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PHILANTHROPY IN ANATOLIA THROUGH THE AGES

The First International Suna & İnan Kıraç Symposium on Mediterranean Civilizations

MARCH 26-29, 2019 | ANTALYA

PROCEEDINGS

Editors

Oğuz Tekin

Christopher H. Roosevelt

Engin Akyürek

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Table of Contents

Foreword vii

Introductory Comments: Philanthropy in Anatolia through the Ages ix

Greco-Roman Philanthropy 1

Benjamin Gray
Debating the Benefits and Problems of Philanthropy in Later Hellenistic Anatolia 3

Pierre Fröhlich
Philanthropia in Context: Civic Virtues and Praise of Officials in the *Poleis* of Hellenistic Asia Minor 13

Tønnes Bekker-Nielsen
Civic Philanthropy in the Cities of Roman Anatolia 29

Christina Kokkinia
Large Epigraphic Dossiers and Euergetism in Roman Asia Minor 39

Mustafa Adak
Civic Notables and Their Honorific Titles in Roman Pamphylia and Pisidia 47

Mustafa H. Sayar
Local Donors and Euergetism in the Cities of Cilicia Pedias between the First Century BC and Second Century AD 73

Aşkım Özdizbay
Euergetists of Italic Origin in the City of Perge and Their Contributions to Urban Development 83

Recai Tekoğlu and Taner Korkut
Activities of *Euergesia* from the Ancient City of Tlos 97

Angelos Chaniotis
Benefactors in Aphrodisias and the Socio-Cultural Limits of Philanthropy 111

Matthias Haake
Philosophy and Philanthropy: Diogenes of Oenoanda and an Act of Mega-Euergetism 121

Early Christian and Byzantine Philanthropy 133

Christian Marek
Philanthropy and Early Christianity in Asia Minor 135

Rustam Shukurov
Barbarians, Philanthropy, and Byzantine *Missionism* 141

Esra Güzel Erdoğan
Philanthropia in the Byzantine Monasteries of Constantinople 153

Medieval Islamic and Ottoman Philanthropy 165

Suzan Yalman
Hospitals and Philanthropy in Seljuk Anatolia 167

A.C.S. Peacock
Waqf Inscriptions from Medieval Anatolia 183

Leslie Peirce
Sultans, Saints, and Philanthropy: Selim I and the Province of Aintab 195

Lucienne Thys-Şenocak
(Re)presenting Royal Ottoman Women through "Other" Sensory Modalities 203

A. Hilâl Uğurlu
Philanthropy in the Form of a Hair Strand: Sacred Relics in Nineteenth Century Ottoman Lands 215

Efi Kanner
Education as Philanthropy within the Ottoman Modernization Project: Aspects of Educational Activity in Greek Orthodox Communities During the Reform Era 225

Eyal Ginio
The Use of Sultanic Philanthropy under Constitutional Rule: New Perceptions and Directions 235

Epilogue 245

Amy Singer
Concluding Reflections: Philanthropy in Anatolia/Anatolian Philanthropy? 247

Contributors 251

Index 255

Foreword

The Symposium on Philanthropy in Anatolia through the Ages was organized jointly by three research centers of Koç University, namely the Suna & İnan Kıraç Research Center for Mediterranean Civilizations (AKMED), the Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations (ANAMED), and the Stavros Niarchos Foundation Center for Late Antique and Byzantine Studies (GABAM). The symposium was held in Antalya between March 26-29, 2019 in the framework of the 50th anniversary celebrations of the Vehbi Koç Foundation. This foundation was founded on January 17, 1969 as the first private foundation in Turkey and has historically displayed the role of civil organizations in social development.

The symposium provided the opportunity to share information and views on different topics such as the understanding of philanthropy and the functioning of charities and their roles in the societies of city-states in Hellenistic and Roman Anatolia as well as those in Byzantine, Seljuq and Ottoman societies.

This book contains the proceedings of the highly productive talks and discussions over the three days of the symposium. It is an important scientific resource for those who want to understand intellectually the history of civil society in Anatolia and to direct its future.

While we have provided services for the development of our country and of our society by saying "the onus is on us" for the last fifty years in the fields of education, culture, and health, we are delighted to continue to support scientific studies and to produce new resources within the literature of cultural heritage.

I would like to thank Oğuz Tekin, director of AKMED, who shared this idea of a symposium during meetings with our managers for the 50th anniversary of the Vehbi Koç Foundation and who served as host for the symposium; I would also like to thank Christopher Roosevelt, director of ANAMED, and Engin Akyürek, director of GABAM. These directors all played a major role in the successful implementation of the symposium as well as to the teams at these centers who worked meticulously.

With this publication, I hope that we will contribute to the efforts to create a good, just, and healthy world for everyone.

Erdal Yıldırım

Introductory Comments: Philanthropy in Anatolia through the Ages

The papers in this volume were brought together to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Vehbi Koç Foundation in a tribute to its significant philanthropic achievements in Turkey. Earlier versions of the papers were first presented at a symposium bearing the same name as the volume, organized by Koç University's Suna & İnan Kıraç Research Center for Mediterranean Civilizations (AKMED), Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations (ANAMED), and Stavros Niarchos Foundation Center for Late Antique and Byzantine Studies (GABAM), and held in Antalya in March 2019. A product of the collaborative efforts of these research centers, this volume now highlights the topic of "Philanthropy in Anatolia through the Ages" as a permanent record of thanks to the Vehbi Koç Foundation made within its 50th year and brings to wider scholarly audiences a selection of the growing body of research on philanthropy, its roots and history, especially as witnessed by the rich philanthropic heritage of Turkey.

The first use of the word *philanthropia* (*philos* + *anthropos*) with love and humanity at its root, appears in the myth of Prometheus, recorded first in the 5th century BC. Prometheus, with his *philanthropos* nature, that is, his "human-like character," stole fire in rebellion against Zeus and gave it to humanity to save people suffering the wrath of the gods. The myth makes clear that fire was not just a flame but symbolized knowledge, skill, technology, art, and science. The acquisition of fire meant humanity's first step towards civilization. The Prometheus story is an important cornerstone, then, in the historical development of the concept of philanthropy. It can be said that the word *philanthropia* lies at the root of words such as *humanitas*, and later even humanism. The papers collected in this volume indicate further that *philanthropia* as a concept was always diverse and sometimes the topic of great debate; it indicates "love of humanity" in its literal sense and yet takes on myriad meanings, from charity and generosity to just and good citizenry, often echoing its essence as the civilizing force it was in the hands of Prometheus.

Although the origins of the word *philanthropia* date back to classical times and acts associated with it might be found in texts associated with even earlier civilizations, the earliest robust evidence of *philanthropia* in Anatolia appears in the Hellenistic period, from which time forward it can be traced clearly through and past the end of the Ottoman period. To present both case studies and the historical development of *philanthropia* in Anatolia, then, this volume was designed in three chronological sections, following the design of the earlier symposium. Each chapter is therefore presented within a chronological section, highlighting thematic and geographical themes relevant to each broad period and providing an overarching framework.

Greco-Roman Philanthropy

The first and longest section of the volume is devoted to Greco-Roman philanthropy. The chapters in this section discuss the word *philanthropia* and its conceptual meanings as well as the varied perspectives on and approaches to philanthropy recorded in the inscriptions of Hellenistic and Roman Anatolian city-states. In a pair of complimentary chapters on philanthropy in Hellenistic Anatolia, Benjamin Gray and Pierre Fröhlich

highlight the competitive nature of civic benefactions among the well-to-do, the rhetoric of good citizenry, and the moral virtues that came to be associated with civic donors. Such donors were often rewarded with showy titles and statuary that served as public advertisement, with potentially anti-democratic tendencies tempered only by an appropriate balance between generous philanthropy and civic justice. Whereas civic *euergetism*, or "good deeds," returned immediate benefits to donors in such terms, the unconditional compassion or selfless generosity often assumed of *philanthropia* could be recognized in a civic leader's disbursement of justice to citizens and non-citizens, alike.

Tønnes Bekker-Nielsen, Christina Kokkinia, and Mustafa Adak provide both generalizing and particularizing overviews of philanthropy in Roman Anatolia. Taking the long view, Bekker-Nielsen suggests that Roman and earlier modes of civic philanthropy, including legally enforceable trusts and endowments, were eventually replaced by the Medieval Islamic waqf, following the seeming disappearance of similar instruments in the Late Antique period. With the intervening rise of the church, he suggests, previously individual philanthropic acts and obligations were institutionalized, in part overcoming problems deriving from hereditary endowments. Kokkinia presents five examples of exceptional "epigraphic dossiers," introducing readers to Opramoas of Rhodiapolis and Diogenes of Oenoanda, among others, whose philanthropic works, if not only their voluminous epigraphic records, are now touchstones for understanding philanthropy in second-century AD Asia Minor. Among other conclusions, the inscriptional evidence demonstrates the value of and controversies surrounding honors bestowed on civic benefactors, as well as the importance of being well-connected to Roman officials. Similarly, in his quantitative analysis of honorific titles bestowed in exchange for benefactions in Pamphylia and Pisidia, Adak shows how empire-wide and intraurban competition for imperial honors among civic notables were akin to paid popularity contests and how honorific titles received in return for benefactions were ample exchange payment.

A series of chapters focusing on the benefactions of particular local notables and officials to their home cities highlights how benefactions typically enabled the construction of roads, city walls, temples, assembly buildings, theaters, and other structures of public benefit typical to classical cities. Mustafa H. Sayar cites numerous examples of private building benefactors in the cities of Cilicia Pedias as evidence of increasingly Roman ways of life. Aşkım Özdizbay focuses on benefactors of Italic name and their particular contributions to the urban development of Perge. Recai Tekoğlu and Taner Korkut discuss benefactors at Tlos, who gave not only for theater and bath constructions, but also for disbursements to the poor of grain and money as well as for certain religious celebrations.

The section on Greco-Roman philanthropy is rounded out with contributions from Angelos Chaniotis and Matthias Haake, with quantitative analysis and synthesis of around 500 inscriptions from Aphrodisias, from the former, and an in-depth analysis of a single inscription, albeit the longest Greek inscription known, from the latter. Excluding benefactions obligatory of certain offices and thus focusing only on "voluntary" benefactions, Chaniotis demonstrates how the modern concept of anonymous philanthropy was alien to well-to-do Aphrodisian citizens, whose names were always publicly visible in recorded benefactions and whose giving might today be criticized as self-dealing, predominantly benefitting citizens, the elite, and men, as they did. Rarer benefactions for buildings, feasts, and various agonistic or showy festivals were more publicly beneficial, yet patterns of reciprocity involving benefactions for power were the norm. As if in response to this general characterization of Roman philanthropy, Haake's discussion of the famous inscription of Diogenes of Oenoanda, and its implicit criticism of self-dealing in favor of a more "need-blind" sort of philanthropy, shows how Diogenes framed philanthropy and *euergetism* in then-current Epicurean terms, as a cure to certain social diseases (namely, self-benefitting benefactions). Haake suggests that the dismantling of Diogenes' inscriptional monument already in antiquity, albeit exactly when we do not know, may reflect a general antipathy towards its message and a preference for perpetuating traditional modes of civic beneficence.

Early Christian and Byzantine Philanthropy

The second short section of the volume is devoted to Early Christian and Byzantine philanthropy, when theological concerns gradually come to the fore and Christian perceptions of the afterlife must have played a role. Mercy and charity were worthy acts in Christian society. For this reason, one can expect that auspicious works of public benefit were eventually prioritized. The number of charities established by the state and church communities across imperial landscapes was not small, including hospitals, hospices or houses for old people (*gerokomeia*), orphanages, and guesthouses (*xenon*) for foreigners and travelers from other cities. All such institutions can be seen as manifestations of Byzantine philanthropy. They had their own laws, rules, and patterns of management; they also benefited from tax exemptions, echoing Hellenistic and Roman traditions. Unfortunately, however, data on philanthropic institutions is scarce in this period, except for those relating to the capital Constantinople, and are even scarcer for the early Christian period.

Contributions to this section come from Christian Marek, Rustam Shukurov, and Esra Güzel Erdoğan. Echoing how Hellenistic and Roman philanthropic acts might be seen as "investments" whose dividends were paid in units of authority and power, Marek shows that some new types of philanthropy in Early Christian times were explicitly non-ostentatious, providing little to no publicized returns, and involved networks of benefaction defined not by family or city administration but by new church communities. Newly emphasized variants of charitable philanthropy included leniency towards slaves and prisoners, providing alms and funerals to the poor, and other assistances to women, widows, orphans, and others in need. Nonetheless, Marek questions how different this "new" Christian philanthropy was from earlier Hellenistic and Roman precedents, given the simultaneous continuity of those traditions and documented abuses, or at least misuses, of ostensibly Christian charities for profane purposes.

Shukurov and Erdoğan's contributions bring us deep into the Byzantine period, by which time certain variants of "Christian" philanthropy were well engrained, while others appeared anew. Among newer trends was the "civilization" of barbarians, now couched in philanthropic terms. Shukurov frames this as Byzantine *missionism*, in which barbarian captives, including widows and orphans, were schooled in Christian principles as well as the Greek language (see also Kanner, this volume), and sees it as a precursor to the Ottoman practice of *devşirme*. Erdoğan, in turn, shows that although Palaeologan monastery *typikon*s frequently mentioned philanthropic goals, such as food distributions to the "poor at the gate," and possibly also guesthouse and hospital provisions, monasteries seem to have pulled increasingly away from such public services at times, in part, perhaps, because of decreasing resources.

Medieval Islamic and Ottoman Philanthropy

The third and final chronologically defined section of the volume on Medieval Islamic and Ottoman philanthropy provides discussions of concepts and case-studies of a variety of philanthropic acts and instruments in Seljuk and Ottoman societies. Focusing on Seljuk examples, Suzan Yalman and Andrew C.S. Peacock discuss what become some of the most enduring features of Medieval and Ottoman philanthropy, namely hospitals and waqfs, or pious endowments. Citing Amy Singer's earlier work, Yalman shows how Seljuk philanthropy was predicated on religious principles that demanded both piety and charitable deeds. She provides examples of princesses who not only gave to the poor but also established the first hospital in Seljuk Anatolia, perhaps drawing on Byzantine models. In an in-depth study of the Medieval Anatolian waqf, Peacock argues that stone-inscribed sections of waqfiyas are abridged versions of specific sections of the full documents. He argues that such waqf inscriptions, then, display the philanthropy of the endower at the same time as they emphasize the legality of the endowment, in a time in which claims to land may have been tenuous or frequently disputed.

In a chronologically and thematically diverse group of papers, Leslie Peirce, Lucienne Thys-Şenocak, and A. Hilâl Uğurlu provide numerous examples of what could constitute charitable giving and other philanthropic behavior over the course of the Ottoman period. In her analysis of colorful stories and records concerning Selim I's benefactions in and around Aintab (modern Gaziantep), Peirce shows how sultanic philanthropy could be realized in the form of respect, support, and gratitude given to holy places and people in return for previous support of military conquest. Applying her lens to royal female Ottoman philanthropists, Thys-Şenocak disdains the blatant sexism and Orientalism of recent presentations and urges a focus on the physicality of their philanthropic endowments—mosques, madrasas, fortresses, etc.—as well as more holistically sensory, phenomenological approaches. Uğurlu, in a sense, takes just such an approach in arguing that the loosening of strictures on the royal ownership of relics—in this case hair relics—served as a sort of public beneficence. The royal court's generous compensation for donations of such relics, perhaps exhibiting a willful ignorance of the dubious authenticity of many, was another new form of philanthropy found alongside more typical philanthropic acts such as providing mosques and *masjids* around the empire with excess relics (see also Ginio, this volume), similar to better known architectural benefactions.

Completing this chronological section, Efi Kanner and Eyal Ginio turn their gaze towards the end of the Ottoman period. Kanner shows how new initiatives of the Greek Orthodox community in the nineteenth century included women and the poor in more than just primary levels of schooling funded through philanthropic giving. As such, education—and the philanthropy that supported it—was valued for its civilizing effects on commonly marginalized communities. Ginio, on the other hand, shows how royal philanthropy under the constitutional regime can be seen in part as an attempt to legitimate what remained of sultanic (and caliphal) power. With a focus on activities in Edirne in the time of Mehmed Reşad, he shows how royal philanthropy looked both backward to traditional acts (*e.g.,* support of religious, educational, and health institutions, including the Ottoman Red Crescent) and forward to recipients with more nationalistic associations (*e.g.*, naval and military groups).

Giving Thanks for Giving

For rounding out this broad-reaching volume with a synthetic epilogue, we remain grateful to Amy Singer, well-known scholar of Islamic philanthropy, who contributed to the volume despite not being able to participate in the symposium. Singer deftly parses the very unifying concepts of the volume—philanthropy and Anatolia—displaying the diversity of meanings associated with both and underlining what challenges this creates for their study. She highlights trends that seem to unify Anatolian philanthropies, including long-term continuity in philanthropic activity, public display of its sponsors and recipients, and the diversity of philanthropic traditions resulting from the intermingling of cultures in and across each of the periods studied. Looking to the future, she points several ways forward for next steps in studies of philanthropy, highlighting potential impacts for understanding the practice within Anatolia and in global contexts.

Of course this meaningful epilogue could not have been compiled without the contributions of all authors, and to them we are extremely grateful for helping to bring the volume to fruition in such a short time. We hope that the chapters included here, revised and expanded significantly since the symposium, will serve not just as a record of the current states of research on philanthropy in Anatolia, but will help inspire future research of the types Singer advocates, perhaps further emphasizing the importance of, as well as continuities and divergences in, philanthropy as practiced through the ages. We are also very thankful to those who contributed significantly to the symposium, but whose work does not appear in this volume, including opening speaker Scott Redford and the participants of the lively final panel moderated by Seçil Kınay, including Filiz Bikmen, Ali Çarkoğlu, and Erdal Yıldırım, who brought the discussion of philanthropy up to the present.

The production of this volume and the earlier symposium were supported in all ways by the philanthropy of the Vehbi Koç Foundation, and for this we express our sincere gratitude to the institution, in general, as well as to its President, Erdal Yıldırım, and Special Projects Manager, Seçil Kınay. Neither symposium nor publication would have been possible without institutional support for our Koç University research centers. For this we are deeply grateful also to University President Umran İnan, Vice President for Research and Development İrşadi Aksun, and College of Social Sciences and Humanities Dean Aylin Küntay. For managing the workflow and helping to bring this volume to publication, we remain very thankful to Remziye Boyraz Seyhan and Arif Yacı, whose significant efforts went well beyond what appreciation here can repay, Gökçen Ergüven, and Rana Alpöz and Hülya Hatipoğlu of Koç University Press. Many other invaluable contributions were made both in the preparation of the volume and in the realization of the symposium. With hopes for understanding that we will surely fail to name everyone here, we would like to highlight the invaluable help of Burcu Topkaya Şeneren from AKMED; Buket Coşkuner, Naz Uğurlu, and Alican Kutlay from ANAMED; Barış Altan from GABAM; and Hande Sarantopoulos, Zeynep Cengiz, Pelin Maktav, and Elif Yılmaz from Koç University's Communications Directorate.

Christopher H. Roosevelt, Oğuz Tekin, and Engin Akyürek

Mustafa H. Sayar

Local Donors and Euergetism in the Cities of Cilicia Pedias between the First Century BC and Second Century AD

The historical geography surveys conducted in the last thirty years in Cilicia, which lies between the Taurus Mountains and the Mediterranean Sea, known as Cilicia Pedias[1] or Cilicia Campestris in the ancient sources, known today as Çukurova,[2] have shown that this region needs to examined differently from other Anatolian regions in terms of cultural history.[3] A transitional region between the Eastern Mediterranean and Mesopotamia and other parts of Anatolia, Cilicia is a geographical area where different cultures met and mixed with local cultures (**fig. 1**).[4]

Accordingly, although the development of ancient urbanization processes in Cilicia and the characteristics of the people who contributed to the construction of public buildings have some commonalities with cities in Anatolia, they share closer similarities with those in Syria, Koile Syria, and Cyprus.[5]

After the Peace of Apameia in 188 BC, in particular, the gap of central authority that started with the withdrawal of the Seleucid Kingdom from a large part of Anatolia behind the Taurus Mountains and the process of collapse, accelerated by the murder of Antiochus III in 187 BC, gained new impetus with the intensified throne fights in the Seleucid palace.[6] This course of events continued, and even worsened, throughout the period from 67 BC, when Pompey was defeated by pirates during the sea battle off Korakesion (Alanya), until 64 BC, when the region was reorganized as a Roman province, Tarsos being its capital.[7] With the arrival of Julius Caesar to Tarsos[8], the capital of the province in 47 BC, Cilicia was heavily influenced by the chaos of the civil war in the Roman Empire in the final years of the Republican period, especially Cilicia Pedias, which was partly attached to the province of Syria for a temporary period of time. Cilicia Pedias was under the rule of Tarkondimotos, a local king who fought against Octavian on side of Marcus Antonius.[9] At the beginning of the period of the Principate, especially in early AD 19, with the arrival of Octavian Augustus in the region, significant developments occurred in the process of the urbanization of Cilicia. It is understood that the urbanization process in the region developed after the reorganization of this region in AD 72 during the reign of Emperor Vespasian.[10]

1 Strab. XIV 5. 1-16.

2 About the usage stages and urbanization processes of the cities of Çukurova, especially Adana-Mersin, Tarsos, and the surrounding areas from the fourteenth to the middle of the twentieth century, see Rother 1971, 25-277.

3 For the historical geography of Çukurova see Erzen 1940.

4 For Hittite roads passing through Cilicia and inter-regional communication, see Forlanini 2013, 1-34.

5 For a general evaluation of the development processes of the cities of Cilicia during the Roman imperial period, see Hellenkemper 1980, 1262-283; Sayar 1999, 193.

6 Desideri 1991, 146-52; Ma 1999, 248, 282; Sayar 2004, 20-2.

7 App. *Mithr.* 96; Vell. 2.32.4; Flor. 1.41.12-13; Plut. *Pomp*. 28.1-2; *cf.* Strab. XIV 5.2; Sayar 1999, 204-5; Sayar 2004, 23-6; Pilhofer 2006, 34; Trampedach 2011, 247-57; according to another suggestion Cilicia seems to have been established as a province at the end of the eighties BC. Kreiler 2007, 117-26.

8 *De Bello Alexandrino* 66, 2.

9 Sayar 2004, 27-8; Schmitt 2005, 193 ff.; see also Borgia 2017, 298-305.

10 Hellenkemper 1980, 1262-283; Sayar 1999, 201-12; Schmitt 2005, 195-218.

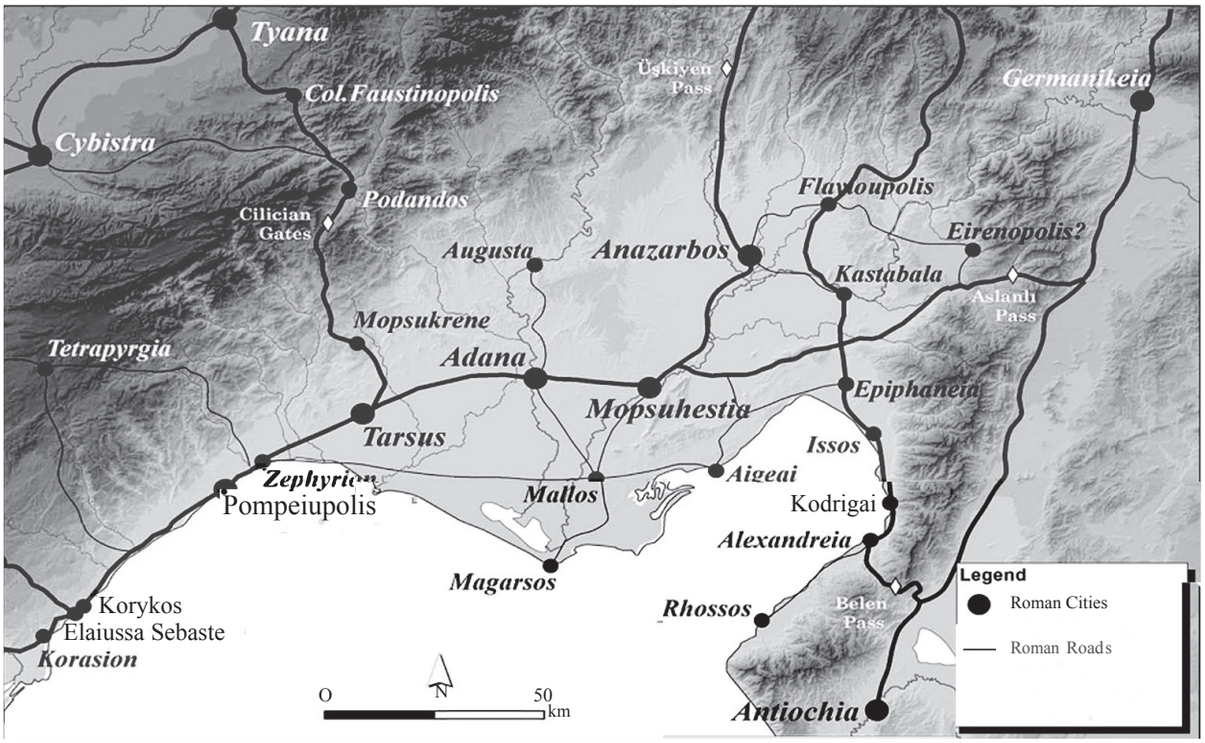


Fig. 1. Map of Cilicia

In particular, the contributions of wealthy fellow countrymen living in the cities of Saros (Seyhan) and Pyramos (Ceyhan) basins, which are two very important waterways extending from the Mediterranean coast to the inner parts of Cilicia, were reflected in Roman imperial inscriptions.[11]

The inscriptions presented below in a chronological order have not been recovered from the original places where they were built, and the structures to which they belong are now completely destroyed.

The name of the city of Soloi (Soli-Mezitli), where lived the pirates who survived the establishment of Cilicia by Pompey, was renamed Pompeiupolis in 66/65 BC and the city was given the status of free city (*civitas libera*) (**fig. 2**).[12] From the text of a foundation inscription on an inscribed block found in this city (Soloi) and not yet published, it is understood that after a Soloian named Diodotos assumed the duties of *demiourgos*, *gymnasiarchos*, and *paidonomos*, he had a stoa built for Hermes and Heracles,[13] who are also known as gymnasium gods, with his own financial means as *summa honoraria*.[14] That Hermes and Heracles are described as gymnasium gods was due to two inscriptions found in Soloi and Tyros, dating back to the first half of the second century BC.[15] Offering a reverence to the king, who dominates the region along with Hermes and Heracles, gives the

11 Although the extent to which the wealthy citizens contributed to the construction of the pre-Roman city states in Cilicia was not reflected in full detail in the inscriptions, it is undoubtedly clear that the institution of euergetism/philanthropy contributed to the construction of many buildings in the city states in the region. For the donation of buildings during the Hellenistic period, see Schaaf 1992 for the Roman imperial time, see Stephan 2002, 42-71 and 114-293.

12 Skylax 102; Strab. XIV 3.3; XIV 5.8; Plut. *Pomp*. 28.4; Pompon. 1.71; Cass. Dio 36.37.6; Eust. Dionys. *Per.* 875; Desideri 1991, 302-3; Ziegler 1993, 210, 215, 218 and 219; Sayar 1999, 197; For the history and monuments of Pompeiupolis in Late Antiquity, see Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 381-82.

13 It is known that there are *Gymnasia* in Anazarbus, Mopsuhestia, and Tarsos in Cilicia; bk. Ziegler 1985, 42, 50, 58, 115, 129; Groß-Albenhausen 2004, 314; Thanks to the inscription mentioned above and found in Soloi, it is understood that there is a gymnasium in Soloi/Pompeiupolis; Sayar 2002, 89. For the structures dedicated to the gods documented in the Anatolian inscriptions, see Robert 1970, 62 n. 3; donations made by priests in the sanctuaries see Dignas 2006, 71-84.

14 For *summa honoraria*, see Quaß 1993, 328-34; Cramme 2001, 41-7; Dmitriev 2005, 152-57, 316-17; Zuiderhoek 2009, 40-3, 50, 61.

15 Rey-Coquis 2006, no. 1; Sayar 2011, 233; Daubner 2015, 153; for the importance of Hermes and Heracles in gymnasium, see Curty 2015, 249-60.



Fig. 2. Soloi Pompeiupolis, Colonnaded Street.



Fig. 3. Anazarbus.

impression that the gymnasium buildings may be related to the institutional cult that was very common in the Hellenistic period.[16] In light of the number "25 years" given according to the local Pompeiupolis calendar, which started in 66/65 BC, we learn that this structure was built in 41/40 BC.[17] To this day, it has not been possible to locate the place of this structure throughout excavations in the city of Soli/Pompeiupolis.

The second example is an inscription in tabula ansata on a block found in the developing and growing city of Anazarbus (**fig. 3**), which was established in the middle of the plain as an important center during the arrival of Augustus in Cilicia Pedias in 19 BC (**fig. 4**).[18] This inscription proves the existence of the cult of the Goddess Roma during the reign of Emperor Domitian. This inscription, written by two priests of the Goddess Roma in AD 92/93, was probably on the wall of the temple. After they completed serving in the positions of *demiourgos* and priesthood of the Goddess Roma, the pledgers, L. Valerius Niger and his son L. Valerius Varus Pollio, donated the temple of the cult where they served as priests, as they had promised to the city council. Q. Gellius Longus, who was mentioned in the last line of the inscription, was the governor of the Province of Cilicia between the years AD 91-93 and, within the framework of his authority, he made it possible for this temple to be built. The location of this temple in Anazarbus is yet to be determined.

Another example of building donation is documented in an inscription found in the city of Mopsuhestia[19] in Cilicia Pedias (**fig. 5**). It is understood that the number "170 years" given in the first line of this inscription of Mopsuhestia, which is estimated to have been a free city (*civitas libera*)[20] since the first half of the second century BC, corresponds to AD 103 according to the local calendar, which started in 67 BC.[21] The subsequent lines of the inscription feature the name of the donor, Quintus Fabius Felix, who was responsible for overseeing the construction of public buildings in the city and donated 520 *drachmai* for the construction of a stoa. It was not possible to locate this building during the excavations carried out first by Istanbul University and then by the Adana Museum.

Another example is a building inscription found in the city of Aigeai, which was the largest ancient port in Cilicia and the Eastern Mediterranean (**fig. 6**).[22] From the first line of the inscription it is understood that a stoa was presented to the goddess Demeter and the city of Aigeai, the hometown of the woman who made the donation. The donor's name cannot be identified because the first line of the inscription is broken and lost. However, according to the will of her father, Titus Flavius Paetus, it is understood that she built a four-arched structure and paid 40,000 *denarii*. There is no doubt that her father and she are the foremost figures of the city of Aigeai. The inscription was probably on the wall of one of these colonnaded galleries. The location of this structure has not been determined yet. It is estimated that the structure was built at the end of the first century AD or in the first half of the second century AD.

Other examples include two inscriptions found in the city of Epiphaneia,[23] near the northern coast of the Gulf of Issos (**fig. 7**)[24], which are identical, word for word. From the text in both inscriptions, it is understood that Dionysios, the son of Alexandros, had built a granary for his hometown Epiphaneia.[25] Dionysios built this structure

16 Daubner 2015, 159.

17 For the start of the Soloi/Pompeiupolis era in 66/65 BC and the city's status *civitas libera*, see Ziegler 1993, 219.

18 For this inscription, see Sayar 2000, no. 21.

19 Pylai Kilikiai = Although it is located on the oldest and most widely used transportation route that passes through the Cilicia Gates (Gülek Pass) and reaches to Antiochia, it was discovered from Mopsuhestia in 95 BC during the throne fights of Seleucid Kingdom. It is mentioned directly for the first time because Seleucus VI was killed in the gymnasium of the city. App. *Syr*. 69.

20 It is estimated that Mopsuhestia received its *civitas libera* status during the reign of Seleucid King Antiochus IV, see Bernhardt 1971, 140; For Mopsuhestia, see Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 351-59.

21 For the start of the Mopsuhestia local calendar in 67 BC, see Ziegler 1993, 213.

22 For the history and coins of the city of Aigeai, see Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 160-64 Aigaiai; Haymann 2015.

23 For Epiphaneia, see Plin. *NH* V. 93; Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 249-51, Epiphaneia; Sayar 1999, 194 and 200; Sayar 2011, 239-42.

24 For the publication of one of these two inscriptions, which are still in the Hatay Museum. Dagron et al. 1987, 209-10 (SEG 37, 1987, 1300).

25 For granary in ancient cities, see Rickmann 1971; For the supply and storage of grains in Antiquity, see Foxhall and Forbes 1982, 41-90.



Fig. 4. Anazarbus, inscription for donation of a temple; Adana Museum.



Fig. 5. Mopsuhestia, mound and Roman bridge.



Fig. 6. Aigeai, harbor.



Fig. 7. Epiphaneia.

upon the promise of his father Alexandros, who was alive and made this promise (for building this structure) when he was serving a second term as *demiourgos*.[26] It is understood from the inscription that Dionysios had bought and demolished the structures where the building was planned to be built. As in the previous examples, Dionysios and his father Alexandros belonged to the social class of *honorationes* of the city of Epiphaneia, of which they were citizens. The building was probably built in the late first century AD or early second century AD.

As seen in the examples of stoas, temples, and silos mentioned above, it is understood that the tradition of wealthy citizens constructing public buildings in their cities contributed significantly to the reconstruction of the cities of Cilicia, as in many other provinces throughout the Roman period. Only two of the inscriptions mentioned above specify how much money was spent on building. The inscriptions found in Anatolia and other provinces around the Eastern Mediterranean indicate that public buildings in cities were sometimes built with the permission of Roman emperors and with the support of local donors, and sometimes with the direct support of emperors and with the opportunities enabled by the representatives of the emperor in the region.[27] It is understood that the emperors, who fulfill the needs of cities, sometimes honorarily assumed the duty of *demiourgos*, which was the biggest civil servant of the cities.

It is known that following the period of the Principate in Cilicia, and especially after AD 260, after the cities were looted by the Sassanid King Shapur I, people attempted to reconstruct the city with a new understanding of euergetism and donation throughout the rebuilding in the first quarter of the fifth century AD. It is understood that the zoning activities of this new period were aimed at sacral structures, as we decipher from the numerous inscribed architectural fragments and mosaic floors with inscriptions. It can be ascertained that this intense construction activity in Late Antiquity played a considerable role in the development of cities, as well as the fact that Christianity, which started to spread in the region, began to come to the forefront in the appearance of the cities, and that the beneficiaries who had religious buildings constructed in their own lands, especially in rural areas, benefited from tax exemption.

In summary, it was observed that city life, which was largely concentrated on the coasts before the Roman State reorganized Cilicia as a province, gradually spread to the inner regions during the Roman imperial period. The Romans were able to integrate into the urbanization process for a certain period of time strategically important major routes, not only in the east-west direction but also, by developing earlier small settlements on the southern slopes of the Taurus Mountains, in the north-south direction.[28]

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26 For the institution of Demiourgos, see Veligianni-Terzi 1977; Ziegler 1977, 40 and 127; Ziegler 1985, 93; Eck 1997, 305-31; Zuiderhoek 2005, 170-76; Beck 2015, 369-88; Gygax 2016, 235-40; Dreyer and Weber 2011, 44-6; Niebergall 2011, 73-7; Schulz 2011, 253-80.

27 Eck 1997, 305-31; Zuiderhoek 2005, 170-76; Beck 2015, 369-88; Gygax 2016, 235-40; Dreyer and Weber 2011, 44-6; Niebergall 2011, 73-7; Schulz 2011, 253-80.

28 For Roman influence in Cilicia, see Pilhofer 2015, 97-103.

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