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THE PRESENCE OF CILICIA AND ITS TOWNS IN THE GREEK WRITERS OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE (I-II Cent. A.D.)

Paolo DESIDERI*

ÖZET

Bu çalışmada İ.S. 1. yüzyıldan, 3. yüzyılın başlarına kadar olan dönem içinde Kilikia'daki kentler, coğrafi bilgiler, yazarlar ve aydınlarla ilgili tüm bilgiler toplanmaya çalışılmaktadır. Amaç, sözü edilen dönemde bölgenin kültürel ve dinsel kimliğinin bir tanımının yapılmasının mümkün olup olmadığını belirlemektir. Bu dönemde, bölgenin politik kimliğinin varlığından söz etmek güçtür. Dönemin kimi kaydadeğer kişilikleri (Tarsus'lu Hermogenes, Anazarbus'lu Dioscorides, Korykos'lu Oppianus ve Aegae'li Maximus) Kilikia kökenlidirler. Özellikle Prusa'lı Dio ve Philostratus bölgedeki kentler ve sakinleri konusunda çok önemli saptamalarda bulunmaktadırlar. Araştırmalarım sonucunda, Tarsus'un kendi içindeki durumu ile ilgili olarak genel bilgiler ve kentin komşu kentlerle olan ilişkilerinin Dio'nun yazdıklarından öğrenmekte olduğumuzu gördüm. Aegae konusundaki verilerde de çok ilginç bilgiler ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bu kent, Asklepios kutsalyeri nedeniyle büyük ün sahibi bulunmakta, Kappadokia'lı (Tyana'lı) Apollonius'un kendisini "kutsal kişi" olarak yetiştirme çabalarını verdiği gençlik yıllarını burada geçirdiği bilinmektedir. Severus'lar dönemi sofistlerinden Philostratus Apollonius'a büyük önem vermekte; hatta Philostratus öncesinde de yerel anlamda bir biyografi geleneğini oluşturmuş olduğu izlenmektedir. Bu durum, bölgede dinsel ve entellektüel konulara olan canlı ilgiyi de kanıtlamaktadır. Bunların yanısıra, özellikle de Kilikia'lıların konuştukları dille ilgili olarak İ.S. 2. yüzyılın önde gelen aydınlarından olan Pergamon'lu Galen'in verdiği ilginç bilgiler vardır. Son olarak, kanımca ulaşılan en başarılı sonuç, antik çağın en önemli farmakologlarından Anazarbus'lu Discorides'in Kilikia kökenleri ile bilimsel çalışmaları arasında bağlantı kurabilmektir.

Two and a half years ago, on the occasion of the second meeting on Cicilia which was held in Istanbul[1], I had the opportunity of once again

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1 The Proceedings of this meeting were published last year: Jean - Dinçol - Durugönül 2001 (my text: Desideri 2001).

examining two of the most interesting speeches of the Bithynian sophist Dio of Prusa[2]. These speeches, which were delivered to the general assembly of the Cilician metropolis Tarsus, offer the possibility of tracing the elements of the social and political situation of this great town and of the territory of the Roman province of Cilicia, in the period from the Flavians to the first years of the reign of Trajan. From this point of view, no other written text of the first to the beginning of the third centuries of our era can be compared with these Dionean λόγοι, which provide first hand information about the internal enmities between citizens and non-citizens, the external feuds with other towns of the province, or the troubled relations with the Roman governors[3]. In any case, there are, in this same period, many other "literary" texts –in the broad sense of texts preserved thanks to a manuscript tradition, besides any other consideration– which can be profitably scrutinised in order to obtain more evidence about our region, its towns, and its geographical and environmental elements. Therefore, today I'd like to propose some reflections upon a selection of this kind of texts, excluding in particular the Christian ones (since one of our colleagues is going to speak on Paulus of Tarsus), with the aim of recovering the idea(s) of Cilicia of which each text can be considered the bearer. Indeed, none of these testimonies have the immediacy of Dio's speeches, which build up a vivid, though biased, picture of a dramatic moment in the history of the region. On the contrary, they are all embedded –so to say– in some particular context, which will have to be filteredin order to arrive at the result we are interested in.

The best way to more clearly explain what I mean is probably to begin examining a text which takes us into an earlier period than that to which Dio's speeches can be attributed, that is in the central decades of the first century A.D.[4]. In his **Life of Apollonius** (**VA**), written much later, in the Severan Age, the sophist Philostratus constructs an idealised picture of his hero's life, a Pythagorean philosopher who is proposed as a model of

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2 I had examined them for the first time when developing a general study upon Dio's life and works, in the seventies: Desideri 1978, pp. 122-129; 423-430.

3 For a general reassessment of Dio's testimony see now Salmeri 2000 (in particular pp. 73, 75, 78-79, as far as Tarsus is concerned).

4 The chronology is much debated, due to the incertainties of Apollonius' life: see especially Flinterman 1995, pp 68 ff..

religious and moral behaviour for his own and future generations[5]. This Apollonius had been born (possibly in the forties) in the Cappadocian city of Tyana, but at the age of fourteen was brought by his father to Tarsus, to the school of Euthydemus, a rhetor from Phoenicia. In fact, the father intended to offer his son the best opportunities for education, Tarsus being the centre both of the political, and of the intellectual life not only of Cilicia, but of the neighbouring provinces as well. Unfortunately, Philostratus says, the atmosphere which the young Apollonius found in Tarsus was absolutely inadequate to his moral needs: it was “harsh and strange and little conducive to the philosophic life, for nowhere are men more addicted than here to luxury: jesters and full of insolence are they all, and they attend more to their fine linen than the Athenians did to wisdom” (**VA** 1.7). Here we perceive some echoes of the sharp criticism laid upon the Tarsians by Dio, especially in the first of his Tarsian speeches, for the moral implications of their mysterious “snoring”[6]. Of course, we also find a fleeting reference to the dominant role played by flax and its industrial products in the economic life of the town, but clearly Philostratus has no interest at all in this kind of problem. What he really does is use a probably stereotyped characterisation of the Tarsians in order to extol his hero’s superior human qualities, and to justify his decision to leave Tarsus, “with his father’s consent”, moving –together with his teacher– to the nearby town of Aegeae.

Aegeae is portrayed by Philostratus as a quiet country town, congenial to anybody who –like Apollonius– had the intention of becoming a philosopher. In fact, there he had the possibility of listening to followers of Plato, of Chrysippus, of the Peripatetic, and even of the Epicurean schools, and at the end choosing the Pythagoreans. More than that, the city was surrounded by a religious aura, due to the famous temple of Asclepius, “where the god reveals himself in person to men”. According to Philostratus, Apollonius very soon began living in this temple, and became an object of admiration for his way of life, with the result that “the Cilicians themselves and the people all around flocked to Aegeae to visit him. Hence –Philostratus remarked– the Cilician proverb: ‘Whither

[5] On this text see Flinterman 1995. An important essay by E. Bowie had been previously devoted to the history of the formation of the tradition on Apollonius (Bowie 1978).

[6] Desideri 1978, pp.125-126

runnest thou? Is it to see the stripling?'" (**VA** 1.8). In the following chapters Philostratus relates a series of episodes referring to Apollonius' activity in the temple, where the young Cappadocian succeeded in increasingly obtaining the priest's, and the god's himself, trust. The most interesting of these episodes, from the point of view of the relevance of the historical details, is the one narrating the Roman governor of Cilicia's visit to Apollonius. Philostratus says that the governor, having been informed of Apollonius and of his beauty, devised to obtain his love: so he suddenly "cast aside the matters he was busy upon (and he was just then holding a court in Tarsus)", and hurried off to Aegeae. Of course, he was not able to carry out his abominable project, nay he "was executed only three days after by the officers of justice on the high road for having intrigued with Archelaus, the king of Cappadocia, against the Romans. These and many other similar incidents –Philostratus continues– are provided by Maximus of Aegeae in his treatise, a writer whose reputation for oratory won him a position in the emperor's secretariat (βασιλείων ἐπιστολῶν)" (**VA** 1.12).

Even though it is difficult to identify the Cicilian governor and the particular episode, alluded to by Philostratus, which apparently brought an end to the Cappadocian kingdom[7], what is important for us now is Philostratus' reference to the Aegeaean writer Maximus, whom he had already mentioned, in the introductory chapters of his work, as the author of an essay on Apollonius' Aegeaean years (**VA** 1.3). It appears that a local Aegeaean tradition had existed, which insisted on the close connections between the holy man Apollonius and the Asclepius' temple, and, eventually, on Apollonius himself's (and the temple's) Roman loyalism in the Archelaus affair, even against the Cappadocian kingdom. Moreover, Philostratus underlines the rhetorical abilities which gave Maximus the opportunity of a smart career in the imperial bureau[8]. Maximus, therefore, might have been the man who promoted and enhanced such a local tradition, which, among other things, aimed at giving the devotion to

[7] For a discussion on these points, which raise serious questions on Apollonius' biography from a chronological point of view, see Flinterman 1995, pp. 68 ff., in the context of an evaluation of Maximus as a source for Philostratus. Flintermann considers Maximus' historical dimension absolutely certain, and dates him at a time "between Trajan and Caracalla".

[8] Furthermore, at least one of Philostratus' σοφισταί, namely Antiochos, was of Aegeaean origin, "nay was a member of one of the prominent families of the city" (VS 2.4, 568).

Asclepius (and the figure of Apollonius himself) a philosophical tone; so that it is not surprising to learn from Philostratus that, after his return to Aegeae from Tyana, where he had taken part in his father's funerals, Apollonius "turned the temple into a Lyceum or Academy, for it resounded with all sorts of philosophical discussions" (**VA** 1.13).

It is evident that this was not the only vision of the religious atmosphere of the town. Philostratus himself says that his appreciation for Maximus is intended to discredit the interpretation given of Apollonius' personality by another of his biographers, Moeragenes (**VA** 1.3), who apparently insisted on its 'magic' and 'astrological' dimension (**VA** 3.41)[9]. The ability to prophesy, as well as long-distance vision and medical and therapeutic arts, were in fact characteristic of the holy man Apollonius according to Philostratus, too[10]. But the differences between θειότης and γοήτεια ought to be rigorously underlined, according to the Severan biographer - otherwise, Apollonius' figure risked assuming the traits of one of the numerous charlatans of the age, of whom the great satiric writer Lucian had preserved unforgettable portraits in **The passing of Peregrinus, or Alexander the False Prophet**[11]. The latter of these texts, in particular, contains a passage full of contempt for Apollonius, one of whose followers, "who knew –Lucian says– his whole bag of tricks", was afterwards to become himself Alexander of Abonouteichos' teacher and admirer (**Alex**. 5).

Lucian's **Alexander** contains many references to another famous Cilician sanctuary, as well, that of Amphilochus in Mallus, not far from Aegeae. The first of these references conveys the suggestion that the Amphilochus' settlement in Cilicia was a sort of model of how to obtain the reputation of being a good prophet –or, at least, that this was Alexander of Abonouteichos' firm belief. According to Lucian, he had already convinced of his divine nature, not only his countrymen, from Paphlagonia and Pontus, "thick-witted, uneducated fellows that they were", but also the people of Bithynia, Galatia, and Thrace (**Alex**. 17-18). At this point he needed a sort of official consecration of his ability to make predictions and

9 Which does not necessarily mean that Moeragenes had been hostile to Apollonius: see Bowie 1978, p. 1673 ff.

10 On the proteiform figure of the holy man, as a dominant character of the Graeco-Roman world of this age, see. Anderson 1994.

11 On this satirical text see in particular Jones 1986, pp.133-148.

give oracles, and this consecration he could only obtain "taking his cue from Amphilochus in Cilicia, who, as you know, after the death and disappearance of his father Amphiaraus at Thebes, was exiled from his own country, went to Cilicia, and got on very well by foretelling the future, like his father, for the Cilicians and receiving two obols for each prediction" (Alex. 19). Later in this same work, Lucian said that Alexander managed to obtain the friendship of the priests of the most famous shrines of the Greek world, among which Mallus (**Alex**. 29), whose importance is further confirmed in passages of **The lover of lies** (**Philops**. 38), as well as in the brief dialogue **The Parliament of the Gods**.. Here at last, the author has Momus speaking in an openly sarcastic way of Amphilochus "who, though the son of an outcast and matricide, gives prophecies, the miscreant, in Cilicia, telling lies most of the time and playing charlatan for the sake of his two obols" (**Deor. Conc**. 12)[12]. Lucian had, as is well known, a very critical attitude towards religion in general and prophecies in particular, and one might say that his judgement of the Cilicians was negatively affected by their devotion to Amphilochus and to his lies, not the least because the fame of this shrine represented an incentive for modern imitators.

But we have another important literary testimony on the Cilician oracles, going back to two generations before Lucian, that of the great Boeotian intellectual Plutarch. Plutarch's position on this same subject had been very different, as **The obsolescence of oracles**, one of his Delphic dialogues, shows clearly[13]. Among the figures who took part in the dialogue there was a Cilician, or more precisely a Tarsian man, the grammarian Demetrius, whom the narrating voice of Lamprias, Plutarch's brother, asked to inform the audience about the real situation of the Cilician oracles, which were supposedly concluded, as were the Beotian ones. Demetrius replied that the oracle of Mopsus and that of Amphilochus were still flourishing when he had left Cilicia some years before, and he narrated an edifying episode concerning the Mopsus shrine in which the Roman governor had been involved. Together with some of his friends, who were Epicureans, he had dared to make fun of the god, putting to him a question in a closed

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[12] See Jones 1986, p. 37

[13] I have tried to assess the religious and cultural meaning of this essay in Desideri 1996, 91-102.

missive; the god, however, had been able to read the question, and to give an adequate response: so that the governor "not only duly performed the sacrifice, but ever after revered Mopsus" (Plut., **De def. orac**. 434cd). Not even in this episode, as in the other narrated by Philostratus, are we able to identify the Roman governor of Cilicia; but the important thing is that in both stories the oracle seems to play the role of the defender of the Greek civilisation in the presence of the brutality, or of the arrogant contempt, of the Roman government. And, according to both Plutarch and Philostratus, the people themselves who gave hospitality to the shrines ought to be considered as the repositories of the values out of which these same shrines had arisen a long time before.

On the other hand, it is difficult to trace a special "political" identity of the Cilician people during the first two centuries of the Roman government in our region. Dio's testimony quoted above tells us a story of mutual enmities among its towns, which seem to efface any feeling of regional belonging of their citizens that might have existed. Indeed, if we look for any traces of ethnic consciousness coming from this same area, we are totally disappointed: it is enough to say that, even though Κίλικες remained the name of an apparently recognisable ἔθνος throughout the period[14], and Κίλιξ is still attested by the historian Arrian of Nicomedia –who underlines his Phoenician connections– as their common forefather[15], not even a feeble sign of the existence of a regional historical or antiquarian literature has survived.

We have, at any rate, some testimonies upon the linguistic characteristics of the Κίλικες. Here we are primarily indebted to the Pergamene physician Galen, whose linguistic interests are well known. In some passages of his **On the Differences of the Pulse,** when speaking about his education and his studies "on the texts of the ancients" (8, 587 K.), Galen defends in general his own use of the current language of the Greeks as the clearest medium of expression (8, 566-590 K.), even though definitely affirming that in no case 'the prevailing usage' has to do with the speech

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14 *FGrHist* 156F86, from Eustathius' comment on Dionysius Periegeta's passage about the Cilicians.

15 Of course the name of the mythical hero Kilix was already to be found in Pherecydes (*FGrHist* 3F86).

of sailors, traders, innkeepers, bath-keepers, and tax collectors. What is particularly interesting for us is his resolute statement that this "most pleasing and most humane" Greek must be kept free of contamination with "these wonderful words coming from the interior of Syria or Cilicia, which no Greek man has ever heard, and have to be despised as foreign and barbarian" (8, 569 K.; "wonderful" is of course ironical). You must speak Greek, he insists, or even some other language, provided that it is pure: the worst thing is to insert in your speech "three words which come from Cilicia, four from Syria, five from Galatia, six from Athens; I cannot master –he concludes– so many dialects" (8, 585 K., and compare 8, 631 K.)[16]. What seems clear from these passages is that the Cilicians possessed a vernacular language of their own, possibly having something in common with the Syrians'; which confirms, in some way, Arrian's theory of their Phoenician origin, and lends more plausibility, incidentally, to the linguistic interpretation of the passages of the first Tarsian speech of Dio referring to the "snoring" of Tarsus inhabitants[17].

In any case, we can be sure that whichever literary expressions or products came out of our region, in this as in the subsequent periods of Antiquity, they were written in Greek. It is presumable that what Galen said about the Cilician dialect referred to the countrymen, whereas in the towns Greek was the dominant language; and we have already recalled, through Philostratus, the importance from the cultural point of view of centres like Tarsus or Aegeae, whose intellectual prestige –especially as far as Tarsus is concerned– was widespread throughout the Mediterranean world. It is likely that, after the traumatic experiences of the Roman civil war, Tarsus itself did not recover the cultural level it had enjoyed, as regards both the philosophical and rhetorical studies, in the Hellenistic age. But, of course, we no longer have at our disposal, for the Roman age, so precious a guide as Strabo's geographical survey was for the Hellenistic age. Our sources, as regards the cultural atmosphere of the Cilician towns in general, are now Plutarch, with sparse references in some of his **Moralia**; Philostratus, mostly with the biographic notes of his **Lives of the**

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16 On this topic see Swain 1996, p. 56 ff. On the multiple interests of Galen's testimony see Manetti 2000.

17 See above, n. 6.

Sophists (**VS**) - which can be considered a sort of catalogue of the prominent Greek "intellectuals" of the Second Century A.D.[18]; Galen, with some information on his predecessors; Diogenes Laertius, with his philosophical chains; and some other authors of minor relevance. They are useful, of course, for our research, but it is evident that their contexts are completely alien to our present interest, and that therefore we will have to obtain the information we need, filtering, as we have said before, their contexts. In fact, there are no traces of the existence either –as we have already noted – of a regional, or of a local historiographical or antiquarian tradition, which could have inserted this kind of data in a single picture of, say, "the famous men of such or such town"; the only possible exception being Aegeae, as we will see.

Beginning with the capital of the province, Tarsus, studies of grammar and rhetoric still flourished, anyway. As for rhetoric, one has only to recall the great name of Hermogenes, who lived in the second half of the second century. He was one of the prominent intellectual figures of his age, having had the honour, when still very young, of the appreciation of a learned emperor such as Marcus Aurelius. He was eloquent in the art of declaiming, but wrote important treatises of rhetoric as well, two of which we can still read. Philostratus underlines his very early intellectual decline, but cannot help devoting one of his biographical sketches to him (**VS** 2.7, 577). As for the grammatical studies, apart from the grammarian Demetrius, whom we have already found as a character in Plutarch's **The obsolescence of oracles**, we might mention the name of the grammarian Protogenes, another of Plutarch's guest-friends, whom the Beotian writer introduces more than once in his **Table-talks** (7.1.2; 8.4.3; 9.2.2; 9.12), as well as in his **Dialogue on Love** (2, 749c etc.). To my knowledge, only one Tarsian philosopher is known for this period: a certain Herodotus mentioned by Diogenes Laertius as Sextus Empiricus' teacher (9.116)[19]. Besides that, in the Roman period some special interest for medical studies seems to have developed in the town. We will say something on this point later.

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18 On this important text, which has been much studied in the last years, see at least: Bowersock 1969; Anderson 1986; Anderson 1993; Swain 1996; Schmitz 1997; Campanile 1999.

19 His identification with the physician Herodotus mentioned by Galen (6.516 K.; 8.751 K.; 11.432 K.; 18a.599 K.; etc.) is far from certain.

As far as Aegeae is concerned, its intellectual dimension was evidently a later phenomenon than Tarsus', and we have very poor information about it until the Severan age[20]. As we said at the beginning, it seems appropriate to underline the role apparently played by Apollonius' stay, and by the development of the Apollonius myth, in its cultural growth. But we would also like to add something more about the personality of the already mentioned philostratean sophist Antiochos (**VS** 2.4, 568-570), whose complete name, Publius Anteius Antiochus, was revealed by a famous inscription in Argos[21]. Philostratus' real interest is, as always, for declamation, which accounts for the amount of details he provides on Antiochos' special abilities in this field. But he concludes his sketch saying that "Antiochos also took pains with written compositions, as others of his works make evident, but above all with his **History**". This is one of the two cases in which Philostratus recalls the composition of a **History** by his sophists (the other **History** being that of the deeds by Severus, attributed to Antipater from Hierapolis, which awarded him an appointment as imperial secretary, **VS** 2.24, 607). This means that he considered this work by Antiochus of special interest, as the praises he attributed to its formal qualities may confirm, even though he said nothing about its contents. Thanks to the above-mentioned inscription, in any case, we know now that it probably was a local history of Aegeae, in which, among other things, the connections between Argos and Aegeae were strongly stressed.

We have some further information upon the cultural achievements of Cilician men in this period. In his Lives Philostratus mentions two more Cilician sophists: Alexander, nicknamed Peloplaton (that is "Clay-Plato"), from Seleucia, "a not obscure city of Cilicia" (**VS** 2.5, 570), and Philagrus, generically called "Cilician" (**VS** 2.8, 578). As for the former, we are informed that his mother, who was extraordinarily beautiful, was loved by Apollonius of Tyana, and that a tradition existed, according to which "she gave herself to Apollonius because of her desire for noble offspring, since he more than ordinary men had in him something divine". Philostratus goes on to say that what he has already stated about Apollonius proves this story to be unbelievable. In his **Life of Apollonius**, in fact, Philostratus

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[20] See Weiss 1982, n. 1.

[21] Robert 1977; see also *FGrHist*747T1.

had not explicitly rejected it, even though affirming clearly Apollonius' Pythagorean refusal of marriage (**VA** 1.13); but what he says here makes us think of Moeragenes' work as the possible source of a story like this, and more generally of a larger network of Cilician relations in which the holy man Apollonius was inserted. Alexander Peloplaton is abundantly praised by Philostratus for his declamatory qualities, but also for the services he had paid to his town (for example leading a delegation on its behalf to the Emperor Antoninus), and finally for obtaining from Marcus Aurelius the post of imperial secretary for the Greeks (like Maximus of Aegeae had obtained from some other emperor). As for Philagrus, nothing is said in his biography which may be connected with his declared Cilician origin - not even which town might have been his birthplace.

We still have to deal briefly with two relevant personalities of our region in the early Roman imperial period, some of whose works at least have been preserved, Oppianus and Dioscorides. As for the former, we learn of his Cilician origin from his **Halieutica** (3.7 ff.; 205 ff.), which was dedicated to Marcus Aurelius and completed before 178 A.D[22]. It is possible, but not certain, that his πατρίς was Corycus. In fact, one of the ancient *Lives* we have referring to him, clearly says that his father came from Anazarbus, whereas another is uncertain between Anazarbus and Corycus. We do not need to examine the question thoroughly now, since there is no doubt about his Cilician origin. However, if I may dare to express a personal opinion, the subject of the work seems to me to better fit a maritime, rather than an inland, origin of its author. In fact, this **Halieutica** is a poem in five books dedicated to the description of the various types of fish, and the ways of fishing. As far as I know, Oppianus is the only Cilician poet of the early Roman imperial period, but his very existence is perhaps a sign of the presence in our region of some strictly literary interest[23].

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22 A new Oppian's edition, with a commentary, is now available (by F. Fajen, Stuttgart - Leipzig 1999). On Oppian's biographical dates see Rebuffat 1997.

23 Actually, an Anazarbean "poet and learned grammarian", named Naevianus, is known from a Delphic inscription of the beginning of the 3rd Century A.D.: the text of this inscription can now be read in Sayar 2000, pp.14-15.

As for Dioscorides, he is defined ’Αναζαρβεὸς in some of his manuscripts, in many passages of Galen’s works (however in some cases he is termed Ταρσεύς: e.g. 13.857 K.), in Stephanus of Byzance’s **Ethnica** (s.v. ’Ανάζαρβα), in the section (cod. 179) of Photius’ **Bibliotheca** devoted to Dioscorides’ Περὶ ὕλης, and at last in the pertinent entries of Suda. Consequently, there is no doubt in this case regarding the cultural potentiality of this inland Cilician town, which was later to become the capital of the Eastern part of Cilicia (Cilicia II in Late Roman times), but whose earliest testimonies go back to the beginning of the Roman imperial age[24], that is to the period to which Dioscorides’ own activity as a surgeon with the Roman armies can be attributed. From this point of view, it is extremely interesting to read what Galen has to say about Dioscorides’ knowledge of the Greek language, in one of the many passages in which he quotes, always with great admiration, the man who can properly be considered the founder of ancient, and modern, pharmacology.

“If one should say whether men are more mistaken in the names of things or in things themselves - Galen states - I would surely say that they are more mistaken in the names, especially those who are not accustomed to the Greek language. This is in fact the case of the Anazarbene Dioscorides, who properly explained many of the discoveries which he had made in the medical field, but was unaware of the meaning of the Greek words” (12.330 K.). In this passage, coming from the **Eleven books on the mixtures and properties of the simple drugs (De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus libri XI)**, we can see an application to a special, very important, case of the general principles in the linguistic field laid down by Galen himself, which we mentioned above. In any case, Dioscorides’ medical, and, in particular pharmacological, interests seem to be just the point of an iceberg: and this is the last aspect of the intellectual life of our region which we will even more rapidly (if possible) touch upon. Galen, in fact, mentions many physicians whom he knows as being of Cilician origin: from Tarsus come for example: Areius (12.636 K., etc.),

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24 According to its monetary legends, its era goes back to 19 B.C., that is to a supposed foundation by August, who would have given the new town the name Καισάρεια πρὸς ’Αναζάρβῳ which can be found in Ptolemy (5.7.7; see also Pliny, *N.H.* 5.93 “Anazarbeni, qui nunc Caesarea Augusta”, which is in fact the earliest of the literary testimonies on the town). These testimonies are now collected in Sayar 2000, 9 sgg.

Philon (13.267 K.), Lucius (13.295 K.), Magnus (13.313 K.), Aristarchus (13.824 K.), Apollonius (13.843 K.) - all of whom are experts in pharmacology (but we are not certain that all of them are of the imperial age). Furthermore, Galen (as well as Dioscorides, and the subsequent medical tradition) is familiar with many natural products (especially vegetables) that are designated as Cilician, or attributed to some special place in Cilicia: which could mean not only what is quite obvious, that they could be found in Cilicia, but also that their medical qualities were first discovered by Dioscorides himself, or by some other researcher of the region.

In conclusion, what I hope I have been able to do is to point out some traces of a cultural life of our area in the first two centuries of the Roman imperial age, indicating what seem to have been its most relevant and special elements. To this end I first used such testimonies as we have of this life in the contemporary Greek literary production, and, in the latter part of my speech, I gave voice to the few Cilician writers of the period. Religion and medicine are perhaps, at the end, the two fields to which the eminent Cilician personalities devoted themselves, and for which Cilicia itself obtained some fame among the contemporaries. This conclusion may be disappointing, but I believe that it is better, anyhow, to be known for religion and medicine than for piracy. Thank you for your attention.

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