

## PHOENIX

WHEN St. Paul reached Fair Havens in Crete on his voyage to Rome, a ship's council was held in view of the weather and the time of year to decide what was the best course to adopt. The majority vote was to put to sea *εἰ πως δύναντο κατανήσαντες εἰς Φοίνικα παραχειμάσαι, λυμένα τῆς Κρήτης βλήματα κατὰ λίβα καὶ κατὰ χώρον* (Acts xxvii. 12). The problems in this text are: (1) where was Phoenix and its harbour? (2) what is meant by the description of its aspect?

Ancient authors give some further information about a Phoenix in Crete:

*Stadiasmus maris magni* (328): ἀπὸ Ἀπολλωνίας εἰς Φοίνικα στάδιον ρ. πόλις ἔστιν ἔχει λυμένα καὶ νῆσον. ἀπὸ δὲ Κλαυδίας εἰς Φοίνικα στάδιον τ'. ἔχει πόλιν καὶ λυμένα. (329) ἀπὸ Φοίνικος εἰς Τάρρον στάδιος ξ'.

Strabo (10. 475): τὸ δὲ ἔνθεν ἰσθμὸς ἔστιν ὡς ἑκατὸν σταδίων, ἔχων κατοικίαν πρὸς μὲν τῇ βορείῳ θαλάττῃ Ἀμφίμαλλαν, πρὸς δὲ τῇ νοτιῷ Φοίνικα τὸν Λαιματάων.

Ptolemy (3. 17. 3, giving a list of points from west to east along the S. coast of Crete with degree references):

Τάρρα  
Πουκλάσιον  
Φουνικός λιμὴν  
Φοινιξ πόλις  
Μασσαλία ποταμοῦ ἐμβολαί.

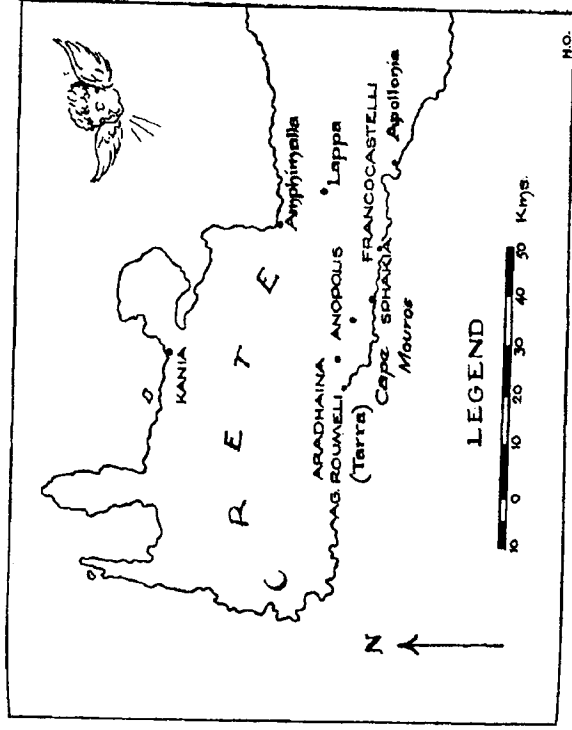
This evidence is conflicting. Ptolemy makes the whole length of Crete 3° 5'. As Crete is 140 miles long, this gives 45½ miles to a degree. Therefore Phoenix (which he puts ⅔ of a degree east of the western end) is 34 miles from that point, with the harbour a little to the west of it. This would put Phoenix in the vicinity of Cape Mourois, which is 33 miles from the west end. Strabo, on the other hand, in measuring the narrowest part of western Crete, makes the distance from Amphimalla to Phoenix 100 stades (approximately 11-12 English miles) which would be right if Phoenix was near Francocastelli. The distance direct from Amphimalla to Cape Mourois is about 120 stades. The figures of the

<sup>1</sup> In August 1957, accompanied by Mr. C. M. Farrer and Mr. P. B. B. Mayhew, I explored the area at the suggestion of Professor C. F. D. Moule. This paper is the outcome of their persistence and curiosity. On geological matters, where Sir Edward Bullard, *pro singulari sua humanitate*, found himself unable to enlighten me, I am indebted to the guidance of Dr. Alberto Blanc of Rome and Professor Maximos Mitropoulos of Athens. I have also had the inestimable advantage of discussing the problem frequently with Mr. D. M. Last who has saved me from a multitude of errors.

Stadiasmus, if we identify Tarros (Tarba) with Agia Roumeli (first maintained by R. Pashley),<sup>1</sup> would again suit the vicinity of Cape Mourois which is about 60 stades (7 miles) from Agia Roumeli and 300 stades (35 miles) from Apollonia.

The evidence, then, such as it is, points to the Cape Mourois region. If Strabo is to be taken literally, we must suppose, with M. Guarducci,<sup>2</sup> that he is referring to a different Phoenix farther to the east which he distinguishes by calling it *Λαιματάων*. (The name Finkies is found near

## WEST CRETE



Francocastelli which may be a survival.) This is possible, but it certainly cannot be St. Paul's Phoenix: for there is no harbour there. Alternatively, it could be held that Strabo's figure is only approximate (*ὡς ἑκατόν*) and that he is referring to the same Phoenix. Ancient distances were computed, not measured and the only north-south path hereabouts in old days came out not at Sphakia, as the modern road does, but at Anopolis which lies just above Cape Mourois. Any measurements for the width of Crete in this area would be based on the length of this path.

<sup>1</sup> *Travels in Crete* (1837), 2 vols.

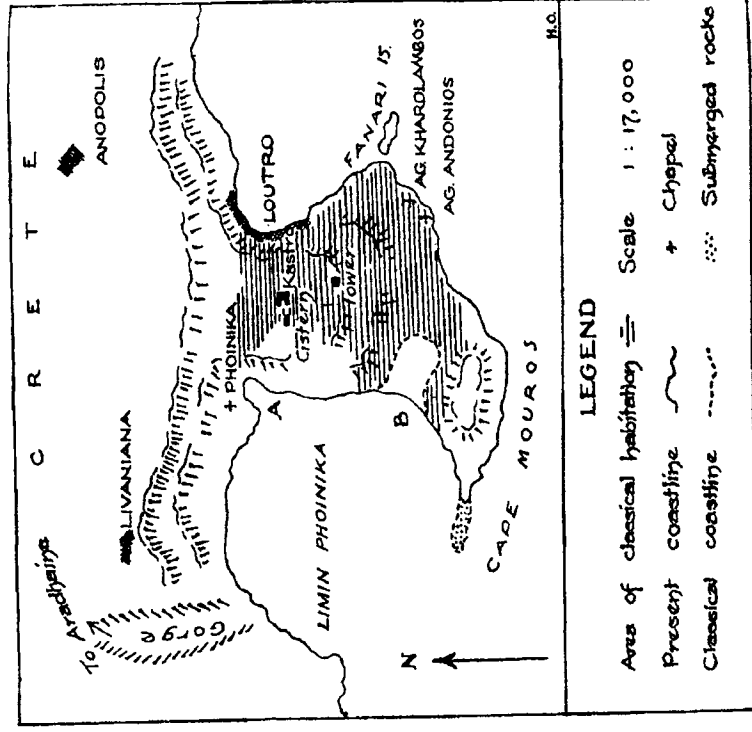
<sup>2</sup> *Inscriptiones Graecae II* (Rome 1939), pp. 226-9; so also F. Matz, *Forschungen auf Kreta* (1942).

Other authors associate Phoenix with the name Aradena:

Hierocles (*Synecd.* 651): Φοινίκη ἤτοι Αραδένα.

Notitiae Graecae Episcop. (8. 230, cp. 9. 139): ὁ Φοινίκης ἤτοι Αραδένης.

This Aradena is almost certainly the same as the modern Aradhaina which lies at the top of a gorge, 3 miles to the north-west of Cape Mouros. Classical and medieval remains have been found there.



Unfortunately no topographical help is given either by inscriptions or coins. Svoronos (*Nam. Crête*, 266) attributed a coin with the letter  $\Phi$  on one side to Phoenix but the attribution is quite uncertain and the provenance of the coin wholly unknown.

Pashley was, therefore, right to look for the site of the ancient town of Phoenix near Cape Mouros. Cape Mouros itself is a rocky peninsula which projects nearly a mile from the south coast. On the east side of the peninsula the modern village of Loutro lies round a deep harbour with a shingle beach facing south-east. On the west side there is a much

larger and more open bay, which does not appear to have been used as a harbour for some time and is now deserted. Loutro, a tiny but delightful fishing village, is clearly the descendant of a more imposing place, since much of the peninsula is covered with the remains of medieval buildings and a large Turkish fort commands the high ground above it. The site was certainly occupied in classical times; for there is a wide scattering of late pottery over the whole area (see plan) as well as other visible remains. The altar in the chapel of Ag. Kharolambos appears to be made from an Ionic capital, while a small column is used as a lintel in the cave-chapel of Ag. Andonios. Two further columns have been set up nearby: part of a third reposes on the roof of the village café. At least seven inscriptions, reproduced in *Inscriptiones Creticae*, have been found here, one of which is particularly relevant (7). It is a dedication by an Alexandrian shipowner under Trajan (c. A.D. 116) which shows that at that date the place was certainly used as a port of call by merchantmen.

... Epictetus libertus tabularius  
curam agente operis Dionysio Sostra  
ti filio Alexandrino gubernatore  
navis parasemo Isopharia T. Cl. Theonis

These general indications suggest that there was a town of some size but no great opulence situated in classical times on the peninsula. The site, which has at least four sources of fresh water, is an obvious one; it possesses one of the very few natural harbours of any kind on the south coast of Crete and it is easily defensible, so that, although no traces of Minoan, Phoenician, or early Greek settlement have been found, there can be no doubt that it is to be recognized as Phoenix and that it was known and used, as its name suggests, from the earliest days of sailing.

On which side was the harbour? Today the west bay is not used at all: the caiques and other boats are all moored in the east bay (Porto Loutro). But the written evidence favours the west bay:

1. Ptolemy, in his list, puts the harbour of Phoenix to the west of the town.

2. The west bay, as well as the little chapel at its head, retains to this day the name of Phineka. This should be the survival of an old name, for it is hard to see why the name should have been falsified in such a desolate area.

3. The description of its aspect in Acts xxvii. 12 is *θλιέτωρα κατὰ λήθα καὶ κατὰ χεῖρον*. As C. Lattey,<sup>1</sup> F. F. Bruce,<sup>2</sup> and E. Haenchen

<sup>1</sup> *Scripture IV* (1950), p. 144.

<sup>2</sup> *The Book of the Acts* (The New London Commentary on the New Testament, 1954), ad loc.

have all recently argued, this can only mean 'facing west'. That the Libs is the south-west wind and the Caurus the north-west wind is made abundantly clear by passages such as Seneca (*N.Q.* 5. 16. 5) and Pliny (*N.H.* 2. 47. 46), despite Lattey's attempt to prove from a doubtful passage of Galen (406) that the Caurus is really the same as the Libs. Nor have any parallels been adduced from classical or biblical Greek to upset the normal meaning of *βλέπειν κατά* = to face (see Bauer, *Wörterbuch*, 861, and, for the Libs, Gow on [Theocritus] *Idyll*, 9. 11).

Thus the written evidence demands that the harbour of Phoenix should be the west, not the east bay, and an investigation of the site provided an explanation of its present disuse. The suggestion (Bruce) that 'the two streams shewn as entering the bay in its vicinity may have silted it up in the course of centuries' is best forgotten. There is no trace of silting. There is, however, ample evidence that the whole island of Crete has undergone considerable geological change even in historical times. The instability of the earth's crust in the area is shown by the frequency of earthquakes. As early as 1865 it was observed by Captain T. A. B. Spratt<sup>1</sup> that the island had tilted from west to east and this major upheaval seems to have taken place in the sixth century which saw a series of major earthquakes in the east Mediterranean, responsible for the inundation of the Delta (535), the fall of the dome of S. Sophia (558), and the destruction of Antioch.<sup>2</sup> It is now believed not to have been as regular or uniform a movement as Spratt thought but there is no question that the coast level at the west end has been raised in places by as much as 20 feet. Spratt judged it to have risen 13 ft. 6 in. at Loutro and this calculation agrees very closely with our own observations. There is a curved, sandy inlet on the west side of Cape Mourou where there is no sign of classical habitation but which can be seen from the line of shells and similar deposits to have formed at one time a cove with a shelving sand and shingle beach. The scarcity of level ground on the peninsula for building makes it improbable that the Cretans would have neglected to use such a site, had it existed in antiquity. At that time it must still have been under water. The line of shells, marking the limit of the raised beaches here and right round the bay, is about 14 feet above present sea-level, and this extra depth would have provided adequate clearance over the line of rocks which form the present coastline, especially since they look as if they have been thrown up by the seismic disturbances. St. Paul's ship was evidently one of the ordinary corn- and passenger-carrying merchantmen from Alexandria, of about 250 tons. These vessels drew 7-9 feet at the most, to judge by

<sup>1</sup> *Travels and Researches in Crete II*, pp. 251-6.

<sup>2</sup> J. B. S. Pendlebury, *The Archaeology of Crete* (1939), p. 3.

the draught of the special 1,000-tonner grain-ship described by Lucian (*Navigium*, 1 ff.) which had a depth from deck to keel of 43 feet. Any greater draught would have made them impossible to beach for wintering—a task which Archimedes was able to perform single-handed by an arrangement of pulleys (Plutarch, *Marcellus*, 14. 7-8).<sup>1</sup>

This inlet (B on the plan) faces north-west—*κατά χάρον*. There is a second inlet (A on the plan) which faces south-west—*κατά λιβᾶ*—and which still has a depth close inshore of 7-8 fathoms with a good shingle strand for beaching. The additional depth would have made it even better. The bay itself, sheltered from all quarters except the south-west, is said to have a depth of about 25 fathoms and is free from reefs.

A second reason for the abandonment of the harbour lies in the fact that, perhaps as a result of the same earthquakes or by the action of the sea, the rocky spit guarding the mouth of the harbour has been greatly diminished. At one time, it extended at least 50-100 yards farther and this would have given a great deal of extra protection to the whole bay.

The conclusion is that the harbour of Phoenix was the west bay, a view accepted by a minority of scholars led by C. Wordsworth and Kieppert. But most editors and translators, including the RV and Mgr. Knox, following James Smith<sup>2</sup> and Field,<sup>3</sup> have been misled by the fact that today the east bay (Porto Loutro) is used as the harbour. They have supported this by arguing that if Phoenix was *open* to the west winds it could not have been a good harbour for wintering in. For the Libs and the Caurus are notoriously winter gales—*semper hiems, semper spirantes frigora Cauri*—and modern weather records at Heraclion indicate that the average percentage for winter winds is 39 per cent. from south-west (depressions moving eastwards to the north of the island) and 31 per cent. from north-north-west (depressions moving eastwards to the south of the island). 'Loutro is the only bay on the south side where a vessel could be secure in winter' (*Med. Pilot*, iv (1941), p. 28). So they have made a variety of attempts to explain away *βλέπειν κατά* (see Breusing, *Die Nautiken d. Alten* 163; W. J. Woodhouse, *Encycl. Bibl.* 3690 ff.), the most popular suggestion being that *κατά λιβᾶ καὶ κατά χάρον* means 'pointing down the south-west and north-west winds'. Unfortunately this does not take account either of the importance of local variations or of the circumstances of St. Paul's voyage. In fact, as

<sup>1</sup> I owe this information, with references, to Mr. J. S. Morrison. The problem is not, of course, affected by the possibility that the Mediterranean sea-level has risen about 4 feet since antiquity (see H. Godwin, *New Phytologist*, xlvii (1945), pp. 29 ff., and the evidence collected by N. G. L. Hammond, *J.H.S.* lxxvi (1956), p. 35).

<sup>2</sup> *The Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, p. 88 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Notes on the Translation of the New Testament* (1899).

we verified from two caique owners, the head of the local Customs station and two other residents, at Loutro (as opposed to Heraclion, which is on the north coast and 60 miles to the east) the prevalent winter winds are from the north and east. Indeed the present practice in winter there is to move the caiques some distance from the exposed harbour to the far side of the bay where there is deep water and shelter from north-east-south-east winds. The harbour itself, facing south-east, is regarded as unsafe from November to February. It is apparently common for the water in it to be very rough and for the waves to break right up to the houses. This local character of the wind is likely to have been more pronounced when the north coast of Africa was less arid and more cultivated than it is now: for the increasing desiccation of that area has had a marked effect on the weather pattern of the east Mediterranean.<sup>1</sup>

Now it was just such an east wind—the Grigal, as Lattey rightly points out—which drove St. Paul to shipwreck. Only a harbour facing west would afford a refuge. This was Phoenix. Presumably the east bay was also used in suitable conditions: for Phoenix was like Syracuse or the Piræus or the city of the Phaeacians

ἦν πέρι πύργος  
 ὑψηλός, καλὸς δὲ λιμὴν ἐκάρτεθε πόλιος<sup>2</sup>

but it was of the two inlets in the west bay only and not of the two bays, facing in opposite directions,<sup>2</sup> that the majority of the ship's council at Fair Havens in October A.D. 59 were thinking when they described the aspect and advantages of Phoenix.

R. M. OGILVIE

## A COPTIC LIBRARY OF Gnostic WRITINGS

### I

SOME twelve years have passed since the discovery at Chenoboskion of a jar in which were thirteen Coptic manuscripts containing over forty works.<sup>3</sup> These include not only such material as is mentioned below but

<sup>1</sup> This fact was kindly supplied by my brother, Mr. D. A. Ogilvie, whose wife was responsible for the maps. See also B. S. J. Issertin, *T.A.P.A.* lxxxvi (1955), p. 319.

<sup>2</sup> The view of A. Trevor-Battye, *Camping in Crete* (1913), p. 210.

<sup>3</sup> *Evangelium Veritatis*, Codex Jung ff. VIII<sup>v</sup>-XVI<sup>v</sup> (pp. 16-32)/ff. XIX<sup>v</sup>-XXII<sup>v</sup> (pp. 37-43), ediderunt MICHEL MALININE, HENRI-CHARLES PUECH, GILLES QUISPÉL (Studien aus dem C. G. Jung-Institut, VI.) Pp. xvi + 127, 24 plates. Zürich: Rascher, 1956. 90 Swiss frs.

*The Jung Codex: a newly recovered Gnostic Papyrus.* By H. C. Puech, G. QuispéL, W. C. VAN UNNIK; translated and edited by F. L. Cross. Pp. 136, 1 plate. London: Mowbray, 1955. 15s. (I cite this as *Cod.*) I must express gratitude to Professors QuispéL and Krister Stendahl and to Dr. Georg Luck for their kind assistance. Irenæus is quoted from Harvey's edition.

also texts mentioned by Porphyry, *V. Plot.* 16, apocryphal gospels, and Hermetic writings (one being part of what we know in a Latin version as the *Asclepius*). One manuscript remained in private hands and, thanks to the unwearied energy of QuispéL and the wise munificence of George H. Page, passed to the C. G. Jung Institute at Zürich; the rest of the find is at Cairo. It is most welcome news that arrangements have been made for the publication of the whole by an international committee.

The historical importance of this discovery may fairly be set on a level with that of the Dead Sea Scrolls. The latter throws new light on inter-testamental Judaism and on Christian beginnings; the former does something comparable for subsequent Christian development.

There have been various articles informing us as to the content of the Coptic find, and W. Till has published the variants of the Cairo copy of the *Sophia of Jesus Christ* (as also of the Cairo copy of the related *Epistle of Eugnostos*) and of one of the Cairo copies of the *Apocryphon of John* in his edition of Carl Schmidt's Berlin codex.<sup>1</sup> M. Malinine, G. QuispéL, and H. C. Puech have now brought out the *Gospel of Truth* from the Jung Codex. The names of the editors are a sufficient assurance for all of us who cannot read the original language; they provide translation, notes, and indexing. The gospel has a superb facsimile and versions in German and English in addition to the French: its editors deserve the warmest thanks for their achievement.

On the find as a whole there is an admirable *mise à point* in the volume edited by F. L. Cross; this gives translations of lectures by Puech and QuispéL on the Jung Codex as a whole and of a study by van Unnik on the *Gospel of Truth* in relation to the New Testament.<sup>2</sup>

Apart from the *Gospel* and a fragment of a *Prayer of the Apostle Peter* (I), the Jung Codex contains three texts. *The Letter of James*, professedly composed in Hebrew,<sup>3</sup> follows the familiar pattern of revelations made after the Resurrection. The text<sup>4</sup> includes an interesting

<sup>1</sup> *Die gnostischen Schriften des koptischen Papyrus Berolinensis 8502* (Texte u. Untere. lx, 1955; this includes part of the gospel according to Mary [Magdalene]). Cp. reviews in *J.T.S.*, n.s. viii (1957), pp. 162 ff., by K. H. Kuhn, and in *Vis. Chr.* x (1956), pp. 51 f., by QuispéL. Puech (*Cod.* 22) remarks that the existence of four copies of the *Apocryphon* indicates the importance attached to it. In *Sophia* 112. 9 (p. 265 Till) could 'die Götter der Götter' be a distant echo of Plato, *Tim.* 41A?

<sup>2</sup> Reviewed by R. McL. Wilson, *N.T. Stud.* i (1955), pp. 309 ff.; R. M. Grant, *Vis. Chr.* x (1956), pp. 50 f.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. *Corp. Herm.* xvi. 2 (direction not to let the work be translated from Egyptian into Greek!).

<sup>4</sup> For a fuller account cp. Puech-QuispéL, *Vis. Chr.* viii (1954), pp. 7 ff.