

The Book of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History

by Colin J. Herner

Colin J. Herner, *The Book of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History*, pp. 109–158.

the case of Theudas) and where the question of his reliability must be left open so far as historical argument is concerned.

13:4-5 A natural crossing between correctly named ports is indicated. Mt. Casius, which is south of Seleucia, is within sight of Cyprus.

13:7 The name of the proconsul cannot be confirmed, but the *family* of the Sergii Pauli is attested, though older arguments for their Christianity cannot be sustained, and it is doubtful if any reference to the man himself is preserved in the inscriptions mentioning them.¹⁷

13:13 The text names Perga, a river-port, and perhaps the direct destination of a ship crossing from Cyprus, whereas a coaster would have called only at the coastal harbour town of Attalia.¹⁸

13:14 'The Pisidian Antioch' may be more fully called ἡ Ἀντιόχεια ἡ πρὸς τῇ Πισιδίᾳ, as in Strabo 12.6.4 = 569. The Alexandrian reading is to be preferred to the Western (cf. H, p. 195); this Antioch was at this time in Phrygia, not Pisidia,¹⁹ though it guarded the Pisidian frontier (see more fully the excursus below, pp. 228f.).²⁰

¹⁷ For criticism of Ramsay's speculative reconstructions of the family history, see B. van Elderen, 'Some Archaeological Observations on Paul's First Missionary Journey', *Apostolic History and the Gospel* (Festschrift for F.F. Bruce), ed. W.W. Gasque and R.P. Martin (Exeter: Paternoster, 1970), pp. 151-61 (esp. pp. 151-56). The most significant of the possible epigraphical allusions is that which has been (conjecturally) restored as ... Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ καὶ ἰ[--- ἐπὶ Κ]οίνου Σεργίου Παύλου ἀνθυπάτου ---] (SEG 20 [1964] 302.9-11; van Elderen, p. 155; of Cytheria, 1st AD). Mitford, however, now restores the emperor's name as Γαίου, not Κλαυδίου, a fragmentary letter being read as Α, not Δ, and the inscription placed under Caligula, not Claudius (ANRW 2.7.2 [1980], p. 1300, n. 54 and p. 1330, n. 195). If this reading is correct, it is fatal to the supposed identification. The family had a connection with Pisidian Antioch by virtue of the proximity of their estate to the *colonia*: see S. Mitchell, ANRW 2.7.2 (1980), p. 1074.

¹⁸ Cf. SPTR, p. 124; CRE, pp. 16, 19. For further details of these cities see G.E. Bean, *Turkey's Southern Shore* (London: Ernest Benn, 1968), esp. pp. 41-58.

¹⁹ Although S. Mitchell (ANRW II.7.2 [1980], pp. 1053-81) regards it as in Galatia: 'Antioch by Pisidia'.

²⁰ The preferred reading is sometimes rejected, as (surprisingly) by Wikenhauser (p. 335), on the ground that Πισιδίος is unattested as an adjective. Ptol. Geog. 5.5.4-5 however, ascribes Antioch to Φρυγία Πισιδία, taken to mean 'Pisidian Phrygia', unless we read it as 'Phrygian Pisidia', an alternative which is open to the erroneous converse objection that an adjectival feminine Φρυγία is unattested also. This form is actually quite common— see on 16:6 below. It must be emphasized that the forms of ethnic adjectives are remarkably varied, and that many readily documented formations are unrecorded or misrecorded in the lexica. For the Phrygian character of the Antioch district (and of Iconium below) see W.M. Calder, 'The Boundary of Galatic Phrygia', in MAMA 7, pp. ix-xvi and the map on p. xlv, showing the actual survival of the Phrygian language to AD 250 in an area including both cities. Especially in these areas, there is a sharp demarcation between Phrygian and Pisidian or Lycaonian styles in monumental art and

14:6 The text implies that Iconium was not in Lycaonia, as has often been supposed on the strength of sources reflecting boundary changes and conditions of different date (cf. E, p. 178). Its ethnic inclusion in Phrygia, not Lycaonia, is confirmed by the geographical distribution of Neo-Phrygian texts, and could be illustrated extensively by onomastic study.²¹

14:6 The bizarrely heteroclitlic declension of the name Lystra (acc. Λύστραν in Acts 14:6, 21; 16:1; dat. Λύστροις in Acts 14:8; 16:2; cf 2 Tim 3:11) is actually paralleled in Latin in the documents, though the point hinges on correct restoration: *Col ... Lustra consecravit* (MAMA 8.5, 1st AD); *a [Lus]tre[is] IV m* (MAMA 8.8, milestone, 3rd AD).²²

14:11 The Lycaonian language is spoken in Lystra. The use of a native language is unusual in the cosmopolitan, Hellenized society in which Paul moved. Lystra, however, as a Roman colony in a less developed part of Anatolia, preserved a language otherwise attested in a gloss in Stephanus of Byzantium.²³

in pottery, as well as in language, where Phrygian texts are separated by only a few miles from the undeciphered 'Pisidian' inscriptions of Sofular. See further J. Mellaart, 'Iron Age Pottery from Southern Anatolia', *Belleten* (Türk Tarih Kurumu) 19 (1955), pp. 115-36 (stressing the stability of this cultural frontier throughout the classical period; see p. 126); C.J. Hemer, 'The Pisidian Texts: A Problem of Language and History', *Kadmos* 19 (1980), pp. 54-64, and literature there cited.

²¹ See Excursus, pp. 228-230.

²² Perhaps an original plural was attracted into the singular in such cases as the former where the name stood in apposition with *colonia* in formal Roman designations. The distinction *Lystram/Lystris* is preserved in the Vulgate. I have not found the name in Greek texts here, which are mostly private and informal. If the point is correctly taken, it is a notable case of catching local usage in a detail. This is not a 'we-passage' but Luke ostensibly knew Timothy of Lystra as well as Paul. [(Ed.) This parallel is based on a reconstruction of the milestone text which must be in some doubt as a result of the re-reading by D.H. French in *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor, Fasc. 2, Interim Catalogue of Milestones* part 1 (B.A.R. S. 392(i); Oxford: B.A.R., 1988), p. 225, No. 628.]

²³ Stephanus explains 'Derbe' as from δελβεα, said to be the Lycaonian word for 'juniper'. Among the native names of the Lystra district we may note Tas, Greios, Nalêmis, Kinnôs, Ouaka, Goulasis, Mouzouttos, Gous and Douthis, along with a few of Phrygian type (MAMA 8.33-98, *passim*). The Sofular texts, if the 'Pisidian' names in them are correctly demarcated, give such forms as Dôtari, Lir, Memoua, Eianis, Gpourôxa and Slpouroxa. Any attempt to identify Pisidian characteristics is complicated by the apparent existence of several distinct languages or dialects in the area, among which that of Sofular may be a minority speech quite unlike the others, perhaps more akin to features appearing in Lycaonia and Isauria than to the nomenclature of more southern Pisidia. The index to TAM 3 on the inscriptions of Termessus in southern Pisidia shows an astonishing abundance of Trokondas (130 entries) and of the theophoric names (Greek or in native variants) Hermaeus, Artemôn, Artemeis and Arteimas,

14:12 The striking collocation of gods Hellenized as Zeus and Hermes is paralleled epigraphically from Lystra itself and from its district.²⁴

14:12 Barnabas and Paul are identified respectively with Zeus and Hermes, reflecting the native concept of the two gods (cf. note 24).

14:13 The 'priest' is in the best texts, whereas D has 'priests' (see H, pp. 195f. below).²⁵

14:15-17 The character of the speech, with its 'natural theology', is at least appropriate to the occasion in the context of Anatolian religion, especially if the local forms of the divine father and mother are rightly understood as identified with the heavenly Zeus and Gê.²⁶

14:25 The travellers return to the coasting port of Attalia to intercept a coasting vessel (cf. 13:13 above).

16:1 Derbe, then Lystra, is in fact the correct order of approach overland from the Cilician Gates.

16:2 Lystra and Iconium were relatively close, although belonging together with an abundant recurrence of such native forms as Armasta, Kendeas, Korkainas, Molês, Nan(n)elis, Oa, Obrimotês, Oplês and Otaneis. Only the peculiar (and recurring) Kbêdasis recalls the difficult initial clusters 'gd-' and 'gp-' found at Sofular. The remarkable frequency of alternative names of the Σαῦλος ὁ καὶ Παῦλος type, of which dozens are recorded from Termessus alone, would repay study, and serve as indicators of the prevalence of mixed or alternative cultural identities. Cf. I. Kajanto *Supernomina. A Study in Latin Epigraphy* (Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1966), which, however, deals almost exclusively with Latin examples from the Western provinces. See also G.H.R. Horsley, 'The use of a double name', in *New Docs* 1.89-96, No. 55. Horsley has also written a survey of the phenomenon for the forthcoming *Anchor Bible Dictionary*.

²⁴ MAMA 8.1 (Lystra), as restored, is a dedication to a triad of deities (characteristic of the native Anatolian religion), Epêkoos ('he who hears prayer' = Zeus), Hermes, and a brief missing name, presumably the goddess, supplied as Gê. From Sedasa, 20m. south-southwest, come two inscriptions appearing to relate to the same cult, the first listing three priests with native (Isaurian) names and the second recording the dedication of a statue of Hermes Megistos with a sundial to Zeus (Helios). The Greek names are of course Hellenizations of local cult, where the sky-father, earth-mother and executive son are typical, and their epithets and attributes may be revealing of local feeling. These inscriptions are published and discussed by W.M. Calder, 'A Cult of the Homonades', *CR* 24 (1910), pp. 76-81, texts p. 77, and 'Zeus and Hermes at Lystra', *Expos* 7th ser. 10 (1910), pp. 1-6. Different Hellenizations were current in other places. Our point is that this grouping of Greek divine names is peculiarly characteristic of the Lystra district.

²⁵ Cf. W.M. Calder, 'The "Priest" of Zeus at Lystra', *Expos* 7th ser. 10 (1910), pp. 148-55; 'Zeus and Hermes at Lystra', *Expos* 7th ser. 10 (1910), pp. 1-6. He cites an inscription of the district which names three priests of Zeus. The Western reading is at least attractive here. There is no need for Haenchen's idea that its plurality shows the scene has 'grown' in the course of tradition (p. 427n).

²⁶ Cf. note 24 above.

to different jurisdictions, whereas Derbe is now known to have been more distant than was supposed when it was wrongly placed at Zostra or Güdelisin.²⁷ It is thus natural that Timothy, if a native of Lystra, was known to these two churches rather than in Derbe.

16:6. 'The Phrygian and Galatian country' is a notoriously problematic phrase, which may be taken to denote 'Phrygia Galatica'. This view is rooted in specific geographical and epigraphical study; the denials rest upon demonstrable linguistic and geographical errors.²⁸

16:8 The form of the name 'Troas' is given as current in the first century (cf. E, p. 179).

16:11 Troas is cited as a destination would open an assortment of possibilities and was a key point on the Roman system of communication. This, however, also poses difficulties which are rarely observed.²⁹ The delay and sudden sailing naturally related to change of

²⁷ Losta (= Zosta) by Sterrett, *The Wolfe Expedition to Asia Minor* = *PASA* 3 (1884-85) 22-23; Güdelisin by Ramsay, *JÖAI* 7 (1904), Beiblatt 75-77. For the site at Kerti Hüyük see now M.H. Ballance, 'The Site of Derbe: A New Inscription', *AS* 7(1957), pp. 147-51; 'Derbe and Faustinopolis', *AS* 14 (1964), pp. 139-45; cf. G. Ogg, 'Derbe', *NTS* 9 (1962-63), pp. 367-70.

²⁸ The huge literature goes back to the debate between W.M. Ramsay and F.H. Chase in *The Expositor* in 1893-94. Lightfoot and Ramsay agreed here in reading *Φρυγίας* as an adjective, and in seeing the force of the common article as bracketing the two adjectives into an entity considered as a unit, whatever their precise relationship. The two men differed only in their geographical interpretation. Ramsay's 'South Galatian' interpretation was presented in 1893, after Lightfoot's death in 1889, and depended on pioneer exploration and documentation never available to Lightfoot. Moffatt and Lake later argued against Ramsay on grounds which contradicted Lightfoot on these points. Both denied the adjectival usage of *Φρυγία*, which is in fact abundantly documented in later Greek. See C.J. Hemer, 'The Adjective "Phrygia"', *JTS* n.s. 27 (1976), pp. 122-26; 'Phrygia: A Further Note', *JTS* n.s. 28 (1977), pp. 99-101. Moffatt denied that the linking *καί* could mean 'or', despite the earlier note of Ramsay entitled 'Καί Meaning "Or"', *CR* 12 (1898), pp. 337-41, which is severe on earlier denials, though on a different point. It is in any case unnecessary to press this, for this use of *καί* might correspond rather to various relationships now represented by a hyphen or an oblique stroke. We may observe for instance a fluctuation in the documents in the rendering of doubled Latin terms between the use of *καί* and asyndeton, as in the recurring *πρεσβυτέρους (καί) ἀντιστράτηγους* (= *legatus pro praetore*) or in *Βιθυνία (καί) Πόντος*. The fact that the term 'Phrygia Galatica' is never specifically attested is not a fatal objection, for our information is fragmentary, the overlap of ethnic Phrygia with provincial Galatia is now well documented, and the actual terms *Φρυγία Ἀσιακή* and 'Pontus Galaticus' are known, the latter frequently, as the designations of comparable or complementary overlaps.

²⁹ A major problem involves the uncertainties about the road-system in the hinterland of Troas and the fact that the principal known routes of the Troad connected the coastal cities. Conventional maps draw arbitrary straight lines of

adverse winds, as with Ignatius.

16:11 Samothrace was a conspicuous sailors' landmark, dominated by a 5000 foot mountain.

16:12 Philippi is correctly described as a Roman colony, as abundantly attested in its predominantly Latin epigraphy, with the explicit titles and magistracies of a colony, the grant having been made by Octavian after the battle in 42 BC. Its seaport is correctly named Nea Polis, properly rendered in the best manuscripts as two words (Νέα Πόλις).³⁰

16:12 *μερίς*: the interpretation of this phrase is notoriously difficult in view of the divergences of manuscript readings, but in any case the 'division' of Macedonia to which Philippi belonged was designated by this distinctive word, and in fact it belonged to the 'first' of the four *μερίδες*, precisely suiting *πρώτης μερίδος*, if that emendation from some of the versions be accepted.³¹

route across the northern spurs of Mt. Ida. Troas was a nodal point of long-distance sea-routes, but not a likely point to strike the coast first from the interior. Was Troas a chosen destination, if Paul already had Rome in mind as an final objective? See the excellent discussion by W.P. Bowers, 'Paul's Route through Mysia. A Note on Acts XVI.8', *JTS* n.s. 30 (1979), pp. 507-11; cf. C.J. Hemer, 'Alexandria Troas', *TB* 26 (1975), pp. 79-112, see esp. pp. 101-102. It is remarkable that the Dibelius-Haenchen school, whose scepticism is keenly alert to theoretical improbabilities, fails to observe the existence of a specific, substantive historical problem.

³⁰ A decree of Athens (Dimitsas, *Μακεδονία*, pp. 760-63, No. 976) gives the dative as Νέαι Πόλις [sic], line 36, and the ethnic title as Νεοπολίται (οἱ παρὰ Θάσον), 410-409 BC. The early coins give the abbreviation ΝΕΟΠ (or variants) (*BMC Macedonia*, ed. R.S. Poole, Neapolis, Nos 14-35 *passim*, of c. 411-350 BC). Though some distribute these letters in a square, I take it on the analogy of similar contemporary lettering at Amphipolis and elsewhere that they are all to be read clockwise as Νεοπ. for Νεοπολιτών, not Νε.πο. for Νέα πόλις. In the Roman period relevant cases are the accusative Νέαν πόλιν (*IG* 3.1.128g, presumably of Neapolis = Naples) and genitive Νέας πόλεως (*Dio* 47.35.3, certainly of this city), beside the ethnic Νεαπολίτης (*IG* 3.2.2838, of Athens). E. Oberhammer, 'Neapolis', No. 11, in *PW* 16.2124 may not be strictly correct in positing a change from early Νεόπολις to Νέα πόλις, for the variants may all be explained by a shift of the ethnic from Νεοπολίτης to Νεαπολίτης. The catalogue lists no coins of the Roman period, when Neapolis was presumably subject to Philippi, and shows a like predominance of Latin (colonial) inscriptions. In Philippi itself Dimitsas gives only 7 inscriptions in Greek, beside some 40 in Latin. The peculiar pride of Philippi in its status, which has been seen as reflected in Luke's remark here, can be variously illustrated, by the coinage, for example, such as the 'Vic(toria) Aug(usti)' type of Augustus, with statue of Nike (*BMC Macedonia*, Philippi, No. 23), and those of Claudius depicting a statue-group of Julius Caesar crowning Augustus (Nos. 24-26).

³¹ The word *μερίς*, once condemned by Hort, is now well attested of

16:13 A small river, the Gangites, flows close to the walls of Philippi. It is also probable that the city, being a colony rather than a commercial centre, had relatively few Jews.

16:14 Lydia was from Thyatira, in Lydia, and it is possible that she is called by an ethnic cognomen, 'the Lydian woman' rather than by her proper name. The name 'Lydia' is attested both as a regular and as an alternative name (e.g. Νεωνίς ἡ κ[α]λὴ Λυδία, TAM 3.661, Termessus, Pisidia) (see Excursus, p. 231).³²

16:14 Thyatira as a centre of dyeing is attested in at least seven inscriptions of the city. Its purple dye came from the madder root rather than the marine *Murex*, and the use of this substance is attested in the district until the present century.³³ The close connection between the dyers of Thyatira and the Macedonian cities is paralleled

administrative districts in Egypt and elsewhere, e.g. BGU 975.6, of AD 45, cited by MM. The division of Macedonia is attested by Livy 45.18.6-7: *In quattuor regiones describi Macedoniam, ut suum quaeque concilium haberet*. In the early days of the Roman province coins were issued by these divisions, with the legends ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΗΣ/ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑΣ/ΤΕΤΑΡΤΗΣ preserving three of the four, with capitals respectively at Amphipolis, Thessalonica and Pelagonia (*BMC Macedonia*, 'Macedonia in Genere', Nos. 1-8, 9 and 10 respectively, of 158-146 BC). Among the various monograms on these coins is ME, clearest on No. 10. It is tempting to supply μερίς as the specific feminine noun to be understood with the ordinals. Although subsequent coinage is either provincial or civic, there is no reason to think these divisions were abolished, indeed our passage at least appears to show the contrary.

The textual question is finely balanced, and merits a note here as it bears on the geographical purport of this verse. The UBS Committee only hesitantly preferred the conjecture πρώτης based on some Latin and other versions, but on no extant Greek manuscript, and assigned it only {D} probability ranking, and signalled their doubt by printing square brackets: πρώτ[η]ς μερίς τῆς ... This makes a correct statement that Philippi was a city of the first district, whereas πρώτη is difficult. The word was not a formal title of Philippi, nor was it capital of the district. Ramsay suggested taking it as a patristic claim of Luke for a city with which he was associated, asserting that it had overtaken Amphipolis in importance. It has also been understood as 'first' in order of approach, the seaport of Neapolis not then being reckoned. There might be point in calling attention to it as the first sphere of work in Macedonia (and in Europe), but this interpretation seems inappropriate here, as the phrase is apparently a parenthetical statement of the importance of Philippi, with verb ἔστιν, not a part of Paul's itinerary.

³² See now *New Docs* 2.26-28, No. 3, with response in *New Docs* 3.54, No. 17. While the ethnic appellation might well suit a freedwoman who had been so called as a slave, the name is also now attested of women of apparently high social prestige. Good examples are Julia Lydia of Sardis (L. Robert, 'Documents d'Asie Mineure', BCH 102 [1978], p. 405, 1st AD) and Julia Lydia Laterane of Ephesus, 'high priestess and daughter of Asia' (SEG 28 [1978] 869, 1st-2nd AD).

³³ M. Clerc, *De Rebus Thyatirenorum* (Paris, 1896), p. 94, cf. *New Docs* 3.53-54.

in an interesting inscription of Thessalonica (IG 10.2.1.291). A Latin fragment of Philippi itself appears to contain 'pu]rpurari[us?' (CIL 3.664.1).

16:20-21 The passage gives an ironical treatment of the anti-Jewish feeling on the part of colonists proud of their Roman status.

16:22 The chief magistrates of the colony are here designated στρατηγοί, following the general term ἄρχοντες in v. 19. The use of the term for the *duoviri* of a colony is attested at Pisidian Antioch.³⁴ The flogging is appropriate to the ῥαβδοῦχοι (v. 35) = *lictores* attendant on colonial magistrates.

17:1 The mention of Amphipolis and of Apollonia should probably be taken to imply that these were the places where the travellers spent successive nights, dividing the journey to Thessalonica into three stages of about 30, 27 and 35 miles.

17:1 A synagogue at Thessalonica is attested by the Jewish inscription CIJ 693 (late 2nd AD or later).

17:5 In the free city of Thessalonica Paul is brought before the δῆμος.

17:6 The title of the board of magistrates in Thessalonica was 'politarchs', a term now abundantly attested from this and other Macedonian cities.³⁵

17:10 Beroea is a suitable immediate refuge as a place off the major westward route, the Via Egnatia. Paul's movements, at least thus far,

³⁴ J.R.S. Sterrett, *An Epigraphical Journey in Asia Minor* = *PASA* 2 (1883-1884) 96, where στρατηγία is used of the office. There is however a difficulty, despite e.g. Haenchen's reference to 'the exact title' (p. 496). The oft-repeated statement of Ramsay that στρατηγός here translates a courtesy title *praetor* ('On the Title of the Magistrates at Philippi [Acts XVI 19-22]', *JTS* 1 [1900], pp. 114-16) is questioned by F. Haverfield ('On the ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΙ of Philippi', *JTS* 1 [1900], pp. 434-35), who points out that it can be a straightforward equivalent of the regular term *duovir*, *praetor* in this sense probably being restricted to early usage in the Western Empire. For the magistrates named at Philippi see CIL 3.633ff. and M. Dimitsas, ἡ Μακεδονία: CIL 3.633.1 = Dimitsas 934 (*aedile*); CIL 3.650 (*decurio* and *duumviri* conjoined, mid 1st AD), CIL 3.654 = 3.7335 (*aedile*), Dimitsas 957 (*decurio duumvir*), Dimitsas 961 (*decurio*), Dimitsas 962 = CIL 3.7342 (*duumvir quinquennalis*). These are characteristic colonial magistracies.

³⁵ E. de W. Burton, 'The Politarchs', *AJT* 2 (1898), pp. 598-632, though still commonly cited, is now very dated. See now C. Schuler, 'The Macedonian Politarchs', *CP* 55 (1960), pp. 90-100; F. Gschnitzer, *PW Supp.* 13 (1973) col. 483-500; Horsley, *New Docs* 2.34-35, No. 5, who refers also to B. Helly, *Ancient Macedonia*, II.531-44, which I have not seen; this last arguing against the previous consensus that the Macedonian πολιτάρχαι were not a unique institution imposed by the Romans, but a pre-existing form essentially identical with the πολίταρχοι or πολιτάρχαι attested in neighbouring Thessaly. [(Ed.) Horsley has collected all the documentary evidence and surveyed current knowledge of the *politarchs* in an article forthcoming in the *Anchor Bible Dictionary*.]

are consistent with the formation in his mind of a conscious strategy leading towards Rome,³⁶ but this move and the further journey to Athens (v. 15) are attributed to the agency of others.

17:14 The implication of sea-travel is at once the most convenient way of reaching Athens with the favouring 'Etesian' winds of the summer sailing-season and also removes Paul to a different jurisdiction remote from nearer land-routes where opponents might be expecting him. Luke does not here name a port of embarkation.

17:16 The abundance of images at Athens is abundantly attested in literature and in the remains. This may have been a matter of such general knowledge as scarcely to warrant special mention. Cf. δεισιδαιμονεστέους in v. 22 and other touches throughout the scene.³⁷

17:17 Reference to the synagogue at Athens is illustrated by the occurrence of Jewish inscriptions there (CIJ 712-15). The point is slight, the texts look relatively late, and the fact not unexpected. A similar illustration may be offered for other Pauline cities such as Thessalonica (CIJ 693).

17:17 Philosophical debate in the Agora is again characteristic of Athenian life.

17:18 The mention of Stoic philosophers is particularly interesting, as the 'Stoa' (portico) from which they took their name was in the Athenian Agora, the Stoa Poikile, and this traditional meeting place is close to the Stoa Basileios, where the court of Areopagus transacted routine business. This northwest corner of the Agora was also close to a notable collocation of Hermæ, apt to the adjective κατείδωλος.³⁸

³⁶ Cf. W.P. Bowers, 'Paul's Route through Mysia. A Note on Acts XVI.8', *JTS* n.s. 30 (1979), p. 511, and 'Paul and Religious Propaganda in the First Century', *NovT* 22 (1980), pp. 316-23, arguing at least for a deliberate, progressive and centripetal strategy. The attested timing further suits the interesting suggestion of F.F. Bruce that news of the expulsion of Jews from Rome reached Paul in Macedonia and contributed to deflecting him from his first purpose (*Paul, Apostle of the Free Spirit*, p. 235). This point depends on the dating of the expulsion to 49 (*pace* Lüdemann); cf. D, pp. 167f. *ad* 18:2.

³⁷ Throughout this passage I am conscious of the judgment of A.D. Nock: '...brilliant as is the picture of Athens, it makes on me the impression of being based on literature, which was easy to find, rather than on personal observation' (review article of M. Dibelius, *Aufsätze zur Apostelgeschichte*, in *Gnomon* 25 [1953], pp. 497-506, citing p. 506; reprinted in A.D. Nock, *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, ed. Z. Stewart [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972] II.821-32, citing p. 381). Athens was of course a cultural centre whose characteristics were embodied in a great classical literature. I have tried to recognize this possibility frankly where it may apply. But in any case I doubt the feasibility of Nock's explanation. The most telling points are latent in the passage.

³⁸ See Hemer, 'Paul and Athens: A Topographical Note', *NTS* 20 (1974), pp.

17:18 The Athenians call Paul a *σπερμολόγος*, which is a 'word of characteristically Athenian slang'.³⁹

17:19 **Ἀρείος πάγος*: the two-word form, applied to the court, is regularly used in many inscriptions of the period. This hearing probably took place before the court in its meeting-place in the Agora, not on the actual hill so called.⁴⁰

17:21 The comment on the Athenian character is again true to the literature, but is more likely to have been common knowledge.

17:23 Paul would have seen the Athenians' 'objects of worship' in profusion at the main approach to the Agora from the northwest.

17:23 Altars to 'unknown gods' are mentioned by Pausanias (1.1.4), and the background story is told by Diogenes Laertius (*Vita Philos.* 1.110; cf. Philostratus *Vita Ap. Ty.* 6.3.5, etc.). Much is sometimes made of the objection that the passages which speak explicitly of 'unknown' gods always do so in the plural, but these plurals, with the plural *βωμοί*, may be generalizing plurals, or Paul may have chosen to refer to a dedication to a particular god. Diogenes' phrase *τῷ προσήκοντι θεῷ* is singular, in any case.⁴¹

341-50. For the debate about whether the court met in the Agora or on the actual hill called Areopagus see n. 40 below. The combination of topographical hints suits the reconstruction here adopted and fits the placing of the whole scene in a narrowly circumscribed locality. For the significance of *κατείδωλος* and the abundance of 'Herms' in the area see R.E. Wycherley in *JTS* n.s. 19 (1968), pp. 619-20.

³⁹ Ramsay, *SPTR*, p. 242. The word is used of a bird in Aristophanes *Birds* 232; Aristotle *Hist. Anim.* 8.3=592b; citations ap. Athenaeus *Deipn.* 8.344c, 9.388a; cf. 9.398d; of persons, Athenaeus *Deipn.* 3.85f.; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 19.5.2; Demosthenes *de Corona* 127; of mischievous words, Plut. *Mor.* 456c.

⁴⁰ The formal title of the court in the inscriptions of the Roman period is ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλή (*passim*, e.g. *IG* 3.1.706). In *IG* 3.1.781 a man is described informally and absolutely as 'of the hill of Ares', where the reference is evidently to the court, not the hill. See further n. 44 below. For the debate about the site see T.D. Barnes, 'An Apostle on Trial', *JTS* n.s. 20 (1969), pp. 407-19; W.G. Morrice, 'Where Did Paul Speak in Athens— on Mars' Hill or before the Court of Areopagus? (Acts 17:19)', *ExpT* 83 (1971-72), pp. 377-78; *NTS* 20 (1974), pp. 341-50. The problem is often confused by faulty formulation. It is often supposed, for instance, that there was room only for a few hearers on the rocky summit (Haenchen, *Acts*, p. 518 [cf. *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 456]), but I possess a photograph I took there myself of a gathering of many hundreds. Though I do not accept that location for the speech, it cannot be excluded simplistically by this supposition.

⁴¹ The inscription of Pergamum reading *θεοῖς ἀγ[...]| Καπ[ιτ[ω]| δαδοῦχο[ς]* is indecisive (H. Hepding, *Ath Mitt* 35 [1910], pp. 454-57, of ?2nd AD). O. Kern, 'Das Demeterheiligtum von Pergamon und die orphischen Hymnen', *Hermes* 46 (1911), pp. 431-36 (esp. p. 434) proposed the restoration *ἀγ[ιωτάτοι]* as more probable than *ἀγ[νόστοι]*. See further Wikenhauser, p. 371; Lake, *BC* 5.240. Haenchen, *Acts*, p. 521n (cf. *Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 458-59n) puts the case against

17:24 The reference to temples made with hands (cf. 7:48, in Jerusalem) is here represented as uttered in a place dominated by the Parthenon and surrounded by other shrines of the finest classical art.

17:24ff. The content of this passage suits the view that we have a compressed summary of a dialogue with Stoic and Epicurean terms and ideas, so belonging naturally to the ostensible Pauline context (τὸ θεῖον, v. 29; οὐ ... προσδεόμενός τινος, v. 25, etc.).

17:28 'In him we live ...' These words are attributed to Epimenides the Cretan, who figures in Diogenes' story of the origin of the altars discussed above on 17:23. This also suggests a Pauline context, where Paul is interacting with the specific traditions of Athenian religion (cf. F, pp. 186f., P, pp. 215f.).⁴²

17:28 The second citation is from the Stoic poet Aratus, of Soli in Cilicia, close to Paul's home in Tarsus. Again, we may see a Pauline context in Athens, and compare Paul's own citation of Greek literature in 1 Cor. 15:33 (cf. F, pp. 186-87).⁴³

17:31 Judgment is entrusted to an appointed 'man' (ἀνδρί), used of Jesus to a pagan audience for whom Christological refinements would have been meaningless at this stage. This again is suitable to Paul at Athens rather than a deliberate Lukan theological construct.

17:32 The declaration of resurrection (ἀνάστασις) takes issue directly with the specific denial of ἀνάστασις in this sense in the religious classic of the archetypal trial of Orestes before this court of Areopagus, the words of Apollo as spokesman of divine wisdom (Aeschylus, *Eumen.* 647-48). The idea was alien also to both groups of philosophers, and the reaction to it is understandable in the

ἀγνώστοις strongly, but without meeting the arguments of Deissmann, *Paul*, pp. 288-91 against several alternative possibilities. Deissmann's photograph (Plate V, facing p. 286) shows that the foot of an upright stroke alone is preserved of the third letter of the word, a feature consonant with varied possibilities with I, N or Γ. The artistic symmetry of the lettering tells against the brevity of ἀγ[λοῖς], but ἀγ[ιωτάτοις] or ἀγ[ιωτάταις] (of Demeter and Kore) may be slightly too long. Deissmann points out (*contra* Haenchen) that the stone was re-used for another dedication, and therefore less (not more) likely to have been dedicated to the principal deity of the sanctuary in the first place. Despite Deissmann, however, the case for ἀγ[νώστοις] is not established.

⁴² Apart from these altars, for which an alternative explanation is offered by Wycherley, *JTS* n.s. 19 (1968), pp. 620-21, there is a likely reference to the passage in the *Oresteia* which treats the actual foundation-legend of the court of Areopagus (17:32 below), and the double connection with the seer Epimenides. See further Lake, 'Your Own Poets', *BC* 5.246-51.

⁴³ Cf. also Cleanthes, *Hymn to Zeus*, 4. If we are permitted to accept a larger Pauline base we may add Titus 1:12 (ascribed to the same Epimenides by Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 1.14), and from Acts the reference to Epimenides here, and the probable allusions to Aeschylus in 17:32 and to Euripides in 21:39.

Athenian context.

17:34 Ἀρεοπαγίτης is the correct title for a member of the court (cf. Ἀρεῖος πάγος above).⁴⁴

18:2 This displays synchronism with probable date of Claudius' expulsion of Jews from Italy.⁴⁵

18:3 Paul's trade, if understood as that of 'tentmaker', is interestingly appropriate to his Cilician origin, if indeed that played any significant part in his upbringing.⁴⁶

18:4 A Corinthian synagogue is attested epigraphically.⁴⁷

18:12 Gallio is said to be a proconsul, resident in Corinth as provincial capital. Achaia was governed by a proconsul from 27 BC to AD 15 and from AD 44 (cf. D, pp. 168-69, P, p. 214, §1). I have argued elsewhere that the incident belongs to the time of Gallio's arrival in the province in early summer 51, the only point in Paul's residence (autumn 50 - spring 52) when his opponents would be able to take advantage of a new and untried governor.⁴⁸

18:13-14 The nature of the charge seems to involve the claim that Paul's preaching was not Judaism in the approved sense, and that he was therefore not to be accorded the privileges belonging to it as a

⁴⁴ *Passim* in Athenian inscriptions of the Roman period: e.g. δόγματι Ἀρεοπαγιτῶ[ν] IG 3.1.704. Note the distinction between the two-word form ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλή (many times, e.g. IG 2² 3535, c. AD 57) and the one-word form Ἀρεοπαγ(ε)ῖται.

⁴⁵ See D, pp. 167-68 for the evidence regarding the date. Cf. also P, p. 214.

⁴⁶ See now R.F. Hock, *The Social Context of Paul's Ministry: Tentmaking and Apostleship* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980); cf. his article 'Paul's Tentmaking and the Problem of his Social Class', *JBL* 97 (1978), pp. 555-64 (esp. p. 555n). Hock argues that σκηνοποιός denotes 'leather-worker' rather than literally 'tentmaker', but has not truly established his case against taking the word in its apparently straightforward sense. This view is based on some patristic and versional evidence, and was argued by Zahn. Hock's view on this point, central to his thesis, is rather loosely argued. On one page he discounts Paul's connection with Cilicia in rejecting the one (for he studied in Jerusalem) and affirms it in accepting the other alternative (p. 21).

⁴⁷ Furnish writes: '... the inscription could be as late as the fourth century C.E.' (V.P. Furnish, *II Corinthians*, The Anchor Bible [Garden City: Doubleday, 1984], p. 21 and Plate VIb), although *CIJ* 718 lists it as from between the 1st cent. BC and the 2nd cent. AD.

⁴⁸ *Pauline Studies* Bruce, p. 8. *Contra* the cautious consideration of other possibilities in K. Haacker, 'Die Gallio-Episode und die paulinische Chronologie', *BZ* n.s. 16 (1972), pp. 252-55, responding to B. Schwank, 'Die sogenannte Brief an Gallio und die Datierung des 1 Thess.', *BZ* n.s. 15 (1971), pp. 265-66. Schwank follows Deissmann, *Paul*, pp. 280-83, from whom we differ in suggesting that the eighteen months of 18:11 comprehends the whole of Paul's stay, and not merely the period prior to the arrival of Gallio.

religio licita. Gallio's response amounted to the judgment that this was a dispute in Jewish theology, of which he took no cognizance.⁴⁹

18:16f. The βῆμα, overlooking Corinth's *forum*, is shown today.⁵⁰

18:21 The hasty departure from Ephesus in spring would suit the assumption, made explicit in the Western text, that Paul was anxious to reach Jerusalem for a feast, presumably Passover, in the limited time available after the opening of the sailing season (cf. H, p. 197).

18:23 The 'Galatian country and Phrygia' is a peculiarly difficult phrase, not the same as in 16:6. I am now inclined to think that 'the Galatian country' is here resumptive of 16:6, and refers generally to Paul's sphere of work in ('South') Galatia, and that 'Phrygia' (here, but not there, a noun) is appended loosely in the awareness that Phrygia extended into the province of Asia, beyond Galatia in any sense, and on Paul's present route towards Ephesus. Possibly Luke knew of Paul's preaching on this journey in Asian Phrygia, in e.g. Apamea Cibotus or Eumeneia, major cities on or near the route implied by a likely geographical interpretation of 19:1 below.⁵¹

19:1 τὰ ἀνωτερικὰ μέρη are plausibly understood to refer to the traverse of the hill-road reaching Ephesus by the Cayster valley north of Mt. Messogis, and not by the Lycus and Maeander valleys, with which Paul may have been unacquainted (cf. F, p. 187; Col. 2:1).⁵²

19:9 The name 'Tyrannus' is attested from Ephesus in first century inscriptions.⁵³

⁴⁹ This in effect established a precedent in Paul's favour. Cf. Bruce, *Paul*, pp. 254-55.

⁵⁰ For this site and its identification see O. Broneer, 'Corinth: Center of St. Paul's Missionary Work in Greece', *BA* 14 (1951), pp. 78-96, esp. pp. 91-92. *Rostra*, the Latin equivalent of βῆμα, occurs on an inscription found in the vicinity, referring to this structure.

⁵¹ Cf. Bean and Calder, *Classical Map*. The inscriptions depict both cities as notable centres of Diaspora Judaism and later of Christianity. See e.g. *CIJ* 761 (Eumeneia), 773-74 (Apameia). The latter city is unique in its coins inscribed ΝΩΕ, and depicting Noah and the ark (*BMC Phrygia*, Phryg. Apam. No. 182, of Philip Senior). Both are in the region characterized by numerous discreetly Christian epitaphs of the 3rd century, embodying the expression actually called the 'Eumenean formula' (cf. W.M. Calder, 'The Eumeneian Formula', *Anatolian Studies Presented to William Hepburn Buckler*, ed. W.M. Calder and J. Keil [Manchester University Press, 1939], pp. 15-26). For further examples of the Eumeneian formula see *New Docs* 1.136-37, No. 86; 3.136-39, No. 98; 4.159, No. 66.

⁵² *BC* 4.236 *ad loc* and Lake in *BC* 5.240 take it of the 'hinterland', as resumptive of the disputed phrase in 18:23; and so Haenchen, pp. 552-53n. The interpretation followed here derives from Ramsay, *SPTR*, pp. 265-66, followed by Bruce, *Acts*, p. 353 *ad loc*.

⁵³ E.g. *I. Eph.* 20B.40, of AD 54-59; 1012.4, of AD 92-93. I possess a photograph I took of the latter in 1964; the name is inscribed on a column in the Prytaneum as

19:13 'Jewish exorcists': the part played by Jews in exploiting current superstitions is well attested in Asia Minor. The title 'high priest' presumably reflects Sceva's attempt to impress his clientele. Conversely, the names and spiritual power associated with the Jewish God are prominent in ancient magical documents.⁵⁴

19:24 Silver shrines of Artemis: such images of the goddess in a niche, made of terracotta, are well known, if not in silver. The commentators seem to have overlooked the bilingual inscription of Tarentum: [Di]anae aidicolam votum dedit = Ἀρτάμιτι εὐχὰν ναῖσκον ἀπέδωκε (IGRR 1.467). Neither *aedicula* nor ναῖσκος seem to be noted in this sense by the lexicographers. This interpretation seems more likely than the suggestion of E.L. Hicks that ποιῶν ναοὺς reflects the title νεωποιοῦς, held by members of the board of wardens of the temple.⁵⁵

19:27 'The great goddess Artemis'; cf. vv. 28, 34: the formulations are illustrated from the inscriptions.⁵⁶

19:29 The Ephesian theatre was the meeting-place of the city.⁵⁷

19:31 The Asiarchs are naturally situated in Ephesus, and the friendship of some of them with Paul is interesting, and not merely to be dismissed as 'highly unlikely'.⁵⁸

one of a list of Curetes. For reference to a 'lecture-hall' adjoining the Library of Celsus at Ephesus, designated by the unique word αὐδειτώριον, see JÖAI 7 (1904) Beiblatt 52 [(Ed.) Also found in *I. Eph.* 3009]; Hemer, *TB* 24 (1973), p. 128.

⁵⁴ Examples are numerous both in the inscriptions and the papyri. Thus e.g. IG 14.859, a heathen plaque from Puteoli, with an invocation including Σαβαώθ, Σαβαώθ. δγιον δν[ο]μα Ἰαώ, Ἡλ. Μιχαήλ, Νεφθώ etc.; IG 14.2.2481, of Avennio (Avignon); etc. Among the papyri the 'Great Magical Papyrus' at Paris, partly reproduced in Deissmann, *LAE*, pp. 255-63, is a striking example. Though the text was written c. 300 AD, the Jewish influence on it probably belongs to a much earlier tradition. B.A. Mastin, 'Scaeva the Chief Priest', *JTS* n.s. 27 (1976), pp. 405-12 argues that the title 'high priest' is sufficiently explained if Scaeva were of a Jewish high-priestly family. There is certainly no need here for the scepticism of Haenchen (p. 564); the term may have been an impostor's stock-in-trade. Bruce, *Acts*, p. 358 points out that Luke did not have the use of quotation-marks or of 'sic' to show this; but he might well have written τοῦ λεγομένου ἀρχιερέως or the like in that case, however.

⁵⁵ Hicks, 'Demetrius the Silversmith. An Ephesian Study', *Expos* 4th ser. 1 (1890), pp. 401-22, esp. pp. 418-19. [(Ed.) See however, Ramsay, *CRE*, pp. 113-34; and *New Docs* 4.8, No. 1.]

⁵⁶ There are varied forms in the inscriptions, as here. The usual epithet is μέγιστη. For further discussion of the variants, and the alternation of ἡ θεά with θεός, as here, see n. 61 below.

⁵⁷ OGIS 480.8-9, of AD 104; Sherwin-White, *RSRL*, p. 87. See now further *I. Eph.* 28.9-10 Lat., 19-20 Gk., 29.19-20 etc. Other attestations depend partly on restoration. The recurring phrase is ἵνα τιθῇται κατ' ἐκκλησίαν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ.

⁵⁸ Haenchen, p. 574n. [(Ed.) The most recent detailed study of the asiarchs is

19:33-34 The deflection of the move against Paul into an anti-Semitic channel accords with surviving evidence for such tensions in Ephesus, where Jews seem to have held citizenship and other special privileges guaranteed first by the Seleucids and maintained under the Romans.⁵⁹ Cf. the humorous comment in v. 32.

19:35 γραμματεὺς: this is the correct title for the chief executive magistrate in Ephesus, and is attested *passim* in the inscriptions.

19:35 νεωκόρος: a title of honour commonly authorized by the Romans for major cities (including Ephesus) which possessed an official temple of the imperial cult. Used characteristically also in Ephesus of the cult of Artemis.⁶⁰

19:35 The διοπετές was the archaic sacred image of the goddess, whether literally a meteorite or an ancient sculpture.

19:37 ἡ θεός was the formal designation of the goddess. The lexica are not specific about this usage in reference to Artemis, though it is abundantly attested in Roman Ephesus.⁶¹

R.A. Kearsley, *Asiarchs and archiereis of Asia: The Inscriptions of Ephesus* (diss. Macquarie University, 1987). Cf. *idem*, 'Asiarchs, archeireis and the archiereiai of Asia', *GRBS* 27 (1986), pp. 183-92; *idem*, in *New Docs* 4.46-55, No. 14. In a forthcoming article (*AS* 38 [1988]) Kearsley argues that there is epigraphic evidence which attests the asiarchy by the early 1st cent. AD.

⁵⁹ Seleucus Nicator is said to have granted citizenship to Jews in the cities which he founded, including those in Asia (*Jos. Ant.* 12.3.1.119). The expression in *Ap.* 2.4.39 is ambiguous. The implication of *Ant.* 12.3.2.125-26 is that existing Jewish citizenship rights ought to be rescinded. Josephus cites decrees of Lentulus (*Ant.* 14.10.13.228-30, of 49 BC) and of Dolabella (*Ant.* 14.10.12.225-27, of 43 BC) in favour of Jewish privileges. The undated decree of the city in *Ant.* 14.10.25.263-64 concedes rights with patent reluctance under Roman pressure. There is no reason to doubt the essential authenticity of these documents, though some scholars are reluctant to accept the possibility of actual Jewish citizenship in a Gentile city. The point in the recurring debate over Jewish rights is that if these people claim to be citizens they must conform, and not claim also exceptional exemptions from the normal responsibilities of citizens. See my fuller discussion in *The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia in their Local Setting* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1986), esp. pp. 37-39 and notes, and 136-37 and notes.

⁶⁰ See *I. Eph.* 300. This text gives the city's full titulature as [τῆς πρώτης καὶ μεγίστης μητροπόλεως τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τῶν νεωκόρων τῶν Σεβαστῶν, μόνων ἀπα[σῶν] δὲ τῆς Ἀρτέμι[δος] | [Ἐφεσίων πόλεως ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ νεωκό]ρος δῆμος (lines 5-7, of Septimius Severus). The restorations are well established by parallel formulations.

⁶¹ *BAGD* cite the usage as 'Attic', but suggest it occurs 'later more rarely'. It appears many times however as the specific designation of Ephesian Artemis in the Salutaris document (AD 104), where the goddess is first introduced as τὴν μεγίστην θεὸν Ἀρτέμιν (*IBM* 481 = *I. Eph.* 27, lines 12-13), and resumptively throughout simply as ἡ θεός. θεά is also used in some places where she is named (*I. Eph.* 27, lines 224-25, 407 = *IBM* 481, lines 130-31, 278): τῇ γενεσίῳ τῆς

19:38 The assizes: the term ἀγοραῖοι (ἡμέραι) reflects the Roman practice in Asia of holding courts under the proconsul in nine or more principal cities which served as district capitals. Ephesus was capital of one of the *conventus*, or assize-districts.⁶²

19:38 If not merely a generalizing plural, ἀνθύπατοι may refer to the remarkable fact that *two* men were conjointly exercising the functions of proconsul temporarily after murdering their predecessor subsequent to Nero's accession in AD 54 (Tac. *Ann.* 13.1; Dio 61.6.4-5), a date which precisely suits the ostensible chronology of this passage (cf. D, p. 169). This view is severely criticized by Ramsay, however.⁶³

19:39 The 'regular' assembly: the precise phrase is attested elsewhere (ἀγομένης ἐκκλησίας ἐννόμου, SIG³ 852.20, of Thera, AD 149) and the concept is mentioned repeatedly in the Salutaris inscription of Ephesus itself.⁶⁴

μεγίστης θεᾶς Ἀρ[ι]τέμιδος; τὸ τῆς μεγίστης θεᾶς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν, to be placed beside the recurring τῇ γενεσίῳ τῆς θεοῦ (*passim*, e.g. *I. Eph.* 27.535-36). So also commonly elsewhere, e.g. τῇ Ἐφεσίᾳ θεῷ (*I. Eph.* 3077.9; 3078.11).

⁶² Pliny *NH* 5.29.105 ff. appears to list nine of these jurisdictions, but in a confused and probably incomplete way: the Cibyratic (Laodicea), and those of Synnada, Apamea, Alabanda, Sardis, Ephesus (5.31.120), Smyrna Adramyttium and Pergamum. Cf. also Cic. *ad Fam.* 3.8.6. ἡ ἀγοραῖος (sc. ἡμέρα or σύνοδος) is used as the Greek rendering of the technical term *conventus* (Mason, *Greek Terms*, p. 19). Cf. e.g. τῇ μὲν ἰ πρώτῃ ἑξαμήνῳ, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἡ ἀγόραιος ἤχθη (*IGRR* 4.788.9-10, of Apamea in Asia— not Syria, as wrongly in Mason, 2nd AD; cf. *IGRR* 4.789, 790, of same city). See further V. Chapot, *La province romaine proconsulaire d'Asie* (Paris, Émile Bouillon, 1904), pp. 353-57.

⁶³ Ramsay, *Expos* 6th ser. 2 (1900), pp. 334-35. Ramsay's criticisms are directed in part to an inadequate and inaccurate statement by H.M. Luckock. He is evidently right to reject the notion of an irregular tenure of power by the murderers, for constitutionally it would pass provisionally into the hands of the three deputies until a successor arrived, and an *eques* and a freedman were not qualified. But the chronological objection does not now apply, for since the Gallio inscription has helped to anchor this period of Paul's life, a date closely subsequent to the death of Claudius is suitable for this incident, and an interregnum between proconsuls coinciding with the change of emperor provides a plausible setting for the unrest in Ephesus attested both here and in the Corinthian correspondence. It thus remains plausible that the plural 'proconsuls', if generalizing, reflects the uncertainty of the time, or, if more specific, actually refers to the acting deputies. It is notable that Ramsay, often dismissed as an apologist, here (as not infrequently) appears as a trenchant critic of an inadequate traditionalism, where others have allowed faulty assumptions to pass. We may accept a probable setting for the passage in c. 54-55, and a slightly different formulation of the case meets the substance of Ramsay's objections.

⁶⁴ κατὰ πᾶσαν νόμιμον, *IBM* 481, lines 339-40 = *I. Eph.* 27 lines 468-69, of AD 104; cf. lines 165 = 229, [116, deficient =] 203, where wholly or partly restored.

19:40 These words reflect the preoccupation with civic privileges and the fear that sedition or irregularity could precipitate Roman intervention.

20:3 The change of plan occasioned by the plot may have induced Paul to travel overland to Macedonia rather than on an early ship for Passover in Jerusalem. In Troas he met representatives of various churches and reached Jerusalem for Pentecost (cf. F, pp. 188f.).

20:4 The form used as an ethnic designation, *Βεροιαῖος*, is precisely that attested on the local inscriptions (Dimitsas 52, imperial; 55, under Nerva; 58, early 1st AD). The form *Βερεεύς* is also found (IG 3.2.2395, of Athens, possibly referring, however, to a different Beroea).⁶⁵

20:4 The ethnic *Ἀσιανός*, is again characteristic of the period. In IGRR 4.1756 (of Sardis, 2 BC) the 'Greeks in Asia' honour a Sardian citizen designated *Ἀσιανός* (lines 113, 116) with honours relating to the provincial *Koinon*. The ethnic title was the natural correlative of the province, and here designates two men, at least one of whom was an Ephesian (Acts 21:29), but both represent a wider district of which Ephesus was the centre.⁶⁶

20:5 The beginning of a new 'we-passage' at Philippi, where the last ended, raises the possibility that the ostensible author joined the party as representative of that church, which is not otherwise mentioned (cf. G, p. 191).

20:6 It has been argued that the days of the week here permit a chronological argument which suits the year 57 for this journey, a date consonant with other circumstantial hints.⁶⁷

20:7ff. Paul's determination to spend as long at Troas as his tight schedule will permit suits the specially strategic importance assigned

⁶⁵ The coins attest *ΒΕΡΑΙΩΝ* (of Philip, dated AD 243-44), perhaps merely an abbreviation, beside the regular *ΒΕΡΟΙΑΙΩΝ* (e.g. on a coin dated AD 246). See Head, *HN*, pp. 241-43. On variation in ethnics see next note, and Excursus.

⁶⁶ It is worth stressing this correlation in the face of the frequency of unjustified objections on points of this type. Both geographical names and their ethnics are flexible but patterned in their usage. As *Ἀσιανός* matches the current senses of *Ἀσία* and *ἡ Ἰουδαία* (γῆ) in the land of the *Ἰουδαῖοι* (21:10 below), so *Γαλάτης* may be an inhabitant of *Γαλατία*, whether correlative with it as ethnic unit, province or indeed as used of European 'Gaul' (see Excursus, pp. 241-43). Dozens of instances could be cited of persons with Greek names designated in Greek documents by such ostensibly 'barbarian', but in the Roman period probably more often 'provincial', ethnics as *Ἀραψ*, *Καππαδόξ*, *Κίλιξ* or *Σύρος*. See, e.g., *New Docs* 4.173, No. 87; 4.174, No. 90. Sometimes such a person is further identified as a citizen of a Greek city in the province. Thus if a *Σύρος* is further designated *Ἀντιοχεύς*, he is shown to belong to one of the greatest cosmopolitan Greek cities of the world.

⁶⁷ Cf. D, pp. 169f., Chapter 6 below and *Pauline Studies* Bruce, pp. 10-11.

to this city.

20:13 Paul's staying behind at Troas and travelling overland to rejoin the ship's company at Assos is appropriate to local circumstances, where the ship had to negotiate an exposed coast and double Cape Lectum before reaching Assos.

20:14-15 The sequence of places mentioned in these verses is entirely correct and natural.⁶⁸

20:16 The choice to by-pass Ephesus had presumably been made already in the choice of ship at Troas, where a faster coaster may have deliberately avoided entering the gulf of Ephesus, especially if the silting there was already causing delays. Paul too may have been acutely conscious that a visit to the church from a ship calling there would be likely to imperil his commitment to Jerusalem through personal entanglements there and the probable need for further trans-shipment.

20:17 Miletus was only some thirty miles distant from Ephesus by boat and road, and the summons is readily understood if the ship was scheduled to stay or delayed at Miletus for two or three days.

21:1 Patara (like Myra) was a port used by the Alexandrian corn-fleet. Both became important places of trans-shipment, and imperial granaries were built at these two ports under Hadrian.⁶⁹ It is notable that the city's name is correctly given as a neuter plural, as in the local epigraphy and elsewhere in literature.⁷⁰

21:3 Eyewitness-like comments are given on the route passing across the open sea south of Cyprus, favoured no doubt by the persistent northwest winds (cf. M, p. 209 and below on Acts 27).

21:4 After the pressure of time early in the journey, the pace relaxes after a favourable voyage to Tyre.⁷¹

21:5 ἀγιάλος describes correctly the smooth beach at Tyre, as opposed to ἀκτή, used of a rocky shore.

21:8 The distance from Ptolemais (Akko) to Caesarea is about thirty miles, a suitable day's journey whether this stage was taken by

⁶⁸ We do not attach much significance to the spelling Μιτυλήνη rather than the predominantly earlier Μιτιλήνη. The later form occurs as early as 303 BC and both continue in at least occasional use thereafter. The mention of Trogyllium in the Western text is also entirely appropriate, though the balance of textual evidence tells against its originality (cf. H, p. 198). See Metzger, *Textual Comm.*, p. 478, giving {C} rating to the committee's preference for the shorter text.

⁶⁹ See on 27:5 below, and for the granary here TAM 2.397 = CIL 3.12129.

⁷⁰ For an epigraphical reference, see TAM 2.905.VII H5. Among the literary examples are: Hdt. 1.182; Paus. 9.41.1; Diodorus 19.64.5; Lucian, *Philopseud.* 38; Appian, *Mithridatica*, 4.27; Arrian, *Anab.* 1.24.4. See further G.K. Sams, 'Investigations at Patara in Lycia, 1974', *Archaeology* 28 (1975), pp. 202-205.

⁷¹ Cf. *Pauline Studies* Bruce, p. 10.

sea or coastal road.

21:10 The curious usage of 'Judaea' here presumably reflects the Jewish perspective which associated the term with Jerusalem and district as the heart of Judaism, and excluded pagan Caesarea.⁷²

21:16 The implication, made explicit in D, is perhaps that Mnason's home was not in Jerusalem, but an overnight stopping-place *en route*. The road distance from Caesarea to Jerusalem is scarcely less than sixty miles (cf. H, p. 198).⁷³

21:24 Luke is aware of this characteristically Jewish act of piety, closely paralleled by the contemporary action of Agrippa I (Jos. *Ant.* 19.6.1.294).

21:28 The Gentiles were forbidden on pain of death to go beyond the Gentiles' Court of the Temple. Two examples of the well-known warning notice are extant (CII 1400).

21:31 There is a reference to the permanent stationing of a Roman cohort (τάγμα) at Antonia, with the specific responsibility of watching for and suppressing any disturbance at festival times is attested in Josephus (*BJ* 5.5.8.244).

21:35, 40 The flight of steps used by the guards is again explicitly described in Josephus (*BJ* 5.5.8.243). There is no reason to doubt the independence of the two writers here, or for that matter to attach undue significance to these points of contact.

21:38 On 'the Egyptian', cf. Jos. *BJ* 2.13.5.261-63; *Ant.* 20.8.6.169-71. The former passage clashes with Acts as giving the number of his followers as 30,000 not 4,000. We should be more ready to accept the smaller figure, especially as Josephus can be shown elsewhere to

⁷² Caesarea was officially the provincial capital, though geographically in the section called Samaria, rather than in Judaea in the narrower sense. After AD 70 the province was termed 'Syria Palaestina' (Head, *HN*, p. 802), and coins of Samaria (Sebaste), for instance, were inscribed CEBACTHNON CYPIAC, and those of the new foundation of Neapolis (mod. Nablus) either ΦΛΑΟΥΙ. ΝΕΑΠΟΛ. ΣΑΜΑΡΕ. or ΦΛ. ΝΕΑC ΠΟΛΕΩC CYPIAC ΠΑΛΑΙCΤΙΝΗC (*HN*, p. 803). The statement in Blass-Debrunner-Funk, §261(4) that 'Ιουδαία is an adjective and therefore requires the article ἡ 'Ιουδαία (γῆ) cannot be sustained, for use of the article and the transition between adjective and substantive are much more flexible than their classifications allow. Cf. the excursus below, pp. 223, 243 for anarthrous 'Ιουδαία, and the discussions of B.M. Metzger in *Apostolic History*, p. 133 and *Textual Comm.*, pp. 293-94 *ad loc.* Cf. also the post-70 coinage legend ΙΟΥΔΑΙΑC ΕΛΛΩΚΥΙΑC (Head, *HN*, pp. 809-10).

⁷³ See Bruce, *Acts*, pp. 389-90 *ad loc.* The point of introducing Mnason (and previously Philip's daughters) may have been partly as they were among Luke's important informants about the earliest days of the church. I incline to think however that the expansion reflects at least a plausible inference that Mnason was not actually Paul's host in Jerusalem but offered a stopping-place *en route*.

inflate numbers.⁷⁴

21:39 The literary reminiscence of Euripides, *Ion* 8, is well calculated to impress the officer surprised at Paul's Greek education.

21:39 The claim to citizenship of a Greek city is unusual in a Jew, and possible only where a special constitution made a body of Jewish citizens possible. There are indications that the refoundation of Tarsus by Antiochus Epiphanes had created such a situation.⁷⁵

22:1-16 The speech, delivered in Aramaic, stresses suitably those elements in Paul's background and experience which communicated with a Jewish audience in Jerusalem.

22:28 The tribune's *nomen*, Claudius (see 23:26) implies that he gained the citizenship under Claudius, when it was commonly bought for money, as indicated here. Dio says it became cheapened during the reign, and this accords with the possibility that a sarcastic edge should be seen in the tribune's remark, an implication made more explicit in the Western version.⁷⁶

22:28 Paul's Tarsian citizenship evidently means that his family had been long settled in Tarsus and were presumably of standing there. It has been suggested that Pompey, Caesar, Antony and Augustus were all likely to have given Roman citizenship to some important Tarsians (CSP, p. 198), and an ancestor of Paul may have benefitted from such grant, but we have no means of knowing the circumstances. There are preserved many military *diplomata* authenticating

⁷⁴ It is sometimes argued in Josephus' defence that the Greek numeral Δ (4000) could have been confused with Λ (30,000), whether in manuscript transmission or in Josephus' own transcription. In view however of his vagaries elsewhere I doubt the need to harmonize him with Luke.

⁷⁵ See Ramsay, CSP, pp. 161ff. The implication that some Jews were known to have been citizens of Tarsus underlies the dilemma put to Titus by Apollonius of Tyana, according to Philostratus (*Vita Ap. Ty.* 6.34). The possibility of Jewish citizenship in a Greek city has sometimes been denied absolutely because of the religious difficulty. Thus W.W. Tarn and G.T. Griffith, *Hellenistic Civilisation* (London: Edward Arnold, 3rd edn, 1952), pp. 221-22 explain Paul's status as of 'isopolity', or 'potential citizenship', which could only be exercised practically at the cost of apostasy. V. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews*, tr. S. Applebaum (Philadelphia and Jerusalem: Jewish Publication Society of America and Magnes Press, 1966), pp. 309-32 deals almost entirely with Alexandria, but is likewise sceptical about Jewish citizenship elsewhere, while recognizing varieties of status. Cf. E.M. Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule* (Leiden: Brill, 1981), pp. 286-88. That such citizenship was possible on occasion is confirmed by the inscriptions of the synagogue at Sardis (L. Robert, *Nouvelles inscriptions de Sardes* [Paris: Librairie D'Amérique et D'Orient, 1964]: No. 14, p. 55, where a Jew is Σ[α]ρδ[ι]ανὸς[ς] βουλευ[τ]ής; cf. Nos. 13, 16, 17). Sardis, like Tarsus, is likely to have owed this situation to a Seleucid constitution.

⁷⁶ See Dio 60.17.5-7; Bruce, *Acts*, p. 407 and D, p. 170 below.

the discharged soldier's claim to citizenship, but it remains uncertain how a hereditary citizen could document his case.⁷⁷

22:29 The tribune is impressed with Roman rather than Tarsian citizenship, and afraid of the consequences of having abused a Roman.

23:2 Ananias as high priest is correct for the ostensible date.

23:6ff. The prominence of the Sadducees as the focus of opposition stands apart from both the Gospel traditions of Jesus' controversies with the Pharisees and from the decline of the Sadducee party after 70, but fits what seem to have been the theological politics of this time.⁷⁸

23:24 The governorship of Felix is correctly linked to the ostensible date. The term here used is the general word ἡγέμων, the formal Latin title of these governors of Judaea being *procurator* or *praefectus*.

23:31 Antipatris was the natural stopping-point on the way to Caesarea, whether reached via Lydda or by the hills through Gophna. The section from Antipatris to Caesarea is now documented.⁷⁹ In mainly Gentile country at a distance from Jerusalem the large guard ceased to be necessary.

23:34 Felix's acceptance of a case involving a man from Cilicia is significant, for this, like Judaea, was subject to the legate of Syria at this period.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ For the registration of citizen births after the laws of AD 4 and AD 9 see Bruce, *Paul*, pp. 39-40, and the full discussion of citizenship in *RSRL*, pp. 146-62.

It is remarkable that Paul's full name is unknown to us. He must have possessed the characteristic Roman *tria nomina*, but these would not have been used in the Greek and Jewish contexts of his travels, and only as a formal and official Roman designation. If any of the speculations about his family are justified, it is possible that he was Cn. Pompeius Paulus, C. Julius Paulus or M. Antonius Paulus. See now C.J. Hemer, 'The Name of Paul', *TB* 36 (1985), pp. 179-83.

⁷⁸ Cf. I.H. Marshall in *Apostolic History and the Gospel*, ed. Gasque and Martin, pp. 96-98.

⁷⁹ See S. Dar and S. Applebaum, 'The Roman Road from Antipatris to Caesarea,' *PEQ*, 105 (1973), pp. 91-99. This branched from the direct route northwards through the inner Sharon plain at modern Qalansawa, thus avoiding most of the difficult, sandy oak-forest. Two milestones, one inscribed but undated, of perhaps 2nd-3rd AD, some stretches of the alignment, and pottery of Hellenistic as well as Roman date, have been found. It is unnecessary to follow Haenchen's hyper-literalistic requirements as a ground for supposing that Luke 'has only an inaccurate conception of the geography of Palestine' (p. 648). An attempt to measure on a map the Roman road distance from Jerusalem to Antipatris (via Lydda) gives c. 35 (English) miles, as compared with 37 (Marshall), 40 (Haenchen), 45 (Hanson). There is no need to insist that the infantry escort went all the way to Antipatris or that more mobile units returned thence without rest and provision.

⁸⁰ See *RSRL*, pp. 55-57; cf. E, p. 180.

24:1-9 Sherwin-White cites Mommsen's opinion of Paul's trial as 'an exemplary account of the provincial penal procedure *extra ordinem*'.⁸¹ The details highlighted in the following items illustrate this judgment.⁸²

24:1 (cf. 23:35) Felix awaits the arrival of private accusers from Jerusalem before the case comes to formal trial.

24:1 The accusers here employ an advocate, but no mention of an advocate is made in the appearance before Festus (25:7). In imperial *cognitiones* before Trajan, the parties appear with or without advocates as they please.⁸³

24:3 (cf. 23:26) κράτιστος is the correct form of address to the procurator, as a man of equestrian rank.

24:5 The charges are what Cadbury terms 'constructive'.⁸⁴ Since Roman authorities would take no cognizance of Jewish religious controversy, the complaints are presented in terms which Felix could be induced to construe as political. Such a type of charge is said to be normal in this type of procedure.⁸⁵ The original charge and original accusers are tacitly dropped at this stage.⁸⁶

24:10 Paul's statement that Felix had ruled this people for many years accords with his having ruled Samaria under Cumanus, and so having held office for eight or nine years altogether, a lengthy span for an imperial official, and sharply contrasted with the annual tenure of the senatorial proconsul (cf. D, p. 172).

24:14ff. Paul's defence stresses that the accusations are purely religious. He is a worshipper of the 'ancestral' God, and is called in question before the Sanhedrin about the resurrection, a matter on which he stands with the mainstream Pharisees.

24:19 It is a sharp tactic to bring up the absence of the original accusers, for Roman law was strong against accusers who abandoned

⁸¹ *RSRL*, p. 48.

⁸² There is an inevitable difficulty in communication here when Haenchen can write 'All our troubles are removed if, with Wendt, Bauernfeind and Dibelius, we resolutely interpret the speeches as Lucan compositions' (p. 657). His critical procedure throughout the scene does not consider the possibilities that the ostensible narrative could be assessed in terms of Roman practice.

⁸³ Pliny *Ep.* 4.22 [without]; 6.31 [with]; cited in *RSRL*, p. 49.

⁸⁴ *BC* 5.306; cf. *RSRL*, p. 50.

⁸⁵ *RSRL*, pp. 14, 17-23, 51.

⁸⁶ Sherwin-White, *RSRL*, p. 51, draws attention to a striking parallel with Claudius' letter to the Alexandrians, where the emperor threatens politically troublesome Jews κοινὴν τ(ε)λευτὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης νόσον ἐξεγείροντας (Smallwood, *Documents Gaius, Claudius and Nero*, No. 370, lines 99-100). He explains the parallel as a case of Acts using contemporary language, precisely the charge to bring against a Jew under Claudius or the early Nero.

their charges.⁸⁷ These details all argue specific familiarity with the procedures, and are naturally explained by Paul's situation rather than as editorial creations.

24:24 Felix's knowledge of 'the way' (24:22) may be related to his marriage to the Jewish Drusilla. For the circumstances (and approximate date) of this marriage see Jos. *Ant.* 20.7.2.141-43 (cf. D, p. 172).

24:27 The name 'Porcius Festus' agrees precisely with that given by Josephus (*Ant.* 20.8.9.182).

24:27 While we hesitate to use imputed motives as a factor in argument, it is worth noting that Felix needed to conciliate the Jews of Caesarea, who immediately went to Rome to accuse him.⁸⁸

24:27 On the likely chronology,⁸⁹ these 'two years', interpreted as the duration of Paul's imprisonment, represent the period 57-59, and suit a change of procuratorial coinage to be related with some plausibility to the coming of Festus (cf. D, pp. 171, 173).⁹⁰

25:5,6 Festus insists on acting in due form, appearing formally on his tribunal (βῆμα), and acts with the assistance of his *consilium* (συμβούλιον 25:12), so that his decision is shown to have legal effect.⁹¹

25:9-10 The suggestion of a trial in Jerusalem reveals that Festus is under pressure to conciliate Paul's opponents. The only damaging count for the Roman is political, but the alleged evidence for that is theological. The Jewish authorities have no jurisdiction anyhow in the only charge which concerns Festus.

25:11 The right of appeal for Roman citizens (*apellatio* and *provocatio* having become virtually identical under the Early Empire) would usually be used against a contrary verdict, but might be exercised at any earlier stage of the proceedings, as here, where the circumstances of the investigation were likely to be prejudicial and dangerous.⁹²

⁸⁷ *Destitutio*, RSRL, p. 52.

⁸⁸ Jos. *Ant.* 20.8.9.182; cf. RSRL, pp. 53-54.

⁸⁹ This is subject to debate: see Chapter 6 below.

⁹⁰ Thus Cadbury, *The Book of Acts in History* (London: A. & C. Black, 1955), pp. 9-10. The series in question bears obv. LE KAICAPOC around palm-branch and rev. NERΩNOC inside olive-wreath (*BMC Palestine*, Procurators under Nero, Nos. 1-28, with minor variations and imperfections). All this group is dated LE (ἐτος ε'), the fifth year of Nero extending from October 58 to October 59 and including the probable time of Festus' arrival in (early) summer 59. The procurators are never named on this coinage.

⁹¹ Bruce, *Acts*, p. 430; RSRL, pp. 48-49.

⁹² See Schürer-Vermes-Millar 1 [1973], p. 369, cf. Schürer 2.2.278, and literature cited. The difficulties outlined by Haenchen (*Acts*, pp. 667-70) are not substantial when the case is seen in legal terms with due regard for the complexity of the

25:13 The visit of Agrippa II, whose kingdom had been recently extended (in 56) to include part of Galilee, and his notorious sister-consort Bernice, sister also of Felix's wife Drusilla, is entirely timely and natural, the neighbouring king paying his respects to the new representative of Rome (cf. D, pp. 173-74).

25:18 The bewildered Festus, after his vindication of Roman justice, declares the charges, unrelated to any misdemeanours ὧν ἐγὼ ὑπενόουν, 'of which I could take cognizance', reflecting the legal formula *de quibus cognoscere volebam*.⁹³

25:26 ὁ κύριος became a characteristic form of reference to the emperor from the time of Nero, here taking up the more formal preceding τὸν Σεβαστόν (25:25); cf. E, p. 180.

26:1ff. The literary characteristics of this speech show selection and exclusion which may be related to Paul's situation before Agrippa. The pious Jew Ananias, for instance, who figures prominently in the Jerusalem conversion speech of Acts 22, is not mentioned here. The general point is made here in the consciousness that others would strongly deny the appropriateness of the speech to Paul's, rather than Luke's, situation.⁹⁴

forces at work. It is not, for instance, a problem that Luke does not associate Paul's appeal here with his Roman citizenship. His citizenship is known to the reader, and it was unnecessary to explain the connection in a time when it was a commonplace. Haenchen concedes (p. 669) that there is no adequate ground for suspicion that the appeal is unhistorical; rather it was a piece of authentic tradition to serve as a nucleus for the story. Its 'contradictions are immediately resolved if we consider the Lucan narrative no longer as a court minute but rather as a suspense-laden narrative created by the author'. But this 'solution' is more difficult than the purported problem. The most helpful discussion of the question of appeal in its bearing on Acts is *RSRL*, pp. 57-70. Many of the problems previously highlighted by Mommsen, Cadbury and others are met by the view of A.H.M. Jones that the right of appeal for citizens facing capital charges was absolute in cases *extra ordinem*, that is, outside the sphere of fixed, statutory offences and prescribed penalties, and that that distinction applied specifically in the Julio-Claudian period (cf. Jones, 'I Appeal Unto Caesar', *Studies in Roman Government and Law* [Oxford: Blackwell, 1960], pp. 53-65, esp. p. 57; and below pp. 180, 214). The work of Jones and Sherwin-White in this area suggests that much contained in the commentaries is seriously dated and erroneous.

⁹³ *RSRL*, p. 50.

⁹⁴ Haenchen's discussion, and his use of Auerbach, are unhelpfully simplistic. (p. 679). He supposes that realism in antiquity was appropriate only to middle or lower types of style intended as comedy or entertainment, but 'in Acts he sought to reach the heights of ancient historical writing', and could only show the significance of the scene by making Paul confront the great princes of his day. This argument needs to be questioned at several levels. (1) Auerbach's theory of the relation between 'realism' and levels of style in classical literature is itself based on a paradigmatic use of extremely contrasting literary styles (Petronius and

26:32 The innocent man could have been released if he had not appealed. The pluperfect here is significant as implying that this act of Paul had placed him in an irrevocable position. The compulsion was not so much strictly legal as political, a matter of the emperor's *auctoritas* in relation to his subordinates. Festus could scarcely venture publicly to short-circuit a case formally arrogated to Caesar's decision.⁹⁵

27:1 The unit to which Julius belonged cannot be certainly identified, as the honorary title Σεβαστή = *Augusta* may have had multiple reference.⁹⁶

Tacitus), and makes no allowance, for instance, for the complex diversity within ancient historiography (see Chapter 3 above). (2) Auerbach acknowledges a different, pre-classical paradigm, but again based on a questionably simplistic contrast between Homeric and Old Testament narratives, and stresses that the New Testament, and the Gospels in particular, provide an extreme counter example, a serious, unrhetorical, vernacular writing largely untouched by rules of style (*Mimesis*, tr. W.R. Trask, Princeton University Press, 1968, pp. 40-49). (3) There is a problem of definitions. 'Realism' might be 'fictional verisimilitude', as certainly in the case of Petronius' romance; it is not *simpliciter* the touchstone of historical reliability. Haenchen often requires inappropriate criteria of a historical narrative, completeness of logically presented circumstantial detail (which may not be available). But a narrative which fulfilled his conditions might well in fact be fictional, in the manner of Petronius or Defoe. (4) Haenchen makes a partial and unrepresentative use of Auerbach, who recognizes, albeit sometimes concessively, something of the diversity of the phenomena. Thus in Absalom's rebellion and David's last days 'the contradictions and crossing of motives ... have become so concrete that it is impossible to doubt the historicity of the information conveyed' (*Mimesis*, p. 20). Again, 'It was the story of Christ, with its ruthless mixture of everyday reality and the highest and most sublime tragedy, which had conquered the classical rule of styles' (*Mimesis*, p. 555). (5) Auerbach's treatment of ancient historiography is questionable at some points, where for instance he links the limits of 'antique realism' with limits of 'historical consciousness' (*Mimesis*, p. 40; cf. pp. 32-33, 38ff.). It is not necessarily 'rhetorical', and the lack of interest in, say, economic causation proves not an absence of historical consciousness but at most a different assessment of historical priorities.

⁹⁵ *RSRL*, pp. 64-65.

⁹⁶ The specific presence of a cohort with this title in the army of Syria/Judaea in the first century is attested in *ILS* 2683 = *CIL* 3.6687, found in Venice but attributed to Berytus (Beirut), giving the career of a prefect 'cohort(is) Aug. I' under Quirinius (after AD 6), and again in *IGRR* 3.1136 = *OGIS* 421, referring in fragmentary context to an ἑπαρχος—? | σπειρης Αὐ[γούστου] (from Eitha in Batanaea [Transjordan] under Herod Agrippa II).

Alternative possibilities are (1) that this was a colloquial name for a unit of imperial officer-couriers (the later *frumentarii*): thus Ramsay, *SPTR*, pp. 314-15, following Mommsen; (2) that this was one of the cohorts of 'Sebasteni', several times mentioned in Josephus, a force consisting of five cohorts (σπείραι) and one squadron of cavalry (ἄλῃ = *ala*) and forming a large part of Agrippa I's garrison

27:2 Ἀδραμυττηνῶ: the name occurs in varied spellings, and Westcott and Hort read Ἀδραμυττηνῶ (AB 33 boh arm).⁹⁷ The ship was a coaster, presumably bound for its home port in Mysia. It would be natural for Julius to find a ship bound for Rome in one of the Lycian ports used by the Alexandrian corn-fleet.

27:4 This time, in contrast with the eastward voyage (21:3), they sailed in the lee of Cyprus, a course dictated by the prevailing west or northwest winds of summer in the Levant. Their coasting passage was assisted by local on-shore and off-shore breezes, and by the westerly trend of the currents along the south Anatolian coasts. Such considerations at least reflect experience of the climatic conditions of this voyage. The Western authorities again add 'fifteen days' as the duration of this voyage, a plausible time in adverse conditions, and suitable to the accumulating delays of the passing season but not to be favoured as original.⁹⁸

27:5 The common article bonding 'Cilicia' and 'Pamphylia' here may be taken to reflect a unitary concept, of one sea-area bordering what we should term the south coast of Asia Minor. The point is slight, and may be insignificant, even accidental, but is apt to the instinctive nuance of an accurate mind writing from experience, if we

in Caesarea (Jos. *Ant.* 19.9.2.365-66), amounting altogether to some 3000 men (cf. Jos. *BJ* 2.3.4.52), and named from their having been recruited at Sebaste (Samaria): thus Schürer-Vermes-Millar 1.363-64 = Schürer 1.2.53. The difficulty here is that 'Augusta'/'Sebaste' is an honourable title, ostensibly quite different from the ethnic origin of the name of these cohorts; Schürer is driven to posit a hypothetical *cohors Augusta Sebastenorum* as one of the five. In any case his epigraphical examples of a *cohors* or *ala Sebastenorum* are of doubtful relevance: *ILS* 2738 = *CIL* 8.9358, *CIL* 8.9359, and *EE* 5 (1884), p. 469, No. 1000 = *ILS* 1436 are all perhaps much later, the two former not earlier than Hadrian, and all are of Caesarea in Mauretania, not of Caesarea in Palestine. The only case referring to a cohort (*CIL* 3.2916 = *CIL* 3.9984), mentioning *coh. I Sebastenorum*, is undated and from Iader (Zara) in Dalmatia. If any of these, or an example from Timgad in Numidia (*EE* 5 [1884], p. 390, No. 699, probably of M. Aurelius) refer to the same units, they imply that they were stationed in North Africa or Dalmatia at a very different date, and are of scant value for the Josephus passages, and less for Acts. Both alternative explanations are built on supposition, and it seems probable that Julius' unit was the one noticed in the text, especially if we may assume its presence in Palestine or Syria through the period from Quirinius to Agrippa II. But we need to recognize that our information is fragmentary.

⁹⁷ So Bruce, *Acts*, p. 452 though he now prefers τττ. Cf. *Adrymetion* (Pomponius Mela 1.18.91; ἐν Ἀτραμυ(τ)ίῳ): A. Plassart, 'Les inscriptions de Delphes. La liste des théorodoques', *BCH* 45 (1921), pp. 1-85, 2nd BC, esp. p. 8, col. I D (a) 14.

⁹⁸ Metzger, *Textual Comm.*, p. 497, probability {B}; cf. section H, p. 199 below. Lucian, *Navig.* 7 gives nine days as the duration of a voyage from Sidon to the Lycian coast (περιπεσόβιας δεκάτη ἐπὶ Χελιδονέας).

admit that possibility.⁹⁹

27:5 The spelling of the name 'Myra' varies in the manuscripts, and the UBS text prefers Μύρα (byz) against Μύρρα (B),¹⁰⁰ otherwise unattested. In either case the form is a neuter plural, as with Patara (21:1).

27:6 Myra, like Patara again, was a principal port for the Alexandrian corn-ships, and precisely the place where Julius would expect to find a ship sailing to Italy in the imperial service. Its official standing here is further illustrated by the Hadrianic granary.¹⁰¹ Myra was also the first of these ports to be reached by a ship arriving from the east, as Patara had been previously from the reverse direction.

27:7 The slow passage to Cnidus was made in the face of the typical northwest wind (see Smith, *Voyage*, pp. 75-76). The expression may reflect mounting impatience and anxiety at continuing delays if the wind-force were greater than average, necessitating perhaps extensive tacking where they could not sail close enough into the wind.

27:7 They sailed in the lee of Crete. The assumption is often made that the normal course would have passed directly across the Aegean, north of Crete. Smith (pp. 75-76) is evidently right that this indirect route was forced on the ship by strong northwest winds, but this was in fact the normal direction, and the ship's response likewise normal. Luke's experience of the outward voyage had been direct and rapid before favouring winds. L. Casson seems now to have shown decisively how the return was dictated by weather conditions, and also the disparity in time between eastward and westward journeys.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ Again, the treatment of the article with proper names seems to be misconceived in Blass-Debrunner-Funk, §261(6). Cf. n. 72 above.

¹⁰⁰ The possibilities of radical error are illustrated here by the early corruption 'Lystra' for 'Myra', presumably arising through dittography from the adjacent word Λυκίας, but betraying the kind of geographical absurdity from which Acts is so remarkably free (εἰς Λύστραν τῆς Λυκίας A; εἰς Λύστρα τῆς Λικίας B). Such an instance sets in higher relief the notable accuracy of our access to geographical detail in the main text-types of Acts, when such obvious corruptions are set aside. I doubt the suggestion of Breusing that Λύστρα arose from Λίμυρα, supposedly a subsidiary alternative form of 'Myra'. Limyra was a distinct city (cf. e.g. TAM 2.905.XIX C, of Rhodiapolis, where the Λίμυρεις are listed with the other cities of the κοινὸν of Lycia).

¹⁰¹ ILS 5908 = CIL 3.6738, of Andriace, the post-emporium of Myra.

¹⁰² Throughout this section see L. Casson, 'The Isis and Her Voyage', *TAPA* 81 (1950), pp. 43-56; 'Speed Under Sail of Ancient Ships', *TAPA* 82 (1951), pp. 136-48; *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* (Princeton University Press, 1971); cf. B.S.J. Isserlin, 'The Isis and Her Voyage: Some Additional Remarks', *TAPA* 86 (1955), pp. 319-20; L. Casson, 'The Isis and Her Voyage: A Reply', *TAPA* 87

27:7 The passage southwest to Crete and the difficult rounding of its eastern cape again suit the conditions of a strong northwest wind. The name 'Salmonie' is paralleled elsewhere in a slightly different form: Σαλμώνιον τῆς Κρήτης, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ ἐφ' ὃν ἄκρον (Strabo 2.4.3 = 106). Pliny, *NH* 4.12.58, 60, 61, 71 gives the Latin as 'Samonium'. It has been suggested that this, like many names in Southern Crete, is of Phoenician origin, from a root cognate with Hebrew שָׁלוֹם, and aptly describing a refuge from exposure to the wind.¹⁰³ The Phoenician (1956), pp. 239-40 ([Ed.] Now see also G. Kettenbach, *Das Logbuch des Lukas* [Frankfurt, Bern and New York: P. Lang, 1986]). Lucian's dialogue *Navigium* is a most valuable parallel. The ship 'Isis', identified explicitly as one of the Egyptian corn-ships (*Navig.* 1), had been first driven eastward before gales to Sidon, and then followed Paul's route north of Cyprus and along the south coast of Asia Minor to the dangerous reefs of the Chelidonian islands, a few miles east of Myra. A shift of wind to a point south of southwest prevented the usual run to the lee of Crete, and they attempted to cross the Aegean before it reverted to the normal northwest, but again met the adverse etesians and struggled to beat into Piraeus on the seventieth day after leaving Egypt, οὗς ἔδει τὴν Κρήτην δεξιὰν λαβόντας ὑπὲρ τὴν Μαλέαν πλεύσαντας ἤδη εἶναι ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ (*Navig.* 9). Casson stresses that this signifies sailing far south of Malea, not being compelled to round that perilous headland. The appearance of such a ship at Piraeus, or indeed in the Aegean, was exceptional.

Casson's studies of sailing speed and of voyage duration are most instructive. For ships dependent on sail the differences between eastward and westward passages are often enormous. A vessel travelling east could run before a favouring wind directly. The westward course was delayed by the necessity of beating into or tacking into adverse winds nearly all the way, and by the necessity of an indirect route to harness those winds and avoid lee shores. He calculates from surviving narratives an actual speed of 4-6 knots over open water with favouring winds, 3-4 knots when coasting or navigating islands, and 1 1/2 - 2 1/2 knots under adverse conditions. For some actual durations relevant to our present study, he estimates Naples to Alexandria 9-11 days, but Alexandria to Naples 50-70; Crete to Alexandria 3-4, Alexandria to Crete (via Myra) 11-14; Rhodes to Caesarea 3-4, Caesarea to Rhodes 10 (*TAPA* 82 [1951], pp. 145-46). It was actually an acclaimed feature of the imperial peace that 'we may travel at all hours, and sail from east to west' (πλεῖν ἀπ' ἀνατολῶν ἐπὶ δυσμᾶς, Epictetus (ed. Arrian), 3.13.9; cf. *TB* 26 [1975], p. 91).

Isserlin's objection that mediaeval galleys often passed north of Crete, although they relied mainly on sail, is met by Casson's rejoinder that the fact that they had oars available in emergency, and could also sail closer to the wind, made a crucial difference. The point is worth stressing, as the commentators have often assumed that the route north of Crete was normal, and have explained Acts 27 accordingly. In this respect the emergency course of the Isis is the exception. The words μὴ προσεῶντος ἡμᾶς τοῦ ἀνέμου (27:7) need not be given causal force to imply a change of plan. Bruce, *Acts*, p. 454 and Marshall, *Acts*, p. 405 incline to the route north of Crete, where Haenchen, p. 699 follows Casson, but unnecessarily reads a Lukan misconception into the narrative.

¹⁰³ Burchner, 'Salmone, No. 3', *PW* 2.1.1986-1987.

connection may again illustrate the unexpected maritime importance of this forbidding shore, and perhaps help to account for the extreme variety in the transcription of these names.¹⁰⁴

27:8 The locations of 'Fair Havens' and the neighbouring site of Lasea are well attested, though obscure places unlikely to be known to any who had not made such a voyage. Καλοὶ Λιμένες, still known today by a demotic version of the same name, offered two contiguous roadsteads sheltered from the northwest winds, but open to half the compass, and so not an attractive winter harbour, though partly protected by offshore islets.¹⁰⁵ It was the last shelter before Cape Matala, after which the northward turn of the coast would have left the ship fully exposed to the northwest. There was evidently no significant settlement (and there are no remains today), and Luke names the πόλις, to whose territory the roadstead belonged, Lasea, whose discovery some 5 m. east of Fair Havens is described in Smith.¹⁰⁶ The assumption that this place was unknown to other ancient writers is due again to aberrant forms of its name.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ Other renderings of the name include Σαμώνιον in Strabo 10.4.2 = 474; Σαμμώνιον ἄκρον (Ptol. *Geog.* 3.14.1,8); Σαμώνιον, *Stadiasmus Maris Magni*, 318, 319, 355 (ed. C. Müller, *Geographi Graeci Minores*, Paris: Firmin Didot, 1882, I.505, 514), of 1st BC/1st AD; *prom. Samonium* in Pomponius Mela 2.7.112 (early 1st AD); Σαλμωνίδος ἄχρη καρήνου, in Dionysius Periegesis 110 (verse, probably early 2nd AD, GGM II.109); τῆς Σαλμωνίδος ἄκρης, in Schol. ad Dion. Perieg. 109 (GGM II.436); ὑπὲρ Σαλμωνίδος ἄκρης, in Apollonius Rhodius *Argon.* 4.1693 (verse, 3rd BC). The most precise navigational description is given in the *Stadiasmus*: ἀκρωτήριόν ἐστι τῆς Κρήτης ἀνέχον πρὸς βορρᾶν ἐπιπολύ· ἐστι δὲ ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς· ἔχει ὑφορμον καὶ ὕδωρ· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἠφανισμένα (318, GGM, I.505). A number of votive graffiti are preserved from the temple (M. Guarducci, *I. Cret.* 3.7.1-27).

¹⁰⁵ Smith, pp. 84-85 and sketch facing p. 254.

¹⁰⁶ Smith, pp. 259-60, with sketch facing p. 260.

¹⁰⁷ The *Stadiasmus* describes the coast between the better-known city of Lebena and Matala thus: ἀπὸ Λεβήνας εἰς Ἀλᾶς στάδιοι κ'. Ἀπὸ Ἀλῶν εἰς Μάταλαν στάδια τ' (322-23, GGM I.506-507). 'Halae' is taken here to be the same place as Lasaea, and Müller conjectures ν' and π' to make the distances fit. I have not substantiated the supposed equivalence with 'Lasos or Alos' in Pliny *NH* 4.12.59 (BC 4.328; Bruce, p. 454-55; Haenchen, p. 699n.), for the critical apparatus in the Teubner edition of C. Mayhoff does not list 'Alos' among the variants, but the different corruptions 'Lappa' and 'Laspha', and in any case Pliny's 'Lasos' is among the inland cities of Crete, a position unsuitable to the other references, as to the ruins discovered on the shore. The problem is considerably complicated by the number of cities with more or less similar names in other parts of Crete: Lisses, Lyctus, Lato, Lappa, and their numerous overlapping variants which lend themselves to a compounding of confusion. Most of these however may be clearly identified, despite the divergences of the literary authorities and their

27:9 The 'Fast' was the Day of Atonement on 10th Tishri, which we suppose Paul to have observed at Fair Havens. In the year 59 this fell later than in adjacent years, about 5th October.¹⁰⁸ It is notable that the occasion is placed by recall of Paul's Jewish observance, and the fact that the Fast is mentioned rather than the beginning of the Feast of

transmission, and the same holds true of Lasaea. The clearest parallel with Acts is (significantly) in an inscription, a lengthy list of *θεωροδόκοι*, in effect consular representatives of Delphi in hundreds of cities of the Greek world, listed in geographical sequence (Plassart, 'Inscriptions', *BCH* 45 [1921], pp. 1-85). Col. IV, lines 7-10, names consecutively the men *ἐν Γόρτυνι ... ἐν Λεβήνι ... ἐν Λασσαίῳ ... ἐν Φάιστῳ*, a group disposed clockwise in the angle southwest from Gortyn, between the plain of Mesará and the precipitous line of coast terminating in Cape Matala (Lithino). Allowing for varieties of transcription, complicated by the progress of itacism and the peculiarities of different Greek dialects within Crete, this is quite close to Acts, and constitutes a confirmation of the civic status of a place otherwise little known. The name is further attested, in the form 'Lisia' in *Tab. Pent.*, as 16 miles from Cortina (Gortyn, Gortyna; K. Miller, *Itineraria Romana* [Stuttgart: Strecker and Schröder, 1916] col. 1610). Several brief inscriptions have been found at the actual site (*I. Cret.* 1.15. 1-5).

The only two cities of major importance on the eastern half of the south coast of Crete were Hierapytna and Lebena, the latter a centre of Asclepian cult and the principal port of Gortyn the Roman capital city. Inscriptions of the area occasionally reflect maritime interests or the development of travel facilities. A restoration of roads and footways was undertaken under Claudius in the Hierapytna district (*I. Cret.* 3.3.25-29). I have noted also the personal names *Κατάπλους* (*I. Cret.* 3.3.39, of Hierapytna), *Εὐπλους* (*I. Cret.* 3.9.1, E. Crete, of uncertain place) and possibly the fem. *Εὐπλε(ί)α* (*I. Cret.* 2.20.3, of Phoenix; cf. Acts 27:12). The goddess Hygieia, associated with Asclepius at Lebena, there bears the epithets *Σωτήρα Συνοδοιπόρος* (*I. Cret.* 1.17.26A, of Lebena, 2nd-3rd AD). The record there of an Asclepian miracle also involves the *κυβερνήτης* of a ship and mentions a *κατάλυμα* (presumably a lodging ashore), though the fragmentary context precludes clearer understanding (*I. Cret.* 1.17.10). These gleanings are slight in themselves, but gain interest from their collocation on this remote and largely precipitous shore less ostensibly attractive than the north coast save as developed through the exigencies of westward navigation.

Ptol. *Geog.* 3.17.4 does not mention Lasaea, but places Lebena precisely by latitude and longitude behind the headland Leon, close to the ruins of Lasaea, calling it *Λεβήνα ἢ Λεῖα*. There may be some further corruption or confusion here. While Ptolemy is in general an excellent authority, there is a distortion apparent in this district, especially with relation to the inland sites like Gortyn. For his method and its problems, cf. H.S. Cronin, 'Ptolemy's Map of Asia Minor: Method of Construction', *Geographical Journal* 25 (1905), pp. 429-41.

The principal variants here are *λασαια* LPS 5, *λασσαία* B, *λασεα* B81, *λαισσα* B*, *αλασσα* A 181 460 sy^{hm}, *anchis* h, *t(h)alassa* lat *plerique*. The first three are virtually identical in itacistic pronunciation; *anchis* is thought to have arisen from *ἀγχι* for *ἐγγύς*.

¹⁰⁸ Bruce, *Acts*, p. 455.

Tabernacles on 15th Tishri suggests that that date had not yet arrived. A relatively late date for these lunar-based festivals in the year concerned is desirable in accounting for the lapse of time through the following winter (cf. D, p. 174, and G, p. 192).¹⁰⁹

27:11 The principal persons responsible for the ship are designated the ναύκληρος (owner/master) and the κυβερνήτης (pilot), but both defer to the centurion as an imperial officer on a ship contracted to the state service. Paul may have been included in their consultation as a man of standing and experience who had won Julius' respect; he may have offered his advice more informally.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ See W.P. Workman, 'A New Date-Indication in Acts', *ExpT* 11 (1899-1900), pp. 316-19. He stresses the force of καὶ before νηστεῖαν, as applying to a year when the Fast was later than the autumnal equinox, when sailing became dangerous, and so Luke stresses that *two* landmarks of autumn had passed, and this the later. The general force of his argument is convincing, though it might with advantage have been presented a little differently: (1) His focus on the equinox derives from Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* 4.36.2 and 5.23.5, passages referring to Caesar's British campaigns rather than the norms of Mediterranean navigation. Certainly Caesar would have desisted from campaigning and activity in unknown waters before the risk of winter storms, but the regularities of Mediterranean conditions in summer are not applicable, and it would have been better for Workman to base his point on Vegetius *de Re Milit.* 4.39, who says navigation is safe until 14th September, uncertain until 11th November, and then the seas are closed until 10th March. (2) While accepting the force of καὶ νηστεῖαν ('even the Fast was already past'), Workman's argument from comparative dating with the equinox seems a little forced: the reader would hardly have got the point unless primed with the Jewish chronology of that year. But the late incidence of the Fast does best suit the time-sequence of the succeeding winter, and does suit the placing of this scene in October 59 in concurrence with other indications.

¹¹⁰ This simple statement overlies much dispute. I am content to leave my point at the general level of Luke's familiarity with the terminology and functions. Ramsay's picture of the centurion as superior officer taking the professional and other advice of an improvised *consilium* (*SPTR*, pp. 322-25) is illuminating in its portrayal of the essential 'otherness' of Roman practices and structures. Haenchen's criticisms (*Acts*, pp. 699n, 700) are not necessarily relevant here to the question of Luke's accurate knowledge, but they are not well judged in regard to Ramsay's understanding of ναύκληρος and κυβερνήτης, especially in the implication that the meaning of ναύκληρος had shifted from 'captain' to 'owner' since the Ptolemaic period. In the first edition of *SPTR*, to which I refer, Ramsay cites several passages in ancient literature and epigraphy in his discussion, but not the *later* comment of U. Wilcken in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 5 (1913), p. 298, to which Haenchen refers his view. Haenchen's proof-texts for the meaning 'owner' are themselves of early date (*OGIS* 140.7-9, of Ptolemy VIII; and 591.3 of Delos, early 1st BC), and *neither* of them proves his point. Both refer to guilds, the former τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ πρεσβυτέρων ἐργαστῶν, the latter of ἐμπόρων καὶ ναυκλήρων καὶ ἐγδοχέων in Berytus (Beirut). The precise distinction of these terms, and the function of the last (*LSJ* ἐκδοχεύς = 'forwarding agent'), are not

27:12 'Fair Havens' was a poorly sheltered roadstead (cf. on 27:8 above).

27:12 'Phoenix' has been the centre of much debate.¹¹¹ Setting aside the possibility that Strabo 10.4.3 = 475 refers to a different place ('Phoenix of the Lampians') which if rightly placed has no harbour,¹¹² the site must be placed close to Cape Mouros, a rocky projection of the precipitous coast with a bay on either side, the eastern now occupied by the tiny fishing village of Loutro, the western larger and more open, now deserted, but still bearing the name Phineka. Ogilvie shows decisively that in ancient conditions the western bay was safer than it is now, and contained two recessed beaches on the western flank of the headland facing northwest and southwest respectively.¹¹³

settled here. ναύκληρος is not even mentioned in the former text. Conversely, there are many references to ναύκληροι. The fullest study is now Julie Vélissaropoulos, *Les naulères grecs. Recherches sur les institutions maritimes en Grèce et dans l'Orient hellénisé* (Geneva: Droz and Paris: Minard, 1980), though this focuses on the pre-Roman period. See also Casson, *Ships and Seamanship*, pp. 314-16 for the view that the ναύκληρος was 'owner'/'charterer' who sailed with his ship, the hierarchy of officers on board a merchant ship being, according to Artemidorus (*Oneirocr.* 1.35; 2nd A D), ναύκληρος, κυβερνήτης, πρωτεύς, τοίχαρχος, περίνεως. Vélissaropoulos traces the long history of the ναύκληρία as an institution, and insists that it eludes modern definition (p. 48). Its importance, however, declined in the Hellenistic and Roman periods in the very fact of state intervention as 'partenaire privilégié', requisitioning private ships in the public service (p. 4). The ἐγδοχεῖς she defines as *entrepôts*. (p. 108 n. 103). Cf. also the terminology used in inscriptions, e.g. IG 12.8.581A (ἀρχικερδένπορος), 585 (ναύκληρος, προναύκληρος, κυβερνήτης, Thasos).

The usage of both ναύκληρος and κυβερνήτης may be more flexible than is sometimes allowed. The former may, it seems, comprise the functions of owner, master and merchant-contractor, and indeed the term ναυκληροκυβερνήτης is found in the papyri (cf. Cic. *de Inventione* 2.51.154, *dominus navis, cum idem gubernator esset*). In a case such as the present, where the element of official Roman control over a regular contracted fleet is strong, it is possible that ν. and κ. reflect respectively the Latin terms *magister* and *gubernator*. For the special development and organization of the corn-supply service under Claudius, in response to the droughts and famines of his reign (cf. Acts 11:28), see Suet. *Claud.* 18-19. Cf. also the inscription of Phoenix cited below.

¹¹¹ The most valuable discussion is that of R.M. Ogilvie, 'Phoenix', *JTS* n.s. 9 (1958), pp. 308-14.

¹¹² See Ogilvie, pp. 308-309.

¹¹³ Smith (3rd edn) includes testimonies to the harbour of the eastern bay of Loutro: 'it is the only secure harbour in all winds on the south coast of Crete' (pp. 91-92n). His identification however poses difficulty in understanding the phrase κατὰ λίβα καὶ κατὰ χῶρον, which despite his parallels, can only be naturally understood of the west-facing bay. To the range of evidence in Ogilvie we may add the details of latitude and longitude in Ptolemy, to which he refers only

27:12 The form χῶρος (northwest) is taken to be a ἄπαξ λεγόμενον, supposedly a faulty Greek transcription of Latin *caurus* or *corus*. The nomenclature of the winds is a notoriously complex and confused matter, with many duplicates and alternatives in both Greek and Latin. It is strange that the commentators have overlooked the twelve-point wind-rose inscription on a monumental base from Rome (IGRR 1.177 = IG 14.1308) which gives the Latin form *chorus*

implicitly (p. 311). Ptolemy (*Geog.* 3.17.3) reads from the west Ἐρμαία ἄκρα νγιβ λδ [53 1/12° E, 34° N]. Φοινικοῦς λιμήν νγλ' λδ σ' [53 1/2° E, 34 1/6° N]. Φοῖνιξ πόλις νγλιβ' λδ δ' [53 7/12° E, 34 1/4° N]. Hermaea is placed as a westward promontory, and the harbour of Phoenix is then placed 5 minutes south and 5 minutes west of the city. Ancient habitation covered most of the Cape Mouros peninsula behind Loutro, and the port was then clearly on its west side. The place is forbiddingly inhospitable by modern standards. I have seen recent photographs taken by Mr J.P. Stunt from the roadless and precipitous hinterland. Yet two ancient settlements, Aradena and Anopolis, both represented today by places preserving the ancient names, lay immediately behind the coastal heights, the latter a mere mile behind Loutro, and constituting the 'Upper City' with relation to Phoenix.

Ogilvie shows the former existence of two sheltered beaches on the west side, whose bearing gives precise point to the difficult phrase. There is then no need to regard λψ and χῶρος here as a confused conflation of two nautical terms for 'west' (BC 5.343). The note on the winds in BC 5.338-44 is disappointing, especially in its neglect of the crucial epigraphical texts. I take the point that Luke got his information from sailors' speech, but it was much more precise information than the incomplete account of Lake and Cadbury can show. Ramsay (*SPTR*, p. 326) unnecessarily supposed that Luke got a false impression from sailors' description of the eastern bay, and never saw the place himself to correct that impression.

For the site of Phoenix see also *Stadiasmus* 328 (GGM I.507-508): δ πὸ Ἀπολλωνίας εἰς Φοῖνικα στάδιοι ρ' · πόλις ἐστίν· ἔχει λιμένα καὶ νῆσον. Ἀπὸ δὲ Κλαυδίας εἰς Φοῖνικα στάδιοι τ' (for Claudia/Cauda see on 27:16 and p. 142, n. 117 below). The inscriptions are collected in *I. Cret.* 2.20.1-7, and a few fragments are also preserved from Anopolis and Aradena. The only text of any length from Phoenix (*I. Cret.* 2.20.7 = *CIL* 3.3, first published in Smith, p. 261) is of exceptional interest. It is a Latin dedication to Jupiter, to other gods, and to Trajan, by personnel of a wintering ship, the work being supervised by a *gubernator* from Alexandria, and the owner or master is also named, though the term *navicularius/nauculus* is not used. Other remarkable parallels of terminology in this text will be noted on 28:11 below. It is an extraordinarily interesting illustration of several aspects of Paul's voyage, found precisely at the place where the responsible officers would have chosen to winter. It is remarkable that it is not noticed in the commentaries, perhaps because it is not mentioned in *SPTR*, nor in the usual reference works, save for a strangely erroneous entry appended to the new (1979) edition of *BAGD*.

The name 'Phoenix' points again to Phoenician influence on this coast, and reinforces again the sense of its unexpected maritime importance.

for the Greek *λάπυξ* (elsewhere *argestes*, *seiron*, etc.).¹¹⁴ Luke could have taken the name from the speech of seamen, probably a Latin or hybrid patois (cf. *εὐρακύλων* for *euroaquilo*, 27:14 below).

27:13 The south wind was ideal for reaching Phoenix, enabling them to cling to the coast to round Cape Matala, about 4 miles west, and then bear west-northwest across the bay of Mesará, some 34 miles to Phoenix (Smith, p. 97). There is a noted tendency of a south wind in these climes to back suddenly to a violent north-easter, the well-known *gregale*. This would have swept down upon them from the open plain of Mesará, just when they were in the open bay, beyond the shelter of Matala.

27:14 The reading *εὐρακύλων* p⁷⁴ B A B* (*euroaquilo* itar.gig.s vg) is to be preferred to *εὐροκλύδων* P mg Ψ al. Despite the erroneous belief that the word is 'not found elsewhere and therefore suspect', it is an unsatisfactory hybrid neologism mixing Greek and Latin, north with southeast,¹¹⁵ and attested epigraphically on the twelve-point wind-rose incised on a pavement at Thugga in proconsular Africa, which bears the wind-names in Latin only. Beginning from the north and reading clockwise, we have: *septentrio aquilo euroaquilo [vu]lturnus*

¹¹⁴ See further G. Kaibel, 'Antike Windrosen', *Hermes* 20 (1885), pp. 579-624; D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson, 'The Greek Winds', *CR* 32 (1918), pp. 49-56. Lake and Cadbury are surely right in preferring the latter in the matter of the regular disposition of the ancient 12-point scheme in 30° divisions, but this is not the central point here. This arrangement could have been inferred from the epigraphical monuments, which they do not notice, esp. *CIL* 8.26652 (cited below); cf. *IG* 14.1308 here and *IG* 14.906. See my further discussions in 'Euroaquilo and Melita', *JTS* n.s. 26 (1975), pp. 100-11, esp. pp. 102-103.

¹¹⁵ For this objection see A. Acworth, 'Where Was St. Paul Shipwrecked? A Re-examination of the Evidence', *JTS* n.s. 24 (1973), pp. 190-93 (esp. p. 192). Acworth argues for the TR reading *Εὐροκλύδων*, interpreting this as a southeast wind, and reviving an old view that the Melita of Paul's shipwreck was not Malta but Mljet in the Adriatic. A similar case for Mljet has been presented independently by O.F.A. Meinardus, 'Melita Illyrica or Africana; An Examination of the Site of St. Paul's Shipwreck', *Ostkirchliche Studien* 23 (1974), pp. 21-36; cf. 'St. Paul Shipwrecked in Dalmatia', *BA* 39 (1976), pp. 145-47; 'Dalmatian and Catalan Traditions about St. Paul's Journeys', *Ekklesiastikos Pharos* 61 (1979), pp. 221-30. I have responded to Acworth's arguments in the article cited above. Meinardus' work focuses rather on the local traditions of Mljet.

On Acworth's point here we may observe that in this complicated nomenclature of winds and nautical language there is much mutual interpenetration of Greek and Latin formation, translation and transliteration. Thus the aptly parallel hybrid *euroauster* (Isidorus, *Orig.* 13.11.6) occurs in Latin beside the pure 'Greek' *euronotus* (Pliny *NH* 2.46.120; Columella 11.2.42) and *eurus* and *aquilo* are never so far divergent as southeast and north in documents of the Roman period (see *JTS* n.s. 26 [1975], p. 103). The actual example cited from Thugga is in any case decisive against this sort of theoretical objection.

eurus etc. (CIL 8.26652). And although *vulturnus*, often elsewhere the Latin equivalent of *eurus*, is here interpolated, the compound lies between its components, in the position 30° north of east. There is also a partial parallel in Vegetius, *de Re.Milit.* 4.38, who gives *euroborus* in this position as the Latin (!) counterpart of *caecias*. As *boreas* equals *aquilo*, *euroborus* (*euroboreas*) should be exactly equivalent to *auraquilo*.¹¹⁶ We conclude that *auraquilo* is an unusual, but logically formed, nautical term which a traveller is likely to have heard from sailors speaking a Latin or mixed jargon, and precisely apposite to the circumstances of Paul's voyage.

27:16 A square-rigged ancient ship, having no option but to be driven before a gale, finds transient shelter for completing necessary manoeuvres in the lee of the island of Cauda, which lay west-south-west of the likely point of impact of the storm beyond the protection of Cape Matala. The island is thus precisely placed, and correctly named, subject again to orthographic and declensional variants, both in the manuscripts and in other sources.¹¹⁷

27:16 The manoeuvres here described again relate to emergency measures necessary for the safety of the ship in its particular plight.

¹¹⁶ *Euroborus* functions in Vegetius' scheme as the Latin equivalent of *caecias*. Pliny omits to give a Latin rendering of *caecias* (NH 2.46.120), and Seneca knew of no name for it in Latin (*Apud nos sine nomine est, Quaest.Nat.* 5.16.4), and it is elsewhere confused with winds of different bearing. Thus *caecias* is (surprisingly) the cardinal east in Seneca, but north of east in Vegetius; yet in IG 14.1308 it is equated with *vulturnus*, though *vulturnus* in turn is placed by Aulus Gellius 2.22 even south of *eurus* and next to *notus* at the cardinal south. *Euraquilo* (*euroboreas*), for all its rarity, fills an acknowledged gap in the system of nomenclature in the position 30° north of east.

¹¹⁷ *καυδα* *RCorr* vg sy^p; *κλαυδα* *RC(A)81* vg^{codd} sy^h sah boh *κλαυδην* LPS^ς. The *Stadiasmus* has *Κλαυδία* at 300 stades from Phoenix (pp. 139-40, n. 113), and adds that the island possessed a city and a harbour. Ptolemy (*Geog.* 3.17.8) lists it as *Κλαυδός νήσος* among the islands off Crete, and also says it had a city, giving it a position on his reckoning at 52 1/2° E 34° N, a dislocation northwest, too near the west end of Crete. Pliny (NH 4.12.61) mentions an island *Gaudos* off Crete, but locates it off Hierapytna in the southeast, some 90 miles east of the true position of our island. Other versions of the name include *Caudos* (Pomponius Mela 2.7.114); *Καυδός* (attributed to Strabo 17.3.22 = 838; a dubious reading); and *Καυδῶ* (Suidas). The best criterion here is that of local documentary usage, the only examples of which are early and dialectal. There is extant from the island a dedication to *Δι Καυδίοι* (*I. Cret.* 2.7.1, of c. 3rd BC) and a treaty document from Gortyna (*I. Cret.* 4.184) refers to *τοῖς τὰν Κα[υ]ίδων Φοικίονσι* (lines 4-5), *τὸνς ἐν Καυδοῖ Φοικίονταυς* (lines 8-9), etc. (early 2nd BC).

An original 'Caud-' may well have become corrupted or been deliberately changed to the imperial 'Claud-'. It is significant to contrast the incidental accuracy of a personal record in its implications for the location of the island with the vagaries of the literary geographers.

First, the ship's boat was hauled in. It was normal practice in less extreme weather to tow it behind the ship, but that became dangerous in a storm. σκάφη, itself a good Greek word, here probably reflects the use of its Latin borrowing *scapha* as a technical term for such a boat (Caesar *Bell. Gall.* 4.26.4, etc.) where later Greek usage preferred ἐφορκίς or ἐφόρκιον (Strabo, Plutarch, Philostratus, *et al.*).¹¹⁸ The difficulty of bringing in the boat was no doubt due to its being waterlogged.¹¹⁹

27:17 There has been considerable debate over the precise manner of this procedure of 'undergirding the ship', but it is sufficiently clear that the point was to hold together and reinforce the hull against the battering of the waves across what must inevitably be a long traverse of open sea.¹²⁰

27:17 The phrase χαλάσαντες τὸ σκεῦος is another that has been subject to varied interpretation. The best understanding is still probably that of Smith (pp. 110-11). All superfluous sail and rigging was taken down, and only a minimal storm-sail retained, as necessary to keep the ship steady. It is likely that Luke reports this action without a seaman's appreciation of its navigational importance.¹²¹ Smith

¹¹⁸ See Casson, *Ships*, pp. 248 n. 93, 399; cf. Acts 27:30.

¹¹⁹ Smith, p. 106.

¹²⁰ See the discussion by Cadbury, 'Υποξώματα', *BC* 5.345-54. The question hinges partly on the meaning given to βοηθεῖαι. Assuming that the participle ὑποζωννύσας is not used in a merely general sense, of 'preparing (warships) for action' (Polybius 27.3.3), we may note four suggested views: (1) exterior cables transversely round the bottom of the hull; (2) exterior cables longitudinally round the hull from bow to stern on either side; (3) transverse interior braces across the hold; (4) lengthwise interior, a 'hogging truss'. While Cadbury inclines to (4), I prefer (1), the procedure known as 'frapping': the literal force of the verb inevitably suggests the passing of a brace underneath the hull, and this action seems feasible during a brief respite from the full force of the weather, whereas a lengthwise bracing in such conditions was scarcely practicable (Smith, pp. 106-108; Ramsay, *SPTR*, pp. 329). The βοηθεῖαι are then probably the ὑποξώματα, the cables carried on board for this purpose in emergency, their use here being expressed in the verb; they are not 'nautical expedients' in general, nor props to tighten an internal brace, nor need the word be emended to βοελαίς, 'ropes of ox-hide' (S.A. Naber, 'Nautica', *Mnemosyne*, 23 [1895], pp. 267-69). Casson, *Ships*, p. 91 (and n. 74) argues for (2), citing J.S. Morrison and R.T. Williams, *Greek Oared Ships 900-322 BC* (CUP, 1968), pp. 294-98. This however remains indecisive, for their account is directed to the preparatory work done at the launching of oared warships for action, not to a storm-emergency on a sailing merchantman at sea, when different necessities and possibilities were operative.

¹²¹ The word σκεῦος is of debated meaning here, and has been altered in syP and some miniscules into τὰ ἱστία or other reinterpretations, perhaps representing a Western tradition where D is deficient. The question may be put whether it is an

brings out the significance of laying the ship to on a starboard tack, with its right side pointed into the wind, to make as much leeway as possible northward of the natural line of drift, and so away from the Syrtis (below). To do this was a necessity of prudent seamanship, and the sequel shows it was managed with success.

27:17 A ship driven by a persistent east-northeast from this area was in danger of reaching a lee-shore on the coast of Cyrenaica, off which 'the Syrtis', an extensive zone of shallows and quicksands, formed a notorious navigational hazard and inspired an obsessional fear constantly mentioned in first-century literature.¹²² Acworth's objection that σύρτις denotes, not this danger, but a sandbank between two entrances to the harbour of Phoenix, must be rejected.¹²³

27:18-19 The ship was lightened. They began to jettison the cargo (cf. 27:38) and 'the spare gear',¹²⁴ presumably all that was not now essential to survival. Smith supposes the main-yard, an immense spar requiring the efforts of all to cast overboard.¹²⁵

informal, a technical or a collective/comprehensive term. It is perhaps the last, like the Vulgate *vas*. There is record of a ship's officer entitled σκευοφύλαξ in a papyrus letter (SB 8.9780, of mid 3rd BC), which Casson (*Ships*, p. 400) renders 'guard of equipment and gear', cf. *LSJ*.

¹²² Cf. e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 1.111, 146, etc.; Tibullus 3.4.91; Propertius 2.9.33, etc.; Horace *Odes* 1.22.5, etc.; Ovid *Metam.* 8.120; Strabo 17.3.20 = 835-36; Sen. *Hippol.* 569-70; Lucan, *Phars.* 1.367, 499, 686, etc. *passim*; Valerius Flaccus *Argon.* 7.86; Pliny *NH* 5.4.26; Silius Italicus *Pun.* 17.634.

¹²³ (1) 'Syrtis' is properly a geographical name, not a common noun for 'sand-bank', which is ἄλς. (2) There is no evidence for the supposition that a sandbank at Phoenix caused a hazard. Though the shoreline is now evidently much changed in detail through seismic uplift, the approaches would have been deep, probably deeper than now (Ogilvie, pp. 312-13). (3) The application of σύρτις to a feature at Phoenix is open to the more fundamental objection that it is not even mentioned in the same context as Phoenix, but five verses later when the ship is already in the lee of Cauda. On a natural reading of the text, it is the fear of grounding on the Syrtis which prompted the manoeuvre off Cauda. But if the ship were already driven west of Cauda, it was already too far west to reach the Cretan coast as far east as Phoenix on any easterly wind. (4) The distance to the Syrtis is no problem, for the wind, if rightly interpreted here, would drive the ship straight towards it if they took no precaution.

The fear of the Syrtis is conversely decisive in support of the wind direction also (cf. *BC* 5.344). It blew 'down from' Crete (κατά + gen.), an offshore wind, not 'against' Crete, as Acworth argues, κατά commonly means 'against' in a metaphorical, not a literal, sense. See my full discussion and the parallels in *JTS* n.s. 26 (1975), pp. 104-105 and p. 104n. This wind was funneled down a lowland basin to strike them when bereft of shelter. It is not to be understood as coming off the mountains further west.

¹²⁴ Bruce, *Acts*, p. 460.

¹²⁵ Smith, p. 114. Wikenhauser (p. 418) renders σκεῦος in v. 17 as *Treibanker* (sea

27:20 Hope was progressively abandoned as the ship endured longer the buffeting of the waves. The focus of the anxiety was not so much the storm as the state of the ship, and the prospect of foundering at sea. The crisis of despair may have come among the crew when they realized they had probably missed Sicily and could never survive in the vain hope of reaching the Tunisian coast intact.¹²⁶

27:21 Long abstinence from food is a feature plausibly seen to reflect personal experience. Among the contributory causes were probably the impossibility of cooking and damage to provisions and facilities.¹²⁷

27:27 The fourteenth night: in a remarkable calculation, based inevitably on a compounding of estimates and probabilities, confirmed in the judgment of experienced Mediterranean navigators, Smith (pp. 122-26) concluded that at midnight on the fourteenth night the ship, after performing the necessary procedures here described, would have drifted to a point some 21½ miles from the entrance to St. Paul's Bay in Malta. This is of course coincidental, for he has to use arbitrary averages and approximations as the basis for rigid calculation. No doubt it is fortuitous that the errors have so closely cancelled out, but the possibility of showing so remarkable a fit, even in principle, is a striking confirmation of the narrative.¹²⁸

27:27 Adria here evidently means the sea between Crete and Malta, bounded on the northwest by Sicily and the foot of Italy. The anchor) to act as a brake on their drift, citing Plut. *de Garrulitate* 10 (*Mor.* 507a): νεῶς μὲν γὰρ ἀρπαγείσης ὑπὸ πνεύματος ἐπιλαμβάνονται σπείραις καὶ ἀγκύραις τὸ τάχος ἀμβλύνοντες, but notes that Balmer took it of the main yard, as not needed with a storm-sail. Here he renders σκεύη as *die Gesamtheit der Schiffsggeräte*. The crucial objection to the supposition that they dropped a sea-anchor is that their only hope in the open sea was now in a rapid landfall, even on a lee-shore, before the weakened ship foundered with all hands far from land. D.J. Clark, 'What Went Overboard First?' *BT* 26 (1975), pp. 144-46, makes the attractive suggestion of taking ἐκβολὴν ἐποιεῖν as conative rather than inceptive, thus contrasting an implicitly unsuccessful (mechanical) manoeuvre with a manual unloading the next day (v. 19). This gives point to αὐτόχειρες without invoking the variant ἐρρῶμεν. The first part of the supposed antithesis is not however explicit.

¹²⁶ Smith, pp. 114-15; *JTS* 26, pp. 107-108.

¹²⁷ Smith, pp. 115-17.

¹²⁸ The most serious error of principle in Smith's work consists in his treatment of the term *europa* as denoting east-northeast in the modern, 16-point sense rather than E 30° N on the 12-point scheme. As however he estimates, on independent corroborating criteria, that the actual bearing of the wind was slightly north of east-northeast, actually east-northeast 1/4 N, or about E 28° N, the error is small enough in practice to be absorbed easily into the other imponderables.

sea now called the Adriatic was distinguished as the 'Adriatic Gulf' or 'Gulf of Adria'. Paul, like Josephus at almost the same date (*Vita* 3.15), voyaged across 'Adria', the sector of the open Mediterranean called 'Ἀδρίας' in Ptolemy. Paul's days at sea in the storm were 'in' Adria; he was driven across it and upon a shore at its farthest limit. Such was Malta.¹²⁹

27:27 The sailors recognized that they were near shore. It is not explained how. Smith (pp. 119-22) has a most interesting passage here. If their landfall was indeed at the traditional St. Paul's Bay, which appears otherwise uniquely apt to the topographical indications of the story, he argues that a ship driven from the east must have passed within a quarter of a mile of the low rocky point of Koura, where the breakers are particularly violent in an easterly gale. They would have seen the breaking foam, but nothing of the shore or its configuration.¹³⁰

¹²⁹ Acworth's argument here presupposes that 'Adria' means the 'Adriatic' in the modern sense. While it is only fair to recognize the elusiveness and variability in usage of this, as of many other geographical terms, there is strong and explicit evidence for the use of the word in the Roman period in the manner understood here. In Herodotus it is clearly the Adriatic; many later references are inconclusive or ambivalent. Strabo (5.1.3 = 211) likens the size and shape of 'Adria' to that of the main trunk of the adjacent peninsular section of Italy, and Polybius successively applies κόλπος and θάλαττα without appearing to make the same distinction as later in Ptolemy (Polybius 2.14.4 with 2.16.4). Ptol. *Geog.* distinguishes τὸ 'Ἀδριατικὸν πέλαγος (sometimes just 'Ἀδρίας', 3.4.1 with 3.4.4) from ὁ 'Ἀδριατικὸς κόλπος (or ὁ 'Ἀδριος κόλπος). The 'sea' is the expanse limited explicitly by named places under the foot of Italy (3.1), by Sicily (3.4.1), by the Peloponnese (3.14.1), and by Crete (3.15.1). Crete, he says, 'is bordered on the west by the Adriatic Sea'. It is the whole sea south and west of Greece. Other references could doubtless be added. I have noted Suidas, 'Ἀρέθουσα (ed. G. Bernhardt 1.702); many other instances of the name are given in Wetstein 2.644-45.

¹³⁰ Other suggestions for recognizing land are open to objection. (a) The smells of land would certainly not be carried seaward in a gale blowing from the sea. (b) There is no question of a drift-anchor striking bottom, for this was twenty fathoms deep. In any case we have argued against the supposition that the ship used an anchor to retard their landfall with a breaking ship. (c) It seems less likely in the circumstances that they heard rather than saw the surf, amid the roar of the storm. The breaking of white foam was the *only* visual indication likely on such a night, and its exceptional violence about Koura was at once a plain sign and a source of renewed terror.

This whole scene is interpreted here as related to the traditional location at St. Paul's Bay, for which Smith makes a strong case, and the reality of this setting is implicit in Haenchen (pp. 707-708). I have not seen W. Burridge, *Seeking the Site of St. Paul's Shipwreck* (Malta: Progress Press, 1952), reviewed by J. C(assar) P(ullicino) in *Melita Historica* 1 (1952-55), p. 185. Burridge favours the neighbouring bay of Mellieha, where evidence survives of Roman wrecks; cf. D.H.

27:28 βολίσαντες is precisely the term used for taking soundings.¹³¹ A number of ancient sounding leads have been recovered. They had a hollow on the underside, which was filled with tallow or grease to bring up adhering samples of the sea-bottom (Casson, *Ships*, p. 246).

27:28 The actual soundings offered here correspond closely, according to Smith, with the circumstances of approach to St. Paul's Bay. They would probably have been in near twenty fathoms of water at the point where they became aware of the point of Koura, and fifteen when they became aware of seas breaking on a precipitous shore ahead.¹³² He suggests the interval was perhaps half an hour, corresponding to a suitable $\frac{3}{4}$ mile of driving before the wind. These 'realistic' considerations militate against Conzelmann's treatment of the the number as 'literarisch',¹³³ for Luke would not have stood beside the man sounding.

27:29 Casting anchors from the stern was the right emergency action to take in the circumstances, though exceptional then as now. It prevented the immediate peril of letting the ship swing round broadside to the waves and of being smashed stern first on the rocks. It was all-important that the anchors should hold, and the ground in St. Paul's Bay is 'of extraordinary tenacity'.¹³⁴ Luke was not a seaman and appears to transmit the unusual necessity without technical understanding. Smith shows both that this was a necessary resource for ships of this kind forced on a lee-shore, and also cites a parallel from the *Antichità di Ercolano* illustrating how anchor-cables were attached to the stern.¹³⁵ The first object was to hold the ship from being dashed on the rocks, the second to await daylight in the hope of finding a place to run ashore bow first with some prospect of safety.

27:30 The episode of the sailors lowering the boat is not without

Trump, *Malta: An Archaeological Guide* (London: Faber, 1972), p. 145.

¹³¹ This word has been treated as a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον. See however Casson, *Ships*, p. 390, for the rendering 'heave the lead', and MM's reference to Wetstein, *ad loc.*, who gives five references to Eustathius' commentaries on Homer, with the implication that this was a well-known term in older Greek, though, being a specialized term, it happens not to survive elsewhere in works preserved to us. Thus in discussing the word βόλος Eustathius writes ὁθεν καὶ ῥῆμα σπουδαῖον ἐν χρήσει τὸ βολίζειν, ἥγουν βάθος θαλάσσης μετρεῖν μολιβδίνη καθέτω ἢ τοιῷδε τιῷ (*ad Il.* 5.396, p. 427 ed. Bas. = Vol 2, p. 40 in the Leipzig edition [Weigel; 1825-30]). Cf. *ad Il.* 8.486, p. 615 = Leipzig 2.224; *ad Il.* 9.3, p. 624 = Leipzig 2.233; *ad Od.* 1.155, p. 39 = Leipzig *Od.* 1.40; *ad Od.* 1.424, p. 69 = Leipzig *Od.* 1.72. In Hdt. 2.5 a 'sounding lead' is καταπειρητήρη.

¹³² Smith, pp. 129-30 and chart facing p. 126.

¹³³ Conzelmann, p. 144.

¹³⁴ Smith, p. 130.

¹³⁵ Smith, pp. 131-32.

difficulty. There is no occasion for Haenchen's scepticism here. It was a natural instinct of the sailors to take a desperate chance to save their own lives at any cost to the rest. Haenchen notes that it was a necessary and legitimate proceeding to use the boat to attach an anchor to the bows in these circumstances, for the ship no longer had headway, and the anchor would not have taken hold if merely dropped vertically from the ship. It does not follow from the fact that their action could be given an innocent explanation that the narrative is wrong. Indeed, the command to fix bow anchors may precisely have provided occasion for their desperate betrayal. We may doubt Haenchen's confidence (*Acts*, p. 706) that if they remained on the ship there was no danger to their lives; the ship had taken such a battering that it might break up at any time, and desperate men would find it easier to risk death actively than wait passively. To insist here on Lukan redaction, evidently as glorifying Paul (Haenchen, *Acts*, p. 706n), begs the question whether the events, and Paul's part in them, are historically founded. If the events are better explained at nearer face value, Luke's hand may be seen rather in his preservation of the pertinent facts, without the professional seaman's perspective on them.¹³⁶

27:31-32 The action of the soldiers in cutting away the boat is also open to debate. The safety of the whole party depended on having the skilled hands to work the ship, so it was essential to prevent the sailors' desertion. Whether the soldiers' action was a misunderstanding of Paul's advice which made escape more difficult, is less clear.¹³⁷ I take it that their case was more desperate than being able to wait to send the boat ashore after the storm, and that the captain's intention was to drive the ship bodily as high as possible up a shelving beach if such could be found at dawn. Whether tensions had polarized and exploded between soldiers and sailors is no more than fuel for speculation.¹³⁸

¹³⁶ Thus I take it that he understood the need for stern-anchoring against the visually obvious peril of being dashed immediately on the rocks, but not necessarily the significance of other manoeuvres or the captain's calculations on the best prospect of bringing the ship ashore in safety. It is a more open question, not analysed by Luke, whether he intends us to see Paul here as possessing divinely inspired insight beyond a vigorous confidence in God's promise (17:24) and realism about human nature.

¹³⁷ Bruce, *Acts*, p. 464 *ad loc.*

¹³⁸ Paul's personality had evidently not made a transforming impact on the sailors and soldiers (cf. v. 42), as might have been supposed on Haenchen's picture of an unreal glorification of Paul. Part of the fascination of this narrative lies in his confrontation with the raw violence of passions and near break-down of discipline in men fighting for their lives, suddenly released from a controlled

27:33 Paul's advice to eat is meant to restore calm as well as to strengthen the crew for the tasks ahead. It is not without sense, since they can do nothing more than wait until daylight, but have meanwhile a precarious stability and the first glimmerings of light.¹³⁹

27:37 The number of persons on board the ship: the larger figure of 276 is probably to be preferred to ὡς ἑβδομήκοντα (B sah).¹⁴⁰ This seems at first sight surprisingly large. Josephus (*Vita* 3.15) claims that there were 600 on board the ship on which he was shipwrecked in Adria—but we know that Josephus is prone to exaggerate numbers.¹⁴¹ There is however considerable evidence of the size of larger ships in antiquity, and of the Alexandrian corn-freighters in particular. There is a valuable discussion in Casson, *Ships*, pp. 171-73. He argues that the imperial service preferred to use ships of at least 340 tons, and that giant freighters of perhaps 1300 tons plied between Alexandria and Rome (p. 172 n. 25). Lucian gives the actual dimensions of the 'Isis' (*Navig.* 5) as 120 x 30 x 29 cubits (180 x 45 x 43½ ft), from which Casson infers a figure of 1228 tons on the basis of a keel length of 114 ft.¹⁴² He finds no difficulty in Josephus' complement of 600, and suggests that Paul's 276 were on an off-season sailing, on a

and helpless resignation into a storm of conflicting emotions of hope and terror. Only the brevity and economy of the narrative deter the reader from undue speculation. We may limit comment to suggesting that the bald indications of a psychological realism are present, which derives from experience, not editing.

¹³⁹ Cf. the tradition of Drake playing bowls on Plymouth Hoe, which seems to be attested at an early date. It has been suggested that the English fleet had to await the tide to put to sea, and the admiral's action was calculated to maintain morale through an enforced delay.

¹⁴⁰ It has often been observed that the number 276, written COς after ΠΑΟΙΩ, could give rise, by a simple dittography, to πολλῶ ὡς ος ὡς before a numeral is indeed a characteristic Lukan usage, but is not appropriate here before an exact figure. Ropes (BC 3.247), Bruce (p. 466), Haenchen (p. 707n), Metzger (*Textual Comm.* pp. 499-500, probability {B}), and Marshall (p. 414) concur in preferring '276', though Lake and Cadbury (BC 4.336 *ad loc.*) incline to the B reading. Several other minor variants can be explained as having arisen from an original '276'. The observation of F.H. Colson, 'Triangular Numbers in the New Testament', *JTS* 16 (1915), pp. 67-76, that 276 is the 'triangular number' of 23 (p. 72), is the wrong kind of explanation, inappropriate and unhelpful here, and not to be invoked over the textual question.

¹⁴¹ Josephus' figure seems invariably to be quoted at face-value without raising the hypercritical redactional doubts which are reserved for Luke. Yet Josephus' unreliability in such matters can be demonstrated, and we should not be disposed to accept his testimony as certain merely because it offers a conveniently supportive large figure. It may indeed be right, or not far wrong, but I hesitate to build too simply on him.

¹⁴² Casson, *Ships*, pp. 186-89.

ship which could well have accommodated more.¹⁴³

27:38 To lighten the ship becomes imperative at this stage. There had been a previous lightening of the ship at sea (v.18) when they had begun to sacrifice some part of the cargo, then apparently to prevent the ship being swamped in the storm, but now evidently in the hope of being able to run it as high as possible up a beach. Previously there had been need of ballast. Now everything has to go.¹⁴⁴

27:39 At daylight they made out a creek with a sandy beach. Smith claimed to identify the place exactly from its proximity to a 'place of two seas' (τόπος διθάλασσος, v. 41), which apparently came into view close by only as they neared the coast, an apt description of the hidden channel separating the island of Salmonetta, which would have appeared hitherto a headland attached to the actual shore. According to Smith there were in his day two creeks on the west side of the lay along an otherwise rocky expanse, and though the one close to the 'meeting of two seas' had then no sandy beach, it was likely that this had been worn away by the sea. Its position suits admirably the probable line of approach of a ship now released again to run before an easterly wind, subject to careful steering and manoeuvre.

27:40 Smith (pp. 134, 138-39) explains the significance of the measures described here. When the ship was lightened, the objective selected, and all ready for the final dash to safety, these three actions,

¹⁴³ The 'Isis' is said to have carried enough corn to feed all Attica for a year (*Navig.* 6). Casson (*Ships*, pp. 171-72 n. 23) cites epigraphic evidence from as early as the 3rd cent. BC, when a fragment of the port regulations of Thasos (*IG* 12 Supp. 348, emended *SEG* 17 [1960] 417) divided the harbour into two sections, one to take no ships of less than 300 talents (80 tons), the other nothing less than 500 talents (130 tons). He quotes from the jurist Scaevola (late 2nd AD) a regulation in *Dig.* 50.5.3 exempting from compulsory public burdens ship-owners who have furnished the public service with a vessel of at least 50,000 *modii* (340 tons) or a number of vessels of 10,000 *modii* (68 tons). The calculations about the 'Isis' offered elsewhere are divergent, often vastly large. Casson shows that the length of keel is an essential factor, and he argues this from parallels which are likely to be closest in shape and function.

¹⁴⁴ BC 4.337; Bruce, *Acts*, p. 466. The verb κουφίζω, here only in the New Testament, is widely used of 'lightening' a burden, literal or figurative, but in particular as a nautical term in contexts like the present. Cf. Polybius 20.5.11; Jonah 1:5 LXX. For σῆτον Naber (*Mnemosyne* 9 [1881], pp. 293-94) conjectured ἱστόν (mainmast) for he argues that the cargo had already been jettisoned at v. 18. But the imperfect tense there is inceptive, and a sufficient weight needed to be retained until their present straits dictated the total abandonment of the remainder. In any case the mast was capable of being lowered only on very small boats according to A. Breusing, *Die Nautik der Alten* (Bremen: Schönmeyer, 1886), p. 55, and it could scarcely be felled without critical damage to the breaking ship.

of cutting away the anchors, loosing the bands of the rudder and hoisting the foresail, performed simultaneously, put the ship immediately under control.¹⁴⁵

27:41 The forepart of the ship stuck fast, but the stern began to be broken by the violence of the waves. Smith relates this to the local conditions.¹⁴⁶ The rocks of Malta disintegrate into very fine particles of sand and clay, which form mud in still water, but a tenacious clay where acted upon by surface water movements. So mud is found from below about three fathoms, which is about what a large ship would draw. Paul's ship was likely to have struck mud which quickly graduated into a shelving clay, where the forepart was held fast.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁵ Anchoring from the stern was crucial here, for the ship was facing landward, and ready for the drive ashore. Several rare nautical terms are used here together. The rare word *περιαιρεῖν* is found both here and in 27:20 in different senses, and as a difficult variant in 28:13, where its sense is unclear, unless we may understand *ἀγκύρας* again, and take it of 'weighing anchor' from Syracuse. Smith (pp. 134, 138) takes it that they simply cut the cables, leaving the now-useless anchors embedded in the sea-bottom. The *πηδάλιον* was the 'steering-oar' (Latin *gubernaculum*), only the side-rudder being known in antiquity, but this being remarkably effective in controlling the movement of a great ship: cf. Lucian *Navig.* 6 (Casson, *Ships*, pp. 224, 397). A *πηδάλιον* would have been attached to each side of the stern by a *ζεγκηρία*, which Casson (*Ships*, pp. 228, 402) renders 'pennant-rope'. The *ζεγκηρία* served to lift the steering-oars when the ship was at anchor to prevent them banging about. This move instantly put the steering mechanism into operation. The third manoeuvre was the raising of the *ἀπρέμων* ('foresail', Casson, *Ships*, p. 390). Casson traces the history of this type of sail, as depicted in surviving art. The reference in this case is evidently to a small 'bowspritsail', slanting low over the bows, in order to be capable of being hoisted rapidly, and not give more canvas to the wind than could be controlled in the conditions for a shoreward run. This is the earliest occurrence of the word *ἀπρέμων* in Greek, though it is found in a different sense as a borrowing in Latin in Vitruvius 10.2.9 ('principal pulley', 'main block of a tackle', 1st BC). Its use is described in verse by Juvenal (*velo prora suo*, *Sat.* 12.697, and the scholiast glosses the passage with the actual use of the word *artemo*. It is also restored conjecturally (for *antenna*) in a passage of the elder Seneca (*Contr.* 7.1.2, early 1st AD), another case of a Greek word extant earlier as a Latin loan-word than in Greek.

¹⁴⁶ Smith, pp. 140-41.

¹⁴⁷ The reading *ἐπέκειλαν* (from *ἐπικέλλω*) is to be preferred to *ἐπώκειλαν* LPS₅ (from *ἐποκέλλω*). Both forms are rare, but the former is characteristic of poetry and is found in the *Odyssey*. In either case the meaning is 'run (the ship) ashore'. It has often been observed that this verb is conjoined with the only New Testament occurrence of classical *ναῦς* (for *πλοῖον*: 14 times in this narrative, 67 times in NT), and the phrase is paralleled for instance in Hom. *Od.* 9.148; cf. 9.546 with the simple verb *κέλλω*. It is not clear that this justifies our supposing that Luke knew his Homer, though such a literary background is not unlikely; this in itself may be no more than a traditional tag, even if deriving ultimately from Homer.

27:42 The ruthless action intended by the soldiers appears to reflect the severe liability on guards who permitted a prisoner to escape. Bruce cites Justinian's Code (9.4.4) for the ruling that the guard incurred the penalty which had awaited the prisoner.¹⁴⁸ It thus became a serious matter to guard those accused of capital offences. Cf. also 16:27, and the incident recounted in the closely contemporary Petronius, *Sat.* 112.

28:1 The identity of the island as Melita (Malta) seems to have been established only after landing. This is natural enough when they were cast at night on a low rocky shore some miles from any well-known harbour.

28:2 The significance of βάρβαροι here is that basic to the Graeco-Roman perspective, people unable to communicate in the cosmopolitan languages of the Empire. Punic inscriptions are preserved from Malta, and it is entirely probable that Maltese villagers may not have spoken languages known to the ship's company. It is tempting to see the word as reflecting a wholly unexpected difficulty that the party's first attempts to make contact and discover their whereabouts were frustrated by a language problem.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁸ Bruce, *Acts*, p. 249 ad 12:19.

¹⁴⁹ The Semitic texts have been published in G.A. Cooke, *A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press [1903], pp. 102-107; H. Donner and W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1962), Band I, p. 14, Band II, pp. 76-79 (published in the same volume); *CIS* 1.1.122-32; A.M. Honeyman, 'Two Semitic Inscriptions from Malta', *PEQ* 93 (1961), pp. 151-53, of which the latter is Hebrew, a language unparalleled on Malta. Most of these texts, where datable at all, are earlier than our period. The most interesting of them is the Punic-Greek bilingual which gives examples of alternative names in a Tyrian family: Abdosir = Dionysius and Osirshamar = Sarpion in a dedication to Melkart, the Baal of Tyre, otherwise Heracles Archegetes (*CIG* 5753; *IG* 14.600; *CIS* 1.122; Cooke, pp. 102-103, No. 36; of 2nd BC). The early coinage of Malta, immediately following the Roman occupation in 218 BC, bears a Punic legend $\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{n}$ ('nn), with a variety of types which show a strongly Egyptian character (Head, *HN*, new and enlarged edn, p. 883). A characteristic type is the mummy of Osiris with flail and sceptre, lying between Isis and Nephthys, each with wings crossed in front and wearing a solar disc and horns. Later types exhibit both Greek and Latin legends. On the coins of Gozo the characteristic type is of Astarte, but all are bronze of the 1st BC, inscribed $\Gamma\Lambda\Upsilon\Lambda\iota\tau\omega\mathfrak{n}$. The island of Cossura (Pantelleria), 120m west-northwest, like Malta, combines Semitic legends with Egyptian character in its early issues. (Head, *HN*, pp. 882-83). The meanings of the Semitic words in both cases are unclear. They might be the names of local dynasts or magistrates.

The reading Μελίτη is to be preferred to Μελιτήνη (28:1) (B^*al), which probably arose through dittography with $\eta \nu\eta\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ following (Metzger, *Textual Comm.*, p. 500, probability [B]). The identification of this Melita with Mljet in the Adriatic by Acworth and Meinardus is not to be accepted (see p. 141, n. 115).

28:2 The note of the persistent storm wind ending in cold and rain is again suitable to the *gregale*, and not for instance to warm winds of the 'Sirocco' type from a point nearer the southeast.¹⁵⁰

28:3 There are now no poisonous snakes on Malta, though harmless species are found today. The snake episode is probably open to alternative explanations. It is likely that a noxious creature has disappeared or been exterminated since antiquity, given the fact that Malta is a small, densely inhabited island territory whose original forest cover has gone. Or else the scene, despite the use of the word *ἐχιδνα* may be taken to refer to a non-poisonous snake, possibly *Coronella austriaca*, which looks like a viper and fastens on its victim in the manner suggested by the description. In such a case the natives' reaction may be explained from popular belief that all snakes are poisonous, a notion shared at this date by the learned Pliny (*NH* 8.35.85), or from fear and superstition attached to them. Pliny again (*NH* 8.35.86) retails credulously the idea that snakes will brave every barrier to wreak vengeance on the killers of their mates. The snake as the agent of vengeance (v. 4) was a common idea. The nature of the people's expectation is not analysed. They expected something *ἄτοπον*, whether poisoning or divine visitation. They were impressed by Paul's fearless immunity to whatever powers, natural or supernatural, they supposed the snake to possess.¹⁵¹

28:4-6 The reactions of the local people reflect superstitions of the day, and are treated by Luke with an ironic humour.

28:7 The title *πρῶτος* (τῆς νῆσου) is attested epigraphically. The clear instance is in *IGRR* 1.512 = *IG* 14.601.¹⁵²

28:8 The case of fever may well have been that associated with this island, 'Malta fever', discovered in 1887 to be caused by an endemic

¹⁵⁰ See *EBr* (1945) 14.738.

¹⁵¹ See *JTS* 26 (1975), pp. 109-10.

¹⁵² I have argued elsewhere ('First Person Narrative in Acts 27-28', *TB* 36 [1985], pp. 79-109, esp. p. 100) that the Latin inscription commonly cited in confirmation of the Greek (*CIL* 10.7495.1), and reading: ... *municipi Mel. primus omnium*. must be taken in its (mutilated) context, so far as that can be reconstructed. It seems likely to refer, not to *primus* as a title, but to the honoree as 'first' to perform various benefactions of the kinds fragmentarily listed in the subsequent lines (cf. formulations like *πρῶτος καὶ μόνος*, *IG* 14.737.5, Naples, 2nd AD; or *μόνος καὶ πρῶτος*, *IGRR* 4.1252, Thyatira, 3rd AD). The evidence for magistracies on Malta and Gozo may however be extended. One Latin text from Gaulos (Gozo) records titles closely similar to those of the *πρῶτος* of Malta, but lacking that title, which was presumably reserved for the chief magistrate of the principal island (*patronus municipii, flamen divi Hadriani*, *CIL* 10.7507.1-2). The two islands were under a Roman procurator (*proc. insularum Melit. et Gaul.*, *CIL* 10.7494.1-2).

micro-organism *Micrococcus melitensis*, which infected the milk of the Maltese goats. The phrase πυρέτοις καὶ δυσεντερίῳ is apt to this undulant or enteric fever.¹⁵³

28:11 To sail three months later was very early in the season. We have seen that the Day of Atonement in AD 59 was late (5th October; cf. 27:9). Even if the departure from Fair Havens were still somewhat delayed, the onset of *Euraquilo* and the drive past Cauda was a matter of hours, and if they reached Malta on the morning following the fourteenth night, the shipwreck can scarcely have been later than late October. Even if the days of hospitality and settling into winter-quarters are not included in the three months the departure can scarcely have been delayed beyond early February. This sequence is easier to accommodate to the winter 59-60, when the Fast was late, than to any of the neighbouring years, and this provides an additional confirmation of that year. According to Vegetius (*de Re Milit.* 4.39) the seas were closed until 10th March (*usque in diem sextum Iduum Martiarum maria clauduntur*), but Pliny says merely that spring opens the seas, and that at the beginning of spring (on 8th February) the west winds (*favonii*) soften the winter sky (*NH* 2.47.122). Where formerly pirates forced men in fear of their lives to attempt winter voyages, 'now avarice exercises the same compulsion' (*nunc idem hoc avaritia cogit*, *NH* 2.47.126). The crew of the 'Isopharia' put to sea at the earliest moment when they could expect favourable spring winds. It was important to them to take their cargo to Ostia in time to catch the spring sailing back to Alexandria and so avoid the loss entailed in falling behind schedule.¹⁵⁴

28:12 The reason for three days' delay at Syracuse on a voyage of such urgency is unexplained, but is likely to have been connected with the weather, perhaps a north or northwest wind which would bar the passage of the Straits of Messina. It was easier at this stage to make short runs if necessary between good harbours than, for instance, on the southern coast of Crete.

28:13 The mention of Rhegium functions correctly as a refuge to await a southerly wind to carry them through the strait. In this case the desired wind came quickly, and enabled them to make a rapid passage to Puteoli.

28:13 Puteoli was the port where passengers were set ashore, though the cargo of grain was taken up to Portus, the new harbour

¹⁵³ See *EBr* (1945) 14.744.

¹⁵⁴ See p. 138, n. 109 for some discussion of the important contribution of W.P. Workman in *ExpT* 11 (1899-1900), pp. 316-19. The pressure of the fleet's schedule helps to explain a little further the reasons for the perilously early start in the spring, which is still required, even on Workman's late chronology of AD 59-60.

built by Claudius at Ostia, by the mouth of the Tiber (cf. *Sen. Ep. Mor.* 77.1).¹⁵⁵

28:14 We have no means of verifying that there were Christians in Puteoli at this date. There was however an early attested Jewish community (*Jos. BJ*, 2.7.1.104; *Ant.* 17.12.1.328, both relating an incident under Augustus, and giving the city its Greek name Dicaearchia; see *Jos. Vita*, 3.16). It was also a cosmopolitan port, whose inscriptions show abundant evidence of resident aliens from the East, notably an important community of Tyrians (*IG* 14.830). It has been supposed that evidence exists for the presence of Christianity in neighbouring Pompeii and Herculaneum before their destruction a few years later. While the suggested indications are at best doubtful, it seems probable enough that there were Christians in them, though none of the supposed evidence has been substantiated.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵ See the evidence cited in *TB* 36 (1985), pp. 92-93. Before Claudius, cargo as well as passengers had been landed at Puteoli. See J. Crook, 'Working Notes on Some of the New Pompeii Tablets', *ZPE* 29 (1978), pp. 229-39, citing letters dated 28 June and 2 July AD 37, which refer to Alexandrian wheat as stored in *horreis Bassianis publicis Puteolanorum* (p. 235); cf. the text of AD 40, p. 236. Perhaps the most interesting testimony to the significance of Portus is on the remarkable series of *sestertii* of Nero, of AD 64-66 (H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum* [London: British Museum, rev. edn, 1976-] Vol 1. pp. clxxvi-clxxvii, and Nos. 131-35, of Nero, inscribed AVGVSTI POR. OST. S.C.), depicting the curving moles and attached slipways, entrance island and lighthouse, and recumbent Neptune, with varying numbers of ships shown in the basin. Mattingly notes that several other variants of the type exist which are not held in the Museum. The harbour is described in *Suet. Claud.* 20.3; *Dio* 60.11.4-5; cf. *CIL* 14.85, of AD 46. For Puteoli as the port for passengers (and mail) cf. *Sen. Ep. Mor.* 77.1-3; *Jos. Vita* 3.16; *BJ* 2.7.1.104; *Ant.* 17.12.1.328; *Suet. Titus* 5.3.

¹⁵⁶ For Herculaneum, see A. Maiuri, 'La Croce di Ercolano', *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia romana di Archeologia* 15 (1939), pp. 193-218. Maiuri describes and illustrates extensively a cross-impression in a wall above a 'cupboard-altar' (*armadio-ara*) in a room of the Casa del Bicentenario. The evidence however appears indecisive, and the wall-impression is likely to have been made not by a Christian cross but by a bracket supporting a shelf or the like. Among Pompeian graffiti which have been supposed to have a Christian (or perhaps Jewish) origin, the most significant and interesting is the occurrence of two examples of the ROTAS-SATOR word-square, far earlier than any other known instances. Their discovery posed serious doubt against the traditional view of the Christian origin of the square, and various alternative explanations have been offered. There is no reason to doubt that Christians used the square and developed a Christian symbolism related to it, but the question remains open whether Christian meaning attaches to its invention at so early a date rather than to its secondary use. I am inclined to think, in the face of much modern opinion, that the balance of probability favours a Christian origin, and also that the spread and development of Christianity happened more rapidly than our fragmentary sources are likely to

28:14 This passage reads surprisingly as though the prisoner is free to be invited to spend time with his friends. Perhaps the element of pressure and desperation had been taken out of the journey with the safe arrival on Italian soil, and the soldiers were given some leave ashore in the intervals of their duties. Julius had treated Paul with courtesy throughout, for he was in any case a man of some social standing, whose Roman rights were not to be abused. No doubt suitable arrangements were made to guard Paul, even while granting him considerable freedom of movement, and his guards would still have been answerable with their lives for his safety. We may compare the case of Ignatius, who was able to visit some churches on the route of his journey, and leaves first-person evidence in letters generally received as authentic.

28:15 Appii Forum and Tres Tabernae are correctly placed as stopping-places on the Appian Way, respectively 43 and 33 Roman miles southeast of Rome.¹⁵⁷

show or than some scholars would accept. But I should lay no weight on this tentative supposition about the origins of the square. See further F.V. Filson, 'Were there Christians at Pompeii?' *BA2* (1939), pp. 13-16; D. Atkinson, 'The Sator-Formula and the Beginnings of Christianity', *BJRL* 22 (1938), pp. 419-34 and 'The Origin and Date of the "Sator" Word-Square', *JEH* 2 (1951), pp. 1-18 (for Christian view); D. Fishwick, 'On the Origin of the Rotas-Sator Square', *HTR* 57 (1964), pp. 39-53 (Jewish). There is now a vast literature and an extraordinary variety of interpretations. The fullest survey is in H. Hofmann, *PW Supp.* 15 (1978) col. 477-565. W.O. Moeller, *The Mithraic Origin and Meanings of the Rotas-Sator Square* (Leiden: Brill, 1973) is an example of the improbable over-elaboration of many theories; the author depends on the supposition of cryptic multi-lingual word-plays. This work however contains a most useful bibliography (pp. 44-52). For the most recent discovery see C.J. Hemer, 'The Manchester Rotas-Sator Square', *FTh* 105 (1978-79), pp. 36-40 (of late 2nd AD). Some of the most recent discussion returns to the fruitless task of trying to interpret it through forcing a meaning from AREPO (M. Marcovich, *ZPE* 50 [1983], pp. 155-71; G.M. Browne, *ZPE* 52 [1983], p. 60, both arguing that AREPO stands for Harpocrates, as god of good luck). ([Ed.] Cf. now W. Baines, 'The Rotas-Sator Square: a New Investigation', *NTS* 33 (1987), pp. 469-76.)

The Pompeian samples of the square were published as *CIL* 4 Supp. 8623 and 8123 (fragmentary). There is another Pompeian graffito, fragmentary and barely legible, which contains a word doubtfully read as CHRISTIRAI(?), and often supposed to refer to Christians (*CIL* 4.679).

¹⁵⁷ This was the route traversed by Horace on his way from Rome to Brundisium (*Sat.* 1.5.1-3) before continuing by canal-barge at night through the Pomptine marshes (cf. Strabo 5.3.6 = 233; milestone *CIL* 10.6825). Three Taverns, situated at the crossing of the road from Norba to Autium, is several times mentioned in the letters of Cicero (*ad Att.* 1.13.1; 2.10; 2.12.2; 2.13.1), one of which (2.10) was written from Appii Forum. See further *PW* 2.4.2.1875 and K. Miller, *Itineraria Romana*, col. 336.

28:16 Paul had a soldier to guard him. Bruce cites Mommsen for the distinction in the Digest between two types of custody, *militi tradere*, as here, and *carceri* (or *vinculis*) *tradere*.¹⁵⁸ In this case he would be lightly chained by the wrist (cf. ἄλυσις in 28:20).

28:21 It is surprising that the Jews in Jerusalem had apparently not communicated with the Jews in Rome about Paul. Bruce (*Acts*, p. 477) suggests that they were likely to have been content to let the case go by default, realizing that they had less hope of a conviction before the imperial court than before a provincial magistrate. Roman law was severe on unsuccessful prosecutors. The ignorance of the Roman Jews about Paul still invites explanation. They knew of Christianity (v. 22) and of opposition to it. If the leaders had returned to Rome since the death of Claudius in 54 they may have come from diverse areas of the Diaspora, and the particular identity of one such Christian preacher whose posthumous importance was not then apparent was not necessarily of moment. As an educated Rabbi of impeccable Jewish credentials he rated a hearing which might not have been accorded to others.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁸ Bruce, *Acts*, p. 476 citing Mommsen, *Römisches Strafrecht*, p. 317.

¹⁵⁹ This difficulty is discussed by most of the commentators, and the more traditional seem not to be too troubled by it. Rackham (p. 501) makes the point that there may have been little contact between the newly returned Jewish community and a predominantly Gentile church whose Gentile members alone presumably kept a Christian presence alive in Rome during the time of the expulsion. Munck (p. 258), points out that Paul's ship must have been among the first to arrive in Italy that spring; unless word from Palestine had arrived before the winter closure, it might still be on the way. The difficulty is not stressed in BC 4 or in Edmundson (p. 100). The matter is considered readily explicable by Marshall (p. 423) following Bruce.

Haenchen, however, is strongly critical of the whole passage, stressing not only the Jews' alleged ignorance of Paul and of Christianity generally, but the disappearance of the Roman church from notice upon Paul's arrival in the city (*Acts*, pp. 726-32). He explains it all as an unhistorical creation by Luke, where his determination to present Paul as a pioneer missionary to the Jews of Rome leads him into impossible and contradictory statements. This is too facile. Such difficulties challenge more direct explanation, within a recognition of the unexpected complexities of events and motivations in real life.

The possibility that Paul's accusers never intended to pursue their prosecution requires much thought. Roman justice at this period was also severe on default, and A.N. Sherwin-White (*RSRL*, pp. 112-19) shows that the thrust of contemporary legislation was rather to enforce prosecution than to favour release of the unindicted. See further pp. 390-91. If Paul was released upon default this would have been attributable, in Sherwin-White's view, to an act of clemency under the Emperor's *imperium* rather than to a statutory limit for the date of trial. Long delay was likely in any case, perhaps through congestion of court business if not delay in accusation. I am inclined to believe that Paul *was* brought to trial,

28:30-31 The conditions of Paul's captivity, living 'at his own expense' (so rightly ἰδίῳ μισθώματι) in *libera custodia* offered opportunity for the freedom of access implied here.

and that he wrote Philippians when the crisis was near.