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SUNA-İNAN KIRAÇ AKDENİZ MEDENİYETLERİ ARAŞTIRMA ENSTİTÜSÜ
SUNA & İNAN KIRAÇ RESEARCH INSTITUTE ON MEDITERRANEAN CIVILIZATIONS

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Antiochus IV Epiphanes and Cilicia

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When he ascended to the Seleucid throne in 175 B.C., Antiochus IV inherited a kingdom greatly reduced in extent and economically weakened owing to the oppressive financial clauses of the treaty of Apameia[1].

In order to face the greatest economic crisis that the Seleucid Empire had ever faced, Antiochus furthered a policy that aimed at contrasting the claims of the several ethnic components of the kingdom and founding a collective identity through the claim to a common Hellenic origin. The main target and, at the same time, the main instrument of Antiochus's policy were the cities and the sanctuaries, the most valuable inheritance of political and religious Greek culture: consequently, he furthered the development of an urban model in the whole kingdom either by founding new colonies or by renaming the ancient ones; on the other hand, in the local sanctuaries he promoted either the assimilation of the traditional deities to the Greek ones or the straightforward introduction of the Greek ones.

In both cases, Antiochus's policy intended to reach a compromise between local instances and the need for strong central control, in order to gain the support and, as far as possible, the consent of his subjects, necessary to the survival of the Seleucid kingdom itself. The consequences of this policy, whose impact cannot be denied, were very different in different countries: in some regions, such as Judea, it met a strong resistance, in others it began a process of long lasting Hellenization. Cilicia can be listed in the latter group, although it is possible to recognize even here traces of some intolerance toward Antiochus's rule.

Cilicia at the beginning of the 2nd century B.C.

An integral part of the Seleucid domain from its inception, Cilicia played a very important role in the map of the Mediterranean recently established by the treaty of Apameia. In order to understand the place which Cilicia held in the Seleucid reign under the rule of Antiochus IV, it is necessary to analyze its own vicissitudes in the first quarter of the 2nd century B.C.[2].

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I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Eugenia Equini Schneider who kindly revised this paper.

1 It is not necessary to recall the well known history of the Seleucid kingdom in the first and second quarter of the 2nd century B.C. nor the main features of Antiochus's reign and policy: among the several works concerning Antiochus, see in particular E. R. Bevan, The House of Seleucus (1902) II, 126-167; Mørkholm 1966 *passim*; Bunge 1974, 57-85; Bunge 1975 and Will 1966, II 257-298 for the general historical context.

2 For a picture of Cilicia in the 3rd - 2nd centuries B.C., see Magie 1950, I, 266-282; Jones 1971, 197-200 and Desideri 1991, 141-165.

In the 3rd century B.C. Cilicia had been a disputed region between the Seleucids and the Ptolemies, both interested in its strategic location along the main land and sea routes of the eastern Mediterranean and in its richness of natural resources. Though it followed the vicissitudes of the wars between the Seleucids and the Ptolemies, for most of the 3rd century B.C. Cilicia was divided into an eastern part under Seleucid rule and in a western part under Ptolemaic sovereignty.

At the beginning of the 2nd century B.C., during the Fifth Syrian War (202-195 B.C.), Antiochus III the Great succeeded in conquering the Mediterranean regions formerly in the hands of the Ptolemies: after the conquest of Coelesyria and Palestine, following the victory of Panion (200 B.C.), in 197 he took over the whole coast of southern Asia Minor, from Ionia to western Cilicia[3]. The Seleucid control over the coastal regions of southern Asia Minor was nevertheless ephemeral, because a few years later, as a consequence of the defeat at Magnesia and of the treaty signed the following year at Apameia, Antiochus III was compelled to give up all the dominions outside the Taurus, which were partly declared free, partly annexed to the Attalid kingdom or were placed under Rhodian influence[4].

The treaty of Apameia, which had both great financial and political costs for the Seleucids[5], affected also the role of Cilicia. Being the only region of Asia Minor beyond the Taurus, Cilicia formally retained its own integrity and not only remained a part of the Seleucid kingdom but became its western border[6]. The naval clauses of the treaty, which prevented Antiochus's ships from sailing west of Cape Sarpedon (near Seleucia on the Calycadnus), actually excluded the Seleucids from the western part of the region which was easily accessible only by sea[7].

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3 Antiochus's conquests on the southern coast of Asia Minor are listed by Livius (XXXIII. 20. 4-5) and Hieronymus (*Comm. in Dan.* III. 11. 15-16 = *FGrHist* 260 F 46). As for Cilicia, among the cities conquered by Antiochus they quote Coracesium, Selinus, Anemourium, Aphrodisias, Zephyrium, Corycus (but probably it must be identified with the homonymous city of Lycia, as argued by Grainger 2002, 39), Soloi and Mallus: the mention of Mallus, which is quoted only by Hieronymus, is doubtful because no existing evidence confirms that Ptolemaic sovereignty in Cilicia extended east of Soloi. As for the conquest of Antiochus III in Asia Minor, see Will 1966, II, 156-157 and Grainger 2002, 36-42; for the chronology of the war, see A. Mastrocinque, "Osservazioni sull'attività di Antioco III nel 197 e nel 196 a.C.", PP XXXI, 1976, 307-322, which is mainly about the military campaign of Antiochus in Ionia and Caria.

4 Rhodes would have also liked to rule on the Cilician coast, as is shown by the Rhodian ambassadors' claim over independent Soloi (Pol. XXI. 24. 10-15; Liv. XXXVII. 56. 7-10). This claim was founded on the grounds of the ancient relationship between the island and the Cilician city, which according to the legend was founded by Argives and Rhodians: the earliest source about the Argive origin of Soloi and its links with Rhodes is an Argive inscription, dating from the end of the 4th century B.C. and found in the temple of Nemea (R. Stroud, "An Argive decree from Nemea", Hesperia 53, 1984, 193-216). Owing to Antiochus's strong opposition, the Rhodian claim was finally rejected by the Romans. For these facts, see Grainger 2002, 346.

5 The clauses of the peace of Apameia are detailed by Polybius (XXI. 43. 1-27), Livius (XXXVIII. 38. 2-18) and Appianus (*Syr.* 38. 200-204). As for the treaty, see Will 1966, II 181-193 and above all McDonald 1967, 1-8, about the territorial clauses, and A. H. McDonald - F. W. Walbank, "The Treaty of Apameia (188 B.C.): The Naval Clauses", JRS 59, 1969, 30-39, as entitled.

6 Pol. XXI. 43. 5; Liv. XXXVIII. 38. 4; App., *Syr.* 38. As for the place held by Cilicia in the geopolitical map outlined by the treaty, see Magie 1950, I, 279-281 and McDonald 1967, 3-8: the latter emphasizes that the possession of Cilicia allowed the Seleucids to reach Cappadocia, through the Cydnus valley and the Cilician Gates, and Lycaonia, through the Calycadnus valley.

7 Pol. XXI. 43. 14; Liv. XXXVIII. 38. 9; App., *Syr.* 39. 201. At least formally, however, western Cilicia continued to be part of the Seleucid kingdom, as emphasized by M. Holleaux, Études d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecque. V. Rome e la conquête de l'Orient. 2. Rome, la Macédonie et l'Orient grec (1957) 228-243; Merkholm 1966, 28 n. 30 and McDonald 1967, 1-8.

Therefore Cilicia, at the beginning of the 2nd century B.C., played a very important role in the Seleucid kingdom: not only did it continue to be, as before, a bridge between East and West and a source of military recruitment, but it also became the frontier between the kingdom of Syria and the several states of Asia Minor. Cilicia extended formally from the western Taurus to the mountains of the Amanus[8] but actually western Cilicia, or *Tracheia*, freed itself from the Seleucid sphere of influence, while eastern Cilicia, or *Pedias*, followed the destiny of the neighbouring Syria: consequently, the division between *Tracheia* and *Pedias*, formed in the 3rd century B.C. by the separation of the Ptolemaic possessions from the Seleucid ones, was finally completed. The several centres flourishing in Ptolemaic *Tracheia* disappear completely from the documentation of the 2nd century B.C., whereas the cities of *Pedias* began to flourish from the time of Antiochus III.

The cities

Such was therefore the situation of Cilicia when Antiochus IV succeeded his brother on the throne of Syria in 175 B.C. In the following years Antiochus gave a great impulse towards the process of Hellenization of the cities, already started by his predecessors: it is noteworthy that the king's action was limited to central and eastern *Pedias*, not involving the important cities of western *Pedias* and eastern *Tracheia* (Zephyrium, Soloi and Seleucia on the Calycadnus).

The first act of Antiochus was the dynastic renaming of the Cilician cities, most of which did not bear Greek names: in some instances it was not a mere renaming, but an actual foundation[10]. While the dynastic renaming of the cities is generally well documented from the epigraphic and numismatic sources, very little is known about the political and administrative measures connected with this procedure: the refoundation of a city must have involved the establishment of civic government structures, the reorganization of the surrounding territory and the introduction of Greek soldiers, officials and businessmen in order to further the Hellenization of the cities, most of which were not of Hellenic origin and had their own native population[11].

Except for two instances, the cities were renamed with names referring to the Seleucid dynasty and were distinguished one from the other by mentioning their main geographical features: in the large, alluvial plain of Cilicia the most common geographical features were obviously the rivers. Seleucia on the Pyramus, earlier dedicated to its legendary founder Mopsus, was added to the ancient Seleucia on the Calycadnus, founded at the

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[8] According to McDonald 1967, 3-8, the western boundary of Antiochus's kingdom was fixed by the treaty of Apamea at the Gök Dağ, which separated Pamphylia from Cilicia *Tracheia*, west of the springs of the northern tributary of the Calycadnus.

[9] For the Seleucid *Tracheia* see R. S. Bagnall, The Administration of Ptolemaic Possessions outside Egypt (1976) 214-215.

[10] The renaming of the Cilician cities is part of a larger colonization policy which also involved Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Media, Armenia and Babylonia: Tscherikower 1927, 176, has listed fifteen colonies founded by Antiochus in these regions. However, scholars agree in assuming that they were mostly merely the renaming of existing cities (see Mørkholm 1966, 116-118 and G. M. Cohen, The Seleucid Colonies: Studies in Founding, Administration and Organization [1978] 13-14). It is unknown when these colonies were founded: Bunge 1974, 62, assumed that they might have been founded in the first five years of Antiochus's reign.

[11] As assumed by Welles 1962, 48-49 as for Tarsus-Antioch on the Cydnus; see further Musti 1966, 187-188.

beginning of the 3rd century B.C.; Antioch on the Pyramus (former Magarsus) and Antioch on the Sarus (former Adana) appeared besides Antioch on the Cydnus, as Tarsus was called from the middle of the 3rd century B.C. Amongst the other Cilician cities involved in this process, Oeniandus was named after the king, taking the name of Epiphaneia, and the ancient sanctuary of Castabala adopted the name of Hierapolis on the Pyramus. This process did not involve the cities bearing either Macedonian or Seleucid name, such as Seleucia on the Calycadnus, Antioch on the Cydnus, Aigeai and Alexandria by Issus, and, more remarkably, the ancient and important Cilician centres of Soloi, Zephyrium and Mallus (Fig. 1).

The granting of the right to issue municipal coinage was linked to the adoption of dynastic names. Antiochus's initiative, which involved nineteen cities in the western part of the Seleucid kingdom, was undertaken to gain the support of these cities for the imminent war against Egypt and, at the same time, to combat the economic crisis in which the reign was involved[12]. The issuing of an autonomous coinage was limited to bronze whereas the right to mint gold and silver remained with the king. Among the main features of this early municipal coinage was the presence of the civic name in the legend and the complementary adoption of local and royal types, which bore witness to the dialectic between royal power and local autonomies pursued by Antiochus.

The Cilician cities involved in this initiative were Aigeai, Alexandria by Issus, Mopsus-Seleucia on the Pyramus and Castabala-Hierapolis on the Pyramus: Tarsus-Antioch on the Cydnus had started to mint its own autonomous coinage from the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. Contemporarily, the activity of Tarsus-Antioch on the Cydnus' royal mint continued and a new royal mint was opened at Mallus. In contrast, the activity of the other Seleucid mints of Cilicia (at Seleucia on the Calycadnus and Soloi) was temporarily stopped. This was due to the concentration of production at Tarsus, to the large circulation of foreign currency, to the increasing output of the mint of Antioch on the Orontes and, finally, to the launch of municipal coinage.

After having outlined the general context, it is necessary to analyze the situation of the single cities at the time of Antiochus IV Epiphanes, as can be inferred from the literary, numismatic and epigraphic sources.

This review begins with Tarsus-Antioch on the Cydnus, which, due to its centrality and wealth, had been the main city of Cilicia from Persian times[13]. The Seleucids, aware of its prominent role, had chosen Tarsus as the main administrative centre of Cilicia and had opened at Tarsus the only royal mint active in the region in the 3rd century B.C., renaming

12 Antiochus IV granted the right of issuing autonomous coinage to nineteen cities in the whole kingdom (seventeen of which are located in its western part) probably in 169/8 B.C. during the war against Egypt (O. Mørkholm, "The municipal coinages with portrait of Antiochos IV of Syria", in: Congresso internazionale di numismatica 1961, II. Istituto Italiano di Numismatica, Roma [1965] 63-67 and Bunge 1975, 181-188); for the beginning of the autonomous coinage in the Cilician cities, see the exhaustive essay of Meyer 2001, 505-518.

13 For the history of Tarsus-Antioch on the Cydnus in the Hellenistic age, see RE 4 A/2, 2413-2422; Welles 1962, 46-52; Cohen 1995, 358-360; E. Equini Schneider, "Autonomia, *eleutheria, libertas e immunitas* delle città cilicie: il caso di Tarso", in: E. Jean – A. M. Dinçol – S. Durugönül (eds.), La Cilicie: espaces et pouvoirs locaux (2e millénaire av. J.-C. - 4e siècle ap. J.-C.). Actes de la Table ronde internationale d'Istanbul, 2-5 novembre 1999 (2001) 363-365.

it early as Antioch on the Cydnus[14]. Tarsus also preceded the other Cilician cities in issuing autonomous coins too as it began during the reign of Antiochus III: the earliest municipal bronze coins, minted on behalf of the ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΩΙ ΠΥΡΑΜΩΙ, bore the head of the city-goddess on the obverse and types inspired by local deities or symbols on the reverse (Fig. 2.1-4)[15]. By adopting the head of the city-goddess on the obverse - in the early municipal coinage usually bearing royal types - Tarsus underlined its own autonomy from royal power[16]: so much more, that this type on the obverse is not balanced by Seleucid types on the reverse. The coin types did not change at the time of Antiochus IV. Contemporarily, the minting of royal tetradrachms, bearing the usual Seleucid types (head of the king on the obverse and Apollo seated on the *omphalos* on the reverse) continued (Fig. 2.5): there is no evidence to suggest that the mint of Tarsus issued the new tetradrachms, that carried on the reverse a representation of Zeus Olympius[17].

At the same time the port of Magarsus, located at the mouth of the Pyramus and a well known ancient centre for the worship of Athena, acquired some prominence amongst the Cilician cities: renamed as Antioch on the Pyramus, under Antiochus IV it obtained for the first time the *status* of city and took over the place that traditionally belonging to Mallus[18]. Unlike the other cities of *Pedias*, Antioch on the Pyramus had never issued autonomous coinage.

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[14] The ethnic of Antioch on the Cydnus appeared for the first time in a Delphic proxeny decree dating from 251 B.C. (G. Colin, Inscriptions du Trésor des Athéniens, Fouilles de Delphes III.2 [1909-1913] 239-240 n. 208); a similar decree, coming from Delphi too, dates from the last quarter of the 3rd century B.C. (*SGDI* II n. 2734): on both decrees see Welles 1962, 47-48; L. Robert, "Sur des inscriptions de Délos", Etudes Déliennes, BCH Suppl. 1 (1973) 45 n. 67; Cohen 1995, 359. Therefore, the information given by Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. Τάρσος) that Tarsus was refounded as Antioch on the Cydnus by Epiphanes is wrong, differently from what assumed by Tscherikower 1927, 40: according to Welles 1962, 50, this fact does not exclude a further intervention of Antiochus IV. For the activity of the Seleucid mint of Tarsus until the time of Antiochus IV, see WSM, 214-235, Cox 1950, 43-45 and Mørkholm 1964, 53-58.

[15] For the earliest coinage of Tarsus, see Cox 1950, 48-50 and Meyer 2001, 505-518. The earliest series, dating between 190 and 160 B.C., were issued in four bronze denominations, three of which bore the head of the city-goddess on the obverse: head of the city-goddess/bow in *gorytus* (*SNG Levante-Cilicia* n. 909); head of the city-goddess/Sandan (*SNG Levante-Cilicia* nn. 910-912); head of the city-goddess/Zeus seated (*SNG Levante-Cilicia* nn. 913-914); the last one bore a club in a wreath on the obverse and a *cornucopia* on the reverse (*SNG Levante-Cilicia* nn. 915-916).

[16] According to M. Meyer, "Die sog. Tyche von Antiocheia als Münzmotive in Kilikien", Olba II.1, 1999, 192, the type of the head of the city-goddess has to be read as a representation of the minting authority (the city), corresponding to the name which appeared on the reverse in the legend; it is a meaningful variation compared to the royal coins, where the minting authority, who was represented on the obverse and whose name was written on the reverse, was the king.

[17] *CSE* nn. 467-470; Cox 1950, n. 102: the coins issued on behalf of Antiochus IV in Tarsus were signed by the minting marks of the club and the wing. For the origin and the meaning of the latter, see H. Seyrig, "Un symbole monétaire de Tarse", in: Mansel'e Armağan I (1974) 263-264. For the introduction of Zeus Olympius on the reverse of the tetradrachms struck in other Seleucid mints, see Bunge 1974, 76-83.

[18] For the history of Magarsus-Antioch on the Pyramus, see Imhoof-Blumer 1883, 89-127; Tscherikower 1927, 40, RE 14/1, 292; Robert 1951, 251-256; Mørkholm 1966, 117; Musti 1966, 189-192; Cohen 1995, 360-362. The name Antioch on the Pyramus is recorded by Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. Ἀντιόχεια) and in the *Stadiasmus Maris Magni* (163). According to Mørkholm 1966, 117 and Cohen 1995, 360-361, the renaming of Antioch on the Pyramus was contemporary to that of Antioch on the Cydnus, but it is impossible to agree with this hypothesis, because all the texts recording the dynastic ethnic - except for one inscription (quoted by Mørkholm and Cohen) dated from the 3rd century B.C. by Heberdey, Wilhelm 1896, 7 n. 14 only on a paleographic ground - date back to the 2nd century B.C. The hypothesis according to which Antioch on the Pyramus has to be identified with Magarsus, rather than with Mallus, was proposed for the first time by Imhoof-Blumer 1883, 89-127 and finally shown by Robert 1951, 256-259.

An important inscription found in Karataç (where the sanctuary was located) and dating to the reign of Antiochus IV, shows the main institutions of Antioch on the Pyramus and gives information about the relationships with the neighbouring Antioch on the Cydnus (Fig. 3)[19]. Antioch on the Pyramus appears to have had all the political, administrative and religious structures that characterize the Greek *polis*: the council and the people (ll. 3-4: τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμωι), the magistrates (ll. 5 e 7-8: τοῦ δημιουργοῦ καὶ τῶν | πρυτανέων; l. 14: τοὺς ἄρχοντας; l. 10· συναρχία), the tribes (l. 15: τοὺς πολίτας κατὰ φυλάς), the officials (l. 17: τοὺς φυλάρχους; l. 21: τῶν ταμιῶν ἀπὸ τῶν | δημοσίων; l. 30: γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας), the priests (l. 10: τοὺς ἱερεῖς) and their assistants (l. 16: τὸν ἱερομνήμονα; l. 24: [ὑ]πὸ τοῦ ἱεροκήρυκος), and finally the gymnasiarch and the *pedonomus*, entrusted to keep and spread hellenic culture (ll. 11-12: τὸν γυμνασίαρχον μετὰ τῶν | ἐφήβων καὶ τῶν νέων καὶ τὸν παιδονόμον).

It was rightly remarked that, if such institutions were in force at Antioch on the Pyramus, they should to be in force in the more important city of Antioch on the Cydnus: probably, they also characterized the other cities refounded by Antiochus[20].

The inscription of Karataş contained the measures adopted by Antioch on the Pyramus on behalf of Antioch on the Cydnus, probably as a consequence of the resolution of a border dispute: on these grounds it can be supposed that among Antiochus's provisions, there was a reorganization of the civic χώρα and that this measure caused conflicts among the cities bordering each other.

Mallus was certainly the city that was most damaged by the development of Antioch on the Pyramus: traditionally, it contended with Tarsus for leadership in Cilicia *Pedias*[21] and on it the sanctuary of Athena Magarsis depended up to the time of Antiochus IV [22]. Mallus was involved neither in the process of dynastic renaming, nor was it in receipt of the grant to issue municipal coinage. Nevertheless, the idea that it temporarily lost its civic *status* and was completely subdued by Antioch on the Pyramus must be rejected[23]. In fact, some bronze issues of Antiochus IV have been recently ascribed to Mallus: they allow us to date the opening of the local royal mint, formerly attributed to the rule of Demetrius I , to the rule of Epiphanes[24]. These bronze coins bore a male bearded head, perhaps representing Zeus, and the letters MA or MAΛ on the obverse and a Nike with a garland and the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ on the reverse (Fig. 2.6)[25].

19 The inscription is edited in S. Werner - R. Werner, "Eine griechische Inschrift aus Karataş", Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschungen 1, 1951, 325-327, and SEG XII n. 511; see further the edition and the commentary of F. Sokolowski, Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure, Travaux et Mémoires de l'Ecole française d'Athènes 9 (1955) 183-184 n. 81, particularly about the reorganization of the worship, and the commentary of Musti 1966, 189-192 analyzing the political structures of Antioch on the Pyramus.

20 Musti 1966, 189. The scholar emphasizes that the city had a democratic constitution already at that time.

21 For the history of Mallus in the Hellenistic age, see RE 14/1, 916-917; Robert 1951, 256-259; the rivalry between Tarsus and Mallus to obtain the control of *Pedias* is still recorded in the 2nd century A.D. in Dio of Prusa (*Or.* XXXIV. 11).

22 For the relationship between Mallus and the sanctuary of Magarsus in the Hellenistic age, see again Robert 1951, 256-259, according to whom they were nothing but the relationships between Athens and Eleusis or between Miletus and Didyma.

23 As assumed by Robert 1951, 256-259.

24 On the Seleucid mint of Mallus, see Houghton 1984, 91-110.

25 For the coinage of Antiochus IV in Mallus, see A. Houghton, "Bronze coins of Antiochos IV of Mallus", SchwMüBl 43, 1993, 5-7.

The attitude of Mallus and Tarsus toward Antiochus's policy is shown by an accident referred to in the *II Book of Maccabees*, according to which the two cities rebelled against the king who had given them ἐν δωρεᾷ to his mistress Antiochis[26]. The rebellion took place in 172-171 B.C. and was stopped due to the king's intervention. It is probable that the grounds alleged in *Maccabees* were a mere pretext, but there is no reason to doubt the truthfulness of the episode. We can only speculate about the nature of the measures that caused the rebellion: it might have been caused by the increase of the taxation following the gift to Antiochis[27]. The ascent of Antioch on the Pyramus may have been one of the causes of the rebellion, as it damaged both two powerful neighbouring cities.

Except for their coinage, little is known about the other cities involved in the process of renewal furthered by Antiochus IV. Adana and Mopsus appeared for the first time in Seleucid history at the time of Antiochus IV with the names respectively of Antioch on the Sarus and Seleucia on the Pyramus: it is impossible to say if they were founded *ex novo* or were merely renamed[28]. Both received, together with the dynastic name, the right to issuing autonomous coinage and issued two series of bronzes, the first one inspired completely by the Seleucid iconography, the second one characterized by local types both on the obverse and on the reverse (Fig. 2.8-12)[29]: in particular, the bronze coins of Antioch on the Sarus bore the same types of Antiochus's tetradrachms, i.e. the diademed head of the king on the obverse and Zeus on the reverse (Fig. 2.8). As remarked by M. Meyer, both cities took as models the Seleucid coinage for the royal iconographies and the municipal coinage of Tarsus for the adoption of local types on the obverse[30].

As for Aigeai and Alexandria by Issus, the only available sources are the numismatic ones: although the earliest information about them dates from the 2nd century B.C., it is generally assumed that both cities had been founded as Macedonian colonies by the

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[25] *II Macc.* 4. 30.

[27] As proposed by Welles 1962, 49-52: he emphasizes that the sale or the gift of lands and cities to members of the royal family was not unusual in the Persian and Hellenistic age. The idea of S. K. Eddy, The King is dead. Studies in the Near Eastern Resistance to Hellenism, 334-31 B.C. (1961) 146-148, that the rebellion was caused by a movement of national and religious resistance to the forced Hellenization promoted by Antiochus IV, as it occurred at the same time in Jerusalem, seems unlikely. Mørkholm 1966, 122 expresses doubts concerning the historical reliability of the information supplied by the *Book of Maccabees*.

[28] For the history of Adana-Antioch on the Sarus, see RE 1/1, 344; Tscherikower 1927, 40; Magie 1950, II, 1148; Cohen 1995, 362-363. For the history of Mopsus-Seleucia on the Pyramus in the 2nd century B.C., see RE 16/1, 243-246; Tscherikower 1927, 42; Magie 1950, II, 1148; Aulock 1963, 231-276 and Cohen 1995, 371-372.

[29] For the beginning of municipal coinage in both cities, see again Meyer 2001, 505-518. As for the municipal coinage of Adana-Antioch on the Sarus, see further Levante 1984, 81-82: the coins from the time of Antiochus IV display respectively the diademed head of Antiochus/Zeus (Levante 1984, nn. 1-2; *SNG Paris-Cilicie* nn. 1838-1839) and the veiled head of Demeter/standing horse (Levante 1984, nn. 3-4; *SNG Paris-Cilicie* n. 1840). As for the coinage of Mopsus-Seleucia on the Pyramus, see BMC, cix-cxii and Aulock 1963, 231-276. Two issues in the name of the ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΩΙ ΠΥΡΑΜΩΙ are known: they bear respectively the head of Antiochus/Artemis (*SNG Aulock* n. 8700; *SNG Levante-Cilicia* n. 1302, Aulock 1963, n. 2a-d) and the diademed head of Zeus/fire altar (*SNG Levante-Cilicia* nn. 1303-1304; *SNG Paris-Cilicie* n. 1938; Aulock 1963, n. 3). According to Aulock 1963, 233-234, both series were preceded by an issue bearing the type head of Antiochus/Artemis but with the legend ΜΟΨΕΑΤΩΝ (Aulock 1963, n. 1a-b), dating from the time of Antiochus IV too; perhaps another issue bearing the types head of Antiochus/fire altar but without legend can be ascribed to the same period (*SNG Levante-Cilicia* nn. 1299-1301).

[30] Meyer 2001, 509: the scholar notes that Adana and Mopsus took as a model the coinage of Tarsus also for the revived legend, which in Tarsus was likely to have been an inheritance from Ptolemaic coinage (*ibid.*, 508).

Diadochs or by Seleucus I Nicator[31]. As they carried a Macedonian name from their origin, they were not renamed by Epiphanes, in whose reign they were however, issuing autonomous coinage. The claim to a Macedonian origin - and the legend according to which the city had been founded by Alexander after the victory of Issus - characterizes the earliest coinage of Alexandria: the coins bear in fact the diademed head of Antiochus on a Macedonian shield on the obverse, and both the figure of a standing Zeus and a Nike on the reverse (Fig. 2.13-14)[32]. However, this Macedonian origin is not claimed for the earliest coinage of Aigeai, bearing the head of Antiochus on the obverse, and the local types of the club and the horse head on the reverse (Fig. 2.15-17)[33].

The instance of Oeniandus-Epiphaneia is more controversial: a foundation at the time of Epiphanes is suggested only by the name[34]. As for the coinage, the problem of the beginning of autonomous issuing is linked to the interpretation of the date (99) which appears on some coins minted by Epiphaneia bearing a male bearded head on the obverse, and the figure of Artemis and the legend ΕΠΙΦΑΝΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ on the reverse (Fig. 2.18)[35].

The ancient sacral centre of Castabala is undoubtedly one of the cities most involved in Antiochus's policy: it was refounded as a *polis* with the name of Hierapolis on the Pyramus and received at the same time the right to issue an autonomous coinage[36]. In

31 Despite of the absence of documents, the scholars ascribe the foundation of both cities to the first phase of Seleucid rule (Tscherikower 1927, 58-59, Musti 1966, 187; Jones 1971, 197; Ziegler 2001, 98). For the history of Aigeai in the Hellenistic age, see RE 1/1, 945; Magie 1950, II, 1150-1151; Cohen 1995, 355-357; Ziegler 2001, 97; as for Alexandria, see RE 1/1, 1395-1396; Tscherikower 1927, 58 and Ziegler 2001, 98-99.

32 For the coinage of Alexandria, see Meyer 2001, 505-518 and Levante 1971, 93-101: for the coins bearing the head of Antiochus on a Macedonian shield/Zeus, see Levante 1971, nn. 1-4; *SNG Levante – Cilicia* n. 1831; *SNG Paris – Cilicie* n. 2405; for ones bearing the head of Antiochus on a Macedonian shield/Nike, see Levante 1971, nn. 5-7; *SNG Levante – Cilicia* n. 1832.

33 For the earliest municipal coinage of Aigeai, see Meyer 2001, 505-518 and Bloesch 1982, 59-96, according to whom the city started to mint autonomous coins contemporarily with Tarsus at the end of the 3rd or at the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. (but see also Cohen 1995, 356, n. 5, who assumes that the municipal coinage started in Aigeai, as well as in the other Cilician mints, during the reign of Epiphanes). The coins of the first series bore the head of Athena on the obverse and a goat on the reverse, i.e. the goddess of the city and a type referring to the name of the city, because in Greek αἴξ means right "goat" (Bloesch 1982, nn. 1-8, *SNG Levante – Cilicia* nn. 1641-1645; *SNG Paris – Cilicie* nn. 2285-2286); on the coins of the first series see Bloesch 1982, 9-14, *SNG Levante – Cilicia* nn. 1630-1631, *SNG Paris – Cilicie* n. 2278 (head of Antiochus/head of horse) and Bloesch 1982, nn. 15-19; *SNG Levante – Cilicia* nn. 1632; SNG Paris-Cilicie n. 2279 (head of Antiochus/club). The earliest coinage of Aigeai did not allude to the Macedonian origin of the city: the legend according to which the city had been founded by Alexander, referred in the *Alexander Romance* of Elianus Tacticus, seems to date to the late Hellenistic or Roman age. On this legend, see R. Merkelbach, "Eine Gründungssage der Stadt Aigeai in Kilikien", ZPE 29, 1978, 142; Cohen 1995, 355-356; P. R. Franke, "Aufgaben und Möglichkeiten der antiken Numismatik zur Erforschung des antiken Kleinasien", in: G. Dobesch – G. Rehrenböck (eds.), Die epigraphische und altertumskundliche Erforschung Kleinasiens. Hundert Jahre kleinasiatische Kommission der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaft. Akten Symposium 23.-25. Oktober 1990, DenkschrWien 236 (1993) 183 and Ziegler 2001, 97.

34 On the (re-?)foundation of Epiphaneia at the time of Antiochus IV, see RE 6/1, 192; Tscherikower 1927, 41; Mørkholm 1966, 117; Magie 1950, II, 1159; Cohen 1995, 365-366 and Ziegler 2001, 98; Plinius (*Nat. Hist.* V. 93) says that Epiphaneia was previously named Oeniandus.

35 According to Levante such a date (99) referred to the Aradian era and, consequently, the coin dates to 160/159 B.C. (*SNG Levante – Cilicia* nn. 1805-1806; *SNG Paris – Cilicie* n. 2392); but according to Rigsby 1996, 474, the date might rather be referred to the civic era, starting in 31 B.C.

36 For the history of Castabala-Hierapolis on the Pyramus in the Hellenistic age, see Fr. Imhoof-Blumer, "Die Münzen von Hierapolis-Kastabala und über die geographische Lage der verschiedene Kastabala", ZfN 10, 1883, 267-290; RE 10/2, 2335-2336, Tscherikower 1927, 41; Magie 1950, II, 1151-1152, Robert 1964, 17-100, Cohen 1995, 366-368.

Hierapolis two series of bronze coins were minted: the first series bore Seleucid types both on the obverse and on the reverse (the head of Antiochus/eagle, Fig. 2.19), the second one had local types on both sides (the crowned head of the city-goddess/Perasia seated on the throne, Fig. 2.20)[37].

Finally, we must deal shortly with the main cities of western *Pedias* and eastern *Trachеia*, i.e. Soloi and Seleucia on the Calycadnus, which were not affected by the renewal promoted by Epiphanes[38]. The issues from the Seleucid mints of both cities, already scanty at the time of Seleucus IV and at the beginning of the reign of Antiochus IV (Fig. 2.21-22), stopped completely in 172 B.C. and started again at the time of Antiochus VI[39]. The mint of Soloi, however, struck at this time the earliest silver coins of Ariarathes IV of Cappadocia, brother-in-law and ally of Antiochus IV [40] (Fig. 2.23).

The sanctuaries

As already noted, the sanctuaries of Castabala and Magarsus were some of the centres most affected by Epiphanes' policy[41].

Castabala was one of the most ancient sanctuaries devoted to the Syrian and Anatolian goddess Kubaba, locally worshipped as Perasia and assimilated to the Greek goddess Artemis[42]. The syncretism between Perasia and Artemis or, as it has been said, "la presentazione della dea indigena come divinità poliade di stampo greco", quoted for the first time in Strabo, dates presumably back to the Seleucid age, but it is impossible to clarify its

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[37] As for the coinage of Castabala-Hierapolis, see Meyer 2001, 505-518 and Robert 1964, 64-99. For the coins struck at the time of the Epiphanes in the name of the ΙΕΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΩΙ ΠΥΡΑΜΩΙ, see *Levante – Cilicia* nn. 1561-1562, Ziegler 1988, n. 1271 (the head of Antiochus/eagle) and *SNG Levante-Cilicia* n. 1563 (the head of the city-goddess/Perasia seated on the throne): the latter is generally ascribed to the period following Antiochus's death, but because the same monograms sign the coins of both series, Meyer 2001, 510, n. 34, prefers to date its first appearance to the reign of the Epiphanes.

[38] As for the history of Soloi in the Hellenistic age, see RE 3 A/1, 935-938. As for the history of Seleucia in the Hellenistic age, see RE 2 A/1, 1203-1204; Tscherikower 1927, 39; Magie 1950, II, 1142; Cohen 1995, 369-371. The city was founded by Seleucus I Nicator (Steph. Byz., s.v. Σελευεία, Amm. Marc. XIV. 8. 2) by moving the coastal city Hyria or Hermia inland (Plin., *Nat. Hist.* V. 93 and Steph. Byz., s.v. Ὑρία) and by transferring there the inhabitants of the πόλις Ἑλληνίς (as it is called by Scyl., *Per.* 102) of Holmoi (Strab. XIV. 5. 4, Steph. Byz., s.v. Ὅλμοι).

[39] For the Seleucid coinage of Soloi and Seleucia, see respectively Mørkholm 1964, 59-62 and Houghton 1989b, 15-32, and Houghton 1989a, 77-89. As for the issuing of both mints at the time of Antiochus IV, limited to tetradrachms and drachms bearing the head of Antiochus on the obverse and Apollo seated on the *omphalos* on the reverse, see Houghton 1989b, 23-25, nn. 54-62, Mørkholm 1964, nn. 1-3 (Soloi) and Houghton 1989a, 83-84, n. 4 (Seleucia).

[40] As for the coinage of Soloi on behalf of Ariarathes, see Houghton 1989b, 26; Mørkholm 1964, 61-62 and Mørkholm 1966, 55. As emphasized by Mørkholm 1964, 61-62, the involvement of Soloi implies that Cappadocia had no mints able to strike royal tetradrachms; he adds that the choice of a Cilician mint is quite obvious, because Cilicia was the only province of the Syrian kingdom bordering Cappadocia.

[41] As for the religious policy of Antiochus IV and his relationships with the main sanctuaries of the kingdom, see Mørkholm 1966, 119-120; see further Brenk 1998, 364-393, for a review of the religious innovations that were promoted by Antiochus in the main centres of the kingdom.

[42] For the sanctuary of Castabala-Hierapolis, see Robert 1964, 17-100; Boffo 1985, 53-60; MacKay 1990, 2046; Rigsby 1996, 463-464 and Brenk 1998, 380-381. The earliest text alluding to the worship of the goddess in the area of Castabala dates from the Persian period: it is an Aramaic inscription found at Bahadırlı, not far from the sanctuary, and dating from the 6th or the 5th centuries B.C. (A. Dupont – Sommer, "Une inscription araméenne et la desse Kubaba", in: A. Dupont-Sommer, L. Robert, La dèesse de Hierapolis Castabala [1964] 15).

chronology[43]. The introduction of the worship of Zeus besides Perasia's has been convincingly ascribed to Antiochus's initiative: the earliest trace of Zeus' worship in Castabala is the eagle represented on the coins minted in Castabala at the time of Antiochus IV [44]. The initiative of Antiochus therefore aimed at emphasizing, on the one hand, the ancient native worship, on the other, at introducing the worship, both panhellenic and dynastic, of Zeus Olympius. In the earliest coinage struck in Hierapolis the two devotions were held separately: the image of Perasia was related to the head of the City, whereas the eagle, Zeus's symbol, was put on the reverse of the coins bearing the portrait of the king on the obverse[45]. As already said, the intervention of Antiochus in Castabala did not affect only the worship, but it implied some political and administrative changes, such as the grant of the *status* of *polis* and the renaming of Castabala as Hierapolis on the Pyramus, the name the city was to keep in the ensuing centuries.

Magarsus, located at the mouth of the Pyramus, was an ancient centre of the worship of Athena, to whom Alexander himself had sacrificed during his march through Cilicia before the battle of Issus[46]. Little is known about the history of Magarsus in the early Hellenistic age, but it may be supposed that it had been subdued by the nearby city of Mallus, as being at the same time its harbour and sanctuary. The scanty available documentation prevents us from saying whether Antiochus had furthered a religious renewal in Magarsus, as in Castabala: his care toward the sanctuary, however, is assured by the grant of the right of citizenship, with all related rights, shown by the inscription of Karataş. This measure is much more meaningful, as Antioch on the Pyramus lost not only its dynastic name, but also civic *status* itself following Antiochus's death: indeed, after the sixties of the 2nd century B.C., the civic ethnic disappeared from the inscriptions and the sanctuary was again subdued by neighbouring Mallus, as can be inferred from the fact that Mallus adopted the image of Athena Magarsis as its own coin type, both on the civic and royal issues, from the time of Demetrius I (Fig. 2.7)[47].

Antiochus's attitude toward the other sanctuaries of Cilicia is difficult to assess. It is possible that at Mopsus the grant both of civic *status* and of the right of issuing autonomous coins was linked to the celebrity of the local oracle, devoted to the homonym seer[48]; on the other hand, it is not certain whether these measures were taken by Antiochus IV or by his predecessor Seleucus IV.

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43 Boffo 1985, 59; Strab. XII. 2. 7.

44 For the hypothesis that the worship of Zeus was introduced to Hierapolis by Antiochus IV, see Robert 1964, 96-97; Boffo 1985, 58-59 and Brenk 1998, 380-381.

45 See *supra*, n. 37.

46 For the sanctuary of Magarsus, see Robert 1951, 256-259; MacKay 1990, 2047; as for the worship of Athena Magarsis, R. Fleischer, Artemis von Ephesos und verwandte Kultstatuen aus Anatolien und Syrien, *EPRO* 35 (1973) 260-263 and Houghton 1984, 102-110. The sanctuary is mentioned by Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. Μάγαρσος). Alexander's passage in Magarsus is quoted by Arrian (*Anab.* II. 5. 9).

47 For the Seleucid coinage of Mallus see Houghton 1984, 91-110: for the coins from the time of Demetrius I, see Houghton 1984, n. 1 = *CSE* n. 505. For the municipal coinage of Mallus, see Imhoof-Blumer 1883, 89-127 and *BMC*, cxvii-cxxiv: some bronze coins bearing the head of the City/Athena Magarsis (*SNG Levante – Cilicia* n. 1263; Ziegler 1988, nn. 895-897; *SNG Paris – Cilicie* nn. 1920-1921) and Athena Magarsis/eagle (*SNG Levante – Cilicia* n. 1264, *SNG Paris – Cilicie* n. 1919) have been ascribed to the 2nd to the Ist centuries B.C.

48 For the oracle of Mopsus, see Boffo 1985, 60-63 and MacKay 1990, 2115-2116. For the antiquity of the worship, see R. D. Barnett, "Mopsos", JHS LXXIII, 1953, 140-143.

The situation of the sanctuaries of Cilicia *Tracheia* is even more confused: they comprised the oracle of Apollo Sarpedonius, located on the promontory near Seleucia[49], and the sanctuary of Olba, where Zeus Olbius, the heir of the ancient Luwian deity Tarhunt[50], was worshipped at least since the time of Seleucus I Nicator. It is remarkable that these sanctuaries were the only ones that were devoted to the main deities of the Seleucid dynasty, i.e. Zeus and Apollo.

In the 3rd century B.C. both the ancient Seleucid colony of Seleucia and the native temple-state of Olba took advantage of the lack of control over those territories located on the boundaries between Seleucid and Ptolemaic possessions: it can be consequently assumed that the two main political centres of eastern *Tracheia* did not like the revival of the Seleucid sovereignty in the aftermath of the victory of Antiochus III and the centralizing policy pursued by Antiochus IV. The traces of this attitude, hostile to the Seleucid dynasty, can be seen in the support given a few years later to the usurper Alexander Balas, who sheltered in Olba and consulted the oracle of Apollo Sarpedonius[51]. Antiochus's relationships with *Tracheia* are unknown: the information concerning the war between the king and the rebellious tribes of the Taurus (in memory of which the Cilicians had raised a statue in Antioch) can be perhaps situated in this region[52].

However, at least one clue suggests that the Olbian temple-state was involved in the hellenizing policy furthered by Antiochus IV: the inscription of the Corycian Cave, which lists the priests of Zeus Corycius (strictly linked to Zeus Olbius) from the 3rd to the Ist century B.C., shows from 175 B.C. a revival of Greek names, in contrast to the absolute predominance of Luwian names in the period lasting from the second half of the 3rd century

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[49] For the sanctuary of Apollo Sarpedonius, see MacKay 1990, 2110-2113. The earliest mention of the oracle dates to the time of Alexander Balas (Diod. XXXII. 10. 2); Strabo (XIV. 5. 19) quotes the sanctuary and the oracle of Artemis Sarpedonia, but without specifying its localization; some centuries later Basilius of Seleucia (*Vita S. Teclae*, Migne P.G. 85, 566 ff.) gives an account of the foundation of the oracle of Sarpedonius. MacKay 1990, 2112, suggests that the Apollo represented on the reverse of the coins of Holmoi in the 4th century B.C. (*SNG Levante-Cilicia* nn. 33-36) is the same deity worshipped at Cape Sarpedon.

[50] For the history of the sanctuary of Zeus Olbius, see Th. S. MacKay, Olba in Rough Cilicia (Ph. D. Diss., Ann Arbor 1968), 76 ff.; Boffo 1985, 41-47; MacKay 1990, 2082-2103; S. Durugönül, Türme und Siedlungen im Rauhen Cilicia (1998) 79-84; K. Trampedach, "Tempel und Grossmacht: Olba in hellenistischer Zeit", in: E. Jean - A. M. Dinçol - S. Durugönül (eds.), La Cilicie: espaces et pouvoirs locaux (2e millénaire av. J.-C. - 4e siècle ap. J.-C.). Actes de la Table ronde internationale d'Istanbul, 2-5 novembre 1999 (2001) 269-288; for the relationships between Zeus Olbius and the Luwian deity Tarhunt, see A. M. Jasink, "Divinità «cilicie»: Tarhunt, Sarruma, Santa. Esempi di continuità nel culto e nell'onomastica", in: P. Desideri, S. Settis (eds.), Scambi e identità culturale: la Cilicia, QuadStor 76 (1991) 20.

[51] According to Diodorus (XXXI. 32A = *FGrHist* II 13), Alexander was sent by the king of Pergamum "to a certain Cilician named Zenophanes. This man, who had quarrelled for some reason with Demetrius, and had been assisted in certain difficult situations by Eumenes, who was then king, was accordingly at odds with the one, and kindly disposed to the other. He received the youth in a town of Cilicia, and spread the word abroad in Syria that the youth would reclaim his father's kingdom in his own good time" (trad. F. R. Walton, ed. Loeb): the reference to Zenophanes, the name that the Olbian high priests handed down to each other, suggests that Alexander could have found refuge in Olba. Diodorus (XXXII. 10. 2) adds that, after he had been deposed from the throne (146/5 B.C.), Alexander went back to Cilicia, where he consulted the oracle of Apollo.

[52] Lib., *Or.* XI. 123.

to the first quarter of the 2nd century B.C. (Fig. 4)[53]. The coincidence of the dates raises the question whether this phenomenon may be due to a mere revival of Hellenism in the whole region or could imply the direct involvement of Antiochus IV in the area of the Olbian sanctuary. This question cannot be answered; however, the history of the Olbian temple-state was afterwards once again linked to the destiny of the Seleucid dynasty.

The Hellenization of Cilicia

Above we have analyzed the measures taken by Antiochus in favour of the cities and the sanctuaries of Cilicia: a full evaluation of the impact of this policy on the Cilician cities requires nevertheless a review of the documents not inspired by the central power. Such documents, mostly epigraphic in character and pertaining almost totally to the upper class, reflect the political, social and cultural life of the cities at the time of Antiochus IV and allows us to appreciate the actual degree of Hellenization reached - mainly, even if not exclusively - due to this ruler[54].

The number of texts referring to the cities and the inhabitants of Cilicia in the age of Epiphanes is quite large in comparison with the quantity of similar, earlier and subsequent inscriptions. Therefore, it is noteworthy that most documents originate from the *poleis* of continental and insular Greece, to which in this period Cilicia - as the whole Seleucid kingdom - seems to be linked through close relations.

There are two main kinds of epigraphic texts referring to the inhabitants of Cilicia dating from the seventies and sixties of the 2nd century B.C.: the agonistic inscriptions and the proxeny decrees.

Three honorary inscriptions from Karataç were dedicated by the people of Antioch on the Pyramus to their fellow citizens who had gained a victory at the games held at Olympia, Nemea and at the Herakleia of Thebes[55]. The importance assigned to participation and to victory in the athletic games is illustrated also by the earlier mentioned inscription from Karataş in favour of Antioch on the Cydnus: in fact, the "winners crowned in the

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53 Ph. H. J. Houwink Ten Cate, The Luwian population groups of Lycia and Cilicia Aspera during the Hellenistic period (1961) 205-206: "The resurgence of Hellenism must therefore have taken place during the first half of the 2nd century B.C. The usually rather brief intermediary phase in which the language and script used were Greek but the personal names were kept unchanged lasted three quarters of a century, from 250 B.C. to 175 B.C. in this particular instance. The special circumstances which are responsible for this prolongation can readily be determined, since it is a well-known fact that the Seleucids relaxed their hold over this region in the second half of the 3rd century B.C. and resumed their dominant position temporarily under Antiochus III in 197 B.C.". For the list of the Corycian Cave, see E. L. Hicks, "Inscriptions from Western Cilicia", JHS 12, 1891, 243-256; Heberdey, Wilhelm 1896, 71-79, and Hagel, Tomaschitz 1998, 184-187, KrA 1A; for the worship of Zeus Corycius and its links to that of Zeus Olbius, see further MacKay 1990, 2103-2110; for the Hellenistic temple of the Corycian Cave, see O. Feld - H. Weber, "Tempel und Kirche über der korykischen Grotte (Cennet Cehennem) in Kilikien", IstMitt 17, 1967, 254-278.

54 For the Hellenization of the Cilician cities in the 2nd century B.C., reflected in the cultural life of Seleucia, Soloi and Tarsus as portrayed by Strabo, see in particular the essays of P. Desideri: P. Desideri, "Le città della pianura di Cilicia in Strabone (XIV, 5,8-19)", StTardoant 2, 1986, 331-346; Desideri 1991, 141-166; P. Desideri, "Strabo's Cilicians", De Anatolia Antiqua, Eski Anadolu 1, 1991, 299-304.

55 Le Bas, Waddington 1870, 351, n. 1487a: 'Αντιοχέων ὁ δῆμος | 'Αμφίλοχον Θείσωνος | νικήσαντα 'Ολύμπια | ἄν[δ]ρας δό[λιχον; Heberdey, Wilhelm 1896, 7, n. 14: 'Αντιοχέων ὁ δῆμος | 'Ηράκλειτον 'Αμφιλόχου | νικῶντα Νέμεα ἄνδρας | σταδίον; *ibid.*, 8, n. 17: 'Αντιοχέων ὁ δῆμος | Καλλικλῆν 'Αρίστωνος | νικήσαντα 'Ηράκλεια | τὰ ἐν Θήβαις κέλητι | πωλικῶι.

games" had a place of honour in the procession going from the house of the *prytanes* to the sanctuary of Athena Magarsis. Several winners coming from Cilicia are also listed in the Greek agonistic inscriptions of the same period: citizens of Antioch on the Pyramus, Antioch on the Cydnus and Zephyrium appear in three Panathenaic victors lists dating between 170 and 165 B.C. and another inhabitant of Antioch on the Cydnus is recorded as a winner at Kos[56].

The Cilicians honoured by the Greek cities with the grant of the proxeny came from the same centres. In this period the proxeny did not imply the duties and the burdens which were related to it in the Classical age, but it was rather given as a honorary title, granted for services done in favour of the city or its citizens. Citizens of Antioch on the Cydnus and Zephyrium are mentioned in the Delphic proxeny lists respectively in 178 and 172-171 B.C., while in the same years an unknown citizen of Antioch on the Cydnus was appointed *proxenus* of the Delians[57]. In at least one instance it can be supposed that a *proxenus* and a winner in the games were relatives[58].

The above texts provide an interesting picture of the urban *élites* of Seleucid Cilicia in the first half of the 2nd century B.C.: they were usually a limited number of families of hellenized culture and ample means, who took part in the most important Hellenic games and furthered in their own country the political and commercial interests of the Greek *poleis*[59].

Both the participation in the games, particularly if crowned with victory, and the grant of proxeny, not only gave prestige and distinction, but also strengthened the sense of affiliation to the panhellenic community in a region that, at least geographically, was far from the leading centres of Hellenism. Particularly, the emphasis laid on the meaning of the athletic games as a form of aggregation among the several components of the Hellenic world is shown in the first half of the 2nd century B.C. in the magnificence of the games organized by T. Quintius Flamininus at Athens in 196 B.C. and by Antiochus IV himself at Daphne in 166 B.C.[60].

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[56] Two of the lists are edited by Tracy, Habicht 1991, 186-237 and *SEG* XLI, n. 115: the Cilicians are mentioned in the col. I.29, 32 and col. II.26-33; the third one is published in *IG* II^2, 2316.47-50. Finally, the Kos inscription is edited by T. Klee, Zur Geschichte der gymnischen Agone an griechischen Festen (1918) 14 (ll. 19-20). See Tracy, Habicht 1991, 202-203 for the large amount of Cilicians among the winners.

[57] The Delphic proxeny list is published in *Syll*^{3}, II, n. 585: one Zephyriotes and two inhabitants of Antioch on the Cydnus are mentioned respectively in ll. 239-240 and 281-286; the Delian decree, hypothetically dated to the first half of the 2nd century B.C., are edited in *IG* XI,4, n. 822.

[58] According to Tracy, Habicht 1991, 215, it is likely that Asclepiades son of Asclepiadorus Zephyriotes, winner at the Panathenaic games in 170/69 B.C., belonged to the same family of Apollonides son of Asclepiodorus Zephyriotes honoured in Delphi by the grant of the proxeny in 178 B.C.; in their opinion it is also possible that both descended from Asclepiades Zephyriotes, author of a dedication to Asclepius in Epidaurus in the 3rd century B.C.

[59] That the winners belonged to a limited number of families and were Greek in origin, can be inferred from the onomastic and prosopographic analysis of the inscriptions. In two of the three inscriptions from Karataş the people of Antioch honoured respectively Amphilochos (Le Bas, Waddington 1870, 351. n. 1487a) and Heracleitus son of Amphilochus (Heberdey, Wilhelm 1896, 7, n. 14), who were probably father and son, as suggested by the first editors. For the family ties of the winners mentioned in the Panathenaic lists, see Tracy, Habicht 1991, 215. The inscriptions also mention some women, who probably sponsored their relatives taking part in the games.

[60] For the games organized in Daphne in 166 B.C., see J. G. Bunge, "Die Feiern Antiochos' IV. Epiphanes in Daphne im Herbst 166 v. Chr. Zu einem umstrittenen Kapitel syrischer und judäischer Geschichte", Chiron 6, 1976, 53-71: according to him Antiochus wanted to make them a "Demonstration der religiös-kulturellen Einheit des Hellenums" (*ibid.*, 67-68, 71).

Finally, it is necessary to recall two important documents, a numismatic one and an epigraphic one, which testify to the involvement of some Cilicians in the political life at this time, namely as diplomatic intermediaries between the Seleucid court and the Greek states.

The first document is a coin hoard found in Zephyrium that consisted of 100 tetradrachms of Perseus of Macedonia, struck between 178 and 174 B.C.: considering that the coins of Perseus had no circulation in Asia beyond the Taurus, it has been supposed that the tetradrachms belonged to a dignitary of the Seleucid court coming from Zephyrium, who perhaps accompanied Laodice, the daughter of Seleucus IV and the niece of Antiochus IV, to Pella for her wedding with Perseus. As Livius says, on that occasion the Seleucids sent gifts to the king of Macedonia and it is likely that the coins may have been given to as counter-item one of Laodice's companions[61].

A honorary inscription found in two fragments in Seleucia on the Calycadnus can be related to the same historical context: it contains the proxeny decrees issued in 172 B.C. by the cities of Argus, Rhodes, Byzantium, Cyzicus, Calcedon, Lampsacus and from the Beotic League and two citizenship decrees issued by Byzantium and Lampsacus themselves in honour of Eudemus, citizen of Seleucia (Fig. 5)[62]. The historical context has been revealed by Heberdey and Wilhelm, first editors of the inscription: it deals with the years preceding the outbreak of the Third Macedonian War, when Antiochus had diplomatic relations with Perseus and the Greek cities. During these negotiations, Eudemus, a dignitary of the Seleucid court, had to promote the interests of the mentioned cities by Antiochus: in recognition of his care, these cities granted to him the proxeny and, in two instances, honorary citizenship[63].

Both the hoard of Zephyrium and the inscription of Seleucia show that some Cilician people in the first half of the 2nd century B.C. held an important place in the Seleucid court, as advisers and ambassadors of the king. It is noteworthy that these people were mainly diplomatic intermediaries between the Seleucid East and the Greek-Macedonian West, embodying in some respects the role traditionally played by Cilicia. Cilicia itself continued to be a kind of bridge amongst the different regions and cultures of the Mediterranean, as is shown by the supply from Soloi of the coinage of Ariarathes IV of Cappadocia.

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61 For the hoard, known as Mersin 1950 (=*IGCH* 1431) and the circumstances of its burial, see H. Seyrig, Trésors du Levant, anciens et noveaux (Trésors monétaires Séleucides 2, 1973) 47-48, n. 9. For the historical context, see Liv. XLII. 12. 3, Pol. XXV. 4. 8, App., *Mak.* 11. 2, and, among the modern authors, Will 1966, II, 219-220.

62 The two fragments, edited respectively by Heberdey, Wilhelm 1896, 108-117, nn. 186-187 and Keil, Wilhelm, 1915. 17-21 (but see also *Syll.*^{3} II, 199-203, nn. 644-645 and, recently, Hagel, Tomaschitz 1998, 359-360 Sel. 63, 363-364. Sel. 81), have been studied by several scholars: see in particular W. Volgraff, "Inscriptiones Argivae", Mnemosyne 43, 1915, 383, n. 2; P. Charneux, "Inscriptions d'Argos", BCH 56, 1956, 603-604 n. 5; Ch. Börker, "Der rhodische Kalender", ZPE 31, 1978, 208-210; Frisch 1978, 41-44, n. 6 and Merkelbach 1980, 3-5, n. 1.

63 The historical context was revealed by Heberdey, Wilhelm 1896, 108-117, nn. 186-187 and Keil, Wilhelm 1915, 17-21. The intermediation carried out by Eudemus at Antiochus's court is explicitly recalled in the decrees of Rhodes (ll. 22-27), Byzantium (ll. 34-41) and Calcedon (ll. 65-67). As observed by Heberdey, Wilhelm 1896, 108-117 and Frisch 1978, 42-44, all the cities issuing the decrees were involved in the war and in the preceding negotiations; some of them were moreover affected by the euergetic activity of Antiochus (Liv. XLI. 20. 5-8). Probably these cities were interested in having good relations with Antiochus, not only in order to take advantage from his munificence, but also in order to balance the increasing power of the Romans in the eastern Mediterranean. Despite the alliance with Perseus, eventually Antiochus did not take part in the war, as he was then engaged in the Sixth Syrian War against Ptolemy VI (Frisch 1978, 42-44; Merkelbach 1980, 4-5). See further Will 1966, II, 222-226 and Mørkholm 1966, 105.

Unfortunately, we do not know if, and how, Antiochus's policy furthered also the urban and architectural renovation of the cities: the ancient authors, so detailed about Antiochus's interventions in other cities of Greece and Asia Minor, keep silent about possible euergetic acts carried out by the king in Cilicia[64]; on the other hand, the archaeological research, neglecting the centres of *Pedias*, has not supported until now the reconstruction of the appearance of the Cilician cities, not only at the time of Epiphanes, but also during the whole Hellenistic age[65].

Due to the evidence from both the inscriptions and the literary sources, it can nevertheless be inferred there was at least a *gymnasium* in the cities involved in Antiochus's policy. This institution was established to maintain and spread Hellenic culture: the presence of *gymnasia* in Soloi and Antioch on the Pyramus is testified respectively at the time of Antiochus III and Antiochus IV and in Mallus in the 2nd century B.C., while for the *gymnasia* of Mopsus, Tarsus, and perhaps Aigeai and Seleucia on the Calycadnus there is only a *terminus ante quem* in the I[st] century B.C.[66].

Conclusions

Through the review of the literary, epigraphic and numismatic records illustrating the history of Cilicia in the decade 175-165 B.C. we have tried to demonstrate how Antiochus IV contributed to the Hellenization of the cities of *Pedias* as well as, at least indirectly, of those of eastern *Tracheia*. The process of political and cultural renovation in the name of Hellenism, begun at the time of Alexander, went on in the following century and developed

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[64] For the euergetic activity of Antiochus in the cities of Greece, Asia Minor and Syria and its propagandistic aim, see J. Lippstreu, "Antiochos IV. von Syrien und Eumenes II. von Pergamon als Architekturstifter", in: W. Hoepfner - G. Zimmer (eds.), Die Griechische Polis. Architektur und Politik (1993) 126-133 and, in particular, 129-132: among the cities affected by the Epiphanes' munificence Polybius and Livius numbered Athens, Antioch on the Orontes, Iasos, Megalopolis, Delus, Rhodes, Miletus and Cyzicus.

[65] On this see the considerations of M. Spanu, "Roman influence in Cilicia through Architecture", Olba VIII, 2003, 1-5, and S. Durugönül, "Development of Ancient Settlements in Cilicia", Adalya V, 2001-2002, 111.

[66] For the social and cultural function of the *gymnasium* in the Hellenistic world, see Delorme 1960, 459-480; for the role of the *gymnasium* in the cultural policy of the Hellenistic rulers, see further Brenk 1998, 378-379. The presence of a *gymnasium* in Soloi in 197 B.C. is recorded by an inscription erected by Ptolemy, *strategus* of Coelesyria and Fenicia, in honour of Antiochus the Great, Hermes and Heracles: for this inscription (edited also in *OGIS* I, 573-577, n. 230), see P. Paris, G. Radet, "Inscription relative a Ptolémée fils de Thraseas", BCH 14, 1890, 587-589; M. Holleaux, Études d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecque. III. Lagides et Séleucides (1942) 160-161; E. Gabba, Iscrizioni greche e latine per lo studio della Bibbia (1958) 18-19, n. 2 and Y. Grandjean, G. Rougemont, "Collection de l'École Française d'Athènes : Inscriptions", BCH 96.1, 1972, 109-110. The inscription reveals also the connection between the *gymnasium* and the dynastic cult: see Delorme 1960, 342-346. The existence of a *gymnasium* in Antioch on the Pyramus at the time of Antiochus IV is testified by the mention of τὸν γυμνασίαρχον μετὰ τῶν | ἄλλων καὶ τῶν νέων καὶ τὸν παιδονόμον (ll. 11-12) in the inscription of Karataş (*supra*), while the presence of a *gymnasium* in Mallus can be inferred from the inscription (found in Karataş too, and dating from the 2nd century B.C.), in which the people of Mallus honours Iason, γ[υ]μνασιαρχήσαντα ἐπιδόξως and ἀλε[ί]ψαντα δὲ | καὶ το[ὺς] νέους ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου μεγαλομερῶς (G. Dagron - D. Feissel, Inscriptions de Cilicie (1987) 114-115, n. 70). The *gymnasium* of Mopsus is quoted by App., *Syr.* XI. 69 as the place where Seleucus VI died in 95 B.C. (not in 125 B.C., as wrongly said by Delorme 1960, 198). In Tarsus, Strab. XIV. 5. 12 mentions τὸ γυμνάσιον τῶν νέων on the bank of the Pyramus (see again Delorme 1960, 217). In Aigeai a fragmentary inscription, dating from the I[st] century B.C., mentions perhaps in l. 5 a *palaestra* (Le Bas, Waddington 1870, n. 1489, but see Delorme 1960, 239-240, n. 7). Finally, according to Delorme 1960, 321, 476, the city of Seleucia honouring the physician Asclepiades for the conferences held in its own *gymnasium* might be identified with the city on the Calycadnus (the inscription comes from Adalya: see R. Paribeni - P. Romanelli, "Studi e ricerche nell'Anatolia meridionale", MonAnt XXIII, 1914, 60-62, n. 48). But this identification is not certain (*ibid.*, 61).

fully at the beginning of the 2nd century B.C.: by having a strong central direction and devising an ambitious political plan, Antiochus quickened the rate of change decisively. The political and religious measures taken by Antiochus emphasized on the one hand, the specific features of the cities, on the other hand he furthered their integration into the Seleucid kingdom and, by means of this, into the Hellenistic *koine*.

The policy carried out by Antiochus in order to strengthen the links between the dynasty and the cities had quite the opposite effect, developing an awareness of their own identity and a pride in their autonomy. After Antiochus's death, all the cities involved in the renaming, except for Hierapolis and Epiphaneia, turned the dynastic name into the traditional one; in the municipal coinage, the Seleucid iconography was gradually replaced by local types, which were therefore introduced on the reverse of royal coins struck in the Cilician mints; finally, taking advantage of the increasingly frequent civil wars within the Seleucid dynasty, a lot of cities increased their independence and obtained privileges, such as the *asylia* and the *autonomia*.

On the other hand, the contribution made by Antiochus to urbanization and to the Hellenization of Cilicia went beyond political and administrative measures and consisted mainly in the thorough diffusion of the Hellenic way of life amongst the leading classes, also largely involving those cities not affected by the political renovation, and lasting long after the king's death. At present it is impossible to say whether this policy had a monumental and urban impact on the cities; it can be hoped that forthcoming archaeological research will provide new information concerning the Hellenistic phases of these settlements.

The most important and lasting consequence of Antiochus IV's policy toward the Cilician cities must be traced to the help he gave to the development of a strong local identity and, at the same time, of the proud awareness of belonging to the Hellenic world: in other words, in the contribution he made to forming the "double identity", recalled in Plutarch's definition Ἕλληνες ἐκ Κιλικίας and fully formulated by the Apostle Paul' claim to "double citizenship"[67].

67 Plutarch defines as Ἕλληνες ἐκ Κιλικίας the Cilicians transferred to Tigranocerta by Tigranes in 83 B.C. (*Luc.* 26. 1): see P. Siewert, "Le deportazioni di Tigrane e Pompeo in Cilicia", in: Coercizione e mobilità umana nel mondo antico (1995) 227. For the concept of the "double identity", see again Meyer 2001, 511-512.

Abbreviations

Aulock 1963	H. von Aulock, "Die Münzprägung der kilikischen Stadt Mopsos", AA 1963, 231-276.
Bloesch 1982	H. Bloesch, "Hellenistic Coins of Aegae (Cilicia)", MusNotAmNumSoc 27, 1982, 53-96.
BMC	G. F. Hill, British Museum Coins. Greek Coins of Lycaonia, Isauria and Cilicia (1900).
Boffo 1985	L. Boffo, I re ellenistici e i centri religiosi d'Asia Minore (1985).
Brenk 1998	F. M. Brenk, "Jerusalem-Hierapolis. The Revolt under Antiochus IV Epiphanes in the Light of Evidence for Hierapolis of Phrygia, Babylon and other Cities", in: F. M. Brenk (ed.), Relighting the Souls. Studies in Plutarch, in Greek Literature, Religion and Philosophy, and in the New Testament Background (1998) 364-393.
Bunge 1974	J. G. Bunge, "Theos Epiphanes'. Zu den ersten fünf Regierungsjähren Antiochos' IV. Epiphanes", Historia 23, 1974, 57-85.
Bunge 1975	J. G. Bunge, "Antiochos-Helios. Methoden und Ergebnisse der Reichspolitik Antiochos' IV. Epiphanes von Syrien im Spiegel seiner Münzen", Historia 24, 1975, 164-188.
CSE	A. Houghton, Coins of the Seleucid Empire from the Collection of Arthur Houghton (1983).
Cohen 1995	G. M. Cohen, The Hellenistic Settlements in Europe, the Islands and Asia Minor (1995).
Cox 1950	D. H. Cox, "The Coins", in: H. Goldman (ed.), Excavations at Gözlü Kule. Tarsus. I. The Hellenistic and Roman Periods (1950) 38-83.
Delorme 1960	J. Delorme, Gymnasion. Étude sur le monuments consacrés a l'éducation en Grèce, Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 196 (1960).
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Frisch 1978	P. Frisch, Die Inschriften von Lampsakos, IK 6 (1978).
Grainger 2002	J. D. Grainger, The Roman War of Antiochos the Great, Mnemosyne Supplements 239 (2002).
Hagel – Tomaschitz 1998	S. Hagel – K. Tomaschitz, Repertorium der westkilikischen Inschriften: nach den Scheden der Kleinasiatischen Kommission der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, DenkschrWien 265 (1998).
Heberdey – Wilhelm 1896	R. Heberdey – A. Wilhelm, Reisen in Kilikien, DenkschrWien 44 (1896).
Houghton 1984	A. Houghton, "The Seleucid Mint of Mallos and the Cult Figure of Athena Magarsia", in: Festschrift für Leo Mildenberg (1984) 91-110.
Houghton 1989a	A. Houghton, "The Royal Seleucid Mint of Seleucia on the Calycadnus", in: Numismatic Studies in Memory C. M. Kraay and O. Mørkholm (1989) 77-89.
Houghton 1989b	A. Houghton, "The Royal Seleucid Mint of Soli", NumChron 149, 1989, 15-32.
IGCH	M. Thompson – O. Mørkholm – C. M. Kraay (eds.), An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards (1973).
Imhoof – Blumer 1883	Fr. Imhoof – Blumer, "Mallos, Mégarsos, Antioche du Pyramos", Annuaire de la Societé française de Numismatique et d'archéologie 7, 1883, 89-127.
Jones 1971	A. H. M. Jones, The Cities of Eastern Roman Provinces[2] (1971).
Keil – Wilhelm 1915	J. Keil – A. Wilhelm, "Vorläufiger Bericht über eine Reise in Kilikien", ÖJh 18, 1915, 5-59.

Le Bas–Waddington 1870	P. Le Bas – W. H. Waddington, Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure. Inscriptions greques et latines. III (1870).
Levante 1971	E. Levante, "The coinage of Alexandria kat'Isson in Cilicia", NumChron 7th series 11, 1971, 93-102.
Levante 1984	E. Levante, "The coinage of Adana in Cilicia", NumChron 144, 1984, 81-94.
MacKay 1990	Th. S. MacKay, "The Major Sanctuaries of Pamphylia and Cilicia", ANRW II.18.3 (1990) 2045-2129.
Magie 1950	D. Magie, Roman Rule in Asia Minor, I-II (1950).
McDonald 1967	A. H. McDonald, "The Treaty of Apamea (188 B.C.)", JRS 57, 1967, 1-8.
Merkelbach 1980	R. Merkelbach, Die Inschriften von Kalchedon, IK 20 (1980).
Meyer 2001	M. Meyer, "Cilicia as part of the Seleucid Empire. The beginning of municipal coinage", in: E. Jean – A. M. Dinçol – S. Durugönül (eds.), La Cilicie: espaces et pouvoirs locaux (2e millénaire av. J.-C. – 4e siècle ap. J.-C.). Actes de la Table ronde internationale d'Istanbul, 2-5 novembre 1999 (2001) 505-518.
Mørkholm 1964	O. Mørkholm, "Seleucid Coins from Cilicia ca. 220-150 B.C.", MusNotAmNumSoc XI, 1964, 53-62.
Mørkholm 1966	O. Mørkholm, Antiochos IV of Syria (1966).
Musti 1966	D. Musti, "Lo stato dei Seleucidi. Dinastia popoli città da Seleuco I ad Antioco III", StClO 15, 1966, 61-197.
Rigsby 1996	K. Rigsby, Asylia. Territorial Inviolability in the Hellenistic World (1996).
Robert 1951	L. Robert, "Contributions à la topographie de villes de l'Asie Mineure méridionale", CRAI, 1951, 251-256.
Robert 1964	L. Robert, "La Dèesse de Hiérapolis Castabala a l'époque gréco-romaine", in: A. Dupont-Sommer – L. Robert, La dèesse de Hierapolis Castabala (1964), 17-100.
SEG	Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum, I-XXV, J. Hondius e A.G. Woodhead (eds.), 1923-.
SGDI	Sammlung der Griechischen Dialektinschriften, H. Collitz (ed.), 1899-.
SNG Aulock	S. von Aulock, Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. Deutschland, Kilikien, 5413-6098 (1966).
SNG Levante - Cilicia	E. Levante, Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. Switzerland I. Levante-Cilicia (1986).
SNG Paris - Cilicie	E. Levante, Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. France 2. Cabinet des médailles, Cilicie (1993).
Syll3	Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum3. W. Dittenberger (ed.). 1915-1924.
Tracy – Habicht 1991	St. V. Tracy – Ch. Habicht, "New and old Panathenaic victors lists", Hesperia 60, 1991, 186-237.
Tscherikower 1927	V. Tscherikower, Die hellenistischen Städtgründungen von Alexander den Grossen bis auf die Römerzeit (1927).
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Will 1966	E. Will, Histoire politique du monde hellénistique (323-30 av. J.-C.), I-II (1966).
WSM	E. T. Newell, The Coinage of Western Seleucid Mints from Seleucus I to Antiochus III (1941).
Ziegler 1988	R. Ziegler, Münzen Kilikiens aus kleineren deutschen Sammlungen (1988).
Ziegler 2001	R. Ziegler, "Seleukeia am Golf von Issos", EpigrAnat 33, 2001, 95-103.

Özet

Antiokhos IV Epiphanes ve Kilikya

Krallığının bir süre önce Magnesia yenilgisiyle başlayan gerilemesine karşıt olarak Antiokhos IV Epiphanes merkezi güç ile ortamdaki diğer unsurlar arasındaki ilişkileri güçlendirmeyi amaçlayan bir politika yürüttü. Seleukoslar için çok stratejik bir öneme sahip olan Kilikya, Antiokhos'un politikasında en çok adı geçen bölgeler arasındaydı.

IV. Antiokhos, Kilikya'da beş kent kurdu veya "yeniden kurdu" ve Kastabala haricindekilere Seleukoslu yöneticilerin adını verdi: bu kentler Adana/Saros Antiokheia'sı; Mopsou(h)estia/Pyramos Seleukeia'sı; Magarsos/Pyramos Antiokheia'sı, Kastabala-Hierapolis ve Oeniandos-Epiphaneia. Makedon veya Seleukos asıllı adlar taşıyan kentler (Aigeai, Issos yakınındaki Aleksandreia, Kalykadnos Seleukeia'sı, İ.Ö. 3. yy.'ın ortasından beri Tarsus/Kydnos Antiokheia'sı olarak adlandırılan Tarsos) ya da Soloi ve Mallos gibi önemli merkezler yeniden adlandırılmadı. Bu kentlerden beşine (Saros Antiokheia'sı, Pyramos Seleukeia'sı, Hierapolis, Aigeai ve Alexandreia) sikke basma izni verildi. Kydnos Antiokheia'sı İ.Ö. 3. yy. başından beri kendi sikkesini basıyordu. Daha erken tarihli kent sikkelerinde kralî ve yerel tiplerin birlikte bulunması, yönetici ile kentler arasındaki diyalektiği vücuda getirmektedir. Kydnos Antiokheia'sı, kraliyet sikkesi basmaya devam ederken Soloi ve Kalykadnos Seleukeia'sı kraliyet darphaneleri geçici olarak kapatıldı.

IV. Antiokhos, Kilikya'nın en önemli kutsal alanlarının gelişmesine de katkıda bulundu. "Kutsal Kent" olarak yeniden adlandırılan Kastabala'da, yerel tanrıça Preasia tapınımını güçlendirdi ve Zeus Olympios'u onun *paredrus*'u olarak tanıttı; yakındaki Mallos/Pyramos Antiokheia'sı ve Kydnos Antiokheia'sına karşın Athena'nın tapınıldığı Magarsos'a kendi siyasi gelişmesine katkıda bulunarak yakın ilgi gösterdi. Batı Kilikya'nın ana kutsal alanları olan Kalykadnos Seleukeia'sı yakınındaki Apollon Sarpedonios bilicilik merkezi ve Olba'daki Zeus kutsal alanının bu süreçte payları olup olmadığını söylemek çok zor ancak Hellenizm'in tekrar yükselişe geçmesi onları da etkiledi.

Son olarak, bu döneme ait epigrafik metinler, Kilikya vatandaşlarının ileri gelenlerinin ulaştığı hellenizasyon derecesini göstermektedir. Pyramos Antiokheia'sı, Kydnos Antiokheia'sı ve Zephyrion vatandaşlarının adları yazıtlarda Grek kentlerinin *proxeni*'leri veya en önemli Hellenik oyunlarda kazananlar olarak geçmektedir; diğer bazı belgeler ise Seleukos yöneticileri adına bazı Kilikyalılar tarafından yerine getirilen siyasi ve diplomatik etkinlikler hakkında kanıt sunmaktadır.

Antiokhos'un müdahaleleri, Tarsos ve Mallos isyanlarında görüldüğü gibi bir miktar dirençle karşılaştı ve bazı açılardan da aslında kalıcı olmadı: IV. Antiokhos'un ölümünden sonra Kilikya kentleri geleneksel adlarına geri döndü ve merkezi erkten giderek artan özerklik talep etti. Ne var ki, Antiokhos'un Kilikya'daki politikası, güçlü bir yerel kimliğin gelişimine ciddi katkıda bulunduğu gibi Hellenik dünyaya aidiyetin gururlu bilincini de geliştirdi.

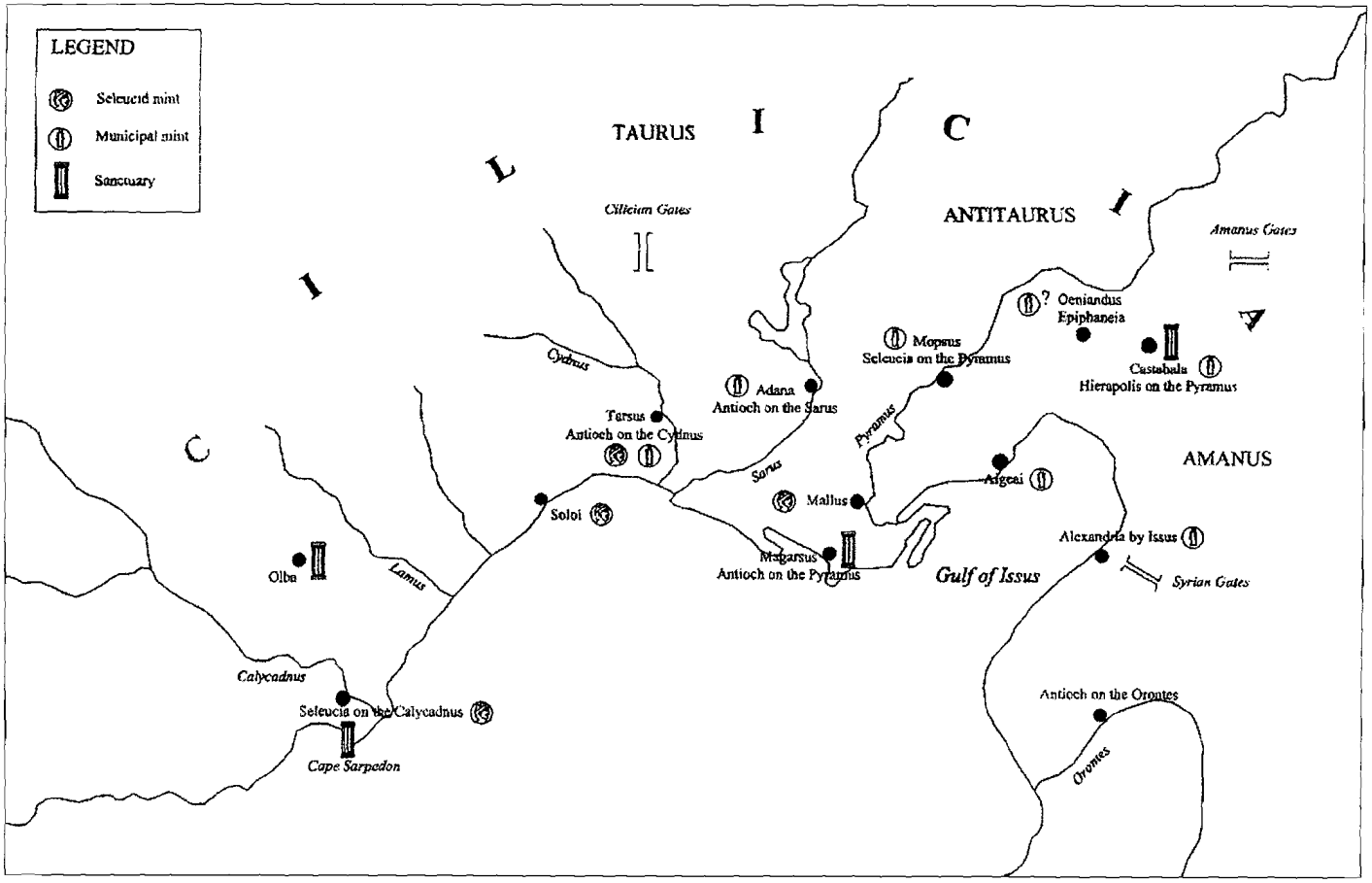

Fig. 1 Cilicia at the time of Antiochus IV

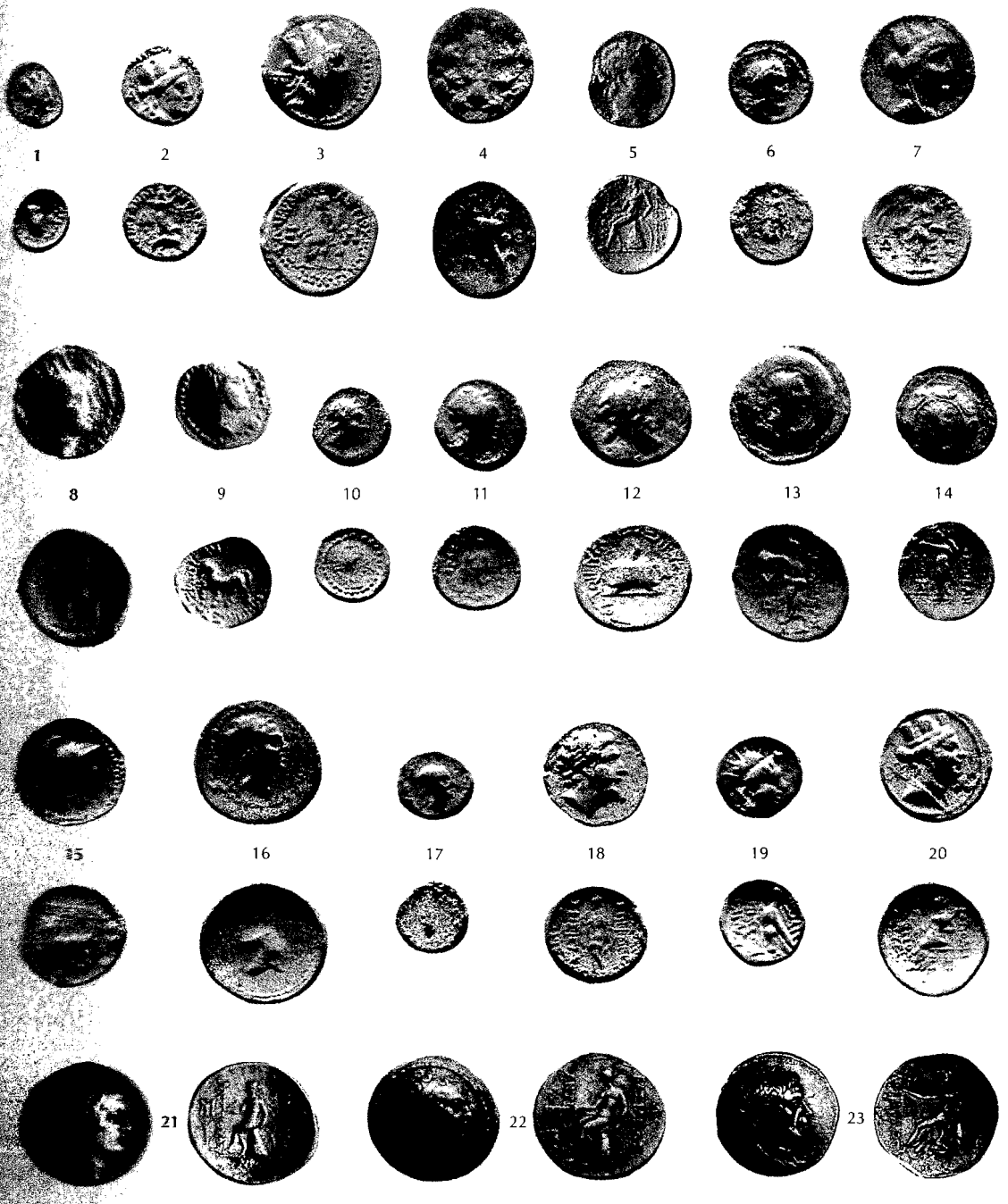

Fig. 2 **1.** SNG Levante-Cilicia Pl. 58, n. 909, **2.** SNG Levante-Cilicia Pl. 58, n. 910, **3.** SNG Levante-Cilicia Pl. 58, n. 914, **4.** SNG Levante-Cilicia Pl. 58, n. 915, **5.** Cox 1950, Pl. 87, n. 102, **6.** SNG Levante-Cilicia Pl. 85, n. 1261, **7.** SNG Levante-Cilicia Pl. 85, n. 1263, **8.** Levante 1984, Pl. 17, n. 1, **9.** Levante 1984, Pl. 17, n. 3, **10.** SNG Levante-Cilicia Pl. 88, n. 1301, **11.** SNG Levante-Cilicia Pl. 88, n. 1302, **12.** SNG Levante-Cilicia Pl. 88, n. 1304, **13.** SNG Levante-Cilicia Pl. 124, n. 1831, **14.** SNG Levante-Cilicia Pl. 124, n. 1832, **15.** SNG Levante-Cilicia Pl. 111, n. 1641, **16.** SNG Levante-Cilicia Pl. 111, n. 1630, **17.** SNG Levante-Cilicia Pl. 111, n. 1632, **18.** SNG Levante-Cilicia Pl. 122, n. 1806, **19.** SNG Levante-Cilicia Pl. 106, n. 1562, **20.** SNG Levante-Cilicia Pl. 106, n. 1563, **21.** Houghton 1989a, Pl. XXIII, n. 4, **22.** Houghton 1989b, Pl. 8, n. 61, **23.** Houghton 1989b, Pl. 9, n. 64.

Fig. 3 Inscription from Karataş. S. Werner – R. Werner, "Eine griechische Inschrift aus Karataş", Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschungen 1, 1951, Taf. XXXII.

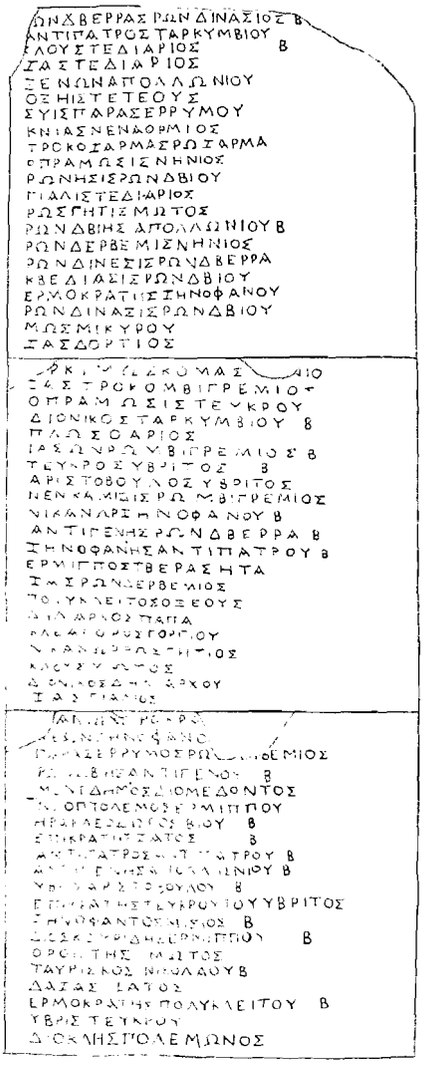

Fig. 4 Inscription from the Corycian Cave. Heberdey, Wilhelm 1896, 74.

orycian
196, 74.

Fig. 5 Inscription from Seleucia on the Calycadnus. Heberdey, Wilhelm 1896, 110-111.