

contraction for *καί*, found no doubt in the exemplar, by *κί* and finding the word *σαρκί* divided at the end of a line (*σαρ||κί*) he has ingenuously transcribed it as *σαρ καί*, which is nonsense.

If the Paris MS were an independent authority a careful re-collation of the whole of it would be imperatively necessary: but in view of the fact that it is in all probability a direct descendant of the Vatican Catena, Vat. gr. 762, not known to Cramer, this larger undertaking, which the writer has only carried out so far as Origen is concerned, is for the present superfluous. It is to be hoped that an examination of this Vatican Catena together with such additional information as may be gleaned from further discoveries of Catena MSS or fragments may help to throw some light upon the question—at present, as Professor Harnack confesses¹, an obscure one—as to the character of the work from which the citations on 1 Corinthians are taken.

CLAUDE JENKINS.

THE ΑΣΙΤΙΑ ON ST PAUL'S VOYAGE.

ACTS XXVII.

FOR fourteen days the Alexandrine ship, into which the centurion had transferred his soldiers and prisoners at Myra, was driven by an ENE. gale from Crete to Malta. With regard to the food supply and the condition of those on board, we are told (v. 21) πολλῆς ἀσιτίας ὑπαρχούσης (A. V. 'after long abstinence': R. V. 'when they had been long without food': Vulg. 'cum multa ieiunatio fuisset': Douay Version 'after they had fasted a long time'). Although this expression occurs after an allusion to the 'third day' of the storm and 'more days', the participle implies that this ἀσιτία had already been in existence. In consequence of it St Paul endeavours to keep up their spirits (εὐθυμεῖτε). On the night before the actual wreck, he again addresses them, saying that it was the fourteenth day προσδοκῶντες ἀσιτοὶ διατελεῖτε (A. V. 'ye have tarried and continued fasting': R. V. 'ye wait and continue fasting': Vulg. 'expectantes ieiuni permanetis': D. V. 'ye expect and remain fasting'). In connexion with this state of things the following additional expressions occur—μεταλαβεῖν τροφῆς, μηδὲν προσλαβόμενοι . . . (v. 33); προσλαβεῖν τροφῆς (v. 34); λαβὼν ἄρτον (v. 35); εὖθυμοι . . . προσελάβοντο τροφῆς (v. 36); κορεσθέντες τροφῆς, ἐκβαλλόμενοι τὸν σίτον (v. 38). Let

¹ Harnack *Die Chronologie der altchristl. Litteratur* ii, 1904, p. 46 note 1.

it be noted also that the ordinary word for 'fasting', viz. *νηστεία*, is used of the Jewish autumnal fast in v. 9, as also of 'fasting' in all the other places in the N. T.; and that *ἀσιτία* and *ἄσιτοι* occur in this passage only. Moreover a Jewish fast did not imply eating nothing at all during the day, but nothing until the evening, when a full meal was taken; so that no notable weakness, much less any loss of heart, would ordinarily be the result.

The Greek word *σίτος* has of course two general meanings, the first being 'grain', i. e. wheat and barley either in a raw state, or as 'bread'; and the second being 'food' of any kind. The compound *ἀσιτία* has according to Liddell and Scott first the meaning of 'absence of food', and secondly the medical meaning of 'loss of appetite'. Hobart (*Medical Language of St Luke* p. 276) allows the A. V. translation, as above quoted, to stand as if representing its only meaning; but two of his quotations at least distinctly point to 'loss of appetite from illness'; viz. *τήκεται ὁ ἀσθενῶν ἐπὶ ὁδυνῶν ἰσχυρῶν καὶ ἀσιτίης καὶ βήχός*, where the 'pains' and 'cough' decide the meaning of the intermediate word (Hipp. *Morb.* 454): and *καὶ κῶμα παρείπετο, ἄσιτος, ἄθυμος, ἀγρυπνος* (Hipp. *Epid.* 1096), where voluntary abstinence can scarcely be meant. At least two other compounds of *σίτος* retain the primary meaning of 'wheat', viz. *πολύσιτος* used in describing countries growing much grain (Xen. *Hell.* 5. 2. 16: *Vect.* 5. 3: Strabo 751, Liddell and Scott); and *εὔσιτος* to which Liddell and Scott give 'with good wheat' (*Schol. Theocr.* 7. 34) as a second meaning, and 'with good appetite' as a first. Whether *ἄσιτος* was used colloquially by sailors and others in the Mediterranean basin at this time in the sense of 'without wheat or bread' cannot as yet be absolutely decided, for Messrs Grenfell and Hunt's Papyri give no instance so far as they have been examined.

As to the meaning in the context, the *Exp. Gr. Test.* quotes a few Comm. in favour of a 'disinclination for food' from anxiety, but the majority seem to treat the meaning of 'abstinence from all kinds of food' as the only one possible. At the same time they one and all take it for granted, that some food must have been taken, which substantially gives away this meaning. Smith (*Voyage and Shipwreck of St Paul* p. 114) suggests the impossibility of cooking as the most probable cause of this abstinence. A religious motive has also been suggested, viz. the desire on the part of those on board to avert the wrath of heaven by a penitential act, as the people of Nineveh did in Jonah's time. If 'abstinence from all food' were the only available meaning, it is more likely that the necessity of battenning down the hatchways, lest the waves should in washing over the deck get down to the wheat and swell it, and burst open the ship, was the reason. However, St Luke was a physician, and nearly all the circumstances

recorded and the words used point the use of the word in question in the medical sense of 'loss of appetite from illness', which in this case would of course be sea-sickness. As the reasons for adopting this latter meaning at the same time render the former one improbable, it will be best to deal with them both together.

There is a moral certainty that the ship was one of the fleet of corn ships plying between Alexandria and Rome under certain imperial regulations. The same wind, which drove the Adramyttian ship, in which the centurion and his company sailed from Caesarea round the east cape of Cyprus, would have forced the ship from Alexandria to make for Myra on a larboard tack seven points from the wind. Again, when hesitating about wintering at Fair Havens in Crete, it is the centurion who is represented as ultimately deciding the question (v. 11), and not the owner. Anyhow there was plenty of wheat on board, for the very last act before cutting loose their anchors on the Maltese coast was to throw overboard 'the wheat' (τὸν σῖτον, v. 38). Moreover on the last night there was either bread or the means of baking it, for St Paul took 'bread' (ἄρτον). Again, bread is the usual form in which wheat is eaten; yet any traveller in uncivilized countries will testify that most satisfying meals can be made by simply chewing whole grain. Lastly, a few exceptionally constituted men might last out a fourteen days' abstinence from food, yet a chance collection of sailors, soldiers, and passengers would not be able to do so, as a matter of fact: much less would they be able to make a heavy satisfying meal (v. 38) after so long a fast. They had then plenty of food on board, and could have eaten it if they wished and could get access to it.

On the other hand there is evidence to shew that the motion of the ship was a specially trying one. On leaving Clauda we are given to understand that, if they had allowed themselves to drift in a line with the wind, they would have been cast on the African quicksands. Hence they took measures to work up northwards of the direct line of the wind, about three points, as Smith reckons and the position of Clauda and Malta shews. The wind was known as the Euroclydon, or the wind that causes 'wide waves', if we take the reading of the Text. Rec. as a corrupt, or the sailors', form of Εὐρυκλύδων. (Between the Cape of Good Hope and Tasmania are what are called the Roaring Forties, i.e. a stretch of sea in lat. 40° S., where huge 'wide waves', caused by the monsoons up north, in certain months cross the ships' course continuously.) Whether this be the true reading or not, a ship driven in a line with the wind merely pitches and tosses; but if she works out of the direct line she gets a peculiarly trying screwing motion over and above the pitching motion. There is, therefore, ample reason for surmising that most of those on board suffered from ordinary sea-

sickness and its mental effects. Usually this illness passes off in three days or so, but considering the size of the ship, viz. about 500 tons, as is usually reckoned, and the violence of the gale (vv. 14-20), and the difficulty at all events of getting appetizing food, the usual 'loss of appetite' and general collapse may well have lasted in most cases all the fourteen days. If this hypothesis is correct, a certain amount of nourishment would have been regularly taken, but not much; and the physical weakness and misery and despondency of mind would have been at the end very pronounced. There is no reason, however, to suppose, that every one was thus suffering: St Paul and St Luke appear to have been quite well; and the sailors must have constantly been able to attend to the ship day and night to keep her in her course, as is clear also from the quickness with which they discerned the approach of land and took the necessary measures against being wrecked in the darkness of the night. The word *πολλῆς* also may be pressed to mean that this *ἀστία*, while general, was not universal.

St Paul's words also point to this same meaning. Sometime after the third day he tries to cheer them up by narrating his vision. This is of course the very thing done nowadays by friends, who are well, to those who are ill, in order to check the disposition to give way to despondency. The use of the word *προσδοκῶντες*, some days after, points to the additional despondency, which must have supervened in consequence of the delay in the fulfilment of St Paul's prophecy. Then he had to urge them to take more to eat than they had been in the habit of taking. Three times is the prep. *πρός* used (T.R.), as if intended to denote the necessity of taking something in addition to the small amount theretofore taken, that they might be strong enough to endure the coming struggle in landing. Again it is stated that they did make the effort to throw off their languor, for they became *εὐθυμοί*, and thereon they were able to make a hearty meal (*κορεσθέντες*, v. 38).

Words of encouragement alone, however, would scarcely have so completely attained the Apostle's object, had he not been aided by external circumstances. First of all, the ship riding at anchor in the bay would have pitched only, and have been freed from the screwing motion above alluded to. Then there are definite reasons for believing that the storm had spent its strength. (i) The sailors saw that they could again at last launch their small boat, which they had with such difficulty got on board fourteen days before (vv. 16, 30). (ii) The wind is described as *πνεύση* (v. 40), i. e. as a breeze, and no longer as a gale. (iii) On landing there was heavy rain, which generally holds off in a violent gale owing to the homogeneousness of the atmosphere due to the agitation of the air, but falls on the fall of the wind. Another reason is suggested below. The fact that on running aground the stern

of the ship was broken up is no proof to the contrary, for long after a continuous gale it takes many hours and even days for the long heavy rollers completely to cease.

We may sum up these considerations then briefly thus. In favour of the medical meaning of 'loss of appetite from illness' for *ἀσυνία* is the acknowledged preference of St Luke for using medical terms, especially in cases of illness; the excessively trying motion of the ship even for fairly good sailors; the course taken by St Paul and the expressions he uses; and the result of the partial removal of the cause of the illness on the last night.

There is, however, one point which still awaits a full and satisfactory explanation, and that is why the Apostle did not urge those on board to take a good meal when he addressed them on the first occasion (vv. 21-26), but confined himself to words of encouragement only. Even if *ἀσυνία* cannot bear the meaning of 'without farinaceous food', yet one great cause of the want of appetite may have been the inability to get access to the store of wheat and bread or biscuits below deck. To this day in those parts the sailors and working classes live chiefly on (i) onions, leeks, figs, dried grapes, and such like; (ii) wheat and barley bread. Salt and sun-dried fish, as also occasionally flesh meat, are added as accessories, rather than as a substantial part of a meal. There do not seem to have been any very elaborate arrangements for boarding passengers in common in those days; and probably those on board each had with him a supply at least of the first-named kinds of food. When leaving Fair Havens with a gentle south wind the little boat was out, and the hatches were doubtless open to air the wheat below: for it seemed only a pleasant run of some six hours, and they would be safe for the winter in the excellent harbour of Phoenix. When the storm came down upon them and the waves began to break over the bulwarks, the first step to take would be to shut down the hatchways. If the water got in torrents into the wheat, it would swell and burst open the sides of the ship in spite of the undergirding ropes.

On leaving Claudia not only would there have been pooping seas washing over the deck, but also a certain amount of water over the bulwarks, for the course implies that the ship was slightly sideways to the wind. It is true that it is stated that there was an *ἐκβολή* on the second day, but it is quite possible that what was thrown overboard was wares on deck, for later on it is particularly stated that they threw over 'the wheat', in contrast it may be to what they had previously thrown overboard. It may well be that they did not dare to open the hatchways after once the gale had got the ship into its clutches (*συναρπασθέντος*, v. 15). Hence they had to live on what they happened to have on deck. A medical man told the writer that in his opinion an

ordinary passenger could keep alive for fourteen days on fruit and vegetable fare but that he would be very weak, unless it was supplemented with farinaceous food. Hence as long as the wheat could not be got at, it was no use for St Paul to invite the people to take a solid meal; but on the last night, when there are reasons for thinking that the wind had lulled, and the waves were no longer breaking over the deck, and the hatches could be opened, then he could encourage them to make a good meal, represented by the word τροφή. They had access to wheat and bread. There is about 90 per cent. of water in fresh fruit and vegetables, and about 75 per cent. of solid matter in dry bread; and consequently a very satisfactory meaning is given to the words κορεσθέντες τροφῆς (v. 38). If this hypothesis will hold good, it would seem that every difficulty is cleared up, as far as the condition and health of those on board are concerned. There are one or two difficulties with regard to the navigation, which it will be best to deal with separately.

PS. The Rev. Dr Moulton has been so kind as to hunt out an instance of ἀσιτέω, meaning 'abstinence from food owing to illness' in the Egyptian Papyri, Kenyon's edition, No. 144, a first-century letter.

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MARK THE 'CURT-FINGERED' EVANGELIST.

IN a paper on 'The Early Church and the Synoptic Gospels', printed in this JOURNAL (v 330 ff), Mr Burkitt has called special attention to the causes leading to the very subordinate place once occupied by Mark's Gospel, as compared with the Gospels of Matthew and Luke. With his general position that this was due largely to 'the frankly biographical element' predominating in it over the formally didactic element, which is so marked a feature of Matthew in particular, I fully concur. But when he proceeds to explain how it was that, in spite of this drawback to the general acceptance and appreciation of the more purely historical Gospel, it did actually win its way at length to equal honour with its fuller and more didactic fellows, I cannot but think that he overlooks the most important factor of all, viz. the sheer weight of a strong and definite historical tradition connecting that Gospel with the witness of an apostle, to wit Peter. It was not 'an ethical instinct' or 'a historical instinct'; for, as Mr Burkitt points out, the Church at large was not much alive to the historic interest of 'the story of the ministry', while it preferred the explicit ethics embodied in sayings