SUBSTITUTES FOR EMPERORS AND MEMBERS OF THE IMPERIAL FAMILIES AS LOCAL MAGISTRATES*

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*... et optimus Imperator Hadrianus
Augustus etiam duumviratus hono-
rem suscepit*¹

1. Introduction

This paper deals with honorary office-holding by the emperor or by members of the imperial family in Greek and Roman cities. It also investigates the practice of entrusting substitutes with the tasks for which imperial office-holders were theoretically responsible, and draws attention to a striking contrast in attitudes towards office-holding by such substitutes that can be observed among the urban elites of the eastern provinces and their counterparts in the western half of the empire.

Magistrates and priests not having citizenship in the city in which they held office are first attested in Greek cities in the fourth century BC.² During the same period gods and goddesses were sometimes chosen as eponymous magistrates (*archontes*, *prytaneis*, *stephanephoroi*, or *hieromnamones* etc.).³ In such cases there can be little doubt that the expenses associated with the offices in question were met from the god's property, that is from the funds of his or her sanctuary. A logical corollary of this supposition is that the decision to entrust magistracies to a god or goddess was mostly taken when cities found themselves in difficulties, especially of a financial kind.⁴ This means that even though office-holding by deities need not reflect a general lack of male citizens, it most certainly points to a shortage of male citizens both willing and able to finance the duties and liturgies connected with civic

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¹ CIL 10, 6090 = ILS 6295 = No. 63 (Munic. Formiae, Italy).

² Cf. M. Osborne, *Naturalization in Athens* (Brüssel 1983), passim; M. Horster, 'Die Übernahme von Ämtern und Liturgien durch 'Nicht-Bürger' in spätklassischer in hellenistischer Zeit' (paper in prepress for 2005).

³ Cf. L. Robert, 'Divinités éponymes', *Hellenica* 2 (Paris 1946) 51-61 and 154; R.K. Sherk, 'The eponymous officials of Greek cities V', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 96 (1993), 267-296, esp. 283-285.

⁴ Cf. e.g. Sherk 1993, op. cit. (n. 3), 251; 283.

offices. Probably those men who were sufficiently wealthy to shoulder the necessary expenses were already engaged with other duties. These assumptions may well hold true in many cases of honorary office-holding by gods and goddesses in late classical and Hellenistic times.

In Roman times, however, there is some evidence to suggest that at least in some cases the costs of offices nominally held by deities were borne not by temple funds but by other office-holders. In Chersonesus in the Crimea, for instance, the main goddess of the city, the Parthenos, held the office of βασιλίσσα on a permanent basis.⁵ It is hard to believe that the expenses associated with the eponymous office of *basileus*, which was typical of Megarian colonies, were paid for with the goddess's money for decades. It is more likely that the eponymous office did not entail any real duties during this period and that the other magistrates of the city, such the *archon*, the *hieros* and the *grammateus* (whose names follow that of the *basilissa* in most decrees of the city), had taken over the costs and the duties originally associated with it. Another possible example comes from Rhegion in the territory of Byzantium, where several inscribed stelai referring to the eponymous office of *hieromnamon* were found in the 1930s. The inscriptions, which can be dated to the first half of the second century,⁶ show that on a number of occasions this office was nominally held by the goddesses Nemesis, Demeter, Hera and Nike respectively. The acting magistrate was described as ἱεροποιῶν. Most of the dating formulas on the stelai begin with ἐπὶ ἱερομνάμονος θεᾶς (name of a goddess) ἱεροποιοῦντος (name of a citizen). Interestingly, however, Byzantine inscriptions of this period never name *hieropoiontes* acting as substitutes when the office of *hieromnamon* is held by a citizen or an emperor. This strongly suggests that in those cases where a *hieropoion* acted as a substitute for a divinity the substitute office-

⁵ *IOSPE I*² 357-361; 365, 376, 385-387, 699. The inscriptions date to the late first and early second centuries AD. Cf. Robert, op. cit. (n. 3), 56 and id., *Études anatoliennes. Recherche sur les inscriptions grecques de l'Asie Mineure* (Paris 1937) 101sq.

⁶ *Belleten* 3, 1939, 437-445, cf. Robert 1946, op. cit. (n. 3), 154; R.K. Sherk, 'The eponymous officials of Greek cities III', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 88 (1991), 225-260 esp. 235. The sculptured stelai were found in a Byzantine tomb. They had been brought to this place from the headquarters of a *collegium* of Dionysos and seem to belong to a relatively short period. This epigraphic evidence is supplemented by coin legends from which it appears that Demeter was eponymous in Byzantium for the second time under Hadrian, and Nike for the seventh time under Macrinus and Diadumenius; cf. E. Schönert-Geiß, *Die Münzprägung von Byzantion. Teil II: Kaiserzeit* (Berlin 1972), 17.

holder not only performed the tasks and duties of the *hieromnamoneia* but also shouldered the expenditures connected with that office.⁷

However, gods were not the only non-citizens to be appointed to offices in Greek cities. In the fourth century, king Alexander held offices in cities on a honorary basis. The epigraphical evidence from Miletus includes seven inscriptions listing the names of all eponymous magistrates who held office between 525 BC and the reign of Tiberius – with gaps of course.⁸ From these lists it appears that the eponymous office of *aisymnetes* (*stephanephoros*) had been held by Alexander in 334/33, by Demetrius in 295/94 and by Antiochos I in 280/79 – to name only some. Furthermore the god Apollo turns out to have been the eponymous magistrate of Miletus twenty-nine times during the years 332/31 to 10/9 BC.

Although it makes sense to conjecture that gods tended to be entrusted with eponymous magistracies in difficult times, this explanation does not always apply to other office-holders recruited from outside the civic community. Athenaeus provides an example:⁹ when Ptolemy Euergetes II was elected annual priest of Apollo in Cyrene, his duties consisted *inter alia* in organizing sacrifices and banquets for the Artemisia in Cyrene. Ptolemy duly offered a lavish banquet at which he was personally present. In all likelihood this was one of the very few occasions on which he performed his duties in Cyrene in person. Although Ptolemy is likely to have paid for several other sacrifices and banquets during his priesthood without attending these occasions, this example shows that kings, emperors and other high-ranking men who held offices in Greek cities did not always perform their civic duties *in absentia*. It may even be suggested that the city council's decision to offer a magistracy or a priesthood to a high-ranking outsider was often prompted by the personal presence of this person. In such cases the appointment of non-citizens to honorific office cannot be said to reflect financial difficulties. Similarly, the explanation for other unusual kinds of office-holding in Hellenistic and Roman times need not always be financial. For instance, the decision to appoint women as honorary magistrates or as honorary substitutes for male priests need not always point to a shortage of sufficiently wealthy men.¹⁰

⁷ Already interpreted this way by Robert 1946, op. cit. (n. 3), 57.

⁸ I. Milet I.3, nos. 122-128.

⁹ Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistai* 12, 549e.

¹⁰ Sherk 1993, op. cit. (n. 3), 290-291 on women as eponymous officials; and A. Bielman, 'Femmes et jeux dans le monde grec hellénistique et impérial', *Études de Lettres* (1998), 33-50 on the *agonothesia* and other non-eponymous duties and offices.

Gods, kings and women did not and usually could not perform their duties as magistrates or priests in person. In most cases they merely paid for the duties, sacrifices and banquets that were connected with the office. The assumption of offices on an honorary basis should therefore be seen as a benefaction, a kind of euergetism. Someone else, a substitute, did the real job. Unfortunately, little is known about the designations used to denote such substitutes (e.g. *epimeletes*?) in classical and hellenistic times, let alone about their activities.

2. Substitute office-holders

a) The Republican evidence

In the cities of the Roman West we have no examples of honorific offices before the second half of the first century BC. In republican times several wealthy men allowed themselves to be appointed to offices in more than one city.¹¹ Mireille Cébeillac Gervasoni gives some examples from Latium and Campania, such as C. Quinctius Valgus, who held offices in Pompeii and Frigentium, and Numerius Cluvius who did so in Capua, Caudium and Nola.¹² Since we have no evidence for substitutions, we should assume that these Romans performed most of their duties in person. It must, however, be emphasized that there is also good evidence for honorary office-holding by powerful Romans who are unlikely to have spent much time in the cities in question. Some of this evidence comes from the East: Mark Antony, for example, is known to have been eponymous priest of the goddess Roma in Sardis.¹³ From approximately the same period onwards, we have some early examples of more or less honorary appointments in the Roman West. Thus it appears from Cicero's orations that Cn. Pompeius and L. Calpurnius Piso were *duumviri* of Capua in 58/57.¹⁴ Pompeius is known to have visited Capua and to have passed a decree in the city concerning one of Clodius' laws. Nevertheless, it seems unlikely that either he or Piso presided every session of the city council or performed all religious duties that were connected with the *duumvirate*.

¹¹ For a description of the obligations, duties and financial burdens entailed by the assumption of civic offices in Italian cities during the Republic, cf. M. Cébeillac Gervasoni, *Les magistrats des cités italiennes de la Seconde Guerre Punique à Auguste: Le Latium et la Campanie* (Paris 1998), 100, 105-133.

¹² Cébeillac Gervasoni, op. cit., 50 f.

¹³ Sardis VII 129.

¹⁴ Cicero, *Post reditum in senatu* 9.29; *Pro Sestio* 8.19.

The principle that civic offices could be held on an honorary basis was established in Greek cities during the late fourth century BC. From that moment onwards we find office-holding gods, men and women who were expected to do no more than pay for the duties connected with their magistracies or priesthoods. It is very likely that the idea of honorary office-holding by a non-citizen (or a woman or a child)¹⁵ came to the western cities from the East. The appointment of substitutes who were to carry out the civic duties entrusted to such people was a logical consequence of this development. In the epigraphic record this change, which is documented in the West from the late 30s BC onwards, is reflected by the appearance of *praefecti* whose task it was to perform the duties of absentee (eponymous) office-holders.

b. Prefects as substitute office-holders under the Empire

Unlike their counterparts in the Greek *poleis* of the East, substitute officials in western cities (and in the Roman colonies of the eastern provinces) were denoted with a special term: *praefectus*. In the West offices held in lieu of the emperor were also included in listings of priesthoods and offices in honorific decrees and epitaphs. A *praefectus* could even be mentioned on a coin in the same way as a regular magistrate.¹⁶

Substitutions for urban magistrates are first mentioned in the *fasti* of Venosa in the year 32 BC.¹⁷ Whenever neither of the *duumviri* was able to carry out his duties or if no *duumvir* could be elected, the city council designated two *praefecti iure dicundo* in order to ensure administrative and jurisdictional continuity. The term of office of these extraordinary officials lasted until new regular elections had taken place. In such cases these *praefecti* were eponymous magistrates. They cannot be regarded as substitutes for regular magistrates. Some time later in the early empire, a *lex Petronia* concerning the appointment of substitute magistrates was passed. Several

¹⁵ Women are attested only in the Greek East and not in the West, cf. note 10 above and L. Casarico, 'Donne ginnasiarco (a proposito di P. Med. inv. 69.01)', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 48 (1982) 117-123, with a list of 41 inscriptions recording female gymnasiarchs in Roman imperial times. On children and adolescents holding offices and priesthoods both in Italian cities and in various cities of the western and eastern provinces, cf. M. Kleijwegt, *Ancient Youth. The ambiguity of youth and the absence of adolescence in Greco-Roman society* (Amsterdam 1991), 318-325; M. Horster, 'Kinderkarrieren?', in C. Klodt, ed., *Satura Lanx*, Festschrift für Werner Krenkel (Hildesheim-Zürich-New York 1996), 223-238.

¹⁶ See below note 47.

¹⁷ CIL 9, 422 = ILS 6123 = I. Ital. 13.1 no. 8.

inscriptions mentioning prefects in Italian cities allude to this law. Unfortunately, its contents remain wholly obscure.¹⁸

The Flavian city laws from Spain contain two chapters concerning *praefecti* acting as substitutes for local magistrates. Chapter 24 of the *leges* of Salpensa and Irni deal with the powers of such *praefecti* as might be appointed as substitutes for the emperor Domitian.¹⁹ Chapter 25 concerns *praefecti* acting as substitutes during the temporary absence of the municipal *duumviri*.²⁰ The main difference was that *praefecti* of the former kind had the same powers as ordinary *duumviri* whereas the powers of those *praefecti* who replaced citizen-*duumviri* on a part-time basis were more limited than those of the regular office-holders. *Praefecti* of the latter variety may be compared to the Roman *praefecti urbi* of republican times and to the *praefectus feriarum Latinarum*, both of whom acted as substitutes for absent consuls. However, unlike the municipal *praefecti* of the imperial period, the republican *praefecti urbi* were regular magistrates who remained in office when the consuls were in Rome.

In most cases we do not know the identity of those local magistrates who were replaced by *praefecti*, for the simple reason that the name of the ordinary magistrate was rarely indicated in inscriptions.²¹ In the few known cases, however, the 'ordinary' magistrates turn out to have been Roman senators.²² Thus L. Domitius Ahenobarbus and P. Sulpicius Quirinus, who

¹⁸ *Praefecti iure dicundo e lege Petronia* are referred to in five inscriptions: cf. the *praefectus iure dicundo ex decreto decurionum lege Petronia* in Pompeii, CIL 10, 858 = ILS 6359. F. Sartori, 'La legge Petronia sui prefetti municipali e l'interpretazione del Borghesi', in: *Bartolomeo Borghesi. Scienza e libertà* (Bologna 1982), 211-222, discusses not only Borghesi's notions but also more recent interpretations.

¹⁹ ILS 6088: *Lex municipii Salpensani cap. 24 : De praefecto imp. Caesaris Domitiani Aug.*

²⁰ Ibid. cap. 25: *De iure praef., qui a Ilvir. relictus sit.*

²¹ Cf. for example the bare references to a *praefectus* *pr(o) Ilvir(o)* in the colony of Baeterrae, Gallia Narbonensis, AE 1999, 1034, or to the *praefectus i(ure) d(icundo) pro Ilvir(is) et q(uin)q(uennalibus)* in Ammaedara, Africa Proconsularis, AE 1999, 1787.

²² In the colony of Salona (Dalmatia) a Roman knight was appointed as a substitute for P. Dolabella; the same man is known to have acted as a substitute for Drusus Caesar in the same city, CIL 3, 14172 = No. 27; similarly, a knight with a mixed career of military appointments and civic offices is known to have been appointed as prefect in lieu of T. Statilius Taurus in the colony of Dyrrachium (Macedonia): CIL 3, 605 = ILS 2678. T. Statilius Severus, for whom a substitute was appointed in Capua (CIL 10, 3910), is very likely to have been a senator too. Several prefects acting as substitutes for Roman senators are recorded in the colony of Pisidian Antioch: the examples include C. Caristanius Caesianus Iulius, a Roman knight with a military career, who acted as a substitute for P. Sulpicius Quirinus, and M. Servilius, ILS 9502, 9503, another knight who replaced P.

had accompanied C. Caesar to the East (Tac. *Ann.* 3,48), are known to have been *Ilviri* in the colony of Antioch in Pisidia. In the case of Ahenobarbus the relevant information is supplied by an inscription set up in Antioch by the city of Alexandria to honour the prefect who had replaced him.²³

In his study on *praefecti iure dicundo* in Africa Jacques Gascou listed more than forty *praefecti* who had replaced unknown urban *duumviri*.²⁴ On the basis of a close examination of the career patterns of these prefects he concluded that this *praefectura* was not counted as a regular *honor*. No *summa honoraria* was due, and those who assumed this part-time office usually did so before being elected as regular *duumviri* – a position many of them may never have attained. Maria Silvia Bassignano studied the evidence for *praefecti iure dicundo* in the northern regions of Italy (*regiones* IX, X and XI) and arrived at somewhat different conclusions.²⁵ She listed more than fifty *praefecti* who acted as temporary substitutes for unknown urban magistrates in this part of Italy.

Only those *praefecti* who had been appointed as substitutes for an emperor or a member of the imperial family regularly mentioned the names of those they had replaced. In the West and in the Roman colonies of the East, where high-ranking Roman soldiers were prominent in local political life, *praefecti* who had been appointed as substitutes for an emperor or for members of the imperial families are well documented. Only eleven of those prefects who are known to have held other offices beside the *praefectura*, had exclusively civic careers comprising municipal offices and priesthoods.²⁶

Cornelius Sulla Felix *gener Germanici Caesaris* in 33 AD: AE 1927, 172 (Antioch in Pisidia). For Domitius Ahenobarbus in Antioch, see above and the following note.

²³ The prefect who acted as a substitute for Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus was a Roman knight with a military career: CIL 3, 6809 = ILS 2696.

²⁴ J. Gascou, 'La *praefectura iure dicundo* dans les cités de l'Afrique romaine', in: *L'Afrique dans l'occident romain (I siècle av. J.C.-IV siècle ap. J.C.)*. Actes du Colloque organisé par l'École française de Rome, Rome, 3-5 décembre 1987 (Paris-Rome 1990), 368-180.

²⁵ M.S. Bassignano, 'I "praefecti iure dicundo" nell'Italia settentrionale', in: *Epigrafia*, Actes du colloque international d'épigraphie latine en mémoire de Attilio Degraffi, Rome 27-28 mai 1988 (Rome 1991) 515-537.

²⁶ CIL 2, 1543 = No. 5 and CIL 2, 5120 = No. 6 C. Caesar's substitutes in Baetica; CIL 2, 5120 = No. 6 C. Caesar's substitute in Baetica; CIL 3, 170 = No. 91 Vespasian's substitute in Syria; CIL 11, 421 = ILS 6662 = No. 56 Trajan's substitute in Italy; CIL 14, 376 = No. 69 L. (Aelius) Caesar's substitute in Italy; AE 1916, 34 = 1956, 126 = No. 65 Antoninus Pius' substitute in Numidia; CIL 3, 1497 = ILS 7133 = IDR 3.2, 107 = No. 66 Antoninus Pius' or Caracalla's substitute in Dacia.

The fragmentary state of some other inscriptions makes it difficult or impossible to decide whether the civic offices of the prefects recorded on them were followed by military

Most of these prefects were appointed in the late first and in the second century AD. In contrast, twenty-three of the better known prefects combined local offices with military commands as *tribuni militum* in the legions, or as *praefecti alae* or *cohortis* in the *auxilia*.²⁷ Most of these prefects held the *praefectura* in the first century AD. In the careers of these prefects two distinct patterns can be discerned: while some of them first pursued purely military careers and did not assume any local offices before retiring from the army, others alternated municipal and military appointments. The first of these patterns is especially common during the early Principate. In addition, only in four cases the civic office of *praefectus iure dicundo* is listed among military posts and three of the men recorded as civic prefects are not known to have held any military post other than that of *praefectus fabrum*.²⁸ However, as Saddington has pointed out, there is a methodological problem.²⁹ The order of the offices and appointments “is not easy to discern because of the habit of grouping positions by different categories on inscriptions or of listing certain positions out of order because of their prestige which the

appointments. See e.g. AE 1980, 465 = No. 20 a substitute replacing Germanicus and Drusus in Italy; CIL 10, 7211 = No. 67 Antoninus Pius’ or Caracalla’s substitute in Sicily or CIL 3, 6843 = ILS 7201 = No. 81 Drusus’ substitute in Pisidian Antioch.

²⁷ Military tribunes: CIL 2, 2479 + 5617 and CIL 2, 35 = No. 14 in Lusitania (Augustan times?); CIL 11, 3610 = No. 4 in Italy (C. Caesar); CIL 12, 4230 = ILGN 558 = No. 3 in Gallia Narbonensis (C. Caesar); CIL 11, 969 = No. 17 in Italy (Germanicus Caesar); CIL 9, 3000 = AE 1999, 564 = No. 37 in Italy (Nero Caesar?); CIL 10, 5393 (cf. 5392, 5394) = ILS 6286 = No. 9, 23, 34 in Italy (Ti. Caesar, Drusus Caesar and Nero Caesar); CIL 10, 6101 = ILS 6285 = No. 12, 40 in Italy (Ti. Caesar, Drusus Caesar and Nero Caesar – though the prefect died before he could actually carry out any of his duties); AE 1982, 885 = No. 84 in Pisidia (Tiberius); CIL 14, 2995 = No. 36 in Italy (Nero Caesar); CIL 9, 4968 = ILS 5543 = No. 47 in Italy (Nero); CIL 11, 6955 = ILS 8903 = No. 48 in Italy (Nero); AE 1975, 353 = No. 49 in Italy (Vespasian); CIL 5, 7458 = No. 53 in Italy (Trajan); AE 1971, 367 = No. 68 a *praef. coh.* who later became *trib. legionis* (M. Aurelius and L. Verus, in Dacia).

Auxiliary prefects: CIL 11, 5669 = ILS 2728 (cf. AE 1987, 354) No. 54 in Italy (Trajan); ILS 9491 = No. 98 in Syria (Trajan).

Unknown equestrian ranks in military units: CIL 6, 29715 = No. 31 Italy (Drusus Caesar); a *praefectus equitum* in AE 1984, 293 = AE 1985, 328 = No. 11 Italy (Tiberius Caesar).

For references to five prefects with lower military ranks see note 31.

²⁸ *Praefecti fabrum*: CIL III 14712 = ILS 7160 = No. 27 Drusus Caesar’s substitute in Salona, Dalmatia; CIL 5, 4374 = AE 1992, 744 = No. 39 Nero Caesar’s substitute in Italy; CIL 5, 7567 = ILS 6747 = No. 30 Drusus Caesar’s substitute in Italy.

²⁹ D.B. Saddington, ‘The relationship between holding office in a *municipium* or *colonia* and the *milita equestris* in the early Principate’, *Athenaeum* 84 (1996) 157–181.

holder attached to them.”³⁰ To sum up, most of the *praefecti* had mixed careers. Usually they were appointed as *praefecti alae* or *cohortis*, less often as *tribuni militum legionis* or as *praefecti fabrum*.³¹ Many of them were Roman knights, but only few became procurators.³² Moreover, they are often recorded as *aediles*, *duumviri*, *quatuorviri* or *flamines*, in the very same cities in which they were appointed as *praefecti* replacing imperial magistrates. All in all, there can be no doubt that acting as a substitute for a Roman senator, for a member of the imperial family or for the emperor himself was a highly prestigious duty, at least in Roman-style *municipia* and *coloniae*.³³

In what follows I give a short overview of the evidence we have for emperors and members of the imperial family holding magistracies in western and eastern cities. Although this type of office-holding has attracted a certain amount of attention from other scholars, there exists no comprehensive discussion of this empire-wide phenomenon. For the East the secondary literature exists essentially of a few scattered remarks in the writings of Louis Robert and others. For the West we have Ignazio Didu's (1983/4) and Giovanni Mennella's (1988) more thorough studies of *praefecti* replacing imperial magistrates in various Italian and provincial cities.³⁴ There is,

³⁰ Saddington, 168. Only few of the careers that are epigraphically documented have a clear order of offices: e.g. in the Italian *municipium* of Caere a Roman knight had been prefect of Germanicus Caesar and died later during his service as a military tribune: CIL 11, 969 = No. 17.

³¹ Exceptions are lower military ranks: a *[primuspilus]* (more likely than *[trib.] leg.*) acting as a substitute for Drusus Caesar in Italy: CIL 11, 7066 = ILS 6598 = No. 28; a *centurio* and *primuspilus* acting as substitute for Nero Caesar in Syria: CIL 3, 14387g = IGLS 6, 2786 = No. 90; a *primuspilus* of several legions acting as substitute first for C. (or L.) Caesar and then for Ti. Caesar in Italy: CIL 9, 4122 = ILS 2644 = No. 7 and 13; a *centurio*, *primuspilus*, *trib. coh.* acting as Claudius' substitute in Italy: CIL 11, 6224 = No. 46; a *primuspilus* and *tribunus coh.* acting as substitute for an unknown emperor (second century?) in Syria: AE 1958, 162 = No. 100.

³² Roman knights: CIL 9, 3044 = ILS 2689 = No. 19 in Italy – Germanicus Caesar; CIL 3, 170 = No. 90 in Syria – Vespasian; CIL 3, 1497 = ILS 7133 = IDR 3.2, 107 = No. 57 in Dacia – Trajan?; see also the military tribuns, auxiliary prefects and *praefecti fabrum* mentioned in notes 27 and 28. Procurators: perhaps CIL 9, 3000 = AE 1999, 564 = No. 37 in Italy (Nero Caesar?); CIL 11, 5669 = ILS 2728 = No. 54 in Italy (Trajan).

³³ For substitutes replacing senators who had been elected to the eponymous office of *duumvir* in the colony of Antioch, cf. S. Demougín, 'A propos d'un préfet de Commagène', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 43 (1981) 97–109, esp. 107 with a similar conclusion.

³⁴ I. Didu, 'I *praefecti* come sostituti di imperatori, cesari e altri notabili eletti alle più alte magistrature municipali', *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e di Filosofia dell'Università di Cagliari* n.s. 6 (43), 1983/4, 52–92; G. Mennella, 'Sui prefetti degli Imperatori e dei Cesari

however, no study that takes into account the combined epigraphic and numismatic evidence from both parts of the empire. Didu's main conclusion was that appointments of imperial magistrates and their prefects in the West were usually connected with changes in city status. Mennella called attention to the fact that most of those who were appointed as *praefecti* of emperors or members of their families had no personal relation with the *princeps*. From the decrease in the number of the *praefecti* in the second century and from the creation of the new office of *curator rei publicae* Mennella inferred that the cities were unable to solve their emerging administrative problems using prefects recruited from inside their own citizen-bodies. In my view, this conclusion is unconvincing, if only because the duties of prefects and curators differed from each other in many respects.³⁵ For one thing, prefects are

nelle città dell'Italia e delle province', *Epigraphica* 50, 1988, 65-85; idem, 'I prefetti municipali degli imperatori e dei cesari nella Spagna romana', in *Epigrafia jurídica romana*, Actas del coloquio internacional A.I.E.G.L. Pamplona, 9-11 de abril de 1987 (Pamplona 1989), 377-389. Mennella 1988, op. cit., gives a list of prefects acting as substitutes for imperial office-holders. Some of those included in his list should be rejected: e.g. H. Bloch, *Notizie degli Scavi* 7, 1953, 291 Nr. 54 cf. AE 1982, 132 (Ostia); the conjectures to AE 1980, 441 (Rusellae) are quite insecure. At same time other prefects, such as the one mentioned in CIL 5, 4374 = AE 1992, 744 = No. 39 (Brixia) and AE 1989, 642 = 1990, 872 = No. 86 (Col. Buthroton, Epirus), are to be added. Since Didu's and Mennella's extensive studies only individual inscriptions concerning imperial office-holders or their substituting prefects have been discussed e.g. by G. Pollo, 'Die Germanicus-Inschrift aus Buthrotum', *Tyche* 5, 1990, 105-108; G. Mennella, I Lucilii Gamalae di Ostia in età antonina, *Quaderni Catanesi di cultura classica e medievale* 3 (1991), 159-174; M. Gaggiotti, 'Nota sulla classe dirigente sepinata di età augustea', *Athenaeum* (1991), 495-508; G.L. Gregori, 'Tra epigrafia e papirologia: A proposito dei Papirii Pastores di Brescia', *Aquileia Nostra* 63 (1992), 93-104; G. Ciampoltrini, 'Ancora per L. Titinius Glaucus Lucretianus', *Athenaeum* 80 (1992), 233-236; W. Eck, 'Zu Inschriften von Prokuratoren', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 124 (1999), 228-241, esp. 233ff.; D. Mulliez, 'Notes d'épigraphie delphique VIII. L'empereur Claude témoin et archonte à Delphes', *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique* 125 (2001), 289-303. An as yet unpublished book by M.C. Spadoni Cerroni (Perugia) on *Prefetti principis e municipales nell'amministrazione romana dell'Italia* (non vidi) may be expected to address some of the topics discussed in this paper.

³⁵ E. Grueber, 'Les correctores dans la partie hellenophone de l'empire romain du regne de Trajan à l'avènement de Diocletien: étude prosopographique', *Anatolia Antiqua* 5 (1997), 221-248, esp. 244 ff. investigates the assumption that the *eparchoi* and *eparcheia* recorded in several cities of Achaia and Asia were the equivalents of the western *praefecti iure dicundo* and *praefectura* and that these officials were elected by the Roman senate to control the cities of the East. This was first suggested by J.H. Oliver, 'The main problem of the Augustus inscription of Cyme', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 4 (1963) 115-122; id., 'Augustan, Flavian, and Hadrianic *praefecti iure dicundo* in Asia and Greece', *American Journal of Philology* 84 (1963), 162-165, and id., 'Imperial Commissioners in Achaia',

known to have carried out regular municipal tasks, while curators had to fulfil extraordinary duties. Furthermore, we have no indication that those prefects who acted as substitutes for imperial office-holders were expected to control and supervise the city in a more rigorous manner than ordinary officials. Similarly, Mennella is no doubt wrong to interpret the lack of evidence for prefects in the Greek *poleis* of the East as indicating that there were no substitute officials in these cities.

c. Substitute office-holders in Greek *poleis* under the Empire

In Hellenistic times it has not been unusual for gods, goddesses, heroes, and Hellenistic rulers to hold eponymous offices and to assume financial responsibility for various civic duties in Greek cities. After the Roman conquest of the East such offices and duties could also be entrusted to illustrious Romans, such as Mark Antony. Similar appointments continued to be made during the early empire. Interestingly, an early imperial inscription reveals that even the deified Roman senate³⁶ might be appointed to civic office in a Greek *polis*. Nevertheless most of the epigraphic evidence concerning office-holding by non-citizens in the East relates to honorary offices held by emperors and by living or dead members of imperial families, including deified empresses.³⁷

Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies 14 (1973), 389–405. Although Oliver's interpretation was more sophisticated than that of Mennella, he saw the civic prefects as forerunners of the *correctores*: cf. Grueber's critical remarks concerning the disputable interpretation of the evidence upon which this theory is based..

³⁶ 'Επὶ ἱερομναμονούσης Ἰερᾶς Συνκλήτου in Pylai (Yalova), a town in the territory of Byzantium: Th. Corsten, 'Neue Denkmäler aus Bithynien', *Epigraphica Anatolica*. 14 (1991), 79–100, esp. 79–87 (= SEG 41, 1102). Corsten, 82, dates the text to the 1st or 2nd century AD. Note that it was the 'deified senate' rather than the Roman senate that fulfilled office of the eponymous *hieromnamon*. This must mean that the expenditure entailed by this office was met from temple funds or at least that the local sanctuary of the deified senate contributed some of the money needed for this purpose. Against this Corsten ventures the unconvincing suggestion (pp. 82–84) that the real senate in Rome was elected and paid for the office. Corsten also argues that even if the local sanctuary of the deified senate was chosen to fulfil the office of *hieromnamon*, the senate in Rome must have been asked for its approval. In my view there are no good reasons for assuming that the senate's permission was needed in this case, even though the town *may* have chosen to inform it of its own will. The same inscription seems to refer to a substitute official holding an unknown magistracy in the town of Pylai (ll. 12 f.): ἐπιμελησαμένου τᾶς ἀρχᾶς.

³⁷ Deified empresses as eponymous officials are so far known only from Byzantium: *Thea Faustina*; see Schönert-Geiss 1972, op. cit. (n. 6), 2057 = No. 113; cf. Agrippina the Elder as gymnasiarch for life: IG 12, 2. 258 = IGR 4, 100 = No. 88a. For a living empress holding

In Sparta a certain P. Memmius Pratolaus was honoured with a statue and an inscription according to which he had acted as a substitute (ἐπιμελητής) for the eponymous *patronomos*, the god Lykourgos, no fewer than four times (IG 5.1, 541). Another inscription from Sparta is a dedication to Artemis in which the dating formula referring to the eponymous *patronomos* is followed by the words ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Ἀρμονεϊκού (IG 5.1, 275). This probably means that Harmoneikos held office on behalf of the *patronomos* referred to in the first part of the formula.³⁸ By contrast, no substitutes holding eponymous magistracies for emperors or members of the imperial family are recorded either in Sparta or in any other Greek city. Apparently, Greek cities, with their different tradition of civic life, did not set up inscriptions or mint coins mentioning *epimeletai*, *eparchoi* or prefects acting as substitutes for eponymous magistrates.³⁹

In the case of non-eponymous magistracies the picture is completely different. Here there is good evidence for substitutes holding offices and performing liturgies to which members of the imperial family had been appointed. Agrippina the Elder was gymnasiarch for life in Mytilene on Lesbos.⁴⁰ The duties connected with this office seem to have been carried out by a hypogymnasiarch. Titus is known to have been agonothete and gymnasiarch in the colony of Naples with its Greek origins and institutions.⁴¹ As these offices are mentioned in a building inscription of Titus himself, it is only natural that we have no evidence for substitute officials in this case. Several decades later Hadrian is known to have held the gymnasiarchy in

honorary office see IK 32 Nr. 114 = No. 116: Bruttia Crispina, Commodus' wife, as eponymous *hieromnamon*. In the first case the banquets and sacrifices were financed not by a member of the imperial family but by the local sanctuary (or by the priest?) of the imperial cult.

³⁸ Thus the interpretation of R. Sherck, 'The eponymous officials of Greek cities (II)', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 84 (1990) 231-295, esp. 243.

³⁹ For a possible though unlike (as without parallels) counter-example see ILS 8867 as restored by H. Devijver, *De Aegypto et exercitu Romano sive prosopographia militiarum equestrium quae ab Augusto ad Gallienum seu statione seu origine ad Aegyptum pertinebat* (Studia Hellenistica 22) (Leuven 1975), 85 n. 97. Devijver suggests that we should read [Ἐπαρχον Τρ]αιανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ and assumes that the man honoured in this inscription, a certain Patrocles, acted as the emperor's substitute in holding the archonship in Nicaea, Bithynia.

⁴⁰ Ἀγριππίναν τὰν γυμνασίαρχον ἐς τὸν αἰῶνα: IG 12.2, 258 = IGR 4, 100 = No. 88a, cf. IG 12.2, 211 = IGR 4, 81. Cf. L. Robert, 'Recherches épigraphiques: V Inscriptions de Lesbos', *Revue des Études Anciennes* 62 (1960), 285-315, esp. 208.

⁴¹ CIL 10, 1581 = IG 14, 729 = No. 51.

Athens. Much later a certain L. Memmius was honoured by the Athenians for the many offices and liturgies he had taken upon him. He is praised *inter alia* for having shouldered the *epimeleia*, that is the *de facto* responsibility, in regard to Hadrian's *gymnasiarchia*.⁴² In addition to these examples there is third-century evidence for emperors holding the *agonothesia* and for substitutes carrying out the duties entailed by this office. Those members of the imperial family who allowed themselves to be appointed to such duties are likely to have shouldered at least part of the expenditure of the competitions, festivities and religious ceremonies accompanying these events. An inscription of Laodikeia on the Lykos informs us that the *kyrioi* (i.e. Caracalla and Geta) had been *agonothetai* in the city.⁴³ Together with these two members of the Severan family two *hypagonothetai* are mentioned who seem to have acted as substitutes for the imperial *agonothetai*.⁴⁴

3. Different kinds of evidence – differences in substitutions?

The last part of this paper focuses on differences in the kind of evidence that has been preserved in the Latin and Greek parts of the empire. A chronological list of the epigraphic and numismatic evidence is to be found in the appendix. It should, however, be noted, that many inscriptions and coins cannot be dated to a precise year or even to a decade. Besides, it is not always possible to distinguish between homonymous members of the Augustan family (e.g. Drusus *maior* and Drusus *minor*).

As has already been noted, the distinction between eponymous and non-eponymous magistracies is an important variable. For this reason all non-eponymous officials have been marked by adding an "A" in the enumerative first column. The second column gives the names of the imperial office-holders. The third column specifies the offices held. As a general rule

⁴² Syll.³ 872 = No. 101a. The interpretation of coins that have been interpreted as evidence that Valerian held the *gymnasiarchia* in Anazarbos is not altogether convincing: O. Bernhard, 'Leibesübungen und Körperpflege im Gymnasion auf griechischen und römischen Münzen', *Mitteilungen der Bayrischen Numismatischen Gesellschaft* 47 (1929), 79-100, esp. 98 f. no. 20 with plate VII, though W. Weiser, 'Philippus Iunior als "Ehrenbürgermeister" von Sagalassos und Prostana', *Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau* 64 (1985), 91-103, esp. 94, both endorses this interpretation and applies it to similar coins of Gallienus in Magydos and Syedra, and of Salonina and Cornelius Valerianus Caesar in Colybrassos.

⁴³ IGR 4, 850 = SEG 48, 1515 = IK Laodikeia am Lykos 60 = No. 119a.

⁴⁴ However, in the first half of the first century a substitute of the *agonothetes* Rhoimetalkes was called *antagonothetes* rather than *hypagonothetes*: IG 10.2, 133, cf. L. Robert, *Les inscriptions de Thessalonique*, *Revue de Philologie* 48 (1974) 180-246, esp. 210-215.

this was the duumvirate in the colonies of the East and the West and the quattuorvirate or duumvirate in the *municipia* of the West.⁴⁵ In the eastern cities the eponymous office had various names among which *stephanephoros* was the one most commonly used. In the fourth column the name of the city and its status (if known) are given. In the fifth column “X”-s have been used to mark those cases in which there is evidence for substitute office-holders, such as *praefecti*. The last column contains a short description of the kind of evidence that refers to the imperial office-holders and their substitutes.

a. The numismatic evidence

The minting output of cities in the Roman empire consisted of bronze coins of different denominations. The coins mentioning imperial office-holders and sometimes also their substitutes show various motifs on obverse and reverse. They do not always depict the imperial office-holder.

The numismatic evidence in the West is confined to the first decades of the Roman empire, as the civic coinages disappeared in the mid-first century AD. The western issues of Augustan and Tiberian times that are listed in the appendix all mention the emperor or a member of the imperial family as a municipal or colonial *duumvir*.⁴⁶ The names of the *praefecti* who were appointed as substitutes for these honorary office-holders are given on some of the Spanish and African coins.⁴⁷ The names of prefects are also found on coins issued by the eastern colonies and bearing Latin legends.⁴⁸

Greek coins of the second and third centuries AD rarely mention imperial magistrates. The few exceptions include coins referring to Trajan as

⁴⁵ For a short discussion of the names and numbers of the leading officials of the cities and their statuses cf. J. Gascou, ‘Duumvirat, Quattuorvirat et statut dans les cités de Gaule Narbonnaise’, in *Epigraphia. Actes du Colloque international d’épigraphie latine en mémoire de Attilio Degrossi*, Rome, 27-28 mai 1988 (Rom 1991) 547-563.

⁴⁶ *RPC* I, 162-165 = No. 1 Augustus and Agrippa, Carthago Nova, Tarrac.; *RPC* I, 610-611 = No. 8 Tiberius Caesar, Paestum; *RPC* I, 166 = No. 10 Tiberius Nero, Carthago Nova, Tarrac.; *RPC* I, 325-329 = No. 15 Germanicus, Caesaraugusta, Tarrac.; *RPC* I, 123 = No. 21 Drusus and Germanicus, Carteia, Baetica; *RPC* I, 733-734 = No. 25 Drusus Caesar under Tiberius, Utica, Afr. Procos.; *RPC* I, 731-732 = No. 33 Nero Caesar under Tiberius, Utica, Afr. Procos.; *RPC* I, 179-181 = No. 41 Nero and Drusus Caesares, Carthago Nova, Tarrac.; *RPC* I, 342-343 = No. 42 Nero and Drusus Caesares, Caesaraugusta, Tarrac.; *RPC* I, 362-364 = No. 43 C. Caesar under Tiberius, Caesaraugusta, Tarrac.; *RPC* I, 182-184 = No. 44 C. Caesar under Tiberius, Carthago Nova, Tarrac.

⁴⁷ Nos. 1; 10; 15; 25; 33; 43 (references in note 46).

⁴⁸ *RPC* I, 981-982 = No. 77 Tiberius Caesar with prefect, Col. Cnossos.

eponymous *hieromnamon* of Byzantium and others from which it appears that Severus Alexander and probably also Caracalla held the office of *demiourgos* in Tarsus.⁴⁹

In addition to the explicit testimony provided by coin legends certain iconographic themes on the civic coinages of eastern cities may also point to honorary office-holding by members of the imperial family. Thus it has been suggested that emperors must have held eponymous magistracies in those cities that depict them with a diadem or a laurel-wreath on the obverse of their bronze coins.⁵⁰ Unfortunately, very few studies of these coins have been carried out. They concentrate on a tiny number of Roman provinces (mainly Cilicia and Pisidia) and cover only the late second and early third centuries AD. Hence we cannot rule out the possibility that additional examples of civic coins bearing similar portraits of members of the imperial family will be discovered. In view of the amount of work that remains to be done further studies are perhaps needed before this kind of iconographical interpretation can be accepted. Nevertheless the numismatic evidence from those regions that have already been investigated has been included in the appendix.

b. The epigraphic evidence

In Italy and in the western provinces most inscriptions mentioning *praefecti* acting as substitutes for imperial office-holders are honorary texts set up either during the prefect's lifetime or after his death. In the West some seventeen of these prefects are known through posthumous inscriptions, generally of a honorific kind.⁵¹ In addition to this we have sixteen honorific

⁴⁹ Byzantium: Schönert-Geiss 1972, op. cit. (n. 6), 1334-1342 = No. 96 Trajan three times; 1464-1468. 1525-1529. 1597 f. 1696-1614. 2072-2074 = No. 117 Caracalla; Tarsus: Commodus *SNG* v. Aulock 5996-5997 = No. 115; Caracalla *SNG* v. Aulock 6010. 6017-6019 = No. 118; Severus Alexander *BMC* Lycaonia, Isauria, Cilicia p. 203 N. 214 = No. 121. Cf. the interpretation of the laurel wreath or diadem as evidence for eponymous magistracies (Weiser 1985, op. cit. (n. 42)): Elagabal in Anazarbos *SNG* v. Aulock 5487f. = No. 119; Elagabalus in Tarsus as eponymous demiurg and as ciliciarch *SNG* v. Aulock 6023-6025 = No. 120; Maximus Caesar in Kolophon: J.G. Milne, *Colophon and its Coinage* (New York 1941), 90 N. 214 = No. 122; Philippus Iunior in Kibyra, Prostanna and Sagalassos according to Weiser, op. cit. = Nos. 123-125.

⁵⁰ R. Ziegler, 'Münzen Kilikiens als Zeugnis kaiserlicher Getreidespenden', *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* 27 (1977), 29-67; cf. Weiser 1985, op. cit. (n. 42).

⁵¹ Posthumous: CIL 11, 3610 = No. 4 Caere; CIL 2, 5120 = No. 6 Carmo, Baetica; CIL 10, 6101 = ILS 6285 = No. 12 Formiae; CIL 5, 7567 = ILS 6747 = No. 30 Hasta; CIL 10, 6101 = ILS 6285 = No. 35 and 40 Formiae; CIL 14, 2995 = No. 36 Praeneste; AE 1975, 353 = No. 49 Firmum Picenum; AE 1916, 34 = 1956, 126 = No. 65 Cuicul, Numidia. Funerary

inscriptions that were set up during the prefect's lifetime, in most cases together with a statue.⁵² These data are supplemented by the *Fasti* of the colonies of Ostia, Praeneste and Interamna Lirenas. Although these texts belong to a different genre, they too give the names both of the imperial office-holder and of his *praefectus*.⁵³ Another interesting example of a dating formula containing the name of an imperial office-holder and that of his prefect is found on an altar set up in the precinct of the sanctuary of Diana in the Nemus Dianae. This text refers not only to Trajan as holder of the dictatorship of Aricia but also to other urban officials including a prefect who acted as the emperor's substitute.⁵⁴

Other inscriptions mention the names of imperial office-holders but not those of their substitutes. One example of such a text is a decree passed by the town council of Aricia on the proposal of Drusus. Another is a bilingual building inscription from which it appears that Titus held various honorific offices in Neapolis, including the eponymous *demarchia*, the *agonothesia* and the *gymnasiarchia*, although this information is supplied only by the Greek version of the text. In yet another inscription a *marmorarius* honours the emperor Commodus as *Ilvir quinquennalis* of the colony of Puteoli. Finally, emperors sometimes appear as local office-holders in dating formulas. One such a formula refers to Hadrian as holder of the duumvirate in

inscriptions: CIL 9, 4122 = ILS 2644 = No. 7 and 13 Aequiculi; CIL 11, 7066 = ILS 6598 = No. 28 Volaterrae; CIL 14, 3017 = No. 29 Praeneste; CIL 5, 4374 = AE 1992, 744 = No. 39 Brixia; perhaps also AE 1955, 291 = No. 26 Verona. Perhaps also CIL XII 4230 = ILGN 558 cf. AE 1999, 1033 = No. 3 Baeterrae, Narb.; CIL 9, 3044 = ILS 2689 = No. 19 Interpromium; CIL 14, 376 = No. 69 Ostia; CIL 3, 605 = ILS 2678 = No. 90 col. Dium, Macedonia;

⁵² During lifetime: CIL 2, 1534 = No. 5 Baetica; CIL 10, 5392 (cf. 5394) = ILS 6286 = No. 9. 23. 34 Aquinum; CIL 11, 969 = No. 17 Regium Lepidi; CIL 11, 6224 = No. 46 Fanum Fortunae; CIL 5, 7458 = No. 53 Vardagatae; AE 1987, 354 and CIL 11, 5669 = ILS 2728 = No. 54 Attidium; CIL 11, 421 = ILS 6662 = No. 56 Ariminum; CIL 3, 1503 = ILS 7134 = IDR 3.2, 112 = No. 57 Dacia; CIL 3, 1497 = ILS 7133 = No. 66 Dacia; CIL 10, 7211 = No. 67 Sicily; AE 1926, 82 = 1982, 885 = No. 84 col. Antiochia, Pisidia; CIL 3, 14387g = IGLS 2786 = No. 91 col. Baalbek, Syria; CIL 3, 170 = No. 92 col. Berytus, Syria; perhaps also AE 1984, 293 = 1985, 328 = No. 11 Superaequum; CIL 11, 5224 = No. 18 Fulginiae; CIL 9, 3000 = AE 1999, 564 = No. 37 Anxanum.

⁵³ CIL 14, 2964 = No. 22 Germanicus Caesar and Drusus Caesar, Praeneste; CIL XIV 2965 = No. 32 Nero (?) Caesar, Praeneste; CIL 10, 5405b = ILS 6125 = I. Ital 30, p. 267 year 73 = No. 50 Titus and Domitian Caesars, Interamna Lirenas; I. Ital 13.1, p. 204 = No. 64 Hadrian *duumvir* in Ostia for the second time.

⁵⁴ CIL 14, 2213 = ILS 3243 = No. 55.

the colony of Formiae, which was promoted to this status by this very same emperor.⁵⁵

The decree passed by the *municipium* of Aricia on the proposal of Drusus is the only piece of evidence to refer to an imperial office-holder getting personally involved in the administration of the city in which he had assumed a honorary magistracy. Drusus' engagement is quite similar to that of Pompeius in Capua during the 50s BC (cf. above). Nonetheless, even these two men are unlikely to have fulfilled all the duties connected with their magistracies in person. In fact we even cannot be sure that they attended the meetings of the city council in which their proposals were discussed and put to the vote. On the other hand, these allusions to active participation in city politics demonstrate that at least in Italian cities that could easily be visited from Rome office-holding by powerful senators or members of the imperial family was not always purely honorific, at least during the final decades of the Republic and in the early first century AD. It may be suggested that this conclusion applies also to some non-Italian cities in which members of the imperial family spent some time during their journeys.

The evidence from the cities of the eastern provinces is totally different from that originating from the West and the few Roman organised cities in the East. In the East our most important sources of information concerning imperial office-holders are dating formulas in inscriptions referring to such office-holders and lists of eponymous magistrates rather than inscriptions honouring their substitutes. As a result of this substitute office-holders are rarely mentioned.

Thanks to lists of eponymous magistrates from Herakleia on the Latmos, Priene and Miletus we know of nine cases in which an emperor or a member of the imperial family held a local magistracy.⁵⁶ Dating formulas referring to an imperial office-holder are found in five decrees honouring citizens of various *poleis* in Greece and Asia Minor,⁵⁷ in several catalogues

⁵⁵ Drusus: *Eph.Ep.* 7, 1236 = No. 24; Titus: CIL 10, 1481 = IG 14, 729 = No. 51; Commodus: CIL 10, 1648 = No. 70. Hadrian: CIL 10, 6090 = ILS 6295 = No. 63, the text of lines 12-14 are cited in the heading of this paper.

⁵⁶ Herakleia: *OGIS* 459 = No. 71, 74 Augustus (four times) and C. Caesar (twice); I. Priene 208 = No. 78, 83, 85, 88 Tiberius Caesar (twice), Germanicus, Tiberius, Caligula; Miletus No. 72, 75, 79 Augustus (twice), C. Caesar, and Tiberius Caesar.

⁵⁷ IG 12, Suppl. 142 = No. 73 and 76 Tiberius Claudius Nero and C. Caesar in Eresos (Lesbos); IGR 4, 145 = Syll.³ 798 = No. 87 C. Caesar in Cyzicus; IG 5.1, 1314 = No. 107

of *epheboi* and lists of *prytaneis* from Attica,⁵⁸ and in various other inscriptions, such as the *prophetes* and *hydrophoros* inscriptions from Didyma.⁵⁹ The only exception to this pattern is a decree passed by the citizens of Augusta Traiana in Thrace from which it appears that the city set up a statue for the reigning emperor Gallienus in order to thank and honour him as holder of the local archonship.⁶⁰

The inscriptions from the Roman colonies in the East, however, provide a different kind of epigraphic evidence. This evidence is similar to that found in western cities and takes the form of inscriptions honouring prefects acting as substitutes for imperial office-holders – either during their lifetime or after their death.⁶¹

4. Conclusion

One of the aims of this papers has been to argue that the phenomenon of honorary office-holding originated in the Hellenistic *poleis* of the East and spilled over from there to the Roman-style cities of the West. Although the idea of appointing substitutes for regular office-holders was known in republican Italy, honorary office-holding entailing financial obligations only was not. The Roman rules governing temporary substitutions for regular office-holders were adapted to accommodate this new phenomenon. Both during the Republic and under the Empire the designation *praefectus* was used to denote both such men as were appointed to replace regular magistrates and those appointed to carry out the duties of honorary office-holders, despite the

Hadrian in Sparta; Syll.³ 830 and 836 (twice) = No. 104 Hadrian in Delphi; Syll.³ 848 = No. 111 Antoninus Pius in Delphi.

⁵⁸ Ephebes: IG 2², 1996 = No. 94 Domitian; IG 2², 2024 = No. 101 Hadrian; Prytaneis: A.F. Raubitschek, in *Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear*. Hesperia Suppl. VIII (Princeton N.J. 1949) 280–283 = No. 114 Commodus.

⁵⁹ SEG 24, 1026 and 45, 909 = No. 80 Tiberius Caesar in an honorific inscription set up by a religious association in Callatis, Moesia; F.W. Hanslück, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 24 (1904), 28 N. 28 = No. 82 Drusus as Hipparch in Cyzicus; D. Mulliez, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 125 (2001), 295 = No. 89 Claudius archon in Delphi; I. Didyma 293, 318 = Nos. 97, 98a Trajan as eponymous *stephanephoros* and as non-eponymous *prophetes*; IG 5.1, 32 a+b = No. 107 Hadrian in Sparta; IG 12.9, 1260 = IG Bulg 1², 29 (cf. SEG 28, 561) = No. 102 Hadrian in Byzantium (or Dionysopolis); IG Bulg 1², 49 = No. 106 Hadrian in Odessus, Thrace; SEG 33, 1056 = No. 103 Hadrian in Cyzicus; IGR 4, 117 = No. 110 Antoninus Pius in Proconnesus.

⁶⁰ IG Bulg. 3, 1567 = No. 56.

⁶¹ For references see notes 51 and 52.

fact that the Flavian city laws reveal the duties and powers of these two types of substitute to have been quite different.

In the Roman-style cities of the West and in the Roman colonies of the eastern provinces prefects replacing imperial magistrates possessed all the powers that an ordinary magistrate would have had. This kind of *praefectura* was clearly regarded as a highly prestigious position. For this reason it was often held by Roman knights with military careers. Significantly, such appointments were proudly advertised in epigraphic accounts of the careers of these substitutes. In cities with Hellenistic traditions the practice of appointing substitute office-holders replacing imperial magistrates is also securely documented. In these cities, however, such appointments were perceived as being of secondary importance and looked upon as something not worth mentioning.

Their understanding of liturgies, offices and benefactions, developed over centuries, may have led the Greek *poleis* of the eastern provinces to take a view of substitute office-holders different from that taken in the West. In other words, the self-conception and self-consciousness of the members of the eastern elites may have made it inappropriate for them to be presented as substitute office-holders in honorific inscriptions and epitaphs, even when the offices in question had been held in lieu of an emperor or a member of the imperial family.

Rostock, April 2004

APPENDIX

1. Emperors and members of the imperial family as local magistrates in the West

No.	Emperor / imp. family	office	city (West)	praefectus	evidence
1	Augustus & Agrippa	IIviri qq.	Col. Carthago Nova, Tarr.	two praefecti	coins
2	Augustus ?		Col. Ucubi, Baetica	X	mutilated inscription of the prefect
3	C. Caesar Aug. f.	IIvir	Col. Baeterrae, Narbonensis	X	private honour (posthumous ?)
4	C. Caesar		Mun. Caere, reg. VII	X	<i>municipes</i> honour posthumously the prefect
5	C. Caesar	IIvir	Mun. Ulia, Baetica	X two times	<i>municipes</i> honour the prefect
6	C. Caesar	IIIvir	Mun. Carmo, Baetica	X two times	posthum. inscription set up by prefect's wife
7	(C. ?) Caesar	(IIvir) qq.	Mun. Aequiculi	X	posthum. inscription set up by prefect's family
8	Tiberius Caesar	(IIvir)	Col. Paestum, reg. I	X	coins
9	Tiberius Caesar	(IIvir) qq.	Col. Aquinum, reg. I	X	two inscriptions honour prefect <i>decr. decurionum</i>
10	Tiberius Nero	IIvir qq.	Col. Carthago Nova, Tarr.	X	coins
11	? Tiberius Caesar	IIvir qq.	Mun. Superaequum, reg. IV	X	mutilated inscr. (dative case) for prefect
12	Tiberius Caesar	IIvir qq.	Mun. Formiae, reg. I	X	posthum. inscription set up by prefect's wife
13	Tiberius Caesar Aug.	IIvir qq.	Mun. Aequiculi, reg. IV	X	posthum. inscription set up by prefect's wife
14	(Aug. or Tib. ?)	(IIvir)	Col. Scalabitana, Lusitania	X	prefect's building (?) inscription
15	Germanicus	IIvir	Col. Caesaraugusta, Tarr.	X	coins
16	Germanicus Caesar		Col. Hispellum, reg. VI	X	(posthum.) mutilated inscription of prefect
17	Germanicus Caesar	IIvir qq.	Mun. Regium Lepidi, VIII	X	prefect honoured as patron <i>decreto decurionum</i>
18	Germanicus Caesar (Tib. Aug. f.)	(IIvir) qq.	Mun. Fulginiae, reg. VI	X	mutilated inscription (dative case) for prefect
19	Germanicus Caesar	IIIvir qq.	Mun. Interpromium, reg. IV	X	(posthumous ?) inscription honours prefect for building activity
20	Germanicus & Drusus	IIviri qq.	Col. Rusellae, reg. VII	X	mutilated inscription of prefect
21	Drusus & Germanicus	IIIviri	Col. Carteia, Baetica	X	coins

22 Drusus & Germanicus	Ilvir qq	Col. Praeneste, reg. I	X	Fasti
23 Drusus Caesar Ti. f.	Ilvir qq.	Col. Aquinum, reg. I	X	inscription honours prefect <i>decreto decurionum</i>
24 Drusus Caesar	[dictator]	Munic. Aricia, reg. I		decree of the city initiated by Drusus
25 Drusus Caesar	Ilvir	Mun. Utica, Afric.	X	coins
26 Drusus Caesar (Ti.f. ?)	Ilvir	Mun. Verona, reg.	X	(funerary ?) inscription of prefect
27 Drusus Caesar (Germ. f.)	Ilvir qq.	Col. Salona, Dalmatia	X	Salonitani honour the prefect
28 Drusus Caesar	(Ilvir qq.)	Mun. Volaterrae, reg. VII	X	funerary inscription of prefect
29 Drusus Caesar & (Nero ?)	[Ilvir qq.]	Col. Praeneste, reg. I	X	posthum. mutilated inscription of prefect
30 Drusus Caesar (Germ. f.)	Ilvir qq.	Mun. Hasta, reg. IX	X	(posthum.) mutilated inscription of prefect
31 Drusus Caesar	Ilvir qq.	unknown	X	in Rome; mutilated inscription of prefect
32 [Nero ?] German. f.	Ilvir qq.	Col. Praeneste, reg. I	X	Fasti
33 Nero Caesar (Germ. f.)	Ilvir	Mun. Utica, Afric.	X	coins
34 Nero Caesar Germ. f.	Ilvir qq.	Col. Aquinum, reg. I	X	inscription honours prefect d.d.
35 Nero Caesar	Ilvir qq.	Mun. Formiae, reg. I	X	posthum. inscription set up by prefect's wife
36 Nero Caesar	[Ilvir qq.]	Col. Praeneste, reg. I	X	posthum. inscription set up by family member
37 ? Nero Caesar (Germ. f.)	[Ilvir qq. ?]	Mun. Anxanum, reg. IV	X	inscript. dative case for the prefect
38 Nero Caesar (Germ. f. ?)	Ilvir	Col. Bononia, reg. VIII	X	prefect starts work (building inscr. ?)
39 Nero Caesar (Germ. f.)	Ilvir qq.	Col. Brixia, reg. X	X	prefect: funerary inscr. for him and his family (testam. fieri iussit)
40 Nero Caesar & Drusus Caes.	Ilvir qq.	Mun. Formiae, reg. I	X	posthum. inscription set up by prefect's wife
41 Nero Caesar & Drusus Caes.	Ilviri qq.	Col. Carthago Nova, Tarr.		coins
42 Nero Caesar & Drusus Caes.	Ilviri	Col. Caesaraugusta, Tarr.		coins
43 C. Caesar (Ti. nep.)	Ilvir	Col. Caesaraugusta, Tarr.	X	coins
44 C. Caesar Ti. nep.	Ilvir qq.	Col. Carthago Nova, Tarr.	X	coins
45 C. Caesar (or as Aug. ?)	Ilvir	Col. Pompeii, reg. I	X	inscriptions listing the offices in Pompeii
46 Claudius	Ilvir qq.	Col. Fanum Fortunae, reg. VI	X	inscription honours prefect (building)
47 [[Nero]]	(III)vir	Mun. Cures Sabini, reg. IV	X	building inscription with cursus
48 Nero	(III)vir qq.)	Mun. Luna, reg. VII	X	1) inscription set up by prefect

					in honour of Nero and imperial family members
49 Vespasian	(Ilvir qq.)	Col. Firmum Picenum, reg. V	X		2) prefect honours Nero posthumous inscription honouring prefect (private, l.d.d.d)
50 Titus & Domit. Caesares	IIIviri i.d.	Col. Interamna Lirenas, reg. I	X		Fasti
51 Titus Aug.	demarch	Col. Neapolis, reg. I			bilingual building inscription, offices in Greek
51a Titus Aug.	non-epon. agonothete, gymnasiarch	Col. Neapolis, reg. I			bilingual building inscription, offices in Greek
52 Domitian Aug.	probably Ilvir	in Imi and Salpensa with prefect			leges municip. Imit. et Salpensani
53 Trajan	(Ilvir ?)	civ. Vardagatae, reg. IX	X		mutilated inscription (prefect in dative case)
54 Trajan	(Ilvir)	Mun. Attidium, reg. VI	X		vicani honour prefect as patron
55 Trajan	dictator	Mun. Aricia, reg. I	X		dating on ara, private dedication
56 Trajan	Ilvir qq.	Col. Ariminum, reg. VIII	X		vicani honour prefect as patron
57 ? Trajan	Ilvir qq.	Col. Sarmizegetusa, Dacia	X		prefect honoured by ordo of colony
58 ? Trajan or Titus	Ilvir qq.	Col. Ostia, reg. I	(X)		mutil. inscr. (pref. honoured ?)
59 Hadrian	demarch	Col. Neapolis, reg. I			literary (HA)
60 Hadrian	Ilvir qq.	Col. Italica, Baetica			literary (HA)
61 Hadrian	Ilvir qq.	Mun. Hadria, reg. V			literary (HA)
62 Hadrian	Ilvir, aedilis etc.	per Latina oppida			literary (HA)
63 Hadrian	Ilvir	Col. Formiae, reg. I	X		postum. inscr. set up by 'amicus'
64 Hadrian	Ilvir (second time)	Col. Ostia, reg. I	X		Fasti
65 Antoninus Pius	Ilvir	Col. Cuicul, Numidia	X		(postum.) statue for prefect of ordo paid by brother
66 Antoninus Pius or Caracalla	Ilvir qq.	Col. Sarmizegetusa, Dacia	X		ordo of the colony honours prefect
67 Antoninus Pius or Caracalla	Ilvir	Mazara / Mun. Lilybaeum, Sic.	X		populus Lilyb. honours prefect
68 Marcus Aurel. & L. Verus	Ilviri qq. (together or each sep.)	Col. Sarmizegetusa, Dacia	X		prefect dedicates ara
69 L. (Aelius ?) Caesar	(Ilvir)	Col. Ostia, reg. I	X		1. decree of public funeral for prefect 2. dating by lictores & servi publici
70 Commodus	Ilvir qq.	Col. Puteoli, reg. I			marmorarius honours imperial Ilvir

(Caracalla: see Ant. Pius in Sarmizegetusa and Lilybaeum: *praefecti Imp. Antonini*)

2. Emperors and members of the imperial family as local magistrates in the East

No.	Emperor / imp. family	office	city (East)	praefectus	evidence
71	Augustus	epon. stephan. (4 x)	Herakleia (Latmos)		list of eponymous magistrates
72	Augustus	epon. stephan. (2 x)	Miletus		list of eponymous magistrates
73	C. Caesar	epon. prytanis	Eresos (Lesbos)		dating of an honorary decree
74	C. Caesar	epon. stephan. (2 x)	Herakleia (Latmos)		list of eponymous magistrates
75	C. Caesar	epon. stephanephoros	Miletus		list of eponymous magistrates
76	Tiberius (Claud. Nero)	epon. prytanis	Eresus (Lesbos)		dating of a honorary decree
77	Tiberius Caesar	Ilvir (2 x)	Col. Cnossus, Crete	X	coins (Latin)
78	Tiberius Caesar	epon. stephan. (3 x)	Priene		list of eponymous magistrates
79	Tiberius Caesar	epon. stephan.	Miletus		list of eponymous magistrates
80	Tiberius Caesar (Aug. ?)		Callatis, Moesia		dating of a honorary decree
81	Drusus	Ilvir	Col. Antiochia, Pisidia	X	mutilated Latin inscription, prefect in nom. case
82	Drusus	epon. hipparch	Cyzicus, Mysia		dating of mutilated inscription
83	Tiberius Caesar (Aug.)	epon. stephanephoros	Priene		list of eponymous magistrates
84	Tiberius Caesar Aug.	(Ilvir)	Col. Antiochia, Pisidia	X	colony honours for prefect
85	Germanicus	epon. stephanephoros	Priene		list of eponym magistrates
86	Germanicus Caesar	(Ilvir) qq.	Col. Buthroton, Epirus	X	prefect honours Germanicus
87	C. Caesar (Caligula)	epon. hipparch	Cyzicus, Mysia		dating of a honorary decree
88	Caligula	epon. stephanephoros	Priene		list of eponymous magistrates
88a	Agrippina	gymnasiarch (lifetime)	Mytilene, Lesbos		<i>epimeleia</i> inscription honours <i>epimeletes</i>

89 Claudius	archon	Delphi		dating an <i>apolyxis</i>
90 [[? Nero]] Caesar	(IIvir)	Col. Dium, Macedonia	X	mutilated Latin inscr., private honours prefect
91 [[Nero] Aug.	(IIvir ?)	Col. Baalbek, Syria	X	Latin inscription, private (soldier) honours prefect
92 Vespasian	(IIvir)	Col. Berytus, Syria	X	Latin inscr.: decurions and <i>populus</i> honour prefect
93 Titus	archon	Delphi		dating of a honorary decree
94 Domitian	archon	Athens		literary (Philostratos) catalogue of ephebes with archon date (unpublished, L. Robert, 1952)
95 Domitian	epon. hieromnamon (5x)	Byzantium		coins
96 Trajan	epon. hieromnemon (3x)	Byzantium		
97 Trajan	epon. stephanephoros	Didyma		dating of an inscription of a <i>prophetes</i>
98a Trajan	prophetes	Didyma		dating of an inscription of a <i>hydrophoros</i>
99 Trajan	IIvir	Col. Berytus, Syria	X	private (posthumous ?) honouring of prefect
100 2 nd century	(IIvir)	Col. Berytus, Syria	X	Latin inscription: sets inscription <i>ex testam.</i> of someone else
101 Hadrian (in 112)	archon	Athens		1) inscription honours Hadrian under Trajan in Latin; in Greek date of statue erected in year of him being archon 2) catalogue of ephebes with archon date
101a Hadrian (Aug.)	gymasiarch	Athens		<i>epimeleia</i> inscription honours <i>epimelet</i>
102 Hadrian	epon. hieromnemon	Byzantium, Thrace		dating of dedication to god Dionysos
103 Hadrian	epon. hipparchos	Cyzicus		dating of questioning of Ammon
104 Hadrian	archon (2x)	Delphi		dating of two honouring decrees
105 Hadrian		Clarus, Ionia		(unpublished, L. Robert 1938)

106 Hadrian	? epon. hieromenos	Odessus, Thracia	catalogue ? with dating
107 Hadrian	epon. patronomus	Sparta	1) dating of inscription. of two magistrates (found near Sparta at Thalamae) 2) dating of a honouring inscription
108 Hadrian	epon. hieromnamon (2x)	Dionysopolis, Moesia or Byzantium	dating of mutilated inscription or Byzantium
109 Hadrian	prytanis	Colophon (?)	(unpublished, L. Robert 1938)
110 Antoninus Pius	epon. hipparch (2x ?)	Proconnesus, Propontis	list of games with (eponymous) dates
111 Antoninus Pius	archon	Delphi	dating of mutilated inscription
112 L. Aelius Caesar	prytanis	Clarus, Ionia	(unpublished, L. Robert 1938)
113 Diva Faustina (as goddess)	epon. hieromnamon	Byzantium	coins
114 Commodus	archon	Athens	1) dating of three <i>prytaneis</i> catalogues 2) literary
115 Commodus	demiurg	Tarsus	coins
116 Bruttia Crispina	epon. hieromnamon	Byzantium	inscription concerning worship of Dionysos?
117 Caracalla	archon or archiereus	Byzantium	coins
118 Caracalla	demiurg	Tarsus, Cilicia	coins
118a Caracalla & Geta	agonothetes	Laodiceia on the Lykos	<i>hypagonothetes</i> inscription concerning the games
119 Elagabal	demiurg / Ciliciarch	Anazarbus, Cilicia	coins
120 Elagabal	epon. demiurg	Tarsus, Cilicia	coins
121 Severus Alexander	epon. demiurg	Tarsus, Cilicia	coins
122 Maximus Caesar	epon. strategos	Kolophon	coins
123 Philippus iunior	eponymous	Kibyra, Phrygia	coins
124 Philippus iunior	eponymous	Prostanna, Pisidia	coins
125 Philippus iunior	eponymous	Sagalassos, Pisidia	coins
126 Gallienus	archon	Athens	literary
127 Gallienus	archon	Augusta Traiana, Thracia	decree to set up a statue for Gallienus as archon

* "a" denotes those cases in which members of the imperial family held non-eponymous offices