

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 «autochthonous» adult males who voted and held office because they could hold weapons¹. 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 developed². 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 rationally³.

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 empire⁴. 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 kingdoms⁵.

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»⁶. 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

² Op. Cit. pp. 21-5. Also see M. Golden, *Children and Childhood in Classical Athens* (Baltimore - London, 1990), pp. 8-9.

³ Aristotle, *Politics*, 1259a37-1295b10.

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).

⁵ For the process of the political decline of the Greek city, see the classical study by A.H.M. Jones, *The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian* (Oxford, 1940); G.E.M. de Ste. Croix, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World* (London, 1981), pp. 519-37.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 171.

the maintenance of costly public buildings such as gymnasia, baths, agora-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: «Ποισαμένης τὴν ἀνάστασιν τοῦ ἀνδριάντος Κλαύδιας Χαριδημίδος τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ ἥτις καὶ τὴν πρυτανείαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐποίησατο»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), n° 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 ¹¹. 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 ἐπίτροπος Killa ¹². In another inscription of Heraclea Salbake in Caria, a certain St... son of Tryphon, an ἥρως (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 ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗ of the city who paid for her son's gymnasiarchia and for the erection of his statue ¹³.

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 ¹⁴. 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 ¹⁵. 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 ¹⁶. Presumably, these donations were made which his father was still alive, which makes it clear that it was not only orphans who became liturgists ¹⁷.

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 hwe 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.

¹⁴ «A Family from Sillyon», *ZPE* 104 (1994), pp. 43-56.

¹⁵ Van Bremen, «A Family from Sillyon», *ZPE*, 104 (1994), pp. 52-3. The dekaprotos 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.

¹⁶ G.E. Bean, *The Inscriptions of Side* (Ancyra, 1965), n° 191.

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».

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 Christianity¹⁸, the epigraphical record, occasionally, registers girls as liturgists, albeit mostly on religious offices. Menodora paid for the gymnasiarchia of her daughter, too: «'...ἐπιδοῦσαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ υἱοῦ Μεγακλεοῦς τῇ πατρὶδι εἰς παιδων τροφᾶς ἀργυρίου μυριάδας τριάκοντα, ἐτι ἐ [πιδου]σάν ὧν τε τῇ ἰδία γυμνασιαρχίᾳ καὶ τῇ τοῦ υἱοῦ δημιουργίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἰδία δημιουργίᾳ καὶ τῇ [τῆς] θυγατρὸς γυμνασιαρχίᾳ [βοῦ]λευτῇ ἐκάστῳ [δην]πε...»¹⁹.

According to R. van Bremen, until the death of Megacles neither Menodora nor her daughter would have been able to qualify for any office²⁰. 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 projects²¹. 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 goddess²². G.H.R. Horsley comments on another inscription from Pisidia: «A second way in which the continuity is marked comes in l. 10, where the wording τὴν ἑαυτῇ (= αὐτῇ 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 Sillyon», p. 52.

²¹ G.E. Bean - T.B. Mitford, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia 1964 - 1968* (Vienna, 1970), n° 9.

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»²³. 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 ἐστὶ , διάδοχον καὶ τοῦ γένους καὶ τῶν φιλοτειμιῶν τὴν ἑαυτῇ θυγατέρα Ἀντωνία 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 Alexander 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 Glycinna²⁵. Another man who paid for the «free» stephanephorate of his daughter (... μετὰ πλείστης χαρᾶς τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ ἄρξασαν δωρεὰν στεφανηφόρον...) ²⁶; Nana a young girl (parthenos) who was honoured for her «nice residence» (epidumia) at Apollonia, her father's city²⁷; a girl, Flaviane, who was the first parthenos who held the stephanephorate and the arch-priesthood of the thirteen cities of Ionia, at Didyma²⁸; a young girl who in her tenure as priestess distributed to the councillors, though her parents, oil²⁹; Septimia Harmasta was honoured at Pogle, 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, performed the mysteries and paid for all the expenditure through her parents (...ἐκτελέσαν τὰ μυστήρια καὶ πάντα τὰ ἀναλώματα ποιήσασαν διὰ τῶν γονέων)³¹; the mother, the ma-

²³ «The Mysteries of Artemis Ephesia», *Anat. St.* XLII (1992), p. 123.

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 gymnasiarchos 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 agoranomia, 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 couretes, 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 Adaios, who won at the pancration in the boys' category at Antiocheia 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.

³⁴ L. Robert, «Sur une Liste de Courètes à Éphèse», *Ἀρχαιολ. Εφημερίς* (1967), p. 129.

³⁵ P. Veyne, *Bread and Circuses* (London, 1990), p. 126.

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, *Syll³*, n° 898: «καλῶς

ents were willing to spend money for prestigious offices. The second century AD rhetor Aelius Aristides composed a speech, the «Birthday speech to Apellas», 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 your 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 agonothesia 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 agonothesia or gymnasiarchia: Gaius Sallustius Appianus Aristephanus is recorded as ἀπὸ παιδὸς ἀρχικὸν⁴⁰. A four year old boy, Gnaeus Cornelius, was honoured by the city of Epidauros as agoronomos and gymnasiarchos⁴¹. Dionysios, son of Menelaus was a pais agonothetes at Thyatira, Lydia⁴². Eutyichianus was a pais panygiriarches⁴³, at Erythres. Tiberius Claudius made a promise to fund a γυμνασιαρχία διὰ ἀγοραῖος in the name of his son, Apameia, Phrygia⁴⁴. Gaius Licinius Menandrus held the gymnasiarchia, the

ἀμειβόμενοι τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ μὴ εἰς αὐτοὺς μόνους τὰς τειμὰς ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τοὺς παῖδας μετατιθέντες».

³⁸ Ch. A. Behr, *P. Aelius Aristides: the Complete Works*, vol. II (Leiden, 1981), p. 152.

³⁹ «An Imperial Letter at Balbura», *AJPh*, 100 (1979), pp. 406-7.

⁴⁰ Meaning that he held offices since he was a child, Thyatira, Lydia, *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 gymnasiarchos of the young while he was a child, γυμνασιαρχήσαντος 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 commissioned by his maternal grand-mother Aelia Zenodote 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 undertook the office of prytaneia in the name of his sons and grandsons at Apollonis, Lydia ⁵¹. Aurelius Hermippus, a xystarches, priest of Artemis, was honoured 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 Lycians in the name of his two sons at Idebessos ⁵³. The demos of Tabai honoured 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 (νεανίας), 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.

⁵⁵ G.E. Bean - T.B. Mitford, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia 1964 - 1968*, n° 34.

The fact that the children of elite families had been so important for the city's welfare becomes evident from (a) honorific titles υἱὸς or θυγάτηρ πόλεως (son or daughter of the city) which were granted in a way of a fictitious adoption 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 υἱὸς τῆς 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 υἱὸς τῆς πόλεως has in fact already been adopted by a person»⁵⁶. 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»⁵⁷. See also E. Varilioglu's comments on the meaning of these titles⁵⁸. It seems that the title was bestowed upon elite children mainly for liturgies or benefactions paid in their name, but sometimes it was just a vague honour, a kind of compliment paid to certain family: e.g. S. Mitchell commenting on an honorific funerary inscription for a young girl of the Plancii clan: «Plancia Magna Aquillia certainly died young. Like Latina Cleopatra in the inscription already cited, none of her own offices, achievements or benefactions are listed apart from the title «daughter of the metropolis», readily granted to the child of such notable parents»⁵⁹.

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,

⁵⁶ «Greek Adoptive Formulae», *CQ*, 17 (1967), p. 307.

⁵⁷ «Τρόφιμος in an Inscription of Erythrai», *Glotta*, 67 (1989), pp. 195-6.

⁵⁸ «Inscriptions from Stratoniceia in Caria», *ZPE*, 41 (1981), p. 191, note 11.

⁵⁹ «The Plancii in Asia Minor», *JRS*, LXIV (1974), p. 37.

a young, handsome descendant of a family of officials and liturgists who was very promising (... ἐπειδὴ Αὐρ. Ἀφροδίσιος τοῦ δεινὸς ἀνδρὸς τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν λειτουργῶν καὶ ἀρχικῶν πολιτῶν τά τε ἄλλα ὠραῖος καὶ καλὸς , ἐτι μὲν νέος , διαφέρων δὲ ἥθης κοσμιότητι καὶ τρόπον ἐπιείκεια ἐλπίδας τε μεγάλας ὑποφαίνων...) 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 decree 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 courtyard 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 ἡρωῖδα 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 tears⁶⁴. 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 ἀπὸ πάππων βουλευτικῇ (descendant of councillors) and her husband Diogenes son of Alexander καὶ αὐτὸς τῇ βουλευτικῇ τάγματος (himself member of the councillors» class)⁶⁵. 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 stadium⁶⁶. It is not suprising 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 [οἴκε]τικά, but one of equal length, [πολι]τικά, perhaps spelled [πολει]τικά. Lidell and Scott cite an inscription of Naples which shows that in the local Sebasta there was a class of entrants called παῖδες πολιτικοί, 'boys with citizen fathers» just as there was a class of βουλευτῶν θυγατέρες "daughters of councillors"»⁶⁷.

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 performed 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), n° 111.

⁶⁵ S. Mitchell, *Regional Epigraphic Catalogues of Asia Minor II* (Oxford, 1982), n° 195. For other examples of the βουλευτικόν τάγμα, see G.E. Bean - T.B. Mitford, *Journeys in ROugh Cilicia 1964 - 1968*, nos 152 & 154c.

⁶⁶ G. Buchner, *Par. Del Passato*, vii (1952), p. 408.

⁶⁷ «Eastern Alimenta and an Inscription of Attaleia», *JHS*, 109 (1989), p. 190.

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-gymnarchiachos 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 (ἀρχίατρος) 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, stephanephoros, priest and agoranomos dedicated a colonnade to the temple of Zeus Osoyes 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 or σὺν τέκνοις ⁷³. Poplius 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 (παιδισκῆρις)! 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 elite 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.

⁶⁹ E. Varinlioglu, «Inscriptions from Stratoniceia in Caria», *ZPE*, 41 (1981), p. 189.

⁷⁰ LeBas W, nos 314-318.

⁷¹ ΔΗΜΗΤΣΑΣ, Μ., Ἡ Μακεδονία ἐν Λίθοις Φθεγγομένοις καὶ Μνημείοις Σφωζομένοις (Αθήνα, 1896), n° 62.

⁷² *BCH* (1881), p. 99.

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 ⁷⁷. A statue was to be erected according to the resolve of the council and the people of Aphrodisias, to honour posthumously Marcus Aurelius Attalus Artemidorus, 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 τὴν ἡλικίαν) ⁷⁸. 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 ⁷⁹. Valeria Alexandra, an arch-priestess, dedicated an altar and gave a gift of 1,000 denarii to the gerosia of Thessalonike, Macedonia ⁸⁰.

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 ⁸¹. 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 ⁸². 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 ⁸³.

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, Κανατσούλης, *Μακεδονική Προσωπογραφία* (Thessalonike, 1955), n° 1058.

⁸¹ *Adults and Children in the Roman Empire*, pp. 125-6.

⁸² «Patrona Civitatis: Gender and Civic Patronage», C. Deroux (ed.), *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History*, V (Brussels, 1989), pp. 223-5. See also my doctoral thesis (n. 4 above).

⁸³ Herodian, 6.1-2.

hereditary 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 ἰδίων μαρτυροῦσα ἀνέστησεν ἐκ παιδὸς ἡλικίας καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ἀρχαῖς καὶ λειτουργίαις αὐτοῦ ἤδη ἐξυπηρετοῦντος τῇ πατρίδι', TAM, V.2, n° 83.
- (2) Socrates Sacerdotianus: he was 'ἔργων τε ἀναθήμασιν καὶ φιλοτειμαῖαις παντοδαπαῖς ἀπὸ παιδὸς κοσμήσαντα τῇ πατρίδι' at Thyatira, Lydia, TAM, V.2, n° 980.
- (3) G. Sallustius Appianus Aristephanus who was 'ἀπὸ παιδὸς ἀρχικὸν' at Thyatira, Lydia, TAM, V.2, n° 998.
- (4) T. Flavius Metrophanus was a 'ἱερασάμενον τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος εὐσεβῶς καὶ φιλοτείμως ὑπὲρ Φλαβίας Ἀλεξάνδρας καὶ Φλαβίας Γλυκίννας τῶν θυγατέρων...' at Thyatira, Lydia, TAM, V.2, n°1002.
- (5) Unmarried man who 'τὴν πρυτανεῖα ἀναλαβόντα ὑπὲρ τε ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν τέκνων καὶ τῶν ἐκγονεν καὶ τῶν ἐκγόνων...' at Apollonis, Lydia, TAM, V.2, n° 1197.
- (6) Menogenes son of Meniscus was 'ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἡλικίας εὐτάκτως καὶ ἐπεικῶς τὸ ἅπαντα τοῦ ζῆν χρόνον βεβιωκῶς καὶ διηνεκῶς ὡς τῶν ἄλλων ἐν πίστει χρήσει ἑαυτὸν παρέσχετο τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐν τε ταῖς πειστευθεῖσαις ἀρχαῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου καθαρείως καὶ φιλοδόξως ἀξιοζήλευτος ἐφαίνετο...' at Aizanoi, Phrygia, Ist Mitt., 25 (1975), pp. 352-3.
- (7) 'Ἐκ τῶν χρημάτων θε... τῶν ὑπὸ Καπιλλ... ὑπὲρ πρυτανείας τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτῆς...' reign of Maximian, at Teios, Ionia, SEG, II (1924/25), n° 591, early fourth century AD.
- (8) 'ὁ δῆμος ὁ Καγρέων Κασσιάν Ἑρμογένους Μουσαῖον, ἱέρειαν Διός, βαιὸν μὲν αἰῶνα διάγουσαν ἀλλὰ ἐν πολλοῖς χρησιμεύσασαν τῇ πατρίδι, τειμῆς ἕνεκα, τὴν κτίστριαν' G.E. Bean - T.B. Mitford, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia* 1964 - 1968 (Vienna, 1970), n° 9.
- (9) 'Κβαρούης Σήτου θυγάτηρ ... τὸ τέταρτον νῦν ἱερωμένη τῇ πατρίδι θεῶ Ἀρτέμιδι, ἐστιάσασα καθ' ἑκάστην ἱεροσύνην πάντα τὸν δῆμον καὶ τοὺς

παρεπιδημούντας ξένους, ἀναθήματα τῇ θεῷ ἱκανὰ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνατεθεικυῖα^ο, G.E. Bean - T.B. Mitford, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia* 1964 - 1968, n° 13.

(10) 'Ἡ πόλις τῶν Ἐπιδαυρίων Γναΐιον Κορνήλιον Γναΐου υἱὸν Ποῦλχρον ἐτῶν τεσσάρων καὶ γυμνασιαρχίσαντα καὶ ἀγορανομήσαντα ἐν ταῖς παναγύρεσιν, ἀρετὰς ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας τοῖς εἰς αὐτῶν ', Pleket, *Epigraphica*, II, n° 345, first century AD.

(11) 'Ἱερεὺς ἐν Κομυρίους ἐξ ἐπαγγελίας Διονυσοκλῆς Παπίου Μέντωρ , φιλόπατρις , μετὰ ἀρχιερωσύνην ἦν ἐτέλεσεν ἐτι παῖς ὢν καὶ στεφανηφορία τοῦ Ἀπολλωνος ', Pleket, *Epigraphica*, II, n° 38, at Stratoniceia, Caria, second century AD.

(12) 'Ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησαν ταῖς καλλίσταις καὶ μεγίσταις τιμές Μολοσσὸν Περεῖτου τοῦ Ἀρτεμιδώρου Γρυποῦ, γενόμενου ἱερέα Ἑρμοῦ Ἀγοραίου παῖδα τὴν ἡλικίαν ', Pleket, *Epigraphica*, II, n° 39, at Aphrodisias, Caria.

(13) 'Ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησεν Διονύσιον Μενελάου παῖδα, πρῶτον ἀγωνοθέτην τῆς πρωτῆς ἀχθείσης ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως Σεβαστείου καὶ Τυριμνήου πανηγύρεως, εὐσεβῶς καὶ μεγαλοφρόνως, πάντα φιλοτειμηθέντα τῇ πατρίδι τὰ τε τῶν ἀγωνισμάτων θέματα καὶ τὰς ἐπιδόσεις τῶν ἐπιδειξαμένων ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ποιήσαμεν, καὶ τὰς ἐπιδόσεις τῶν ἐπιδειξαμένων ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ποιήσαμεν, καὶ τὰς εὐσεβεῖς θυσίας τῷ θεῷ δημοτελεῖς καὶ λαμπρὰς ἐπιτελέσαντα ταῖς εὐτυχέσιν ἑορταῖς καὶ πρῶταις τὴν βουλήν καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐστίασαντα ', at Thyatira, Lydia, TAM, V.2, n° 960.

(14) '... ἦτις ἱέρεια ἔδωκεν τῇ φιλοσεβάστῳ βουλῇ διὰ τῶν γονέων ἐν κατακλίσει τὴν σπυρίδα καὶ ἔλαιον ἔθηκεν τῇ πόλει...', I. Magnesia, n° 193, at Magnesia-on-Maeander.

(15) '... Ὅντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ τότε[ι] ΠΑΣΗ.....] μετὰ πλείστης χαρᾶς τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ ἄρξασαν δωρεὰν στεφανηφορίαν.... ', at Magnesia ad Sipylum, TAM, V.2, n° 1343.

(16) 'Ἰὺδροφῶρος Ἀρτέμιδος Πυθείης Φλαβία [.....Φλαβίου Παγκράτους..., μητρὸς δὲ Βαβ(αιθ)ιδίος τῆς Νικηράτου, ἐστεφανηφορη[κυῖας] πρώτης παρθένου, ἡρχιερα(τω)κυῖας τῆς τρισκαιδεκατόλιδος τῶν ἰώνων, ἧς τὸ γένος δηλοῦται διὰ τῶν ὑπογεγραμμένων προγόνων....', I. Didyma, n° 356.

(17) 'Ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησεν Νάναν Μενάνδρου, παρθένου, θυγατέρα δὲ Μενάνδρου Νεάρχου τοῦ στεφανηφόρου ἅμα καὶ γυμνασίαρχον, πάσης ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀπολλωνιατῶν ἐτείμησεν Νάνα διὰ εὐσχήμονα παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐπιδημίαν ', at Kidrama, J. and L. Robert, *La Carie* (Paris, 1954), n° 186.

(18) ' [Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησαν [Στ...Τα]ρύφωνος υἱὸν ἥρωα [γυμνασιάρχῃ]σαντα δι' ὅλου τοῦ [ἔτους δρακτοῖς ἀσαλεύτοις] ἡμέρας πάσης καὶ νυκτὸς πρῶτον καὶ μόνον διὰ τε τὴν ἰδίαν ἀρετὴν καὶ τῆς τῶν προγόνων αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν] πατρίδα εὐ[εργεσίας, καθ' ὑπό]σχεσιν καὶ [ἀντὶ τῆς ἰδίας γυ]μνασιαρχίας [τῆς μητρὸς τὴν ἀ]νάθεσιν τοῦ [ἀνδριάντος ποιη]σαμένης Τα[τίας τῆς ...] θυγατρὸς, ἱερείας διὰ [βίου τῆς] Δικαιοσύνης τῆς [πόλεως]. Ἔτους ηνρ ', at Heraclea Salbake, Caria, J. and L. Robert, *La Carie*, n° 56.

(19) ' Ἀγαθὴ τύχη . Τὸν ἱερέα τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ φιλόπατριν καὶ φιλότιμον, δις ἄρξαντα καὶ πρῶτον ἄρχοντα καὶ ἱερέα καὶ ἀγωνοθετοῦντος Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου καὶ πατέρα δις χειλίαρχον καὶ τιμητὴν, ἀγορανομήσαντα ὑπὲρ τοῦ υἱοῦ μήνας τρεῖς ἐπιφανῶς...', at Prusias, Bithynia, IGR, III, n° 66.

(20) Ctesicles alias Ctasadas who ' τετέλεκεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀγελαρχίαν ἐπισήμως καὶ φιλαγάθως ', at Idebessos, Lycia, IGR, III, n° 649.

(21) ' Ἐρυθραίων πόλεος. Τ. Φλ. Αὐρ. Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν ἐκ προγόνων καὶ ἀπὸ παιδὸς λιτουργόν...' , at Erythrae, Ionia, REG 12 (1897), p. 257.

(22) ' Ἀγαθὴ τύχη. Νύμφαις Ναϊάσων ἀγαλλόμενος ἔνθα Σιβύλλης, εἰρήνης ἄρξας Εὐτυχιανός τὸ πάροιθε, δαπάναις ἐτοίμας ἀγορανόμος φιλότιμος, ἄμφω δὲ εὐψύχως σὺν Εὐτυχιανῷ, ἐκ προσόδων ἰδίων τῇ πατρίδι, τὸ ὕδωρ ', at Erythrae, LeBas W. , n° 58.

(23) ' Ἀγαθὴ τύχη. Αὐρ. Ἑρμίππου, ξυστάρχην, ἱερέα τῆς Ἀρτεμίδος, τὸν ἑνδοξον καὶ φιλόπατριν... ἄρξαντα τὴν πρώτην ἀρχὴν ἐπιφανῶς καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς λειτουργίας ὑπὲρ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν παιδῶν Νεικίτου καὶ Ἑρμίππου ἐκτελέσαντα ', at Philadelphia, LeBas W. , n° 648.

(24) ' Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος, ἐτείμησαν Σωκράτη ἐξάκις ... ἐν παιδι [ἐφηβαρχήσαντα]...', at Philadelphia, LeBas W. , n° 654.

(25) ' Ἔτους ε καὶ κ, μηνὸς ἴβ δ. Ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ ἐπεὶ Πλούταρχος Ἑρμογένους τοῦ Πλουτάρχου τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀνδρὸς καλοῦ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ γένους πρώτου καὶ ἀρετῇ καὶ πίστει διαφέροντος, γεγονότος ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἡλικίας ἐνδόξου πολίτου τετελεκότος τε πάσαις πολλάκις τὰς ἀρχάς...', at Maeonia, Lydia, TAM, V.1, no 514.

(26) ' Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ρωμαῖοι ἐτείμησαν Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον , at Apsameia, Phrygia, MAMA, I, n° 180.

(27) ' [ὁ δῆμος]

[Ἐτείμησεν ταῖς] καλ[ίσταις] [καὶ πρώταις καὶ] μεγίσταις [τειμαῖς Ἀπολλωνίου Μελ[ίτωνος...] μου, γενά[μενον ἱερέα Πολι]ούχου καὶ [ἐσιτίασαντα] πολλάκις τὴν] πόλιν [...καὶ πανη]γυριαρχήσαντα ...λος] καὶ τελέσαν[τα] πάσας τὰς ἀρχάς] καὶ τὰς [λειτουργίας ...] ΡΟΣ τῆς [πρώτης στρατηγίας καὶ σει]τωνήσαντα τῶν εἰς

ταῦτὰ δα[παν]ημάτων γενομένων ὑπὸ [τοῦ] πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Μελίτωνος [ἐξ οἰκίας δυνάμεως καὶ τῇν] [ἀνά]στασιν καὶ τούτου τοῦ ἀνδριά[ν]τος ποιησάμενου παρ' αὐτοῦ ' , at Tabai, L. Robert, *Hellenica*, III (1946), pp. 33-4.

(28) ' [Σεβ]αστῶ Γερμανικῶ, ἐκ τῶν ιδίω[ν] ἐπειδὴ ο[ς] υἱὸς Παλατεῖνα Φλαβιανός ...ν] ναῶν τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς Φλαβίας Δημοκρατίας τὸν [ναὸν καὶ τ]ὰ ἄλλα τὰ πρὸς τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἔθη... ' , at Keramos I. Keramos, n° T8.

(29) ' ...εἰδην τρις τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου Ξάνθιον, ἄνδρα ἔνδοξον ἐκ προγόνων, βουλευτὴν, ... τελέσαντα δὲ καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς λειτουργίας καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐγγόνων ... ' , at Xanthos, Lycia, IGR III, n° 605.

(30) ' Ὀβριμον Πλάτωνος νέου νεανίαν κόσμιόν τε καὶ σώφρονα, ἱερέα ... ἀνέστησεν δὲ τὸν ἀνδριάντα Πλάτων Ὀβριμου τοῦ Ἀρχεδήμου ὁ πατὴρ φιλοστοργίας χάριν ' , G.E. Bean, *The Inscriptions of Side (Ancyra)*, (1965), n° 121.

(31) ' Τιβερίου, Κλαυδίου Λεοντᾶς υἱοῦ Κυρεῖνα Θεοφάνους, καθ' υἰοθεσίαν δὲ Πυθέου Σκόρπωνος, φιλοκαίσαρος καὶ φιλοπάτριδος, υἱοῦ τῆς πόλεως, γυμνασιαρχήσαντος τῶν νέων ἐν παιδί ... ' , I. Stratoniceia, n° 1024.

(32) ' ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ἡ ἱερὰ γερουσία Πυθέαν Ἀριστίππου Ἀλεξάνδρου Κολιοργέα, προγόνων ἐνδόξων καὶ φιλοτείμων πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα γενομένων καὶ αὐτόν, δὲ ἀπὸ πρώτης ἡλικίας φιλόπατριν ὑπάρξαντα ἔθαψεν ' , I. Stratoniceia, n° 1207.

(33) ' υἱὸν πόλεως, φιλόπατριν διὰ τε τὴν τῶν ἡθῶν σεμνότητα καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ προγόνων εὐγενεῖα ... πᾶσάν τε λειτουργίαν καὶ ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ πρώτης ἡλικίας τελέσαντα τῇ πατρίδι αὐθαιρέτως ... ' , at Magnesia-on-the Maeander, I. Magnesia, n° 163.

(34) ' ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ γερουσία καὶ οἱ νέοι ἐτείμησαν καὶ μετῆλλαχότα.... Τίτον Φλάυιον ... καὶ αὐτόν ἀπὸ πρώτης ἡλικίας γυμνασιαρχήσαντα ... ' , at Aphrodisias, LeBas W. , n° 1601.

(35) ' ... Λέων Ἱεροκωμῆτης ἐτῶν μετὰ ἀρχιεροσύνην ἦν ἐτέλεσεν ὧν ἐτῶν δέκα, καὶ γυμνασιαρχίαν ἦν ἐτέλεσεν ἐτῶν δέκα ἐνὸς καὶ ἱεροσύνην τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ Διὸς Παναμάρου ἦν ἐτέλεσεν ὧν ἐτῶν δέκα ἐξ ... ' , at Lagina, Caria, BCH (1887), pp. 31-2, n° 45.

(36) ' δαπανήσαντα ἀπὸ δηναρίων μυρίων, εἰρηναρχήσαντα, παραφυλάξαντα καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς καὶ λειτουργίας καὶ συνειδόσεις τῇ πατρίδι καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν πληρώσαντα, ὑπὲρ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ Μ. Αὐρ. Πολυχρονίου τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ ... ' , at Aphrodisias, Caria, BCH (1885), p. 76, n° 6.

(37) ἡ [..... ὑπὲρ ...ω [... τῆς] γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ [ὑπὲρ τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ Νεικοδῆμου [... τωρον] καὶ Χαριξένου καὶ ὑ[πὲρ] τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ Ἑρμοδωρας τὰς περὶ τὴν θεὸν λειτουργίας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς καὶ λειτουργίας, ἐπιτελέσαντα ἐπιφανῶς, ἡ πόλις τὸν ἄριστον πολίτην ἀνέστησεν, τὸ ἀνάλωμα ποιησαμένων τῶν τέκνων αὐτοῦ, at Hermione, in Achaia, IG, IV, n° 715.

(38) ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησεν Γάϊον Ἰούλιον Γαίου Ἰουλίου Κέλερος Φωτεινοῦ καὶ Ὁρδεωνίας Παυλείνης ἱερῆς υἱὸν Φαβία Ποντιανόν, παῖδα γονέων εὐσεβῶν μὲν πρὸς τὴν θεόν, σπουδαίων δὲ περὶ τὴν πατρίδα Ἰουλία Σπένδουσα πρεσβυτέρα τὸν ἕκγονον ἀνέθηκεν. Οὗτος ἰδίῳ ἀναλώματι διὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τὰ ἀγάλματα τῶν θεῶν καὶ τὸν βωμὸν κατεσκεύασεν καὶ τὸ Μουσεῖον ἐκόσμησεν καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καθιέρωσεν, ὥστε καὶ ἐνιαυτὸν τῇ θ' ἰᾷ μηνὸς Μαμακτῆρος τῆς θυσίας τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιτελουμένης πηδ' βουλευτὰς καὶ ἱερεῖς λαμβάνειν ἀνὰ δηνάρια καὶ τὸ εἰς τὴν δημοσίαν δὲ θυσίαν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων προσκαθιέρωσιν, I. Ephesos, n° 690.

(39) ὁ Γάϊος Λικίνιος Ἰνουέντος Σμυρναῖος, Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, Ἀθηναῖος, Λακεδαιμόνιος, Τραλλιανός, παλαιστῆς πανκρατιαστῆς πλειστονεῖως παράδοξος, πύκτης ἀλειπτός, ξυστάρχης διὰ βίου νεικήσας παιδῶν πανκρατίου Πύθια... , I. Tralleis, n° 113.

(40) ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Θεῦδαν Βεβαίου φύσει δὲ Μενάνδρου ἄνδρα καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν γυμνασιάρχῃσαντα τῶν νέων σὺν τῷ υἱῷ Θεῦδα λαμπρῶς καὶ μεγαλοψύχως , I. Iasos, n° 122.

(41) ὁ Μενεκράτης Μενεκράτους ὁ ἀρχίατρος τῆς πόλεως, στεφανηφόρων τὸν κίονα σὺν σπείρῃ καὶ κεφαλῇ, προνοησαμένης τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ Τρυφαίνης τῆς καὶ αὐτῆς στεφανηφόρου καὶ γυμνασιάρχου, at Euromos, Caria, LeBas W., n° 314-18.

(42) ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ γερουσία Ἀριστέαν Θεαιπῆτου στεφανηφορήσαντα, καὶ γυμνασιάρχῃσαντα τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, καὶ πρεσβεύσαντα ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος εἰς ἡγεμονίδα Ῥώμῃ δωρεάν, καὶ στρατηγήσαντα, καὶ ἀγορανομήσαντα καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ ὑπηρεσίας πάσας τελέσαντα, καὶ ἀλείφοντα καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ υἱοῦ Θεαιπῆτου τοῦ Ἀριστέου Λέοντος ἥρωος τοὺς τε νέους καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους παρ' ἐνιαυτὸν τὸν δέκατον μῆνα εἰς τὸ διηνεκεῖ, τιμῆς καὶ εὐνοίας χάριν τῆς εἰς ἑαυτὸν, I. Iasos, n° 82.

(43) ὁ ψήφισμα ἐπεὶ Διονύσιος Πάπυλος τοῦ Παπύλου ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Νινευδίου Διὸς ἀνὴρ πατὴρ καὶ προγόνων ὑπάρχων καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ ἐν ἀρχαῖς καὶ φιλοδοξίας γεγονότων καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ πρώτης ἡλικίας βίον σεμνὸν καὶ ἐνάρετον ἐλόμενος ἱερατείαν τε τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ ἀγ<ω>νοθεσίαν καὶ

πρεσβείας καὶ ἐφηβarchείαν καὶ στρατηγίαν καὶ γραμματεῖαν καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἀρχὰς σεμνῶς καὶ εὐσεβῶς καὶ νομίμως καὶ δικαίως τελέσας ... ', at Aphrodisias, MAMA, VIII, n° 410.

(44) ' ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτίμησαν ταῖς καλλίσταις καὶ μεγίσταις τειμαῖς καὶ μετῃλλακχότα Ἀριστοκλέα Ἀριστοκλέους τοῦ Ἀρτεμιδώρου Μολλοσόν ἵππικόν, νεανίαν γενόμενον, γένους τοῦ πρώτου καὶ συνεκτικότης τὴν πατρίδα καὶ ἐν γυμνασιarχείαις καὶ στεφανηφορίαις γεγονότος τὴν τειμὴν ἀνατεθεικυίας Ἀμμίας τῆς Ἀριστοκλέους τοῦ Ἀρτεμιδώρου γυναικός, τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ ', at Aphrodisias, MAMA, VIII, n° 468.

(45) ' ὁ δῆμος Μηνοφίλαν Ἐρμαγένους κομψάν καὶ χαρίεσσαν πετρός δεικνῦσι τὶς ἐντι μουσῶν μανύει γράμματα Μηνοφίλαν. τευ δ' ἐνεκ' ἐν στάλα γλυπτὸν κρίνον ἦδε καὶ ἄλφα βύβλος καὶ τάλαρος, τοῖς δ' ἐ[π]ὶ καὶ στεγανός, Ἡ σοφία μὲν βιβλος, ὁ δ' αὖ περικρατηφορηθεὶς ἀρχάν μανύει, μονογονίαν δὲ τὸ ἐν, εὐτακτον δ' ἀρετὰς τάλαρος μάνυμα, τὸ δ' ἄνθος τῶν ἀκμάν ἀντιν' ἐλήϊσατα κοῦφ[α] τοι κόνις εἴμι πολλὰ τοιῆδε θανούσῃ, ἄγαμοι οὐδὲ γονεῖς, τοῖς ἔλιπες δάκρυα ',

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

(46) ' Πειριώνος θυγάτηρ Ἀμμία μετὰ τῶν τέκνων Κλαυδίου Πειριώνος Ἀμύντου τοῦτο τὸ ὕδωρ εἰσάγουσα ἐκ τῶν αὐτῆς χωρίων τό τε ὕδραγωγίον καὶ τὸ ἐκδοχεῖον ἰδίους ἀναλώμασι κατασκευάσασα ἀνέθηκεν ', at Beroia, Macedonia, Δήμιτσας, *Η Μακεδονία*... n° 61.

(47) ' Εἰσίδι Λοχία καὶ τῇ πόλει τὸν βωμὸν ἀνέθηκαν Ἀ. Βρούττιος Ἀγαθοφόρος καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Ἐλευθέριον ὑπὲρ τῆς θυγατρὸς Μειλησίας εὐξάμενοι ἐπὶ ἱερέως διὰ βίου Ἀ. Βρουττίου Ποπλιανοῦ ', at Beroia, Macedonia, Δήμιτσας, *Η Μακεδονία*... n° 62.

(48) ' Ἔτους ζξω, Φρόντων Διονυσίου Στυβερραῖος ὁ ἀντάρχων Διονυσίου τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀγορανόμου τοὺς κείονες ἐποίη ',

at Monastir, Macedonia, Δήμιτσας, *Η Μακεδονία*... n° 272, ca. 123 AD.

(49) ' Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησεν Σεπτιμίαν Ἀρμάσταν, τὴν ἀξιόλογον, δημιουργόν, γένους λαμβροῦ καὶ ἐνδόξου καὶ τοῦ πρωτεύοντος παρ' ἡμῖν, τοῦ πατρὸς

αὐτῆς Ἑρμέου Ἀττέους, μετὰ καὶ ἐτέρων ὧν παρέσχετο
τῇ πόλει, καταλιπόντος δὲ καὶ εἰς διανομὰς τῇ τε
ἱερὰ βουλῇ καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀφ', καὶ αὐτῇ ἡ
Ἀρμάστα ὑπερφιλοτημήσατο ὑπὲρ δημιουργίας δφ',
εὐνοίας ἔνεκεν τῆς εἰς τὴν πατρίδα ',

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

(50) Ἀυτοκράτορι Καίσαρι [Δομετιανῶ] Σεβαστῶ [Γερμανικῶ] καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι
Περγαῖα/ Ἀσύλῳ τὸν πύργον δίστεγον ἱερεῖα Δήμητρος Ἀρετῇ Δημητρίου
ἐπανγγειλαμένη τῇ κώμῃ ἐποίησεν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων καινὸν ἐκ θεμελίων καὶ
στεγάσασα καθιέρωσεν καὶ νῦν διαφ[οτ]θεντα πάλιν Τειμόθεος Μεννέου ὁ
ἐγγονός αὐτῆς δι' ἐπιτρόπου αὐτοῦ Κίλλης Μόρου, [τῆς μητρὸς] αὐτοῦ,
ἀναλαβὼν καὶ στεγάσας ἐκ καινῆς καὶ κεραμώσας ἐκ τῶν [ιδίων] ἀνέθηκεν ', at
the village of Lirboton, Pamphylia, SEG, VI (1932), n° 672.

(51) ἐπιδοῦσαν ἔν τε τῇ δημιουργίᾳ καὶ τῇ γυμνασιᾳρχίᾳ
κ] τῇ ἀρχιερωσύνῃ καὶ τὰς ἱεροσύναις καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ υἱοῦ δημιουργίᾳ
καὶ ἐν τῇ τῆς θυγατρὸς γυμνασιᾳρχίᾳ ' ',

at Sillyum, Pamphylia, Lanckoronski, *Stadte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens I*, no 60.

(52) Ἑλιωτῆς ὧν τῶν ἀρίστων ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἡλικίας, χρειαίς παρεχόμενος ',
at Olympos, Caria, SEG, IV (1929), n° 238.

(53) ὁ [... πάσης ἡξιώθη μαρτυρίας παρὰ [τα]ς [ἡμῖν καὶ τῷ δήμῳ], τὰ δὲ
νῦν ἀσμένως χρώμενος τῇ ἰδία καλοκαγαθίᾳ μεγαλοψύχως [ὡς] κα[θ'] ἕκαστον
ἐνιαυτὸν μετὰ τῶν παιδῶν μόνος καὶ] πρῶτος ὑπέμεινεν ἐπ' ἐνιαυτῷ τὰ
δαπανήματα κοσμητεῖαν τὲ καὶ γυμνασιᾳρχίαν καὶ νυκτερίαν καὶ
ὕδροπαροχίαν, δι' ὃ οἱ Δημητριασταὶ θαυμάσαντες αὐτοῦ τὸ πρὸς αὐτοὺς
εὖνουν ἔκρειναν ἀμοιβᾶσθαι αὐτῷ ταῖς πρεπούσαις τειμαῖς ὅπως οὖν
ὑπάρχουσιν ἱερεῖς διὰ βίου ἐπὶ διμοιρία ἀλειτουργίῃσιν αὐτὸς μὲν Βάσσος τῆς
Ἀρτέμιδος, Σερβιλία δὲ Σεκούνδα τῆς Σεβαστῆς Δήμητρος Καρποφόρου, Πρόκλος
δὲ νέων Διόσκορων Δρούσου Καίσαρος υἱῶν', at Ephesos, 19 - 23 AD,
SEG, IV (1929), n° 515.

(54) Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ Ἑκάτῃ καὶ τοῖς συνναοῖς [θεοῖς ὁ δεῖνα μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς
Νεικοβούλης ἱεροσύνῃν ἀν[α]λαβὼν ἀνέθηκεν τὸν ναὸν σὺν τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ τοῖς
κύκλῳ τοίχοις ', BCH 58 (1934), p. 378, at Hyllarima, Caria, probably Helle-
nistic.

(55) ... Πῶ]ν κατὰ τὴν δεκαπρωτίαν ἔνεκεν [ἐν] διαφέρουσιν τοῖς ἐκγόνοις μοι
Σαραπίωνι ἀγορανομήσαντι καὶ Φιλοξένα, ἀφήλιξεν ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς
αὐτῶν Ὠρίωνος διαδοχῆς ' ',

PSI, 303, second/third century AD, Egypt.

(56) '... ἐπακολουθήσης αὐτῆς τῇ ἐπιτροπῇ καὶ παραλαμβανούσης αὐτῆς τὸ ἐξ αὐτῶν περιγεγνημένα, ὡς ὁ Ἀμμώνιος ἠξίωσε εἰς τὸ ἀσυκοφάνητον αὐτὸν γενέσθαι ποιουμένης αὐτῆς τὰ {σ} τῆς κοσμητείας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τῶν παιδων δαπανήματα ...', PSI, 1159, reign of Hadrian, Egypt.

(57) '... ὁ στρατηγός τὸ β' Νούιος Λυσανίας εἶπεν, καλῶς ποιεῖ/τε ἀμειβόμενοι τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ μὴ εἰς / αὐτοὺς μόνους τὰς τιμάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τοὺς παῖ/δας μετατιθέντες', Syll3, n° 898, at Chalcis, ca. 267 AD.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ABBOT, F. - CHESTER JOHNSON, A., *Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire* (Princeton, 1926).
- BEAN, G.E., *The Inscriptions of Side* (Ancyra, 1965).
- BEAN, G.E. - MITFORD, T.B., *Journeys in Rough Cilicia in 1962 and 1963* (Vienna, 1965).
- BEAN, G.E. - MITFORD, T.B., *Journeys in Rough Cilicia in 1964-1968* (Vienna, 1970).
- BUCKLER, W.H. - ROBINSON, D.M., *Sardis VI: Greek and Latin Inscriptions* (Leiden, 1932).
- BUCHNER, G., «Epigrafe da Ischia 154 d.C"», *Par. Del. Passato*, vii (1952), p. 408.
- ΔΗΜΙΤΣΑΣ, Μ. , *Ἡ Μακεδονία ἐν Λίθοις Φθεγγομένοις καὶ Μνημείοις Σωζομένοις* (Athens, 1896).
- HORSEY, H.R., «The Mysteries of Artemis Ephesia", *Anat. Stud.*, XLII (1992), pp. 119-150.
- JONES, A.H.M., *The Greek City* (Oxford, 1940).
- JONES, C.P., «Τρόφιμος in an Inscription of Erythrai", *Glotta*, 67 (1989), pp. 194-7.
- JONES, C.P., «Eastern Alimenta and an Inscription of Attaleia", *JHS*, 109 (1989) pp. 189-90.
- KANATSOYΛΗΣ, 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).

- MITCHELL, S., «The Plancii in Asia Minor», *JRS*, LXIV (1974), pp. 27-39.
MITCHELL, S., *Anatolia: I* (Oxford, 1992).
NICOLS, J., «Patrona Civitatis: Gender and Civic Patronage» in DEROUX, C. (ed.), *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History V* (Brussels, 1989), pp. 117-139.
PLEKET, W.H., *Epigraphica: II* (Leiden, 1969).
RIGSBY, «An Imperial Letter at Balbura», *AJPh*, 100 (1979), pp. 401-7.
ROBERT, L. and J., *La Carie* (Paris, 1954).
ROBERT, L., *Documents de l'Asie Mineure Meridionale* (Paris, 1966).
ROBERT, L., «Sur une Liste de Courètes à Éphèse», *Ἀρχαιολ. Ἐφημερίς* (1967), pp. 129-136.
SVENCICKAJA, I.S., «Some Problems of Agrarian Relations in the Province of Asia», *Eirene*, 15 (1977), pp. 27-54.
VAN BREMEN, R., «A Family of Sillyon», *ZPE*, 104 (1994), pp. 43-56.
VARINLIOGLU, E., «Inscriptions from Stratoniceia in Caria», *ZPE*, 41 (1981), pp. 189-93.
VEYNE, P., *Bread and Circuses* (London, 1990).
WIEDEMANN, T.E.J., *Adults and Children in the Roman Empire* (London, 1989).

Abbreviations

- Ἀρχαιολ. Ἐφημερίς - Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς
Anat. Stud. - Anatolian Studies
BCH - Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique (1877 -)
IG - Inscriptiones Graecae (1871 -)
IGR - Inscriptiones Graecae ad Romanes Pertinentes
MAMA - Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiquae
PG - Patrologia Graeca
PSI - Papiri Greci e Latini, pubbl. Della Società Italiana ... (1912 -)
TAM - Tituli Asiae Minoris
ZPE - Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

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 loose 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 *patrobouloi*.

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 3rd century AD two adolescents, Heliogabalus and Alexander Severus, reigned in Rome under the tutelage of their grandmother.