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**THE ISLAND OF GOZO
IN CLASSICAL TEXTS**

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The Island of Gozo in Classical Texts*

Horatio C. R. Vella

Way back in 1971, J. Busuttil (1971) had already referred to Gozo as *Gaûlos* or *Gaûdos* among the Greeks, *Gaulos* or *Gaulus* among the Romans, and *Gaul* among the Carthaginians. The common view that both Greek and Roman names of Gozo derive from "Punic *gw*" has been repeated by Sznycer (1972-3: 147), Teixidor (1974: no.73) and, recently, by Heltzer (1993: 198).

Regarding the Semitic root of *gw*, meaning "to go round; circuit" (Brown *et al.* 1907: s.v. *gw*), we distinguish between *Gwl*, meaning the island of Gozo as used in Punic inscriptions (example as discussed by Heltzer 1993: 198-204), and the root *gw* used in some Semitic languages, not referring to the island of Gozo, just as we distinguish between Greek Γαῦλος and γαῦλος. But while we can say that a relationship exists between Greek *Gaûlos* and *gaûlos* (rather than *gaulós*), we have no lexical evidence of Phoenician/Biblical occurrence of *gw* which could be related to the Punic name of *Gwl* (Brown *et al.* 1907: s.v. *gw*; Cohen 1970: s.v. *gw/yl*, and Tomback 1978).¹

The absence of occurrence in Phoenician and Biblical texts of *gw* makes us hesitate to conclude that Greek *gaûlos*, even if it means "a round-built Phoenician merchant vessel", comes from a Phoenician word. The most we can say is that both Greek *gaûlos* and Greek *gaulós* (as discussed below) share with the Semitic root meaning "to go round".

We also should not be too quick to conclude that Γαῦλος, the Greek name for Gozo, comes from *Gwl*, the Punic name for the same island (Aquilina 1990: 2. s.v. *Gozo*)². Indeed, I do not rule out the possibility that the Greeks, who competed with the Phoenicians in their trade with the West, could have colonised Malta and Gozo before the Phoenicians as they did in Sicily. In the case of Sicily, the only reason for the Phoenicians not to colonise eastern Sicily was the presence of an earlier settlement of the Greeks there, unless we take Thucydides' words τα επικείμενα νησιδία to include also our islands. This, however, is unlikely, as elsewhere τα επικείμενα νησιδία exclude such islands as Gozo, Malta and Pantellaria. (Refer to their exclusion in the treaty of 241B.C. between Carthage and Rome, where such term excluded these three islands {APP.5.2, quoted below}).

THUC. 6.2.6:

οκουν δε και Φοινικες περι πασαν μεν την Σικελιαν ακρας τε επι τη θαλασση απολαβοντες και τα επικειμενα νησιδία εμποριας ενεκα της προς τους Σικελους: επειδη δε οι Ελληνες πολλοι κατα θαλασσαν επεσεπλεον, εκλιποντες τα πλειω Μοτυην και Σολοεντα και Πανορμον εγγυς των Ελυμων ξυνοικισαντες ενεμοντο, ξυμμαχια τε πισυνοι τη των Ελυμων και οτι εντευθεν ελαχιστον πλουν Καρχηδων Σικελιας απεχει.

Thucydides here says that the Phoenicians occupied the coast promontories and the adjacent islands of the whole of Sicily until the Greeks arrived, whereupon they retired to western Sicily.

Elsewhere, Thucydides tells us of the first Greeks who colonised eastern Sicily, that is, Naxos near Taormina, which historians date as 735B.C.

THUC. 6.3.1:

Ελληνων δε πρωτοι Χαλκιδην εξ Ευβοιας πλευσαντες μετα Θουκληου οικιστου Ναξον ωκισαν, και Απολλωνος Αρχηγету βωμον οστις νυν εξω της πολεως εστιν ιδρυσαντο, εφ ω οταν εν Σικελιας θεωροι πλεωσι, πρωτον θυουσιν.

But while we know that the Greeks settled in eastern Sicily in 735 or 734B.C., we have, on the other hand, little trace of Phoenician trading in Sicily before the 6th century B.C., certainly nothing before the arrival of the Greeks (Graham 1982: 95, 103; Roebuck 1988: 447 n.3). Considering that Sicily has been heavily explored archaeologically, it is highly unlikely that Thucydides' statement in 6.2.6 should hold water any longer. Moreover, the Greeks had already been trading with Sicily and southern

Italy since the Late Bronze Age, and settlements of Mycenaean traders have been postulated at Thapsus near Syracuse. Trade then resumed after the gap of 1100-800B.C. (Graham 1982: 95).

Whoever were the earliest settlers of eastern Sicily, Gozo and Malta remained closer to Greek Sicily of the sixth century B.C. than to Phoenician Sicily. Our name for Sicily is still *Sqallija*, ultimately from Greek Σικελία which the Arabs in Sicily passed on to us from the end of the Byzantine period in Sicily, despite the fact that the Sicilians Italianised and even "Sicilianised" their own island's name (*Sicilia* = *Sishilia*). It is probable, therefore, that the Greeks, early settlers of our islands, seeing the island of Gozo frequented by several *gaûloi*, round-built ships commonly used by themselves and obviously by the Phoenicians as different from war-ships, called the island by the same name which the Phoenicians would have transliterated into *Gwl*.³

The same argument could prevail for the island of Malta, for instead of saying that *Μελίτη* is the Greek transliteration of Phoenician *Mlth*, we could say that it is *Malitah* that derived from the Greek *Μελίτη*, which name is also given to other Greek islands with no connection with the Phoenician world.

The Greek settlers of our islands in the historical period might well have been less numerous than their fellow-traders, the Phoenicians, whose cultural remains are much more visible than those of the Greeks, going back to the 7th century B.C. (Bonanno 1990: 31). But they were present and well integrated in our islands' societies, even enough to escape the bloody warfare between their compatriots and the Phoenicians in Sicily. We know that many Greeks were, from time to time, present and integrated in Western Sicily, while many Phoenicians were to be found in the eastern part of the island; but there, the controversy originated over a problem which could never be solved, the "Punicisation" or "Grecisation" of Sicily.

This problem never arose in our islands. On the contrary, enough inscriptional evidence from Gozo alone points to the existence of one society with one administrative body of Gozo, where both Carthaginian and Greek terms are used, in time spilling over well into the Roman period.

We come now to analyse the different uses of the Greek words *Gaûlos*, *gaûlos*, *gaulós*, *Gaûdos*, and Latin *Gaulos*, *gaulos*, *Gaulus* and *gaulus* in classical literature, with all their possible meanings. In Greek literature, we meet with two different accents of *gaulos*: *gaulós*, meaning "a milk-pail", or "a water-bucket", or "a machine for raising water", or "a round vessel" (not a ship), or "a dinking-bowl"; or even "one who lives at the expense of others". *gaûlos*, however, means "a round-built Phoenician merchant ship", as distinguished from a warship. The name of *Gaûlos* for Gozo has the same accent as the word signifying "a round-built Phoenician merchant ship".

I illustrate the various uses of both *gaûlos*, which becomes *gauloû* in the genitive case (North and Hillard 1965: 240), and *gaulós*.

Greek *gaûlos*: a round-built Phoenician merchant ship

AR. Av. 598:

ΕΥ. γαυλον κτωμαι και ναυκληρω, κουκ αν μειναμι παρ υμιν.

ibid. 602:

ΕΥ. πολω γαυλον, κτωμαι σμινυην, και τας υδριας ανορυττω.

EPICH. 54:

Γαυλοις εν Φοινικικοις.

HER. 3.136:

καταβαντες δε ουτοι ες Φοινικην και Φοινικης ες Σιδωνα πολιν αυτικα μεν τριηρεας δυο επληρωσαν, αμα δε αυτησι και γαυλον μεγαν μαντοιων αγαθων.

ibid. 137:

ταυτα λεγοντες τους κροτωνητας ουκων επειθον, αλλ εξαιρεθεντες τε τον Δημοκηδεα και τον γαυλον τον αμα ηγοντο απαيرهθεντες απεπλεον οπισω ες την Ασιην ...

id. 8.97:

θελων δε μη επιδηλος ειναι μητε τοισι Ελλησι μητε τοισι εωτου ες την Σαλαμινα χωμα επειρατο διαχουν, γαυλους τε Φοινικηιους, ινα αντι τε σχεδιης εωσι και τειχος, αρτεετο τε ες πολεμον ως ναυμαχιην αλλην ποισομενος.

CALL. *fr.* 384 v.50, quoted by Schol. AR. Av. 598:

γαυλον κτωμαι και ναυκληρω] γαυλος Φοινικικον σκαφος, και νυν προπερισπωμενως, επι δε του αγγειου οζυτονως. Καλλιμαχος (και M): Κυπροθεν Σιδονιος με κατηγαγεν ενθαδε γαυλος.

CYR. s.v. γαυλος (wrong accent):

λεγεται δε τριηρης γαυλος δια το πλειστα δεχεσθαι ως φησιν Ηρωδοτος εν γ των ιστοριων. (See Herodotus, quoted above).

The definition which Cyrillus gives here for γαυλος is incorrect. Herodotus nowhere confuses triremes with γαυλοι.

EUST. 1625.3:

Here Eustathius refers to *gaûlos* as the hold of a ship.

HSCH. s.v. γαυλος:

Και τα Φοινικικα πλοια γαυλοι καλουνται ...

A.B. 1. s.v. γαυλος:

και τα Φοινικικα δε πλοια γαυλοι.

SUID. s.v. γαυλος:

η πλοιοντι φορτηγον Φοινικικον, η ακατος.

Greek *gaulikós/gaulitikós*: adjective derived from *gaûlos*

X. *An.* 5.8.1:

και διδοντων Φιλησιος μεν ωφλε και Ξανθικλης της φυλακης των γαυλικων χρηματων το μειωμα εικοσι μνας, ...

HSCH. s.v. γαυλος:

και γαυλικά χρηματα τα απο των πλοιων.

A.B. 1. s.v. γαυλος:

και γαυλιτικά χρηματα παρα Ξενοφοντι τα απο των πλοιων (see Xenophon, quoted above).

The distinction in Greek between *gaûlos* and *gaulós* exists in Latin in one and the same *gaulus*, meaning either "a type of a container", or "a kind of a ship, almost round". It is assumed that the element of "roundness" appears also here in the Latin *gaulus*.

Latin *gaulus*: a ship

PAUL. ex FEST. 96:

gaulus: genus navigii paene rotundum.

GELL. 10.25.5:

navium autem, quas reminisci tunc potuimus appellationes hae sunt: **gauli**, corbitae, caudicae ...

Greek Gaûlos: a proper name

SUID. s.v. Γαυλος:

Γαυλος, Αιγινήτης ιατρος. εγραψεν ιατορκα βιβλιαδιαφορα.

Suidas gives a list of other persons with the name of Γαυλος.

Greek Gaûlos: Gozo, near Malta

Still on *Gaûlos* (with a circumflex accent as *gaûlos* above), but meaning "Gozo", we find the following citations:

HECAT. (quoted by ST. BYZ. s.v. Γαυλος):

Γαυλος νησος προς τη Καρχηδονι Εκαταιος περιγησει ο νησιωτης.

Bonanno's (1990: 31) observation that Hecataeus refers to Gozo alone here, independently of Malta, points to Gozo's autonomy from Malta, as confirmed by Scylax and Diodorus Siculus below. Also useful is Bonanno's observation that Hecataeus seems to imply that *Gaûlos* was not necessarily dominated by the Carthaginians, but was merely in their sphere of influence. This further confirms what has been said above, that the Gozitan society was a mixture of both Greek and Carthaginian peoples, and as such could not be imagined as a colony in the strict sense of the word. *προς* (followed by the dative) means towards or near (Carthage), that is, relatively speaking. As such, it does not mean "political influence or control" (Busuttil 1976: 222).

SCYL. 111:

Πλους δε απο Ερμαιας επι Κοσυρον ημερας. Απο Ερμαιας ακρας προς ηλιον ανισχοντα [[μικρον απο Ερμαιας]] εισι νησοι τρεις μικραι κατα τουτο, υπο Καρχηδονιων οικουμεναι: Μελιτη πολις και λιμην, Γαυλος πολις, Λαμπας: αυτη πυργους εχει δυο η τρεις.

Scylax, writing in the 4th century B.C., refers to these islands as inhabited by the Carthaginians, rather than the Phoenicians. Diodorus, quoted below, writing three centuries later, refers to *Gaûlos* as a Phoenician settlement, though the word Phoenician may mean originally Phoenician, taken over by the Carthaginians of Phoenician descent. One notes also that Scylax knew of a *πολις*, which word by the fourth century meant a city-state rather than a city. This should throw light on the status of political autonomy of *Gaûlos* from nearby *Melite*. The reference of the towers here is made to *Lampas*, the last mentioned island, not Gozo.

DIOD. 5.12.4:

Μετα δε ταυτην την νησον εστιν ετερα την μεν προσηγοιαν εχουσα Γαυλος, πελαγια δε και λιμεσιν ευκαιροις κεκοσμημενη, Φοινικων αποικος.

Diodorus' praise for the Gozitan harbours would have suited better the island of Malta (Ashby: 67 n.1). Here he seems to recognise two separate Phoenician settlements, one being Gozo, the other being Malta. This is not surprising, as both islands had separate governments, as will be shown later. Note also that Diodorus, who came from nearby Sicily, lived during the earlier part of the first century A.D. Malta and Gozo had been conquered by the Romans in 218 B.C., and two hundred years later Diodorus still says *εστι* (present tense), meaning "a Phoenician settlement" (rather than "colony").

DIOD. 5.12.3:

εστι δ η νησος [Μελιτη] αυτη Φοινικων αποικος ...

Diodorus, therefore, by *αποικος*, does not mean "a colony", but "a settlement". As such, it was still a Phoenico-Carthaginian settlement in his days, and not just a colony of two or three centuries earlier, as has been recently suggested (Bonanno 1990: 31).

ST. BYZ. s.v Γαυλος:

Γαυλος, νησος προς τη Καρχηδονι.

Note that for Stephanus of Byzantium, Gozo, which is 230mi. away from ancient Carthage, is still "near", that is, relatively speaking.

PROCOP. *Bell. hist.* 3.14.16:

αραμενοι τε κατα ταχος τα ιστια, Γαυλω τε και Μελιτη ταις νησοις προσεσχον, αι το τε Αδριατικον και Τυρρηνικον πελαγος διοριζουσιν.

As there is no couple of islands with the names of Malta and Gozo in the Adriatic Sea, and judging from the itinerary starting from Sicily to Libya, Procopius' mistake of misplacing our islands in the Adriatic becomes obvious. The point has already been made by Dewing (1953) when commenting on the text, even if he repeats Procopius' mistake in his Index of Proper Names.⁴

Greek Gaulítes: an inhabitant of Gaúlos

ST.BYZ. s.v. Γαυλος:

ο νησιωτης Γαυλιτης.

Greek Gaulítes: a proper name of an individual

Note that in Greek literature Γαυλιτης appears also in Thucydides and Xenophon, but there it is used purely as a proper name of an individual.

THUC. 8.85.2:

ζυνεπεμψε δε και Τισσαφερνης αυτω πρεσβευτην των παρ εαυτου, Γαυλιτην ονομα, ...

XEN. *An.* 1.7.5:

Ενταυθα Γαυλιτης παρων φυγας Σαμιος, πιστος δε Κυρω, ειπε, ...

Latin Gaulos: Gozo, near Malta

In Latin, Γαυλος is rendered as *Gaulos*, less frequently as *Gaulus*. Thus we find Mela and Pliny referring to Gozo as *Gaulos*, and Silius Italicus referring to it as *Gaulus*.

MELA 2.7.171-4:

Circa Siciliam in Siculo freto est Aeaea, quam Calypso habitasse dicitur; Africam versus Gaulos, Melita, Cossura.

Note that Mela, writing in A.D. 45, distinguishes between *Gaulos* and *Calypso's island*, which he here wrongly says was *Aeaea* (see discussion below, under *Gaúdos*), and between *Gaulos* and *Cossyra*.

The spelling of *Cossura* in Mela is correct (see ST.BYZ. s.v. Κοσσυρος, quoted below). This point has already been discussed elsewhere when quoting Ovid (Vella 1980: 74 n.381). We expand our discussion further.

Gaulos/Cossyra/Cossyros

Referring to the flight of Anna, sister of Dido, from Libya to Cossyra, that is, Pantellaria, Ovid says:

OV. *Fast.* 3.567-8:

Fertilis est Melite sterili uicina **Cosyrae**,
insula quam Libyci uerberat unda freti.

Note that by *Libycum fretum* Ovid here means "the Sea of Africa", not "the Strait of Africa (or Libya)". For the Romans of Ovid's times (A.D.17), *Libya* meant *Africa*, that is, either what was formerly Carthaginian territory stretching from modern Algeria to a part of modern Libya, or, in a more extended sense, the whole of North Africa. *Mare Africum*, or *Libycum fretum*, divided the Roman province of Africa (in the narrow sense) from western Sicily. Although both *Melita* and *Cossyra* were to be found in *Mare Africum* (*Melita* was also said to be in the *Mare Siculum*), still, the reference to *sterilis Cossyra* leaves us no doubt that Ovid is not referring to Gozo, which is perhaps more fertile than *fertilis Melite*.

In a comment on Ovid's couplet, Jean Quintin or, as he is otherwise known, Quintinus, author of the *Insulae Melitae descriptio* first published in Lyons in 1536, says that this couplet misled other authors in concluding that Gozo was then called *Cossyra*.

QUINTIN. *Ins. Mel. descr.* 46-48:

Loquitur hic aperte lapis de Gaulo male a nonnullis factam **Cosyram**. Quam geographici omnes inter promontoria Lilybaeum et Mercurii, hoc Africae, illud Siciliae, pari pene interuallo reputant. Nautis hoc tempore *Pantellaria* nominata, centum a Melita millibus, quum sit Gaulos ferme contigua. Deceptos hoc dixisse coniicio Ouidiano illo uersu, *Fastorum* tertio:

Fertilis est Melite sterili uicina **Cosyrae**,

Insula quam Libyci uerberat unda freti.

dum is Annam fugientem e Carthagine describit; quam equidem non dubito a promontorio Mercurii (nautae nunc sua lingua *Capo Bono* uocant, aduersum Siciliae in altum ualde procurrens) **Cosyram** uenisse - nulla enim promontorio uicinior, abest quinquaginta millibus pass. - deinde recta quo destinarat Melitam ad amicum regem contendisse. Propterea **Cosyram** cum Melita coniunxisse poetam.

We do not know what authors were deceived by Ovid's words and confused Gozo with Pantellaria. Quintinus' other mistake lay in saying that Anna came to Malta where Battus was king:

ibid. 18-20:

Principio, **insulae Melitae rex quandam fuit, Battus nomine** ... Ad quem etiam post, regno expulsa per Iarbam, Anna, sorore mortua, confugit, hospitium uetus Melitensium et necessitudinem sequuta. Vbi comiter accepta et pari fide apud hospitem Regem habita, profuga duos egit annos, relictas patriae, regni, simul et sororis amissae desiderium, una Melita, quantulacunque esset, tam grata et obuia terra solans. Quam deinde, metu coacta Pygmalionis fratris, inuita, deseruit, Romanos olim fastos auctura, ut inquit Ouidius mensis Martii festa recensens.

ibid. 40:

Siculo sunt homines ingenio, Afro confuso: ad praelia parum fortes et commodi. Non eram dicturus, nisi **rex ipse Melitensium Battus** grauius quiddam de se suisque apud Ouidium fateretur.

Quintinus' mistake originates from the same Ovid who, a couple of lines following, places Battus in Malta.

OV. *Fast.* 3. 569-70:

Hanc petit, hospitio regis confisa vetusto.

Hospes opum dives **rex ibi Battus erat**.

However, we know from other sources that Battus was really called Aristotle who came from Thera and founded the colony of Cyrene in 631B.C.

Pl. *P.* 4.6:

χρησεν οικιστηρα Βαττον καρποφορου Λιβυας, ...

ibid. 4.279-281:

... επεγνω μεν Κυρανα

και το κλεενοτατον μεγαρον Βαττον δικαιαν

Δαμοφίλου πραπιδων ...

HDT. 4.155:

χρονου δε περιιοντος εξεγενετο οι παις ισχυοφωρος και τραυλος, τω ουνομα εεθη Βαττος, ως
Θηραιοι τε και Κυρηναιοι λεγουσι.

DIOD. 8.29.1:

Οτι Αριστοτελης ο και Βαττος κτισαι βουλομενος Κυρηνην ελαβε χρησμον ουτως ...

CAT. 7.3-6:

quam magnus numerus Libyssae harenae
lasarpiciferis iacet Cyrenis
oraclum Iouis inter aestuosi
et **Batti** ueteris sacrum sepulcrum;

SIL. 8.57-9:

Battus Cyrenen molli tum forte fovebat
imperio, mitis **Battus** lacrimasque dedisse
casibus humanis facilis. ...

JUST. 13.7.1:

Cyrene autem condita fuit ab Aristaeo, cui nomen **Batto** propter linguae obligationem fuit.

PAUS. 3.14.3:

χιονιν δε και του στολου μετασχειν τω Θηραιω Βαττω και Κυρηνην οικισαι συν εκεινω και
Λιβυων καταστρεφασθαι τους προσχωρους λεγουσιν.

HSCH s.v. Βαττος:

βασιλευς, τυραννος. Λιβυες: τραυλοφωρος, ισχυοφωρος.

Furthermore, the word *Battiades*, meaning "an inhabitant of Cyrene", was used by various authors.

SIL. 2.59-61:

Hammone hic genitus, Phorcynidos antra Medusae
Cinyphiumque Macen et iniquo a sole calentes
Battiadas late imperio sceptrisque regebat;

id. 3.253:

nec non Cyrene Pelopei stirpe nepotis
Battiadas pravos fidei stimulavit in arma.

The word also referred to Callimachus, a native of Cyrene. As such, this was also used by Ovid himself.

CAT. 65.15-6:

sed tamen in tantis maeroribus, Ortale, mitto
haec expressa tibi carmina **Battiadae**,

OV. *Am.* 1.15.13:

Battiades semper toto cantabitur orbe:

id. *lb.* 53-4:

nunc, quo **Battiades** inimicum devovet Ibin,
hoc ego devoveo teque tuosque modo.

id. *Tr.* 2.367:

nec tibi, **Battiade**, nocuit, quod saepe legenti
delicias versu fassus es ipse tuas.

STAT. S. 5.3.156-8:

... tu pandere docti
carmina **Battiadae** latebrasque Lycophronis atri
Sophronaque implicitum tenuisque arcana Corinnae.

Strabo, contemporary of Ovid, says that Μελιτη is "five hundred stadia" from Κοσσουρος:

STR. Geog. 17.3.16:

απο δε της Ταφτιτιδος εν τετρακοσιοις σταδιοις νησος εστι Κοσσουρος κατα Σελινουντα της Σικελιας ποταμον, και πολιν εχουσα ομωνυμον, εκατον και πενηκοντα σταδιων ουσα την περιμετρον, διεχουσα της Σικελιας περι εξακοσιους σταδιους: εστι δε και Μελιτη νησος εν πεντακοσιοις σταδιοις απο της Κοσσουρου.

In the first place, Malta is distant from Pantellaria a good one thousand stadia, and not "five hundred". For, one *stadion* is 606.75 English feet, that is, 0.12 of a mile. Thus, 500 *stadia* make 60mi., and since the distance between the two islands is in fact 120mi., than I am correct to point out the error in Strabo.

In the second place, by Κοσσουρος Strabo probably does not mean Κοσσυρος which he, followed by Stephanus of Byzantium four centuries later, says it was an island off Selinus, south-west of Sicily, further away from Malta than Pantellaria:

ST.BYZ. s.v. Κοσσυρος:

Κοσσυρος, νησος κατα Σελινουντα Σικελιας ποταμον, και πολις ομωνυμος.

Instead, Strabo probably refers to what he himself, Marcus Vipsanus Agrippa, Julius Honorius and the same Stephanus of Byzantium, call Κοσσυρα, that is, Pantellaria.

STR. Geog. 2.5.19:

ου πολλαι δ ουδ αι προ της Λιβυης και της Σικελιας, ων εισι Κοσσουρα τε και Αιγιμουρος και αι Λιπαραιων νησοι, ας Αιολου τινες προσαγορευουσι.

ibid. 6.2.11:

Κοσσουρα δε προ του Λιλυβαιου και προ της Ασπιδος, Καρχηδονιακης πολεως, ην Κλυπεαν καλουσι, μεση αμφοιν κειμενη και το λεχθεν διαστημα αφ εκατερας απεχουσα.

VIPS. 9:

Κοσσουρα δε προ του Λιλυβαιου και προ της Ασπιδος Καρχηδονιακης πολεως ην Κλυπεαν καλουσι, μεση αμφοιν κειμενη και το λεχθεν διαστημα αφ εκατερας απεχουσα.

HON. 41:

Oceani meridiani quae sunt insulae ... **Cossura** insula ... Melita insula.

ST.BYZ. *ibidem.*:

Και Λιβυης νησος Κοσσυρα.

Stephanus of Byzantium commits the error when in one and the same paragraph he distinguishes between two islands. Furthermore, he distinguishes between the names of the peoples of the two different localities as follows:

το εθνικον της πρωτης Κοσσυριος, και κτητικον Κοσσυριακος η Κοσσυρινος, της δε δευτερας Κοσσυραιος.

It is disputable whether such an island, with a town of its own name, by the coast of Sicily near the river of Selinus, existed with the name of Κοσσυρος. Both Κοσσυρος and Κοσσυρα were one and the same island, that is, Pantellaria, not far from Selinus. In fact, even Scylax and Polybius use the form of Κοσσυρος, referring to Pantellaria.

SCYL. 111:

Απο δε Κοσσυρου επι Λιλυβαιον ακρωτηριον Σικελιας πλους ημερας μιας.

PLB. 3.96.13:

κατα δε τον αναπλουν γενομενος κυριος νησου Κοσσυρου, και φρουραν εις το πολισματιον εισαγαγων, αυθις εις το Λιλυβαιον κατηρε.

This last quotation takes us back to the second Punic War which started in 218 B.C., when Sicily had already been a Roman province together with its adjacent islands in 241B.C., the end of the first Punic War (and not in 212B.C., as most Maltese historians wrongly give: see, for example, Coleiro 1971: 79-80). If by Κοσσυρος Polybius here means one of those adjacent islands, if it existed, than it did not have to be reconquered here by Gnaeus Servilius on his return to Lilybaeum from Africa. Instead, it is Pantellaria that is referred to which, like Malta and Gozo at the beginning of the second Punic War, was still Carthaginian. This further proves that Malta and Gozo, like Pantellaria, were not considered as adjacent islands of Sicily, unlike statements and descriptions of classical geographers.

Other writers referring Pantellaria to *Cossura* are the following:

LIV. *Epit. lib.* 89:

M. Brutus a Cn. Papirio Carbone, qui **Cossuram** appulerat, missus nave piscatoria Lilybaeum, ut exploraret, an ibi Pompeius esset, et circumventus a navibus quas Pompeius miserat, in se mucrone verso ad transtrum navis obnixus corporis pondere incubuit.

PLIN. *Nat.* 3.8.92:

a Lilybaeo CXIII, **Cosyra**, Hieronnesos, Caene, Galata, Lopadusa, Aethusa quam alii Aegusam scripserunt, Bucinna et a Solunte LXXV M Osteodes, contraque Paropinos Ustica.

ibid. 5.7.42:

dicuntur et in Clypea emori, cuius ex adverso **Cosyra** cum oppido.

SIL. 14.271-4:

Sidonios Arbela ferox et celsus letas
et bellare Tabas docilis **Cossyraque** parva
nec maior Megara iunctae concordibus ausis
iuvare et strato Gaulum spectabile ponto.

Whatever the inaccuracies pointed out above, one can conclude that both Ovid and Strabo were referring to Pantellaria, not too far from Malta, and not to Gozo, adjacent to Malta.⁵

Latin Gaulos: Gozo, near Malta

We continue with the citations on *Gaulos* from Latin literature.

PLIN. *Nat.* 3.8.92:

insulae ad Africam versae **Gaulos**, Melita a Camerina LXXXVII, a Lilybaeo CXIII, ...

ibid. 5.7.42:

Mox **Gaulos** et Galata, cuius terra scorpiones, dirum animal Africae, necat.

Pliny, like Scylax above, is here reviewing the islands off North Africa, and he makes no mention of *Melita*. *Galata* should probably be located by the coast of North Africa.

SIL. 14.271-4:

Sidonios Arbela ferox et celsus letas
et bellare Tabas docilis **Cossyraque** parva
nec maior Megara iunctae concordibus ausis
iuvare et strato **Gaulum** spectabile ponto.

Silius Italicus lists the allies and enemies of Rome in her second war with Carthage. Although we know from Livy (see below) and Silius himself that Malta was taken over by the Romans at the beginning of this war (218B.C.),

SIL. 14. 248-51:

Romanos Petraea duces, Romana petivit
foedera Callipolis lapidosique Engyon arvi,
Hadranum Ergetiumque simul telaque superba
lanigera Melite et litus piscosa Calacte.

in 14.271-4, however, Silius makes Gozo (independently mentioned of Malta) on the side of Carthage. As it is highly unlikely that only one island of the Maltese archipelago sided with one or the other power, we would be correct to consider this passage of Silius as historically of no importance. Furthermore, Silius curiously considers *Gaulus* as one of the cities belonging to Sicily.

Greek Gaûdos: Gozo, near Malta

Strabo, writing his *Geographia* (cf. esp. 1.2.37 and 7.3.6), in the later years of the first century B.C. or early in the first century A.D., refers to the bitter criticism which Apollodorus, his contemporary, throws upon Callimachus, the Librarian of Alexandria, for interpreting Homer's *Ogygia* as *Gaûdos*, near Sicily (rather than near Crete), and his *Scheria* as *Corcyra*, that is, *Kercyra* (modern Corfù).

CALL. Fr. 13:

Απολλοδαρος δε επιτιμα Καλλιμαχω, συνηγορων τοις περι τον Ερατοσθενη, διоти, καιπερ γραμματικος ων, παρα την Ομηρικην υποθεσιν και τον εξωκεανισμον των τοπων, περι ους την πλανην φραζει, Γαυδον και Κορκυραν ονομαζει.

επιτιμα δε και τοις περι Σικελιαν την πλανην λεγουσι ... και τοις μεν αλλοις συγγνωμην ειναι, Καλλιμαχω δε μη πανυ, μεταποιουμενω γε γραμματικης ος την μεν Γαυδον Καλυψους νησον φησι, την δε Κορκυραν Σχεριαν.⁶

As there is no other island near Sicily formerly with the name of *Gaûdos*, one might be tempted to conclude that Callimachus, according to Apollodorus as quoted by Strabo, could be referring to our island of Gozo as Calypso's *Ogygia*.

Elsewhere, Callimachus himself refers to *Gaûdos*, identifying it with the small island of Calypso.

CALL. Fr. 470:

- a. Γαυδος
- b. ολιγην νησιδα Καλυψους.

The identification by Callimachus of *Gaûdos* with the island of *Ogygia* will be discussed shortly later. But his assimilation of *Gaûdos* with our Gozo could only come through Apollodorus' criticism as reported by Strabo, who hereinafter remains the only other writer who refers to Gozo as *Gaûdos* instead of *Gaûlos*:

STR. *Geog.* 6.2.11:

προκειται δε του Παχυνου Μελιτη, οθεν τα κυνιδια, α καλουσι Μελιταια,⁷ και Γαυδος, ... ογδοηκοντα και οκτω μιλια της ακρας αμφοτεροι διεχουσαι.

This statement was quoted *verbatim* by Strabo's contemporary Marcus Vipsanus Agrippa. One needs not doubt that Strabo is referring to our Gozo here.

In the first place, Μελιτη and Γαυδος are referred to together as a group of islands with the same distance from *Pachynus* (C. Passaro) in Sicily. As for the distance, one notes that contrary to STR. *Geog.* 17.3.16, quoted above, Strabo does not use here the Greek *stadion* for reckoning, but the Roman mile, that is, *mille passuum*, "a thousand paces". A Roman mile is estimated as 0.92 of an English mile, and so 88 Roman miles give us 80.96 English miles. Although the distance is even shorter by a good 20 miles, the inaccuracy here needs not worry us, as we have already discussed it

with regard to the distance between *Melita* and *Cossyra* above. The reference to Maltese dogs, however, is worth investigating here, partly because it could help to identify our islands in some references, and partly, if the reference is correct, the attribution of the Maltese dogs could well be applied to Gozo also, though Strabo does not make it specifically apply to the latter.

The Maltese Dog and Melite

Strabo's reference to Maltese dogs in our Malta was, as already pointed out, quoted *verbatim* by his contemporary Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa. In Vipsanus' text, however, *οθεν τα κυνιδια α καλουσι Μελιταια* are bracketed, indicating an element of suspicion as to the truth or relevance of these words in this passage.

Strabo's text is weakly supported by other similar references partially identifying *Melita* with our Malta.

POLEM. HIST. in *Et. gen. B*, s.v. *Μελιταια κυνιδια*:

λεγεται οτι πλησιον Ιταλιας νησος εστι *Μελιτη* εξ ης εισι *Μελιταια* κυνιδια; Πολεμων δ εν Κτισεσε (δε εκτισε Β) Σικελιας *Μελιτην* (Σικελιαν *Μελιτης* Β) φησιν ειναι.

Polemon says that *Melite* is to be found near Italy, not Sicily. The *Melite* near *Corcyra* is, in fact, closer to Italy than our *Melite*. Furthermore, the second sentence is clearly an interpolation with the name of Polemon in the third person!

Busuttil (1969:207) considers both Strabo and Polemo as more authoritative than Callimachus simply because, as he says, Strabo and Polemo visited the lands they described, while Callimachus was a poet. However, we do not know whether Strabo or Polemo visited Malta (judging from their mistakes, this was highly unlikely); but we do know that Callimachus was a good poet because he was a good scholar.

ST. BYZ. s.v. *Μελιτη*:

Μελιτη, νησος μεταξυ Ηπειρου και Ιταλιας, οθεν τα κυνιδια *Μελιταια* φασιν. ο οικητωρ *Μελιταιος*, εστι και πολις αποικος Καρξηδονιων, και δημος Οινηιδος φυλης. ο δημοτης *Μελιτευς*. τα τοπικα εις *Μελιτην* εκ *Μελιτης* και εν *Μελιτη*.

Stephanus of Byzantium's (5th century A.D.) reference is confusing, as is confusing his references to *Cossyros* and *Othronus* by Sicily. Although we do not know of any other island by the name of *Melite* being a settlement or a colony of the Carthaginians (certainly not by Stephanus' times!), yet his expressions "in between Epirus and Italy" and "of the tribe of Oeneis" point to *Melite* near *Corcyra*, not our Malta.

Oeneis (Gk. *Oineis*) was the daughter of Oeneus, king of Calydon, in Aetolia, and Althaea, sister of Meleager, Tydeus (the father of Diomedes), and Gorgo. She was also the wife of Heracles, known also as Deianira. It was probably her tribe through her son by Heracles, Hyllus, that founded *Melite* near *Corcyra* from nearby Aetolia.

Stephanus has also *Οινειαδαι*, that is, *Oeniadae*, which he says is a city of Acamania, not far from Calydon in Aetolia. Hesychius mentions *οινεις*, meaning *ταχεις*, *οξεις*, that is, "swift, sharp"; yet, the editor here suspects that this should have read as *Οινηις*, which he says is written corrupted as *Οινιης* in PHOT. 320.24.

ST.BYZ. s.v. *Οινειαδαι*:

πολις Ακαρνανιας προς τω Αχελωη και Ερυσιχη καλουμενη.

HSCH. s.v. *Οινεις*:

ταχεις, *οξεις*.

The confusion of our *Melite* and another *Melite* near Epirus goes back at least to the 4th century B.C. when Lycophron already makes the same error.

LYC. Alex. 1027-33:

ἄλλοι δὲ Μελιτην νήσον Οἰθρωνοῦ πελάς
πλαγκτοὶ κατοικησουσιν, ἣν περιῖ κλυδῶν
εμπλήν Παχύνου Σικανὸς προσμασσεταί,
τοῦ Σισυφείου παῖδος οὐχθηρὰν ἀκρὰν
ἐπ' ὠκυμὸν ποθ' ὑστερῶ χρόνῳ γραφῶν
κλείνον θ' ἱδρυμα παρθένου Λογγατίδος,
Ἐλῶρος ἐνθά ψυχρὸν ἐκβάλλει ποτὸν.

Lycophron partly is correct to place *Melite* near *Pachynus* in Sicily, but his expression "near Othronus" points to *Melite* near *Corcyra*. Even if Stephanus of Byzantium persists in locating *Othronus* near Sicily, adding further confusion, we have the literary evidence of at least Pliny the Elder and Hesychius (1st and 5th century A.D. respectively) regarding *Othronus* near *Corcyra*.

ST.BYZ. s.v. Οἰθρωνός:

πόλις, οἱ δὲ νήσον πρὸς νοτὸν Σικελίας. ἄλλοι δὲ Μελιτην νήσον [Οἰθρωνοῦ πελάς]. ὁ οἰκὼν Οἰθρωνίος.

The words in square brackets are interpolated. Furthermore, the editor points to Stephanus' mistake in misinterpreting Lycophron when the latter was talking about *Melite* by Illyria.

PLIN. Nat. 4.12.52:

circa eam aliquot, sed ad Italiam vergens *Othronos* [modern Fano], ad Leucadiam Paxoeduae, V discretas a *Corcyra*. ...

HSCH. s.v. Οἰθρωνός:

ἡ πρὸς Κερκυρὰ νήσος.

On the contrary, classical authors refer to the other *Melite* without confusing it with ours.

A.R. 4.566-75:

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ἐπὶ τῇσι παρὰ Κερκυρὰν ἰκόντο,
ἐνθά Ποσειδάων Ἀσώπιδα νάσσατο κούρην,
ἠυκόμον Κερκυρὰν, ἑκάς Φλειουντίδος αἰῆς,
ἀρπαῖαι ὑπ' ἐρωτὶ μελαινόμενῃν δὲ μιν ἀνδρῶν
ναυτίλοι ἐκ ποντοῖο κελαινῇ παντοθεν ὕλη
δερκομένοι, Κερκυρὰν ἐπικλείουσι Μελαίναν;
τῇ δ' ἐπὶ καὶ Μελιτην, λιαρῶ περιγῆθεες οὐρῶ,
αἰπεινὴν τε Κερῶσσον, ὑπερθε δὲ πολλὸν εὐοσάν
Νυμφαῖν παραμειβόν, ἵνα κρείουσα Καλυψὼ
Ἀτλαντὶς ναιέσκε. ...

ibid. 4.1150:

αἱ δ' ὄρεος κορυφὰς Μελιτηίου ἀμφένεμοντο:

Busuttil (1969: 207) refers to Appian's *Μελιτηνός*, being adjectival of *Μελιτη* by *Corcyra* (10.2.16). From this he wrongly concludes that *Μελιταιός* is adjectival of our island's name, *Μελιτηνός* adjectival of the other island's. For this reason, he further concludes that the *κυνίδιον Μελιταίων* should be referred to our island. The above quotation of Apollonius of Rhodes, however, giving *Μελιτηίος*, dialectical for *Μελιταιός*, both forms being adjectival of *Μελιτη* near *Corcyra*, seems to have escaped his notice!

AGATHEM. 23:

Κεφαλληνία νήσος τετραπόλις μήκος σταδίων υ'. εἰσι δὲ καὶ ἐν λητῷ Ἀδρία νῆσοι παρὰ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα, ὧν ἐπισημότεραι Ἰσση καὶ ἡ Μελαίνα Κορκυρά καὶ Φαρός, καὶ Μελιτη, ὧν ἀγνοῶ τὰς περιμέτρους.

It is this *Melite* that Pliny and, later on, Galen (2nd century A.D.) clearly refer to when they talk about the Maltese dogs.

PLIN. *Nat.* 3.26.152:

Ab Issa Corcyra Melaena cognominata cum Cnidiorum oppido distat XXV, inter quam et Illyricum *Melite*, unde *catulos Melitaeos* appellari Callimachus auctor est.

ibid. 30.5.43:

ii quoque quos *Melitaeos* vocamus stomachi dolorem sedant adplicati saepius. transire morbos aegritudine eorum intellegitur, plerumque et morte.

GAL. 18.1. p.291.12:

Εν τῶν Μελιταιῶν κυνιδιον.

Unfortunately, we do not have reference of Callimachus to the Maltese dogs, while his reference to *Gáudos* discussed above comes through Strabo who, I repeat, is the only writer who refers to Gozo as *Gáudos*.

Our *Melite* is further to be distinguished from *Melitta*⁸ which both the translator of Hanno in the 4th century B.C. and Stephanus of Byzantium in the 5th century A.D. place near Africa.

HANNO 5:

την τε λιμνην παραλλαξαντες οσον ημερας πλουν, κατωκισαμεν πολεις προς τη θαλαττη καλουμενας Καρικον τε τειχος και Γυττην και Ακραν και Μελιτταν και Αραμβυν.

ST.BYZ. s.v. Μελισσα:

πολις Λιβυων, Εκαταιος Ασια. Ο οικητωρ Μελισσαιος; η χωρα Μελισσαια.

As Stephanus says, Hecataeus places another *Melissa* in Asia, while he himself mentions still another *Melissa* in ancient *Cyzicus* by the Bosphorus.

ibidem:

εστι και εν Κυζικω κωμη Μελισσα. το εθνικον Μελισσηνος ως Κυζικηνος.

Grattius (A.D. 10)'s reference to Maltese coral is open to interpretation as to whether he refers to our Malta or not.

GRAT. 401-5:

... collaribus ergo
sunt qui lucifugae cristas inducere maelis
iussere aut sacris conserta monilia conchis
et vivum lapidem et circa *Melitensia* nectunt
curalia et magicis adiutas cantibus herbas.

Theophrastus' reference to the *Melitaïos* dog, even without direct reference to which island he means, should be made to the island by Illyricum, as his editor points out in his index to the *Characters*.

THPHR. *Char.* 21.9:

και κυναριου δε Μελιταιου τελευτησαντος αυτω μνημα ποιησαι και στηλιδιον ποιησας επιγραψαι Κλαδος Μελιταιος.

In this, Theophrastus was, no doubt, influenced by his master, Aristotle.

ARIST. *H.a.* 612b,10:

η δ ικτις εστι μεν το μεγαθος ηλικον Μελιταιον κυνιδιον των μικρων.

id. Pr. 10.12.20:

και ενιους ιδειν εστι μικρους μεν σφοδρα, συμμετρους δε, ωπερ τα Μελιταια κυνιδια.

Similarly, Aesop (6th century B.C.), Tymnes (2nd century B.C.), Agatharchides (2nd century B.C.), Plutarch (1st/2nd century A.D.), Lucian (2nd century A.D.), Athenaeus (2nd/3rd century A.D.), quoting Timaeus of the 4th century B.C., Alciphron (4th century A.D.), Hesychius and Suidas refer to these dogs. Athenaeus says they were used by the people of Sybaris in Southern Italy as a luxury. These authors give us no geographical references to help locate the origin of these Maltese dogs, and as such they should be called Melitean (by Illyricum), not Maltese.

AESOP. *Fab.* 73:

εθός ἐστι τοῖς πλεουσὶν ἐπαγεσθαι κυνάς Μελιταίους καὶ πιθηκοὺς πρὸς παραμυθίαν τοῦ πλ.οῦ.

(The editor here gives variable readings for Μελιταίους: Μελιταίους and Μελιτιανούς.

Ibid. 91:

ἐχὼν τις κυνά Μελιταίων καὶ ὄνον διετελεῖ αἰὶ τῷ κυνὶ προσπαιζών.

TYMN.:

Τῇδε τὸν ἐκ Μελιτῆς ἀργὸν κυνά φῆσιν ὁ πέτρος
ἰσχεῖν, Εὐμηλοῦ πιστοτάτον φυλάκα.
Ταυρον μὲν κάλεσσκον, ὅτ ἦν ἐτι: νῦν δὲ τὸ κείνου
φθεγμα σιωπῆραι νυκτὸς ἐχούσιν ὁδοί.

AGATHARCH. p. 293.17:

Τὰ κυνίδια τὰ Μελιταία ἐπὶ ταῖς στεγαῖς διερποντά.

PLUT. *Mor.* 2.472:

ἀμὰ καὶ κυνίδιον Μελιταίων ἐν κόλπῳ χήρας γυναικὸς.

LUCIAN. *Merc. Cond.* 34:

τὸ δὲ πρᾶγμα παγγέλοιον ἦν, κυνίδιον ἐκ τοῦ ἱματίου προκυπτὸν μικρὸν ὑπὸ τὸν πῶγονα καὶ κατουρήσαν πολλάκις, εἰ καὶ μὴ ταῦτα ὁ Θεσμοπόλις προσετιθεῖ, καὶ βαυζὼν λεπτὴ τῇ φωνῇ – τοιαῦτα γὰρ τὰ Μελιταία – .

Id. *Symp.* 19:

ἐκεῖ δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν Ἀλκίδαμαντα ὁμοῖον τι ἀπερρίψε Μελιταίων κυνίδιον προσεῖπων αὐτὸν ...

ATH. 12.518e-f:

ἐπιχωρίαζειν δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς διὰ τὴν τρυφὴν ἀνθρώπαρια μικρὰ καὶ τοὺς σκῶπαιους, ὥς φῆσιν ὁ Τιμαῖος, τοὺς καλούμενους παρὰ τισὶ στιλπῶνας καὶ κυναρία Μελιταία, ἀπὲρ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ εἰς τὰ γυμνασία.

ibid. 519b:

ἀλλ' οἱ Συβαριταὶ ἐχαιρὸν τοῖς Μελιταίοις κυνίδιοις καὶ ἀνθρώποις οὐκ ἀνθρώποις.

ALCIPH. 2.19.3 (3.22):

Πλαγγὼν δὲ τὸ Μελιταίων κυνίδιον, ...

HSCH. s.v. Μελιταίων:

κυνίδιον μικρὸν.

SUID. s.v. Μελιταίων κυνίδιον:

τῶν γὰρ κυνῶν. οἱ μὲν, ἰχνουτικοί: οἱ δὲ, ὁμοσε τοῖς θηρίοις χωροῦσιν. οἱ δὲ, ὑθὶ φυλάκῃ τῶν κτημάτων οἰκουροί: οἱ δὲ, ... τὸρψει. ὥς τὰ Μελιταία κυνίδια.

We conclude from this that the reference to Gozo as *Gaúdos* and the reference to the Maltese dogs in *Melite* near this *Gaúdos* are purely misinterpretations by Strabo and his sources on Callimachus' statement. This mistake was repeated by many writers of Melitensia who were further inspired by Jean Quintin when he also refers to the Maltese dog as perhaps belonging to Malta, but already

unknown (*ignotos*) by the 16th century. The very last assertion may prove that the dog was never to be found here in the first place!

QUINTIN. *Ins. Mel. descr.* 24:

Huic insulae Strabo nobiles illos, adagio, non minus quam medicinis, **canes** adscribit, inde **Melitaeos** dictos, Plinio, et nunc etiam incolis **ignotos**; tunc **forte** nascebantur.

Quintinus was not so sure that these dogs were born here: hence his word *forte*. Also, he was not aware that Pliny referred these dogs to the island near *Corcyra*.⁹

Latin Gaudos: Gozo, near Crete

Mela, Pliny and Suidas refer to our Gozo as *Gaulos*, but by *Gaudos* they mean an island near Crete.

MELA 2.7.13:

Juxta (Cretam) est Astypalaea, Naumachos, 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**.

This is probably the island which Callimachus (quoted above) had in mind when he refers to it as *Gaûdos* as the island of Calypso. The name of *Gaûdos*, though at one time in use, is a corruption of *Καυδους*, *Καυδος*, *Καυδω*, which then became also *Κλαυδα*, *Κλαυδος* or even *Κλαυδια*, and *Gozo*.

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

νησιον δε τι υποδραμοντες καλουμενον *Κλαυδα* ισχυσαμεν μολις περικρατεις γενεσθαι της σκαφης, ...

Stad. 328:

Απο δε *Κλαυδιας* εις *Φοινικα* σταδιοι τ. Εχει πολιν και λιμενα.¹⁰

PTOL. *Geog.* s.v. *Κλαυδος*:

νησος, εν η πολις *Κλαυδη*.

HIEROCL. *HIST.* s.v. *Κλαυδος*:

νησος, εν η πολις *Κλαυδη*.

SUID. s.v. *Καυδω*:

νησος πλησιον Κρητης ενθα μεγιστοι οναγροι γινονται.

QUINTIN. *Ins. Mel. descr.* 42:

Paulus (inquiunt) Cretam deserens e **Claudae** (Ptolemaeo **Claudus** est, Plinio **Gaudos**, uulgo nunc **Gozo** medio inter Occidentem et Meridiem portu, ...¹¹

The meanings of these names are uncertain. The island, judging from the name of its city, *Phoenicia*, betrays a Phoenian settlement. As a result of this, probably through trade by the Phoenicians in between the islands, both the name of *Gaûdos*, from which *Ghawdex* comes, and of *Gozo* later on, could have been applied to our island. (Vella 1980: 70 n.325). In addition, even names of *Claudus* appear in 16th-century maps of Malta and Gozo (Anon. 349, Pantaleone 1581: 210).

Ogylia/Ogygia/Gaûdos

This island is first mentioned by Hesiod as *Ωγυλιη* when he refers to *ποντος Ωγυλιος* near the same island. The scholiast on Homer's *Odyssey* 1.85 commented that Homer's *Ωγυγιη* was found in

Antimachus as Ωγυλιη, in others Ωγυλη, the last two words being different only dialectically. He distinguished between the two islands, Ωγυγια, which he said is to be found in the West, and Ωγυλια near Crete. He added that Hesiod, among others, called this island also by the name of Καυδους.

HOM. Od. 1.84-5:

Ερμειαν μὲν ἐπειτα, διακτορον ἀργειφοντην,
νησον ἐς Ωγυγιην στρυνομεν, ...

HES. Fr. 204.58-62:

οὐδε τίνα μνηστήρα μεταγγέλον ἄλλον ἐπεμμεν,
ἀλλ' αὐτὸς σὺν νηὶ πολυκλήιδι μελαινῇ
βῆ ὑπερ' Ωγυλίου ποντοῦ διὰ κύμα κελαϊνον
Τυνδαρεὺς ποτὶ δῶμα δαιφρονός, ὄφρα ἰδοίτο
Ἀργεῖην Ἑλένην, ...

SCH. HOM. Od. 1.85:

Ωγυγιὴν ἐν τῇ κατὰ Ἀντιμαχὸν Ωγυλιὴν γράφεται. διαφέρουσι δὲ οἱ τοποί. τὴν μὲν γὰρ Ωγυγίαν ἐντὸς εἶναι πρὸς ἐσπεραν, τὴν δὲ Ωγυλίαν κατὰ Κρήτην Ἡσίοδος φησὶ κείσθαι. τὸν δὲ Ωγυλίον. ἡ δὲ Ωγυλη. νησον δὲ ταύτην {εἰσιν} οἱ Καυδους καλοῦσιν.

The controversy raised by Apollodorus as reported by Strabo quoted above could well have been caused by this confusion of the two islands.¹² This confusion is further increased when other writers refer the island of Calypso to some other island adjacent to *Gaûdos*.

Et. Gud. s.v. Κυθερεια:

παρὰ τὸ κευθεῖν τὸν ἐρωτᾶ ... διο καὶ σκοτίας Ἀφροδίτης ἐν Φαιστῷ ἱερὸν εἶναι φασιν. ἐν δὲ Καυδῷ καὶ Καλυψοῦς ἐστὶν Ἀφροδίτης ἱερὸν.

Καλυψοῦς, being in the genitive case, requires a substantive in the dative, that is, νησῷ. As such we have two islands, not one, in the same locality near Crete, one of which is Ωγυλη, that is *Gaûdos*! But really, we do not know of such a nameless island by Crete. One suggests that the word καὶ should be ignored, and Καλυψοῦς {νησῷ} be read as in apposition to the one and the same island of *Kaûdos*. In fact, the text just quoted talks of one temple, and this one temple cannot be imagined in two islands!

Like the writer of the *Etymologicum Gudianum* above, we also have the evidence of Suidas (10th century A.D.), calling this one island as Καυδῷ.

SUID. s.v. Καυδῷ:

νησὸς πλείσιον Κρήτης ἐνθα μέγιστοι ὀναγροὶ γίνονται.

Through Antimachus, therefore, who called *Ogygia*, Calypso's island, as *Ogyliā*, which happened to be the other (or former) name of *Gaûdos* near Crete, the island of Calypso was often transposed to this Cretan island.

We still have to reckon with what the Scholiast on Homer's *Odyssey* says regarding *Ogygia* in the West.

Calypso was the daughter of Atlas who dwelt in the regions of north-west Africa. His children, the Hesperides, as their name indicated, were also located in the west, and one imagines that this island of *Ogygia* could also be located in the vicinity of north-west Africa for aetiological reasons. The islands of Malta and Gozo are, according to some interpretation, in the central part of the Mediterranean, not in the west. If we consider that Odysseus travelled around Sicily (refer to Etna, Scylla and Charybdis) and North Africa (refer to the land of the Lotus-eaters in Libya), the islands of Malta and Gozo cannot be ruled out as possible landmarks in his itinerary. Although we have no literary evidence of assimilating *Gaûlos* with *Ogygia*, there is a purely modern tradition pointing to this conclusion.¹³ Jean Quintin (16th century A.D.), who dealt with Gozo very briefly, does not mention

this tradition. Considering that he dealt with most classical traditions related to Malta, some being correct, others not, he would have included such a tradition if it existed in his times.

The whole matter, however, falls into absurdity when we point to tourist "Calypso's Cave". One writer (Kininmonth 1979: 217-8) has even referred the three streams mentioned in the *Odyssey* to the locality we have in mind when we talk of "Calypso's Cave" in Gozo!

The probability is that a tradition assimilating *Ogygia* with *Gaûlos* arose only in modern times as a result of confusing *Gaûdos* with *Gaûlos*, subsequent to which we ended up with a tradition not proved to be ours, and two names for *Gaûlos*, *Ghawdex* and *Gozo*, as mentioned earlier. Literary evidence from classical times, however, locate the island of Calypso (with or without the name of *Ogygia*), either by *Bruttium* (Southern Italy) (Scylax and Pliny), or by *Corcyra* (Apollonius of Rhodes and Procopius).

SCYL. 13:

Επανεμι δε παλιν επι την ηπειρον, οθεν εξετραπομην. Απο γαρ Ρηγίου πολεις εισιν αιδε: Λοκροι, Καυλωνια, Κροτων, Λακινιον ιερον Ηρας και νησος Καλυψους, εν η Οδυσσευς ωκει παρα Καλυψοι, και ποταμος Κραθις και Συβαρις και Θουρια πολις. Ουτοι εν τη Λευκανια Ελληνες.

PLIN. *Nat.* 3.10.96:

amnes ibi navigabiles Carcinus, Crotalus, Semirus, Arogas, Thagines, oppidum intus Petilia, mons Clibanus, promunturium Lacinium, cuius ante oram insula X a terra Dioscoron, altera **Calypsus** quam Ogygiam appellasse Homerus existimatur, praeterea Tyris, Eranusa, Meloessa.

The words of the scholiast on HOM. *Od.* 1.85 and of Apollodorus (quoted above) referring *Ogygia* to the west, *Ogygia* to Crete, may make sense if we consider as Italy, known also by the ancient name of *Hesperia* (meaning western land), to be in the west for the Greeks of mainland Greece. Hence, Scylax's and Pliny's texts would support them.

A.R. 4. 566-75:

αυταρ επειτ επι τησι παραι Κερκυραν ικοντο,
ενθα Ποσειδαων Ασωπιδα νασσατο κουρην,
ηυκομον Κερκυραν, εκας Φλειουντιδος αιης,
αρπαξας υπ ερωτι: μελαιομενην δε μιν ανδρες
ναυτιλοι εκ ποντοιο κελαινη παντοθεν υλη
δερκομενοι, Κερκυραν επικλειουσι Μελαιναν;
τη δ επι και Μελιτην, λιαρω περιγηθες ουρω,
αιπεινην τε Κερωσσον, υπερθε δε πολλων εουσαν
Νυμφαιτην παραμειβον, ινα κρειουσα Καλυψω
Ατλαντις ναιεσκε. ...

PROCOP. 8.22.18-21:

ουτος δε ο στολος αχρι ες την Φαιακων χωραν, η νυν Κερκυρα επικαλειται, ουδεν αχαρι εργαζεσθαι εσχε. νησον γαρ ουδεμιαν εν τωδε τω διαπλω οικουμενην ξυμβαινει ειναι εκ του κατα την Χαρυβδιν πορθμου μεχρι ες την Κερκυραν ωστε πολλακις εγω ενταυθα γενομενος διηπορουμην οπη ποτε αρα της Καλυψους η νησος ειη. ταυτης γαρ της θαλασσης ουδαμη νησον τεθεσθαι, οτι μη τρεις, ου πολλω αποθεν της Φαιακιδος, αλλ οσον απο σταδιων τριακοσιων, αγγιστα πη αλληλων ουσας, βραχειας κομιδη και ουδε ανθρωπων οικια εχουσας ουτε ζων ουτε αλλων το παραπαν ουδεν. Οθονοι δε καλουνται τανυν αι νησοι αυται. και φαιη αν τις την Καλυψω ενταυθα γενεσθαι, και απ αυτου τον Οδυσσεα γης της Φαιακιδος οντα ου πολλω αποθεν η σχεδια, ως φησιν Ομηρος, η αλλω τω τροπω νεως τινος χωρις ενθενδε διαπορθμευσασθαι.¹⁴

Both Apollonius of Rhodes and Procopius (6th c. A.D.) place the island of Calypso near *Corcyra* and, therefore, near its adjacent island of *Melite*. The combination of *Melite* and *Nymphaea* (that is, *Ogygia*) could have helped in confusing this tradition and, therefore, transposing it to *Melite* and *Gaûlos*.

Mela (2.7.171-4) (quoted above under *Gaulos*) distinguished between *Gaulos* and *Calypso's island*, which he then mistakes with *Aeaea* being the island inhabited by Circe instead. The same mistake had been made by Propertius earlier, who although distinguishes the episode of Circe from that of Calypso, finally calls the latter's island as *Aeaea*.

PROP. 3.12.27-31:

et Circae fraudes, lotosque herbaeque tenaces,
Scyllaque et alternas scissa Charybdis aquas,
Lampetis Ithacis ueribus mugisse iuuenos
(pauerat hos Phoebo filia Lampetie),
et thalamum Aeaeae flentis fugisse puellae,

On the contrary, *Aeaea* was referred to as Circe's island by Homer, Apollonius of Rhodes and Vergil.

HOM. Od. 10.135-7:

Αἰαίην δ' ἐς νῆσον ἀφικομεθ: ἐνθα δ' ἐναίε
Κίρκη εὐπλοκάμος, δεινὴ θεὸς αὐδηεσσα,
αὐτοκασίγνητὴ ὀλοόφρονος Αἰήταο:

AP.RH. 4.661-3:

ἔξον δ' Αἰαίης λιμένα κλυτὸν. ἐκ δ' ἀρὰ νηὸς
πείσματ' ἐπ' ἡιονῶν σχεδὸθεν βάλλον: ἐνθα δὲ Κίρκην
εὐρὸν ἄλος νοτίδεσσι κάρη περιφαιδρυνούσαν,

VERG. A. 3.384-7:

ante et Trinacria lentandus remus in unda
et salis Ausonii lustrandum navibus aequor
infemique lacus Aeaeaeque insula Circae,
quam tuta possis urbem componere terra.

Pliny, however, interprets Homer's island of Circe as being situated by the coast of *Latium*, no longer an island by his times.

PLIN. Nat. 3.5.57:

Cercei quondam insula inmenso quidem mari circumdata, ut creditur Homero, et nunc planitie.

Latin Glauconis: Gozo, near Malta

Pietro della Torre (1499: s.v.), in his Latin edition of Ptolemy, refers to *Glauconis*, the name he gives to our Gozo.

PTOL. Geog. s.v. *Glauconis*:

insula et civitas. 36(1/3) 34(2/3).

Greek gaulós: round container

HOM Od. 9.222-3:

... ναιὸν δ' ὀρῶ ἀγγεῖα πάντα,
γαυλοὶ τε σκαφίδες τε, τετυγμένα, τοῖς ἐναμέλγευ.¹⁵

HER. 6.119.3:

ἀντλέεται μὲν κηλῶνῃω, ἀντὶ δὲ γαυλοῦ ἡμισυ ἄσκου οἱ προσδέδεται.

Here Herodotus uses γαυλος meaning "a skin" used instead of a bucket for drawing water by means of a windlass. The *Glossarium* on Herodotus interprets γαυλος as a water-machine. He quotes the word with the wrong accent, as does the author of the following quotation.

GLOS. HER.:

Γαυλος ... φρεατος αντλητηριον.

Et. mag. s.v. γαυλος:

Γαυλος ... λεγεται και αντλητηριον τι.

LEON. *ap. Anth. Gr.* 6.35.3-6:

και ταν ραιβοκρανον ευστορθυγγα κορυναν,
α παρος αιμωπους εστυφελιξε λυκους,
γαυλους τε γλαγοπηγας, αγωγαιον τε κυναγχαν,
και ταν ευρινων λαιμοπεδαν σκυλακων.

ANTIPHIL. *ibid.* 9.404.3-6:

προικιος ανθρωπων βιωτω χαρις, ουχι μακελλας,
ου βοος, ου γαμψων δευομενα δρεπανων,
γαυλου δε σμικροιο, τοθι γλυκυ ναμα μελισσα
πηγαζει σκηνευς δαψιλες εξ ολιγου.

ANTIPH. *ap. ATH.* 11.500e-f:

Αντιφανης χρυσιδι:

A. ... σαπροπλουτω δ, ως λεγουσι, νυμφιω,
κεκτημενω ταλαντα, παιδας, επιτροπους,
ζευγη, καμηλους, στρωματ, αργυρωματα,
φιαλας, τριηρεις, τραγελαφους, καρχησια,
γαυλους ολογχυσους. B. πλοια; A. τους καδους μεν ουν
καλουσι γαυλους παντες οι προγαστορες.

THEOC. *Buc. Gr.* 5.58-9:

Κο. στασω δ οκτω μεν γαυλως τω Πανι γαλακτος,
οκτω δε σκαφιδας μελιτος πλεα κηρι εχουσας.

ibid. 104-5:

Κο. εστι δε μοι γαυλος κυπαρισσινος, εστι δε κρατηρ,
εργον Πραξιτελεως: τα παιδι δε ταυτα φυλασσω.

LONGUS 3.4:

Ελυπει δε αυτους η πηρα τις ελθουσα εις χειρας, εξ ης συνησθιον, η γαυλος οφθεις, εξ ου
συνεπιον, η συριγξ αμελως ερριμμενη, δωρον ερωτικον γεγενημενη.

ALCIPHR. 2.13.1:

και ημιν τοις γονευσι πυρους εκθερισας και οινον εκ βοτρυων αποθλιψας και, βδαλας τα
αιγιδια, τον γαυλον πληρη γαλακτος ...

HSCH. s.v. γαυλος:

η καδος, εν ω τα πλοια αντλειαται.

id. s.v. γαυλοι:

τα ποιμενικα του γαλακτος αγγεια. ... τινες δε και τας χυτρας γαυλους καλουσι.

A.B. 1. s.v. γαυλος:

καδον. και γαυλοι παρ Ομηρω τα ποιμενικα αγγεια του γαλακτος. λεγεται δε και φρεατος
αντλητηριον γαυλος. και εν ω τα πλοια αντλειαται καδος (see Homer, quoted above).

SUID. s.v. γαυλος:

γαυλος δε οξυτονως, το ποιμενικον αγγειον ο δεχεται το γαλα Ηροδοτος, γαυλους τε ενταυθα καταδυσας. η γαυλος, ο του φρεατος αντλητηρ: η οινηρον αγγειον. εκ ξυλων κατεσκευασμενον. ω ιταλοι μαγγαναν ονομαζουσι: υθι δε των γαλακτοδοξων αγγειων, γαυλους τε γλαγοπηδας εν επιγραμмати: αυνακας αμπεχομενον.

γαυλος is also found with the same meaning as γαυλις.

OPP. Cyn. 1.126:

καρπος Αθηναιης λιπαρην οτε γαυλιδα πληθει.

Latin gaulus: round container

Greek *gaulós* is rendered as Latin *gaulus* with the same meaning.

PLAUT. Rud. 5.2.31-2:

Talentum argenti commodum magnum inerit in crumina,
praeterea sinus, cantharus, epichysis, **gaulus**, cyathus.

Greek gaulós: a parasite

CYR. s.v. γαυλος (wrong accent):

ο εξ αλλοτριων ζων.

HSCH. s.v. γαυλος:

ο εξ αλλοτριων ζων.

SUID. s.v. γαυλος (wrong accent):

ο εξ αλλοτριων ζων. η ο ου απατητος.

Latin gaulus: a bird

ISID. 12.7.34:

Meropes eosdemque et **gaulos**, qui parentes suos recondere atque alere dicuntur.

It could be that Martial was referring to this *gaulus* in his distych on *galbina*.

MART. 13.68:

Galbina decipitur calamis et retibus ales,
turget adhuc viridi cum rudis uva mero.

The Romanisation of Gaulos

Gozo came under Roman influence in 218B.C. together with Malta, as the short distance from it prohibited a different result.

LIV. 21.51.1-2:

A Lilybaeo consul, Hierone cum classe regia dimisso relictoque praetore ad tuendam Siciliae oram, ipse in insulam **Melitam**, quae a Carthaginensibus tenebatur, traiecit. Adueniendi Hamilcar Gisconis filius, praefectus praesidii, cum paulo minus duobus milibus militum oppidumque cum insula traditur.

The Roman invasion of Malta took place during the consulship of Tiberius Sempronius Longus and Publius Cornelius Scipio, in 218B.C., which year was also the beginning of the second Punic war. Livy says that Malta was still Carthaginian, even many years after the conclusion of the first Punic war, when Sicily had been taken over by Rome. This, together with Polybius (3.96.13) quoted above, further confirms what has been stated above, that Malta and Gozo, together with Pantellaria, were excluded from the treaty whereby, according to Appian, Rome and Carthage agreed, by the end of the first Punic war (241B.C.), that Sicily and its adjacent islands were to pass over to Rome.

APP. 5.2:

και ην εφ οις συνεθεντο, τα μεν αιχμαλωτα Ρωμαιων και τους αυτομολους, οσοι παρα Καρχηδονιοις εισι, Ρωμαιοις ευθυσ αποδουναι, και Σικελιας Ρωμαιοις αποστηναι και των βραχυτερων νησων οσαι περι Σικελιαν.

Sempronius, therefore, found a garrison of little less than two thousand soldiers,¹⁶ headed by their prefect, Hamilcar. 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. *traditur* in Latin does not imply any betrayal, but surrender, that is, by the Carthaginians. It must be assumed that Gozo, which subsequently to this incident, remained politically under Sicily together with Malta, shared with its sister island both the act of surrendering and the acceptance of the first Roman presence within it.

This term of "Romanisation" simply means that Malta and Gozo now fell ultimately within the influence of Rome. In the case of our islands, we must not assume that the Carthaginians were expelled from the islands. The local population, in fact, was and remained for many centuries after, Punico-Greek culturally.

Though Malta's surrender obviously must have pleased Rome, we find no evidence to justify what Ashby (1915: 24) says, that "They were included in the province of Sicily, but they were not subjected to the unfavourable treatment accorded to most of that island; they held the privileged position of a '*civitas foederata*' or '*libera atque immunis*'. Such a position itself suggests that they took the side of Rome voluntarily." On the contrary, we have the evidence of Cicero for privileges of various kinds granted to various states in Sicily, but not to Malta or Gozo.

CIC. 2 Ver. 3.6.12-3:

Siciliae civitates sic in amicitiam fidemque accepimus ut eodem iure essent quo fuissent, eadem condicione populo Romano parerent qua suis antea paruissent. Perpaucae Siciliae civitates sunt bello a maioribus nostris subactae; quarum ager cum esset publicus populi Romani factus, tamen illis est redditus; is ager a censoribus locari solet. **Foederatae civitates** duae sunt, quarum decumae venire non soleant, Mamertina et Tauromenitana, quinque praeterea **sine foedere immunes [civitates] ac liberae**, Centuripina, Halaesina, Segestana, Halicyensis, Panhormitana; praeterea omnia ager Siciliae civitatum decumanus est, itemque ante imperium populi Romani ipsorum Siculorum voluntate et institutis fuit.

By *civitates* Cicero means towns with their territories. Cicero says here that very few states in Sicily had been subdued by war, meaning that the majority of these states, like Malta and Gozo, surrendered to Roman rule. Conquered lands were returned, but tithes (*decumanae* from *decimus* meaning "tenth" - refer to Maltese *l-għexur*) continued to be levied from the whole of the agricultural land of Sicily, which explains how both wine and corn, which Sicily exported together with horses, timber and sulphur (Talbert 1985: 149), were to be found in Rome in great abundance. *Civitates foederatae* were two, Messina and Taormina, and *civitates sine foedere*, but *immunes ac liberae* were five, Centuripae, Halaesa, Egesta, Halicyae and Palermo. *civitas foederata* means that a city with its surrounding territories was considered by Rome as inhabited by a local population with equal rights as those at Rome, not because the population was implanted in foreign territory as a colony of Roman citizens, but through some agreement between itself and that territory which now became either leagued to or allied with it.

CIC. Arch. 4.7:

Data est civitas Silvani lege et Carbonis: SI QVI FOEDERATIS CIVITATIBVS ADSCRIPTI FVISSENT, SI TVM CVM LEX FEREBATVR IN ITALIA DOMICILIVM HABVISSENT ET SI SEXAGINTA DIEBVS APVD PRAETOREM ESSENT PROFESSI.

SUET. Cal. 3:

Domi forisque civilis, libera ac foederata oppida sine lictoribus adibat.

civitas libera atque immunis means that that state was free from service to Rome and exempt from taxes.

LIV. 37.55.6:

quae vectigales Antiochi fuissent, eae liberae atque immunes essent.

SUET. Vesp. 8:

sed et provinciae civitatesque liberae, nec non et regna quaedam tumultuosius inter se agebant.

We find no evidence that the inhabitants of Malta "took the side of Rome voluntarily", nor any literary or epigraphical evidence of such privileges as mentioned above having been granted to Malta and not to most towns of Sicily. On the contrary, our sources quoted below clearly place our islands under the administration of the *propraetor* of Sicily, with a *procurator* for both islands directly responsible to the emperor, and a local government in each island as confirmed by the institutions of *municipia* in each island.

Punico-Greek culture persisted in Gozo and Malta for at least two hundred years later, when coins minted in Gozo in 40 B.C., depicting some aspects from Punic religion, bore the Greek inscription of Γαυλιτών, that is, "of the Gozitans".¹⁷ The presence of Greek characters on these coins, therefore, does not signify the introduction of Greek culture into Malta and Gozo from Sicily at that time, as has wrongly been suggested (Coleiro 1971: 79). These coins commemorated the Gozitan solidarity with Sextus Pompeius and Antony who were warring against Octavian and Lepidus. This incident of the first triumvirate of Rome is represented in these coins through Astarte being represented as helmeted and in battle attitude. The minting of coins in this date and, later, in 35B.C. and 15B.C. in our islands, is also an indication of an economic prosperity which was gradually becoming higher (Coleiro 1971: 91).¹⁸

Sicily too, to which Malta and Gozo, as said above, belonged within the framework of province-administration after 218B.C., continued to be Greek in the style of the composition of its constitution and magistrates, and in its culture, religion and language. Its official Latin language was often replaced by Greek, spoken generally as a means of everyday communication. The Roman population there continued to be small until the first century B.C., when Augustus was constrained to found six *coloniae* to increase Roman presence there (Talbert 1985: 149). All the towns of Sicily, presumably together with those of its adjacent islands, had already been raised to "Latin status"¹⁹ by Julius Caesar before he was assassinated in 44 B.C. (Cary and Scullard 1975: 278). And when Cicero, earlier, accused Verres, *propraetor* of the Roman province of Sicily, for misappropriation, he was also accusing him of plundering Malta, "his own" territory (*Ver.* 4.103). Also about the same period, a coin from Malta bore the name of a *propraetor* of Sicily (Mionnet: 1.343.26; Mommsen: 374 n.), while an inscription from Malta from Augustus' times (quoted below) mentions the name of a *Procurator* of both islands.

Under Augustus (27B.C.), Malta and Gozo, as part of the Sicilian province, came to be ultimately controlled by the Senate of Rome, instead of directly by the emperor (Cary and Scullard 1975: 318). It is highly unlikely that he granted Roman citizenship to the inhabitants of Malta and Gozo, as he was rather conservative in granting such a promotion (Cary and Scullard (1975: 341).

The inscriptions of Gaulos

The inscriptions found in the island of Gozo, going back to the era where Greek and Latin were read, cover many centuries where the Gozitan society included Carthaginian, Greek and Roman elements. They were set up either to commemorate some event, as was the case of the Punic one referred to below, or to honour some personage, as in the Greek inscription on Demetrius, quoted below. In the Roman period, this could be the Emperor, an envoy of his, or a local person, such as Vallius

(Bonanno 1990: 37). These were generally inscribed in marble, either as part of an architectural structure, like the "Vallius" inscription by the old entrance of the old citadel, or as part of the base to a statue, like the "Iulia Augusta" one, or on a copper plate. The inscriptions from Gozo have come down to us written in Punic or Latin, often in a mutilated form. The subject-matter varies from simple dedication, religious tasks, and Municipal authority, to individuals' *cursus honorum*. In this way they can be described as dedicatory, honorary, or proclamatory.

A Punic inscription of the third century B.C. (C.I.S. 1.132)

Although not written in Greek or Latin, this inscription, unearthed in 1855 and stored at the Archaeological Museum in Valletta, is important for us as its dating before 218 B.C. gives us a better idea about the Gozitan society which was made up of Punic and Greek elements before the coming of the Romans.

Heltzer (1993: 198-204) has concluded a whole article from his theory that the inscription under consideration was written before 218 B.C., when our islands were conquered by the Romans. As such, therefore, he considers this inscription as important in that it reflects upon the political structure of the island in the Punic world. But, frankly, nowhere does he tell us on what grounds he fixes his date as pre-, and not, post-218 B.C. Amadasi Guzzo (1967: 23), Peckham (1969: 181) and, recently, Bonanno (1990: 34) date it as after 218 B.C.; K.A.I. (1964) as anywhere between the fourth and the second century B.C.; Weiss (1931: 546) as anywhere in the third century B.C.

The inscription as deciphered and translated by Heltzer mentions two magistrates (*rabs*) of the Council by the names of Arish and Sapput, and not one (as in Bonanno 1990: 34). Furthermore, it mentions the names of the priest (Ba'alsillek), and the inspector of the quarry (Y'). It mentions "the people" of Gozo twice, making no distinction between ethnic groups, as Heltzer incorrectly says.

Heltzer rightly compares this inscription in Punic with a similar inscription of Malta engraved in Greek on a copper plate (I.G. 14.953.24), which he dates the third century B.C. It was found in Rome and originally sent to a certain Demetrius, son of Diodotus, from Syracuse. To honour him for the friendship and generosity which he showed to the people of Malta, the Council and Assembly of Malta expressed their gratefulness by publishing two copies of the inscription, one of which was sent to him in Syracuse. No copies were found in Syracuse or Malta, but this one in Rome.

I.G. 14.953.24:

υπερ προξενιας και ευεργεσιας²⁰ Δημητριω Διοδοτου Συρακοσιω και τοις εγγονοις αυτου.
επι ιεροθυτου Ικετα²¹ Ικετου, αρχοντων δε Ηρεου²¹ και Κοτητος εδοξε τη συγκλητω και τω
δημω²² των Μελιταιων: επειδη Δημητριος Διοδοτου Συρακοσιος δια παντος ευνοους υπαρχων τοις τε
δημοσιοις ημων πραγμασιν και ενι εκαστω των πολιτων παραιτιος αγαθου πολλακι²¹ γεγενηται,
αγαθη τυχη δεδοχθαι Δημητριον Διοδοτου Συρακοσιον προξενον ειναι και ευεργετην του δημου των
Μελιταιων και τους εγγονους αυτου αρετης ενεκεν και ευνοιας ης εχων διατελει εις τον ημετερον
δημον. την δε προξενιαν ταυτην αναγραφαι²³ εις χαλκωματα δυο και το εν δουναι Δημητριω
Διοδοτου Συρακοσιω.

I give the following translation:

"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 towards our people. (It) also (decided) to register this friendship on two copper plates and to give one to Demetrius, son of Diodotus, of Syracuse."

Also in this inscription, no distinction in ethnic groups is to be inferred in *δημω* as used above. It does not refer to some close Greek community (*δημος*), as Heltzer (203) suspects, but to the whole people of Malta represented by an assembly.

The people of Agrigentum published two similar inscriptions, also on copper plates, dedicated to the same Demetrius, one of which has survived in Rome and is known as I.G. 14.952.22. The similarity in these sister tablets makes one suspect that one and the same Demetrius was the inspiration behind the two dedications. There is no reason to conclude that because of this similarity Malta based its constitution on that of Agrigentum (Ashby 1915: 24). Thus we have two peoples honouring one Demetrius, son of Diodotus, of Syracuse, and his descendants, with terms used for kings and emperors. Such a person could only be one who ruled Syracuse before 241B.C., the end of the First Punic war, when Syracuse, now an ally of Rome, could no longer enter into diplomatic relations with other states, as that was reserved by Rome as its own right and privilege. Hiero was allowed only to retain his kingdom in the south-east of Sicily (Cary and Scullard 1975: 598 n.27).

As we know of no Demetrius, tyrant of Syracuse (Pauly-Wissowa 1901: 4.2.2767-2853 s.v. *Demetrios*), we assume that such an eclipsed person must have reigned during short periods in which democracy took over tyranny in Syracuse. Such periods were 466-459B.C., 366-357B.C., 325-322B.C., 288-280B.C., and 279-270B.C. For all the other periods, we know the names of Syracusan tyrants and kings down to Hiero of the 1st Punic war. The comparison of this Greek inscription from Malta with the Punic one from Gozo of the 3rd century B.C., then, tempts us to opt for 288B.C., when Agathocles was dead, or 279B.C., when Hicetas was expelled²⁴.

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. Nor should the term *rab* here be confused with that of Carthage which Heltzer (200) correctly says was the equivalent of the praetorship in Rome.

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 in Carthage and in its dependant states. 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 comparable to a mother-country, this dual system of government gave way to the single-rule system as shown by terms like the *πρωτος Μελιταιων* of a lost Greek inscription of Tiberius' times, first recorded by Jean Quintin (Vella 1980: 26) and referring to a certain Lucius Castricius, a Roman Knight; *πρωτος της νησου* of the *Acts of the Apostles*, referring to a certain Publius of Malta, and to the *Patronus Municipii* as in the Vallius inscription, already mentioned and to be discussed later. One also comes across *Melitensium primus* in a Latin inscription from Malta (*Sicilliae* 1784: 18), quoted below.

One concludes from this that both Punic and Greek inscriptions discussed are to be dated pre-218B.C., and at least in the case of the Greek one, before 241B.C.

The Lucius Prudens Inscription (I.G. 14.601)

Α[ΟΥΚΙΟΥ] ΚΑ[ΣΤΡΙΚΙΟΥ] ΥΙΟΥ ΚΥΡ[ΟΥ]²⁵ ΠΡΟΥΔΗΝΟΣ ΠΡΠΕΥ²⁶ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΟΥ
ΜΕΛΙΤΑΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΤΡΩΝ ΑΡΞΑ²⁷ ΚΑΙ ΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΕΥΣΑ²⁸ ΘΕΩ ΑΥΤΟΥΣΤΩ [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)."

This inscription, although from Malta, throws light on the political situation current in both islands. It was set up after the deification of emperor Augustus and, probably, during the reign of emperor Tiberius²⁹. Like Gaius Vallius in Gozo (see below), 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*.

In connection with this institution, Augustus founded the provincial *concilia*, meetings of representatives elected by the several towns and islands which fostered this cult. These met once a-year in the chief town of the province to choose a high priest of the cult of *Roma et Augustus* and to conduct a festival in their honour (Cary and Scullard 1975: 341).

Since Malta and Gozo individually formed part of the Sicilian province, one imagines that such men as this Lucius Castricius and M. Livius Optatus (of the "Ceres Julia" inscription, discussed below) went to Syracuse once a-year for this meeting and each could be elected chief priest.

πατρων here is for the more usual πατερων which, like Μελιταιων, is in the genitive case plural of πατηρ, the Greek transliteration of the Latin *pater* for *pater conscriptus*, meaning a member of the senate. In our context, Council, Senate and *Municipium* are synonymous. The title of πρωτος της νησου, met in the *Acts of the Apostles*, quoted below, is, therefore, more fully to be understood for πρωτος Μελιταιων και πατερων, that is, "Head of the People and Council of Malta".

N.T. Act. Ap. 28.7:

Εν δε τοις περι τον τοπον εκεινον υπηρχεν χωρια τω πρωτω της νησου ονοματι Ποπλιω, ος αναδεξαμενος ημας ημερας τρεις φιλοφρονως εξενισεν.

The term πατρων in the inscription, together with the Latin abbreviated term of *QVIR* in the "Ceres Julia" inscription, also of the reign of Tiberius, are our first occurrences indicating the existence of *municipia*, both in Gozo and Malta, though these institutions existed earlier (see further discussion below).³⁰ These titles are exactly the same titles encountered in the Latin inscriptions from Gozo which clearly mention *municipium* (see below). For this reason, one rejects Ashby's suspicion that these terms did not apply to a Roman *municipium* (1975: 26).

The Chrestion Inscription (I.L. 10.7494)

CHRESTION AVG[VSTI] LIB[ERTVS] PROC[VRATOR] INSVLARVM MELIT[AE] ET
GAVL[II] COLVMNAS CVM FASTIGIIS³¹ ET PARIETIBVS TEMPLI DEAE PROSERPINAЕ
VETVSTATE RVINAM IMMINENTIBVS ... RESTITVIT SIMVL ET PILAM INAVRAVIT.

"Chrestion, freedman of Augustus and procurator of the islands of Malta and Gozo, restored the columns of the temple of goddess Proserpina, along with (their) roofs and walls which were prone to ruin from old age. At the same time, he also gilded a pillar."

This inscription, although from Malta, tells us that both Malta and Gozo fell ultimately under the jurisdiction of a special *procurator*, in this case, one Chrestion.

Under Augustus, a *procurator* was one who served as an ambassador of the emperor to one of his private domains. As such he shared his name with that of the tax-collectors in the imperial provinces (Cary and Scullard 1975: 342). They were either *equites* or freedmen, as this Chrestion. It was at this time that salaries were established to them. They were not to levy soldiers or exact money outside their provinces. They were to leave their provinces as soon as their successors arrived, and be back in Rome within three months.

D.C. 53.16.3-6:

και τους επιτροπους (ουτω γαρ τους τας τε κοινας προσοδους εκλεγοντας και τα προστεταγμενα σφισιν αναλίσκοντας ονομαζομεν) ες παντα ομοιως τα εθνη, τα τε εαυτου δη και τα του δημου, τους μεν εκ των ιππεων τους δε και εκ των απελευθερων πεμπει πλην καθ' οσον τους φορους οι ανθυπατοι παρ' ων αρχουσιν εσπρασσουσιν. εντολας τε τινας και τοις επιτροποις και τοις ανθυπατοις τοις τε αντιστρατηγοις διδωσιν, οπως επι ρητοις εξιωσιν. και γαρ τουτο και το μισθοφοραν και εκεινοις και τοις αλλοις διδοσθαι τοτε ενομισθη. το μεν γαρ παλαι εργολαβουντες τινες παρα του δημοσιου παντα σφισι τα προς την αρχην φεροντα παρειχον επι δε δη του Καισαρος πρωτον αυτοι εκεινοι τακτον τι λαμβανειν ηρξαντο. και τουτο μεν ουκ εκ του ισου πασι σφισιν, αλλ ως που και η χρεια αλητει, εταχθη και τοις γε επιτροποις και αυτο το του αξιωματος ονομα απο του

αριθμού των διδομένων αυτοίς χρημάτων προσγιγνεται. εκείνα δε επί πασιν ομοίως ενομοθετήθη, μήτε καταλογούς σφας ποιεσθαι, μήτε αργυρίον έξω του τεταγμένου εσπρασσειν, ει μη ητοι η βουλή ψηφισαιτο η ο αυτοκρατωρ κελευσειεν οταν τε τω ο διαδοχος ελθη, εκ τε του εθνους αυτικα αυτον εξορμασθαι και εν τη ανακομιδη μη εγχερονιζειν, αλλ εντος τριων μηνων επανιεναι.

Such *procuratores* were sent also to the islands adjacent to Sicily to collect taxes. Thus, Lipari Islands had a *procurator* by the name of Cornelius Masurius during the reign of Tiberius Caesar (*Siciliae* 1784: 17 n.). By the time of emperor Claudius (A.D.41-54), these *procuratores* came to take the place of proconsuls in the jurisdiction of financial matters in the provinces. At Rome they made up the profession of the civil service of the emperor (Cary and Scullard 1975: 361).

Procuratores of more than one province or *municipium* are known to have existed elsewhere. Under emperor Domitian (A.D.81-96), when Germany was officially divided into two provinces, a *procurator* administered the finances of the two Germanies together with Belgium and was called *procurator provinciae Belgicae et utriusque Germaniae* (Cary and Scullard 1975: 421).

The Ceres Iulia Inscription

CERERI IVLIAE AVGVSTAE DIVI AVGVSTI MATRI TI[BERII] CAESARIS AVGVSTI
LVTATIA C[AI]I F[ILII] SACERDOS AVGVSTI IMP[ERATORIS] PERPETVI [VXOR] M[ARCI] LIVI
M[ARCI] F[ILII] QVI[R]. OPTATI FL[AMINIS] IVLIAE AVGVSTI IMP[ERATORIS] PERPET[VI] [CVM]
LIBERIS S[VIS] CONSACRAV[IT].³²

"Lutatia, daughter of Gaius, and priestess of the eternal emperor Augustus, (wife) of Marcus Livius Optatus, son of Marcus, *quinquevir* and *flamen* of Iulia, (grandmother) of the eternal emperor Augustus, together with her children, consecrated (this inscription) to Ceres Iulia Augusta, (grand)mother of the Divine Augustus, and of Tiberius Caesar Augustus."

This inscription from Gozo was erected during the emperorship of Tiberius (A.D.14-37), who was the stepson of Augustus by the latter's second wife, Livia. Tiberius, then, married his step-father's daughter Julia, through whom he had Drusus Caesar. To honour the House of Augustus, this inscription is dedicated to one Iulia, sister of Julius Caesar and grandmother of Augustus and, therefore, great grandmother of his adopted son Tiberius, and not to Livia as has been interpreted (e.g. Ashby 1915: 27 n. 1). Also, she was not the wife of Augustus as has been recently described (Bonanno 1990: 36). The inscription is a testimony of the cult of Augustus and his family members in Gozo, represented here by priestess and *flamen*, being wife and husband of each other. Julia is here associated with goddess Ceres, goddess of creation, daughter of Saturn and Ops, sister of Jupiter and Pluto, and mother of Proserpine, goddess of agriculture. In her capacity of being goddess of providence and sister of the god of gods, Ceres is here venerated as the personified Julia.

Outside the Senate in Rome, only the patricians, that is, those who belonged to the noble families, or who entered this class as *novi homines*, could become *flamines*, that is, priests. These cultivated the state cults of Jupiter, Mars and Quirinus, who was a Roman equivalent god to Mars himself, and were nominated by the *pontifex maximus* (Cary and Scullard 1975: 50-1, 63). We distinguish between *pontifex maximus*, *pontifex*, *flamen* and *sacerdos* which, in that order, signified a hierarchy. However, irrespective of this general hierarchy, in the times of the emperors, *flamines* were appointed also outside Rome to foster the cult of the deceased and deified emperor.

Elsewhere, the cult of Ceres was looked after by Greek priests. But the name of Marcus Livius Optatus sounds Roman, not Greek.

DIOD. 14.77.5:

και των παρ αυτοις οντων Ελληνων τους χαρισστατους επιλεξαντες επι την των θεων θεραπειαν εταξαν.

CIC. Balb. 24:

Sacra Cereris, iudices, summa maiores nostri religione confici caerimoniaque voluerunt; quae cum essent adsumpta de Graecia, et per Graecas curata sunt semper sacerdotes et Graeca omnino nominata.

The term *quinquevir*, a member of a Council of five *decuriones*, or councillors, is another proof of the existence of a *municipium*, or Council, in Gozo. The granting of the privilege of *municipium* to an island or town meant the bestowal of limited autonomy, that is, self-government, keeping in mind that all states with Latin status, as against Roman status, had to contribute money and soldiers to Rome, and to abstain from independent foreign policy. They could also be visited by Roman judicial prefects.

The term *QVIR* certainly does not stand for *tribus Quirina*, which has wrongly been interpreted to refer to some extra privilege granted to a Knight or a whole people (e.g. *Siciliae* 1784: 46; Bres 1798: ; Boechius and Franzius 1853: 3.32.5754; Ashby 1915: 26 *passim*, 27 n.1, and Busuttil 1976: 279). Ashby continues to confuse the matter by adding, "The quirine tribe seems to have been used for Greeks who obtained the Roman franchise individually, and this may have been the case with Castricius, or perhaps he may have sprung from *Gaulus*!"

Gozo's municipal autonomy meant also independence from Malta and limited independence from Sicily. We do not know exactly when this privilege was granted to Gozo and to Malta; but we would be right to speculate that this privilege goes back to the time of the Republic, when already in 218B.C. the Romans saw that both Malta and Gozo, like other towns of Sicily, were each governed by a Council of a certain standing, of Punic and Greek origin (see discussion on the comparison between the Punic inscription from Gozo and the contemporary Greek inscription from Malta). Changes were to involve a move from dual to single headship (see above). Furthermore, unlike Roman *municipia* in the East, the Gozitan *municipium* soon adopted Latin terms for its magistrates, such as *quinquevir* and *patronus municipium*, which replaced the earlier Latin terms of Greek origin, such as *archontes* and *primus Melitensium*. It is true to say that if Gozo minted coins during the times of Sextus Pompeius when he was preparing war against Octavian in 40B.C. (see above), Gozo must have had by then a *municipium*; but it was wrong to say that if Gozo minted coins for Sextus Pompeius, then it was Sextus Pompeius who gave municipal rights to Gozo (Coleiro 1971: 90), which, as an enemy of Rome, he had no right to grant (*nemo dat sine habet*). Furthermore, we have no grounds to say that Gozo got its *municipium* before Malta (e.g. Ashby 1915: 27 n.1), and that by the second century A.D. (e.g. Ashby 1915: 26 n.3; Bonanno 1990: 37), for reasons just given above.

Some Italian *municipia*, before they were granted Roman citizenship, received a further privilege by being called *civitas sine suffragio*, otherwise known as *ius Caeritum* from the belief that Caere was the first *municipium* to receive it. This privilege meant that that *municipium* received Roman citizenship without the privilege to vote in Rome (Cary and Scullard 1975: 90, 592 n.15, 595 n.15). This last privilege was not enjoyed by Gozo or Malta.

In a narrower sense, *municipium* meant the municipality, that is, the Council of five members, one of whom being the president (or mayor), which in Gozo operated from *Gaulos*, the main town of the island.

The *quinqueviri* administered their town or island with its territories as magistrates of matters which varied from finances, public order, culture and religion. They periodically consulted with the people, and called for elections for both the councillors and the magistrates. In time, co-optation took the place of the elections, with the result that these positions came to be held hereditarily (Cary and Scullard 1975: 429). This can probably be exemplified by the two "Vallius" inscriptions from Gozo, to be discussed later. Rome generally did not interfere in the administration of these *municipia*. The rare occasions of Roman intervention, not recorded for Malta or Gozo, would include civil strife, insecurity and financial maladministration. In the case of the latter, Rome occasionally intervened by appointing a *curator a rationibus* to take the charge of the finances. Incumbent councillors by the 2nd century A.D. were expected either to pay a lump sum of money into the city's treasury, or to spend money on some public project, such as architectural ornamentation. This further proves that they received no salary for their jobs. A local inscription from Malta illustrates the expenses a mayor incurred for the public out of his own pocket (*ex liberalitate sua*).

Siciliae 18-19:

MVNICIPI MELITENSIVM PRIMVS OMNI ... FECIT. ITEM AEDEM MARMOREAM APOLLINIS CONSECRAVIT. ITEM POSVIT PRONAO COMVMNAS IIII ET PARASCENIVM ET PODIVM, ET PAVIMENTVM AEDIFICAVIT IN QVOD OPVS VNIVERSVM EX LIBERALITATE SVA (DEDIT) SESTERTIOS NVMMOS CENTOS DENOS MILLE SEPTINGENTOS NONAGINTA DVOS S. QVIR. OB MELITENSIVM DESIDERIVM OB MERITA EIVS AERIS COLLATIONE DEDIT DICAVIT.

This inscription should be dated the beginning of the first century A.D., after which period such terms as *Melitensium primus* were replaced by others (see above).

Despite the fact that these councillors paid money themselves instead of being paid, the honour of the office was for a long while much competed for. Generally, the money they contributed was often spent in the wrong direction, simply to gratify the populace through dinners and amusements (Cary and Scullard 1975: 430). Judging, however, from the architectural fragments which have been found scattered and, sometimes, re-used throughout the former town of *Gaulos*, incorporating both upper and lower Victoria (Bonanno 1990: 38), one concludes that Gozo benefited from proper spending in such a way that its economic prosperity became evident. This prosperity is further evident in the remains of both seaside and agricultural countryside houses such as were excavated at Ramla and Xewkija respectively (Bonanno 1990: 38-9). By the second century or after, the financial burdens carried by these councillors were so great that the list of those eligible for election or co-option decreased as a result of evasion. For this reason, this service to the state came to be compulsory for those with great property or capital. This list got further limited as a result of exemptions granted to certain classes of people, such as people over seventy, women, fathers of five children, veterans of war, doctors, teachers, tax farmers and, with Constantine, the clergy (Cary and Scullard 1975: 501, 532).

The Cestius Poampius Inscription

CESTIO L. F. POAMPI. GALLO VARENIANO LVTATIO NATALI AEMILIANO PATRONO MVNICIPII L. MARCIVS MARCIANVS AMICO OPTIMO V. CARISSIMO SIBI HONORIS CAUSA S[TATVAM] L[OCAVIT].³³

"Lucius Marcius Marcianus has set up (this) statue out of respect for his best and dearest friend Cestius Poampius Varenianus Aemilianus, son of Lucius, a Frenchman born in Paris, and President of the Council."

In some of the local inscriptions related to the council, we find the word *patronus* meaning "president" or "mayor"; but generally we find elsewhere *princeps municipii*. While we are unable to date this inscription, also from Gozo, at least we can say that the Council's president was not originally from Gozo, but from Paris. This inscription seems to be different from others referring to the Council, as it was erected not from public funds, but from the generosity of a friend, and it does not mention any emperor.

The Gaius Vallius Inscription

C. VALLIO QVIR. POSTVMO MVNICIPII PATRONO IMPERATORIS HADRIANI PERPETVI IIIIV QVINQ. DECUR. IV [IU]DI[CES] INTER QVATRINGENARIOS A DIVO ANTONINO PIO OMNIBVS HONORIBVS CIVITATIS SVAE HONORIFICE FVNCTO ITEM LEGATIONE GRATVITA APVD IMP. HADRIANVM ET APVD AMPLISSIMVM ORDINEM DE NAVALIB. REDHIBENDIS PLEPS GAVLITANA EX AERE CONLATO OB PLVRA MERITA EIVS D.³⁴

"The Gozitan people has set up (this inscription) for C. Vallius Postumus, a *quinquevir*, and president of the Council, (appointed) by Hadrian, ninth emperor in perpetuity, as *quinquevir*, by the divine Antoninus Pius as the fourth councillor (to be included) among those Knights-Judges possessing four hundred thousand sesterces, with all the honours of Rome, having, besides, performed honourably (his) embassy free of charge with Emperor Hadrian and with the Senate in the re-acquisition of dockyards, from money collected on account of his extra merits."

This inscription of hard stone was found by the Capuchin Church at Rabat, Gozo, in 1736, and is to be seen at the Gozitan Archaeological Museum in the citadel. It tells of the honours which Gaius Vallius Postumus, Mayor of Gozo's *municipium*, received from his people.

The term *plebs Gaultana* signifies that a meeting for the public had been held to ratify a proposal by the Council of Gozo to honour its mayor. It also ratified the expenditure for the engraving and setting up of the inscription in a public place, probably within a public façade, as with the inscription dedicated to Marcus Vallius, his son (see below) from money either raised thenceforth, or from the treasury. *Aere* means money made of copper or bronze. Strictly speaking, Hadrian was the 14th emperor of Rome. He could be considered as the 9th emperor after Augustus if Galba, Otho, Vitellius and Titus, each of whom having reigned for not more than two years, are eliminated. In fact, A.D.69 itself is known as "the Year of the Four Emperors" (Galba, Otho, Vitellius and Vespasian).

Hadrian here receives the epithet of *perpetuus*, Antoninus Pius, his successor, that of *Divus*. Both titles were given to deceased emperors, which point suggests the dating of this inscription in the post-Antonine period. Gaius Vallius Postumus was renowned for his excellence both in Gozo and abroad. He was president of the Council of Gozo and, therefore, one of the five councillors. His income was high enough to promote him to the rank of *eques*, a class of Roman citizens whose status was qualified financially, a rank not easily to be got by Gozitans, as he was the fourth councillor to be thus honoured by Rome. In the Roman *municipia*, Roman citizenship, and possibly subsequent promotion into the *ordo equitum*, was limited to the councillors.

A Roman had to possess 400,000 *sestertii* to qualify as a Knight. During the post-Augustan period, a *sestertius* was equivalent to c. 0.78 Sterling pence, while a thousand *sestertii*, making one *sestertium*, made £7.80. Thus Vallius possessed, at least, a capital of £3120 (less correctly given as £4000 by Busuttill 1976: 279). This figure, by the standard of living of those days, must have been considerable. In fact, Vallius was only the fourth Gozitan councillor to possess such a sum which a Knight at Rome had to possess.

Since the times of Caligula (A.D.37-41), the functions of the *ordo equitum* came to include that of sitting as jurymen (*iudices*) in the court *de rebus repetundis*, that is, dealing with the restitution of money extorted by provincial governors. It is for this reason that the term *quadrigenarios* is further qualified by *iudices*.

Inscr. Grut. 431.7:

ET PATRONO IVDICI. CCCC ...

This point has been misinterpreted to mean that C. Vallius was chosen as member of a committee of five jury-men, representing "senators, *equites*, *tribuni aerarii* and *decunarii*" (Busuttill 1976: 279).

A person either joined the ranks of the *ordo equitum* as a *novus homo*, or was born into it, that is, being of parents or ancestors of that Order, as Vallius' son, Marcus.

CIC. Agr. 1.9.27:

deinde habeat me ipsum sibi documento, quem **equestri ortum** loco consulem videt.

Id. Rep. 1.6.10:

consul autem esse qui potui, nisi eum vitae cursum tenuissem a pueritia, per quem **equestri loco natus** pervenirem ad honorem amplissimum?

VELL. 2.88:

erat tunc urbis custodiis praepositus C. Maecenas **equestri**, sed splendido genere **natus**, ...

Vallius also received "all the honours" a Roman could receive from Rome. *Civitas* does not mean the state of Gozo, but Rome itself, as in the following examples.

TAC. H. 1.19:

crebrioribus in dies Germanicae defectionis nuntiis et facili **civitate** ad accipienda credendaque omnia nova cum tristia sunt, censuerant patres mittendos ad Germanicum exercitum legatos.

ibid. 2.92:

munia imperii Caecina ac Valens obibant, olim anxii odiis, quae bello et castris male dissimulata pravitatis amicorum et fecunda gignendis inimicitias **civitas** auxerat, ...

ibidem:

gratum primoribus **civitatis** etiam plebs adprobavit, ...

ibid. 4.2:

civitas pavida et servitio parata occupari redeuntem tarracina L. Vitellium cum cohortibus extinguique reliqua belli postulabat: ...

The term *civitas* further emphasises the point that a Roman citizen was treated in the same way everywhere in the Empire. Emperors Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus and Marcus Aurelius tended to bestow "Latin status" as a half-way house to full Roman citizenship; but Malta and Gozo could not have benefited now as they had already been promoted by Caesar. Instead, it was their *decuriones*, or councillors at the *Municipia* which, under Hadrian, had their status raised from Latin to Roman (Cary and Scullard 1975: 433 and n.30). This explains why they raised statues and inscriptions in honour of their emperors.

Vallius' privileges included also, apart from titles, service on behalf of the emperor and his Senate in Rome to re-acquire dockyards for Rome. By this we do not mean dockyards in Gozo or Malta, but elsewhere, as the service which Vallius performed was clearly for the emperor and his *amplissimus ordo*, that is, the Senate of Rome (and not the Council of Gozo).

CIC. *Cael.* 2.5:

quem et absentem in **amplissimum ordinem** cooptarunt et ea non petenti detulerunt quae multis petentibus denegarunt.

The term "free of charge" means that Vallius performed this service within an embassy of Rome elsewhere in the empire, quite outside his capacity of being a councillor, for which, we know, he was unpaid. As such, there would have been no need to say "free of charge".

From the knowledge derived from this inscription, one cannot, therefore, accept as valid certain conclusions recently made on this Vallius, namely, that he was sent to Rome to discuss financial matters (Busuttil 1976: 282), that he was a *flamen* of the deified Hadrian (Ashby : 27 n.1; Bonanno 1990: 36), a member of a special committee appointed by emperor Antoninus Pius, and that he led a delegation to Rome in order to make representations on behalf of the Gozitans to Hadrian (Bonanno 1990: 36).

The Gozitan people here not only honour Vallius, their mayor, for his own excellence and for his repute with the Senate of Rome, but also two deceased emperors, in compliance with their emperor cult.

The Marcus Vallius Inscription

M. VALLIO C. F. QVIR RVFO EQVO PVBLICO EXORNATO A DIVO ANTONINO AVG. PIO
PLEPS GAVLITANA E[X] AERE CONLATO OB MERITA ET I[N] SOLACIVM C. VALLI POSTVMI
PATR[O]NI MVNICIPII PATRIS EIVS ... TE.

"The Gozitan people (has set up this inscription) for M. Vallius Rufus, son of Gaius, a *quinquevir*, having been honoured with a State horse by the divine Antoninus Augustus Pius, from money collected on account of his merits and to recompense his father, C. Vallius Postumus, the president of the Council."

This is a similar inscription to the above, but is dedicated to Marcus Vallius Rufus, son of Gaius (discussed above). It can still be seen by the old entrance to the citadel in Victoria, opposite to the Archaeological Museum.

The term *divo* suggests the date of the erection of this inscription as in the post-Antonine period, and not during his reign (as in Agius de Sultana 1746: 68: "regnando l'Imperatore Antonino Pio"). It was set up for Marcus Vallius in honour of both himself and his father Gaius discussed above, the latter either formerly or still currently mayor of Gozo. Furthermore, it records the honour of a State horse having been donated to Marcus by the deceased emperor Antoninus Pius - not Hadrian (see Caruana 1899: 260). Like previous emperors, Antoninus here receives the title of Augustus (confer Tiberius in the "Ceres" inscription above) after the first emperor of Rome.

This State horse does not signify any promotion into the rank of equestrians, as has been incorrectly interpreted (Ashby : 27; Busuttil 1976: 281; Bonanno 1990: 36), but simply what it says (as in Caruana 1899: 260, and Vella 1980: 73 n.371). Indeed, one can say that Marcus was, instead, born into this Order, as was the practice in accepting new members into it by the Censors in Rome. (See CIC. Rep. 1.6.10 and Agr. 1.9.27, and VELL. 2.88, quoted above.)

The term *quinquevir* can be interpreted to be in apposition to either Marcus, or Gaius, his father. In any case, municipal positions had become, by this period, hereditary. The word *pleps* for *plebs* is quoted as it reads in the inscription itself (Vella 1980: 73-4 n.371).

The Julia Domna Inscription

IVLIAE DOMNAE AVG[VSTAE] MATRI CAST[AE] AVGVSTORVM IMP[ERATORIS]
CAES[ARIS] L[VCI] SEPTIMI SEVERI PERTINACIS AVG[VSTI] CONIVGI MVNICIPIVM
GAVL[ITANVM] P[ECVNIA] P[VBLICA] CVRANTE DAPSI[O] [MVNICIPII PATRO]NO.³⁵

"The Council of Gozo, during the administration of Dapsius, president of the Council of Gozo, (has set up this inscription) for Julia Domna Augusta, divine mother of the Augusti, and wife of the emperor Caesar L. Septimius Severus Augustus, (successor) of Pertinax, through public money."

Julia Domna is also known as Julia Augusta, from Syria. As wife of emperor Septimius Severus (A.D.193-211), she became known for her cultural circle in Rome whose members included Philostratus, a biographer of sophists, Philiscus, a sophist from Thessaly, Papinian, Ulpian and Paul, lawyers, Dio Cassius and Marius Maximus, historians, Serenus Sammonicus and Galen, doctors, Oppian and Gordian, poets, the latter becoming emperor Gordian II, Athenaeus the Deipnosophist, and Alexander of Aphrodisias, a Peripatetic philosopher. Eminent visitors included Origen, a Christian theologian and critic from Antioch (Cary and Scullard 1975: 502).

Julia Domna is here referred to as the *mater Augustorum* by virtue of becoming the ancestor of later emperors, that is, Caracalla and Geta, her sons, Elagabalus, her grand-nephew who supplanted Macrinus, and his cousin, Severus Alexander.

Septimius Severus was the successor of emperor Pertinax (A.D.193), who had been murdered by his guards after only three months of reign. The senate's short-lived appointment of Didius Iulianus (A.D.193) had been rebuffed by the invasion of Rome of Septimius Severus who advanced from *Pannonia Superior*, and the emperor's subsequent deposition and condemnation to death (Cary and Scullard 1975: 490-1). Septimius boasted of having avenged Pertinax, formerly the right-hand man of Marcus Aurelius, and he decreed himself as the posthumously appointed adopted son of the latter (Cary and Scullard 1975: 494). The title of Caesar had, by this time, come to be used as the deputy, co-reigning and successor to the emperor. In the case of Septimius Severus, the title could never have been attributed to him. As such, it must be interpreted as for his predecessors, most of whom were hailed as *imperator Caesar ... Augustus*.

This inscription is another of its kind illustrating one of the responsibilities of the Council of Gozo and its presidents in propagating the cult of Augustus through his successors. It resembles the one dedicated to Ceres Julia Augusta, also ancestor of future emperors down to Nero.

The Adiabene Inscription

TI[BI] S[ALVS]. IMP[ERATORIS] M[ARCI] AVREL[II] ANTONINI PII AVGVSTI L[VCI]
SEPTIMI SEVERI PERTINACIS AVG[VSTI] ARABICI ADIABENICI PARTHICI MAXIMI

IMP[ERATORIS] PONT[IFEX] MAX[AXIMVS] [ET] ORDO DECVRIONVM QVIR. ... CVRANTE. ...
[PECVNIA] PVBLIC[A] MO. ... STO.³⁶

"May the gods grant you peace! The Council and high priest have set up this inscription (in honour of the conquest) of the Parthico-Arabian Adiabene by L. Septimius Severus, (successor) of Pertinax Augustus, (successor) of Emperor M. Aurelius, (adopted) son of Antoninus Pius Augustus, during the administration of ..., through public (money)."

This inscription is commemorative of Severus' first invasion (A.D.195) and second invasion (A.D.197) of *Adiabene*, which is to be placed not in Arabia, but in Armenia. It is one of similar inscriptions commemorating the same event (*Siciliae* 1784: 33). It also propagates the cult of Augustus and his successors, which is here emphasised by the names of four successive emperors.

According to *Siciliae* (1784: 33), the last two inscriptions appeared on two sides of the same base of a statue. It will be noticed that in the later inscriptions from Gozo, the word *municipium* is less frequently mentioned. This inscription has been called "the Geta inscription" (Busuttil 1976: 273-7), and subsequently referred to in this manner (Bonanno 1990: 37). But this theory was created on the supposition that C.I.L. 10.7503's emendations of *fratri* and *filio* to this inscription, referring to Geta, brother of Caracalla and son of Septimius Severus, were correct. However, without these emendations, imagined to have been erased by Caracalla's order, the inscription as translated above still makes sense.

The purpose of this inscription was to represent Septimius Severus' self-justification of having been installed emperor from outside the family of the Antonines. Indeed, he was at pains to call himself the (posthumously) adopted son of Antoninus Pius, and, as such, the latter's name should not have been made to refer to Geta. Also, emphasis is made in this inscription on the line of succession, to justify Severus' perpetration of the imperial line.

Finally, in between *CVRANTE* and *PVBL*. we have a space, and, therefore, no right to interpret *PVBL*. as being the proper name of the mayor (as in Busuttil 1976: 273, 277). Instead, *PVB*. or *PVBL*. are, often with another *P*. for *PECVNIA*, synonymous with *AERE CONLATO* met elsewhere in these inscriptions (see also Sandys 1927: 305).

A mutilated inscription

Siciliae (1784: 291):

[PONTIFI]CI MAXIMI P[OPVLVS] ORDO DECVRIONVM CVRANTE PVBLI[O] [ANTONI]NO.
... STO. ...
NA HOPE QVIR. ... CVID ... III QIV. ... NINO ... I. ... PLEBS GAVLITANA IN R. ... N. ... B. ...
CELSE ... JVRIS ... LIVS ...

From this mutilated inscription, one can at least gather that the name of the mayor was Publius Antoninus, and that the setting up of this inscription was the result of a common effort by both the Gozitan people and its *municipium*.

The Valerius Constantius Inscription

D[OMINO] N[OSTRO] C[AIO] AVR[ELIO] [VAL]ER[IO] CONSTANTIO AVG. R[ES]
P[VBLICA] GAVL. CVRANTE F[LAVIO] POLLIONE RUFO M[ARCI] F[ILIO] ... III. VIR.

"The State of Gozo (has set up this inscription) during the administration of Flavius Pollio Rufus, son of Marcus, *triumvir*, for our lord Gaius Aurelius Valerius Constantius Augustus."

The Constantius referred to in this inscription was Constantius I (A.D.292-306), Constantine's father, and not Constantius II (A.D.353-361), Constantine's son. His name is elsewhere given as Gaius Flavius Valerius Constantius. This inscription, therefore, comes before A.D.312. In the division of the empire under Diocletian, Constantius ruled Gaul and Britain and, later on, Spain. As such, therefore,

Gozo did not come under direct influence of Constantius. Still, this inscription refers to him as "our lord".

Like the style of the "Julia Domna" inscription above, instead of *patrono* we read here *curante* (and as in the following inscriptions). Also, instead of *quinquevir* we have *triumvir*, if not a mistake in the transcription, probably an indication that the Council by now came to consist of three persons only. The reference to *triumvir* here has no relation with *reipublicae constituendae* as inferred by Agius de Sultana (1746: 97).

The Valerius Maximianus Inscription

Another inscription mentions Galerius, whose full name was Gaius Galerius Valerius Maximianus. Also under emperor Diocletian, Galerius ruled the Balkans (later on, Asia Minor), and, similarly, was not directly involved with Gozo:

D[OMINO] N[OSTRO] M[AGISTRO] GALERIO VALERIO MAXIMIANO AVG[VSTO]
IMP[ERATOR] [RES] P[VB]LICA] GAVL[ITANA] C[LARISSIMO] V[IRO] CVR[ANT]E LV[CIO]
P[ATRONO] M[VNICIPII] ... ET ... RVF[O] MA. ... M.N. ... I. ... EVER. ... AE.³⁷

"The State of Gozo (has set up this inscription) during the administration of ... the most eminent ... Rufus, president of the *Municipium*, for our lord and master, Galerius Valerius Maximianus Augustus, emperor."

Both these last two inscriptions appeared on two sides of the base of a statue (*Siciliae* 1784: 38). In this way, Gozo honoured the two Caesars of emperor Diocletian together.

All these inscriptions belong to the Christian era, but none of them reflect any presence of Christianity in Gozo. A few inscriptions from Malta, however, do so.

Siciliae 1784: 261:

CALCIDONIVS IN PACE.

"Calcidonius (lies) in peace".

ibid. 265:

HIC IACET DOMESTICVS VENERABILIS CHRISTIANVS, ET MEDICVS VIXIT ANN[OS]
LXXIII. SEPVLTVS EST IN HAC TERRA IV KALENDAS FEBRVARI.

"Here lies the venerable Domesticus, a Christian and a medical doctor. He lived for 73 years. He was buried underneath this earth on the 29th January.

Similar silence has been attributed to the discovery of catacombs and objects of Christian religion in Gozo before the 4th century A.D. (Bonanno 1990: 40-1).

Conclusion

This paper has attempted to establish the correct name of ancient Gozo and its occurrence in Greek and Latin literatures. It has also given some information on geographical, political and sociological comments on the island by Greek and Roman writers. It ends with an analysis of historical and epigraphical evidence of the Greek and Roman presence in Gozo.

The result of this investigation shows that Gozo, with Malta, was then recognised as important not just as a "resting-place" in busy routes across the Mediterranean, but also for its establishment as a centre of one flourishing civilisation, made up of various ethnic groups.

This investigation also clarifies the identity of Gozo as distinguished from other islands, such as *Ogygia* (*Nymphaea*) and *Ogylia* (*Gaûdos*). It also clears us of certain unfounded traditions recently attributed to our islands, such as those of Calypso and the Maltese dog.

NOTES

*This paper is a fuller version of the one entitled "Gozo in classical literature", which appeared in *Gozo and its Culture* (eds. L. Briguglio and J. Bezzina. Malta - Formatek Ltd).

1. The author wishes to thank Mr. M. Zammit, a Ph.D. student in Semitic languages at the University of Malta, for his advice on Semitic matters.
2. Aquilina says that the Latin form of *Gaulus* comes from Greek γαυλος, which does not mean, as he says, "a bucket" (see above). Curmi (1992: 17) incorrectly says that the name of *Gaúdos* comes from the Byzantines. He refers to *Gaudomelete* (which would be spelt as *Gaudomelite*), but see *Gaulomelite* for *Gaulomelitae*, meaning "Gozo of Malta" in ANON. Rav. 5.23 as quoted in Scallia (1987: 5. 263-77). He also says that *Gaudisium* was given by the Angevins, meaning "joy"; but the Latin *gaudeo* and *gaudium* have, absolutely, no relationship to *Gaudisium* which, as just said, is simply the late Latinised form for Greek Γαυδος, but to Greek γαιῶ, meaning "I rejoice" (Lewis and Short 1958: s.v. *gaudeo*). The Romans never called Gozo *Gaudisium*, which is late Latin for Greek Γαυδος, a name which the Greeks, excluding Strabo (as discussed above), never gave.
3. Busuttil (1971: 506) makes this suggestion as one of three possibilities, without committing himself. Curmi (1992: 16) repeats the mistake that Gozo originally comes from Phoenician *gwl* which he wrongly says means "round ship" (but see above). In any case, it is difficult to imagine how the Phoenicians, or anybody else, could have seen Gozo from a distance in the shape of "a round ship", unless from air, while if *gwl* simply means "round", then all islands can be said to be round!
4. On Γαυλος, see also Coleiro (1964: 25-38), and Pfeiffer (1965: 1 re. CALL. fr. 470).
5. On *Cossyra*, see also Vella (1980: 74 n.374).
6. See, further, the commentary of Berger (1964: 26-8) on these two quotations.
7. Agius de Sultana (1746: 67 n.p) incorrectly transliterates into Latin as *Melei*.
8. Both *Melite* and *Melitta* may have their names deriving from Hebrew *melet* which in Jeremiah 43.9 means "sand and lime mixed together and used instead of cement" (see also Brown *et al.* s.v. *mlt*). When the term is applied to a city, it probably refers to the use of lime both in building and in roofing the houses. This system still exists in our island. No doubt, the Phoenicians, who colonised both *Melite* and *Melitta*, applied the term to our island inspired by the abundance of lime stones found here (See also Müller 1965: 1.1-14n.). However, *mlt* can also be interpreted as *malat* which, in Biblical Hebrew, means "to slip away", and *malita* which, in Arabic, means "to have scanty hair" (Brown *et al.* s.v. *mlt*). Indeed, the modern Egyptians still use the proverb, "as dry as Malta" (I am grateful to Mr. M. Zammit for the latter piece of information).
9. Vella (1980: 57-8 n.112-4). On the Maltese dogs, see also Artemidorus Daldianus, 41, Aelian, *N.a.* 16.6, *id. V.h.* 13.41, Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* 1.27, and Keller (1905:243-6). Busuttil (1969:208) refers to the "Maltese" tradition of the Maltese dog by quoting Abela (1647: 129); yet the tradition, ridiculed earlier by Quintin (1536) as having never existed in Malta, escaped his notice! *Gaúlos* has been subsequently wrongly referred to as *Gaúdos* by various modern authors (e.g. Thomson 1966: 27 and 73).
10. Müller (1965: 1. note on *Stad.* 328) refers also to the modern name of the island as *Gaudapula*.
11. See also Cluverius (1623: 547C), *M.L. ms.* 145, f.2-2v., and Scallia (1987: 5.263-77).
12. Pfeiffer, in his commentary on Callimachus *Fr.* 470, surmised that Callimachus was misled by Antimachus in placing *Gaúdos* in the Sicilian Sea. But, as I already pointed out above, the last statement does not come from Callimachus, but only from secondary, or even tertiary sources.
13. Curmi (1992:17) who also translates *fertilis ab undis caput effero* incorrectly as "a fruitful land raising its head from the sea". Instead, this motto means, "as a fertile land I raise (my) head from the waves". On the matter of assimilating *Gaúdos* with *Ogygia*, see further Busuttil (1974: 218-20).
14. Müller (1965: 1. note on SCYL. 13) refers incorrectly to this passage as 4.22.
15. The *Thesaurus Graecae linguae* s.v. γαυλος incorrectly refers to this text as 1.223.
16. Agius de Sultana (1746: 64) incorrectly gives "poco meno di 200 soldati". The date of 218B.C. has been mistaken for 216B.C. by several writers of Maltese history. Other writers mistake this second Punic war for the first Punic war (e.g. Bradley 1912:167) or for the third Punic war (e.g. Bellanti 1964: 4, 23). The name of Tiberius Sempronius Longus has also been mistaken for "Tiberius

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