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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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Vehbi Koç Vakfı

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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

Recai Tekoğlu and Taner Korkut

Activities of *Euergesia* from the Ancient City of Tlos

As seen in almost all Lycian settlements, written documents showing *euergesia* activities at various scales were found at Tlos (**fig. 1**). In some of these documents, the subject of *euergesia* can be fully identified, while in others the authors sufficed to say that it was merely a philanthropic action towards the city and the people. It is noteworthy that among the epigraphic finds that have survived to the present day, many inscriptions mention construction and repair activities associated with the theater of Tlos (**fig. 2**).

To date, no inscriptions have been found as to when and by whom the theater of Tlos was constructed.[1] However, the names of people who contributed to the construction of the theatre (εἰς τὴν κατασκευὴν τοῦ θεάτρου) are recorded in two inscriptions: one is found on the analemma wall at the main northern entrance of the theater, inscribed in the Greek language on one side and Lycian on the other (**fig. 3**); the other inscription is found in the ruins of the theater, completing a previous inscription. These inscriptions have been previously published as *TAM* II 550 and 551. The inscription says:

> With a belief in Augusti and showing a pride-loving attitude towards his subjects, these following people promised to build the theater and thus registered their names herein: The son of Antigenes, the grandson of Aristides, the son of the chief priest of the great gods of Kabeiros 3000; Bryon, the son of Menelaos 1000; Menelaos, the son of Philokles 1000; Andronikos, the son of Trokondas 1000; Demetrios, the son of Arsakos 1000; Gaius Iulius Iucundus 1000; Andronikos, the son of Andronikos and the grandson of Eirenaios 1000; Dryos, the son of Aristodamos 1000; Hypatos, the son of Agathokles 1000; Kallistratos, the son of Hermaios 1000; Orthagoras, the son of Artapatos 1000; Erpias, the son of Erpias and the grandson of Oras 1000; Armaïs, the son of Harmodios 1000; Hippolokhos, the son of Aristodamos 1000; Androbios, the son of Pasiphanos 1000; Leonides, the son of Aristodamos 500; Krateros, the son of Hermophantos, 500; Andreas, the son of Crateros 500; Amyntas, the son of Amyntas and the grandson of Osybos 500; Mausolos, the son of Daidalos 500; Hermakotas, the son of Dionysios 500; Artemes, the son of Arteme and the grandson of Nikandros 500; Hermokrates, the son of Hermatoboris 500; Demetrios, the son of Hermandortas 500; Promakhos, the son of Antigenes 400; Leontiskos, the son of Andron 300; Adeimantos, the son of Adeimantos 300; Artemas, the son of Artemas and the grandson of Aristonikos 300; Nikophon, the son of Artemas 300; Arkhedemos, the son of Ptolemaios 250; Ptolemaios, the son of Ptolemaios and the gradson of Harmodios 250; Poplius, the son of Eirenaios 250; Tedenenis (?), the son of Apollonios 250; Lysimakhos, the son of Eirenaios 250; Hippolokhos, the son of Eirenaios 250; Botrikhos, the son of Herakleides 200; Khrysippos, the son of Arteimas 200; Moskhos, the son of Hermakotas 200; Erpias, the son of Antiokhos 200; Hippolokhos, the son of Hippolokhos and the grandson of Dryas 200; Demetrios, the grandson of Demetrios and the son of Serapion [200/100]; Trokondas, the son of Trokondas and the grandson of Oras 100; Teimarkhos, the son of Pherekles 100; Thraseas, the son of Iason 100; Botrikhos, the son of Arkhestratos 100; Monimos, the son of Melaiskhros and Harmodios and Monimos, the sons of Monimos 300; Kallistratos, the son of Agathemeros 100; Gaius Hippolokhos, the son of Demetrios 100; Harmodios, the son Teimothes 10; Pedatentas, the son of Pedatentas and the grandson of Pedatendas 100; Harpalos, the son of Mausolos and the grandson of Harpalos 100; Lysimakhos, the son of Hippolokhos and the grandson of Sarpedon 100; Nikophon, the son of Menelaos 100; Lykiskos, the son of Oras 100 drachmai.

The list of donors is incomplete but includes 53 names in its present state. Donors contributed between 100 and 3000 *drachmai*. The total donation in the current list is 27,200 *drachmai*. This amount is not sufficient for the

1 For the Theater of Tlos, see Korkut 2016, 35-41.

Fig. 1. Tlos, general view.

construction of a theater. The total construction cost of a similar theater is calculated around a million *drachmai*.[2] The highest amount, 3000 *drachmai*, was paid by Aristides, who had been the priest of Dionysus for a lifetime.[3] The fact that Aristides contributed a higher amount compared to the others shows that the priests during the Hellenistic period were not only involved in religious activities but also in the important trade activities of the city.[4] In addition, this inscription indicates that there were significant Dionysus cult activities in the city.[5]

The *TAM* II 550 and 551 inscriptions are dated to the end of the first century BC, the period of Augustus, because of paleographic features, the appearance of the *denarius* instead of the *drachma*, and the possible reference to Augustus and his wife Livia with the use of the word Σεβαστοί.[6] However, the early stage of the construction of the theater of Tlos dates back to the first half of the third century BC, in light of the inscribed statue pedestal in front of the northern main entrance of the theater.[7]

It is understood from other inscriptions that the theater of Tlos was constructed and underwent restoration in different periods. For example, in an inscription dated to the period of Antoninus Pius, the statement πρόπαππον τὸν κατασκευάσαντα τὸ καθαιρεθὲν προσκήνιον, that is, the phrase "the person who rebuilt the *proskenion* which had fallen onto the ground" was used for the great grandfather of Titus Marcius Titianus

2 Sear 2006, 20-1; Williams 2014, 74-5 n. 20-1.

3 For the relationship between the theater of Tlos and the cult of Dionysus see, Özdemir 2018.

4 Meier 2013, 47.

5 Kolb 1976, 230 n. 9.

6 Migeotte 1992, 261.

7 Korkut 2016, 41.

Fig. 2. The theater of Tlos.

Fig. 3. Theater repair inscription (TAM II 550).

Deioterianus.[8] The great grandfather of Titus Marcius Titianus Deioterianus was most probably active in the middle of the first century between AD 40 and AD 60. By looking at this inscription, it can be understood that the construction of all the units of the theater of Tlos had been completed by approximately AD 50.[9] It is understood from a panel inscription found in the excavations of the theater of Tlos that its structure remained undamaged to a great extent until the great Lycian earthquake of AD 139/140, but the *proskenion* was demolished once more before this date, probably between the years AD 100-120. In this inscription dedicated to Antoninus Pius can be read, ἀνέθηκεν καὶ τὸ προσκήνιον ἐκ θεμελίων σὺν παντὶ τῷ περὶ αὐτὸ κόσμῳ ἐξ ὑποσχέσεως τοῦ πάππου αὐτοῦ Τίτου Μαρκίου Τιτιανοῦ ("upon his grandfather Titus Marcius Titianus's commitment, he erected this *proskenion*, including its foundation and all of its encompassing elements").[10] This inscription also indicates that the *proskenion* was damaged prior to the great earthquake. The reconstruction of the *proskenion* and its dedication to Antoninus Pius shows that the entire construction of the theater was completed within 10 to 15 years following the earthquake.

It is not known exactly how much damage the theater suffered in the earthquake. The *proskenion* was rebuilt solely with the charitable contributions of the Marcii family. From two inscriptions found inside the theater, it is known that there were activities for the reconstruction of the remaining structures of the theater. These inscriptions honor the famous Lycian philanthropist Opramoas. These were previously published as *TAM* II 578 (**fig. 4**) and 579 (**fig. 5**). Six new fragments of these inscriptions were identified during the excavations. The first fragment reads:

]ΩΕΑ
]ΛΕΙ

Fig. 4. Honorary inscription of Opramoas (TAM II 578).

Fig. 5. Honorary inscription of Opramoas (TAM II 579).

8 This inscription, unearthed during the excavations at the theater of Tlos and which is composed of many pieces, is discussed in detail in the study titled "A Leading Family from Tlos: Marcii" prepared by T. Korkut and R. Tekoğlu (Korkut and Tekoğlu, forthcoming), partially presented here.

9 Migeotte suggests that the construction period lasted until AD 140, when the earthquake occurred. See Migeotte 1992, 261.

10 Korkut and Tekoğlu (forthcoming).

Fig. 6. Fragment of the honorary inscription of Opramoas (TAM II 578).

Fig. 7. Fragment of the honorary inscription of Opramoas (TAM II 579).

Fig. 8. Fragment of the honorary inscription of Opramoas (TAM II 579).

and corresponds to the final part of the lines 5 and 6 of *TAM* II 578 (**fig. 6**):

5 δὶς τοῦ Καλλιάδου Τλ**ωέα**
καὶ Ῥοδιαπολείτην, πολ**ει**-
τευόμενον …

The other five fragments complete the broken areas on the left edge of the *TAM* II 579 inscription:

Fragment 2 (**fig. 7**):

ΤΛΩΕΩΝΤΗΣΜΗΤ[
ΤΟΥΛΘΚΙΩΝΕ[
ΚΑΙΟΔΗΜΟΣ[
ΟΠΡΑΜΟ[
5 ΤΟΥΚΑ[
ΡΟΔΙΑ[
ΟΜΕΝ[
[. .]ΚΙ[
[. .]ΧΙ[

Fragment 3 (**fig. 8**):

]ΠΟΛ[
]ΟΝΔΕ[
]ΑΝΠΟΛ[
]ΕΡΕΑΤ[
5]ΜΜΑΤΕ[
]ΔΙΑΠΑ[
]ΑΠΟΛΕ[
]ΥΡΙΟΥΔ[
]ΕΙΣΤΗΝΤ[
10]ΕΥΗΝΚΑ[

Fig. 9. Fragment of the honorary inscription of Opramoas (TAM II 579).

Fig. 10. Fragment of the honorary inscription of Opramoas (TAM II 579).

Fig. 11. Fragment of the honorary inscription of Opramoas (TAM II 579).

Fragment 4 (**fig. 9**):

ΓΡΑ[
ΝΟΥ[
ΤΕΡ[
ΑΡΓ[
ΕΞ[
5 ΣΚ[
ΤΩ[
ΦΙΛ[
ΚΕΚ[
ΤΗΝ[
Β[

Fragment 5 (**fig. 10**):

]ΒΑΛΑΝΕ[
]ΦΡΟΝΑ[
]ΑΓΑΘΟ[
]ΟΣΜΗΜ[

Fragment 6 (**fig. 11**):

]ΗΜΕ[
]ΛΟΥ[
]ΡΗΣΑΜ[
]ΑΓΡΟΝ[
]ΝΤΟΠ[
5]ΡΟ[

The new reading of *TAM* II 579, after combining the fragments recovered during excavations, is as follows:

Τλωέων τῆς μητ[ρ]οπόλεως
τοῦ Λυκίων ἔθνους ἡ βουλὴ
καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ γερουσία
Ὀπραμό[α]ν Ἀπολλωνίου δὶς
5 **τοῦ Κα**[λλι]άδου Τλωέα καὶ
Ῥοδιαπο[λ]είτην, πολειτευ-
όμενον δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς κατὰ
[Λυ]**κίαν πόλ**εσι πάσαις, τὸν
[ἀρ]**χιερέα τ**ῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ
10 **γραμματ**έα Λυκίων τοῦ κοι-
νοῦ, δι' ἃ πα[ρ]έσχεν καὶ τῇ <ἡ>με-
τέρα πόλει, χαρισάμενον καὶ
ἀργυρίου δ[η]ναρίου μυριάδας
ἓξ εἰς τὴν τοῦ θεάτρου κατα-
15 **σκευὴν κα**[ὶ] ἐξέδρας τῆς ἐν
τῷ βαλανε[ί]ῳ, ἄνδρα μεγα-
λόφρονα καὶ φιλότειμον καὶ
φιλάγαθον καὶ πάσῃ ἀρετῇ
κεκοσμημένον, ἐπὶ τῇ καὶ εἰς
20 **τὴν ἡμε**τέραν πόλιν ὑπερ-
β[αλ]**λού**[σ]ῃ μεγαλοφροσύνῃ·
[δω]**ρησάμ**ενον καὶ κατὰ διαθή-
[κην] **ἀγρὸν** ἐν τῇ Κορυδαλλει-
[κῇ ἐ]**ν τόπ**ῳ Χα<ρά>δραις καὶ Παιδα-
25 [γωγῷ φέ]**ρον**τα ἐτήσια * ͵ασν'

> The metropolis of the Lycian Nation, thve Council and the People and the Council of Elders of Tlosians (honored) Opramoas, the son of Apollonius, the grandson of Apollonius, great- grandson of Kalliades, from Tlos and Rhodiapolis, officially charged to public affairs in all cities throughout Lycia, the chief priest of the Augusti, grammateus of the Lycian League, who during his duties assisted also our city and donated 60.000 silver denarii for the construction of the theater and the exedra at the balaneion, who being a generous man, loving honor and goodness, equipped with all kind of morality, showed an extreme generosity to our city with the donation of the field in the environs of Kharadrai and Paidagogos in the town of Korydalla which yields an annual income of 1250 denarii…...

The TAM II 579 inscription is parallel to the TAM II 578, which is available in 30 lines in full text and helps us understand the missing lines in TAM II 579:

> The metropolis of the Lycian Nation, the boule, demos, and gerousia of Tlosians (honored) Opramoas, the son of Apollonius, the grandson of Apollonius, great grand-son of Kalliades, from Tlos and Rhodiapolis, officially charged to public affairs in all cities throughout Lycia, the chief priest of the Augusti, grammateus of the Lycian League, who during his duties assisted also our city and donated 60.000 silver denarii for the construction of the theater and the exedra at the balaneion, who being a generous man, loving honor and goodness, equipped with all kind of morality, showed an extreme generosity to our city with the donation of the field in the environs of Kharadrai and Paidagogos in the town of Korydalla which yields an annual income of 1250 denarii in order to organize the quinquennial festival of panegyris and for the distribution of more than one denarius to the men who receive wheat support.

Both inscriptions indicate that the philanthropist Opramoas from Rhodiapolis donated 60,000 silver *denarii* to the construction of the theater and exedra at the balaneion at Tlos. It is unclear how much of this donation is devoted to the construction of the theater;[11] however, this amount is thought to be insufficient.[12] The amount of aid stated in the *TAM* II 578 and 579 inscriptions found in Tlos has also been confirmed in the Rhodiapolis mausoleium inscription (*TAM* II 905). In the Rhodiapolis inscription, it was recorded that Opramoas "gave 60,000 *denarii* to the construction of the buildings in the city of Tlos."[13] Whether this contribution by Opramoas is sufficient or not, it is finalized that the theater had been completed with its *proskenion* as a whole structure before the year AD 161.

Another building in Tlos that had been reconstructed and repaired with the support of benefactors is the grand bath complex.[14] An honorary inscription found at the entrance to the large bathhouse, dedicated to Lyciarch Tiberius Claudius Ktesikles from Tlos, states that, from its foundation to completion, he had built the arched exedra, which also included the dressing rooms[15] (**fig. 12**). The inscription says:

> "The metropolis of the Lycian Nation and the city of Tlosians honored Tiberius Claudius Ktesikles from Tlos, the son of Claudius Rubiranus, the Lyciarch, the patriotic and generous citizen, the leader to the Lycian people, who built the arched exedra in which undressing rooms were (included)"

The time period that Lyciarch Tiberius Claudius Ktesikles served in office is not known exactly, but looking at his family ties, it is thought that he might have served during the period of Antoninus Pius.[16] In about the same period, as stated in *TAM* II 578 and 579, a portion of the 60,000 silver *denarii* bestowed by Opramoas was used in the construction of the exedra (καὶ ἐξέδρας τῆς ἐν τῷ βαλανείῳ) at the balaneion. Thus, it is understood that

11 See other theater inscriptions and their costs. Gallina 1974, 195-237 no. 29 Tlos TAM II 578.

12 Barresi 2003, 161.

13 Kokkinia 2000, 103 XVIII G.

14 For Grand Bath in Tlos, see Korkut 2016, 53-9.

15 The inscription, which has only been translated here, is described by D. Reitzenstein in *Chiron* 44 (2014), 551-612: in p. 560-65; published as number 3. D. Reitzenstein, who has not been a member of the Tlos Excavation team and has not participated in the excavations to date, published various inscriptions within the scope of Tlos epigraphical materials at his own account or as gift from secondary people without specifying the source and without taking the opinion of the site director. We would like to announce to the relevant institutions and the scientific community that we condemn this behavior which does not comply with scientific ethics (Taner Korkut and Recai Tekoğlu).

16 Reitzenstein 2014, 561.

Fig. 12. Entrance to the Grand Bath frigidarium and Tiberius Claudius Ktesikles' honorary inscription.

the apsidial part of the bath was built with the donation allocated by Opramoas.[17] It is deduced from another inscription found in Letoon that other benefactors came into play for the construction of the bath. Additionally, the statement Τλωεῦσιν εἰς μὲν βαλανεῖον μ(υριάδας) γ´ (meaning "30,000 (*denarii*) for Tlosians for [building] the balaneion") is found on the nineteenth line of an inscription known as Balland Nr. 67 in the literature. The unnamed philanthropist may be Opramoas[18] or an anonymous philanthropist.[19]

In addition to these inscriptions, another inscription found in the caldarium to the west of the Grand Bath of Tlos states that the structure was renovated (**fig. 13**).[20] The inscription says the following:

> "The city of the Tlosians honored Flavius Terentius Epidaurus, their benefactor, most venerable judge, who renewed also the bath to the Constantinian thermae besides his other beneficial activities."

In the inscription, Flavius Terentius Epidaurius is defined as διασημότατος ἡγεμών, ἁγνὸς δικαστής and εὐεργέτης. Διασημότατος ἡγεμών (Lat. *vir perfectissimus praeses*) is a title assigned to the class of *ordo equestris*. Probably from AD 272-274[21] or 276[22], the Lycian and Pamphylian provincial administration[23] passed from the *ordo senatorius* to the *ordo equestris*, and their administrator started to be called διασημότατος ἡγεμών.[24] In an inscription found in Termessos, Terentius Marcianus was described as the διασημότατος ἡγεμών of Lycia and

17 Korkut 2016, 59. On this issue, see also Farrington 1995, 69.

18 Balland 1981, 186-87.

19 Coulton 1987, 171.

20 Gülşen 2012, 129 no. 19; Reitzenstein 2014, 580-81 no. 9.

21 Hächler 2019, 51.

22 Rémy 1988, 193.

23 See Adak and Wilson 2012, 1-40 for Lycia and Pamphylia province.

24 Eich and Eich 2012, 110.

Fig. 13. The inscription on the restoration of the caldarium of the Grand Bath.

Pamphylia.[25] In an inscription recovered from Xanthos, someone named Flavius Terentius […] was again indicated as διασημότατος ἡγεμών and σωτῆρ τῆς ἐπαρχείου κτίστης ("savior and founder of the province").[26] The view that Flavius Terentius […] mentioned in the Xanthos inscription, and the name Flavius Terentius Epidaurus passing in the restoration inscription found in the Grand Bath of Tlos may be the same person is a matter of debate. [27] However, considering the fact that the name Flavius has been transformed into a name adopted by the people of higher status since the period of Constantine and his successors,[28] the renovation process of the bath is expected to have occurred in the second half of the fourth century AD. As stated in the inscription, the bath was rearranged in the form of Baths of Constantine (*Constantinianae thermae*).[29] The Grand Bath inscription is of great importance because it shows that a Lycian bath built during the Early Roman imperial period continued to be used with repairs taking place in the fourth century AD. Likewise, similar written documents pointing to the use of Lycian baths have rarely survived to the present day.

It is documented in the epigraphical materials that philanthropy was motivated also for the agora and gymnasium of the city in addition to the theater and Grand Bath complex of Tlos. For example, in the twentieth line of the inscription known as Balland no. 67, it was recorded that a philanthropist, whose name was not highlighted, paid 50,000 *denarii* (Τλωεῦσιν εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀγορὰν μ(υριαδάς) ε´) for the Agora of Tlos.[30] In addition to this, in another theater inscription which is still in the process of publication, it can be read that Titus Marcius Titianus promised (ὑποσχόμενον τὴν ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ ἔξεδραν) to build an exedra in the gymnasium.[31]

A second type of philanthropy that appears in Tlos inscriptions is social or public philanthropy (εὐεργέτης τοῦ δήμου). Such charitable activities have been documented in the form of distributing grain or money that the public needs or raising funds to cover the costs of religious holidays and events.

In lines 26-27 of the *TAM* II 578 inscription, it is stated that Opramoas "donated a piece of land, which brought an income of 1250 *denarii* per year, for the quadrennial festival of *panegyris*." It is also stated in the same inscription that he handed out money worth over 1 *denarius* to people who received wheat support. A

25 TAM III/1 89: τὸν διασημότα|τον ἡγεμόνα | Λυκίας Παμφυλί|ας Τερέντιον | Μαρκιανὸν | ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆ|μος, τὸν πάτρω|να καὶ εὐεργέτην | τῆς πόλεως.

26 Baker and Thériault 2006, 286.

27 In 2014, p. 581 n. 121, D. Reitzenstein refers incorrectly the page 286 of the article of Baker-Thériault, "Prospection épigraphique de Xanthos: bilan et méthodes." In: *Griechische Epigraphik in Lykien. Eine Zwischenbilanz, Akten des Int. Kolloquiums, Munich, 24. – 26. Februar 2005*, hg. v. Christof Schuler 2007, 121-32 instead of Baker and Thériault 2006, p. 286 which is not listed in the reference sources and argues that these may be the same people.

28 Salway 1994, 137-38; Keenan 1973, 57 and 1974, 301.

29 Between lines 9-12 of the inscription an expression καὶ | κωνσταντινιάνας | τὸ βαλανεῖον | ἀνανεώσαντα is used. The words κωνσταντινιάνας and τὸ βαλανεῖον reveal a grammatical incongruence. The word κωνσταντινιάνας is an accusative, plural, feminine adjective while τὸ βαλανεῖον is an accusative singular neutral name. If the sentence is understood as "who renewed the Baths of Constantine" it can be concluded that the Bath of Tlos was converted into the Baths of Constantine before the renovation of Flavius Terentius Epidaurius and was renewed in the aftermath. In our opinion, however, Flavius Terentius Epidaurius transformed the Bath of Tlos, which survived to his time, by renovating it. It would be more accurate to understand the ancient Greek phrase κωνσταντινιάνας (θερμὰς) τὸ βαλανεῖον ἀνανεώσαντα, as "who renewed the bath to the Baths of Constantine"

30 Balland 1981, 186-87.

31 Korkut and Tekoğlu (forthcoming).

similar charitable giving was found in another honorary inscription discovered near the theater of Tlos.[32] The inscription in question dates to the middle of the second century AD, and its features were found to be suitable for comparison with the honorific inscriptions dedicated to Opramoas.[33] The inscription states that the city of Tlos took a decision to honor a woman named Lalla as "the mother of the city" (μήτηρ τῆς πόλεως) at a meeting where an election was taking place for the position of the priest of Augustus. Lalla put forth a capital of 12,500 *denarii* to be used for activities that would benefit the city and recorded the agreement she made with the city word for word, preparing the ground for her donated money to generate interest income for the city. It was deemed appropriate to "allocate the income by giving 1 *denarius* per person once a year particularly to the 1100 people entitled to benefit from wheat distribution." In Tlos, the practice of "supporting the poor or impoverished people by means of philanthropy sufficient to satisfying some of their food and needs" may not have become common as the result of natural disasters per se in the middle of the second century AD. An inscription in the process of publication states that Titus Marcius Titianus carried out "the task of distributing wheat" (καὶ σειτομέτριον). This inscription shows that the use of the word *seitometrion* is understood as a "corporate philanthropic" activity in the context of Tlos, and perhaps in the context Lycia.[34]

In the light of the inscriptions found in Tlos, the earliest period in which the definition of "philanthropy" is found, which is in *TAM* II 582 honorary inscription, is dated to the first century BC. The name of the person honored in this inscription could not be read because the inscription was broken. The person is mentioned with all the activities that can be included within the scope of *euergesia*: a soldier who defended his people and nation with his superior courage and ability to fight in wars, a statesman who realized his administration successfully and evenhandedly and stood up to difficulties and hardships throughout all public duties he assumed under his responsibility, and a man of religion who was a priest of Zeus Sabazios for many times throughout his life in the city.[35] In addition to being a politician who defended democratic laws against the regime of tyranny and who adopted the democratic system in his country,[36] he was a philanthropist throughout his life,[37] one who served not only his own city but also all of Lycia. He made promises and fulfilled them as a good human being with high moral values and was honored with the privilege of eating at the prytaneion.

An inscription found in Tlos, in the environs of present-day Andızlaryanı, states that a person whose name can be read as [K]tesikles or [S]tesikles or [Kra]tesikles left a portion of his personal wealth to the city administration through a will and also undertook the construction of an unidentified structure.[38] The philanthropist in this inscription is identified as κτίστης. The word *ktistes* has been used as an exaggerated equivalent of the word *euergetes* since the middle of the second century AD.[39]

32 Naour 1977, 265-66.

33 Naour 1977, 266.

34 Solonakis 2017, 136.

35 Lane 1989, 6-7.

36 Versnel 1990, 76.

37 Dmitriev 2005, 163.

38 Şahin and Adak 2004, in their study, 92 no. 3, completed the potential name of the person in the inscription as [K]tesikles and reminding that so far only in the east of the peninsula in Lycia this name was documented, argued that Ktesikles could be equated with Sextus Claudius Clementianus, who was honored by the Lycian League at the end of the second century or early third century during the reign of Laetus by erecting a statue of him in Letoon. D. Reitzenstein made a new assessment of the inscription in his article, p. 563-64, and suggested that equating Ktesikles and Lyciarch Tiberius Claudius, the son of Claudius Rubrianus, who had previously built an arched exedra which included the dressing rooms of the Great Bath, would be more plausible. D. Reitzenstein, who had never participated in the epigraphical studies during excavations and did not examine the physical status of the inscriptions, made a purely hypothetical reading on p. 564: [Τιβ · Κλ · Κλ · Ῥουβριανοῦ υἱὸν] | [Κ]τησικλέα ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπ᾽α[ὐτοῦ] | [κ]αταλιφθέντων δωρεῶν [τὸν] | v. αὐτὸν κτίστην καὶ τούτ[ου] | *vac.* τοῦ ἔργου · *vac.* [Τλωέων ἡ πόλις ἡ μητρόπολις | τοῦ Λυκίων ἔθνους τὸν φιλόπα|τριν καὶ μεγαλόφρονα πολείτην]. We are of the belief that there is no valid explanation for the consideration of both Şahin-Adak and Reitzenstein's proposals. In addition, epigraphically speaking, prior to Şahin-Adak, there is no evidence that the inscription published as number 3 could continue downward. It is always common to see in an inscription that the honoring institution and the honoring word are written on the top, as Şahin-Adak presumably predicts.

39 Boatwright 2000, 31.

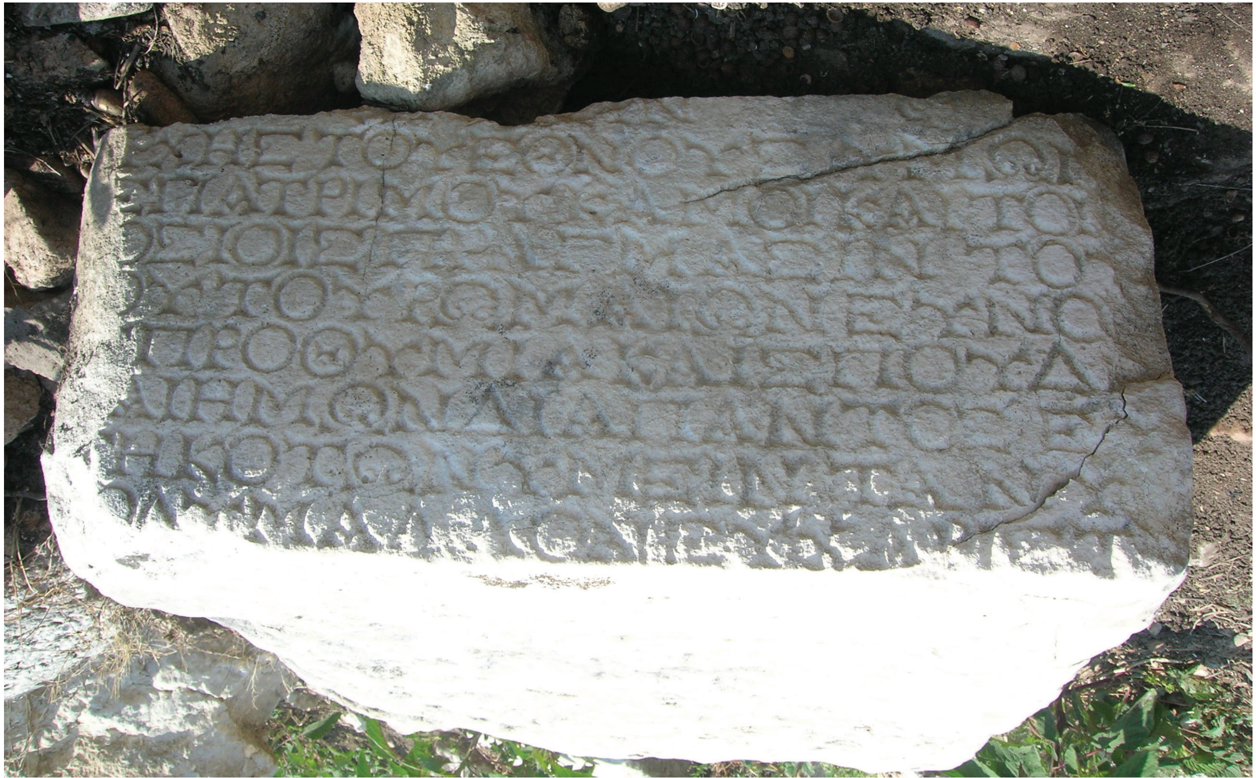

Fig. 14. Gymnasium-Bath, charitable inscription.

In light of findings at our disposal, philanthropists from Tlos were honored through documents that record their general charitable work. As is seen in many examples, the honoring process was carried out through the people of Tlos, the council of Tlos, or the official institutions of Tlos. Not only in Tlos, but also throughout Lycia, just a few examples of inscriptions show a personal attitude of gratitude or honor towards the benefactors. A new inscription found in the gymnasium-bath palaestra[40] during the Tlos excavations belongs to this group (**fig. 14**). The name of the person who dedicates the inscription and to whom it is dedicated cannot be read because the inscription is broken. However, it is deduced from the 8 lines that have survived that the subject of the inscription is a kind of letter. The height of the inscription is around 56 cm, the width 84 cm, the depth 42 cm. and the alpha letter size is measured as 4 cm.

[. . . . .]HN[
[. . .-]ΡΧΗΣ τοῦ ἔθνους ὑμῶν
[τῷ δ]ὲ πατρί μου κἀμοὶ καὶ τοῖ[ς]
[δημ]οσίοις πράγμασιν τοῦ
5 [δήμ]ου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων εὐνο[ί]-
[ᾳ κα]ὶ προθυμίᾳ καὶ σπουδῇ
[τε κ]αὶ ἡμῶν διὰ παντὸς εὐ[ε]-
[ργε]τηκότων ὑμεῖν τανῦ[ν]
[καὶ π]ολὺ μᾶλλον ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤ[.]-
[

"Now and many thanks to you because you, … of nation, showed continuously benevolent and immediate and quick attitude of benefactions to my father and to me and to the public affairs of the People of Rome and also to our people.."

40 In the context of urbanism in Tlos after the Classical period, the gymnasium structure was built for the first time in this area with the advent of the Hellenistic period. During the Roman imperial period, a bath structure was appended to the existing gymnasium to form a gymnasium-bath complex. Korkut 2016, 59-63.

A reading and interpretation of the inscription follow here. In the first line, only the letters -]HN[- can be read. Therefore, no restoration could be proposed.

The second line starts with the word -]ΡΧΗΣ. It is difficult to make any restoration appropriate for the content of the text. The line continues with τοῦ ἔθνους ὑμῶν. Since to whom it is addressed is not fully clear in the inscription, no restoration is proposed.

Line 9 ends with the word ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤ [.]. Restoration can be done with the word εὐχαριστία and its derivatives. The expression πολὺ μᾶλλον εὐχαριστ[ήριον] does not coincide with a style that can be expressed in an official letter from the institutions and senior executives of the Roman State.

No data can be used as the basis for the dating of the inscription, but its paleography is similar to the paleography used in the honorary inscription of Opramoas (*TAM* II 579). The letters K, M, Y, and Ω are written in equal forms on both inscriptions. Therefore, it seems appropriate to date the inscription to the beginning of the second half of the second century AD.

It is not clear from the existing content of the text whether a person or a city is thanked for the aforementioned philanthropic contributions. This is stated by the expression ὑμεῖν in line 8. Additionally, it is evident that it is not the Tlos council or institutions that dedicate the gratitude mentioned by the dedicator, because the dedication of gratitude is expressed with the tone of a personal letter [τῷ δ]ὲ πατρί μου κἀμοί, as in "to my father and me." Since the names and titles of the person and his father, who dedicated the gratitude, have not been found yet, there has been no opinion on his role and significance in Tlos. By judging from the expression in line, "to my father and me", it is understood that the phrase πολὺ μᾶλλον εὐχαριστ[ήριον] mentioned in line 9 cannot be referring to a Roman emperor. From the statements in the inscription, it can be deduced that the dedicator(s) of the inscription gave thanks or gratitude for not only their attitude towards their father and themselves, but also for the people of both Rome and Tlos, toward whom the dedicatee have always behaved with a heartfelt, ready, and waiting manner regarding public services.

In the light of the inscriptions found during the excavations carried out in Tlos so far, it is witnessed that "philanthropy" activities come into play within the scope of the construction and repair of the buildings that were destroyed as a result of natural factors or contributing new buildings to the city. Through its own people and notables, the city of Tlos took responsibility for its development, maintenance, and repair, and from time to time received the support of prominent notables from Lycia. In addition to this, it was revealed through philanthropic inscriptions that Tlos, as a respected and metropolitan city of Lycia, was a popular, protected, and favorable settlement. Therefore, Tlos was not abandoned to destruction caused by natural factors, was not left to its own destiny, and through philanthropists it continued to maintain its position and prestige in this region.

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