


Epigrams for Pamphyliarchs in Termessos and Roman Governors in Pamphylia. Primacy and Honours

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The use of epigrams on stone to publicly honour illustrious individuals in the Greco-Roman East, whether Roman officials or local benefactors, is a well-known phenomenon to any scholar working with R. Merkelbach and J. Stauber's compilation, *Steinepigramme I-V*, but the material has rarely been explored in detail since Robert, *Hellenica IV*,¹ especially because of the difficulties involved when analysing political and institutional history from the 3rd century AD onwards. As it has been widely acknowledged,² the numerous honorific inscriptions written in prose, which during the High Empire so profusely recorded the merits, titles and offices held by clearly identified individuals, began to share during the Late Empire the public space of the cities with less concrete honorific epigrams, some of them adorned with precious allusions which are not always easy to decipher.

The public and official epigraphy from the Pisidian city of Termessos (Maior),³ which seems to offer one of the earliest honorific testimonies in verse from Asia Minor,⁴ allows us to perceive the implications of the evolution of this epigraphic practice on a local scale. There, among the many inscriptions found within the city, two epigrams honouring individuals mention the term Παμφυλιάρχης, the main office within the *koinon* of Pamphylia,⁵ but at the same time there are some expressions such as ψῆφος Παμφύλων and γῆς κάρα Παμφύλων whose institutional meaning, if any, is not obvious beyond the common reference to the Pamphylians.

Thus, considering an elegiac distich found in the same city of Termessos, the aim of this paper is to clarify the use of the above-mentioned expressions as poetic allusions to titles of individual

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¹ For the abbreviations of epigraphic corpora see <https://aiegl.org/grepiabbr.html>, specifying Robert, *Hellenica IV* = L. Robert, *Hellenica. Recueil d'épigraphie, de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques IV. Épigrammes du Bas-Empire*, Paris 1948. Add LSA = Last Statues of Antiquity (database: <http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk>).

² See Robert, *Hellenica IV*; Roueché 1997; Pont 2017. On statue practice see Smith – Ward-Perkins 2016.

³ The epithet “Maior” is used to distinguish the Pisidian city from its namesake colony Termessos (Minor), founded in Hellenistic times next to Oenoanda. For the history of the city, see Heberdey 1934.

⁴ See Pont 2017, 44, with TAM III,1 77 (*Steinepigramme IV* 18/01/07), between 180-198 AD on prosopographical grounds: two elegiac distiches in honour of Zenodotos, high priest of the imperial cult ([ἀρ]χιερῆα ἀνακτος ἀγα[κ]λέος, ll. 1-2), eponymous magistrate (ἀρχι|πρόβουλον, ll. 8-9) and eirenarch (ἀρχὴν εἰρήνης ἐκτε|λέσαντα, ll. 10-11).

⁵ See Vitale 2012, 272-282; 2016.

primacy, attested as *πρῶτος* in the epigraphy from Asia Minor during the Roman period,⁶ and to contextualise the content of both epigrams by comparison with other epigraphic finds from the surrounding region and other neighbouring areas.

The last section deals with the style of two epigrams found in the cities of Perge and Attaleia in Pamphylia in honour of Roman governors, one of them known as Rufus. An incidental discussion revolves around the term *πιστή* and the Pamphylian city of Side.

The city of Termessos and Pamphylia

To start with, the first thing to note is that the city of Termessos, which was among the cities of the Pisidians as indicated by Artemidoros of Ephesos (ca. 100 BC)⁷ and the *Lex Antonia de Termessibus* (72/68 BC),⁸ was from early on linked to the history of Pamphylia due to its geographical proximity. A local decree in honour of a Ptolemaic official named Philippos, son of Alexandros, shows that the city was included in the Ptolemaic administration of the region as early as 281 BC (Παμφυλί[ας, l. 9).⁹

In Roman times, once the double province of Lycia-Pamphylia has been established,¹⁰ Termessos appears as part of Pamphylia (τῆς Παμφυλίας) when invited in the mid-3rd century AD to a festival of all Lycians (ἐκ πάντων Λυκίων) in its colony Termessos (Minor) next to Oenoanda (see fn. 3). Another guest city is Caesarea Kibyra from the province of Asia (τῆς Ἀσίας).¹¹

There is another inscription from the city of Termessos, published in 2007, which shows links with Pamphylia. It is dated before the *Constitutio Antoniniana* (212 AD), and its content celebrates a certain Diogenes, also called Euchrysios, as benefactor of the Pamphylians and two anonymous cities.¹² Although it cannot be proved, considering that Termessos is the only city name in the inscription, it seems quite reasonable to suggest that these two cities are precisely the metropolis and its homonymous colony.

The two epigrams from Termessos that mention the office of Παμφυλιάρχης are TAM III,1 127¹³ (Steinepigramme IV 18/01/02), with the expression ψῆφος Παμφύλων, and TAM III,1 138

⁶ On the notion of primacy in the institutional context of honorific titles in Greco-Roman Asia Minor see Heller 2020, 50-53, 71-74, with the database <https://www.euergetai.univ-tours.fr/> for epigraphic references.

⁷ See Strab. 12.7.2: Φησὶ δ' Ἀρτεμίδωρος τῶν Πισιδῶν πόλεις εἶναι (...) Τερμησσόν.

⁸ See Roman Statutes I 19 (Ferrary): *I de Termesi(bus) Pisid(is) Mai(oribus)*. According to this Roman law, the Termessians were free, friends and allies of the Roman people, and could use their own laws, i.e., they were autonomous.

⁹ See Meadows – Thonemann 2013 (SEG 63, 1270; BE 2014, 482), suppressing the traditional restitution proposed by Robert, Doc. Asie Min. mérid. 53-58, παμφυλι[άρχης - - - - -] (l. 9), which seems an anomaly in Lagid context.

¹⁰ See Adak – Wilson 2012.

¹¹ See Hall – Milner 1994, 32-35 no. 22-23 (SEG 44, 1186-1187, 240-250 AD), not cited by Curty, Parentés 80, pp. 200-203.

¹² I.Termessos Suppl. IV 17 (SEG 57.1442; AE 2007.1533): τὸν Πανφύλων | εὐεργαίτην | κὲ δύο πόλεων | φιλόδοξον | Δειογένην τὸν | καὶ Εὐχρύσιον | ἡ λαμπρὰ Τερμησέων | πόλις.

¹³ This edition supersedes the ed. pr. Cousin 1899, 301-303 no. 30.

(Steinepigramme IV 18/01/03), with the expression γῆς κάρα Παμφύλων. Both epigrams are inscribed on statuary bases on the western side (W) of portico L 5, one of the most important epigraphic commemorative spaces within the city,¹⁴ but they are separated from each other: the first corresponds to column W 18 and the second to column W 22.¹⁵ Between them there are three other statuary bases with prose inscriptions of different dates and themes.¹⁶ The shape of some characteristic letters also separates the incision of the epigrams, as can be seen thanks to the drawings by Heberdey and Gaheis in TAM III,1 (epsilon, sigma and omega are different in the two inscriptions). Concerning the identity of the Pamphyliarchs, one can only speculate.

Ψῆφος Παμφύλων

The first expression under investigation refers to a man honourably called Solymios, sage among the Solymi, who has already been discussed elsewhere in connection with the Homeric identity that the inhabitants of Termessos expressed during Roman times.¹⁷ The following is the epigram of the inscription, which is preferably dated to the 3rd century AD:¹⁸

τὸν σοφὸν ἐν Σολύμοισι Σολύμιον, ἔρμα πόλης,	(ll. 1-2) (v. 1)
ψῆφος Παμφύλων, εὐκτέανον πρύτανιν,	(ll. 3-4) (v. 2)
χρυσοδότην, κτεάνοισιν ἀφειδέα Παμφυλιάρχην,	(ll. 5-6) (v. 3)
αἵματος συνκλήτου, τέρμερον ὀρθόπολιν,	(ll. 7-8) (v. 4)
εὐδικον, εὐέρκτην, ἀγανόφρονα, μελιχόθυμον,	(ll. 9-10) (v. 5)
πᾶσιν ὁμῶς ἀστοῖς ἦπιον ὡς γενέτην,	(ll. 11-12) (v. 6)
οἱ ναέται λειτο(ῖ)σιν ἀμειβόμενοι γεράεσσιν	(ll. 13-14) (v. 7)
στῆσαν ἀρειπρεπέα, τὸν πολὺν ἐν πραπίσιν.	(ll. 15-16) (v. 8)

Translation:

Sage among the Solymi Solymios, stay of the city, (honoured through) the vote of the Pamphylians, wealthy president, gold-dispenser, Pamphyliarch unsparing of expenditure, of senatorial blood, the

¹⁴ See Van Nijf 2000 for an overview of the honorific spaces in Termessos.

¹⁵ For the numbers of the columns in portico L 5, see TAM III,1, pp. 291-292, *appendix I. Ordo statuarum in porticu L 5 ante columnas positarum*.

¹⁶ TAM III,1 161 (180-212/3 AD), victory at ἀγῶνας Σεβαστείου Σολυμίου, column W 19; TAM III,1 82 (LSA-618), reused, in honour of a πραιπόσιτος (295/305 AD or throughout the 4th century), column W 20; TAM III,1 159 (195-203 AD), victory at θέμιν Ἀσκληπ[εῖ]ον, column W 21.

¹⁷ See Arroyo-Quirce 2020, 189-191, where it was suggested that Solymios could have defended the rights of his fellow citizens as free and autonomous according to the *Lex Antonia de Termessibus* (see fn. 8). Pont 2017, 44 fn. 39, also mentions “une action d’ambassadeur ou de défenseur de la cité en justice”.

¹⁸ Edd. TAM III,1 127, with Wilhelm, *addenda*, pp. 360-361 (see Heberdey 1929, 133, for dating: “die Schrift spricht für jungen Ansatz, Mitte des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. oder noch später”); Steinepigramme IV 18/01/02 (“Beinamen vom Typ ‘Solymios’ sind für das dritte Jahrhundert charakteristisch”, p. 84); LSA-623 (“the use of verse for this inscription points to a late antique date, but this could be as early as the first half of the 3rd century”). On the inscription and its dating in the “deux premiers tiers” of the same century see also Pont 2017, 42 fn. 25; 54 fn. 83.

boundary-guarding upholder of the city,¹⁹ righteous, benefactor, gentle of mood, gentle-hearted, to all citizens alike kind as a father, the inhabitants repaying with frugal gifts of honour set him up very distinguished, he who is mighty in mind.

Besides Pamphyliarch, this citizen of senatorial blood and abundant wealth, “*généreux et doux*”,²⁰ seems to have been a member of the college of eponymous magistrates (*probouloi*), as indicated by the word *πρύτανις* in this poetic context.²¹ Overall, the style of the epigram is intended to be elevated, employing some unusual lexicon,²² and its arrangement on the stone usually respects the division according to the caesurae of the verses, four elegiac distiches of a decidedly solemn tone.²³

The expression *ψηφος Παμφύλων* appears at the beginning of the second verse. Its syntactic analysis, excluding any error on the part of the lapicide,²⁴ is based on the fact that the word *ψηφος* (*ή*) has taken here neuter gender, hence being a singular accusative,²⁵ and semantically it seems to refer to Solymios as object of veneration for the Pamphylians who honoured him through some voting, as Merkelbach and Stauber came to express in their translation of the epigram: “den durch Abstimmung der Pamphyler geehrten” (Steinepigramme IV 18/01/02). If so, the next question would be to determine the purpose of the votes.

Published in 2007, another verse inscription from the same city of Termessos may help to clarify this question, for it uses the dative plural *πλείοσι ψήφοις*, without identifiable grammatical gender,²⁶ to designate the voting of an individual as *πρώτος* by the *ἔθνος* of the Pamphylians. The text, which consists of a single elegiac distich metrically acceptable,²⁷ is inscribed on the right side of a statuary base located among the ruins of the so-called Osbaras’ portico (L 2) (see fn. 14). Its dating is after 221-227 AD because of an earlier prose inscription on the main side of the same statuary base, reproduced below for the sake of completeness.

Main side, prose inscription:²⁸

¹⁹ For this translation, adopting partly Gehn, LSA-623, and other possibilities see Arroyo-Quirce 2020, 190 fn. 35.

²⁰ On this see Robert, *Hellenica* IV, 103 fn. 3.

²¹ See Heberdey 1929, 133.

²² See e.g. LSJ s.v. *χρυσοδότης* (suppl.), *ὀρθόπολις*, *εὐδικος*, *εὐέρκτης*, *μειλιχόθυμος*, all with reference to Cousin 1899, 302 (Termessos), the *editio princeps* of TAM III,1 127 (see fn. 13), whereas *τέρμερον* seems to be a hapax.

²³ See on this Agosti 2010, 87, 91.

²⁴ E.g. *ψηφο(ν) Παμφύλων*? In line 7 (v. 4) the lapicide has corrected *αἵματων* into *αἵματος* (see on this Heberdey, TAM III,1 127, p. 63).

²⁵ See Steinepigramme IV 18/01/02, p. 83 (commentary): “*ψηφος* ist neutri generis; hier im Accusativ. Nach A. Wilhelm (in TAM III p. 360) kommt das Wort auch im Neugriechischen so vor”. Wilhelm, *ibidem*: “*Est igitur ψηφος Παμφύλων, qui Pamphyliis venerationis est*”.

²⁶ For research purposes, this means that the gender of the word *ψηφοις* could also be neuter here.

²⁷ As pointed out by Nollé 2007, 197, “die einzige (verzeihbare) Abweichung von der korrekten Prosodie die Längung des Iota von *τριάκοντα* ist”.

²⁸ Edd. TAM III,1 113; I.Sagalassos 61a.

ή λαμπροτάτη		Translation:
Σαγαλασσέων πόλις		<i>The most illustrious city of the</i>
ιέρεια θεᾶς Ῥώμης		<i>Sagalassians (honoured) the life-</i>
Σεβαστῆς καὶ Διὸς		<i>long priest of the goddess Roma</i>
Σολυμέως διὰ βίου	5	<i>Augusta and Zeus Solymeus</i>
Μᾶρ(κον) Αὐρ(ήλιον) Μειδια-		<i>Mar(cus) Aur(elius) Meidianus</i>
νὸν Πλατωνιανὸν		<i>Platonianus Varus, her own cu-</i>
Οὐᾶρον, τὸν ἴδιον		<i>rator, both at herself and in his</i>
αὐτῆς λογιστήν,		<i>fatherland Termessos.</i>
παρά τε ἑαυτῆ καὶ ἐν	10	
τῆ πατρίδι Τερμησῶ.		

Right side, verse inscription:²⁹

ἑξάκι τριάκοντα καὶ | ἑπτὰ πλείοσι ψήφοις | (ll. 1-2) (v. 1)

ἔθνος Παμφύλων πρῶτον | ἔκρεινεν ἐμέ. (ll. 3-4) (v. 2)

Translation:

With more than 187 votes the people of the Pamphylia decided that I am the first.

From the combination of the two inscriptions, it can be deduced that the person for whom the majority of the Pamphylia voted must be the Termessian M. Aurelius Meidianus Platonianus Varus, honoured as *curator* by the city of Sagalassos. Another matter would be to elucidate the authorship of the distich, since the use of the first-person pronoun ἐμέ (v. 2) may be purely conventional, or why it was inscribed on this monument rather than elsewhere. What is clear is that this epigraphic document provides additional information on the links between the Pisidian city of Termessos and Pamphylia.

A common opinion when interpreting the meaning of the distich is that Varus was elected Παμφυλιάρχης six times, with more than 37 votes.³⁰ However, it seems preferable to assume that Varus has been elected as “first” of the *ethnos* of the Pamphylia, an honorific title,³¹ probably only once and with more than 187 votes.³² Such titles of individual primacy, expressed here in the word association ἔθνος Παμφύλων πρῶτον (v. 2), can be found in prose honorific inscriptions from Perge, one referring to the sophist Eragatianus Menodoros (I.Perge 316, 3rd century AD:

²⁹ I arrange the poem (hexameter and pentameter) following the division of lines by the ed. pr. I.Termessos Suppl. IV 13 (SEG 57, 1439 (three lines); AE 2007.1531 (same division as ed. pr.); I.Sagalassos 61b (four lines but: ἔθνος Παμφύλων | πρῶτον ἔκρεινεν ἐμέ). Published in 2007, the epigram could not be included in Merkelbach and Stauber’s compilation, *Steinepigramme I-V*, concluded in 2004.

³⁰ For this number of votes, see Nollé 2007, 197.

³¹ See on this Vitale 2012, 277. The title is also registered as “premier de l’ethnos de Pamphylie” in the search box at <https://www.euergetai.univ-tours.fr/table>.

³² For this number of votes, see Thonemann 2008, 230. In AE 2007.1531 this possibility is also acknowledged (ἑξάκι τριάκοντα καὶ ἑπτὰ = 187), although considered “moins vraisemblable”.

πρώτου τῆς ἐπαρχίας, ll. 12-13),³³ and Lycian cities such as Rhodiapolis (TAM II 920, 3rd century AD: πρώτου | τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν | καὶ τοῦ Λυκίων ἔθνους, ll. 5-7).³⁴ Moreover, we can also infer from other regions in Asia Minor that these titles of primacy, both of the *ethnos* and the *eparchia*, designate something different from the main office within the *koinon*.³⁵

Thus, returning to the inscription TAM III,1 127 (Steinepigramme IV 18/01/02) in honour of the Pamphyliarch Solymios, the interpretation that follows is that ψῆφος Παμφύλων, understood plainly as “the vote of the Pamphylians”, could be an expression to metaphorically convey the granting of the title πρῶτος by the majority vote of the Pamphylians. The comparison with the distich for Varus is key in this regard, but it should be noted that its content does not imply that he and Solymios are the same person, however tempting it may be to try. In any case, the most plausible explanation for such epigraphic intertextuality is that both epigrams are by the same poet.³⁶

Γῆς κάρα Παμφύλων

The second expression under investigation refers to a Pamphyliarch apparently named Panolbios, of Syrian origin,³⁷ although the content and context of the inscription make it preferable to think that the man is from Termessos, as Σύρος could also be a personal name, “à la mode” in the city,³⁸ and *panolbios* an epithet to designate his “truly happy” state.³⁹ The text of the epigram, which is unsuccessful, reveals his treatment as an illustrious founder in the eyes of the inhabitants of Termessos and the erection of a marble statue because of some acts of evergetism during the Roman Empire:⁴⁰

βουλῆς καὶ δήμου δόγματι.	(l. 1)
γῆς κάρα Παμφύλων, πανόλβιον Παμφυλιάρχην,	(ll. 2-4) (v. 1)
φῶτα Σύρον, κλυτὸν οἰκιστὴν να ετήρων στή σαν	(ll. 5-8) (v. 2)
εἰκόνι μαρμα ρέη εἶνεκ' εὐερ γαισιῶν.	(ll. 8-10) (v. 3)

³³ See also perhaps I.Perge 223 (1st-2nd c. AD): Λ. Καμίλιος πρῶτος [τῆς ἐπαρχίας (?) (l. 1).

³⁴ For the individual in question see LGPN V.B. s.v. Μένανδρος (319), p. 283. For Lycia see also Vitale 2012, 289.

³⁵ See e.g. I.Ancyra 103 (second half of the 2nd c. AD): πρῶτον τοῦ ἔθνους[ς], | δις γαλατάρχη (ll. 3-4); I.Ancyra 116 (254-260 AD): πρῶτον τῆς ἐπαρχείου, βουλογραφ(ήσαντα) | τὸ β', πολειογραφ(ήσαντα) τὸ γ', γαλατάρχη (ll. 2-3).

³⁶ Alternatively, they could be the work of two different poets, contemporary or not, conjecturing that the distich for Varus may have inspired the author of the epigram for Solymios.

³⁷ See Vitale 2012, 277 fn. 1665 (“Panolbios, Pamphyliarch, Mann aus Syrien”), commenting “den überprovinzialen Einzugsradius von Koinonbeamten”.

³⁸ On this see Robert 1959, 25.

³⁹ Another option is that the Pamphyliarch was a “truly happy”, Syrian man, and that his real name was on the plinth of the statue, now lost. For all possibilities, see the references in the following note.

⁴⁰ Ed. pr. TAM III,1 138 (Zingerle, Πανόλβιον) (see also Robert, Hellenica IV, 117, on the title κλυτὸς οἰκιστής and the term πανόλβιον, in lower case); Steinepigramme IV 18/01/03, with dating “Kaiserzeit”, but the style of the poem and its location in Termessos allows us to specify: from the end of the 2nd c. AD onwards. The first line in prose states that the individual has been honoured by decision of the council and assembly of the people.

Translation:

By decree of the council and the people.

The peak of the land of the Pamphylians, Pamphyliarch truly happy, man (by name) Syros, glorious founder of the inhabitants, (they) set him up with a marble statue on account of his good services.

The semantics of the term *κάρα* (see LSJ) makes its exegesis as a title of primacy more evident, since both “head” and “peak” or “top” come to designate the upper part of something, in this case of the land of the Pamphylians. In fact, there is a well-known epigraphic testimony in verse from Perge, which claimed to be *πρώτη* of Pamphylia, in which the city describes itself as *κεφαλή* | *Παμφυλίδος αἴης* (ll. 1-2) and *κορυφήν πόλεων* (l. 5) before being officially chosen as the metropolis of the province by the emperor Tacitus (I.Perge 331 I, 275/6 AD (Steinepigramme IV 18/13/01)).⁴¹

Moreover, we can also trace this correspondence between terms in Sagalassos to designate the primacy of the city in Pisidia during the Roman Empire.⁴² There are two prose epigraphic testimonies: on the one hand, *πρώτη καὶ κεφαλή τῆς Πισιδίας* (I.Sagalassos 25 (2)), in the inscriptions of the *macellum* during the reign of Commodus; on the other, *πρώτη καὶ | κορυφή | τῆς Πισιδίας* (I.Sagalassos 7, ll. 3-5), written on a statuary base to honour her sister, the colony of Iconium, for the sake of concord, perhaps in the time of Constantius II.

In short, it seems that the expression *γῆς κάρα Παμφύλων* could also indicate that this Pamphyliarch has achieved the honour of being *πρώτος*.

Roman governors in Pamphylia

Analysing the style of the epigram TAM III,1 127 (Steinepigramme IV 18/01/02), one discovers certain similarities with two epigrams honouring governors in the cities of Perge and Attaleia in Pamphylia. The first of these governors, called *ἀρχὸς Παμφύλων* at the beginning of the poem,⁴³ is Rufus, and he is introduced at the end of the second verse as *εὐδικίης πρύτανις*, a word which takes the same metrical position in reference to Solymios (*εὐκτέανον πρύτανιν*, v. 2). Note further that this Solymios was also *εὐδικός* according to the beginning of the fifth verse.

The text of the inscription, composed of two elegiac distiches during Late Antiquity, is as follows:⁴⁴

⁴¹ See also I.Perge 331 II (Steinepigramme IV 18/13/01), some acclamations on the same occasion (*αὔξε Πέργη ἢ κορυφή | τῆς Παμφυλίας*, ll. 21-22), together with BE 1998.516, in Gadara: *αὐξίτω Πέργη ἢ πρώτη τῆς Παμφυλίας*.

⁴² On this point, the strange mention of *Σαγαλασσός* among the cities near Mount *Masikyotos* (Alaca Dağ) in Lycia by the geographer Ptolemy (Geog. 5.3.6) could be due to a confusion with the toponym *Τραγαλασσός*, related to that area. For this place, see TIB 8 s.v. *Tragalassos*, 890-892.

⁴³ For the interpretation of *ἀρχὸς Παμφύλων* as provincial governor, and not as Pamphyliarch, see the references in the following note.

⁴⁴ Ed. pr. Steinepigramme IV 18/13/05, after a copy by Şahin (see Gökalp 1999, 74, partial publication (BE 2000.852)), late Roman/early Byzantine period (SEG 52.1423); LSA-675, 4th to earlier 5th century (300-450 AD), with photos; Şahin 2015, 178-179 no. 3, “Formen der Buchstaben haben den Duktus der Spätantike” (BE 2016.595; AE 2015.1559; SEG 65.1410, 3rd cent. AD? This dating with a question mark in SEG is based on the fact that the governor Rufus may be the same as the homonym in the epigram SEG 17.598

ἀρχὸν Παμφύλων [καὶ πατ]|ρίδος ἀστέρα [Πέργης?], | (ll. 1-2) (v. 1)

Ῥούφον ὀραῖς π[αροδῖτ’], | εὐδικίης πρύτ[ανιν], | (ll. 3-4) (v. 2)

οὗ κλέος ἀντολ[ίηνδε] | καὶ ἐς δύσιν ἦγ[αγε Πέργη?] | (ll. 5-6) (v. 3)

πιστὴ κυδίσ[τη πᾶσιν] | ἐπιχθονί[οις] (ll. 7-8) (v. 4)

app. cr.: v. 1. Gökalp; vv. 3-4. Feissel (*apud* Şahin 2015 and in AE), preferred here on metrical grounds; Steinerpigramme, ἦγ[γέλλεσκεν?] | πιστὴ κυδίσ[τη Πέργη] | ἐπιχθονί[οις]

Translation:

The ruler of the Pamphylians and the star of his fatherland Perge, you see Rufus, passer-by, the lord of even justice, whose glory towards the east and to the west the loyal (and) noblest Perge spread among all men on earth.

The governor Rufus seems to be a native Pergean according to the restoration of the city name at the end of the first and third verses, following the finding of the inscription in Perge. But it is pertinent to note that πιστή (v. 4) is known to be one of the titles displayed by the Pamphylian city of Side in relation to its allegiance to Rome,⁴⁵ so it is worth wondering whether the inscription could not have been commissioned by this city, whose name also fits metrically, ἦγ[αγε Σίδη?] (— u u | — —).⁴⁶ If such hypothesis is accepted,⁴⁷ the next step would be to consider it in the context of the competition that persisted between the two cities of Perge and Side during the 4th century AD and later,⁴⁸ but at first glance it seems quite clear that being good and close to the provincial governor can only bring positive things. If, on the other hand, the advanced hypothesis is not accepted, and Perge is indeed πιστή just like Side, then it would be preferable on stylistic grounds to avoid the repetition of the city name Πέργη at the end of the first hexameter with some generic reference to the native land (e.g. πατ]|ρίδος ἀστέρα [γαίης or αἰης?]).

In addition, although the inscription does not mention it, there seems to be material evidence that this base held a marble statue when dedicated to Rufus (see Gehn, LSA-675). This material is also used to honour the Pamphylarch Syros (εἰκόνι μαρμαρέῃ, v. 3) and it is attested in other epigrams from the region.⁴⁹

(Steinerpigramme IV 18/12/07, Attaleia: καθαρῶτατε Ῥούφε), which is dated to the 3rd cent. AD. However, Adak et al. 2005, 11-12 no. 8 (SEG 55.1470; AE 2006.1508) argue that this Rufus of Attaleia could be identical with a procurator of Lycia-Pamphylia honoured as benefactor in Phaselis in the same century).

⁴⁵ See I.Side 44 (255-256 AD), prose dedication of a gilded statue for the emperor Gallienus: [ἡ φίλη], σύμμ[αχος, πι]στὴ Ῥωμαίων [Σίδη μ]ύστι[ς] (l. 8); SNG Aulock 4853 (253-268 AD) (see Leschhorn – Franke 2002, s.v. ΠΙΣΤΗ, p. 243): ΠΙΣΤΗΣ ΦΙΛΗΣ ΣΥΜΜΑΧΟΥ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΜΥΣΤΙΔΟΣ ΣΙΔΗΣ (gen.). See also Nollé 2017, 316, commenting the word πίστις in a letter of the emperor Gallienus to Side.

⁴⁶ On the city name and its relation to the word σίδη [ῖ], “pomegranate”, see Nollé, I.Side, pp. 38-40.

⁴⁷ It would not be the first time that Side honoured an influential individual in his home town, for whatever reasons: see e.g. TAM II 425 (I.Side TEp 11), an honorific prose inscription in Patara for Tiberius Claudius Agrippinus, who lived at the beginning of the 2nd century AD.

⁴⁸ See Nollé 1993, 313-316.

⁴⁹ See e.g. I.Side 106 (Steinerpigramme IV 18/15/01) (late 3rd c. AD, probably post 270 AD?), honorific inscription with epigram for Bryonianus Lollianus: εἰκόνι μαρμαρέῃ (l. 13).

The second governor, who could be a Christian because of a cross engraved on the statuary base in his honour, is called ἰθυντήρ Παμφύλων at the beginning of the epigram,⁵⁰ found in Attaleia. The text, dated to the second half of the 4th century AD, consists of a single elegiac distich:⁵¹

[ἰθυ]ντήρ ὄδε | [Πα]μφύλων, | [πο]λιήοχον | [ἔ]ρμα, (ll. 1-4) (v. 1)

πρηκτῆρ | [μ]ειλίχιος, — U | ἄοιδότατος (ll. 4-6) (v. 2)

Translation:

This (is) judge of the Pamphylians, the stay protecting the city, a mild punisher, (...) most celebrated.

We do not know the governor's name, probably lost in the lacuna of the second verse. That he may be the same governor Rufus who is attested at Perge is a tantalising possibility, but unprovable without an autopsy of the inscription.⁵² What we do know is that the governor appears as πολιήοχον ἔρμα at the end of the first verse,⁵³ an expression which resembles the words applied to Solymios, ἔρμα πόλης (v. 1). In addition, note the cognate adjectives μειλιχόθυμος for Solymios (v. 5) and μειλίχιος for the governor. Here it would seem to be praising his leniency when exacting punishment according to law.

Conclusions

The above research argues that the two Pamphyliarchs attested in the Pisidian city of Termessos were granted honorific titles of primacy, attested as πρῶτος in the epigraphy from Greco-Roman Asia Minor and much coveted by provincial notables. The expression γῆς κάρα Παμφύλων, whose meaning seems less obscure thanks to comparison with other epigraphic evidence, may serve to support the interpretation of ψῆφος Παμφύλων in this sense. In both cases we would be dealing with poetic allusions to the fact of being the “first” of the Pamphylians, a title granted by vote as suggested by the distich that reads ψήφοις | ἔθνος Παμφύλων πρῶτον.

Another conclusion of the research is that the inscription for the Pamphyliarch Solymios at Termessos shares some features of expression and composition, so far neglected, with epigrams from Perge and Attaleia in honour of Roman governors. Since the dates are quite broad, we cannot postulate any chronological relationship between all of them, but we do perceive the existence of a common epigrammatic repertoire in Pamphylia to honour important individuals during the Late Empire in civic and provincial contexts.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ On the term ἰθυντήρ to qualify a governor, based on his function as judge, see Robert, *Hellenica IV*, 86-87.

⁵¹ Ed. pr. Gökalp 1999, 73-74 no. 2 (BE 2000, 852; SEG 49, 1878, ca. 350-400 AD), considering also [εὐθυ]ντήρ as a possibility; *Steinepigramme IV* 18/12/06. The epigram can also be found quoted in full in the commentary to the inscription I.Perge 331 II, p. 56, when discussing the conventus (assize districts) of the Roman province of Pamphylia.

⁵² The name fits metrically in the second hemistich of the pentameter, Ρούφος ἄοιδότατος (— u u | — u u | —).

⁵³ Πολιήοχος is the epic form of πολιούχος, an epithet for the protective deities of a city. For Pamphylia, see I.Perge 232 (1st-2nd c. AD): Δὴ Πολιούχωι (l. 1).

⁵⁴ If considered from a wider perspective, the inscriptions should be examined as part of the well-known “*épigrammes du Bas-Empire*” phenomenon, described masterfully by Robert, *Hellenica IV*, 108-110.

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Termessos'taki Pamphyliarkhlar ve Pamphylia'daki Roma Valileri İçin Epigramlar.

Öncelik ve Onurlar

Özet

Geç İmparatorluk Dönemi'nde ister Romalı yetkililer ister yerel hayırseverler olsun, önemli kişileri onurlandırmak için epigramların kullanımı iyi bilinen bir olgudur, ancak siyasi ve kurumsal tarihle ilgili soruları aydınlatmak için çok az araştırılmıştır, özellikle de malzemenin şiirsel doğası nedeniyle bu zordur. Bu çalışma, Pisidia'daki Termessos kentinden *Pamphyliarkhos*'ları ψῆφος Παμφύλων ve γῆς κάρα Παμφύλων ifadeleriyle onurlandıran iki epigrama odaklanmaktadır. Termessos'un Pamphylia ile tarihsel bağlarını kısaca gözden geçirdikten sonra, asıl amaç bu ifadeleri, Roma döneminde Küçük Asya epigrafisinde bireysel önceliği belirtmek için kullanılan πρῶτος onursal unvanına yapılmış şiirsel imalar olarak analiz etmektir. Son bölümde, Pamphylia'daki Perge ve Attaleia kentlerinden Romalı valiler onuruna yazılmış diğer iki epigramla benzerlikler vurgulanırken, bunların kimliği ve Side kentinin πιστή unvanı tartışılmaktadır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Yunan Epigrafisi; Onursal epigramlar; Geç İmparatorluk; Küçük Asya; öncelik.

Epigrams for Pamphyliarchs in Termessos and Roman Governors in Pamphylia.

Primacy and Honours

Abstract

The use of epigrams on stone during the Late Empire to honour important individuals, whether Roman officials or local benefactors, is a well-known phenomenon, although little explored to elucidate questions of political and institutional history, especially tricky due to the poetic nature of the material. In this field of study, the present work is focused on two epigrams from the Pisidian city of Termessos honouring Pamphyliarchs with the expressions ψῆφος Παμφύλων and γῆς κάρα Παμφύλων. After briefly reviewing the historical links of Termessos with Pamphylia, the main objective is to analyse these expressions as poetic allusions to the honorific title πρῶτος, used in the epigraphy of Asia Minor during the Roman period to designate individual primacy. The last section highlights similarities with two other epigrams from the cities of Perge and Attaleia in Pamphylia in honour of Roman governors, while discussing their identity and the title πιστή of the city of Side.

Keywords: Greek Epigraphy; Honorific Epigrams; Late Empire; Asia Minor; primacy.