THE BUST-CROWN, THE PANHELLENION, AND ELEUSIS

A NEW PORTRAIT FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA

ABSTRACT

A marble portrait found in 2002 near the City Eleusinion, just outside the Athenian Agora, depicts the head of a man wearing a crown adorned with eight small busts. The busts appear to be imperial portraits representing male members of the Antonine and Severan dynasties, the latest of which is probably Caracalla, during whose reign the portrait was presumably carved. The face and beard, but not the crown or hair, show signs of having been later reworked. The portrait may represent a delegate to the Panhellenion, an institution closely associated with Eleusis. Possibly an archon or an *agonothetes* of the Panhellenia, he may have been honored for his service with a statue in Athens.

INTRODUCTION

In the summer of 2002 a well-preserved Roman portrait head (Fig. 1) was discovered in the vicinity of the City Eleusinion on the northern slope of the Athenian Acropolis, just southeast of the Classical Agora.[1] The portrait depicts a man wearing a large crown decorated with eight tiny busts. Although bust-crowns of this type are known from other contexts, this is the first such portrait to have been found in Athens. Nearly every other example with a recorded provenance comes from Asia Minor.[2] A few

special thanks to Mark Landon for his superb editorial contributions.

2. Only a few representations of bust-crowns are known from other parts of the Roman world. They include sculptures, such as a head of Antinoos from Ostia (Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano 341: Meyer 1991, pp. 74–75, no. I 53, pl. 63; Aurenhammer 1996, p. 390; Rumscheid 2000, p. 130, no. 31, pl. 20:1) and a portrait, probably of Nerva, from Cyrene (London, British Museum 1404: Daltrop, Hausmann, and Wegner 1966, p. 110, pl. 39:c, d; Schwarz 1978, p. 188; Bergmann and Zanker 1981, p. 388; Zanker 1982, p. 310; Rumscheid 2000, pp. 127–128, no. 27, pl. 17:1, 2), as well as representations in other media, including a mosaic from Aquileia (Aquileia, Museo Nazionale 53 269: Rumscheid 2000, pp. 118–119, no. 11, pl. 6:1) and a bronze example of an actual bust-crown from Thera (Thera Museum [no inv. no.]: Aurenhammer 1996, p. 390; Rumscheid 2000, p. 139, no. 57, pl. 23:12).

portraits wearing wreaths that include medallions decorated with busts in relief have been found in Greece,[3] but none wears the distinctive type of crown found in the present portrait, to which the busts are directly attached, without medallions and without the full profusion of leaves that would characterize the headdress as a wreath. The new portrait from the Agora is therefore unique in Athens, and nearly unique in all of Greece.[4]

Although the archaeological context cannot provide a date for the Agora portrait, stylistic analysis (presented in detail below) suggests that it was originally carved in the early 3rd century A.D., and probably underwent some reworking a generation or two later, in the late second or third quarter of the century. Other questions, however, are more puzzling. Whom does the portrait represent? Why was he depicted wearing a headdress otherwise unknown in Athens? What did he do to earn the honor of a public statue in the heart of the city?[5] Why was the portrait reworked after its initial creation? I attempt to answer these questions, first by establishing a date for the portrait and presenting the evidence for its reworking, then by discussing the significance of bust-crowns and myrtle wreaths and their relationship to the Panhellenion and to Eleusis. This in turn will suggest a possible public role for the subject of the portrait.

THE PORTRAIT

The portrait depicts a bearded man with thick curly hair. The head is slightly over life-size, measuring 0.37 m from the edge of the neck to the top of the crown, 0.21 m from the hairline to the top of the neck, and 0.235 m across the cheekbones. It is broken irregularly at the neck in such a way that its original setting cannot be determined. A small fragment of drapery is also visible along the right side of the neck. Because the top of the head is much less detailed than the rest and the back of the crown is only roughly finished, it is clear that the sculptor expected that these areas would be above the eye level of most viewers. The head, therefore, probably belonged to a complete statue, or at least to a bust that would have been placed on a high base or a herm pillar. The central vertical axis of the head and the remaining indications of musculature on the right side of the neck suggest that the head was gently turned to the right. The surface of the eyes, nose, and much of the lower face, including the entire mouth and chin, has been damaged or destroyed, leaving original surfaces visible only on the forehead, neck, left cheek, and a small portion of the right cheek. The upper portion of the eyes, including the upper lids, as well as the brows, forehead, hair, and bust-crown are largely intact.

Figure 1 *(opposite)*. **Portrait head of a man wearing a bust-crown. Agora S 3500.** Photos C. Mauzy, courtesy Agora Excavations

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3. E.g., a portrait of the emperor Trajan from Dion: Pandermalis 2001. I thank Alexis Castor for bringing this portrait to my attention.

4. A portrait wearing a bust-crown is rumored to have been found recently in the villa of Herodes Atticus at Lou-

kou in Kynouria; it remains unpublished. Another possible example from mainland Greece is a portrait now in Paris (Louvre MA 4705), for which a provenance in Macedonia has been alleged. On this portrait, see below, pp. 373–374 and n. 11.

5. Although the portrait was found in a disturbed context, it is unlikely to have traveled far from its original location, somewhere in or near the public space of the Agora. I argue below that the City Eleusinion was a particularly appropriate spot for it.

a

b

c

d

The marble is almost certainly Pentelic. Its color is yellowish white, with medium crystals and some sparkling over the surface caused by small bits of mica. A vein of schist runs across the top of the sculpture (faintly visible in Fig. 1:c); it passes through the broken head of the seventh bust from the right, which was no doubt weakened because it was carved over this flaw in the stone.

The most remarkable feature of the portrait is the crown, which consists of three parts. The lowest is a thin, undecorated round band, or *strophion,* which sits directly on the curls above the head and terminates in the back in two thick-ridged ribbons, or *taeniae,* that hang down onto the neck. A partially preserved knot is visible above the left ribbon, but it is broken and the original surface is now missing. The second tier of the crown consists of another thin, round band, this one decorated with three overlapping rows of tiny, pointed, single-lobed leaves, all pointing toward the top of the head. The leafy portion of the crown is carved in relatively flat relief and the leaves lack any sort of internal detail. As I suggest below, they were probably intended to represent myrtle leaves. Finally, the upper portion of the crown consists of a flat band, narrow at the back but widening abruptly above the ears as it wraps around the front of the head.

Decorating the front and sides of this band are eight small busts executed in relief (Figs. 1, 2). The busts are not equally spaced, but instead are crowded a little to the right, so that the fifth bust from the right is centered approximately over the bridge of the nose. The position of the crown is also skewed by some 3 cm so that the rightmost bust is lower on the head than the leftmost.

The busts on the crown were given individual characteristics. The artist clearly intended to distinguish one from the next, and they were probably meant to be recognized as members of the imperial family, despite their small size. All are male, and each is depicted wearing Roman military dress, although the details of the costumes vary. Unfortunately, much of the head of the fifth bust from the right, the one occupying the central position above the forehead, is missing, as is all of the head of the seventh bust, and even on the heads that are preserved, the faces are worn. Nevertheless, it is clear from the shapes of the heads and the treatment of the facial features that they were not intended to be identical. The busts are described here from right to left, with the letters a–h referring to the designations on Figure 2:

a. Male, wearing a cuirass with a thick, squared neckline and shoulder straps. The hair is fairly short, and the head is square in shape. The face was probably bearded.

b. Male, wearing a cuirass covered by a military cloak, or *paludamentum*, pinned at the right shoulder with a circular fibula. The hair is curly, and the face is long and bearded.

c. Male, wearing a cuirass with a thick neckline and shoulder straps. Incisions in the sleeves are meant to suggest leather lappets, or *pteryges.* Both the hair and the beard are short. A round bulge encircling the head suggests that the figure may have been wearing a wreath or crown.

d. Male, wearing a cuirass with a central *gorgoneion.* The right shoulder strap is depicted; over the left shoulder is a fold of
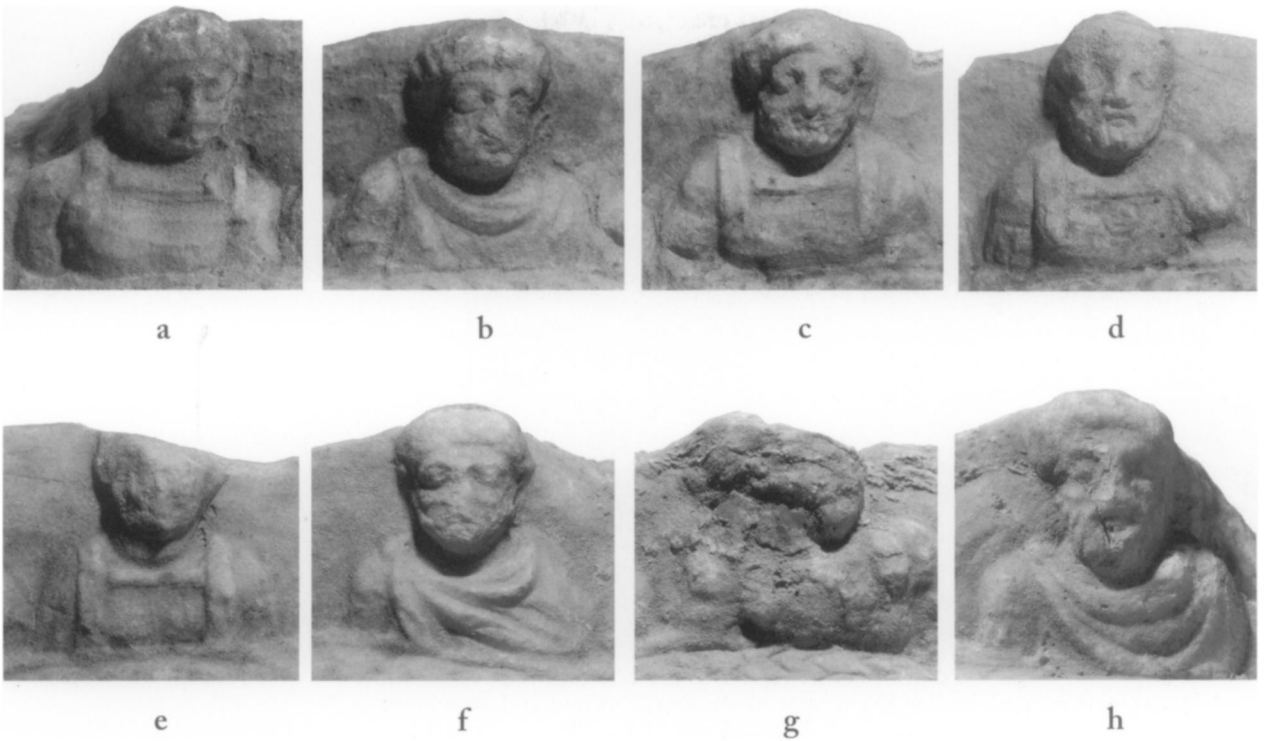
Figure 2. Details of the crown showing individual busts. Agora S 3500.
Photos C. Mauzy, courtesy Agora Excavations

drapery intended to represent a *paludamentum*. The right sleeve has a horizontal incision meant to indicate the beginning of *pteryges*. The head is a long oval with a beard.

e. Male, wearing a cuirass with a thick neckline and shoulder straps, and sleeves incised to suggest *pteryges*. The top of the head is broken and the face is too damaged for details to be distinguished, but the central placement of the bust suggests that it depicted the reigning emperor.

f. Male, wearing a cuirass and *paludamentum* pinned at the right shoulder with a circular fibula. The head is small and rounded, with short hair and a short beard.

g. Male, wearing a cuirass with prominent shoulder straps. The left strap may have a decorative motif at the end. The head is broken at the top and the face is almost entirely missing. No facial features or surface details are discernible. Because of the irregular spacing, this bust has the widest field of the group. It is also the least well executed. The bust is twisted at an odd angle: the left shoulder is raised well above the right, so that the entire left sleeve with *pteryges* is visible, while the right disappears into the floor of the band.

h. Male, wearing a cuirass and *paludamentum* pinned at the right shoulder with a circular fibula. The head has curly hair, a long, narrow face, and a long, curly beard.

The hair of the portrait is one of its most dramatic features (Fig. 1). It is carved to represent a mass of thick, curly locks, and drilled with long, deep channels throughout. On the front, the sides, and the back below the crown, the sculptor chose to use the drill aggressively over the entire mass of hair: the voluminous curls were plastically carved, then embellished

Figure 3. Detail of the eyes and fore-head. Agora S 3500. Photo C. Mauzy, courtesy Agora Excavations

with the thick, dark channels created by the drill. The effect is one of a rich profusion of locks of hair protruding at different angles below the level of the headdress. Three curls hang down onto the forehead, forming a forelock.

The top and back of the head above the crown, on the other hand, were not treated in the same way. At the top of the head, the locks of hair radiate from a central point like the limbs of a starfish. Here the hair was finished with a chisel instead of a drill. The locks have been plastically rendered, but they are closer to the head, carved in much lower relief than the curls below the crown, and embellished with linear indentations of relatively little depth. No use of the drill is apparent. The back of the crown was given even less consideration than the back of the hair. The surfaces are rough-picked and lack any detail at all. From such indications it is clear that the portrait was not intended to be seen from the rear, at least at eye level. The sculptor was probably aware of the setting in which the portrait was to be displayed, and knew that the top of the head and the rear of the crown would not be visible to the viewer.

Although the lower part of the face is badly damaged, the upper portions of the eyes remain intact (Fig. 3). The brows have been gently modeled to show variation in the surface planes both above and below. Along the ridge of the brow the hair of the eyebrows has been incised haphazardly as a series of crescent-shaped lines. These incisions extend well down onto the nose on both sides and may have met in the middle to form a single continuous eyebrow, although the surface in this area is too badly damaged to be certain. Deep drill channels separate the upper lids from the underside of the brows. The eyes are almond-shaped with prominent tear ducts. Although the original surface has been destroyed, the incised lines that defined the inner limit of the iris and the wedge-shaped pupils are visible where they disappear beneath the upper lid. The hair of the beard (see Fig. 12, below) is represented by a series of small, irregularly spaced, curved lines chiseled into the surface of the face from the lower half of the cheeks down to the top of the neck. In contrast to the emphatically plastic hair, the beard is completely incised and lacks any raised volume at all.

DATE OF THE ORIGINAL PORTRAIT

As described above, the hair on the head of the portrait is full, thick, and plastically carved, with dramatic drilling. Its style is comparable to that of Late Antonine and Early Severan portraits, such as that of Lucius Antonius Claudius Dometinus Diogenes from Aphrodisias, which is dated by an inscription to the early 3rd century, in the Severan era (Fig. 4).[6] Like the Agora head, the portrait of Diogenes has a thick profusion of locks under his crown, which were created first with volumes of sculpted marble, and then embellished with drilled holes and channels. Unlike the Agora portrait, however, the beard of Diogenes is full and plastically carved, in a manner consistent with the style and date of his hair. Here no refashioning appears to have occurred.

Among sculptures from Athens, the best comparandum for the hair on the Agora head is one of a series of portraits of *kosmetai* on display in the National Archaeological Museum (Fig. 5).[7] This portrait is also dated to the first quarter of the 3rd century, in the Severan era. Although the *kosmetes* is balding on top, the treatment of the hair on the sides of the head is instructive. As in the case of the Agora portrait, the hair is swept back a little from the face so that the strands do not curl forward over the skin. The rendering of the locks and the drill channels between them are quite similar. The treatment of the eyes, and in particular the shape and arc of the brows, is also similar.

A second close parallel from Athens is the hair on a portrait of another *kosmetes,* dated to the end of the 2nd or early 3rd century (Fig. 6).[8] The comparison is particularly striking in the short rows of locks directly over the forehead. The drilling is quite similar to that of the Agora head: the locks in both cases are separated from one another and channels have been drilled into each in order to create contrasting pockets of light and shadow. The similarity does not extend to the rest of the face, however, for the thickly curled beard of the *kosmetes* is very different from that of the Agora portrait, and the eyes are also somewhat hooded by the brows, a feature that creates an intense facial expression. The Agora portrait, of course, is missing most of the face, but what remains of the eyes differs from the eyes of the *kosmetes,* although the lines on the forehead are somewhat similar.

When compared with these parallels from Aphrodisias and Athens, then, the treatment of the hair on the Agora head suggests the late 2nd or early 3rd century as the most likely date for the original creation of the portrait. Diogenes in Aphrodisias and the *kosmetai* in Athens were clearly members of the aristocratic upper class of society, not only because of the rank and position that they held within their respective communities,[9] but

6. Geyre, Aphrodisias Museum 79/10/257: İnan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, p. 210, no. 186, pls. 138:1, 139, 140:3; Zanker 1995, pp. 244–245, fig. 135; Rumscheid 2000, p. 118, no. 10, pls. 4:2–4, 5:1.

7. Athens, National Museum 389: Graindor 1915, pp. 334–337, no. 13, fig. 18; Lattanzi 1968, pp. 47–48,

no. 14, pl. 14:a, b; Rhomiopoulou 1997, p. 62, no. 56.

8. Athens, National Museum 408: Graindor 1915, pp. 337–339, no. 14, fig. 19; Lattanzi 1968, pp. 48–49, no. 15, pl. 15:a, b; Rhomiopoulou 1997, p. 58, no. 48.

9. *Kosmetai* were the annually chosen officials responsible for the

administration of the city gymnasia, and the inscription on the base of the statue of Diogenes records the many offices and honors he held in Aphrodisias. For further discussion of the status of *kosmetai,* see Graindor 1915, pp. 241–264; Lattanzi 1968, pp. 15–23; Bergmann 1977, pp. 83–85; Zanker 1995, p. 220.
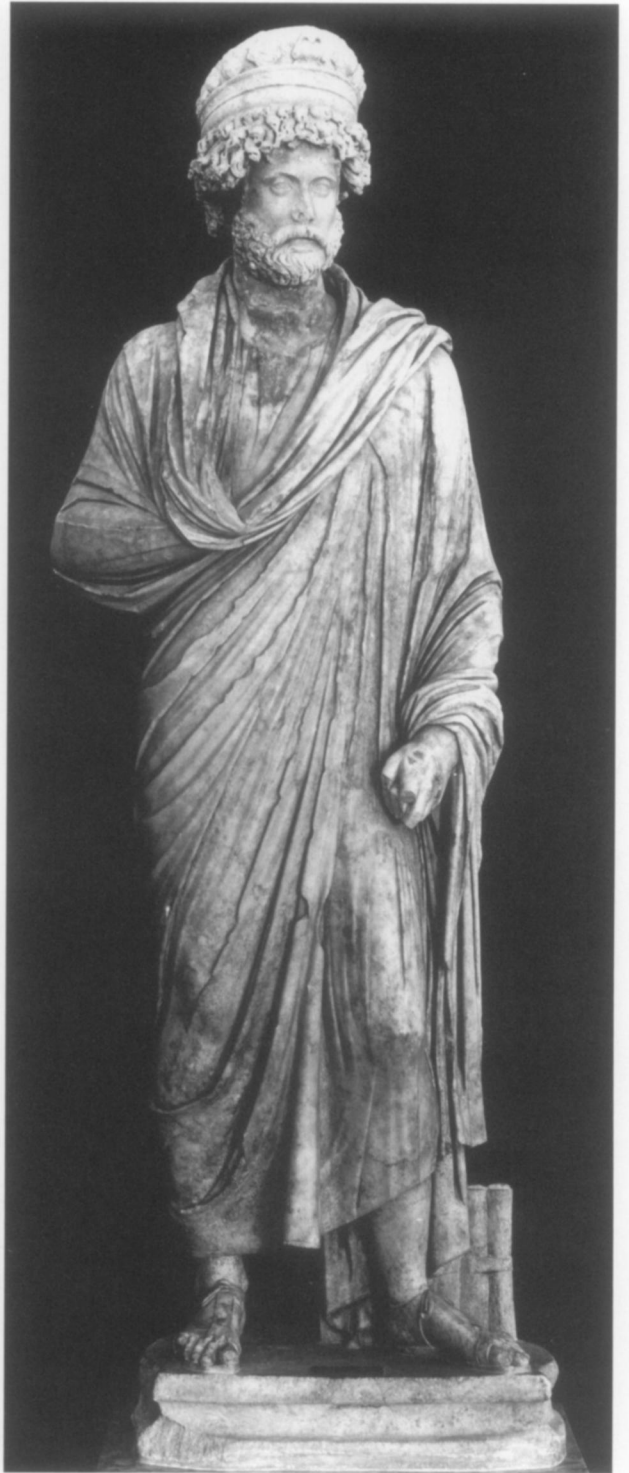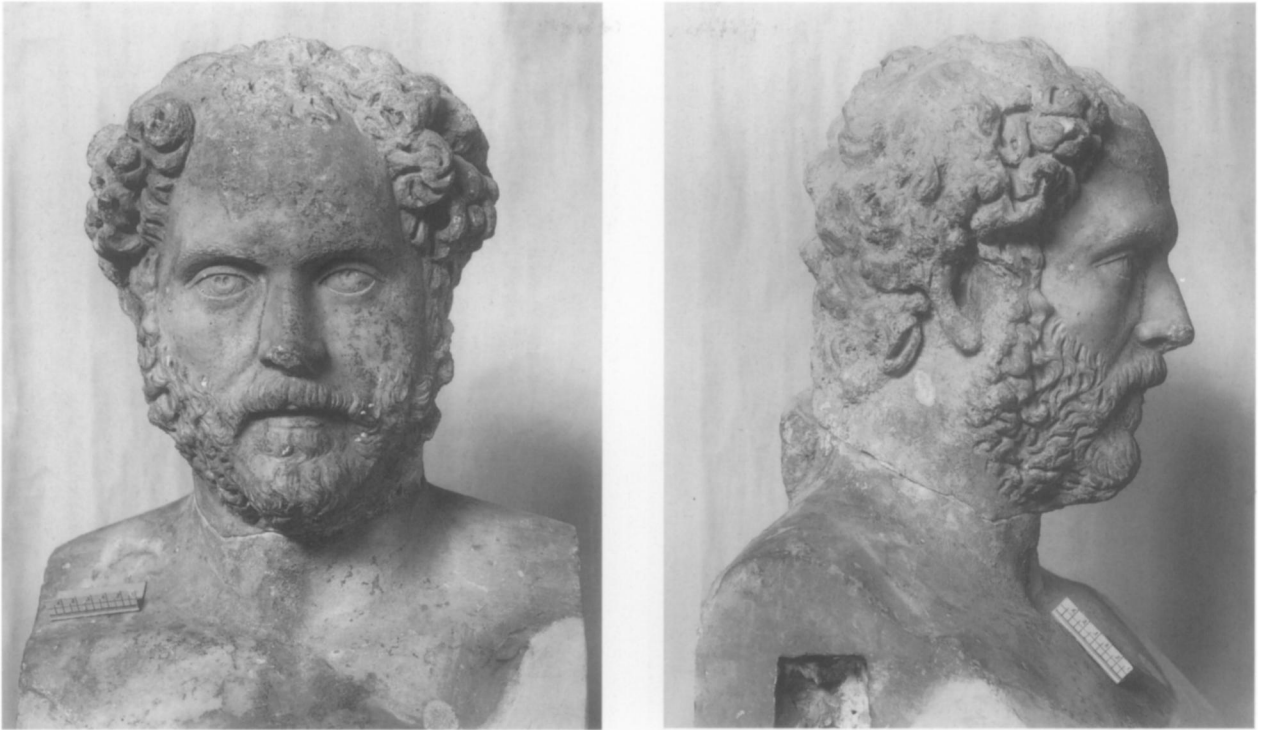
Figure 4. Portrait statue of Lucius
Antonius Claudius Dometinus
Diogenes from Aphrodisias. Geyre,
Aphrodisias Museum 79/10/257.
Photos courtesy Aphrodisias Excavations,
Institute of Fine Arts, New York University

Figure 5. Portrait bust of a *kosmetes*. Athens, National Museum 389.
Photos courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens (negs. D-DAI-ATH-NM 517A, 517B)

also because of the way in which they are characterized in their portraits. All of them are represented as bearded men with coiffures in deliberate disarray, features that by the early 3rd century were recognized characteristics of elite intellectuals, in the manner of Hellenistic philosopher portraits.[10] The new portrait from the Agora, with its richly drilled, casually chaotic locks, also fits into this type, and suggests that here too the subject was a member of the privileged class, one who claimed admission to the intellectual elite of society.
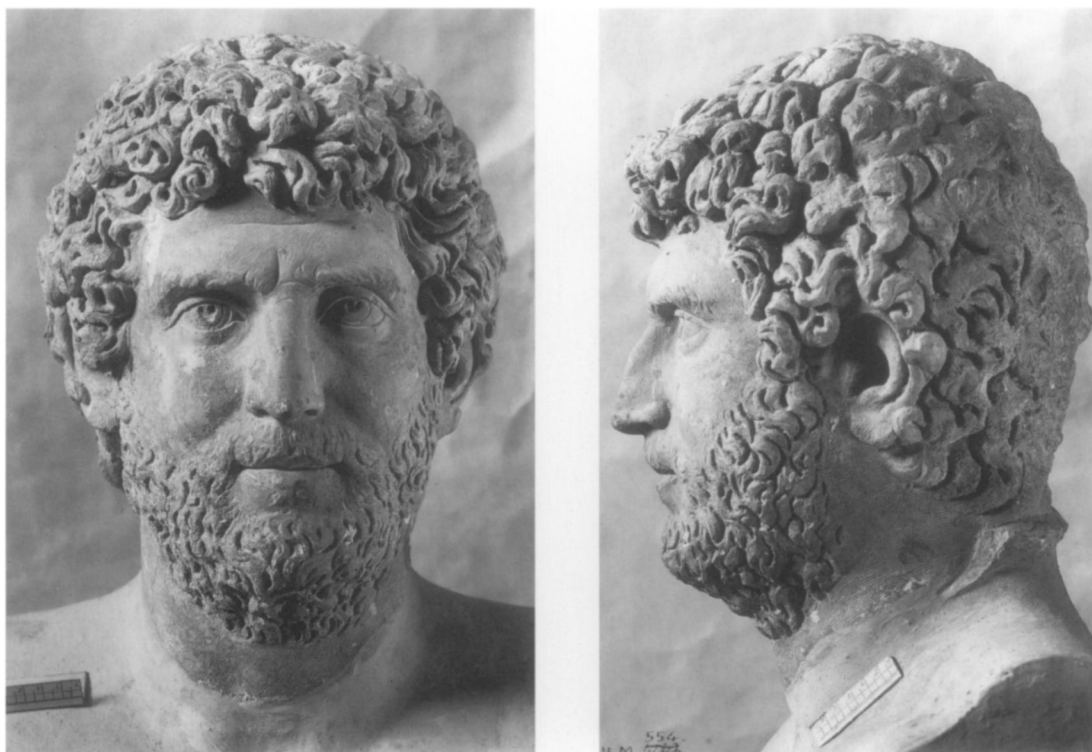
Further evidence of the date of the original carving of the portrait is provided by the form and character of the bust-crown itself. While bust-crowns appear occasionally on statues, busts, and heads of various dates within the Roman era, the headdress worn by the Agora portrait is of a peculiar and particular type.

The portrait of Diogenes from Aphrodisias (Fig. 4) wears a crown that is similar in form. It, too, is tripartite, consisting of a lower *strophion* with *taeniae* at the back; a middle tier, in this case decorated with a vine scroll pattern rather than a wreath; and an upper tier shaped like a *stephane*, here bearing 10 small busts. The central image is Aphrodite, the patron deity of the city, and the flanking images consist of both males and females who appear to be members of the Severan dynasty, and perhaps the Antonine dynasty as well.

Another parallel for the form of the crown is found on two portraits of a man conventionally identified as the sophist Flavius Damianus from Ephesos; the portraits, in the Louvre and in Izmir (Fig. 7), both wear bust-crowns.[11] The crowns are tripartite, with a thin *strophion* at the bottom, wreaths of tiny leaves in the middle, and an upper tier resembling a

10. Zanker 1995, pp. 220–226.

11. Paris, Louvre MA 4705: Rumscheid 2000, p. 144, no. 65, pl. 31:1–3. Izmir, Archaeological Museum 648: İnan and Rosenbaum 1966, p. 128, no. 151, pls. 83:4, 87:1, 2; Rumscheid 2000, p. 123, no. 19, pls. 5:2, 9, 10. For a discussion of both portraits, see Dillon 1996, where the subject is identified not as Flavius Damianus but as a member of the Aphrodisian family of the Vedii Antonini.

stephane and supporting 15 busts. These portraits are dated to the late 2nd or early 3rd century, and so provide further support for the original date of the Agora portrait.

Perhaps the closest parallel to the form of the crown of the Agora portrait is that found on the head of a bronze portrait in a private collection in New York.[12] While the material and the number of busts differ, the elements of which the crown is composed—*strophion*, wreath, and *stephane* decorated with busts—are the same, and in the relative proportions of its components it is closer to the crown in the Agora portrait than are those worn by Diogenes and "Damianus," or indeed any other published bust-crown. Although the New York head cannot be precisely dated, the 15 busts on the crown include several males with long beards and long faces that almost certainly represent members of the Antonine and Severan dynasties, and the general style of the head is consistent with the second or third quarter of the 3rd century.

It appears, therefore, that the tripartite crown consisting of a *strophion*, a wreath or other decorated band, and a *stephane* bearing busts has several parallels in early-3rd-century portrait sculptures. The weight of this evidence, together with that provided by the style of the hair, suggests a probable date for the original creation of the Agora portrait in the early 3rd century, with some lingering late-2nd-century stylistic traits.

Who, then, were the busts on the crown meant to represent? The proposed date falls within the reigns of Septimius Severus (193–211) and his son, Caracalla (211–217), and the fifth bust from the right (Fig. 2:e), which occupies the central position on the crown, more closely resembles the standard portrait type of Caracalla, with its closely cropped beard and

12. Shelby White and Leon Levy Collection: Rumscheid 2000, pp. 142–143, no. 64, pls. 28–30. I would like to thank Jennifer Chi for allowing me to examine this head.

Figure 7. Portrait statue from Ephesos ("Flavius Damianus"). Izmir Archaeological Museum 648. Photos D. Johannes, courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Istanbul (negs. D-DAI-IST R 28.220, 222, 224)

squarish head. The bust to the right of the central one (Fig. 2:d), distinguished by an unusually elaborate costume, would then be that of Septimius Severus, Caracalla's father and predecessor in the imperial office, and a likely candidate for this location on the crown.

The other busts cannot be precisely identified, but potential candidates include other members of the Severan and Antonine dynasties, such as Commodus, Lucius Verus, Marcus Aurelius, Antoninus Pius, and Aelius Verus, or those closely connected to them, such as Hadrian, Trajan, or Pertinax. Geta, Caracalla's brother, might also be represented, and if so, this would place the creation of the sculpture near the beginning of Caracalla's reign, before he engineered Geta's murder and condemned his memory. If one of the busts was indeed intended to be a portrait of Geta, it must have escaped the subsequent *damnatio memoriae,* since none of the heads appears to have been deliberately damaged. In any case, the tiny size of the busts and the absence of inscriptions or specific characteristics, together with the fact that the portrait as a whole was evidently displayed above the eye-level of most ancient viewers, allowed the specific identities to remain somewhat vague. The general impression that they represented members of the imperial family would have been enough to establish the status of the individual wearing the crown.

EVIDENCE FOR RECUTTING

Portraits that have been partially reworked often exhibit a difference in proportions between the original parts and those that have been newly carved. The proportions of the Agora portrait are relatively harmonious and do not alone suggest that this portrait was refashioned at a later date. Nonetheless, there are other kinds of physical and technical evidence indicating that the face and beard were retooled at some point after the original creation, while the hair and crown were apparently left untouched.

One of the most diagnostic features is a tension between forms created by volume and forms created by line. This tension is most evident in the treatment of the hair and the beard, which are sufficiently different in style to suggest that the same sculptor did not carve them at the same time. The contrast between the voluminous, plastically rendered hair and the incised, linear beard that is totally lacking in volume is striking, and unparalleled in Athenian portrait sculptures that have not been reworked. To be sure, several examples of early-3rd-century Athenian portraits with plastic hair and linear beards do exist, but in no case is the facial hair as completely lacking in plasticity as is that of the Agora head. A typical example is another portrait from the Agora, found near the Tholos in 1935 (Fig. 8).[13] It has been dated to 210–220, and may represent a *kosmetes.* While the hair is shorter than that of the new portrait, it exhibits similarities in workmanship, especially around the face. The beard is short and closely cropped to the face; it is depicted by means of incised and drilled lines, but nonetheless possesses a certain amount of volume as well. By contrast, the beard in the new portrait lacks any suggestion of raised volume: it is entirely incised and completely linear.

13. Agora S 517: Shear 1935, pp. 180–181, fig. 10; *Agora* I, pp. 49–50, no. 37, pl. 24.

Figure 8. Portrait head possibly representing a *kosmetes.* **Agora S 517.**
Photos C. Mauzy, courtesy Agora Excavations

The linear representation of the beard suggests parallels with mid- or late-3rd-century portraits, rather than those of the late 2nd or early 3rd century, the period suggested by the treatment of the hair. Unfortunately, few examples of Athenian portrait sculpture can be securely dated to the mid-3rd century. An inscribed herm portrait of a *kosmetes* (Fig. 9) is almost certainly later than the Agora head, and may date to ca. 240 (although its date has been disputed).[14] A second, similar portrait (Fig. 10) probably dates to about the same time.[15] In each case long, linear drill channels are used in both the hair and the beard to create dark lines that isolate and separate the locks. The technique is very different from that of the Agora portrait, in which the hair has been plastically carved and then decorated with drilled lines, while the beard is incised. Therefore, at least in this respect, the portraits are unsatisfactory parallels for the Agora head.

The style of the beard in the Agora portrait is more in keeping with that found in portraits of mid-3rd-century emperors such as Maximinus Thrax (235–238) or Philip I (244–247).[16] In these portraits, the sculptors

14. Athens, National Museum 388: Graindor 1915, pp. 349–352, no. 20, fig. 24; Lattanzi 1968, pp. 55–56, no. 22, pl. 22:a, b; Fittschen 1969, pp. 230–236; Rhomiopoulou 1997, p. 65, no. 62. Graindor (1915) originally dated the inscription to 238/9 or 242/3 on the basis of the archon named and the reference to the 29th Panathenaia festival. Harrison (*Agora* I, pp. 61–62) and Lattanzi (1968) accepted these dates. Fittschen (1969), however, thought that the style of the head was earlier, and he attempted to

redate the inscription by reexamining the dates for both the archon and the first Panathenaia. By his own admission (pp. 235–236), he was unable to wholly refute Graindor's dates for the head, but he suggested a plausible alternative of 224/5 for the inscription (and thus the portrait), which Rhomiopoulou (1997) has accepted.

15. Athens, National Museum 390: Graindor 1915, pp. 353–354, no. 21, pl. 21; Lattanzi 1968, p. 56, no. 23, pl. 23:a, b; Rhomiopoulou 1997, p. 63, no. 58.

16. For portraits of Maximinus, see examples in Copenhagen (Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek N. 818: Poulsen 1974, pp. 161–162, no. 164, pls. CCLXII, CCLXIII) and Rome (Capitoline Museums, Stanza degli Imperatori 46, inv. 473: Fittschen and Zanker 1985, pp. 124–126, no. 105, pls. 128, 129). For portraits of Philip, see examples in Rome (Vatican Museum, Braccio Nuovo 124, inv. 2216: Wegner 1979, p. 40, pls. 11, 12) and St. Petersburg (Hermitage Museum A31: Wegner 1979, p. 36, pls. 13, 14).
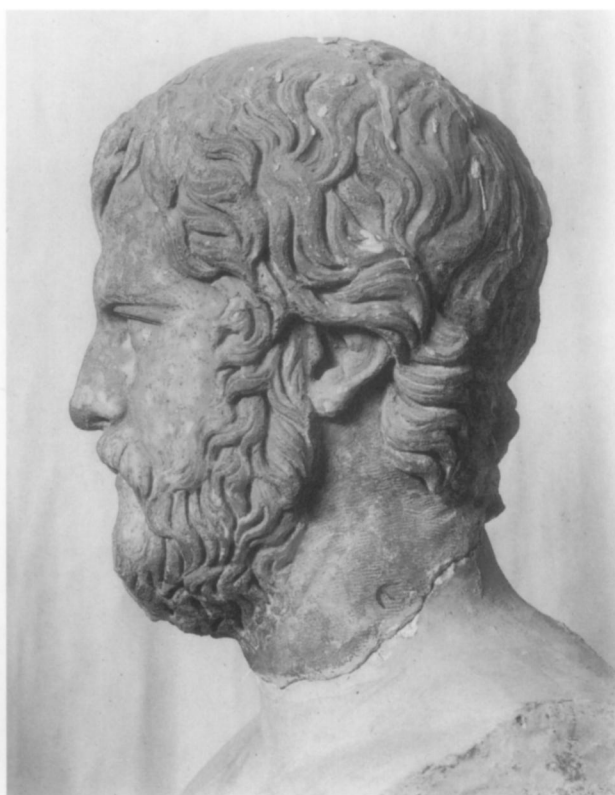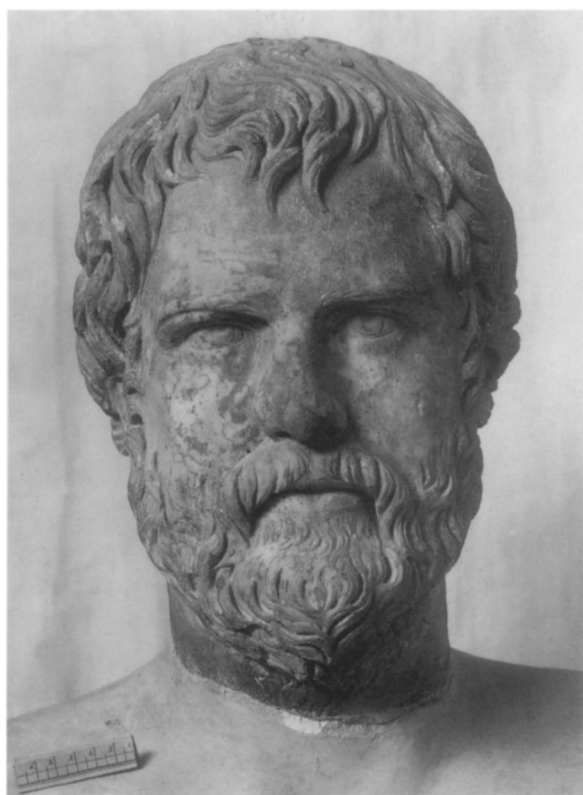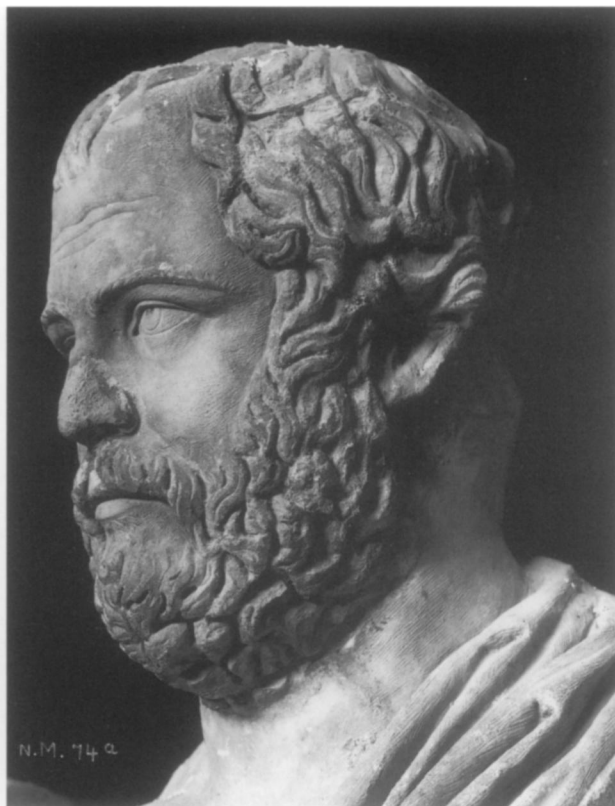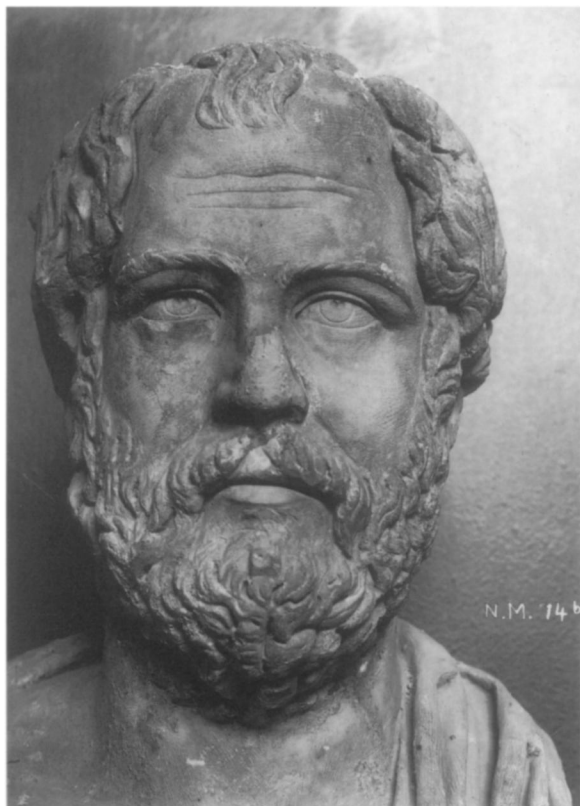
Figure 9 *(opposite, top row)*. Portrait bust of a *kosmetes*. Athens, National Museum 388. Photos courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens (negs. D-DAI-ATH-NM 74B, 74A)

Figure 10 *(opposite, bottom row)*. Portrait bust of a *kosmetes*. Athens, National Museum 390. Photos courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens (negs. D-DAI-ATH-NM 518A, 518B)

Figure 11 *(right)*. Portrait head of a young man. Agora S 1406. Photos C. Mauzy, courtesy Agora Excavations

have not represented the locks of the beard with any volume, but have instead used stippling and lines gouged into the cheeks with a chisel to create the impression of a close-cropped beard. This technique was also used in Athens in the mid-3rd century, and a close parallel is provided by another portrait from the Agora (Fig. 11).[17] Although the style and general appearance of the head might suggest a later, perhaps 4th-century, date, it was found in a context that indicates instead that it is likely to have been created before the Herulian sack of Athens in 280–282. The head was built into the wall of a 5th-century aqueduct constructed well after the Herulian invasion, but the wall contained many other fragments of sculptures and inscriptions destroyed by the Herulians. It is probable that this portrait was damaged at the same time; its linear, geometricized style is similar to that of other mid-3rd-century heads from the East, such as a bronze portrait of Gordian III from Nikopolis ad Istrum, now in Sofia.[18] The rendering of the beard in this Agora portrait is very close to that of the new portrait with the bust-crown, and a similar date for their creation can be postulated, probably late in the second quarter or in the third quarter of the 3rd century.

In addition to the stylistic incongruity between the hair and the beard, another indication that the Agora portrait has been refashioned is the fact that all of the surviving surfaces intended to represent skin, including the earlobes and the area around the ears, display harsh rasp marks that were not smoothed away (Figs. 3, 12). This kind of surface treatment does occasionally appear on Athenian portraits from earlier eras, such as an Early Flavian portrait of a young man found in a large Roman house on the northeast slope of the Hill of the Nymphs.[19] In that portrait rasping is

17. Agora S 1406: *Agora* I, pp. 65–67, no. 51, pl. 33.

18. For the context of Agora S 1406, see Thompson 1950, pp. 331–332; for the portrait of Gordian III (Sofia, Archaeological Museum 1497), see Wegner 1979, pp. 28–29; also *Agora* I, p. 67.

19. Agora S 1319: *Agora* I, pp. 25–26, no. 14, pl. 11.

apparent on the right side of the face and neck, but the face is otherwise smooth. In Late Antonine or Early Severan portraits, rasping as a deliberate surface finish becomes more usual, but it generally remains confined to less prominent areas, such as the sides of the face and neck; in the case of the *kosmetes* illustrated in Figure 5, for example, rasping is visible on the right side of the face but not on the forehead, nose, or front of the cheeks. Rasping was much more prominently used in Athenian portrait sculpture from the second and third quarters of the 3rd century, when it clearly was the preferred aesthetic for the rendering of skin surfaces, and was not simply an indication that the portrait was unfinished. Two of the portraits of 3rd-century *kosmetai* illustrated above (Figs. 9, 10) exhibit coarse, visible rasp marks over the entire surface of the skin, as does another portrait from the Agora (S 2445) that is dated to the third quarter of the 3rd century.[20]

A final piece of evidence for the reworking of the portrait is the fact that the left cheek is angular and awkwardly carved, so that the surface appears almost faceted into three separate horizontal planes (Figs. 1:b, 12). While it is possible that the original sculptor left the surface in this state because the anticipated height and angle of display would prevent a clear view of it, or in order to "foreshorten" this side of the face, it is more likely that the original surface was stripped away by a different, less skillful artist than the first, perhaps as a consequence of the removal of the raised surface of the original beard. The remaining portions of the right cheek do not show this kind of abrupt faceting.

The reworking of the portrait thus appears to have been restricted to the face and beard, while the hair and bust-crown were left alone. The original beard must have been removed, a process that resulted, either deliberately or by accident, in the faceting of the planes of the face, and the new beard was then created by the use of incision. At the same time, all of the visible skin surfaces were retooled with a coarse rasp, and the marks were not smoothed away, in keeping with the fashion of the second and third quarters of the 3rd century.

There are a number of possible explanations for the reworking of the portrait. If the original honoree or his descendants had fallen out of favor, the statue might have been altered and its identity changed to reflect the changed political fortunes of the family. Such alterations were not unusual in the Roman era,[21] and might well have been especially common during the mid-3rd century, when emperors replaced one another with dizzying speed, often as a result of foul play engineered by the incoming ruler. The favorite of one emperor could quickly become the bitter enemy of the next, and as an alternative to creating a new portrait from a fresh block of marble, a statue honoring the ancestor of an Athenian who was no longer in favor might easily be retooled to represent some new favorite.

Another possibility is that the original honoree was a foreigner who had made a benefaction to the city of Athens, but had no descendants and no long-term ties to the city. When a generation or more had passed, and no one in Athens was still interested in honoring him, relatively simple adjustments could have been made to the face in order to change the identity of the statue to one with more significance for contemporary Athenians. Reuse rather than destruction would have been all the more appealing in
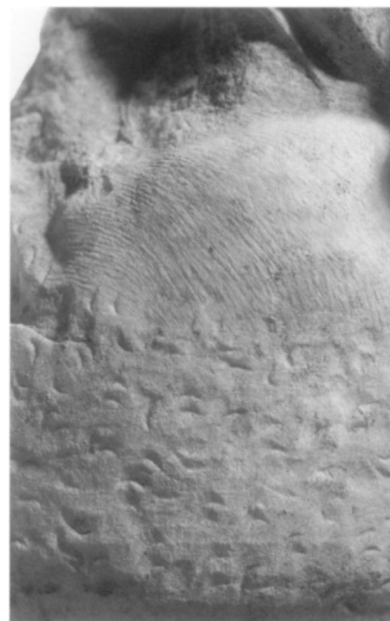
Figure 12. Detail of left cheek. Agora S 3500. Photo C. Mauzy, courtesy Agora Excavations

20. While, as noted above (n. 14), the portraits illustrated in Figs. 9 and 10 might date as early as the beginning of the second quarter of the 3rd century, they are definitely no earlier than that, and so are at least a decade later than the portrait with the bust-crown. For Agora S 2445, see *Agora Guide*[3], p. 295. See *Agora* I, p. 53, for the dating of visible rasp marks in Athenian portraiture; Conlin 1997, pp. 48–49, for the aesthetic of rasped surfaces in Hellenistic, Republican, and Italian monuments; Adam 1966, pp. 74–77, for rasping in Archaic and Classical sculpture; and Palagia 2006, p. 260, for the technique of rasping in marble carving.

21. Pausanias, for example, notes (1.18.3) that the statues of Miltiades and Themistokles that stood near the Prytaneion in Athens were later changed to represent a Roman and a Thracian.

the difficult economic times of the mid-3rd century, when there is little evidence of sculptural activity in Athens.

Yet another possibility, involving no change of identity, is that the statue was still on display and still represented the original honoree, but that the full beard and smooth skin surfaces were thought to give it a dated, old-fashioned appearance, so the face was reworked and updated in a more contemporary style. This practice has precedent in the Roman world, as, for example, in the surviving marble portraits of women with detachable hair.[22] One explanation for such portraits, especially those in which the hair and face are made of marble of the same color and type, is that the hair was removable so that the hairstyles could be altered relatively easily, in order to keep up with changing fashions.

THE BUST-CROWN: TYPE, FUNCTION, AND MEANING

Although portraits wearing bust-crowns have been known since the mid-19th century, the meaning of such crowns has recently been reevaluated. For decades, most scholars followed the opinion of G. F. Hill, the first author to suggest a meaning for the crown. In an article published in 1899, Hill based his conclusions partly upon the few passages in ancient literature that mention crowns decorated with busts, and partly upon the few representations in ancient art that were known at the time, among them four sculptures from Ephesos, several coins from Tarsos and Antioch, and an actual example of a bronze bust-crown from Ephesos that was probably intended for the head of a statue.[23] From this evidence Hill concluded that the bust-crown was the privileged headdress of priests of the imperial cult, an opinion that generally prevailed in the literature for most of the next century, despite increasing evidence to the contrary from more recent finds.[24]

New evidence concerning the meaning of this type of headdress appeared in the late 1980s and early 1990s with the publication by Michael Wörrle of two important inscriptions. One is a lengthy document from Oinoanda, a small city in Lycia; the other is an architectural block bearing both an inscription and relief images of wreaths and crowns, built into the side of the stadium at Aizanoi in Phrygia.[25] Then, in 2000, Jutta Rumscheid

22. See Fittschen and Zanker 1983, pp. 105–106, n. 4, for 34 examples of such portraits, all dating from the late 2nd to the middle of the 3rd century.

23. Hill 1899. The principal ancient sources are Suet. *Dom.* 4.4, which shows that some priests wore crowns decorated with busts of the divinities they worshipped, including deified emperors; and Tert. *De idol.* 18 and *De cor.* 13, which suggest that these crowns were gold.

24. For a list of authors who have accepted Hill's conclusions, see Rumscheid 2000, p. 7, n. 47. The most important new evidence to the contrary is cited in the following notes. Schwarz (1978, pp. 187–188) also suggested that the large numbers of busts on some of the crowns argued against their interpretation as the insignia of priests of the imperial cult, since this would imply ritual honors not only for the deified emperors, but also for the other members of their extended families who were represented. As extant statue groups and inscriptions on statue bases demonstrate, however, familial groupings were in fact regularly displayed in various contexts (cf. Fittschen 1999, pp. 108–138, for a variety of Antonine family groups). Such a representation would not, therefore, have been unseemly or unlikely on the bust-crown of a priest of the imperial cult.

25. Oinoanda: Wörrle 1988. Aizanoi: Wörrle 1992, pp. 349–368; see also Hoffman 1993, pp. 442, 447–448.

published a monograph in which she meticulously collected all known representations of bust-crowns in ancient art and carefully considered a variety of issues related to their function and significance.[26]

The discovery of the new portrait from the Athenian Agora complements these recent studies. Rumscheid and Wörrle have argued that the bust-crown was worn not to signify the office of a priest of the imperial cult, as Hill had suggested, but rather to refer to an *agonothetes,* an official who arranged and financed agonistic festivals in honor of various gods, including the deified emperors.[27] The office of *agonothetes* could be a separate and independent post, but those who held it frequently held other important offices as well. They were chosen from the wealthy upper classes, and as such were often called on to perform various civic and provincial duties.[28] While many of these men might have been priests of the imperial cult as well as *agonothetai,* all of the archaeological, literary, and epigraphical evidence for the wearing of bust-crowns is found within the context of agonistic contests.[29] So, while a priest of the imperial cult might wear such a crown, it seems to have been intended to signify his role as *agonothetes,* rather than his role as priest.

Statues of men identified as *agonothetai* provide a good basis from which to reconstruct the original appearance of the Agora portrait. The portraits of Diogenes from Aphrodisias (Fig. 4) and "Flavius Damianus" from Ephesos (Fig. 7) both wear the Greek costume of chiton, himation, and sandals, not the Roman toga, and the inscription from Oinoanda reveals that the himation worn by the *agonothetes* was purple. The posture of these statues projects the same kind of intellectual and aristocratic status indicated by their hair and beards, which are modeled on Greek philosopher portraits rather than those of Roman citizens or military men. They do not have any attributes that might suggest a priest, such as a veil or a patera.[30] The new head from the Agora might originally have been placed on a statue similar to these.

26. Rumscheid 2000.

27. The Oinoanda inscription is a lengthy record of an endowment given to the city during the time of Hadrian by C. Iulius Demosthenes in order to support the Demostheneia, an agonistic festival named after himself. Among other provisions, the inscription prescribes the headdress that the *agonothetes* is to wear: "Iulius Demosthenes . . . has promised that he will in addition at his own expense make ready and dedicate to the city a golden crown carrying relief portraits of the emperor Nerva Trajan Hadrian Caesar Augustus and our leader the ancestral god Apollo, which the agonothete will wear" (III, lines 45–55; trans. Mitchell 1990, p. 185). This suggests that the *agonothetes* wore a bust-crown specifically as a mark of his own office, not because he was a priest of the imperial cult.

28. These duties might include serving as provincial and municipal priests, such as Stephanephoroi, Panegyriarchs, Archiprytaneis, Eparchikoi, Archiereis, and even Archiereiai, who were women (possibly the wives of the Archiereis), as well as the chief priests of the Roman provinces (Asiarchs, Kilikiarchs, etc.). It is not certain that the latter officials were separate from the Archiereis: scholars debate whether the offices were once different and became amalgamated, and if so when, and whether more than one person could hold the post at the same time. See Kearsley 1986, p. 185; Aurenhammer 1996, pp. 390–391; Clinton 1997, p. 169; Rumscheid 2000, pp. 38–39.

29. Rumscheid 2000, p. 24.

30. Zanker 1995, esp. pp. 203–205; Rumscheid 2000, p. 41.

POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS CONTEXT OF THE PORTRAIT FROM THE AGORA

Why might a statue of a man wearing a bust-crown, possibly representing an *agonothetes*, have been erected in Athens? The most important piece of evidence bearing on this question is the inscription from the stadium at Aizanoi, mentioned earlier.[31] The inscription appears on a long marble block originally built into the side of the stadium in a highly visible location (Figs. 13, 14). The text essentially functions as the *cursus honorum* of Marcus Ulpius Apuleius Eurykles, a native son of the city of Aizanoi, who lived in the middle of the 2nd century and held a number of important offices. The names of seven different offices are inscribed within seven clearly distinguishable types of wreath or crown, each of which must correspond to the type of headdress known to have been worn by the holder of that office. Thus, in his role as a priest of Dionysos, Eurykles wore an ivy wreath (Fig. 14:b); in his role as *archiereus* of Asia at the temple in Pergamon, he wore a bust-crown with 10 busts (Fig. 14:d); and so on. The office of Panhellene is inscribed in the center of a crown bearing two small busts (Fig. 14:f). Although broken, these busts have been identified as Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, the recently deified and reigning emperors, respectively, at the time when Eurykles held the office. The inscription does not specify any particular office held by Eurykles within the Panhellenion, nor is there any other evidence concerning his contributions to that institution. It is therefore impossible to be certain whether every delegate to the Panhellenion wore such a bust-crown, or if only those who served in some special capacity received the insignia. What is clear, however, is that at least some Panhellenes, some of the time, wore bust-crowns.[32]

The absence of other evidence to support this conclusion is not surprising because the institution of the Panhellenion is rarely mentioned in classical literature and is still not well understood.[33] Information about it has been pieced together almost entirely from epigraphical sources, many of them exceedingly fragmentary. What can be said with certainty is that the institution was established during Hadrian's rule and that its members met either in Athens, in an as yet unidentified building, or elsewhere in Attica, perhaps at Eleusis.[34] The purpose of the organization is not entirely clear, but some of its activities are known. These seem to have been mostly religious and ceremonial, with maintenance of the imperial cult one of its primary duties, although some political, diplomatic, judicial, or economic functions may also have been among its responsibilities.

Representatives were drawn from a relatively small geographical area, perhaps chosen principally to recognize and honor Greece's classical heritage, and to validate a fictional heroic past for some of the more recently founded cities.[35] Major cities of great importance in Roman times, such as Pergamon, Ephesos, and Smyrna, are missing from the list of known members, a highly unlikely circumstance if the body had any real far-reaching influence or power.[36] With some exceptions (such as Aizanoi itself), the delegates seem to have come mostly from cities respected for their history and traditions, such as Athens, Sparta, and Argos, even if they were not especially important in Roman times.[37] It is also clear that not all cities who sent delegates sent the same number, as some cities had several at the same

31. See n. 25, above.

32. Wörrle 1992, p. 357; Jones 1996, p. 35; Spawforth 1999, p. 344.

33. For discussion of the Panhellenion's function and activities, see Oliver 1970; Spawforth and Walker 1985; Jones 1996; 1999, pp. 118–120; Boatwright 2000, pp. 147–150.

34. For the date, see Follet and Peppas-Delmousou 1997, pp. 300–301.

35. Jones 1999, pp. 118–120; Boatwright 2000, pp. 149–150. Romeo (2002) argues that a variety of related reasons and methods were used as criteria for admission.

36. Boatwright (2000, p. 147, n. 14, fig. 6) and Romeo (2002, p. 23, fig. 1) list all the cities known to have been represented. Boatwright notes that because the list is drawn entirely from epigraphical sources, it is certainly incomplete.

37. Jones 1996, p. 34; Spawforth 1999, pp. 348–349.
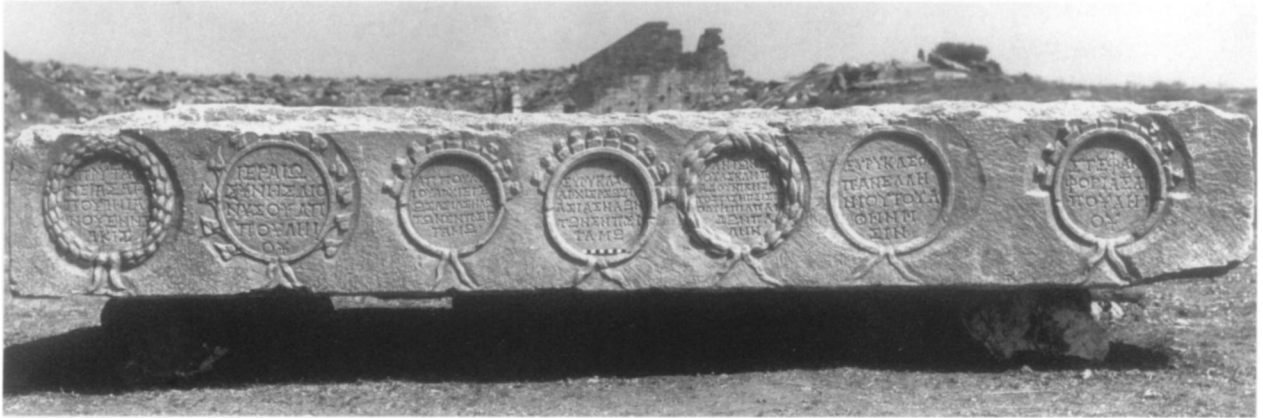
time, while others apparently had only one. The reasons for this inequality
in representation are unknown, but it might have been intended as a form
of recognition for past accomplishments.

The senior executive officer of the Panhellenion was the archon, whose
term of office appears to have been four years. It is not known how he was
chosen, but he was normally a member of the wealthy upper classes, al-
though not usually of the senatorial class in Rome. The other delegates were
chosen locally in their home cities and had a more varied profile, although
they did have to meet certain requirements of age and prior experience in
order to be appointed.[38]

The Panhellenion as an institution was closely connected with the cult
of the deified Roman emperors, and among their other duties, the delegates
acted as priests of the imperial cult. It is therefore likely that a bust-crown
featuring members of the imperial family and not the Olympian gods
would be part of a Panhellene's official costume. Delegates came from all
over the Greek world, and each city had its own patron deity and other
local gods. The focus for common worship was therefore the cult of the
deified emperors.

The Panhellenion also sponsored regular athletic competitions known
as Panhellenia (Dio Cass. 69.16.2). The games were celebrated every four
years, beginning in 137, five years after the Panhellenion itself was estab-
lished. Surviving victors' lists show that the games continued for over a
century, with the last dating to around 250.[39] The *agonothetes* of this festival
seems often, but not exclusively, to have been the archon of the Panhellenes:
Eurykles, for example, the man honored at Aizanoi, does not appear to
have served as archon of the Panhellenion, although it is possible that he
was the *agonothetes* for a celebration of a Panhellenia.[40]

Many of the inscriptions that provide information about the Panhel-
lenion are on statue bases. A large number of these, honoring Panhellenic
delegates, have been found in Athens and elsewhere. The epigraphical
evidence also makes clear that a Panhellene could receive the honor of
a public statue in exchange for important service to Athens, even if he
had no previous ties to the city. Some even received Athenian citizenship
or permanent residence.[41] Unfortunately, it is rarely possible to associ-
ate surviving portraits with specific bases, so the identification of these

38. Spawforth and Walker 1985,
pp. 79, 87–88; Kearsley 1987, p. 56,
n. 43.

39. Follet 1976, pp. 135, 345; Spaw-
forth and Walker 1985, p. 82; Wörrle
1992, p. 341; Jones 1996, pp. 30–38;
Spawforth 1999, pp. 345–346.

40. Wörrle (1992, p. 357, n. 93) and
Rumscheid (2000, p. 13, n. 85) argue
against Reynolds's assumption (1982,
p. 186) that Eurykles served as archon.
Rumscheid notes that the Panhellenia
were established well before Eurykles'
term of office (153–157), so he cer-
tainly could have served as *agonothetes*,
but at present no evidence exists to
confirm this possibility.
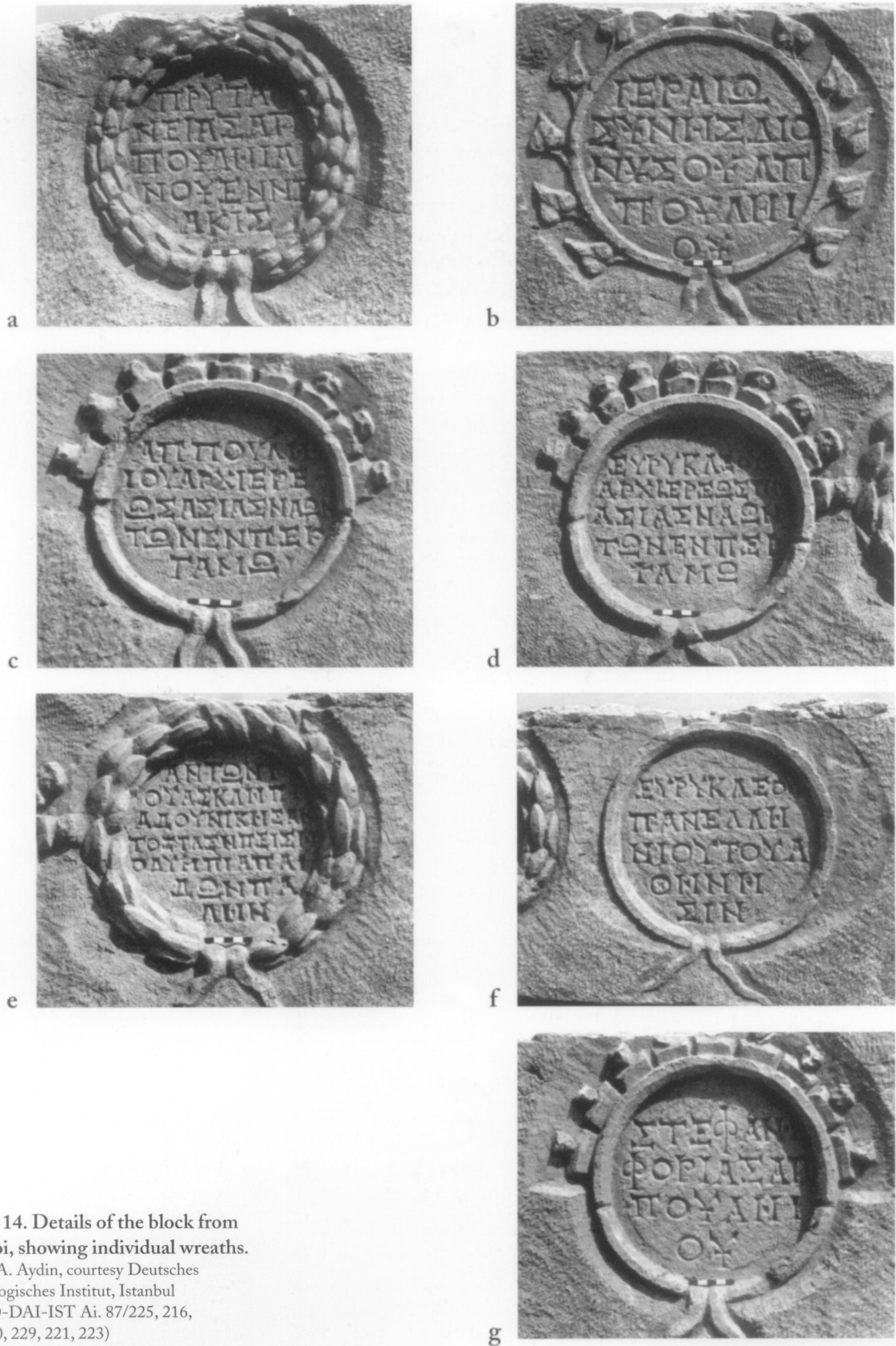
41. Spawforth and Walker 1985,
p. 91.

Figure 14. Details of the block from Aizanoi, showing individual wreaths.
Photos A. Aydin, courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Istanbul (negs. D-DAI-IST Ai. 87/225, 216, 217, 220, 229, 221, 223)

officials, and of their costumes and attributes, has been extremely difficult. This may be why the bust-crown has not until recently been linked with the Panhellenes.

Another important aspect of the Panhellenion was its close connection with Eleusis. It appears that this was a characteristic feature of the institution from the very beginning, and that Athens may have been chosen as the meeting place of the Panhellenion specifically because of its relationship with and proximity to Demeter's most important sanctuary.[42] Although the exact nature of the relationship between the Panhellenion and Eleusis is unknown, inscriptions found in both Athens and Eleusis reveal that it was close. The Panhellenes paid for the construction and repair of certain buildings at the sanctuary, and it appears that at times they may even have taken over the administration of the annual festival.[43]

Under normal circumstances, Athens was responsible for the administration of the Eleusinian mysteries, a responsibility that would have been both profitable and prestigious for the city. Athenians were so intimately involved with the rituals that the procession with which the festival opened originated in the Athenian Agora and continued for several miles along the Sacred Way to Eleusis. In Athens itself, a sanctuary known as the City Eleusinion was constructed on the northern slope of the Acropolis to serve both as headquarters for the administrators of the sanctuary at Eleusis and as a storage area for sacred objects carried in the procession. Although the City Eleusinion has not been entirely excavated, finds from the area suggest that statues, reliefs, dedications, and decrees concerning important individuals and events associated with Eleusis were erected in the vicinity.[44]

From the beginning, the mysteries at Eleusis were administered by sacred officials who held a variety of different offices. Inscriptions attest to the existence of several ranks of priests and priestesses, and in some cases these officials are depicted in sculptures, either in the round or in relief. A portrait in Athens (Fig. 15), for example, probably represents a hierophant, one of the priestly offices held by the Eleusinian officials.[45] The epigraphical and sculptural evidence suggests that the customary headdress for priestly officials at Eleusis was a crown of myrtle, which they received upon entering office and wore while performing their duties.[46] In sculpture, this crown is normally represented as bipartite, with a lower band *(strophion)* tied around the head, and above it a myrtle wreath.

In antiquity certain types of leaves and wreaths were associated with specific offices or honors. An example is the *corona civica*, made of oak leaves, which was originally awarded only to a Roman who had saved the life of a fellow citizen in battle, but eventually became the exclusive privilege of the Roman emperor. Sculptors tended to represent the leaves on these and other wreaths with great accuracy, in order to ensure that the meaning was clear to the viewer.[47] Since sacred officials from Eleusis wore myrtle wreaths, the sculptors charged with creating their portraits took care to make the leaves both visible and recognizable. The hierophant in Athens (Fig. 15), for example, wears a wreath consisting of triple rows of tiny, pointed, single-lobed leaves meant to represent myrtle. A comparison of this wreath with the leafy part of the crown in the new portrait from

42. Clinton 1989, pp. 1520–1522; Jones 1996, p. 36; Follet and Peppas-Delmousou 1997, p. 303; *Agora* XXXI, p. 88; Spawforth 1999, pp. 340–344.

43. Clinton 1989, pp. 1520–1522.

44. *Agora* XXXI, pp. 187–209, 217–221.

45. Athens, National Museum 356: Bergmann 1977, p. 81; Datsouli-Stavridi 1985, pp. 69–70, pl. 85; Rhomiopoulou 1997, p. 82, no. 83. Found in the Theater of Dionysos in Athens together with a portrait of the emperor Lucius Verus and dated to the time of Marcus Aurelius.

46. Clinton 1974, pp. 33, 46, 68, 82, 116; Balty 1982, p. 270.

47. *RE* IV, 1901, cols. 1639–1640, s.v. *corona* (G. Haebler); Heinen 1911, p. 152, n. 2; Alföldi 1935, pp. 10–12; Versnel 1970, pp. 74–77; Maxfield 1981, pp. 70–81, 97.

Figure 15. Head of a hierophant. Athens, National Museum 356. Photo courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens (neg. D-DAI-ATH-NM 114)

Figure 16. Detail of the bust-crown, showing myrtle leaves on the second band. Agora S 3500. Photo C. Mauzy, courtesy Agora Excavations

the Agora (Fig. 16) is instructive. Although confined to a smaller field and more crudely executed, the leaves on the Agora crown are depicted in a similar manner to those on the head of the hierophant. These leaves, then, would also have been recognized as myrtle, and the choice was presumably not accidental. A myrtle wreath may have been part of the official head-dress of a Panhellene, and its presence would have underscored the close relationship between the Panhellenion and Eleusis.

It appears very likely, then, that the Agora portrait represents a man who served as a delegate to the Panhellenion in the early 3rd century. He was perhaps even an archon, or an *agonothetes* of the Panhellenia. His service to Athens or Eleusis or both must have been distinguished enough to earn him the honor of a public statue erected in the city. He chose to be

represented wearing a bust-crown in order to remind viewers of his service as a delegate to the Panhellenion, and perhaps of his munificence as *agonothetes* of the Panhellenia, as well as to show his devotion to the imperial family. It is probably no accident that the portrait was found so close to the City Eleusinion, which would have been an appropriate place to erect such a statue. This assumption is even more plausible if the building where the Panhellenion met was not in Athens at all, but at Eleusis, as some scholars have suggested.[48] If so, then the City Eleusinion is the most likely place in Athens itself for a statue of a Panhellene to be displayed.

If the portrait does represent a Panhellene and was part of a statue set up in the City Eleusinion or somewhere nearby, might it be possible to associate it with an existing statue base? Unfortunately, the answer to this question, at least for the time being, is no. Although some bases of the appropriate date do exist, none can reasonably be associated with the Agora head, either because of a difference in size, or because the cuttings in the top of the base reveal that it belonged to a statue made of bronze instead of marble,[49] or simply because evidence to make a plausible connection is lacking.[50] The specific identity of the portrait therefore remains elusive, and it is impossible to say which city this official might have represented in the Panhellenion.

Even if it lacks a specific identity, the new portrait from the Agora nonetheless provides valuable information about the sculptural practice and political institutions of Roman Athens. The portrait itself, originally created in the early 3rd century during the reign of Caracalla and partially refashioned in the mid-3rd century, illustrates the way in which the appearance and even the identity of honorary marble statues erected in public spaces could be altered for political or practical reasons, or in order to keep up with changing sculptural styles. The headdress of the portrait provides evidence for the insignia worn by at least some of the delegates to the Panhellenion, with the bust-crown symbolizing the importance to the organization of the cult of the deified Roman emperors, and the *strophion* and myrtle wreath reflecting the close relationship between the Panhellenion and Eleusis. The new portrait, then, makes an important contribution to our understanding of Athens in the Roman period, and demonstrates the value of ongoing excavation and research in the Athenian Agora.

48. Jones 1996, p. 36; Spawforth 1999, p. 347.

49. E.g., *IG* II² 3712 was inscribed on a statue base in the Roman Agora honoring Cassianus, an archon of the Panhellenes, ca. 211–218, but the base is for a bronze statue; Oliver 1934, pp. 191–193; 1970, p. 106. Also, Benjamin (1968) published two statue bases for Panhellenic archons that had been used as building material in the post-Herulian wall. The statue on one of the bases, that of Tiberius Claudius Jason Magnus, archon in 157, was

definitely made of bronze, and the other, for Titus Flavius Cyllus, archon in 156, was of uncertain material, but this date is too early for the Agora head.

50. Several archons of the Panhellenion who were honored with statues remain possible contenders, including Cocceius Timasarchus, from Rhodes, dating to 197–201 (Oliver 1970, pp. 107–108; Spawforth and Walker 1985, p. 85); T. Aelius Gemnius Macedo, from Thessaloniki, dated to 201–205 by Oliver (1970, pp. 125–126),

but redated to 189–193 by Follet (1976, p. 128, followed by Spawforth and Walker 1985, p. 85) because he was the *agonothetes* of the Panhellenia in the 18th Panhelleniad and the first archon from Thessaloniki; Casianus Antiochus, called Synesius, from Athens, who can be dated only to the 3rd century (Oliver 1934, pp. 195–196; 1970, pp. 105–106; 1981, pp. 224–225; Spawforth and Walker 1985, p. 85); and Aristaeus, who is undated (Oliver 1970, p. 104; Spawforth and Walker 1985, p. 85).

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