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(Özel Sayı)

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Prof. Dr. Jale İnan
ve
Ord. Prof. Dr. Ekrem Akurgal'ı kaybettik,
saygıyla anıyoruz...

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Teşekkür Ederiz.

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İçindekiler/Contents

NOTES ON NATURAL RESOURCES OF CILICIA: A CONTRIBUTION TO LOCAL HISTORY

Erendiz ÖZBAYOĞLU*

ÖZET

Günümüz yazarları gibi ilkçağ yazarları da Kilikia olarak bilinen bölgenin verimli topraklarını överler. Aristomakhos, Khrysippos, Philemon, Dioskorides gibi bilim adamı, düşünür ve şair yetiştiren Kilikia, ilginç yerbilimsel özellikleri olan Korykos'u, orada yetişen *crocus sativus*'u, 'safran çiğdemi', *styrax*, endemik *smilax*, *Valeriana tuberosa*, *Thymus graveolens* gibi, parfüm yapımı ve tıpta kullanılan çok sayıda bitkisiyle de ünlüdür. Ormanlarında yetişen *cedrus*, korsanlık faaliyetini ya da Kleopatra'ya armağan edilen orman alanlarının gösterdiği gibi bölgenin ekonomik, toplumsal ve siyasi yapısını etkilemiştir. Günümüzde Ankara keçisi olarak bilinen tür, ilkçağa özgü ve *kilikium* adını taşıyan dokumalara malzeme oluşturur, giyisiden savaş âletleri yapımına kadar çeşitli alanlarda kullanılır. Bildiride, ilkçağ yazarlarının tanıklıkları doğrultusunda Kilikia'nın doğal kaynakları gözden geçirilmeye çalışıldı.

Ancient and modern authors seem to consider Cilicia a prosperous region that is captured well by the words of Xenophon, in regard to the expedition of Cyrus, when he descends into Cilicia; "to a large and beautiful plain, well-watered and full of trees of all sorts and vines; it produces an abundance of sesame, millet, panic, wheat, and barley, and it is surrounded on every side, from sea to sea, by a lofty and formidable range of mountains" (*Anabasis*, I,2,22). Then Cyrus marches to Tarsus, "a large and prosperous city, where the palace of Synnesis, the king of Cilicians, was situated, and through the middle of the city flows a river named the Cydnus, two *plethra* in width" (*ibid* 23).

Dio Chrysostom, too, in his speeches for Tarsus, makes eulogies to the same plain saying that the people of Tarsus should consider themselves "fortunate and blessed" because their home is a great city that "occupies a

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fertile land" and they find "the needs of life supplied in the greatest abundance and profusion" (*First Tarsic Discours*, 33,17). The Cydnus river is particularly praised by the same author who addresses these words to Tarsians: "You may even except to hear a eulogy of your land and of the mountains it contains and of yonder Cydnus, how it is the most kindly of all rivers and the most beautiful and how those who drink its waters are 'affluent and blessed', to use the words of Homer" (*ibid* 2).

Cydnus, one of the two greatest rivers (the other is Pyramus) which flows through the plain, is praised also by Quintus Rufus, not only for its size but also for its quality: the river is very clear because "from its spring, it is received by a pure soil, and no torrents empty into it to discolour its quietly flowing channel" (*History of Alexander*, III 4,8).

Ammianus Marcellinus, as a historian native Antiochia, confirms the fertility of the Cilician land, "abounding in products of every kind" (XIV 8,1).

The speech of Dio Chrysostom is also critical toward the Tarsians, based on analyses of their inefficiencies in administering the city. "It is not river or plain or harbour that makes a city prosperous" he says, nor riches or multitude of houses, "instead it is sobriety and common sense that save. These make blessed to employ them" (*op cit* 33,28). Dio expresses the incompetence of Tarsus' leaders and critisizes them because they have "a special grievance against philosophers...because they are guilty of some blunder" (*ibid* 34,3).

The "blunder" in question may be the act of Boethus, although not a philosopher – he was a poet and the gymnasiarchus of the city, who was expelled for secreting the oil olive or for other things by Athenodorus, called Cananites, to distinguish him from the other Athenodorus, called Cordylion, a Stoic philosopher and former tutor of Augustus, who also an old friend of Strabon, to his returned in native land at a old age and broke up the government of Boethus to establish a new one (Strabon, *Geography*, 14,5,14; cf Jones, 73).

Strabon gives an account of other philosophers of Tarsus, like the Stoics Antipater, Archedemus and Nestor, or Plutiades and Diogenes, "who were among those philosophers that went round from city to city" (ibid 14-15; Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, VI 81). Antipater, according to Diogenes Laertius, is the author of a tract *On Words, on Terms*

(VII 57). Strabon, contrary to Dio Chrysostomus remarks that "the people of Tarsus have devoted themselves...not only to philosophy, but also to the surpassed Athens, Alexandria, or any other place that can be named where there have been schools and lectures of philosophers. But it is so different from other cities that there the men who are fond of learning are all natives, and foreigners are not inclined to sojourn there; neither do these natives stay there, but they complete it they are pleased to live abroad, and but few go back home" (*ibid* 13). Strabon tells us also that there are many learned men in Rome, who arrived from this city (*ibid* 15).

Other famous natives of Cilicia are enumerated by other authors: Aristomachus of Soli, who lived after Aristoteles, of whom Plinius says that "his love for bees inspired him to devote himself to nothing else for fifty eight years" (XI 9), and inducted him to write a treatise on bees. He wrote also on the method of preparing wine (XIV 120). He must be well informed on agriculture since Plinius doesn't hesitate to report his experiences: "Aristomachus advises stirring off the leaves (of raphanus) during winter, and piling up earth round the plants to prevnt muddy puddles forming round them and he says that this will make them grow a good size in summer" (XIX 84).

Another famous Cilician is Philemon (361-262 BC), comic poet, according to Diogenes Laertius, author of a play entitled *Philosophers* (VI 87; VII 27), and famous enough to figure on the coins of Soli.

Aratus, the author of an astronomical poem *Phaenomena*, that had great success, and has translated also in Latin by Cicero, Germanicus and Avienus, is another famous Cilician of Soli. He went to Athens as a young man and there joined to the Stoics. In Avienus who made an adaptation in hexameter of the poem of Aratus we find these words: "this science, Iupiter again charged genius and the rythms of poet of Soli, of divulger for the second time, and better, like Taurus, his native land" (*Phaenomena ex Arato Versa*, 62; cf Manilius, I 402). In Soli, "on a small eminence" says Pomponius Mela, "there is the tomb of poet Aratus, that deserves to be mentioned for the fact that, for unknown reasons, the stones thrown in it, are breaking in pieces" (I 13,71).

Chrysippus (280-202 BC) the Stoic, who became head of the Stoic school after Cleanthes, was from Soli, too. "He was so renowed for dialectic that" says Diogenes Laertius, "most people thought, if gods took to dialectic,

they would adopt no other system than that of Chrysippus...In industry he surpassed every one, as the list of his writings shows; for there are more than 705 of them" (VII 180). Just to cite some of his works: *Physics, Exposition of Doctrine, On Various Types of Life*.

Diogenes Laertius gives other names like Crantor, Clearchus, Bion, all from Soli. Crantor (340-290 BC), "though he was much esteemed in his native country, left it for Athens...He left memoirs extending to 30.000 lines... He died before Polemo and Crates, his end beeing hastened by dropsy" (IV 24); Clearchus wrote tracts like *On Education*, *Encomium on Plato* (III 2); Bion wrote a work on *Aethiopia* (IV 58). Pliny gives the name of Milon of Soli, pupil of Pyromachus, the sculpture of human figure (XXXV 146).

Diogenes Laertius himself, is said te have been a native of Laerte in Caria or Laerte(s) in Cilicia, both unknown towns, – according to others he received this surname from the Roman family of the Laertii or again it was a learned nickname (Long, 1972, introduction).

Other learned men mentioned above: the grammarians Antemidoros and Diodoros (Desideri-Jasink, 1990, 47); the tragic poet Dionysides; Zeno (Diogenes Laertius VII 41;64); Heracleides who told that "the sins are not equal" (*idem* VII 121); Herodotus, son of Arieus (*idem* IX 116). Crates, grammarian of Mallos, also, is another famous Cilician (Strabon, *op cit* 14, 5,16).

Tarsus was an important pharmacological centre and Areios, a medical writer on pharmacy whose works are lost, is famous for being the master of Dioscorides of Anazarbus (now Anavarza). Living in 40-80, Dioscorides left us the most important pharmacological book of antiquity, the *Materia Medica*, in which are listed more than 700 plants and 1,000 drugs and survived as the basic tract until the XVth century (cf Özbayoğlu, 2002, 101-108). Anazarbus –according to others Corycus– gave birth also to famous poet Oppian, author of *Cynegetica*, 'hunting', and *Halieutica*, 'fishing' important works on natural life, especially of Cilician territory.

The Corycian Cave with its interesting geological structures, had also became the scene of mythological events. Pindarus tells that "Cilician Typhoeus", with hundred heads was "nurtured of old by the famed Cilician cave" (*Pythia*, VIII 16) and Apollodorus relates the history of the struggle

between Zeus and Typhon saying that "Zeus pelted Typhon at a distance with thunderbolts...but Typhon twined about him and gripped him in his coils, and wrestling the sickle from him severed the sinews of his hands and feet, and lifting him on his shoulders carried him through the sea to Cilicia and deposited him on arrival in the Corycian cave" (*The Library*, I, VI 3).

The description of the cave made by Strabon is important and presents a picture of it: "...one comes to Crambousa, an island, and to Corycus, a promontory, above which, at a distance of twenty stadia, is the Corycian cave, in which the best crocus grows. It is a great circular hollow, with a rocky brow situated all round it that is everywhere quite high. Going down into it, one comes to a floor that is uneven and mostly rocky, but full of trees of the shrub kind, both the evergreen and those that are cultivated. And among these trees are dispersed also the plots of ground which produce the crocus. There is also a cave here, with a great spring, which sends forth a river of pure and transparent water; the river forthwith empties beneath the earth, and then, after running invisible underground, issues forth into the sea. It is called Picron Hydor" (*op cit* 14,5,5).

The description made by Mela, on the other hand, contains more details: "Not far from (the tomb of Aratus near Soli) there is the place Corycus, surrounded by a harbour and an anchorage, and linked to land by a strip. Above there is a cave called Corycus of a singular type and so extraordinary that one cannot describe it easily. It is opened by a large wide open slit, immediately from the summit, an eminence located just to edge, and the slope of it, of 10 stadion length, is quite stiff. Then the cave sinks down deeply and deviates in larger measure. The bush, suspended from all parts, makes the cave green and is all enclosed by a bushy circle along the edges. Thus, the cave is so extraordinary and beautiful that, at first sight, it strikes fright in the mind of him who approches, but later one with difficulty stops to contemplate. The only path that descends in the middle of the waters that run down from all parts, is strait and rough, of 1,500 passus in length, and conducts, through delicious umbrages and dark bush which resounds of echos that has something of the savage. Coming down to the bottom, another grotto opens, which for other reasons must be noticed. When one enters, the cave frightens with its sound of cymbales that with a supernatural manner resound with an enormous crashing. Now, clear at a certain distance when one enters, it becomes darker as one penetrates. The grotto conducts the venturouses to his depths and leads to the bottom through a

kind of gallery. There, an enormous torrent spouts from an enormous source, just in time to show itself; then, after being shot out with all of the force of its current in a short canal, it immerses and disappears again. The place where it sinks is too frightful for one to dare to go ahead; thus it is unexplored. The character of the rest of the grotto is entirely venerable and sacred; it is worthy of being inhabited by a deity, and has believed to be so. It has nothing that not inspire reverence and appears as if invested with a kind of divine majesty. Not far from there is another grotto which carries the name of Typhon. Its entrance is narrow and, as one who entered there relates, is very low, as if immersed in a perpetual night" (I 13,73-76).

Some centuries later Quintus Smirneus, author of *Posthomerica*, tries to return to the mythological background, not without errors, when he says that "Archelochus, used to live under the ridge of Corycia and the crag of clever Hephaestus. This is a marvel to mortals, because there burns within it a fire untiring and unquenchable night and day around the fire palm trees flourish and bear great quantities of fruit, although their roots are burned along with the rocks. The immortals, I fancy, fashioned this for future generations to see" (11,91-98). In fact, mention of Hephaestus and palm trees evidently must be considered a confusion with a Phoenician legend adopted here (cf Vian, 1959, 142).

In the description of the cave given by Strabon above, can be noted the mention to *crocus*. In fact, it is *crocus sativus* which yields saffron and Cilician *crocus* was extremely famous in antiquity. Ovid says that "(neither can I say) how many crocuses the Cilician earth doth bear" (*Ibis*, 200); Virgil, too, is aware of Cilician saffron and says "and here saffron sprung from Cilician fields" (*Culex*, 401); Columella, who evidently visited Cilicia, as is concluded from an inscription (CIL IX 235; cf Ash, 1960, introduction) says that Corycus was considered famous for its saffron flower (III 8,4); Plinius insures that the best crocum silvestre grows in Cilicia (XXI 31); Curtius Rufus who lived in the same century, says that "the cave of Typhon and the Corycian grove, where saffron grows and other places of which only the fame has endured" (*op cit* III 4,8); the very famous plant continues to take part in poems, while Propertius says "and thrice let Cilician saffron bathe my locks" (4,6,74), Nonnos, in his *Dionysiaca* adorns his poems with the words "(Earth)...crowned the marriage bed with lovely flowers: there sprouted Cilician saffron" (XXXII 86), again "Cadmus came

down fthe horned peaks of lofty Tauros along the saffron glens of Cilicia" (III 16).

The vegetative richness of Cilicia is not limited by *crocus*. Dioscorides asserts that the best root of *Cyperus rotundus*, 'bulrush', to the Cilician (I 4); the best *Thymus graveolens* is that of Cilicia (III 35); "the fruit of the wild vine, when it flowers, is called *Oinanthe*" and the best is in Cilicia (V 5). Again, he says that the *Valeriana tuberosa*, 'mountain nard', grows in Cilicia (I 8); *Tordylium officinale*, 'hartwort', and *Smyrnium* "which they call *Peroselinum,' parsley*', plentifully grow on the hill called Amanus in Cilicia" (III 63;79); *Teucrium*, 'germander or spleen wort', grows very much in Cilicia, "in that part near Gentias, and Kissas so-called" (III 111), and Plinius, although contemporaneous of Dioscorides and resemblances between the two authors are striking, does not list him among his authorities (cf Özbayoğlu, *op cit* 106), and repeats that "(Teucrium), they praise most highly the sort that comes from the mountains of Cilicia" (XXV 46). In fact, when he says that "hyssop wine is made of Cilician *hyssop* by throwing three ounces of *hyssop* into a gallon and a half of wine" (XIV 109) or "hyssop crushed in oil is good for phthiriasis and itch on the scalp. The comes from Mount Taurus in Cilicia" (XXV 126), he agrees with Dioscorides who says that "*hyssop* wine is the best which is made of the Cilician hyssop" (V 50), and "*hyssopus*, a known herb is of two sorts, one is mountainous, the other grows in gardens, but the best is that which grows in Cilicia" (III 30). It must be noted that the above-mentioned *hyssopum* –not *Hyssopus officinalis*, a sacred herb to the ancient Hebrews, still remains unidentified.

Plinius enumerates other plants that grow abundantly in Cilicia, among them *styrax* (XII 125), which is used largely in medicine, but even more by perfumiers; *smilax*, a species of bind-week, "which first came from Cilicia, but is now more common in Greece; it has thick jointed stalks and thorny branches that make it a kind of shrub; the leaf resembles that of the ivy, but is small and has no corners, and throws out tendrils from its stalk; the flower is white and has the scent of a lily...This plant is unlucky to use at all sacred rites and for wreaths because it has a mournful association, a maiden named Smilax having been turned into a smilax shurb because of her love for a youth named Crocus. The common people not knowing this usually pollute their festivals with it because they think that is ivy...Smilax

is used for making tablets; it is a peculiarity of this wood to give out a slight sound when placed to one's ear" (XVI 153-154; cf Dioscorides, II 176;IV 144); a kind of fig-tree found in Cilicia and in Cyprus which has a "remarkable thing...that the figs grow underneath the leaves but the abortive fruit that does not mature forms after the leaves have grown" (XVI 113); *helianthes*, 'sun flower' is plant resembling to myrtle, "grows... on the mountains along the coasts of Cilicia. A decoction of it in lions' fat, with saffron and palm wine added, is used...as an ointment by the Magi and the Persian kings to give to the body a pleasing appearance, and therefore it is also called *heliocallis*, 'beauty of the sun'" (XXIV 165).

Cilician forests furnished timber that was praised in antiquity, especially cedars and junipers that "can produce excellent timber even after 600 years" (Meigs, 1982, 50). It was well known that the production of timber had a great role in the policy and commerce of the region, and ancient authors were well aware it. Strabon, in his description of the Cilicia, explains the reason for which Antony gave to Cleopatra a well-forested part of this region: "After Coracesium, one comes to Arsinoe, a city; then to Hamaxia, a settlement on a hill with a harbour, where ship-building timber is brought down. Most of this timber is cedar; and it appears that this region beyond others abounds in cedar-wood for ships; and it was on this account that Antony assigned this region to Cleopatra, since it was suited to the building of her fleets" (14,5,3).

Before, Theophrastus deals with the regions which produced wood fit for shipbuilding, namely Cilicia, Sinope and Amisus, and Mysian Olympus, and Mont Ida. "But in these parts it is not abundant" he says, "for Syria has Syrian cedar, and they use this for their galleys" (*Enquiry into Plants*, IV 5,5). According to Theophrastus "the silver-fir, fir and Syrian cedar are, generally speaking, useful for ship-building; for triremes and long ships are made of silver-fir, because of its lightness, and merchant ships of fir, because it does not decay" (*ibid*. V 7,1).

In terms of the longevity of cedar, Plinius says that in the temple of Apollo at Utica, the beams of Numidian cedar had lasted for 1178 years "just as they were when they were put in position at the original foundation of that city " (XVI 216). According to Plinius, "the largest cedar is reported to have been grown in Cyprus" and "in Egypt and Syria for want of fir, the kings are said to have used cedar wood for their fleets" (*ibid*. 203). He says

that the kind of fraxinus grown on Ida in the Troad "so closely resembles cedar-wood that when the bark has been removed it deceives buyers" (*ibid*. 62). Production of naval timber implies good organisation and Diodorus of Sicily explains how Antigonus instructed the kings to assist him in building ships: "He himself collected wood cutters, sawyers, and shipwrights from all sides" he says, "and carried wood to the sea from Lebanon. There were eight thousand men employed in cutting and sawing the timber...He established three shipyards in Phoenicia...and a fourth in Cilicia, the timber for which was brought from Mount Taurus" (*The Library of History*, XIX 58,2-5).

The pirates, after becoming the strongest power in the Mediterranean, had bases in Cilicia, where they had excellent ship-timber from the Taurus range. Strabon gives account of how the region "was naturally well adapted to the business of piracy both by land and by sea -by land becauseof the height of the mountains and the large tribes that live beyond them, tribes which have plains and farm-lands that are large and very easily overrun, and by sea, because of the good supply, not only of ship building timber, but also of harbours and fortresses and secret recesses" (14,5,6).

Rome under Pompey had elimated the pirates (67 BC) and the demand for ship-timber had increased with the Rome's civil wars, causing the exploitation of the forests (cf Meiggs, 1982, 84); an exploitation that continued for later centuries.

Gagates lithos of Dioscorides, interpretated as fossil bitumen (Goodyear, 1655, *ad loc*) was an important product of Cilicia. According to Dioscorides it grows in Cilicia "at a certain fall of the river flowing into the sea, and it is near the city which is called Plagiopolis. The place and the river at the mouth of which these stones are found is called Gagas" (V 146). The Latin translation of the Greek term *gagates lithos* is *gagates lapis*, 'jet', in Pliny who says that "jet derives its name from a district and a river in Lycia known as Gages. It is said also to be washed up by the sea on the promontory of Leucolla and to be gathered at places up to a distance of XII *stadia*, 'a mile and a half'" (XXXVI 141), where "Gages" is interpretated as probably Alagöz, between Finike e Çıralı and "Leucolla" a place in Pamphylia, to the east of Lycia (Eichholz, 1962, *ad loc*). Pliny makes also description of jet, "it is black, smooth, porous, light, not very different from wood, and brittle, and has an unpleasant smell when rubbed...When

is it burnt it gives off a smell like that of sulphur. What is remarkable is that it is ignited by water and quenched by oil" (*ibid*.). Eichholz in his commentary says that "the spontaneous combustion of coal (jet is a vitreous form of lignite) is aided by moisture; but the quenching by oil is an oft-repeated fiction. Much of Pliny's account is true of jet, but some of it would also suit asphalt, which is sometimes the meaning of gagates (*ibid*).

Dioscorides and Pliny report other stones peculiar to Cilicia. Dioscorides says that *melantheria*, 'blacking', "is digged out in Cilicia, and in certain other places" (V 118). Pliny says about whetstone, intended for sharpening iron, that the Cilician whetstones are effective "if used with oil and water mixed, and those of Arsinoe if used with water alone" (XXXVI 164), on hephaestitis that it acts "like a mirror in reflection images, even though it is red. The test of its genuineness is that boiling water when poured over it should cool immediately; or, alternatively, that when placed in the sun it should immediately set fire to a parched substance. The stone is found in Corycus" (XXXVII 166).

Cilicia produces also some famous parfumes. Oil of saffron from Soli, according to Pliny, "was for a long time praised most highly, but subsequently that of Rhodes" (XIII 5) and "there was also once an unguent called *pardalium*, 'pantherscent', at Tarsus, even the recipe for compounding which has disappeared" (XIII 6). The Latin name *pardalium*, derived from Greek *pardalis*, 'panther', was believed to emanete a graceful scent (cf VIII 62). Also, the iris oil of Cilicia was highly praised, although the best came from Pamphylia (XXI 42).

Ancient sources refer to some curiosities peculiar to Cilicia. Aristotle says that "in Cilicia they say there is a whirlpool; when birds and other creatures which have been drowned are put into it, they come to life again" (*On Marvellous Things Heard*, 832,5). "Geese in Cilicia", says Plutarch, "in fear of eagles, take a large stone in their beaks whenever they cross Mount Taurus, as it were reining in and bridling their gaggling loquacity that they may pass over in silence unobserved" (*Moralia, The Cleverness of Animals*, 967B). Another history comes from Pliny: "The deers cross seas swimmings in a herd strung out in line with their heads resting on the haunches of the ones in front of them, and taking turns to drop to the rear: this is most noticed when they crossing from Cilicia to Cyprus; and they do not keep land in sight but swim towards its scent" (VIII 114; cf Aelian, *On Animals*, V 56; Oppian, *Cynegetica*, II, 217).

Again Pliny says that "in Cilicia near the town Cescum flows the river *Nuus*, 'intelligence'. Those that drink of it become, says Marcus Varro, of keener perception" (XXXI 15).

The most famous products of Cilicia are *cilicium*, 'cloth made of goath'hair' and cilicia, 'articles made of cilicium'. Cilician mountains nourish, in fact, a kind of horned and shaggy-haired goat, whose long hair served to manufacture garments, tents for soldiers awnings, curtains for protection against wind and humidity, war machines like *catapulta, ballista*, and *tabulata*, 'wooden walls' of moving towers or bags for fulling earth, and boat equipment that was subject to the trade of tent-making material. The glossaries have, in brief, "cilicium" as "textum ex pilis caprinis factum; postea omnino velamentum asperum" (Thesaurus) and " sic appellant tactici centones ac feltra quae muris appndebant, ut telorum ac lapidum e machinis emissorum vim retundant" (Du Cange).

The goat in question is the Phrygian goat which is now called *angora* (Hooper, 1934, *ad loc*), in Turkish 'Ankara keçisi'. Varro explains how Phrygian goats took the name of Cilicia: "Because they have long hair, goats are clipped over a large part of Phrygia; and it is from this that hair-cloth (*cilicia*) and other fabrics of the kind are made. But it is said that the Cilicians gave the name to it from the fact that his clipping was first practised in Cilicia" (*On Agriculture*, II,XI 12).

The passage of Procopius depicts well the use of cilicia in war: "Wherefore the barbarians devised the following plan. They provided screens of goats's hair cloth, of the kind which are called Cilician, making them of adequate thickness and height, and attached them to long pieces of wood which they always set before those who were working on the "agesta" (for thus the Romans used to call in the Latin tongue the thing which they were making). Behind this neither ignited arrows nor any other weapon could reach the workmen, but all of them were thrown back by the screens and stopped there" (*History of the Wars*, II,XXVI 29-30). The passage of Jerome, on the other hand, shows us another sense of *cilicium*, as a special ecclesiastical garment put on as the sign of penitence and sufference: "He rent his clothes and put *cilicium*, 'sackcloth' upon his flesh and fasted in sack cloth and went softly" (*Select Letters*, 77,4).

An important product of Tarsus was flax and the linourgoi, 'linenworkers' who were in grand number must must have been organized in guilds, as

they were at Anazarbus and commonly in Asian cities (Jones 1978, 80). Dio Chrysostom illuminates us about their conditions: "there is a group of no small size...Some are accustomed to call them 'linen-worker' and at times the citizens are irritated by them and assert that they are a useless rabble and responsible for the tumult and disorder in Tarsus, while at other times they regard them as a part of the city" (*Second Tarsic Discours*, 34,21). Most of these workers had been born in this city but also had fathers and forefathers who had, but they were not able to pay the five hundred drachmas "to be found worthy of citizenship" and so Chrysostom bid the Tarsians enroll them all as citizens (*ibid*., 23).

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Avienus'and P. Mela's texts above have been translated by the author; translation of Dioscorides' text is based on Goodyear *cit*; all other quotations are derived from Loeb Classical Collection texts.