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TRANSFORMATIONS AND SURVIVALS OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT IN ASIA MINOR

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Introduction

Alexander's march from the Granicus to Issus and beyond into immortality left much more than the Seleucid, Attalid and Ptolemaic legacy in Anatolia. The founder of cities, the liberator of diverse peoples from Persian rule, left more than a pride of feuding, imitative successors and a constellation of Macedonian urban settlements. He left the tradition of his own divinity which, like the blind men and the elephant in China, was everything local religious leaders and their followers expected it to be. In honor of Professor Ekrem Akurgal, who has written so eloquently of Graeco-Roman as well as earlier Anatolia, a few remarks are offered about what happened to Alexander the Great in Asia Minor in the five centuries of Roman rule (1).

Transformations

When Alexander was honored with statues, from Pergamon to Bubon in Lycia, or further on to Tarsus, he was most often portrayed by a copy, sometimes enlarged, of the famous Alexander with the Lance, by his court portraitist, Lysippos (2). Thus, when we encounter a bronze statuette of the Phrygian and Pisidian moon-god Mên as Alexander with the Lance, we face a true transformation of the Macedonian conqueror in the heartland of Anatolia (3) (Figs. 1,2). Is this image Mên as the young hero? Or is it the divine Alexander as Mên?

Face, hair and pose are clearly Lysippic. The costume belongs strictly to Mên in all his many other manifestations, in bronze statuettes, in stelai in stone and on coins (4). The pointed Phrygian, Persian or Parthian cap (the peak has been bent) covers much of the head and fits snugly over the shoulders of the ample cloak, which falls to the ankles. The belted tunic

leads to the tight trousers which, in turn, extend down to the boots. So far, there is nothing that could not belong to Alexander the Great in the costume of one of his Iranian or Caucasian regiments. It is the large crescent moon on top of the head, in front of the cap, which brings this statuette with its clear, manifest features of Alexander the Great in connection with the young Anatolian god Mên.

Taken in isolation, this is a rare, unusual fusion of the Macedonian hero and Mên. Many cities of Asia Minor cherished their Macedonian heritage from Alexander's time or the times of his sometimes-battling Successors. The same cities of Phrygia or Pisidia or Pamphylia proudly displayed images of the young moon-god on their coins. A statuette such as this showed the absolute absorption of Alexander the Great into the cults of Anatolia.

In the third quarter of the third century, during the reigns of emperors from Traianus Decius (249 to 251) through Aurelianus (270 to 275), the confidence of Asia Minor was shaken by invasions by barbarians from the Northeast and a new form of the ancient Persian (Or Parthian) nemesis from the East. All the major gods were called upon to battle for the salvation of the Graeco-Roman imperial world, and among these, Alexander the Great figured prominently. After all, as himself or as Neos Dionysos or, as here, Mên, he had held sway in the lands facing towards the rising sun.

A second bronze statuette portrays the battling Alexander the Great of Late Antique aspect (Figs. 3,4). He held his spear, and probably a shield, in fighting pose (5). The big, heavy helmet which he wears, one based on the armor of gladiators in earlier, happier years, identifies him with the Roman emperors who were trying to stem the barbarian tide. The emperor Gallienus (253 to 268), who saw his father Valerianus (253 to 260) captured by the Persians and used by the New Great King Shapur as a footstool while the eastern frontier crumbled, wears exactly this helmet on the big bronze coins of Antioch on the Maeander in Caria (6). This form of imperial headgear is worn by Roman emperors on their coins from the imperial mints off and on in the fourth and into the fifth centuries.

Thus, the times dictated that in Asia Minor, Alexander could no longer be identified with the benign, peaceful young god of moonlight, the flocks or the barnyard. In his final transformation in the Anatolia of autonomous coinages, the Macedonian world conqueror was required to stand and fight as a Roman god at the head of the imperial legions. Centuries earlier,

Alexander the Great had conquered Rome, so to speak, as imperators or emperors from Pompey to Nero to Caracalla or Severus Alexander took inspiration from his deeds and from the charisma which he radiated (7). Now it was Alexander's turn to defend his conquests (8).

Survivals

The earliest, most Macedonian Alexander survived well into the third century of the Roman Empire on a bronze coin of Peltae in western Phrygia, directly east of Ephesus (9) (Figs. 5,6). Here transformation still occurs, however, for the young Alexander-Herakles in his lionskin cap has become the Demos of the inland city. The reverse shows a heroic rider, who may be Alexander again, for the inscription speaks of the Macedonian origins of the city. It is a tribute to the strength of the Alexander legend that an urban coin like this could refer only to Macedonia and make no mention of Rome or her emperors who, at this time, in the years 215 to 245, were trying to emulate Alexander in the East.

Notes

- (1) Thanks are due to Florence Wolsky for help in preparing this article. Mary Comstock, John Herrmann and Jeffrey Spier have also offered good advice.
- (2) See *The Search for Alexander, Supplement to the Catalogue*, 5 March to 10 July 1983, The Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, pp. 10-11, no. S-11 (text by John Herrmann, statuette in The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, said to have been found in Egypt); Suzannah Doeringer, in *Master Bronzes from the Classical World*, The Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge (Mass.) 1967, pp. 130-131, no. 132. Lysippos, a prolific sculptor, probably made more than one Alexander with the Lance, some having the right arm raised (the Baltimore statuette holds a short sword in his lowered left hand) and others, like the Alexander Nelidow at Harvard or the Alexander in the Louvre from Lower Egypt, grasping the lance in the raised left hand: *The Search for Alexander, An Exhibition*, Boston 1980, pp. 118-120, nos. 38, 41.
- (3) H: 0.10 m. The statuette, long in a collection near Paterson, New Jersey, appears to have come to America in the era of the missionaries in the Ottoman Empire.
- (4) E. Lane, *Corpus Monumentorum Religionis dei Menis (CMRDM)*, I-IV, Leiden, Brill, 1971-1978, especially III, Chapter Seven, "The Iconography of Men," pp. 99-108. The bronze statuette of Mên in the Fogg Art Museum (1964.126), although posed differently with the pinecone in the extended right hand, has the facial features of the marble or bronze Alexanders of the Severan period from Asia Minor, Syria, and, especially, Egypt. The statuette at Harvard University: D. Salzmann, "Neue Denkmäler des Mondgottes Men," *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Abteilung Istanbul (Istanbuler Mitteilungen)* 30, 1980, p. 280, pl. 109, figs. 2-4. Sabazios can be posed and clothed in this fashion, pinecone also in the extended right hand, but he is older and bearded, like a Hellenistic Zeus: compare A. de Ridder, *Les bronzes antiques du Louvre*, I, Paris 1913, p. 97, no. 669 pl. 48, misnumbered no. 669; p. 100, no. 723, pl. 50, a Lysippic Alexander with right arm raised (as compared with above, note 2, de Ridder, nos. 370, 369), is helmeted, and suggests the figure with the left arm raised was much earlier in Lysippos' career.
- (5) H: 0.117 m. M.B. Comstock, C.C. Vermeule, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes in the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston 1971, p. 149, no. 174. The heroic young warrior with elaborate helmet is usually identified as Ares-Mars, but here the profile and hair go beyond, to the divine Alexander's image: compare *Master Bronzes from the Classical World*, pp. 275-277, nos. 267-269 (Roman bronzes also of the second to third centuries, from Germany, The Netherlands and Belgium).
- (6) C. Vermeule, *Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1968, pp. 151-152, fig. 83. M.B. Comstock, *Bulletin M.F.A.*: 65, 1967, p. 166, fig. 11.
- (7) See "Alexander Conquers Rome," in *The Search for Alexander, Symposium*, May 7, 1983, *The Continuity of the Alexander Legend*, Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, pp. 3-5, and, especially, K. Scheffold, "The Greek Artists' Response to the Visions of Alexander," pp. 7-8, ending with the sentence, "Caesar was Alexander's greatest successor."
- (8) It is this militant Alexander on horseback, riding down a foe in the presence of Zeus or Poseidon (posed like the Lateran statue), who appears on the reverse of a big bronze coin of Sagalassos in Pisidia under Claudius II (268 to 270): *The Search for Alexander, Supplement to the Catalogue*, Toronto 1983, p. 34, no. S-49.
- (9) 20 mm. in diameter. From Edward J. Waddell Auction I, New York, Dec. 9, 1982, no. 396. B.V. Head, *British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins*, Vol. XXV, *Phrygia*, London 1906, p. 349, no. 20, pl. XLI, fig. 8.
- (10) On the legends of colonization, Spartan and other mercenaries or veterans from the Successors' armies, see A.M. Woodward, "Sparta and Asia Minor under the Roman Empire," in *Studies Presented to David M. Robinson*, II, St. Louis 1953, pp. 868-883. "Macedonian" (or Successor) colonies, including Peltae: D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor to the End of the Third Century after Christ*, II, Princeton 1950, pp. 972-974.

**OBSERVATIONS SUR LA DIFFUSION DE LA CÉRAMIQUE
ATTIQUE À FIGURES ROUGES ET À "VERNIS" NOIR
EN ANATOLIE**

Henri Metzger

L'archéologie classique - le terme étant pris dans son sens le plus large, par opposition à l'archéologie strictement anatolienne ou à l'archéologie byzantine a porté en Anatolie, Jusqu'à une date récente, sur les ruines hellénistiques et romaines de quelques grands sites de la frange égéenne dont elle ignorait les niveaux antérieurs. L'archéologie de l'Asie Mineure se distinguait d'emblée de celle de la Grèce propre ou du monde occidental dont le champ s'étendait aussi aux périodes archaïques et classique, au sens limité du terme. Faisaient seuls exception quelques sites où l'on avait parfois fait de belles trouvailles archaïques, Assos, Larisa sur l'Hermos, Sardes et l'Artémision d'Ephèse. Ailleurs, que ce soit à Pergame, dans l'Ephèse de Lysimaque, dans les villes de la basse vallée du Méandre (Magnésie, Priène, Milet) ou au sanctuaire de Didymes, le Vème siècle et la première moitié du IVème siècle demeuraient à peu près inconnus (1), d'où l'impression de dépaysement que l'on éprouvait encore après la dernière guerre quand, venant de Grèce, on découvrait la côte égéenne.

Les perspectives ont quelque peu changé depuis le milieu du 20ème siècle du fait notamment de fouilles nouvelles portant délibérément sur des sites préhellénistiques comme Phocée, Smyrne, Erythrées ou Xanthos ou sur les niveaux préhellénistiques de sites déjà fouillés comme Ephèse et surtout Milet. A ces fouilles méthodiques s'ajoutent des trouvailles fortuites non moins éclairantes parfois. Notre vision des périodes géométriques, archaïques et classiques de l'Anatolie égéenne ou méridionale s'est donc sensiblement modifiée. L'archéologue curieux de céramique attique n'a plus le sentiment, quand il franchit l'Egée, d'aborder vraiment une **terra incognita**. Il s'en faut néanmoins de beaucoup que les progrès soient partout sensibles. Si les fouilles ont dépassé les niveaux hellénistiques en divers points de la façade égéenne, sur le versant méridional seule Xanthos a fait l'objet d'un début d'enquête. Les étonnantes sculptures de l'hérôon de Limyra ne se sont guère accompagnées de céramiques et dans aucune des