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There is a sternness even toward disciples which marks this Gospel: witness the rebuke administered to James and John;<sup>1</sup> the discouraging words addressed to the three who purposed to become disciples;<sup>2</sup> the uncompromising demand for vigilance and service made upon those who had already enlisted;<sup>3</sup> the charge of folly and unbelief laid against the two who were overtaken by the risen Lord on the way to Emmaus.<sup>4</sup> In all this we see tokens of a love which is unsparing because it is just and true, an ἀποτομία which is consistent with the highest χρηστότης.<sup>5</sup> Of the easy good nature that shrinks from the pain of rebuking sin or warning against failure there is no trace. The "grace of our Lord Jesus Christ," as it is set forth in this Gospel, does not exclude but rather implies a "wrath of the Lamb" which is the complement of His mercy.

Neither of these features of Christ's teaching is wholly absent from the other Synoptic Gospels, but in St. Luke both are prominent, and the first may be said to be the prevalent note of the Lucan teaching. If in St. Mark our Lord appears in the character of the Evangelist of the Kingdom of God, and in St. Matthew as the Legislator of the Kingdom, in St. Luke He reveals Himself as the Physician, the Redeemer, and the supreme Master of mankind.

H. B. SWETE.

### DID ALEXANDRIA INFLUENCE THE NAUTICAL LANGUAGE OF ST. LUKE?

A STUDY OF ACTS XXVIII. 12 IN THE LIGHT OF GREEK POPYRI.

AMONG the contemporary accounts of ancient voyages one of the fullest and most graphic is the narrative preserved in Acts of Paul's voyage to Italy. Embarking upon a ship of

<sup>1</sup> Luke ix. 55.

<sup>2</sup> ix. 57 ff.

<sup>3</sup> xii. 35-48, xxi. 34-36.

<sup>4</sup> xxiv. 25.

<sup>5</sup> Rom. xi. 22.

Hadramyntum, the Apostle and his companions touched at Sidon, coasted Cyprus, and reached Myrra in Lycia. There the centurion transferred his charges to an Alexandrian ship bound for Italy, and in this they reached Kaloi Limenes—Fair Havens—on the southern coast of Crete, near the city Lasea. Here Paul favoured wintering; but the centurion and the officers of the ship preferred to make for Phoenix, another Cretan haven, which was deemed a more favourable port for wintering, as it looked *κατὰ λίβα καὶ κατὰ χῶρον* (Acts xxvii. 12). The natural meaning of *βλέποντα κατὰ* in such a context would seem to be looking toward the winds mentioned, but no such harbour on the southern coast of Crete is known, nor would such a harbour be at all commodious for wintering, but rather the very reverse. Constrained by this consideration, James Smith and other commentators after him have rendered *κατὰ λίβα* “down the south-west wind,” or with Dr. Howson have resorted to the heroic expedient of assuming that as sailors view everything subjectively, that is, from the standpoint of a man at sea, not of a man on land, the sailors who told Paul and his companions of this harbour meant that from a ship lying in it one looked landward *κατὰ λίβα καὶ κατὰ χῶρον*. In a situation so desperate it is perhaps not superfluous to look a little more closely than has hitherto been done into the meaning of one at least of the words involved.

Gellius truly says that Homer recognized but four winds, *Βορέης, Εὔρος,<sup>1</sup> Νότος, Ζέφυρος*. *Ἄρκτος* does indeed occur in the Homeric poems, but only in the sense of the constellation of the Bear. The Ionic mind had not yet risen to the abstract notion of direction. *Ἐσπερος* and *ἑσπέριος* meant evening (adj.), and only in the *Odyssey* does the former begin to denote the direction of the evening star

<sup>1</sup> But Homer's translators sometimes treat *Εὔρος* as the south-east wind, e.g. Butcher and Lang, *Odyssey*, 19. 206; cf. Keop, *Autenrieth's Homeric Dictionary*, s.v.

(*Odyssey*, 9. 29), as Ἡώς, dawn, was coming to mean the east (*Odyssey*, 9. 26). Λίψ does not appear in literature until the time of Herodotus. In speaking of evaporation and kindred processes in Libya, he remarks that νότος and λίψ which blow from that country are naturally much the rainiest of all winds (2. 25). Here his standpoint is Egyptian, and by Libya Herodotus, like Homer (*Odyssey*), means Northern Africa west of Egypt. Whether λίψ means there the south-west wind or the west wind is thus left uncertain; the geographical considerations perhaps rather favouring the latter. Herodotus' use of ἄρκτος is an advance upon Homer's, as e.g. in his description of the course of the Arabian mountains as φέρον ἀπ' ἄρκτου πρὸς μεσημβρίας τε καὶ νότου (2. 8), and ἑσπέρη appears in his writings in its more developed significance in ῥέει δὲ [ὁ Νεῖλος] ἀπὸ ἑσπέρας τε καὶ ἡλίου δυσμέων. Λίψ does not appear in Thucydides or Sophocles, and I find no occurrence of it in Xenophon or Plato registered. Thucydides employs ἡλίου δύσις in two senses: (1) the hour (3. 78), and (2) the direction (2. 96) of sunset. Μεσημβρία he uses only in its temporal sense, midday (2. 28), south being conveyed by νότος (2. 15, 2. 101, 3. 6).

The force of λίψ in classical usage is more explicitly indicated in a passage of Aristotle, *Περὶ κόσμου* (chap. 6). In it λίψ is classed among the west winds, and is more particularly defined as blowing from the winter setting of the sun. This makes λίψ the south-west wind. Aristotle further speaks of it as ὑγρός—ὦν ὑγρὸς φύσει (*Προβλημάτων* 2, 6),—says that such winds prevail in autumn—λίβες περὶ τὴν μετοπωρινὴν μάλιστα πνέουσιν (μβ. 6. 364<sup>b</sup> 2), and explains its name as derived from Libya—ὄνομα ἔχει ἀπὸ Λιβύης (σ. 973<sup>b</sup> 11), and again . . . λίψ καὶ οὗτος τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ Λιβύης ὅθεν πνεῖ (*Fragment—Περὶ Σημελῶν*<sup>1</sup>).

<sup>1</sup> Similarly Boeckh, *Erklärung einer Agyptischen Urkunde in griechischer Wissenschaft*, etc., in *Abhandl. der K. Academie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1820-21, p. 4.

Of writers of the second century we may cite Polybius, who uses *ἄνεμος λίψ* in describing an Iberian harbour and town. The bay which forms the harbour lies, he says, *νεύοντι πρὸς ἄνεμον λίβα*, and an island at its mouth renders it almost landlocked, leaving a passage on each side for ships, which find shelter here from all winds. The only drawback is the occasional roughness of the passages caused by *οἱ λίβες*, which here probably means the south-west winds (Polybius, 10. 10). Still clearer is a passage in 9. 27, where, in describing the city of Acrages in Sicily, Polybius says that along the southern (*νότιον*) side of it flows a river of the same name as the city, and along the side towards the west (*δύσεις*) and south-west (*λίβα*) flows the river called Hypsas.

The continuity of the Greek usage of *λίψ* in the sense of the south-west wind is attested by a bit of epigraphical evidence familiar to all who have visited Athens. On the eight sides of the striking ancient building known as the Tower of the Winds, or more exactly the Horologion of Andronicus Cyrrhestes, a structure erected to accommodate a water clock, sundial, and weather vane, are carved in low relief the figures of eight winds with their names above them, *ζέφυρος σκίρων βορέας καικίας ἀπηλιώτης εὐρος νότος λίψ* (C.I.G.I. 518). *Λίψ* occupies the side between *νότος* and *ζέφυρος*, facing the south-west. The tower dates from the first century B.C., and introduces us to Roman times.

Gellius tells us that once at the table of his instructor Favorinus, as they were reading a Latin ode, the word *Iapyx* came up and suggested as a topic for conversation the names and quarters of the several winds. Favorinus, in the course of his remarks, mentioned three western winds: Caurus, called in Greek *ἀργέστης*: Favonius, the Greek *ζέφυρος*: and Africus, the Greek *λίψ* (*Noct. Att.* 2. 22. 10, 11, 12). Gellius adds the remark that some make twelve winds instead of eight, inserting a third four in the middle places about south and north on the same plan on which the second four

were inserted between the two cardinal ones at east and west.<sup>1</sup> This remark receives interesting corroboration from the archaeological side. On the Belvedere balcony of the Vatican stands a twelve-sided base for a weather vane, which was found in 1779 on the Palatine, and on which the names of twelve winds are carved in Greek and Latin. This interesting monument is said to date from imperial times. The twelve-sided arrangement leaves no room for a south-west wind proper, and instead the two faces between west and south have λῖψ—Africus on the west-south-west, and λιβόντος, Austroafricus, on the south-south-west. The same vane base has ζέφυρος, Favonius, on the west, ἰάνυξ, Chorus, on the west-north-west, and θρακίας, Circius, on the north-north-west. This evidence, taken together with the remark of Gellius, clearly shows that λῖψ was veering two points towards the west.

To the combined evidence of Gellius and the Vatican inscription must be added a statement of the elder Pliny. In describing the eight winds, Pliny identifies the Greek λῖψ with the Latin *Africus* as blowing from the winter setting, and the Greek ἀργέστης with the Latin *Corus* as blowing from the solstitial setting. He goes on to say (2. 47): “Numerosior ratio . . . interiecerat . . . item inter liba et noton compositum ex utroque medium inter mæridiem et hibernum occidentem libonoton.” If by this fuller scheme of winds is meant a compass of twelve points equally spaced, we have precisely such an arrangement as the Vatican weather-vane base presents, and λῖψ, Africus, is shifted to the west-south-west.

We have traced the Graeco-Latin use of λῖψ through without digression, because it seems a continuous tradition

<sup>1</sup> Partim autem sunt qui pro octo duodecim faciunt, tertios quatuor in media loca inserentes circum meridiem et septentriones eadem ratione qua secundi quatuor intersiti sunt inter primores duos apud orientem occidentemque. *Noct. Att.* 2. 22. 18.

in the pursuit of which the introduction of Egyptian evidence would have proved an interruption. That evidence is much too important and suggestive, however, to be passed over as lightly as has hitherto been done, and it is to secure a fresh and fuller hearing for it that this paper has been written. It may be most conveniently taken up under two heads: first the Septuagint, and second the papyri.

ΑΨ occurs in the Septuagint nearly fifty times, and as the representative of four Hebrew words. Once it stands for דָּרוֹם south, three times for מִעֶרֶב or מִעֶרְבָה west, four times for combinations of נָנָב south and תִּימָן south, seven times for תִּימָן south, and thirty-one times for נָנָב south. That is, out of forty-six occurrences, forty-three mean south and three west. But in fifteen of these passages the Alexandrian manuscript has νότος instead of ΑΨ.<sup>1</sup>

Aquila seems to have rendered תִּימָן by ΑΨ in Isaiah xxx. 6, and Symmachus employs ΑΨ in translating a word for south in Ezekiel xx. 46, where all three words, נָנָב, תִּימָן, דָּרוֹם, occur, and in translating דָּרוֹם south in Ezekiel xl. 24. ΑΨ is used in one version of Habakkuk iii. 3, in translating תִּימָן, which is simply transferred in R.V. of this passage.<sup>2</sup>

The translators of the Old Testament are thus seen to understand by ΑΨ generally south, rarely west, and as far as one can judge never south-west. Prof. Edward Robinson must

<sup>1</sup> Deissmann, in his note on ΑΨ, *Bible Studies*, p. 145, in recognizing three of the four forces of the word, says that the LXX.—except in three passages, 2 Chron. xxxii. 30, xxxiii. 14, Dan. viii. 5, where the Egyptian meaning *west* is given—"use ΑΨ quite accurately for *south*." But this is in no sense an *accurate* use; "uniformly" would have been the better word.

<sup>2</sup> The only occurrence of ΑΨ I remember to have seen in the Apostolic Fathers is in a LXX. quotation 1 Clem. Rom. x. 4 (Gen. xiii. 14), πρὸς βορρᾶν καὶ λιβα καὶ ἀνατολὰς καὶ θάλασσαν, and means south. As to Josephus' usage, I can refer only to *Antt.* 15. 9. 6, where the coast towns between Joppa and Dora are δύσσορμα διὰ τὰς κατὰ λιβα προσβολὰς αἱ τὰς ἐκ τοῦ πόντου θίνας ἐπὶ τὴν ἤβνα σύρουσαι καταγωγὴν οὐ μειλίχιον διδάσασιν, in which the translators of Josephus (Whiston, Shilleto) most improbably understand ΑΨ to mean south wind.

have been under the Septuagint influence when in his Lexicon (ed. 1850) he rendered λίψ the south or south-west wind, referring to Polybius 10. 10. 1 and Herodotus 2. 25, and specifically prescribed for the passage in Acts the translation south. As Prof. Robinson's article on χῶρος recognizes only the meaning north-west, or north-west wind, he would seem to make the harbour Pnoenix face north-west and south, which is sufficiently strange.

The evidence of the papyri is less puzzling, inasmuch as it is entirely unequivocal. We are fortunate here in having at our command a series of documents from the three periods of the Greek residence in Egypt, Ptolemaic, Roman, and Byzantine, in which land leased or sold is described much as in a modern deed by its boundaries on north, south, east and west. Such evidence is peculiarly free from ambiguity, and has especial claims to being considered decisive within its own province. The words employed in these documents are invariably βορρᾶς north, νότος south, ἀπηλιώτης east, and λίψ west. Without having at hand full sets of published papyri, this usage cannot be traced with completeness; but from the papyri published by Drs. Grenfell and Hunt and Mahaffy numerous examples may be collected. The earliest of these are in the will of a Lybian,<sup>1</sup> where one piece of land is bounded on [ἀπηλιώτου] νότου, λιβός, βορρᾶ (ll. 9-11), and another on ἀπηλιώτου, νότου, λιβός, βορρᾶ (ll. 15-18). Like all the Petrie papyri, this will came from Gurob in the Fayûm. Drs. Grenfell and Hunt have published a series of Ptolemaic papyri from the Thebaid, which illustrate the same use. In a sale of land dated 139 B.C. the property is described as having as ὄρια καὶ | γείτονε[ς τ]ῆς ὅλης γῆς νότου καὶ ἀπηλιώτου νῆσος Ἀφροδίτης | τῆς ἐν Π[αθύ]ρει καὶ νῆσος Λητοῦ, βορρᾶ νῆσος Ἀφροδίτης | τῆς ἐμ [Παθύ]ρει λιβός ποταμός.<sup>2</sup> Similar land

Mahaffy, *Flinders Petrie Papyri*, No. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Grenfell and Hunt, *Greek Papyri*, series ii. No. 15.

descriptions occur in the same volumes<sup>1</sup> from the years 109 (i. 27), 107 (ii. 23), 103 (ii. 28), 103-2 (i. 33)—in this papyrus six times—101 (ii. 32), and 98 (ii. 35) B.C., all from the Thebaid. For the Roman period it is enough to cite a registration of mortgage written at Oxyrhynchus in 79 A.D., giving the dimensions of two pieces of land measured from north to south, *βορρᾶ ἐπὶ νότον*, and from west to east, *λιβὸς ἐπ' ἀπηλιώτην*. In each of the Oxyrhynchus volumes *λίψ* occurs several times, especially in the phrase *ἡ πρὸς λίβα τοπαρχία*, the western toparchy, which occurs in papyri from the years A.D. 23 (No. 287), 26 (No. 245), 80 (No. 243), 88 (No. 345), 95 (No. 273), etc. (No. 47).<sup>2</sup> The middle and eastern toparchies are also referred to in Oxyrhynchus papyri, and the meaning western for *πρὸς λίβα* is thus as fully certified as in the deeds quoted above.

For the persistence of this usage in the Byzantine period two instances may be cited. In an unpublished deed of sale found at Ashmunên, now in the Cairo Museum, and dated in the year 341 A.D., the property involved is described as having as *γίτονες νότου | καὶ ἀπηλιώτου σου τοῦ ἄνουμένου, βορρᾶ καὶ λιβὸς δημόσιαι ῥύμαι*. Again in Dr. Grenfell's *Greek Papyri*, a document from Edfu, dated A.D. 581, describes a courtyard *ἧς γείτονες ὅλης τῆς αὐτῆς αὐλῆς | νότου [ . . . ἀπηλιώ ] του καὶ λιβὸς καὶ βορρᾶ ῥύμαι δημόσιαι*. This is one of the latest in date of the Byzantine papyri as yet published, and the will of the Libyan with which we began the evidence of the papyri is one of the very earliest Ptolemaic papyri known, so that we are exceedingly fortunate in the distribution of our witnesses in time.

We have seen that *λίψ* first came into Greek literature in connexion with Libya, and that Aristotle did not hesi-

<sup>1</sup> Grenfell, *Greek Papyri*, and Grenfell and Hunt, *Greek Papyri*, series ii.

<sup>2</sup> The numbers are those of the papyri in Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, i. and ii.

tate to explain it etymologically as derived from Libya whence it blew.<sup>1</sup> Its use in Egypt, if we except the phenomena of the LXX., has been shown to be uniform through eight centuries and from the Fayûm to Edfu, in the sense of west, the direction of Libya; and whether we accept Aristotle's etymology or not, it seems at least probable that from meaning south-west λίψ was, in the speech of Greeks in Egypt, attracted into the sense of west because west was the Libyan direction.<sup>2</sup>

The various forces of λίψ are now before us. In classical Greek it means the south-west wind, or by metonymy the south-west; in Latin writers it wavers between this force and the west-south-west wind or direction. In the LXX. it generally means south, but rarely west; and in all Greek papyri from Egypt it means west. Did Luke mean to use the word in the strict classical sense? But in that case why did he select χῶρος for north-west? Aristotle gives three names for the north-west wind, and χῶρος is not one of them. They are: ἀργέστης, ὀλυμπίας, and σκίρων. Χῶρος is properly a Latin word, and its occurrence here in Acts is the first recorded instance of it in Greek literature. Indeed it is almost the sole instance, for only John of Lydia, A.D. 527, has been quoted as an additional witness for the word, and his form of it is κῶρος. So utterly lacking is Greek precedent for the word that one is almost tempted to disregard the analogy of κατὰ λίβα, and understand χῶρον as the ordinary Greek word for place,

<sup>1</sup> Boeckh (*op. cit.*), quoted by Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, p. 142, remarks, "λίψ means *south-west* in Hellas, *Africus*, because Libya lies south-west from the Hellenes—whence its name: Libya lies directly west from the Egyptians; hence λίψ is for them the west itself, as we learn here." A more probable etymology connects the word with λειβω and the notion of moisture, and this is favoured by the rainy character of the wind, attested by Herodotus. Boeckh does not attempt to extend his explanation to the LXX. and Italian uses of λίψ, and it is difficult to see how it could be applied to them.

<sup>2</sup> The editors of the *Thesaurus* noted the meaning west for λίψ in Turin papyri, but quoted no decisive instance.

land, country. Or, again, shall we suppose that Luke is here following LXX. usage, and by *λίψ* means south? This, too, splits on *χῶρον*, for he would hardly use a LXX. word in one phrase and in its fellow resort to a Latin word, not only quite unknown to the LXX., but never before, as far as we know, employed by a Greek writer. Besides, a harbour facing south and north-west would seem in itself highly improbable. But may not Luke have had in mind that distinctly western (Italian) use of *λίψ* of which we have found traces in Gellius and the elder Pliny and explicit evidence in the Vatican inscription? The half Latin character of *Εὐρακὺλῶν* in xxvii. 14 and the pure Latin character of *χῶρος* (Caurus, but Chorus on the Vatican vane base) perhaps favour this solution, and the position of Lutro cannot be said seriously to disagree.

In approaching the question raised by the papyri, we may remember one fact. Paul and his biographer seem never to have seen Phoenix. They heard about it at Fair Havens, probably from the officers of the ship they were on. That ship was an Alexandrian ship and plied between that port and Rome, being, if Professor Ramsay is right, one of the imperial fleet of corn transports. The Greek of the officers would be the Greek of Alexandria, and they would be just such persons as wrote the business documents of Roman Egypt that have come down to us. This easy chain of connexion seems to give the evidence of the papyri especial value in precisely this passage. But does not it, too, go to pieces on *χῶρος*? Perhaps so; but it seems at least possible to understand Luke's whole use of names of winds as having come to him through men whose speech was a hybrid of Greek and Latin. Such men, officers, and crew of a ship plying between Alexandria and Ostia or Portus would surely be. Some would be Alexandrians and speak Egyptian Greek; others Italians and speak Latin. The languages would blend on the ship if not in port, and such half Greek, half Latin

phrases as *κατὰ λίβα καὶ κατὰ χῶρον* would be a natural result. If this be thought visionary, one may point to Luke's *Εὐρακύλων* (Eurus-Aquilo) two verses below the mention of Phoenix. This word is unknown apart from this passage, and the Greek lexicographers can only cite as analogy *Εὐρόνοτος*, which being composed of two *Greek* words fails of being analogous at the vital point. Euraquilo is simply the Greek east wind combined with the Latin north-east (more exactly east-north-east) wind; such words occur in later Latin (e.g. Euroauster, but not even in the *Latin* of this period.

Tested with this possibility in mind, the interpretation of *βλέποντα κατὰ λίβα καὶ κατὰ χῶρον* as looking west and north-west does not seem wholly improbable. If now we are to take the view of Dr. Howson and Mr. James Smith, followed by Professor Ramsay and a host of commentators, that a harbour looking *down* these winds is meant—a view for which the use of *κατὰ* in Josephus' *τὰς κατὰ λίβα προσβυλάς* affords some confirmation. Lutro, already clearly pointed to by Ptolemy<sup>1</sup> and Strabo,<sup>2</sup> by the fact of its incomparable security as a haven, seems from an examination of Mr. Smith's map more than ever appropriately described by the modification of *λίψ* from south-west to west.<sup>3</sup> The harbour does indeed look down the west and north-west winds.

<sup>1</sup> *φονικοῦς*, Ptolemy 3. 17.    <sup>2</sup> *φόνικα τὸν λάμπεων*, Strabo, 10. p. 475.

<sup>3</sup> One objection may be urged. The writer of Luke and Acts has a word for west. He uses *ἑσπέρα* three times (Luke xxiv. 29; Acts iv. 3, xxviii. 23), but always in the sense of evening. But he has another word for west, *δυσμαί*, and while its occurrence in one passage (Luke xiii. 29, *καὶ ἤξουσιν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν καὶ δυσμῶν καὶ ἀπὸ βορρᾶ καὶ νότου*), may be dismissed as due to quotation, either from the LXX. (Isa. lix. 19; Mal. i. 11), or more properly from a Gospel discourse source common to Matt. and Luke (query: the Perea document?), in the other (Luke xii. 54, *ὅταν ἴδῃτε νεφέλην ἀνατέλλουσαν ἐπὶ δυσμῶν*) the word seems ascribable only to the author of the book. It is generally accepted however that the chapters dealing with this journey are in a peculiar sense the work of the writer of the book. But were this not the case, the writer's language about a place he had never seen may well reflect the language of his informants and exhibit a use of words somewhat different from his usual one.

One wonders what light the Western text might have thrown upon this passage, but Codex Bezae unfortunately breaks off in chapter xxii. Tischendorf's apparatus records no substantial variation from the current text, save that one or two versions (Syr. Arab.) omit *καὶ κατὰ χῶρον*. Here again, as so often, an old Syriac text of Acts is a desideratum.

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