relief. The identification of Kleopatra VII in a variety of other portrait heads and several statues remains uncertain, and consequently doubts remain about the origin of the present type. Kleopatra, who governed Egypt between 51 and 30 B.C., is shown here as a young woman, and the portrait seems therefore to be chronologically compatible with a prototype created between 46 and 44 B.C., when she was about twenty-five years old and living in Rome as Julius Caesar's guest. Stylistically, however, the head seems to belong to the last years of her reign when, perhaps with a sense of nostalgia, her statue might still have been included in a commemorative decorative cycle in an aristocratic villa on the Via Appia. GS/CVA.

1. Unearthed in the 1783–84 excavations of Venceslao Pezolli, the portrait was placed on a headless statue of a woman and exhibited in the Musei Vaticani (179) in the Sala a Croce Greca of the Museo Pio Clementino. In 1986 the head was detached from the statue and replaced by a plaster cast; the restored nose was removed and the portrait was transferred to the Museo Gregoriano Profano, Musei Vaticani (38511). Helga von Heintz in Helbig 1963–72, vol. 1 (1963), pp. 18–19, no. 22; Kyrieleis

1975, pp. 124–25, 185, no. N 1, pl. 107, 8, 9; Brunelle 1976, pp. 108–9, no. 36, pp. 115–16; Eugenio La Rocca in *Kaiser Augustus* 1988, pp. 306–8, no. 143; R. R. Smith 1988, pp. 97–98, 169, no. 67, pl. 44; Ortiz 1990, p. 259, fig. 5a–d; François Queyrel in *Gloire d'Alexandrie* 1998, p. 283, no. 226; Schädler 1998, p. 95, no. 37, pl. VIII, 2; Peter Higgs and Paolo Liverani in *Cleopatra: Regina d'Egitto* 2000, pp. 157–58, no. III.2; Stanwick 2002, pp. 60–61, 80, figs. 277, 278; Vorster 2004, pp. 123–26, no. 67, pls. 86, 1–4, 87; Andrae 2006, pp. 20–21, 26, fig. 10, no. 3, figs. 12–14; Goudchaux 2006, pp. 126–29, figs. 85, 86; Giandomenico Spinola in *Giulio Cesare* 2008, p. 152, no. 23; Eleonora Ferrazza in *Cleopatra: Roma e l'incantesimo dell'Egitto* 2013, p. 275, no. 85.

2. Altes Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (1976.10).

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Tetradrachm of Kleopatra VII

Greek (Ptolemaic), Late Hellenistic period, 39–30 B.C.

Silver, Diam. 1½ in. (2.7 cm), Wt. 0.44 oz. (12.49 g)
Minted in Ascalon

Obverse: bust of Kleopatra VII facing right and wearing a royal diadem and himation within a dotted circle

Reverse: *ΙΕΡΑΣ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ ΑΣΚΑΛΩΝΙΤΩΝ*; eagle with folded wings on a lightning bolt, holding a laurel wreath within a dotted circle; monogram of the mint officer on the left and year of issue LN[. . .] on the right

Numismatic Museum, Athens; Demetriou Collection (1636)

This rare silver coin was issued in the city of Ascalon, in Judea.¹ The obverse depicts a bust of Kleopatra VII, last queen of the Ptolemaic dynasty and the most ambitious, widely debated, and interesting female sovereign of antiquity, who established her own worship as the “new Isis,” independent of a king's adulation.² Formerly dated to 48 B.C., near the beginning of Kleopatra's reign, these coins were probably issued by the people of Ascalon in honor of the Egyptian queen and to win her favor after 39 B.C., when Kleopatra's state extended over the shores of Phoenicia and Philistia



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through Mark Antony's land donations. The obverse depicts Kleopatra at age thirty-one and conveys her authoritarian personality perhaps more than any earlier representation. Her face, with its long aquiline nose and protruding chin, does not correspond to the legend of the beautiful femme fatale but instead confirms Plutarch's words that Kleopatra charmed with her intelligence and strong personality.³ ΓΚ

1. Svoronos 1904–8, vol. 2 (1904), p. 314, no. 1883a, pl. LXIII, 10; Oikonomidou 1996, no. 189; George Kakavas in *Leaving a Mark on History* 2013, p. 145, no. 122.

2. Mørkholm 1991, p. 184; Burnett, Amandry, and Ripollès 1992, pt. 1, pp. 674–75, no. 4867; Hazzard 1995, pp. 12–13, fig. 28; Andrew Meadows in *Cleopatra of Egypt* 2001, p. 234, nos. 219, 220.

3. Plutarch, *Lives, Antonius* 17.2.

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Tetradrachm of Kleopatra VII and Mark Antony

Greek (Ptolemaic), Late Hellenistic period, after 37/36 B.C.

Silver, Diam. 1½ in. (2.6 cm), Wt. 0.52 oz. (14.79 g)
Minted in Cyrenaica

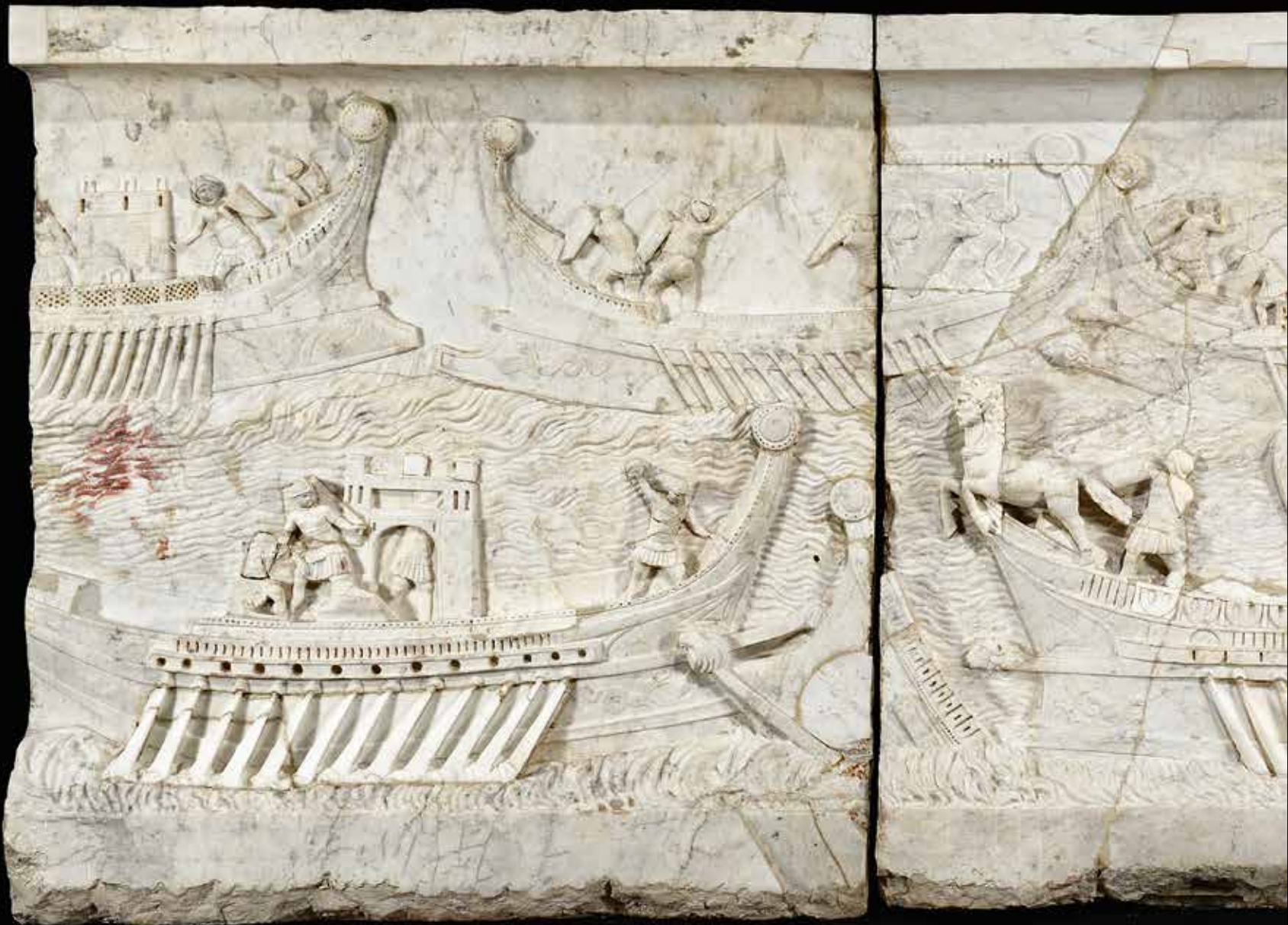
Obverse: *ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑ ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑ ΘΕΑ ΝΕΩΤΕΡΑ* within a dotted circle and surrounding the head of Kleopatra VII facing right and wearing a royal diadem, necklace, and himation

Reverse: *ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΤΡΙΤΟΝ ΤΡΙΩΝ ΑΝΔΡΩΝ* within a dotted circle and surrounding the head of Mark Anthony facing right
Numismatic Museum, Athens; Demetriou Collection (FCD. 445)

Kleopatra VII, the last queen of the Ptolemaic dynasty and the last of Alexander's Successors, was the only woman of this period who exercised real power and high politics, primarily through personal relations. Initially, she reigned with her brother, Ptolemy XIII, then with her second brother, Ptolemy XIV, who was murdered on her orders, and finally with her underage



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son, Ptolemy XV Caesarion, whom she had with Julius Caesar. With her charm she convinced two of the most important Roman leaders of her time, Julius Caesar and Mark Antony, to support her claims to the throne under the protection of the Roman state.

The issue of silver tetradrachms in honor of Kleopatra as *thea neotera* (new goddess) and Mark Antony is associated with the latter's territorial possessions in Syria and Phoenicia, which he had offered as a gift to the Egyptian queen.¹ The title *thea neotera* alludes to her ancestor

Kleopatra Thea (Kleopatra the Goddess), daughter of Ptolemy VI and Kleopatra II, and queen of Syria for many years through her marriages to three Seleucid kings, Alexander Balas, Demetrius II Nikator, and Antiochos VII Euergetes (Sidetes). The issues that depict the couple reflect Kleopatra VII's ambitious political vision: the union of the Hellenistic East with powerful Rome. GK/AN

1. Svoronos 1904–8, vol. 2 (1904), p. 316, no. 1897f; Hazzard 1995, p. 14, fig. 32; Meadows 2001, p. 27; Houghton, Lorber, and Hoover 2008, vol. 1, pp. 348–54; Lorber 2012, p. 229, fig. 12.28.

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Three Relief Slabs with a Naval Battle (The Actium Reliefs)

Roman, Claudian period, A.D. 41–54

Carrara marble, H. 39 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (100 cm), W. 36 in. (91.4 cm), D. 4 in. (10.2 cm)

Collection of the Dukes of Cardona, Córdoba

The three adjoining panels that form this relief come from a larger group of such panels found in Campania in the sixteenth century, probably at the site of the ancient city of Abellinum (modern Avellino).¹ By far the greater number of them were transported to Seville by the Duke of



Alcalá to adorn his Casa de Pilatos; only fragments went to Avellino and later to Budapest's Museum of Fine Arts.² The depth of the slabs was reduced to make transport and restoration easier. The entire relief comprised a sequence of scenes including the god Apollo, tutelary deity of Octavian Augustus, watching Octavian's ships battle those of Mark Antony and Kleopatra at Actium on September 2, 31 B.C.; Octavian's subsequent triumphal procession at Rome; and finally the ceremonial chariot (*tensa*) of the posthumously deified Augustus. The reliefs must therefore have been created as part of a programmatic

cycle after Augustus's death, in A.D. 14. On stylistic grounds they can be dated to the reign of the emperor Claudius (A.D. 41–54).

The three panels have been reassembled from several pieces and heavily reworked during restoration. All damaged figures and other details were restored, and two large sections were added at the upper edges to complete the image. The ships are pictured in two rows, one above the other: on the middle and right panels the Egyptian fleet, on the left Octavian's. Two of the latter's ships are missing here; one can still see portions of their sterns directly in front of Apollo on the Budapest fragment that

preserves him. Perhaps to give the impression of depth, the vessels in the bottom row are larger than those above. The ships of Antony and Kleopatra are attacking those of Octavian, and accordingly, their prows and battering rams face to the left, while their oars angle to the right. Under the high sterns of the two back ships, at far right, one can even see their rudders. The middle ship in the bottom row is identified as the Egyptian flagship by its figurehead: a centaur, with its horse's body completed by a Herakles head with lion's skin, probably intended as an allusion to Antony, who was thus denounced as impetuously strong, like

Herakles, and addicted to drink, like the centaurs. The ship is being attacked by Octavian's flagship. Unfortunately, owing to the restorations, its prow is not preserved, so we cannot know what its figurehead looked like. Between the two flagships one sees part of the prow of an Egyptian ship that is sinking. Armed warriors and superstructures such as turrets can be seen on the ships of both fleets. Some of the soldiers' movements, as they brandish their weapons and protect themselves with shields, are difficult to interpret as restored but were presumably oriented toward their enemy counterparts. The location of the sea battle is also indicated in the relief. At the edge of the right-hand panel a column suggests the town of Actium, the spot from which the Egyptian fleet had set sail, while the figure of Apollo, positioned to the left of these panels, could be understood as a reference to his ancient shrine just to the north. pz

1. De Montfaucon 1719, vol. 4, pt. 2, p. 289, pl. CXLII; T. Schäfer 2002, p. 46, fig. 19; Trunk 2010, pp. 27–44, figs. 3–5. A larger number of the panels and fragments were first shown together in 2013–14 in two Augustus exhibitions in Rome and Paris; see Thomas Schäfer in *Augusto* 2013, pp. 321–23, nos. IX.5.2–IX.5.4; T. Schäfer in *Auguste* 2014, pp. 292–95, nos. 267–69.

2. In 2000 the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, acquired the complete slab, referred to below, which depicts a *tensa*, or ceremonial chariot.

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Gem with Augustus as Neptune Mounting a Sea Chariot

Roman, Early Imperial period, late 1st century B.C.

Carnelian, H. 5/8 in. (1.7 cm), W. 7/8 in. (2.1 cm)

Inscribed: *Popil[ius] Alban[us]*

Said to have been found at Hadrumetum (Tunisia)

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Francis Bartlett Donation of 1912, 1927 (27.733)

Grasping a trident in his right hand and reins in his left, a youthful male embarks on a sea chariot drawn by horses (hippocamps) running at breakneck speed through a sea of rolling waves; a dolphin and man float beneath them.¹ The trident and sea chariot



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are the attributes of Neptune, the Roman god of the sea, but the facial features here closely resemble those found in portraits of Octavian/Augustus on his coinage from the years following the Battle of Actium (31 B.C.).²

Given the naval theme of the imagery, the gem was probably made after 31 B.C. to commemorate the emperor's victory over Cleopatra and Mark Antony, which marked the end of Ptolemaic rule and ushered in a new era of Roman hegemony and stability. The retrograde Greek inscription, *POPIL ALBAN*, located near the top of the gem, is an abbreviation for "Popilius Albanus" and most likely names the Roman owner of the gem. The work may have been intended as a gift for the emperor or as a statement of the owner's allegiance to him. The milky color of its surface is due to light bleaching, probably the result of fire. ps

1. Beazley 1920, pp. 88–89, no. 105, pls. 7, 10; Richter 1968–71, vol. 2 (1971), p. 101, no. 483; Beazley 2002, pp. 67–68, no. 105, pl. 22; Lapatin 2015, p. 248, pl. 100.

2. Zanker 1988, pp. 97–98, fig. 82, identifies the head floating in the sea as a sinking opponent of Octavian's, possibly Mark Antony or Sextus Pompey.

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Stamnos (Lidded Jar) with an Allegorical Relief (The Actium Vase)

Roman, Late Republican or Early Imperial period, 30 B.C.–A.D. 25

Terracotta, H. 13 7/8 in. (35.2 cm)

Signed by Bassus

From Capua; probably made in Campania

The British Museum, London (GR 1873.0208.3)

This stamnos which has a sloping neck, sharply carinated shoulder, and low ring foot, bears intricate relief decoration over much of its surface. Its striated handles feature female masks at the terminals and midpoints, while the lid is decorated with ten olive leaves forming a wreath. The rounded body employs acanthus leaves, ovolo bands, and concentric bulbs to separate two friezes that ring the vessel. The upper frieze depicts seven olive trees linked by heavy festoons and cupids playing the syrinx. In this zone, the artist-potter also proudly stamped his name: *Bassu[s]*. The lower, larger frieze shows the same scene five times repeated: a bearded and draped male figure, Neptune,



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sits on a rock, holding a palm branch, while a winged Victory kneels on the prow of a ship adorned with the head of a marine monster. Two different small temples are visible in the background, while an altar is depicted underneath the rock.

The stamnos was first recorded in 1864 as belonging to Alessandro Castellani, who sold it to Prince Louis Napoleon (Napoleon III).¹ It entered the collection of the British Museum in 1873. It has been reconstructed from several fragments, and

the black surface has been overpainted in several areas. Previously described as relating to “games celebrated in Capua,”² or more correctly as alluding to a naval victory,³ the vase only recently received its nickname, “The Actium Vase,” when the imagery was interpreted as an allegory specifically connected to Octavian’s victory over Mark Antony and Kleopatra at the naval battle of Actium in 31 B.C. Following proper Augustan piety, the allegory credits Neptune with the victory. Whatever the

meaning of the rest of its imagery, the vase was obviously an object of great importance and significance, as the olive leaves, Victory’s wings, and palm branches were gilded, the skin tones were painted pink using madder, and the border patterns blue using lapis lazuli.⁴ DB

1. See Helbig 1864, pp. 136–37.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 137.

3. See Fröhner 1867, pp. 43–46.

4. For the new interpretation, see Paul Roberts in *Cleopatra of Egypt* 2001, pp. 266–68, no. 316.



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Portrait Head of Augustus

Roman, Julio-Claudian period, ca. A.D. 14–37
Marble, H. 12 in. (30.5 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York;
Rogers Fund, 1907 (07.286.115)

With his naval victory over the combined fleets of Kleopatra and Mark Antony at the Battle of Actium on September 2, 31 B.C., Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus, grand-nephew and heir of Julius Caesar, brought to an end nearly two decades of Roman civil wars, annexed the wealthy lands of Egypt, and effectively did away with the last surviving dynasty of Hellenistic kings, the Ptolemies. As Augustus, a title conferred on him in 27 B.C., he became master not only of Rome but also of the entire Mediterranean world, establishing an empire that Alexander the Great himself

would have envied. Augustus's posthumous portraits, including this one, are idealized, like those of Alexander, but they are also ageless for, unlike Alexander, who died young, Augustus lived until he was seventy-seven years old.¹ CSL

1. Boschung 1993, p. 42, nn. 134, 139, p. 43, n. 143, pp. 44, 85, n. 409, p. 100, n. 496, pp. 166–67, no. 140, pl. 109; Elizabeth J. Milleker in *Year One 2000*, pp. 33, 205, no. 13; Picón et al. 2007, pp. 332, 481, no. 383.

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Statue of an Aristocratic Boy

Roman, Augustan period, 27 B.C.–A.D. 14
Bronze, H. 52½ in. (132.4 cm)
Said to be from Rhodes
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York;
Rogers Fund, 1914 (14.130.1)

This fine, approximately lifesize statue represents an elegant teenage boy standing

gracefully with his weight resting on his left leg.¹ Scholars have long debated the identity of the figure. His hairstyle, with its three comma curls at the center of the forehead, emulates official portraits of the Roman emperor Augustus and is close to the early portrait type of Gaius Caesar—the eldest son of Augustus's daughter Julia and her first husband, Agrippa—whom Augustus adopted. However, the parallels for the complete hairstyle are not exact, and the highly idealized face as well as the himation the boy wears suggest he is a young member of the Greek aristocracy whose image has been made to align closely with the well-known features of the imperial family. Details of the sculpture indicate that it was meant to be seen frontally from below; it may have been erected on a tall base set into a niche.

The figure looks down and his head turns slightly to the left. Because the feet are not preserved, different restorations of the figure's positioning are possible. Currently the head is seen from a three-quarter angle, which adds to the impression of the boy being in a contemplative mode—a characteristic of Hellenistic art. Accordingly, the missing attributes in his hands may have been a stylus and a writing tablet. Originally the figure's pose may have been more frontal, in which case other attributes are likely, such as a small branch or sprig in his right hand and a container for incense in his left. The latter iconography would be consistent with a sanctuary dedication and has parallels on other Early Imperial monuments such as the Ara Pacis Augustae in Rome. Rhodes, where the statue was almost certainly found, was a distinguished center for the production of bronze statuary in the Hellenistic period, famous for its Colossus among other works. This masterwork, cast in sections by means of the lost-wax process, attests to the continuation of that tradition into the Early Imperial period. SH

1. Richter 1915a, pp. 121–28, pls. I–VI; Richter 1915c, pp. 149–52, no. 333; Gisela M. A. Richter in Richter and Alexander 1939, p. 10, fig. 24; Hafner 1954, pp. 17–18, no. R 12, p. 27, pl. 4; Joan R. Mertens in *Metropolitan Museum of Art 1987*, p. 101, pl. 73; Zanker 1987, pp. 351–54, pls. 55, 56; Elizabeth J. Milleker in *Year One 2000*, pp. 35, 205, no. 15; Lahusen and Formigli 2001, pp. 83–84, no. 35; Hemingway, Milleker, and Stone 2002, pp. 200–207, figs. 1–9; Picón et al. 2007, pp. 351, 485, no. 405; Seán Hemingway in *Power and Pathos 2015*, pp. 260–61, no. 35.





Lidded *Lebes* (Cauldron) with a Satyr

Greek, Late Hellenistic or Augustan period,
50–1 B.C.

Bronze and silver, H. 22 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (58.1 cm)

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (96.AC.51)

A tour de force of the metalworker's artistry, this unique *lebes* (cauldron) signals its purpose in the exuberant Dionysian imagery that covers the surface. Luxury vessels were the centerpieces of the symposium, a party at which the affluent gathered to drink wine and converse. A young satyr springs from the front, cradling a wine cup in his left hand and snapping the fingers of his raised right, as if beckoning guests to imbibe. Satyrs were members of Dionysos's retinue, and this figure's silvered eyes and teeth shine with the intoxicated merriment of those who followed the wine god. Surrounding him, on the body of the cauldron, is a hallucinatory field of acanthus tendrils curling around blossoms and leaves embellished with silver overlays. Emblems of the lush, generative forces of nature are repeated in the repoussé grape leaf on the back, low-relief palmette attachments on the fluted handles, and ivy at the joins of the feet.¹

Several elements associate this unparalleled cauldron with Late Hellenistic applied arts. The foliate handle and spool feet find close comparisons with decorative bronze elements from the Mahdia shipwreck, dating to about 70 B.C., while the symmetrical tree of acanthus scrolls recalls similar designs on the Ara Pacis Augustae of 13–9 B.C.² Opulent and eclectic, the Getty *lebes* is an outstanding example of the international rococo style and was likely produced in an eastern Mediterranean atelier for a wealthy clientele in Italy. Its exceptional state of preservation suggests that the vessel served as a burial urn and symbol of eternal conviviality. CLL

1. Ariel Herrmann in *Passion for Antiquities* 1994, pp. 258–62, no. 130.

2. A. Herrmann 2000.



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262 Bust of Juba II

Roman, Augustan period, probably ca. 25 B.C.

Bronze, H. 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (47 cm)

Excavated at Volubilis, Morocco, 1944

Musée Archéologique de Rabat, Morocco
(Vol.140, 99.1.12.1340)

Juba II, king of Mauretania from 25 B.C. to A.D. 23, is powerfully represented with his head turned in three-quarter profile and

tilted slightly toward the right shoulder.¹

The hair is arranged in large, short locks, and the head is girded by the royal diadem, which is tied in the back in a simple knot. The shape of the nose gives the figure an African appearance, and that of the mouth suggests an expression of sadness and scorn. A short tang at the base on the interior was used to hold the bust in place on its support. Rendered in the Hellenistic tradition, the portrait dates to the prince's



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youth, at about the time he received the kingdom of Mauretania from Augustus.

In 46 B.C. Juba I lost the Battle of Thapsus to Julius Caesar and committed suicide. His young son, Juba II, who was five or six years old at the time, was brought to Rome, where he was raised by the sister of Octavian, the future emperor Augustus. Juba II received Roman citizenship, and following tradition he bore the name of his protector—Gaius Julius Caesar—becoming Gaius Julius Juba. In 20 B.C. Juba II married Kleopatra Selene, and of this marriage was born Ptolemy, who succeeded Juba II.

Juba II was known as an erudite sovereign, famous in the Classical world for his research and writings. With his knowledge of Greek, Punic, and Latin, he was a talented historian who also produced many treatises on natural science and geography, though nothing remains of his works today except a few quotations in later Greek and Latin authors. fzc

1. Thouvenot 1945, pp. 597–601, fig. 2; C. Picard 1946, pp. 60–81, fig. 1; F. Poulsen 1947, pp. 132–39, fig. 15, pls. III, IV; Thouvenot 1949, pp. 70–71, pl. X; Jodin 1967; Christiane Boube-Piccot in *Empire romain* 1990, pp. 130–31, no. 137; Abdelaziz El Khayari and Aomar Akerraz in *Splendeurs de Volubilis* 2014, pp. 65–69.

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Carnelian Gem

Greek, Hellenistic period, ca. 27 B.C.–A.D. 14 (gem); 17th–18th century (ring)

Carnelian and gold, H. $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (1.9 cm),
W. $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (1.6 cm)

Signed: *Gnaios*

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York;
Rogers Fund, 1910 (10.110.1)

Engraved with great delicacy and set in an early modern finger ring, this attractive carnelian gem features the left profile of a female bust.¹ She has delicate, idealized facial features and large eyes, and wears her hair in a low chignon bound by ribbons. The small scepter laid over her left shoulder suggests that a queen is represented. However, it is the artist's signature, in the genitive in the slim space beneath the bust, that gives the greatest clue to the woman's identity. One of the few master gem cutters known by name in the Hellenistic period, Gnaios was active in Alexandria under the patronage of Mark Antony and later in Mauretania at the court of Kleopatra Selene and Juba II.² Other surviving gems signed by him depict Diomedes and Herakles, both

mythological figures known to have been strongly associated with Juba II. A third signed gem is carved with the likeness of Mark Antony, who once was Juba II's father-in-law.³ Given the artist's well-known activity within the Mauretanian court and the crisp, Early Augustan style of the carving, Queen Kleopatra Selene is most likely the individual portrayed here. LBS

1. First published in E. Q. Visconti 1829, pp. 163–64, no. 24. Acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in 1910. Richter 1920, no. 222, pp. 130–31, pls. 59, 60, where the scepter is identified as a "hair-pin" in the field.

2. Gnaios is additionally thought to have been involved in producing Mauretanian coin types under Juba II. Vollenweider 1966, pp. 45–46; D. W. Roller 2003, p. 150.

3. The Diomedes gem is in Chatsworth, Derbyshire, England, and the Herakles gem is in the British Museum, London (1867,0507.318). The gem with a likeness of Mark Antony is at the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (2001.28.1), although its authenticity has been questioned.

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Bust of Ptolemy of Mauretania

Roman, Early Imperial period, late 1st

century B.C.–early 1st century A.D.

Bronze, H. 7 in. (17.8 cm)

Private collection

This portrait appeared in Uppsala about 1860, when it was reportedly unearthed in the central square. Although nothing further is known about its context, it has been surmised that it reached Sweden as a Grand Tour acquisition, later discarded or forgotten, rather than as an ancient import.¹

Ptolemy's chest and shoulders are bare. He turns his head sharply toward the viewer's right and casts a sidelong glance in the same direction.² The boy has a pert nose and a slightly contracted brow, enhancing his temperamental expression. His neat but luxuriant midlength hair is indented where a diadem would have been superimposed. A tang inside at the center front once connected the bust to its base; the crude attachment hole in the chest suggests a second use.

Ptolemy of Mauretania (15/14 B.C.?–A.D. 40) bore the name of his mother's royal ancestors. He was a son of the Romanized and highly cultivated monarch Juba II and Juba's prestigious consort, Kleopatra Selene, daughter of Kleopatra VII by Mark Antony.



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Many likenesses of Ptolemy have been found in the northwest African region that they ruled. The boyhood portrait survives in two other examples, both in marble.³

In this as in many other portraits of Ptolemy and of Juba II, one is struck by the persistence into Early Imperial times of an accomplished Hellenistic style, only slightly tempered by Classicistic reserve. The characterization of a boyish heir apparent may also owe something to the portraiture of Gaius and Lucius Caesar; Juba II is thought to have accompanied Gaius on his

ill-fated excursion to the East (ca. 2 B.C.–A.D. 4). The bust of Ptolemy, a relatively early datable example in this abbreviated format, was a miniature that could be displayed in an elite domestic context as an expression of private allegiance. AH
1. Hahr 1910, p. 11, ill. p. 12; Vessberg 1947, pp. 126–32, figs. 1–4; Fittschen 1974, p. 158, pl. 23b–d; Landwehr 2007, p. 70, fig. 26; Landwehr 2008, pp. 28, 30, fig. 11a–c. The bust was acquired soon after its discovery by Count Gustav Malcolm Hamilton (1826–1914), who assembled a collection of local antiquities at his manor house, Hedensberg. A photograph taken in 1911 shows Count Hamilton as a very old man with the bust on his bedside table; Sotheby's 2004, p. 98.

2. The pupils are indicated by incised circles. The whites would probably once have been silvered, and the irises reserved. Sculptural rendering of the pupils and irises became widespread in stone sculpture of Hadrianic times, but is seen earlier in small bronzes, and in gems and coins that could not be painted.

3. One portrait, acquired by the Musée du Louvre, Paris, in 1895 (Ma 1888), comes from Algeria and corresponds almost exactly to the Uppsala bronze. The other (Louvre, Ma 3183) is a less well-preserved version; de Kersauson 1986, pp. 126–27, no. 57, and pp. 130–31, no. 59. Other images, including some found in Italy, show Ptolemy in adult life; Landwehr 2007. For biographical details, see D. W. Roller 2003.

NOTES TO THE ESSAYS

INTRODUCTION

1. Pergamon 2011.
2. Notably “The Search for Alexander” (1980–83), shown in Washington, D.C., Chicago, Boston, San Francisco, New Orleans, New York, and Toronto. Most of these venues produced a supplement to the official catalogue of the exhibition. See *Search for Alexander* 1980; see also Pandermalis 2004. Reeder 1988 accompanied the exhibition “From Alexander to Cleopatra: Greek Art of the Hellenistic Age,” held at the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, and restricted to objects in that collection.
3. For recent discussions of the Alexander Mosaic, see Cohen 1997; Moreno 2001; Stewart 2014, pp. 69–70 and fig. 37.
4. The Gauls were called Galatai (Galatians) or Keltoi (Celts) by the Greeks, and Galli by the Romans; see Shipley 2000, pp. 52–54.
5. See Ridgway 1990–2002, vol. 2 (2000), p. 21.
6. See especially Stewart 2014, p. 17.
7. T. Zimmer 2011.
8. See most recently Rutledge 2012; W. V. Harris 2015.
9. For Deccan India, see most recently Haidar and Sardar 2015.

I. ALEXANDER THE GREAT AND HIS WORLD

ART IN THE AGE OF ALEXANDER

1. Anson 2010, pp. 3–4; Rhodes 2010, pp. 26–32.
2. Heckel 2006, p. 70; Gehrke 2011, p. 13.
3. Heckel 2006, pp. 153–55, for Lysimachos; Gehrke 2011, p. 15, for an Attalid family tree.
4. Heckel 2006, p. 106; Stewart 1993, pp. 28–29, app. 2, pp. 402–7, nos. T 132–T 139.
5. Stewart 1993, pp. 25–28, app. 2, pp. 360–62, nos. T 51–T 56.
6. A comprehensive exhibition, “Lisippo: L’arte e la fortuna,” was held at the Palazzo delle Esposizioni, Rome, in 1995 (see *Lisippo* 1995). Lysippos’s figure of Kairos (Opportunity), recognizable from its unusual attributes, survives only in distant reflections; Lauri Lehmann and Sascha Kansteiner in *Text und Skulptur* 2007, pp. 98–111. His *temulenta tibicina* (“drunken flute-girl”) may now be identifiable but is an atypical female image; Shapiro 1988. For heads of Socrates and Aristotle, see note 12 below. Several works, such as the “Sandalbinder” Hermes and the Eros, do have high-quality replica series but are attributed to Lysippos on stylistic evidence alone.
7. Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 34.19.65 (English trans., Pliny the Elder 1968, pp. 51, 53). For Xenokrates, see Moreno 1966.
8. Moreno 1974, pp. 1–41. The career seems too long. The two Olympic victories of Troilos, whose statue Pausanias ascribes to Lysippos, were in 372 B.C.; works attributed with some degree of probability continue down almost to the end of the fourth century.
9. Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 34.19.63.
10. Moreno 1995b.
11. For a papyrus fragment listing famous sculptors, including Lysippos, according to these categories, see Fabian Reiter in *Text und Skulptur* 2007, pp. 150–51.
12. *Lisippo* 1995, pp. 185–89. Lysippos and Aristotle were near contemporaries under Macedonian patronage, and the subtle, narrow-eyed likeness of Aristotle, a local man from Stageira, fits with what is known of Lysippos’s style. A statue of Socrates by Lysippos was set up in the Pompeion at Athens (Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Philosophers* 2.43). Replicas of the head have been identified in the “type B” Socrates, stylistically consistent with the Aristotle. The base for a seated statue of Socrates has been found on the site of the Pompeion. Calcani 1995; *Lisippo* 1995, pp. 258–65.
13. Liverani 1995; Paolo Liverani in *Lisippo* 1995, p. 201, no. 4.29.4.
14. İnan 1975, pp. 83–85, no. 28, on the Side torso and other suggested replicas. See also Stewart 1978, pp. 169–70 and n. 40; Weber 1996.
15. For a basic and thorough investigation of the type, see Benndorf 1906; C. H. Morgan 1949, p. 231; *Apoxyomenos* 2006; Saladino 2006a; Saladino 2006b; Jens M. Daehner in *Power and Pathos* 2015, pp. 272–75, nos. 40, 41, pp. 278–81, nos. 43, 44; Timothy Potts in *Power and Pathos* 2015, pp. 276–77, no. 42; *Power and Pathos* 2015, p. 271. On the marble statuette, see Comstock and Vermeule 1976, pp. 100–101, no. 155.
16. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 03.883; Lisa Buboltz in J. J. Herrmann and Kondoleon 2004, p. 183, no. 97.
17. Calcani 1989; see Moreno 1974, p. 48, no. 23, pp. 145–50, for an inscription of A.D. 429–38.
18. Plutarch, *Lives, Alexander* 40.5 (English trans., Stewart 1993, app. 2, p. 391, no. T 110); Moreno 1974, pp. 45–46, 86–105.
19. Statius (*Silvae* 4.6) and Martial (*Epigrams* 9.43–44) celebrate a “tabletop” statuette of Herakles by Lysippos, said to have belonged to Alexander and later in the possession of their contemporary Novius Vindex. However, it has been suggested that the epithet “Epitrapezios” alludes to Herakles’ presence at a sacred banquet and that the original sculpture was monumental in scale. See de Visscher 1962, pp. 33–34; Ensoli 1995; Serena Ensoli in *Lisippo* 1995, pp. 350–51.
20. Marcadé 1953–57, vol. 1, p. 70, followed by Moreno 1974, pp. 48, 139–43, figs. 39, 40, considers the inscription ancient. For a more skeptical view, see Klaus Hallof, Fabian Reiter, and Sascha Kansteiner in *Text und Skulptur* 2007, pp. 146–47. On the type, see Kansteiner 2000, pp. 99–102.
21. Federica Smith in *Lisippo* 1995, p. 51, no. 4.4.1.
22. *Scythian Gold* 1999, p. 54, fig. 12, and pp. 282–99, on the findspot, Babyna Mohyla, and pp. 290–91, no. 145, on the Herakles frontlet.
23. Not all portraits of Alexander are Lysippan. An adolescent likeness from the Athenian Acropolis (Stewart 1993, fig. 5) is static and symmetrical, with wiglike hair recalling the Olympia Boxer (National Archaeological Museum, Athens). It still has the brooding inwardness that typifies young men in Late Classical sculpture. Some Hellenistic artists soften and idealize Alexander’s appearance or conflate him with Helios in baroque, long-maned exaggerations.
24. Stewart 1993, fig. 128. A suggestion that this head comes from the Great Altar (Radt 1981) has not met with general acceptance.
25. Türkoğlu and Atalay 1970. Although Lysimachos assumed the title of king in 306/305 B.C., this head does not wear the royal diadem. Like Philetairos of Pergamon in coin portraits, he has a crown of laurel leaves that perhaps honors him as a victor or founder.
26. Stefan F. Schröder in *Power and Pathos* 2015, pp. 196–97, no. 6, summarizes previous opinion and tentatively suggests an identification as Demetrios Poliorketes.
27. Em. Voutiras in Despinis, Stefanidou-Tiveriou, and Voutiras 1997, pp. 42–44, no. 23, fig. 44.
28. Saladino 2012–13.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 157, for the core material, and pp. 160–67 for iconographic affinities with representations of mythical beings and of Cynic philosophers.
30. See *Search for Alexander* 1980; Pandermalis 2004; *Heracles to Alexander the Great* 2011; Kottaridi 2011.
31. For an interim summary, see Hatzopoulos 2008.
32. For the funerary wagon, see Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History* 18.26.1–28.4, and Miller (Stella G.) 1986; for the pyre of Hephaestion, see Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History* 17.115.1–5, and Palagia 2000, pp. 167–75.
33. Kottaridi 2011, pp. 112–13.
34. *Ibid.*, pp. 26–27.
35. Cohen 2010, pp. 93–103.
36. Drougou 2011, p. 185.
37. Katerina Rhomiopoulou in Rhomiopoulou and Schmidt-Dounas 2010, p. 99, cites forty-one Macedonian tombs with fragments of ivory furniture decorations. At least six have parts of figural reliefs. See Kottaridi 2011, p. 72, fig. 124, for the shield.
38. Schultz 2007, pp. 216–17 and figs. 240, 241. The body is based on an Athenian model, the Eirene of Kephisodotos. Two ideal heads found with the Eurydike also have an Attic look, but their marble is not specified; Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 2011, p. 200 and figs. 226–28.
39. Graekos 2011, p. 81 and fig. 63, for the Veria group; Palagia 2000, p. 200, for the marble.
40. These include the clothed figures of the Daochos Monument at Delphi, described in Geominy 2007a, and a statue in Macedonian attire from Piraeus and another from Eretria, both in Palagia 1998.
41. See Palagia 2000, pp. 200–201 and fig. 14, with comment on the attire.
42. Wescoat 2003.
43. For example, the sculptures from the recently excavated Kasta Tomb at Amphipolis, in Macedonia—in a striking, retrospective style—as well as the masonry of the drum are of marble from the north Aegean marble island of Thasos; see C. Morgan 2013–14 for a preliminary report.
44. The portrait statues (except for some individualized, separately carved heads) and other freestanding sculpture as well as the chariot-racing frieze from the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos are of Pentelic marble; Walker and Matthews 1997, pp. 50–53, 55. So are the statues dedicated by the Thessalian leader Daochos at Delphi, with the exception of Sisyphos II; Geominy 2007a, p. 94.
45. Kottaridi 2011, pp. 30–31.
46. C. Morgan 2013–14.
47. Tsimbidou-Avloniti 2004.
48. Brekoulaki 2011, pp. 217–18 and figs. 253, 254. See also the frontispiece of that volume.
49. Kottaridi 2011, p. 37.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
51. Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 2004, *passim*.
52. Rose 2014, pp. 129–42.
53. For a preliminary report, see Brunwasser 2011.
54. Palagia 2000; Cohen 2010, especially pp. 88–93.
55. Cohen 1997, *passim*. The only other work remotely similar to the Alexander Mosaic is a fragmentary mosaic hunt scene, also with very small tesserae and apparently of Late Hellenistic date, in the Museo Archeologico Regionale “A. Salinas,” Palermo; see Cohen 2010, pp. 137–41; Wootton 2002.

56. Schefold and Seidel 1968, *passim*; Stewart 1993, pp. 294–306. Heckel 2006, p. 1, is one of several prominent dissenters as to the identification.
57. Mendel 1912–14, vol. 1 (1912), pp. 48–73, no. 10 (363); Pasinli 2001, pp. 80–84, no. 87, for the Weeping Women Sarcophagus from the Royal Necropolis of Sidon; Ridgway 1990–2002, vol. 1 (1990), pp. 46–47, pls. 18–21, for the Vienna Amazon Sarcophagus, from Cyprus or Rhodes. The three smaller companion pieces found with the Alexander Sarcophagus are of Pentelic marble but are decorated only with architectural and foliate ornament; Mendel 1912–14, vol. 1 (1912), pp. 201–8, nos. 72 (372), 73 (373), and 74 (371).
58. Schuchardt 1978; Palagia 2003.
59. So characterized by Palagia 2003, p. 145, who also discusses the function of the relief and its possible political overtones. She dates it to the Early Hellenistic period, rejecting the high Hellenistic dating maintained in Schuchardt 1978.
60. Gabelmann 1996. This type of saddlecloth was said by Xenophon to be of Persian origin (*Education of Cyrus* 8.3.6). It first appears in Greek art on the horses of Amazons and other exotic figures; see the Vienna Amazon Sarcophagus (note 57 above). It is adopted by Alexander and other Macedonians, presumably as an Eastern and aristocratic attribute, and is associated with the heroized dead in Hellenistic reliefs from Asia Minor; see catalogue number 208; Ernst Berger in *Antike Kunstwerke aus der Sammlung Ludwig* 1990, pp. 251–82, no. 244, and, for comparison, p. 273, fig. 1, p. 276, nos. 1–5, p. 277, nos. 1, 3, 4.
61. Kraay 1966, pl. 170, nos. 562, 563.
62. There are no traces of a bridle, but the corner of the horse's mouth is drawn back by the bit; perhaps a painted bridle has faded or a metal one was intended but never put in place. Its existence is implied by the saddlecloth, since a bridle is always the first thing one puts on a horse and the last thing one takes off.
63. See von Blanckenhagen 1975.

SYMBOLS OF POWER

- Lane Fox 2011.
- Adam-Veleni 2008.
- Ginouvés 1993.
- Adam-Veleni 2004.
- Ginouvés 1993.
- Hatzopoulos 1996.
- Au royaume d'Alexandre le Grand* 2011.
- Barr-Sharrar 2008.
- Adam-Veleni, Poulaki, and Tzanavari 2003.
- Kuzmin 2014.
- Adam-Veleni 2010.
- Hatzopoulos 1996.

II. THE KINGDOM OF PERGAMON

THE GERMAN EXCAVATIONS AT PERGAMON

- For details on the individual structures at Pergamon, see *Pergamon* 2011; Pirson and Scholl 2014. For the period 1878–86, see, in particular, U. Kästner 2011 (with bibliography) and, in somewhat altered form, U. Kästner 2014. See also Schulte 1971; U. Kästner 2008; U. Kästner 2014, p. 20.
- Von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1916; U. Kästner 1986.
- Conze 1908, p. 41.
- Lucius Ampelius, *Liber memorialis* 8.14.
- Radt 1999, pp. 11–15; U. Kästner 2011.
- On the antiquities laws, see U. Kästner 2011, pp. 41–44; U. Kästner 2014, pp. 29–34. The relevant documents are kept in the Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, and the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Istanbul.
- Humann 1880, p. 140.

- Radt 2003; Panteleon 2015, pp. 68–77.
- Radt 2011; Radt 2014.
- Mathys, Stappmanns, and von den Hoff 2011.
- U. Kästner 2014, p. 33.
- Watzinger 1944.
- The museum was designed by Harald Hanson, the excavation architect at Pergamon, and its first director was Osman Bayatli, a Turkish teacher who had done extensive restoration work in the Asklepieion and on the Red Hall during the Second World War.
- Radt 2011; Schwarzer 2011; Radt 2014.
- R. Boehringer 1973.
- Riethmüller 2011.
- V. Kästner 2000; Klinkott 2000.
- Gioia De Luca in De Luca and Radt 1999, p. 124.
- Nohlen 2011.
- Bachmann 2014, pp. 86–88.
- Ibid.*, pp. 89–97.
- Ibid.*, pp. 97–100.
- Pirson 2011; Pirson and Zimmermann 2011.

PERGAMON AND THE ATTALIDS

- Xenophon, *Anabasis* 7.8.7–23.
- For information about the geographic situation and the development of the settlement in general, see Radt 1999; *Pergamon* 2011.
- On the history of the Attalid Kingdom, see Hansen 1971; Allen 1983.
- For the archaeology, art, and architecture of Pergamon in Hellenistic times, see *Pergamon* 2011; Pirson and Scholl 2014.
- For Pergamon in Roman times and later, see Koester 1998.

COMMEMORATIONS OF VICTORY

- Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 10.18.7 (English trans., Pausanias 1979, p. 471). See also Bommelaer 1991, pp. 225, 226, fig. 98.
- Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 10.22.3–4 (English trans., Pausanias 1979, p. 493).
- Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 34.84.
- In A.D. 20, trophies, perhaps dedicated by Augustus, may have been placed on the third step (Schober 1936, pp. 106–7). The citizens of Pergamon and Romans resident there then dedicated a statue of a Julio-Claudian emperor (Nero?), and restoration works were then carried out by T. Iulius Rufus and his military colleagues on behalf of the city of Pergamon. As to the sequence of interventions, the best is outlined in Coarelli 2014, pp. 44–56; however, it is uncertain that bronze statues of the Gauls originally stood on the pedestal as Coarelli has reconstructed them. The circular monument is higher than in the reconstruction of Schober (see fig. 50) because the middle part consists of not two but three rows of stones with inscriptions at different heights.
- Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 34.88. For Epigonos, see Schober 1938; Sascha Kansteiner and Sebastian Prignitz in *Neue Overbeck* 2014, vol. 4, pp. 654–66.
- The painting was taken from Thebes by Alexander and removed to Pella. Aristides also painted a scene of a battle against the Persians with some one hundred figures in it. Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 35.98.
- The presence of the child, once part of the piece (see cat. 100a), presents problems, but the dress and hairstyle of the figure make it clear she was an Amazon and not a conquered Gallic woman (as wrongly suggested by Coarelli 2014, pp. 78, 121).
- Christiane Vorster in Knoll, Vorster, and Woelk 2011, vol. 2, pp. 678–82, no. 157; Vorster here dates it to the first century B.C.
- The fact that the work was well known is evident from a miniature reproduction on a scarab of unknown provenance, in a private collection. Very hypothetically, it has been dated to the early second century B.C. (Pedroni 2007).

- Cain 2006 differs in suggesting that the Gaul is trying to pull the sword out of his breast, a view I don't share.
- Kallimachos, *Hymn to Delos* 172–87 (English trans., Kallimachos 1977, p. 101).
- Marvin 2002, p. 223. See also Ridgway 1990–2002, vol. 1 (1990), pp. 303–4 (at least as concerns the Ludovisi Gaul); Marszal 2000, pp. 220–22; Stewart 2004, pp. 210, 212.
- For this hypothesis, see Schober 1936; Schober 1951, pp. 58–61; and Coarelli 2014, whose ingenious reconstruction cannot be given a point-by-point discussion here. Observing that the Ludovisi Gaul's widely spread legs create an empty space, Coarelli fills the presumed void with the seated figure of the Dying Gaul. Beyond the critique offered by Gasparri 2014, pp. 40–44, we may note other examples of figures with spread legs, on inclined plinths, where no need to fill a void has been detected: besides the Borghese Gladiator (Musée du Louvre, Paris, Ma 527), see Jens M. Daehner in Knoll, Vorster, and Woelk 2011, vol. 2, pp. 738–49, nos. 171, 172.
- Künzl 1971, pp. 18–21, 24–30; Hölscher 1985, pp. 121–22; Schalles 1985, pp. 69–76; I. Schmidt 1995, pp. 169–72; C. Kunze 2002, pp. 47–51.
- Schober 1951, p. 56; Marszal 2000, pp. 207–8. See also Stewart 2004, p. 197, fig. 224, and pp. 208–9, but also the objections raised by C. Kunze 2002, p. 50, n. 207.
- Künzl 1971, pp. 21–22; Wenning 1978, p. 38; Schalles 1985, pp. 53–54; C. Kunze 2002, p. 48, n. 194. See also Hoepfner 1997, pp. 128–34, who proposes a statue of Attalos in a quadriga. New analyses and better graphic documentation of the traces of imprints on the crowning element of the base are needed, as pointed out by several scholars including Schober 1936, p. 110; Schober 1951, p. 54; V. Kästner 2011, p. 186.
- See, for example, van Hooff 1990, p. 174 (“a subtle play of humiliation and compassion”); Kistler 2009, pp. 307–33 (with many misinterpretations, however).
- See Schalles 1985, pp. 80–100; La Rocca 1994, pp. 2–3, 26–31; Fless 2002, p. 68.
- On the panicked barbarian, see, for example, Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History* 22.9.2–3; Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 10.23.4–10 (Delphi, 279 B.C.); Plutarch, *Lives, Marius* 27.1–5 (Marius against the Cimbri, 101 B.C.). On collective barbarian suicide, see Ellinger 1993, pp. 269–91; Moret 2013.
- Appian, *Civil Wars* 2.101.
- Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 1.15.3.
- Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 1.25.2.
- Among those favoring Attalos I are Schweitzer 1936, pp. 96–99; Queyrel 1989, pp. 278–91; Stewart 2004, pp. 218–28 (offering an unpersuasive comparison with a metope from Limyra); Mercuri and Soccia 2004, pp. 523–25; Coarelli 2014, pp. 32–34.
- Pursuing various logics in favor of Attalos II, not all of them convincing, are R. Horn 1937, pp. 150–62; Schober 1939; Schober 1951, pp. 121–34; C. Kunze 2002, pp. 221–27; Kistler 2009, pp. 85–87.
- The reports differ on some points and therefore the two are sometimes differentiated (Plutarch, *Lives, Mark Antony* 60.2–3, and Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 50.15.2).
- Supplementum Hellenisticum* 958. Silvia Barbantani's commentary is fundamental; see Barbantani 2001, pp. 116–79.
- Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 67.6.1.

THE PERGAMON ALTAR

- For an up-to-date account of archaeological research on Pergamon, see *Pergamon* 2011; Pirson and Scholl 2014. This essay is based on Scholl 2009. For a supporting view of the Great Altar, see Ferretti et al. 2011, especially pp. 54–55; more skeptical is Schwarzer 2014.
- Prignitz 2008.

3. Schrammen 1906.
4. Lucius Ampelius, *Liber memorialis* 8.14.
5. Schrammen 1906, p. 3.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
7. Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin; see Schwarzmaier, Scholl, and Maischberger 2012, p. 321, fig. 21.
8. Schrammen 1906, p. 5.
9. *Ibid.*
10. Stähler 1978.
11. The connections between propylon, *risalit* stoa, and *skene* were discussed at length by Hans Lauter in his long-unpublished *habilitation* treatise from 1972. His thoughts on the matter are contained in a monograph on the facade of House IX 1,20 in Pompeii, which Hans Rupprecht Goette kindly brought to my attention and which was published posthumously only in 2009. In this book, Lauter does not establish any connection with the Pergamon Altar; see Lauter 2009, especially p. 121.
12. Coulton 1976.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 82.
14. Hoepfner 1996, pp. 34–35 and n. 134, fig. 30.

III. ARTS OF THE HELLENISTIC AGE

EARTHY ARTS

1. Edwards 1957.
2. Rotroff 1996, p. 539.
3. Kopcke 1964.
4. Rotroff 1996, p. 539; Rotroff 2006, p. 144; Sarah Japp in *Pergamon* 2011, p. 474. It is significant that a comparable development occurred in southern Italy and Sicily. See Denoyelle and Iozzo 2009, pp. 203–14.
5. Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 2007.
6. See, for instance, the landscapes from the Roman villa at Boscotrecase; von Blanckenhagen and Alexander 1990.
7. Rotroff 1997, pp. 223–24.
8. Pierobon 1979; Rotroff 1997, pp. 225–31; Bessi 2005.
9. Rotroff 1982.
10. Still fundamental on this topic is Sinn 1979.
11. Still fundamental on this topic is Dohrn 1985.
12. Japp 2011, pp. 359–60; Rotroff 1996, p. 540.
13. Le Roy 1961; Hadjidakis 2003, pp. 260, 432.
14. Uhlenbrock 1990, pp. 48–52; Besques 1994, pp. 21–22.
15. Uhlenbrock 1990, p. 17.
16. Schwarzmaier 2011, p. 371.
17. Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (30026); Agnes Schwarzmaier in *Pergamon* 2011, p. 496, no. 5.1.
18. Mommsen 1971, pp. 30–31.
19. For good basic descriptions of bronze casting, see Mitten and Doeringer 1967, pp. 10–11; Mattusch 1996, pp. 10–18.
20. Hoepfner 2003; Vedder 2010.
21. MMA L.2012.4.1. See Cornelius C. Vermeule in *Search for Alexander* 1980, pp. 102–3, no. 9, colorpl. 4.
22. Himmelmann 1983.
23. *Wrack* 1994.

TRENDS IN HELLENISTIC SCULPTURE

1. The term “Hellenistic” is an adaptation of the word *hellenistes*, which appears in the Bible (*Acts Ap.* 6:1) in reference to Jews who had adopted the Greek language and culture. In 1836 Johann Gustav Droysen used the term in his pivotal *Geschichte des Hellenismus* to describe Greek art and culture of the period following Alexander the Great and his Successors. See J. G. Droysen 1836, pp. V–VI.
2. For general surveys of Hellenistic sculpture, see Bieber 1961b; Ridgway 1990–2002; R. R. R. Smith 1991; Moreno 1994; Andraea 2001; Flashar et al. 2007.

3. J. J. Pollitt, among others, has pointed out the difficulties. See, for example, Pollitt 2000, where he questions the existence of a Rhodian school of sculpture. The issue of regional schools is explored *inter alia* in Linfert 1976, and a conference was devoted to the subject; see Palagia and Coulson 1998.
4. See R. R. R. Smith 1988, especially pp. 32–45.
5. For the theatricality of Hellenistic architecture, see Pollitt 1986, pp. 230–36.
6. On honorific portraits, see recently Ma 2013, especially pp. 267–90. R. R. R. Smith 2015 focuses on honorary bronze statuary. On early Hellenistic portraiture, see Schultz and von den Hoff 2007, especially pp. 1–9.
7. For a recent assessment of this work, see Geominy 1998.
8. The statue in the Athenian Agora is mentioned in Plutarch, *Lives, Demosthenes* 30.5; Pseudo-Plutarch, *Vitae decem oratorum, Demosthenes* 847a; and Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 1.8.2. On the portrait type of Demosthenes, see Richter 1965, vol. 2, pp. 215–23, figs. 1397–1513, and the discussion in this volume of catalogue number 9.
9. See Elena Vlachogianni in *Antikythera Shipwreck* 2012a, pp. 82–83, no. 24a.
10. Unless identified by inscriptions or other contextual evidence, bearded elderly males wearing the himation without tunic do not necessarily represent philosophers but rather are part of the wider repertory of civic portraiture of the Hellenistic polis. See R. R. R. Smith 1999, pp. 453–54, and the discussion in Dillon 2006, pp. 70–76.
11. On portraits of philosophers and thinkers, see von den Hoff 1994; Zanker 1995.
12. On Phrymachos and his connection with Pergamon, see Stewart 1979, pp. 7–16; Andraea et al. 1990; Andraea 2001, pp. 132–36.
13. An inscribed marble base from the Athenian Agora (IG II² 3781) records the joint dedication by Attalos II and his brother-in-law King Ariarathes V of Cappadocia (r. 163–130 B.C.) of a bronze portrait statue of Karneades, perhaps the noted statue of the Academic philosopher mentioned by Cicero (*De finibus* 5.2.4); see Richter 1965, vol. 2, p. 250.
14. The stoa was reconstructed in 1953–56 by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens and today houses the Museum of the Ancient Agora. On Attalid dedications outside of Pergamon, see Pollitt 1986, pp. 281–83.
15. For example, see the third-century B.C. poet Herondas’s satire about the visit of two unsophisticated women to the Asklepieion of Kos (*Mimiamb* 4.30–34).
16. The proposal, first advanced by Hermann Thiersch, that the Nike is a Rhodian work commemorating a victory of the island’s fleet, perhaps in the naval battle of Side in 190 B.C. against Antiochos III, remains a hypothesis; see H. Thiersch 1931. See recently Hamiaux, Laugier, and Martinez 2014, who report the results of the restoration of the statue undertaken by the Musée du Louvre in 2013–14.
17. See Dyggve and V. Poulsen 1960, pp. 55–58, 73, fig. III, 28. Pythokritos worked on the island from about 203 to 160 B.C., as his signatures on surviving statue bases attest; see Goodlett 1991, p. 676.
18. Statue bases signed by these sculptors have been found at Pergamon: see IvP nos. 135–44. Pliny the Elder (*Natural History* 35.60) mentions that at Pergamon one could admire two paintings by Apollodoros of Athens, an important fifth-century B.C. painter who pioneered the technique of shading (*skiagraphia*). When original paintings were impossible to obtain, the Attalids would settle for copies, as we learn from a decree found at Delphi that mentions three Pergamene painters sent by the king, probably Attalos II, to replicate paintings there. Max Fränkel, who republished the inscription, surmises that these refer to the famous paintings of Polygnotos at

- the Knidian Lesche; see Fränkel 1891, especially p. 53. On the Attalids as collectors, see also the essay “Pergamon and the Attalids” in this volume, p. 36.
19. First identified in 1884 by Alexander Conze, the excavator of the site, the location of the library has been challenged over the years, most recently by Hendrickson 2014, pp. 380–81.
20. On Pergamene classicism, see recently Niemeier 2011.
21. See most recently Fabricius 2011; C. Kunze 2011.
22. See Themelis 1996.
23. See J. Schäfer 1968b.
24. On Tyche in general, see Matheson 1994, pp. 108–9. On the Tyche of Antioch, see more recently M. Meyer 2006, especially pp. 511–14, and p. 407, no. A 8, pl. 5.
25. The idea of a sculpture cycle belongs to Schober 1951, p. 138.
26. First proposed by Krahrmer 1925, especially pp. 202–5. See recently the discussion in Vorster 2011a.
27. On the cult of Homer and the poet in general during the Hellenistic period, see Zanker 1995, pp. 158–71.
28. Green 1990, p. 566.
29. See recently Hadjidakis 2003, pp. 406–7, 440, no. 774 (with bibliography).
30. See Kaltsas 2002, p. 294, no. 617 (with bibliography); Hadjidakis 2003, pp. 303, 435, no. 548.

HELLENISTIC ROYAL PORTRAITURE ON COINS

I would like to express my sincerest gratitude to the historian-numismatist Yorka Nikolaou and the archaeologist-numismatist Stella Dreni for their help during the preparation of this essay. Thanks also go to the archaeologist Antonis Kampas, the antiquities conservators Margarita Sorotou and Aspasia Rarri, as well as the photographer Eleftherios A. Galanonopoulos for their valuable assistance.

1. Chidiroglou and Kakavas 2013 (with bibliography).
2. *Greek and Roman Coinage* 2012, pp. 175–294 (with extensive bibliography on propaganda, society, economy, finance, and many other subjects).
3. R. R. R. Smith 1988; Kroll 2007.
4. Price 1982; Price 1991a.
5. For the debate on the subject, see Bhandare 2007; Holt and Bopearachchi 2011.
6. See Price 1981; Price 1991b, vol. 1, pp. 33–34, 496–47, vol. 2, pl. CXLIX, 3960a, b.
7. Le Rider 1977, pp. 5–21, pls. 1–6; *Coins & Numismatics* 1996, pp. 170–71; Touratsoglou 2000, pp. 60–61, fig. 7.
8. Kaiser-Raiss 1984.
9. Plutarch, *Lives, Alexander* 4.1–2 (English trans., Plutarch 1919, p. 231).
10. Haake 2014.
11. Clayman 2014a.
12. Justin, *Philippic Histories* 37.2.1–3 (English trans., Justin 1994, p. 233).
13. Houghton and Lorber 2002; Houghton, Lorber, and Hoover 2008.
14. Bopearachchi 1991; Jakobsson 2007; Bopearachchi 2015.

ROYAL PATRONAGE AND THE LUXURY ARTS

1. Curtis and Razmjou 2005, p. 55; Simpson 2005, p. 104; Stewart 2014, p. 206. On the Persian central and regional treasuries after Alexander’s death, see Errington 2008, p. 21.
2. See Lapatin 2015, pp. 2–4, 8–9. I owe an enormous debt to Kenneth Lapatin, who generously allowed me to draw on his study, *Luxus: The Sumptuous Arts of Greece and Rome*, before its official publication, thereby providing much inspiration and information for this essay. My work, however, leads in different directions than his, for it focuses on the way in which Hellenistic kings, most notably the rulers of the conquered Achaemenid Empire,

modeled themselves on Eastern potentates in their use, display, and appreciation of luxury arts.

3. For the Persian background in these areas, see Curtis 2005a, pp. 44–48.
4. Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History* 17.66.1, 17.71.1. See also de Callatay 1989; Miles 2015.
5. D. Harris 1995, pp. 105, 229, 234–35; Kosmetatou 2004.
6. Herodotus 1.50–52.
7. Hellenistic armies included elite troops known as *argyraspides* (those with silver shields); see, for example, Athenaios, *Deipnosophistai* 5.194d, describing a military parade in 166 b.c. ordered by Antiochos IV (r. 175–164 b.c.). Such regiments were inspired by, if not directly copied from, the Persian “Immortals,” who were famously equipped with gold arms and armor; Herodotus 7.41, 7.83. For a composite gold-and-ivory parade shield found in Tomb II at Aigai (Vergina), see Ignatiadou 2002, p. 20; Lapatin 2015, p. 264, pl. 154.
8. Burn 2004, pp. 26–28, fig. 9.
9. Curtis 2005b, p. 133; Razmjou 2005, pp. 174–75, no. 270. For a highly ornate torque decorated with figures inlaid with precious stones and glass, see *Ancient Glass* 2001, p. 196, no. 61.
10. Zimi 2011, pp. 13–18.
11. Athenaios, *Deipnosophistai* 5.197c. Huge quantities of gold and silver plate are also described in the Grand Procession that accompanied the banquet; see 5.197c–202f. The precise date of the Grand Procession and Banquet is still in dispute. See also Stewart 2014, pp. 295–98.
12. Lapatin 2015, pp. 37–38, 41.
13. Compare also Lapatin 2015, p. 240, pl. 70.
14. *Ancient Glass* 2001, p. 196, no. 60; Simpson 2005, pp. 107, 121–22, nos. 118–20, including an example in gold.
15. For later ivory examples found in the Parthian royal treasury at Nisa (Turkmenistan), see Lapatin 2015, pp. 174, 265, pls. 156, 157; recently, the Nisa rhyta have been described as having a “total Greekness” of style; Boardman 2015, pp. 88–91. For a fragmentary Achaemenid glass rhyton from Persepolis, see von Saldern 2004, p. 108, pl. 96; Simpson 2005, pp. 107, 122, no. 121.
16. Compare the Phrygian bronze ram’s-head and lion’s-head situlae found in the Great Tumulus at Gordion; Toker 1992, pp. 142–43, 214, nos. 121, 122. A cup terminating in a lion’s head, made of cast and cut glass, is thought to be Achaemenid; see Axel von Saldern in *Ancient Glass* 2001, pp. 213–15, no. 59.
17. For the amphora, see Platz-Horster 1976, pp. 16–20, no. 16; Platz-Horster 1995; von Saldern 2004, pp. 148–49, pl. 131.
18. For the Canosa Group, see Grose 1989, pp. 185–89, figs. 92–98; Stern 1994, pp. 97–106; E. Marianne Stern in Stern and Schlick-Nolte 1994, pp. 246–65, nos. 63–69.
19. See Stern 1999; Ignatiadou 2003; von Saldern 2004, pp. 120–25.
20. For the Hellenistic glass in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, see Oliver 1967; Oliver 1968; Oliver 1969a; Oliver 1969b; Lightfoot 2003.
21. State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (FP-12678); Pollitt 1986, p. 24, fig. 12; Lapatin 2015, p. 250, pl. 103.
22. Lapatin 2015, p. 174.
23. Kottaridi 2013, pp. 296–309, 313–21; see also Lapatin 2015, pp. 174, 264–65, pl. 155.
24. On the garnet, see Lapatin 2015, pp. 126, 259, pl. 137.
25. Landman et al. 2001, p. 104. A Greek gold pendant dated to the fourth century b.c. in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (1999.12) encapsulates a large lime mortar ball presumably meant to imitate a large pearl.
26. Lapatin 2015, p. 182.
27. Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 9.58.119–21.
28. Lapatin 2015, p. 110.
29. Suetonius, *Divus Julius* 47; for other Roman collectors,

see Rutledge 2012, p. 238, n. 55. Gem collecting was only part of a larger phenomenon that encompassed royal art collections of Classical and contemporary masterpieces; see Kuttner 2015.

30. For example, a sardonyx cameo of Berenike II as Athena Parthenos; see Clayman 2014b, p. 50, fig. 3–5.
31. For other examples, see Lapatin 2015, p. 114.
32. See Curtis 2005b, p. 132.
33. For a recent discussion, see Stewart 2014, pp. 197–205.
34. Peter Higgs in *Cleopatra of Egypt* 2001, pp. 88–89, no. 95. For tessellated Hellenistic mosaics, see Stewart 2014, pp. 201–5.
35. Athenaios, *Deipnosophistai* 196a–203b. See also Rice 1983; Calandra 2011; Erskine 2013; Stewart 2014, pp. 207–8; Lapatin 2015, p. 28.
36. Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 61.10.3.
37. Lapatin 2015, pp. 29, 36. For a detailed study of Roman acquisition of Greek cultural property in Republican times, see Rutledge 2012, pp. 36–50.
38. Lapatin 2015, pp. 5, 7.
39. Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 33.2.4: “aurum argentumque caelando carius fecimus” (we have made gold and silver more costly by adorning them with engravings). See also Panagopoulou 2007, p. 326.
40. Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 8.74.196, 33.19. 63. See also Richter 1966, p. 118; Gleba 2008, p. 62.
41. Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History* 17.70.3.
42. Curtis 2005b, pp. 134–35, 146–47, nos. 183, 184.
43. Plutarch, *Lives, Demetrios* 41.4; Athenaios, *Deipnosophistai* 12.535f.
44. Schiltz 2008, p. 227; Véronique Schiltz in *Afghanistan* 2008, pp. 232–40, nos. 36–53, pp. 241, 248–49, nos. 62–67, pp. 254, 257, nos. 82, 83, pp. 265, 275, no. 117.
45. Gem-studded vessels were among the offerings dedicated by Roxane to Athena Polias at Athens (see above, p. 78). Rings and gems are listed in the inventories of the Athenian Asklepieion in the third century b.c.; Aleshire 1989, pp. 203–4, nos. IV.122–26, p. 279, no. V.34.
46. Stewart 2014, pp. 1–7, fig. 1.
47. Lapatin 2015, pp. 125, 255–57, pl. 124.

IV. THE HELLENISTIC KINGDOMS AND ROME

SEAFARING, SHIPWRECKS, AND THE ART MARKET IN THE HELLENISTIC AGE

1. Images of the Titan Okeanos became popular in Roman mosaics of the third and fourth centuries A.D. The dramatic portrayal of Okeanos with lobster claws protruding from his forehead and a dripping beard likely stems from Hellenistic art. On the mosaic from Sidi-el-Hani illustrated in figure 1, see Dunbabin 1978, p. 151.
2. See Romm 1992, p. 8.
3. See Carpenter 1966, especially pp. 143–98 for Pytheas of Massalia. See also Cunliffe 2003.
4. See *Archimedes* 2013.
5. W. M. Murray 2012, pp. 24, 29–30.
6. See Oron 2006.
7. See W. M. Murray 2012, especially pp. 7–12.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
9. See Berthold 1984, pp. 59–80.
10. Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History* 20.82.4.
11. See Hemingway 2015, p. 61. On the technique of the Colossus of Rhodes, see Haynes 1992, pp. 121–28. See also the essay “Earthy Arts: Vases, Terracottas, and Small Bronzes” in this volume.
12. Underwater investigations in the region of the Pharos island have revealed some remnants of the structure. See Goddio and Darwish 1998, p. 16; Goddio 2006, p. 84.

13. See Clayton 1989. A particularly interesting representation occurs on a glass cage cup from Begram. See Koster and Whitehouse 1989, pp. 29–30, figs. 4–6.
14. See Cobb 2014, pp. 93–95. Cobb discusses the sailing route in the early Roman Imperial period (including ancient citations of actual times taken), but the conditions would have been essentially the same in the Hellenistic period.
15. See Casson 1994, p. 151.
16. Homer, *Odyssey* 12.201–59.
17. Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History* 21.4.1.
18. Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History* 28.1.1; Polybius, *The Histories* 5.95.1–12, 5.101.1–10.
19. Gabbert 1986.
20. Polybius, *The Histories* 2.5.2.
21. See *Voyage into Time and Legend* 1987, especially p. 23.
22. See de Souza 2009, pp. 60–61. In general, on piracy in the Hellenistic period, see de Souza 2009, pp. 43–96.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
24. See Grace 1979.
25. See Gibbins 2001, especially p. 276. Gibbins’s excellent essay includes an appendix of sixty-four Hellenistic shipwrecks. With the constant improvement of remote detection in deep water, new wrecks continue to be discovered on a regular basis.
26. See Marice E. Rose in Karageorghis 2000, p. 279, no. 450, ill. p. 278.
27. Watts 1965, p. 15, ill.
28. The finds from this interesting shipwreck, which is still being studied for publication, are housed in the Museo Archeologico del Territorio di Populonia in Piombino.
29. See *Antikythera Shipwreck* 2012a. See also *Antikythera Shipwreck* 2012b.
30. Hemingway 2004. On the plunder of artworks in the Hellenistic and Imperial Roman periods, see Miles 2008.
31. Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 7.16.7–8.
32. The most complete publication of the Mahdia shipwreck is the two-volume work *Das Wrack*; see *Wrack* 1994.
33. On the correspondence between Cicero and Atticus, see Marvin 1989.
34. See Baudoin, Liou, and Long 1994. See also *Archéologie sous-marine* 1985, pp. 57–59.
35. See Kotsouflakis and Simosi 2015.
36. See Jens M. Daehner in *Power and Pathos* 2015, pp. 204–5, no. 10, and pp. 224–25, no. 19.
37. See Sophie Descamps-Lequime in *ibid.*, pp. 288–91, nos. 47, 47a–c.
38. On Late Hellenistic and Early Imperial Roman forgeries and their interpretation, see Hallett 2015.
39. See Hemingway 2007, especially pp. 55–56 (with bibliography).

GREEK ART IN ROME

1. Pandermalis 1971; Moesch 2009, with good illustrations.
2. This identification has been questioned, since the head does not wear the normal ribbon of a ruler, but rather a kind of circlet from which the end of a ribbon escapes at the nape of the neck. For that reason the ribbon in the original portrait could have been wound around the circle, a feature seen in other examples. Also, in the very sophisticated rendering of the forehead creases, the copyist could have reworked his pattern. Compare Maria Rosaria Perrella in *Ritratti* 2011, p. 142, no. 2.6.
3. For the Sperlonga sculptures, see Andreae 1974; Conticello 1974; Andreae 1999.
4. De Caro 1987, pp. 98–100, no. 12, figs. 15a, b, 16a, b, 38.
5. Zanker 1998b, pp. 172–74.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 177–79.
7. Johansen 1987, pp. 24, 27, figs. 15a, b; Zanker 2009, p. 302.
8. Fittschen 1974.

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