
Alexander the Great and the Athenians: Deification and Portraiture*

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ABSTRACT This paper discusses Alexander's relations with the Athenians with regard to the issue of his deification in Athens. While the literary evidence is very controversial, a new piece of visual evidence will be introduced. A marble bust in the Athenian Agora is here argued to be a Roman copy of Alexander's cult statue, erected in 324/3 BC. In addition, the famous marble head of Alexander from the Acropolis, usually thought to reflect a lifetime portrait, is here argued to belong to a posthumous portrait, also showing a divinized Alexander, dedicated by the Attalids on the Acropolis in the 2nd century BC and associated with their dynastic cult.

KEYWORDS Alexander the Great, Athens, Portraiture, Deification, Agora, Acropolis.

The question of Alexander's deification by the Athenians has often been addressed with no consensus on whether it actually materialized. If it did, it had a direct impact on Alexander's imagery in Athens because a cult statue would have been erected. At least two portraits of Alexander in Athens are documented by the ancient sources; in addition, two marble portraits have come to light in excavations in the Agora (Figs 16.1 and 16.2) and the Athenian Acropolis (Figs 16.5 and 16.6). There have been various attempts to coordinate the information of the literary sources with the archaeological remains. What we offer here is a new interpretation of the material evidence, based on the style of the surviving heads. In anticipation, it appears that both images (Figs 16.1 and 16.5) postdate Alexander's conquest of Asia, reflecting his exalted status as an equal to the gods.

After the defeat of Athens at the battle of Chaeronea in the summer of 338 BC, Alexander, along with Antipater and Alcimachus, came to Athens as Philip II's envoy,

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returning to the city the ashes of its fallen soldiers¹. This is the only recorded visit of Alexander to Athens. The Athenians, grateful for the generous peace terms offered by Philip, conferred honorary citizenship on both Philip and Alexander and went on to erect their portraits in the Agora². These were later seen by Pausanias (1.9.4) alongside a row of statues of the Ptolemies, Lysimachus and Pyrrhus, king of Epirus. The statues of Philip and Alexander in the Agora, seen by Pausanias, may well be identical with the bronze group of Philip and Alexander on a chariot created by the Athenian state artist Euphranor and recorded by Pliny (*HN* 34.78). Chariot groups were usually agonistic dedications in panhellenic sanctuaries but the group by Euphranor as a commemoration of military victory had a late archaic precedent in the bronze chariot set up on the Athenian Acropolis by the Athenian democracy in 506, commemorating its victory over the Boeotians and the Chalcidians³.

The dynastic chariot group of Philip and Alexander opened the floodgates for further chariot groups to be erected in Athens in honor of Hellenistic rulers. Diodorus (20.46.2) mentions that in 307 the Athenians erected a gilded bronze chariot group of Demetrius Poliorcetes and Antigonus the One-Eyed at a privileged site near the Tyrannicides in the Agora, in commemoration of Demetrius' triumphant entry into the city on a chariot⁴. Did Alexander also enter Athens on a chariot, thus inspiring Demetrius to imitate him 30 years later⁵? We will never know.

Finally, a surfeit of chariots overwhelmed Athens in the 2nd century, when the Athenians dedicated four bronze chariot groups with portrait statues honoring the Attalids of Pergamon. They were supported by tall pillars of Hymettian marble, one standing in the Agora⁶, one in the Ceramicus⁷, and two on the Acropolis. Eumenes II's chariot stood on a pedestal adjacent to the Propylaea of the Acropolis, while Attalus II's chariot was set up in front of the northeast corner of the Parthenon⁸. These chariots, however, were probably agonistic dedications commemorating the Attalids' victories in the chariot races of the Panathenaic Games, lacking the military implications of Alexander's and Demetrius' groups⁹.

We have no visual records of the portraits of Alexander and Philip II in the Athenian Agora. According to the literary sources, another portrait of Alexander was very likely set up in Athens towards the end of his life. In late 324 or early 323 Alexander received divine honors from the Athenians, while Hephaestion came to be worshipped as hero¹⁰. We do not know how Alexander conveyed his wishes for these honors to the Athenians but we do know that the decree was proposed by Demades and supported by Demosthenes (who had initially opposed it) for political reasons, in order to negotiate

¹ Just. 9.4.5. See GREEN 1991, 83-85.

² GREEN 1991, 83.

³ Hdt. 5.77; Paus. 1.28.2. HURWIT 1999, 129, fig. 24; PALAGIA 2019, 63.

⁴ See also Plu. *Demetr.* 10.4.

⁵ Herodotus (1.60) reports how Pisistratus managed to return from exile by riding a chariot into Athens driven by a woman dressed as Athena. To my knowledge, this is the only documented instance of a politician's triumphant entry into Athens on a chariot before Demetrius Poliorcetes.

⁶ Chariot of Attalus II in front of his Stoa: THOMPSON-WYCHERLEY 1972, 107.

⁷ GOETTE 1990.

⁸ Eumenes II's chariot adjacent to the Propylaea: HURWIT 1999, 271, fig. 220. It was later re-dedicated to Marcus Agrippa. Attalus II's chariot at the northeast corner of the Parthenon: HURWIT 1999, 271-272, fig. 221.

⁹ See HURWIT 1999, 271.

¹⁰ Hyp. 5.31-32; 6.21; Din. 1.94; Polyb. 12.12b3; Plu. *Mor.* 804b and 842d; Ath. 6.251b; Val. Max. 7.2, ext. 13; Ael. *VH* 2.19 and 5.12. On Alexander's deification, see BADIAN 1981; BOSWORTH 1993, 288-289; ANSON 2013, 114-120; HABICHT 2017, 21-26, 159-161, 187. See also n. 15 below.

with the king on the sensitive issue of the vacation of Samos by the Athenian cleruchs in accordance with the exiles decree issued by Alexander in 324¹¹. Demosthenes told the assembly that it was in their best interest to allow Alexander to be the son of Zeus or Poseidon if he so wished, and he apparently supported the erection of a statue (*eikon*) of Alexander the invincible god¹². Even though the Athenians voted divine honors for Alexander, the king did not relent on the subject of Samos, whereupon Demades had to stand trial in Athens after Alexander's death in 323 and was fined large amounts of money¹³. Demosthenes also stood trial on the Harpalus affair and his involvement in the deification of Alexander was counted against him¹⁴. All this information comes from the speeches of Dinarchus and Hyperides against Demosthenes at his trial in 323 and from Hyperides' *Funeral Oration* of 322. The historians of Alexander are silent on the question of his deification.

Despite the skepticism of a number of scholars¹⁵, I believe that the Athenians did establish a cult of Alexander, worshipping him as a god in his lifetime, offering a hero's cult to Hephaestion at the same time. Hephaestion had been dead since the autumn of 324 and had received a hero's cult with the sanction of the oracle of Ammon, which Alexander consulted after his friend's death¹⁶. Hyperides' *Funeral Oration* (6.21) delivered at the public funeral of Leosthenes and the Athenian dead of the Lamian War in 322, laments that "we are still forced to offer sacrifices to humans, to neglect the cult statues (*agalmata*), altars and temples of the gods while we set them up for humans, and to offer heroic honors to their servants". Even though it has been claimed that Hyperides did not speak specifically of Athens, I take this passage as evidence of Alexander's deification in Athens during his lifetime and the establishment of a posthumous heroic cult for Hephaestion. Moreover, Hyperides' words indicate that these cults were not abolished after Alexander's death and continued to exist even after the revolt of Athens against Macedon in 322.

The divine honors for Alexander provided the paradigm for similar honors offered to Hellenistic rulers in the 3rd and 2nd centuries, beginning with Demetrius Poliorcetes. When he entered Athens in 291 at the head of a religious procession, he was addressed in an ithyphallic hymn as son of Poseidon and Aphrodite¹⁷. It has been suggested that the association with Poseidon indicated naval victories but no such victories of any significance can be claimed for Alexander. I think that Poseidon's parentage was a means of assimilating the ruler to the Athenian national hero, Theseus, who was the alleged son of Poseidon¹⁸.

In his article "Alexander between two thrones and heaven," Ernst Badian¹⁹ claimed that the Athenians did not actually offer divine honors to Alexander but erected a portrait statue (*eikon*) to Alexander as invincible god, which makes too fine a distinction between a portrait statue of a human as god and an actual cult statue. The problem hinges on the use of the word *agalma* to denote a cult statue in distinction with the word

¹¹ On the exiles decree and its implications for the Athenian occupation of Samos, see ANSON 2013, 114-115. For the exiles decree, see D.S. 17.109.1; 18.8.2-7; Curt. 10.2.4-7; Just. 13.5.2-6. Demades proposed the motion: Din. 1.94. Demosthenes supported it: Hyp. 5.31-32. Demosthenes' initial opposition: Polyb. 12.12b.3.

¹² Hyp. 5.31-532.

¹³ Din. 1.94.

¹⁴ Hyp. 5.31-32.

¹⁵ CAWKWELL 1994; BADIAN 1996; WORTHINGTON 2001; SIEKIERKA 2016.

¹⁶ Arr. *An.* 7.23.6; Plu. *Alex.* 72.3.

¹⁷ Ithyphallic hymn: Ath. 6.253d-f. See HOLTON 2014 (with earlier references).

¹⁸ PALAGIA 2016, 74-76.

¹⁹ BADIAN 1996, 26.

eikon signifying an honorary portrait²⁰. However, the distinction between these two terms became blurred in the Hellenistic period to the extent of describing cult statues of rulers as *agalmata eikonika*²¹. In an earlier article on the deification of Alexander, Badian had written, “I personally agree with those who, like Habicht, believe that a cult of Alexander was in fact instituted. Obviously, it did not survive long enough to leave any traces we could expect to recognize”²². It is clear that Badian had looked and did not find any archaeological evidence of Alexander’s cult in Athens, hence the skepticism expressed in his final verdict on the question.

It is now time to examine the marble portraits of Alexander found in Athens to see if they offer any clues on the issue. We begin with an unfinished bust of Alexander in Thasian marble found in the excavations of the Athenian Agora in 1959, embedded in the post-Herulian fortification wall (Figs 16.1 and 16.2)²³. It is colossal, and was copied from another prototype as is attested by seven measuring points on the chin, the forehead locks and the sides of the head. The copy dates from the 2nd century AD and probably comes from one of the sculptural workshops active in the area at the time. As Roman copies found in Athens tend to draw on originals which actually stood in Athens, it is generally assumed that this bust reflects a portrait of Alexander erected in Athens. The bust form indicates that it is an abbreviated copy as the artist did not choose to include the rest of the figure. It was probably intended for private use, decorating a niche in a villa.

Alexander’s head and shoulders are supported by an oblong base, decorated with acanthus leaves on top. A raised strip around the edge of the bust is probably a protective surface that was meant to be cut away. Alexander wears a head band, which is not, however, a royal diadem for its ends are not tied at the back of the head. He is identified by means of his *anastole*, luxuriant hair, upward gaze and crooked neck. The nearest parallel to this type of Alexander portrait is provided by a head from Alexandria in the British Museum, characterized by similar full lips and bifurcated hair locks over the forehead (Fig. 16.3)²⁴. Evelyn Harrison, who published the unfinished bust from the Agora, pointed out that it copies a prototype of the 4th century and is therefore a lifetime portrait of Alexander²⁵. Even though the only Athenian sculptor known to have made a portrait of Alexander in Athens is Euphranor, she attributed the original to Leochares, an Athenian sculptor who created the dynastic portraits of Philip II and his family for the Philippeum at Olympia sometime after 338 and before Philip’s death in 336²⁶. These statues have vanished without trace; moreover, Leochares is a phantom and his style eludes us²⁷.

²⁰ WORTHINGTON 2001 argues against the deification of Alexander on the strength of Hyperides’ use of the word *eikon* rather than *agalma*.

²¹ Ath. 5.205 so describes the cult statues of the ancestors of Ptolemy IV erected on his *thalamegos*.

²² BADIAN 1981. BOSWORTH 1993, 188-189 also believed that Alexander’s cult was short-lived. But Hyperides’ *Funeral Oration* indicates that it survived Athens’ revolt against Macedon in 322.

²³ Athens, Agora Museum S 2089. HARRISON 1960, 382-389, pl. 85 c and d; GAWLINSKI 2014, 81-82, fig. 48.

²⁴ London, British Museum 1857. STEWART 1993, 331, fig. 124; PALAGIA 2018, 154, fig. 6.5.

²⁵ HARRISON 1960, 384.

²⁶ Statues in the Philippeum by Leochares: Paus. 5.20.9-10. Attribution of the prototype of the Agora bust to Leochares: HARRISON 1960, 386-387.

²⁷ On putative attributions to Leochares, see now LEVENTI 2019, 366-370.



*Fig. 16.1. Unfinished bust of Alexander. Athens, Agora Museum S 2089.
Photo: Olga Palagia.*



Fig. 16.2 Unfinished bust of Alexander. Left profile. Athens, Agora Museum S 2089.

Photo: Olga Palagia

A balanced assessment of the Agora bust is compounded by the fact that it is stylistically and iconographically close to the type of the so-called Eubouleus from the sanctuary of Demeter and Core at Eleusis (Fig. 16.4)²⁸. A second copy of the same prototype from Eleusis, which had inlaid eyes, indicates that we are dealing with a hero related to the cult of Demeter and Core²⁹. About nine more copies of this type, mostly coming from Athens, are known³⁰. Evelyn Harrison identified all of these heads as portraits of Alexander but this has not been accepted³¹. Scholars on the whole have tended to treat all examples, including the Agora Alexander, as copies of an Eleusinian mythological figure³². Klaus Fittschen placed them all in a new category, which he called imitations of Alexander in the Roman period³³. However, the Agora bust is sufficiently close to Alexander portraiture to allow us to distinguish it from the other examples, which appear to represent a mythological figure imitating the hairstyle though not the facial features of Alexander. The Agora bust must stand by itself. That it is a portrait of a historical person and not a mythological hero is also suggested by the acanthus leaves decorating the top of its base. As Hans Jucker has shown, acanthus leaves were used in funerary portrait busts of the Roman imperial period. Even portraits of emperors, when accompanied by the acanthus plant, were meant to be understood as posthumous³⁴. A colossal medallion bust of Marcus Aurelius from the pediment of the Great Propylaea at Eleusis is decorated with acanthus leaves to indicate that the emperor was deceased³⁵. The addition of acanthus leaves to the Alexander bust was probably the copyist's idea, as the bust is evidently an abbreviated form of a portrait statue that was not copied complete.

Alexander is represented as a mature man, not a youth; we are therefore dealing with a copy of a portrait erected in Athens after the conquest of Asia. Only one such portrait seems to be documented: the deified Alexander, set up by the Athenians in early 323 as we suggested earlier. If Alexander is here represented as a god, it would explain the headband, which is more appropriate to a divine figure, and the colossal size of the prototype. His idealized appearance could easily lend itself for imitation by divine figures like the so-called Eubouleus, which is also a 4th-century creation, evidently post-dating the portrait of Alexander. Why there are no other copies of Alexander's divine image in Athens, it would be rather hazardous to guess. The present copy was probably created for a domestic setting as there was an upsurge of interest in Alexander in the late 2nd and early 3rd centuries AD.

The Agora Alexander has remained relatively obscure not only because it is unfinished but also on account of the confusion with the so-called Eubouleus type. More famous is the over-life-size head of Alexander in Pentelic marble found near the Erechtheum on the Athenian Acropolis in 1886 (Figs 16.5 and 16.6)³⁶. The good condition of the marble surface indicates that it was not exposed to the elements but probably stood indoors. Alexander is shown in the bloom of his youth and wears no royal diadem. The head is asymmetrical, being slightly turned to its proper left. Its Attic

²⁸ Athens National Museum 181. SCHWARZ 1975, 71-72, figs 1a-d; 4; 10.

²⁹ Athens National Museum 1839. SCHWARZ 1975, 72-73, figs 2a-d; 5.

³⁰ On the so-called Eubouleus and its copies, see SCHWARZ 1975.

³¹ HARRISON 1960, 382-388.

³² E.g., SCHWARZ 1975; FITTSCHEN 1977, 25 n. 18.

³³ FITTSCHEN 1989.

³⁴ JUCKER 1961, 133-138.

³⁵ JUCKER 1961, 91-92, St 38, pl. 35.

³⁶ Acropolis Museum 1331. FITTSCHEN 1977, 21-22, Beilage 2; STEWART 1993, 106-112, 421, col. pl. 1, fig. 5; PALAGIA 2018, 157.

workmanship is not in doubt. There are two Roman copies of the 2nd century AD, one

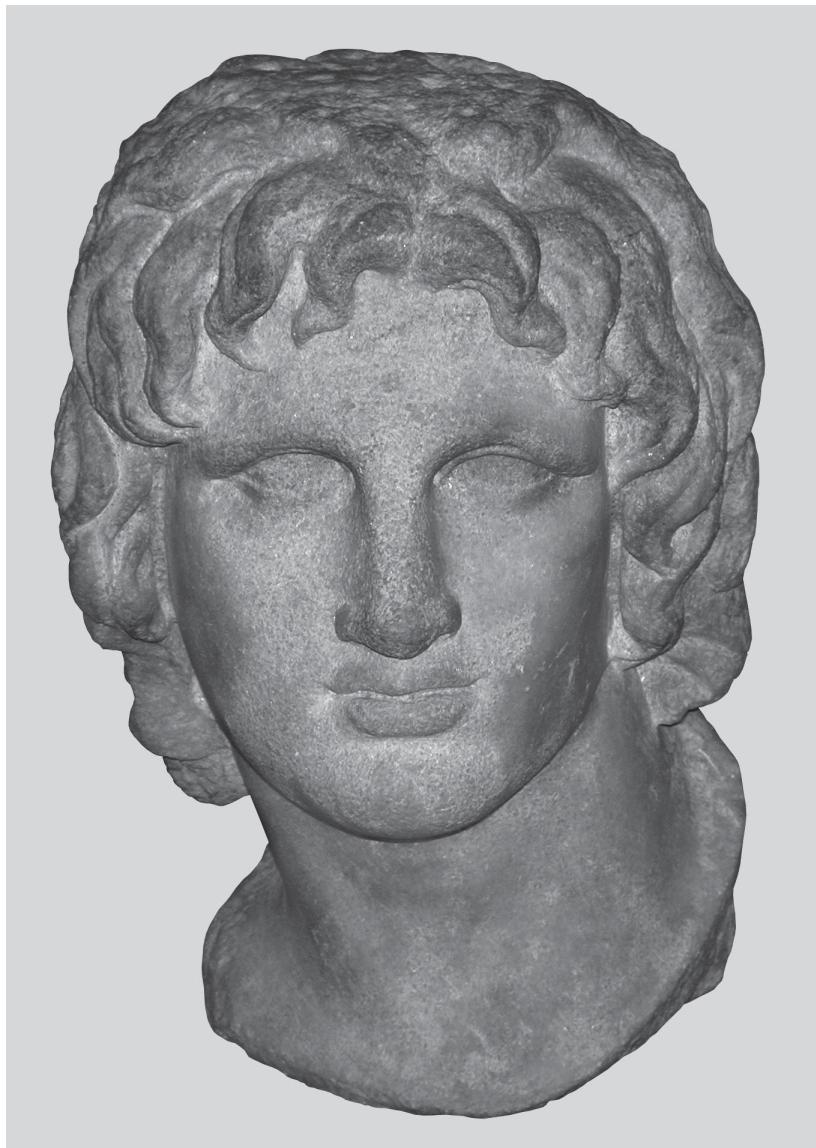


Fig. 16.3 Head of Alexander from Alexandria. London, British Museum 1857.
Photo: Courtesy Hans R. Goette.

found in Tivoli in 1791³⁷, another bought in Madytus, modern Turkey, in 1874³⁸. Because of its findspot, the Acropolis Alexander was hailed as an original of the 4th century BC, from Alexander's lifetime, and attributed to the Athenian artist Leochares, artist of the dynastic portraits of Philip II in the Philippeum at Olympia, as mentioned above³⁹. No 4th-century portrait of Alexander was likely to have been set up on the Acropolis, however, as he was not an Athenian (albeit an honorary Athenian citizen). We have no evidence of foreign royal portraits on the Acropolis before the Attalids in the 2nd century BC⁴⁰. Alexander's documented portrait with Philip was set up in the Agora and we do not know the location of his cult statue but again the Acropolis is

³⁷ Perhaps from Hadrian's Villa. Schloss Erbach 642. FITTSCHEN 1977, 21-25, pl. 8.

³⁸ Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung K 203. FITTSCHEN 1977, 21, Beilage 3.

³⁹ ASHMOLE 1951. For Leochares, see n. 26 above.

⁴⁰ See VON DEN HOFF 2003, 175. For the chariot groups of Eumenes II and Attalus II on the Acropolis, see n. 6 above. For the portraits of Attalus I and Apollonis, see n. 51 below.

unlikely as the sacred rock was reserved for Athenians in the classical and early Hellenistic periods.



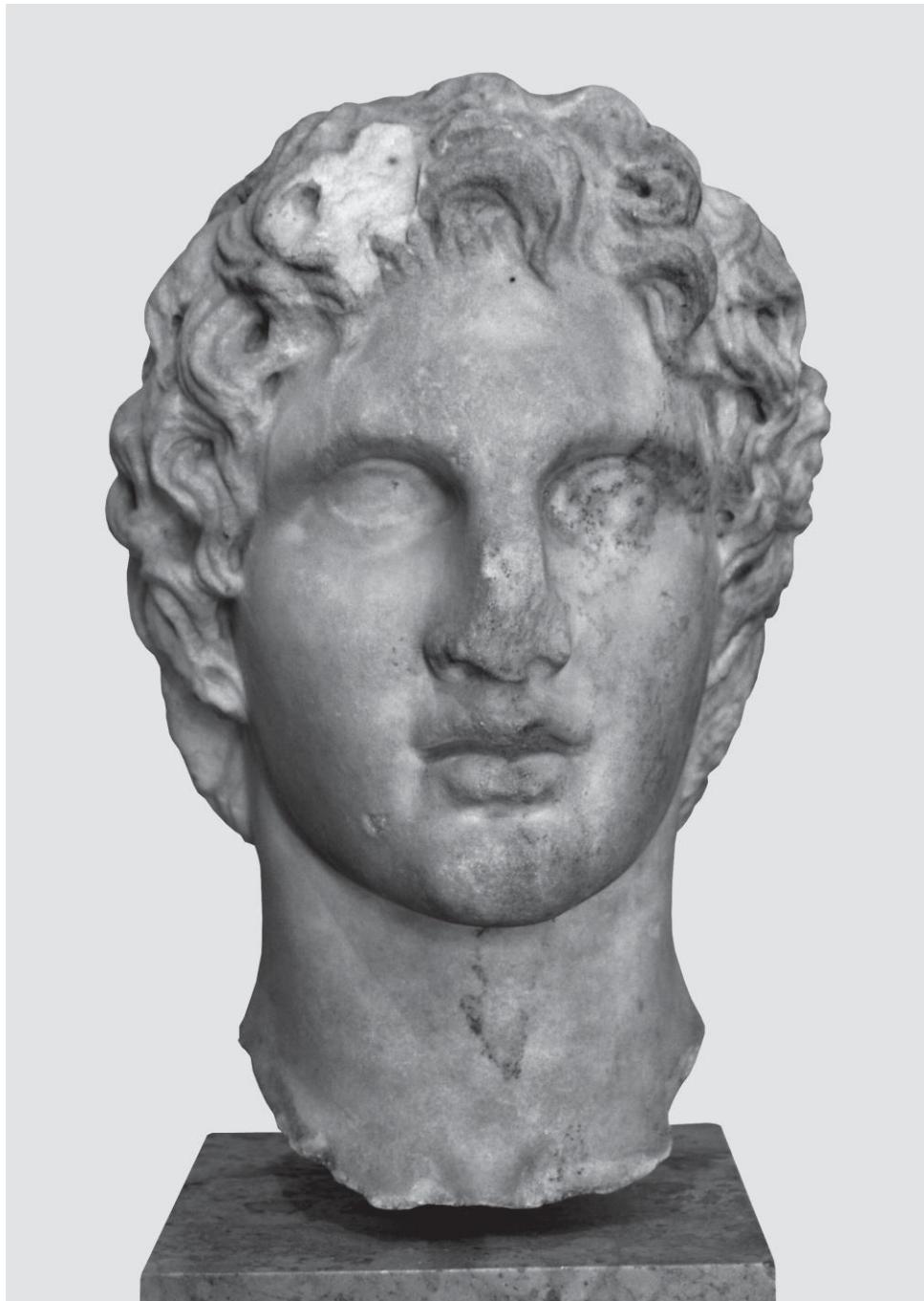
Fig. 16.4 Bust of so-called Eubouleus from Eleusis. Athens National Museum 181.
Photo: Olga Palagia

A major turning point in the interpretation of the Acropolis Alexander was the publication of the catalogue of sculptures in the Schloss Erbach by Klaus Fittschen⁴¹. He pointed out that Alexander's striated hair locks are not attested before the mid- 2nd century BC. In fact, their nearest parallel is found in the head of an athlete from Rhodes, which is dated around 150 BC⁴². Fittschen suggested that the Alexander head is a posthumous portrait, heavily idealized with a quasi-divine appearance. He dated the actual Acropolis head to about 100 BC and accepted Evelyn Harrison's suggestion that it belonged to a herm on account of its stiff neck even though no portrait herms are so

⁴¹ FITTSCHEN 1977.

⁴² Rhodes Museum 5280. FITTSCHEN 1997, 22; BAIRAMI 2017, cat. no. 64, pls. 213-216.

far known before the middle of the 1st century BC⁴³. He in fact suggested that all three copies of this head belonged to herms. The verdict on the Acropolis Alexander eventually settled on it being a late Hellenistic copy of a 4th-century prototype⁴⁴. It is even thought to be the earliest surviving copy of any Greek portrait⁴⁵. But what is a Hellenistic copy of an Alexander portrait doing on the Athenian Acropolis?



*Fig. 16.5 Head of Alexander from the Acropolis, Athens, Acropolis Museum 1331.
Photo: Courtesy Hans R. Goette.*

⁴³ HARRISON 1960, 387 n. 73. The earliest portrait herm known to date is the herm of the philosopher Phaedrus from the Eleusinion of the Athenian Agora, dated to the middle of the 1st century BC: Athens, Agora Museum I 5483, MILES 1998, 84, 192, no. 20; DILLON 2018, 132, fig. 11.14.

⁴⁴ FITTSCHEN 1977, 22; STEWART 2003, 35; LEVENTI 2019, 370.

⁴⁵ NIEMEIER 1985, 107-108.



Fig. 16.6 Head of Alexander from the Acropolis. Left profile. Athens, Acropolis Museum 1331.
Photo: Courtesy Hans R. Goette.

The high quality of the Acropolis Alexander indicates that it is not a copy but an original. His idealized features and rejuvenated appearance, on the other hand, militate against a lifetime portrait and point to the period of the Hellenistic kingdoms, when Alexander's diadochs produced images of the deified Alexander as the ultimate source of their power and legitimacy. A good parallel of a posthumous statue of a youthful Alexander without royal diadem is the Alexander from Magnesia on Sipylus, created in the Attalid kingdom in the second half of the 2nd century BC (Fig. 16.7)⁴⁶. A colossal head of Alexander from the Dodekatheon of Delos is a youthful image of a deified Alexander, which served as one of the cult statues in that temple⁴⁷. It has been variously dated to the 3rd or 2nd century BC but I would be inclined to date it to the 2nd century on account of its style.

If the Acropolis Alexander is a posthumous portrait created in the 2nd century BC, its presence on the Acropolis can be explained if we associate it with the Attalid monuments set up on the Acropolis. During the 2nd century BC Attalus I and his sons

⁴⁶ Istanbul Archaeological Museum 709. STEWART 1993, 427, fig. 133; PALAGIA 2018, 154-156, fig. 6.6.

⁴⁷ Delos Museum A 4184. QUEYREL 2016, 148-150, fig. 121.

Eumenes II and Attalus II, who reigned after him, developed a very special relationship with Athens as benefactors of the city and recipients of civic honors, of Athenian citizenship and indeed of cult. In 200 BC, while King Attalus I was visiting Athens, the Athenians declared war on Philip V of Macedon, voted to destroy all monuments to the king and his ancestors in Athens and abolished the tribes Antigonis and Demetrias created in honor of Antigonus the One-Eyed and his son Demetrius Poliorcetes in the late 4th century. In token of appreciation of Attalus' help in the war against Macedon, they created a new tribe, Attalis, with Attalus as eponymous hero, which entitled him to the reception of cult⁴⁸. This initiated a series of public benefactions by the Attalids: a Stoa built by Eumenes II near the theater of Dionysus, another Stoa built in the Agora by Attalus II⁴⁹, and a bronze battle group set up by Attalus I south of the Parthenon, commemorating the victories of the Attalids against the Gauls, of the Athenians against the Persians at Marathon, as well as the battles of gods and giants and Greeks against Amazons⁵⁰.

In addition to the two bronze chariot groups erected on the Acropolis by the Athenians in honor of Eumenes II and Attalus II mentioned earlier, we have evidence of a marble group of Attalus I and his wife Apollonis erected inside a temple of Athena on the Acropolis. A fragmentary life-size marble portrait head of Attalus I that came to light on the Athenian Acropolis has been associated with another fragmentary head of similar scale portraying a woman, who was subsequently identified with his wife Apollonis⁵¹. The two heads are slightly turned towards each other. Both are made of Parian marble and their skin is highly polished. The lack of weathering on the marble surface indicates that the statues were sheltered inside a temple, probably the Erechtheum. It is now impossible to know whether we are dealing with honorific portraits or divine images of the royal couple conceived as *synnaoi* to the goddess. The roughly worked sides of the head and neck of the female portrait may indicate that it was made in the acrolithic technique, which is evidence of a cult statue. In any case, the presence of an image of Attalus I in the temple of Athena may be easily explained by the fact that he was an eponymous hero of Athens. We assume that the statues of the royal couple were dedicated by the Athenians.

Now considering the privileged position of the image of Alexander in the royal courts of the Hellenistic kings, and bearing in mind, first, the 2nd-century date that we proposed earlier for the Acropolis Alexander and second, its findspot near the Erechtheum, I would like to suggest that the image of Alexander was placed alongside Attalus and Apollonis. The fact that it is on a larger scale, made of different marble and in a different style suggests that it was added at a later stage. It was probably a statue and not a herm as has repeatedly been suggested, on account of its asymmetrical features. In view of Alexander's cult in Athens, which we assume had outlasted his demise, it may well be that the Acropolis Alexander was a cult statue. In any case, it appears that the deified Alexander finally made it to the Acropolis sanctioned by the great friends of the Athenian people, the Attalid dynasty.

⁴⁸ Polyb. 16.25.8-9; Liv. 31.15.6. HABICHT 1999, 197-198; PALAGIA 2020.

⁴⁹ Stoa of Eumenes: TRAVLOS 1971, 523-526. Stoa of Attalus II: THOMPSON-WYCHERLEY 1972, 103-108.

⁵⁰ QUEYREL 2016, 225-233 (with earlier references).

⁵¹ Head of Attalus I: Athens, Acropolis Museum 2335. QUEYREL 2003, 127-129, C 5, pl. 19,1; PALAGIA 2020. Head of Apollonis: Athens, Acropolis Museum 3628. QUEYREL 2003, 268-269, H 3, pl. 59; PALAGIA 2020.



Fig. 16.7 Head from statue of Alexander from Magnesia on Sipylos.
Istanbul Archaeological Museum 709.
Photo: Courtesy Hans R. Goette.

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