

Adriatic Odyssey

St. Paul in Dalmatia

Otto F.A. Meinardus

Introduction

~~On the~~ ^{At} first sight it might appear strange to relate the travels of the Apostle Paul to the Adriatic and to Odysseus. Yet, in St. Luke's Acts of the Apostles it is clearly stated that on the fourteenth night the ship carrying the Apostle was driven up and down in Adria (Acts 27:27). The word "Odyssey" conveys the idea of being driven off the course by unfavourable winds as in the case of Odysseus, who, after the Trojan War, finds himself being tossed about and successively visiting numerous unknown regions, until losing all his ships and men, he arrives alone on the island of Calypso !

The name of St. Paul is generally associated with such well known sites as Jerusalem, Cyprus, Ephesus, Salonica, Athens, Corinth, Malta and Rome, and most visitors to the Dalmatian coast are probably not even aware that one of the most charming islands off the Pelješac peninsula north of Dubrovnik may have been blessed by its association with the Apostle Paul. Several older and more recent guide-books to the Dalmatian coastal region and islands refer in one or two sentences to St. Paul's shipwreck on Mljet, though, unfortunately, without any further references and explanations. In the 18th and 19th centuries several scholarly dissertations were written about St. Paul's shipwreck on the Dalmatian coast, but these books and articles are unavailable to most tourists and travelers interested in the journeys of the Apostle. While visiting Dubrovnik I have heard people ask questions about the likelihood of St. Paul's ship being wrecked on the shores of Mljet in the Adriatic Sea. The following pages are written in response to this interest in the hope that they will stimulate the historically and religiously interested traveler to the Dalmatian coast.

For our source material we have relied primarily upon the Acts of the Apostles, a sequel of the Gospel of St. Luke, written between ten and twenty years after St. Paul's

shipwreck, i.e. 70 - 80 A.D. The relevant passages describing the final journey of the Apostle from Caesarea in Palestine to Rome (Acts 27 and 28) were written in the first person plural, thus implying to be the narrative of an eye-witness, who was also the author of the work. All quotations from the Holy Scriptures are from the Authorized King James Version. In addition we have used the testimony of the ancient Greek and Roman authors to help us in the reconstruction of the geographical limits of the Sea of Adria in the Apostolic Era. For the quotations from the classics we have relied upon the various translations in The Loeb Classical Library series. Aware of the conflicting claims as to the site of St. Paul's shipwreck we do not intend to appear in any way dogmatic about one ^{island} or the other ~~island~~. At the same time, however, we feel that the tradition which places the site of St. Paul's shipwreck on the Adriatic island of Melit^a or Mljet ought to be given serious consideration.

Athens, 1973

Otto Meinardus

The Island of Mljet or Melita

St. Paul in Dalmatia ? Who would expect the Apostle Paul to be received and hospitably entertained by a local or Roman official on the island of Mljet, a few miles north of Dubrovnik ? In the following pages we hope to demonstrate that Mljet or Melita Illyrica may be just as possible a site for St. Paul's shipwreck and involuntary visit as the Island of Malta, which was also known as Melita. Confusion about the location of the Apostle's shipwreck is partly caused by the problem of locating the Biblical Island of Melita or Melite (Acts 28:1), which has been identified with both islands, Malta and ~~the~~ Mljet ! Melite, after all, was a very common name among the ancient Greeks. One of the many Oceanides, daughters of Oceanus and Tethys, was named Melite. In Homer's Ilyad Melite is one of the Nereides, while also Aegeus' first wife was called Melite, the daughter of Hoples. According to a late tradition Heracles and Melite had a son named Hyllus. Melite was also the name of the heroine of the Attic demos Melite, which included the Pnyx opposite the Athenian acropolis. Strabo, the 1st century geographer of Amasia, informs us that Melite was also the name of a lake in Acarmania as well as the name of the island of Samothrace.

We are here concerned with the most southerly of the larger Dalmatian islands, ^{Mljet is} Mljet with a total area of 97.9 sq. km, which is separated from the Pelješac peninsula by the ^{Channel} Mljet ~~Channel~~ (Mljetski kanal). Pliny the Elder (23 - 79 A.D.) ^{states} mentioned in his Natural History that "twenty-five miles from Issa is the island called Corcyra ^(Vis) ~~Corcyra~~ ^(Korčula) ~~Corcyra~~, and between it and Illyricum is Meleda, from which according to Callimachus Maltese terriers get their name".] Mljet or Melita Illyrica was the island to which Agesilaus of Anazarbo, the father of the poet Oppian, was banished by the Emperor Severus (146-211 A.D.) for not having shown the proper respect for the crown. Oppian, who had followed his father in exile, composed here his poetry on hunting and fishing. ^{In} ~~About~~ 536 A.D. the island became part of the Eastern Roman Empire, ^{later it fell} ~~later it came~~ under the control of the Slavs ^{to} ~~from the Neretva Valley~~ and then of the rulers of Zahumlje, ^{who} To this period belong the pre-Romanesque chapels of St. Andrew and St. Michael ^{in the} ~~in the~~ ^{the capital of Mljet,} vicinity of Babino Polje, which were reconstructed in the Gothic period. In 1151, ~~Zupan~~ ^{Dasa,} a ruler of Zahumlje, presented the whole island to the benedictine monks from Pulsano Abbey on Monte Cargano in Apulia, who erected an abbey on the island in Veliko

- 1 -

Jezero, thereby initiating the period of Romanesque architecture. In 1333, the Bosnian Pan Stjepan Kotroman presented ^{the island was offered to} ~~the island~~ ^{now Dubrovnik,} to the Republic of Ragusa, and from that time the island was ruled by a count resident in Babino Polje. In 1345 the island obtained a statute of its own. Numerous Gothic churches were built in the 14th and 15th centuries e.g. St. Pancratius and St. George in the parish of Babino Polje, the Church of the Holy Trinity in Prozura and the Church of St. Vid in Korita. In the latter part of the 16th century ^{and his pirates} ~~the pirates~~ of Uluz-Alif. In modern times Mljet has been known for a singular phenomenon, which in 1812 and the following two years, and again in 1823, gave the scientific world a subject for discussion. It had the effect of loud thunder, whereupon it received the name 'Detonazione di Meleda', the cause of which was attributed to some subterranean agency. The Benedictine monastery, vacant for many years, was transformed into a tourist hotel in 1959.

St. Paul : A Biographical Note

St. Paul, the great Apostle to the Gentiles, holds a place in the Church of Jesus Christ second only to that of the Founder. Although we are ignorant as to the exact date of his birth, we may assume that he was born around the beginning of the Christian era in Tarsus, one of the principal cities of the Roman province of Cilicia, in southern Asia Minor. Firstly, his birth as a free citizen in a Roman province made him a Roman citizen (Acts 22:28). Secondly, he held full rights as a citizen of his native city, of which he was proud (Acts 21:39). Thirdly, he was "a Hebrew, born of Hebrews", to strict Jewish parents. He was a Jew as much as he was a Tarsian and a Roman, and this three-fold identity has helped to make him such a controversial person. To the Hebrews in the diaspora he emphasized his Jewish origin and character; with the Greeks he conversed in their native tongue; with the Roman authorities he stressed his claims as a Roman citizen.

From his statements in his letters we understand that he was brought up as a strict Jew; not as a Sadducee, but rather as a Pharisee. "Are they Hebrews? So am I. Are they Israelites? So am I. Are they descendants of Abraham? So am I" (II Cor., 11:22). "Circumcised on the eighth day, of the people of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, a Hebrew born of Hebrews; As to the law a Pharisee" (Phil. 3:5). His Jewish name Saul had been

bestowed upon him in memory of the first king of the Jewish nation. Nonetheless, there were strong Hellenistic influences upon his personality. The language of his childhood was Greek, as was the language in which all his letters were written. The readiness with which he expressed himself in Greek shows a command of the language he could hardly have attained had it not been the familiar speech of his youth. He had learned Hebrew and while studying under Gamaliel at Jerusalem (Acts 22:3) he must have acquired a thorough knowledge of that language.

About his family we know next to nothing. He merely alluded to his father. We know that his sister had a son (Acts 23:16), and he referred to some distant relatives (Rom. 16:7, 11, 21). He made no mention whatsoever of his mother. His physical appearance is unknown to us. According to the apocryphal Acts of Paul and Thecla he was "a man, small in size, bald-headed, bandy-legged, well-built, with eyebrows meeting, rather long nosed, full of grace. For sometimes he ~~looks~~ seems like a man, and sometimes he had the countenance of an angel." One of the earliest iconographic representations of him appears on the 4th century Roman sarcophagus of the Consul Junius Bassus, now in the crypt of St. Peter's in Rome. This relief shows St. Paul being led to his death by two soldiers. He has a long face with a high forehead and thick beard. He is wearing a tunic, a knee-length undergarment, and over it he wears a pallium or cloak. His arms are tied behind his back.

We do not know how old Saul was when he moved from Tarsus to Jerusalem, where he encountered the new sectarian movement of Christians. It is at this point that St. Luke begins the story of his persecutions of the people of the new faith, his conversion on the Damascus Road, and his heroic service for his newly discovered Lord. He ceased to be the Jewish rabbi, perhaps even a member of the Sanhedrin, and became Paul the Apostle, the chief figure in the early years of the Christian Church.

After a number of years St. Paul together with Barnabas was commissioned by the Church in Antioch for the work of proclaiming the Gospel to the Gentiles. This happened probably in late summer of 46 A.D. Accompanied at the outset by John Mark, they embarked at Seleucia and sailed to Cyprus, where they preached in Salamis and Paphos. From Cyprus they crossed to Perga in Pamphylia, where John Mark left them and returned to Jerusalem. The Apostles, however, continued their journey to Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, Lystra and Derbe where they established the Galatian congregations to whom St. Paul later addressed his Letter to the Galatians. The Apostles retraced their footsteps by the same route

revisiting the newly established congregations before they took a ship from Attaleia for Seleucia and Antioch. Although on this first missionary journey St. Paul touched only comparatively unimportant districts and towns, ^{nevertheless} ~~yet~~ the results were far reaching. The Gospel had been preached successfully to the Gentiles for the first time, and Christian congregations had been established beyond the confines of Palestine. Upon their return to Antioch the Apostles went up to Jerusalem to report and give account of their work among the Gentiles. Some time later we find the Apostle ready to ~~de~~embark on his second missionary journey, which was to take him through the cities of Asia Minor to Troy and then on to the provinces of Macedonia and Achaia. Congregations sprung up in Philippi, Thessalonica and Corinth in response to his preaching. It was during this journey that St. Paul delivered his famous Areopagus Speech in Athens and ministered for eighteen months to the newly formed church in Corinth. After an absence of nearly three years, the Apostle felt the need for revisiting his brethren in the churches of Syria and getting in touch again with the church in Jerusalem. After a brief stay in Palestine, St. Paul departed for the third and final time from Antioch, the indispensable link between Jerusalem and the Gentile world. With unwearied missionary zeal he revisited the churches of Lycia, Lycaonia and Pisidia before settling in Ephesus for a period of three years. When the Apostle arrived in the city of Diana-Artemis, he found Aquila and Priscilla, who had been his companions in Corinth, already there. St. Luke informs us of the conflicts which St. Paul experienced with the Jewish exorcists and the guild of silversmiths which led to the riot in the Ephesian theatre and his subsequent departure from Ephesus. Once more he visited his churches in Macedonia and Achaia before returning to Jerusalem. He sailed from the little port of Assos south of the Troad to Miletus where he delivered his touching farewell message to the elders of Ephesus. From there he sailed via Rhodes to Tyre, where St. Paul was warmly welcomed by the disciples before continuing his journey to Caesarea, the starting point of the road to Jerusalem.

In good time for the Jewish Feast of Pentecost St. Paul entered the Holy City, ~~where~~ where he was well received by James and the elders of the church. Accused for bringing a Gentile into the Temple, his enemies attempted to kill him, and it was only through the interference of a Roman centurion that the Apostle was rescued from the angry mob. St. Paul, however, insisted to witness to the Jews who continued assailing

him until he was led before the Sanhedrin. He was taken into custody by the Romans and eventually transferred to Caesarea to appear before Felix the procurator of Judaea and later before Festus, who had replaced Felix. In the presence of Festus St. Paul made the decisive appeal "Caesarem appello", which led to his journey to Rome.

"I stand at Caesar's judgment seat, where I ought to be judged: to the Jews have I done no wrong, as thou very well knowest. For if I be an offender, or have committed any thing worthy of death, I refuse not to die: but if there be none of these things whereof these accuse me, no man may deliver me unto them. I appeal unto Caesar. Then Festus, when he had conferred with the council, answered, Hast though appealed unto Caesar ? unto Caesar shalt thou go."

Acts 25:10-12

On the occasion of the royal visit to Caesarea, Festus arranged that the Apostle be presented to King Herod Agrippa II and his sister Bernice before whom he made his famous defense, which resulted in the royal verdict: "This man might have been set at liberty, if he had not appealed unto Caesar" (Acts 26:32).

St. Paul's Voyage to Rome

The last two chapters of St. Luke's Acts of the Apostles are in many ways the most dramatic piece of writing of the whole book. Based upon actual observation, the Evangelist demonstrates his versatility in nautical matters and describes the events in the appropriate language of seamanship. Indeed, one wonders where St. Luke would have acquired so complete a command of nautical terminology had he not spent a considerable portion of his life at sea. And yet, the story is told because of St. Paul, who, though a prisoner, dominates at every crisis. Since St. Paul had appealed to Caesar, it was determined that he should sail to Italy with a group of prisoners in the custody of Julius, a centurion of the Augustan Cohort. The departure from Caesarea took place probably in late autumn, and no time was to be wasted if they were to reach Puteoli before the Mediterranean was closed for the winter. While Hesiod restricted navigation to fifty days in midsummer, it was usual practice to avoid sailing in the Mediterranean between November 10 and March 10 except for urgent

domestic or international business. Navigating without a compass and sextant the captains were dependent upon good visibility and mild seas. Whenever storm clouds veiled the stars, the ships naturally sought the shore or some harbour.

By the 1st century A.D. the craft of shipbuilding had much improved, and vessels of quite considerable size were being constructed. An Alexandrian corn-ship could be 130 feet in length with a tonnage of about 1,200. We know that the Apostle sailed in a ship which carried 276 passengers (or 76 passengers according to Codex Vaticanus), while Josephus travelled to Rome in a ship carrying as many as 600 passengers. The ships were sailed by one large sail on a single mast, which made it difficult to shorten sail and to adapt navigation to the force of the wind. The leverage with one sail and one mast must have been tremendous, for the straining of the ^m mast would gradually rupture the timbers of the ship and thus cause leaks. In some cases one or a few smaller sails were used, a topsail, a stormsail and sometimes even small sails at bow and stern. From St. Luke's description in Acts 27:40 we infer that an artemon was rigged up after the ship became disabled, and this seems to have been a small foresail on a short mast sloping sharply forward.

On the first leg of the journey the Apostle together with St. Luke and Aristarchus sailed in a coastal vessel from Adramyttium, a port south of Troas, to Myra, a port on the route of the Alexandrian corn-ships. Their first stop was in Sidon, where St. Paul was permitted to visit his friends who cared for him. After leaving Sidon they were forced by contrary winds to run under the lee of Cyprus. There is no agreement among scholars whether they passed Cyprus on their right or left side, though since they sailed "off Cilicia" we may assume that they travelled close to land trusting that offshore breezes would help them westwards. The Western Text adds that the journey to Myra took them fifteen days which is possible if they encountered headwinds. Having arrived in Myra they embarked on one of the grainships from Alexandria, which usually found it impossible to sail directly to Italy against the prevailing north-west winds. These grainships were government vessels, which transported supplies from Egypt to Rome. It would have been easy, therefore, for the centurion to requisition a passage for himself and his prisoners. Again, it was a slow and cumbersome journey against a north-west wind before they arrived at Cnidus,

where the ship turned south and took shelter in the lee of Crete, i.e. to the ~~west~~ south of Crete. By that time crew and passengers must have realized that they were facing bad weather, for it was with difficulty that they reached the place called Fair Havens near the city of Iasea.

We do not know exactly how long the ship anchored at Fair Havens, although it has been suggested that their stay lasted about three weeks prior to the meeting between St. Paul, the centurion, the captain, and the owner, and perhaps even a few days after the meeting while waiting for a favourable wind. Fair Havens, known in Greek as Kaloi Limenes, is the name of a small village, a bay, and a group of islets about five and a half miles west of Cape Leon on the southern coast of Crete. The first modern description of this Biblical site comes from the pen of Captain T.A.B. Spratt, who commanded the paddle steamer "Spitfire" through the waters off the southern coast of Crete. In 1851 Captain Spratt anchored where, a little more than eighteen hundred years before, St. Paul's ship had sought shelter. New Testament in hand, Spratt went ashore. "Upon the dark slaty ridge rising immediately over the western bay forming the haven, we unexpectantly found the ruins of a Greek chapel, still dedicated to St. Paul, perhaps marking the very spot where the Apostle himself used to preach to the natives of Crete when the Gospel was first planted there by him during the ship's stay. A small part of the site of the old church, enclosed by four low walls of loose stones, and therefore open to the heavens, is still used by the natives as a chapel". Nearby they found fragments of marble as well as the foundations of walls which may have belonged to an older church.

The existing white chapel, commemorating the Apostle's arrival in Crete, is situated on the brow of the hill overlooking the bay. It is built on the site of the former church. A few ~~years~~ ^{yards} to the west of the church is the traditional cave, marked by a tall cross, where the Apostle stayed. The few houses of Kaloi Limenes are scattered around the bay. ~~A bunker station with several oil tanks was recently built on the largest island of this picturesque bay.~~

During his stay in Kaloi Limenes St. Paul met the owner and the captain of the ship, and advised them of the danger of continuing the journey. He had every reason to warn them

for he was speaking from personal experience. Three times he had been shipwrecked, and at least once he had spent twenty-four hours in the open sea (II Cor. 11:25). The officers of the ship, however, decided otherwise and the centurion accepted their advice.

The people of Crete entertain a number of traditions about the Apostle's missionary activities on their island. One of these is that he banished poisonous snakes from Crete. When Robert Pashley visited the island in 1834 he was told that, after his residence in Rome, St. Paul returned to Crete where he freed the inhabitants from "wild beasts and noxious animals". Less than twenty years later Captain Spratt encountered a lay brother from a nearby monastery who told him a ⁱ similar tale, "that while lighting a fire on the shore, the Apostle Paul was bitten by a serpent, but it did him no harm, although very venomous. From that time all the snakes in Crete were charmed by St. Paul and became harmless". Diodorus of Sicily, the first century B.C. historian, held Herakles responsible for achieving this deed, and Plutarch used this information as a point of comparison when he stated that "it may be possible to find a country in which, as it is recorded of Crete, there are ~~no~~ wild animals, but a government which has not had to bear with envy and jealous rivalry or contention has not hitherto existed". Reportedly, there are no venomous snakes on Crete. There are two kinds of snakes, one is called ophes, which is smaller and, as some believe, is the sort of viper which fastened on St. Paul's hand in Melite (Acts 28:3-6). Whether this Cretan tradition is a mere transfer of the same story that is being told in Malta or whether it developed in fulfillment of the promise by Jesus Christ, "Behold, I have given you authority to tread upon serpents and scorpions . . . and nothing shall hurt you" (Luke 10:19) is, of course, difficult to know.

The majority of the passengers favoured to continue the journey on the assumption that somehow they could reach the harbour of Phoenix, known to-day as Loutro, which, in fact, is the safest harbour on the south coast of Crete. Here they intended to spend the winter. Deceived by the gentleness of a south wind, they departed from Fair Havens and sailed for Phoenix, but when they had reached Cape Matala, the ship was caught in a typhoon which blew them southward from their course towards the island of Clauda.

"The flattering wind that late with promis'd aid
From Candia's bay th' unwilling ship betray'd,
No longer fawns beneath the fair disguise,
But like a ruffian on his quarry flies.

Falconer's Shipwreck, canto ii.

While sailing in the shelter of the island of Claudia, "we" managed to pull in the boat, probably a dinghy, which by this time was water logged, and it seems that St. Luke was personally involved in this task. They also seized this opportunity to make other preparations to face the typhoon in which they were caught. The ships of the ancients were provided with "hyposomata" or undertrusses fitted for undergirding as a necessary part of their equipment. Realizing the immediate danger, they passed cables or ropes around the outside of the ship under the keel transversely and tightened them by means of a windlass to hold the timbers together. Sailing before the gale, the fear arose that the ship would be blown towards the African coast, the Syrtis or the great quicksands west of Cyrenaica, from which no ships ever escaped. To advert disaster, they "struck sail and so were driven". By reducing their speed, they allowed the ship to drift probably just with a storm sail while at the same time they changed their course so as to keep away from the African coast. The following day they ^{made} ~~lighted~~ ^{lighter} the ship by throwing the wheat overboard, and on the third day they cast overboard the ^e ~~tackling~~ of the ship, probably the furniture as well as the mainyard, which might have been as long as the ship and which would have required the combined efforts of the crew and the passengers. Without a compass and celestial observation, the captain had no means for determining either position or direction. Physically and mentally the passengers and the crew were exhausted. St. Luke mentions that they had been without food for a long period, which may have been due to a shortage of provisions, though more likely caused by seasickness. More critically, however, they had abandoned all hope of being saved when St. Paul came forward and comforted his fellow sufferers by recalling to them a vision in which he was assured that ^{they} ~~he~~ would not die but that the ship would be cast upon a shore of a certain island.

For the following eleven days the gale continued with unabated fury. Then on the fourteenth night, ^{while} ~~the~~ ^{being} the ship was driven helplessly in the Adria ~~when~~ the sailors heard the

sound of breakers ^{gradually} ~~abruptly~~ becoming louder and thus suspected that they were approaching land. They cast the lead and found that they were in twenty fathoms of water, a little further they sounded again and found fifteen fathoms. Not knowing where they were and fearful that they might be hurled on the rocks, they threw out four anchors from the stern and waited for daylight. Anchoring by the stern was quite unusual, but in their situation it had great advantages. Had they anchored by the bow, the ship would have swung around ^{into} ~~the~~ the wind, and, when afterwards they wished to run her ashore, it would have been far more difficult to manage when lying with her prow pointing to the wind and away from the shore. But, as they were, they had merely to cut the cables, unlash the rudders, and put up a little foresail; and they had the ship at once under command to beach her at any spot they might select.

Once again the Apostle took the lead as some of the sailors were seeking to escape ^{in a small boat while} from the ship ~~by~~ pretending to lay out anchors from the bow. St. Paul realized what was happening and addressing the centurion he warned that unless the sailors stay ^{aboard} the safety of the ship would be threatened. In the early morning hours the Apostle spoke to his companions and bade them to eat : "For this is for your health: for there shall not an hair fall from the head of any of you. And when he had thus spoken, he took bread, and gave thanks to God in presence of them all: and when he had broken it, he began to eat." (Acts 27:34,35).

Being close to the shore, he realized that it was just a matter of hours before the ship could be run aground. And after everyone had been strengthened and encouraged they saw that they were anchored near an island. They cast the remaining wheat overboard so as to lighten the ship, they cut away the anchors and left them in the sea, and at the same time cut the ropes which held the steering oars and then hoisted the foresail and made for the beach. As the bow stuck fast and remained ~~immovable~~, the waves broke away the stern. Nervous about the developments the soldiers' plan was to kill the prisoners in case any of them should try to swim to shore and escape. But the centurion put a stop to it and ordered that all those who could swim should throw themselves overboard, while those unable to swim were to grasp planks and pieces of the wreckage of the ship and so preserve their lives. "And so it came to pass that they escaped all safe to land" (Acts. 27:44).

St. Paul on the Island of Melita

And when they were escaped, then they knew that the island was called Melita. And the barbarous people shewed us no little kindness: for they kindled us a fire, and received us every one, because of the present rain, and because of the cold. And when Paul had gathered a bundle of sticks, and laid them on the fire, there came a viper out of the heat, and fastened on his hand. And when the barbarians saw the venomous beast hang on his hand, they said among themselves, No doubt this man is a murderer, whom, though he hath escaped the sea, yet vengeance suffereth not to live. And he shook off the beast into the fire, and felt no harm. Howbeit they looked when he should have swollen, or fallen down dead suddenly; but after they had looked a great while, and saw no harm come ~~unto~~ to him, they changed their minds, and said that he was a god.

In the same quarters were possessions of the chief man of the island, whose name was Publius; who received us and lodged us three days courteously. And it came to pass, that the father of Publius lay sick of a fever and of a bloody flux: to whom Paul entered in, and prayed, and laid his hands on him, and healed him. So when this was done, others also, which had diseases in the island, came, and were healed; Who also hono^ured us with many honours; and when we departed, they ~~aded~~ ^{aded} us with such things as were necessary. And after three months we departed in a ship of Alexandria, which had wintered in the isle, whose sign was Castor and Pollux.

Acts 28:1-11.

Before we set forth our reasons for suggesting the possibility of St. Paul's shipwreck on the shores of the Dalmatian island of Mljet, we should remind our readers of the much wider problem of identifying Biblical names with present day geographical sites. An historical faith which maintains that God reveals Himself in time and space is, of course, always threatened by our temptations and desires to enshrine the mighty acts of God in chapels, churches and basilicas. The whole issue of the Christian holy places is intimately associated with man's apparent need to commune with God or to venerate His holy Apostles in certain places believed to be hallowed by some more or less religiously significant acts as recorded in the Holy Scriptures or in the Traditions of the Church. The lack

of agreement among churchmen and scholars with respect to the exact geographical locations of certain events has led to unfortunate rival claims, which in turn have sadly poisoned not only the devotional climate for the believers, but have also prejudiced the purely academic pursuit for truth. Without even entering into the profound archaeological debates which have been carried on for many years, Christian pilgrims to the Holy Land are being exposed to several rival claims upheld by members of Sacred Congregations belonging to the same Communion. For the Franciscans the Via Dolorosa with its Fourteen Stations leads from the Antonia to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, while Dominican scholars of the Ecole Biblique in Jerusalem have convincingly argued that the Via Dolorosa began at Herod's Palace. The site of the First Station obviously depends upon Pontius Pilate's temporary residence during the Passover season, an unknown fact ! For the Franciscans, the location of the manifestation of the Risen Christ to the two disciples is in Emmaus al-Qubaibah, while the Dominican fathers, following the testimony of Origen, Eusebius and St. Jerome have opted for Emmaus Amwas. Generally it is believed that Mount Tabor (Jebel at-Tur) was the site of the Transfiguration of Our Lord, yet, there are many Christians who maintain that the event occurred on Mount Hermon (Jebel ash-Shaikh). Catholics believe that the location of the Institution of the Last Supper is to be identified with the Cenacle on Mount Sion, whereas the Syrian Orthodox claim that their Patriarchate of St. Mark was built on the site of the home of John Mark, where the Last Supper was celebrated. Greek, Armenian and some Catholic ^{believers} hold to the tradition that the Holy Virgin fell asleep in Jerusalem, where her tomb is shown in the Valley of Jehosaphat, while other Catholics believe that she spent the last days of her life in Ephesus. But not only the events pertaining to the life of Our Lord lack exact geographical identification. A wealth of tradition has developed around the locations which are associated with the ministry of the Holy Apostles, including St. Paul. In Crete, for example, the Christians of Loutro, a few miles west of Sphakia, maintain that the Apostle landed there and baptized his first Cretan converts, while in the 17th century the people of Hierapetra claimed the same honour for a site near their city.

With respect to the location of the Biblical Melita ~~claims~~ claims and rival claims have been upheld for several centuries. In the case of Malta ~~or~~ (Melita Africana) numerous popular ~~centres~~ centres in honour of St. Paul have developed over the years, which have attracted large numbers of pilgrims, and ~~any~~ any threat to such a well established ^{tradition} ~~is~~ is obviously repulsed, which may be one of the reasons for the intensity with

which the adherents to the Malta ^{thesis} ~~tradition~~ have defended their views.

On the other hand, no organized Pauline cult has existed on Mljet or (Melita Illyrica), which means that the proponents of the Dalmatian theory are naturally less influenced by any possible non-theological pressures for stating their position. The polemics pertaining to these two traditions were carried out during the 18th and 19th centuries mainly by members of the Catholic clergy and by ^{Britons} ~~Englishmen~~.

In 1730 Father Ignazio Georgij ~~of Mljet~~ advanced a series of arguments in which he proposed that the Biblical Melita is the Melita Illyrica on the Dalmatian coast, where he served as (abbot of the ^{on Mljet} Benedictine Abbey in Veliko Jezero. His scholarly treatise initiated a lengthy controversy. With his intimate knowledge of the ^{local traditions} ~~conditions~~ on the Island, Father Ignazio was the

~~first theologian to argue convincingly for Mljet as being the site of St. Paul's shipwreck. Several refutations followed within a few years of Father Ignazio's publication, the best known of which were written by Count Giovanni Antonio Ciantar, Father Bonaventura Attardi, Father Uberto di San Gaspare, Father Carlo di San Floriano and Onorato~~

~~Bres. Among the British scholars Jacob Bryant, (1715-1804) is the first advocate for the Melita Illyrica tradition, followed a few years later by Dr. William Falconer (1744-1824), the famous English poet and philosopher Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834) and the well known English hymnologist (the Reverend John Mason Neale (1818-1866) have expressed~~

themselves in favor of ^{themselves in favor of} ~~themselves~~ and require a minimum of additional explanation. We shall examine the use of the term 'The Sea of Adria' and then provide some analogies about the 'Storms in Adria'. Since the Apostle encountered "barbarians" on the island we shall investigate the possibility of the application of this term to the islanders he met. We shall also examine the issue pertaining to the existence or non-existence of vipers on the Island of Melita and in conclusion we shall provide some references to the local traditions of the Apostle's shipwreck on Mljet.

About the Use of the Term 'Sea of Adria'

Since the principal argument for suggesting Mljet or Melita Illyrica as the island where the Apostle's ship suffered shipwreck depends upon a solid demonstration of its geographical location in the Sea of Adria, we have deemed it necessary to learn what the ancient Greek and Roman writers had to say about this matter.

Whereas the descriptions of rivers, mountains and seas have remained more or less consistent over the centuries, the geographical names attached to them have changed a great deal, and, thereby, have caused unfortunate confusions. It is not within the province of this presentation to trace the usage of the term 'Adria' throughout the centuries, yet, it is imperative to demonstrate that the ancients had a fairly clear understanding of the geographical limits of the various parts of the Mediterranean Sea. The proximity of the Adriatic coast to Illyria is already stated by the Attic orator Isocrates (436-338 B.C.), who, while appealing to the King of Macedonia, writes "has he (Philip) not made himself lord and ruler of most of the Illyrians, all save those who dwell along the Adriatic ?" The same idea is expressed by the 1st century B.C. historian Diodorus Siculus, who enumerated the peoples sending envoys to congratulate Alexander at the time of the 111th celebration of the Olympic Games (324 B.C.) and included "the Illyrians and those dwelling about the Adriatic Sea". ^{mentions the various seas surrounding Italy,} The Roman historian Titus Livius (59 B.C. - 17 A.D.), while speaking about the Tuscan influence, refers to its limits by mentioning the various seas. "Italy is surrounded like an island . . . the Italians have called one of them (seas) Tuscan, the general designation of the race, and the other Adriatic, from Hadria, and Etruscan colony, and the Greeks know the same seas as Tyrrhenian and Adriatic". Publius Ovidius Naso (43 B.C. - 17 A.D.), the last Roman poet of the Augustan age, reached Corinth by way of the Adriatic and the Corinthian Gulf, then crossed the Isthmus and boarded the ship at Cenchreae (Acts 18:18, Rom. 16:1), whence he continued his voyage to Samothrace. Speaking about anticipated catastrophes, Lucius ^A Annaeus Seneca (4 B.C. - 65 A.D.) prophesied: "Whenever the end comes for human affairs, when parts of the world must pass away and be abolished utterly . . . there will be no Adriatic, no strait of the Sicilian Sea, no Charybdis, no Scylla", ^{thus,} for Seneca, ~~Italia or~~ Melita Africana could ^{not be} never have been placed in the Adriatic, "what Scylla, what Charybdis sucking up the Ausonian and Sicilian waters ?"

The geographer Strabo of Amasia, writing about 19 A.D., ~~very~~ clearly defines the ^{limits of the Adria,} meaning of the term when he states "whereas Adrias is the name of the inside part of the sea as far as the recess, at the present time, however, Adrias is also the name of the sea as a whole. ~~The whole of the Illyrian seaboard is exceedingly well supplied with~~ harbours, ^{not only} not only on the continuous coast itself but also in the neighbouring islands". And again he writes: "The shape and size of the Adriatic are like that part of Italy which is marked off by the Alpine Mountains and by both seas as far as Japygia and that

isthmus which is between the gulfs of Tarentum and Poseidonia". The seas that make Italy a peninsula are the Tyrrhenian, the Ausonian and the Adriatic". ^{Pliny} ~~Pliny~~ the Elder was well acquainted with ships and seas, for he had been appointed prefect of the Roman fleet by Vespasian. ~~In his Natural History~~ ⁱⁿ he describes the gulf between Italy and Illyricum, which "contains two seas, in the first part the Ionian, the more inland the Adriatic, called the upper sea" and with respect to Malta, he clearly states that "the islands on the side towards Africa are Gozo and Malta". Another 1st century writer, the Latin poet Marcus Annaeus Lucanus (39-65 A.D.) gives us in his De Bello Civili the following information about the limits of the Adria. "At this point Italy grows narrow, and her straitened border puts forth a slender tongue of land into the sea, a tongue which encloses waters of the Adriatic within curving horns . . . where Illyrian Epidamnus slopes down toward the Ionian Sea, here the mariner takes refuge, when the Adriatic puts forth all its might, when the Ceraunian mountains are lost in cloud, and when Sason in Calabria is drenched in spray".

In the 2nd century we have the testimony of Lucian the Syrian of Samosata (125-180 A.D.), who in his Toxaris or Friendship has Mnesippus relate to Toxaris about a voyage from Italy to Athens. "As far as Sicily they had made a fortunate passage, but when they had run through the straits and in due time were sailing in the Adriatic itself, a great tempest fell upon them". Finally they reached Zacynthos :

~~An altogether~~ different notion of the extent of the ^{Adriatic} ~~Adriatic Sea~~ is reflected by the 5th and 6th century A.D. writers such as Paulus Orosius, Aethicus of Istria and Procopius of Caesarea. For the latter, ~~for example,~~ the Adriatic was, indeed, that part of the Mediterranean which lies between Africa on the south, Sicily and Italy on the west, and Greece and Epirus on the east. ~~"The islands of Gaulus (Gozzo) and Melita (Malta) mark the boundary between the Adriatic and Tuscan seas"~~. In the 6th century, therefore, the term Adriatic extended to the North African coastline so as to have Carthage (Tunis) and Ragusa (Dubrovnik) situated on the same sea. This concept of the ~~Adriatic Sea~~ would naturally include Malta, ^{in the 1st century} though we have sufficiently shown that in the 1st century the limits of the Adriatic Sea were very much like those of the 20th century, ^{in so far as the} To be exact, the ~~Adria or~~ Adriatic Sea extends from north-west to south-east between lat. 40° and 45° 45' N., a length of nearly five hundred miles, and separates Italy from the Balkan peninsula.

About the Storms in the Adria

St. Luke called the tempestuous wind in which the Apostle's ship was caught the ^{Eurakylon} Eurokylon (according to Tischendorf) ^{or} the Euroklydon, (according to Vaticanus).

~~A great deal has been written about the etymology and the characteristics of this storm, which forced the ship to drift across the sea of Adria. For example, it has been suggested that the wind was from the point between Eurus and Aquilo or E.N.E.~~

There are ^{stories which} numerous testimonies to those terrible storms ^{driving} which either drove other ships into the Adria, or which sailors experienced while navigating in the Adria. ^{The 1st century B.C. Greek historian} Diodorus Siculus referred to Acrotatus (311 B.C.), who was carried by the wind into the Adriatic, and the ~~same~~ ^{to} author mentioned that Xanthippus the Spartan was drowned in the swirling waters of the Adriatic Sea (255 B.C.). M. Annaeus Lucanus wrote about "the separate seas which were caught up by the storms and carried away by the winds; the Tyrrhene Sea migrated to the Aegean, and the Adriatic moved and roared in the Ionian basin", and ^(Pliny A.D.) the Roman historian Cornelius Tacitus (55-120 A.D.) described the journey of the consul Germanicus (18 A.D.) to the Achaian town of Nicopolis, ~~which he had reached~~ ^{and} by skirting the Illyrian coast, a passage which had been stormy both in the Adriatic and later in the Ionian Sea. ~~The Jewish historian~~ ^{and} Flavius Josephus (37-95 A.D.), who made the same journey perhaps even in the same year as the Apostle Paul tells us in his biography: "I reached Rome after being in great jeopardy at sea. For our ship foundered in the midst of the sea of Adria, and our company of six hundred souls had to swim all that night."

About 450 years after St. Paul's shipwreck in the Adria, we have a description of an ~~Adriatic storm which is worth our attention.~~ ^{described an Adriatic storm:} The 6th-century Byzantine historian Procopius of Caesarea recorded that "not long afterwards Artabanes was in Cephalonia, and when he had heard that Liberius had left and had sailed to Sicily, he also left, and immediately crossed the sea called the Adriatic. [When approaching Calabria an ~~extraordinary~~ extraordinary storm came on, accompanied by wind and fearful violence, proceeding from a direction contrary to their course. It caused such a dispersion of the whole fleet as to suggest the possibility of the greater part being carried to the coast of Calabria] this, however, did not happen, for some of the ships were forced, by the overwhelming violence of the wind, to retrace their course, and return to the Peloponnesos. Of the remainder some were lost, ⁱⁿ some saved. One ship, however, on board of which was Artabanes, was in great danger from the loss of the mast which had been broken off by the rolling

of the sea, but carried onwards by the tempest-stream, and yielding to the violence of the waves, it came to the island of Melite".

And finally, we have the famous episode of the ship in which Richard Coeur de Lion (1192) sailed on his return from Palestine. Driven from the Mediterranean into the Adriatic by a storm, his ship is said to have been wrecked off Ragusa. After leaving Corfu his ship was overtaken by a severe storm and just reached ^{at} the Isle of Iacroma (Lokrum) opposite Ragusa, where in fulfilment of a vow Richard dedicated a church to the Holy Virgin. According to the Adriatic tradition, Richard was shipwrecked not far from the scene of St. Paul's shipwreck.

One of the principal objections to the Mljet or Melita Illyrica tradition pertains to the fact that the Dalmatian island is too far removed from the course of a ship that sailed from Crete to Puteoli. We must remember, however, that many ships have ^{left} ~~lost~~ their ^{intended track} ~~passage~~ since they were entirely at the will of the winds. A good illustration of this is given by Lucian the Syrian in his dialogue The Ship or the Wishes, which is actually a satire on the folly of human wishes. Timolaos tells the story of what the captain had related to him. When they left Pharos (Alexandria), the wind was not very strong and on the seventh day they sighted Acamas, the western promontory of Cyprus. Here the wind came full against them, and they were driven abeam to Sidon. From thence they took the same course as the ship in which St. Paul sailed, running under the coast of Pamphylia, then they coasted Lycia and got as high as Cnidus. Whereas the Apostle's ship turned off to Crete, this, finding it had lost its voyage, stood across the Aegean, and after much difficulty anchored at Piraeus, that is, seventy days after they had set sail from Alexandria !

The Barbarians of Melita

Speaking about the inhabitants of Melita, St. Luke refers to them as "barbarous people" (Acts 28:2) or Barbarians (Acts 28:4), and neither calls them Melitans nor islanders. In Apostolic times, the word "barbarian" was used for all peoples other than those under Graeco-Roman influence and domination, and even in those days the term had become synonymous with a general lack of civilization. The inhabitants of this island were the only people characterized by St. Luke in this particular manner. It is true that St. Paul repeatedly referred to barbarians in Rom. 1:14, I Cor. 14:11 and Col. 3:11, but

- 20 -

these references are really unrelated to our discussion. That this term could hardly apply to the inhabitants of Malta is self-evident. After all, the Maltese, who surrendered the Punic garrison to Titus Sempronius in 218 B.C. were not treated by the Romans as conquered enemies, but received at once the privilege of a municipium, which was a free territory with Roman rights of citizenship. We know that a very high stage of manufacturing and commercial prosperity existed in Malta under the Romans, and Diodorus Siculus describes the inhabitants of Malta as being very happy in their circumstances, for they have all sorts of artificers for every kind of work; but they excel most in their manufacture of linen, which is beyond anything of the kind, both in the fineness of its texture and its softness. Their houses are very noble, being elegantly ornamented with pediments projecting forwards, and with the most exquisite stucco work. The ancient writers testify to a degree of civilization on Malta, which is quite incompatible with the term "barbarian".

On the other hand, already Thucydides (ca. 460 - 399 B.C.) commented on the character of the people under discussion when he says: "The city of Epidamnus is situated on the right hand as you sail upon the Ionian Gulf. The neighbouring inhabitants are the Taulantians, a barbarian tribe of the Illyrian race". The Greek historian Polybius (210-120 B.C.) judged the "Illyrians as having always been in the habit of pillaging, because of the extent of their sea-board", in fact, he says that "The Illyrians were not the enemies of this people or that, but the common enemies of all". Also Diodorus Siculus mentioned "the barbarians who dwelt along the coast and were accustomed to put out in numerous pirate ships and render the whole shore of the Adriatic Sea unsafe for merchants". And finally, we have the confirmation by the geographer Strabo, who speaking about the Illyrian seaboard pointed out, that "people in earlier times made but small account of it, perhaps in part to their ignorance of its fertility, though mostly because of the wildness of the inhabitants and their piratical habits".

No further words of explanation seem to be required to determine the identity of the "barbarians" of St. Luke's narrative. The whole region on the Dalmatian coast seems to have been called "barbarian Illyria", partly on account of the ferocity of its inhabitants, partly to distinguish the region from Greece.

The Vipers on Melita

In the Acts of the Apostles 28: 3-6 St. Luke reports that when "Paul had gathered a bundle of sticks and put them on the fire, a viper came out because of the heat and fastened on his hand . . . He, however, shook off the creature into the fire and suffered no harm. They waited, expecting him to swell up or suddenly fall down dead, but when they had waited a long time and saw no misfortune come to him, they changed their minds and said that he was a god".

Whereas we ^{lack} ~~have no~~ contemporary reports about ~~the existence or non-existence of~~ ^{some} vipers on Melita ^{or Malta} Africa, we possess ~~the~~ testimonies of several mediaeval travelers ~~to Malta~~. Thus, for example, ^{the} 16th century traveler Burchardus Niderstedt reported that "the islanders believed that St. Paul had delivered the island for ever from all such venomous serpents, in so much that children there play with scorpions ever since that time, and pilgrims daily carry with them pieces of stones out of the place where St. Paul abode, by which they affirm that they heal them which in other countries adjoining are bitten of scorpions, the medicine, therefore, being called St. Paul's grace". Monsieur de Thevenot, ^{visiting} ~~who visited the Island of~~ Malta in 1655, mentioned that "there is no venomous creature on the island, and none can live there, which is a miracle the inhabitants ascribe to St. Paul, to whom they are much devoted, and believe that it is an effect of the benediction which that Saint gave after his shipwreck. They give the earth of the grott' where he was for a remedy against the stinging of serpents and other poisons, nay, against all putrid and malignant fevers also . . . Several barks are yearly loaded with it, to be transported into other places of Christendom. Amongst the rocks of this island, they find those stones that look like a serpent's eye, which some carry upon their fingers, set in rings, because of the virtue that they are thought to have against poison". From all accounts we learn ^{therefore} that ^o Malta is free from pisonous snakes, and although the islanders attribute this to St. Paul, one wonders whether the island was not always free of vipers, ~~as suggested by~~ ~~Father SIME Ignazio and then later by Samuel T. Coleridge in his Table Talk.~~

On the other hand, snakes of all kinds abound in ^{Melita Ulynia,} Mijet. As ~~Fedor's Yugoslavia Guide Book~~ states: "Mijet has one peculiar fame in that it is the only place in Europe where you will find the mongoose roaming about at liberty. The explanation for this is that long ago these little animals were imported from the East to exterminate the snakes with which the island was infested."

Two islands, one without poisonous snakes, the other infested with poisonous snakes. Again, we must leave it to the reader to arrive at his own conclusions.

Local Traditions of St. Paul's Shipwreck on Mljet

In comparison to the well-known and strong local traditions of St. Paul's shipwreck on Malta, ~~there are only a few scattered references with respect~~ ^{refer} to the Apostle's involuntary visit to the island of Mljet, ~~or Melita Illyrica~~. The earliest known writer ~~who~~ ^{to} connected the name of St. Paul with the Dalmatian island of Melita was ^{the Byzantine emperor} Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, ~~Byzantine Emperor from (945-959)~~. In ~~his work~~ ^{mentions} De Administrando Imperio, written for the use of his son who later poisoned him, he ~~speaks about~~ the "pagani" who in the Serbian dialect were the "unbaptized" and who had settled in Dalmatia. These "pagani" in the Roman dialect were referred to as the Arentani, ~~who hold possession of~~ ^{i.e. Korčula} the following islands: The great island Curcra or Corcyra . . . "also another island, Meleta or Malozeatae. It was here a viper fixed itself on the finger of St. Paul, who burnt it in the fire." This quotation ~~by the Byzantine Emperor~~ presupposes that ~~it~~ ^a ~~was~~ in the 10th century a tradition ~~was~~ current in Constantinople that the Apostle's shipwreck occurred in the Adria rather than in Malta.

^{Until} ~~From the 10th century to the beginning of the 18th century~~ we have no literary evidence of the Dalmatian tradition. ^(p. 15) [In 1730 Father Ignazio Georgi, abbot of the 13th century Benedictine Abbey in Veliko Jezero on ~~the island of Mljet~~, published his famous treatise on St. Paul's shipwreck on the Dalmatian coast. ^{involuntary} ^{is well attested} ^{to be} By the latter part of the 18th century the local tradition of the Apostle's (visit to Mljet was firmly maintained. In ~~1788~~ Thomas Watkins ^{in 1788} travelled ^(Lokrum) throughout the Dalmatian coast and reported that "I lately visited in the Isle of Croma a monastery founded as I am told by Richard Coeur de Lion, in consequence of a vow for his deliverance from shipwreck, and, yesterday, a party was made for me to the Island of Melita, upon which St. Paul was shipwrecked. An honest monk conducted me to the spot where he landed, still known by the two seas that meet there." Thirty-three years later John Madox (1821) passed through the Dalmatian coast on his visit to the Holy Land and recorded that "Malta being anciently called Melita, but there is also an island in the Adriatic Sea named Melita or Melida, the natives claim the honour of St. Paul's first visit. They insist that the wreck took place on their shore. Scripture informs us

certainly that this saint was tossed about for many days and nights in the Sea of Adriatic. Throughout the 19th century several local traditions pertaining to the locality of the shipwreck were held. Thus, for example, ^{and Bishop of Rodope discussed} V. Palunko, ~~Titular Bishop of Rodope, recorded~~ ^{church, said to be believed to be dedicated to St. Paul,} ~~that~~ remains of an ancient ~~wall belonging to a church~~ ^{are situated} approximately one mile from Porto cima Meleda, at the east end of ^{Mljet.} the island. An old man had told Father Baldassare Glavić, that this former church was dedicated to the Apostle Paul, a tradition which is also reported by Professor Rudolph Vimer of Zagreb University. According to Professor [Vid Vuletić Vukasović ^{reports} there is a local tradition among the people of the village of Prožura west of Sobra, ^{who believe} ~~These villagers believe~~ that St. Paul's shipwreck occurred in Porto Chiave.] A strong advocate of the Mljet tradition was Bishop Franjo Uccellini of the diocese of Kotor (Cattaro), who for many years served as dean of the Catholic Theological Seminary in Zadar, Dalmatia, and died in 1937.

Father Nico Učović, ~~parish priest of Babino Polje,~~ ^{places} the capital of Mljet, ~~told me that~~ St. Paul's ship ^{wreck} ~~was wrecked~~ in the Saplonara Cove, while ^{others identified St. Paul's Rock} Mr. Petar Givanović of Babino Polje writes: "I have learned from my parents and from the other older people of the town that there is an ancient ruin of a church of St. Paul in the vicinity of the town of Korita, but there is nothing written about it. Below the village of Maranovići, near the small island of Kosmač, there is a ^{rock} stone, known as St. Paul's Rock, about one meter in the sea." ^{In} The ~~new~~ Church of St. Paul in Babino Polje ~~was built in~~ (1935) and repaired in 1967. In the beginning of this century Bishop Palunko could still write that though the island does not possess a statue honouring the Apostle, his memory is deeply embedded in the hearts of the islanders. Since 1968, however, ^{tower} a tall statue of the Apostle, the work of Lojzika Ulman of Vinkovci, ~~is located~~ ^{is} above the northern altar, ~~of the church.~~ St. Paul ^{holding} with a cross in his left hand ~~is shown~~ standing on the bow of a ship.

We have noted the existence of a local tradition which associates Mljet with the Apostle's shipwreck, at the same time, however, we must recognize the absence of a distinct Pauline cult on the Island of Mljet. It is significant to mention that it was not until 1935 that any of the churches or chapels of the three parishes of Mljet were dedicated to St. Paul. The same lack of a Pauline cult also pertains to Dubrovnik, an observation which ^{at} the first sight might be used as a strong argument against Mljet as a possible site for the Apostle's shipwreck.

It is important, however, to remember that with the exception of Rome and Malta, none of the places visited by or associated with St. Paul developed a specific Pauline cult.

In Antioch-on-the-Orontes (Antakya) (Acts 13:1-4) visitors are shown the Cave-Church of St.Peter, the patron-saint of Cyprus (Acts 13:5-13) is St.Barnabas, in Ephesus, where the Apostle spent three years preaching and teaching (Acts 19: 1-41) and as a prisoner (I Cor. 15:32, II Cor. 1:8,9) the Christian cult has centered around St.John. The protector of Thessalonica is not the missionary Apostle (Acts 17:1-9), but St.Demetrius, and in Athens (Acts 17:16-34) it is St.Dionysius the Areopagite, ~~RM~~ St.Paul's first convert in this city, who is considered the patron of Athens. The Cretans (Acts 27:7-15) venerate St.Titus and the Rhodians (Acts 21:1) St.Silas rather than St.Paul, and according to H.V. Morton, even in Malta, although St.Paul is deeply revered there, the real hero of the island is St.Publius. In view of the absence of any particular Pauline cult in such places it is not surprising at all that we should not find any specific Pauline cult centre in either Mljet or Dubrovnik. Moreover, the fact that many of the islanders are fishermen and sailors may be an additional reason for the absence of a Pauline cult. Paradoxically enough, St.Paul, who travelled by sea more than any other saint, has no honour among the sailors !

Sources

A. The Greek and Roman Authors

- Constantinus Porphyrogennata, "De administrando imperio", xxxvi, Corpus scriptorum historicorum Byzantinorum. Bonn, 1840, p. 163.
- Diodorus Siculus, Bibliotheca Historia, VIII, 17; XV, 13; XVI, 5; XIX, 70; XXIII, 16.
- Florus, Lucius A., Epitome of Roman History, I, x, 15; xxi, 5; xli, 9.
- Isocrates, Oration to Philip, xxi.
- Josephus, F., Vita, xv.
- Justinus, I., Hist. Philippicarum, xliv.
- Livius, T., Bk. V, xxxiii, 7; XXI, li.
- Lucanus, M.A., De Bello Civili, II, 621-625; V, 614.
- Lucian, Toxaris or Friendship, xix; The Double Indictment, xxvii.
- Ovid, P., Tristia, I, eleg. xi.
- Philostratus, F., Imagines, II, xvi.
- Pliny the Elder, Natural History, III, viii, 92; III, xxvi, 150, 152.
- Polybius, II, viii, 2; II, xii, 6.
- Procopius, De Bello Gothico, V, xv, VII, xl.
- Ptolemy, Geography, III, iii, iv, xiv, xv, xvi; II, xvi.
- Seneca, L.A., Naturales Questiones, III, xxix, 7, Medea, 408.
- Strabo, Geography, I, iv, 7; II, v, 20, 29; V, lxi; VII, v, 10, 50a; VIII, v, 9, 10.
- Tacitus, C., The Annals, II, liii.

B. Theological Writers

- Attardi, B., Bilancia della verita, risposta al libro intitolato D. Paulus in mari, etc. Venice.
- Bres, Onorato, Malta Antica Illustrata co'monumenti, e coll'istoria. Rome, 1816.
- Bryant, J., Observations and Inquiries relating to Various Parts of Ancient History, containing dissertations on the Wind Euroclydon and on the Island Melite. Cambridge, 1767.
- Ciantar, G.A., De D. Paulo Apostolo Melitam Siculo Adriatici maris Insulam naufragio ejecto dissertationes apologeticae in inspectiones anticriticas P. Ignatii Georgii, Paris, 1745.

Conybeare, W.J. and Howson, J.S., The Life and Epistles of St. Paul. London, 1853, II.

Falconer, W., Dissertation on St. Paul's Voyage from Caesarea to Puteoli and on the Apostle's shipwreck on the Island Melite. London, 1872.

Georgi, I., Divus Paulus Apostolus in mari, quod nunc venetus sinus dicitur, naufragus, et Melitae Dalmatenses insulae post naufragiam hospes, sive de genuino significato duorum locorum in Actibus apostolicis, cap. 27:27, cap. 28:1 inspectiones anti-criticae. Venice, 1730.

Palunko, V., Melita nel naufragio di San Paolo e la isola Meleda in Dalmazia. Spalato, 1910

San Floriano, G., Origine della Fede Cristiana in Malta. 1759.

Smith, James, The Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul. London, 1856.

Vimer, ~~Rudolph~~ R., Malta ili Mljet ? Zagreb, 1911.

C. The Travellers

Madox, J., Excursion in the Holy Land, Egypt, Nubia and Syria. London, 1834, I.

Morton, H.V., In the Steps of St. Paul. London, 1959.

Neale, J.M., Notes, Ecclesiological and Picturesque on Dalmatia, etc. London, 1861.

Niderstedt, B., Malta vetus et nova. Helmstedt, 1659.

Paton, A.A., Adriatic Islands. London, 1849, I.

Strangford, Viscountess, The Eastern Shores of the Adriatic in 1863. London, 1864.

Thevenot, Travels into the Levant. London, 1687.

Watkins, Thomas, Travels . . . through part of Greece, Ragusa and the Dalmatian Isles. London, 1792, II.

Wilkinson, Sir J.C., Dalmatia and Montenegro. London, 1848, I.