



EUROPATRIDA

FRANCISCO OLIVEIRA
RAMÓN MARTÍNEZ
COORDS.

MALTA (Malte)

HORATIO CAESAR ROGER VELLA
University of Malta
(horatio.vella@um.edu.mt)

THE GREEKS IN MALTA AND GOZO

INTRODUCTION

The traditional view of Maltese historians has been that Malta and Gozo were occupied by the Romans at the beginning of the second Punic War in 218 B.C. by taking them over from the Carthaginians, disregarding the fact that on these islands was present also a Greek community; consequently, they left out the Greek period both before 218 B.C. and during the Roman occupation¹. They only referred to the Greek presence with the fall of the Roman Empire and the transfer of the islands to the Eastern Byzantine Empire.

After the 8th century B.C., while Malta and Gozo were occupied by the Phoenicians, the same islands were home also to a Greek community. This is known from Greek inscriptions written in Greek which were found in both Malta and Gozo. They refer both to the peoples of Malta and Gozo, and to their administrators and their religion. Apart from these, we have several literary references in Greek on Malta and Gozo: their interest would not have been so strong had not the presence of Greeks on the islands come to their attention.

These inscriptions reveal the fact that Malta and Gozo had two different governments, each operating from the capital town of every island: Melitē, that is, Rabat with its Mdina in Malta, and Gaulos, that is, Rabat with its Citadel in Gozo. We learn from the same inscriptions that the religion of Malta and Gozo was then polytheistic, that is, the veneration of Zeus as the supreme god and of other male and female gods. This religion carried its own cult and was looked after by a sect of priests. This Greek and Carthaginian governmental organization, already in existence by 218 B.C., helped the Romans to retain two

¹ S. Laspina (1971), 15, for example, dedicates only one paragraph of one page of his history book when he says the following: “Some historians maintain that the Greeks settled in Malta between 700 and 480 B.C. The evidence, however, is very scanty and somewhat conjectural. Nevertheless we cannot disregard this theory altogether, if we consider that Greece had large colonies in Sicily, Greek poets often mentioned Malta in their works, and coins with Greek wordings have been discovered in the Island”. He also adds the following footnote the sense of which this paper rebuts: “At this period Greek was the language of culture in the Mediterranean area”. See also Th. Zammit (1952), ch. 4, whose title is simply called “The Phoenicians and the Romans”.

municipalities, one for Malta and the other for Gozo, each with five Councillors, including the President of the Council, being the Governor of the island.

The two Greek communities, one in Malta and the other in Gozo, existed side by side with two Phoenician communities, each on a separate island. It is probable that both Greeks and Phoenicians knew each other's language, judging from a bilingual inscription². They certainly shared a common style of government, that of having two leaders instead of one on each island, and an official priest. No conflict seems to have been evident in their sharing of residence and government.

But what made these Greeks come to Malta and Gozo in the first place? These islands were too close to Sicily to be missed by both Greek and Phoenician traders. They both realized that these islands, with harbours and products that continued to be praised for centuries later³, were ideal places for their *emporion*, which served double purpose of places of settlement and of "re-fuelling" stations for their fellow navigators. Even today, Malta and Gozo serve as a connection spot both for travelling and for merchandize purposes. It could have been that these Greeks had no intention of settling in Malta and Gozo originally, but of doing commerce with the local indigenous inhabitants as they did with the Berbers in North Africa. There they exploited those Berbers by taking *silpium* from them and repaying them by best costly products. But, as history was to repeat itself later, mainly all foreign powers that came to Malta liked to stay.

But there was another more important reason why the Greeks as well as the Phoenicians came to Malta and Gozo. Sicily was roughly divided into two parts: western Phoenician Sicily and eastern Greek. Eastern Sicily and southern Italy were closer to Greece, while western Sicily was closer to Carthage. The rivalry between these two peoples does not seem to have existed elsewhere in the Mediterranean, excluding Alexander's invasion of Phoenician territory in the Near East. On the contrary, the alphabet itself remains a monument of how the Greeks, with more than a thousand years of prehistory and oral mythology behind them, could come to be influenced by the Phoenicians, not always described by Homer in bright colours, however⁴.

The situation of Greek and Phoenician co-habitation or integration in Malta and Gozo was far different from that found in nearby Sicily, which was divided between western Phoenician and eastern Greek domain. The border moved one way or the other resulting from the many futile wars fought there before and

² C.I.G. 3.32.5753.

³ DIOD. 5.12.2-4.

⁴ Hom. *Od.* 15.404-484. It seems, however, that every time the Phoenicians are mentioned in Homer, they appear in reported tales invented by Odysseus rather than in the actual story of the *Odyssey*.

after the rise of Carthage⁵. The more sensible Greeks and Phoenicians could have escaped from this battlefield by settling in Malta and Gozo and avoiding a repetition of similar conflict in the smaller islands. The result was either co-habitation or integration. The latter is evident from the fact that when the Romans invaded Malta, no mention of a Greek settlement is made, but of a Carthaginian garrison and leader⁶. The situation in Malta and Gozo, accommodating both Phoenicians and Greeks, is comparable to that of Cyprus before the Turkish invasion of that island. Turkish and Greek houses did not form ghettos, but alternated each other in the various towns and villages of the whole island. Larnaca today still keeps the Turkish houses empty, in case the Turks decide to come back from the North!

The most important result of the Greek settlement in both Malta and Gozo is that the Maltese names for Sicily, Malta and Gozo are of Greek, and not Punic, origin. We do not call Sicily “Sicilia” as the Italians, who influenced Malta for many centuries in modern times, call it; nor do we call it “Sishilia” as the Sicilians themselves call it today, but “Sqallija”, where we still observe the hard “c”, the Greek kappa, and the penultimate accent as in the Greek *Sikelía*, not the bispenultimate as in the late Roman pronunciation of *Sicilia*. Our name of Malta is a corruption of the Arabic *Malitah*, which itself was the Arabs’ corruption of *Melíte*, the name of a Greek nymph. We have lost the old Greek name of *Gaulos*, but retained two names for the smaller island which we inherited from *Gaudos*, the small island South-West of Crete, that of *Għawdex* and that of *Gozo* which is equally applicable to the two small islands⁷. If the names of *Melítē* and *Gaulos* or *Gaudos* were applied to our islands by Greeks, then those Greeks understood that those islands were Greek. Since then, also, we have ended up with two adjectives for Gozo: *Gaulitanus* and *Gaudisiensis*, the latter, however, derived from the ecclesiastical wrong appellation of Gozo by the name of *Gaudisium* (texte 22)⁸.

The pronunciation of *Gaudos* mentioned above turned into the present name of *Għawdex* shows that the Greek appellation of that island occurred much before the Byzantine period; for the Byzantine Greeks would have pronounced *Gaudos* as “*Gavdos*” just as the modern Greeks do today when they pronounce the name of the small Cretan island⁹. On the contrary, since we do not say in Maltese “*Għavdex*”, but “*Għawdex*”, then the conclusion is that we have retained the classical pronunciation all along the centuries.

⁵ See, for example, Ch. Warmington (1960), ch. 4.

⁶ The idea that the Greeks and the Phoenicians integrated into one society has already been expressed by A.A. Caruana (1899), 15, 20, 127, and 129.

⁷ H.C.R. Vella (2012a).

⁸ See, for example, Anonymous (1978).

⁹ On the distinction and connection between the Maltese “*Gaudos*” and the Cretan “*Gavdhos*”, see H.C.R. Vella (2010).

Regarding the name of Malta, the traditional interpretation of *Melita*, which is to be pronounced as “*Mélita*”, not “*Melíta*”, as derived from *mel*, meaning “honey”, is incorrect¹⁰. The root of *mel* is *mell*, as in “mellifluous”, meaning “flowing with honey” or, metaphorically, “honey-sweet [words]”¹¹. Instead, the name of Malta also comes from Greek, that is, *Melítē*, this time to be pronounced as “*Melítē*”, not “*Mélitē*”. And our Maltese tendency to pronounce *Mélita* as *Melíta* proves a point: that as descendants of Greek-speaking inhabitants, we have ever since retained the penultimate accent in many words, both in semitic- and Romance-based vocabularies, as in “kefríja”, “kattiveríja” and “Sqallíja”, and not in “kéfrja”, “kattévérja” and “Sqállja”.

As discussed some years ago¹², the nymph called *Melítē* came to be associated with Malta, formerly called “*Thrinacia*”, the last place Odysseus landed on before coming to the island of Calypso. This island of *Thrinacia* belonged to god Helius, and *Melítē* was his cousin. While Nereus, husband of Doris, was the son of Pontus and Gaea *alias* Ge, Doris herself, like Clymene, wife of Helius, was the daughter of Oceanus. So both Clymene and Doris were Oceanids, and *Melítē*, Thetis and 48 others, children of Doris and Nereus, were grandchildren of Oceanus. The Greeks, then, from very ancient times, associated this nymph with the island of Helius who, as a sun-god, married a sea-goddess, Clymene, just as Nereus, a sea-god, married another sea-goddess, Doris, both being the parents of *Melítē*.

Not only the names of Malta and Gozo are Greek in origin, but also names of some towns. *Qormi*, for instance, situated at the far end of the entrance to the Grand Harbour of Malta, has its name derived from *hormoi* meaning “anchorage”; while *Birgu*, situated on the left side on entrance into the same harbour, has its name derived from *Pyrgos* meaning “tower”. This goes against the traditional but mistaken interpretations, namely, that *Qormi* comes from *Casal Curmi*, and that *Birgu* comes from *Borgo*¹³.

In the case of *Qormi*, if *Qormi* had been *Curmi*, a Maltese surname, it would not have changed into *Qormi*, but survived like the surname still in existence today. The Maltese language invariably changes the final o into u, like “*Rocco*” turned into “*Rokku*”, but not the “o”s in the other syllables. C, however, can turn into Q, as *Cala* became *Qala*. But the Byzantines did not pronounce *hormoi* as “*hormoi*”, but as “*ormi*”; for they no longer pronounced the “h”, and by then they were already pronouncing the diphthong “oi” as “i”. We Maltese, then, insert the “q” as a natural pronouncing aid in front of the vowel, and so we do not say

¹⁰ See for example, Jean Quintin’s *Insulae Melitae descriptio* re-edited and translated into English for the first time by H.C.R. Vella (1980), 32.

¹¹ H.C.R. Vella (2004), 165-166.

¹² Public lecture held at the Greek Embassy at Ta’ Xbiex in February, 2011. The paper was then published in Lithuania the following year, for which see H.C.R. Vella (2012b).

¹³ See, for example, S. Laspina (1971), 90.

“Ormi”, but “Qormi”. Furthermore, archaeological investigation proves that the waters of the Grand Harbour reached the outskirts of Qormi during Roman times, and the Marsa Sports Ground, further out in the harbour than Qormi, during the Great Siege of Malta of 1565¹⁴.

If *Birgu* had been *Borgo*, one would ask which place was it suburb of? If by *Birgu* we mean today’s Fort St Angelo, does it make sense to say that the fort is a suburb? If by it we mean today’s town of Victoriosa, does it make sense to say that the town is a suburb to the fort? Or to Mdina far away, as traditionally but mistakenly handed down? But here the same argument of the above is applied, namely, that in Maltese, internal “o”s in other languages do not change into “u”, nor into “i”, but the word would have become “*Borgu*” instead, which is not what we have. *Birgu*, on the contrary, was Greek *Pyrgos*, meaning “tower”, which the Byzantines pronounced as “*Pirgos*”, for their “y” had changed into “i” in pronunciation. Regarding the change of “p” into “b”, one refers to similar changes in various languages, as in “*baba*” changed into “*papa*” or “*papa*”¹⁵.

The presence of Byzantine Greek towns in the Grand Harbour of Malta shows that the Grand Harbour was once in the hands of the Byzantine power, from its entrance, the *Pyrgos*, to its innermost shelter, *Hormoi*. This means also that if the Grand Harbour was the sheltering place of the Byzantines, much of the fighting with the Arabs must have taken place there, in that part of Malta, which was claimed by other later foreign occupants, such as the Order of St John, the French and the British.

An important event that occurred on the island of Malta when it was occupied by the Romans was that of St Paul’s Shipwreck in A.D. 60. Even this incident throws light on the inhabitants of Malta. St Luke describes them as hospitable, but also superstitious¹⁶. But his term *Barbaroi* applied to those inhabitants made scholars rashly conclude that they were non-Greek speakers, that is, Carthaginians¹⁷. This was not so. The Maltese farmers that gave hospitality to St Paul were not ignorant of Greek, as is illustrated in this paper. As the forgotten Mikiel Anton VASSALLI, father of Maltese literature, explained better, more than two centuries ago, *Barbaroi* comes from “*bar barr*”, that is, “children of the countryside” in Semitic languages¹⁸. We remind ourselves here of the Biblical *Bar Jonah*, that is, “son of Jonah”, and the Maltese Hamiem il-bar, that is, “Pigeons of the countryside”, or “wild pigeons” and *barra* meaning “outside”. In fact, St Paul

¹⁴ Apart from the name of Marsa meaning “port”, there is also the fact that the part next to the present sports ground is below sea level. Today a road connects Qormi with the present inner part of the Grand Harbour at Albert Town.

¹⁵ One also here refers to *Birghi* near Trapani in Sicily, formerly *Pyrgoi* in the plural.

¹⁶ Acts 28.2-6.

¹⁷ Th. Zammit (1952), 69.

¹⁸ H.C.R. Vella (2014), 60-62.

and his company were welcomed by the peasants who happened to be working in the area we call today St Paul's Bay, quite uninhabited then¹⁹. This interesting original meaning of *Barbaroi* was not unknown to St Luke writing the account, for such is the basic meaning of the word what is Semitic in origin.

The Greek community in Malta and Gozo, by the time of the fall of the Roman Empire in A.D. 455 at the hands of the Vandals, survived when local government as well as Church administration passed on to the Eastern Roman Empire what was Greek. We do not know of Vandals occupying or pillaging Malta and Gozo. This would not be surprising since their march was southwards *via* Spain and northwards from Africa *via* Italy. PROCOPIUS (text 17) mentions Malta and Gozo only as a port of call of Belisarius when he was travelling from Sicily to Africa. The Vandals probably had not yet penetrated northwards from Africa when Procopius wrote on Malta, and so no clashes with them could have been reported. The catastrophe was to come a few years later. We, therefore, should interpret the destruction of the Byzantine church at Tas-Silġ on the premises of the former Temple of Juno and Hercules in the southeastern corner of Malta to have occurred at this period, rather than centuries later at the hands of the Arabs²⁰. Clashes with the Arabs in Malta, though not in Gozo²¹, certainly took place, and Malta became an impoverished place, without a Diocesan See, though not quite uninhabited and converted into Muslim as we often hear!²²

The Arabs were allowed by Count Roger I and Count Roger II to stay on the islands and even control them for him. This means that now the islands had a population of Carthaginians, Greeks, both probably converted into Christians by late Roman times, Jews, Sicilians representing Norman rule, and Arabs. It was in this scenario that a Greek poem was written on Gozo sometime between A.D. 1135 and A.D. 1151²³, revealing that Gozo remained Christian and Greek even during Muslim times, and that it was an independent Diocese from Malta. This poem was written by a Greek exile from Sicily, which island, by the way, remained Greek-speaking also down to those days. The interesting thing for us in this poem for the purpose of our discussion is not what this Sicilian poet said about Gozo, although important and crucial, if not controversial, but who authenticated the manuscript. The manuscript was in fact authenticated in the thirteenth century by Greeks resident on Gozo, among others, Deacon PHILIPPOS GAUTIS (text 21), which surname is probably the oldest attestation we have

¹⁹ For the identity of the site of St Paul's shipwreck with St Paul's Bay, see Jean Quintin in H.C.R. Vella (1980), 44.

²⁰ J. Busuttill, S. Fiorini and H.C.R. Vella, eds. (2010), lxii.

²¹ J. Busuttill, S. Fiorini and H.C.R. Vella, eds. (2010), lxii-lxix.

²² Al-Himyari (Brincat {1991}, 7).

²³ J. Busuttill, S. Fiorini and H.C.R. Vella, eds. (2010), xiii.

of the present Maltese surname of Gauci²⁴. Indeed, a man from Gozo is said to be “*Għawdxi*”, which is exactly what the surname implies. This Gozitan resident, judging from his role of deaconship, belonged to the Greek Orthodox rite²⁵, even almost three centuries since Count Roger and his son, Roger II, introduced the return of the local Church in Malta to Latin rite.

Significantly, the Greek form of *Gauci* is not given in the Byzantine or modern Greek form of *Gavtis*, with the *av* as in Cretan *Gavdhos* of today, but in the Classical Greek form and pronunciation of *Gaoutis*, rendered as *Gautis*, where the diphthong *ou* has always remained since Classical times the representation of our *u*. This last point is, I repeat, of *fundamental* importance for our dating of the Greek presence in Malta and Gozo: for if the Greeks came to our islands only during Byzantine times, *Gauci* would be pronounced as *Gavci*: instead, *Gauci* goes back to at least Roman times when the name of *Gaudos*, and not *Gavdhos*, was passed on from Crete to the smaller Maltese island.

I. THE CLASSICAL EPIGRAPHICAL EVIDENCE ON THE GREEKS IN MALTA AND GOZO

Prior to the Roman period, we only have three inscriptions, one bilingual in Malta (text 2) discovered in c. 1697, one in Punic from Gozo, and another in Greek from Malta (text 1), the last two referring to municipal governments and both discovered in the later part of the 18th century. This last point, incidentally, throws light on the autonomous situations in the two islands, situations which show double independence: independence from outside, and independence of one island from the other. Never again was such independence experienced on these islands, for even today we have a central government for both islands.

The idea of bilingualism in Malta and Gozo is documented by the discovery of bilingual “*cippi*” or pillars made of marble in Malta. The monument we possess is one of two which two brothers, Dionysius and Sarapion, from Tyre and rendered in Punic here as Abdasar and Aserchemor, vowed to set up as thanksgiving to Heracles/Melqart. Bilingualism in pre-Roman Malta confirms what will be illustrated below, namely, that two different communities in both Malta and Gozo, the Punic and the Greek, shared both government and peaceful residence. For what would be the use of bilingualism had Greeks and Phoenicians excluded each other? Furthermore, the reference to divinities in Greek and Punic shows that both peoples honoured the same divinities with different names, such as Heracles and Melqart, and Ashtarte and Hera. The term

²⁴ J. Busuttill, S. Fiorini and H.C.R. Vella, eds. (2010), xxvii, xciii, xcvi and 304, n.50, v. *supra*.

²⁵ J. Busuttill, S. Fiorini, H.C.R. Vella, eds. (2010), xciii.

“Archegetes” was also given to Apollo in Cyrene and Naxos, and to Heracles himself in Sparta, to Asclepius in Phocis, and to Helius in Rhodes²⁶. Heracles, Romanized as Hercules, was venerated along with Hera, translated by the Romans as Juno, in the Neolithic temple found at Tas-Silġ in Malta, used later by the Phoenicians, the Romans and the Byzantine Greeks. It has been explained earlier how Heracles came to be venerated along with his enemy, Hera, when the Phoenician counterpart, Melqart was venerated together with Ashtarte, not quite his enemy. The wrong identification was caused by the fact that both Ashtarte and Hera/Juno shared in their role of supremacy, but not Aphrodite/Venus²⁷.

The Greek and Phoenician presence was acknowledged by the Romans after 218 B.C. It is true that Livy mentions only a force of about 2000 Carthaginian soldiers, not Greek, headed by their prefect, Hamilcar²⁸. This invasion took place during the consulship of Tiberius Sempronius Longus and Publius Cornelius Scipio. The fortified town, together with the rest of the island, naturally assuming also its sister island of Gozo, were handed over to the Romans at the arrival of the consul, and no battles, therefore, were waged. But the peaceful co-existence of Greeks and Phoenicians, mixed now with those from Carthage, for several centuries, effected two things: first, the Greeks understood that such small islands could not take two different armies, and so allowed themselves to be protected by the Carthaginian army; secondly, both Greeks and Carthaginians in Malta and Gozo had long been accustomed to a peaceful settlement, and so they were culturally not prepared to resist the Romans. Their forefathers knew of the outcome of the Roman occupation of western Sicily nearly a century earlier through the sea-battle off the Aegates Islands²⁹, and so quickly avoided another repetition of useless bloodshed.

We know from Roman History that the Carthaginian settlements all over the Mediterranean were never wiped out. The exception was that of Carthage, when the inhabitants, apart from those who escaped, were sold into slavery before the city was destroyed³⁰. Recent DNA investigations held in Malta and Lebanon confirm that ultimately the Maltese people are akin to the modern Lebanese through the ancient Phoenicians. These, it should be noted here, were for a long period governed by the Seleucid Greeks, and a mixture of the two peoples followed, a mixture indeed not different from that found in our islands. Also, simple linguistic analysis of the languages spoken by the two peoples, those of Malta and Lebanon, show a kinship hardly comparable to any kinship what the same Maltese language might have with the southern neighbours in North Africa.

A Punic inscription, *C.I.S.* 1.132, unearthed in 1855 and stored at the

²⁶ Liddell & Scott, *s.v.* “ἀρχηγέτης”.

²⁷ H.C.R. Vella (1986), 320-321.

²⁸ Livy, 21.51.1-2.

²⁹ Mentioned in Livy, 21.10.7.

³⁰ Livy, *Per.* 51.

Archaeological Museum in Valletta, was found in Gozo, going back to decades before 218 B.C. The inscription mentions two magistrates (*rabs*) of the Council by the names of Arish and Sapput. Furthermore, it mentions the names of the priest (Ba'alsillek), and the inspector of the quarry (Y'), and it mentions "the people" of Gozo twice. The presence of the Phoenicians and their descendants on Gozo does not rule out their presence on Malta for, as we said, Livy mentions a garrison of little less than 2000 Carthaginians in the bigger island when Titus Sempronius Longus invaded Malta, nor, as said above, does the Greek presence on Malta exclude their own presence on Gozo.

Similarly, there were Greek-speaking inhabitants in Malta before and at the Roman occupation of our islands in 218 B.C. as much as there remained Greek speaking ones right down into Norman and, to some extent, modern times, judging from several Greek surnames in the islands in existence today³¹. One here refers to the Greek inscription (C.I.G. 14.953.24), produced in Malta on a copper plate what refers to the Council and Assembly of the Maltese, and which has been dated 288 B.C. or 279 B.C. (text 1). It was originally sent to a certain Demetrius, son of Diodotus, from Syracuse. To honour him for the friendship and generosity that he showed to the people of Malta, the Council and Assembly of Malta expressed their gratitude by publishing two copies of the inscription, one of which was sent to him in Syracuse. Only one copy survived, which now can be seen in Rome.

The reference to dual magistracy in both the Punic and the Greek inscriptions of Gozo and Malta respectively point to the same epoch. This dual magistracy does not reflect any Roman system operative only in Rome during the Republican period, when they used the terms *consules* to their chief leaders. On the contrary, both the dual *rabs* in the Punic inscription of Gozo and the dual *archontes* in the Greek inscription of Malta reflect Carthaginian style of rule, both at Carthage and in its dependant states. This point also shows that the Greek settlers on Malta and Gozo adapted themselves to Punic style of rule.

At some time during Roman rule, as a result of the destruction of Carthage in 146 B.C. and the subsequent gradual decrease in Punic influence in matters of political systems no longer sustained by the mother-country, this dual system of government gave way to the single-rule system as shown by terms like the *πρῶτον τῶν μελιταίων*, meaning, "President of the Maltese", of a lost Greek inscription of Tiberius' times, first recorded by Jean Quintin³² and referring to a certain Lucius Castricius, a Roman Knight; *πρῶτον τῆς νήσου* meaning "President of the Island", of the *Acts of the Apostles*³³, referring to a certain Publius of Malta, and to the *Patronus Municipii*, meaning, "President of the Council", as in

³¹ See below.

³² H.C.R. Vella (1980), 26.

³³ *Acts*, 28.7.

the Vallius inscription from Gozo, already mentioned in a previous discussion³⁴. One also comes across *Melitensium primus* in a Latin inscription from Malta³⁵, all being examples of Roman departure from Punic style of government, that is, from dual Presidency to single Presidency.

The Lucius Castricius inscription, *C.I.G.* 14.601, from Mdina in Malta, throws light on the political situation current in both islands (text 3). It was set up after the deification of Emperor Augustus and during the reign of Emperor Tiberius. Like Gaius Vallius in Gozo, he was a Roman Knight, a senator of the *municipium*, of which he was the President, but he was also priest in the propagation of the Cult of Augustus, which the emperor himself, during his lifetime, had instituted under the title of *Roma et Augustus*. It should be emphasized here that this inscription was produced in Greek, despite the fact that about 200 years had passed since the coming of the Romans to Malta and Gozo. This clearly shows what language the Maltese and Gozitans spoke at the time. It was first published by Jean QUINTIN in 1536, according to whom this inscription was attached to the side of a very large tomb made of marble. We know it was destroyed in the last years of the 19th century³⁶.

From 218 B.C. onward, Malta and Gozo lost their independence, although they retained their respective autonomous governments, ultimately depending on Syracuse. They remained politically under Sicily down to the take-over by the Knights of St John in 1530. One can add here that even the Arabs in Malta and Gozo came from and were responsible to Sicily.

A number of Greek coins found in Malta show not only Greek script (text 4), but also representations from Greek and Punic deities, often related to the Underworld and fertility³⁷. The presence of a tripod on most of the coins minted in Malta during the Roman period is very significant indeed. The tripod, which gave the name to the Island of Thrinacia, the island of Helius Odysseus visited last before coming to the island of Calypso, was a three-legged stool, with a hole or holes in the seat, that was placed over a particular hole in the earth commonly believed to be the *omphalos* of the world³⁸. In some of these coins, Persephone is represented as veiled³⁹. Some of them go back to the times of the first triumvirate in Rome, that is, 35 B.C. and 15 B.C., again, nearly 200 years after the coming of the Romans. If so, what was the population of Malta and Gozo like, if not Greek and Carthaginian?

The same Jean Quintin reports of being in possession of a Roman coin made

³⁴ H.C.R. Vella (1980), 47; (2002b), 82-83.

³⁵ H.C.R. Vella (2002b), 74-75.

³⁶ H.C.R. Vella (1980), 26.

³⁷ J.C. Sammut (2001), 16-19.

³⁸ H.C.R. Vella (2015), 86-87.

³⁹ See discussion in H.C.R. Vella (2012b), 24-25.

of bronze⁴⁰. Yet, even this coin, like several others, bore the inscription in Greek for the benefit of those who could read Greek. No Punic appeared any more from the times of the Romans, presumably because of the Roman ignorance of the language. Greek, however, they learned at school.

The Caicelia inscription, *C.I.G.* 3.32.5755 (text 5), was found at Mdina in a container made of pottery, while that of Eros, *C.I.G.* 3.32.5756 (text 6), was found somewhere in Malta in 1768. Zosima and Anica (text 7) were Greek names belonging to the Greek community in Malta.

II. THE CLASSICAL LITERARY SOURCES ON THE GREEKS IN MALTA AND GOZO

The autonomy of Gozo from Malta and vice-versa, reflected in the Demetrius' inscription, is further confirmed by the fact that Hecataeus (text 9), writing in the 6th century B.C., talks about Gozo without mentioning Malta. His words that Gozo was near Carthage have to be taken as relatively true, for there are at least 200 miles between the two locations. The same expression was repeated by STEPHANUS OF BYZANTIUM (text 15) 500 years later. The same literary confirmation of Gozitan autonomy from Malta comes from Diodorus Siculus writing 500 years after Hecataeus where he discusses Malta and Gozo as separate islands rather than as an archipelago, and adds that each one of them was a habitation of Phoenicians. The Phoenicians and their descendants, the Carthaginians, together with the Greeks, continued to form the population of each of the two islands. But just as Livy failed to mention the Greeks during the Roman invasion of the islands, so did DIODORUS (text 11). Malta possesses much better harbours than Gozo, contrary to what Diodorus implies; but probably he was referring, when writing about Gozo, to the advantage it possessed, namely, that being a small island, much smaller than Malta, ships on one side of the island could sail to the other side when aggressive winds blew against them. Malta with its harbour and Gozo were then mentioned by SCYLAX after Hecataeus in the fourth century B.C. (text 10), and by an anonymous author in Byzantine times (text 18).

In his description of the sea South of Sicily, STRABO (text 12) gives the distance, albeit inaccurate, of our two islands from *Pachynus*, that is, Cape Passaro, calling the two islands as "*Melítē*" and "*Gaudos*"⁴¹. Apart from fatally mistaking the name of *Gaulos* for *Gaudos*, Strabo yet commits one more mistake when he says that in this island of *Melítē* were bred small dogs called "Melitaeen". This

⁴⁰ H.C.R. Vella (1980), 26.

⁴¹ *Geog.* 6.2.11.

island of *Melítē* he had in mind, breeding these dogs, was clearly referred to by ancient scholars themselves as that island in the Adriatic Sea, not far from the *Nymphaea* of Apollonius of Rhodes, which island of *Melítē* once was also the object of controversy when it was referred to as the site of St Paul's shipwreck, as already mentioned above⁴².

In his transposition of *Melítē* and *Gaudos* from the Adriatic Sea and Cretan waters respectively to the sea south of Sicily, Strabo may have been misled by three factors.

In the first place, the second paragraph of the fragment of Callimachus⁴³ Strabo himself preserved for us has a lacuna which may or may not have contributed to his own mistake. That paragraph starts with the statement, "He (Apollodorus) censures also those who clearly mention Sicily". Then comes the lacuna, after which Strabo refers to the mistake of Callimachus according to Apollodorus when he said that *Gaudos* was the island of Calypso. If we admit the connection between the first part and the second part around the lacuna, then Strabo would be simply passing on the tradition already existing in Alexandrian times that *Gaudos* had been confused with our *Gaulos*⁴⁴. If we do not admit the connection, then the reference of *Gaudos* to our island of Gozo was made by Strabo for the first time here.

In the second place, Strabo may have been misled both by the name of *Melítē* in the Adriatic Sea and by its vicinity to *Ogygia* according to Apollonius of Rhodes who called it "*Nymphaea*", and which some writers confused with *Ogylia*, that is *Caudos* or *Gaudos* near Crete. Thus, the coupling of the islands of *Melítē* and *Ogygia* in the Adriatic Sea, the transposition of *Ogygia* from the Adriatic Sea according to Apollonius of Rhodes to *Ogylia/Gaudos* near Crete, and the similarity that exists in the names of *Gaudos* and *Gaulos* adjacent to another *Melítē*, probably misled Strabo in calling *Gaulos* as "*Gaudos*", which names, furthermore, are different from each other by only one letter.

In the third place, we know that both *Gaudos* near Crete and *Gaulos* near Malta were once Phoenician settlements. According to the anonymous writer of the *Etymologicum Gudianum*⁴⁵, we learn that in that island there was a temple dedicated to Aphrodite, a goddess venerated by both Phoenicians and Greeks, as was the case in Malta where Hera/Ashtarte was venerated at the temple of Tas-Silġ in Malta⁴⁶. One should bear in mind also that that island's city was called "*Phoenicia*", typical of Phoenician settlers. Hence, all these details contributed to the confusion of the two islands.

⁴² Apollonius of Rhodes, 4.566-575; H.C.R. Vella (2002b), 120. On this controversial question, see also N. Muscat and S. Tomašević (2018).

⁴³ Fr. 13.

⁴⁴ A discussion on the name of *Gaulos* was also carried out some years ago by H.C.R. Vella (1995a), 16-18; H.C.R. Vella (1995b), 5, 9-10, and H.C.R. Vella (2002b), 145-147.

⁴⁵ *Et. Gud. s.v.* "κυθέρεια", in H.C.R. Vella (2000b), 152.

⁴⁶ See discussion in H.C.R. Vella (1986), 320.

From the 16th century A.D., we have two important sources that confirm the confusion of the Cretan *Gaudos* with our *Gaulos*. In his description of Malta, Jean Quintin, who correctly refers to the island of Gozo as *Gaulos*⁴⁷, and not *Gaudos*, discusses, among other things, the Pauline tradition and starts with St Paul's voyage after St Luke⁴⁸, repeating the name of *Clauda*, but adding the *important* remark that during his times Cretan *Gaudos* was commonly called "Gozo", exactly as we call our *Gaulos* today. By the sixteenth century, therefore, two islands were both called "Gozo", *Gaudos* near Crete and *Gaulos/Gaudos* near Malta. This is also confirmed by a map also from the sixteenth century, quite similar to the first map of Malta and Gozo as it appeared in the first edition of Jean Quintin, where the island of Gozo is given two names: *Gozo* and *Claudus*⁴⁹.



⁴⁷ H.C.R. Vella (1980), 46.

⁴⁸ Acts 27.1-44; H.C.R. Vella (1980), 42-44.

⁴⁹ Anon. (1581), 349; Pantaleone 210.

Mistakes of this sort which Strabo committed during Roman times, repeated later by other authors, included the attribution of the so-called “Maltese dog” to our Malta, which, as I explained in the past⁵⁰, belonged to the island of Mjlet in the Adriatic Sea close to Croatia. Another mistake, never accepted by the Maltese inhabitants, was that St Paul got shipwrecked by the already mentioned island of Mjlet, when we know that the winds as described by St Luke could not have blown north-easterly from Croatia to Mjlet through a very narrow channel, but over fourteen days across the sea from the southern parts of the Adriatic Sea to our island of Malta⁵¹. Another mistake was that of confusing Gozo with Pantelleria, called in Classical times “Cossyra” to which, according to Jean Quintin, Anna, sister of Dido, fled from Libya⁵². Another mistake was that of Ovid who claimed that Battus was king of Malta, when he meant Greek Cyrene⁵³. Another mistake was the old claim that Malta was once the place where an international council of bishops was held, when Milevum in Africa was confused with Malta, and, as a result, the Maltese received the wrong adjective of “Melivetanus”⁵⁴. Yet another mistake is that of calling the island of Gozo as “the Island of Calypso”, when Classical geographers place Ogygia east of the Straits of Messina before the turn into the Gulf of Taranto⁵⁵. Ironically, some years ago, I had occasion to show how the last place Odysseus visited before coming to Ogygia, as also mentioned above, was Thrinacia, the island of Malta⁵⁶. He could not have gone from Malta to Gozo, but was described by HOMER as having travelled much greater distances than that, after passing close to the Straits of Messina (text 13)⁵⁷.

There is nowhere in the *Acts of the Apostles* (text 14) a passage which discusses a people or an event at such lengths as the account of the shipwreck of St Paul which brought him to the island of Malta in A.D. 60. St Luke, the author of the account, narrates how a ship from Alexandria, carrying St Paul among 276 inmates, was sailing to Rome having departed from Lystra in Lycia. Sailing south of the Adriatic Sea, it was caught in a north-eastern wind and driven in a storm without direction until it got shipwrecked in a bay within a beach which, judging from the direction of the wind, must have faced North-East⁵⁸.

⁵⁰ H.C.R. Vella (1980), 24; H.C.R. Vella (1995b), 11-15; H.C.R. Vella (2002a), 162-163; H.C.R. Vella (2002b), 130-137, and H.C.R. Vella (2010), 11.

⁵¹ *Acts* 27.14-44.

⁵² H.C.R. Vella (1980), 46-48.

⁵³ H.C.R. Vella (1980), 18-20. See full discussion in H.C.R. Vella (1995b), 5-8 and H.C.R. Vella (2002a), 157-158.

⁵⁴ J. Quintin in H.C.R. Vella (1980), 24. See also H.C.R. Vella (2002a), 163-164.

⁵⁵ A modern myth; but see H.C.R. Vella (2012b), 26-30.

⁵⁶ H.C.R. Vella (2012b).

⁵⁷ H.C.R. Vella (2012b), 26-27.

⁵⁸ *Acts* 27.14.

Jean Quintin was under the impression that the island of Melitē was the one in the Adriatic Sea, much further north from the harbour of Brindisi. Still, faithful to what Maltese inhabitants were saying to him on the island he was describing, he succeeded in reporting their view on the exact location of the shipwreck, namely, on the edge of a promontory washed by sea on both sides (*bimaris* for *dithalassos*) in the location named after St Paul which is within Xemxija Bay in Malta. There, says Jean Quintin, the Maltese built a church to commemorate the event, a church which has been replaced a number of times but on the spot of its original erection⁵⁹. The *Acts of the Apostles* prove that Mjlet, the present name for the Adriatic Melitē, was not the site of the shipwreck since the port of call it mentions after Malta was not Brindisi, closer to Mjlet, but Syracuse instead⁶⁰. The passage also gives us the season when the shipwreck took place, namely, at the onset of winter, for it says that navigation was already no longer safe then, and that a desire was expressed to spend the **winter** in a Punic harbour in Crete⁶¹. The same passage also says that a ship which took St Paul from Malta to Rome had spent the **winter** in Malta⁶². This means that the present celebration on the islands of Malta and Gozo of St Paul's shipwreck on the 10th of February, close to the end of the Maltese winter, could not be right. In fact, St Paul probably came to Malta in December and departed in March. There, in Malta, Publius, Governor of Malta, gave hospitality to St Paul at his own garrison, which must be located in the town of Melita, where he resided and with which he was protected. Within the same town, a cave dwelling is today venerated as being St Paul's domicile on Malta, rather than his gaol⁶³.

Literary evidence of Greek presence on Malta, at least going back to Byzantine times, include also geographical and liturgical references. Among many, we mention *Wied ir-Rum* in Malta which means "the Valley of the Byzantines", so found and retained by the Arabs who came after them. Perhaps the most important liturgical reference is the Maltese word for "Ascension", which is *Lapsi* from Byzantine Greek *Analepsis*. The Arabs did not change *Lapsi* into "*l-Għid tat-Tluġħ*", meaning, "Easter of the Ascension", nor did the Italians, who influenced Malta from Norman times onward, change it to "*Ascensione*". The survival of such terms is a stark evidence that the Maltese people, although speaking a Semitic language, from their original Hellenic roots before Roman times, turned more Greek when their rite was changed to Byzantine and continued with that influence albeit in limited form down to the present day. There are several social practices which echo Greek traditions of the past,

⁵⁹ H.C.R. Vella ed. (1980), 44.

⁶⁰ *Acts* 28.12.

⁶¹ *Acts* 27.9.

⁶² *Acts* 28.11.

⁶³ *Acts* 28.7-8; H.C.R. Vella (1980), 44-46.

discussed elsewhere⁶⁴, as well as Greek surnames common among the Maltese inhabitants of today, such as Anastasi, Apap, Bonnici, Burlo', Cachia, Calleja, Callus, Coleiro, Camenzuli, Cumbo, Cuschieri, Grech, Grixti, Chircop, Mallia, Piscopo, Schembri and Stafrage. All this confirms that the Greeks did not only come to settle in Malta and Gozo, but are still found there, but speaking Maltese.

III. MELITOGAUDOS

In medieval times, Gozo came to be referred to as *Gaudos of Melitē*, either as *Melitogaudos* or as *Melitēgaudos*. Similarly, Malta was at the same time referred to as *Melitē of Gaudos*, that is, *Gaudomelitē*. The compound name for Malta and Gozo had been created by Byzantine scholars to distinguish these islands from *Melitē* in the Adriatic Sea and *Gaudos* near Crete. The name of *Melitēgaudos* (text 20) appears in a marginal note written by the scholiast (the poet himself) of the already mentioned 12th-century Greek poem⁶⁵. However, the term *Gaudomelitē* had existed much earlier than medieval times. In fact, its first occurrence is found in the 5th-century apocryphal *Acts of Peter and Paul* (text 16) where the narrative refers to St Paul's shipwreck in Malta⁶⁶, while a second occurrence goes back to the 7th century in the *Historiae Syntomos* by Patriarch NICEPHOROS (text 19)⁶⁷.

CONCLUSION

Malta and Gozo were too near Greek Sicily to be missed by Greek navigators, businessmen and refugees from a war-torn territory. The smallness of both Malta and Gozo did not permit an antagonism to exist between them and the Phoenicians of the same islands. These two communities made the kernel of the Maltese population at the time of the arrival of the Romans in the second Punic War, a kernel what was penetrated by neither the Romans nor the Arabs. Today, Greek and Punic elements have been retained in the veins of the Maltese through their language, albeit being more semitic, and lineage evident today through DNA and surnames. History has supported this view thanks to epigraphical and literary references discussed here and elsewhere.

⁶⁴ J. Busuttill, S. Fiorini, H.C.R. Vella eds (2010), lxx-xcv.

⁶⁵ J. Busuttill, S. Fiorini, H.C.R. Vella eds (2010), f.84. See also S. Fiorini and H.C.R. Vella (2015), 53-56, and S. Fiorini and H.C.R. Vella (2016), 77.

⁶⁶ *Patrologiae* 161, 929-932.

⁶⁷ Nicephorus, H.S., in J. Busuttill (1969), 17-18. I thank Prof. Stanley Fiorini for the availability of the last two quotations. See also J. Busuttill S. Fiorini and H.C.R. Vella (2010), xxiii.

IV. SOURCES AND TRANSLATIONS⁶⁸

1. *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 14.953.24

ὑπὲρ προξενίας καὶ εὐεργεσίας Δημητρίῳ Διοδότου Συρακοσίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐγγόνουσι αὐτοῦ.

ἐπὶ ἱεροθύτου Ἰκέτα Ἰκέτου, ἀρχόντων δὲ Ἡρέου καὶ Κότητος ἔδοξε τῇ συγκλήτῳ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Μελιταίων· ἐπειδὴ Δημήτριος Διοδότου Συρακόσιος διὰ παντὸς εὖνους ὑπάρχων τοῖς τε δημοσίοις ἡμῶν πράγμασι καὶ ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ τῶν πολιτῶν παραίτιος ἀγαθοῦ πολλάκι γεγένηται, ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ δεδόχθαι Δημήτριον Διοδότου Συρακόσιον πρόξενον εἶναι καὶ εὐεργέτην τοῦ δήμου τῶν Μελιταίων καὶ τοὺς ἐγγόνους αὐτοῦ ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας ἧς ἔχων διατελεῖ εἰς τὸν ἡμέτερον δῆμον. τὴν δὲ προξενίαν ταύτην ἀναγράψαι εἰς χαλκῶματα δύο καὶ τὸ ἓν δοῦναι Δημητρίῳ Διοδότου Συρακοσίῳ.

To Demetrius, son of Diodotus, of Syracuse and his descendants, for (his) friendship and good services (done).

In the time of Hicetas, son of Hicetas, sacrificing priest, when Hereas and Cotetus were magistrates, the Council and the Assembly of the Maltese decided that since Demetrius, son of Diodotus, of Syracuse, being completely well-minded towards our public affairs, has often shared the well-being even of each of the citizens, they should welcome Demetrius, son of Diodotus, of Syracuse, in his position as protector and benefactor of the community of the Maltese, together with his descendants on account of the goodness and well-mindedness which he continues to bear toward our people. (It) also (decided) to register this friendship on two copper plates and to give one to Demetrius, son of Diodotus, of Syracuse.

2. *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 3.32.5753

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΑΡΑΠΙΩΝ
ΟΙ ΣΑΡΑΠΙΩΝΟΣ, ΤΥΡΙΟΙ,
ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙ ΑΡΧΗΓΕΤΙ.

Dionysius and Sarapion, children of Sarapion, of Tyre, to Heracles Archēgetēs.

3. *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 14.601

Λ[ΟΥΚΙΟΣ] ΚΑ[ΣΤΡΪΧΙΟΣ] ΥΙΟΣ ΚΥΡ[ΟΥ] ΠΡΟΥΔΗΝΗΣ
ΠΠΠΕΥΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΟΣ
ΜΕΛΙΤΑΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΤΡΩΝ ΑΡΕΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΕΥΣΑΣ
ΘΕΩ ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΩ
[ΑΝ]ΕΣ[ΤΗΣ]ΕΝ

Lucius Castricius Prudens, son of Cyrus, Roman Knight, President of the Maltese and the Senators, having ruled and been priest for the divine Augustus, set up (this inscription).

⁶⁸ The translations have been made by the same author.

4.

ΜΕΛΙΤΑΙΩΝ
Of the Maltese

5. *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 3.32.5755

ΚΑΣΣΕΙΟΥ
ΚΑΙΚΕΛΙΑ
Caicelia of Casseius

6. *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 3.32.5756

ΕΡΩΣ
Eros

7. *Siciliae*⁶⁹

ΚΟΙΜΗΤΗΡΙΟΝ
ΗΓΟΡΑΣΜΕΝΟΝ
ΑΠΟ ΖΩΣΙΜΗΣ ΤΙΝΟΣ
ΚΑΙ ΑΝΙΚΗΣ
Tomb bought from a certain Zōsimē and Anicē

8. *Siciliae*⁷⁰

ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΕΙΤΑΙ ΔΟΜΕΣΤΙΚΟΣ
Ο ΕΥΜΕΝΗΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΙΗΤΡΟΣ
ΕΖΗΣΕΝ ΕΤΗ Ο Γ.
ΑΝΕΠΑΥΣΑΤΟ ΤΗ ΓΕ ΚΑΛΕΝΔΑΣ Δ ΦΕΒΡΟΥΑΡΙΑΣ
Here lies Domesticus, a good Christian and a doctor. He lived for 73 years. He found his rest in earth on the 29th of January.

9. **HECATAEUS (6th c. B.C.), quoted from STEPHANUS OF BYZANTIUM**
s.v. Γαῦλον

Γαῦλος, νῆσος πρὸς τῇ Καρχηδόνι. Ἑκαταίος περιήγησει ὁ νησιότης.
Gaulos, an island near Carthage. Hecataeus, an inhabitant of the island, will describe it.

10. **SCYLAX, 111. (4th c. B.C.)**

Πλοῦς δὲ ἀπὸ Ἑρμαίας ἐπὶ Κόσσυρον ἡμέρας. Ἀπὸ Ἑρμαίας ἄκρας πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα μικρὸν ἀπὸ Ἑρμαίας εἰσι νῆσοι τρεῖς μικραὶ κατὰ τοῦτο, ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων οὐκούμεναι. Μελίτη πόλις, καὶ, λιμὴν, Γαῦλος πόλις, Λαμπάς

⁶⁹ *Siciliae* (1769: 67).

⁷⁰ *Siciliae* (1769: 247).

αὕτη πύργους ἔχει δύο ἢ τρεῖς.

A one-day voyage from Hermaea to Cosyrus. From the promontory of Hermaea towards the East, a small distance from Hermaea, there are three small islands in this order, inhabited by the Carthaginians: Malta, city and harbour, Gaulos, city, Lampedusa: this has two or three towers.

11. DIODORUS SICULUS, *Historic Library*, 5.12.2-4 (1st c. B.C.)

Καὶ πρώτη μὲν ἐστὶν ἡ προσαγορευομένη Μελίτη, τῶν Συρακουσῶν ἀπέχουσα σταδίου ὡς ὀκτακοσίους, καὶ λιμένας μὲν ἔχει πολλοὺς καὶ διαφόρους ταῖς εὐχρηταῖς, τοὺς δὲ κατοικοῦντας ταῖς οὐσίαις εὐδαίμονας τεχνίτας τε γὰρ ἔχει παντοδαποὺς ταῖς ἐργασίαις, κρατίστους δὲ τοὺς ὀθόνια ποιοῦντας τῇ τε λεπτότητι καὶ τῇ μαλακότητι διαπρεπῆ, τὰς τε οἰκίσεις ἀξιολόγους καὶ κατεσκευασμένας φιλοτίμως γείσσοις καὶ κονιάμασι περιττότερον... ἐστὶ δ' ἡ νῆσος Μελίτη αὕτη Φοινίκων ἄποικος. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν νῆσον ἑτέρα τὴν μὲν προσηγορίαν ἔχουσα Γαῦλος, πελαγία δὲ καὶ λιμέσιν εὐκαίροις κεκοσμημένη, Φοινίκων ἄποικος.

And the first is the one called Malta, away from Syracuse about 800 stades, and it possesses harbours many and varied in their advantages, and inhabitants happy with their wealth; for it also has craftsmen fit for all kinds of works, especially those who fabricate textiles remarkable both for their lightness and softness. It also has habitations of worth and technically finished with cornices and plastering ... This island (of Malta) is the habitation of Phoenicians. And after this island there is the other which has the name of Gaulos, in the middle of the sea and adorned with all-weather harbours, a habitation of Phoenicians.

12. STRABO, *Geography* 6.2.11

πρόκειται δὲ τοῦ Παχύνου Μελίτη, ὅθεν τὰ κυνίδια, ἃ καλοῦσι Μελιταῖα, καὶ Γαῦδος, ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ ὀκτῶ μίλια τῆς ἄκρας ἀμφοτέραι διέχουσαι.

And away from Pachynus lie Melitē, from where come the small dogs, which they call “Melitaeen”, and Gaudos, both distant from the promontory by 88 miles.

13. HOMER, *Odyssey* 5.268-281

οὔρον δὲ προέηκεν ἀπήμονά τε λιαρὸν τε.
 γηθόσυνος δ' οὔρω πέτασ' ἰστία δίος Ὀδυσσεύς.
 αὐτὰρ ὁ πηδαλίῳ ἰθύνετο τεχνηέντως
 ἦμενος, οὐδέ οἱ ὕπνος ἐπὶ βλεφάροισιν ἔπιπτεν
 Πληιάδας τ' ἐσορώντι καὶ ὄψε δύοντα Βοώτην
 Ἄρκτον θ', ἦν καὶ ἄμαξαν ἐπὶ κλησὶν καλέουσιν,
 ἦ τ' αὐτοῦ στρέφεται καὶ τ' Ὀρίωνα δοκεύει,
 οἷη δ' ἄμμορός ἐστι λοετρῶν Ὠκεανοῖο·
 τὴν γὰρ δὴ μιν ἄνωγε Καλυψώ, δία θεάων,
 ποντοπορευέμεναι ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ χειρὸς ἔχοντα.
 ἑπτὰ δὲ καὶ δέκα μὲν πλέεν ἦματα ποντοπορεύων,
 ὀκτωδαικεκάτη δ' ἐφάνη ὄρεα σκιόεντα

γαίης Φαιήκων, ὅθι τ' ἄγχιστον πέλεν αὐτῶ·
εἶσατο δ' ὡς ὅτε ῥινὸν ἐν ἠεροειδέι πόντῳ.

And she sent him a breeze both gentle and warm. With gladness did the noble Odysseus spread the sail to the breeze. Then he, as he sat, was skilfully guiding (it) with a steering oar, nor was sleep falling upon his eyelids as he was watching the Pleiades and Bootes setting late and Arctus, which they also call by the name of 'waggon', which both turns by itself and watches Orion, and alone has no part in the baths of Oceanus. For Calypso, noble among goddesses, indeed bade him sail over the sea keeping it on the left-hand side. And he kept sailing over the sea for seventeen days, but on the eighteenth the thickly wooded mountains of the land of the Phaeacians appeared, where it was even nearest to him; and it looked like an ox-hide shield in the dark sea.

14. ST LUKE, *Actus Apostolorum* 28.1-12 (1st c. A.D.)

Καὶ διασωθέντες τότε ἐπέγνωσεν ὅτι Μελίτη ἡ νῆσος καλεῖται. Οἱ τε βάρβαροι παρέϊχαν οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν φιланθρωπίαν ἡμῖν· ἄψαντες γὰρ πυρὰν προσελάβοντο πάντας ἡμᾶς διὰ τὸν ὑετὸν τὸν ἐφεστῶτα καὶ διὰ τὸ ψῦχος. Συστρέψαντος δὲ τοῦ Παύλου φρυγάνων τι πλῆθος καὶ ἐπιθέντος ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὰν, ἔχιδνα ἀπὸ τῆς θερμῆς ἐξελθοῦσα καθῆψεν τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ. Ὡς δὲ εἶδον οἱ βάρβαροι χρεμάμενον τὸ θηρίον ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ, πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔλεγον· πάντως φονεύς ἐστὶν ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος, ὃν διασωθέντα ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἡ δίκη ζῆν οὐκ εἶασεν. Ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀποτινάξας τὸ θηρίον εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἔπαθεν οὐδὲν κακόν· οἱ δὲ προσεδόκων αὐτὸν μέλλειν πίπρασθαι ἢ καταπίπτειν ἄφνω νεκρόν. ἐπὶ πολὺ δὲ αὐτῶν προσδοκῶντων καὶ θεωρούντων μηδὲν ἄτοπον εἰς αὐτὸν γινόμενον, μεταβαλόμενοι ἔλεγον αὐτὸν εἶναι θεόν. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς περὶ τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον ὑπῆρχεν χωρία τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς νήσου ὀνόματι Ποπλίω, ὃς ἀναδεξάμενος ἡμᾶς ἡμέρας τρεῖς φιλοφρονῶς ἐξένισεν. Ἐγένετο δὲ τὸν πατέρα τοῦ Ποπλίου πυρετοῖς καὶ δυσεντερίῳ συνεχόμενον κατακεῖσθαι, πρὸς ὃν ὁ Παῦλος εἰσελθὼν καὶ προσευξάμενος, ἐπιθείς τὰς κείρας αὐτῶ ἰάσατο αὐτόν. Τοῦτου δὲ γενομένου καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἔχοντες ἀσθενείας προσήρχοντο καὶ ἐθεραπεύοντο, οἱ καὶ πολλαῖς τιμαῖς ἐτίμησαν ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀναγομῆνοι ἐπέθεντο τὰ πρὸς τὰς χρείας. Μετὰ δὲ τρεῖς μῆνας ἀνήχθημεν ἐν πλοίῳ παρακεχειμακότι ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, Ἀλεξανδρινῶ, παρασήμῳ Διοσκούροις. Καὶ καταχθέντες εἰς Συρακούσας ἐπεμείναμεν ἡμέρας τρεῖς.

And having got saved, then we learnt that the island was called "Melitē". And the peasants provided us not with no insignificant kindness; for having lit a fire, they welcomed us all because of the falling rain and because of the cold. And when Paul had gathered some amount of sticks and placed (them) upon the fire, a snake, having come out of the heat, got hold of his hand. And when the peasants saw the small wild animal hanging from his hand, they were saying to each other: "Certainly this man is a murderer, whom justice did not allow to live, although he was saved from the sea". On the one hand, accordingly, he, having shaken off the small wild animal into the fire, suffered no harm; on the other hand, they were expecting him to be about to burn up

(with fever) or to immediately fall down dead. But when they waited for a long time and saw nothing out of place that happened to him, having changed their view, they were saying that he was a god. And in those (days) the chief of the island, by name Publius, possessed lands around that place, who, having welcomed us for three days, hosted (us) lovingly. And it happened that the father of Publius was lying down overcome with fever and dysentery, toward whom Paul, having entered and prayed, having laid (his) hands on him, healed him. And when this took place, even the rest (of the people) in the island, with ailments, used to approach (him) and be healed, who honoured us even with many things and laid on (us) at our departure the things for (our) needs. And after three months, we embarked a sailing boat harbouring in the island for the winter, an Alexandrine one, with the emblem of the Dioscuri. And having called in at Syracuse, we stayed there for three days.

15. STEPHANUS OF BYZANTIUM, s.v. Γαῦλος (5th c. A.D.)

Γαῦλος, νῆσος πρὸς τῇ Καρχηδόνι
“Gaulos, an island near Carthage.”

16. *Actus Petri et Pauli* 161, 929-932 (5th c. A.D.) (ed. P.G. Migne et al.)

ἐγένετο μετὰ τὸ ἐξελεθῆναι τὸν ἅγιον Παῦλον ἀπὸ Γαυδομελέτης τῆς νήσου ἐλθεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ Ἰταλίαν ...

δεξάμενος δὲ ὁ Παῦλος τοὺς δύο ἄνδρας τοὺς ἀπεσταλμένους μετὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς μηνὶ Μάϊω εἰκάδι, πρόθυμος ἐγένετο καὶ ἠὺχαρίστησεν τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ δεσπότη ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ. ἀποπλεύσας δὲ ἀπὸ Γαυδομελέτης οὐκ ἔτι ἦλθεν διὰ Ἀφρικῆς ἐπὶ τὰ μέρη Ἰταλίας, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Σικελίαν ἀνέδραμεν, ἕως οὗ ἦλθεν ἐν Συρακούσῃ τῇ πόλει... .

It came to pass that Saint Paul, after he left from the island of Gaudomelété, came to Italy...

And Paul, having received the two men, sent with the letter on the 20th day of the month of May, became eager and thanked our Lord and Master Jesus Christ. And having sailed away from Gaudomelété, he still did not come to the parts of Italy through Africa, but we made a course up to Sicily until he came to the city of Syracuse...

17. PROCOPIUS OF CESAREA, *Bellorum historia* 3.14.16 (6th c. A.D.)

ἀράμενοι τε κατὰ τάχος τὰ ἰστία, Γαύλω τε καὶ Μελίτῃ ταῖς νήσοις προσέσχον, αἱ τὸ τε Ἀδριατικὸν καὶ Τυρρηρικὸν πέλαγος διορίζουσιν.

And while they raised the sails quickly, they approached the islands of Gaulos and Melitē, which separate the Adriatic Sea and the Tyrrhenian.

18. *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, 53.5 (6th c. A.D.)

Εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ νῆσοι ἐπίκοινοι αὗται· Κόρσυρα, Ταυριανίς, Ἀστυπάλαια, Κῶος, Λαμπαδοῦσα, Γαλάτῃ, Χίος, Κνίδος, Γαῦδος, Γόρσυνα, Λέσβος,

Νίσυρος, Μελίτη, Κρήτη, Τένεδος, Μεγίστη, Κέρκινα, Γαυλορήτη, Ίμβρος, Κύπρος, Μήγιξ, Θήρα, Ίασος, Σαρδανίς, Κάρπαθος, Σάμος.

And there belong to them even these islands in common: Corsyra, Tauriannis, Astypalaea, Coos, Lampadusa, Galatē, Chios, Cnidos, Gaudos, Gorsyna, Lesbos, Nisyros, Melitē, Crete, Tenedos, Megistē, Cercina, Gaulorētē, Imbros, Cyprus, Menix, Thēra, Iasos, Sardanias, Carpathos, Samos.

19. NICEPHORUS, *Historiae Syntomos* (9th c. A.D.), quoted from J. Busuttill (1969), 17-18

ἐν ᾧ δὲ διέτριβεν ἐκεῖσε, ἀγγέλλεται αὐτῷ ὡς ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀταλάριχος καὶ Θεόδωρος ὁ τὴν ἀξίαν μάγιστρος, Θεοδώρου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφοῦ υἱός, σὺν ἄλλοις τισὶν ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτῷ ἡμελλον. καὶ τοῖς μὲν νύσασσι πεισθεὶς τούτων τὰς ῥίνας καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἐξέτεμε, καὶ Ἀταλάριχον μὲν εἰς τὴν νῆσον τὴν λεγομένην Πρίγκκιπον ἐξόριστον ἐξέπεμπε, Θεόδωρον δὲ πρὸς τὴν νῆσον τὴν Γαυδομελέτην προσαγορευομένην, ἐπιτρέψας τῷ ἐκεῖσε δουκί, ἥνικα πρὸς αὐτὸν καταλάβοι. καὶ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ποδῶν ἀφελέσθαι. κατὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τοὺς συγγόντας αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἐτιμωρήσατο.

In the time he spent there, it was announced to him that his son, Atalarichus, and Theodorus, the real teacher, and the son of the brother of King Theodorus, were about to contrive revenge against him along with others. And having been persuaded by those who disclosed (the matter), he cut off the noses and hands of these men, and he sent off in exile Atalarichus, on the one hand, to the island called “Principus”, and Theodorus, on the other hand, to the island called “Gaudomelētē”, having referred the matter to the leader so that he might arrest him, and he removed the other (man) out of the way. And in the same manner he even revenged on those who shared their feelings with them regarding the matters of the conspiracy.

20. ANONYMOUS (12th c. A.D.), *Tristia ex Melitogaudio* 166-167 (84v.7, marg.)

quoted from J. Busuttill, S. Fiorini, H.C.R. Vella (eds.), (2010)

[ἐνθάδε] φησι πῶς ὁ ποιητὴς ἐξω[ρί]σθη ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Μελιτηγαύδω.

Here he says how the poet was banished in Melitēgautos itself.

21. ANONYMUS (12th c. A.D.), *Tristia ex Melitogaudio* 98-99 (50v. *supra*, marg.)

quoted from J. Busuttill, S. Fiorini, H.C.R. Vella (eds.), (2010)

ἐγ[ώ] διάκονος Φί[λι]ππος Γαούτης μ[α]ρ[τυρῶ] καὶ στέ[ργω].

I, Deacon Philip Gautēs, witness and concur..

22. *Ordo of the Diocese of Gozo* (1978)

Gaudos	Gaudisium	Gaudisiensis
Gaulos		Gaulitanus
“Ghawdex	Gaudisium	Ghawdxi
Gaulos		Gawlitanu”

BIBLIOGRAPHY

CLASSICAL AUTHORS

- Anonymous, *Etymologicum Gudianum* [E.G.], F.W. Sturz (ed.), Leipzig 1818.
- APOLLONIUS OF RHODES, *Argonautica*, H. Fränkel (ed.), Clarendon Press, Oxford 1961.
- CALLIMACHUS, *Fragmenta*, R. Pfeiffer (ed.), Clarendon Press, Oxford 1965.
- Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* [C.I.G.], A. Böchi and I. Franzius (eds.), 1853.
- Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticorum* [C.I.S.].
- DIODORUS SICULUS [Diod.], *Bibliotheca* III and VI, J. Henderson (ed.), Loeb Classical Library, vols II and III, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts 2000.
- HECATAEUS, F. Jacoby (ed.), vol. I, 1923.
- HOMER, *Odyssea* XVI [Hom. *Od.*], J. Henderson (ed.), Loeb Classical Library vol. II, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts 2004.
- LIVY, *Ab urbe condita* XXI-XXII. G.P. Goold (ed.), Loeb Classical Library, vol. V. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts 1996.
- LIVY, *Periochae*, G.P. Goold (ed.), The Loeb Classical Library, vol. XIV. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts 1987.
- NICEPHORUS, *Historiae syntomos*. In Busuttill, J. (1969), "Fonti greche per la storia delle isole maltesi". In *Missione archeologica italiana a Malta: rapporto della campagna 1963*. Rome, Istituto di Studi del Vicino Oriente: 15-26.
- Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine*, Nestle, D.E. (ed.), Privilegierten Württembergischen Bibelanstalt, Stuttgart 1907.
- Patrologiae cursus completus omnium Sanctorum Patrum, Doctorum Scriptorumque Ecclesiasticorum* [Series Graeca], Migne, J.P. et al. (eds.), Brepols, Turnhout.
- PROCOPIUS, *Bellorum historia*, J. Haury (ed.), Teubner, Leipzig 1905-1913.
- STEPHANUS BYZANTIUS, *Ethnica*, A. Meinekius (ed.), Graz 1958.
- STRABO, *Geographia* VI, G.P. Goold (ed.), The Loeb Classical Library, vol. III. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts 1995.

MODERN AUTHORS

- Anonymous, Map of Malta and Gozo, 1581.
- Anonymous, *Siciliae et objacentium insularum veterum inscriptionum nova collectio*. Palermo 1769.

- Anonymous, *Ordo Divini Officii persolvendi Sacrique peragendi in Templo Principe Gaudiensi universaque Dioecesi Exc[ellentissimi] ac Rev[erendissimi] D[omi]ni Nicolai [Joseph] Cauchi, Dei et Apostolicae Sedis gratia Episcopi Gaudiensis, jussu editus pro anno liturgico*, Ħajja Press, Malta 1977-1978.
- BRINCAT, J.M, *Malta 870-1054. Al Himyari's account*, Said, Malta 1991.
- BUSUTTIL, J., FIORINI, S. and VELLA, H.C.R., *Tristia ex Melitogaudo: Lament in Greek Verse of a XIIth-century exile on Gozo*, The Farsons Foundation, Malta 2010.
- CARUANA, A.A., *Frammento critico della storia fenicio-cartaginese, Greco-romana e bisantina, musulmana e normanna-aragonese delle isole di Malta*. Malta 1899.
- LIDDELL, H.G. and SCOTT, R., *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1939.
- FIORINI, S. and VELLA, H.C.R., "Truth vindicated: *Tristia ex Melitogaudo*", *Melita Classica* 2.53-72, 2015.
- FIORINI, S. and VELLA, H.C.R., "Reactions to *Tristia ex Melitogaudo*: a response", *Literatūra* 58 (3), 75-87, 2016.
- LASPINA, S., *Outlines of Maltese history*, A.C. Aquilina & Co, Malta 1971.
- MUSCAT, N. and S. TOMAŠEVIĆ, *Melita Illyrica and Melita Africana: the islands of Saint Paul*, The Holy Land Commissariat (Malta), Malta, 2018. Pantaleone, H., *Militaris Ordinis Iohannitarum, Rhodiorum, aut Melitensium Equitum*, Basel 1581.
- SAMMUT, J.C., *Currency in Malta*, Central Bank of Malta, Malta 2001.
- VELLA, H.C.R. (ed. & tr.), *The earliest description of Malta: Lyons, 1536*, Debono Enterprises, Malta 1980.
- VELLA, H.C.R., "Quintinus (1536) and the Temples of Juno and Hercules in Malta", *Athenaeum* (Università di Pavia), 60.272-276, 1982.
- VELLA, H.C.R., "Juno and fertility at the Sanctuary of Tas-Silġ, Malta". In A. Bonanno (ed.), *Archaeology and fertility cult in the Ancient Mediterranean*, The University of Malta, 315-322.
- VELLA, H.C.R., "Gozo in Classical literature". In L. Briguglio and J. Bezzina (eds), *Gozo and its culture*, Formatek, Malta 1995 (a).
- VELLA, H.C.R., *The Island of Gozo in Classical texts. Occasional Papers on islands and small States* (ed. L. Briguglio) No. 13. Malta: Islands and Small States Institute, Foundation for International Studies, University of Malta Building, St Paul Street, Valletta (This work is a more elaborate version of Vella 1995 (a), 1995 (b)).
- VELLA, H.C.R., "Jean Quintin's *Insulae Melitae descriptio* (1536): an anniversary

- and a discussion on its sources, *Humanitas – Journal of the Faculty of Arts, University of Malta*, 155-171, 2002 (a).
- VELLA, H.C.R., *Malta u Għawdex fl-Era Klassika. Kullana Kulturali* (M. Schiavone and Ch. Briffa eds.) No. 38. Pubblikazzjonijiet Indipendenza, Malta 2002 (b).
- VELLA, H.C.R., “Gaudos”, *Gozo observer*, 23.9-16, 2010.
- VELLA, H.C.R., “The origin of the name of Gozo”, *The Gozo observer*, 27.3-20, 2012 (a).
- VELLA, H.C.R., “Thrinacia, the Island of Malta”, *Literatūra* 54 (3), 7-36, 2012 (b).
- VELLA, H.C.R. (ed. & tr.), *Il-Prefazju Storiku ta’ L-Mylsen Fenicju Puniku jew Il-Grammatika tal-Malti ta’ Mikiel Anton Vassalli*, Klabb Kotba Maltin, Valletta, Malta 2014.
- VELLA, H.C.R., *Malta: Thrinax of the Maltese*. In P. Glatz and A. Thiel (eds.), *European Symbols: united in diversity. A schoolbook for European students*. Austria, Amici Linguae Latinae, Euroclassica and Sodalitas (2015), 86-90, Austria 2015.
- WARMINGTON, CH., *Carthage*, London 1960.
- ZAMMIT, TH., *Malta: the Maltese islands and their history*, A.C. Aquilina & Co., Malta 1952.

(Página deixada propositadamente em branco)