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ELIZABETH KOSMETATOU

THE HERO SOLYMOS ON THE COINAGE
OF TERMESSOS MAJOR*

Plates 6–9

It is likely that the legend of the hero Solymos did not occupy an important position in Greek, or even local Pisidian, mythology, judging from its virtual absence from ancient literature and iconography. However, though a minor hero, Solymos was considered to be the ancestor of the Pisidian city of Termessos Major, and, perhaps, also of its neighbouring Ariassos. In addition to presenting the Termessian coins featuring Solymos, this paper will also review the development of this hero's myth, as well as his cult and its importance for the Pisidian cities which adopted it.

I Catalogue

While hero Solymos was in all likelihood occasionally represented on public monuments, his iconography is so far only known from his representations on the bronze coinage of Termessos, and perhaps of Ariassos as well. He is easily identified as a bearded warrior-hero, wearing a helmet and holding a spear and a sword.¹ The series and die sequences proposed below are based on such principles as iconography, a presumed evolution of style from more naturalistic to crude, and on the wear of the dies.

* It is a pleasure to thank the following scholars whose input in this study is much appreciated: C. Arnold-Biucchi (New York), F. de Callataÿ (Brussels), G. Dembski (Vienna), D. Klose and J. Nollé (Munich), S. Scheers (Leuven), H.-D. Schultz (Berlin), U. Wartenberg (London). S. Hurter and A. Walker should be gratefully acknowledged for their comments and suggestions, as well as for their speedy copyediting this article. Permission to study and publish the coins presented here was generously granted by the relevant museums. Professor Marc Waelkens suggested and encouraged my study of the coinage of Termessus and discussed with me various issues regarding Pisidian numismatics. A large part of this study was conducted at the Katholieke Universiteit, Leuven, whose Research Coordination Committee granted me a junior fellowship in order to work on the project Sagalassus with Professor Marc Waelkens. In the end, I am responsible for all errors and flaws in this study.

¹ A complete die study of the coinage of Termessos is in progress by this author.

Group I

Series 1.1

- Obv.:* Head of Solymos facing right and wearing a crested Corinthian helmet; ΤΕΡΜΗCCEΩΝ
- Rev.:* The hero Solymos standing left, wearing a helmet, and holding spear and sword; ΤΩΝ ΜΕΙΖΟΝΩΝ
- 1 O1:R1 * a) Berlin, Münzkabinett (Imhoof-Blumer 1900); 9.26 g, 12 h
- 2 O2:R2 *obv.* ΤΕΡΜΗCCEΩΝ (sic)
* a) Kopenhagen; SNG Cop. 318; 8.34 g, 12 h
b) Berlin, Münzkabinett (Löbbecke 1906); 5.82 g (worn), 12 h
- 3 O3:R3 *obv.* ΤΕΡΜΗCCEΩΝ
a) Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, SNG Paris 3, 2170; 6.03 g, 2 h
* b) British Museum (formerly von Aulock), SNG von Aulock 5342; 6.37 g, 6 h

Series 1.2

- Obv.:* Head of bearded Solymos facing right and wearing a crested Corinthian helmet; ΤΕΡΜΗCCEΩΝ
- Rev.:* Hermes standing, facing left within a border of dots. He wears a short chiton and holds a patera on his right and a caduceus on his left hand; ΤΩΝ ΜΕΙΖΟΝΩΝ
- 4 O3:R4 *obv.* ΤΕΡΜΗCCEΩΝ (sic)
* a) Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, SNG Paris 3, 2168; 7.53 g, 12 h
- 5 O3:R5 * a) Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, SNG Paris 3, 2169; 9.12 g, 12 h
b) Berlin, Münzkabinett (C.R. Fox 1878); 7.94 g; 12 h
- 6 O4:R6 a) Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, SNG Paris 3, 2167; 7.43 g, 2 h
die break on obverse in the field left
* b) British Museum (formerly von Aulock); SNG von Aulock 5342; 8.18 g, 12 h
- 7 O5:R7 * a) München Staatliche Münzsammlung (26989); 11.33 g, 12 h
b) Kopenhagen; SNG Cop. 313; 10.07 g, 12 h
c) British Museum (1894.0402.212); 9.40 g (pierced)
- 8 O6:R8 * a) München Staatliche Münzsammlung (15677); 6.80 g, 12 h
b) Berlin, Münzkabinett (18550); 8.08 g, 12 h

Series 1.3

- Obv.:* Head of Solymos facing right and wearing a crested Corinthian helmet; ΤΕΡΜΗCCEΩΝ (sic)
- Rev.:* The hero Solymos sitting and facing left; COAYMOC
- 9 O7:R9 * a) Paris, Cabinet des Médailles; SNG Paris 3, 2166; 7.52 g, 12 h
b) Berlin, Münzkabinett (Bernhard-Imhoof 1928); 6.83 g, 12 h
c) Berlin, Münzkabinett (1789 ex Gneppo 1090 M III 529,221); 7.94 g, 12 h

- d) London British Museum (1900,0705.77); 7.36 g, 12 h
e) Wien, Münzkabinett (18.968); 5.40 g (worn), 12 h

Series 1.4 (larger denomination)

- Obv.:* Head of Zeus laureate facing right; ΤΕΡΜΗCCEΩΝ
Rev.: The hero Solymos sitting and facing left; ΤΩΝ ΜΕΙΖΟΝΩΝ

- 10 O8:R10 *a) American Numismatic Society (1944.100.52235); 12.23 g, 12 h

Series 1.5

- Obv.:* Bust of Solymos facing right and wearing a crested Corinthian helmet; ΤΕΡΜΗΘΕΩΝ (sic)
- Rev.:* The hero Solymos standing, facing left, and holding spear and sword; ΤΩΝ ΜΕΙΖΟΝΩΝ

- | | | |
|----|--------|---|
| 11 | O7:R11 | * a) American Numismatic Society (1944.100.52222); 9.65 g (worn), 12 h |
| 12 | O7:R12 | * a) Wien, Münzkabinett (34.378); 8.11 g, 12 h |
| 13 | O7:R13 | * a) American Numismatic Society (1944.100.52223); 7.08 g (very worn), 12 h |
| 14 | O7:R14 | * a) München, Staatliche Münzsammlung (6); 6.62 g, 12 h |
| 15 | O9:R15 | * a) British Museum (1894.0402.211); 5.80 g, 12 h |

Series 1.6

- | | |
|--------------|---|
| <i>Obv.:</i> | Bust of Solymos facing right and wearing a crested Corinthian helmet; ΤΕΡΜΗCΕΩΝ (sic) |
| <i>Rev.:</i> | A distyle temple within which is the legend: ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΩΝ |

- | | | |
|----|---------|---|
| 16 | O7:R16 | * a) British Museum (formerly von Aulock); SNG von Aulock 5344; 9.49 g, 12 h
b) Lindgren Collection 1368; 9.10 g, 12 h
c) Paris, Cabinet des Médailles; SNG Paris 3, 2165; 9.34 g, 12 h |
| 17 | O7:R17 | * a) München, Staatliche Münzsammlung (15676); 8.11 g, 12 h |
| 18 | O10:R16 | * a) Wien, Münzkabinett (18.962); 5.91 g, 12 h
b) American Numismatic Society (1944.100.52225); 4.98 g, 12 h
c) München, Staatliche Münzsammlung (5); 4.53 g, 12 h |
| 19 | O10:R17 | * a) Kopenhagen; SNG Cop. 317; 5.31 g, 12 h |
| 20 | O11:R18 | * a) Paris, Cabinet des Médailles; SNG Paris 3, 2164; 6.21 g, 12 h |
| 21 | O12:R19 | * a) British Museum (1869.0703.32); 6.25 g, 12 h |

Series 1.7

- Obv.:* Bust of Solymos facing right and wearing a crested Corinthian helmet; ΤΕΡΜΗCCEΩΝ

- Rev.:* Tyche standing and facing left, holding cornucopiae and rudder;
ΤΩΝ ΜΕΙΖΟΝΩΝ
- 22 O10:R20 a) Berlin, Münzkabinett (C.R. Fox 1873); 6.30 g, 12 h
* b) Bruxelles, Cabinet des Médailles (II, 61.184); 8.76 g, 12 h
- Series 1.8*
- Obv.:* Bust of Solymos facing right and wearing a crested Corinthian helmet; ΤΕΡΜΗΧΕΩΝ (sic)
- Rev.:* Tyche standing and facing left, holding cornucopiae and rudder;
ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΩΝ
- 23 O13:R22 a) Paris, Cabinet des Médailles; SNG Paris 3, 2172; 5.78 g, 12 h
* b) British Museum (formerly von Aulock); SNG von Aulock 5343;
6.27 g, 12 h
- 24 O11:R22 * a) Bruxelles, Cabinet des Médailles (1906); 6.15 g, 12 h
- 25 O14:R22 * a) Wien, Münzkabinett (27.798); 6.04 g, 12 h
b) Berlin, Münzkabinett (1195/1896); 5.66 g, 12 h
- Series 1.9*
- Obv.:* Bust of Solymos facing right and wearing a crested Corinthian helmet; ΤΕΡΜΗΧΕΩΝ (sic)
- Rev.:* Nike standing and facing left, holding palm and wreath;
ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΩΝ
- 26 O13:R23 * a) Paris, Cabinet des Médailles; SNG Paris 3, 2171; 6.77 g, 12 h
- 27 O10:R24 * a) Kopenhagen; SNG Cop. 319; 5.02 g, 6 h
- Series 1.10*
- Obv.:* Bust of Solymos facing right and wearing a crested Corinthian helmet; ΤΕΡΜΗΧΕΩΝ
- Rev.:* Unidentified female figure standing and facing right; ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΩΝ
- 28 O13:R25 * a) Berlin, Münzkabinett (28764); 6.82 g, 12 h
b) American Numismatic Society (1974.226.166); 5.43 g, 12 h
- 29 O13:R26 a) British Museum, 1934.0312.57; 5.43 g, 12 h
* b) München, Staatliche Münzsammlung (90763); 5.20 g, 12 h
- Series 1.11*
- Obv.:* Bust of Solymos facing right and wearing a crested Corinthian helmet; ΤΕΡΜΗΧΕΩΝ (sic)
- Rev.:* A young, beardless figure (hero Termessos?) standing, facing left, holding a patera on his right hand; ΤΩΝ ΜΕΙΖΟΝΩΝ
- 30 O15:R27 * a) Berlin, Münzkabinett (Imhoof-Blumer 1900); 5.32 g, 12 h
- 31 O16:R28 * a) Berlin, Münzkabinett (5423/1954); 10.60 g, 12 h
- 32 O17:R28 * a) Wien, Münzkabinett (35.387); 8.06 g, 12 h

Group II

Series 2.1

- Obv.:* Head of Solymos facing left and wearing a crested Corinthian helmet within a border of dots; ΤΕΡΜΗΚΕΩΝ
Rev.: The hero Solymos standing left, wearing a helmet, and holding spear and sword; ΤΩΝ ΜΕΙΖΟΝΩΝ

- 33 O18:R29 a) British Museum (1872.0709.238); 7.40 g, 12 h
b) Copenhagen; SNG Cop. 315; 6.76 g, 12 h
* c) Lindgren Collection 1367; 6.45 g, 12 h
34 O18:R30 * a) Paris, Cabinet des Médailles; SNG Paris 3, 2162; 9.17 g, 12 h
b) Berlin, Münzkabinett (Löbbecke 1906); 6.75 g, 12 h

Series 2.2

- Obv.:* Head of Solymos facing left and wearing a crested Corinthian helmet; ΤΕΡΜΗΚΕΩΝ
Rev.: Hermes standing, facing left. He wears a short chiton and holds a patera on his right and a caduceus on his left hand; ΤΩΝ ΜΕΙΖΟΝΩΝ

- 35 O18:R31 a) Berlin, Münzkabinett (Imhoof-Blumer 1900); 10.26 g, 12 h
* b) American Numismatic Society (1944.100.52224); 12.10 g (worn), 12 h
36 O18:R32 * a) Wien, Münzkabinett (30124); 8.85 g, 12 h

Series 2.3

- Obv.:* Head of Solymos facing left and wearing a crested Corinthian helmet; ΤΕΡ ΜΕΙ
Rev.: The hero Solymos sitting and facing left within a border of dots; ΚΟΛΥΜΟΚ

- 37 O18:R33 a) Bruxelles, Cabinet des Médailles, 8.76 g, 12 h
* b) Paris, Cabinet des Médailles; SNG Paris 3, 2161; 4.38 g, 12 h
38 O18:R9 * a) American Numismatic Society 1944.100.52220; 8.56 g, 12 h
39 O18:R34 a) Classical Numismatic Group 30, 1994, 480; 7.65 g, 3 h
* b) Wien, Münzkabinett (18.960); 3.41 g, 6 h
c) British Museum (1934.0312.56); 4.81 g, 12 h
40 O18:R35 * a) Wien, Münzkabinett (36.40); 6.96 g, 7 h
b) Copenhagen; SNG Cop. 314; 7.22 g, 6 h
c) American Numismatic Society (1944.100.52221); 6.65 g, 6 h
d) British Museum (formerly von Aulock); SNG von Aulock 5345; 5.92 g, 12 h
e) Berlin, Münzkabinett (Bernhard-Imhoof 1928); 6.63 g, 7 h
f) British Museum (1894.0706.103); 6.40 g, 12 h
g) Paris, Cabinet des Médailles; SNG Paris 3, 2158; 6.82 g (worn), 12 h

Series 2.4

Obv.: Head of Solymos facing left and wearing a crested Corinthian helmet; ΤΕΡ ΜΕΙΖΟ
Rev.: The hero Solymos sitting and facing left within a border of dots; COΛΥΜΟC

- 41 O20:R36 * a) Paris, Cabinet des Médailles; SNG Paris 3, no. 2160; 8.52 g, 12 h
b) Paris, Cabinet des Médailles; SNG Paris 3, no. 2159; 7.51 g, 12 h
c) Wien, Münzkabinett (18961); 8.71 g, 6 h
42 O21:R35 * a) Berlin, Münzkabinett (C.R. Fox 1873); 7.28 g, 6 h

Series 2.5

Obv.: Bust of Solymos facing left and wearing a crested Corinthian helmet within a border of dots; ΤΕΡΜΗCCEΩΝ
Rev.: A distyle temple within which is the legend: ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΩΝ

- 43 O18:R17 * a) Berlin, Münzkabinett (Imhoof-Blumer 1900); 7.57 g, 6 h
44 O18:R36 a) Kopenhagen; SNG Cop. 316; 9.40 g, 6 h
* b) Paris, Cabinet des Médailles; SNG Paris 3, 2163; 8.53 g, 12 h
c) Berne (Righetti) 1442; 6.95 g, 6 h

Group III (not presented in its entirety here)

Series 3

Obv.: Head of Athena facing left within a border of dots; ΤΕΡΜΗCCEΩΝ
Rev.: The hero Solymos standing, facing left and holding a spear within a border of dots; COΛΥΜΟC

- 45 O22:R37 * a) British Museum (1849.0119.38); 7.20 g, 6 h
b) British Museum (1928.1213.1); 5.72 g, 12 h
46 O22:R38 * a) Wien, Münzkabinett (18.96); 8.02 g, 6 h
b) Berlin, Münzkabinett (521/898); 6.41 g, 7 h

Group IV (not presented in its entirety here)

Series 4

Obv.: Bust of Hermes facing right within a border of dots; ΤΕΡΜΗCCEΩΝ
Rev.: The hero Solymos seated facing left within a border of dots. He leans on his sceptre and holds Nike on his outstretched right hand; ΤΩΝ ΜΕΙΖΟΝΩΝ

- 47 O23:R39 * a) Lindgren Collection 1365; 6.77 g, 12 h

Group V (not presented in its entirety here)

Series 5

Obv.: Zeus seated facing left, leaning on his sceptre, and holding Nike on his outstretched right hand within a border of dots: ZEYC
COAYMEYC

Rev.: Athena Nikephoros standing and facing left within a border of dots. She leans on her spear and a shield is at her feet: MEIZONΩN

48 O24:R40 *a) Paris, Cabinet des Médailles; SNG Paris 3, 2184; 8.54 g, 3 h

A total of 85 coins were studied. The results of the die study of all Solymos series are presented in the table below:

Table

Group I

<i>Series</i>	<i>Die Combination</i>	<i>Obv. Die</i>	<i>Rev. Die</i>	<i>No. of Coins</i>
1.1	1	1	1	1
	2	2	2	2
	3	3	3	2
1.2	4	3	4	1
	5	3	5	2
	6	4	6	2
	7	5	7	3
	8	6	8	2
	9	7	9	5
1.3	10	8	10	1
1.4	11	7	11	1
1.5	12	7	12	1
	13	7	13	1
	14	7	14	1
	15	9	15	1
1.6	16	7	16	3
	17	7	17	1
	18	10	16	3
	19	10	17	1
	20	11	18	1
	21	12	19	1
1.7	22	10	20	2
1.8	23	14	22	2
	24	11	23	1
	25	15	23	2
1.9	26	14	24	1
	27	10	25	1

1.10	28	14	26	2
	29	14	27	2
1.11	30	16	28	1
	31	17	29	1
	32	18	29	1

Group II

2.1	33	19	30	3
	34	19	31	2
2.2	35	19	32	2
	36	19	33	1
2.3	37	19	34	2
	38	19	9	1
	39	19	35	3
	40	20	36	7
2.4	41	21	37	3
	42	22	36	1
2.5	43	19	17	1
	44	19	37	3

Group III

3	45	23	38	2
	46	23	39	2

Group IV

4	47	24	40	1
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Group V

5	48	25	41	1
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II Commentary

The surviving Termessian coins which feature Solymos represent five different groups. The first consists of eleven series which all share the same type of obverse. This obverse always bears the bust of the hero Solymos facing right, accompanied by the legend ΤΕΡΜΗC[C]ΕΩΝ. Eleven different reverse types have so far been associated with this obverse, featuring Solymos standing or sitting on a throne, a distyle temple, as well as the gods Hermes, Tyche, and Nike. There is always an inscription on the reverses: either the distinguishing ethnic ΤΩΝ ΜΕΙΖΟΝΩΝ or the declaration of the status that the city enjoyed following *lex Antonia de Termessibus* and the awarding of freedom to it by Cn. Manlius in 189 B.C. (ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΩΝ). This group clearly represents two different unknown denominations, with Series 1.4 probably being of greater value than the others.

The second Termessian group of coins featuring Solymos, is very similar to the first and probably bears the same denomination as the majority of the series of Group I. The obverse always bears the bust of Solymos facing left, accompanied by the legends $\text{TEPMHC[C]E}\Omega\text{N}$ or TEP MEI[ZO] . Five different reverse types have so far been associated with this obverse. The obverses of both groups share a few reverse dies.

Series 3, 4, and 5 (Groups II–V) are quite different from the preceding ones. First, they all belong to larger groups which are not related to Solymos, their connection to him being limited to one unique reverse (or obverse) type. These groups are therefore not discussed here in detail. The obverse on Group III, Series 3 shows a bust of Athena facing left with the legend $\text{TEPMHCCE}\Omega\text{N}$, while Solymos appears on the reverse, standing in full armour, with the legend COAYMOC . The obverse of Group IV, Series 4 features the bust of Hermes, with the legend $\text{TEPMHCCE}\Omega\text{N}$, while Solymos appears on the reverse seated to left, accompanied by the legend $\text{T}\Omega\text{N MEIZON}\Omega\text{N}$. The pose of the seated Solymos clearly derives from the reverse type of the tetradrachms of Alexander the Great, which were issued and imitated for centuries throughout his former empire and beyond. The reverse type of the Alexander tetradrachms, with Zeus enthroned, appears on the obverse of the Termessian Group V, Series 5, which bears the inscription ZEYC COAYMEYC . On the reverse stands a fully armoured Athena Nikephoros, leaning on her spear, with a shield at her feet, and with the legend $\text{MEIZON}\Omega\text{N}$.

The amount of coins preserved per series is very small. In the series studied here, the distribution of coins per die combination is very unequal: from seven (die combination 40) to one (in 24 out of 48 die combinations). These factors unfortunately make it plain that any attempt to draw statistical conclusions for each individual series from the given sample would be of no avail.

Dating the Solymos series presents major difficulties. The date that was initially suggested by Hill and von Aulock was the mid-second/third centuries A.D.² Unfortunately, all known coins come from unknown contexts, and there are no recorded hoards which contained any examples of them. All conclusions as to the date and occasion for their striking must derive largely from style, the lettering of the legends, and from the study of similar issues from Ariassos. The varieties of style observed here, as well as the occurrence of C instead of Σ in the legends, points to a date from the late second to the mid-third centuries A.D. Hill considered Series 3 to be the earliest known representing Solymos and placed it at the time of the Antonines, possibly on the basis of a similar, dated, reverse type which was struck by Ariassos during the reign of Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138–161).³ He then dated Series 1.3 to the period between the reigns of Caracalla and Elagabalus (A.D. 217–222). Based on iconographical considerations, I would associate the reverse of Series 3 with Series 1.1 and 2.1, although its crude style might suggest a later date.

² BMC Pisidia, pp. 271–272, nos. 27, 35; SNG von Aulock 5345.

³ H. von Aulock, *Münzen und Städte Pisidiens*. Vols. I–II, *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, Beihefte 19 und 22 (Bonn 1977), p. 69, 381–384.

On the other hand, Series 1.3 shares one obverse die with Series 1.5 and 1.6 and a common reverse with Series 2.3, while its types are identical to those of Series 1.4 which belongs to a larger denomination. Die associations between series link Series 1.1 together with 1.2, Series 1.6 with 1.7, 1.8, 1.9, and 1.10. Die links within Group II (Series 2.1 is linked to 2.2, 2.3 and 2.5) suggest that all five series comprising it are probably contemporary with each other and with the series of Group I and Group III, Series 3. Finally, the obverse of Group V, Series 5 is iconographically similar to the reverse of Group IV, Series 4. Moreover the reverse type of Group V, Series 5 is combined with the obverse type of Group IV, Series 4 in at least four examples (though Group IV is not presented here in its entirety).⁴ Based on the admittedly limited data presented by die associations and style, I would propose a date for Groups I and II, as well as Group III, Series 3 spanning from the second half of the second century to the early third century A.D. Series 1.11 may have been struck entirely during the early third century A.D. On the other hand, I would date Group IV, Series 4 and Group V, Series 5 to the late second and early third centuries A.D.

The occasion for the issue of the Solymos series may have been a revival of the hero's cult, which in all likelihood took place in the second and early third centuries A.D., and which included an enlargement of the sanctuary of Zeus Solymeus and the institution of the games of Sebasteia Solymeia (see below).

The reverse of Series 1.11, featuring a unidentified young beardless hero in short chiton, without weapons, who holds a branch and a cornucopiae containing branches, presents an iconographical problem. Hill cautiously refers to him as "genius", but Heberdey identifies him with the eponymous hero Termessos, a presumed second ancestor of the city of Termessos who is otherwise unattested in the ancient sources. The name of a hero called Termessos may be restored in an inscription which dates to A.D. 200 and mentions the priest Marcus Aurelius Claudius Valianus Neonianus. Until further evidence can confirm the existence of a hero by the name of Termessos, Heberdey's identification must remain tentative.⁵

III The Myth and Cult of the Hero Solymos

Beyond his basic genealogy and some of his Pisidian associations, the lack of information on the legendary life and deeds of Solymos makes it impossible to reconstruct this warrior hero's story. According to the few surviving sources, Solymos was the forefather of the Solymoi, a presumably Pisidian people, from

⁴ Cf. American Numismatic Society, 1944.100.52239; 1944.100.52240; 1944.100.52241; 1944.100.52242.

⁵ R. Heberdey, *Tituli Asiae Minoris collecti et editi auspiciis Academiae Litterarum Vindobonensis*, vol. III: *Tituli Pisidiae*, fasc. I: *Tituli Termessi et agri Termessensis* (Wien 1941), no. 101 (henceforth TAM III); R. Heberdey, "Termessos", in: Pauly-Wissowa, 5 A/1 (1934), p. 732; BMC Pisidia, p. 273, no. 43.

whom a number of local tribes claimed descent. He was thought to be either a son of Zeus or of Ares.⁶ The ancient sources are not even clear as to the exact name of his Nymph mother which is transmitted in variations: Kalchedonia, Chaldene, Kaldene, or Chalcea, while the form Chalkedonia is also suggested by Türk.⁷ The hero appears to have been unknown to Homer who only mentions the Solymoi, a mysterious warrior-people, in connection with the myth of Bellerophontes. The Greek hero successfully fought the Solymoi at the request of the king of Lycia, whose daughter's hand he won in marriage.⁸ Pindar was aware of the Homeric legend, but never elaborated on it.⁹ Whether Euripides furnished more information on the Solymoi, their origins, or even the hero Solymos in his tragedy *Bellerophon* is not clear, as the few surviving fragments only vaguely refer to the formidable enemies subdued by the Greek hero.¹⁰ In his *Thebais*, the epic poet Antimachos from Kolophon (late 5th century B.C.), Euripides' contemporary, was, as far as we know, the first writer to refer to the hero Solymos as the son of Zeus and Kalchedonia and as ancestor, of the Solymoi, but nothing further is known on how explicitly his myth was treated in the relevant context. Antimachos had the reputation of being a Homeric scholar, and, at least in his treatment of the myth of Solymos, he relied on the Homeric tradition. It is unknown, however, both how much he incorporated into it from other sources, and whether he ventured to create further twists.¹¹

Authors of the Late Roman period provide some more details about the myth of Solymos. We learn that the hero was conceived during one of Zeus' escapades on the Pisidian mount Olympos, where he met Solymos' mother.¹² Stephanus Byzantius also mentions a sister of Solymos, by the name of Milye, who later under unknown circumstances became his wife and, presumably after his death, married Kragos, an otherwise unattested mythological figure. Solymos' subjects had been

⁶ The Etymologicum Magnum, 721.43 ff. favours Ares as the father of Solymos, while the other sources prefer Zeus.

⁷ Cf. G. Türk, "Solymos", in Pauly-Wissowa, III A/1 (1927), p. 990.

⁸ Homer, *Iliad*, 6.155–205, particularly v. 184, 205. Bellerophon's fight against the Solymoi was not originally instigated by his desire to marry the Lycian princess. Following false accusations that he had attempted to seduce queen Sthenoboa of Argos, the hero was sent by king Proitos to his father-in-law with a letter in which Proitos asked that Bellerophon be executed.

⁹ Pindar, *Olymp.*, 13.129. Cf. also Serv, *Aen.*, 5.118; Quintus Smyrnaeus, 2.122.

¹⁰ Euripides, *Bellerophon*, Fr. 303; cf. Stobaios, *Flor.*, 111.9. That Euripides may have written at some length about the Solymoi is an attractive assumption, given this poet's love for obscure myths which he often promoted in his tragedies; cf. E. Kosmetatou, *The Legend of the Hero Pergamus*, *Ancient Society* 26, 1995, p. 136.

¹¹ Antimachos, Fr. 16=Schol. *Pal. Hom. Od.* 5.283. Antimachos was credited with an edition of the Homeric epics. Cf. B. Wyss, *Antimachi Colophonii Reliquiae* (Berlin 1936), *Praef.* 30; V.J. Matthews, *Antimachus of Colophon* (New York 1996).

¹² Cf. Clemens Romanus, *Recognit.*, 10.21 in the Latin translation of Rufinus. The text gives Chalcea (=Chalkeia) as the mother of Solymos, but Höfer restores the name as Kalchedonia, cf. O. Höfer, *Mythen und Epigramme*, *Wettiner Gymnasium Dresden* (Dresden 1910), p. 29 ff.; Bücheler on the other hand supports the original reading, see *Jahrbücher für klassische Philologie* 105 (1872), p. 574.

known as Solymoi during his lifetime, but were renamed upon his death by his wife after herself and henceforth became known as Milyai or Milyes. Their territory was known as Milyas or Minyas.¹³

At any rate, it was in Termessos that Solymos was raised to the status of local hero who appeared on the coinage and whose cult played a pivotal role in state religion. Public inscriptions dating to the second and third centuries A.D. sometimes refer to the territory of Termessos as *πάτρι Σολυμηίς*, its inhabitants as Solymoi, while at least one of the city's prytaneis, as well as a Pamphyliarch, bore the «theophoric» name Solymios.¹⁴ The cult of Solymos may also have played a marginal role at Ariassos in the second and third centuries A.D. It is probably this warrior-hero who appears on the local coinage of that period.¹⁵ To judge from the existing evidence, it is almost certain that neither Termessos nor Ariassos recognized any particular links with Milyas, and their association with Solymos and his people appears to have been arbitrary. The quest for the roots of the Solymoi continued well into the late fifth century A.D., when the historian Zosimos suggested that this elusive people were an Isaurian tribe.¹⁶

Solymos' cult at Termessos had always been assimilated to that of Zeus following the hellenization of the city in at least as early as the late second/early first centuries B.C.¹⁷ On the surviving inscriptions Solymos is never mentioned as an independent hero, but the fact that he frequently appears on the coinage of the second and third centuries A.D. suggests that his iconography was established, and that he may have been represented in sculpture as well. Solymos may even have been worshipped in a small temple or heroon, possibly located in the sanctuary of Zeus Solymeus, and which was a distyle Ionic temple like the one which appears on the reverse of the coin Series 1.6 and 2.5.

Zeus, the most important deity of Termessos, was worshipped there alone as Zeus Eleuthereus and Hadrian-Zeus Olympios; or jointly with Dione and, most often, as Zeus Solymeus in association with the city's legendary forefather.¹⁸ In this

¹³ Cf. Stephanus Byzantius, s.v. "Milyai"; O. Treuber, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Lykier* (Tübingen 1886–1888), p. 21ff.; K. von Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens* (Wien 1890–1892), p. II.

¹⁴ Cf. TAM III, nos. 18, 103, 127–128.

¹⁵ F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinasiatische Münzen* (Wien 1901/1902), p. 365; B.V. Head HN², p. 706; H. von Aulock (n. 3), p. 69, nos. 381–384, 389 (c. A.D. 138–161, 177–192); p. 70, nos. 401–402 (c. A.D. 193–211); p. 72, no. 429 (c. A.D. 429); p. 74, no. 474 (c. A.D. 222–235); p. 75, nos. 479–480 (c. A.D. 235–238); p. 76, nos. 487–490 (c. A.D. 253–260).

¹⁶ Zosimos, 4.21.1. It is unclear from Zosimos' text whether an Isaurian tribe by the name of Solymoi ever existed.

¹⁷ TAM III, no. 26A.

¹⁸ The sanctuary of Zeus Eleutherius is epigraphically attested as early as the second century B.C.; it may have been located close to that of Artemis, SE of the Odeon, cf. TAM III, no. 1; Lanckoronski (supra, n. 13), II, 47. Dione appears for the first time in literature as the consort of Zeus in Homer's *Iliad*, 5. 370, 381. The joint cult of Zeus and Dione is epigraphically attested on a second-third century A.D. inscription from Termessos. See TAM III, no. 376, the funerary inscription for Gaius, son of Dioteimos Hermaios Trokondos who had been the priest of Zeus and Dione. Lanckoronski

latter capacity he was also considered as the protector of tombs and the avenger of the crime of desecrating graves (Τυμβωρυχία). A sanctuary of Zeus Solymeus is epigraphically attested, and Lanckoronski plausibly associated it with a number of buildings located in the immediate vicinity of the Odeon, in the southern part of the city.¹⁹ The temple of Zeus Solymeus was convincingly identified by Lanckoronski with the late Hellenistic Doric temple in the area southwest of Tiberia Claudia Perikleia's building, east of the Bouleuterion, on the basis of the dedicatory inscription of one of its altars. It was decorated with a Gigantomachy frieze below its architrave, of which fragmentary slabs have survived; they feature the struggles of Zeus, Athena, and Apollo against serpent-legged giants. The reliefs are heavily influenced by the Pergamene Gigantomachy frieze from the Altar of Zeus (second century B.C.), a monument which was also dedicated to the chief god of the Pantheon, as well as to the rather obscure hero Telephus, the adopted ancestor of the Attalid kings.²⁰ Pergamene artistic influences on the Termessian monument are not surprising, given the close links that existed between the Pisidian city and Pergamon, and which were strengthened when Attalos II of Pergamon built a stoa NW of the city's agora. The Termessian artists who built and decorated the temple of Zeus Solymeus were directly influenced by the Pergamene craftsmen who came to supervise the building of Attalos' stoa.²¹ As Korres has recently argued in his study of the stoa of Eumenes II at Athens, the Attalid kings not only financed their dedications, but also provided the artists and, in some cases, even a large part of the building materials. The dedication of a new Attalid building was

tentatively identified an area SW of the Termessian Gymnasium as the site of the temple of Zeus or Dione, cf. Lanckoronski II, p. 53. The cult of Hadrian-Zeus-Olympius was probably established in A.D. 131 following a visit of the emperor to the city, cf. B. İplikçioğlu-G. Çelgin-A. Vedat Çelgin, *Epigraphische Forschungen in Termessos und seinem Territorium I*, in: *Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse* 575 (Wien 1991), no. 1. On the various cults of Zeus in Termessos see Heberdey, *Termessos*, in: *Pauly-Wissowa*, 5 A/1 (1934), p. 755.

¹⁹ TAM III, no. 590.

²⁰ C. Lanckoronski, *Les villes de la Pamphylie et de la Pisidie* (Paris 1893), II, pp. 47–50, figs. 5, 7–8; F. Vian, *Répertoire des gigantomachies figurées dans l'art grec et romain* (Paris 1951), no. 51, pl. 9; H. Bracke, *Pisidia in Hellenistic Times (334–25 B.C.)*, in: M. Waelkens (ed.) *Sagalassos I First Report on the Survey (1986–1989) and the Excavations (1990–1991)*, *Acta Archeologica Lovaniensia Monographiae* 6 (Leuven 1993), p. 26. Cf. also S. Mitchell, *Hellenismus in Pisidien*, *Forschungen in Pisidien, Asia Minor Studien* 6 (Bonn 1992), p. 11, who argues for a second century B.C. date for the temple of Zeus Solymeus.

²¹ Lanckoronski (n. 20), p. 40–42; J.J. Coulton, *The Architectural Development of the Greek Stoa* (Oxford 1976), p. 69; L. Seddon, *The Agora Stoa at Assos, Aigai, and Termessos: Examples of the Political Function of Attalid Architectural Patronage*, Diss. UCLA, UMI (Ann Arbor 1987), pp. 39–42; Bracke (n. 20), p. 19; E. Kosmetatou, *The Public and Political Image of the Attalids of Pergamon. Studies on Inscriptions, Coinage, and Monuments*, Diss. University of Cincinnati, UMI (Ann Arbor, 1993), p. 225.

thus not only an important socio-political event for a city; it was also an occasion for transmitting contemporary artistic currents, techniques, and taste.²²

The sanctuary of Zeus Solymeus was probably enlarged in the second and third centuries A.D., and additional buildings were constructed in the immediate neighbourhood of the god's temple. East of the Odeion, on the eastern part of the terrace that was built against its back wall, there was a small temple part of which still stands. On the basis of its fragmentary architrave which bore the inscription of Tiberia Claudia Perikleia, Petersen and Lanckoronski plausibly identified it as being associated with the cult of the city's main deity. Perikleia was the prominent and much-honored wife of Tiberius Claudius Teimodoros, a priest of Zeus Solymeus. According to the text which is dated to the early third century A.D., Tiberia Claudia Perikleia built the temple after her husband's death to fulfill a vow he had made to the god. The function of this small temple is unclear, but Lanckoronski vaguely associated it with the supplementary cults of Dea Roma and the Roman emperors, which were housed in the precinct of Zeus Solymeus.²³

The cult of Zeus Solymeus at Termessos can be partially reconstructed from scattered epigraphical evidence. Beginning in the Hellenistic period and possibly continuing through the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, the god was worshipped alone. Under the Flavians it became associated with the cult of the ruling emperor and his family. As of the early third century A.D. Dea Roma was worshipped in the same sanctuary, and her cult was assimilated to that of the ruling emperor, perhaps following the dedication of Tiberia Claudia Perikleia's building.²⁴ The priesthood of Zeus was the most prestigious in the city and was awarded to prominent citizens, perhaps for a defined short period in the second/first centuries B.C. and for life, perhaps as of the first century A.D. The earliest known priest of the god was Otanis Motos who was prominent enough to receive a gilded statue. The assumption that he may not have been awarded a lifetime priesthood derives from the fact that the dedicatory inscription on his statue does not mention such an honor, which was otherwise proudly advertised by his successors. Tiberius

²² M. Korres, *Vorfertigung und Ferntransport eines athenischen Grossbaus und zur Proportionierung von Säulen in der hellenistischen Architektur*, in: *Bauplanung und Theorie der Antike, Diskussionen zur archäologischen Bauforschung* 4, 1983, pp. 201–207.

²³ Lanckoronski (n. 20), p. 50–51. He identifies the construction N3, west of the Odeion with the temple of Roma. For the inscriptions of Perikleia see TAM III, nos. 21, 713. On the family and honors of Tiberius Claudius Timodoros see B. Iplikcioglu-G. Çelgin-A. Vedat Çelgin, *Epigraphische Forschungen in Termessos und seinem Territorium II*, in: *Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse* 583, Wien, 1992, no. 1.

²⁴ Tiberius Claudius Agrippa served as priest of Zeus-Solymus during the reign of Trajan, cf. TAM III, no. 52. On the Perikleia inscription cf. supra n. 27. An inscription was set up by the city of Sagalassos between A.D. 213–227 in honor of Marcus Aurelius Medianus Platonianus Varrus. The honoree's full title was priest of Dea Roma Augusta (Θεὰ Ρώμη Σεβαστή) and Zeus Solymeus, see: TAM III, nos. 113–114. It seems that a special priesthood of Dea Roma existed as of the late third century A.D., separate from that of Zeus Solymeus, cf. TAM III, no. 787.

Claudius Agrippa, a prominent military man who probably served under Trajan, was the first known priest to have served the sanctuary for life, and Laertes, son Nanitous, was the first attested priest to serve the joint cult of Zeus Solymeus and the reigning emperor under Domitian. Laertes had also been awarded the honorary title of father of his city (*πατὴρ πόλεως*), and his wife Artemeis, daughter of Nannamoos, was the chief priestess of empress Domitia.²⁵ The fact that most surviving inscriptions which mention priests of Zeus Solymeus are not well dated does not allow us to compile a list of sacred officials with great chronological precision.²⁶

Central to the insufficiently documented cult of Zeus Solymeus was the celebration of the *Αγῶνες Σολύμειοι* which were dedicated to the god and the Imperial cult.²⁷ Almost nothing is known about the occasion for the institution of the games, their frequency, duration, or their program of events, but they seem to have been set up in the second century A.D., along with other competitions and probably became one of the city's most important festivals. It is probable that some of the financial burden for this festival fell on the city of Termessos, since this was a state celebration, but the epigraphical evidence suggests that prominent citizens also sponsored the events.²⁸ Two late second century A.D. inscriptions mention a Hermaios Hermolaou Hermaiou Thoantos who funded the *Sebasteia Solymeia* at least twice. Competitors from outside Termessos do not seem to have been drawn to this festival which was probably organized according to the established Greek custom. The names of two, presumably local, athletes who won the men's wrestling, Kassios Apolloniou and Konon Moleou Hermaiou, are known, and one would expect that the games included the entire series of contests for men and boys. Unfortunately, five surviving fragmentary victor lists which furnish more detailed information on unidentified festivals, cannot be linked with certainty to the *Sebasteia Solymeia*.²⁹

In conclusion then, it appears that the obscure hero Solymos was considered the ancestor of Termessos, a city which, according to the ancient authors, plausibly claimed descent from the mythological tribe of Solymoi. The hero's cult played a

²⁵ TAM III, nos. 26 (Otanis inscription – second/first centuries B.C.); 83–84 (Laertes inscriptions – c. A.D. 96). The priesthoods of Apollo and Gaea Karpophoros seem to have also been for life, at least in the third century A.D. Cf. TAM III, no. 21, 164; R. Heberdey, *Termessische Studien*, in: *Kleine Denkschriften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse* 69,3 (Wien-Leipzig 1929), p. 28.

²⁶ See table in Heberdey, "Termessos", (n. 5), p. 758.

²⁷ Heberdey is uncertain about whether the *Sebasteia Solymeia* were celebrated in honor of Zeus or Solymos. Cf. Heberd (n. 5), p. 764.

²⁸ Heberdey (n. 25), p. 41ff.

²⁹ TAM III, nos. 161–162; 199–201, 211–212 (victor lists). The victor lists in question mention a variety of foot races, as well as of equestrian events (*μικρὸς δρόμος, μέγας δρόμος, οπλίτης ἀβόλος, πρωτοβόλος, παντιβόλος, πάλη*). For a discussion of the extant evidence on Termessos' other gymnastic competitions, see: R. Heberdey, *Gymnische und andere Agone in Termessus Pisidiae*, in: *Anatolian Studies* W.M. Ramsay (Manchester 1923), pp. 195–206.

minor role in the state religion, and it was in all probability assimilated to that of Zeus Solymeus, the chief deity of the city. Zeus Solymeus had been worshipped since at least the second century B.C.; his sanctuary was enlarged in the second and early third centuries A.D., at a time when the state instituted the Sebasteia Solymeia games honoring Zeus, the ruling emperor, and, perhaps, Solymos as well. It may have been on that occasion that Termessos decided to mint a number of issues which featured its ancestor.

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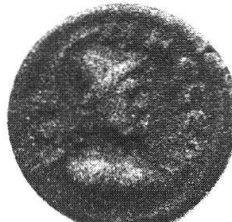
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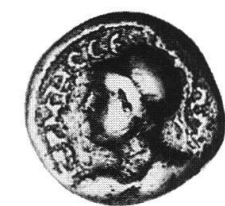
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