Andreas Pangerl (Ed./Hrsg.)

PORTRAITS

400 *Years of Hellenistic Portraits*
Jahre hellenistische Portraits

Staatliche Münzsammlung München

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Alexander III., der Große, Tetradrachme, 336–323, Katalog 19

Content – Inhalt

Foreword of the Editor

It is truely a pleasure for me to present this book on Greek Royal Portraits. Portrait individuality was invented by ancient Greek artists. It developed from idealized human images of the archaic and classical periods to a peak of individuality in the Royal portraits of the diadochs after the death of Alexander the Great. The first half of this book is a comprehensive catalog of portraits on ancient Greek coins that serves as reference corpus for the researcher, for the collector, but also for those generally interested in ancient history, numismatics, or archaeology. Of note it includes portrait coins of three previously unknown kings (catalog 290, 347, 511). Geographically this catalog covers rulers from Northern Africa (Mauretania) in the West to today's Afghanistan in the East, from the Black See in the North to Egypt in the South. The portrait coins are grouped by geographies, as is tradition in Greek Numismatics. Within each group the coins are shown in chronographical order. Large size images allow a close up look into the development of Greek portraiture over four centuries, from Persian satraps to the Roman empire taking over the hellenistic world. This coin catalog is followed in the second half of the book by a series of research articles by experts in Greek Royal portraits. Portraits across different media, on coins and in sculpture are discussed in detail.

This concept of a comprehensive large image size portrait coin catalog, followed by in depth research articles was successfully introduced with our book on Roman portraits of 2017. It was very well received by a broad range of readers from across the world and won the 2017 IAPN award (International Association of Professional Numismatists) for the best Numismatic publication of the year. This Greek Portrait books follows in its footsteps to cover the very beginning of individual portraiture.

As in the Roman portrait book I present high resolution images of coins of highest quality I was privileged to see in private collections and the trade over the past years. My thank goes to the many anonymous private collectors who opened their collections to me. And to the coin trade that provided me kindly with the opportunity to fotograph of their numerous auctions. I would like to highlight (in alphabetical order) Classical Numismatic Group CNG (Victor England, Eric Mac Fadden, Mike Gasvoda, Dave Michaels, Travis Markel), Gorny & Mosch (Christoph von Mosch), Leu (Yves Gunzenreiner), Künker (Ulrich Künker, Hubert Ruß), Nomos AG (Alan Walker, Dimitrios Gerothanasis), Numismatik Lanz (Hubert Lanz), Roma Numismatics (Richard Beale), Tkalec AG (Anton Tkalec), and especially Numismatica Ars Classica NAC (Arturo and Giuliano Russo). Also special thanks go to the American Numismatic Society ANS (Ute Wartenberg). Coinarchives.com (A.J.Gatlin) was again most useful for coin image research. I also thank the Staatliche Münzsammlung München (Dietrich Klose) for publishing this book, the opportunity to take images of museum inventory, and access to the extensive library. I thank the Getty Search Gateway for making their high resolution images available free of charge, as well the Getty museum for free access to online publications. With this broad support only a small number of coin images had to be purchased from public museums to reach virtual completeness of this Royal Greek portrait coin catalog. Such close collaboration between academic research, collectors, and trade follows a centuries old tradition in Numismatics and Archaeology, and we are proud to continue it. As with the Roman coin book images, the images I made for this Greek portrait book can be made available free of charge for further academic use. Please contact me for a use license under andreas@pangerl.com. I also wish to express my gratitude to the museum curators of the Berlin Münzkabinett, Berlin, Germany, the British Museum London, UK, and the Cabinet des Medailles of the Bibliotheque Nationale de France, Paris, France, for help with their respective image agencies. Further use of coin images I had to purchase from these public museums can unfortunately not be granted. It should be mentioned that the requirement to purchase images from public museums at significant cost prevented us from creating an image catalog for hellenistic portrait sculpture to match the coin portrait corpus.

I hope this book will be as well received as its predecessor on Roman portraits. May it be of use to researchers, collectors, trade, as well as a source of enjoyment of the outstanding beauty of ancient Greek art. The ancient Greek concept of individuality expressed in these portraits is the foundation of our European culture.

Andreas Pangerl
(Editor and Photographer)

Vorwort

Nach dem bereits in zweiter Auflage erschienenen und so positiv aufgenommenen Band über das römische Kaiserporträt auf Münzen lässt Andreas Pangerl als Herausgeber nach so kurzer und intensiver Arbeitszeit nun einen weiteren gewichtigen Band zum antiken Münzporträt folgen, nunmehr über das dem römischen vorausgehende hellenistische Herrscherporträt.

Wieder ist es Andreas Pangerl in zu bewundernder Weise gelungen, die hervorragendsten Beispiele aus einer großen Zahl von fast über die halbe Welt verteilten öffentlichen und privaten Sammlungen sowie dem Münzhandel auszusuchen und selbst zu fotografieren – in derselben hohen Qualität, wie wir sie schon von seinem Buch über das römische Porträt kennen.

Das ist noch umso bewundernswerter, als Andreas Pangerl von Hause aus gar kein Fachnumismatiker ist – er ist Mediziner – sondern „nur" (freilich im besten Sinne) „Amateur", mit großer Erfahrung und großer Kennerschaft.

Es ist Andreas Pangerl wiederum gelungen, für diesen Band eine große Zahl namhafter Wissenschaftler als Autoren für die den Katalogteil ergänzende Fachbeiträge zu gewinnen.

Diese insgesamt 14 Beiträge decken ein weites Spektrum an Themen ab, vom Portrait Alexander des Großen bis zum Übergang zur Römischen Republik. Andreas Pangerl selbst hat die Einleitung übernommen.

Opulent ist wiederum auch der Katalogteil ausgefallen, mit über 500 Münzen, deren Porträtseiten in mehrfacher Vergrößerung abgebildet sind. Die Rückseiten finden wir dazu alle in einheitlicher Vergrößerung, wie auch in der 2. Auflage des Römerbandes. Der Rahmen ist breit gesteckt: Die Beispiele in diesem Band reichen von den ersten Anfängen des Herrscherporträts auf Münzen der Satrapen des Perserreichs in Kleinasien – an der Schnittstelle zwischen griechischer Kunst und orientalischer Herrscherauffassung – bis zu den teilweise schon von Rom beeinflussten Prägungen hellenistischer und vorderasiatischer Herrscher im 1. Jahrhundert n. Chr., die als Vasallen von Roms Gnaden weiter Münzen prägten.

Mit Alexander dem Großen und der Epoche des Hellenismus wurden die großen Flächenstaaten die bestimmenden Faktoren der griechischen Geschichte. Norman Davies und Colin M. Kraay schreiben in der Einführung zu ihrem Buch über hellenistische Münzporträts von 1973 (gewissermaßen ein Vorläufer unseres aktuellen Buches):

„In der Antike war der König weit weg, verhüllt in Majestät, er wurde selten gesehen und wenn, nur aus der Ferne. ‚Denn Göttlichkeit beschirmt einen König'.[1] Wenn er zu Lebzeiten vergöttlicht wurde, gab es Kultstatuen in den Tempeln, aber für die Masse seiner Leute war es nur auf seinen Münzen, auf denen das Bildnis des Königs zu sehen war. Somit waren, über ihren Wert als Geld hinaus, diese königlichen Porträtmünzen, die den Kopf des Königs trugen, seine Ehren und seine Titel, ein notwendiges Mittel der Kommunikation zwischen dem König und seinen Untertanen, eine andauernde Proklamation seines Königtums und seiner Herrschaft. Darüber hinaus erreichten das Wort und die Taten des Königs die Provinzen nur selten und verspätet wie die Erzählungen eines Reisenden."[2]

Es bleibt mir die angenehme Aufgabe, allen Dank zu sagen, die zum Gelingen dieses Buches beigetragen haben: An erster Stelle natürlich Andreas Pangerl selbst, für seine Idee, sein Konzept, seine Arbeit und schließlich auch seinen Vorschlag, dieses Buch in Zusammenarbeit mit der Staatlichen Münzsammlung herauszugeben; allen Autorinnen und Autoren, die Beiträge für dieses Buch geliefert haben; allen Sammlern, Museen und Münzhändlern, die Andreas Pangerl ihre Stücke zugänglich gemacht und der Veröffentlichung zugestimmt haben; den inserierenden Münzhandlungen, die damit auch einen wesentlichen Beitrag zur Finanzierung des Buches geleistet haben; Nicolai Kästner für Fotoarbeiten; Hertha Schwarz für das Layout.

Dr. Dietrich Klose
Leitender Sammlungsdirektor
Staatliche Münzsammlung München

[1] Ein Zitat aus Shakespeare, Hamlet, 4. Akt, 5. Szene, König Claudius.
[2] Norman Davis / Colin M. Kraay, The Hellenistic Kingdoms. Portrait Coins and History, London 1973.

Ptolemaios I. Soter, Tetradrachme, 323/306–282, Katalog 445

Portraits

400 Years of Hellenistic Portraits

Introduction

Andreas Pangerl

In ancient Greece gods were presented in a highly idealized human shape. Mortals were – if at all – initially only shown in a schematized way, without individuality. One can safely assume that the artistic skills to express individuality would have been available. Human individuality was however not wanted, not acceptable in these mainly city-based democratic societies. Portrait individuality began to only emerge in Greece in a specific political and social context. In the 5th / early 4th century BC statues to honor philosophers, poets, and leaders of exceptional power and influence began to be placed in public. These could usually be identified by the inscription of a name. Soon the sculptures began to increasingly show individual features. While artists could reference to the actual appearance of a contemporary person, honored individuals of a more distant past must have received imaginary portraits. On coins the first individual portraits are thought to have appeared during that period only in Asia minor, where Greek artists cut dies to represent satraps of the Achaemenid Persian empire and local dynasts. In Greece itself it was still not acceptable to place one's own portrait on coins. Coins were reserved for the gods.

Alexander the Great kept avoiding individual portraits on his coins, even though his appearance was likely projected into the head of the beardless Heracles with the lion-skin on his ubiquitous silver coins. In the early years after the death of Alexander the Great in 323, this barrier fell. His successors, the diadochs, established new kingdoms in intense competition with each other. Greek artistic capabilities and a strong political purpose to express leadership strength and rally the troops led to some of the most impressive individual human portraiture ever made. Expressed individuality culminated in these royal portraits of the Hellenistic kingdoms of the early 3rd century. Notably the Greeks continued use of idealized sculpture for their gods. Hellenistic rulers who – as Alexander the Great – wished to be associated with gods tended also to be shown with more idealized portrait types, combined with divine attributes[1].

What constitutes individuality in the 'portrait' of a human being? Firstly, it should present a specific human being. Secondly, it has to deviate from the norm of idealization valid at that time and allow us to differentiate this human from others[2]. To what degree recognizable individuality of a king expressed to his subjects was important we cannot know. A visual portrayal of general ideas of kingship[3] may have also been projected into the portraits. What we see today is what these kings wanted us to see, not necessarily their actual appearance. But at least in the early days of the Hellenistic kingdoms the troops will have been close enough to their kings/generals to know what they looked like.

Portrait type control

We know little to nothing about the royal administration of portrait types in the Hellenistic period. Was there an archetype (if so of what material?). Who were the artists[4]? Was the portrait made in the presence of the king? Was the portrait type personally approved by him? And then copied across the empire? Was it thoughtfully distributed using multiple media, across coins of different mints, in sculpture, in painting? Centuries later an active distribution was the approach of the well organized Roman administration. Roman emperors used a very successful branding of their portrait. It was so successful, that many of us still today recognize an Augustus, a Nero, or a Hadrian. One can assume that there must have been at least a certain degree of control of royal portaits already in the Hellenistic kingdoms. We can identify and differentiate many Hellenistic rulers just by looking in their face on coins. Some royal portrait types document closely thr natural changes of the king's appearance, like the progressive growth of a beard[5]. In these cases a wanted recognizability of the kings portrait is very likely[6]. Some Hellenistic rulers were however shown in a more idealized way. They must have preferred to be closer to the gods on the Greek continuum from gods to mortals. Both approaches reflect a certain level of conscious portrait control.

Coins as most prominent source materials

Only a limited number of Greek royal portrait sculptures survive to our time. This is partly becaus much less were produced than coins. Some geographical areas were short of marble (and bronze was reused as scrap metal). Paintings decayed as did organic materials. Short-lived rulers started immediately to strike coins to pay their troops, but did not have enough time to have portrait sculptures made and distributed. In addition, Greek sculpture is largely known to

us only through Roman copies. It seems the Roman nobility were less interested to decorate their villas and gardens with copies of defeated Hellenistic kings (Alexander being a notable exception – see articles below). Portraits of Greek philosophers were in contrast very popular in Rome and copied in large numbers. Surviving Greek royal portrait art beyond coins is thus quite rare. In addition, its usefulness for portrait studies is severly limited by the fact that inscriptions and context are mostly missing. King, private human, hero, or god? Often one cannot conclude with sufficient degree of certainty.

As mentioned, portrait coins have in contrast survived to our day in very large numbers, are clearly attributable by their inscription, and often even dated[7]. Some kings we actually know only from their coins. The 400 years of Greek royal portrait types are thus best illustrated for us on coins.

Evolution of Greek Portraits

Expressing human individuality is not common in ancient art. While some cultures allow no image of humans at all[8], the ancient Greeks as most other ancient cultures presented the human body and face if at all in a highly idealized, schematic way[9]. The use of the human image was focused on religious contexts or graves. Purpose was to honor the gods and remember the dead.

Expressing human individuality was not the intent of Greek art at that time, it was even avoided. The Greeks showed a grown man in a schematic way with an idealized 'mature' full bearded face [Fig. 1.1]. Women were mostly presented with highly idealized youthful features. Their respective dress reflected social role and class, not personal style. Statues of winning athletes expressed idealized youth and strength. The human body was shown in a progressively realistic way, but remained highly idealized.

The period from the 5th to the 4th century BC saw a gradual development of individuality for specific types of sculpture. Beginning in the early 5th century Greek political leaders such as Miltiades or Perikles were portraited for the public space[10]. Attributable by inscriptions these portraits are still schematized, typically wearing a short cut beard and a Corinthian helmet [Fig. 1.2]. More individuality developed in the 5th to the 4th century in the depiction of philosophers and poets (Homer, Sokrates, Platon, [Fig. 1.3]. We begin to see clearly recognizable and differentiable portrait types[11]. Some were likely imaginary portraits, others may have resembled the living. But as mentioned above, the coins of that period remain reserved for gods.

The beginning of truly individual portraits is difficult to define, but may be placed as early as the middle of the 5th century BC in the context of intense political conflicts in Athens. A Roman copy of a Greek sculpture of the Athenian politian Themistokles (524–459 BC) found in Ostia expresses a higher degree of individual features than previously seen[12]. [Fig. 1.4] It can identified by an inscription, and one would

assume the Greek original to date to the time of Themistokles. A bearded man on coins of Magnesia on the Meander from the 5th century BC has also been suggested to be Themistokles, and a second type connected to his son Archepolis. It remains however a matter of debate if these are really their portraits or still just images of bearded heros or gods[13]. As these coin images are still highly stylized, we would surely not recognize Themistokles from them.

From the 5th to the 4th century BC we see more and more bearded men with individual features and royal attributes appear on coins of Asia minor (Lydia, Lykia, Cilicia). They are commonly accepted to be individual portraits of Persian Satraps or local kings[14]. Persian Achaemenid coins[15] traditionally show the Persian king, but only as his full figure [see catalog 356]. His individual portrait is not a subject of coins. This Persian royal tradition combined with Greek artistic understanding created at that time the novelty of individual portraits visible to us on coins. These local rulers are presented with typical headwear such as the Persian Tiara or the Bashlik. This seems to differentiate them from local heros[16] or gods. Individual portrait features begin to be transmitted: the individual shape of the nose, the different forms of the beard. While we cannot prove with certainty that these coins really show a recognizable image of a local ruler, it seems very likely [see catalog 117 and following].

Alexander the Great rapidly conquered Asia minor, Persia and the East in the late 4th century BC and ruled over a vast empire. He had to find a propaganda program acceptable to and understandable by these many different cultures and traditions. Alexander built on a dynastic royal Macedonian propaganda program started already by his father Philipp II. This program included portraiture of himself, his son Alexander, his father Amyntas, his mother Eurydice, and his wife and mother of Alexander, Olympias[17]. Unfortunately none of these portraits survive. Major features of Alexander's royal portrait as we know it today were likely developed during his life time. We know that once king, Alexander the Great had his image painted, carved in stone, and cast in bronze[18]. His portrait type expressed pronounced youthfulness and was beardless contrary to the Greek and Persian tradition for a mature man. Easily recognizable was his long wavy hair and the 'anastole' on his forehead. His face always remained highly idealized, god like. Interestingly, he seems to have not clearly shown his portrait on his coins, despite a very well organized monetary system. The images on his coinage were standardized

1: 1 Head of a bearded man on an Attic grave relief, marble, over life size, height 30cm, before ca. 320 BC (before the laws of Demetrios of Phaleron (317–307) were implemented), private collection. Image Andreas Pangerl – 2 Greek Commander, maybe Miltiades, 550–489 BC, marble, Roman copy of Greek original ca 490–480. Glyptothek Museum, Munich, Germany. Image Museum – 3 Greek Philosopher, Platon, 427–347 BC, marble, Roman copy of Greek original ca 350–340 BC. Glyptothek Museum, Munich, Germany. Image Museum – 4 Themistocles, 524–459 BC, marble, Roman copy of Greek original mid 5th century – ca 470–460 BC. Ostia Museum, Ostia, Italy. Image Glypothek museum catalog.   ▷

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1.2
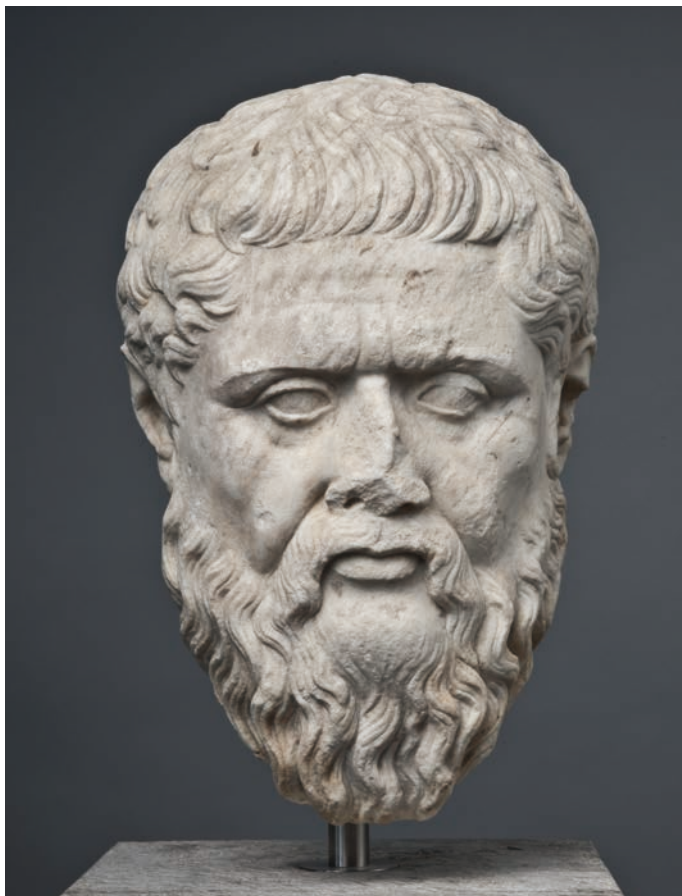
1.3

1.4

1   2   3

2 Portraits across different media: Arsinoe III of Egypt. This Ptolemaian queen is shown in a over lifesize bronze bust, on coins, and also on rings. 1–2 Octodrachmons with portrait of Arsinoe III (gold, British Museum and private collection, Cat. 480). – 3 Portrait bust of Arsinoe III (bronze, over life size, Mantua museum).

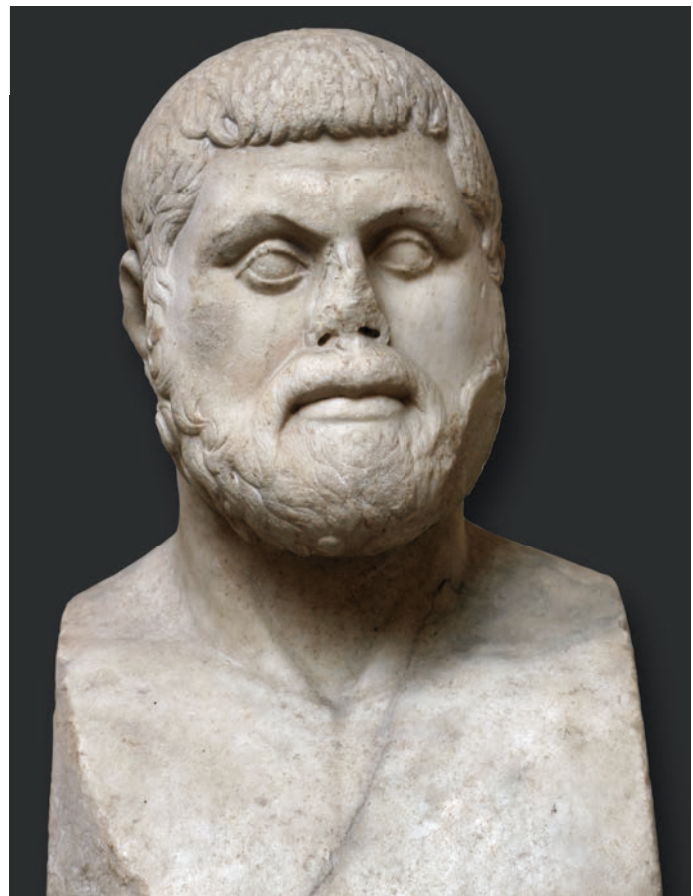across the vast empire and minted in countless mints. Coins show only Greek gods such as Zeus, Athena, and Heracles. The head of Heracles with the lion skin on the obverse of the abundant silver Tetradrachms is however beardless, and may thus have been understood to express Alexander's youthful likeness as well as god-like powers. But no inscription on the obverse clarifies this attribution. Alexanders name is only on the reverse next to the throne of Zeus [see catalog 18, 19]. Whatever his further propaganda plans may have been, Alexander's early and sudden death in Babylon in 323 cut them short. After the death of Alexander, his generals, the diadochs, rapidly placed his highly idealized portrait on their coins [see catalog 40–43, 435–438]. It was combined with various divine attributes. Again, no clear individual features of Alexander were visible. He remained more god than human. The initial plan of the diadochs had been to administrate the empire for Alexander's young son. But soon intense competition between them began with rapidly changing alliances, and triggered constant war. Interestingly, the diadochs still hesitated for a couple of decades to place their own portrait on coins.

Around 305 BC the first diadoch, Antigonos I Monophtalmos, declared himself king. The other diadochs soon followed. A few decades later it seems Ptolemy I, by then king of Egypt, but with active interests in Cyprus, Syria, Asia minor, and Greece itsself, was the first to place his distinctly individual

portrait on his coins [see catalog 440 ff.]. His portrait presents him as a dynamic leader with strong chin, prominent nose, and prominent waves of hair. This maybe made him appear younger than his actual age of more than 60. His main rival Seleukos I and others followed with highly individual portraits [see catalog 107 ff.]. The individual portraits of the diadochs, now proclaimed as kings, rapidly became the dominant feature on royal Greek 'Hellenistic' coins. In parallel, their likeness was also expressed in sculpture and multiple other media. [Fig. 2] Use of the royal portraits seems to have been widely spread in society, in a religious context with the king as god-like protector, as well as expression of loyalty to the rulers. Naturally, the artistic quality of the workmanship varied considerably [19].

These new Hellenistic kingdoms stayed in almost continuous battle against each other. Presumably, a strong individuality of the royal portraits was to express guarantee for success and security. The target audience for these individual portraits would have been the Greek military, most of which were highly specialized mercenaries. They expected to be well paid, and there was always the risk of them changing sides to a more promising candidate. They saw their general, the king, in person, and knew he was human, not an idealized god. But also the other Greek and the many non-Greek subjects will have looked carefully at the royal propaganda. As

2 Portraits across different media: 4 Female portrait, Arsinoe III (see also coin portrait cat 483), left with scepter over her shoulder, relief ring fragment, bronze – 5 Female portrait, Arsinoe III, seal ring fragment, silvered bronze (see Schreiber 2014 Kat 6 und Tab 26–4 Eremitage St Petersburg) – 6 Female portrait with melon coiffure, similiar to the portraits of Berenike II on coins (see also coin portrait cat 461), without diadem, relief ring fragment, bronze – 7 Male portrait without royal band, possibly Ptolemaios VIII, relief ring fragment, bronze.– 8 So called Ptolemaian Cameo; plaster cast of Onyx Gem, ca 278–269 BC, Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna, Antikensammlung. Inv.-Nr. IXa 81. – 9 Cameo Gonzaga, Sardonyx gem, with male and female Hellenistic portraits, attribution unclear, St Petersburg, Ermitage Museum. – 10 *Fragmentary Oinochoe*, showing Ptolemaian queen, 243–222 BC, Faience, inventory 96.AI.58 The J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California – 11 Engraved Gem with Alexander the Great inset Into a Hollow Ring, 1st century B.C., gem: ruby red Carnelian, ring: gold, inventory 85.AN.124 The J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California. ▷

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always, coins were the fastest and most far reaching propaganda medium available to a royal administration.

Into the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC Greek Hellenistic artists developed some of the most individual portraits ever seen[20]. Beyond the early diadochs, this individualistic tradition seems to have continued longest in the more peripheral kingdoms such as Bithynia and Pontus on the Black Sea, also Bactria in the East[21]. In the smaller kingdoms the likelihood of actually seeing the king in person may have been higher and thus an individual portrait more important. Such a high degree of individuality however soon got lost in the large dynasties of the Ptolemys and Seleukids.

Parallel to the highly individual portraits a tradition of more idealized 'god like' portrait types with divine attributes continued among a subset of kings. For example, Demetrios I Poliorketes was presented by an idealized diademed head with bull's horns[22]. Certainly some – if not all – kings wanted to be seen as more god-like and less as mortal human. Other prominent examples of the use of divine attributes on coins include Ptolemy III who was shown with the sun rays of Sol, or the Seleucid king Antiochos Hierax with the wings of Hermes[23].

In the 2nd to the 1st century BC royal portraits became more and more schematized. Maybe the claim to the throne of the later kings lay more in being part of an established dynasty and less in expressing their individual strength. At that time subjects rarely, if ever, saw the king in person, contrary to the mercenaries of the earlier days. Idealized features may have served their purpose better than a highly individualized 'human' portrait. In addition, parallel to the loss of political and military stability, a decline of artistic quality is obvious towards the end of the 1st century BC. For example, the portrait of Ptolemy I, which remained the primary portrait type used on Ptolemaic coins until the final defeat of Cleopatra VII and Marc Antony by Augustus, is at the end only a weak echo of earlier individuality.

Roman generals inherited the tradition of royal portraits when they destroyed the Hellenistic world (and subsequently undermined the democratic principles of their Roman republic). They brought the concept of a ruler's portrait to Rome, where it continued in Roman republican and later imperial portraits[24]. Titus Quinctius Flamininus, the Roman general who defeated Philipp V of Macedonia, had himself portrayed on Greek gold coins echoing the portrait style of Philip V[25]. When Julius Caesar placed his portrait 44 BC on Roman coins it created an uproar in Rome. Since Marcus Antonius and Octavian it had already become common practice.

15

2 Portraits across different media: 12–13 Miniature portrait head of Ptolemy III as Mercury-Thot, with wings and lotus flow on forehead (plaster, likely a workpiece for bronze casting, height 6.5 cm) – 14 Miniature portrait head of Ptolemy III (?) (marble, height 7.5 cm, private collection) – 15 Underlifesize portrait fragment of Arsinoe III (marble height 15.5 cm, private collection).

2 Portraits across different media: 16 Example of Hellenistic portrait painting, here as a Roman copy floor mosaic, section with the portrait of Alexander the Great on horse attacking the Persian king Darius III, Pompei, House of the Faun, Museo Archaeologico di Napoli.

NOTES

1   For a summary of the use of divine attributes by Hellenistic kings see Bergmann 1998; also Thomas 2001, p. 4 ff.

2   A very insightful discussion of the key factors allowing us to call the image of a human a 'portrait' can be found in the introduction by Fittschen 1988, 1–38. As Fittschen concludes, we cannot today really know what a person really looked like, sometimes cannot even be sure the person really ever lived (example Homer), but as minimal feature a 'portrait' of a human has to be individually different from others, especially of idealized images of that same period.

3   See Smith 1988, Introduction, p. 1–3. Smith states that recognizable individuality was not the primary purpose of royal Hellenistic portraits.

4   For Alexander the Great see above. He used the best artists of his time.

5   Catalog 161–163.

6   Richter 1965, Vol 1, pp. 17–20.

7   Coinarchives.com shows for Demetrios Poliorketes (keyword his name and „diadem") 420 coins; for Philetairos

1022, for Antiochos and „diadem" 5500 entries, data base accessed 3.June.2019.

8   Example: Islamic art.

9   Examples: Celtic, Asian, American, African cultures.

10   For a recent discussion of the development of Greek portraits see Knauß and Gliwitzky 2017; also earlier Richter 1965, Vol 1, pp. 17–20.

11   These types seem to have been very popular and copied into Roman times and even till today. We actually know them only from those Roman copies, as the originals are all lost.

12   Found in Ostia 1939.

13   Nolle 1996, SNR 75, p. 5ff.

14   For an overview see: Borchhardt 1999, p. 53–84.

15   After the conquest of Lydia, since the late 6th / early 5th century BC, see catalog 356.

16   Mystical humans, often of divine ancestry, that were thought to play a role in local history.

17   For example visible in the layout of the Philippeion in Olympia, erected after 336 BC. While the statues are all

lost except a statue base, Pausanias describes the setting as: „It was built by Philip after the fall of Greece at Chaeroneia. Here are set statues of Philip and Alexander, and with them is Amyntas, Philip's father. These works too are by Leochares, and are of ivory and gold, as are the statues of Olympias and Eurydice." Paus. 5.20.9. Trans. Jones 1918.

18   Plinius, N.H. 7, 125, mentioning Alexander painted by Apelles, in gem stones by Pyrgoteles, and as sculpture by Lysipp. These were the most famous artists of their time.

19   See plate 5 for Greek royal portrait types used across multiple media, here examples on coins, in sculpture, on gem stones, seal rings, in painting/mosaic, on vases. The artistic quality differs considerably, reflecting the use of the royal portrait for the broader population, often in religious context, to show loyalty to the ruling dynasty. Private portraits seem to have reflected royal portrait types ('Zeitgeist'), but without diadem or royal attributes.

20   In my – very personal – opinion the most impressive individual portraits can be seen with the Macedonian kings Philipp V and Perseus, the kings of Bithynia and Pontus (non-Greek rulers mostly but surely Greek artists portrayed them), also Philetairos of Pergamon. For overviews of portrait types of the Ptolemaic dynasty see Kyrieleis 1975, also Kyrieleis 2015, and of the Seleucid dynasty Fleischer 1991.

21   See catalog 95 ff., Prusias II of Bithynia, and catalog 69–74 Mithradates III, Pharnakes, Mithradates IV of Pontos.

22   See catalog 22 ff., struck after ca 290 BC.

23   See catalog 471–472 struck 221–205 BC under his successor Ptolemy IV, and Antiochos Hierax catalog 199–200 struck 246–227 BC; See articles below.

24   See recently Pangerl 2017.

25   See catalog 37.

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