THE APOTHEOSIS OF HERACLES AND THE DEIFICATION OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

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ABSTRACT

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The aim of this thesis is to analyze fourth-century works of art in which the image of Alexander the Great become integrated with the image of Heracles. In order to achieve this goal, the context in which these works were produced will be fully examined. Chapter One is an account of Heracles' role as a leader and a savior in literature, art and philosophy. Chapter Two will establish that Alexander cultivated a Heraclean analogy which he used to promote his own deification. This will provide a foundation for Chapter Three which will focus on the visual synthesis of Alexander and Heracles. In the royal portraits, the features of the king blend with those of Heracles to form a composite image. The synthesis of Alexander's likeness with Heracles', combined with a heavenward gaze, serve to communicate the deification of Alexander the Great.

To my hero

and my children.

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INTRODUCTION

Heroes are reflections of humankind. They belong to the society that reveres them embodying both common values and shared aspirations. A heroic figure is a model of excellence- endowed with the attributes most esteemed; courage, strength, virtue, wisdom. He is admired for these qualities and venerated as an ideal or model. Because of his extraordinary display he is often believed to be favored by the gods or to be of divine descent.

For Greeks, Heracles was both a mortal hero with human failings and a god with superhuman attributes. He was the hero of the common man; his origins were found in folklore. His status was elevated to pan-hellenic hero as his cult spread throughout the ancient world. He was begotten by Zeus to be a leader of men and a savior of mankind- a role to which he remained consistent. The attributes by which he accomplished this goal were reinvented with every new age. The early Heracles was a mighty warrior who by virtue of his strength embodied the necessary attributes to lead and protect his followers. In Homer, he is cited for his courage to fight against even the gods. In Hesiod, he is revered as the averter of evil. Pindar exhorts athletes to emulate Heracles for his fortitude and his strength, while Euripides presents him as a man of virtue whose reward was to reside in Athens. To philosophers, he became a model of a virtuous life and its blessed reward. The Sophist, Prodicus endowed him with the intellect to deliberate his fate, while Antisthenes presented him as the paradigm of a divine king. From strongman to king, Heracles always remained a model of excellence, a leader and a savior.

Alexander's resemblance to Heracles was due in part to qualities shared by any hero. However, his emulation of this hero/god was deliberate. Alexander was

extraordinary- a political and military genius whose accomplishments could only be explained by comparison with Heracles. Moreover, his status as a divine king was given credence by his emulation of the philosopher-king, Heracles. That is, in Heracles, Alexander found expression for his pretentions to divine rule.

Alexander's campaign against the Persians was for the Pan-hellenic good. His conquests were promoted as Heraclean labors which civilized the world and averted evil. He, too, was favored by the gods, and he was descended from Zeus through Heracles. His journey to the oracle of Ammon at Siwa confirmed his godhead. As Macedonian king, he was their chief priest and intermediary between the gods and his subjects. While his divine favor was an important justification for his leadership, his greatest claim was that like Heracles, he was the best among his people and known as an illustrious warrior who was first in battle. His military prowess was combined with genius. He was tutored in philosophy and literature by Aristotle in a mimetic method of an aristocratic education - recitation, imitation and emulation. Alexander was well versed in the works of Homer, Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides and knew of the treatment of Heracles' character by these authors. As a student of Aristotle, he was encouraged to become a philosopher- king who embodied the wisdom of his people. For Aristotle, knowledge was virtue and the model of the virtuous king was Heracles. Alexander's conquests became expressed as Heraclean labors to civilize the world. He was a hero, whose genius and prowess could only be explained as divine. In this way, Alexander was the true successor of Heracles.

This thesis will demonstrate the validity of these general points. It is divided into three parts. The first chapter is a chronological account of Heracles' role in literature as a leader and a savior. His apotheosis in art parallels his character development in literature. That is, the strongman who wrestles the lion is introduced on Olympus with his heroic attributes- the quiver and the club. Eventually, he is shown transported to the gods by means of a chariot. Finally, his divinity is expressed as a state of blessed repose in the garden of the Hesperides. The philosophers Prodicus and Antisthenes promote him as the

embodiment of virtue and intellect who was the exemplar of a philosopher -king. As in art and literature, the philosophers reevaluated the hero's qualities by making them a part of his character to establish him as an exemplar king.

The objective of Chapter Two is threefold. First, it establishes that Alexander cultivated the Heraclean analogy from his training and his tradition. Then it examines precedents of divine veneration that were bestowed upon living rulers. This will provide a framework from which to examine the steps taken by Alexander to promote his deification and the mythological overtones of his legend.

Chapter Three will focus on the visual synthesis of Alexander and Heracles. In Alexander's royal portraits, the features of the king merge with those of his mythological ancestor to provide a composite likeness of a divine king. Likewise, his military campaigns became translated as Heracles' most famous labor- killing the Nemean lion. Heracles' lion headdress became Alexander's attribute. Alexander, like Heracles became the personification of intellect and wisdom and as such, was deified. The visual and legendary portrait of Alexander and Heracles became a composite figure of the hopes and struggles of fourth century Macedonia.

CHAPTER 1

HERACLES AS THE MYTHOLOGICAL PARIDIGM FOR THE DIVINE RULER

I. The Depiction of Heracles in Literature

"Heracles, we love him because he is like ourselves...His strength ... was the cause of his weakness." Anatole France, *The Amethyst Ring*

The Heracles myth seems to have no obvious starting point. Although the myth has been traced to the Mycenean Age[1], some scholars have even attempted to search for its origin in oriental traditions.[2] Herodotus[3] postulated that the cult stemmed from an Egyptian origin, although this origin has been refuted by both ancient [4]and modern scholars.[5] Homer's references to the mythological hero and his exploits assume an acquaintance with Heracles on the part of the reader [6] which implies a previous establishment of the myth. In short, modern scholars have generally accepted that he was "born a man, became a god, suffered labors and gained heaven."[7]

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[1] M.P. Nilsson, *Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology* (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1963).

[2] G. Rachel Levy, "The Oriental Origin of Herakles" *JHS*, 54,(1934),40-53. see also G. S. Kirk, Myth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 31-41.

[3] Herodotus *Histories: Book Two*,43-44. (Penguin Books version, 1954 ,145-47.)

[4] The Dorians included him in their geneology. His cult was distributed throughout Greece.

[5] G. Karl Galinsky, *The Heracles Theme* (Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield.1972) 3.

[6]Galinsky, 2.

[7] Wilamowitz in Galinsky, 5 :"Mensch gewesen, Gott geworden; Mühen erduldet, Himmel erworben."

Herodotus states that the Greeks worshipped Heracles as both a god and a hero.[8] Homer's concurrence is reflected in both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* where Heracles is presented as both a god and a hero. However, Heracles the hero and Heracles the god was not as sharply delineated in Homer as in Herodotus' description of cult practice,[9] where the distinction between god and hero was obvious and clear . For example, in the *Iliad* (5.318-62) Aphrodite rescues Aeneas after a long and arduous battle with Diomedes. Diomedes, who is a mortal, wounds the goddess. Dione, Aphrodite's mother mentions three events in which gods were attacked by mortals (IL 5.381-404). One of which included Heracles' attack on Hera and Hades. Achilleus reflects on Herakles' mortality, remarking, "Not even mighty Heracles escaped death"(18.117-19) Conversely, in the *Odyssey*, only Heracles' shadow appears to Odysseus during his *nekyia* ; the real Heracles, we are told, was in heaven (OD 11. 605-8).

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[8] Herodotus,44-45 "...I think that the wisest course is taken by those Greeks who maintain a double cult of this deity, with two temples, in one of which they worship him as Olympian and divine, and in the other pay him such honour as is due to a demi-god, or hero." Also, Pausanias (2.10.2) tells the story of Phaistos who insisted on sacrificing (*thuein*) to Heracles as a god while the people of Sicyon sacrificed (*enagizein*) to him as a hero. They compromised by eating the sacrificed lamb then offering the rest to the hero.

[9] Lewis R.Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults and the Ideas of Immortality* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1921), 98-101. Farnell finds Heracles to have been no god at all. He makes a primary distinction between the concepts "God" and "Hero". Proceeding from this, he argues that there is no evidence to suppose any theophoric figure as having been deified by the Greeks. There is a good deal of dissension on this issue. The alternative position is stated by Jane Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1903), 346, in which she counters: "If a local hero became famous beyond his own parish, the Olympian religion made every effort to meet him half-way. Heracles was of the primitive Pelasgian stock. His name, if the most recent etymology be accepted, means only the young dear Hero--the Hero par excellence. No pains were spared to affiliate him."

In the *Iliad,* Agamemnon tells of Zeus' purpose in begetting Heracles:

> "This day Eileithyia of women's child-pains shall bring forth
> a man to the light who, among the men sprung of the generation
> of my blood, shall be lord over all those dwelling about him."(19.103-5)[10]

Significantly, King Agamemnon recalls Zeus' delusion in order to blame Zeus for his own delusion whereby he quarrels with Achilleus.[11] "The lord of men,"[12] Agamemnon thus relates the story to establish a parallel between the immortal ruler Zeus "the highest one of the gods and mortals"[13] and himself.

Zeus made a vow "before all the immortals" (19.100) announcing his intentions for his semi-divine offspring. Hera, with "guileful intention" repeated his vow and persuaded Zeus to swear an oath:

> "that he shall be lord over all those dwelling about him
> who this day shall fall between the feet of a woman,
> that man who is born of the blood of your generation." (19.109-11)

Zeus' intentions for the glory of his son begotten with the mortal woman, Alcmene are twice articulated within nine lines. Hera proceeds to hurry the birth of Eurystheus, descendent of Perseus. She then delights in relaying the ruse to Zeus:

> A great man is born, who will be lord over the Argives,
> Eurystheus, son of Sthenelos, of the seed of Perseus,
> your generation. It is not unfit that he should rule over the Argives." (19.123-5)

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[10] Homer, *Iliad* , trans. by Richmond Lattimore(University of Chicago Press Chicago and London, 1961).(Agamemnon is speaking in the first person for Zeus:)

> σήμερον ἄνδρα φόωσδε μογοστόκος ειλειθύια
> ἐκφανεῖ, ὅς πάντεσσι περικτιόνεσσιν ἀνάξει,
> τῶν ἀνδρῶν γενεῆς, οἱ θ' αἵματος ἐξ ἐμεῦ εἰσί

[11] Homer, Il 19.86-19.89

[12] Homer, Il 19.76 See Richard John Cunliffe, *A Lexicon of the Homeric Dialect,* (University of Oklahoma Press,1988), 33. " ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν 'applied to Agamemnon generally as a title but sometimes as a descriptive term.'"
Also, Liddle and Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford, 1871, p 52. ἄναξ "a lord, king, applied to all the gods, esp. to Apollo."

[13] Homer, Il 19.96

Zeus immediately recognized Hera's guileful maneuver and hurled Delusion from Olympos. As a consequence of the guile of Hera, Heracles, "the glory of Hera," was doomed to perform "some shameful work of the tasks that Eurystheus set him." (19.132) Three times, within the short span of twenty-five lines, Homer reiterated Heracles' fundamental raison d'etre: "ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν" - a leader of man.

Delusion is presumably a human failing, "even Zeus was deluded, though men say he is the highest one of gods and mortals."(19.95-96) Agamemnon blames Zeus for his delusion, because it was Zeus who threw Delusion, "his elder daughter" (19.91) to earth. Heracles would be deluded by Hera who sent to him Madness, compelling him to murder his children. Like Zeus and Agamemnon, Heracles was a ruler who, among others, suffered from delusion.

Therefore, even from this early literary reference, Heracles was presented as both the figure of a ruler and as an hero-theos[14]. As a potential leader, Heracles was expected to act in his role with the divine power resident in his mortal body. This mortal and divine nature is manifested by the simultaneous dual worship described by Herodotus, as a hero and as a god. His role as world ruler will be developed later by Antisthenes, but in this Homeric passage it is clear that Heracles, the hero-god," is the first of the Greeks to whom world dominion in the form of world-monarchy was attributed."[15]

While Homer speaks of divine powers and touches on divine genealogy, Hesiod's examination of the birth of the gods makes up his *Theogony.* Hesiod's genealogies suggest an unmistakable pattern of change, growth, progression and evolution in a supra terrestrial sphere. For example, the poet enumerates the monstrous progeny of Phorkys and Keto whose very existence threaten cosmic order and who were slain by the mortal hero, Heracles.[16] As σωτήρ , Heracles must toil by slaying monsters and vanquishing evil.

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[14] Pindar is the first to use this epithet for Heracles *Nem.*3.22

[15]Andrew Runni Anderson, "Heracles and his Successors", *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology,* Vol 39,(1928),9.

[16]Hesiod *Theogony* ll 327-337 trans: Apostolos N. Athanassakis

These labors will eventually become canonized in the hero's later mythology.[17] Heracles' toils were a favorite subject to the Greek audience. His first labor, to wrestle and kill the Nemean lion, is the most popular subject in all Greek art.[18] Heracles, by performing these toils, restores order from chaos and acts as an averter of evil for mankind.

Monsters, who do not resemble their parents pose an inherent threat to procreation. The *Theogony* is aetiologic, functioning to impose order on the genealogy of the gods. The earlier generations of gods include monsters: fabulous, non-human creatures. Greek tradition rejects the nonhuman and the subsequent gods are born in human form. Although immortal, they reflect the human standard, as opposed to their monstrous predecessors. Hesiod shows how the generation of Olympian gods are purified of non human elements and how this is accomplished by Heracles who banishes the monsters so that Zeus reigns supreme.[19] Like Zeus, Heracles is a beneficent, regulatory force that fights against disorderly and abnormal forces, an ἀλεξίκακος and σωτήρ, restoring νόμος. These deeds, accomplished by means of his outstanding strength, result in his superior heroic status.

Subsequently, Heracles reappears in *Theogony* as the savior of Prometheus.[20] We are told that he killed the eagle sent by Zeus as punishment to Prometheus for having

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[17] J.P.Uhlenbrock, *Herakles,Passage of the Hero through 1000 Years of Classical Art.* (New Rochelle, New York: Caratzas, 1986) 2. By Classical times his exploits will become categorized into three groups: the Labours which were performed for Eurystheus his overlord; the various Deeds which were done independantly and never became canonized; and the Incidentals that took place during the completion of the labours.

[18] F. Brommer, *Heracles, The Twelve Labors of the Hero in Ancient Art and Literature.* (New Rochelle, New York: Caratzas,1986), 7.

[19] Charles Rowan Beye, *Ancient Greek Literature and Society*, (Cornell University Press,1987), 66.

[20] Hesiod, *Theogony* ll526-531. " But Herakles, the mighty son of Fair-ankled Alkmene,
slew the eagle, drove the evil scourge away
from the son of Iapetos and freed him from his sorry plight,
and did all this obeying the will of Olympian Zeus,
who rules on high, to make the glory of Herakles, child of Thebes,
greater than before over the earth that nurtures many.
Zeus so respected these things and honored his illustrious son
that he quelled the wrath he had nursed against Prometheus,

stolen fire for mankind.[21] Fire allows man to become civilized and to achieve an existence closer to that of the gods.[22] Heracles, for his part, acted as a mortal advocate[23] for Prometheus, and by analogy for mankind, by using his preferential status with Zeus. By killing the eagle, Heracles altered Zeus' punishment, but did not free Prometheus as stated in the later tradition.[24] The natural world must be manipulated to achieve civilization. Therefore, from the Hesiodic treatment, develops the second major role of Heracles- that of σωτήρ, a savior and advocate for mankind.[25]

Hesiod ends his *Theogony* by invoking the muses to sing of the "mortal women,"[26] which leads into a related but independent poem - the *Catalogues of Women.* This work comprises a series of genealogies which traced the lineage of the Hellenic race.[27] The final book of this work introduced each heroine with the phrase: ἥ οἵη " or such was..." Thus, the title of this section of the *Catalogues :*is *Eoiai..* The *Shield of*

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who had opposed the counsels of Kronos's mighty son."

[21]Hesiod, *Theogony,* trans. by Apostolos N. Athanassakis who states that "Because in later versions of the myth Herakles does not merely slay the eagle but also frees Prometheus from his bonds, some scholars have taken lines 526-528 to mean that Herakles also freed Prometheus. However, a careful reading of the lines, a comparison with lines 614-616, and an examination of the early version of the myth, Zeus mitigates the punishment considerably but does not remove it altogether."

[22] Compare with the role of Heracles in Aeschylus *Prometheus Bound.*

[23] The poet concludes his treatment of the Hero by recounting the circumstances of his birth. Theog. ll 943-944. The events which led to Heracles apotheosis are considered to be a later addition to the text The apotheosis was a later stage of the evolution of the Heracles myth.

[24] Athanassakis,. 49 Aescylus *Prometheus Bound.*

[25] Hesiod, in*Works and Days,* concludes the Prometheus- Pandora story by abruptly stating: " So there is no way to escape the designs of Zeus." (105, trans. Athanassakis) Man must endure the good as well as the evils that Zeus allocates, but Heracles may act as mankind's advocate to abate his hardships.

[26] Hesiod, *Theogony,* 1022, trans. Athanassakis.

[27] Because each tribe claimed descent from a god, the only functional method of tracing common lineage was matrilinear, through the mortal woman loved by a god. According to the *Catalogues* , Deucalion and Pyrrha, who were the offspring of Prometheus and Pronoia, gave birth to Hellen (a son) who was the ancestor of the Hellenic race. The Daughter of Deucalion gave birth to Macedon, ancestor of the Macedonians, cousins of the Hellenic race. See discussion of fourth- century Macedonian monarchy for the continued lineage of the Argeadae and the Temenidae and, by contrast, the importance of patrilinear succession.

Heracles also begins with this formulaic introduction which suggests its inclusion as a supplement.[28] The introduction tells of the marriage of Alcmene to Amphitryon and the unusual circumstances of Herakles' birth. The remainder of the poem relates the conflict between Heracles and Kyknos son of Ares. Heracles is challenged by Kyknos for the hero's refusal to yield to the protagonist's chariot in the sanctuary of Apollon Pagasaios. Heracles, after arming himself, kills Kyknos and incurs the wrath of Ares. The god throws a spear which is intercepted by Athena, but Heracles in turn throws his spear and wounds Ares. This is a notable reversal of the *Iliad* book 5, as it is Ares, not Heracles, who breaches accepted decorum by fighting within the boundaries of a sacred sanctuary and by fighting a mortal. In this work, Herakles' actions are nobler than the gods.[29] The virtue of the hero is becoming internalized, Heracles becomes a moral hero restoring νόμος, again acting as a σωτήρ.

In the *Shield of Heracles,* as in the *Theogony,* Heracles is presented as an ethical figure in combat against evil and impiety. The *Shield* is full of monsters, and nonhuman creatures similar to those Heracles fought in his labors. Additionally, he is presented as the figure who will save mankind, fighting for peace against the very god of war, Ares, thereby restating his role of σωτήρ and ἀλεξίκακος as developed in the *Theogony.* [30]

> "But the father of men and gods
> was weaving another plan
> in the loom of his mind,
> how to sire for gods
> and for men who toil for bread
> a defender against scourges. (*Shield of Heracles* 30-35)

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[28] Whether or not *The Shield of Heracles* was written by Hesiod, the story deserves attention.

[29] Galinsky, 17.

[30] Trans by Apostolos N. Athanassakis ; the twelve labors are not mentioned in the *Shield* but Athanassakis proposes that the "twelve unspeakably gruesome snake heads" of the dragon may allude to the labours. The proposed date of the *Shield* is 590-560 B.C. Additionally, it is noteworthy that the labours seemed to have become codified on the metopes of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, 460 B.C.

Heracles battles against nonhuman forces, and in doing so, he appropriates their power to use on behalf of mankind. By this appropriation, he becomes a supra-human figure and is eventually deified. As Heracles was the figure who helped obtain order on Zeus' behalf in the *Theogony*, he equally serves humanity to rid those who threaten civilization. The ekphrasis contained within the poem contrasts images of monsters with the hero who fights against them. This contrast further suggests the internal conflict of the warrior who is at once savior and destroyer.[31]

Heracles is additionally treated in the Homeric Hymns. The Hymns are first mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, although Thucydides also cites excerpts from the *Hymn to Apollo.* [32] In the citation of Diodorus, the hymns are called preludes which suggests that they were chanted prior to a Homeric recitation. However, it is generally accepted that they became a literary genre in their own right, independent from a devotional purpose.[33] In the Hymn, *To Heracles the Lion-Hearted,* the hero is described as the mightiest of men on earth, one who did many deeds of violence (πολλὰ μὲν αὐτὸς ἔρεξεν ἀτάσθαλα) but endured many (πολλὰ δ'ἀνέτλη)[34] This phrase adjacent to the next line describing Heracles' happiness (νῦν δ' ἤδη κατὰ καλὸν ἔδος νιφόεντος 'Ολύμπου / ναίει τερπόμενος καὶ ἔχει καλλίσφυρον "Ηβην.), emphasizes his deification by his ἀρετή: his labors. Herakles' toils lead to his acceptance into heaven from where he is asked to bestow his own attributes- virtue and happiness. (ἀρετήν τε καὶ ὄλβον)[35] This final

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31 Athanassakis ,120.
Hesiod, *Aspis* ll 27-29:
πατὴρ δ' ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε
ἄλλην μῆτιν ὕφαινε μετὰ φρεσίν ὡς ρα θεοῖσιν
ἀνδράσι τ'ἀλφηστῆσιν ἀρῆς ἀλκτῆρα φυτεύσαι·

32 Translation and analysis by Hugh G. Evelyn-White M.A., *Hesiod, The Homeric Hyms and Homerica,* (Loeb Classical Library Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.1982), xxxiv.

33 Evelyn-White, xxxv.

34 Line 6-7

35 Line 9.

invocation has special significance. These are the ideals of Greek aristocratic education and Heracles was thus patron of this manly virtue and non-material happiness.[36]

Bacchylides' epinikion ode 5, written for Hiero, tyrant of Syracuse in 476 B.C. provides us with the next stage in the evolution of the Heraclean myth. The account of Heracles' descent to Hades to retrieve Cerberus results in his meeting with Meleager.[37] This meeting neatly contrasts the immortal hero with the mortal. We are told that Meleager is only a shade who responds to his circumstances with complete resignation, whereas Heracles is portrayed with indomitable heroic spirit. It is within this context that Bacchylides portrays Heracles as human and humane[38] for Heracles is moved to tears by Meleager's plight and by his knowledge of his own impending death. Heracles' tearful response reveals a more sensitive portrayal. The suffering endured by the two heroes is, in Meleager's words (95) "the result of the god's νόος." The rational philosophy of the sixth century, found purpose in the sufferings of Heracles and frees the hero from combat with the gods to establish his role as σωτήρ. Herakles' virtue and his toil become internalized giving him a heroic character. Significantly, Bacchylides introduces to the literature Heracles' death by immolation . From this epinikion, the mythological figure of Heracles evolves into a figure whose divine νόος, his suffering, becomes his identity, replacing his toils, the manifestation of his super human strength. It is therefore logical that the tradition of his apotheosis following his immolation should subsequently be established.[39]

Conversely, Pindar frequently calls upon Heracles as the superhuman figure to be emulated by the athletes of the ancient games. These games were an extension of the heroic ethos found in Homeric epic as they were the recreation of a highly charged

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[36] See Aristotle *Hymn to Arete,* see also Galinsky, 15. ὄλβον, non-material blessing is most celebrated by the story of Kleobis and Biton who achieved everlasting happiness through an extraordinary physical deed. (Hdt. I.31)

[37] This is Herakles' 11th labor and implies his immortality by his ability to defy death himself: Hades.

[38] Galinsky, 28.

[39] Galinsky, 29.

aggression for the pursuit of honor and glory. Pindar composed the odes to expound the glory of the athletes by comparing their achievement to Heracles' prowess in order to illustrate metaphorically man's approach to immortality through the glory of victory.

Heracles also represented to Pindar "all that was good and noble and necessary to be saved from the onslaught of the incipient democracy and its non-values."[40] Pindar's promotion of Heracles, the hero-god [41] as the ideal of aristocratic ethics and high morality required that the poet enhance the hero's image and account for his episodes of violence.[42] Pindar elaborates on the notion of Heracles' divine νόος, "good and wise men have become so by divine dispensation".[43] The poet continues by attempting to disprove a conflation of three mythological attacks by Heracles against gods- Poseidon, Apollo, and Hades. These conflicts are first conflated and subsequently denounced as impious freeing Pindar to represent Heracles as the paragon of aristocratic ethics.[44] When Heracles' battles are recounted, as in his tenth Olympian Ode, Pindar sets the hero in opposition to enemies who threaten human and divine law. Heracles acts, once again, as σωτήρ, to restore civilization and reinstate νόμος.

In the early development of the myth Heracles' ἀρετή was expressed by his outstanding strength with which he conquered monsters. These labors defined his ἀρετή, they were his attribute, an external sign of his superiority: the strong man of Hesiod's tradition who was appointed to kill monsters, the σωτήρ, was recalled in the Homeric *Hymn to Heracles*. The ruler of man, introduced in the *Iliad*, reappears in Bacchylides' odes where Heracles' divinely appointed purpose was to restore νόμος. This restoration implies the second of his two fundamental roles as ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν. Pindar develops both roles, the σωτήρ and the ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν, in his odes. As an idol to the athletes, the poet

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40 Galinsky, 29.
41 Pindar, *Nem.* 3.22. All translations by Dawson W. Turner, *Pindar's Odes,* 1898.
42 Galinsky, 30.
43 Pindar Ol. 9 . 30.
44 Galinsky, 35.

recalls the strength and physical prowess displayed in the athletic games. As the leader of men, Heracles is presented as the restorer of law and order. In the odes of Bacchylides and Pindar the hero becomes sensitive to the sufferings of others. His physical superiority, his ἀρετή, was internalized to become moral virtue. His sufferings were the result of divine νόος and the internal, moral manifestation of his physical toils. His moral excellence results in the hero's apotheosis. For the concrete external signs of his physical superiority were easily represented by his conquests and by his physique. The internalization of his virtue required another expression- deification. This paved the way for the fifth century tragedians who offered Heracles' character as the ultimate example of man's quest for divinity through virtue. These Athenian poets turned to the nature of divinity and humanity as the fundamental question of their tragedies. In the center of democracy, Heracles' role as a ruler held little value for their audience but his essence as a σωτήρ was not lost.

Aeschylus' *Prometheia* tells of the punishment of Prometheus and his rescue by Heracles. Heracles' motivation for his services make him worthy of divinity in contrast to Prometheus, a Titan, who was motivated by defiance of Zeus in his theft of fire for mankind. Aeschylus' *Prometheia* offers a hero who is less the archaic strongman and who has been cultivated for the fifth-century Athenian audience. It is predicted in *Prometheus Bound* that Heracles will free Prometheus from his tethers after shooting the eagle sent by Zeus.(771-5, 870-2) This is an extension of the myth as told by Hesiod wherein Heracles shoots the eagle but does not release the Titan from his bonds. As Heracles is in the role of liberator, he facilitates the reconciliation between Zeus and Prometheus in *Prometheus Unbound.* [45] In this way, Heracles becomes the human advocate of justice. Heracles continues as the σωτήρ and completes his beneficial tasks as predicted by Prometheus and ultimately, replaces him. Essentially, he will continue Prometheus' philanthropy but with a very different spirit. For example, Heracles mistakenly shoots the immortal Chiron with a poisoned arrow. As a result of his painful

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[45] Galinsky, 42.

wound, Chiron agrees to let himself be offered to Zeus as a substitute for Prometheus. Heracles' motivation for liberating Prometheus was to redeem himself for this previous error.[46] In this way, Heracles' heroic action becomes the result of his human failings.

Aeschylus balances the humanness of Heracles with his divinity . Prometheus predicts at the beginning of *Prometheus Unbound* [47] that Zeus will deliver Heracles by means of rocks. Additionally, a later source [48] presents Prometheus foretelling that Heracles who had been knocked to his knees in battle, would be placed among the stars after his death and represented in a celestial image. Galinsky suggests that Prometheus' prediction probably concluded with Heracles' apotheosis and he cites Athens pride of having been the first to worship Heracles as a god. [49] Aeschylus treats both the deified Heracles along with his human side, making the hero a logical symbol of mankind's aspiration towards divinity. He is presented as a human figure who attains deification through his philanthropic deeds.

Sophocles paints a very different picture of Heracles in his tragedy, *Trachiniae.* In this work, Heracles is a cruel brute who is insensitive to his fellow man. Victims of Heracles' violent superhuman strength are plentiful in the mythology, Sophocles introduces the character of Hyllus, son of Heracles, as a victim of his father's psychological cruelty.[50] Heracles demands that Hyllus remain with him to his tormented death, "even if you must die with me". [51] He instructs his son to summon his mother to ascertain which causes him more distress, the sight of his mother tortured or the destruction of his father's body.(1065-9) Finally Heracles demands that Hyllus kill him to free him from his pain, even though he knows that this would bring the guilt of patricide on his son (1206-9).

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[46] Galinsky, 45.
[47] line 4 in Galinsky, 43.
[48] Hyg.,Astr.2.6 in Galinsky, 43.
[49] Galinsky, 43.Diodorus IV.36
[50] Perhaps Sophocles sought to victimize Hyllus in opposition to the image of the doting father in Euripides' *Heracles.*
[51] Sophocles *Trachiniae,* line 797-8. All translations of *Trachiniae* are by Sir Richard C. Jebb.

Heracles' labors are his punishment performed as a slave in penance for the murder of Iphitus (252-80) or for his own benefit.[52] The philanthropic nature of his toils are significantly absent from *Trachiniae* as well as his role as σωτήρ. As if to further emphasize Heracles' inhumanity, Sophocles provides his antithesis in the character of his wife, Deianira.

In the previous mythology, the characterization of Deianira is sparse. As the second wife of Heracles, she served mainly as the catalyst for his destruction. Nessos, the centaur attempted to rape Deianira as she crossed a river. Heracles saved his wife and killed the centaur. Nessos' wound was caused by Heracles' arrow dipped in the Hydra's poisoned blood. As he died, Nessos told Deianira to retain his blood and to use it as an aphrodisiac should Heracles' passion for her cool. Deianira followed the centaurs' deceptive advice and applied the blood upon Heracles' return with Iole.

Sophocles treats her character with new depth and self-awareness. Most importantly, Deianira is a kindhearted woman who is fully sympathetic to the pain of those around her. Her treatment of Iole, Heracles' young mistress and her replacement, underscores her sympathetic nature. Her motivation for the unsuccessful effort to restore Heracles' affection is honorable. Furthermore, Sophocles introduces two oracles into the mythology which foretell Heracles' death. This would suggest that his demise is the result of divinely appointed destiny and would lessen Deianira's culpability. Sophocles omits the character of Megara, Heracles' first wife who, in the mythological tradition, is killed in his madness. Instead, he makes Deianira Heracles' lifelong companion in order to emphasize the estrangement between them and to contrast their temperaments.

The juxtaposition of Deianira's sympathy with Heracles' inhumanity serves to establish his separation from mankind. The greater his insensitivity to his fellow man, the greater the distance that Heracles moves from the rest of humanity and the closer he

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[52] He defeated Achelous to win Deianira (498-530) and he slew Nessos to prevent her rape and ultimately to protect his own honor. (557-568)

becomes to the gods: "..in Sophocles as in Euripides, the gods are often distinguished from human beings chiefly by their inhumanity."[53] Heracles' inhumanity suggests he is approaching the status of a god. The nature of a god as well as the nature of man are placed in counterpoint by Sophocles to underscore the difference.

The moment that Nessos' trick is revealed, Heracles recognizes the fulfillment of the oracles and he begins to give directions for his cremation on Mt. Oita (1140ff). This pyre scene is a clear reference to the circumstances of his impending death.[54] Does this also allude to his impending apotheosis ? Three known vases depict Heracles' funeral pyre while omitting his apotheosis.[55] (Figure 1) Yet it is generally agreed that the omission of the apotheosis does not necessarily imply a denial of Heracles' impending deification.[56] Mt. Oita was the site of the cult ritual in honor of Heracles. The festival celebrated included a bonfire at which animals, effigies and similar ritual offerings were burned. It is postulated that the fiery death of Heracles originated to explain the cult.[57] The literature produced shortly after the *Trachiniae*, such as Sophocles' *Philoctetes* (727-9) and Euripides' *Heracleidae* (910-18) link the pyre to his apotheosis. The visual association is equally strong. Three vases from c.420-380 depict a chariot containing Heracles en route to Olympos while the pyre burns below.[58] The inclusion of both the pyre and the chariot is

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53 G. Murry, *The Wife of Heracles,* p.11 in Susan Woodford, *Exemplum Virtutis* doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1966, 65.

54 Woodford, 65, sees the close of the tragedy in a very different light. In essence, she postulates that Heracles ultimately accepts his humanity as his god-like strength is destroyed. His anticipated apotheosis never occurs and Heracles accepts his death with dignity. (1259)

55 The vases are:1. Villa Giulia 11688, pub C. Clairmont, *AJA* 57 (1953) 85-94; 2. a Krater fragment, unpublished in Leningrad. referenced in: Holt, Philip, "The End of the Trachiniai and the Fate of Heracles", *JHS* 109,(1989) 73.; 3. A privately owned psykter published by J. R. Guy in F. Lissarrague and F. Thelamon (eds.),*Image et Ceramique Grecque* ,(Rouen 1983)151-2,in Holt, 73, n 16.

56 Holt, 73.

57 M.P. Nilsson, *JHS* xliii (1923), in Holt, 73.

58 Beazley, *EVP* 103-4; Boardman 128; and Brommer, *Vasenlisten* 187-8. The vases are : 1. Munich 2360 (Jahn 384) *(ARV* 1186.30, Metzger 210.25 and pl.28.1, Mingazzini #108); 2.S.AGata de'Goti, Mustilli collection (*ARV* 1420.5, Metzger 211.6 and pl.22.1, Mingazzini #106); 3. New York 52.11.18 (M. J. Milne, *AJA* lxvi [1962] 305-6). Holt, 73

less common than the frequent depiction of Heracles apotheosis by chariot without pyre. Clearly, the visual association of these two events is inexorably linked. This strongly suggests that Sophocles' treatment of Heracles funeral pyre was equally an implied reference to his apotheosis.

Heracles gives very specific instructions for the construction of his funeral pyre. He asks his son, Hyllus if he knows Mt. Oita. Hyllus, and most likely the Athenian audience identified the location as the site of Heracles' sacrifice. Heracles continues his instructions with unusual detail. [59] For the fire, Hyllus must use oak, the wood sacred to Zeus, and olive, which is sacred to Athena; the torch, is pine. (1195-9) This is followed by a ritual silence on the part of his companions (1199-1201). And yet, in contrast to the attention given to the details of his pyre, Heracles makes no provision for his cremated remains. He gives no instructions for a sarcophagus or urn. This omission implies that there will be no remains. The audience is a witness to the formation of a god.[60]

Sophocles' presentation of the hero has been interpreted in opposite ways. The strongman, well known from the early tradition, was acceptable to the audience, eventually becoming noble by the recognition of his mortality . There is no virtue in his labors, nor in his character, therefore, there is no apotheosis; without virtue there is no deification. Sophocles seems to suggest that there is only one standard of virtue for both humans and

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n.19. notes that the earliest of these, Munich 2360, shows satyrs stealing Herakles' weapons from the pyre, a comic departure implying a previous acquaintance with the theme.

[59] Holt, 76.

[60] I am aware of the controversy surrounding this issue. For further study of Heracles' fate see: Holt, 70 ; C.H. Whitman, *Sophocles,* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1951); I.M. Linforth, "The Pyre on Mount Oeta in Sophocles' *Trachiniae,* " *UCPCP* 14,(1952), 255-67; T.F. Hoey, "Ambiguity in the Exodus of Sophocles'*Trachiniae, " Arethusa* 10 (1977) 269-94; Charles Segal, "Sophocles'*Trachiniae* : Myth, Poetry, Heroic Values," *YCS* 25 (1977) 99-158; P.E. Easterling, *Sophocles Trachiniae* (Cambridge 1982); Mikalson, J.D.," Zeus the Father and Heracles the Son in Tragedy" *TAPA* 116 (1986) 89-98.

gods. For a fifth-century Athenian audience, the archaic characterization of Heracles was transformed, on stage, to a self-aware hero .[61]

Conversely, he has been seen as the representative of his indominable will powerfully asserting itself, albeit harshly, but Greek heroes were traditionally imbued with such traits.[62] He achieved an apotheosis by means of his labors and his divine status is portrayed by his detachment from the human condition.

> " Such pictures of extraordinary strength coupled with extraordinary passions and dangerous faults run all through Sophokles' work. Heracles, the greatest and the grossest of the heroes, is the most striking embodiment of the heroic paradox but is not unique."[63]

In fact, Heracles self-awareness comes from the recognition of his death and the result of a virtuous act, his rescue of Deianira. Through his self-awareness he accomplishes his last labor and achieves divinity.

In his *Philoctetes,* Sophocles' recreates a hero whose physical deterioration is contrasted to his inner resolve. The image of Heracles' fortitude in the throws of agony are paralleled by the crippled Philoctetes' steadfast opposition to Neoptolomos and Odysseus. This association is strengthened by the inclusion of deified Heracles who functions as a *deus ex machina*.. Because of the function of his role, Heracles' deification is clearly established. The chorus explains: " ..the banks of the Spercheius, where above Oeta's heights, the lord of the brazen shield drew near to the gods, amid the splendor of the lightning of his sire.(1408ff)" [64] His funeral pyre was kindled by Philoctetes at Heracles' request.(Figure 2) As a reward for this kindness, Heracles gave Philoctetes his bow. Philoctetes was en route to Troy with Greek troops when he was bitten by a snake. The Greeks left him on an island only to return ten years later hoping to persuade him to join in the Trojan war. Philoctetes' bow, the gift of Heracles, was necessary for their victory.

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61 Woodford, 65.
62 Holt, 78 and M. McCall, *AJP* xciii (1972) 142-63.
63 Holt, 79
64 All translations of Sophocles' *Philoctetes* are by Sir Richard C. Jebb, Cambridge University Press, 1957.line 724-9.

Philoctetes, bitter from his abandonment, refuses to join the Greeks. Heracles acts as an agent of Zeus for the resolution of the drama.(1413) He instructs Philoctetes to go to Troy and to slay Paris with the bow he had been given . This act will commence the sack of Troy. By relating the intention of Zeus to Philoctetes, Heracles acts as a mediator between man and god and by doing so, Heracles restores order.

In the same speech, Heracles relates his reward for enduring his labors: deathless glory, ἀθάνατον ἀρετὴν. (1420) He tells Philoctetes that his sufferings will bring the same by divine ordinance, but Heracles' immortality is unavailable to Philoctetes; his immortal fame may be attained through the emulation of his labors. In this way, Sophocles presents Heracles the paradigm for men in search of immortal glory. [65] Equally, Sophocles has established the hero/god as a mediator between the gods and men.[66]

Euripides' treatment of the hero/god in his tragedy, *Heracles,* is a departure from the literary precedents and deserves close scrutiny. The poet suppresses the divine nature of Heracles to emphasize Heracles' heroic characterization. The work opens with the secondary characters Amphitryon and Megara, anxiously anticipating salvation by their son and husband, Heracles. Lycus, the tyrant who holds Heracles' family hostage, is the antithesis of Heracles. The cowardice of the former serves to emphasize the courage of the latter. It is Amphitryon who offers the definitive statement on the nature of courage- "To persevere, trusting in what hopes he has, is courage in a man. The coward despairs." (104-106)[67] Theseus, concurs with this definition, "This is courage in a man: to bear unflinchingly what heaven sends."(1227-8) Heracles therefore, to be considered courageous, must endure his sufferings but, according to the above definition, he need not

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65 Alexander the Great emulated the labours of Heracles in his quest for deification.

66 This function exactly parallels the role of the Macedonian monarch, whose primary role is as chief-priest. N.G.L.Hammond, *The Macedonian State,* (New York: Oxford University Press,1991), 221.

67 All translations of Euripides are by William Arrowsmith, in Grene and Lattimore, *Euripides II,* University of Chicago Press, 1956.

perform labors of super human strength. In fact, any man who hopes, strives and perseveres is courageous and Heracles is Everyman. Like all men, he laments and despairs (1146; 1247-1250), he cries and wishes to die.(1355-6) To this Theseus declares, " these are the words of an ordinary man"(1248) and Heracles, because he is courageous, perseveres by rejecting death and hopes by accepting his fate.

If Heracles is established as courageous by virtue of his nature, what then is the function of his labors? Euripides manipulates the myth to make Heracles' filial piety the cause and the catalyst for his labors. Heracles performed the tasks in order to win back his father's native land from Eurystheus and abate Amphitryon's grief.(19-21) We are told that his labors benefited mankind and their consequence was " to civilize the world."(17-21)[68] Heracles suggests that his labors are not necessarily praiseworthy or disparaging. (575-81;1255-80) They are the manifestation of his courage rather than the cause of them and in this way, Euripides removes them from Heracles' identity to make them the result of actions by a noble man.

The first half of Euripides' tragedy establishes Heracles' virtuous and courageous nature as representative of mankind's nature. In the second half, Euripides abruptly redirects the focus to the cruelty of the gods with the inclusion of a second prologue in the middle of the play "and may be meant to indicate that the incoherence of the drama extends to the universe."[69] The juxtaposition of the two halves serves to contrast the goodness of man with the cruelty of the gods. Euripides builds the tragedy by establishing Heracles as a pious man (17-21)[70] a devoted husband (574-5;631-4;638ff) and father (461) who is

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[68] Amphitryon: "great benefactions to mankind"(20) Theseus: "Man's benefactor, Man's greatest friend" (1250) Chorus' praise include descriptions of the Nemean Lion, Heracles vs the centaurs, the hind of Ceryneia, the horses of Diomedes, the apples of Hesperides, the Amazonomachy, the hydra of Lerna, and his descent to Hades.(348-440) Madness: "worthy deeds" (849) and Heracles (575-81; 1255-80) without taking the analogy too far, Alexander's pan-hellenic campaign has been described with Amphitryons' statement, "to civilize the world."

[69] Lucas, in *OCD.*, 420.

[70] Heracles' piety is brought into question by the lines: 1341-1346:

unjustly tormented by the very gods he worships and who is induced to kill the family he loves. Hera sends Iris and Madness to Heracles to induce him into a trance under which he murders his children.[71] Iris states Hera's rationale for this plan, "For the gods are nothing and men prevail, if this one man escapes"(841-2). If Heracles represents the epitome of the goodness of man and his labors, which are the manifestation of that goodness, benefit mankind and civilize the world, then why does man need the gods? Heracles threatens the status and the existence of the gods. Hera by means of her cruelty and guile, keeps him in check and maintains control. Although there is no unanimous interpretation of Euripides' *Heracles* the play can be read as a negation of divine purpose.

Theseus rescues the despondent Heracles and reminds the hero of his courageous nature- to persevere and to hope. The association between Theseus and Athens is well documented[72] and the generosity which he displays attests to the Athenian self image.[73] Theseus promises Heracles the many plots of land that Athens gave to him.[74] The

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"...But I do not believe the gods commit adultery, or bind each other in chains. I never did believe it; I never shall; nor that one god is tyrant of the rest. If god is truly god, he is perfect, lacking nothing. These are poets' wretched lies."
Euripides, "Heracles," trans. by Wm. Arrowsmith. I concur with the interpretation of Wm. Arrowsmith which substantiates Farnell,"...To say that divine adultery, tyranny, and misconduct are all ' wretched tales of poets' is a direct and unmistakable challenge... to the whole Olympian system... (yet to alter his old heroism without also altering the source of his suffering would be to cripple the conversion at the crucial point. It would obscure, that is , the fact that Heracles, though broken by necessity, still wins the moral victory over the power that ruins him, earning for himself and men in a different sense the victory claimed by Amphitryon over Zeus earlier:

'And I, mere man, am nobler than you, a great god (1.342)." Arrowsmith, op. cit. "Introduction to Heracles". p. 266-268.

Cf. G. Zuntz, *The Political Plays of Euripides* (Manchester; Manchester University Press, 1955),.51; Lewis R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press 1909),.230,n.b.

[71] Woodford, 62. Iris' inclusion suggests yet a further injustice by the gods. Based on a Satyr play, Hera and Iris are saved from the Satyrs by Heracles. This is the iconography of a cup by the Brygos Painter

[72] Wilamowitz in Woodford, 373:" Theseus serves here as the representative of Athenian friendliness and piety."

[73] Larry J. Bennett and Wm. Blake Tyrrell, "Sophocles' Antigone and Funeral Oratory", AJ Ph 111(1990) 441-456.

[74] Woodford, 62 This explains the many cults of Heracles in Attica.

notions that Athens is civilized and the salvation of Greece is a common *topos*. Isocrates (5.33) claimed that Athens was the first to recognize Heracles as a god.[75] It is fitting, therefore, that in lieu of everlasting life on Olympus, Heracles seeks salvation in Athens, for an apotheosis could not be a just reward. Heracles' greatness is derived from his own nature and his labors are not toils necessary for immortality. The gods do not exhibit the same noble temperament; therefore, eternal life among them would not be worthwhile. Athens is civilization. Civilization is man's attempt at ordering his world in relation to his fellowman, a continuation of νόμος. Therefore, Athens replaces Olympos as Heracles' ultimate reward. (Theseus:) "And so my city helping a noble man shall win from Hellas a lovely crown of fame." (1314-15)

In *Alcestis*, Euripides continues to explore the nature of men and gods. Admetus' wife, Alcestis, has just died and Heracles, who is a guest in Admetus' home learns of her death. The supporting characters express their desire to save Alcestis in the subjunctive.[76] Heracles announces in the indicative, " I must save this woman who had died so lately.."(840-1)[77] He invokes his traditional attribute, his strength, as well as his heart (837-8) and resolves to fight death or plead with Hades. (843-57) Heracles resurrects Alcestis and his resolution, courage (499-506) and honor are contrasted with the supporting characters.(840-3;853-60; 1035) Euripides sets Heracles' achievement in opposition to Asclepius' by the frequent references to the latter's unsuccessful attempt at resurrection, a crime for which he was killed. "He who upraised those who were stricken down, until from the hand of God the flown bolt of thunder hit him." (127-9)[78] From Heracles' final three labors, we know that he had conquered death. It is logical, therefore,

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[75] Isocrates *Philip* (5.33) while Pausanias twice states that the people of Marathon were the first to worship Herakles as a god. : Paus.I.15.3; 1.32.4-6.

[76] Chorus (123-30; 455-8) Admetus (357-63); Woodford, 80.

[77] All translations of Euripides' *Alcestis* are by William Arrowsmith in *Euripides III*, Grene and Lattimore, eds. 1959.

[78] Although Alcestis is not sick, it is Heracles' success of her ressurection that suggests a comparison to Asclepius.

that Euripides would replace Asclepius with Heracles, who can successfully save Alcestis from death. If Heracles can resurrect the dead then he can bestow immortality. Heracles is once again the representative figure of man's attempt toward immortality, but moreover, he has now become the vehicle.[79]

Euripides treats the subject of Heracles' apotheosis in two of his works, *Heracleidae* and *Orestes.* In the former work, the characters announce his godhead[80], but it is his epiphany that convinces Alcmena. Iolaos prays to Zeus and Hebe for the restoration of his youth and strength. His prayer is answered by Heracles and Hebe who appear in the form of stars and restore Iolaos to his former self. The Chorus then describes Heracles' fate to Alcmena " (Heracles) never died. He rules above, and never set foot in Hades or inside a crematory fire, but met the wedding goddess and fell in love with Hebe, and the two were paid honors due to children of Zeus. It was a marriage made in Heaven's gilded halls."(910-918)[81]

The apotheosis of Heracles is further treated in Euripides' *Orestes* through a reference by Apollo.(1087) In the role of deus ex machina, Apollo speaks for Zeus and resolves the drama. Helen has been deified and, like Heracles, " There with Hera she shall sit, with Heracles and Hebe enthroned, a goddess forever, forever adored there between her brothers the sons of Zeus.."(1685-1690) [82] The reference to Heracles evokes the image of his apotheosis through his sufferings as Helen suffered. Heracles functions to establish a precedent for Helen's apotheosis.

The works of the fifth century Athenian tragedians explore the natures of the divine and the mortal hero. Aeschylus is able to balance the human failings of the hero with his divinely appointed function. In Sophocles' *Trachiniae,* they are held in opposition;

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[79] Compare this discussion with the analysis of Heracles and Asclepius on the Altar of the Twelve Gods.

[80] Iolaos states that Heracles lives in Heaven. (10)

[81] All translations of *Heracleidae* are by Grene and Lattimore, eds., *Euripides IV,* Chicago 1959.

[82] Translation by William Arrowsmith, *Euripides IV,* Chicago, 1959.

Heracles' divine insensitivity is the antithesis of Deianira's sympathetic humane nature. In *Philoctetes,* Heracles' divine stature allows him to mediate between Zeus and Philoctetes in order to restore νόμος. Both of these functions, to mediate and to resolve, will be fundamental to the subsequent philosophic treatment of the hero. His immortality is the direct reward of his labors, which is associated with the sufferings of Philoctetes. In his pain, Philoctetes' is told that the resolution with which he has born his misfortune is similar to the toil of Heracles. By emulation of Heracles, Philoctetes will gain immortal fame. Euripides' treatment of the hero in *Heracles,* promotes his humane nature. Heracles' virtue and courage underscore the development of the hero in contrast to the suppression of his divinity. Heracles is able to endure the torturous pain of the death of his family by his own hand. The happy immortals, by contrast, could never know such profound suffering as they are above censure, immune from failure and exempt from death. The hero's profound suffering is matched by his ability to endure. Under these circumstances, an apotheosis could not be rewarding, only his asylum at Athens could bring a proper resolution within the word. Athens, the center of civilization, is the very representative of man's restoration of νόμος . In *Heracles,* the hero is the paradigm for the virtuous fifth century Athenian while his role in *Alcestis,* serves to restore his function as a σωτήρ. Heracles resurrection of Alcestis defies death and bestows immortality which threatens the status of the gods. Heracles is associated as the new, successful Asclepius and man's quest for immortality is realized through this character.

II. The Depiction of Heracles in Art

The representations of Heracles' labors comprise the largest iconographic group in all of Greek art.[83] Within this category, his first labor in which he fights the Nemean lion is the most popular. The iconographic treatment of Heracles mirrors his literary treatment.

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83 Brommer, *Heracles, The Twelve Labors of the Hero in Ancient Art and Literature,* (New Rochelle, New York: Aristide D.Caratzas, 1986).

Early depictions of the hero emphasize his physical prowess through the representation of his heroic deeds. From the Archaic period into the early fifth century, depictions of the hero occur on personal works such as gems and vases as well as public works such as architectural sculpture. He is most often represented as bearded, wearing the lion skin and carrying a club and bow. By the fifth century, he is increasingly represented on architectural monuments while the private pieces become less popular. His labors became canonized into twelve distinct tasks by the mid- fifth century, as evidenced by the interior metopes on the Temple of Zeus at Olympia,460 B.C,[84] and the Hephaisteion at Athens, 450-440 B.C. By the end of the fifth and the fourth century, the hero reappears on vases with a new interest in his human side. His appearance has changed and he becomes beardless and younger, especially in the representations of his fight with the Nemean lion.[85]

The lion was sent by Hera to ravage the countryside of Nemea. Heracles fought the beast but discovered his weapons were useless against the animal and resorted to strangling him with his bare hands. The pelt, stripped from the lion became his most famous attribute and his only armor in his subsequent deeds. The Nemean lion fight is represented in four schemes: he shoots or clubs the beast, strangles it with both arms, or strangles it with one arm and fights it with a sword.[86] The sword is shown only on a metope of the Hephaisteion in which Heracles is standing and the lion is rearing up. He holds the sword in his right hand while strangling the beast with his left hand.[87] The depictions of Heracles wrestling the lion were the most popular scheme perhaps due to the variation of wrestling postures and the depiction of anatomy or perhaps because of the popularity of the sport in

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[84] Pausanias (5.10.9) describes six metopes from the west end and five from the east. But is is uncertain that the order he uses is the original order. The fight with Kerberos seems to be the omitted labour.

[85] T.H. Carpenter,*Art and Myth in Ancient Greece,* (London:Thames and Hudson,1991), 118.

[86] R. Vollkommer, *Heracles in the Art of Classical Greece.* (Oxford: Oxford University, 1988), 3.

[87] Vollkommer, 3.

the Athenian palestra. It is with surprising regularity that the many vases representing the struggle place the hero to the right and the lion to the left. The young Iolaos, Heracles' nephew and assistant in theses labors is most often placed to the left of the lion.[88] This suggests the inspiration from an original source, perhaps the sculpted metope.

Heracles' Apotheosis

Heracles' apotheosis is depicted in scenes representing his demise, his journey and his arrival in Olympos. The Introduction scenes comprise the earliest group of his apotheosis. However the funeral pyre and the apotheosis by chariot gained popularity in the mid-sixth century. Scenes of Heracles' funeral pyre, as noted in the analysis of Sophocles' *Trachiniae* usually include his journey to Olympus.[89] An unusual Attic red-figure psykter (c.460) shows the figure sitting on the pyre with his lion pelt, handing his quiver to Philoctetes. We know from Sophocles' tragedy, *Philoctetes*, that the apotheosis was a necessary element for Heracles' role as *deus ex machina,* Just as his quiver was necessary for the victorious conclusion of the Trojan War. It is interesting to note that Athena's influence is implied by the abundance of olive trees and branches. We remember from the explicit instructions that Heracles gives to Hyllus that his pyre should include both oak and olive wood.[90] The leaves of the olive branches suggest the impending flames. The fragment from the Villa Giulia, dated slightly later shows a conflation of Heracles' apotheosis. Athena's head and upper body is shown in profile while her body is frontal. Her right arm is lowered while her left arm must have held a spear. The goddess is not in armor but instead wears a chiton and aegis. Athena's presence at the immolation of the hero is unique. This image of Heracles is equally unusual in that the hero lies dead on the

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88 J.P. Uhlenbrock, *Herakles, Passage of the Hero through 1000 years of Classical Art.*, (New Rochelle, New York: Caratzas Pub, 1986), 102.

89 Krater S. Agata dei Goti Painter of London F64. ARV2 1420/5 Metzger, pl. XXII,I,n.26.; Krater New York 52.11.18.; and Pelike Munich 2360 Kadmos Painter ARV2: 1186/30.

90 Sophocles *Traichiniae.*

pyre, his features are distorted and both arms hang limp. To the right and left of his head are streaks of water suggesting the extinguished flames. Clairmont suggests that the adjacent female figure is a nymph putting out the fire.[91] The figure of Philoctetes runs off to the right. The rare presence of Athena suggests to Clairmont that this fragment represents a literary source.[92] The remains of the hero along with the presence of the goddess implies that his apotheosis is impending.

The second half of the sixth century shows an increased frequency in Heracles' apotheosis by chariot.[93] While this mode of transportation was common for deities to and from Olympos, the popularity of this scene has been associated by Boardman to the reign of Peisistratos.[94] Herodotus tells of a conflict between coastal towns in Attica between two ruling factions,lead by Megacles and Lycurgus. Peisistratos, recognizing his opportunity to seize power amid the chaos, deceived the Athenians into giving him a guard of club-bearers and seized the Acropolis, where he ruled. Peisistratos' reigned successfully, we are told, as he maintained the laws and customs: "οὔτε τιμὰς τὰς ἐούσας συνταράξας οὔτε θέσμια μεταλλάξας, ἐπί τε τοῖσι κατεστεῶσι ἔνεμε τὴν πόλιν κοσμέων καλῶς τε καὶ εὖ ." (I. 59. 16-18) A coup by Megacles and Lycurgus interrupted the rule of Peisistratos who was forced to live in exile. The insurgents fought among themselves and Megacles turned to Peisistratos in an alliance

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91 Christoph Clairmont, "Studies in Greek Mythology and Vase Painting." *American Journal of Archaeology* 57 (1953), 85.

92 Clairmont, 89.

93 Krater Cabinet des Medailles 430 Painter of London F64 ARV2: 1420/3; Krater London F 64 ARV2 1419/1; Krater Vienna 933, ARV2: 1439/1; Krater fragment Oxford 1954.263; Painter of London F64 ARV2: 1420/2; Krater Ruvo, Jatta 422 Painter of London F 64 ARV2:1420/4; Frater fragment from the Pnyx, P.226. Metzger n.31; Krater Oxford, Mynors Upsala Painter ARV2:1437/13; Krater ,Birmingham 1620.85 Metzger, pl.XXIX/1 n. 34; Krater Bologna 318 Upsala Painter ARV2:1437/4 Metzger pl. XXVIII/3 n. 32. ; Oinochoe Louvre N. 3408 Nikias Painter AVR2: 1335/34 Metzger n. 35 Krater Ferrara T 376 B, ARV2 1424I; Krater Ferrara T376Bvp from Spina Group of Ferrara T 376B ARV2 1424/2; and Krater Ferrara T376Bvp from Spina Group of Ferrara T376B ARV2: 1424/3.

94 John Boardman,"Heracles, Peisistratos and Sons"*Revue Archeologuque* I(1972) 57-72.

against Lycurgus. To reinstate Peisistratos' rule in Athens, a ruse was devised for his re-entry into the city. Phye, a comely woman of great height was dressed in armor as Athena. She posed next to Peisistratos and together they drove a chariot into the city of Athens. The imager of the goddess Athena honoring the hero by bringing him back to her Acropolis is easily associated with the image of Athena transporting Heracles to Olympos. This is exactly the premise for Boardman's postulate that the increase in painted vases depicting Heracles' apotheosis by chariot is directly related to Peisistratos' charade.[95] It is equally noteworthy that the tyrant's first entry into the city was under the protection of Athenian bodyguards carrying clubs. Clearly, Peisistratos chose to associate himself with Heracles and most likely his intention was to strengthen his position as a ruler. The role of Heracles as an ideal ruler of man was so strongly rooted in the minds of the populace that Peisistratos was able to draw upon this common knowledge as a sign of his power. The tyrant's apotheosis to the Athenian Acropolis predates Euripides'*Heracles* by over one hundred years, but the charade underscores the association between the ruler of man, Heracles and Athens.

Examples of Apotheosis scenes from the mid sixth century B.C. show Athena holding the reins while Heracles accompanies her in her chariot or assists in the harnessing of the horses. Psiax painted a black figure amphora[96] (Figure 3) which depicts such a scene. Heracles stands behind Athena's chariot while the goddess holds the reins and steps

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95 Boardman, 62. For a different interpretation of the incident, see W. R. Connor,"Tribes, Festivals and Processions in Archaic Greece" *JHS* cvi (1986) 40-50. Connor notes that Peisistratos is not described as carrying Heracles' attributes, the club and the lion skin. He interprets the event as a public dialogue - a two way communication and one in which the public delighted in the display. The message that Peisistratos was expressing by means of the chariot charade was not his association with Heracles but his endorsement by Athena. Phye was the *parabates* which Connor interprets as the person who leaped from the chariot and back again. Phye was dressed as Athena which would mean that the goddess was re-enacting her original entrance to the city as she had done during her contest with Poseidon. This would imply that Peisitratos was not seizing the kingship but aiding Athena. He is not acting as Heracles but as Athena's helper. Connor concludes that the chariot event communicated to the public that Athena was offended and had withdrawn from the Acropolis but was now returning as protectress of the city.

96 Munich Antikensammlungen 2302, from Vulci ABV 294.23.

into the vehicle. Hermes stands at the front of the horses, ready to usher the procession to Olympos. Additionally, an example of the apotheosis scene by Exekias shows his expert rendition of the scene.[97] The artist depicted Heracles in a chariot with Athena at his side. At the time this piece was produced, Exekias was a highly influential artist. The use of this scene by the renowned artist may have contributed to its popularity in the mid to late sixth century.

A belly amphora by the Priam Painter[98] provides outstanding evidence of the association between the Peisistratos' affair and Heracles' apotheosis.(Figure 4) On this vase, three doric columns appear in the background representing the Acropolis and Peisistratos' residence there. [99] The main characters are represented along with epigraphy between the columns including " 'Ηρακλεους κορή". Boardman concludes that the reference is made to Phye who became Peisistratos' daughter-in- law.[100] If the image of Heracles represents Peisistratos then the image of Athena represents Phye who married the tyrant's son. Therefore, the woman is addressing Phye, as Heracles' daughter. Additionally, a Black figure Hydria, dated to 530 B.C.[101] includes Dionysos, with a drinking horn, standing behind the chariot. Hermes, with his kerykeion, and two warriors are standing beside the horses. A woman addresses Athena and Heracles, who stand in the chariot. The identity of this woman is unknown although it has been speculated to be a representative of the Athenian people.

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97 Exekias, Athens Agora Museum, from the Acropolis N. Slope ABV 145.19.

98 Boardman, 64 : Oxford, 212 CVA, II, pl 7,9; 8,5,6;9,3 ABV,331 #5; RM, lxxi,1964, pl 9.2.

99 Boardman, 64.

100 Boardman, 65. Warren G. Moon takes issue with this interpretation of the inscription. He translates it to mean " handmaiden of Heracles", referring to the assistance which the goddess Athena lavished on her hero. Athena, the virgin goddess, is addressed similarly on a vase by the Priam painter, Louvre F 295. See Warren G. Moon, ed, *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography,* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), 102.

101 T.H. Carpenter, *Art and Myth in Ancient Greece,* (London: Thames and Hudson Ltd.,1991), 134.

The earliest representations of his apotheosis are depicted in "Introduction to Olympos Scenes". This scene was most frequently depicted by the Attic Black figure painters from the second and third quarters of the sixth century. Hermes, who is often included, true to his role, presents Heracles to Zeus. Athena's presence is equally common in these introduction scenes. This is the subject of a mid 6th century pedimental group from the Acropolis. Zeus is seated facing Athena who is presenting Heracles to him. Hermes appears between Athena and Heracles, leading him toward the throne. On a lip cup by the Phrynos painter, dated to the mid 6th century,[102] Athena leads Heracles to his audience with Zeus.(Figure 5) They approach on foot and as an early example of this scene, Heracles appears reluctant as he carries his club, bow and arrows. It should be noted that in this depiction, the heroic attributes are carried onto Olympos although in the some of the myths, Heracles gave his bow and arrows to Philoctetes. These attributes are also depicted in an introduction scene on an Oinochoe by the Amasis painter from the same period.[103] Hermes is dressed in a short chiton carrying his kerykeion and making a gesture of welcome. Athena carries a shield with her attribute of an owl on it. Heracles follows with his sword, bow and arrow giving a gesture of joy. As the introduction scenes continue into the late sixth century, Heracles seems to be depicted with greater dignity and confidence.[104] On a red-figure vessel by the Sosias Painter, dated 510 to 500, Heracles' introduction to Olympos is depicted with the figure striding forward carrying his identifying attributes.[105] The hero-god raises his hand in joy with the words inscribed: "Oh Zeus". A rare, late example of this iconography appears on an Attic stamnos dated to

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[102] London British Museum B424, from Vulci ABV 169.3.in Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases,* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1988), 224.See also: Krater Villa Giulia 2383 ARV2:1339/4.

[103] Paris, Louvre 30.

[104] Woodford, 132.

[105] Berlin Staatliche Mus. 2278, from Vulci ABV 21.1 in Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases: The Archaic Period.*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1975), 30. This vessel shows one of the earliest uses of gilding on the raised pomegranates carried on a branch by one of the Horai.

460 B.C. The hero/ god is introduced to Zeus by Athena while holding an apple. This suggests a conflated iconography of both the introduction scene and Heracles' repose in the garden of the Hesperides. Over time the deification scenes evolved, and the frequency of "introduction" scenes declined while the those of his divine repose increased. This suggests that the apotheosis evolved from his physical deification to his spiritual state, [106] which is reinforced by the philosophers' treatment of the hero.

Heracles' feasting among the gods on Olympos is another example of the vase painters' repertoire depicting the deified hero.[107] Extant examples from the early fifth century seem to focus on the bounteous feast consumed by the sated gods.[108] However, later examples from the second half of the fifth century, promote the imagery of repose and happiness. This follows a general pattern of Heracles' deification imagery. Heracles' apotheosis evolves from a concrete visual representation of the hero/ god's physical presence among the gods to a scene of his happiness and repose in an idyllic setting.[109] In these later versions, the feast is less symbolic of gratification than the image of blessedness as depicted by the setting.[110]

The apotheosis of Heracles in later painted vases was represented by the depiction of the hero/god reclining in the garden of the Hesperides.(Figure 6) The transformation of the iconography mirrors his transformation in literature. Heracles' apotheosis became the scene of a happy life. Just as Aeschylus' hero suffered human failings and Euripides' hero found solace in Athens, the visual representation of Heracles shows him as a hero in a blessed state; luxuriating in the garden of the Hesperides. The myth of Heracles' visit to the garden of the Hesperides comprises his eleventh labor. The garden was a wedding

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106 P. Mingazzini "Le rappresentazioni vascolari del mito dell' apotheosi di Herakles" *Atti della R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei- Memorie VI*, I, (1925-6), 419-33.

107 See also: Pelike London 1956.2-17.1; Cadmos Painter ARV2: 1186/31 and Krater from Musee d'Angers Metzger, p XVI/3, n.55.

108 Woodford, 132.

109 Vollkommer, 93.

110 Woodford, 133.

present from Gaia to Hera. In the course of the labor, Heracles had many adventures. As in the metopes of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi and on the temple of Zeus at Olympia, Heracles is aided by Atlas who obtains the apples while the other holds the sky. The earliest extant examples of this scene in vase painting begin in the mid-sixth century on a shield band and an Attic Black-figure cup signed by Nearchos.[111] Another Attic vase from the last quarter of the sixth century depicts Atlas rushing towards Heracles holding Apples. [112] The subject has been described on the chest of Kypselos and Pausanias (5.11.5) also reveals that this was the iconography of a painting inside the Temple of Zeus at Olympia by Panainos.[113] Atlas' assistance to Heracles in the garden of the Hesperides is not represented in later vases and is entirely unknown in Red figure works.[114]

The myth of the Apples of the Hesperides is also depicted by representing Heracles fighting the snake, Ladon, that guards the entrance to the garden. In later representations the daughters of Atlas appear with increased frequency and the hero's combat with the guardian snake declines in popularity. In later Attic scenes after mid fifth century and into the fourth century, it is the Hesperides who pick the apples for Heracles. The serpent seems to have lost his function as an antagonist and serves only to identify the location. The romantic visions of the idyllic garden remain popular into the fourth century South Italian vase-painters. The change in iconography from early Heracles and Atlas scenes to the later Hesperides picking apples for Heracles reveals the idea of his apotheosis as a blessed after-life. This notion is reinforced by the imagery of Heracles' in repose which became popular in the late fifth and the fourth centuries. Here, Heracles simply lounges with the gods on Olympus which suggests that his rest in paradise is reward enough for his toils on earth. It follows logically that in the myth, this labor assigned to him helped to

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111 Carpenter, 129.

112 Brommer, 50, pl 42.

113 Pausanias (5.11.5) states that Panainos was the brother (or nephew ?) of Pheidias.

114 Vollkommer, 18. shows a Bronze mirror depicting Atlas handing over the sky to Heracles, N.y. 06.1228.

prefigure his immortality because we find his repose in this paradise to represent his state of blessedness.

Heracles in the garden of the Hesperides is also the iconography of the three figure reliefs from the Altar of the twelve gods dated to the late fifth century. Here, the figure of Heracles appears with Theseus. The Altar and peribolos was dedicated by Peisistratus the Younger in c.520 B.C.[115] The surrounding wall was destroyed in the Persian Wars and was rebuilt in the late fifth century during which time the altar was expanded and the floor was paved. Four relief panels each containing three figures have been convincingly attributed by Roman copies to this Altar. The placement of these panels has been problematic. It has been suggested that these panels flanked the east and west entrances to the Altar.[116] Thompson [117] has demonstrated that the measurements of two reliefs depicting Orpheus' rescue of Eurydice and the Peliads with Medea, fit between the posts at the western entrance.(Figure 7) The eastern entrance is slightly larger which would accommodate the remaining two panels depicting Heracles' rescue of Theseus and another in the garden of the Hesperides. Based on stylistic features, these reliefs were dated to 420-410 B.C.

The reliefs were placed such that the central figure faced the entrance. The panel to the left of the western entrance showed Orpheus to the right of Eurydice who is the central figure. Orpheus holds his magic lyre in his left hand and lifts Eurydice's veil with his right. They gaze at each other; she places her left hand on his shoulder. "This is the instant

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[115]Woodford, 248.see also Thucydides VI.54. " Among those of them who held the yearly office of archon in Athens was the son of the dictator Hippias, who was called Pisistratus after his grandfather. It was he who, in his year of affice, dedicated the altar of the twelve gods, which is in the market-place, and the altar of Apollo in the Pythium. Later the altar in the market-place was extended to a greater length by the Athenian people and the inscription was obliterated." trans. Rex Warner (New York: Penguin Books) 1972.

[116] For full analysis of the panels see Thompson, H." The Altar of Pity in the Athenian Agora." *Hesperia,*, XXI, (1952) 47-82. in Woodford, 249.

[117] Thompson, 60 in Woodford, 252.

of irrevocable separation."[118] Hermes stands behind the pair holding Eurydice's right hand preparing to return her to Hades.

To the right of the western entrance was placed the Peliad relief panel. Medea stands on the left side of the panel facing inward towards the central crouching Peliad who looks into the cauldron. Another daughter stands at the right side of the panel facing inward. Medea rejuvenated Jason's father[119] and convinced the daughters of Pelias to do likewise. She purposely omitted part of the magic ritual causing the girls to unwittingly murder their father. Both western panels depict the unsuccessful attempt at reincarnation.

The eastern entrance was flanked by panels depicting Heracles. To the right of the entrance was the relief sculpture depicting Heracles' descent to Hades. The hero stands on the left facing inward towards the seated Perithoos while Theseus stands on the right facing the hero. In the myth, Heracles' task was to capture Cerberus in Hades where he remained to liberate Perithoos and Theseus. The iconography of the companion panel on the left of the entrance represented Heracles in the garden of the Hesperides. The Hesperides stand on either side of the seated deified Heracles who faces the entrance. The study of this scene in vase painting has shown that Heracles' repose has replaced the apotheosis scenes to represent the deified Heracles rewarded for his toils.

The western entrance showing Orpheus and the Peliads are combined to represent unsuccessful attempts at immortality by means of guile and magic. Opposed to these panels are the representations of Heracles' successful liberation of Theseus and Perithoos and the reward for his virtue. Just as Euripides replaced Asclepius with Heracles, who successfully saved Alcestis from death, Heracles' successful resurrection bestows immortality.[120] Heracles is once again the figure of man's attempt toward immortality,

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118 E. Harrison, "Hesperides and Heroes: A Note on the Three Figure Reliefs" *Hesperia* XXXIII(1964), 81. in Woodford, 255.
119 *Nostoi* fr,6.
120 Woodford, 256.

but moreover, he has now become the vehicle. His two appearances on the Athenian Altar visually reinforces his identity as a savior and deified hero.

III. The Use of Heracles as a Model for an Ideal Leader.

The Sophist Philosophers were itinerant teachers who found employment by instructing wealthy youths in the art of argument and persuasion. Their primary interest was in language and dialectical investigation. Yet Protagoras, a prominent Sophist, promoted his profession as one which taught wisdom and virtue (ἀρετή). Obviously, they were a profession, but not a homogeneous one. Whether the individual Sophist taught virtue or rhetoric, his concern was with the human realm and the relationship of man in society. Prodicus of Ceos was a pupil of Protagoras and a contemporary of Socrates. In turn, his pupils included Isocrates, Euripides and Xenophon. As a prisoner in Boeotia during the Peloponnesian war, Xenophon wrote that he was able to negotiate special liberty to attend Prodicus' lectures. [121]

The "Choice of Heracles" is a story within a story found in Xenophon's *Memorabilia.*[122] The author tells of a discussion between Socrates and his student, Aristippus who is significantly, a prospective ruler. The discussion centers on concepts of moderation and self control . Socrates promotes the exercise of self-control by showing that this quality is necessary for a prospective ruler. The argument assumes that one would desire more to rule than to be ruled. This being the case, the ruler would work for a worthwhile result and find the labor rewarding, for an idle life would dull his mind and body. Socrates begins to illustrate his point by quoting Hesiod's *Works and Days.*[123] He

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121 Philostratus, *Vitae Sophistarum* (Lives of the Sophists) in H.D. Rankin, *Sophists, Socratics and Cynics* (New Jersey: Barnes & Noble Books,1983),47.

122 Xenophon, *Memorabilia II*, trans by Hugh Tredennicki (Balitmore, Maryland: Penguin Books Inc, 1970), 21-34.

123 Hesiod 285ff. in Xenophon, *Memorabilia II*, i, 20-22.

> Evil is easy to find and freely;
> Smooth is the road, and very near she dwells.
> But sweat the gods have set upon the way

further exemplifies this point by recounting "The Choice of Heracles" by Prodicus. Heracles emerges as a figure who exemplifies the necessary attributes to be emulated by the prospective ruler, Aristippus.

According to Prodicus' tale, Heracles as a youth, knew that there were two paths of life- one of virtue and one of vice. As he sat deliberating which path to take, two women appeared to him. One was decorous, the other was lascivious. The latter spoke of the pleasures she could offer Heracles and of the easy acquisition of this sensual gratification. Her offerings were pleasures of the senses," the sweets of life," and were attained through the hardship of others. Her name was *eudaimonia* (happiness) to her friends and *kakia* (vice) to her enemies. These names imply that the happiness attained through sensual gratification was superficially good and fundamentally bad.

The second woman commenced speaking by recounting his parentage, his education and his character. Her offer was toil, for nothing good would be gained without toil. She then itemized the worthy reward for toil. This list was a roster of a ruler's attributes: piety requires worship; friendship requires love; honor from the state demands benefiting it; admiration from Greece results from benefiting Greece; profit from crops and livestock require investing in them; victory in war requires military training and physical prowess requires physical training.

Vice interjected her observation about the amount of toil required to achieve these attributes," What a long and difficult road to enjoyment this woman is describing to you? I will put you on a short and easy road to happiness."[124] The second woman, *Arete*, counters that the gratification offered by vice is not fulfilling as desire is never present. Without desire, gratification is actually more difficult to achieve. Praise is the ultimate

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To goodness: long and steep is the path to it
And rough at first; but if thou reach the summit
Thereafter is it easy, hard though it be.

[124] Refer to Hesiod *Works and Days* , 285ff.

reward and one that is denied Vice while lavished on Virtue.[125] Both gods and good men praise virtue and by implication both gods and good men must toil to achieve virtue. It is in toil, that true happiness lies. Prodicus ends his story with Virtue's proposal to Heracles: "child of good parents: if you work hard in the way that I have described, you can possess the most beatific happiness."[126] Those who follow her achieve immortal fame, achieving the greatest *eudaimonia* . Although benefitting his friends, and guarding the public good does not precipitate Heracles' apotheosis, his happiness will be achieved in his lifetime. Heracles makes no overt choice in this story. The moral lesson is left to Aristippus to decide which path he will take.

Prodicus' choice of hero, Heracles, was a sound one. As we have seen in literature Heracles' character has been interpreted in vastly divergent ways according to the author's interests. For this reason, Prodicus' audience had no immediate clue as to what choice Heracles would make. In the works of Pindar and Euripides, the sufferings and toil of Heracles, became internalized representing his moral fortitude. In the "Choice of Heracles" the hero must choose his own destiny. This choice is an important departure from the previous tradition in which Heracles' toils were appointed. In choosing between Vice and Virtue, Prodicus' Heracles must deliberate. This act of deliberation is the most important introduction to the character's motivation. The figures of Vice and Virtue employ persuasive language and argument reminiscent of the sophists' exercises. Heracles' deliberation is an intellectual act by which he controls his destiny with his knowledge of virtue.[127] Prodicus' treatment of Heracles' character furthers the hero as an man of virtue and intellect. Socrates illustrates the necessary attributes for a ruler by using this story illustrating Heracles' knowledge virtue and self-control.

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125 " I associate both with gods and with good men, and no fine action, human or divine, is done independently of me. I am held in the highest honour both among gods and among men of the right sort." (Virtue)

126 ii,1,34.

127 Galinsky, 101.

Antisthenes was a "minor Socratic", a contemporary of Socrates whose works show some Socratic influence. He was also a friend of Prodicus and was credited as a principle influence for the later Cynics. Unfortunately, only scant fragments of his works are extant. References to his teachings are found in ancient sources such as Xenophon[128] and Diogenes Laertius.[129] Diogenes states that there were ten volumes of Antisthenes' works extant at the time of his writing. Antisthenes' teachings centered on the concept of virtue and austerity and he was known for his admiration of toil and hardship. Volume four discussed the nature and leadership of Cyrus along with a treatise on strength called the "Greater Heracles". Like his treatment of Heracles, Antisthenes' *Cyrus* was concerned with presenting the king as a shining example of individual virtue. The following volume treated the kingly power of Cyrus. Volume ten discussed Heracles and an essay on prudence or strength.[130] Antisthenes' characterization of Heracles was as an exemplary man of virtue and a patron of philosophy and ethics. His labors were an example of perseverance and industriousness for the benefit of mankind. "Happiness is derived from virtue and virtue is derived from knowledge. The only pleasure to contribute to happiness is the result of toil, *ponos*." [131] Antisthenes' cultivation of Heracles' virtue was through knowledge [132] Because he considered society to be in decline, Antisthenes considered the moral and intellectual cultivation of an individual as the only solution.[133] This resulted in a rejection of man's physical pleasures for a virtuous life and Heracles was the moral exemplar.

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128 Xenophon, *Symposium*, trans. Hugh Tredennick (Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books, 1970)

129 Diogenes Laertius, *The Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers.* VI trans. by C.D. Yonge, M.A.,(London: George Bell and Sons, 1905) 217-223.

130 Diogenes Laertius, VI.9.

131 Sir Ernest Barker, *Greek Political Theory*. (New York: Barnes and Noble Pub.,1957)41.

132 Barker, 42.

133 Galinsky, 101.

IV. Conclusion

From Hesiod, we learn that Prometheus stole fire from gods for mankind to elevate him and bring him closer to the gods. From Aeschylus we learn that Heracles replaced the Titan, Prometheus as a savior of mankind. From Prodicus and the later Cynics, Heracles acts as man's savior by virtue of his knowledge. Knowledge becomes the element that supplants fire as the means of man's approach to the divine. Plato explains that man will find happiness in his pursuit of virtue, which means becoming as like to God as it is possible for man to become. "To become like the divine so far as we can, and that again is to become righteous with the help of wisdom." [134] Aristotle,[135] attempts to describe the nature of god, the Prime Mover, in *Metaphysics.* His description reveals that the Prime Mover is pure intellect, as 'actuality' without 'potentiality'. He continues to explain that Man, at his finest moments approaches god. They are the fleeting instances where man's intellect comprehends with overwhelming clarity. Aristotle proposes that this *coup de foudre* is an approach towards God. Therefore, it has become knowledge that brings man closer to God.[136] The element of fire is replaced by knowledge, and Heracles, as a savior and a leader represents man's pursuit of immortality.

We should expect that the viewers of paintings, the spectators of plays, and the readers of poetry agree to participate in a "game of pretend" in which these works are props. For the appreciation of representational works is primarily a matter of participation. This participation is a first person reflection, a self-imagining in the fictional representation. In this way, the participant himself becomes a prop in the "game of pretend". The viewer of the Altar of the Twelve Gods or the audience of Homer's *Iliad* and Euripides' *Heracles*, was equally a participant in the fictional representation who, by agreement, was a self-reflective prop. In viewing the character of Heracles in all these works of "pretend", the participant saw fragments of himself - at his best and at his worst. The representation of

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134 Plato *Theaet.*1766. trans. Frederick Copleston, 244.

135 Aristotle, *Metaphysics.* book lambda.

136 See chapter 2 the philosopher- king in Plato and Aristotle as approaching the divine.

Heracles began as a symbol for the ruler of man who exhibited the greatest ἀρετή and gradually he evolved into an iconic sign for the most virtuous man in his struggle for immortality.[137] The gap between symbol and sign was crossed by the humanization of the hero as we found in Bacchylides, Pindar, Aeschylus and the later poets. Pindar and the later philosophers used him as a sign of the philosopher-king, based on his virtuous character and his reputation as a savior but he has never been depicted in art or literature in the role of a king. Zeus' intention as expressed in the *Iliad* was never lost in the depiction of the hero, instead it was internalized to become his character. He appropriated toils and virtues as attributes and became a composite figure reflecting the participant. The Heracles that averted evil and restored law in Aeschylus and the Heracles that supplanted Asclepius in Euripides' *Alcestes* was the same Heracles, the ruler of man in the *Iliad*. This was the way that the figure of Heracles remained a symbol of a ruler while acting as a sign of a virtuous 'everyman'. His apotheosis became an expression of the best possible reward for his exceptional achievements. In the early versions of his mythology this apotheosis meant his presence among the gods on Olympos. The visual representations of his reward show the concrete idea of his deification as an introduction to Zeus and the Olympian gods. As Peisistratos attempted to elevate himself among the Athenians, the chariot scenes became popular on vases of the mid-sixth century. Again, the participant for whom the vases were painted agreed to the association between image, Peisistratos and Heracles, but he agreed to interpret the apotheosis scene as a representation of the elevated status of the politician. We cannot assume that the sixth-century Athenian was fooled by Peisistratos' guise. Instead we must assume that the association between Heracles as a symbol of ruler was so strong that Peisistratos was able to use it as a means of communicating his divinely

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137 Pierce, *Collected Papers,* vol. 2.: A symbol denotes simply because it is used and understood as doing so, an iconic sign picks out its referents by virtue of sharing properties with it.

appointed reign.[138] The tyrant chose wisely to use the figure of Heracles in promotion of his authority. The Hellenic mind was perfectly willing to accept the promotion of a living character with the example of a mythological figure for the use of example, as we will see, was fundamental to the aristocratic education. Heracles was this example of the best of men and the worst. He was committed to a life of virtuous action through his terrible strength.

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[138] Connor, 46. "The citizens are not naive bumpkins taken in the the leader's manipulation but participants in a theatricality whose rules and roles they understand and enjoy."

CHAPTER 2

THE DIVINE RULE OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

> "We read the nature of the human soul in the nature of the state-
> We form our political ideals according to our conceptions of the gods.
> One thing implies and conditions the other. To the philosopher, to
> the ruler of the state, it is therefore of vital importance to begin
> his work at this point." (Cassirer, *Myth of the State*)

Heracles, as we have seen, provides the Greeks with a mythological and theoretical precedent for the divine ruler. How do we bridge the gap between this mythological prototype and the historical divine ruler cult ? One must examine of Alexander the Great's political maneuvers to promote his divine rule . The sources for his assumption of divine kingship are threefold: the mimetic nature of his education by Aristotle; the nature of the fourth century Macedonian monarchy; and the historical precedents which paved the way for Alexander's kingship. Against this background, Alexander undertook specific steps to promote his divine rule throughout his empire. He visited the oracle at Ammon, he attempted to institute proskynesis and he issued a decree to Athens requiring his divine veneration. Alexander clearly expected acceptance of his divine rule. His campaigns to the far reaches of Asia took on the mien of Heraclean tasks. Therefore, as Peisistratos had done in an earlier age, Alexander represented himself as Heracles, a divinely appointed ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν, to prepare for the acceptance of his world dominion as a divine ruler. This examination of the political apotheosis of Alexander will commence with a discussion of his beliefs, his training and his tradition which encouraged the king towards a divine ruler cult. The nature of his education along with the Macedonian traditions of kingship give us ample material to interpret his actions. Examples of rulers who received divine veneration prior to Alexander's claim testify to the changing political conditions which necessitated

the divine ruler cult. Finally, the legend which surrounded Alexander, even during his lifetime, will attest to the Heraclean nature of his exploits. Alexander's emulation of Heracles served to promote his power and his kingship to the furthest reaches of his realm.

I. The Use of Mimesis in Aristocratic Education

Plato is eloquent in his discussion on the education of a king. In his *Republic,* he proposes that the ideal state possesses at its head a ruler whose knowledge will guide and protect his people. This king, who is the most virtuous of men, must govern through his knowledge, and that knowledge must be knowledge of the truth. The man who has knowledge of truth is a philosopher [139] therefore, the king is, equally, a philosopher. In response to the problem of who should become this philosopher-king, Plato identifies three classes of people within the state: the inferior class of artisans and the superior class of guardians from which will be chosen the rulers. These extraordinary few will be the best of their class: intelligent and powerful, careful of the State, devoted to the State and regarding the State's interest as identical to their own.[140] The rulers will have been trained from childhood to assume the responsibility of the State and therefore, will benefit from the best education possible. The king will be trained in music and gymnastics, in mathematics and astronomy. At this stage, he will be prepared for the study of dialectic where he will begin to comprehend by reason alone without assistance from the senses. At last, the prospective ruler will attain " the absolute good by intellectual vision and herein reach the limit of the intellectual world." [141] The wisdom of the State resides in its rulers. As king, he is the personification of knowledge and is equally the personification of virtue since knowledge is virtue. Upon achieving the absolute limit of the intellect he will:

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[139] Plato, *Republic* 488-489.

[140] Plato, *Republic* 412c9-413c7.

[141] Plato, *Republic* 532a7-b2. By this time, according to Plato, they're thirty years old. They must study Dialectic for five years, then serve in the military for fifteen years in order to be exposed to temptations. If they remains firm and holds true to their mettle, they will at fifty years old be ready to rule.

> "raise the eye of the soul to the universal light which lightens all things, and behold the absolute good; for that is the pattern according to which they are to order the State and lives of individuals, and the remainder of their own lives too, making philosophy their chief pursuit; but when their turn comes, toiling also at politics and ruling for the public good, not as if they were doing some great thing, but of necessity; and when they have brought up others like themselves and left them in their place to be governors of the State, they will depart to the Islands of the Blest and dwell there; and the city will give them public memorials and sacrifices and honour them, if the Pythian oracle consent, as demi-gods, and at any rate as blessed and divine." [142]

In 343/2 B.C., Aristotle was invited to Pella by Philip II to undertake the education of his thirteen year old son, Alexander. The teachings of Plato had a lasting influence on Aristotle and during his sojourn at Pella, he remained particularly close to many of the views of the Academy. Aristotle's treatises written prior to and during his sojourn in Macedonia give us a valuable insight to Alexander's training and education. In Pella, Aristotle wrote the dialogue *On Philosophy* , which combines the Platonic theories of stellar theology with his criticisms of Platonic Forms and Ideas. The early versions of his *Metaphysics* are attributed to this period along with the original version of his *Politics*[143] and the lost treatise *On Kingship* .[144] The opportunity to read the thoughts that Aristotle may have shared with Alexander gives us a rare opportunity to surmise their conversations during the tutorial.

Aristotle's works, *Politics* and *Nicomachean Ethics* (VIII.X.2), discussed the ideal state and constitution. Generally, he rejected Plato's excessive unification but retained the overall focus of his mentor's goal. Aristotle wrote that the three good types of Constitution have companion wrong types- deviations. That is, a beneficial Kingship opposes a detrimental tyranny; an aristocracy opposes an oligarchy and polity contrasts

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[142] Plato *Republic* 540a7-c2.

[143] Copelston 15. Aristotle was developing *Metaphysics* books A,B, K1-8, D, L,M9-10, and N. In this period also belongs the early versions of *Politics* books 2,3,7, and 8, which deal with the ideal state. Utopias on the style of the Platonic *Republic* are criticized.

[144] Anton-Hermann Chroust, *Aristotle, New Light on His Life and on Some of His Lost Works*. vol, II (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1973), 216.

with democracy.[145] Aristotle described the establishment of the monarchy as a descendant of the Homeric ruler who was designated the leader due to his exceptional abilities.[146] According to Aristotle, the ideal form of constitution is the rule of one man who transcends all the other citizens individually and collectively by means of his ἀρετή,[147] his virtue and excellence that he would be the natural monarch and ruler. This man would be distinguished by his extraordinary virtue- " such a man will naturally be as a god among men."[148] We cannot expect to read Aristotle literally in his use of simile but to surmise that the individual with such exceptional ἀρετή would seem superior to the mortal masses and therefore more god-like.

The education of the aristocracy occupied as much of Aristotle's theories as found in Plato. Like his mentor, Aristotle attached a great deal of importance to education and assigned this training to the State. The education must begin by physical training, since the body and its appetites develop earlier than the soul and its faculties; but the body is to be trained for the sake of the soul and appetites for the sake of reason. Therefore, for Aristotle, education is primarily a moral training to develop a virtuous ruler.[149] Unfortunately, the *Politics* is incomplete and the sections developing the education in science and philosophy are lost to us. However, extant references to his lost work, *On Kingship,* offer limited access to his views on the subject.[150] Themistius was an Aristotelian or a Late Peripatetic philosopher who was known to have greatly admired Plato. In his work, *Oratio* II, we find a reference to Aristotle's *On Kingship.* He quotes Aristotle as stating that a King need not be a philosopher himself, but must take the advice of philosophers. "In doing so, he would enrich his reign with good deeds and not merely

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145 Aristotle, *Politics* 1279a. 17-21.
146 Aristotle,*Politics,* 1285b 21-3.
147 Aristotle, *Politics,* 1284 a. 47.
148 Aristotle, *Politics,* III.viii.1"γαρ θεον εν ανθρωποις εικος ειναι τον τοιουτον."
149 Aristotle, *Politics* 1332b-1333a 16.
150 Chroust, *Aristotle,* 216.

with fine words."[151] It is believed that Aristotle wrote this work in Pella, prior to 340, during his governorship of Alexander.[152] It is a more practical approach to the training of the king than we find in his earlier *Politics,* and shows Aristotle's experiences at the court of Hermias, (348/7) and of Philip II (343/2).

Aristotle, in contrast to Plato's theoretical politics, is often seen as a practical philosopher who considers the *de facto* politics, state and human condition. In his *Politics,* he stated that the "good ruler must be a wise and practical man"[153] and that he "should avoid impossibilities".[154] Furthermore, Aristotle stated that the ruler must look with sympathy and understanding at the many actual and possible types of cities and constitutions, and draw upon them as an unbiased observer of political and social reality.[155]

As a student of Aristotle, Alexander must have been exposed to Aristotle's theories of the ideal ruler in preparation for his role as the ideal philosopher-king. We must remember that the ideal example of this ruler was, by virtue of his knowledge, Heracles. Prodicus' story of the " Choice of Heracles" prepares the way for him to serve as such a figure as the paramount ruler of men. The Cynics completely identified the idea of an ethical kingly νόμος with Heracles, and he was the model of an ideal king. Aristotle, in his *Nicomachean Ethics,* maintained that the education of the ideal ruler was a moral training intended to elevate his soul and his capacity for reason and knowledge.[156] He who cultivates his intellect, is most beloved of the gods and ultimately finds happiness.[157]

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151 Themistius, *Oratio* Viii.107D in Chroust, *Aristotle,* 216.
152 Chroust, *Aristotle,* 216.
153 Aristotle,*Politics* 1277a16ff.
154 Aristotle, *Politics* 1265 a 17.
155 Aristotle, *Politics* 1290 b 25ff.
156 Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* X.ix.8.
157 Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* X. viii.13 trans. H. Rackham, Harvard Univ.Press,1990/

> "For if, as is generally believed, the gods exercise some super-intendence over human affairs, then it will be reasonable to suppose that they take pleasure in that part of man which is best and most akin to themselves,

We are told that the fundamental principle of aristocratic education has its basis in example.[158] The didactic use of famous heroes and their traditional consequences is an integral part of ethics and education. Rhetorical training included *prosopopoeia* , a common exercise in dramatization in which a speech of a famous character was invented using varying situations. Pindar used Heracles as a mythological examplar in his victory odes. Plato built his philosophy on the conception of pattern, and Aristotle uses Homeric examples freely.[159]

In Book III of the *Republic,* Plato defines mimesis in poetry as impersonation: " to liken oneself to another either in voice or in appearance is to make a mimesis of the person to whom one likens oneself."[160] In this context, Plato barred poetic mimesis from education because poetic intent is deceptive in regards to the identity of the speaker. The Poet tries to make us think what is not true and so must the performer.[161] This is the essential point of Plato's dispute with poetry. He is not concerned that the listener will be beguiled into mistaking reality for poetic mimesis but rather the that the listener will eventually become the performer, whose aim is to deceive. Plato belonged to a culture in which poetry was written to be performed. Ancient Greek education depended heavily on

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> namely the intellect, and that they recompense with their favours those men who esteem and honour this most, because these care for the things dear to themselves, and act rightly and nobly. Now it is clear that all these attributes belong most of all to the wise man. He therefore, is most beloved by the gods; and if so, he is naturally most happy."

158 Werner Jaeger, *Paideia* vol. I, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 32.

159 Consider also Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics;* Book 7 113-12:" ...the qualities of character to be avoided are three in a king: vice, moral weakness and brutishness. The opposites of two of these are obvious: one is virtue and the other is moral strength. The most fitting description of the opposite of brutishness would be to say that it is superhuman virtue, a kind of heroic and divine excellence; just as Homer has Priam say about Hector that he was of surpassing excellence; 'for he did not seem like one who was a child of a mortal man, but of a god.' Therefore, if as is said, an excess of virtue can change a man into a god, the characteristic opposed to brutishness must evidently be something of this sort."

160 Plato, *Republic,* 393c5 . For full discussion of Mimesis see: P. Woodruff," Aristotle on Mimesis" in *Essays on Aristotle's Poetics* , ed. Amelie Oksenberg Rorty, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 73-95.

161 Plato, *Republic* III 393 c10.

the recitation or performance of poetry by upper class youngsters, and Plato was afraid that students would tend to become like the characters they impersonated if they performed mimetic poetry.[162] Within Plato's ideal society, each student must play his own part and mimetic performances would have required them to play many parts which would be a bad influence on a member of the guardian class. Plato's argument depends on the assumption that mimesis can reproduce objectionable features of the original and so interfere with the proper education of the young aristocrats. Plato's objection serves to verify the use of recitation, imitation and emulation in aristocratic education which encouraged emulation of the poetic ideal.

From secondary sources we know that Aristotle did educate Alexander by the use of poetic mimesis. Plutarch[163] states that Alexander was particularly fond of Homer and that Alexander said he had taken the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* along on the Asian campaign. Alexander 's copy of the Homeric poems was either annotated by Aristotle,[164] or by Alexander and Callisthenes.[165] The casket in which he kept it was selected from Darius' possessions and he kept it as one of his most treasured objects, even sleeping with it and his dagger close at hand.[166]

Alexander requested that Harpalus send to him the works of Euripides, Aeschylus and Sophocles during his Asian campaign.[167] This bit of evidence gives us insight into Alexander's literary preferences. It is probable that Alexander's education included poetic mimesis. Plutarch states that the "sons of the Persians, of the Susians and of the Gedrosians learned to recite the tragedies of Euripides and Sophocles."[168] Quintilian (10.1.67) states that for one who trains as a speaker, a knowledge of Euripides would be

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162 Plato, *Republic* III 394 a 1.
163 De Fortuna Alexandri Magni, Oratio I
164 Plutarch *Alex* 8
165 Strabo XIII. I.27
166 Plutarch *Alex.* 26
167 Plutarch *Alex.* 8.
168 Plutarch,*De Fortuna* 5.

more helpful than Sophocles. Surely Alexander benefited from at least a comparable education as that given to the sons of the Orientals.

Aristotle held that Euripides was the "most tragic of poets" which could have influenced his student's preference. Therefore, the works of Euripides hold special importance for this study. The Poet was known to have had acquaintance with the Sophists, with some involvement with Anaxagoras and Socrates. As an accomplished tragedian, he was invited to the Macedonian court at Pella by Alexander's grandfather, Archelaus where he remained for two years until his death, 406 B.C. His works, according to Plutarch,[169] were favored by Alexander who could recite them from memory. In a debate with Callisthenes, Alexander is said to have exchanged barbed quotations from Euripides.[170] In his *Heracles,* Euripides developed the character of the hero/god as the epitome of the goodness of man. His labors were the manifestation of that goodness and which benefitted mankind and civilized the world. Alexander saw his conquests as Heraclean labors and he, too benefited mankind by bringing civilization to the known world. It is therefore most probable that Alexander's education included these works and that his emulation of Heracles was, in part, inspired by his literary knowledge.

Since, the use of mythological example has a long tradition in ancient education and reasoning and as such, there is due cause to look to Heracles as a precedent for Alexander both in his quest for knowledge and in his conquests" to civilize the world"[171]. As we have seen, by the early fourth century,Heracles was thought to have been begotten to rule mankind and deified by virtue of his knowledge. He thus could have served as a mythological example of a divine ruler to which Alexander could aspire. We have only to remember Peisistratos' mimetic use of Heracles to promote his own reign in Athens to see the strength of mythological paradigm in the Greek mind. Alexander's emulation of

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169 Plutarch, *Alexander* , 51

170 Plutarch, *Alexander*, 53.

171 Amphitryon in Euripides *Heracles* (17-21)

Heracles was entirely in keeping with the use of mythology as a paradigm for his own divine kingship.

The political potential for the mimetic use of Heracles by the Macedonian monarchy was not lost on Isocrates. The Athenian orator used Heraclean mythology to promote his political agenda for a pan-Hellenic campaign by Philip II against the Persians. Isocrates recalled Philip's lineage from Heracles in his propaganda in order to persuade him to emulate his ancestor's wisdom, ambition and justice.[172] In fact, he used the precedent of Heracles' expedition against Troy ostensibly to persuade Philip to take up the cause against Persia. [173] Isocrates suggested that Philip's previous victories were accomplished with the aid of divine intervention, and furthermore, the orator himself was divinely inspired.[174] Elsewhere, Isocrates wrote that if Philip conquered Persia," there would be nothing left for him but to become a god."[175] While acknowledging the role of hyperbole in fourth century orations, the reference to Heracles, the divinely appointed ruler, served to underscore the established analogy. Philip's great military success may have won equally great admiration but clearly, the orators, admirers and adversaries helped to promote his image using Heracles as an example.

The use of mythology for political propaganda did not begin with Isocrates' *Philippus.* Moreover, in order to influence public opinion, the orator could not have invented the mythological paradigm. Instead, he must have relied on an established interpretation of Heracles. Isocrates wisely selected Heracles with which to associate

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172 Isoc. 5.114

173 Isoc. 5. 111-115. " When Heracles saw that Hellas was filled with wars and factions....he reconciled the cities with each other, and then showed to succeeding generations with whom and against whom they ought to go to war. For he made an expedition against Troy... and ... easily took the city by storm. (To Philip) make expeditions...with the Hellenes against those upon whom it is fitting that the descendants of Heracles should wage war." trans. M.M. Markle III op. cit. 85.

174 Isoc. 5.151

175 Isoc. *Ep.* iii. 5 The authenticity and influence of the work is debated by Ehrenberg, *Alexander and the Greeks.* 90. Balsdon, in Griffiths, op cit. 184; Hammond and Griffiths, *History of Macedonia* , vol. II 456. Tarn argues for the influence of the elderly statesman's comments on Alexander . Tarn, *Alexander the Great,* II, 365-369.

Philip. The analogy served to present the mythological ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν as Philip and promoted his capability of defeating the Persians, as Heracles defeated Troy, a formidable and irrepressible enemy. Additionally, it persuaded the Hellenes to accept Philip as a second Heracles, to become their leader in a Pan-Hellenic campaign, as Heracles was a Pan-Hellenic ruler and god.

II. The Nature of the Macedonian Monarchy

By recalling Philip's descent from Heracles, Isocrates touched on a profoundly religious bond. According to Argead genealogy,Argeas was the son of Macedon who was begotten by Zeus. Perdiccas was the son of Temenus who was begotten by Heracles. Perdiccas displaced Argeas and was assimilated into the Argead line. In this way, Alexander the Great through Perdiccas traced his lineage to Heracles. [176] The succession to the Macedonian kingship was based on heredity because the divine favor bestowed upon a ruler was inherited by his son. [177] The welfare of the Macedonians depended on this divine intervention. The king's primary duties were religious, his office was as chief priest. As such, he sacrificed to the gods on behalf of the state and conducted the appropriate festivals and ceremonies. As he was descended from a god, he became the intermediary between the gods and his people and he was imbued with superhuman powers.[178] Consequently, he possessed a sacred mien and was venerated as such in his role. [179]

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[176] Hdt. 8.137; Thuc. 2.99.3; 5.80.2; Theopompus, *FHG* 1.283 == Jacoby, *FGrHist.* 2 B 115 F 344; D. S. 7., fr. 17; Isoc. *Phil.* 32; Arr. 4.11.6. Ap. Dascalakis, "L'origine de la maison royale de Macédoine et les légendes relatives de l'antiquité", in *Ancient Macedonia* (Thessaloniki 1970), ed. B. Laoudas and Ch. Makaronas, 155-61, reviews the ancient testimony (without giving references). He postulates that there is a kernel of historical truth in the ancient legend: there was a reverse Dorian invasion, from the Peloponneseus to the region of the Pindus, when they occupied Bottiaea (pp. 160-1). For a summary, see C. F. Edson, "Early Macedonia", in *Ancient Macedonia,* 18-21.

[177] N.G.L. Hammond, *The Macedonian State,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 18.

[178] Compare this office with the roles of Heracles as mediator between the gods and man in Aeschylus' *Prometheia* and in Euripides' *Philoctetes.*

[179] Hammond,*The Macedonian State,* 22.

Heracles' function as mediator between men and the gods directly parallels the role of the Macedonian ruler. As the rescuer of Prometheus and as *deus ex machina* in *Philoctetes*, Heracles served as mankind's advocate and mediator. "The Macedonian king was the intermediary between the Macedonian people and the gods and in this role he was an object of veneration."[180] The king was invested with a religious aura which was all important.

Alexander, as chief priest, conscientiously sacrificed daily even when he was approaching death.[181] His historians often refer to his sacrifices, temple dedications, dreams and omens . The frequency of his sacrifices to Heracles is especially noteworthy. At the commencement or the termination of major campaigns, Alexander sacrificed to Heracles, as if to define each campaign as a Heraclean labor.[182] Marsyas, a priest of Heracles, and a Macedonian historian, wrote that upon entering a city, the king was met "by someone carrying a guala (goblet) full of wine, he accepts it and he pours a libation."[183] Regular sacrifice to *Heracles Patrous*, the ancestor, have been reported at both Aegeae and later at Pella.[184]

The second role of the Macedonian monarch is to act as the commander of the army. Not only did he use his divine guidance to lead the campaign but he was also first in battle. The king claimed preeminence among his followers on account of his own physical prowess. Homeric kingship lived on in fourth century Macedon and the king's authority consisted in his own physical ἀρετή.[185] As we have seen the heroic ideal of ἀρετή were well known concepts to Alexander as his fondness for the *Iliad* was well

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180 Hammond,*The Macedonian State,* 221.

181 Arrian An. 7.25.2; Curtius 4.6.10

182 Alexander sacrificed to Heracles: on the banks of the Danube Just.9.2.10-12; Hellespont ,Arrian An. I.4.5 , II.7; the Pinarus after the Battle of Issus, Arrian An. 2.24.6; Tyre twice after the siege, Arrian An. 3.6.1; Hydaspes at the start of the voyage to "Heracles, his ancestor" Arr. An 6.3.2; in Carmania, Arrian Ind. 36.3.

183 F GrH 135-6 in N.G.L. Hammond, 1992. 67

184 Hammond, *The Macedonian State,* 22.

185 C.F. Edson, "Early Macedonia ", in *Ancient Macedonia*, ed. B. Laourdas, I (Thessaloniki 1970) 17ff.

documented.[186] Plutarch[187] reports that Alexander's favorite line was: "ἄμφοτερον, βασιλεύς τ' ἄγαθος, κρατέρος τ ' αἴχμήτης." [188] "The same Philip who demonstrated such cunning in his dealings with the Greeks also fought in the forefront of battle." [189] Alexander, for his part, fought alongside his men in the foremost ranks, and demonstrated his superiority by the strength of his constitution .[190]

The king was additionally chief judge. He was assigned the role of guardian of νόμος, fighting the enemies of universal law and order, and later the Cynics promoted this characterization of Heracles as the ideal ruler. Plutarch remarked that 'nothing so befits a king as the work of justice.' and that Philip II was renowned as a judge. The Macedonians had the right to appeal their case directly to the king. The appeal was delivered in writing or in person and the king's decision was final.[191] A story was told that Philip informed an appellant, an elderly woman, that he had no time to hear her case. She replied, "then you have no business to be king'; he heard her case and gave his judgment.[192]

The archaeological excavations at Aegae, the ancient capitol of Macedonia, have unearthed a palace dated to 276-239 B.C. and assigned to the time of Antigonos Gonatas.[193] It is square in plan with rooms arranged around a central colonnaded

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186 " he regarded the Iliad as a handbook of the art of war and took with him on his campaigns a text annotated by Aristotle, which became known as " the casket copy" and which he always kept under his pillow together with his dagger." Plutarch, *Alex* 8

187 De Fortuna Alexandri Magni, Oratio I

188 De Fortuna, 10.

189 L. Edmonds, 370.

190 " He also used to say that it was sleep and sexual intercourse which more than anything else, reminded him that he was mortal; by this he meant that both exhaustion and pleasure proceed from the same weakness of human nature." Plutarch, *Alexander* 22; "..he saw in the distance a number of scattered watch-fires which belonged to the enemy. It was always his habit in a crisis to encourage the Macedonians by sharing in their dangers, and so , trusting to his speed and agility, he dashed to the nearest camp fire, dispatched with his dagger the two barbarians who were sitting by it, and snatching up a firebrand ran back to his own party. " Plutarch *Alexander* 24.

191 N.G.L.Hammond, *The Miracle that was Macedonia*, (London:Sidgwick and Jackson: Great Civilization Series, 1991), 34.

192 Hammond, *The Miracle that was Macedonia*, 34.

193 Andronicos and Rhomaios, *Vergina*, 39.

courtyard. Access to the palace is by means of a triple propylon, centered at the north wall. The tholos, a circular hall, lay south of the third unit of the propylon. The external plan of this room was square while the internal plan was circular. The entrance was placed on the western wall for access to the eastern stoa. In the fill, Hewzey found parts of a votive offering and he also recorded the discovery of niches set into the walls and the base of a throne against the northern arc of the hall.[194] The last phase of excavations completed by Andronikos and his team, revealed an inscription on the floor of this tholos: HPAKΛHI ΠATPΩIΩI. [195] The inscription was a dedication to Heracles the progenitor of the royal Argead dynasty. This has led archaeologists to conclude that the function of the tholos was both judicial and religious. The dual role of the Macedonian monarchy would have allowed for the formal shrine to serve as a court of justice. This dedication in the tholos would have served to substantiate both the function and the lineage of the enthroned.

Heracles' role as the ruler of mankind and the savior from evil was known to Alexander. His aristocratic education depended heavily on recitation and performance of epic poetry and his emulation of Heracles was grounded in his training for the monarchy. Aristotle described monarchies 'of heroic times' in very general terms. The king governed willing subjects and he ruled according to law. The king was granted full powers as commander and as judge and he was mediator with the gods. [196] This is what Aristotle called a constitutional monarchy. He considered that the Macedonian monarchy was very close to the Homeric model and seemed to categorize it as " hereditary monarchies among some of the barbarians." [197] Therefore, the nature of Alexander's kingship in fourth century Macedon was closely paralleled with the epic monarch. Heracles, Alexander's ancestor, was established as Zeus' progeny intended as the ideal king. As a divine

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194 L. Heuzey, and H. Daumet, *Mission Archeologique de Macedoine,* Paris, 1876, 117. in M. Andronicos, *Vergina, The Royal Tombs and the Ancient City,*(Athens: Ekdotike Athenon S. A., 1987), 42.

195 Andronicos, *Vergina,* 39.

196 Aristotle, *Politics* 1285b 21-23.

197 Aristotle, *Politics* 1285b 30-3.

descendant and a king, Alexander possessed divine νόος exactly as did Heracles, and he was elevated to a superhuman status. As a pupil of Aristotle, he was educated in philosophical principles which distinguished him from his subjects, just as Heracles was given knowledge and thus deified. Given the duties and traditions of Alexander's kingship and his preparation for the position, one must conclude that he could not do otherwise than to become the philosopher-king *par excellence* and like Heracles, a divine ruler.

III. Precedents of Divine Veneration Bestowed upon Living Rulers

The stage had been set for the acceptance of Alexander's divinity by the Greeks themselves. Following the Peloponnesian war, the political and religious climate was receptive to a re-evaluation. In the development of the divine ruler cult, historical heroes who were victorious in battle became elevated to a super-human status with unprecedented veneration. In the case of the early examples, such as Lysander of Samos the consecration of divine honors came from a grateful oligarchy or populace in return for their heroic ἀρετή. The orientation of bestowal shifted with the veneration of Philip II. As a Macedonian monarch, Philip was imbued with divine favor and an elevated stature. With his self-promoted divinity, Philip was likely to establish his authority over the conquered populations. This shift in orientation marks a significant political maneuver by Philip to usurp the control of this inchoate veneration among the Hellenes. In turn, Alexander opportunistically promoted his rule as divine.

The hero cult stood intermediate between the Chthonic realm and the Olympian realm. [198] In the eighth century, the evolution of the polis necessitated the development of a hoplite phalanx. As such, the cult of the common heroes became an expression of group solidarity. The rise of the hero cult replaced the declining 'cult of the dead' to become the Chthonic counterpart to the worship of the Olympian gods.[199] Because the focus of

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[198] Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality*, (Oxford: Cllaredon Press, 1921), 65.

[199] Walter Burkert, *Greek Religion* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1985), 205.

cultic practice centered around the hero's grave, the sanctity of location is inherent to cultic ritual and continuity . The specificity of location is attested by the construction of the heroon, a sacred grave precinct, and by the erection of a monument to the hero. The cultic rites included blood sacrifices for apotropaic purposes. The blood was offered through a pit, bothros, or a hearth, *eschara*, over which a sacrificial ram or pig's head is held. This sacrifice was a nocturnal ritual and the color of the sacrificial animal was black.[200] The annual *enagismos*, the hero cultic feast, was held on the anniversary of the hero's death. It was the culmination of the hero's honors with the spirit of the hero who had lived a mortal life on earth and manifested supernatural power after his death.[201]

By contrast, sacrifice to the Olympian gods required the elevation of the victim, usually an ox, onto an altar, *bomos*, while the animal's head is held up toward the sky allowing the gods to savor the vitals. The sacrifice was performed in the morning and after the appropriate parts were offered to the gods, the rest was eaten by the worshippers. The use of the color white was symbolic for the Olympian worship. [202] As for Heracles, though he was considered a mortal hero, in legend, he was concurrently worshipped as an Olympian god. He singularly represented a transitional figure between the veneration of a mortal hero and a god. Although the grave site was prominent in heroic veneration, Heracles had no grave. Since community solidarity was fundamental to the hero cult, Heracles was a panhellenic hero worshipped throughout the Greek world.[203]

A belief in the afterlife and a belief in the power of the deified king were considerably different. The Macedonian monarch was venerated in life as possessing

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200 A.D. Nock *Essays on Greek Religion,* vol. 1,188 also Howard Shapiro," *Heros Theos:* The death and apotheosis of Heracles" *Classical World,* vol. 77,1 (1983), 7-18. also A.D. Nock "The Cult of Heroes," *Harvard Theological Review* 37 (1944), 143-147. documents the frequent exception of Hero cult practices.

201 Burkert, 205.

202 A.D. Nock, *Essays on Greek Religion,* vol. 1, 190.

203 S. Woodford, "Cults of Heracles in Attica," in *Studies Presented to George M. Hanfmann, Fogg Art Museum Harvard University Monographs in Art and Archaeology II*, David Gordon Mitten, John Griffiths Pedley, and Jane Ayer Scott, eds.(Mainz, W. Germany: Verlag Philipp Von Zabern, 1971), 211-225.

semi-divine power. This power was passed on from father to son, heredity of this semi-divine stature was the decisive factor in the succession of the throne. As chief priest, the king was the intermediary between men and gods. As chief justice he was capable of restoring and maintaining νόμος. As the king was the first in battle, he was venerated as a hero and recognized for his physical prowess. In death, the king was worshipped by his subjects in the hopes for the same divine protection and favors he was capable of providing in life. In 317 B.C. Philip II and Alexander the Great appeared side by side as deities in a festival for Macedonian and Persian soldiers, "for there were altars to the gods and to Alexander and Philip."[204]

The early examples of a deified ruler were victorious heroes who were regarded as extraordinary leaders. The gap between a hero and a god was bridged by this figure who, by military or political achievement obtained superhuman stature. The rise of the political ruler cult in the fourth century is removed from the religious practices of the hero cult.[205] By venerating the ruler with divine honors, the community recognized his power in return for god-like benefits.[206] Therefore, a ruler was deified in return for the favors he was capable of providing, not to establish his position as a ruler. As we have seen from Homer, the ancients conceived divine power as a plurality to which they attached various divine personalities. Heracles, for example, acted on earth in human form to fulfill the function as σωτήρ. Against this framework we can better understand such promotion and worship of uniquely powerful rulers to fulfill a particular function, such as the protection of a city. After Homer, the mental construction of the anthropomorphic divine world had been carried on chiefly by images, both verbal and visual. The use of statues and panegyrics to promote the divine ruler cult offer our first evidence of the institution of the divine ruler status. By the Hellenistic period, the ruler cult was an accepted and established form of honor.

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[204] N.G.L Hammond, *The Macedonian State,* 30.
[205] Farnell, 17.
[206] Burkert, 239.

The veneration of the divine ruler varied greatly.[207] Quite simply, the grateful populace could manipulate the powerful leader by flattering him using divine language. As an oecist, the king who founded a city was worshipped as a god. A statue of the king, an *agalma*, placed in an existing temple, allowed him to share the divine honors with the god, συνναός θεός. The city could legislate the king as an official deity with a statue, an *eikon*, and his cult would be served by a priest. The dual nature of the king's role is exemplified by the two kinds of statue. The *agalma,* was the cult statue representing the king as σωτήρ, 'for his virtue, courage in war and defeat of the enemy'.[208] The eikon represents the king as civic benefactor, for his ' virtue, care in prospering the state, and munificence towards the demos.'[209] The king's dual role, which was distinguished by the types of honors bestowed, recalls exactly the dual nature of Heracles and is similarly represented with visual attributes.[210] Therefore, the consecration of the divine ruler cult was a political maneuver without religious connotations.[211] The political nature of the divine ruler cult is evidenced from even the early examples and there is no indication that the deification of Alexander should be anything but political.

Evidence for the earliest acceptance of an historical figure transformed to a living,divine ruler lies in the statements of Duris as reported by Plutarch.(Lys. 18) Lysander was reported to have been the first to receive divine honors after the battle of Aegospotami in 404 B.C. As a god, altars were erected to him and sacrifices were made to him.[212] Additionally, the Heraea was renamed the Lysandreia as verified by epigraphic

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207 Hammond and Scullard, *The Oxford Classical Dictionary,* 1992, 939.

208 This is the wording of the decree of the Pergamene demos voting honours to Attalos III. Admittedly later than our study, it serves to illustrate the nature of the agalma. (IvP 249=OGIS 332) in R.R.R. Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits* (Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology,Clarendon Press, 1988) 20.

209 From the same decree above, Smith, 20.

210 See chapter 3.

211 Hammond and Scullard, 939.

212 FGrH 76 F.71= Plutarch, Lysander 18:" He was the first, as Duris says, in his history, among the Greeks to whom the cities reared altars as to a god, and sacrificed; to him were songs of triumph first sung, the beginning of one which still remains recorded:

evidence,[213] indicating four celebrations in the fourth century.[214] Habicht dates the Lysandreia to 404-394, based on an inscription on the statue base from the Heraea. The annual Lysandreia was celebrated until 394 when Sparta was defeated by the Persians and the anti-Spartan alliance of Greek city states.[215] Pausanias describes three memorials dedicated by Lysander to commemorate his victories.[216] Most interesting of these

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"Great Greece's general from spacious Sparta we
Will celebrate with songs of victory..."
And the Samians decreed that their solemnities of Hera should be called the Lysandria;...."
cf. Frg 26= Athen. 15.696 E

213 T. Homolle, *Fouilles de Delphes,* III. Paris,1908, 24. and 1929;(T. 3, Epigraphie, fasc, I, n. 50.); Pausanias X 9.4: trans. by Peter Levi (New York: Penguin Books) 1988.
Lysander dedicated this statue
after his victory in the swift ships.
He has destroyed the power of Athens
and crowned Sparta the invincible:
the acropolis of Greece;
and the country of beautiful dances.
Ion of Samos wrote this poem.

214 Plutarch (Lys.18.5-6) see also A.B. Bosworth, *Conquest and Empire , the Reign of Alexander the Great,* (Cambridge:Cambridge University Press, 1993), 280 :"These details have often been challenged, but it is now epigraphically attested that the Lysandreia were celebrated at least four times in the fourth century." Epigraphical evidence in Habicht 1970, 243-4 attests to the four festivals in the fourth century. He bases his position on an inscribed fragment that mentions a pancratiast's four victories in the Lysandreia. He dates the inscription to 404 B.C. and proposes that the festival was annual.

215 Contra: E. Badian, " The Deification of Alexander the Great" in *Ancient Macedonian Studies in Honor of Charles F. Edson,* (Thessaloniki, 1981, 34-35) Badian opines that divine honors were voted to Lysander posthumously by a grateful oligarch to commemorate his triumph and their restoration due to the military prowess of Lysander. Badian dates the Lysandria no earlier than 394. However, I agree with Bosworth, (1993) 280 who observes, that "the deification by a grateful populace motivated to propitiate his temporal power would have no benefit from a posthumous apotheosis."

216 Pausanias III 17.4: (The Lakonian Akropolis:) "... The western colonnade has two eagles carrying two Victories: They were dedicated by Lysander in memory of both his victories.."
Pausanias VI 3.14-15: " Lysander, son of Aristokritos of Sparta was dedicated at Olympia by the Samians, and their first inscription is this:
In the amazing woods of Zeus king of the sky
I stand by dedication of the people of Samos...
..Lysander has achieved everlasting glory for Aristokritos
and for his country: is famous for courage.."
Pausanias X 9.4: (Phokis).." Opposite them stand Spartan dedications from the spoils of Athens: The Dioskouroi and Zeus and Apollo and Artemis, then Poseidon, Lysander being crowned by Poseidon,.."

memorials is the one dedicated by the Samians at Olympia.(Pausanias VI 3.14-15) The iconography not only includes Lysander among the Olympian gods, but represents him as crowned for his maritime victory by none other than Poseidon. Clearly, Lysander's memorial at Olympia visually affirms his divine representation and reinforces the bestowal of divine honors during his lifetime as explicitly stated by Duris and accepted by Plutarch. The critical question centers upon the deification of a living ruler, for posthumous honors were a *fait accompli.* This bestowal of hymns, sacrifices, and festivals seems to constitute divine honors to a living leader. The granting of such honors by the oligarchies was a political maneuver to stay in favor with Lysander. This elevation instilled envy among other political leaders motivating them to aspire towards similar treatment, [217] which exemplifies the underlying political nature of the ruler cult. It was a tool with which to manipulate the largess of the leader yet one, by which the control of consecration remained with the populace. In this way, a social and political equilibrium was established.

There are accounts[218] of cult worship to Clearchus, a tyrant of Heracleia in Pontus. (364-352 B.C.) Justin, for example, states that he claimed to be the son of Zeus and even named his own son, κεραύνος, Thunderer, perhaps to emphasize his divine descent.[219] Plutarch states that he went so far as to carry a thunderbolt [220]; that he was worshipped with Olympian honors.[221] "If Clearchus had divine pretensions, he was certainly in a position to impose them on his unfortunate subjects."[222]

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217 Plutarch, Lys.19.1

218 Ael. Frg. 380 Hercher; Plutarch, Mor.338 B; Justin XVI.5.8-11.

219 this was not unique to Clearchus' son, Ptolemy I by Eurydice was also named κεραύνος and Seleucus III was similarly named.

220 Plutarch Mor. 338B: Translation by Frank Cole Babbitt, Harvard University Press, IV (1962) 449.

221 Justin XVI. 5.8-11.

222 Bosworth, 280.

Additional alleged precedents of the deification of living rulers include: Dion of Syracuse [223] Empedocles[224], Pythagoras[225] and Amyntas, the grandfather of Alexander the Great.[226] Most significantly, accounts of divine honors paid to Philip II give the strongest evidence for his worship as a divine ruler. Pausanias (5.20.9-10) reports that Philip established a dynastic cult in the Philippeum at Olympia.[227] He describes a round building located south-west of the Temple of Hera, which suggests a divine association by its position within the boundaries of the sanctuary. The Shrine of

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[223]Diodoros Siculus (16.11.2) recounts the honors granted to Dion of Syracuse whose "arete" surpassed what was becoming a man. In 357 B.C., Dion proclaimed his intention to liberate all of Sicily from the tyrant Dionysius. Plutarch (Dion 29) states that the grateful Syracusans hailed him as a god. Shortly thereafter, Dion fell from favor and was exiled from Syracuse only to be recalled after the siege by Dionysius' troops. The grateful populace elected Dion a general with absolute authority and revered him with honors suited to a god, as benefactor and savior of his fatherland.(Diodoros Siculus 16.20.6) Additionally, Plutarch (Dion46.1) states that "the citizens hailed Dion as saviour and their god" as he lead his troops through the city. The veneration of Dion has been used by some scholars as evidence of deification of a living mortal providing precedent for Alexander's deification.(M. Smith, in E. Badian, "Deification of Alexander the Great", *The Center for Hermeneutical Studies,* Berkeley, (1976) 57. It is possible that this was laudatory rhetoric, an expression of the degree of exaltation by the grateful Syracusans without any intent to characterize forms of veneration they took.(Taeger,153) Habicht postulates that the language of Diodoros applies the honors from the cult of dead heroes to a living man in recognition of his arete, ἰσόθεοι τιμή . (Habicht,244)

[224] Katharmoi, B. F Gr H., 112. 4-9, PPF ed. H. Diels.

[225] Iambl. V.P. 28. 140 =Aristotelis Fragmenta Selecta , ed. W.D. Ross(AFS, 131); Ael. V.H. 4.17 (=AFS,131); Apul. De Deo Soc. 20. 167 (=AFS,133); Diogenes Laer. 8.1.11(= AFS,131) Ael. V.H. 2.26 (=AFS. 130)

[226]Ael. Aristides, 38. 480 p 715 Dindorf; There is mention of a new temple of Amyntas in Pydna, and the statement of it by Demosthenes. It was built by the Pydnaeans for flattery. cf. Habicht, 11-12; E. A. Fredricksmeyer, " On the Background of the Ruler Cult" in *Ancient Macedonian Studies in Honor of Charles F. Edson,* Thessaloniki, 1981, 154. contra, Taeger, 174.

[227]Pausanias 5.17.4 " The gold and ivory statue of Aridaios' wife Eurydike and Philip's wife Olympias have been transferred here from what was called the Shrine of Philip." which stood southwest of the temple of Hera. all translations of Pausanias are by Peter Levi, Penguin Books, 1988.

Pausanias 5.20.9: "There is a small Doric temple which they still in my day call the Mother's Sanctuary, preserving its ancient name....(located) inside Altis, and so is the round building called the Sanctuary of Philip, on the pinnacle of which is a bronze poppy that ties the roof beams. (10) ...built in fired brick with columns standing round it; Philip built it after the fall of Greece at Chaironeia. Philip and Alexander are there and Philip's father Amyntas, all by Leochares in ivory and gold like the portraits of Olympias and Eurydike."

Philip was dedicated by the king, himself, after his Chaironeian victory. Archaeological excavations have produced the remains of the temple and fragments of the chryselephantine statues described by Pausanias. It is important to note that the use of chryselephantine was normally reserved for statues of deities. According to Pausanias, the chryselephantine statues of Eurydice and Olympias were later moved to the Sanctuary of Hera.[228] But the original location of the Philippeum and the use of chryselephantine attest to the divine intentions of Philip.

Additional dedications are reported by Arrian (1.17.11) who describes a statue of Philip which was dedicated by the Ephesians and placed in the Temple of Artemis at Ephesos. [229] Moreover, inscriptions attest to the dedication of altars to "Zeus Philippios" by the inhabitants of Eresus in Lesbos.[230] Habicht[231] postulated that the newly founded democracy in Eresus consecrated the altars in appreciation for Philip's aid against the former tyrants. The evidence indicates profound association between Philip and the cult of Zeus such that the sacrifices made to Zeus were by inference also made to Philip.[232] The dedications of sculpture in a divine context does not in itself attest to a divine ruler cult, nor do the iconography, medium and location stand as irrefutable evidence of divine worship. However, the exalted status of the ruler must be accepted by the direct association between the sacrifices to Zeus and thus to Philip by the people of Eresus.

In 356, Philip re-founded Crenides and renamed it Philippi. He then established the city of Philippopolis on the Hebrus in 341. The founding of a city in one's own name was unprecedented and indicated that Philip usurped the customary role of the city's patron deity

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228 Pausanias, 5.17.4.

229 Bosworth, *Conquest and Empire; The Reign of Alexander the Great,*(Cambridge Univ Press, 1988), 281 Bosworth notes that while this gesture was intended to honor the king, it does not imply deification.

230 Tod, Grk Historic Inscrip II 191.6.; Bosworth,281.

231 Habicht, 39.

232 Bosworth, 281. contra: Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion, II* Munich 1961,142. suggests that "Zeus Philippios" indicated recognition of the God as Philip's patron deity.

for himself.[233] Further evidence advancing the theory of divine honors for Philip is found in Clement's *Protrepticus* (4.54.5) which indicates that the Athenians established a law to introduce proskynesis to Philip and that his cult worship in the Sanctuary of Heracles was initiated by the Athenians after the battle of Chaeronea, 338, B.C.[234] Philip's extraordinary military power secured his position as *hegemon* over the Greek city states. The release of the Athenian prisoners of war and the proposal of an Athenian alliance, advanced Philip's image as an omnipotent ruler. The Athenians, fearing a barbarian slaughter, reacted with gratitude to Philip's magnanimity.

According to Diodoros (16.92. 5)[235] the wedding of Philip's daughter included a procession of sculptures depicting the Olympian gods in which a statue of the king was included as their *synthronos*. Both the artistry and the inclusion of Philip's statue served to establish the ruler as if he were a god. We have noted the reports of Clearchus' imitation of Zeus. Philip's statue in an official public procession must be interpreted as a public political statement- propaganda.

The divine pretensions of Clearchus and most evidently, of Philip mark a notable shift in the development of the ruler cult. Lysander of Samos and Dion of Syracuse were allegedly the recipients of divine honors given by a grateful populace. As hero and σωτήρ, the victorious leaders merited the highest exaltation from the spared citizens. By contrast, the procession at Pella, the dynastic shrine and statues in the sacred sanctuary , the use of chryselephantine, and the founding of a city in his own name, were not consecrated by grateful citizens in return for Philip's political largess. These were acts

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233 E.A. Fredricksmeyer, " On the Background of the Ruler Cult" in *Ancient Macedonian Studies in Honor of Charles F. Edson*. Thessaloniki: Institute of Balkan Studies, 1981, 155.

234 E.A. Fredricksmeyer, 155; Bosworth, 281, writes that " at best it refers to the erection of an honorary statue in the precinct, as at Ephesus." c.f. Badian, 1981.

235 Diodorus (XVI 92.5) "...Philip included in the procession statues of the twelve gods wrought with great artistry and adorned with a dazzling show of wealth to strike awe in the beholder, and along with these was conducted a thirteenth statue, suitable for a god, that of Philip himself, so that the king exhibited himself enthroned amongst the twelve gods."

intended to communicate a political message from the king to the populace. It illustrates the use of a concrete visual sign, to impart an abstract concept. The inclusion of his own likeness among the Olympian gods forces the spectator to interpret the mimemata as reality. This is exactly the response that Plato warned against and precisely Philip's goal. By the inclusion of his likeness among the gods, Philip is equally divine. What can be more powerful than a ruler exalted by divine honors, but a divine ruler? With this, the origin of the consecration of the divine honors shifted from political bribe to political symbol. Public recognition of his exalted status could only improve Philip's prospects for imperialist campaigns. Philip was preparing to use his position as supreme commander of the Greek city-states when he was assassinated in 336B.C. The use of art for political propaganda is by no means unprecedented, but the novel sophistication of this mimemata towards a divine ruler cult is noteworthy. It is against this religious and political background that deification of Alexander emerges as a *synecdoche* in the evolution of Greek religion.[236] We should expect that Alexander in his quest as divine ruler should employ the same mimetic devices to impart his exalted stature.

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[236] One of the more interesting examples of cult worship after Alexander is the Athenian paean to Demetrius Poliorcetes. Demetrius had "freed" the Athenians by overthrowing the tyrant, Demetrius of Phalerum giving rise to the veneration of Demetrius Poliorcetes as a "soter"(Plutarch Dem 12.2 -5) The paean is recorded by Athenaeus (6.253 e):

> O Son of the most mighty god Poseidon and of Aphrodite, hail !
> For other gods are either far away, or have not ears, or are not,
> or heed us not at all; but thee we can see in very presence, not
> in wood and not in stone, but in truth. And so we pray to thee.

Plutarch records that the Athenians assigned the opisthodomos of the Parthenon to Demetrius as living quarters and that "he was received and entertained by Athena" (Dem. 23.2-5)
Clearly, the Athenian willingness to accept his divine sonship and the installation of Demetrius in the Parthenon attests to the impact of Philip and Alexander's deification. The paean echo's the sentiments expressed by Thucydides and those in the paean to Lysander.

IV. The Deification of Alexander the Great

"If men really could not distinguish between frogs and men,
fairy-stories about frog-kings would not have arisen."
J.R.R. Tolkien, "On Fairy-Stories"

The monarchy in Macedonia enjoyed an elevated stature that assumed a divine association. We have noted that Alexander's succession to the throne was based on his descent from Heracles and ultimately from Zeus as well as his divine favor as a member of the Argead clan. The figure of Heracles as an exemplary king was an equally important source of inspiration in his quest for recognition of his divine kingship. Recitation and imitation of the literary and philosophical treatment of Heracles must have been a component of his education by Aristotle. Therefore, Alexander's stature as a Macedonian king and his preparation by Aristotle produced a personality that was ripe for the reception of divine kingship. This does not mean that Alexander thought of himself as a god. Aristotle could not have imparted such a notion based on his treatise in *Metaphysics* part of which was written during his sojourn at Pella. Furthermore, as the chief-priest, we have noted the degree of Alexander's piety. The quest for divine kingship must be treated as distinct from his notion of the nature of god. He must have reconciled the two concepts and as an astute political genius, he was able to elevate himself to the stature of a divine king without compromising his Aristotelian training on the nature of god. Scholars have isolated three documented events on which to base their studies of Alexander's political apotheosis: the king's visit to the oracle of Ammon, winter 332 B.C.; the proposal for proskynesis, 327 B.C; and the deification decree to Athens,324 B.C. While each act does not in itself qualify as undeniable proof of Alexander's political apotheosis, they do function as increments collectively portraying a divine king. Each step was given credence by the example of Heracles. Alexander was inspired by Heracles' example to visit Ammon where his dual paternity, similar to Heracles' was revealed. The introduction of proskynesis was proposed and supported by the philosopher Anaxarchus, who used Heracles' example as supporting evidence. The deification decree to the Athenians met with

opposition documented by famous retorts. Did the Athenians object to Alexander's divine kingship or to the consequences requiring the subordination of the Athenian citizens? The responses ridicule the premise of Alexander as an Olympian god not the political proposal for divine kingship. Alexander exploited the precedents set by Philip and Lysander to assume the office of the divine king. However, the sheer magnitude of Alexander's empire and his military achievements demanded recognition as superior to anything the world had ever seen. The leaders of the past paled by comparison and only in Heracles could they find an explanation for the superiority of Alexander.

Arrian (3.3.2)[237] reports that the infallibility of the oracle at Siwa and the precedent established by the visits of Perseus and Heracles inspired Alexander to emulate their oracular journey. Moreover, the historian explicitly states that Alexander was motivated by his desire to recreate and emulate Heracles' achievements. Their common roles and lineage reinforced Alexander's suspicion that he was more than a distant offspring of Zeus. As we have seen, the descent of the Argeads from Heracles had been firmly established, and completely accepted generations before Alexander. Wilcken argues that the Greeks had identified Ammon with Zeus long before Alexander, and equated the two as interchangeable deities.[238] His departure to Ammon established him as the direct progeny of Zeus. Curtius (IV. vii. 8) states"...but yet a great longing plied spurs to the king's purpose of visiting Jupiter, whom he, not content with mortal eminence, either

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[237] Arrian 3.3.2: "After these events, Alexander suddenly found himself passionately eager to visit the shrine of Ammon. One reason was his wish to consult the oracle there as it had a reputation of infallibility, and also because Perseus and Heracles were supposed to have consulted it. The former when he was sent by Polydectes to slay the Gorgon, the latter during his journeys in Libya and Egypt in search of Antaeus and Busiris. But there was also another reason: Alexander longed to equal the fame of Perseus and Heracles; the blood of both flowed in his veins, and just as legend traced their descent from Zeus, so he, too had a feeling that in some way he was descended from Ammon. In any case, he undertook this expedition with the deliberate purpose of obtaining more precise information of this subject, or at any rate to say that he had obtained it.

[238] U. Wilcken, *Alexander the Great* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1967), 240.

believed, or wished men to believe, to be the founder of his race." [239] Yet the founder of one's race does not denote divine sonship nor is it a pre-requisite for veneration as a divine ruler. As Heracles had both a mortal and immortal father, so should Alexander. Dual paternity , therefore, is both a logical extension of the Argead tradition and a logical mythical advancement for Alexander's political apotheosis.

The earliest account of the journey to the oracle is by Alexander's historian, Callisthenes,who is quoted by Strabo (17.1.43)[240] and Plutarch (Alex. 26,27). In this source, the main objective of Alexander's visit was to seek validation of his divine sonship. The miracles of the journey set the tone for the revelation to follow. The unfavorable conditions did not deter Alexander's πόθος nor did the hardships that occurred

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[239]The remark appears to originate from Ptolemy(Badian,4 n.9) and is echoed in the lines of Arrian . Ptolemy (*FGrH* 138) and Aristobulus(*FGrH* 139) are recognized as eye witnesses whose histories provided a favorable account of Alexander's with emphasis on the military campaigns. Ptolemy's work is dated between 320 - 283 B.C. (L. Pearson, *The Lost Histories of Alexander the Great,*(Chia,California: Scholars Press, 1983), 191.while Aristobulus, wrote his history of Alexander after the battle of Issus, 333 B.C. concentrating on geographical, botanical novelties along with the military campaign. (Bosworth, 297)If Curtius' and Arrian's source was Ptolemy or Aristobulus, then the mythical reference was a departure for the normally accurate Macedonians, who acquiesced to Alexander's promotion of divine sonship without complete acceptance.(L. Pearson, 191)

[240] Strabo (17.1.43) "At any rate, Callisthenes says that Alexander connived a very great ambition to go inland to the oracle, since he had heard that Perseus, as also Heracles, had done so in earlier times; and that he started from Paraetonium although the south winds had set in, and forced his way; and that when he lost his way because of the thick dust, he was saved by rainfalls and by the guidance of two crows. But this last assertion is flattery and so are the next; that the priest permitted the king alone to pass into the temple in his usual dress, but the rest changed their clothes; that all heard the oracles from outside except Alexander, but he inside; that the oracular responses were not, as at Delphi and among the Branchidae, given in words, but mostly by nods and tokens, as in Homer, 'Cronion spoke and nodded assent with his dark brows' the prophet having assumed the role of Zeus; that, however, the fellow expressly told the king that he, Alexander, was son of Zeus. And to this statement Callisthenes dramatically adds that although the oracle of Apollo among the Branchidae had ceased to speak from the time the temple had been robbed by the Branchidae, who sided with the Persians in the time of Xerxes, and although the spring also had ceased to flow, yet at Alexander's arrival the spring began to flow again and that many oracles err carried by the Milesian ambassadors to Memphis concerning Alexander's descent from Zeus, his future victory in the neighborhood of Arbela, the Death of Darius, and the revolutionary attempts in Lacedaemon. And he says that the Erythraean Athenais also gave out an utterance concerning Alexander's high descent; for, he adds, this woman was like the ancient Erythraean Sibyl. Such then are the accounts of the historians".

en route. In Strabo's version, the intervention of crows to lead the lost voyagers, for which Ptolemy substitutes snakes, and Aristobulus substitutes ravens. This assistance was followed by divine intervention of a rainfall to clear the dust storm, to harden the sand, and to alleviate their thirst[241] lending credence to the declaration of divinity with a subtext of divine support. "(Alexander) was able to overcome not only his enemies but even places and seasons of the year." [242] Upon arrival at the Oracular shrine, Callisthenes reported that Alexander entered the inner sanctum of Ammon alone, although his companions were privy to parts of the prophesy, most significantly, the priest's epitaph: "son of Zeus." [243] The priest also was reported to have responded to Alexander by "nods and tokens". [244]

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241 Plutarch,(26-27) describes the journey in like terms, however, the substitution of ravens for crows and the overwhelming thirst was alleviated by rainfall. Ptolemy substitutes serpents for crows (Arrian, *Anab.*3.3.5).

242 Plutarch, *Alexander* 26.

243Plutarch, *Alex* 27, reports that the priest misspoke saying "ὦ παῖ Δίος " in lieu of "ὦ παιδίον" . Tarn corroborates Plutarch's interpretation by speculating that the priest must have spoken in his non-native Greek or else Alexander would have needed an interpreter. W.W. Tarn in G.T. Griffiths (ed.)*Alexander the Great: The Main Problems,* Cambridge, 1966, 152. and U. Wilcken, *Alexander the Great,* 240. The Greeks had identified Ammon with Zeus long before Alexander and equated the two as interchangeable deities. He proposed that the god at Siwa had become either a Greek or an Egyptian-Greek deity. Peter Green, *Alexander of Macedon,* Harmondsworth 1970,269. states that Alexander's status as conqueror of Egypt, therefore Pharaoh, he would be Ammon's son ex-officio, which proposes that he was crowned before visiting the shrine of Siwa. Only the Romance supports this with mention of his coronation. Contra., E. Badian, "Alexander in Iran", in *Cambridge History of Iran II*, Cambridge 1985, 433 n.1. Stanley Burnstein, "Pharaoh Alexander: A Scholarly Myth, *Ancient Society,* 22, 1991, 139-145, states that the epitaph is not a formulaic greeting for the pharaoh of Egypt therefore Alexander was not the pharaoh of Egypt and the utterance came as a real surprise.

244The declaration of Alexander's divine sonship was corroborated by several oracles (Badian,6). Callisthenes told the story that upon Alexander's arrival at Didyma, the oracle there began to speak after a long silence stretching back to the days of Xerxes. He also reported that in early spring of 331 B.C., Milesians carried from Apollo to Memphis pronouncements about Alexander's descent from Zeus, together with prophecies about his future victory near Arbela, the death of Darius, and the Spartan revolution. This appears to be too soon for the news of the oracle of Ammon to have reached them and the declaration of Alexander's divine descent must have preceded his journey to Siwa (Bosworth 285). The Erythraean prophetess, Athenais, spoke of Alexander's divine descent. It is assumed that her utterance supported Alexander's divinity because of its inclusion by Callisthenes with other oracles lending credibility to his godhead (Jacoby, IIB, FGrH 124, Kallisthenes, f.14 a.b.a.).

Callisthenes, as Alexander's historian, published reports of the campaign with an eye to the public image of his leader, and most certainly reported the journey with Alexander's approval. Indeed his histories have slipped into propaganda. He was rebuked by Polybius for his unabashed flattery of Alexander.[245] However, as nephew and pupil of Aristotle, his method of character analysis in *Deeds of Alexander* (FGrH 124) revealed his extensive knowledge of Homer. He employed a pattern of plot development that embellished the legendary nature of Alexander and his campaign. For example, initially Alexander confronted a fatal or impossible situation and overcame it by an apparent miracle which culminated in the recognition of his godhead.[246] A similar plot treatment can be found in Callisthenes' account of the proskynesis of the sea at Pamphylia.[247] As in the adventure at Siwa, Alexander met with unfavorable conditions yet he commenced his expedition in spite of the weather. The army was saved by a miracle of divine intervention. The subsequent recognition of Alexander's godhead concluded the event.[248] The allusion to the proskynesis of the sea before Poseidon (Il 13.26-30) could not have been lost on the

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245 Polybius12.12b

246Pearson,.38.

247 Additional episodes reminiscent of the Homeric tradition include the Gordian knot, and Alexander's sickness at Tarsus. In Callisthenes' account, the army was rescued from drowning while advancing along the coast at the base of Mt. Climax in Pamphylia. A strong south wind blew water onto the road submerging the men up to their waists. The wind then shifted and blew the sea back again. The ancient historians deemed this event as " heaven- sent stroke of luck" Plutarch, 17; Arrian, 1.26.2; Strabo 14.3.9; see also L. Pearson, op.cit. 36-37: The direct account of Callisthenes comes from Eustathius and the Townley scholia on the passage in the Iliad (F.31= Schol. Homer, *Il. 13.26-30)* . Eustathius concedes that Homer is dealing in wonders here but finds this permissible for a poet. However, Eustathius cites Callisthenes' description of Alexander's passage along the Pamphylian sea " even though he does not make the sea part before him in delight, as in making way before Poseidon, nevertheless says that it withdrew from before his march as though recognizing him, and that it too did not fail to know its lord (so that in arching itself and bowing it may seem to do obeisance)."

248 Strabo 14.3.9:" Alexander met with stormy weather here, and putting his trust principally in Fortune started out before the sea subsided, with the result that the march went ahead all day long through water, the men being wet up to their waists."

Greek audience.[249] "At any rate during this journey the assistance he received from the gods in his difficulties was more readily believed than the oracles that followed, or rather it was because of this assistance that the oracles were believed."[250] The importance of mythological and legendary examples to the ancient mind promoted the acceptance of such metaphorical references. [251] Clearly this promotion was intended for a Greek audience; the Persians, neither those among Alexander's retinue nor his subjects, would have the cultural, and religious preconceptions to assimilate his divine sonship. Callisthenes was astute in his propaganda and wisely associated Alexander's achievements with Homeric references.

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[249] Homer, Il 13.26-30."Going there he (Poseidon) harnessed under his chariot his bronze-shod horses, flying-footed, with long manes streaming of gold; and he put on clothing of gold about his own body, and took up the golden lash, carefully compacted, and climbed up into his chariot and drove it across the waves. And about him the sea beasts came up from their deep places and played in his path, and acknowledged their master, and the sea stood apart before him, rejoicing. The horses winged on delicately, and the bronze axle beneath was not wetted."

[250]Plutarch, *Alex.*27.

[251] Consider also the Homeric overtones of the famous Gaugamela Prayer: Plutarch Alex 33.1: "...and at this he shifted his lance into his left hand, so Callisthenes tells us, and raising his right he called upon the gods and prayed that if he were really the son of Zeus they should protect and encourage the Greeks. .....an eagle which hovered for a while over Alexander's head and then flew straight towards the enemy. The sight acted as an immediate inspiration the watching troops.... " Furthermore, according to his accounts, Homer appeared to Alexander, reciting from the *Odyssey* (iv,354-355), prior to his founding of Alexandria: (Menelaos' description of his wanderings) " There is an island there in the heavy wash of the open sea, in front of Egypt, and they call it Pharos, as far out as the distance a hollow ship can make in a whole day's sailing when a sharp and following wind is blowing it onward." trans. Richmond Lattimore, Harper Row, 1967.

As in the case of Philip, the founding of a city in one's own name lends the connotation of divinity. The founder of the city receives civic cult honors, the evidence of which is attested by cult statues of Alexander, which is preserved in a number of extant copies. See Schwarzberg," The portraiture of Alexander" in *Fondation Hardt pour l'Etude de l'Antiquite Classique,* Entretiens, Tome xxii, 233-234. The author uses a bronze statuette in the British Museum as an example of his cult statue. "The figure of Alexander wears an aegis of Zeus which is longer than usual and resembles the Macedonian chalmys. The shape of the aegis is reflective of the shape of the city itself. Alexander carries a spear in the right hand and the palladium in his left. The palladium is an illusion to the one stolen by Diomedes which he brought to Argos. Aeneas is said to have retrieved the palladium during the fall of Troy and brought it with him to Rome. Alexander's possession of the palladium connects the king not only with the Homeric tradition but also serves to validate the local legend that Alexander rescued the palladium from Troy and brought it to Alexandria."

Alexander's inspiration was derived from Heracles, his journey was imbued with divine assistance and his arrival culminated in the revelation of his godhead. Just as the Homeric heroes sought to explain their condition through the use of mythology, Alexander's journey paralleled Heracles' visit to Ammon and revealed his divine sonship. Alexander, as the ultimate ruler, used Heracles as his mythological counterpart.

Alexander's proposal for Proskynesis in 327 B.C., was a practice performed by the Persians before their king. It was a secular act without religious connotation.[252] By contrast, to the Greeks and Macedonians, who lacked the cultural and religious precedent to assimilate this act, it represented the debasement and humiliation of one mortal to another and was reserved for the veneration of the Gods. [253] To the Greek mind, the acceptance of proskynesis was considered an act of *hybris* . The issue of proskynesis sparked a religious debate as recounted by Arrian. (IV.10) on the propriety of rites afforded to the mortal and the divine .[254] Arrian's recreation of the dialogue gives immediacy to the

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252 Herodotus I.134 and Bosworth, 284.

253 Herodotus,VII.136.1, recounts the Spartan ambassadors to Xerxes who were forced to perform proskynesis objected that it was not their custom to do so before any mortal. Isocrates, IV.151, abrades the Persians for their performance of this act. Aristotle, Rhet.1361a36, identifies proskynesis as a barbarian mark of honor.

254 Arrian IV,11: Alexander had arranged with Anaxarchus and the Persian and Median noblemen at his Court that the subject should be brought up one day at a banquet. The discussion was begun by Anaxarchus, who declared that Alexander had a better claim upon them to be considered divine than Dionysus or Heracles. The reason for this was not merely his brilliant and successful career, but also the fact that neither Dionysus nor Heracles was connected with Macedon: Dionysus belonged to Thebes, and Heracles to Argos- the latter only connection with Macedon was through Alexander, who had his blood in his veins. This being so, there would be greater propriety in the Macedonians paying divine honors to their own King. In any case there was no doubt that they would honor him as a god after he had left this world; would it not, therefore, be in every way better to offer him this tribute now, while he was alive, and not wait till he was dead and could get no good of it?

Those who were, so to put it, "in the know" expressed their approval of what Anaxarchus said, and were only too willing to begin prostrating themselves forthwith; but the Macedonians- or most of them- who were present, strongly dissented, and said nothing. Suddenly, Callisthenes intervened. 'For my part' he said, 'I hold Alexander fit for any mark of honor that a man may earn; but do not forget that there is a difference between honoring a man and worshipping a god. The distinction between the two has been marked in many ways: for instance, by the building of temples, the erection of statues; the dedication of sacred ground- all these are for gods; again, for gods sacrifice is offered and

debate while accurately representing the polemics. Habicht,[255] accepts the debate as contemporary, though the dialogue is invented, the linguistic clues to a late invention are absent.[256] Furthermore, Plutarch's account (Alex 54),merely refers to the debate in assumption of its general acceptance.[257]

In Arrian's passage, Anaxarchus, advocates for the proposal of proskynesis before Alexander. The plan to introduce the act was promoted by Alexander's Court supporters, and the Persians at Court. Anaxarchus opines that Alexander's entitlement to divine tribute is greater than Dionysus' or Heracles' as evidenced by the king's successful military career

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libations are poured; hymns are composed for the worship of gods, while panegyrics are written for the praise of men. Yet of all these things not one is so important as this very custom of prostration. Men greet each other with a kiss; but a god far above us on his mysterious throne, it is not lawful for us to touch- and that is why we proffer him the homage of bowing to the earth before him. Again for the worship of gods we perform the ceremonial dance and sing the song of praise. There is nothing surprising in this, for even the gods are worshipped by varying forms of ceremonial; and heroes and demi-gods, remember, have again their own peculiar, and quite different rites.

It is wrong to ignore these distinctions; we ought not to make a man look bigger than he is by paying him excessive and extravagant honor, or, at the same time, impiously to degrade the gods(if such a thing were possible) by putting them in this matter on the same level as men.....[to Anaxarchus, you are the advisor of] Philip's son, a man with the blood of Heracles and Aeacus in his veins, a man whose forefathers came from Argos to Macedonia, where they long ruled not by force, but by law.

Again, not even Heracles was accorded divine honors by the Greeks while he was alive- nor when he was dead either, until the command to do so was given by an oracle of Apollo at Delphi. Well, here we are in a foreign land; and if for that reason we must think foreign thoughts, yet I beg you, Alexander, to remember Greece, it was for her sake alone that you might add Asia to her empire, that you undertook this campaign.

255 Habicht, 1970, p39.

256 See E. Badian,"The deification of Alexander the Great" in *Ancient Macedonian Studies in Honor of Charles F. Edson.* (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies-158: 1981) 30. who states:"Habicht has also carefully examined the characteristic forms of phrase that mark a statement concerning deification as late: all forms of speech that refer to 'making' a god or 'voting'a mortal to be a god, as opposed to recognising the fact of his divinity. Now, such phrases are totally absenc from the debate, and it is surely unlikely that they would have been accidentally avoided, in a passage of such length at a late date, or that anyone composing the passage at a late date would have known the facts that Habicht has disengaged."

257 contra: Truesdell S. Brown " Callisthenes and Alexander" in G.T. Griffith ed. *Alexander the Great: The Main Problems,* 1966, 242. who states that Alexander's deification: "as an issue could only have become important after the return from India when the problems of a permanent form for the empire could no longer be postponed. And at that time Callisthenes himself was dead. "

and his Macedonian heritage. Anaxarchus also proclaims that Alexander's posthumous reverence will be divine, and as such, it should be granted to him while alive. The conflation of heroic and divine honors suggested by Anaxarchus is evidenced by the points in his proposal for proskynesis: Alexander's heroic prowess in battle to the benefit of his Macedonian people deserves heroic glorification. Furthermore, the specificity of location, as manifested in the hero cult becomes an issue of lineage in this debate. Anaxarchus offers as precedents to heroic glorification: Heracles and Dionysus. However, because these two examples received heroic as well as divine honors, Anaxarchus is able to cross from the heroic realm into the divine. The elderly philosopher continues the conflation by proposing that Alexander's Macedonian origin befits "divine honors to their own King." (Arrian IV.11) The divine ruler as "a god among men" is integrated with the heroic honors. Finally, Anaxarchus traverses the boundary of religious cults by stating that Alexander will undoubtedly be deified posthumously, for expedience, he should be deified now.

Interestingly, Anaxarchus' recommendation does not draw on the historical precedents for divine veneration of a living ruler such as Lycurgus or even Philip. Instead, he exploits the example of Heracles' as the paradigm of the divine ruler and explicitly establishes a parallel with Alexander . As we have seen, the Cynic Antisthenes, in his Heracles, treats the hero-god as the first of the Greeks to whom world dominion, in the form of world-monarchy was attributed.[258] The sophist, Anaxarchus, wisely chose Heracles as a precedent. Only in Heracles, will we find a figure able to match the magnitude of Alexander's military as well as philosophical quests. The implication of Alexander as divine ruler and world monarch through the example of Heracles will have far-reaching effects.

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258 W.W. Tarn, "Alexander, Cynics and Stoics." *American Journal of Philology* 60(1939), 49.

Callisthenes disputes the philosopher's proposal and, as Arrian (IV.11) and Plutarch (Alex.54) assert, represents the opinion of the Macedonian soldiers. In his lengthy rebuttal, he appeals to decorum and explicitly delineates between the veneration befitting heroes, demi-gods and Gods. Callisthenes cites Alexander's achievements in battle establishing him as a hero but maintains the distinction between men and gods. He defends the propriety of this distinction by itemizing the ritual afforded to the gods and culminating with the most reverent: proskynesis. The historian reinforces the impropriety of proskynesis to a living mortal by citing the *hybris* of crossing the boundaries. While Callisthenes actively promoted the notion of Alexander's divine sonship, his objection to proskynesis was not hypocritical. The divine sonship was amply precedented and fully acceptable.[259] Greek mythology provides numerous instances of gods consorting with mortals to father mortal sons, who after death may become either a god or an hero. However, divine sonship and divine kingship were mutually exclusive concepts. Callisthenes accepted and indeed promoted the former whereas he rejected the latter. He then redirected his attention to Alexander's origins by the epitaph, "Philip's son". His glaring omission of Ammon and Alexander's divine sonship stresses his Macedonian heritage. The oracle of Ammon, not the act of proskynesis, would allow Alexander to advance toward the same goal- as successor of Heracles. To this, Callisthenes concludes, " I beg you, Alexander, to remember Greece." [260]

Sometime after the debate, Plutarch (54.4-6) and Arrian (IV.12) tell of a private banquet at which Callisthenes refused to perform proskynesis before Alexander .[261]

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[259] Badian, 10-11.

[260] Curtius (8.5.22) and Arrian (IV, 12) continue to describe the remainder of the banquet with " ...then the senior Persian officials rose from their seats and one by one groveled on the floor before the King. Leonnatus, a member of the Companions, thought one of them bungled his bow, and burst out laughing at his attitude, which was, indeed, hardly dignified."
Curtius 8.5.22 states that it was Polyperchon who laughed at the Persian.

[261] Chares of Mitylene, the Royal Chamberlain was the source for both Arrian and Plutarch. According to Plutarch, 54.6, Hephaestion maintained that Callisthenes had originally agreed to perform proskynesis but reneged on his promise.

Alexander's kinsmen and intimates had previously agreed to perform proskynesis. The participants drank a toast to Alexander, prostrated themselves, and received a kiss from Alexander. Callisthenes, in his turn, drank a toast but failed to prostrate himself. Alexander was in conversation with Hephaestion and was informed of Callisthenes' omission by Demetrius, one of the Companions. Callisthenes' famous retort " I shall leave one kiss poorer" shows his rejection of the act but did not seem to alter Alexander's intention to propose proskynesis to larger sphere. [262]

Clearly, the attempted introduction of proskynesis was aborted due to incompatibility with Greek tradition as expressed by Callisthenes' response to Anaxarchus. How could a political genius such as Alexander have failed to anticipate the impending opposition to the act of proskynesis ? Callisthenes' abstract literary apotheosis was venial. His account of the sea at Pamphylia performing proskynesis to Alexander was directly inspired by the Homeric precedent of the sea in obeisance to Poseidon. The representation of Alexander as a divine ruler who is reflective of divine nature is not the same as a recognition of Alexander, the god. Compare the act of proskynesis with Philip's statue among the Olympians, representing him in the image of divine. No one was confused between the statue and the man nor between the statues and the Gods. Clearly, the Greek mind was willing to accept a ruler as a mimemata for the divine nature in man at his best. The proposal for proskynesis confused divine representation with the god himself and was unacceptable to the Greek mind. Alexander misjudged the willingness of his subjects to cross the boundary from imitation to reality. If they had, Alexander's authority would have been absolute, as a political genius, he could not have failed to recognize this.

In 324 B.C. Alexander sent to the League of Corinth the Exiles Decree. This document ordered the restoration of political exiles to the city states of the League. Athens stood to lose Samos, from which all Samians had been expelled while Athenian colonists

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[262]Bosworth op.cit. 286. notes that Chares' story is popular with those who maintain proskyneses as an adaptation of Persian ceremony i.e. Balsdon 1950, 379-382; Hamilton 1969, 152-3; contra Badian 1981, 48-54, Goukowsky 1978, I. 47-49.

settled in their place.[263] The Deification Decree, as proposed by some scholars, was an adjunct condition of the Exiles Decree and was politically motivated to insure the enforcement of the Exile's order.[264] Alexander, as hegemon of the League of Corinth was not constitutionally permitted to interfere with Athens' internal affairs. However, if deified, the League would be forced to execute his plan.[265] Athens retained Samos in return for his deification. Unfortunately our three principal biographers do not mention any official request on the part of Alexander, but their silence cannot be taken as contradiction.

The documentation for the deification decree exists only indirectly. The anecdotal evidence seems to presuppose a request by Alexander in some form. Plutarch [266] states that the decree enacting divine honors was introduced by the pro-Macedonian, Demades. He reminded them that " in their concern for heaven, they were likely to lose the earth."[267] If honors were enacted, they were certainly revoked by the commencement of the Lamian War when Demades was fined for the proposal and suffered *antimia* . [268] Aelian's states that, "Alexander sent instructions to the Greeks to vote him a god."[269]In reference to Philip's' statue in the procession at Pella with the Olympian gods, the response adequately established the political nature of the decree and the equally political opposition. Lycurgus' response is recorded by Plutarch: " What sort of God can this be when the first thing you have to do on leaving his temple would be to purify yourself?"[270] The Spartan, Damis

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263 Badian, 11.

264 Much of the German scholarship proposes that these extant comments regarding the worship of Alexander were in response to a demand on the part of Alexander: Wilcken 1970, 391; and Schachermeyer 1973, 525-531. Eduard Meyer 1910, 330-2 argued for the political maneuver and motivation which was supported by Tarn 1948, 370-3; Atkinson 1973, 331-5. While Balsdon, 1950, 383-8; Badian 1981, 54-8 and Bosworth 1988, 288-9 offer a more historical approach. See also Bickerman n 79.

265 W.W. Tarn in Griffiths, *Alexander the Great, the Main Problems,* 174.

266 Plutarch *Mor.*842D

267Demades Val Max 7.2, see Badian op.cit.11.

268 Athen. 6.251b. Dinarchus Dem 94, Hyp Dem. fr 8 col 31.

269 Aelian, *VH* 2.19 also in Athenaeus, 6.251b in Bosworth 286.

270Plutarch, *Mor.* 842D

responded: " As Alexander wants to be a god, let him be one."[271] Demosthenes' derision is famous: "Let him be son of Zeus and of Poseidon too if he wishes."[272] These extant remarks comprise the evidence, though indirect, for Alexander's decree. While it was hotly debated, it served as another increment towards the divine rule of Alexander.

Alexander's childhood friend and closest companion was Hephaestion. Alexander bestowed on him the office of '*chiliarch* ' which distinguished him as 'the first subordinate'. Plutarch (Alex 72) states that after the sudden death of Hephaestion in the autumn of 324 B.C, Alexander grieved uncontrollably. Desiring that Hephaestion might be granted divine honors, he consulted the oracle of Ammon. His request was denied and the god diminished Hephaestion's honors to heroic status.[273] Athens accepted Hephaestion's heroic honors and Alexander took deliberate action to insure the lasting recognition of this cult. The propriety of Hephaestion's heroic cult would demand that Alexander's stature was higher. The hero cult of one of Alexander's servants could only mean that the King himself had been deified. Hypereides[274] states that the Macedonian oppression of the Greeks require that they reject their religious traditions by the practice of honors for living men; but

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271 Plutarch *Mor* 219E and *Ael.* VH II. 19

272 Badian 54 :Din. I94. "Hyperides reports his quip (*In Dem.* 31).' Demosthenes at this point was (ironically) willing to go so far as to recognize his divine sonship...' Unfortunately there is a gap of 13 lines of 15-20 letters each in the Hyperides papyrus, at this point, before the next securely legible part ,'He wished to set up a statue to King Alexander, God Invincible'. Although, strictly speaking, we cannot prove that there had been no change of subject, i.e. that the statement still concerns Demosthenes, this is the obvious conclusion when the passage is read together with Dinarchus (1c.), where it is reported that Demosthenes, still in Alexander's lifetime, in the end said:' The *demos* must not dispute the grant of celestial honours to Alexander.'"

273 Arrian 7. 23. 6. " Alexander had sent special envoys to the shrine of Ammon to inquire what honours he might with propriety pay to the dead Hephaestion. The envoys now returned with news that Ammon permitted sacrifice to be offered him as to a "hero" or a "demi god". Alexander was much pleased, and from that day forward saw that his friend was honored with a hero's rites.
Plutarch 72: " Alexander's grief was uncontrollable. As a sign of mourning he gave orders that the manes and tails of all horses should be shorn, demolished the battlements of all the neighboring cities, crucified the unlucky physician and forbade the playing of flutes or any other kind of music for a long time until finally an oracle was announced from the temple of Ammon, commanding him to honor Hephaestion and sacrifice to him as a hero."

274 Hyper. *Epitaph.* 21 Bickerman, *Athenaeum* 41, 1963, 70f.

that an even greater outrage was expressed for their compulsion to honor their servants as heroes. In this, Hypereides seems to imply that a cult of Alexander was extant but not formally imposed.

In the spring of 323 B.C. envoys, wearing ceremonial wreaths, were granted audience with Alexander. They placed golden chaplets on his head a move which has been interpreted as a ritual indicating deification of Alexander.[275] Badian [276] states that some Greek cities in Asia Minor worshipped the King as a god in his lifetime, even earlier than Athens apparently did. After Alexander's conquest of Ephesus, the city established a cult to him.[277] Yet the relation between the king and the Ephesians was guarded, at best. The Ephesians bristled in reaction to his intended dedication of a new temple of Artemis, the antecedent of which burnt at the moment of his birth. The *bon mot* is well attested: "it was inappropriate for a god to dedicate offerings to gods." In retaliation, Alexander's withheld genuine freedom for the city and privileges [278] only to rededicate a Temple to Athena Polias at the next city on his itinerary, Priene. Pliny (35.92) describes a well known portrait by Apelles of Alexander wielding the thunderbolt in the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus.[279] This portrait was commissioned by Alexander, the payment for which was

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[275] Arrian 7.23.2 Successive delegations from Greece also presented themselves, and the delegates, wearing ceremonial wreaths, solemnly approached Alexander and placed golden chaplets on his head, as if their coming were a ritual in honor of a god. But, for all that, his end was near. See also Balsdon, *Historia*, 1950, 383ff; Wilcken, 209-215 contra: Badian, 15.

[276] E. Badian, 15

[277] Strabo XIV. 1. 22" Now Alexander, Artemidorus adds, promised the Ephesians to pay all expenses, both past and future, on the condition that he should have the credit therefor, on the inscription, but they were unwilling, just as they would have been far more unwilling to acquire glory by sacrilege and a spoilation of the temple. And Artemidorus praises the Ephesian who said to the king that it was inappropriate for a god to dedicate offerings to gods."

[278] E. Badian, "Alexander and the Greeks of Asia" in *Ancient Society and Institutions,* Studies presented to Victor Ehrenberg on his 75th birthday. Oxford, 1966, 45.

[279] Pliny 35.92 " He also painted in the Temple of Artemis at Ephesos, a portrait of Alexander holding a thunderbolt for twenty talents: the fingers seem to stand out and the thunderbolt to project from the picture; the reader should remember that all this was done with four colors. For this picture he was paid in gold coins, reckoned not by number but by measure."

reputed to be large. The location of the work would not be as remarkable if Alexander had not been wielding the thunderbolt. The altar to the ruler was always σονναός θεός, by including the ruler's statue with the Olympian gods and by their sharing of their worship. The iconographic implication of Alexander as Zeus wielding the thunderbolt in the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus suggests a veneration beyond the honors normally granted to the ruler.[280]

These events provide the historical foundation from which to analyze the imagery and the interpretation of his political apotheosis. The ancient forms of veneration towards gods and heroes were in the process of dissolution prior to Alexander's claim, for the veneration of a hero was insufficient tribute to the fourth century rulers. The development of the ruler cult provided a political tool with which to manipulate, and to become manipulated. Alexander's stature and duties as a Macedonian king presupposed his divine ancestry and his supernatural nature. His Aristotelian training cultivated his intellect reinforcing his elevated status as a 'god among men.' Callisthenes' epic style and divine language was acceptable, as long as it remained metaphorical. Polybius [281] agreed that "Callisthenes spoke of a man whose soul, all admit, had something in it greater than human..." The resistance to his introduction of *proskynesis* indicated that his deification was not accepted as reality. Instead, he was able to attain divine rule which evolved from a mythological paradigm. His proskynesis shifted the divine veneration from a political honor to a religious realm forcing participation on his subjects. However, posthumous cults to Alexander were fully accepted in Asia Minor and the islands. Thrasos held a festival in honor of Alexander, but it has not been securely dated[282] and the cult at Erythrae held a position of priesthood for 'King Alexander' until 270 B.C. The Ionian

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[280] Badian, 72.

[281] Polybius, XII 23.4

[282] Bosworth, 289 Badian, states that the cults of Asia Minor were instituted during the last four years of Alexander's reign.

koinon held an annual festival on Alexander's birthday becoming a prototype for the deification of the Roman Emperor.[283]

Alexander's promotion of his divine rule presented a contradictory situation that was eventually resolved through mimesis. On the one hand, he was a mortal who lived and fought with his troops. On the other hand, he was accorded a divine status by his subjects and actively pursued this status by his visit to Ammon, proposal for proskynesis and by the decree to Athens. The expression of Alexander's divinity through representation was acceptable as long as it did not contradict the initial premise. That is, the image of Alexander's divine sonship; the metaphorical divinity of Alexander in Homeric terms; and the consecration of divine honors by decree were *mimemata* that did not invalidate reality. The introduction of proskynesis contradicted reality forcing the participation of the subjects in opposition to their values. The verbal and visual image was the most important vehicle for the king to bridge the gap between his actual and ideal nature.

V. Alexander as the Successor of Heracles

> "I for my part hold that there is no limit to the labors of a noble man except the labors themselves, those of them which lead to fair deeds. Fair deeds belong to those who undergo labor and take chances. And it is sweet to live with arete and to die leaving behind immortal fame. Do you not know that our ancestor Heracles would not, by remaining in Tiryns or Argos, or in the Peloponnesus or Thebes, have attained such fame as to become or to seem a god, having been a mortal? "(Alexander, Arr.5.26)

Heracles was the figure of the ideal ruler due to his superior strength, virtue and knowledge. Alexander's political and military genius rendered him *kosmokrator* possessing unprecedented world dominion. The ancient world must have seen the clear association between the historical and the legendary figures. Heracles' deification resulted from his outstanding ἀρετή. The reports of Alexander's achievements, both historical and legendary served to established Alexander's ἀρετή as being not only equal to but greater than Heracles', The logical implication suggests that Alexander, as Heracles'

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[283]Habicht, 1970, 17-25, Badian, 1981, 59-63, Bosworth, 1988, 289; SIG 3 1014 line 111.

successor, was equally a divine king. Alexander's image and campaign took on a mythological mien and he consciously strove to imitate his ancestor and become the successor of Heracles. The ancient sources corroborate accounts of Alexander's emulation of Heracles' conquests. Indeed, after the death of Darius,[284] Alexander, as victor of the pan-Hellenic campaign against the Persians rejected the desire of his troops for a homeward march, and redirected his quest toward "the ends of the earth" thereby inaugurating the 'mythic phase' of his campaign.[285] In fact, there exists a wealth of visual and literary references to Alexander as a deified ruler which firmly establishes the parallel. The legendary presentation of Alexander's ἀρετή in Heraclean terms is precisely the sustenance of artists. Therefore, for the purposes of this study, legend or myth may be as good as history. An avowedly unverifiable tale may be as suggestive and stimulating as a trustworthy account of actual events, and may inspire similar insight. The romantic legends of Alexander's exploits provide useful evidence for the interpretation of Alexander's Heraclean ἀρετή and his succession of divine kingship.

The promotion of Alexander's divinity required an explicit comparison between the achievements of Alexander and the labors of Heracles. Callisthenes, Anaxarchus and the score of Alexander historians advanced just such a parallel to the extent that the equation between Alexander and Heracles became a common topos in the historical narrative. After the death of Darius, the Persian campaign was victoriously concluded and the troops expected a homeward march. However, Alexander continued towards the "ends of the world" and surpassed his ancestor's achievements by succeeding at Aornos; by his conquest at Tyre; and by surpassing the pillars of Heracles.

The news of his exploits easily slipped between military reports and fantasy. These adventure stories became the basis of his subsequent historical biographies. The historians wrote for the public's curiosity and entertainment while maintaining varying degrees of

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[284] May, 330 B.C.

[285] L. Edmunds, *The Religiosity of Alexander*, 369

faithfulness to fact. Subsequently, the Alexander legend became an historical romance including tales of remote locations, superhuman feats and frightening monsters. Most importantly, at all points in the development of Alexander's legend, the public believed in his ἀρετή . For this is the core of his character that all the sensational accounts share and embellish. A poet, historian or politician must connect with his audience's preconceptions and expectations in order to develop his message. The sensational histories of Alexander would not have sustained a long period of popularity and repetition if it did not draw upon the image that many people wished to believe about him. The promotion of Alexander's political apotheosis rests on the public's acceptance of his Heraclean character.

The circumstances surrounding Alexander's conception and birth were discussed in mythical terms even during his lifetime. Olympias promoted and benefited from such speculation as she confided to Alexander the secret of his conception before he left for Asia.[286] This secret, was of Olympias' impregnation by Zeus disguised as a thunderbolt or as a serpent. Thus Alexander had the same dual paternity as Heracles, and Olympias then urged Alexander to show himself worthy of his lineage. Plutarch recounts the dreams of both Olympias and of Philip concerning Alexander's birth.[287] In this description of the birth of Heracles, Olympias' dream furthers the image of Alexander as a second Heracles. This account reappears in the *Alexander Romance,* embellished with astrological elements. The sight of the snake with Olympias weakened Philip's passion and cooled his affection for her so that from that time on he seldom came to sleep with her.[288] The Syrian version of the Romance provides an elaborate mythological lineage from Ammon to Heracles and Dionysus to Alexander through his conception by a serpent-god. Nectanebos,

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286 Plutarch Alex 2: thunderbolt; Plutarch Alex 3.3 serpent. The report comes from Eratosthenes.

287 Plutarch, Alex 2:"On the night before the marriage was consummated the bride dreamed that there was a crash of thunder, that her womb was struck by a thunderbolt and that there followed a blinding flash from which a great sheet of flame blazed up and spread far and wide before it finally died away.

288 Ps. Callisthenes 13.28

the exiled Egyptian king turned magician, sleeps with Olympias in the form of a serpent, a ram, Heracles, Dionysus and finally as himself.

Through Aristander's interpretation, Plutarch relates Philip's dream before the birth of Alexander. In this dream, Philip saw himself "in the act of sealing up his wife's womb, and upon the seal he had used there was engraved, so it seemed to him, the figure of a lion." [289] Plutarch's treatment of Alexander's birth foreshadows his divine nature and provides a mythological portent to Alexander's achievements surpassing his father's. [290] Discussion regarding Alexander's divine conception and birth may have begun earlier, but could not have been well developed prior to Alexander's ascension to the throne to avert any suspicion of his legitimacy. Much later, the Byzantine manuscript for the Romance describes Alexander's rage at the charge of illegitimacy as resembling a new Heracles at the feast of the Centaurs and Lapiths.[291]The stories surrounding the birth of Alexander prepare the mythological groundwork for Alexander's divine rule. Heracles provided the example and his dual paternity became a shared image in order to explain the latter's godhead to the populace. Zeus is the father of Heracles; Zeus-Ammon is the father of Alexander. Thus contemporary accounts of Alexander's lineage, conception and birth take on the tone of the mythological conception of Heracles.

The legend of Bucephalus serves to further develop the mythological tone of Alexander's biography. The horse was named for a white blaze in the middle of his forehead that resembled an ox's head.[292] This seems to be indicative of a breed from

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289 Plutarch *Alex.*2.7

290Similarly, Ouranos contained his offspring within Gaia's womb to prevent them from usurping his power. Kronos' subsequent emasculation of Ouranos is a symbol of the son superseding his father. Zeus, for his part was prophesied to surpass his father, and the subjugation of Kronos and the Titans by Zeus completes the cycle.After Philip was assassinated, Alexander inherited the Pan-Hellenic cause superseding Philip's campaign by his victory .

291 A.R. Anderson, "Heracles and his Successors", *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* vol. 39,1928.p, 22.

292 Arrian An V. 19.5

Thessaly.[293] According to the tradition, Bucephalus was savage, untamed and beyond the skills of the royal trainers. Alexander successfully mounted and rode the horse after which Philip exclaimed " My son, seek thee a kingdom equal to thy self; Macedonia has not room for thee."[294] The *Alexander Romance* continues the mythical tone of this episode by describing the horse's speed as exceeding that of Pegasus and Areion.[295] Philip sent to the Delphic oracle to find out who his successor would be, he received the response that whosoever shall ride the wild horse Bucephalus through the streets of Pella shall not only be his successor but become *kosmokrator* as well. Upon hearing this, Philip expected the coming of a new Heracles.[296] Some scholars have suggested that this prophecy derives from an ancient Macedonian oracle promising the royal crown to him who succeeded in breaking the wild horse as Heracles rode the horses of Diomedes.[297] It is clear, however, that the nature of the Bucephalus episode in Alexander's biography portrays Alexander's ἦθος as a counterpart to Heracles'. The exclamation of Philip resounds with the recognition of Alexander's supersession of his father's reign.

After the assassination of Philip, Alexander quickly assumed his inherited position as the hegemon of the Corinthian League and commander of the Hellenic campaign against the Persians. He had forced the Greeks to recognize him in this role by renewal of the treaty that Philip had made with the Greeks which was valid for Philip's successor. Additionally, by his identification with Achilles and Agamemnon, and his evocation of the Trojan Wars and the Persian War of 480, he evoked not just the Pan-Hellenic but the sacred aspect of the war on which he embarked in Asia to an even greater extent than Philip had ever done. [298] Alexander's reply to Darius in rejection of the

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293 Arrian, A 5.19.5; Pliny, N.H. VIII, 154; Plutarch Alex 6. Strabo 15.698 give the size of the head as the descriptive origin of name.
294 Plutarch, *Alex* 6.
295 Ps. Callisthenes, I,13.
296 Ps. Callisthenes I,15.
297 A.B. Anderson, 17.
298 Badian, 1966, 43.

Persian King's offer for peace underlines the Macedonian nationalistic motivation for the campaign.[299] "As supreme commander of all Greece, I invaded Asia because I wished to punish Persia for this Act- an act which must be laid wholly to your charge." Alexander identifies himself as the defender of Hellenes. He continued, stating his punitive intent, and identified Darius as the representative of all Persia. This is the *raison d'etre* of his Persian campaign, 334 B.C.

In 330 B.C. the death of Darius suggested the victorious completion of the Persian campaign and implied a homeward march. This was precisely the reaction of his anxious troops. [300] Curtius relates the soldiers anticipation and the rumors of going home which they circulated.[301] Plutarch[302]states that Alexander selected only the best to accompany him and after consulting with his commanders, called a meeting of the Assembly. In his address, Alexander persuaded the soldiers to remain in order to subdue the territories. The address served to motivate his troops to complete the Pan-Hellenic campaign and to rekindle their enthusiasm.[303]

On the Hyphasis River, in the Summer of 326 B.C., Alexander summoned his commanders to propose a river crossing and a subsequent march into Asia. The commanders opposed his plan and a sacrifice proved unfavorable.[304] His companions,

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299 Arrian, An. 2.14. 4-6

300Curtius 6.2. 3-4; Plutarch *Alex* 47.1; Diod. 17.74.3.

301 Curtius 6.2. 15ff:...gossip, the vice of idle soldiery, spread without authority that the king, content with what he had accomplished, had decided to return forthwith to Macedonia. They ran as though crazed to their tents and made ready their packs for the journey; you would believe that the signal to march had been given throughout the whole camp.....Alarmed, as was natural, the king, who had determined to traverse the lands of the Indus and the remotest parts of the Orient, summoned the leaders of his forces to his tent, and with tears in his eyes, complained that he was being recalled from the midcourse of his glory, to take back to his native land the fortune of one who was vanquished rather than that of a victor; that it was not cowardice on the part of his soldiers that stood in his way, but the envy of the gods, who had inspired in the bravest of men a sudden longing for their native land, to which they would return a little later with greater glory and fame."
The speech is not historical, but pointedly Homeric.

302 Plutarch, *Alex* 47.1-4.

303 Curtius, 6.2.15; Diod 17.74. 3-4; Plutarch Alex 47. 1-4; Just. 12.3.4.

304 Arrian, An 6.3.2.

including Ptolemy, Arrian's primary source, convinced the leader to remain stationed. This speech, as reported by Arrian[305] though not verbatim, is indicative of Ptolemy's account and is certainly credible. Alexander's address succinctly states his intention: to complete the conquest of the world to the east beyond India and then to turn west to the Pillars of Heracles. Thus he will have surpassed the achievement of his ancestor , Heracles.

The Pan-Hellenic campaign which Alexander resumed against Persia in 334 B.C. was an entirely different mission from the goals stated by Alexander two years later on the Hyphasis. The Macedonian army, on a nationalistic campaign was loyal and tireless. This same army was reluctant and suspicious of Alexander's mythological quest. In point of fact, the nature of Alexander's Assemblies carried the tone of an address to mercenary troops with promises of riches and booty.[306] Callines, an officer in the Companion cavalry told Alexander that the army's reluctance stemmed from the perception that Alexander no longer regarded them as kinsmen. In his subsequent addresses to his troops, the king never failed to call upon his Argive ancestor, Heracles.[307] For it is this pan-Hellenic god that symbolized not only Alexander's origins and duties but he is the important paradigm for the nature of his Eastern campaign. Furthermore, for Alexander, the emulation of Heracles' exploits, and surpassing his achievements was a goal in itself. If Alexander's ἀρετή is equal to or greater than Heracles', then Alexander was as meritorious of divine rule as Heracles.

In 333 B.C., at Gordium, Alexander attempted the apparently impossible task of untying a knot of a yoke in the temple of Zeus. It was prophesied that he who successfully accomplished this task would become the king of Asia. Alexander performed the "miracle" and his success was hailed by the gods with thunder and lightning in the night

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305 Arrian, An 5.26.2 ff see quotation p 1.
306 Edward M. Anson, "The Evolution of the Macedonian Army Assembly", *Historia*, XL, 1991p234.
307 E.M. Anson, 236.

that followed.[308] Callisthenes appears to have been the original narrator of the episode and this historian's similar inspiration by Homer is apparent.[309] Alexander believed that the god at Gordium was Zeus, and the celestial response was in confirmation of the fulfillment of the oracle.[310] The effect on Alexander must have been profound. The victory at Issus, the long siege at Tyre and the invasion of Egypt and penetration into India, fulfill the portent at Gordium. The mythical nature of the ensuing campaign must have been due, in part, to this event.

On the approach to Tyre, Alexander was met by the city's envoys and expressed his intent to sacrifice to Heracles in "the most ancient Temple to Heracles known to man."[311] The city denied the Persians and the Macedonians access beyond the fortification walls causing Alexander to commence a long siege on the city. While the speech in Arrian revealed the military and logistic importance of the city, the appearance of Heracles to Alexander in a dream attested to the personal importance of the siege.[312] In his dream, Alexander was greeted by Heracles who invited him to enter the city. Aristander interpreted the dream relating the seven month long struggle to the labors which Heracles had accomplished. The conquest of Tyre, the most difficult single operation of Alexander's career, became the equivalent of Heracles' labor.[313] Upon entering the city, Alexander sacrificed to Heracles, held a parade in his honor, and rededicated a ship in the god's name.[314] Only the Tyrians who sought refuge in the Temple of Heracles were spared slavery.[315]

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308 Arrian, An. 2.3 and Plut. Alex 18.
309 L.L.Pearson, 38.
310 L.Edmunds, 378-379.
311 Arrian, An. 2.16
312 Arrian, An. 2.18.1
313 Tarn, 39
314 Arrian, An 3.6.1.
315 L. Edmunds, 374.

Alexander continued his conscious effort to rival the achievements of Heracles by his capture of the Rock of Aornos.[316] According to Arrian, Heracles intended to lay siege to this rock but refrained due to earthquake tremors taken as opposing divine signs. Strabo's version has Heracles unsuccessfully attacking the fortified rock three times. Alexander captured the rock "so to rival the god's reputation" (Curt VIII.85.2) [317] Alexander's troops laid siege "for seven days and seven nights." (Curt. VIII.85.2) The last night brought victory for Alexander who immediately sacrificed to his ancestor, Heracles.[318] Alexander's conquest of impossible tasks had become an acceptable equation to the labors of Heracles.

At the farthest reaches of his Indian expedition, Alexander set up altars in imitation of his ancestor and to establish his supersession of Heracles' achievements. By the end of the summer, in pursuit of the ends of the earth, Alexander sets fire to his own baggage wagons a symbolic act, which was imitated by his men.[319] They would have no booty, no prize to show for their courage. The heroic ideal was the *raison d'être* for Alexander's quest.

The common Greek citizen's perception of his mythical quest can only be ascertained by inference but one must have been overwhelmed by the magnitude of Alexander's accomplishments. While his heroism was seemingly meaningless to Diogenes[320] and comical to Menander their efforts must have had a reciprocal effect of the formation of the Alexander legend.[321] Aeschines, for example, derides Demosthenes for failing to take advantage of Alexander's 'withdrawal outside the outermost points of the north and almost beyond the borders of the inhabited world.'[322] In fact, unknown to

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316 Arrian, An.4.28.1-4; Diod. 17.85.2; Curt. 8.11.2; Strabo. 125. i 7-8.
317 A. Stein, *On Alexander's Track to the Indus,* 1929; 144. Sir A. Stein identified the location and testifies to the rock's impregnable terrain.
318 Arrian, An. 4.3.6.
319 Plutarch, 57.1
320 Plutarch, *Alex* 14.2; cf. Hamilton commentary 34.
321 L.L. Gunderson, *Alexander's letter to Aristotle about India,* 1980, 5.
322 L.L. Gunderson, 6

Aeschines, Alexander was headed toward Bactria in pursuit of Bessus which was to many, the end of the earth. Though the orator's quip was hyperbolic, he voiced what many believed. In this way the legend of Alexander was taking shape in the mind of the common man and it must have continued to evolve through daily conversation. The *Alexander Romance* was written for the entertainment and curiosity of the citizen and is a valuable account of their perceptions of Alexander.

The sources for the development of the Romance include the tradition of the historical romance as exemplified by Ctesias.[323] The dry histories were embellished for a wider public with the inclusion of themes and subjects not previously treated. Additionally, the rising interest in the national heritage of a subjugated group gave added impetus to the popularity of the genre. The letter romance originated in the *prosopopoia* exercises of the rhetorical schools.[324] There also exists in the *Romance* examples of longer letters which originated independently from the *prosopopoia.*[325] These longer letters seemed to make no attempt to imitate an historical figure rather, they function to report fantastical adventures in far away lands.

It is one of these longer letters which help to decipher the ordinary Greek citizens' perception of Alexander and his exploits. "The Letter from Alexander to Aristotle about India" survives in a Latin version of the original Greek independently from the Romance. It was written shortly after the death of the king, between 316 B.C. and 308 B.C [326] The author was possibly a Macedonian Bematist who accompanied Alexander on his expedition. Significantly, the text of the Letter assumes a prior knowledge on the part of the

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323 L.L. Gunderson, 15-16.

324 The " last days" (Ps.- Call. III 30-33); the "Conversation with the Gymnosophists (Ps.-Call. III.6) and the "Letter from Darius to Alexander" L.L. Gunderson, 123,

325 The Letter from Alexander to Aristotle about India" (Ps. Call III. 17) "The Letter to Olympias and Aristotle (Ps. Call II 23-41) and "The Letter to Olympias" (Ps. Call III 27): L.L. Gunderson, 125.

326 L.L. Gunderson, 132: to detail the evidence and reasoning used to date and attribute authorship are beyond the scope the this study. I accept the analysis of the text and the conclusions by Gunderson.

reader regarding Alexander's biography and history. The adventure detailed in the text drew numerous sophisticated parallels to Heracles that assumed a knowledge of the contemporary analogue. It has been suggested that this letter was written in order to explain to the common citizen Alexander's purpose for his oracular visit and to connect that visit with his Indian campaign.[327] In doing so, it promoted the Heraclean reference and provided a legendary account of his exploits. The letter suggests that Alexander, upon learning of his divine sonship, set off to the ends of the earth to prove himself as the successor of Heracles. This author could not have proposed such a concept to the public unless there was a preconceived notion. In fact, the mythological references to Heracles were so firmly established that the author was able to draw upon them as signifiers of his postulate. The "man in the street" was connecting Alexander's campaign with Heracles' mythology before the death of Alexander.

As soon as fifty years after the death of Alexander, Theocritus(17,13-33) represented Ptolemy and Alexander as deified in heaven, serving as the paladins of Heracles, to whom they both trace their lineage. They are ageless, escorting Heracles; the one carrying his bow the other his club. The apotheosis of Alexander implying immortality in the company of the gods is a reiteration of the apotheosis of Heracles. Furthermore, the poet draws a comparison that is well established for Alexander in order to promote the apotheosis of Ptolemy.

Alexander, wheather motivated by politics or piety, sought to attain the stature of a divine ruler through the emulation of Heracles' ἀρετή. His political apotheosis evolved through a multitude of historical, political, and mythical increments. His political genius separated him from the masses and required a supernatural definition. Aristotle taught that the ruler must attain this elevated stature through arete, which was knowledge. He must have instructed Alexander in poetry equating him with the ruler *par excellence,* Heracles. As king of the Macedonians, his succession from Heracles was responsible for his

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327 L.L. Gunderson, 138.

position and his supernatural nature. Heroes before Alexander were bestowed divine veneration and Alexander was most certainly aware of Philip's claim. Alexander's genius required expression in divine language and like extraordinary leaders before him, he sought this political honor. The legend which surrounded his character and his campaign proves the receptivity of the Hellenic audience. Alexander's political stature was given expression by his posthumous divine ruler cult, but his genius was not satisfactorily explained by the political veneration. In the minds of his followers, he was not merely an astute leader or a courageous hero, they looked to describe his nature in religious terms-as a second Heracles.

CHAPTER 3

THE VISUAL SYNTHESIS OF ALEXANDER AND HERACLES

Alexander emulated Heracles as the mythological examplar of the divine ruler. His conquests took on the mien of Heraclean labors by which he too, 'civilized the world.' Their shared legendary references became visually translated into shared physical features. This public image of the king became a composite portrait of Heracles and Alexander. Most importantly, Alexander's appropriation of his ancestor's attributes expressed not only his relationship to the hero-god but it also invited comparison. Alexander's royal images were used to symbolize and concretize social, political and religious conditions. The king was elevated by and from his subjects and his composite image, as Alexander-Heracles expressed the nature of his super human stature. Their common iconography became widely acknowledged and accepted to such an extent that the later kings used the iconography to express their relationship first to Alexander then to Heracles.

I. The Heracles Club as a Royal Insignia

The Temeanid dynasty not only traced their ancestry from Heracles, but his attributes served as symbols for their monarchy. From the excavations at Vergina in the main chamber of Tomb II, an exquisite chryselephantine shield was found.[328] The identification of the tomb has generally been accepted as that of Philip II, and therefore, it is dated to 336 B.C. [329] The form for the shield was made of wood, over which layers of

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328 Andronicos, *Vergina* 136 ff.

329 Hammond, 28:"Pending the final publication, it is beyond reasonable doubt that these tombs are those of Amyntas III (Tomb I), Philip II (Tomb II), and Alexander IV (Tomb III)."

leather were stretched. On top of the leather was a guilded layer, the central emblem was composed of an ivory relief sculpture. The iconography of this relief sculpture is uncertain. It depicts a youth who is nude except for his chlamys which falls in thick folds to his left. He is standing on a rock ledge, and kneeling at his feet is a young woman made of ivory which has greatly disintegrated. Attached to the interior of the shield was a small, rectangular gold plaque with a relief of the Heracles club. [330](Figure 8) This relief of Heracles' club served as a royal emblem. It was the instrument with which Heracles fought evil monsters and restored νόμος. The symbol of Heracles became the symbol of Macedonian kingship. The shield was the king's ceremonial weapon, as the material and workmanship would suggest. Philip's ceremonial shield served as an effigy of the actual shield with which he, as the Macedonian king, would use in battle, fighting enemies and restoring νόμος. The club of Heracles was a symbol for the Macedonian king as σωτήρ. The use of Heracles' weapons symbolized the royal ancestry but importantly, his club served as a symbol for the role of the Macedonian monarchy.

II. The Lion Hunt- From Royal Sport to Heraclean Labor.

The lion hunt was a royal pursuit in the tradition of Heracles hunting the Nemean lion. The mythological hero slew the lion that was sent by Hera to save the town from the ravaging beast and wore the pelt as his attribute throughout the centuries. The depiction of Heracles fighting the Nemean lion is the most popular theme in all of Greek art.[331] The lion itself was a symbol of royalty and Heracles' domination over the beast attested to his physical superiority making him a worthy leader. In later versions of his mythology, his struggle and subsequent victory symbolized his virtuous character as meritorious of rule. The iconography of Heracles' lion hunt was so firmly established in Greek art and in the

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330 Andronicos, *Vergina* , 137. The placque measures 0.06 x 0.04 m.

331 Frank Brommer, *Heracles, The Twelve Labors of the Hero in Ancient Art and Literature,* (New Rochelle, New York: Aristide D. Carazas, 1986), 7.

Greek mind that the depiction of a lion hunt would naturally suggest this famous labor of Heracles.

Lion Hunt: Philip's Tomb.

A painted mural found on the facade of Philip's Tomb in Vergina, depicts a lion hunt. The royal iconography reinforces the identity of the interred. Xenophon's treatise *On Hunting* (XI. 1) mentions that lions, leopards, wolves, panthers, bears were to be found in Macedonia and describes in detail the manner in which they were hunted.[332] It is therefore probable that this frieze is not only a chronicle of an actual event but equally a depiction of the royal sport. This painting is located in the frieze created between the cornice capping the trigliphs and metopes and the geison.(Figures 9 & 10) The painting covers the entire field created by the parallel cornices which is 5.56 m. long and 1.16 m. high.[333] The painting is executed in watercolors, which was probably started *a fresco* and was completed *a secco.* [334] The royal lion hunt takes place in a sacred grove as indicated by a towering stele covered with fillets. It was once thought that the columnar stele, frequently depicted in Pompeian landscape paintings, was used to establish the central axis of a composition. The origin of such a pictorial element proves to be Macedonian.[335] This is true in the Vergina lion hunt. The stele is rendered at an oblique angle causing one side to be greatly highlighted and the other to be in shadow. An indication of the light source and perspective are achieved by the placement and representation of this structure. Faint mountains appear in the background giving a remarkable illusion of deep space for this early work. In the middle ground, four trees and rocks comprise the remainder of the landscape which acts only as a backdrop for the animal and human figures. Seven men on

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[332]Andronicos, *Vergina*, 238.
[333] Andronicos, 106.
[334] Andronicos, 114.
[335] P. H. Von Blanckenhagen, "Painting in the Time of Alexander and Later" *Macedonia and Greece in Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Times,* Studies in the History of Art , Symposium Series I,vol.10, National Gallery of Art, Washington 1982, 258.

foot and three men on horses are aided in the hunt by nine hunting dogs. The six wild beasts include: a boar, buck, lion, bear and deer.

The horizontal field and the dynamic nature of the iconography challenges the artist to present a balanced composition while maintaining vraisemblance. The hunt is arranged into four groups. The two groups at the outer edges are comprised of two humans and two beasts. The left edge shows a young nude hunter kneeling over a wounded deer while the nude, mounted youth aims his spear at a buck racing out of the frame. The group at the extreme right is comprised of two male youths. One youth wears a short tunic an animal pelt around his back, sandals and a flat helmet. He holds a net with which he will ensnare one of the beasts, presumably the wounded bear perched on the rocks behind him. His companion is poised ready to thrust his spear at the lunging bear. His headgear is a rounded small, brimmed cap that covers his hair without obscuring his face. These two outer groups, by means of the figure's postures and the direction of their gaze terminate the composition with a stable x-shape.

The center of the frieze contains the most dynamic figures. The artist was particularly adept at the presentation of the human figure in extreme postures rendered frontal, from the back and at a 3/4 view. The nude hunters on foot are poised in an exaggerated heroic lunge. This is especially true of the youth brandishing an ax behind the lion. His face and expression is legible and individualized suggesting that this is a portrait of one of the *Paides*.[336] The two mounted figures are isolated by virtue of their position. The rearing horse carries a bearded adult who is postulated to be Philip II, the Macedonian king interred within the tomb. An ivory portrait within the tomb resembles that of the bearded horseman especially through the prominent superciliary arch, a known feature of

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336 Androincos, 117. see Arrian Alex 4.13.1:"It was a practice going back to Philip's time that the sons of Macedonian notables who had reached adolescence should be enlisted for the service of the king; and besides general attendance on his person, the duty of guarding him when asleep had been entrusted to them. Again, whenever the king rode out, they received the horses from the grooms and led them up, and they mounted the king in Persian fashion and were his companions in the rivalry of the chase."

Philip. His figure is given additional prominence by the rearing horse which places him above all the other figures in the composition. Furthermore, the head of this horseman is directly in line with the spear pointing to the fatal wound of the lion. The eye is naturally drawn from this central action to the face of the king. The horse rears toward the left while the figure of the king lunges to the right forming a balanced X-shaped unit. The horse and rider form part of a triangular composition, completed by Philip's spear which is only moments away from killing the lion, and the beast itself, who glares up at the king. This pyramid forms the center of activity around which the subordinate figures react. It was the King's prerogative to give the *coup de grace* in a hunt, particularly to the royal beast, the lion.[337] Furthermore, Macedonian custom required the king and the royal family to hunt on horseback.[338] Therefore, the identity of the remaining two mounted horsemen becomes discernible.

The central mounted youth is framed by dead tree trunks. His horse is rearing at an 3/4 view and the boy's face is turned inward toward the viewer. He is poised, ready to thrust his spear into the lion located a considerable distance away. Scholars have postulated that this is a true portrait of Alexander based on his most prominent feature- his eyes, as well as his chaplet and his central position within the composition.[339] The remaining mounted youth is likely to be Arrhideaus, the mentally afflicted son of Philip II. This horseman is turned away from the viewer, traveling towards the background away from the lion hunt. This iconographic device serves to divert attention from this prince at the time of the succession of the throne.

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337 Curt 7.6.7 and Curt. 8.1.14.

338 Curt. 8.1.18.

339 It is perhaps more tempting to identify Bucephalos in this work by his large forked blaze that "resembled an ox-head" (Arrian , Anab. V.19.5) and deep forelocks and huge stature as described by Plutarch (Alex.6.). Upon tameing the wild horse, Alexander rode him throughout the city. Philip recognized his son's fulfillment of the oracle and expected the coming of a new Heracles, he dismounted kissed him and said,"My son, seek thee a kingdom equal to thyself; Macedonia has not room for thee."

The posture of mounted Alexander recalls the mounted Alexander in the Battle of Issus mosaic in Pompeii. However, in the mosaic, Alexander's head is turned in profile giving his enlarged eye an over-exaggerated effect. It is generally agreed that the mosaic is a copy of an original painting by Philoxenos of Eretria, 330-300 B.C. The mosaic represents the king in combat with Darius. He is shown bareheaded, and armored, fighting on horseback. The enlarged eyes of the young Alexander of the royal hunt show a definite affinity with those of Alexander in the mosaic.[340] The fact that they are always represented as large and expressive is corroborated by Plutarch's description of Alexander.[341] In fact, it is Alexander's large eyes that become a contributing feature in the identification of many of his portraits and one that will be considered below. [342]

Alexander Sarcophagus

Hunting was clearly a favorite pastime of Alexander's as he is again represented in a lion hunt on Side B of the Alexander Sarcophagus. Side A of the coffin, shows Alexander and his Companions in the Battle of Issus against the Persians. In the battle at Issus (333B.C.) Alexander won Phoenicia and Abdalonymos obtained his throne. The battle depicted opposite the hunting relief is surely this battle. The sarcophagus was found in the nekropolis with three other sculptured coffins . This coffin was probably made for Abdalonymos who was appointed king of Sidon by Alexander in 332, B.C. and died in

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340 Andronicos 117. The author also notes various other similarities between the mosaic at Pompeii and the lion hunt frieze of Philip's Tomb in order to establish a chronology for the tomb. The position of the protagonists, the palette of the works, the position of the horses the unusual dead tree trunks which frame both Alexander figures and the broken spear tips one carried by the bear and another in the lower right of the mosaic attest to the strong affinity between the two works. Schefeld (in Andronicos) postulates that the frieze is an earlier work. The painting of the battle of Issos is dated to 330-317 B.C. This supports the chronology for Philip's tomb of 340-330 B.C.

341 Plutarch Alex 4.

342 R.R.R. Smith *Hellenistic Royal Portraits.* Clarendon Press (1988) 60.

311 B.C. The earliest date for the sarcophagus was set at 325 B.C. as determined by details in military accoutrements and costume. [343]

Side B of the Sarcophagus depicts a lion hunt.(Figure 12) Diodorus[344] tells of a famous royal lion hunting park at Sidon which is located just north of Issus. This famous lion hunt scene was perhaps a hunt at Sidon . In this relief, there are three protagonists who are emphasized by virtue of their position and posture: Alexander, an Oriental horseman who is possibly Abdalmonymos and a Companion of Alexander's.[345] The lion attacks the horse of the Oriental while Alexander rides behind, giving him equal prominence with the figure of Abdalmonymos. Alexander is bareheaded, his hair is short without his characteristic *anastole,* and his features are generalized. Alexander's features do not offer portrait individualization, in fact, these three figures have the same basic head type. [346] The beardless young male faces with short curly hair are sculpted in a classical rounded triangle in front view and are in profile, even and compact. They closely resemble the popular head types" of the late Classical Heracles. [347]The identification of Alexander in the lion hunt comes without the aid of his usual attribute, the lion headdress. Instead, he introduced a diadem and retained the Heraclean analogy by the context.[348] This seems to suggest that the Alexander-Heracles in a lion hunt was a well established iconographic feature and that the artist was drawing upon precedent. Was substitution of Alexander for Heracles so commonplace that the lion hunt itself became a sign of the Macedonian king? If this were

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343 Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture I*, Madison: (1989) 40.

344 Diod. 16.41

345 The identity of the heads is from von Graeve, *Alex. Sark,* in R.R.R.Smith, 63.

346 R.R.R.Smith, 63.

347 See discussion on the Genzano Heracles head, Skopas.

348 R.R.R.Smith, 36:" There already existed in Greek culture a rich stock of headbands used by gods and mortals, and it is much more likely that Alexander took his new royal symbol from here, rather than the East. He adapted, selected, or 'invented' a particular headband-plain white, knotted with free-hanging ends-but one which would be of a generic form familiar to Greeks and Macedonians. In 'origin' it probably meant precisely nothing. In this lay its real value and success as a symbol. Originally empty of meaning, it could take on whatever significance Alexander gave it."

true, the artist of this Sarcophagus was able to introduce Alexander's new attribute, the diadem, in an unambiguous iconographic setting.

The Battle relief on the opposite side of the Sarcophagus presents Alexander mounted on horseback wearing the lion headdress.(Figure 11) Three horsemen are given prominence in a similar manner as the hunt scene, by posture and position. These three figures are of Alexander and his Companions in Boiotian cavalry helmets. Alexander wears a cuirass with shoulder-pieces and lion heads, matching the cuirass found in Philip's tomb.[349] The head type of Alexander in this relief bears the same idealization as the figure of the hunt relief. His head and features as well as those of the Companions are also sculpted in a generalized 'late Classical Heracles type'[350]. Whether this sarcophagus was the product of a local Sidonian workshop or a Greek creation, [351]clearly the depiction of Alexander' portrait had attained an idealized iconographic type. The use of the late Classical Heracles head type for Alexander suggests that the hero's features were frequently substituted for Alexander's to the extent that the latter's portrait became generalized and appropriated the likeness of the former. The lion hunt itself, once the most common iconographic representation of Heracles had been adopted by Alexander and the hero's visage was appropriated. These attributes of the mythological hero are the visual equivalent of the epithet in literature. They help to substantiate the supposition that Alexander's resemblance to Heracles served to promote his kingship to his subjects.

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349 Andronikos, *Vergina* , fig. 95 and 96.
350 R.R.R.Smith, 61.
351 The origin of the piece is unclear and debated: R.R.R. Smith and Ridgway propose a Greek origin.

Craterus Monument

Both Pliny [352] and Plutarch [353] describe a famous sculptural group at Delphi depicting Alexander hunting lions. Epigraphic evidence found at Delphi, dates the dedication of the monument to c.321 B.C.[354] The sculpture was dedicated by Craterus, the son of one of Alexander's lieutenants and a fellow hunting participant, also named Craterus. We learn from the inscription that Alexander was saved from the lion's attack by the elder Craterus who vowed to erect this monument in gratitude. During the hunt, Alexander challenged his companions to match his physical prowess and courage. Alexander's heroic display was noticed by an envoy from Sparta who had accompanied him on the hunt, causing him to remark:" Alexander, you fought nobly with this lion to decide which of you should be king!"[355] While the dialogue is the historian's invention, the sculptural reference attests to the historical accuracy of the event. This monument commemorated the hunt by showing Alexander in mortal danger and proving his ἀρετή. The lion hunt was used by Alexander to reinforce his image of superior physical strength and his royal stature. These were shared attributes of Heracles which implies that Heracles' image was strongly suggested in the representation of Alexander in the Craterus' monument. We are told that Lysippus was able to render the portrait of the king so as to inspire Cassander's awe at the sight of the monument.

A relief depicting a lion hunt from an altar or a column base was found in Messene.(Figure 13) It depicts a mounted horseman in a Macedonian chiton, chlamys and causia charging a lion while a nude figure leans inward towards the beast. This figure wields a double ax and is in a posture reminiscent of the Vergina painting. The nude hunter

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352 Pliny N.H. 34.63-64.

353 Plutarch *Alex* 40.4. "Craterus later had this hunting scene represented in bronze and dedicated it at Delphi: it showed the figures of the lion, the hounds, the king fighting with the lion and Craterus advancing to help him. Some of these sculptures were executed by Lysippus, and some by Leochares."

354 B.C.H xxi p. 598 in P.Perdrizet, "Venatio Alexandri",JHS (1899) 274.

355 Plutarch (Alex) 40.4

holds a lion pelt "as an improvised shield around his left arm in much the same way Heracles' lion pelt served as his armor."[356] The lion is shown attacking a fallen hound while another dog approaches from the right. These dogs are lean and smooth-hair suggesting a similar breed, the Laconian hound, such as those found in the Gnosis mosaic at Pella and the Vergina painting.[357] It has been suggested that this work was inspired by the Craterus monument.[358] This raises two contradictions- Macedonian law obliges the king to remain mounted, and the lion pelt carried by the nude figure on foot, easily alludes to Alexander's association with Heracles. The Vergina painting showed nude hunters without the implication of divinity while the two protagonists, Alexander and Philip, were fully clothed. Yet the relief from Messene shows the mounted hunter clothed and the nude hunter carrying a lion pelt. The identification of Alexander as the nude figure with the lion pelt contradicts the evidence. The posture, nudity and lion pelt were clear visual references to Alexander with the attributes of Heracles. The Messene relief possibly reflects a new iconographic treatment of the king in the royal hunt because the monument was posthumous.

Craterus II was the son of Phila, the daughter of Antipater, whom Craterus I married in autumn 322. The father died in battle in the autumn, 321 B.C. Therefore, Craterus II was an infant at the time of his father's death. [359] Assuming that the son dedicated the monument as an adult, the Craterus monument must have dated to the last years of the century. The latest date of Leochares' production is given to about 320 B.C., and Lysippus could not have worked beyond the end of the century.[360] The Craterus monument commemorated an actual event of two deceased heroes- Alexander and Craterus. Their death liberated the sculptor to invent an heroic vocabulary in which to

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356 *The Search for Alexander*, Exhibition Catalogue (1980) 121.
357 *The Search for Alexander,* 122.
358 J.J.Pollitt,*Art in the Hellenistic Age,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge:(1988) 38. and *Search for Alexander*, 122.
359 Droysen, *Historie de l'Hellenisme,* ii.(1892) 115.
360 P. Perdrized,"Venatio Alexandri"*JHS* (1899), 275.

promote their courage and ἀρετή. The lion hunt most easily parallels the labor of Heracles, the attributes of whom were previously appropriated by Alexander. The sculptor represented Alexander more closely as Heracles: nude, with a lion pelt, and lunging into the beast. This lion hunt iconography became a shared emblem of Alexander as the successor of Heracles.

The Craterus monument would easily have inspired many reproductions though the discovery of a replica is still speculative. Two medallions in the treasury of Tarsus show the profile of Alexander, obverse, and a mounted horseman about to spear a lion, reverse. (Figure 14) This was postulated to have been inspired by the sculptures at Delphi. However, the figure of Craterus I does not appear on the medallion nor is there any danger to the mounted figure. Like the lion hunts previously described, the king is mounted and the lion succumbs to his might.[361]

A small cornelian intaglio may offer a glimpse of the original Craterus monument.[362] (Figure 15) This small medallion shows in the right field a nude figure with one knee on the ground defending himself with his raised sword. The lion, on the same ground line in the center and left, attacks the kneeling figure. Behind the lion in the center of the medallion is a mounted figure who drives his spear into the lions back with an emphatic vertical thrust. The mounted hunter wears a Macedonian causia and chlamys as seen in the Messene relief. Since the Craterus monument was dedicated by the lieutenant who saved Alexander, Alexander should have been depicted in a perilous position. The nudity and the posture of the fallen figure allude to Alexander's image as Heracles, fighting the Nemean lion. The later Heracles myth tells of the hero wrestling the beast and finally killing it with his sword. The kneeling Alexander holds his sword in his right hand which is bent over his head clearly indicating that weapon for the kill. Lysippos was well known

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361 Additional representations of Alexander in a lion hunt are mentioned by Pliny (NH 34.64-6) who reports of a sculpture at Thespiae by the artist Euthuykrates, the son of Lysippos. However, there is no further description of their work.

362 Published by Paul Perdrizet,"Venatio Alexandri" JHS (1899), 273-279.

for his many depictions of Heracles and the idealized figure type represented on the intaglio suggests that of the young hero.

A lion hunt is also the subject of the mosaic in Room C, Building I at Pella which is especially important due to the location of the find.[363] Pella was the birthplace of Alexander the Great and served as the Macedonian capital city. The excavations have revealed a large dwelling with three open courtyards running north to south. The central court is paved with a pebble mosaic in a simple rhomboid pattern framed by a spiral design; the other two are peristyle courts with stone columns of the Ionic order. Various large rooms open onto these courtyards including three rooms along the west side containing the famous mosaics. Based on architectural features of the building, the mosaics have been dated to the last quarter of the fourth century. [364]

The figures consist of light colored stones contrasting with the deep blue-black background. The pebbles were placed compactly hiding the plaster foundation layer. The subtle differentiation in the varying hues of the stones have been used expertly to achieve chiaroscuro. The contour line and the interior anatomical demarcations are emphasized by leaden channeling. The depiction of pictoral space is achieved by a strongly foreshortened ground line. It provides a stage like setting for the silhouetted figures. The emblem is framed by a bead and reel border with subtle shading which gives the illusion of architectural ornamentation. Beyond the architectural frame is a floral boarder with tendrils and flowers foreshortened to give a three dimensional illusion.

The central composition represents two youths closing in on a central snarling lion.(Figure 16) The figure on the left wears a chlamys and a causia while the figure on the right is bare headed and wears the chlamys. The youth on the right has short cropped hair, his head is nestled in the angle of his arm as he holds his sword behind him with his right hand. In his left hand he holds the sheath for his sword. This upper body treatment of head

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[363] M. Robertson,"Early Greek Mosaic",*Studies in the History of Art, 10: Macedonia and Greece in Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Times* (Washington) 241.
[364] Robertson, 243.

and arm is reminiscent of the cornelian intaglio which suggests that they derived from a common original. Both figures lean in the same heroic lunge found in the Vergina painting and the Messene relief. The figure on the left holds a greatly foreshortened spear in his right hand and a sword in its sheath in his left hand.

The lion hunt mosaic is one of four scenes depicted in a series of three rooms. It has been speculated that two of these rooms were *androne*s, or dining halls with a broad plaster surround which was elevated. The dining couches stood on the surround while the central mosaic was open.[365] As the function of Building I was most likely a public or perhaps an official residence the program of mosaics should promote a public statement.[366] The mosaic is roughly contemporary with the Craterus monument and corresponds with the intaglio and Messene relief by depicting a nude lunging hero. As the same Alexander- Heracles analogy is conjured up by the mosaic, the iconography seems to have become formulaic: Alexander fought the dangerous beasts as Heracles fought the Nemean lion restoring order and protecting his subjects. The official nature of the dwelling suggests that the iconography of the lion-hunt would promote an official or political image.

Room B contains the famous Dionysus mosaic in which the god rides a panther, seated sideways. The god is depicted sitting easily at a three quarter pose with his right hand on the panther's neck and holding in his left his attribute, the tasseled thyrsus, a staff tipped with a pine cone. The god's hair is edged in lead channeling and the curls of his long unruly hair are depicted with terra cotta comma-shaped pieces. On his head is a wreath which is rendered with the same excellent workmanship. The threshold of room C from room B contains a panel in poor condition, representing a centaur holding a wine bowl, facing his mate. Room A contains a geometric design mosaic in a similar style to those found in the courtyard.

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365 Ph.Petsas, "Mosaics from Pella," *Colloques Internationaux sur La Mosaique Greco-Romaine,* Paris, 1965, 41-56, figs. 1-21.
366 Petsas, 46.

At the threshold between room A and room B lies a narrow mosaic panel depicting a lion-griffin attacking a stag. (Figure 17) This is a Persian griffin with a lion's head bearing curved horns and a lion's torso with curled wings. The beast attacks the startled stag from behind and bites the victim in the back. From the wound, blood flows with remarkable realism considering the nature of the medium.

The lion-griffin, as depicted on the threshold appears in the gold coinage of Alexander. The gold staters of minted during Alexander's reign show a profile of helmeted Athena, obverse and a winged Nike, reverse.[367] The bowl of the helmet is usually adorned with a serpent, but in some cases, is decorated with a griffin.[368] (Figure 18) In the early centuries this griffin ornamentation undoubtedly decorated the crests of helmets to represent irrepressible might or supernatural power. The griffin was of Eastern origin and appears in Hittite and Mesopotamian art as demonic forces or companions of the gods. [369] The Greek griffin evolved into a winged monster with a lion's body and a bird's head. This type of griffin is by far the most common type to be found decorating Athena helmet. However, there exists another type of griffin on her helmet in a significant number. This is the Persian griffin with a lion's head bearing curved horns and a lion's torso with curled wings. The development of the animal form shows that the original Babylonian form possessed eagle's hind legs and tail but this was dropped in the fifth century by the Greeks themselves in their representation of the Persian griffin.[370] The Greek modified form of the Persian griffin remained associated with Persia where it is frequently used in

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367 Muller, *Alexander le Grand,* p.3; v.Prokesch-Osten: *Les Alexandres de ma collection qui ne se trovent pas dan le Catal de Muller.* Alex. III PROa 40-55. p 71. "Staters d'or avec le casque de Pallas a griffon." and B.V. Head, *HN* (1983)226 fig.137.

368 Some examples also show a sphinx. These are very rare and do not fall within the scope of this study.

369 Daremberg et Saglio, *s.v.* galea, pp.1450 f.

370Furtwangler "Gryps"in W.H.Roscher *Ausfuhrliches Lexikon d. griechischen u. romischen Mythologie, 1884.* and Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* (1922) 80:' the lion-headed griffin of Panticapaeum is the Iranian animal, created in Babylonia, and thenceforward common throughout Asia, especially in the Iranian area.' in G.F. Hill, " Alexander the Great and the Persian lion-gryphon", JHS XLIII (1923) 158.

representations in conflicts, slaying Greeks or being slain. The lion-griffin was, therefore a symbol for the Persian enemy *par excellence*. The use of this symbol on the gold staters by Alexander becomes an appropriate political emblem especially once the time and place of its issue is considered.

It occurs at Sidon, Ace-Ptolemais, and at Tarsus.[371] It is found first at Sidon and is attributed to the 'end of 333 to circa 330 B.C.' [372] at Ace it appears in 329-8 B.C. and at Tarsus in 327 B.C. The appearance of the lion griffin emblem seems to coincide with Alexander's victory at Gaugamala (331 B.C.) and certainly follows the Battle of Issus near Sidon (333 B.C.) Therefore, the lion-griffin symbolized Alexander's attack and assumption of the Persian royal power. The gold stater with lion-griffin is not found to have been minted at Babylon. From the eastern mint, the symbolism of the Greco-Persian monster would be meaningless. It is limited to Cilician and Phoenician regions, and it is exactly the outlying satrapies that would need the reinforcement of such an emblem: the lion-griffin on the helmet of Athena.

If the lion-griffin symbolized the Persian empire to the Hellenic mind, the killing of this beast would be a virtuous achievement, of similar magnitude to Heracles' killing the Nemean lion. The ornamentation of Athena's helmet shows that the griffin was associated with the Persian empire and represented Alexander's conquest of the Persian empire. The similar lion-griffin that appears in a mosaic in Building no.1 at Pella is directly adjacent to the representations of Alexander -Heracles in the lion hunt and the seated Dionysus. These are exactly the two deities that Alexander emulated during his Persian campaign. The placement and iconography strongly suggests a political symbolism promoting Alexander as the Heraclean σωτήρ and as the Dionysian conquering deity. The dating of the coins,

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371 It possibly appears at Cyprus as well Muller #723.

372 E.Newell in G.F. Hill, "Alexander the Great and the Persian lion-gryphon", *JHS* XLIII (1923) 159. see also G.K. Jenkins,*Ancient Greek Coins,* (1972) #509: " Alexander the Great: *Athena head griffon on helmet; Sidon mint,* c.331-327 *B.C. (stater, obverse,* 8.59 gm., diam. 18mm., BM 1878; Newell 13)"

the Craterus monument and the mosaics fall within the last quarter of the fourth century. Surely iconographic images as strong as these were mutually influencial.

The representations of the lion hunt come from a Macedonian tradition of a royal pastime. The lion was an ancient royal symbol therefore, the hunt and conquest of the lion represented the king's greater ἀρετή and worthiness as ruler. Heracles fighting the Nemean lion was popular due to the political motif of Heracles as a savior conquering evil. These three themes converge in the representations of the Alexander lion hunts. The Vergina tomb painting proves the existence of the royal sport before Alexander's eastern campaigns. The Battle of Issus brought the fall of Darius and the acquisition of Persia to Alexander's empire. The royal hunting park of Sidon was the site of an historical lion hunt at which Alexander and his satrap Abdalonymos participated. The Alexander Sarcophagus represents both the battle and the hunt clearly connecting the two events. In the battle relief, Alexander wears the Heraclean lion helmet ; in the Heraclean lion hunt, Alexander wears a Dionysian diadem. The Macedonian monarch in the image of Heracles must evolve to become a divine emperor in the image of Dionysus.[373] The Alexander Sarcophagus clearly represents the turning point in the image of Alexander.

The Craterus monument and those inspired by it represent Alexander as a Macedonian ruler. Craterus was his loyal Macedonian lieutenant and the sculptural group, executed posthumously, represents Alexander at the hunt in Sidon or earlier. The commemorative nature allowed the sculptor to diverge from tradition and more closely align the king to his mythological ancestor. The mosaics located in Pella represent the lion hunt in the Heraclean tradition. The use of Heraclean lion hunt iconography promoted Alexander as the Macedonian monarch to his subjects. As son of Philip and descendent of Heracles, Alexander was king of the Macedonians by heredity. The nature of his rule was according to the virtuous ideals of his aristocratic education and Macedonian custom.

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373 P. Goukowsky, *Essai sur les Origines du Mythe d'Alexandre, II, Alexandre et Dionysos,* (l'Universite de Nancy II, 1981), 40.

Heracles was the mythological prototype of the ideal Macedonian monarch with which Alexander's image soon became synonymous. The lion-griffin symbolizing the Persians not only embellished Athena's helmet but was placed adjacent to the lion-hunt mosaic in Pella. As Heracles vanquished the irrepressible Nemean lion, so Alexander conquered the Persians.

III. The Royal Portrait

The Heracles Device on the coinage of Philip II and Alexander the Great

The Heracles device had been used in Macedonian coinage by generations of Macedonian kings as represented by coinage of Amyntas III[374], Perdiccas III[375] and Philip II[376]. Heracles, as the paradigm for the king, symbolized the origin of their dynasty and the role of their monarchy. A head of Heracles wearing the lion skin headdress was also chosen by Alexander to be the device for his silver coinage, minted in tetradrachms and fractional silver denominations.[377] The reverse shows a seated Zeus [378]with the legend: ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. This Heracles silver tetradrachm was struck in profusion from numerous mints, twenty three of which can be identified.[379] The silver coinage was most widely circulated providing a vehicle by which the king could promote his authority. With such a wide circulation throughout the empire, the Heracles device became a symbol for

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374 C.M.Kraay and M.Hirmer,*Greek Coins,* (Thames and Hudson,London, 1966) #560. Heracles obv. facing right. bearded wearing lion skin headdress. Standing horse rev. See also B.V.Head *Historia Numorum,* Sanford J. Durst New York:(1983) 221-222 fig.133.

375 Kraay and Hirmer, #561. Heracles Obv. facing right; youthful (without beard) wearing lion skin headdress.rev.galloping horse. See also B.V. Head, 222 fig.134.

376 E.T.Newell,*Royal Greek Portrait Coins,* (Racine, Wisconsin ,1937), 12. A Gold Stater Struck at Philippi obv. Head of youthful Heracles facing right. rev.tripod. G. Le Rider, *Le Monnayage d'argent et d'or de Philippe II* (1977)

377 Margaret Thompson,"The Coinage of Philip II and Alexander III" *Studies in the History of Art*, vol.10 National Gallery of Art, Washington.,114.

378 J. J. Pollitt, 25-26 states that the image of a seated figure of Zeus was directly inspired by the Phidian cult statue at Olympia. The use of this reverse type suggests a pan-hellenic appeal which was politically advantageous for Alexander.

379 A. Bellinger, *Essays on the Coinage of Alexander the Great* (The American Numismatic Society, New York: 1963) 42.

the conquests of Alexander who, like Heracles' labors, banished evil, restored order and civilized the world. [380]

The tetradrachm minted in Babylon, 326-325 B.C. by Alexander continues to show the Heracles portrait but begins to suggest Alexander's attributes.(Figure 19) The anastole, deep set eyes and prominent chin and brow attest to the conflated image of Heracles and Alexander. This development of the Heracles portrait has been the subject of much debate and the identification of Alexander in this coinage remains controversial.[381] Yet, it is generally agreed that the numismatic portrait of Alexander is securely represented by his posthumous image on the coinage of Ptolemy I[382], Seleukos I [383]and Lysimachos[384].

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380 Additionally, for his bronze coinage, he chose a Heracles portrait, obverse, and the weapons of the hero, reverse.

381 J. Fears and Fulco in "Deification of Alexander the Great" *The Center for Hermeneutical Studies*, E. Badian ed., Berkeley,1976), 29-38. argue for the identification of Alexander in this device. Seltman, Ch.,*Greek Coins,* 212:'the head of Heracles has frequetly the features of Alexander himself." Hill, G.F.,*Historical Greek Coins,* 103,pl.VII, no.59: "Head of young Herakles r., with features resembling Alexander's." Tondreau, J., *Revue de Philologie, de Litterature et d'Histoire Ancienne.,* series 3, 23:47-48, 1949. Contra: A. Bellinger, *Essays on the Coinage of Alexander the Great* (New York, 1963) and R.R.R. Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits* (Clarendon Press, Oxford,1988) 59. For coins issued at Pella Newell,*Alexander Hoards II,* Demanhur, 1905. The American Numismatic Society, Notes and Monograms. New York,1923, pp. 71ff., pl. III.

The Porus coin has been accepted as a contemporary portrait of Alexander but the full figure representation offers little in the way of recognizable facial features due to the small size of the evidence. Mitchiner, I, 20, type 21a.

A rare bronze coin from Egypt may contain a contemporary portrait head of Alexander in Persian dress: B.N.F.cdm:#3767; M. J. Price NNf-NYTT (Journal of the Numismatic Society of Norway) March I (1981), 32-7, fig. 1-4.

382 Two examples issued from Alexandria c.320-315 B.C. on tetradrachms: A.(obv) Alexander with elephant scalp, Ammon's horn, aegis and Dionysos-type diadem.(rev) seated Zeus. Kraay, Hirmer, No. 796; *Search* No.18. and B. (obv.)Alexander with the same attributes in smoother style (rev) archaic Athena.Kraay, Hirmer, Nos.797-8; *Search* No.31.

383 Two examples: A. Alexander in elephant scalp on a small issue of gold double darics, minted at Ecbatana, c.303-293. R.R.R Smith,*Portraits* No.74.3 ; B. Alexander wearing a bull horned helmet covered with panther skin, and a panther's skin knotted around his neck. Tetradrachms and drachms minted at Susa, c. 300-280 B.C. Kraay, Hirmer No.740 R.R.R. Smith *Portraits*, No. 74., 4.

384 Alexander with diadem and Ammon's horn, on tetradrachms minted from c.297. The anastole and prominant chin and brow are evident. The hair is long and tosseled. The

This invites comparison between the portraits, which have marked similarities. The brow, superciliary arch, is prominent and the eyes are enlarged. The frontal nasal suture is deep due to his upward gaze. The anastole, and aquiline nose further attest to his likeness. Whether Alexander's attributes were assimilated onto the portrait of Heracles, or Heracles' attributes were assimilated onto the portrait of Alexander, the ambiguity is obvious and significant. The portrait of the king and hero became synthesized, suggesting that their association was strong enough to promote the king and the hero-god as one. Just as Heracles' image as a paradigm for the kingship of Macedon is promoted by his numismatic portrait on the coinage of the Temenidae kings, Alexander's composite portrait reinforces his Pan-Hellenic authority through the course of his campaigns.

The Royal Portraits become a Synthesis of Alexander and Heracles

The image of Alexander merged into the image of Heracles resulting in a composite portrait of an idealized king. The head of Alexander on the Sarcophagus from Sidon shows the idealization of the king's features to the extent that his identification results primarily from his attributes and the context. The idealized portrait head used for Alexander is based on the late classical young Heracles type.[385] This head type is best represented by the Genzano Herm, a copy of a marble original Heracles at Sicyon attributed to Skopas.[386](Figure 20) The eyes are deeply set and the brow is prominent. The muscles of the neck, the sterno-cleido-mastoids are plate like and long. The head is turned to the left and tilted upward. The jaw is heavy, the chin is prominent yet the face is long. The general mood of the Genzano-Heracles was one of 'heroic endurance'.[387] The

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consistancy of issues suggests that they replicate a major portrait. This type was in use long after Lysimachos. Kraay, Hirmer, Nos. 580-2;

385 R.R.R.Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits,* 63.

386 R.R.R.Smith, 21 and Andrew F. Stewart, *Skopas of Paros.*(Noyes Press,Park Ridge, New Jersey, 1977), 139-140, pl.30-31. The Genzano herm in the British Museum is related by Stewart (ref:Graef) to the Tegea Heads by Skopas.No.17.

387 Stewart, 91.

idealized heads of the Alexander sculptures assimilated the heroic features of the young Heracles sculptures of the fourth century. Like Alexander's coinage, the ambiguity of the portrait would have promoted the image of Alexander as the second Heracles. The lion hunt iconography certainly strengthened the analogy . The idealized Heracles head type coupled with the lion hunt became a formula for Heracles-Alexander as evidenced by the Pella mosaics. By this formula, the association between the king and the hero was strengthened in the imagination of his subjects.

A contemporary portrait of Alexander can only be discerned from a few extant examples and from scarce literary descriptions. Plutarch describes a sculpture by Lysippus which he thought was the best representation of the king.[388] The features of the Lysippus portrait that Plutarch found remarkable are those features that became typical of Alexander's deified portraits by Hellenistic sculptors- a long, poised neck slightly tilting the head and expressive wide eyes. Unfortunately, Lysippus' original portrait of Alexander as described by Plutarch has not survived. Copies were postulated as replicas of Lysippus' work but these opinions have not been generally accepted. [389] The extant portraits of Alexander executed during his lifetime and dated by external evidence, comprise a very small group of marble and Ivory portrait heads. These contemporary sculptures come from the excavation at Vergina and from Roman copies based on three different original head types.

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[388] Plutarch (Alex) 4."The best likeness of Alexander which has been preserved for us is to be found in the statues sculpted by Lysippus, the only artist whom Alexander considered worthy to represent him. Alexander possessed a number of individual features which many of Lysippus' followers later tried to reproduce, for example the poise of the neck which was tilted slightly to the left, or a certain melting look in his eyes, and the artist has exactly caught these peculiarities. On the other hand when Apelles painted Alexander wielding a thunderbolt, he did not reproduce his colouring at all accurately. He made Alexander's complexion appear too dark-skinned and swarthy, whereas we are told that he was fair-skinned, with a ruddy tinge that showed itself especially upon his face and chest."
[389] M. Bieber, *Alexander the Great in Greek and Roman Art,* (Argonaut Pub. Chicago:1964), 42 Contra: R.R.R. Smith, 60.

The contemporary portrait types, excluding the ivory portrait found in Vergina, exist in two or three Roman copies each, which bespeak their reproduction from a Greek original. They include the Azara Herm (Figure 21),the Erbach type (Figure 22) and the Dresden type (Figure 23)[390]. The Azara herm is inscribed with Alexander's name and the copies are similarly modeled, although they are poorly preserved. The Erbach type is best represented by the Acropolis head which many consider to be an original portrait by Leochares. [391] The Dresden type is well modeled and finely executed with two copies of similar quality. Although the sculpted portraits are not dated, the Azara herm seems to represent Alexander as the most mature. None of them have explicit divine attributes nor reflects any of the Alexander types put out on the Diadochs' coinages.[392] This suggests that they belong before the Hellenistic coin portraits of Alexander. As a group, they represent Alexander as the young late Classical Heracles- a calm restrained hero with heavy strong features and fleshy cheeks. [393] The face is large and almost square, the jaw is heavy and the chin is defined. The brow is prominent and the eyes are deep set as found on the Heracles' head type. The contemporary Alexander portraits show a muscular neck, but the distinct articulation of muscle layers is not easily discernible due to their damaged condition.[394] The hair length varies among this group, though his famous *anastole* is well represented. The contemporary portraits of Alexander show and idealization based on the young Heracles head type of the Late Classical period. The synthesis of the hero's features

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390 I agree with R.R.R.Smith in excluding the Eubouleus type Alexander which exists in eight copies. Although Smith excludes them on the basis of the idealized hairstyle and non-royal dress indicating to him that it is not an Alexander portrait, I feel that the idealized hairstyle and refined features allude to the posthumous Dionysian portraiture of Alexander. Contra: M. Bieber, *Alexander the Great in Greek and Roman Art*, Chicago (1964), 26.

391 R.R.R.Smith, 60 and Robert Wyman Hartel, "The Search for Alexander's Portrait" in W.L.Adams and E.N.Borza,*Phillip II, Alexander the Great and the Macedonian Heritage,* University Press(1982), 168.

392 R.R.R. Smith, 61.

393 M.Bieber, 22.

394 The Azara Herm has been restored at the break in the neck. The Erbach type from the Acropolis(#1 and 2) shows an original neck, with elongation and subtle modeling through the sterno-cleido-mastoids, though there is damage to the left side.

with those of the king further substantiates the use of the Heracles imagery to promote the rule and authority of Alexander the Great.[395] These portrait heads offer a composite image of the king as a young hero, they are a portrait of Alexander-Heracles.

If Plutarch is to be believed, Lysippos represented Alexander in his portrait with features which showed his distinct characteristics. Plutarch criticized the portraitists who followed Lysippos stating that they failed to capture his 'virile and leonine expression', the qualities of his true *ethos*.[396] None of the three contemporary portraits of Alexander from this group represent the tilted poise of his neck. Nor do they show a "melting look in his eyes." They could not be based on Lysippos' portraits of Alexander which, according to Plutarch, was rendered with such realism that Cassander was awestruck. This portrait would not offer the ambiguity as this group of Alexander- Heracles portraits. Moreover, Lysippos was renowned for his prolific production of Heracles sculptures; some fifteen hundred works are ascribed to him by ancient writers.[397] Plutarch surely knew Lysippos' Heracles sculptures yet he did not use them as reference with which to describe the Alexander portrait.

From the excavations at Vergina came a true contemporary portrait of Alexander which invites comparison to the Alexander-Heracles types.(Figure 24) This ivory head was found among a group of twenty heads which formed a relief scene along the wooden

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[395] The Dionysian diadem which later became associated with the divinity of the ruler is also absent.The late Alexander portraits of with these elements recall the god Dionysos. They clearly differ from the later Alexander portraits which show him as divinized with softer features, longer hair and exhibiting 'pathos'.

[396] Plutarch, *Moralia* 335. Heiner Protzmann,"Realismus und Idealität in Spätklassik und Fruhhellenismus" *JdI* 92 (1977) 196-97.,in Robert Wyman Hartle " The Search for Alexander's Portrait" in Adams, W.L. and Borza, Eugene N, *Philip II, Alexander the Great and the Macedonian Heritage,* (1982), 168. states that the reality, the personality as well as the will of Alexander were rendered in Lysippos' portraits. The argument by Rudiger Leimbach, "Plutarch über das Aussehen Alexanders des Grossen, " AA no.2 (1979) 213-20 in Adams and Borza, 168. reinterprets Plutarch's text as "Plutarch had at his disposal the means of control by which he was able to assert that Lysippos had best rendered the features of Alexander."

[397] Uhlenbrock, J.P., *Heracles, Passage of the Hero Through 1000 years of Classical Art.*, Caratzas, New York: (1986), 11.

bier. The location of the find suggests that ambiguity would have been intolerable. Upon the death of Philip II, speculation on the succession of the throne would have been avoided at all costs. Additionally, the realism found in Philip's portrait, among this group of ivory portrait heads, attests to the accuracy of the Alexander likeness. Philip's portrait deliberately depicts the king with a blind right eye and a scar above it on the superciliary arch.[398] Judging from the accuracy with which Philip's portrait was rendered, Alexander's portrait would have been treated with the same realism.

The Vergina portrait shows Alexander as a youth of about eighteen years old. His nose is aquiline, his chin is pointed and his cheeks are fleshy. This portrait emphasizes a powerful neck and throat with plate-like sterno-cleido-mastoid muscles which form a deep V-shape. The slight turn of the neck and the tilt of the head to the left, forms an inverted S-curve that is accurately described by Plutarch. His eyes are almond shaped and wide open indicative of the 'melting gaze'. His brow is prominent and his eyes are deep-set. The frontal nasal suture is furrowed as is his prominent brow, resulting from his intense upward gaze.(Figure 25)

The ivory portrait of Alexander shows him with the distinct features described by Plutarch in the works of Lysippos. The distinctive poise of the neck and the 'heavenward gaze', previously associated with the later deified depictions of him, are clearly present in this early work and give credence to Plutarch's description of Lysippos' portraits. In other words, Alexander's attributes normally associated with his Hellenistic and deified image appear in this early portrait. The realism with which the artist depicted the portrait of Philip would most likely be applicable to this portrait of Alexander. Therefore, these legendary attributes were, in fact, distinctive characteristics of Alexander's features. The Alexander-Heracles portrait type, when compared to the Vergina head show a marked departure in the representation of the king. The king's heroic features in his contemporary portraits took on

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398 M.Andronicos, fig.79-81.

the idealization and ambiguity of his coinage. His royal image was rendered as a composite- an Alexander-Heracles.

The later fourth century brought forth the science of physiognomia that interpreted the inner moral character by external appearance. This discipline was explained in two early treatises that were peripatetic essays from the Aristotelian corpus.[399] At the core of this science was the assumption that noble birth and virtuous character were manifested in physical appearance, it developed and continued the old aristocratic notion of καλός κ' ἀγαθός . A handsome, well-proportioned body and visage indicated a honest, noble character. Conversely, deformities and ugliness displayed a villainous type. If the physical appearance communicated the virtue of the king, his portraiture was a cause for serious concern. By the third century, professional physiognomists issued canons of the royal appearance. Although the validity of the treatise on kingship by 'Diotogenes' is controversial, the document fully expresses the Hellenistic philosophy on kingship.[400] The treatise presents a synthesis of ethical and divine conceptions of kingship which parallel the Heraclean and Macedonian ideal exactly.

The passage from 'Diotogenes' states that the king must possess a 'conspicuous bearing' that communicates his position as "a statesman" and as "a man of affairs." He will do this by appearing and speaking in a manner that is 'magestic'(*semnos*). He must also look "fine and generous in his social intercourse". His physical appearance must also impart a " relentless and formidable (*deinos*) hatred of wickedness and corruption." Most importantly, Diotogenes states kingship is an imitation of the divine.

> "majesty (*semnos*) is an imitation of the divine and can rouse the wonder and awe of the masses...he must separate himself from the passions of ordinary mortals and draw near to the gods, taking upon himself...

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399 Aristotle *Minor Works,* XIV: 805-14. Loeb edn., trans. H. Rackham,Harvard Univ. Press: (1990)

400 Text in Stobaeus VI.22; Vii.61-6; in Pseudepigrapha I, Entretiens Fondation Hardt 22 (1975), 59-87. I have taken the text from R.R.R.Smith, 51. Smith cites O. Murray, *Peri Basileais,* 246-7. in his arguement for the Hellenistic dating of the document which was written under the pseudonym, Diotogenes, an invented Pythagorean Philosopher.

> a conspicuous and encompassing eminence in his appearance (*opsis*), thoughts, desires, disposition of soul, actions and in his very physical movements (*kinesis*) and posture (*thesis tou somatos*); ..thus those who look on him, will be struck by his awesome manner, his restraint and by his prominent bearing. [401]

The royal portrait of Alexander the Great imparted his kingship by the use of Heraclean features. His image as Heracles expressed his moral and ethical character; his physical and military prowess; and his divine nature all of which made him worthy of royal power. Recall the statements of Plato in his description of the ideal king who has achieved the same elevated stature as "blessed and divine."[402]

Lysippos was said to have imparted Alexander's *ethos* by representation of his leonine and masculine qualities and to have "accommodated his ἀρετή in his appearance."[403] It is not stated how Lysippos was able to communicate his divine nature, though his sculptures of Alexander filled Kassander with awe. What imparts divinity without the explicit use of an external attribute?

IV. Alexander, Aristotle and the Nature of God

Plutarch (Alexander 7) tells us that Aristotle published his esoteric works while Alexander was campaigning in Asia. We are told that the nature of these treatises was such that the average student would not have been exposed to this knowledge. Instead, it was discussed "only by word of mouth to a select few "[404]. Alexander wrote a peevish response to Aristotle denouncing the public's acquisition of this knowledge."[405] We must

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401 Diotogenes, *ap.* Stobaeus, Viii.62 in R.R.R.Smith, 51.

402 Plato, *Republic* 540a 7- c2. Please see chapter 2 for a greater treatment of the text.

403 Plut. *Moralia* 335 b.

404 Plutarch, *Alex.* 7

405 Plutarch *Alex* 7. trans. Ian Scott-Kilvert . *Plutarch The Age of Alexander,* Penguin Classics New York: (1983) 259." Alexander to Aristotle, greetings. You have not done well to write down and publish those doctrines you taught me by word of mouth. What advantage shall I have over other men if these theories in which I have been trained are to be made common property ? I would rather excel the rest of mankind in my knowledge of what is best than in the extent of my power. Farewell."

assume, knowing the principles put forth in his *Politics* and the sentiment expressed by Alexander, that the king possessed knowledge unavailable to the masses. And it was this knowledge that set him apart, elevated him to the status as ruler. Plato defines the king as one who has reached "the limit of the intellectual world."[406] He is the personification of virtue since virtue is knowledge.

What then, could be the nature of this knowledge? We know that Aristotle wrote an early version of Metaphysics- books gamma and lambda while he tutored at Pella. From the pedagogical program promoted by Plato and Aristotle, we also must surmise that the education of the young prince must have included this treatise in his philosophical training. Metaphysics is, according to Aristotle, wisdom *par excellence* . The philosopher and the king is one who desires knowledge about the ultimate cause and nature of reality. It therefore, entails the 'first principles' and 'causes of things', so it is universal knowledge in the highest degree. The early books of the *Metaphysics* treat these 'first principles' and 'causes' using a regressive argument in order to arrive at the 'Prime Mover'. Every motion, every cause has a previous cause whose action, or motion, gave rise to the following cause. In this way everything is 'actual' but has the potential to become something else. Every motion then, is a transit from 'potentiality' to 'actuality' which is in fact the potential to move again. This being so, the universe requires a Prime Mover.[407] The Prime Mover is pure act, and therefore, immaterial, for materiality involves the possibility of being acted upon and changed. Since the Prime Mover is immaterial, his activity is the "thought of thought": νοήσις νοήσεως.

> "Hence, the possession of knowledge rather than the capacity for knowledge is the divine aspect of mind, and it is the activity of intellectual vision that is most pleasant and best. If the divine then is always in that good state in which we are at times, we are struck by awe; and if it is in a still better state, this is grounds for still more awe. Now, it is in this better state that the divine has its being and its life. For the activity of mind is also its life and the divine is that activity. The self-sufficient activity of the divine is

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406 Plato,*Republic* 532a 7. Please see chapter 2 for a full discussion of the text.
407 Aristotle, *Metaphysics* Book delta.

> life at it eternal best. We maintain, therefore, that the divine is the eternal best living being, so that the divine is life unending, continuous, and eternal.[408]

Aristotle began his *Metaphysics* with the statement that "Man by nature desires to know".[409] As Prometheus brought fire to man to elevate him towards the gods, Heracles brought knowledge. By becoming the incarnate of intellect, Heracles attained divinity. However, Aristotle states that Man can only know god and achieve divinity in those fleeting instances where "intellect finds its fulfillment in being aware of the intelligible"[410]. This scintilla fills us with "wide-eyed awe", a *coup de foudre,* that is "life such as ours in its best moments."[411]

Therefore, the divine nature of man is approached through intellect which is manifested through a "wide-eyed awe" of intellectual vision. Plato and Aristotle tell us that the king has achieved his royal status through intellect and as such he will "raise the eye of the soul to the universal light which lightens all things and behold the absolute good."[412] The Peripatetic physiognomists along with 'Diotogenes' explain that the portrait of the king must impart his divine stature through his physical appearance. The physical manifestation of Alexander's divine kingship was communicated through his heavenward gaze. This feature appears in his early ivory portrait found in the tomb of his father, Philip II. Upon the death of his father Alexander succeeded to the throne in accordance with Macedonian tradition. The power of the king was inherent in his physical person and it was transmitted from father to son.[413] The representation of Alexander's heavenward gaze communicates to his Macedonian subjects, his divine stature and his royal position.

The greater Hellenic world would not have tolerated the divine pretensions nor the monarchical imposition. The fact that Alexander was a shrewd political genius is

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408 Aristotle, *Metaphysics* Book lambda, VII 1274 a ff. trans. Richard Hope.
409 Aristotle, *Metaphysics* Book Alpha 980 a 1.
410 Aristotle, *Metaphysics* 1274a 1.
411 Aristotle, *Metaphysics* 1274 a2.
412 Plato,*Republic* 540 a 7-c 2.
413 Hammond, 22.

evidenced by his transformation into Heracles-his ancestor, a Pan-Hellenic god and royal prototype. The Greek mind easily accepted mimetic imagery. Temples across the Greek world told of contemporary events through mythological and legendary exploits. The fact that Alexander's Persian campaign was recounted in terms of Heraclean labors which developed his kingship as a σωτήρ. His lion hunt relief sculptures which probably began as a chronicle of the actual royal sport, developed posthumously to appropriate the features of a Heraclean lion hunt. The royal portraits executed during his lifetime, show a hero with the physical features of the late Classical Heracles. As such, his face is young, beardless and square, his eyes stare forward impassively. Classical figures of gods in repose look evenly ahead and the heavenward gaze does not have precedent. Posthumous images of Alexander resume the heavenward gaze as indication of his divine kingship. The king looks beyond men to a divine status. " As Zeus has Olympus, Alexander the earth." The poised neck, tilt of the head and upward gaze is one of the most commonly reproduced features of the later Hellenistic royal portraits. Just as Alexander became a second Heracles, the successors became a second Alexander.[414]

414 For example, this can be found on the coinage of Lysimachos.

APPENDIX: FIGURES

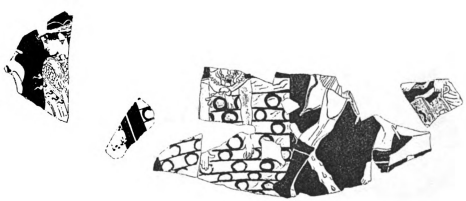

Figure 1
Villa Guilia 11688
from Conca

Figure 2
Attic red-figure psykter
ca.460 B.C.

Figure 3
Attic black-figure belly amphora; Psiax
ca. 520 B.C.

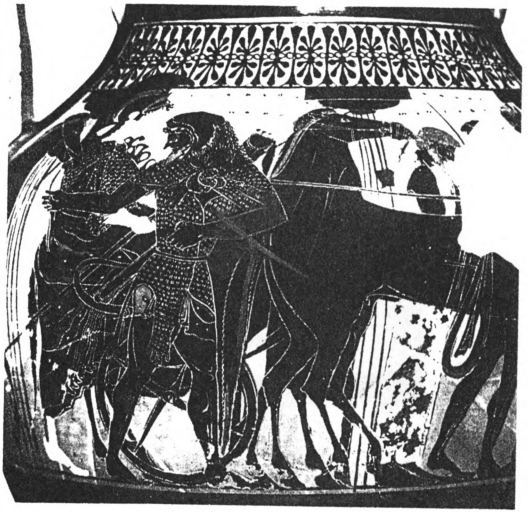

Figure 4
Attic black-figure belly amphora; Priam Painter
ca. late sixth-century B.C.

Figure 5
Attic black-figure lip cup; Phrynos Painter
ca. mid-sixth century.

Figure 6
Attic red-figure pelike Workshop of the Hyppolytos Painter
ca.375 B.C.

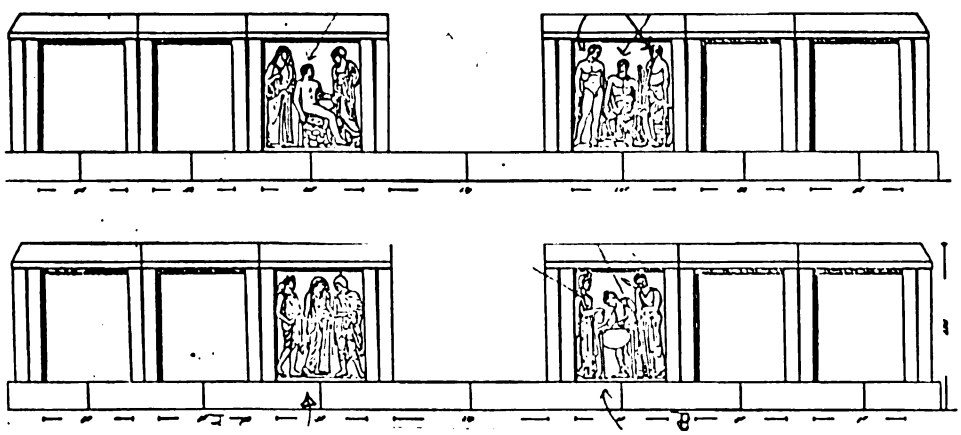

Figure 7
The Three-Figure Reliefs on the Altar of the Twelve Gods

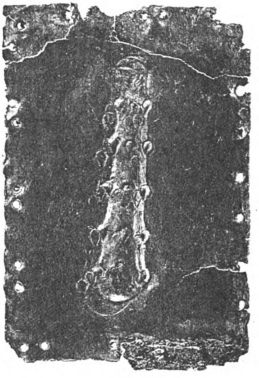

Figure 8
Rectangular plaque depicting Heracles' club.
ca.350-325 B.C.

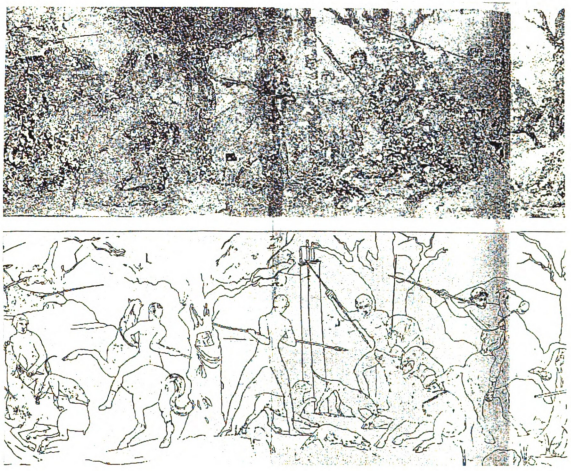

Figure 9
The lion hunt frieze, Tomb II, Vergina (left side)
ca. 350-325 B.C.

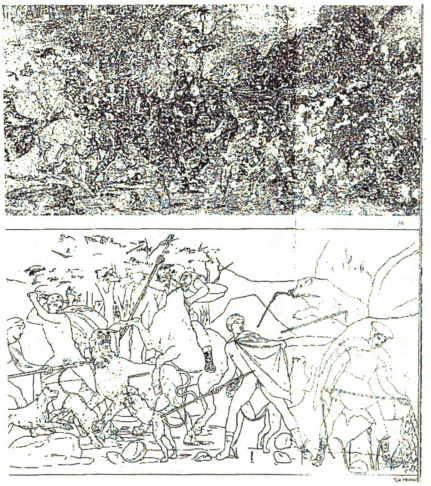

Figure 10
The lion hunt frieze, Tomb II, Vergina (right side)
ca. 350-325 B.C.

Figure 11
Alexander Sarcophagus; Side B
ca. 320 B.C.

Figure 12
Alexander Sarcophagus; Side A
ca. 320

Figure 13
The Lion Hunt Messene Relief;
Early Hellenistic

Figure 14
Medallion from Tarsus, reverse.

Figure 15
Alexander in a Lion Hunt

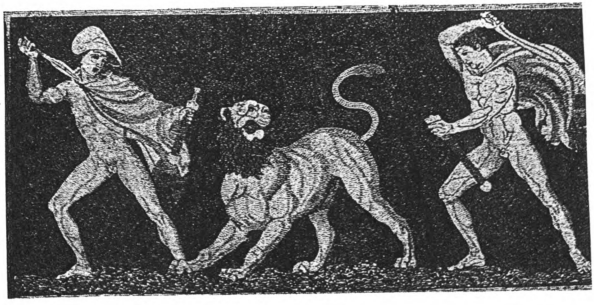

Figure 16
The Lion Hunt, pebble floor mosaic
ca. 325-300 B.C.

Figure 17
Griffin Attacking a Deer, pebble floor mosaic
ca.325-300 B.C.

Figure 18
Gold Stater; Alexander the Great
Macedonia, Sidon mint
ca. 331-327 B.C.

Figure 19
Silver Tetradrachm, Alexander the Great
Macedonia, Amphipolis mint

Figure 20
Genzano Herm
Late Classical Heracles head.

A

B

Figure 21
Marble Azara herm of Alexander

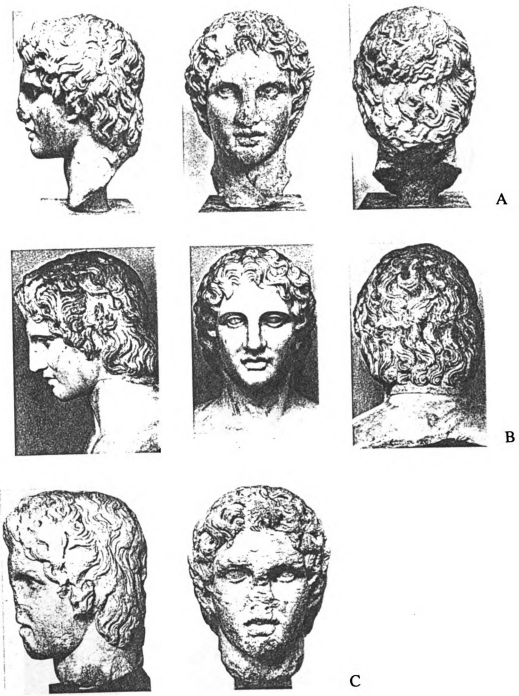

Figure 22
Marble head of Alexander

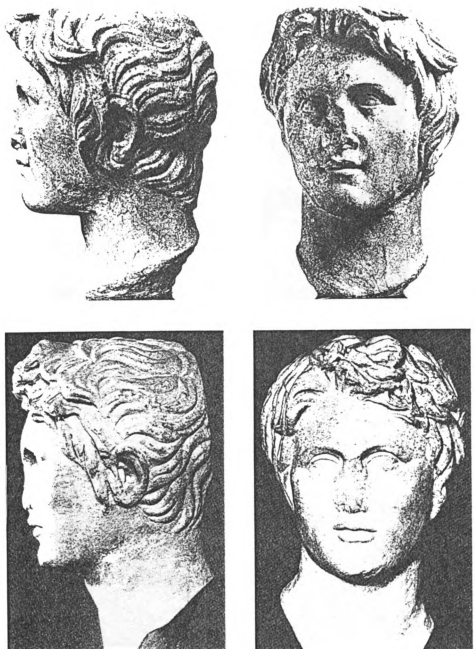

Figure 23
Marble Head of Alexander

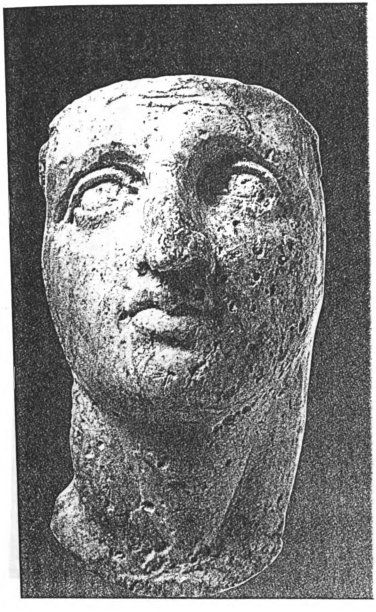

Figure 24
Ivory head of Alexander the Great (frontal)
from the main chamber of Tomb II, Vergina
350-325 B.C.

Figure 25
Ivory head of Alexander the Great (profile)
from the main chamber of Tomb II, Vergina
350-325 B.C.

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