

**ARTS' RESPONSE TO THE MACEDONIAN QUESTION:  
AN ANALYSIS OF EVANGELOS MOUSTAKAS' ALEXANDER  
THE GREAT SCULPTURAL COMPLEX IN THESSALONIKI**

**RĂSPUNSUL ARTELOR LA PROBLEMA MACEDONIEI:  
O PRIVIRE CRITICĂ ASUPRA COMPLEXULUI STATUAR  
ALEXANDRU CEL MARE REALIZAT DE EVANGELOS  
MOUSTAKAS LA SALONIC**

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**Abstract**

This paper deals with the Macedonian Question and its reopening in the 20<sup>th</sup>-21<sup>st</sup> century. It takes into account the role monumental art plays in this conflict through the analysis of two sculptural monuments of Alexander the Great, the complex in Thessaloniki by Evangelos Moustakas and the *Warrior on the Horse* in Skopje.

Lucrarea de față aduce în discuție Problema Macedoniei și felul în care arta monumentală este folosită în acest conflict în secolele XX-XXI. Sunt examinate două statui ecvestre ale lui Alexandru cel Mare, anume complexul din Salonic realizat de Evangelos Moustakas și *Statuia războinicului călare* din Skopje.

**Keywords:** Alexander the Great, Military Junta, nationalism, The Macedonian Question, postmodernism, public statuary, *Skopje 2014*.

The modern reception of Alexander the Great, as recent studies have shown<sup>1</sup>, is complex. However, what prevails among these various appropriations of Alexander's personality is the image of the conqueror of the known world. It is under the warrior's label that I would like to discuss a sculptural complex that stands on the waterfront of Thessaloniki (Greece) and which although quite well known, at least to a certain public, has so far been almost neglected in the literature.

The monument of Alexander the Great under discussion is the work of the sculptor Evangelos Moustakas and was realized between 1971 and 1974. In what follows I deal with the monument in its historical context as well as a work of art meant to survive its time. I start from the premise that the meaning of a work of art

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<sup>1</sup> Nygard-Tomasso 2016; Cartledge-Greenland 2010; Baynham 2009, 288; Spencer 2002, XIII.

is not imposed by the artist's and/or the sponsor's intention. Instead it is plural, mobile and continuously negotiated by the viewers. Therefore, from this perspective I consider that it is insightful to examine the monument's relationship with two visual works that revisit the Alexander theme at a later date. One is Andy Warhol's 1982 *Alexander* and the other one the 2011 *Warrior on a Horse* statue, a part of the huge *Skopje 2014* project. All three works are synchronized with steps in the development of the 20<sup>th</sup> - 21<sup>st</sup> century crisis between Greece and the Republic of Macedonia over the name of the latter, dispute commonly known as the Macedonian Question. It is within this contrastive approach that I examine the relationship with the Alexander tradition, be it visual precedents or visual forms given to a number of literary themes. In the final part I explore some recent opinions expressed on the popular travel website and forum *Tripadvisor* in order to understand up to which point the public's reception of the statue relates to my previous discussion thereof.

### **1. The Alexander project as part of the cultural policies of the Colonels' dictatorship**

Evangelos Moustakas was the artist to come first in the competition for the state sponsored *Alexander the Great* monument that was subsequently erected on the waterfront of Thessaloniki, the capital of the Northern Greek province of Macedonia. It comprises the equestrian figure (6 meters high, 7 meters large) and the piazza surrounding the monument (30x23x11m) with the spears and shields, and the relief showing the Battle of Issus (15m long) (Fig. 1). Considering that it is a state commissioned, public monument it is crucial first to establish the significance it had for the regime. However, in order to understand the role Alexander played within the cultural policies of the Colonels' regime a brief journey into the history of Alexander's public reception in Greece is required.

In the relatively short history of the Greek state Alexander the Great had an overall on the rise evolution. As surprising as it may sound nowadays, the young Greek state that emerged in the 1830s from a chain of uprisings against the Ottoman rule was attached to classical Hellenism and therefore hostile towards the victor of Chaeronea and even more so towards his son, Alexander. For example, in 1841 the president of the Athens Archaeological Society, I. Rizos Neroulos, could state at one of its meetings held on the Athenian Acropolis that: [...] *a battle in Chaeronea took place, in which Philip won, destroying the Hellenic freedom. But Philip committed something even more disastrous, he fathered Alexander!*<sup>2</sup>

However, along with the idealized image of classical Athens, modern Greek collective self-representation was at the same time centered on the idea of continuity, a concept at the heart of nation-building in most of South and East

<sup>2</sup> In *Synopsis ton Praktikon tis Arhaiologikis Etaireias ton Athinon*, 2nd edn, Athens, 1846, pp. 100-104, *apud* Hamilakis 2007, 112.

Europe's new nations in the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>3</sup>. Soon enough Greek historians were called upon to fill in the blanks left also the similar rejection of the Byzantine past. Historians such as Constantine Paparrigopoulos, considered the founder of modern historiography in Greece, created starting with the 1850s homogenous and coherent narratives that bridged together the modern nation and its illustrious ancient predecessors. Within this frame of thoughts Macedonian Hellenism became the heir of classical Athens<sup>4</sup>.

The Metaxas Regime (from 1936 to 1941) marked another step in the rising of Alexander to the status of national hero. During the authoritarian, militarist regime imposed by General Metaxas, Alexander was cast in the role of the warrior hero that brought Hellenism and culture to the corners of the known world<sup>5</sup>.

A turning point in Alexander's reception in Greece is marked by the proclamation in 1944 of the People's Republic of Macedonia as part of the People's Federal Republic of Yugoslavia<sup>6</sup>. The name itself is ambiguous as it has an ancient referent and a modern one that are from a geographic point of view partially different and from an ethnic point of view completely distinct<sup>7</sup>. Whereas by authorizing the name of the new federal state, the Yugoslav part acknowledged at the same time the existence of a Macedonian nation, different from the other South Slav ethnic groups, i.e. Serbs and Bulgarians. For Greece and Bulgaria, both having Slavic population in their respective parts of the broader geographic area known as Macedonia, this act had inherent irredentist claims.

During the period that followed, the disagreement with Yugoslavia over the name of the republic, which had almost no international visibility as part of the federal state, was latent. However once it seized power, the military Junta strongly emphasized the Greekness of Greek Macedonia in its internal affairs. This dictatorial regime that controlled Greece between 1967 and 1974 made use of mass parades during which were re-enacted Greek military triumphs through the ages that culminated with the Colonels' own access to power which they tried to legitimize<sup>8</sup>. These „Festivals of the Military Virtue of the Greeks”, as they were called, had a part on Alexander's conquest of the Persian Empire. The event and personality had double patriotic meaning as it showcased victory and reaffirmed that Macedonia was/ is Greece<sup>9</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup> Hamilakis 2007, 112-19; Roudometof 2002, 71-5.

<sup>4</sup> Hamilakis 2007, 117.

<sup>5</sup> Hamilakis 2007, 181.

<sup>6</sup> Roudometof 2002, 57-8.

<sup>7</sup> Danforth 2010, 597.

<sup>8</sup> Van Steen 2015, 160.

<sup>9</sup> Van Steen 2015, 176.

The public contest held in 1971 for building in Thessaloniki a colossal complex dedicated to Alexander the Great has to be understood against this backdrop. The military theme of the complex is quite evident: the statue of the king on horseback, in military dress and holding a sword, is framed in a narrative structure that mixes figurative representations of battles (the bas-relief of the Battle of Issus (Fig. 2)) with symbols of the phalanx (the spears-*sarisai* and the shields decorated with symbols of the Macedonian kingdom (Fig. 3)) the whole offering a lasting version of the spectacles held once a year.

On the other hand, the monument may as well mark the reopening of the Macedonian Question in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This conflict, unlike its 19<sup>th</sup> century outburst, which was centered on territorial claims in relation with the problem of national minorities, is fueled by the appropriation by both parts involved, Greece and Macedonia, of cultural goods like symbols and names<sup>10</sup>. It is commonly believed that Greece's energetic advertising of the finds from the royal necropolis at Vergina, discovered starting with 1977 by the renowned archaeologist Manolis Andronikos, were at the heart of the conflict with Macedonia<sup>11</sup>. However I think that most issues highlighted through the finds at Vergina are already present in this complex: Alexander presented as a Hellenic hero dominates the promenade of the major city of Greek Macedonia to affirm for everybody its Greekness. What is lacking is the scientific backup of the claims and this comes with the finds at Vergina. In this respect it is interesting to note that Manolis Andronikos was in the jury that selected the winning project<sup>12</sup>.

If the sponsor, the state, clearly emphasized the military trait of Alexander's personality, with the subjacent ethnic message, the artist's intentions are more difficult to interpret. In the few and undated statements that Moustakas released on his website, expressions such as *hero of myth*<sup>13</sup> create the overall image of a legendary victorious king (exceptional physical strength, majesty). In Moustakas' words, Alexander is following a vision. He holds the sword with which he cut the Gordian knot. It may be inferred that the statue captures the moment when Alexander leaves Macedonia and starts his campaigns. From this perspective the statue is topographic, as it marks the 'precise' location from where the expedition/ the myth started/originated. The more educated viewer is however plentifully informed about its glorious ending.

A deeper insight into Alexander's reception in the monument at Thessaloniki can be achieved through comparison with two other works of art, Andy Warhol's *Alexander* series and the equestrian statue erected in 2011 in Skopje's city center.

<sup>10</sup> Danforth 2010; Hamilakis 2007, 128-34; Roudometof 2002, 30-9.

<sup>11</sup> Danforth 2010; Hamilakis 2007, 125-68.

<sup>12</sup> Information retrieved on September 16, 2016 from <http://vagelismoustakas.com/en/Works>.

<sup>13</sup> Retrieved on September 16, 2016 from <http://vagelismoustakas.com/en/Works>

## 2. Alexander and the postmodern paradigm

In this part I argue that the appropriation of Alexander's image in art is culturally specific and depends upon each society's relationship with the past. Two of the works under discussion come from the Balkans, but are distanced in time by more than 30 years while one comes from the United States and was produced within a decade from Moustakas' *Alexander*. Nonetheless all are testimonies about the ways in which the postmodern world has collectively manipulated, remembered and re-construed the classical past.

Firstly, all the works under discussion are of figurative art. They echo the serene expression, the king's pose and youthful beauty that is commonly associated with Lysippus' portraits of Alexander. In a way it can be argued that they have a sculptural dimension, as the primary referent is a sculpture. Two are sculptural monuments *per se* whereas Warhol's is a photograph of a bronze head of Alexander, a Roman quotation of Lysippus itself<sup>14</sup>. From this point on the relationship with the classical tradition within these works describes an intricate network of references. Among the issues that may be contrasted, in what follows I discuss the relationship with the past and the nationalist subtext, as they are the most salient. However a few words have to be said first about the other two works.

The American Pop artist Andy Warhol (1928-87) produced in 1982 a series of colorful silkscreen prints of a Roman-era bronze head of Alexander the Great. The work was commissioned to him by the New York based gallerist Alexander Iolas (1907-87)<sup>15</sup>. The sponsor was Warhol's friend and the first important promoter of his work. An ethnic Greek born in Alexandria, Egypt, Iolas felt deeply connected to Alexander the Great whom he saw as the bearer of the Hellenic heritage. In fact Iolas changed his name to echo that of the ancient king<sup>16</sup>. Iolas commissioned the series so that it coincided with the blockbuster exhibition *The Search for Alexander* that toured some of the most important museums in the United States. It is arguable that he suggested Warhol to use one of the artifacts showcased in the exhibition. On the other hand, Warhol's choice, the aforementioned bronze head, may be some sort of a veiled tribute to Iolas himself<sup>17</sup>. Launched at the same time, the event and the artwork would increase each other's market value. On the other hand, the exhibition of ancient art and artifacts, generously sponsored by the Greek state, was based on the findings from Vergina and was aimed at creating large international awareness of the fact that the

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<sup>14</sup> Wielen 1975; Nygard-Tomasso 2016, 260.

<sup>15</sup> Nygard-Tomasso 2016, 253.

<sup>16</sup> Nygard-Tomasso 2016, 265-6.

<sup>17</sup> Nygard-Tomasso 2016, 260.

Macedonians were Greeks<sup>18</sup>. In fact it represents the next step in affirming the relationship between the Greek province of Macedonia, Alexander the Great and the ancient Macedonian kingdom, and the modern nationalist claims of the Greek state. The first step was, in my opinion, local and it coincided with the commission of the monumental complex in Thessaloniki.

The equestrian statue in Skopje's city center is the central piece of the *Skopje 2014* project. This controversial project was launched by the government in 2006 and is still expanding which increases suspicion of corruption and misuse of public money<sup>19</sup>. Its aim is to give a neoclassical façade to the city center, while populating it with historical statues more or less related to the local history, among which one may recognize Emperor Justinian, Mother Theresa, Abraham Lincoln and Winston Churchill. Because of that it was often compared to a theme park<sup>20</sup>. In this ambitious project particular attention was given to the national hero, Alexander the Great. Alexander's statue, that of King Philip II, his father, and that of Olympias, his mother, were centerpieces in the initial project. These gigantic bronze statues were all commissioned to artist Valentina Stevanovska and *Alexander* (Fig. 4) was officially unveiled on September 8, 2011 to commemorate 20 years of independence of the Republic of Macedonia<sup>21</sup>. However, the name was dropped and the statue was referred to as *The Warrior on the Horse* to avoid tensions with neighboring Greece, given the ongoing dispute between the two states over the name of the Macedonia and the rights to use Alexander as a national hero<sup>22</sup>. The same strategy was adopted the following year when the nearly 30m tall statue of Philip II was unveiled as *Warrior with accompanying elements* (Fig. 5) the day after Greece used its veto at the NATO summit in Chicago against inviting Macedonia to join the alliance<sup>23</sup>. It is a controversial story in which art has little to nothing to say.

From a historian's point of view these works are artistic quotations of history. In Andy Warhol's portrait of Alexander scholars have seen the *typical modern experience of classical sculpture*<sup>24</sup>. Warhol, as Travis Nygard and Vincent Tomasso have written, *[b]y leaving the eyes empty and retaining the neckline, [...] is drawing attention to the history of the head rather than erasing the signs of time. In this way his prints speak to the essential irretrievability of the classical past and*

<sup>18</sup> Cherry 2010; Danforth 2010, 586; Nygard-Tomasso 2016, 260.

<sup>19</sup> Jordanovska 2016.

<sup>20</sup> Koteska 2011.

<sup>21</sup> Jordanovska 2016.

<sup>22</sup> Smith 2011.

<sup>23</sup> Jakov Marusic 2012.

<sup>24</sup> Nygard-Tomasso 2016, 256.



*its fracturing in the present moment*<sup>25</sup> (Fig. 6). This comment coincides with the perspective that postmodern history has on the past

Meanwhile Moustakas and Stevanovska emphasize unity, theatricality and continuity. Not surprisingly the equestrian statues come from broader complexes which describe together narratives, namely the legendary conquest as far as Greece is concerned, and more or less a family story - a huge scale one though - in Macedonia's case. These are in fact characteristics of national history narratives established since the 19<sup>th</sup> century. There are several factors that may account for this persistence in the Balkans. First among them comes the status Alexander has in the two countries, that of national hero. This led to what Hamilakis<sup>26</sup> describes as the *monumentalization* of the past. In fact, by becoming the subject of a public statue, Alexander has undergone a process of petrification that has reduced the aforementioned plurality of interpretations to a dominant one, that of hero. The same process was described by Koteska<sup>27</sup> in terms of a rigid approach of the past, specific to societies that live in a historical continuum with their heroes. This statement may be brought forward.

In fact, despite external efforts for authenticity evident in Alexander's classicizing traits and clothes and armor which recall that of ancient times, or the equestrian pose that is known from ancient coins, the *Alexander sarcophagus* from Istanbul or the Pompeii mosaic, the two statues have a lot in common with historical movies. In fact Alexander in the two statues is primarily anachronistic whereas Warhol's approach adds to the ancient quote its modern comment; it does not replace it. In this case, the tradition in representing Alexander in art, be it ancient or modern, works against the authenticity of the work. The *Alexander sarcophagus* is a Hellenistic depiction that does not represent Alexander, whereas the Pompeii mosaic is Roman, its identification with Alexander conjectural<sup>28</sup> and whether or not it is the Battle of Issus that it depicts is controversial<sup>29</sup>. In fact, analogies can be drawn between the ancient artist's approach to Alexander and that of the two sculptors under discussion. In fact they seem unable to express in their work the time that separates them from Alexander. Their work, of plain figurative art, comes as a claim to depict Alexander as he was. There is no detachment from the past, no critical approach to it, nothing of the postmodern playfulness so present in Warhol's treatment of the theme. And this is due in my view to Alexander's role as hero in the nationalistic policies of the states who commissioned the works.

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<sup>25</sup> Nygard-Tomasso 2016, 256.

<sup>26</sup> Hamilakis 2007, 158.

<sup>27</sup> Koteska 2011.

<sup>28</sup> Lattimore 2006, 476.

<sup>29</sup> Zanker 1998, 40 opts for Gaugamela; Lattimore 2006, 476 for Issus.

This brings me to the nationalistic subtext. Alexander can be linked to the nationalist construction of all three states where the artists came from and worked in. However his role is quite different in the United States and in Greece or Macedonia. As Travis Nygard and Vincent Tomasso<sup>30</sup> have shown, Alexander was a part of the classical tradition that was assimilated by the American society when it built its national identity. In addition to that, Warhol described himself and his work in terms of a national „product”: *I think of myself as an American artist [...] I feel I represent the U.S. in my art*<sup>31</sup>. And his treatment of Alexander has the complexity of meanings Alexander has in the American popular culture (heroic conqueror, classical figure, gay icon, humanist, cosmopolite, slaughterer etc.).

In Greece and Macedonia Alexander's heritage is far more restricted in the public discourse. Mainly due to their dispute over the rights to use Macedonia as a state and ethnic name outside Greece, both countries have surrounded Alexander with a rigid aura of hero. The states who commissioned the two monuments expected a neat, clean and non-equivocal visual version of their respective discourses. In addition to that, the similarities between the two statues may also be due to the constant competition between Greece and Macedonia. In fact, there is a modern statue of Philip II also in Thessaloniki. Erecting a bigger equestrian statue than that in Thessaloniki might well have been an aspiration of the Skopje project. Hamilakis<sup>32</sup> stated that *[...] archaeology, especially when linked closely to the national project, shares many of the features of pre-modern thinking and practice*. This statement holds true for arts too. What place is in this case left for a postmodern perception? This dimension comes from the viewers. For instance, in Macedonia most educated people are perfectly aware of their Slav origin. Few really think of themselves as modern descendants of ancient Macedonians. Therefore their relationship with Alexander the Great, and his family, is not of innocent trust but somehow detached. It could be said that they play on the ambiguity of their ethnic name. In a playful way Alexander may be brought to the present as a modern Macedonian and not the opposite. The statement of the former Macedonian foreign minister, Antonio Milososki, in an interview he gave in October 2010 for the *Guardian*: *Alexander the Great, in fact, had no passport or birth certificate*<sup>33</sup> may be seen in this light. As for the Greeks, the statue in Thessaloniki is certainly a hallmark of the city, present on magnets, bags, and all sort of souvenirs. However it is almost completely forgotten in public debate and non-existent in scholarly works. It could be inferred that Greeks lack the ability to empathize with this approach in arts.

<sup>30</sup> Nygard-Tomasso 2016, 262-3.

<sup>31</sup> Quoted in Nygard; Tomasso 2016, 262.

<sup>32</sup> Hamilakis 2007, 133.

<sup>33</sup> Smith 2011.



### 3. Conclusions: the Alexander monument today

The statue of Alexander the Great in Thessaloniki is essentially a touristic spot today. Therefore in what follows I address the tourists' perception of it to see what message the monument conveys to its contemporary spectators. Accordingly I use the opinions expressed under the tag *Monument of Alexander The Great* on the website Tripadvisor<sup>34</sup>.

The website provides users with a forum where both locals and tourists who have already visited the spots highlight things to do there, rate, and briefly describe them. According to their content these comments can be summarized as follows. The vast majority of them recommend the promenade, mentioning only briefly the monument. A part of the comments contain some historical data, more or less accurate, about Alexander. Most users seem familiar with the name of Alexander's horse, Bucephalus. This is not surprising as it is based on the popular anecdote found in Plutarch's *Life of Alexander* (Plut. *Alex.* 6). The military exploits of Alexander are also mentioned. This association is made because of the spears and shields which accompany the statue, as the reviewers sometimes stress. Otherwise the nature of Alexander's fame is enough to trigger this association. However a small group of users, mostly Greek or Cypriot nationals, but also some foreigners, recall in their comments the dispute between Greece and the Republic of Macedonia over Alexander and the name Macedonia.

It can be inferred that the militaristic emphasis embedded in the monument focuses the attention of some viewers on the military aspect of Alexander's fame. On the other hand this trait is the most salient in the popular reception of Alexander. Therefore there are high chances that users retain this characteristic in their brief comments. The conflict with Macedonia, which is regularly on the news, is also liable to be associated with the statue. And this is by far a more frequent association on the similar Tripadvisor page dedicated to the Skopje monument *Warrior on a Horse* where the monument in Thessaloniki is often mentioned<sup>35</sup>.

In this paper I explored the ties between monumental art and the reopening of the Macedonian Question in the last quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. I focused on the equestrian statue of Alexander the Great located on the waterfront in Thessaloniki which was unveiled in 1974. I considered this monument as a historical quotation. Therefore it was necessary to discuss briefly Alexander's evolution in the historical

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<sup>34</sup> Information retrieved on September 25, 2016 from:  
[https://www.tripadvisor.com/Attraction\\_Review-g189473-d5887472-Reviews-or10-Monument\\_of\\_Alexander\\_The\\_Great-Thessaloniki\\_Thessaloniki\\_Region\\_Central\\_Mac.html/BackUrl#REVIEWS](https://www.tripadvisor.com/Attraction_Review-g189473-d5887472-Reviews-or10-Monument_of_Alexander_The_Great-Thessaloniki_Thessaloniki_Region_Central_Mac.html/BackUrl#REVIEWS)

<sup>35</sup> Information retrieved on September 25, 2016 from:  
[https://www.tripadvisor.com/Attraction\\_Review-g295110-d2355796-Reviews-Warrior\\_on\\_a\\_Horse-Skopje\\_Skopje\\_Region.html](https://www.tripadvisor.com/Attraction_Review-g295110-d2355796-Reviews-Warrior_on_a_Horse-Skopje_Skopje_Region.html)

and official discourses in the Greek State, more precisely his gradual turning into a militaristic national hero of the state. This evolution was influenced also by the latent conflict over the name of Macedonia with Greece's neighbors that inhabit other parts of the 19<sup>th</sup> century region Macedonia. In fact at the moment of the commissioning of the monument the sponsor which was the state decided to place it in Thessaloniki, a city that is not directly linked to Alexander as it was founded by his successor Cassander, but it is the main city of Greek Macedonia. On the other hand the militaristic agenda of Alexander was emphasized by the Colonels, who were in power at the time. That Alexander is a pan-Greek hero is an unquestionable fact but that his powerful symbol image is mostly used in Greek Macedonia is also obvious. And this is in part due to the persistence of the conflict with the „other” Macedonians. This cold conflict is waged by manipulation of cultural heritage described in nationalistic terms. On the Greek side the discoveries at Vergina were fashioned in a nationalistic frame and broadcasted worldwide through the exhibition *The Search for Alexander*. Also in the late 1980' the name Macedonia is used for administrative units previously known by geographic markers as Northern Greece for example, or strategic points such as international airports in the area. The other side's answer comes after 1991 when Macedonia gained its independence following the disintegration of Yugoslavia. The *Skopje 2014* project marks the climax on the Macedonian side. In this context the discussion of Andy Warhol's *Alexander*, which is loosely related to this conflict by its ties with the *Alexander* exhibition, through its nuanced perception of Alexander, brings in full light the historical continuum that characterizes both the Thessaloniki and the Skopje monuments. In fact, Andy Warhol's postmodern perspective is completely absent from both monuments precisely because they are molded into the nationalistic discourse of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. On the other hand the audience, with the exception of a minority, is by far more receptive to Alexander as a historic figure and is inclined to explain the presence of the statue in Thessaloniki by linking it to Alexander's birth region.

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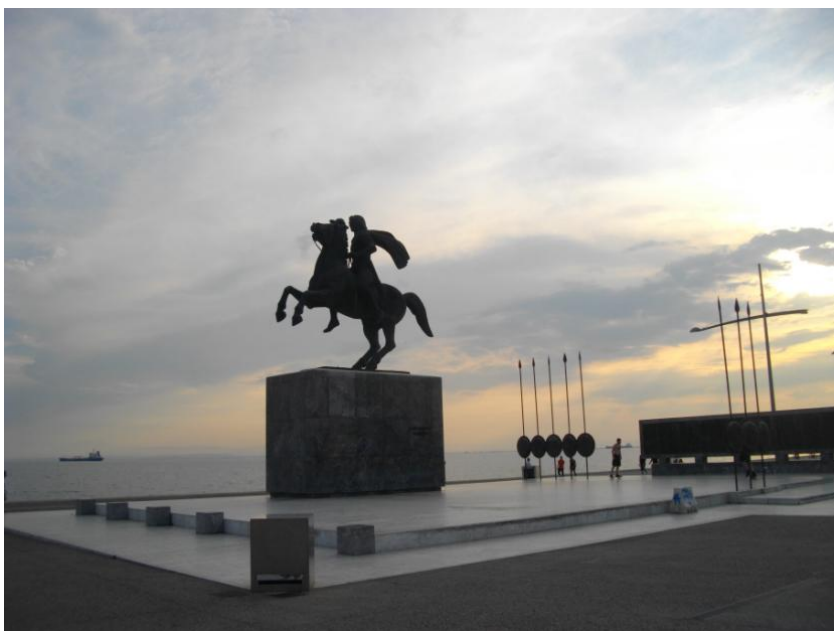


Fig. 1: Evangelos Moustakas, the Alexander the Great Monument, Thessaloniki, Greece.



Fig. 2: The Alexander the Great Monument, the Battle of Issus, detail.



Fig. 3: The Alexander the Great Monument, the shields and spears.



Fig. 5: Valentina Stevanovska, Warrior with accompanying elements, view from the piazza, Skopje, Macedonia; photo by Marius Amariei.





Fig. 6: Andy Warhol, Alexander the Great, Macedonian Museum of Contemporary Art, Alexander Iolas donation (Thessaloniki, Greece).