

# Gaudos

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## Abstract

*Gaudos* was originally and still is the name of a very small island south-west of Crete. It was itself confused with Calypso's Island of *Ogygia* when at the very beginning it was called "*Ogylia*". This island was subsequently named as "*Caudus*" or "*Caudi*", as well as "*Claudus*", "*Clauda*" and even "*Claudia*", commonly called also "*Gozo*" by the sixteenth century. The confusion of *Gaudos* near Crete with *Gaulos* near Malta, south of Sicily, arose from Strabo in the first century A.D., together with the confusion of our *Melite* with another *Melite* in the Adriatic Sea. The result of all this is that the classical name of our Gozo remains *Gaulos*, while its present names of Ghawdex and Gozo are derived from *Gaudos* of Crete.

In Classical literature the name of *Gaudos* is referred to a small island on the south-western side of Crete. The editor of *Stadiasmus* adds that the present name of the island of *Gaudos* near Crete is *Gaudapula* (Müller, 1965: n. on Stad. 328), though a modern atlas still refers to the island of *Gavdhos*. It is half the size of our island of Gozo, roughly at 24° longitude and 35° latitude (1° southern than our Gozo), and less than 30 miles from Crete.



The small island of Gavdhos (bottom left) lies to the south-west of Crete.

Photo: Earth Sciences and Image Analysis Laboratory, NASA Johnson Space Centre. <http://www.wkistler.de>

## The Etymology of Gaudos

In neither the Greek *Liddle* and *Scott Lexicon* nor in the Latin *Lewis* and *Short* one do we encounter the term *Gaudos* or *Gaudus*. Furthermore, no Greek word comes anywhere close to the root of GAUD.

## Gaulos confused with Gaudos

The name of *Gaudos* has also been given by mistake to *Gaulos*, the sister-island of Malta. It is to be observed here that we have, since medieval times, lost the name of *Gaulos*, but have retained both a Semitic transliteration of *Gaudos*, that is, Ghawdex, and its nickname or a contortion of it, that of Gozo. Indeed, the original pronunciation of Ghawdex was slightly different from what it is today. The ancient Maltese used to pronounce the "gh" with a hard guttural sound, much as some of the inhabitants of Gharb in Gozo still pronounce the name of their village. For this reason, those who transcribed the name of Gharb up to the previous century wrote *Garbo*, and not *Arbo*.<sup>1</sup> This ancient pronunciation of "gh" was close to the Greek pronunciation of "g". Secondly, the diphthong of "au" is common to the two names, with the difference that today, since Byzantine times, the pronunciation of "au" in Greek is no longer "au", but "av" as in *Gavdhos*; thirdly, the change of vowel from "o" to "e", from *Gaudos* to Ghawdex, and the affinity of "s" to "x" in the two words are explained by dialectical changes. Thus, in Maltese, we have the word *ħobż* pronounced as *ħebż* by some people from Żabbar and other places, while the pronunciation of "s" in Maltese is often met as "x" in other Semitic dialects of the same words.

Another interesting derivative of the name of *Gaudos* = Ghawdex is the surname of Gauci. Indeed, a man from Gozo is said to be "Ghawdxi", which is exactly what the surname implies. This

<sup>1</sup> In the same way, parish priests wrote Gharghur as *Gregorio*, not because, as it is often said, that Gharghur pronounced as "Gargur" is derived from *Girgor*, but, on the contrary, because *Gregorio*, like *Garbo*, was the Italianization for Gharghur pronounced then as "Gargur".

surname is very old indeed, and is already found in Gozo by the 13<sup>th</sup> century. This is known from the recently published long poem written in Greek in Gozo by a Sicilian exile in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, whose 13<sup>th</sup>-century copy we translated was authenticated by one, among others, with the name of Gaoutis (Busuttill-Fiorini-Vella, 2010: xxvii, xciii, xcvi and 304, n.50v. supra). This Gozitan resident, judging from his role of deaconship, must have belonged to the Greek Orthodox rite, even almost three centuries since Count Roger and his son, Roger II, introduced the return of the local Church to Latin rite.

### The Ancient References to Gaudos

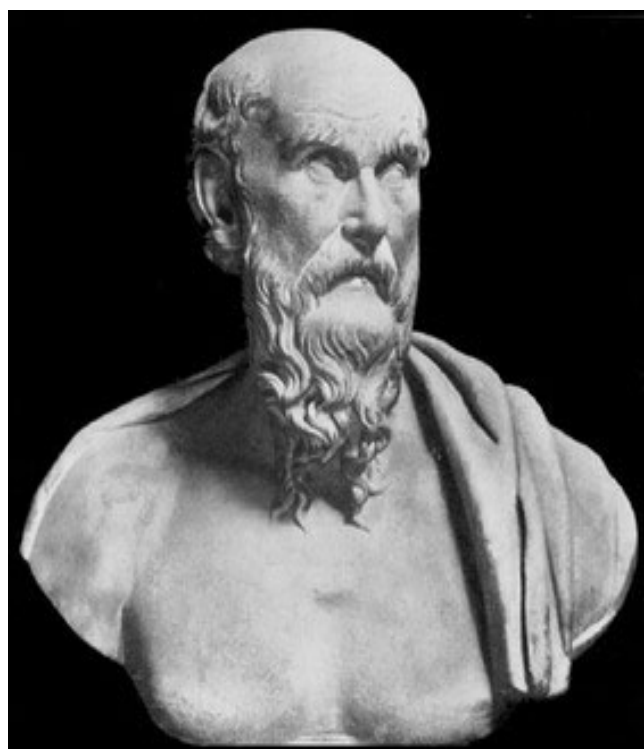
This island of Gaudos near Crete bore a number of names throughout the years. Hesiod, the writer of the *Works and days* and of the *Theogony*, was the first classical author to refer to it indirectly as *Ogylie*, known to the Attic dialect as “*Ogylia*”, when he mentioned its surrounding waters by the term of “*Ogyliou pontou*”, that is, “of the Ogylian Sea”. In a fragment of his, Hesiod relates how one abstained from sending a messenger to speak on his behalf with Helen of Sparta, but instead he himself travelled across the sea past *Ogylia* to find her.<sup>2</sup>

The Alexandrian editor of Homer’s *Odyssey* also refers to this island as “*Ogylia*”, after Hesiod. He was referring to its confusion with another island of a similar name, that of “*Ogygia*”, an error created by a certain Antimachus.<sup>3</sup> This scholiast distinguishes between the two islands, saying that *Ogygia* was situated in the West, while *Ogylia* by Crete. The reference to *Ogygia* to the West needs to be explained by the fact that for the Greeks the West was the region of the setting sun beyond their mainland (Achaëa and the Peloponnesus), that is, Italy, otherwise also called “*Hesperia*”, and the Ionian Sea, the site of *Ogygia*.<sup>4</sup> Luckily for our identification of *Ogylia* with the island near Crete, Homer’s scholiast further identifies *Ogylia* with *Caudi*.<sup>5</sup> This identification of *Ogylia* with *Caudi*

was again to be confirmed in the 10th century A.D. by the lexicographer Suidas.<sup>6</sup>

Another important Alexandrine scholar and poet, Callimachus, Chief Librarian of Alexandria and promoter of original style of writing from that of Classical times, further advances the identification of this island by the western coast of Crete, that is, *Ogylia*, *Caudi*, *Caudus* and *Caudo* with yet another name, that is, *Gaudos*.<sup>7</sup> But in doing so, Callimachus called *Gaudos* “the island of Calypso”, as Antimachus had done when he confused this island’s other name of *Ogylia* with *Ogygia*.

Just as in Alexandrine times Homer’s scholiast corrects Antimachus, so also in Roman times, in the first years of the Christian era, Apollodorus, who wrote in Greek on several interpretations of Greek mythology, corrected Callimachus in propagating this confusion of islands, now, however, called



Hesiod the writer was the first classical author to indirectly refer to the island of *Gaudos* near Crete as *Ogylie*.  
Photo: <http://www.thegreekkeysociety.com>

<sup>2</sup> HES. *Fr.* 204.58-62.

<sup>3</sup> Other late Classical writers repeat this confusion of *Ogygia* with *Ogylia sive Caudi sive Caudos*, as, for example, the anonymous author of the *Etymologicum Gudianum* (s.v. “*Cytheria*”), who says that in that island of *Caudos* was a temple dedicated to Aphrodite. In the same statement, he wrongly identifies the island with that of Calypso.

<sup>4</sup> Apollonius of Rhodes, also of Alexandrine times, identifies Calypso’s island with *Nymphaea*, and so *Ogygia* is to be identified with it (A.R. 4.572-575). Similarly, some centuries later in Byzantine times, Procopius once more identifies the island of Calypso with one of the three *Othoni* islands in the same Ionian Sea, not far from Corfu (PROCOPIUS. 8.22.18-21).

<sup>5</sup> SCH. HOM. *Od.* 1.85.

<sup>6</sup> SUID. s.v. “*Caudo*”.

<sup>7</sup> CALL. *Fr.* 470 and *Fr.* 13.

*Gaudos* and *Ogygia* respectively.<sup>8</sup> Our quotation of Apollodorus' correction of Callimachus comes through Apollodorus' contemporary in Rome by the name of Strabo, who wrote also in Greek on geographical matters. Despite his awareness of the confusion of the two islands from centuries earlier, Strabo yet further advances the confusion by shifting, perhaps for the first time, this same island of *Gaudos* to our archipelago in the centre of the Mediterranean Sea.

In his description of the sea south of Sicily, Strabo gives the distance, albeit inaccurate, of our two islands from Pachynus, close to Cape Passaro, calling the two islands as "*Melite*" and "*Gaudos*".<sup>9</sup> Strabo yet commits one more mistake when he says that in this island of *Melite* were bred small dogs called "Melitaeans". This island of *Melite* he had in mind, breeding these dogs, was clearly referred to by ancient scholars themselves as that island in the Ionian Sea, not far from *Ogygia* of Homer's *Odyssey*, the *Nymphaea* of Apollonius of Rhodes, which island of *Melite* once was also the object of controversy when it was referred to as the site of St Paul's shipwreck (Vella, 2002: 120). However, an extensive discussion of this *Melite* in the Ionian Sea and its breeding of dogs has already been carried out some years ago (Vella, 1995b: 11-15; Vella, 2002: 130-137), and does not need to be repeated here.

In his transposition of *Melite* and *Gaudos* from the Ionian 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 Callimachus<sup>10</sup> Strabo preserved for us has a lacuna which may or may not have contributed to Strabo's 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*.<sup>11</sup> 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 *Melite* in the Ionian Sea and by its vicinity to *Ogygia* which, as we have seen, Apollonius of Rhodes called "*Nymphaea*", and which some writers confused with *Ogygia*, that is *Caudos* or *Gaudos* near Crete. Thus, the coupling of the islands of *Melite* and *Ogygia* in the Ionian Sea, the transposition of *Ogygia* to *Gaudos* near Crete, and the yet further transposition of *Gaudos* to *Gaulos* adjacent to another *Melite* probably misled Strabo to call *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. In our quotation of the anonymous



Strabo transposed *Melite* and *Gaudos* from the Ionian Sea and Cretan waters respectively to the sea south of Sicily. Photo: <http://www.odysseus-unbound.org>

<sup>8</sup> CALL. Fr. 13.

<sup>9</sup> STR. Geog. 6.2.11.

<sup>10</sup> CALL. Fr. 13.

<sup>11</sup> A discussion on the name of *Gaulos* was also carried out some years ago by Vella, 1995a: 16-18, 1995b: 5, 9-10, and 2002: 145-147.

writer of the *Etymologicum Gudianum*, we learn that in that island there was a temple dedicated to Aphrodite. That this goddess was venerated both by the Greeks and by the Phoenicians as Aphrodite / Ashtarte does not necessarily prove a point. But when one considers that this island's city was called "Phoenicia", then one would be justified to admit of an assimilation of Ashtarte with Aphrodite by the Greeks when the Phoenicians moved away from Cretan *Gaudos*.

Without contributing to the confusion of Cretan *Gaudos* with *Ogygia* or *Gaulos*, two Roman writers confirm the location of *Gaudos* close to Crete. Mela, a geographer, includes *Gaudos* in a list of islands close to Crete.<sup>12</sup> These other islands were *Astypalaea*, *Naumachus*, *Zephyre* and *Chryse*. Pliny, a Roman scientist and encyclopaedist, places *Gaudos* close to *Chrysa sive Chryse* opposite to *Hierapytna*.<sup>13</sup>

But before these two Roman writers, we have yet another name for the Cretan *Gaudos*, this time also from Alexandrine times. Both the geographer Ptolemy and the historian Hierocles produce a statement, repeating each other verbatim, saying that the island's name was *Claudus*, thus adding in the name the letter "l".<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, they also say that this island had a city with the same name of the island, that is, *Claudus*. That a small island bore the same name as its chief city was common in classical antiquity, as can be seen also in the capital cities of *Melite* and *Gaulos* called after their own islands.

A variant of the name of *Claudus* is found as *Clauda* in the account of the voyage of St Paul from Palestine to Rome given in Greek by St Luke, the Evangelist.<sup>15</sup> This account further confirms the vicinity of *Gaudos* to Crete. Another variant is found as *Claudia* in the unknown writer of *Stadiasmus sive Periplus Mari Magni*.<sup>16</sup> Here the writer says that this island had a city and a harbour.

In medieval times, Gozo came to be referred to as *Gaudos* of *Melite*, either as *Melitogaudos* or

as *Melitegaudos*. Similarly, Malta was at the same time referred to as *Melite* of *Gaudos*, that is, *Gaudomelite*. The compound name for Malta and Gozo had been created by Byzantine scholars to distinguish these islands from *Melite* in the Adriatic Sea and *Gaudos* near Crete. The name of *Melitegaudos* appears in a marginal note written by the scholiast (the poet himself) of the already mentioned 12<sup>th</sup>-century Greek poem in f.84v. (Busuttill-Fiorini-Vella, 2010: xxii). However, the term *Gaudomelite* had existed much earlier than medieval times. In fact, its first occurrence is found in a 5<sup>th</sup>-century apocryphal *Acts of Peter and Paul* where the narrative refers to St Paul's shipwreck in Malta,<sup>17</sup> while a second occurrence goes back to the 7<sup>th</sup> century in the *Historiae Syntomos* by Patriarch Nicephorus<sup>18</sup> (Busuttill-Fiorini-Vella, 2010: xxiii).

From the sixteenth century we have two important sources that confirm the confusion of the Cretan *Gaudos* with our *Gaulos*. Jean Quintin wrote what



The geographer Ptolemy who produced a statement saying that the island's name was *Claudus*.  
Photo: [http://www.wvu.edu/depts/skywise/a101\\_historical-figures.html](http://www.wvu.edu/depts/skywise/a101_historical-figures.html)

<sup>12</sup> MELA 2.7.13.

<sup>13</sup> PLIN. *Nat.* 4.12.61.

<sup>14</sup> PTOL. *Geog. s.v.* "Clausos"; HIEROCL. HIST. s.v. "Clausos".

<sup>15</sup> N.T. *Act. Ap.* 27.16.

<sup>16</sup> *Stad.* 328.

<sup>17</sup> *Patrologiae* 161, 929-932.

<sup>18</sup> Nicephorus, H.S., in Busuttill, J. (1969), 17-18. I thank Prof. Stanley Fiorini for the availability of the last two quotations.



The first page of what is considered as the first publication about Malta and Gozo written by Jean Quintin d'Autun, *Insulae Melitae Descriptio*, published in Lyons in 1536.

is considered to be the earliest description of Malta in Latin in 1533, and published it in Lyons in 1536. The first English translation and the first annotated edition of this description appeared in 1980 (Vella ed., 1980). In this description, Jean Quintin, who correctly refers to the island of Gozo as *Gaulos*, and not *Gaudos*, discusses, among other things, the Pauline tradition and starts with St Paul's voyage after St Luke, 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 erroneously in the English version, for "Gozo" is not English or foreign to "*Għawdex*", but etymologically related to it. By the sixteenth century, therefore, two islands were both called "Gozo", *Gaudos* near Crete and *Gaulos* / *Gaudos* near Malta. This is confirmed by a map also from the sixteenth century, quite similar to the first map of Malta and Gozo as it appeared the first edition of Jean Quintin, where the island of Gozo is given two names: *Gozo* and *Claudus*

(Anon., 1581: 349; Pantaleone, 1581: 210). This last reference to the names of *Gozo* and *Claudus* attributed to *Gaulos* in the sixteenth century further confirms the unfortunate transposition of names from one island to the other for several centuries. Here one must add that, some years before these two sources, yet another transposition from *Gaudos* to *Gaulos* with a freer variant of *Clauda* came through a fifteenth-century translation of Ptolemy by Pietro della Torre when he called Malta's Gozo as "*Glaucosis*" (della Torre, 1499: s.v. "*Glaucosis*").

Finally, yet another derivative from the name of *Gaudos*, but referring to Gozo of Malta, still persists by tradition of mistake within the confines of the Gozitan Curia and Diocese. As late as today, the adjective used in Latin for "Gozitan" is sometimes given as *Gaudisiensis* instead of *Gaulitanus*. Such name appears, for example, in the last Latin edition of the Gozitan Ordo, a directory for the use of liturgical feasts within the Diocese of Gozo (Anon., 1978).

## Conclusion

*Gaudos* was originally and still is the name of a very small island south-west of Crete. It was itself confused with Calypso's Island of *Ogygia* when at the very beginning it was called "*Ogygia*". This island was subsequently named as "*Caudus*" or "*Caudi*", as well as "*Claudus*", "*Clauda*" and even "*Claudia*", commonly called also "*Gozo*" by the sixteenth century. The confusion of *Gaudos* near Crete with *Gaulos* near Malta, south of Sicily, arose from Strabo in the first century A.D., together with the confusion of our *Melite* with another *Melite* in the Adriatic Sea. The result of all this is that the classical name of our Gozo remains *Gaulos*, while its present names of *Għawdex* and Gozo are derived from *Gaudos* of Crete.

## Sources<sup>1</sup>

Busuttill, Fiorini, Vella eds. (2010), 98-99 (50v. *supra*, marg.):  
'Εγ[ώ] διάκονος Φί[λι]ππος Γαούτης μ[α]ρ[τυρῶ] και  
στέ[ργω].

I, Deacon Philippos Gautēs, witness and concur.

HES. *Fr.* 204.58-62:

οὐδέ τινα μνηστῆρα μετάγγελον ἄλλον ἔπεμψεν,  
ἀλλ' αὐτὸς σὺν νηὶ πολυκλήϊδι μελαίνῃ  
βῆ ὑπὲρ Ὀγυλίου πόντου διὰ κῦμα κελαινὸν  
Τυνδαρέου ποτὶ δῶμα δαΐφρονος, ὄφρα ἴδοιτο  
'Αργεῖην Ἑλένεν, ...

He did not even send another noble messenger, but went himself  
on a fast black ship, on a rough swell across the Ogylian Sea to  
the house of the wise Tyndareus to see the Argive Helen.

Sch. Hom. *Od.* 1.85:

'Ογυγίην' ἐν τῇ κατὰ Ἀντίμαχον Ὀγυλίην γράφεται. Διαφέρουσι  
δὲ οἱ τόποι. Τὴν μὲν γὰρ Ὀγυγίαν ἐντὸς εἶναι πρὸς ἑσπέραν. Τὴν  
δὲ Ὀγυλίαν κατὰ Κρήτην Ἡσιόδος φησι κεῖσθαι.

Ogygie; meanwhile it is written according to Antimachus as  
"Ogylie". But the places differ one from the other. For Hesiod  
says that Ogygia, on the one hand, exists within towards the  
West, and that Ogylia, on the other hand, lies near Crete.

Et. Gud. s.v. "Cytheria":

Διὸ καὶ σκοτίας Ἀφροδίτης ἐν Φαιστῶ ἱερὸν εἶναι φασιν. ἐν  
δὲ Καύδῳ καὶ Καλυψοῦς ἐστὶν Ἀφροδίτης ἱερὸν.

And for this reason they say that at Phaestus there is a temple  
dedicated to the black Aphrodite. And at Caudus and (the  
island) of Calypso there is a temple of Aphrodite.

SUID. s.v. "Caudo":

νῆσος πλησίον Κρήτης ἔνθα μεγίστοι ὄναγροι γίνονται.  
An island near Crete where very big donkeys are born.

CALL. *Fr.* 13:

'Απολλόδορος δὲ ἐπιτιμᾷ Καλλιμάχῳ, συνηγορῶν τοῖς περὶ  
τὸν Ἐραστοσθένη, διότι, καίπερ γραμματικὸς ὢν, παρὰ τὴν  
'Ομηρικὴν ὑπόθεσιν καὶ τὸν ἐξὼκεανισμὸν τῶν τόπων, περὶ  
οὓς τὴν πλάνην φράζει, Γαῦδον καὶ Κόρκυραν ὀνομάζει.  
ἐπιτιμᾷ δὲ καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις συγγνώμην εἶναι, Καλλιμάχῳ  
δὲ μὴ πάνυ, μεταποιουμένῳ γε γραμματικῆς ὅς τὴν μὲν Γαῦδον  
Καλυψοῦς νῆσόν φησι, τὴν δὲ Κόρκυραν Σχερίαν.

But Apollodorus censures Callimachus, while he agrees  
with the followers of Eratosthenes because, although he is a  
grammarian, against the Homeric idea and the localization of  
the places, about which he speaks clearly, mentions Gaudos  
and Corcyra. And he censures even the others who have the  
same opinion, and Callimachus in particular when he changes  
from what is established, he who says that Gaudos is the island  
of Calypso, and that Corcyra is Scheria.

CALL. *Fr.* 470:

- a. Γαῦδος
- b. ὀλίγην νησίδα Καλυψοῦς.
- a. Gaudos;

- b. A small island of Calypso.

STR. *Geog.* 6.2.11:

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

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

A.R. 4.566-575:

αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ τῆσι παραὶ Κέρκυραν ἴκοντο,  
ἐνθα Ποσειδάων Ἀσωπίδα νάσσατο κούρην,  
ἠύκομον Κέρκυραν, ἐκὰς Φλειουντίδος αἴης,  
ἀρπάξας ὑπ' ἔρωτι μελαινομένην δέ μιν ἄνδρες  
ναυτίλοι ἐκ πόντοιο καλαινῆ πάντοθεν ὕλη  
δερκόμενοι, Κέρκυραν ἐπικλείουσι Μέλαιαν·  
τῆ δ' ἐπὶ καὶ Μελίτην, λιαρῶ περιγηθέες οὐρῳ,  
αἰπεινὴν τε Κερωσσόν, ὕπερθε δὲ πολλὸν ἐούσαν  
Νυμφαίην παρὰ μείβον, ἵνα κρείουσα Καλυψῶ  
'Ατλαντὶς ναίεσκε. ...

For then, following those, they came to Cercyra, where  
Poseidon made to settle the girl Asopis, the beautifully-haired  
Cercyra, away from the land of Phlius, having stolen her urged  
by love; and sailors from the sea, looking at it darkened from  
every side by a dark forest, call it "Black Cercyra"; and then,  
pleased with a warm breeze, they passed even Melite, and  
lofty Cerossus, and Nymphaea, being much distant from them,  
where Mistress Calypso, daughter of Atlas, used to live.

PROCOP. 8.22.18-21:

οὗτος δὲ ὁ στόλος ἄχρι ἐς τὴν Φαιάκων χώραν, ἢ νῦν  
Κέρκυρα ἐπικαλεῖται, οὐδὲν ἄχαρι ἐργάζεσθαι ἔσχε. νῆσον  
γὰρ οὐδεμίαν ἐν τῷδε τῷ διάπλῳ οἰκουμένην ζυμβαίνει εἶναι  
ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Χάρυβδιν πορθμοῦ μέχρι ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν  
ὥστε πολλάκις ἐγὼ ἐνταῦθα γενόμενος διηπορούμην ὅπη ποτὲ  
ἄρα τῆς Καλυψοῦς ἢ νῆσος εἴη. ταύτης γὰρ τῆς θαλάσσης  
οὐδαμῆ νῆσον τεθέσθαι, ὅτι μὴ τρεῖς, οὐ πολλῶ ἄποθεν τῆς  
Φαιακίδος, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων τριακοσίων, ἄγχιστά πη  
ἀλλήλων οὖσας, βραχείας κομιδῆ καὶ οὐδὲ ἀνθρώπων οἰκία  
ἐχούσας οὔτε ζῶων οὔτε ἄλλων τὸ παράπαν οὐδέν. Ὤθονοι δὲ  
καλοῦνται τανῦν αἱ νῆσοι αὗται. καὶ φαίη ἂν τις τὴν Καλυψῶ  
ἐνταῦθα γενέσθαι, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸν Ὀδυσσεῖα γῆς Φαιακίδος  
ὄντα οὐ πολλῶ ἄποθεν ἢ σχεδία, ὡς φησιν Ὀμηρος, ἢ ἄλλῳ  
τῷ τρόπῳ νεὸς χωρὶς ἐνθένδε διαπορθμεύσασθαι.

This expedition as far as the country of the Phaeacians, which  
now is called "Cercyra", offered nothing unpleasant to toil  
at. For it happens that there is no inhabited island in this  
journey from the straits of Charybdis as far as Cercyra, with  
the result that I, having often been there, wondered where  
ever was indeed the island of Calypso. For I have nowhere  
seen an island of this sea, except for three, not far away from  
Phaeacia, but about 300 stades distant, being very close to  
each other, quite small and not even having habitations of  
men or of animals or of other things whatever. Today these  
islands are called "Othoni". And one would say that Calypso  
was here, and that from here Odysseus, being not far away  
from the land of Phaeacia, crossed from here either on a raft,  
as Homer says, or in another manner without any boat.

<sup>1</sup>These sources have been translated by the present author in the order as they appear in this article.

MELA 2.7.13:

*Juxta (Cretam) est Astypalaea, Naumachos, Zephyre, Chryse, Gaudos ...*

Next to Crete is Astypalaea, Naumachus, Zephyre, Chryse, Gaudos ...

PLIN. *Nat.* 4.12.61:

*Reliquae circa eam ante Peloponnesum duae Corycoe, totidem Mylae, et latere septentrionali dextra Cretam habenti contra Cydoneam Leuce et duae Budroe, contra Matium Dia, contra Itanum promunturium Onysia, Leuce, contra Hierapytnam Chrysa, Gaudos.*

The rest (of the islands) around it (Crete), opposite the Peloponnesus, are the two (islands of) Coryci, and an equal number of (islands of) Mylae; and on the northern side, with Crete on the right-hand side, opposite Cydonea are Leuce and the two (islands of) Budri; opposite Matius (is) Dia; opposite the promontory of Itanus (are) Onysia, Leuce; opposite Hierapytna (are) Chrysa, Gaudos.

PTOL. *Geog. s.v.* "Claudos"; HIEROCL. *HIST. s.v.* "Claudos":

νησος, ἐν ἧ πόλις Κλαῦδη.

An island, in which there is a city (called) "Claude".

N.T. *Act. Ap.* 27.16:

νησιον δὲ τὸ ὑποδραμόντες καλούμενον Κλαῦδα ἰσχύσαμεν μόλις περικρατεῖς γενέσθαι τῆς σκάφης, ...

Having run a bit South of a small island called "Clauda", we were hardly able to maintain the control of the boat.

*Stad.* 328:

ἀπὸ δὲ Κλαυδίας εἰς Φοίνικα στάδιοι τ'. ἔχει πόλιν καὶ λιμένα.

And from Claudia to Phoenix there are 19 stades. It has a city and a harbour.

Busuttil, Fiorini, Vella eds. (2010), 166-167 (84v.7, marg.):

[ἐνθάδε] φησι πῶς ὁ ποιητὴς ἐξῶ[ρ]ίσθη ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Μελιτηγαύδω.

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

*Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae* (53.5)

Εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ νῆσοι ἐπικοινωνοῦντες αὐταῖς· Κόρσυρα, Ταυριαννίς, Ἀστυπάλαια, Κῶος, Λαμπαδοῦσα, Γαλάτη, Χίος, Κνίδος, Γαῦδος, Γόρσυνα, Λέσβος, Νίσυρος, Μελίτη, Κρήτη, Τένεδος, Μεγίστη, Κέρκινα, Γαυλορήτη, Ἴμβρος, Κύπρος, Μήνιξ, Θήρα, Ἴασος, Σαρδανίς, Κάρπαθος, Σάμος.

And there are in common with them even these islands: Corsyra, Tauriannis, Astypalaea, Coos, Lampadusa, Galate, Chios, Cnidos, Gaudos, Gorsyna, Lesbos, Nisyros, Melite, Crete, Tenedos, Megiste, Cercina, Gaulorete, Imbros, Cypros, Menix, Thera, Iasos, Sardanis, Carpathos, Samos.

*Patrologiae* 161, 929-932:

1 ἐγένετο μετὰ τὸ ἐξελεῖν τὸν ἅγιον Παῦλον ἀπὸ

Γαυδομελέτης τῆς νήσου ἐλθεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ Ἴταλίαν ... It came to pass that Saint Paul, after he left from the island of Gaudomelete, came to Italy ... .

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

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 Gaudomelete, 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 ... .

Nicephorus, H.S., in Busuttil, J. (1969), 17-18:

ἐν ᾧ δὲ διέτριβεν ἐκεῖσε, ἀγγέλλεται αὐτῷ ὡς ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀταλάρχος καὶ Θεόδωρος ὁ τὴν ἀξίαν μάγιστρος, Θεοδώρου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφοῦ υἱός, σὺν ἄλλοις τισὶν ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτῷ ἡμελλον. καὶ τοῖς μηνύσασιν πεισθεὶς τούτων τὰς ῥίνας καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἐξέτεμε, καὶ Ἀταλάρχον μὲν εἰς τὴν νῆσον τὴν λεγομένην Πρίγκιπον ἐξόριστον ἐξέπεμπε, Θεόδωρον δὲ πρὸς τὴν νῆσον τὴν Γαυδομελέτην προσαγορευομένην, ἐπιτρέψας τῷ ἐκεῖσε δουκί, ἥνικα πρὸς αὐτὸν καταλάβοι. καὶ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ποδῶν ἀφελῆσθαι. 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 Atalarichus, on the one hand, to the island called "Principus" in exile, and Theodorus, on the other hand, to the island called "Gaudomelete", having referred the matter to the leader whenever he would come up with him, and to set free the other of the rest. And in the same manner he even revenged on those who shared their feelings with them regarding the matters of the conspiracy.

Vella ed. (1980), 42:

*Paulus (inquiunt) Cretam deserens e Claudae (Ptolemaeo Claudus est, Plinio Gaudos, vulgo nunc Gozo) medio inter Occidentem et Meridiem portu, ...*

Paul (they say), leaving Crete from (the island) of Clauda (to Ptolemy it is Claudus, to Pliny (it is) Gaudos, today (it is) commonly (called) "Gozo"), half way between the West and the South ... .

Anon (1581) in Vella (2002), 150:

*Claudus, Goze.*

Claudus, Gozo.

Della Torre, 1499: s.v. "Glaucanis":

*Insula et civitas. 36 (1/3) 34 (2/3).*

Island and city. 36 (1/3) 34 (2.3).

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