

GLORIOUS SOLYMI. HOMER AND A NEGLECTED INSCRIPTION CONCERNING PISIDIAN TERMESSOS AT ROME*

It is a well-known fact that the inhabitants of the Pisidian city of Termessos in south-western Asia Minor were linked to the Solymi, a people that appears twice during the famous meeting between Glaucus and Diomedes in Homer's *Iliad* book VI.¹ The description of Termessos by Strabo in *Geography* XIII 4.16 C. 631, which is the oldest evidence of this identity, is very informative. His source is presumably Artemidorus of Ephesus (ca. 100 BC), whom Strabo names explicitly when he gives the list of Pisidian *poleis* in which Termessos is included.² According to the Greek text, 'the hill that lies above the fortress of the Termessians is called Solymus, and the Termessians themselves are called Solymi. Near by is the Palisade of Bellerophon, and also the tomb of his son Peisander, who fell in the battle against the Solymi'.³ Our learned author notices that this account agrees with the words of Homer and he decides to quote the Iliadic relevant verses, although the last one is somewhat adapted due to the prose style.⁴ In the poem, the glorious Solymi formula shares position and composition within the hexameter: δεύτερον αὖ Σολύμοισι μαχέσσατο κυδαλίμοισι (*Il.* VI 184) and μαρνάμενον Σολύμοισι κατέκτανε κυδαλίμοισι (*Il.* VI 204). In addition to Strabo's information, we also know of a local cult of Zeus Solymeus, attested since the 2nd/1st century BC,⁵ and an eponymous hero Solymus, whose bust is engraved on some civic coins from imperial times, a usual procedure in the dynamics of identity under Roman administration.⁶ He is already mentioned by Antimachus of Colophon, an expert in Homer's works who

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1 ἐκ Σολύμων ὄρέων in *Od.* V 283. On the difficult question of the Solymi according to textual sources one may cite the meticulous works of M.-P. de Hoz (2005–2006), *Los solymoi: identidad, pervivencia y relación con licios, milyai y kabaleis*, *GeogrAnt* 14–15, pp. 77–88, and M. P. Gonzales (2005), *The oracle and cult of Ares in Asia Minor*, *GRBS* 45 (3), pp. 261–283.

2 Str. XII 7.2 C. 570: φησὶ δὲ Ἀρτεμίδωρος τῶν Πισιδῶν πόλεις εἶναι (...) Τέρμησσόν. The edition and translation of Strabo's *Geography* here used is that of Horace Leonard Jones at Loeb classical library.

3 τῆς γοῦν Τέρμησσέων ἄκρας ὁ ὑπερκείμενος λόφος καλεῖται Σόλυμος, καὶ αὐτὸι δὲ οἱ Τέρμησσεῖς Σόλυμοι καλοῦνται. πλησίον δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ Βελλεροφόντου χάραξ καὶ ὁ Πεισάνδρου τάφος τοῦ νιοῦ, πεσόντος ἐν τῇ πρὸς Σολύμους μάχῃ.

4 ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ λεγομένοις ὅμολογεῖται: περὶ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Βελλεροφόντου φησὶν οὕτως δεύτερον αὖ Σολύμοισι μαχέσσατο κυδαλίμοισι: περὶ δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ Πεισάνδρον δέ οἱ νιὸν Ἀρης ἄτος πολέμῳ μαρνάμενον Σολύμοισι κατέκτανεν. This account agrees also with the words of the poet, for he says of Bellerophon, «next he fought with the glorious Solymi», and of his son, «and Peisander his son was slain by Ares, insatiate of war, when he was fighting with the Solymi».

5 Cf. TAM III,1 26A: Οτανις Μωτος | ιερητεύσας | Διὶ Σολυμεῖ εύχ[ή]ν. On this deity, by far the most important in the city, and its connection with the Mount Solymus, see now P. Talloen (2015), *Cult in Pisidia: religious practice in southwestern Asia Minor from Alexander the Great to the rise of Christianity*, Turnhout, pp. 93–94.

6 See J. H. M. Strubbe (1984–1986), Gründer kleinasiatischer Städte. Fiktion und Realität, *AncSoc* 15–17, pp. 253–304, and P. Weiss (1984), Lebendiger Mythos. Gründerheroen und städtische Gründungstraditionen im griechisch-römischen Osten, *WJA* 10, pp. 179–208, with evidence.

lived in the 5th century BC.⁷ Most interesting in my view is, however, that Solymian identity at local level is only expressed in verse inscriptions with epic wording. There are five instances, all of them found at Termessos and dating from Roman times.⁸

A rather neglected inscription – albeit long ago published – found at Rome joins this small group in a very remarkable way, as will be clear from the first two lines. This inscription contains the only epigraphic manifestation of the glorious Solymi from Termessos abroad: Τερμησσὸν ναίων Σολύμοις | ἐνὶ κυδαλίμοισιν |. The city name is plainly connected to the Homeric formula of the *Iliad*, although it is metrically different. There can be little doubt, in any case, that the community was building up its identity through the lens of the Homeric universe.⁹ It was the perfect way to display autochthony, antiquity, and *dóxa*.¹⁰ The main intention of this paper is to draw the attention of those scholars working on Pisidian Termessos. I will just provide a translation and add some minor observations concerning the reading of the epithet Σολυμῆδος in the inscription and the use of the ethnic at Termessos.¹¹ A further and incidental point of this paper casts doubt on the existence of a place called *Solyma? in eastern Lycia.

The publication of the monument was first carried out by G. Patriarca in 1934, *Epigramma sepolcrale del Cimitero della Via Ostiense, Bull. Comm. Arch. LXII*, pp. 151–155 (with photo, commentary and Italian translation). B. E. Thomasson (1954), *Opuscula Romana I*, p. 137 n. 123, only repeated his text but added a higher quality photograph (pl. VIII). Improvements were made by W. Peek (1955), *Griechische Vers-Inschriften I*, 1885. All this information was included in *SEG* 14.619, year 1957 (cf. *BE* 1958.7 criticism). The last edition, and the one I follow, is *IGUR* III 1204 by L. Moretti in 1979 (also with a high-quality photograph).

Inscribed on a marble stele found in the cemetery of Via Ostiense, the inscription is the epitaph in verse of two Termessians who died during their stay at Rome, probably as ambassadors from the Pisidian city. They are the son of Orthagoras – his name has not been preserved in the text –, who speaks from verses 1 to 6, and Hermaios, son of Arteimas, who speaks from verses 7 to 12; that is, the same amount of space for each deceased. The monument was erected by a friend of theirs, Konon, son of Hermaios, in memory, as stated in the last two lines. All the four

⁷ See E. Kosmetatou (1997), The hero Solymos on the coinage of Termessos Major, *SNR* 76, pp. 41–63; V. J. Matthews (1996), *Antimachus of Colophon: text and commentary*, Leiden. See also *LIMC* VII 1, Solymos.

⁸ TAM III,1 103, ll. 5–6: οἱ Σόλυμοι σεβίσαντο; TAM III,1 127, ll. 1–2: σοφὸν ἐν Σολύμοισι Σολύμιον; TAM III,1 135, ll. 6–7: δῆμος ὁ τῶν Σολύμων; TAM III,1 18, l. 4: πάτρη Σολυμῆδη; TAM III,1 548, ll. 8–9: γλυκερῆ Σολυμῆδη πάτρη (see Heberdey's comment: *prosaes orationi clausulas heroicas admiscet tituli auctor*).

⁹ Although I do not share all its judgements about the Solymi at Termessos, J. J. Coulton (2008), Homer and the Solymians, in D. Kurtz (ed.), *Essays in classical archaeology for Eleni Hatzivassiliou 1977–2007*, Oxford, pp. 17–25, is a very inspiring paper.

¹⁰ As it is wisely expressed in P. Weiss (1992), Pisidien: eine historische Landschaft im Licht ihrer Münzprägung, in E. Schwertheim (ed.), *Forschungen in Pisidien*, Bonn, pp. 155–156.

¹¹ A complete analysis of this inscription together with the others is part of my PhD thesis, since the impact of Homer in Pisidia is one of the topics I deal with. It studies, overall, the formation of local identities in the region mainly through epigraphy and literature, and it seeks to investigate how they interact within the global Hellenism, not only during the Hellenistic period but also under the Roman Empire. See on this H. Arroyo-Quirce (2016), Los orígenes griegos de una ciudad de Pisidia: Selge, Esparta y Calcante, *Emerita* 84 (1), pp. 51–71.

names preserved are quite common at their place of origin.¹² The inscription, which can be found at the custodian's house, is dated to 1st/2nd c. AD.¹³

Τερμησσὸν ναίων Σολύμοις | ἐνὶ κυδαλίμοισιν |
 ἥλυθον ἐς Ῥώμην τρίτος | ἀστῶν κῆρι πιθήσας; |⁵
 ἀλλὰ θανὼν ἡβῶν συνοδυπόρον | Ἀϊδος ε[ι]σω |
 δεύτερον αὗτ' ἀνέμεινα | [τ]ὸν ἐκ πάτρης ἄμ' ιόντα· |
 5 [ἀμ]φοῖν δ' ὁστέα κεῖται |¹⁰ [όμοῦ νούσ]οισι καμόντων, |
 [...]νου Ὁρθαγόρου παιδὸς | [βλο]συροῦ τε Ἐρμαίου. |
 σοὶ[δ' ἔ]γώ, Ὁρθαγόροι τέκος, | προϊόντι κατ' αἰσαν |¹⁵
 εἰς Ἀΐδαο δόμους συνεφέσπ[ο]μαι | ἡθεος φώς, |
 Ἐρμαίος Ἀρτείμου Σολυ[μη]δος | αὗτ' ἀπὸ γαί[ας]. |
 10 σάρκας μὲν πῦρ νῶ[ιν ἐδαί]σατο, |²⁰ ὁστὰ δὲ κεύθ[ει] |
 ἥδε χθῶν πάμφορβο[ς], ἀτὰρ | ψυχαὶ θεόπεμπτοι |
 οἴχεσθον κατὰ γῆς ἐνὶ δαίμονι | ξυνὰ κέλευθα. |²⁵
 Κόνων Ἐρμαίου [τ]οῖς φίλο[ις] | μνήμης χάριν.

App. crit.: l. 10. [πολλὰ κακο]ῖσι Patr., [όμοῦ νούσ]οισι Peek; l. 11. [Ἀρτεμά?]νου Patr., [Παρμέ]νου Peek; l. 12. — — συροῦ Patr., [βλο]συροῦ Peek; ll. 17–18. Σολυ[μη]δος, | Αὗτ' ἀπὸ γαί[ας] Patr., Σολυμηίδος | αὗτ' ἀπὸ γαί[ας]. Peek, Σολυ[μη]δος | αὗτ' ἀπὸ γαί[ας]. Mor.; l. 19. νῶ[ιν ἐπρή]σατο Patr., νῶ[ιν ἐδαί]σατο Peek.

Translation

'Dwelling in Termessos amongst the glorious Solymi, I came to Rome the third of my townsmen, persuaded in the heart; yet having perished in the prime of youth, I next waited inside the Hades for my fellow-traveller, the one who left the fatherland at the same time. Our bones lie together having suffered from sicknesses, of [...], the son of Orthagoras, and the solemn Hermaios. In your company, oh child of Orthagoras, who advanced duly into the houses of Hades, I come, an unmarried man, Hermaios, son of Arteimas, also from the Solyrian land. The fire feasted on our flesh and the all-feeding soil already covers our bones, but both our souls sent by the gods have departed on common paths below the earth with the same daimon. Konon, son of Hermaios, to his friends, in memory.'

Patriarca's first and wrong reading at ll. 17–18 – Σολυ[μη]δος, | Αὗτ' ἀπὸ γαί[ας] – is already modified in Peek's edition, but he did not indicate the lacuna neither did he give the reference in the critical apparatus to the previous reading made in the Italian publication. In turn, SEG 14.619, which cites both editions, presents Patriarca's text without mentioning Peek's new reading at ll. 17–18, something that maintained the confusion on the question surrounding the Solyrian word for a long time. Regarding the last edition by Moretti, here offered, it must be stressed that

12 See L. Robert (1959), *Gnomon* 31.1, pp. 24–25.

13 Brief mentions of this inscription at L. Moretti (1989), *I Greci a Roma, Opuscula Instituti Romani Finlandiae* 4, pp. 5–16; C. Habicht (2001), *Tod auf der Gesandschaftstreise*, in B. Virgilio (ed.), *Studi ellenistici XIII*, Pisa, pp. 9–17, both in connection with the death of the Termessian ambassadors at Rome; and L. Gasperini (2008), *L'epitafio urbano I.G.U.R. 977 ritrovato alla Manziana (Roma)*, in A. Arnaldi – S. M. Marengo (edd.), *Lidio Gasperini. Scritti di epigrafia greca*, Tivoli, pp. 507–512, comparing the lettering. On the meaning of verses 10–12, see G. H. R. Horsley (1987), *New documents illustrating Early Christianity. Vol. 4. A review of the Greek inscriptions and papyri published in 1979*, Sydney, p. 29, and I. Peres (2003), *Griechische Grabinschriften und neutestamentliche Eschatologie*, Tübingen, pp. 168–169.

there seems to be enough space in the lacuna for three letters, yet the traces of the delta can only be partially distinguished in the photo. To be strictly accurate, then, it should be edited as Σολυ[μη]δος αντ' ἀπὸ γαί[ας].

This use of the epithet Σολυμηή at Rome slightly disagrees with the tradition at Termessos, where πάτρη is the preferred noun in two occasions. Patriarca's choice Σολυ[μη]ος, on the other hand, would have proved to be exceptional, since a Solymian ethnic never applies to individuals at Termessos but rather to the community as a whole.¹⁴ In closing, it will be added here that the unusual Σολυμηνοί that appears in two Roman sarcophagi near Phaselis according to Anti, MAAL 29, 1923, pp. 757–758 nn. 11–12, would not be individual cases either.¹⁵ This ethnic is cited and understood by Coulton (op. cit.), p. 21, as 'a relatively new creation, another claim to the prestige of an epic past by people living in the area where Homeric scholarship placed the Solymians'. However, since the publication of SEG 6.743 and TAM II 1213–1214 it has become clear that the correct reading is 'Ολυμπηνοί, the city-ethnic from nearby Olympus in eastern Lycia.¹⁶ Surprisingly enough, a place *Solyma?, a toponym which is marked both as reconstructed and with added uncertainty about location, is included not only in Barrington Atlas but also in Pleiades website on account of Anti's incorrect reading (1923, pp. 774–777).¹⁷ If most scholars concur, maybe the time has come to remove this *Solyma? from the maps.

Özet

Termesos'da yaşayan Solym'lere ilişkin temel bilgilerimizi bir araya getiren bu makalenin ana konusu, Roma'da bulunan ve 1936 yılında yayınlanan (bk. BE 1938.571 ve 1942.2) ama bilim dün- yasının genel olarak gözardı ettiği bir Grekçe şiirdir. Bu şiir, bu Pisidia toplumunun kimliği konusundaki ana kaynağımızın Homeros olduğunu doğrulamaktadır. Yazara göre, doğu Lykia'da Solyma ? adlı bir yerleşimin varlığını destekleyen herhangi bir epigrafik buluntu yoktur.

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¹⁴ Cf. n. 8 for the inscriptions. Please note that Σολύμιον at TAM III,1 127, ll. 1–2, is an honorific name, not an ethnic.

¹⁵ Anti's squeezes may be seen at <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/monant1923/0404> [accessed: 25 January 2017].

¹⁶ See L. Robert (1966), *Documents de l'Asie mineure méridionale: inscriptions, monnaies et géographie*, Genève-Paris, p. 42 n. 3.

¹⁷ BAtlas 65 D4 *Solyma?; C. Foss, S. Mitchell, R. Talbert, T. Elliott, and S. Gillies, *Solyma?: a Pleiades place resource, *Pleiades: A Gazetteer of Past Places*, 2012 <<https://pleiades.stoa.org/places/639114>> [accessed: 25 January 2017].