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A NEW INSCRIPTION, A CORRECTION AND A CONFIRMED SIGHTING FROM  
COLOSSAE

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## A NEW INSCRIPTION, A CORRECTION AND A CONFIRMED SIGHTING FROM COLOSSAE

Not since 1939, when William Calder published his contributions in the sixth volume of *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, have new inscriptions from Colossae been published.<sup>1</sup> A mention of an inscription was made by W. Harold Mare in 1976 but no details were provided. He stated that the stone, having “several lines of inscription” was “found in the field to the south of the acropolis”. Weathering of the stone prevented a photograph of the stone revealing more than “letters here and there” so that “it will take some time before some meaningful translation can be made”.<sup>2</sup> The total collection of twenty-five inscriptions has occasionally been revisited, most notably by Louis and Jeanne Robert and H.-G. Pflaum, and new readings and interpretations of a handful of the known texts have resulted.<sup>3</sup> Accordingly, any new inscriptions from Colossae are prized given the penurious store available.

In 2005, during two brief familiarisation visits to the site of Colossae, I came across three inscriptions, two in a fragmentary state, one all but complete. Two of the inscriptions were on funerary bomoi found in the necropolis; the third was an honorific pedestal found partly embedded in mud half-way down the bank of the river that flows through the site (the Çürüksu, ancient name Lycus). I am extremely grateful to Professor Ender Varinlioğlu for his encouragement and permission to publish these inscriptions.

### Inscription 1: A Memorial for Karpos and his Family

This bomos, carved from a single stone block, was toppled and situated in a line of fallen bomoi and other stones forming a boundary and part embankment between fields in the upper level of the ancient necropolis, approximately 75 metres from the road running between Honaz and the Organized Industry Zone. It may be that a moving of the bomos to the boundary has exposed the inscription previously unrecorded.<sup>4</sup> The limestone bomos is intact, though some edges have been chipped. It is a typical example of the many bomoi that lie in the area. Its total height is 160 cm. The base is 80 cm square and the platform below the moulding is 57 cm square. The

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<sup>1</sup> But see my Revisiting Calder on Colossae, *Anatolian Studies* 56 (2006), 103–11, where previously unpublished material has been recovered from the Calder Archives.

<sup>2</sup> Archeological Prospects at Colossae, *Publication of the Near East Archeological Society* 7 (1976), 39–59 at 50. To my knowledge, nothing further on this stone has been published.

<sup>3</sup> See J. and L. Robert, *BE* 1979.15, L. Robert, in J. des Gagniers *et al.* (eds.), *Laodicée du Lycos: le Nymphée, Campagnes 1961–1963* (Quebec, 1969), 269, 277–79, H.-G. Pflaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain* (Paris 1960), Vol. 1, 262–264.

<sup>4</sup> Ramsay used to rely on Ottoman building operations to expose new inscriptions. In a report to the Wilson Trustees he stated, “our visit to Apameia-Celaenae was disappointing; there has been little building and little or no discovery since our last visit in 1891”, Preliminary Report to the Wilson Trustees on Exploration in Phrygia and Lycaonia, in W. M. Ramsay (ed.), *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire* (London 1906), 233. This is a striking counterpoint to the usual Eurocentric decrying of the destruction of artefacts: see, for example, J. Aegidius van Egmont and Heyman, *Travels Through Europe and Asia Minor* (1759), iv and J. R. S. Sterrett, *A Plea for Research in Asia Minor and Syria Authorised by men whose high achievements and representative character make the project a call of humanity at large, for light in regard to the life of man in the cradle of western civilisation* (Ithaca, NY 1911), 6.



Fig. 1. Photograph by the author

panel containing the inscription measures 42 cm high by 40 cm wide. A small section of the face is chipped on the right hand side of the face, halfway down. The face was considerably worn, so that the letters, 0.032 in size, were very faint. Photographs were taken at different times of day and year (early afternoon in March, late morning in December) to capture as much of the surviving shallow incisions as possible. There did not appear to be any lettering on the moulding and the eight lines of text appear to deliver a complete epitaph, though a few letters have been lost.

The stone-cutter's ligatures are MN in line 1, HM in line 1, and HN in line 2, enabling 10–14 letters per line. His technique included a broken bar *alpha*, four bar *sigma* and square *epsilon*, rounded *omega* with finials, full length straight cross-bar *theta*, but short cross-bar *eta*. The diagonals of the *mu* begin their cut part-way down the uprights in line 1 but from the top of the uprights in line 5. There are slightly curved serifs generally and in extended form on the *iota*. The absence of Roman citizenship indicators plus the relatively unadorned letter forms (especially *upsilon* and *rho*), though with drop-bar *alpha* and variations on the diagonals of *mu*, suggest a second century date.

The re-constructed text and translation reads:

	τὸ μνημεῖον Κάρ-	The tomb of Kar-
	που καὶ Εὐθηνί[ας]	pos and Euthenia
	τῆς γυναικὸς	his wife
4	αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἀρ[τε]-	and Arte-
	μιδώρου το[ῦ]	midoros
	υἱοῦ αὐτῶν [τοῖς]	their son; to
	παροδίταις	the passersby
8	[χαί]ριν	greeting

The memorial inscription is formulaic, which suggests, in the light of letters per line, the addition of τοῖς at the end of line 6 where the face is damaged. However, there is enough of the face preserved along the bottom section of this line to raise some doubt; an anarthrous final greeting is known in the region (e.g. *IK* 49.75). The spelling of παροδίταις in line 7 is rare for epitaphs in the Lycus Valley, where παροδείταις is the usual orthography (e.g. *MAMA* VI.47). In lines 3 to 4, ἑαυτοῦ may be possible (e.g. *TAM* II.942). However, the variation in line length across the inscription allows us to be satisfied with αὐτοῦ (the overall phrase occurs in this form in the region: *AM* 16 (1891) 199; *IK* 49.98).

The names are familiar Greek names evoking virtues and the ubiquitous Artemis. Strictly, they are all additions to the list for Colossae. However, the man's name has modulated parallels in two inscriptions: Κάρπων in *AM* 16 (1891) 199, and Καρπίων in *MAMA* VI.42. There is just enough of an extended serif and upright (as per the *iota* in line 1) remaining towards the end of

line 2 to confirm the reading Εὐθηνι-. The damaged end probably allows just enough space for the expected ending -ας with the arthrous τῆς of the opening to line 3 being the most prevalent phraseology for “his wife”.

Inscription 2: Dion the Leatherworker, a Confirmation of William Calder’s Sighting



Fig. 2. Photograph by the author

On May 11, 1933, William Calder spent half a day working over the surface of the necropolis at Colossae. He recorded three inscriptions from the site but only two were published in *MAMA* volume six.<sup>5</sup> Of these two, one received a photograph of the fragment of a recently smashed limestone bomos (*MAMA* VI pl. 9.45); a second received a photograph of a squeeze that Calder had taken (*MAMA* VI pl. 9.44). The squeeze is still extant in the Calder Archives held by the University of Aberdeen.<sup>6</sup> However, to my knowledge (but without making an exhaustive inventory of the archives), there is no photograph of the stone itself in the archives.

In March 2005, the limestone bomos, which Calder described as “standing on a pedestal cut from the same block”, was found damaged and lying on its side on the northern rise of the Colossae necropolis east of a cliff face containing rock-tombs and near a series of in-ground sarcophagi. The pediment top of the bomos was missing, though the lower channel of a simple moulding at the top of the shaft remained. The bomos was of the standard style, even in its less than pristine state. Calder recorded the following dimensions: “H. 1.27, w. (top) 0.52, (shaft) 0.40, th. 0.40; letters 0.04 to 0.045”. He also added the specific dimensions of the pedestal: “H ... 0.28, w. 0.85, th. 0.87”. His 1933 Notebook added that the “base” measured 0.55 cm.<sup>7</sup> The panel for the inscription measured 45 cm in height and 39 cm in width (*cf.* Calder’s 0.40 cm). Calder’s Notebook (p. 53) contained the following entry:

ΔΙΩΝΑΠΙ ///  
 ΔΙΦΟC //////////////  
 ΠΥCΧ //////////////  
 ///IN



<sup>5</sup> See Cadwallader, *Revisiting Calder*, 104, 108.

<sup>6</sup> My updated catalogue number is Ms 3286/10/19. The squeeze itself has on it a pencilled number 222 crossed out and number 202 added.

<sup>7</sup> Calder Archives Ms 3286/4 “1933 Notebook”.

The forward slashes indicate illegible letters and/or worn stone. The “Sq” in an insert was Calder’s note that a squeeze had been taken. The squeeze enabled him to modify his notebook entry so that the published reconstruction read:

Δίων Ἀππ[ά]  
 διφθερ[ο]-  
 πύς· χ[αίρ]-  
 [ε]ιυ.

A comparison between Calder’s squeeze and the photograph below confirms that the face (along with the rest of the stone) has suffered further damage since the time when Calder recorded it, losing a *rho* from line 2 and a *chi* from line 3. His squeeze indicates however that, even in 1933, the face was already considerably chipped.

The surviving letters suggest quite deep incisions. The rounded *omega* has finials curled outwards slightly below the base-line of letters. There is a square *sigma*, an *upsilon* with a short cross-bar, a short diagonal on the *nu* and a lengthened vertical line of the *phi*. The letters have simple serifs. Buckler and Calder called the spelling διφθεροπύς (= διφθεροπυός) a “vulgarism” in that it drops the final vowel. The orthographic shift -υ- for -οι- (that is, -πυός for -ποιός) is known elsewhere (*MAMA* VI.73, cf. *CIG* 2836b). The father’s name as reconstructed is a Doric form. The letter-forms reflect some elements of third century developments (cross-bar *upsilon*, curled finials on *omega*)<sup>8</sup> but indications of Roman citizenship are lacking; hence probably late second or early third century CE.

The epitaph is one of the briefest forms and reads simply “Dion, son of Appas, a leatherworker. Greetings.” The διφθερο- stem probably indicates the value-added component of the leather industry. It is often associated with leather coats in literature (Plato, *Crito* 53, Pollux 8.12), although non-literary texts broaden the range of leather manufactures embraced by the term (e.g. *SEG* XLVIII.1012, *P. Oxy.* 16.1877, 17.2156, *IG* II 1672, *I. Delos* 6-7.104).

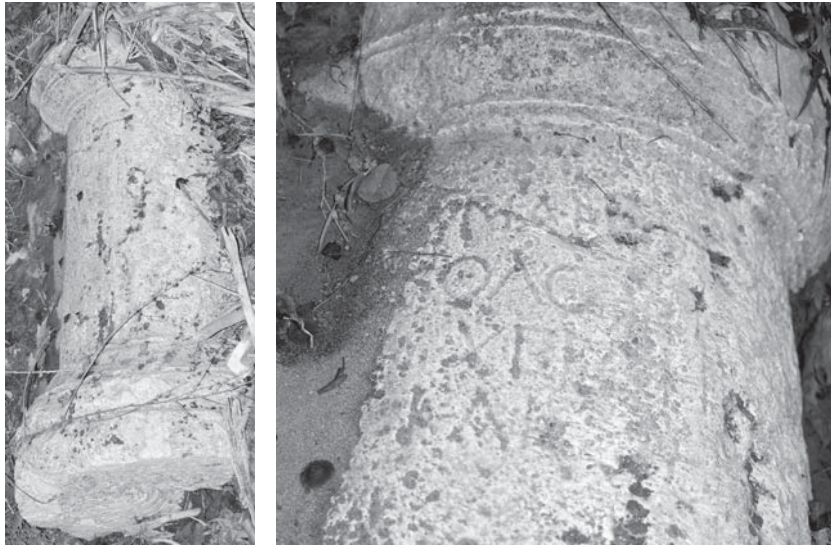
### Inscription 3: An Honour for the Chief Translator of Colossae

This limestone pedestal was found precariously wedged half-way down the river bank just east of the road bridge and near the supposed traditional position of the ancient Church of St. Michael at Colossae.<sup>9</sup> It had probably been one of the sacrifices of agricultural land-clearing operations (acknowledged by local farmers). Other stone sections – a column base and a cornice were close by, set into the lower part of the river bank or caught in an upper part of one of the limestone crevices that form the irregular honey-comb of the river bed.

<sup>8</sup> See C. Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity* (Leeds 1989), 331–34.

<sup>9</sup> The location seems already to have taken on the surety of tradition before the end of the nineteenth century: see W. M. Ramsay, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* (Oxford 1897), Vol. 2, 215, Maj-Gen. Sir Charles Wilson (ed.), *Handbooks for Travellers: Asia Minor* (London 1895), 105; see also Sir Mark Sykes, *Dar-ul-Islam: Journey through ten Asiatic provinces of Turkey* (London 1904), 169. However, Ramsay’s own admission (*CBP* 2.215 n. 1) that it “is not susceptible of conclusive proof” needs to be reiterated more emphatically at this stage. The language of Nicetas Choniates suggests a very large, grand building; see J. A. van Dieten (ed.), *Nicetae Choniatae Historia* (Berlin 1975), 178 ll. 19–22, 400 ll. 93–6, 422 ll. 84–8. The church was severely burned in 1189 CE (though there is some dispute over whether the torching was the St Michael church at Aphrodisias). A ransacking by Pseudo-Alexis in 1193 CE is more secure.





Figs. 3–4. Photographs by the author

The water level was low and enabled photographs to be taken of the upper face of the pedestal and the underside. The underside of the pedestal had suffered considerable abrasive and pitting damage from previous debris-laden water-flow; no letters were apparent. The reconstructed text confirms there probably was no inscription on this side of the pedestal. The side of the pedestal facing upwards had also suffered abrasions but retained four high-complete lines of text, sufficient to indicate that the inscription did not originally cover or circle the entire shaft.

The dimensions of the pedestal were: height, 1 metre; base diameter, 66 cm; top rim diameter, 55 cm. The diameter of the tapered shaft ranged between 49 cm and 46 cm. Simple mouldings adorned the top rim and the base of the pedestal.

The letters are relatively simple in style with minor serifs and slightly crossed diagonals on the apex of both *alpha* and *lambda*. The *alpha* is broken bar and there are shortened diagonals on the *kappa*. The curvilinear *omega* is almost joined with a long underbar with serifs; the *xi* is also curvilinear in style, with the middle meeting “in a sort of scroll”.<sup>10</sup> The *sigmas*, though faint, appear to be four-bar. There is a HN ligature in line 2, a ligature of MHN in line 3, and of ΗΓ in line 4, all quite common ligatures.<sup>11</sup> The *upsilon* appears to be incised inside and through the omicron of ΜΑΡΚΟΥ in line 1. A fifth line is extremely doubtful, though two or three letters seem clear. One would expect hereabouts the dedicator to be named (in the nominative). As presently reconstructed there appear to be 10 letters per line. The letter forms and the absence of an indicator of Roman citizenship suggest a late first to early second century CE.

The reconstruction and translation of the text give:

	ΜΑΡΚΩΙ ΜΑΡΚΟΥ	Μάρκωι Μάρκου
	ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ	Κολοσσηνῶν
	ἈΡΧΕΡΜΗΝΕΙ	ἀρχερμηνεῖ
4	ΚΑΙ ΕΞΗΓΗΤΗ[Ι]	καὶ ἐξηγητῆ[ι]
	...Λ.....Τ...Η	

<sup>10</sup> Roueché, *l.c.* 333.

<sup>11</sup> M. Avi-Yonah, *Abbreviations in Greek Inscriptions (the Near East 200 BC – AD 1100)* (Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities Vol. IX Supplement) (London 1940), 31–33.

“[... dedicated this] to Markos son of Markos, chief interpreter and translator for the Colossians.”

There are a number of important features in this inscription: (1) the first confirmed identification of the site of Colossae by an *in situ* inscription, Boeckh’s reconstruction of an Arundell inscription notwithstanding; (2) a further attestation of the rare word ἀρχερμηνεύς, and (3) the conjunction of the apparent offices, that is, ἀρχερμηνεύς and ἐξηγητής. I shall deal with each of these in turn.

1. The earliest published inscription recorded from Colossae came from Frances Arundell.<sup>12</sup> Arundell simply provided: TYOXY . . . . HNΩN . . . . The *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* repeated Arundell as TYOXY . . . . HNΩN . . . . but offered as a possible reconstruction: ὁ δῆμος ὁ Κολοσσῆνων (no. 3956), that is, “the body politic of the Colossians”. This rendering has been adopted uncritically by subsequent commentators.<sup>13</sup>

The reconstruction is flawed however because

- a) no account is taken of Arundell’s probable location at the Colossae site when he found the fragmentary inscription;
- b) only the last four letters enter the reconstruction;
- c) the reconstruction appears to be influenced unduly by the legend on Colossian coins.

I want to suggest an alternative reconstruction. The results will still be tenuous, straining futilely after more evidence for satisfactory proof; but they may be more encompassing and acceptable than Boeckh’s suggestion.

One of the commonalities of working with fragmentary and/or worn inscriptions is the resemblances between various letters. One frequent confusion is between the four bar sigma and the chi, especially (but not solely) if serifs produce slightly heavier incisions at the extremities of the letters.<sup>14</sup> If this is granted, a minimal change in the remains produces:

TYOΣY . . . . HNΩN

If one adopts a necropolis setting (the probable location of Arundell at the time of his discovery),<sup>15</sup> the presence of a naming schema is virtually certain. Based on the standard bomoi that still occupy the site, the average lettering (ie 12–14 letters per line) permits the following reconstruction:

[TOMNHMEIONΔA?]-  
 TYOΣY[IOYZ]HNΩN-  
 [OΣ . . . . . ]

<sup>12</sup> F. V. J. Arundell, *A Visit to the Seven Churches of Asia; with an excursion into Pisidia, etc.* [with plates and a map] pp. iv. 339 (London 1828), p. 98, repeated in his *Discoveries in Asia Minor* (London 2 vols., 1834), 170. Robert Wood, in 1750, found an inscription naming Colossae, thinking that it indicated the site, but he was just out of Laodiceia. If his reading was accurate (he does not provide the inscription), it may have been on a milestone or an ethnic descriptor for an honorand (Joint Library of the Hellenic and Roman Societies, University of London, *The Wood Collection*, Vol. 6, F67; see generally C. A. Hutton, *The Travels of ‘Palmyra’ Wood in 1750–51*, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 47 (1927), 119.

<sup>13</sup> Such as J. B. Lightfoot, *Saint Paul’s Epistle to the Colossians and Philemon* (London 1892), 14 n. 1.

<sup>14</sup> Compare Σ carved over X: *IK* 59.44; compare also the confusion between Σ and Z in transcription: Ramsay, *CBP* 74, Σ and E: *IK* 59.11, *SEG* XXIX.1373, Σ and Ξ: *SEG* XLVIII.1511, *CBP* 270 n. 2.

<sup>15</sup> Arundell, *Discoveries*, 169–70.



This yields [τὸ μνημεῖον Δά(?)]ττος υἱοῦ Ζήνων[ος, that is: “The tomb of Datys (?) son of Zenon”. One could reasonably expect to find μνήμης χάριν at the end of the inscription, and/or a greeting to wayfarers.

The choice of the name of the deceased (Datys, as in *IG XII 9.923*) is arbitrary. There is a small number of names of the -ττος variety: Kotys, among others, might reasonably have been used. (See, for example, the admittedly royal honoraries in *IGBulg. 2.743, Corpus Inscriptionum Regni Bosporani 1284*.) Even if the funerary reliance, based on a careful reading of Arundell’s published diary, is removed, I would argue that the reconstruction of names better accords with Arundell’s evidence than that of Boeckh in *CIG*. The Arundell inscription, which had been turned towards evidence of the naming of Colossae from a stone *in situ*, has suffered the same fate as another attempt to reconstruct a “Colossian” reference (*IGRR IV.868*, where Διοσκο[ρίδου is to be preferred to Διὸς Κο[λοσσηνοῦ]).<sup>16</sup> Accordingly, the new inscription is the first, sure, *in situ* epigraphical identification of the city of the Colossians.

2. The ἀρχερμηνεύς is rare (see *CIRB 1053*) though readily identified as a compounding of ἑρμηνεύς. But precisely because it is the compound, it suggests, along with the pedestal style monument that more than a mere listing of an occupation is intended, for which payment might be expected (*cf. PSI 332, P. Oxy. 1650*). If this is accepted, it adds to the list of known offices from Colossae drawn from coins and, most notably, *LBW 1693b = IGR iv, 870*, as corrected by L. Robert.<sup>17</sup> The skill level involved moves this beyond an annual magistracy (unless it is either honorific or organisational), but the absence of any reference to βουλευτής points to an administrative or bureaucratic appointment rather than an elected position within the political structures of a polis (which would be exceptional in any case).

Ἐρμηνεύς can have a range of meanings, though here the somewhat official recognition indicated by Κολοσσηνῶν and its combination with ἔξηγητής probably narrows it to “interpreter”, though this is unlikely to exclude textual work (*BGU 1.326*)<sup>18</sup> – the probable accent of ἔξηγητής, on which see below. The semantic distinction implied by this epigraphically rare lexical combination forces us to recognise specific operational parameters that may not exist in literary texts where the two words (or their immediate cognates) are virtually synonymous (see Asclep. in *Metaph. 93.18, cf. Diog. Laert. VP 9.13.4*).

The identification of an “interpreter” in relation to a geopolitical or ethnic group is familiar elsewhere, similarly implying an official capacity.<sup>19</sup> This does not restrict the function and recognition of Markos to the civil courts (*cf. P. Oxy. 237*). As chief interpreter, he may well have had diplomatic, military and imperial responsibilities,<sup>20</sup> without necessarily quarantining him from

<sup>16</sup> It was despatched by L. Robert: des Gagniers, *Laodicée 278*.

<sup>17</sup> Des Gagniers, *Laodicée*, pp. 269, 277–278. See also D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton, 2 vols., 1950), 986 n.

<sup>18</sup> Compare the former praetor called in to provide a translation for the public homage to the Emperor Nero delivered by the Armenian king, Tiridates in 66 CE. Suetonius’ text implies that translation and declamation were not coterminous: *interpretata ... pronuntiante* (Suet., *Nero 13.2*).

<sup>19</sup> *CIRB 1053* (the Alani), *IG XVI.1636* (the Sarmatians), *UPZ II.227* (the Trogodutians).

<sup>20</sup> This is more clearly the case in the only other instance of ἀρχερμηνεύς (*CIRB 1053*), which has a royal insignia adding authority to the inscription, but it is likely enough here. See C. Wiotte-Franz, *Hermeneus und Interpres: Zum Dolmetscherwesen in der Antike* (Saarbrücken 2001), 124.

religious, administrative or commercial functions as well.<sup>21</sup> Hence, the eventual archaeological exploration of the location of the pedestal (presuming that it has fallen or been pushed into the river near to its original placement) may clarify the connections (*cf. P. Berl. Leihg.* I.16, *PSI* 13.1325). A literary position is less likely,<sup>22</sup> even though it has sometimes been a popular heuristic device to divide the literary translator from the commercial interpreter.<sup>23</sup> Both are within the semantic range of the word, but at least at the level of inscriptions, the focus seems to be on the activities of the commercial and civic agoras.<sup>24</sup>

This inscription points to the importance of interpretation in the affairs of the city at a mundane, oral, mediating level. It may be “easier to find one’s way into history books if one has left written documents behind or worked on written texts, as have translators, than if one has been involved in the craft of oral communication”,<sup>25</sup> but here the broader practical need for mediation, negotiation and transfer of information is recognised. The function may occasionally have moved beyond the sense of language mediation to that of “broker” (*cf. PSA Athen.* 21).<sup>26</sup> These crucial skills have a long history of deployment in Asia Minor (see, for example, *Hdt.* I.86.4–6, III.38.4, 140.3, *Xen. Anab.* II.5.35, V.4.4, *Arr. Anab.* IV.3.7). This is only compounded when one considers the range of known languages in Phrygia, Galatia and the wider province of Asia, even though Greek and Latin dominate the epigraphical record. Apart from a formulaic epitaphic imprecation in Phrygian,<sup>27</sup> little record beyond literary notices remains of Celtic, Pisidian, Pamphylian, Solymian, Lydian, Scythian, Lycaonian.<sup>28</sup> If nothing else, these notices confirm the cosmopolitan character of the region even whilst acknowledging the far-reaching colonisation by Greek and then Latin. The occasional survivals of the non-dominant languages in nomenclature might also be cited in general support. This has specific though limited Colossian evidence, viz. Ἀπόφια (Phlmm 2,

<sup>21</sup> The divining and even oracular dimensions of the ἐρμηνεύς are probably not in view here (*cf. P. Oxy.* 1517.6; *Suet. Jul.* 7). The Christian church established, in urban centres at least, a specific office of translator, so that scriptural texts which had been read in Greek could be rendered intelligible for members of the congregation for whom the standard tongue was not Greek: see H. Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church: A History of Early Christian Texts* (New Haven/London 1995), 230.

<sup>22</sup> On the importance of translation of literary works in the ancient world, see I. Kurz, *Dolmetschen im alten Rom, Babel* 32.4 (1986), 218–219, F. M. Rener, *Interpretatio: Language and Translation from Cicero to Tytler* (Amsterdam/Atlanta, GA 1989), S. M. Beall, *Translation in Aulus Gellius, Classical Quarterly* (n.s.) 47 (1997), 215–226. The relatively new field of translation studies remains focussed on literary quality works; but see however the important corrective of C. Wiotte-Franz.

<sup>23</sup> Following F. Schleiermacher, *Über die verschiedenen Methoden des Übersetzens*, 1813 as quoted in A. Lefevre (ed.), *Translation/History/Culture* (London/New York 1992), 142.

<sup>24</sup> R. Kearsley has observed that, at Ephesos, the greatest incidence of bilingualism (that is of the use of Greek and Latin in the same inscription) occurs in the commercial and civic agoras: *Greeks and Romans in Imperial Asia (Inchriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 59)* (Bonn 2001), 155.

<sup>25</sup> J. Delisle and J. Woodsworth (eds.), *Translators through History* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia 1995), 246.

<sup>26</sup> This is the translation offered by P. W. Pestman, *The New Papyrological Primer* (Leiden 1990), 160.

<sup>27</sup> See O. Haas, *Die phrygischen Sprachdenkmäler* (Sofia 1966), and generally C. Brixhe, Phrygian, in R. D. Woodard (ed.), *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the World’s Ancient Languages* (Cambridge 2004), 777–88 (with extensive bibliography).

<sup>28</sup> See, for example, *Strabo* 13.4.17, *Acts* 14:11, *Dio Cass.* 78.6.2. Fluency in multiple languages, and not merely bilingualism is known (*Hdt.* III.38.4 (?), *Arr. Anab.* IV.3.7, *Diod. Sic.* XVII.68.5, *Philostr.* VA I.19). Ramsay long ago held that the early Christian commitment to the use of Greek “killed out the native languages of Anatolia”; see A. Petrie, *Epitaphs in Phrygian Greek*, in W. M. Ramsay (ed.), *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire* (London 1906), 134.

IGRR IV.868); however, one must be wary of assuming a direct connection between the form of a name and ethnicity or broader linguistic usage.<sup>29</sup>

The presence of a “chief” interpreter carries an implication of a body of interpreters. And a body (board, office or such-like) requires an infrastructure, location and demand. Colossae’s crucial position on the royal road,<sup>30</sup> its importance historically as a site of interchange between different ethnic groups (*cf. Ep. Col. 3:11*) and of agricultural produce, and its continued significance as a point of dissemination of imperial policy<sup>31</sup> all inform this snippet of evidence – and this is merely at the civic end.<sup>32</sup> The later dominance of Latin, as a mark of imperial control,<sup>33</sup> is absent however and indicates that Greek, at least in the second century, was the dominant linguistic currency in Colossae.

The level of trust necessarily accorded to a translator (Horace’s *fidus interpres*)<sup>34</sup> and perhaps even more to an interpreter suggests that there may be more than the usual honorific element involved in this pedestal which was originally surmounted by some further sculpted addition (perhaps a bust of Markos or statuette of Hermes or some other reinforcing representation).<sup>35</sup> Either the inscription and sculptured display was designed to reinforce the reputation of the honorand or it was a genuine recognition for the esteemed contribution Markos had made within the life of the polis. Whatever the identification, Frederick Renner’s lament that we know little of the “pre-requisites needed for a translator” remains (though he was focussed on elite literature).<sup>36</sup> Even C. Wiotte-Franz’s extensive collation and commentary that redirects attention to the importance of translation and interpretation in the ordinary affairs of the city in the ancient world, does not

<sup>29</sup> N. Sekunda, Achaemenid Settlement in Caria, Lycia and Greater Phrygia, in H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and A. Kuhrt (eds.), *Achaemenid History VI: Asia Minor and Egypt: Old Cultures in a New Empire* (Leiden 1991), 119 (on Persian names but the argument holds); P. M. Fraser, Ethnicity as Personal Names, in S. Hornblower and E. Matthews (eds.), *Greek Personal Names: Their Value as Evidence* (Oxford 2000), 149 (on the need for secondary evidence). For one example of the fallacy (on the presumption of Jewish ethnicity associated with the name Justus/a) see my *What’s in a Name? The Tenacity of a Tradition of Interpretation [Justus/a and the Clementine Homilies]*, *Festschrift for Victor Pfitzner*, edited by P. Lockwood, *Lutheran Theological Journal* 39 (2005), 218–239.

<sup>30</sup> *Cf. C. Foss, Ephesus after Antiquity: A Late Antique, Byzantine and Turkish City* (Cambridge 1979), 195.

<sup>31</sup> There is perhaps the question of the dative (rather than the accusative) of the honorand and whether this is reflective of Roman practice, as R. Kearsley suggests, or whether this is simply a minor variation on the Greek norm for inscriptions: see Kearsley, *Greeks and Romans*, 152.

<sup>32</sup> All such observations on the importance and functions of interpretation can be traced as early as the second millennium BCE. On the cliffs of the Nile opposite the island of Elephantine are hieroglyphic reliefs honouring Harkhuf, “the overseer of dragomans” as I. Kurz translates it. She adds the element of travel to the key functions of the interpreter. See *The Rock Tombs of the Princes of Elephantine*, *Babel* 31.4 (1985), 213–218. The relief mentions one visit to “the country of the Asiatics” though Kurz thinks that this may mean some place in the region of the Red Sea (215).

<sup>33</sup> See M. K. Lafferty, Translating Faith from Greek to Latin: *Romanitas* and *Christianitas* in late Fourth-Century Rome and Milan, *JECS* 11 (2003), 24–25. Kearsley notes that in bilingual inscriptions, Latin generally precedes Greek – a clue to its higher register (*cf. Val. Max. II.2.2*). However, she also notes variations of this general ‘rule’: *Greeks and Romans*, 147, 150. The statue and inscription at Aphrodisias honouring Oecumenios, governor of Caria, exalts his prowess in Latin and Greek but does so in Greek verse (C. Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity* (London 1989), § 31). There may have been regional variations.

<sup>34</sup> Horace *A.P.* 134.

<sup>35</sup> *Cf. Wiotte-Franz, Hermeneus und Interpres*, 124.

<sup>36</sup> Renner, *Interpretatio*, 314. Even the requirements of a translator that Renner is able to extract from the few literary references (mainly from writers on rhetoric – 314–25) cannot soundly be deduced from this inscription and may have no relevance in this field of human exchange anyway.

supply this information.<sup>37</sup> What can be asserted is that the man was local, a citizen of Colossae and held combined offices that were more than honorific – in other words, the honorand fulfilled pretty much the standard requirements for all such civic positions.

3. The inscription combines a recognition of Mark's role as chief interpreter with that of translator. The question is whether ἐξηγητής should be regarded as a formal office or whether it operates merely as an adjunct to ἀρχεραμηνεύς. The *exegetes* is certainly formalised in Egypt (e.g. *P. Oxy.* 3350, 3568, 4597). It was one of a range of annual magistracies that could be as much honorific as practical, although leading to everything from an authorised witness of documents to the guardianship of women and children in property dealings (e.g. *P. Oxy.* 56), to the execution of an arrest warrant (*P. Oxy.* 4486) and even a spokesman or delegate for a group (*P. Oxy.* 2435, 3020). Thus, it retained the *mediatorial* aspect of the function of “interpreter” whilst removing almost all interface between different languages. In Egypt, it ranked highly as an office, just below that of *gymnasiarch* and above that of *bouleutes* (*P. Oxy.* 1412, 3171), even though generally subject to the supervision of the *boule*.<sup>38</sup>

It does not appear to have been a regularly identified magistracy in Asia Minor.<sup>39</sup> In this context, by itself it would more likely suggest an occupation. Here it may be an extension of the office to which it is linked. The conjunction of terms which both involve the mediator's skills<sup>40</sup> is likely to indicate some distinction in meaning. Certainly this would narrow the meaning of the term and probably direct attention to translational supports for oral communication such as the reading of wills or other legal documents (*SB* 1010 [Latin] = 9298 [Greek]).

### Özet

Makalede, Kolossai kentine ait dört adet yazıt üzerinde durulmaktadır:

1- Bir sunak üzerinde yer alan ilk yazıtın çevirisi şöyledir: “*Karpos ile karısı Authenia'nın ve oğulları Artemidoros'un mezarı. Gelip geçene selam!*”.

2- İkinci yazıt W. Calder tarafından 1933 yılında kopyalanmış ama fotoğrafı çekilmemiş ve yayınlanmamıştı. Yazar tarafından yeniden bulunan ve bir sunak üzerinde yer alan bu yazıt şu ifadeyi taşımaktadır: “*Appas oğlu deri işçisi Dion (burada yatıyor). Elveda!*”.

3- Yuvarlak bir sunak üzerinde yer alan üçüncü yazıtta şu ifade okunmaktadır: “*(Filanca, bu sunağı) Markos oğlu Kolossai'luların baş çevirmeni Markos için yaptırdı.*”

4- Bu vesile ile yazar, Kolossai'da F. Arundell tarafından bulunup yayınlanmış olan ilk yazıt üzerinde durmakta ve bazı tamamlamalar önermektedir. Yazıt şöyle tamamlanıp okunmalıdır: “*Zenon oğlu Datys'ün (?) mezarı ...*”.

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<sup>37</sup> Wiotte-Franz, *Hermeneus und Interpres, l.c.* (but cf. 156–159). Her collation of the extant papyrological and inscriptional references along with the more familiar literary references has made a most significant contribution to the history of translation studies. The inscription revealed here needs to be set within this collection, to which should also be added *BGU* I.326 (Gaius Lucius Geminanus, the authorised translator), though this might fall into her exclusions mentioned on page 118.

<sup>38</sup> A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (Toronto 1971), 38, 89.

<sup>39</sup> It is not listed in D. Magie's massive tomes: *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton 1950); but see *CIG* 3660.

<sup>40</sup> Wiotte-Franz, *Hermeneus und Interpres*, 7.