CHILDREN AS OFFICE HOLDERS AND BENEFACTORS 
IN THE EASTERN PART OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

Konstantinos Mantas

Athens

One of the most striking features of euergetism in the Roman imperial period was the participation in public life of individuals belonging to previously «marginal» groups: women, children even –to a certain extent– «freed slaves» and their descendants. This was due to the radical transformation of civic life, and the city itself as a socio/political entity, from the Hellenistic period onwards.

In the democratic or even in the moderate oligarchic city-states of fifth and fourth century BC Greece, all the individuals who were unable to act as warriors were disqualified from citizenship and thus from office-holding. The city was the body of the «autochthonus» adult males who voted and held office because they could hold weapons. Of course, there were differences in the degree of the marginality of women, children and slaves: A male child would grow up to join the male-only club of the city; a slave could be manumitted but he very rarely had the opportunity to be enfranchised (only in cases of extreme peril when male slaves were needed to join the city's army), but a woman could never escape from her «non-active-citizen» status. Nevertheless, the idea of a boy being an official would have seemed ludicrous to Greeks of the classical era: children simply did not have their mental capaci-

---

1 For the sharp contrast between adult male warrior and child and its use in classical literature, see T. Wiedemann, Adults and Children in the Roman Empire (London, 1989), pp. 19-21.
ties fully developed. Children could not become priests or priestesses, although adult women frequently held priesthoods of female deities; women were, according to the Aristotelian logic, weaker in mind but not incapable of thinking rationally.

In the first and second centuries AD, numerous inscriptions and occasionally literature recorded women and children as benefactors and office-holders in the Eastern part of the Roman empire. Of course, the Greco-Roman city was very different in its functions from that of the Greek city of the fifth century BC. Since their enforced «unification» under Macedonian rule, the cities of the Greek and the Greek-speaking world had started to adjust themselves from being politically independent to being part of a wider state mechanism, although they managed to preserve a limited autonomy during the Hellenistic period; but after their conquest by Rome that autonomy became even more limited, as they had to obey to only one centre of power. There were no more opportunities to play upon rivalries between the now defunct Hellenistic kingdoms.

Gradually, timocracy became in all but name the new constitution of the Greco-Roman city: «The policy of giving the power to the upper-classes was thus achieved by two principal measures. The one, the property qualifications for office, probably did not actually make much difference... The second measure was far more revolutionary in its effects. The council was already vested with very wide powers, including a potential veto on the proceedings of the assembly». As foreign policy was not an issue anymore, civic life was limited to the administration of finances and «social» and religious matters, which were hardly the basis for a brilliant political career.

Nevertheless, finances became the most pressing issue of local politics since the cities had to fund their «civilised» way of life which presupposed

---


4 For women as office holders see my doctoral thesis *Civic Decline and Female Power: Women’s New Role in the Greek World under Roman Rule*, submitted to the Department of Classics and Ancient History, University of Bristol (October, 1994).


the maintenance of costly public buildings such as gymasia, baths, agorae, places and temples, plus the burden of the construction or maintenance of the water-supply and drainage. It was impossible for the cities to fund all these public amenities because they lacked adequate economic resources: wealth was in the hands of a few private citizens and their families. So, if cities were to survive as centres of «civilised» life, they had to depend upon their rich families. Many offices became in fact liturgies: the incumbent paid the expenses attached to the office and was granted the title ⁷. Thus, progressively, a few wealthy families in every city would have had to shoulder the financial burdens attached to the various public offices. Preferably, each family would have been headed by an adult male, but given the high rate of mortality in antiquity and the special dangers which elite men had to face (e.g. execution by the emperor), some families would have been obliged to function with a male child as their nominal head and his mother as his de facto (or in some special cases even de jure) guardian. Subsequently, the child would have to be «elected» to the office because this was the only way for the city to use his wealth ⁸. Under Roman rule minors were legally obliged to occupy magistracies ⁹. A small number of inscriptions from Asia Minor, testify that a boy could act as an office holder or benefactor through his mother: Tiberius Claudius was honoured by the boule and the demos of Ephesos for holding the office of prytaneia but it was his mother Claudia who not only erected the statue for his honour, but also paid for the office: «Τῇ ἀναστασίᾳ τοῦ ἀνδριάντος Κλαύδιας Χαριδημίδος τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ ἥτις καὶ τὴν πρωτανείαν ύπὲρ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἐκ τῶν ἕδων ἐποιήσατο»¹⁰.

---

⁷ See F. Abbott-A. Chester-Johnson, Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire (Princeton, 1926), p. 87: «No magistrate received a salary, and the expenses of his office were heavy. When honors were eagerly sought, it was not illegal or unusual for candidates to promise money for public works, games, banquets, or other entertainments, but it was forbidden to canvass for office by gifts or dinners to private individuals».

⁸ See T. Wiedemann, Adults and Children in the Roman Empire, p. 134: «A wealthy family owed the city munera. What if the head of that family was a minor? As long as the ability to perform military service remained crucial criterion for separating the men from the boys he could play no role in civic life - and could not be expected to provide munera. But during the second and third centuries AD, the situation changed».

⁹ See F. Abbott-A. Chester Johnson, Municipal Administration ..., p. 87.

¹⁰ SEG XXVI (1976/77), no 1247, first-second century AD.
From Teios in Ionia, from a later period, a fragmentary inscription records that a lady called Capill(a?) paid money for her son's prytaneia. Timotheos, son of Menneas repaired the fortified tower that one of his female ancestors, a priestess of Demeter had dedicated to the village of Lirbotones in Pamphylia, through his mother and ἔπιτρόπος Killa. In another inscription of Heraclea Salbake in Caria, a certain St... son of Tryphon, an ἱερός (deceased) was gymnasiarchos for the whole year; of course his promise (κάθ᾽ ὑπόσχεσιν) was fulfilled by his mother, Tatia, priestess for life of the goddess Δικαιοσύνη of the city who paid for her son's gymnasiarchia and for the erection of his statue.

Finally, we have to mention the case of the well-known Menodora of Sillyon and her son Megacles who operated in second/first century AD. We are not going to discuss this case in detail because R. van Bremen has already done so in a 1994 article. Nevertheless, a young boy, Megacles held the eponymous magistracy of his city, the demiourgia and a gymnasiarchia (= distribution of oil), but only through his mother, Menodora, who according to van Bremen, was qualified to become dekaprotos, a hereditary office in her family, due to her son's untimely death. Megacles acted as benefactor through both his parents in an earlier inscription: through his father, he paid for the building of a plintheia (some kind of architectural structure), through his mother, he funded an alimentary scheme. Presumably, these donations were made which his father was still alive, which makes it clear that it was not only orphans who became liturgists.

---

11 SEG II (1924/25), n° 591, reign of Maximian.
12 SEG VI (1929), n° 673, second century AD. See also the comments which I.S. Sven-cickaja makes in her article, «Some Problems of Agrarian Relations in the Province of Asia», Eirene, 15 (1977), pp. 49-50.
13 J. and L. Robert, La Carie (Paris, 1954), n° 56, ca. 73-74 AD.
15 Van Bremen, «A Family from Sillyon», ZPE, 104 (1994), pp. 52-3. The dekaprotoi were the members of a board of the ten wealthiest people in every city, whose job was to cover the deficit, after the collection of the tax owed to Rome. In Egypt, «women and minors were liable», for this liturgy, see N. Lewis, The Compulsory Public Services of Roman Egypt (Florence, 1982), p. 21.
17 F. Abbott-A. Chester Johnson, p. 87: «In a few cases minors were elected to magistracies, for the proper conduct of which their parents were held responsible». 166
Children as Office Holders and Benefactors in the Eastern Part of the Roman Empire

In other words, the city considered all the members of elite families, regardless of age or gender, as responsible for the general welfare. Although John Chrysostom in his «Sermon to Anna» refers to the custom of the pagans who make their male children agonothetes, gymnasiarchoi and choregoi after they had been weaned, whereas little girls would become «liturgists» only on the spiritual level, in the heaven of Christianity \(^\text{18}\), the epigraphical record, occasionally, registers girls as liturgists, albeit mostly on religious offices. Menodora paid for the gymnasiarchia of her daughter, too: «...ἐπίδοοσαν ύπ' η' τοῦ υἱοῦ Μεγακλέους τῇ πατρίδι εἰς παιδιν τροφὰς ὁμοίως μυριάδας τριάκοντα, ἔτι ἐτοίχοισαν ἅν τε τῇ ἁγια ἡγεσιαρχίᾳ καὶ τῇ τοῦ υἱοῦ δημιουργίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἁγια δημιουργίᾳ καὶ τῇ [πής] θυγατρὸς γυμνασιαρχία [βούλευτη] ἐκάστῳ [δηνυτε...]» \(^\text{19}\).

According to R. van Bremen, until the death of Megacles neither Menodora nor her daughter would have been able to qualify for any office \(^\text{20}\). Indeed, the cases of girl-liturgists are rarer than those recording boys. A girl, Kassia daughter of Hermogenes, priestess of Zeus, was honoured by the demos of Cargae in Rough Cilicia, because despite her youth she had been useful many times to her fatherland; she was granted the honorific title of «ktistria» which implies that she funded the construction of public building projects \(^\text{21}\). In the same region, another girl, Kbaroues, had held already four times the priesthood of Artemis and she had organised banquets for all the demos and the aliens who happened to be present and she had dedicated many offerings to the goddess \(^\text{22}\). G.H.R. Horsley comments on another inscription from Pisidia: «A second way in which the continuity is marked comes in 1. 10, where the wording τὴν ἑαυτὴ (= αὐτή here) θυγατέρα would be repetitious after the patronymic in the previous line were we not to recognise that its inclusion is to underscore Artemis' legitimate right to succeed to the priesthood as the daughter of Trokondas. [Why such emphasis on Artemis' legitimacy was felt to be needed can only be speculated sic.]; a reasonable guess

\(^{18}\) *PG*, 54.728.

\(^{19}\) *IGR* III, n° 80.

\(^{20}\) R. van Bremen, «A Family from Silion», p. 52.


\(^{22}\) *Ibid.*, n° 13. See the authors’ comments in p. 33: «Doubtless, although in her fourth year as priestess, she was a mere girl: for like Cassia of CAGRAE in our n° 9, she was still unmarried. Her family lavished its riches on this child, its heiress, so that she might in her own name feast the city and make appropriate offerings to hwe goddess». 
would be that Trokondas had no surviving male issue, and the family wished
to indicate that being a daughter was no barrier to succession» 21. The fact
that an heiress could inherit her father's economic obligations to his city is
emphasised in an inscription from Sebastopolis, Cappadocia in which Marcus
Antonius Rufus is recorded as καταλιπόντα καὶ, ὁ μέγιστον ἐστι, διάδοχον
καὶ τοῦ γένους καὶ τῶν φιλοτειμίων τὴν έαυτῆ θυγατέρα Αντωνία Μάξιμα (=
«has left as heir to his family line and to his financial obligations to the city,
his daughter, Antonia Maxima») 24. I give some other instances of girl-
liturgists or their parents acting in their name: T. Flavius Metrophanes Alex-
ander who held the agoranomia, the curatorship and other offices at Thyatira
in Lydia and who held the priesthood of Artemis in the name of his two
daughters, Flavia Alexandra and Flavia Glycinna 25. Another man who paid
for the «free» stephanophorate of his daughter (…μετὰ πλέοντος γορᾶς τῶν
υἱῶν καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ ἀρεσκον δωρεάν στεφανηφόρον…) 26; Nana a
young girl (parthenos) who was honoured for her «nice residence» (epidumia)
at Apollonia, her father's city 27; a girl, Flaviane, who was the first parthenos
who held the stephanophorate and the arch-priesthood of the thirteen cities of
Ionia, at Didyma 28; a young girl who in her tenure as priestess distributed to
the councillors, though her parents, oil 29; Septimia Harmasta was honoured at
Pogla, because her father left to the council and the assembly 1,500 denarii as
a fund for his daughter's demiourgia (the city's eponymous magistracy) 30;
Ulpia Euodia Mudiane, priestess of Artemis, preformed the mysteries and
paid for all the expenditure through her parents (…ἐκτελέσαν τὰ μυστήρια καὶ
πάντα τὰ ἀναλώματα ποιησάσαν διὰ τῶν γονέων) 31; the mother, the ma-

24 IGR III, n° 115. See also my doctoral thesis.
25 TAM V.2, n° 1002.
26 TAM V.2, n° 1343, at Magnesia at the Sipylos.
27 J. and L. Robert, La Carie, n° 364. Her father who was stephanephoros and gymnasiar-
chos had a dedication to Artemis in her name, op. cit., n° 363.
28 I. Didyma, n° 356.
29 I. Magnesia, n° 193.
30 BCH, 16 (1892), p. 421.
31 I. Ephesos, n° 989.
ternal uncle and grandfather of an unnamed priestess of Artemis paid 5,000 denarii to the city as a gift for her priestly office 32.

From all these examples, it becomes clear that elite families were willing to spend money on their daughters' careers in local priestly and civic offices but only if they had no surviving male issue. Also, a girl was excluded from the more important offices, those which granted voting rights or a seat to the council to their incumbents. There was a limit to the ambitions of the elite's female members, and thus we do not find parents paying for a girl's agridanomia, for instance. They were willing to do so for a small boy, because his gender would enable him to hold such an office in the near future. There are one or two tantalising exemptions, e.g. a woman, Aurelia Agathemeris, held, together with her daughter Aurelia Aphrodeisia, the very important office of strategia at Aegiale on Amorgos 33, but these simply testify to the rule that really important offices were exclusively male.

It was the male members of the elite who had the opportunity to become something more than local priests or eponymous magistrates: they could have a seat on the local council and even hope for a post in the imperial administration. Actually, membership of the local council had become hereditary in many cities through the Roman East. Those hereditary councillors were designated by the title πατρόβουλος. In an Ephesian inscription, a list of coutes, most of the men included are councillors and sons of councillors, whereas the hierophant Mundicius son of Pappos is registered as πατρόβουλος 34. According to P. Veyne, the πατρόβουλος were young sons of councillors who were trained in council business before they could become full members 35. Πατρόβουλος were registered in Syria and the Aegean islands 36. A young boy, Aurelius Salvianus son of Achaios, who won at the pancration in the boys' category at Antiochene ad Cragum was styled πατρόβουλος 37. It was for these boys, the pillars of elite families, that par-

---

32 Ibid., n° 990.
33 IG XII.7, n° 409, early third century AD.
36 L. Robert, op. cit., p. 132.
37 G.E. BEAN - T.B. Mitford, Journeys in Rough Cilicia in 1962 and 1963 (Vienna, 1965), n° 42, early third century AD. For the hereditary character of the honours and offices through the male line see a third century inscription from Chalcis, Syll², n° 898: «καλος
ents were willing to spend money for prestigious offices. The second century AD rhetor Aelius Aristides composed a speech, the «Birthday speech to Apelles», to honour that fourteen-year old boy, a member of the family of Quadratus, who was to preside over the Asclepia games: «And the god seems to me, in anticipation, to grant to you an honour, which is not at all customary for boys, in the contests of the Sacred Games of Asclepius, which descends to you from you father, as has often been said, and from those in the generations before your father, so that you have fulfilled all that was allowed, and at the same time it remains, when in the future you pass from boyhood to manhood, as indeed is ordained by imperial law, for you to be granted honours from the Emperor, which he often bestows on such great young men when they are grown up» 38. The passage comments (a) on the fact that the agothethia was rarely granted to boys and (b) on the fact that aristocratic boys after a career in local politics would become recipient of imperial honours. Despite Aristides' comment, boys-agonothetes were not so infrequent. According to K.J. Rigsby: «It is quite possible that Meleager, in passing over his son in 158 to name his grandson agonothete, was honoring a youth: boy agonothetes, the son of rich and patriotic families, were frequent in the empire» 39.

Parents or other relatives were keen on funding a young boy's entry into local politics or on commemorating his memory by setting up a fund for agothethia or gymnasiarchia: Gaius Sallustius Appianus Aristophon is recorded as ἀπὸ παιδὸς ἀρχικῶν 40. A four year old boy, Gnaeus Cornelius, was honoured by the city of Epidauros as agoronomos and gymnasiarchos 41. Dionysios, son of Menelaus was a pais agonothetes at Thyatira, Lydia 42. Eutychianus was a pais panygiriarches 43 at Erythres. Tiberius Claudius made a promise to find a γυμνασιαρχὸς διὰ ἀγοραίος in the name of his son, Apameia, Phrygia 44. Gaius Licinius Menandrus held the gymnasiarchia, the

40 Meaning that he held offices since he was a child, *TAM V*.2, n° 998.
41 Pleket, *Epigraphica II*, n° 34, first century AD.
42 Pleket, *op. cit.*, n° 40, second century AD.
43 LeBas W, n° 58.
44 *MAMA*, VI, n° 180.
agoranomia, and an embassy in the name of his son 45. Leon Hierokometes
was arch-priest at the age of ten, gymnasiarchos at the age of eleven and
priest of Zeus Panameros, at Panamara, Caria 46. Tiberius Claudius was gym-
nasiarchos of the young while he was a child, γυμνασιάρχησαντος τῶν νέων
ἐν παιδί, at Stratoniceia 47. Poplius Aelius Callistratus on the other hand was
honoured as eternal gymnasiarchos through annual distributions of money
and distributions of oil commisioned by his maternal grand-mother Aelia Ze-
nodote and his maternal uncle Poplius Aelius Theon who was the active
gymnasiarchos, at Lindos on Rhodes 48.

Other inscriptions record fathers who held offices in the names of their
sons: A priest of the imperial cult held the agoranomia in the name of his son
for three months at Prusias, Bithynia 49. Ctesicles held the agelarchia in the
name of his son at Idebessos, Lycia 50. A man was honoured because he un-
dertook the office of prytaneia in the name of his sons and grandsons at Apol-
lonis, Lydia 51. Aurelius Hermippus, a xystarches, priest of Artemis, was hon-
oured for holding the first magistracy and the other liturgies in the name of
his sons 52. Ctesicles alias Ctasadas held the office of hypophylax of the Ly-
cians in the name of his two sons at Idebessos 53. The demos of Tabai hon-
oured with the «first honors», Apollonius son of Meliton who became priest
of the city's patron god, was panegyriarchos; he organized public feasts and
was strategos and sitones, through funds provided by his father 54. A young
man (νεανίς), Artemidorus son of Nestor, of good character and public
spirit, was honoured by his city for the performance of an eirenarchia and for
the fact that distribution of oil was furnished in his name by his maternal
grandfather 55.

45 I. Ephesos, n° 3066.
46 BCH (1887), p. 31, n° 45.
47 I. Stratoniceia, n° 1024.
48 I. Lindos (1941), n° 465g.
49 IGR III, n° 66.
50 IGR III, n° 649.
51 TAM V.2, n° 1197.
52 LeBas W, n° 648.
53 TAM II, n° 307.
54 J. and L. Robert, La Carie, n° 13.
The fact that the children of elite families had been so important for the city's welfare becomes evident from (a) honorific titles ъіііς οξ θυγάμηρ πόλεως (son or daughter of the city) which were granted in a way of a fictitious adopton and (b) by the paramythetic decrees, which were issued by the city in order to emphasize that an elite family's mourning for a deceased member was a public occasion. According to M.S. Smith: «Titles like ъіііς τής πόλεως, found quite frequently in the Empire, especially in Asia Minor, are perhaps a development from this type of honour. It is true that in the great majority of cases these titles appear among other distinctions in a way that does not suggest any connection with normal adoption, and this applies even where the ъіііς τής πόλεως has in fact already been adopted by a person. C.P. Jones expressed the opposite view: «Now it is a familiar feature of public life in antiquity and especially during the principate, that an eminent person may receive from a public entity such as a city or a province a title denoting some kind of familiar relationship to that entity. The most striking occurrence is when a man or a woman is called «son» or «daughter» of a city or some body within it such as the boule: in most, perhaps all, of these cases, actual adoption seems to have occurred, however strange that may appear to modern eyes».

The paramythetic decrees on the other hand express the city's genuine sorrow for the premature death of a young aristocrat, because his/her death meant that there would be fewer potential benefactors in the near future. For instance, in such a decree from the city of Aegiale in the island of Amorgos, the council and the people lament the sudden death of Aurelius Aphrodisius.

a young, handsome descendant of a family of officials and liturgists who was very promising (...) ἡμένιοι πεποιθηται καὶ αὑρακίαν πολιτῶν τάς τῆς ἐλλάς ὑποϊκόν καὶ καλός, ἔτι μὲν νέος, διαφέρων δὲ ἡθής κοσμιότητι καὶ τρόπον ἐπιείκεια ἐλπίδας τε μεγάλος ὕπορευνον...) 60. In another decree of consolation for the death of a female infant, the language becomes poetic, comparing the little girl to a tree which was uprooted before it could blossom 61. Of greater interest is another decree from the city of Minoa, also in Amorgos in which the consolation of the city is reserved for the most excellent Philagathos son of Jason, a man who had held many offices like agoranomia, strategia, and stephanephoria. This man had got married to a lady from the island of Thera and had from her a young boy Philagathus who was a great hope for the city: his father held the office of agoranomos in the boy's name in order to facilitate his career but the boy died before reached manhood 62. In another paramythetic decre from Epidaurus, the Areos Pagos, the boule and the demos of Athens honoured a young man, Titus Stetilius, who died suddenly in Epidaurus, by erecting his statue on the Acropolis and in the sacred coutryard in Eleusis; he was a descendant of priests and priestesses, of hierophants and daduchs, and he held not only Athenian citizenship but he was also a Lacedaemonian, Epidaurian and Roman citizen 63. Other inscriptions, mostly epitaphs, shed light on the subject of children as office-holders. For instance, a funerary stele from Sardis, ca. second century BC, records the virtues of the deceased girl Menophila: she was beautiful and wise, and she held the office of stephanophoros; she was an only child and her parents had predeceased her, because the epitaph mentions that for a person of such qualities husbandless and parentless,

60 IG, XII.7, n° 408.
61 IG, XII.7, n° 410.
62 IG, XII.7, n° 240.
63 IG, VI, n° 938. For public honours bestowed upon children of elite families see L. Robert's, Laodicée du Lycos (Quebec - Paris, 1969), p. 323, for the honours paid to Tatia a νέα ἡρωισα for her father's and great uncle's liturgies to Laodicea. Also see Aelius Aristides, Funeral Oration for Eteoneus 19: «You were an adornment for your friends, family and city. You held first place in the virtue to be expected of your years. This is our gift to you, but the rest will be the concern of the whole city», transl. by Ch.A. Behr, Aelius Aristides, the Complete Works, II (Leiden, 1984), p. 157, in which the reference to posthumous honours is implicit. Also see Philostratus Lives of the Sophists, 558, in which the Athenians are recorded as honouring Panathenais, the daughter of Herodes Atticus, who died very young with a burial inside the city and with a commemoration in their calendar.
many people will shed tears. Thus the loss which Menophila's premature death caused to the city is expressed obliquely.

The hereditary character of the membership in the curial class was stressed many times in inscriptions: in one from the district of Ancyra, Aquine daughter of Caius is called ὁπὸ πάππων βουλευτική (descendant of councillors) and her husband Diogenes son of Alexander καὶ αὐτὸς τῇ βουλευτικῇ τάγµατος (himself member of the councillors) class. The children of councillors thus seemed to have formed special groups, engaging in athletics which had become an aristocratic, exclusive field. For instance, in the city of Pithecusa, near to Naples, in the second century A.D., the daughters of the councillors engaged in foot-races at the city's stadium. It is not surprising then that when wealthy benefactors were establishing alimentary schemes, the recipients were children of the curial class. C.P. Jones made some interesting comments on the subject: «In alimentary schemes such as that of Basila at Atina, of Hadrian at Antinoopolis and of the unnamed benefactor at Xanthos, the children who benefit are the offspring of citizens. If the same is assumed here, then the word ending -τικά in the line 8 should be, not ὅικετικά, but one of equal length, ἄπολιτικά, perhaps spelled ἄπολειτικά, Lidell and Scott cite an inscription of Naples which shows that in the local Sebasta there was a class of entrants called παῖδες πολιτικῶν, 'boys with citizen fathers' just as there was a class of βουλευτῶν θυγατέρες "daughters of councillors".

Elite families were anxious to have honours heaped upon their children, alive or dead, and thus used funds to make benefactions in the name of the whole family. For instance, in the reign of Septimius Severus, Tryphon son of Apollonides, a man who had held offices and perfomed liturgies, made a promise to the demos of Tacina to fund the construction of a bath with the money from the dowry of his deceased daughter Ias; the benefaction was in the name of himself, his wife Amma and his surviving daughter Basilo; one of the conditions though was that the three benefactors will be granted the

---

64 W.H. Buckler - D.M. Robinson, Sardis VI: Greek and Latin inscriptions (Leiden, 1932), № 111.

174
privilege of lifelong use of the bath, free of charge 68. The inclusion of children in their parents benefactions and liturgies is a common feature in the epigraphic record of both mainland Greece and Asia Minor: T. Flavius Diomedes, son of the city, is recorded as being co-gymnarchichos and as co-supervisor of repair work at the exedra and as co-dedicator of the statue of Demos, together with his three sons, at Stratoniceia 69. Menecrates son of Menecrates, the state doctor of the city (αρχιστροφός) who was stephanephoros, dedicated a colonnade together with his daughter Tryphaena, who was styled stephanephoros and gymnasiarchos 70, at Euromos, Caria. Ammia daughter of Pieron donated water from her field to the city of Beroia, Macedonia, and constructed the drain-pipes and the aqueduct, together with her three sons 71. Pollis, stephanophoros, priest and agoranomos dedicated a colonnade to the temple of Zeus Osories with his wife and two sons, at Mylasa 72. The children of a benefactor are recorded as co-donors in many inscriptions of Ephesos under the formula μετὰ τῶν τέκνων οὐκ οὐν τέκνως 73. Popilius Quintilius Vales Varius did not hesitate to display the names of his wife and daughter as co-donors in the reconstruction of a public latrine and its adjacent brothels (παιδισκήρας)! 74 Marcus Aurelius Andreas is recorded as dedicating 18 guild statues of Eros together with his wife and paides (sons) at Tralleis 75. Queen Tryphaena of Thrace acted as benefactress of Cyzicus together with her two sons, who were still minors 76.

One of the most important things for pagan élite families was the commemoration of their deceased members: dead children were included in this custom; a number of inscriptions records parents» setting up funds for their children's commemoration: Aurelia Technike was honoured by the council and the people of Teos, because her mother had left 1,000 denarii to the

68 IGR, IV, n° 881.
70 LeBas W, nos 314-318.
71 ΔΗΜΙΤΡΙΑΣ, Μ., 'Η Μακεδονία εν Λάθοις Θεεγγομένοις καὶ Μυτηνείς Σαγγεμένοις (Αθήνα, 1896), n° 62.
73 I. Ephesos, 429, 430, 941, 957, 959, 960, 961, 967, 969, 1588, 1589, 1590a.
74 I. Ephesos, n° 455, second century AD.
75 I. Tralleis, n° 164.
76 IGR, IV, nos 144, 145, 146, reign of Tiberius.
council so as to fund by its interest annual distributions to the councillors. A statue was to be erected according to the resolve of the council and the people of Aphrodisias, to honour posthumously Marcus Aurelius Attalus Artémidorus, a descendant of officials and liturgists; the set up of the statue, as well as a gift of money to the council, was the responsibility of his mother; Marcus died young (τελευτήσαντα νέον την ἡλικίαν) Aurelius Heracleon son of Carpion was honoured by a statue set up by his father and by a gift of money by his mother to the council in order to crown his tomb. Valeria Alexandra, an arch-priestess, dedicated an altar and gave a gift of 1,000 denarii to the gerousia of Thessalonike, Macedonia.

It is not surprising then, that young boys became appointed as emperors during the early and middle third century A.D: Elagabalus, his cousin Alexander Severus and Gordian III. According to Wiedemann, children were appointed as co-regents with their father in order to cement the succession of the imperial office in the year 192/3 A.D. The Severan dynasty had tried to establish a dynastic feeling which had developed fully since the early principate; J. Nicols rightly connects the phenomenon of the children-emperors with imperial women's new high status and official intervention in the state administration. Of course, a child could not act as an emperor, because the office was much more demanding than a local liturgy, so according to Herodian, the control of the administration in the reign of Alexander Severus (who was only thirteen when he was proclaimed emperor in 222 AD), was in the hands of his grandmother and mother.

Summing up, we could say that the phenomenon of children as office-holders or of benefactors was part of the complex transformation of the Greek city from an independent political unity to being part of a gigantic state. As wealth was accumulated in the hands of a few families in each city, the he-

---

77 LeBas W, n° 77.
78 LeBas W, n° 1609a.
79 At Kolossoi, Caria, MAMA, VI, n° 42.
80 261/2 AD, Κανωτσούλης, Μακεδονική Προσωπογραφία (Thessalonike, 1955), n° 1058.
81 Adults and Children in the Roman Empire, pp. 125-6.
83 Herodian, 6.1-2.
editary element became prominent, shifting into public life previous «marginals», children and women, whose wealth could be used by the city, in an era in which citizenship did not require active participation, but simply the willingness to spend «private» wealth on «public projects».

APPENDIX: Children as Office Holders or Benefactors.

(1) Kallistratus Laibianus honoured at Thyatira, Lydia: ‘... ἡ βουλὴ ἐκ τῶν ἱδιῶν μαρτυροῦσα ἀνέστησεν ἐκ παιδὸς ἡλικίας καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ἀρχαῖς καὶ λειτουργίαις αὐτοῦ ἦν ἐξυπηρετούντος τῇ πατρίδι’, TAM, V.2, n° 83.
(2) Socrates Sacerdotianus: he was ‘έργων τε ἀναθήμασιν καὶ φιλοτειμίας παντοδαιμονίας ἀπὸ παιδὸς κοσμήσαντα τῇ πατρίδι’ at Thyatira, Lydia, TAM, V.2, n° 980.
(3) G. Sallustius Appianus Aristophon who was ‘ἀπὸ παιδὸς ἀρχικὸν’ at Thyatira, Lydia, TAM, V.2, n° 998.
(4) T. Flavius Metrophanus was a ‘ιερασάμενον τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος εὐσεβῶς καὶ φιλοτειμίως ὑπὲρ Φλαβίας Αλεξάνδρας καὶ Φλαβίας Γυλίννας τῶν θυγατέρων...’ at Thyatira, Lydia, TAM, V.2, n° 1002.
(5) Unmarried man who ‘τὴν πρωτανεία ἀναλαβὼν ὑπὲρ τὸ εαυτὸ καὶ τῶν τέκνων καὶ τῶν ἐκγόνων καὶ τῶν ἐκγόνων...’ at Apollonis, Lydia, TAM, V.2, n° 1197.
(6) Menogenes son of Meniscus was ‘ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἡλικίας εὐτάκτως καὶ ἐπιεικῶς τὸ ὑπάντα τοῦ ζῆν χρόνον βεβιώκώς καὶ διηνέκεις ὡς τῶν ἄλλων ἐν πίστει χρῆσθαι ἐαυτὸν παρέσχετο τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐν τῇ ταῖς πειστευθέσσαις ἁρχαῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου καθαρεύως καὶ φιλοδόξους ἠξιοζήλευτος ἐφαινέτο...’ at Aizanoi, Phrygia, Ist Mitt., 25 (1975), pp. 352-3.
(7) ‘Εκ τῶν χρημάτων θε... τῶν ὑπὸ Καπιλλ... ύπέρ πρωτανείας τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτῆς...’ reign of Maximian, at Teios, Ionia, SEG, II (1924/25), n° 591, early fourth century AD.
(9) ‘Κβαρούχας Σήτου θυγάτηρ... τὸ τέταρτον νῦν ἱερωμένη τῇ πατρίδι θεῷ Ἀρτέμιδι, ἑστιάσασα καθ’ ἐκαστὴν ἱεροσύνην πάντα τὸν δήμον καὶ τοὺς
(10) 'Ἡ πόλις τῶν Ἐπιδαυρίων Γναίδων Κορνήλιον Γναίδων υἱὸν Πούλχρον ἐτῶν τεσσάρων καὶ γυμνασιαρχίαντα καὶ ἀγορανυκτίζοντα ἐν ταῖς παναγύρεσιν, ἀρετὰς ἐνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας τοῖς εἰς αὐτῶν ' Pleket, Epigraphica, II, n° 345, first century AD.
(11) 'Ἱερεῖς ἐν Κομψών εἰς ἐπαγγελίας Διονυσοκλῆς Παπίου Μέντωρ, φιλόσταρχος, μετὰ ἀρχιερευσθύνῃ ἢν ἔτελεσεν ἐτί παῖς ὄν καὶ στεφανηφορία τοῦ Ἀπάλλωνος ' Pleket, Epigraphica, II, n° 38, at Stratoniceia, Caria, second century AD.
(12) 'Ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δήμος ἐτείμησαν ταῖς καλλίσταις καὶ μεγίσταις τιμές Μωλοσὺνον Περείτον τοῦ Ἀρτεμιδώρου Γρυττοῦ, γενόμενον ιερεῖς ἕρμος Ἀγοραίου παῖδα τὴν ἥλικιαν ' Pleket, Epigraphica, II, n° 39, at Aphrodisias, Caria.
(13) 'Ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δήμος ἐτείμησαν Διονύσιον Μενελάου παῖδα, πρώτον ἀγωνισθέντα τῆς πρωτόκοιας ἀθηνείας ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως Σεβαστείου καὶ Τυρηνίου πανηγύρεως, εὐσεβῆς καὶ μεγαλοφρόνως, πάντα φιλοτειμηθέντα τῇ πατρίδι τὰ τέων ἀγωνισμῶν θέματα καὶ τὰς ἐπιδόσεις τῶν ἐπιδεικμένων ἐκ τῶν ἑδίων ποιήσαμεν, καὶ τὰς ἐπιδόσεις τῶν ἐπιδεικμένων ἐκ τῶν ἑδίων ποιήσαμεν, καὶ τὰς εὐσέβεις θυσίας τῷ δῆμῳ δημοτελεῖ καὶ λαμπρὰς ἐπιτελέσαντα τὰς εὐπρόσεις ἐσχάτης καθ' ἐπότας τήν βουλήν καὶ τὸν δήμον ἐστιάσαντα ' at Thyatira, Lydia, TAM, V.2, n° 960.
(14) '... ἠτίς ίερεία εἶδοκεν τῇ φιλοσεβάστῳ βουλῇ διὰ τῶν γονέων ἐν κατακλίσει τὴν σπουδὴ καὶ ἐλαῖον ἔθηκεν τῇ πόλει...' I. Magnesia, n° 193, at Magnesia-on-Maeander.
(15) '... Ὕντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ τότε... ΠΑΣΕ...'] μετὰ πλειότητας χαράς τῶν ὑἱῶν καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ ἄρισαν δωρεάν στεφανηφορίαν...' at Magnesia ad Sipyulum, TAM, V.2, n° 1343.
(16) 'ὑδροφόρος Ἀρτέμιδος Πυθεύς Φλαβία [.....Φλαβίου Παγκράτους...], μητρὸς δὲ Βοβλαθίδος τῆς Νικηράτου, ἐστεφανηφορήκυια] πρώτης παρθένου, ἡρχιερατουκιάς τῆς τρισκαίδεκατούλιδος τῶν ἱώνων, ἢς τὸ γένος δηλοῦται διὰ τῶν ὑπογεγραμμένων προγόνων...'; I. Didyma, n° 356.
(17) 'Ὁ δήμος ἐτείμησεν Νάναν Μενάνδρου, παρθένου, θυγατέρα δὲ Μενάνδρου Νεάρχου τοῦ στεφανηφόρου ἄμα καὶ γυμνασίαρχον, πάσης ἀρετῆς ἐνεκεν ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ νόμος ὁ Ἀπολλωνιάτων ἐτείμησεν Νάνα διὰ εὐσχήμων παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐπίδημιάν ' at Kidrama, J. and L. Robert, La Carie (Paris, 1954), n° 186.
Children as Office Holders and Benefactors in the Eastern Part of the Roman Empire

(18) 'Ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δήμος ἐτείμησαν [Στ...Ταλφώφωνος ὦν ἤρωα γυμνασιαρχήσαντα δι' ὀλού τοῦ ἱετούς δρακτοῦς ἄσαλευτοῖς ἡμέρας πάσης καὶ νυκτὸς πρόωτον καὶ μόνω διὰ τὴν ἤδιαν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὰς τῶν προήγουν αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν πατρίδα εὐδερεσίας, καθ’ ὑπόκεχειν καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς ἤδιας γυμνασιαρχίας τῆς μητρὸς τὴν αἰνάθεον τοῦ [ἀνδριάντος ποιησαμένης Τατίας τῆς ...] θυγατρός, ἱερείας διὰ [βίου τῆς] Δικαιοσύνης τῆς [πόλεως] Ἐτοὺς ἡνρ', at Heraclea Salbake, Caria, J. and L. Robert, La Carie, p. 56.

(19) Ἀγαθὴ τύχη. Τὸν ἱερέα τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ φιλόπατριν καὶ φιλότιμον, δις ἄρξαντα καὶ πρῶτον ἄρχοντα καὶ ἱερέα καὶ ἀγωνιστοῦντος Δῖος Ὀλυμπίου καὶ πατέρα δις καιλιάρχον καὶ τιμητήν, ἀγορανομήσαντα ύπέρ τοῦ ὕδω τῆς μήνας τρεῖς ἐπισφανῶς...', at Prusias, Bithynia, IGR, III, p. 66.

(20) Cesicles alias Ctasadas who ἐτελέσαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὕδου αὐτοῦ ἀγελαρχίαν ἐπισφανῶς καὶ φιλαγάθως', at Idebessos, Lycia, IGR, III, p. 649.

(21) Ἐρυθραίαν πόλεως. Τ. Φλ. Αὐρ. Ἀλεξάνδρον τὸν ἐκ προγόνων καὶ ἀπὸ παϊδὸς λιτουργόν...', at Erythrae, Ionia, REG 12 (1897), p. 257.

(22) Ἀγαθὴ τύχη. Νάυμαρις Ναϊάδῶν ἀγαλλόμενος ένθα Σιβύλλης, εἰρήνης ἄρξας Ἐὔτυχεος τὸ πάροιθε, δαπάναις ἐτοίμας ἀγορανόμος φιλότειμος, ἄφθος ἐν εὐφύξῳ σὺν Ὑπτυχανό, ἐκ προσόδων ἰδιών τῇ πατρίδι, τὸ ὕδωρ', at Erythrae, LeBas W., p. 58.

(23) Ἀγαθὴ τύχη. Αὐρ. Ἐρμίππου, Ἐυστάρχην, ἱερέας τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, τὸν ἐνδοξὸν καὶ φιλόπατριν... ἄρξαντα τὴν πρῶτην ἄρχην ἐπισφανῶς καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς λειτουργίας ύπέρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν παίδων Νεικήτου καὶ Ἐρμίππου ἐκτελέσαντα', at Philadelphia, LeBas W., p. 648.

(24) Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δήμος, ἐτείμησαν Σωκράτης ἐξάκις... ἐν παιδὶ ἐφθαρχήσαντα', at Philadelphia, LeBas W., p. 654.

(25) Ἐτους ἐ καὶ κ., μηνὸς 'β δ.' ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ ἐπεὶ Πλούταρχος ἐμφαγένους τὸν Πλούταρχον τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀνδρὸς καλὸν καὶ ἄγαθον καὶ γένους πρῶτον καὶ ἄρετή καὶ πίστει διαφέροντος, γεγονότος ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἥλικίας ἐνδόξου πολίτου τετελεκότος τε πάσας πολλὰς τὰς ἁρχὰς... at Maeonia, Lydia, TAM, V.1, no 514.

(26) Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δήμος καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ρωμαίοι ἐτείμησαν Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον, at Apameia, Phrygia, MAMA, '1, p. 180.

(27) Ὁ δήμος
[Ἐτείμησαν ταῖς καλλιόταις καὶ πρώταις καὶ μεγίσταις [τειμαῖς Ἀπολλιωνίου Μελίτουνος...] μου, γεγονόμενον ἱερέα Πολιούχου καὶ ἐστίσαντα πολλάκις τὴν πόλιν [...καὶ πανηχυριαρχῆσαν...] καὶ τελέσαντα πάσας τὰς ἁρχὰς καὶ τὰς λειτουργίας...] ΡΟΣ τῆς [πρώτης στρατηγίας καὶ σειτωνήσαντα τῶν eis
ταύτα δαπανημάτων γενομένων ύπό [τοῦ] πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Μελίτωνος [ἐξ
οικοίας δυναμέως καὶ θήν] [ἀναίστασιν καὶ τούτου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου
(28) Τελεσίαν, Άλκιμαν, αλλὰ ἐν οἷς Παλαιάντα Φλαβίανός
. . . . ναῦν τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς Φλαβίας Δημοκρατίας τῶν
[ναῶν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ πρὸς τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἔθη...', at Keramos I. Keramos,
πο T8.
(29) Τελεσίαν τρις τοῦ Άπολλωνίου Ζάνθιον, ἄνδρα ἐνδοξῶν ἐκ προγόνων,
βουλευτῆν, ... τελέσαντα δὲ καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς λειτουργίας καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐγγόνων
... ', at Xanthos, Lycia, IGR III, n° 605.
(30) Θερμίδον Πλάτωνος νέον νοικίαν κόσμην τε καὶ σῶρφον, ἱερέα ...
ἀνέστησαν δὲ τὸν ἀνθρώπον Πλάτων 'Θερμίδου τοῦ Ἀρχηγοῦ ὁ πατὴρ
φιλοστοργίας χάριν ', G.E. Bean, The Inscriptions of Side (Ankara, 1965),
n° 121.
(31) Τιβερίου, Κλαυδίου Λεοντᾶς υἱὸν Κυρείνα Θεοφάνους, καθ' υἱοθεσίαν δὲ
Πυθέου Σκόρπιωνος, φιλοκαίσαρος καὶ φιλοτάρτηδος, υἱός τῆς πόλεως,
γυμνασιαρχήσαντος τῶν νέων ἐν παιδί... ', I. Stratonicieia, n° 1024.
(32) ὁ δήμος καὶ ἡ βουλή καὶ ἡ ἱερουσία Πυθέου Αριστίππου Ἀλεξάνδρου
Κολυργέα. προγόνων ἐνδοξῶν καὶ φιλοτείμων πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα γενομένων
καὶ αὐτῶν, δὲ ἀπὸ πρώτης ἡλικίας φιλόπατριν ὑπάρχασαν ἔθαψε... ', I. Stratoniceia, n° 1207.
(33) υἱὸν πόλεως, φιλόπατριν διὰ τῇ τῶν ἡθῶν σεμνότητα καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ
προγόνων εὐγενεία παῖς τε λειτουργίας καὶ ἄρχην ἀπὸ πρώτης ἡλικίας
tελέσαντα τῇ πατρίδι αὐθαίρετῶς... ', at Magnesia-on-the Maeander, I.
Magnesia, n° 163.
(34) ἡ βουλῆ καὶ ὁ δήμος καὶ ἡ γερουσία καὶ οἱ νεοὶ ἐτέμισαν καὶ
μεταλλαχτα... Τίττον Φλάουον... καὶ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ πρώτης ἡλικίας
γυμνασιαρχήσαντος... ', at Aphrodisias, LeBas W., n° 101.
(35) ... λέων ἱεροκωμήτης ἔτων μετὰ ἀρχαἰοσύνην ἦν ἐτέλεσεν ἄν ἔτων δέκα,
καὶ γυμνασιαρχήσαν ἦν ἐτέλεσεν ἄν ἔτων δέκα ἐνός καὶ ἱεροσύνην τῶν ἔμργων
θεοῦ Δίως Πανομάρου ἦν ἐτέλεσεν ἦν ἔτων δέκα εξ... ', at Laguna, Caria,
BCH (1887), pp. 31-2, n° 45.
(36) διατηρήσαντα ἀπὸ διηναρίων μυρίων, εἰρηναρχήσαντα, παραφυλάξαντα
καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς καὶ λειτουργίας καὶ συνειδότες τῇ πατρίδι καὶ παρὰ
dύναμιν πληρώσαντα, ὑπὲρ τὸ σαῦτοῦ καὶ Μ. Τούρ. Πολυχρονίου τοῦ υἱοῦ σαῦτοῦ
... ', at Aphrodisias, Caria, BCH (1885), p. 76, n° 6.
Children as Office Holders and Benefactors in the Eastern Part of the Roman Empire

(37) ' [........ ύπερ ...ω [... τῆς] γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ [ύπερ τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ Νεικοδήμου [.... τωρον] καὶ Χαριζένου καὶ [ύπερ] τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ Ἑμμοδωρᾶς τὰς περὶ τὴν θεὸν λιτουργίας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς καὶ λιτουργίας,

(38) ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δήμος ἐτείμησεν Γαίου Ἰουλίου Γαίου Ἰουλίου Κέλερος Φοτεινοῦ καὶ Ὄρδεωνίας Παυλείνης ιερᾶς υἱὸν Φαβία Ποντιανόν, παῖδα γονέων εὐσεβῶν μὲν πρὸς τὴν θεὸν, σπουδαίων δὲ περὶ τὴν πατρίδα Ἰουλία Σπένδουσα πρεσβυτέρα τῶν ἐκχωνίων ἀνέθηκεν. Οὕτως ἵνα ἀναλώμαι διὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τὰ ἀγάλματα τῶν θεῶν καὶ τὸν βωμὸν κατεσκεύασεν καὶ τὸ Μουσεῖον ἐκόσμησεν καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καθίσμον, ὡστε καὶ ἐνιαυτὸν τῇ θ' ἵνα μηνὸς Μαμάκητος τῆς θυσίας τοις θεοῖς ἐπιτελουμένης πηδί' βουλευτας καὶ ιερεῖς λαμβάνειν ἀνά διηνάρια καὶ τό εἰς τὴν δημοσίαν τῇ θυσίαν ἐκ τῶν ἱδίων προσκοθηρώσθην ἐφ' Ηρμίων, in Achaia, IG, IV, n° 715.

(39) Γάιος Λικίνιος Ἰουνέντος Σμυρναῖος, Ἀλεξανδρέως, Ἀθηναῖος, Λακεδαιμίνιος, Τραλλιανός, παλαιτῆς πανκρατιαστῆς πλειστονείως παράδοξος, πύκτης ἀλεπτός, ἐμπύρης δίᾳ βίου νεικῆς παιδῶν πανκρατίου Πύθια... Ἐφέσους, n° 690.

(40) 'Ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δήμος Θεοῦ Βεβαίου φύσει δὲ Μενάνδρου ἄνδρα καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν γυμνασιαρχήσαντα τῶν νέων σὺν τῷ υἱῷ Θεοῦ λαμπρός καὶ μεγαλοψύχως ... Ἐφέσους, n° 690.

(41) 'Μενεκράτης Μενεκράτους ὁ ἄρχάττρος τῆς πόλεως, στεφανηφόρων τῶν κόσμων σὺν στείρῃ καὶ κεφαλή, προνοησαμένης τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ Τρυφαινῆς τῆς καὶ αὐτῆς στεφανηφόρου καὶ γυμνασιάρχου... Ἐφέσους, n° 690.

(42) 'Ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δήμος καὶ ἡ γενειαὰ Αριστέαν Θεαίπτου στεφανηφόρησαν, καὶ γυμνασιαρχήσαντα τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, καὶ πρεσβεύσαντα ύπερ τῆς πατρίδος εἰς ἡγεμονία Ρώμη δωρεάν, καὶ στρατηγήσαντα, καὶ ἀγορανυμένης καὶ τῶς λοιπῶν ἀρχὰς καὶ ἀργυρίας πᾶσαι τελέσαντα καὶ ἀλειφοντα καὶ ύπερ τοῦ υἱοῦ Θεαίπτου τοῦ Αριστέου Λέοντος ἤρωος τοὺς τε νέους καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους παρ' ἐνιαυτόν τῶν δεκατὸν μῆνα εἰς τὸ διηνέκει, τιμῆς καὶ εὐνοίας χάριν τῆς εἰς ἐαυτὸν Ἐφέσους, n° 690.

(43) 'ψήφισμα ἐπὶ Διονύσιος Πάτπουλος τοῦ Παπύλου ὁ ἰερεὺς τοῦ Νινεδίου Δίου ἀνὴρ πατρὸς καὶ προγόνων ὑπάρχων καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἐν ἀρχαῖς καὶ φιλοδοξίας γεγονότων καὶ αὐτός ἀπὸ πρώτης ἡλικίας βίον σεμνὸν καὶ ἐνάρετον ἐλόμενοι ἱερατεῖαν τοῖς τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ ἁγ-ωνοθεσίαν καὶ
πρεσβείας καὶ ἕφθασαν καὶ στρατηγίαν καὶ γραμματείαν καὶ τάς λοιπὰς ἀρχὰς σεμνὸς καὶ εὔσεβῶς καὶ νομίμως καὶ δικαίως τελέσας ... ', at Aphrodisias, MAMA, VIII, n° 410.

(44) ἢ βουλῇ καὶ ὁ δήμος ἐτίμησαν ταῖς καλλίσταις καὶ μεγίσταις τειμοῖς καὶ μετηλακχότα Ἀριστοκλέα Ἀριστοκλέους τοῦ Ἀρτεμιδόρου Μολλοσών ἱππικῶν, νεανίαν γενέμενον, γένος τοῦ πρώτου καὶ συνεκτικότα τὴν πατρίδα καὶ ἐν γυμνασιαρχίας καὶ στεφανηφορίας γεγονότα τὴν τειμὴν ἀνατεθεικώς Ἀμμίας τῆς Ἀριστοκλέους τοῦ Ἀρτεμιδώρου γυναικός τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ ', at Aphrodisias, MAMA, VIII, n° 468.

(45) ' ὁ δήμος Μηνοφιλάν Ερμαγένους κομψὰν καὶ χαρισάσαν πετρὸς δεικνύσι τής έντι μουσῶν μανύει γράμματα Μηνοφιλάν.

τευ δ’ ένεκ’ ἐν στάλα γλυπτῶν κρῖνον ἤδε καὶ ἄλφα βύβλος καὶ τάλαρος, τοῖς δ’ ἐπί καὶ στεγανός,

' ἡ σοφία μὲν βίβλος, ὁ δ’ αὐτοπροφητῆρεις ἀρχὰν μανύει, μονογόναν δὲ τὸ έν, εὐτακτὸν δ’ ἀρετᾶς τάλαρος μάνυμα, τὸ δ’ ἄνθος τὸν ἄκμαν ἀντίν’ ἐλημύσατο κούφα[ε] τοι κόνις εἰμι πολλὰ τοιθεὶ

θανούση, άγαμοι οὐδὲ γονεῖς, τοῖς ἐλίπες διάκρια ',

at Sardis, W.H. Buckler - D.M. Robinson, Sardis IV: Greek and Latin Inscriptions (Leiden, 1932), n° 111.

(46) ' ....... Πειερίωνος θυγάτηρ Ἀμμία μετὰ τῶν τέκνων Κλαυδίου ......Πειερίωνος Ἀμύντου ...... τούτῳ τὸ ὑδάρι εἰσάγουσα ἕκ τῶν αὐτῆς χαρίων τὸ τε ὑδραγῶγιον καὶ τὸ ἐκδοχεῖον ἰδίοις ἀναλώμαι κατασκεύάσας ἀνέθηκεν ', at Beroia, Macedonia, Δήμιτσας, Η Macedonía... n° 61.

(47) ' Εἰσίδε Λοχία καὶ τῇ πόλει τῶν βωμῶν ἀνέθηκαν Ἀ. Βρούττιος Λαγαθοφόρός καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Ἐλευθερίων ὑπὲρ τῆς θυγατρὸς Μελησίας εὐξάμενοι ἐπὶ ιερέως διὰ βίου Α. Βρούττιος Ποπλιανοῦ ', at Beroia, Macedonia Δήμιτσας, Η Macedonía...... n° 62.

(48) ' Ἕτωσ Ζέω, Φρόντων Διονυσίου Στυβερραίος ὁ ἀντάρχων Διονυσίου τοῦ υἱὸ τοῦ ἀγορανόμου τοὺς κείσες ἐποίη','

at Monastir, Macedonia, Δήμιτσας, Η Macedonía...... n° 272, ca. 123 Α.Δ.

(49) ' Ἡ βουλῇ καὶ ὁ δήμος ἐτίμησεν Σεπτιμίαν Αρμάσταν,

τὴν ἀξιόλογον, δημιουργόν, γένους λαμβροῦ καὶ ἐνδόξου καὶ τοῦ πρωτεύουστος παρ’ ἤμιν, τοῦ πατρὸς
Children as Office Holders and Benefactors in the Eastern Part of the Roman Empire

at Pogla, BCH, 16 (1892), p. 425.

(50) 'Αυτοκράτορι Καισάρι [Δομητιανῷ] Σεβαστῷ [Γερμανικῷ] καὶ Άρτεμιδι Περγαῖα/ Άσύλῳ τὸν πύργον δίστεγον ίερεϊα Δήμητρος Άρετή Δημητρίου ἐπανυγιλεμένη τῇ κώμῃ ἐποίησαν ἐκ τῶν ἱδίων καὶνὸν ἐκ θεμελίων καὶ στεγάσασα καθιέρωσαν καὶ νῦν διαφορηθηκέντα πάλιν Τειμώθεος Μεννέου ὁ ἐγγονὸς αὐτῆς δε ἐπιτρόπου αὐτὸῦ Κήλης Μόρου, τῆς μητρός αὐτοῦ, ἀναλαβὼν καὶ στεγάσας ἐκ καὶνής καὶ κεραμώδας ἐκ τῶν ἱδίων ἄνεβηκεν', at the village of Lirboton, Pamphylia, SEG, VI (1932), ἀ 672.

(51) '..... ἐπιδοῦσαν ἐν τῇ ἰδιομορφίᾳ καὶ τῆς γυμνασίαρχίας καὶ τῆς ἀρχιερασίας καὶ τῆς ἱεροσύναις καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἰδιομορφίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῆς θυγατρὸς γυμνασίαρχίας', at Sillyum, Pamphylia, Lanckoronski, Stadte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens I, ἀ 60.

(52) 'Ζηλωτῆς ὁ τῶν ἄριστων ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἡλικίας, χρείας παρεχόμενος', at Olympos, Caria, SEG, IV (1929), ἀ 238.

(53) '..... ὁ [πάσης ἡξιόθες μαρτύριας παρά τοῖς ἱμέναι καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, τά δὲ νῦν ὁσμένους χρώμελος τῇ ἱδίᾳ καλοκαγαθίᾳ μεγαλοφύσεως ἅδε] καὶ[θα] ἐκαστὸν ἐνιαυτὸν μετὰ τῶν παῖδων μόνος καὶ] πρώτος ὑπέμεινεν ἐπὶ ἐνιαυτῷ τὰ δαπανήματα κοσμητεῖαν καὶ γυμνασιαρχίαν καὶ νυκτηρίαν καὶ ύδροπαροχίαν, δι' ὁ οἱ Δημητριαστὶς θαυμασάντες αὐτὸῦ τὸ πρῶς αὐτῶν ἐυνοῦν ἐκρεινὰν ἀμοιβάζονιν αὐτῷ ταῖς πρεπούσαις τεμείας ὡς οὖν ὑπάρχουσιν ἱερέως διὰ βίου ἐπὶ διμορία ἀλειτουργίας αὐτὸς μὲν Βάασος τῆς Άρτεμιδος, Σερβίλια δὲ Σεκούνδα τῆς Σεβαστῆς Δήμητρος Καρποφόρου, Πρόκλου δὲ νέων Διόδορου Δρούσου Καίσαρος ὑιὸν .....' at Ephesos, 19 - 23 AD, SEG, IV (1929), ἀ 515.

(54) 'Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ Κάτη καὶ τόσος συννοίς Θεοῖς ὁ δεῖνα μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς Νεικοβούλης ἱεροσύνης ἀνιαλαβῶν ἄνεβηκεν τῶν ναόν σοιν τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ τοῖς κύκλῳ τοίχοις', BCH 58 (1934), p. 378, at Hyllarima, Caria, probably Hellenistic.

(55) 'Πάλιν κατὰ τὴν δεκαπεντάεταν ἔνεκεν [ἐν] διαφέρουσαν τοῖς ἐγγόνοις μοι Σαραπίωνι ἀγιοκρομήσαντι καὶ Φιλοξένα, ἀρφήλειν ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν Ὄριωνος διαδόχης', PSI, 303, second/third century AD, Egypt.
(56) ‘... ἐπακολουθήσας αὐτῆς τῇ ἐπιτροπῇ καὶ παραλαμβανούσης αὐτῆς τὸ ἐξ αὐτῶν περιγεινόμενα, ὡς ὁ Ἀμμάνιος ἥξισε εἰς τὸ ἀσυκοφάντητον αὐτῶν γενέσθαι ποιομένης αὐτῆς τὰ {ο} τῆς κοσμητείας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τῶν παιδών δαπανήματα ’, PSI, 1159, reign of Hadrian, Egypt.

(57) ‘... ὁ στρατηγὸς τὸ β’ Νουίος Λυσανίας ἐπεν, καλῶς ποιεῖτε ὁμειβάμενοι τοὺς ἁγαθοὺς ἀνδράς καὶ μῆ εἰς αὐτοὺς μόνους τὰς τιμὰς, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τοὺς παῖδας μετατιθέντες’, Syll3, n° 898, at Chalcis, ca. 267 AD.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ABBOT, F. - CHESTER JOHNSON, A., Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire (Princeton, 1926).
ΔΗΜΙΤΣΑΣ, Μ., Η Μακεδονία ἐν Αἰθίοις Θεγγαμένοις καὶ Μημείοις Σωζομένοις (Athens, 1896).
ΚΑΝΑΤΣΟΥΛΗΣ, Δ., Μακεδονική Προσωπογραφία (Thessalonike, 1955).
LEWIS, N., The Compulsory Public Services of Roman Egypt (Florence, 1982).
MAGIE, D., Roman Rule in Asia Minor (Princeton, 1950).
RIGSBY, «An Imperial Letter at Balbura”, AJPh, 100 (1979), pp. 401-7.

Abbreviations

Αρχαιολ. Εφημερίς - Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς
Anat. Stud. - Anatolian Studies
BCH - Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique (1877 -)
IG - Inscriptiones Graecae (1871 -)
IGR - Inscriptiones Graecae ad Romanes Pertinaentae
MAMA - Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiques
PG - Patrologia Graeca
PSI - Papirí Greci e Latini, pubbl. Della Societá Italiana ... (1912 -)
TAM - Tituli Asiae Minoris
ZPE - Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik
Konstantinos Mantas

Abstract

One of the most curious aspects of euergetism in the Roman imperial period was the participation of children and women in public life.

During the Classic and the Hellenistic periods it would have been unthinkable that a child could have been elected as state official. Nevertheless, the Greek cities, soon after their enforced unification by the Macedonian monarchy, started to lose their political autonomy and to face severe financial strains.

Thus, their economic survival became their most pressing problem, since they desperately needed funds in order to maintain their established way of life, i.e. gymnasia, baths, market-places. Therefore, the elite families, who had so far monopolized the land and the other sources of wealth, had to foot the bill.

Progressively most public offices became liturgies: the incumbent had to pay the expenses of his office and thus he was granted the title. As adult males of the elite were not always available for offices, for a number of reason, their children, under the de facto tutelage of their mothers, had to fulfill the civic obligations of the family. The membership of the curial class became hereditary and the curiale's sons were called patroboi.

The Greek cities expressed their gratitude to the rich families of their society by granting to the elite offspring honorary titles such as «son» or «daughter» of the city and also by issuing paramythetic decrees upon their premature death.

Such was the power of children office-holders that in the 3\textsuperscript{rd} century AD two adolescents, Heliogabalus and Alexander Severus, reigned in Rome under the tutelage of their grandmother.