PHILO OF BYBLOS AND HIS " PHOENICIAN HISTORY "[1]

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I. *Introduction*

THE Greek writer who is the subject of this lecture, Herennius Philo of Byblos, is quite distinct from the more famous Philo, the Jewish philosopher, of Alexandria, and from another dozen or more Philos known to us from antiquity. He lived in the latter part of the first century A.D. and the earlier part of the second. Apart from some fragments on other subjects, the main work of his that is known to us is a Phoenician *historia* : in our terminology, this is less a history than an account of the myths and legends of the Phoenicians. This " history ", as we may continue to call it, has not survived complete ; the fragments of it are preserved mainly in the works of the church historian and theologian Eusebius (about A.D. 260-340), but also in part in other sources. They add up to about twenty pages of Greek in all.[2]

Even if Philo had been professing simply to describe the religion of Phoenicia as it was in his own time, he would no doubt have been an important and intriguing source, just as was Plutarch at about the same time with his descriptions of Egyptian religion. But Philo made himself more important still, or more

[1] An expansion of a lecture delivered in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester on Wednesday, the 13th of February 1974.

[2] The fragments are conveniently available in Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. It is customary to recommend the text of Eusebius edited by Mras, but this, though excellent for checking the place of excerpts in the argument of Eusebius, naturally does not cite the fragments of Philo from elsewhere, which are important for our assessment of the author's mind and methods. The novice should beware the " text " presented by F. Wagenfeld, which appears to offer the complete nine books but was a hoax on the scholarly world ; see the amusing notice in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, xl (Leipzig, 1896), 476.

For details see bibliography at the end ; works there included will be cited by author's name only, and short title if necessary.

intriguing to the imagination, through one particular claim that he made, or that was made on his behalf : his information, it was claimed, came from a figure of much earlier date, Sanchuniathon by name, who had lived about the time of Semiramis, queen of Assyria or, otherwise stated, about the time of the war of the Greeks against Troy—in other words, a thousand years earlier or more. Sanchuniathon had composed writings in the Phoenician language, and these Philo had translated into Greek. Thus, if these claims are in some sense true, Philo's information may go back to the later second millennium, a time antedating most other written records for the area, such as the known Phoenician inscriptions and most or all of the Old Testament. In recent decades many more Phoenician inscriptions have come to be known, and our knowledge has been greatly widened through the discovery of the Ugaritic language and literature in northern Syria ; but before this happened Philo furnished one central block of evidence for all study and speculation about early Phoenician myth and legend.

This does not mean that Philo of Byblos is a well-known figure. On the contrary, he is rather poorly known ; and not only that, but it is probable that more people knew about him a hundred years ago than know of him today. The cultivated man of a hundred years ago knew from Greek tradition about the originality of Phoenicia and its influence on the growth of Mediterranean civilization ; and he also knew that Philo's material was of central importance for anyone who was curious about Phoenicia. No less a person than Ernest Renan, certainly the most distinguished man of letters ever to have given thought to our writer,[1] in two lectures delivered on 9 October and 11 December 1857 presented to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres a defence of the veracity of Philo against those who impugned his accuracy[2] ; and this work was reviewed at some length by the great Old Testament scholar Heinrich Ewald, who

[1] In saying this I do not intend to slight Herder, who also wrote on Philo, but in much less detail : see his *Aelteste Urkunde des Menschengeschlechts* (1774), Dritter Theil, " Werke, zur Religion und Theologie ", Bd. vi (Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1827), pp. 139–54.

[2] Renan, though accepting the real existence of Sanchuniathon, dated him in the Seleucid period and not in remote antiquity.

had himself some years earlier published a study on the same topic.

For, as has been implied, though Philo was known to be important, what he said was not necessarily believed. Many scholars in the critical nineteenth century had doubts about the reliability of the information he gave. The Breslau Professor F. C. Movers, who in the course of his life published several works on the subject, at one stage maintained that the material was a late collection of mythological elements, taken from all sorts of sources and foisted upon the totally fictional character Sanchuniathon. Its value for factual information about Phoenicia was thus limited ; but at least Philo was before the public's eye. And Movers himself gradually moved away from his earlier scepticism, as Renan noted.[1]

In the twentieth century the story of scholarly interest in Philo has been paradoxical. In the first decades the more sceptical view of him seems still to have been dominant : it is seen, for instance, in the work of that influential pioneer in the history of religions, W. W. Graf Baudissin.[2] But the situation soon changed after the discovery of Ugarit and Ugaritic in the early 1930s, for it then began to be claimed that the mythology of the new-found documents showed remarkable agreements with things that had been said by Philo. Such a " rehabilitation " of Philo began to be asserted in the very first articles to be published after the decipherment of the Ugaritic sources.[3]

Among scholars who work also on Ugaritic, the one who has devoted the most steady and careful attention to Philo is the late O. Eissfeldt, with a long string of articles and monographs[4] ; and his opinion for the most part leaned toward the authenticity of Philo's material and the ascription to it of an early date.[5] Among Semitists the trend to accept at least some part of the

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[1] Renan, p. 246.

[2] See Eissfeldt's memoir to Baudissin on this matter, *Kleine Schriften*, i. 120.

[3] E.g. Virolleaud in *Syria*, xii (1931), 21 f.

[4] Eissfeldt's articles are unfortunately badly dispersed ; they contain much repetition, and yet often cover only certain aspects of the total problem ; the argument is sometimes hard to follow, and occasionally contains confusions.

[5] In *Sanchunjaton*, pp. 68 f., he concluded for the dating of Sanchuniathon in the second half of the second millennium.

Philonic material as ancient and genuine has been general and increasing. Sometimes indeed one has exaggerated the degree to which Ugaritic, and other new knowledge in the Semitic and Near Eastern fields, have " rehabilitated " Philo. The sceptical view of Philo was not universal before the 1930s, and many favourable estimates of his reliability had been published ; as has been mentioned, Renan himself had already been able to note an increasing tendency to rate Philo's information higher. Conversely, modern Semitists who emphasize the genuineness and reliability of Philo's information commonly go on to say that it can be used only with great care.[1] Such care was rather pushed aside by the American savant W. F. Albright, who asserts very forcibly the reliability of Philo's information and more or less wholly rejects any caution which might seem to be indicated by the late Hellenistic circumstances of the author.

Among classical scholars more of the older sceptical judgement has continued. For instance, Kirk and Raven in their study of the background of early Greek philosophy mention Philo but describe his work in uncomplimentary fashion as a " farrago " and are not disposed to take it very seriously ; there is, they say, no reason to take it as other than what it seems to be, viz. " a Hellenistic eclectic pastiche of Hesiod and later cosmogonical sources ".[2] Some other classicists have been more sympathetic. Such are P. Walcot in his work on relations between Hesiod and the Near East, and M. L. West in his edition of Hesiod's *Theogony*. West, though noticing the rising credit of Philo, mentions also that he must be used with caution, since he himself knew the Hesiodic version of the myth in question and may have been influenced by it.[3] West's later book *Early Greek Philosophy and the Orient*, though not discussing Philo himself at length, discusses other cognate sources and looks with general sympathy on the idea of an oriental background to Greek thought.

[1] E.g. Pope, *El*, p. 5 : " the use of Philo . . . should be made with extreme caution " ; cf. Miller, *El*, p. 414.

[2] Kirk and Raven, pp. 31 f. These writers are aware of the Ugaritic evidence but do not think it can be used to demonstrate the ancient origin of Philo's material as a whole.

[3] West, *Theogony*, pp. 27 f.

In general, then, the stock of Philo's credibility has been rising on the market of scholarship. Yet, in spite of this apparent return to favour, people still pay comparatively little attention to him. Students of Semitics may have heard of him, but on the whole they do not read him. This is in part a result of the increased gulf between Semitic and classical studies, at least from the side of Semitists. A hundred years ago there were few students, competent in Semitic languages, who were not also familiar with Greek ; today there are many. Few of them are accustomed to finding their way through the fragments of the ancient historians or the works of a Christian theologian-historian like Eusebius. Though Philo's material has significant connections with the Old Testament, biblical dictionaries and encyclopaedias have no article under his name. That central reference work, J. B. Pritchard's *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (Princeton, 1950), which provided in English translation much material from the oriental background to the Old Testament, never included any matter from texts in Greek. And, apart from the various standard translations of Eusebius himself, no one has attempted, so far as I know, to publish an English translation of the Philo fragments.[1] And thus, in general, in spite of the rehabilitation of Philo, no published article or monograph directly and entirely devoted to him appears to have emerged from Anglo-Saxon scholarship over a period of two decades or a good deal more. If students of the Near East know anything of Philo, they probably know only small snippets of information mentioned in works like those of Albright or of Pope, and have no acquaintance with the actual contours and character of the Philo text as a whole. There is reason therefore for us to attempt in this lecture a simple survey of the material and of the ideas current about Philo in modern scholarship. Rather than trying to propound solutions and theories, we shall seek to survey the text and some of its main problems. Beyond this limited aim we can hardly hope to go within this lecture itself.

[1] Those wishing to consult an English translation may try the translation of Eusebius' *Praeparatio Evangelica* in the edition of Gifford (Oxford, 1903).

II. *Philo's Narrative*

By now, however, it is high time that something should be said about the contents of Philo's work, so far as it is known to us.   It can be conveniently divided into three parts of central importance.   These are : a cosmogony or account of the beginning of the universe ; secondly, what I would call a technogony, a story of successive pairs or generations, who discovered various arts and crafts ; and thirdly a theogony, or narrative of successive generations among the gods and of the conflicts within the divine family.   I do not say that this is exactly the way in which Philo himself sees or understands his work : he himself does not label these different sections in this way, nor does he keep them strictly apart ; and, as for the theogony, it appears to be part of his purpose to depict the persons there described as if they were men and not gods.   To this we shall return ; for the moment it will suffice if *we*, from *our* point of view, characterize the structure of the work thus.   I shall now give some indication of the content of each section.   For the technogony and the theogony, diagrams are appended at the end of this article to assist the reader.[1]

Firstly, the cosmogony, which is rather brief.   The first principle (*archē*) of the universe was dark and windy mist (*aēr*) and a turbid and gloomy *chaos* ; this last Greek word is said to mean a gap or chasm rather than a chaos in our English sense[2] ; but here in Philo perhaps confusion, space, abyss, outer darkness might all be possibilities.   For long ages these had no limit or boundary.   But eventually " the wind fell in love with its own original principles and a mixture took place ; this interconnection was called Pothos, Desire ".   By this kind of parthenogenesis of the dark wind there was produced Mōt—some kind of mud, slime or putrescence, and the first of Philo's apparently Semitic

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[1] These diagrams, however, and indeed the summaries that here follow, must be used with caution, since it is not possible to include all the details and connections mentioned or implied by the text.

In the transliteration of Greek words and names, a macron is used to mark *ē* and *ō* ; but no marks are used where the word can be considered a name familiar in English.

[2] Cf. West on *Theogony*, 116 (pp. 192 f.).

words. Out of this came every seed of creation and the origin of the universe.

There were, it goes on, some creatures which lacked perception ; and from these there came forth intelligent beings, called Zōphēsamin, " watchers of heaven "[1] ; these were like an egg in shape. Mōt burst forth into light, and so did the sun, the moon and the stars.[2]

Although " living beings " have already been mentioned, there now follows what appears to be the actual account of the first animal motion. A meteorological narrative tells how the mist (aēr) became clearer, and winds, clouds, downpours and outpourings of heavenly waters occurred. The heat of the sun separated the various elements each into its own place, but they then collided with violent thunderings and lightning. This caused the intelligent living beings, already mentioned above, to awake in fright, and they " began to move, on land and sea, male and female ". Such is the account of the beginnings of the world. Eusebius commented on its atheotēs, its lack of any divine agency in the process of origin.

The second section, our technogony, tells of pairs or generations of persons who in most cases are credited with discoveries or inventions. Thus from a wind Kolpia and a woman Baau (a name which is said to mean " Night ")[3] there were born Aiōn and Prōtogonos, mortal men. Aiōn discovered the use of food got from trees. They had offspring called Genos and Genea, " Family and Generation " or something like that. During droughts they used to stretch out their hands to the sun, addressing him as Beelsamēn, Lord of Heaven ; they lived in Phoenicia and (it seems to imply) used its language. This pair

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[1] The text has Zōphasēmin, but the emendation gives a form both closer to known Semitic grammar and to the analogy of other spellings of Semitic words in Philo. Cf. e.g. Loewenstamm, p. 324 ; his fine and judicious article was known to me only after the basic text of this lecture was complete.

[2] It is possible that this second appearance of Mōt involves some distortion and that it is not the same word, originally, as the first Mōt ; cf. Loewenstamm, ibid., and below, pp. 43, n. 1, 46 f. One is tempted to think of the Hebrew *mᵉʾorot*, the " heavenly lights " of the Genesis story of creation, especially since in the Greek text the sun and other heavenly bodies appear to be here in apposition with Mōt.

[3] On these names, see further below, pp. 41, n. 1, 43, n. 1, 60.

in turn had three children, mortals, whose names were Light, Fire and Flame, and they by the rubbing together of sticks discovered fire.[1]   They also begat sons of gigantic size, whose names were given to the mountains they occupied : Kassios, Lebanon, Antilebanon and Brathu.[2]   The next generation are Hupsouranios (or Samēmroumos, " High Heaven ") and Ousōos ; the former devised huts made from reeds, the latter invented the covering of the body with the skins of animals which he had managed to catch.   These two seem to be important personalities, and several further things are told about them.   They got their names—it is said—from their mothers, since women at that time had promiscuous relations with anyone they might meet.   Hup- souranios dwelt in Tyre ; he quarrelled with his brother Ousōos. At a time of heavy rain and winds, we are told, the trees in Tyre rubbed together and caused fire : Ousōos, seizing a trunk and removing its branches, was the first to dare to embark upon the sea.   He consecrated two pillars to Fire and Wind and wor- shipped them, pouring libations of blood from the animals taken in hunting.   When Hupsouranios and Ousōos died, those who remained instituted some sort of annual worship of them.

The descendants of Hupsouranios " much later "[3] were Agreus and Halieus, who invented hunting and fishing.   The next pair, Chousōr and " another ", invented iron and iron- working.   Chousōr has an impressive list of further inventions

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[1] It will be noticed that some of the generations have a male and a female, but in many of them only males are listed.

[2] Kassios (also spelled as Kasios) is certainly the mountain of northern Syria, the Mount Zaphon of the Old Testament, a sort of Semitic Olympus, the moun- tain of the gods.   Brathu on the other hand is puzzling.   Eissfeldt, " Der Gott des Tabor ", argues, after Baudissin, that the word is a distortion of *Thabur*, i.e. Mt. Tabor, and connects this with the widespread cult of Zeus Atabyrios in many parts of the Mediterranean world ; cf. however, Zuntz, p. 219.   Another approach, followed recently by Cross, p. 28 n. 86, is to take it as " the cypress (mountain), which is the Amanus " (cf. Hebr. *bᵉroš*, " cypress, fir ").   The Greek word *brathu*, apparently a borrowing from Semitic, actually occurs as the render- ing of this Hebrew word in the Greek translations of the Bible by Theodotion and Symmachus, e.g. Isa. xxxvii. 24, xli. 19, lv. 13.

[3] The reader should bear in mind that there may be many lacunae in the material as we now have it ; the connections between stages are often vague, and terms like " much later ", " about this time ", " from them there came ", etc., leave it vague whether steps have been omitted in the extant version.

to his credit : incantations and divinations ; hook, line, bait, raft, sailing. He is identified with Hephaistos and with Zeus Meili-chios ; he was deified after his death, for his discoveries. " His brothers " meanwhile contrived the making of walls from bricks. The ninth pair, Technitēs and Gēinos Autochthōn, advanced to the making of sun-dried bricks with material including rubbish or shavings, and also to the discovery of roofs. Their successors were Agros and Agrou hērōs (" the hero of Agros "?) or Agrotēs ; this latter has a highly venerated statue and temple in Phoenicia, and is considered by the people of Byblos to be the greatest of gods. These two worked out how to add courts to houses, and also enclosures and caves. From them are descended farmers and hunters (or the two words may mean different kinds of hunters), who are called Alētai and Titanes. The twelfth pair are Amunos and Magos, who made the discovery of villages and flocks. The next are Misōr and Suduk, the names being ex-plained as " easy to loosen ", perhaps " pliable, yielding ", and " righteous ". Their discovery was the use of salt.[1] From Misōr was descended Taautos, who discovered writing ; he is the one whom the Egyptians call Thōuth, the Alexandrians Thōth, and the Greeks Hermes. This Taautos is, as we shall see, one of the key persons in the whole matter, and with his arrival this section comes more or less to an end. It remains only to add that from Suduk there came the Dioskouroi, otherwise known as Kabeiroi or Korybantes or Samothracians ; these invented the ship. From them were descended " others ", who discovered herbs, the healing of bites, and incantations.

We pass therefore to what I have called the theogony. Philo does not call it by this name, but it is closely parallel to such theogonies as that of Hesiod, and modern scholars will regard it as a theogony even if Philo himself did not. Philo himself, in fact, carries straight on in a sequence from the stage which has been narrated above : " at about their time there was one called Elioun ". The basic structure of the theogony may be said to have four generations, though the full material, if all taken together, adds up to five generations by one line, to more by

[1] The salt may be connected with the use of salt in covenants and the like. On the names Misōr and Suduk, see below, pp. 43 f.

another.   In the first generation there was " someone " called Elioun, the Most High (Hupsistos), and a female called Bēruth ; they lived around Byblos.   The second generation were Ouranos, at first called Epigeios Autochthōn, and Gē.   The names might seem to mean " heaven " and " earth ", but not quite so according to Philo : in his view of the matter, these were the actual names of the persons concerned, and because of their beauty the names were subsequently transferred to the element above us and to the earth.   Elioun is now said to have died in an encounter with wild beasts and is deified in remembrance ; he disappears from the scene.   Things begin to heat up with Ouranos, who by his sister Gē has four children : El, also called Kronos ; Baitulos[1] ; Dagon (=Sitōn, the one of corn)[2] ; and Atlas.   But the two parents were at loggerheads.   Ouranos had much issue by other wives also, and the jealous reproaches of Gē caused them to separate ; but Ouranos still came and took her by force whenever he liked, and then went off again.   He also tried to destroy his own children by her ; Gē however got some allies to help her, and chief among them was, when he became old enough, her own son Kronos, now—by something of a comic touch—en-joying the help of Hermes Trismegistos, i.e. presumably Taautos, who was his secretary (!).   Kronos had two daughters, Perse-phone and Athena ; the former died a virgin, but by the advice of Athena and Hermes Kronos fashioned out of iron a sickle and a spear ; and Hermes by magic words instilled into the allies of Kronos desire for battle against Ouranos on behalf of Gē.   In the ensuing confrontation, as it would now be called, Kronos overthrew his father and succeeded to the kingdom.

But this neither gets rid of Ouranos permanently nor does it put an end to trouble.   In the battle the beloved concubine of Ouranos was captured, being already pregnant (her name is not mentioned).   Kronos gave her in marriage to his brother Dagon,

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[1] Philo does not explain this name, but scholars generally take it as equivalent to Semitic (e.g. Hebrew) *beth 'el*, literally " house of God " but well known to have been used as the name of an actual deity.   A different interpretation is given by Zuntz, " Baitylos ".

[2] This is a correct explanation ; cf. Hebrew *dagan* " corn ".   Ideas that Dagon, a god mentioned in the Bible, has some connection with Hebrew *dag* " fish ", are now antiquated scholarly legend, and should be forgotten.

and she later gave birth to the child begotten by Ouranos ; this child is called Dēmarous.[1] Kronos surrounds his own house with a wall ; and he founds the first city, Byblos.

But Kronos himself in spite of his success becomes a patholo-gically suspicious deity : he casts his own brother Atlas into the depths of the earth and covers him up[2] ; he kills his own son Sadidos out of suspicion,[3] and follows this up by cutting off the head of his own daughter (unnamed), so that all the gods were terrified of his disposition. Ouranos meanwhile sent along his virgin daughter Astarte, with her sisters Rhea and Dione, to kill Kronos by guile ; but Kronos caught them and made them his own wives, though they were his sisters. By Astarte he had seven daughters, Titanides or Artemides ; by Rhea seven sons, of whom the youngest was deified at birth[4] ; by Dione some also, females ; and then by Astarte again two males, Pothos and Eros, Longing and Desire. After his failure with the three sisters Ouranos now tries again, sending Heimarmenē and Hora (names meaning something like " Fate " and " Hour, Time ") along with other allies ; but these also Kronos made his own and kept

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[1] It is generally held that Dēmarous is the deity more familiarly known as Baal ; Philo, however, does not make this identification, or not explicitly. The name has been connected, since Baudissin (ii. 162), with the River Damūr in Phoenicia, and, since Cassuto, with the Ugaritic *dmrn*; see Eissfeldt, *Kl. Schr.*, iii. 335–9, v. 39–40.

[2] Here Philo interrupts the theogonic narrative and, going back rather to the style of the earlier sections, says that the descendants of the Dioskouroi put to sea in rafts and ships but, being cast ashore near Mount Kassios, they dedicated a temple there. Gese (p. 127) thinks that this is not the same Kassios, already mentioned, which was in Syria, but the complement of it, the Egyptian place, the Baal Zephon of the biblical story of the Exodus (Exod. xiv. 2, 9), where, according to Herodotus (iii. 5), Typhon was hidden and where mariners came to worship the god who protected seafarers. Loewenstamm (p. 317), on the other hand, takes this incident rather as evidence that the Phoenicians claimed to be the genuine founders of the worship and sanctuary on the Syrian Kassios.

[3] Some have thought that the name Sadidos might be a distortion of a term like *yadīd* " beloved " or *yaḥīd, yaḥūd* " only-begotten " ; if this were so, then Sadidos would be a doublet of the unnamed " only son " later said to have been sacrificed by Kronos, and should have no separate entry on our diagram. Cf. Eissfeldt, *Sanchunjaton*, pp. 19 f. But this is not entirely convincing : the killing of Sadidos seems to have quite different narrative characteristics from the sacrifice of the " only son ".

[4] This looks like a doublet of what is said about Muth a little later.

with him.   Then, we are told rather enigmatically, Ouranos thought of *baitulia*, " having devised stones that had life " (*lithoi empsuchoi*).[1]

This would seem to make the basis of a satisfactory theogony in itself, having four generations from Elioun down to Demarous. But the next section includes some elements which do not fit in so well.   Dagon, we are now told, invents corn and the plough ; he is called Zeus Arotrios ;   and with this we seem for a moment to be back in the style of the technogony.   Suduk, heard of in an earlier section, now has a child by one of the Titanides, and this is Asklepios.   Kronos has " in Peraea " three sons, another Kronos, Zeus Bēlos and Apollo.   We now have a series of persons associated with the sea, the first mentioned being Pontos and Typhon.   The line of descent, though not made quite clear by Philo, seems to be Bēlos-Nereus-Pontos.   Typhon may be brother of Pontos but this is not made explicit.   Pontos is import-ant because he is the father of Sidon (the name is treated as feminine ;   she discovered singing) and of Poseidon.   To Dēmarous meanwhile also is born Melkathros, who is Herakles, i.e. the well-known god of Tyre, Melqart.   Ouranos now makes trouble again, attacking Pontos with support from Dēmarous ; but Demarous is defeated and has to give an offering in order to escape.   Finally, in the thirty-second year of his power and reign Kronos lies in wait for his father Ouranos in an inland place and overcomes him and, in a style familiar from many accounts of Syrian religion, cut off his reproductive organs in a place near to some springs and rivers, into which the blood dripped.   Ouranos is deified.   The place is still shown to this day.   This is the main structure of the theogony, and after it there seems to be a gap ;   Eusebius here sums up with " and such is the story of Kronos ".

Some additional episodes follow, however.   By the will of Kronos the country is governed by Astarte and Zeus Dēmarous

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[1] Or " animated stones ".   There is no indication in Philo of what Ouranos sought to do with these stones.   In Hesiod Kronos swallows the children born to Rhea ; but, when Zeus comes to be born, he is given, through a plan of Ouranos and Gē, a stone to swallow.   This he later vomits up, along with the offspring earlier eaten.   It is to this stone that the term *baitulos* is generally referred.   See Zuntz, " Baitylos ".

" who is also Adōdos king of gods ".[1] Astarte put on her head the sign of the bull as an indication of royalty ; and, travelling round the world, she found a star fallen from the sky and consecrated it in Tyre the holy island. Kronos, also travelling around the world, gave to Athena his daughter the kingdom of Attica. In a time of plague Kronos made a burnt offering of his " only-begotten " son to his father Ouranos, and accepts circumcision for himself and also forces it upon his allies. Soon after he deifies another son of his by Rhea, named Muth, who had died ; he is the same as Thanatos, " Death ", and Pluto. He gave the city of Byblos to the goddess Baaltis (=Dione), and Berytos to Poseidon and the Kabeiroi, the Agrotai and the Halieis, who also brought the remains of Pontos to Berytos and consecrated them.

Meanwhile " before this " Taautos had " marked out the sacred shapes of the letters ", imitating the appearance of the gods who were with him (if the text is here correct), namely Kronos, Dagon and the others. For Kronos he devised as a mark of royalty four eyes in front and behind, two awake and two quietly closed, and on the shoulders four wings, two as if flying, two as if lowered. Again, Kronos, going " into the land of the south ", gave over all Egypt to " the god " Taautos as his royal possession. These things, it is here added, were first recorded at the command of Taautos by the seven sons of Suduk, the Kabeiroi, and the eighth, their brother Asklepios.[2]

This portion concludes with a complaint about the way in which all these traditions had been spoiled as they were passed on in later ages. One Thabion, the first Phoenician hierophant, had spoiled them with allegories and admixtures of natural and cosmic phenomena. A later recipient of the thus distorted traditions was one Eisirios " the inventor of the three letters "

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[1] The text has three deities here : " Astarte and Zeus Dēmarous and Adōdos king of gods ". The addition of the Greek ó, proposed by Gruppe, makes the second name and the third refer to the same person, and is very probable. Du Mesnil du Buisson, " El .... ", p. 284, however, takes this as a group of three divinities.

[2] Since the identification of Asklepios with the Semitic Eshmun is well established, it is a likely suggestion that " the eighth " here conceals a folk-etymology of the latter name, from the Semitic word for eight (Hebrew šᵉmoneh) ; cf. Gese, p. 190.

(*grammata*), the brother of the first Chna, whose name was changed to Phoinix.[1]   The Greeks, with their literary adornment of myth and legend, still further obscured the truth, so that in the end the truth seemed to be nonsense, while the inauthentic appeared as if it were the truth.

Here Eusebius appears to signalize the ending of the excerpt from Sanchuniathon-Philo ; but some mention should be given of some other fragments, as follows.

The fragment Jacoby 3, illustrating the opinion that the ancients when in great danger would offer up the most beloved of their children as a sacrifice, tells that the Phoenician Kronos had by a nymph of the same land called Anōbret an only-begotten son, whom on this account they called Yeoud, this being the Phoenician term for " only-begotten " ; in a time of great danger in war he dressed his son in royal apparel and sacrificed him on an altar.   Kronos is here depicted as a human king, who only after the end of his life was deified and made into the star Kronos (Saturn).

There now follows another passage (Jacoby 4), which is basically about the divine nature of serpents, something first, as it appears, given due recognition by Taautos.   The passage goes on to associate with the serpent the hawk, and discusses the symbolism of these animals, as known in the thinking of the Egyptians (a certain Epēeis, whose work had been translated by Areios of Heracleopolis, is quoted), of Pherecydes, and finally of Zoroaster, no less, and his follower Ostanes.   Into the details of this I shall not go ; but it serves to remind us of the fact that in Philo, as in all ancient documents, there is a literary-critical problem, which affects in turn our judgement of the reliability of the author.

There is, in fact, some question how much of the material listed under the name of Philo in a collection like Jacoby's comes

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[1] Chna is certainly equivalent to, or related to, the root of the familiar word Canaan (*ḳ-n-ʿ*).   Eisirios and the three *grammata* have inspired much speculation: what is the relation, for example, to Taautos as the discoverer of writing? Eissfeldt, " Herkunft ", connected the three *grammata* with the three aleph-plus-vowel signs of Ugaritic, somewhat improbably.   Since this lecture is concerned mainly with the general mythology, little time can be spent on the question of the legends about the art of writing contained in Philo.

from him directly; some of it certainly came, and other parts may perhaps come, by way of the philosopher Porphyry. This goes back to an ambiguity in the text of Eusebius himself, who cites Philo, cites Porphyry as a witness to the accuracy of Philo, and then proceeds with " and the same person says " or words to that effect. This critical question makes a lot of difference, because within the total material there are a number of apparent contradictions. These contradictions would be less serious if two or more different points of view were being expressed in the texts, e.g. one that of Philo himself, as cited by Eusebius, another that of Porphyry, which indeed drew upon Philo but also included much wider horizons, and possibly yet others.[1] The central point is this : if this passage about the serpents, with the references to Egypt, to Pherecydes and to Zoroaster, genuinely comes from Philo, it must strengthen the case for thinking of him as an eclectic Hellenistic syncretizer and thus reduce his reliability as a source for truly Phoenician material. If the passage is not by Philo, then the amount of Philonic material is reduced but its authenticity is rather enhanced. Moreover, many scholars have thought that the tone of this last passage, with its allegorical interpretation of the symbolism of the divine animals, was entirely at variance with the view of Taautos, and indeed of religion in general, taken in the earlier passages. Clemen, for instance, omits all of it but a sentence or two from his text and commentary; and most scholars, for the reasons which have been indicated, seem either to reject or to ignore this material. I shall not go into the question in greater detail, but the reader must remember that the critical question is there.

Philo's other works should be briefly mentioned. That of which the most fragments have survived is the Περὶ πόλεων " concerning Cities ", from which some useful information about his ideas, e.g. his interpretation of names and of language, can be gained. A passage of Origen is of interest, because it tells that Philo questioned the genuineness of a Περὶ Ἰουδαίων

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[1] The view that this passage, and also the one discussed before that (Jacoby 3 and 4), come from Porphyry and not from Philo's work directly, and that Philo and Porphyry had quite different views of Sanchuniathon and his work, has in recent times been argued especially by Nautin.

" concerning the Jews ", attributed to Hecataeus ; this is of importance because Eusebius in the treatment of Philo/Sanchu-niathon actually includes references to " Jewish history " (τὰ περὶ 'Ιουδαίων) and a " section " (σύγγραμμα) about the Jews.[1] A history of Hadrian's reign, a work " on Doctors " and a variety of others are attributed to our author.

This, then, must stand as our brief summary of the Philonic material. The scholarship which treats of it has constantly to return to the same question : is Philo's material early or late? Does it represent conditions which truly existed in Phoenicia long before Philo's time—not necessarily as early as the Trojan wars, but at least back about 750–550 B.C., i.e. well before the rise of Hellenistic civilization in the Levant? Or do large elements of it belong to no earlier period than the Hellenistic world, with its own strongly developed syncretism between Greek ideas and the religions of the East? The question is not an easy one to answer, for many pieces of evidence can be interpreted in two ways. For instance, if we find in Philo something that coincides with a structure of Greek mythology, this may mean two things quite opposite to one another : firstly, it may mean that Philo, or his source, got this information from Greek culture in Hellenistic times ; secondly, it may mean that the basic Greek sources of early times, like Hesiod himself, or other early tra-ditions of Greek cosmogony and theogony, had got their mytho-logical patterns from the Orient, and that these ancient patterns, common to the Aegean and the Orient, survived through all those centuries, to come to the surface finally again in Philo of Byblos (and similarly, we may add, in other late Greek sources, such as Nonnos of Panopolis, of whose mythological epic Books xl-xliii are set in the neighbourhood of Tyre and Berytos, and to whom Eissfeldt has devoted an important article). Thus, in

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[1] Eissfeldt's attempt to get rid of this reference, by reading in place of 'Ιουδαίων the word 'Ιεουδαίων, understood as a Greek form of the Phoenician word for " first-born ", so that Porphyry was talking "about the first-born ", seems to me precarious ; see *Sanchunjaton*, pp. 28 ff. Eissfeldt is here following a suggestion of C. Müller, quoted ibid. p. 30 n. It seems to me antecedently improbable that a work in Greek could have been intelligibly entitled Περὶ τῶν 'Ιεουδαίων and that anyone would have understood this to mean " concerning the first-born ". See the judicious summary of Gese, p. 32 n.

order to interpret Philo we have to bear in mind several different streams of ideas and culture, and in each of these streams an early period and a late. He has to be set against early Greek sources such as Hesiod, but also against the late Hellenistic world in which he lived ; he has to be seen against the background of the early Ugaritic myths, but also against our knowledge of the Phoenicia which was contemporary with him ; there has also to be comparison with other early mythologies, such as the Babylonian and the Hurrian ; and we must not forget to consider also relations with the Old Testament and Jewish traditions, whether early ones which form contacts with ancient strata of the Bible or late ones, arising after the biblical documents were complete and speaking in the language and the mental idiom of Hellenistic Judaism.

III. *The Transmission of the Material*

The chain of transmission involves at least four persons, real or legendary ; we shall begin with the end of the chain, with Eusebius. Eusebius, arguing against the paganism of the fourth century A.D., wants to show that man was originally monotheistic and without idolatry. Polytheism and idolatry, far from being— as pagan apologists maintained—the natural and eternal state of man, were in fact innovations. It was with the Phoenicians and the Egyptians that these deplorable innovations had begun, and from them this new and false religion had spread to the rest of mankind, and in particular to the Greeks. Thus in the first book of his *Praeparatio Evangelica* Eusebius quotes Philo, not out of antiquarian interest in Phoenician religion, but in order to show how false polytheism and idolatry had grown up ; and in the next book he goes on to do the same for Egypt, basing his arguments there on the Greek writers about Egyptian history, such as Diodorus.

But this leads us back to Philo. Why could Eusebius use him in this way? Because, it is generally held, Philo was something of a Euhemerist : that is to say, he followed a rationalistic style of explanation of religion, according to which the gods were either natural objects, like the sun or moon, or else had originally

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been kings or great men who, because of their strength and beauty, or their inventions, or their general contribution to civilization, had later been elevated to divine status by their fellow-men. Thus people who to us are obviously gods from the beginning, such as Kronos or Dagon or even Ouranos " Heaven ", are spoken of as if they were mortals to whom divine honours were later paid.   This is why Philo in the theogony, and still more in the technogony, aligns in the same generational scheme persons who to us are very clearly gods and persons who are the earliest men, the earliest hunters, and so on.   Thus the distinction between a genealogy of gods and one of men, which to us seems very obvious, is not significant for Philo, indeed quite the reverse. This in turn reflects on the sense of the title of the work : it would be possible to say that a *historia* meant simply a study, a piece of research into facts about Phoenicia ; but it is possible also to argue that Philo meant it to be understood as a *history*, the tracing of a sequence of human events.

The Euhemerism of Philo has, however, left behind a certain amount of confusion in scholarship.[1]   Firstly, the Euhemerist principle does not seem to be carried out consistently : for example, as we have seen, when Kronos developed his jealous bad temper, the consequence was that all the " gods " were terrified.[2]   Although by the theory these are just ordinary people (we remember that Elioun, the first of the theogonic generations, was introduced as " someone "), Philo seems to be quite aware that they are gods, or are so by common understanding.   This leads on to the further question, whether the Euhemerism was imported into the material when Philo translated it, or whether Philo's Phoenician source had already gone far in interpreting the gods as mortals.   It seems to me that, at the present state of

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[1] Albright, for instance, seems seriously confused about this.   In *Yahweh*, p. 195, he denies, as part of his argument for the reliability of Philo, the notion that Philo is " full of secondary Greek euhemeristic speculations ".   What he wants to argue is that the " Euhemerism " is ancient and oriental : " simple euhemerism was common in the ancient Orient "—he cites cases like the Sumerian King List and the Turin Papyrus.   But in " Neglected Factors ", p. 241b (both works were given as lectures in the same year, 1965), he says that Philo's extracts " euhemerize very strongly ".   Perhaps he means that the original of Sanchuniathon was Euhemeristic, though before Euhemerus' own time.

[2] Examples are conveniently collected by Gruppe, pp. 362 f.

our knowledge, the Euhemerism must be deemed to belong to Philo's interpretation, or to that of late local tradition before Philo, but not to an ancient Phoenician source, if the latter was rightly understood. The point has long engaged the attention of scholars, and Renan thought it possible to maintain that Euhemerism is natural to the Semite.[1] It may well be that the simple anthropomorphism of Semitic depictions of deity lent itself to the interpretation that the persons mentioned, often named as "kings" or "lords" of particular places, were in fact human—just as Greek anthropomorphism in a quite different way lent itself in due course to Euhemeristic interpretation. In this sense, even if his Semitic source was not at all Euhemeristic in intention, one can understand how in the Hellenistic intellectual setting of Philo's mind it could be thus interpreted.[2]

Moreover, it can be argued with probability, as has been done by Eissfeldt, that the present ordering of the material was dictated by Philo's Euhemerism. The cosmogony must originally, he suggests, have narrated the origin of the gods : they came forth from the primeval slime as did the other beings. But according to Philo's Euhemeristic theory, the "gods", or most of them, did not become such except *after* the existence of man. This explains why the theogony, as we have called it, is moved to a place after the technogony.[3] The artificiality of the transition from the one to the other is still manifest.

In any case, we can see, it was this mediation of Philo that made it possible for Eusebius to use Phoenician material within

[1] Renan, p. 263.

[2] This Semitic anthropomorphism is all that can be validly extracted from Albright's peculiar picture of Euhemerism. Sources like the Sumerian King List do indeed align gods and men in the same series. But it is seriously confused and misleading to talk of "Euhemerism" in such a case : the latter term is useful only when used of a theory which explains those who are generally taken to be gods as having been originally great men, and this is quite a different thing. Albright, in other words, tacitly redefines the term "Euhemerism" in order to suit his own argument ; the recognition of this shows his argument to be quite fallacious.

[3] On all this see the good discussion in Eissfeldt, "Religionsdokument", *Kl. Schr.*, ii. 136–41. He points out that most "gods" found in the technogony are minor gods or local eponymous heroes : so, for instance, Samēmroumos, who according to his judgement is the eponymous hero and founder of the original settlement of Sidon ; see ibid. p. 136, n. 2.

his own argument as he did : Phoenician religion, had he studied it directly, would have given him plenty of gods and plenty of idolatry, and it was only the interpretation of Philo (or, if the other opinion is accepted, that of his source) which made it suitable material for use in Eusebius's argument.

Now behind Philo lay Sanchuniathon, or Sakkunyaton as a more modern spelling of the original might have it. The name is a correct Phoenician form and is indeed found as a personal name, e.g. at Hadrumetum in North Africa and in Sardinia[1] ; the name means " (the god) Sakkun has given ", and thus fits with a common Semitic name-type, like Hebrew Jonathan " Yahweh has given ". The onomastic evidence seems to suggest a latish period for the name, at least scarcely one before 1000 B.C. or even before 700, a point rightly made by Albright.[2] Since the name is found to apply to real people, it is quite possible that such a man as our Sanchuniathon existed. The possibility, however, does not constitute a proof that he did in fact exist and wrote all the work that has been ascribed to him ; and some recent scholars, like P. Nautin, have still considered him to be a fictitious personality. Others take him more seriously and try to date him from circumstantial evidence in the text of Philo. Albright is so positive as to claim that " Sanchuniathon was a refugee from Tyre who settled in Berytus about the second quarter of the sixth century B.C.".[3] Gese speaks more generally of the time about 800, or the period of Assyrian expansion.[4] One source tells us that Philo's work was full of reference to human sacrifice, in fact to the sacrifice of boys to El/Kronos ; and a passage in Quintus Curtius Rufus (iv. 3. 23) tells us that this sacrifice had been discontinued " many centuries " before Alexander. Eiss-feldt, putting these facts together, argued that Philo's source must go back before that time[5] ; and in fact, arguing also on other

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[1] See F. L. Benz, *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions* (Rome, 1972), pp. 147, 365, and literature cited there.

[2] *Stone Age*, p. 318.   But contrast Eissfeldt, *Kl. Schr.*, ii. 129, n. 4.

[3] Albright, *Yahweh*, p. 195, and cf. his detailed reasoning in " Neglected Factors ", p. 240, and his earlier opinions, *Stone Age*, pp. 230, 317 f.

[4] Gese, pp. 31 ff.

[5] Eissfeldt, " Zur Frage nach dem Alter ", *Kl. Schr.*, ii. 127–9.   For a brief criticism of this early dating, see Gese, p. 32 n.   The argument from Q. Curtius is not very strong ; cf. Clemen, p. 77.

grounds, he preferred a date in the later second millennium, as mentioned above. In the space at our disposal it is impossible to follow this farther : let us leave it that to Philo the source of his traditions was a Phoenician writing ascribed to one Sanchuniathon, who was perhaps a figure like the Moses of the Old Testament, to whom all sorts of ancient tradition was ascribed but of whom in those late times comparatively little in detail was known with assurance.

But behind Sanchuniathon there stands yet a fourth personality, namely Taautos (sometimes spelt Tauthos in manuscript). Sanchuniathon was important not only for himself, but because he had tracked down the records of Taautos, which gave the genuine story of antiquity.[1] These original records had been obscured by later persons with their allegories and myths. Thabion, the first hierophant of the Phoenicians, as already mentioned, was particularly responsible for this degeneration of the tradition : he had " allegorized the stories and mixed them up with natural and cosmic phenomena, and passed them on as tradition to the prophets who celebrated the orgies and inaugurated the mysteries ". It was Sanchuniathon who had rediscovered the original sources and separated them from the mythical and allegorical covering which had obscured them.[2] Even worse damage had been done by the Greeks, with their theogonies, gigantomachies and titanomachies, their dramatizing

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[1] I pass over, with a bare mention, some data which further complicate this problem, in particular : (a) the statement of Porphyry that Sanchuniathon received " the memoirs " from Hierombalos the priest of the god Ieuō (Taautos is not mentioned here), and (b) the statement that the hidden wisdom of Taautos was uncovered many generations later by Sourmoubēlos the god and Thourō who was renamed Chousarthis (Jacoby, fragment 10). According to Nautin, these represent the position of Porphyry, which differs from that of Philo ; for criticism of Nautin see Eissfeldt, *Sanchunjaton*, pp. 14–46. As for the name of the god Ieuō, which looks very like the Hebrew Yahweh in Greek dress, Eissfeldt thinks of an original Yam, the god of the sea, later distorted in transmission ; cf. ibid. pp. 32–35.

[2] Eissfeldt (*Sanchunjaton*, p. 8 n.) gives a summary reconstruction of the putative stages of degeneration and discovery : (1) Taautos discovers the true facts ; (2) disciples obscure his insights ; (3) Sanchuniathon rediscovers Taautos ; (4) the priests, following Sanchuniathon, obscure the truth again. Before (1) there should be added a stage in which the ignorance of the multitude had already lost sight of the truth, until Taautos came along.

of stories with showy ornament and their wish to charm through the pleasantness of the presentation.   In this Philo shows himself to be a representative of the Oriental anti-Greek reaction of Hellenistic times.   On the other side, he himself makes it clear that there was some kind of conflict between the ideas ascribed to Sanchuniathon and religious myth and legend as they had in fact developed in Phoenicia, a fact which should warn us against extravagant hopes of making the Philo material fit in with all that is known from other sources.   Indeed, it was this aspect of claims to have discovered hidden truths and long-lost documents which to the more sceptical scholars was one main argument for some kind of forgery or pious fraud.

But who or what was Taautos, and what is the meaning of his enigmatic name?   Philo says that he was the inventor of writings and of records, and that he was the same as the Egyptian Thoth, the Greek Hermes.   Albright takes this as if it were a real historical connection and builds a far-reaching theory upon it :   the cosmogony of Philo, he says, was " based on a very ancient Hermopolite myth of the beginning, centring around Thoth, the patron divinity of Hermopolis ".[1]   In other words, Taautos is in fact derived from the Egyptian Thoth and from his name, and this Egyptian cosmology, it is implied, entered Phoenicia very early.[2]   But the evidence adduced by Albright is thin or irrelevant, and his whole construction of the matter is entirely speculative.   Relevant references to Thoth in Phoenicia are lacking.   Albright's attempts to find the name Thoth at two places in the Bible, in the admittedly obscure Hebrew word *ṭuḥot*, are quite precarious.[3]

For, above all, surely it is patent that Taautos, whatever the original meaning of the name, does not mean Thoth :   it is Philo, or the tradition of his time, that makes this identification, and it does not constitute valid historical information about

[1] Albright, *Yahweh*, p. 196 ; cf. " Neglected Factors ", pp. 241 f.

[2] Albright, " Neglected Factors ", p. 241, thinks of an original borrowing in the fourteenth to thirteenth centuries, with a Phoenician poem emerging in about the tenth to ninth.

[3] Job xxxviii. 36 ; Ps. li. 8 (English 6) ; Albright, *Yahweh*, pp. 213 ff.   The recognition of the name Thoth as background to the Job verse is, indeed, nothing new ; for a survey, cf. E. Dhorme, *Job* (Edinburgh, 1967), pp. 591 ff.

religious currents at least a millennium before his time. To Philo, as Eissfeldt has rightly argued,[1] Taautos was a Phoenician figure, and this Phoenician figure was subsequently suitably identified in the Hellenistic manner with Thoth and with Hermes Trismegistos—because of some commonage in character and functions, and because of some similarity in the names—exactly the same principles which were followed in many of the other comparisons between oriental and Greek deities then current. There is no sign in Philo of any knowledge about the true Thoth, i.e. the Egyptian deity, other than that which was common knowledge in later Hellenistic times and is found especially in the Hermetic literature, concentrating upon his function as writer and man of wisdom.[2]

Thus the best explanation of the name Taautos may still be that offered by Eissfeldt, who suggested a connection with Hebrew *t'w>t'h* " mark, sign " ; from this he deduced an abstract something like *ta'awat*, giving a full name like *el ta'awat* or *ba'al ta'awat*, "lord of the making of signs[3] ". One might also consider an abstract form related to Ugaritic *hwt* " word ", Akkadian *amātu, awātu*. In either of these cases support is found in the existence of nouns with *t-* preformatives in Ugaritic. If, on the other hand, the passage about the relation of Taautos to the symbolism of the serpent were to be taken seriously, then one might think of a form like *tahawat*, from the root *h-w-y* " coil oneself up (of a serpent) ", perhaps going back in origin to the idea of a serpent which encircles the universe ; but if this were right, all trace of it would have been lost in the depiction of Taautos's functions in Philo, the only remaining suggestion being

[1] Eissfeldt, *Taautos*, pp. 22 f. ; *Sanchunjaton*, pp. 16 f.

[2] For instance, the symbols of the ibis, the moon, the baboon, characteristic of Thoth, are unknown ; and, if we ascribe any value to the fragment on the symbolism of the serpent and the hawk in relation to Taautos, these also lead away from the Egyptian Thoth and point in some other direction.

A number of elements common to Philo and the Hermetic literature are helpfully assembled by Williams, pp. 40 ff.

[3] *Taautos*, pp. 20 ff. Eissfeldt compares the Hebrew *ta'awah* in the place-name *qibrot ha-ta'awah* : this, he suggests, originally referred to graves which served as landmarks or frontier-marks, and was only secondarily understood through popular etymology as " graves of lust ", etc. ; the suggestion is not new with him.

in the reference to the Egyptian symbolism of the serpent and the hawk in fragment 4.[1]

In any case, whatever be thought of these various theories, our understanding of Philo does not stand or fall with our view of the nature of Taautos. He is a central figure in that he is supposed to have invented writing and originated the essential records, and in this sense he is the mythological authority behind Philo ; but in the basic mythological content he is quite marginal. Though an important role is assigned to him in the origin of the chain of tradition, he has not left any specially clear stamp upon the legends and myths, and the appreciation of their structure is not dependent on the further identification of him.[2]

[1] On serpent symbolism in this connection see the explorations of Baudissin, " Die Symbolik der Schlange ", *Studien*, esp. i. 267–79, and p. 19 n.   His etymological connection with an Arabic *ṭūṭ*, said to mean both " serpent " and " hawk ", though it would well fit the conjunction of serpent and hawk symbolism in fragment 4, can hardly now be taken seriously.   On the idea of a serpent encircling the world, cf. the passage of Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, i. 9. 12 (Budé edn., p. 78), cited by Movers, *Die Phönizier*, i. 500.   Macrobius ascribes this idea to the Phoenicians, though he attaches it to Janus and does not say anything of Taautos.

[2] It is thus tendentious when Albright sets in parallel the cosmogony in Philo as " the Cosmogony of Taauth " with " the Hermopolite cosmogony of Thoth " (" Neglected Factors ", p. 241) ;   Taautos is not structurally functional in the cosmogony of Philo.   Albright's entire discussion suffers from a kind of historical fundamentalism and credulity towards the sources.   But from the source, in this case Philo, he takes only very few and limited pieces of evidence, ignoring the remainder, and these pieces are then linked with long chains of reasoning from ancient Egyptian material which is probably irrelevant.   His emphasis on the reliability of the text of Philo is thus made futile, since his conclusions do not rest on exposition of that text but on material extraneous to it.   When he says (*Yahweh*, p. 196) that it was well known to Eusebius that Taauth was indeed Thoth, he is talking nonsense : Eusebius " knew " nothing of the sort.   Eusebius " knew " nothing about whether Taautos " was " Thoth.   All Eusebius knew was that *Philo had said* that Taautos was the same whom the Egyptians call Thoth and the Greeks Hermes Trismegistos.   Again, Albright repeatedly appeals to the judgement of Mras, who had demonstrated that Eusebius used his sources with great care (" extraordinary faithfulness ", cf. *Yahweh*, p. 194 ;   " Neglected Factors ", p. 239b.).   But this is totally irrelevant.   The question is not whether Eusebius has correctly reported his source, i.e. Philo, but whether Philo had understood his sources and correctly represented their content.   Moreover, since there is no question that Eusebius cited only some portions from Philo, it is reasonable to suppose that he cited only what suited his purpose, even if he quoted correctly what he did cite.

IV. *Some Questions of Method*

Two or three questions of method in the interpretation of Philo may suitably be mentioned at this point. The first, the literary-critical question, has already been mentioned above, and we need only recapitulate : sometimes there is doubt whether certain passages belong to Philo himself or to Porphyry ; there are some apparent contradictions in style or in matter, which may suggest different sources or different hands in a process of compilation ; and, as in all texts, these questions are linked with text-critical questions. The text-critical problem is particularly complicated in the case of words or names apparently Phoenician, which were unintelligible or scarcely intelligible to scribes and to later excerptors and which were for this reason easily liable to corruption. This leads us on to the second question of method.

In all study of Philo a great deal depends on the interpretation of names of persons legendary or mythical. Such names fall into three classes :

(*a*) Persons named with a Greek name only, like Aiōn, Prōto-gonos, Ouranos, Dione.

(*b*) Those named with a Semitic name only, like Taautos, Bēruth, Dēmarous.[1]

(c) Those named with a Semitic name plus a Greek trans-lation, equivalent or explanation.

These names deserve several remarks. With the first class, we may well be able to guess at a probable Semitic original, and this is the easier when we have some comparable name, applied to a deity or a mythological person, in some Semitic source. It is very likely, for instance, that Halieus, " Fisherman ", involves a relationship in myth to the Ugaritic *dgy* with the same meaning. Similarly Pontos will likely represent the Yam " Sea " of Ugaritic. But in many cases we cannot be sure. Aiōn might naturally stand for a term similar to Hebrew *ʿolam* ; but if so

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[1] There is at least one name of which there is some question whether it is in fact a Greek or a Semitic word : the wind Kolpia. If it is Greek, it may give something like " the gulf wind " (so West, *Early Greek Philosophy*, p. 29) ; if it is Semitic, perhaps some combination with *qol* " voice ". The fact that the only winds otherwise mentioned, just after the cosmogony and thus just before the mention of Kolpia, are in Greek (Notos, Boreas), seems to favour the former.

its function in the myth is quite different from that of the cognate Oulōmos in some other Phoenician sources reported in Greek, which will be mentioned below. And who will venture to propose a Semitic original for Epigeios Autochthōn or for Agrou hērōs? The Greek words might, incidentally, be further analysed into two classes : (i) those which are an actual personal name in Greek, like Kronos, Atlas, Athena ; and, (ii) those which in Greek are a common noun, with a meaning like " farmer ", " fisherman ", " righteous ", and so on. Most of the former have a function in Greek mythology ; the latter mostly do not. There are some cases where the decision between the two is doubtful, like that of Aiōn.

The second class of names can be very difficult for us (as we have already seen in the instance of the name Taautos) : Greek transcription could not specify many differences which in Semitic were essential, and modern scholars have sometimes offered numerous widely diverging explanations of the same name, such as Ousōos or Anōbret.[1]   Incidentally, this matter of the inter- pretation of names is one of the chief differences between the older scholarship concerning Philo and the newer.   If one follows out the history of Philonic study, in spite of the claims that the newer linguistic discoveries have quite altered our view of the matter, most of the arguments of recent scholars are found in fact to have been anticipated by the older scholars.   But this is not true of the interpretation of the Semitic names, in which the older scholarship offered many explanations which would today be universally regarded as totally untenable.[2]

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[1] Ousōos was long connected with the biblical Esau, and there is indeed a certain similarity in function (cf. below p. 50) ; Moscati, p. 64, still points to this.   A recently influential interpretation has been that of Eissfeldt and others, namely that the word is derived from Ušu or Uzu, the mainland settlement opposite Tyre, later known as Palaituros " Old Tyre " ; this view runs parallel to Eissfeldt's view that Samēmroumos is a portion of the city of Greater Sidon ; see his " Schamemrumim ", *Kl. Schr.*, ii. 123–6.   But this view is not completely convincing ; cf. Løkkegaard, p. 60, who thinks rather of the Ugaritic ḫss " Khasis ", found in the combination " Kothar-and-Khasis " : if Kothar turns into Chousōr, it would not be surprising if his other half, Khasis, turns up in Ousōos, both of them among the inventors.   But there are phonetic difficulties in this.

[2] Thus Movers (*Die Phönizier*, p. 99) explained the name Sanchuniathon from *san kon yaḥat*, said to mean " the entire Law of Chon " (*san* as in Arabic

Further, these names may give us some hint about Philo's own linguistic ability. Most of the Semitic names to which he furnishes a gloss or interpretation are extremely easy cases, like Elioun or Muth (" most high " and " death "). Since Philo likes to give a Greek interpretation, and presumably has done so in the many cases where he gives us no Semitic original but only Greek terms like Genos (" family "), Halieus (" fisherman "), etc., it is a reasonable surmise that names like Anōbret, Dēmarous, Ousōos were entirely opaque to him, so that he could not offer any explanation or etymology. After all, the more difficult the name, the more the reader was likely to need an explanation, then as now. In two of the cases where he gives a Semitic word with an explanation, it must be doubtful whether the explanation makes sense : these are *mōt* and *baau*, which cannot by any very natural Semitic derivation be made to mean " mud, slime " (or " the putrescence of a watery mixture ") and " night " respectively.[1]

A significant example is the name Misōr. It is hardly to be doubted that the original was a cognate of the Hebrew *mišor*, *mešarim* " uprightness, equity ". This gives a perfect pair with Suduk " righteousness ", and not only so, but we have a closely parallel pair of divine hypostases in Mesopotamia (*kittu u mēšaru*), and in fact exactly our pair, *ṣdq* and *mšr*, is found listed at Ugarit.[2] But, though this can scarcely be doubted, it seems that this sense was not seen by Philo : his explanation as " easy to loosen " (εὔλυτος) has been plausibly interpreted by many

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sunna). This seems difficult to credit even for 1841. Paton's explanation of the ὀμίχλης in the Greek text of Damascius as 'em kol 'iš " the mother of every man " (" Sanchuniathon," p. 178b) is stupefying in the twentieth century.

[1] Eissfeldt connects *mōt* with the Hebrew *moṭ* " totter, shake, slip ", but it is a long step from this to the meaning of a " jelly-like substance ", apparently meaning sperm, which he derives from it ; see *Kl. Schr.*, iii. 507 ; nor can one make anything of Albright's assertion that the underlying Semitic word is " well known from Hebrew, Accadian and Arabic " (" Neglected Factors ", p. 241, n. 99). *Baau* might well be connected with the *bohu* of the biblical story, Gen. i. 2, but this does not mean " night " by any normal understanding ; and if we say that " night " is to be derived from other phrases in that verse, then this leads to still other questions about Philo's sources and methods. Løkkegaard's suggestion (p. 58) of a derivation from *baʿu* " desire ", and a consequent association with Pothos, should not be ignored.

[2] Cf. e.g. Gese, pp. 169 f. ; Loewenstamm, p. 319.

scholars as deriving from an analysis of the word on the basis of the Aramaic verb *š-r-ʾ*. This would not be surprising, since the explanation of out-of-the-way Hebrew words on the basis of Aramaic roots is well established in the Septuagint and in later interpretation.[1]   This, if true, sheds some light on Philo's linguistic equipment and methods.[2]

With the names of gods and other mythological persons, we have a special case of another kind.   In many cases Philo used equations which were already current in the Greco-Phoenician culture.   For instance, the equivalence of Herakles with Melqart was a standard one.   There was a tendency to identify a Semitic deity with a Greek deity who had similar functions, a similar place in the myths, perhaps a similar iconography, and perhaps most of all a similar name.   For example, we know from a fourth-century B.C. inscription in Cyprus that the Semitic Anat was identified with Athena there, and it is reasonable to suppose that Philo, in placing Athena in his scheme, just followed this identification.[3]   But of course it was not possible for all these different relationships to fit at the same time, and there are many discrepancies between Philo's use of a Greek mythological name and the place of that same name within native Greek mythology : for example, Athena is child of Zeus in Greek myth, but of Kronos in Philo ; Poseidon is brother of Zeus in Hesiod, but comes in a very low place in the genealogy of Philo.

Another critical question is this : how far do the listings and the sequences furnished by Philo form in their original Phoenician environment one complete whole, and how far has Philo (or

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[1] West, however (*Theogony*, p. 26), goes far wrong in following Grimme (col. 2243) in supposing that the entire text used by Philo was not in Phoenician but in Aramaic. The examples cited by Grimme cannot now be seen as decisive.

[2] I remain somewhat unconvinced that the Aramaic explanation of Philo's rendering is absolutely necessary : since Hebrew *mišor* can be used of a flat, level plain, smooth and free of difficulties (even of the smooth flow of wine, if the text at Prov. xxiii. 31 is right), then Philo's sense " easy ", perhaps " yielding " (so Williams) may perhaps be derived semantically, without any need for the Aramaic explanation.   It still means, however, that Philo's rendering touched only the margin of the sense of the word he was translating and that he totally misrepresented its functional sense in the original myth.

[3] Du Mesnil du Buisson, *Nouvelles Études*, p. 53 ; cf. the similar equation Asteria = Asherat/Athirat, ibid. p. 39.

tradition before him) sandwiched together diverse lists of gods, of divine relationships, and of men of ancient times, lists belonging to different places in Phoenicia being dovetailed with one another to form what appears to be a sequence? One example of this is extremely likely : in the theogony, after the other children of Kronos have been listed, we have a fresh birth (" in Peraea ") of another Kronos, plus a Zeus Bēlos and an Apollo, the latter normally being identified with Resheph. It is natural to suppose that this is an entire separate theogony, probably connected with Sidon, which has later been incorporated as a subsidiary part of the greater theogony.

But, if this was done once, it may have been done many times. One scholar, du Mesnil du Buisson, separates out ten different fragments, each connected with a different group of gods or personages as its subject matter and each connected with a different locality : thus " Elioun and Bēruth " comes from Berytos, " El, Baitulos, Dagon and Atlas " from Palestine, " Samēmroumos and Ousōos " from Tyre, and so on.[1] Since the fragments themselves talk of how Sanchuniathon " gathered the material of ancient history from the local records of cities and from information registered in the temples ", we have every reason to take seriously the possibility that different local traditions have been cemented together into a unity which did not originally belong to them.

The importance of this consideration is strengthened by what we know of the religious constitution of the Phoenician cities in historical times. For practical purposes each city seems to have worked with a fairly small group of major gods, commonly a group of three. Thus, following Moscati, we may tabulate some typical groups as follows[2] :

Byblos :	El, Baalat, Adonis
Sidon :	Baal, Astarte, Eshmun
Tyre :	Melqart, Astarte

[1] Du Mesnil du Buisson, *Études*, pp. 53 f. Loewenstamm (pp. 316 f.) points to the centrality of two places, Byblos and Tyre, in the fragments ; Berytos seems to be treated as subsidiary to Byblos ; and Sidon is not mentioned as a place, but only through its eponym, the female of the same name, the originator of song.

[2] See Moscati, pp. 57–65, for details and for necessary qualifications.

It is not impossible that such groupings co-existed with a more complicated genealogical scheme such as we have in Philo ; but it is also possible, as we have seen, that the latter scheme arises, at least in part, by the compounding of information about limited groupings of gods. This in turn affects our judgement of what can be achieved by a study of the structure of the Philonic genealogy as a whole.

One final point about method in the assessment of Philo : we have to consider the probability of a tradition to which many adjustments were gradually made. Philo himself may have had the impression of working from an ancient writing, which had been left unchanged since it came from the hands of Sanchuniathon many centuries before. But, if the parallel of the Old Testament is any guide, it is likely that the tradition of Phoenician mythology went through many modifications during this time ; to Philo himself, however, it would appear to be one unitary ancient document.

V. *An Assessment of the Myths*

We are now in a position to go back and re-examine the three elements which we separated out from the Philonic material. First, the cosmogony. Is this a genuine old Phoenician cosmogony, antedating the impact of Greek thought on the Levant? On reading it, my first instinct is to be impressed by the existence in it of concepts which are—by present knowledge—Greek rather than Semitic. Dark and windy *aēr* (mist), desire, limit, boundary, intelligence—all these are typical concepts of Greek cosmology, and some of them, such as limit, are paralleled poorly, or not at all, on the Semitic side. At Ugarit no parallel cosmogony has been found, and it is likely that the ideas of the origins of things there followed the lines of paternity and procreation. The two Semitic words, *mōt* and *baau*, fit in, as we have seen, very poorly. The first, *mōt*, was not clear to Philo himself : " some " said it was mud, some said it was a slimy putrescence ; later it burst into light and had something to do with the heavenly bodies. One is tempted to consider a connection with the area of the underworld in Ugaritic, where lived Moth the god Death

" in the midst of his city Ooze, Decay the seat of his enthrone-
ment, Slime the land of his heritage ".[1] But if this is the con-
nection, and if the word *mōt* somehow comes from Moth, then
Philo has got things badly mixed up.[2] As for the intelligent
beings called Zōphēsamin, there is nothing comparable to them
in old Semitic accounts of the origins of the world. Scholars
who have discussed the matter seriously have thought of a con-
nection with the idea of man as born to look upwards to the sky,
as expressed by Ovid[3] :

> os homini sublime dedit, caelumque videre
> iussit et erectos ad sidera tollere vultus.

But this is not very convincing : the philosophy is Hellenistic
rather than Semitic ; if one thinks of a primitive idea of an
" image of God in man ", one has the difficulty that the Zōphē-
samin are not stated to be human (rather, they seem to precede
the appearance of the animals and man) ; and the idea of these
egg-shaped beings gazing at the heavens is rather comic. If one
looks for another Semitic context for " watchers of heaven ",
one might naturally think of late Jewish apocalyptic, where the
angels are known as the heavenly " watchers " (though with a
different Semitic word, meaning rather " keeping awake ").
This, if right, would suggest a late date for this element in the
cosmogony. But it is more sensible to suppose that the place
of Zōphēsamin is an enigma still to be resolved.

The factor which has strengthened the case for a genuine
Phoenician origin of the cosmogony is corroboration from some
other pieces of cosmogony in Greek which are said to have a
Phoenician origin. One such is by a certain Mōchos, cited by
the neo-Platonist Damascius. Mōchos is also said to be a
writer of Phoenician " history " or " mythology ".[4] He says

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[1] Cross, p. 117 ; the main Ugaritic word is *hmry*. Cf. Pope-Röllig, p. 301,
who also propose the connection here mentioned.

[2] The question is tied to the other question, how consistent Philo was in
distinguishing in his transcription the Semitic consonants like *t* and *ṭ*. The
normal equivalence was : *t* = *θ* ; but Philo departed from this in Baitulos,
perhaps in Taautos (depending on how we understand that name), and quite
probably in Anōbret, if that is a feminine with the normal ending *-t*.

[3] *Metamorphoses* i. 85 f., cited, e.g. by Lagrange, p. 410 ; Clemen, p. 37.

[4] Fragments in Jacoby, ibid. no. 784, pp. 795-7.

that the beginnings of the world were the two elements *aithēr* and *aēr* ; from them was born " Oulōmos the intelligible god ", who seems clearly cognate in name with Hebrew *'olam* " remote time, eternity ". From him there then comes one Chousōr— the same name which in Philo figures in the technogony, but which is here explained as " Opener ", ἀνοιγεύς—followed by an egg. From the explanation of the name as " Opener " Albright argues that this was an allusion to the Egyptian deity Ptah, the Egyptian name being then taken as if it was Phoenician and explained as " Opener " (from Semitic *p-t-ḥ* " to open ").[1] This, though ingenious, is both improbable and unnecessary, and the whole set of connections with Ptah set up by Albright entirely lack any hard evidence. The Kathirat at Ugarit are birth-goddesses, and it is more probable that the name Chousōr was explained as " opener " in reference to this, the Greek verb (δι)ανοίγειν being standard for the opening of the womb at the first birth, so for instance in the LXX.

Certainly there seems to be a relation between Mōchos and Philo ; and to Mōchos we may add the evidence from Eudemus, also presented by Damascius, and the Greek mythographer Pherecydes of Syros, whose equally brief and cryptic cosmogony has " Time " (*chronos*) in a prominent place.[2] But here again the Semitic evidence itself seems to me to indicate a fairly late date ; it might come down to (say) 400 B.C. or so for Mōchos. One important argument comes from the semantics of *'olam*, Oulōmos.[3] Only in late sources do we find this word functioning with a sense something like " time " in free contexts[4] ; it is

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[1] Albright, *Yahweh*, pp. 193–6. Albright's theory seems also completely to neglect the fact that Chousōr in Philo appears in a context totally different from that in which he appears in Mōchos : in Philo he is not in the cosmogony but in the technogony, and fits in with his brother among the inventors.

[2] Greek text of Pherecydes in H. Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* ; his data was sixth century B.C. See Kirk and Raven, pp. 48–72 ; West, *Early Greek Philosophy*, pp. 1–75, etc. For Eudemus, see Jacoby, p. 796, fragment 4, along with Mōchos. According to Eudemus, as here reported, the Sidonians supposed that in the beginning there were Time and Desire and Mist (ὀμίχλη) ; Desire and Mist mingled, producing *aēr* and *aura*, Breeze ; something about an egg appears to follow.

[3] On this see J. Barr, *Biblical Words for Time* (London, 2nd edn., 1969).

[4] In early Semitic usage *'olam* and cognates mean something like " remote time ". It does not function as a subject or object word, e.g. we do not have

lacking in Ugaritic and in the Old Testament apart from late sources. The first biblical place where this word is used in a sense comparable with cosmogonic " time " is the late book Ecclesiastes ; and its development into the sense " world ", which is marked in late Hebrew and is also relevant for cosmo-gonic thought, is not before this time (say, 400 B.C.?). On evidence at present known, therefore, I would judge that the present form of the cosmogonies in Mōchos and in Philo is late in Semitic terms and represents a first hesitating attempt to indigenize Greek cosmogonical ideas on Semitic soil. This was no doubt done by adapting earlier native cosmogonies, but those which have survived to us have probably been marked by adjust-ment to Greek ideas. This is not to deny that there was a Semitic " original text " for the Greek forms of Mōchos and Philo ; but the ideas that generated this form of the text arose from contact with Hellenism. Such connections, needless to say, have often been maintained for Ecclesiastes also.[1] As Gruppe suggests,[2] we are here dealing with attempts to interpret Greek philosophy on Phoenician soil. To sum up, then, the cosmogony of Philo seems to have a basis of genuinely Phoenician material, but in its present form it probably does not go back farther than the time of the rise of Greek philosophy and its contact with the Levant. Moreover, some elements in Philo's report are distorted or have become unintelligible on present knowledge.

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contexts saying that ʿolam is this or that, or that ʿolam did this or that, or that somebody made or created ʿolam. Typical contexts are rather " *from* the re-motest time ", " *until* the remotest time ", " *belonging to* the remotest time ", etc. The contexts of Oulōmos in the cosmogonies in Greek suggest a function as subject or object, and thereby suggest a latish date. See fuller argumentation in my book, cited in the previous note. I would not expect that Ugaritic mlk ʿlm would argue against this ; and if one were to turn to deities like the El Olam of the Bible, this again would be leading in a direction quite different from that of the Greek-language cosmogonies.

[1] See recently the full discussion in M. Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus* (2nd edn., Tübingen, 1973), especially pp. 210–37. If " Time " is an Iranian concept in this connection, then it still farther removes the matter from relevance for ancient Phoenicia ; but I am doubtful about this Iranian theory. On it see Kirk and Raven, p. 39 ; West, *Early Greek Philosophy*, pp. 28 ff.

[2] Gruppe, p. 349.

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With the technogony we are on different ground.   Neither the literary form nor the content particularly suggests Greek influence, apart from particular details which may have been introduced at a late date.   Some similarities with the Old Testament are striking.   Scholars have long recognized a parallel in the story of Cain and Abel, with the two brothers, their occupational differences, their quarrel, and the sequel in a brief genealogy telling how the various descendants of Cain provided the first tent-dwellers and herders, the first music-makers, the first metal-workers, as well as the first city, initiated by Cain himself. Later on in Genesis, Nimrod the great hunter and builder of cities and empires is again the same kind of figure. The parallel is significant, in that these belong to a really early stratum in Genesis ; and one may consider that the story of Cain and Abel, before it became attached to the Adam/Eve/ Garden of Eden story in its present position, was the story (probably the Kenite story) of the first pair of men and their descendants ; the Kenite genealogy thus runs parallel with that which follows Adam and Seth.   Many other parallels can be seen: the taking of food from trees in the second generation, the initiation of worship in the third (cf. Gen. iv. 26, where man begins to call upon the Lord in the time of Enosh, the third generation), the period of the giants and of female promiscuity, and so on.   We have already mentioned the similarity between Philo's Ousōos, who made garments from the skins of the animals he caught, and the biblical Esau ; he quarrels with his brother Hypsouranios, but it is from the latter that the succeeding genea-logy goes on, just as in the Bible the story is carried on by the descendants of Jacob rather than those of Esau.   Even if the names Ousōos and Esau are unrelated, the parallelism in theme and motif is striking.

Thus in general, whether or not this last parallel counts for much, we may reasonably suppose that it was common practice for nations to have a list of pairs or generations in the early development of man, along with the discovery of certain arts, and that Philo was following such a list which was fuller than the small fragments of the genre that survived in the Bible.   The basis of the Philonic technogony, then, was old, though it is

quite possible that elements were added or modified with adjust-
ment of the mythology through time—for example, persons who
must originally have belonged within the world and the myths
of the great gods seem gradually in some cases to have lost
their places in that world and to have dropped into a new place
as inventors in the technogony—so, for instance, Chousōr.
And, in general, the atmosphere of the technogony seems fitting
to Phoenicia.

We come thus to the theogony, which in many ways is the
most important part of Philo's work. In order to evaluate the
antiquity and the genuineness of this material, we have to look
at it in several ways. We have to consider the basic formal
structures of the myths, comparing not only the Ugaritic
sources but also the Hurrian and Babylonian myths, which
were not directly known to Philo, and also the Greek works, like
Hesiod's *Theogony*, which he certainly did know. And we have
to look not only at the formal structure of the myths but also
at the relations between the persons and the characterization of
them.

In formal structure, the myth which most closely parallels the
theogony of Philo is the Hurrian myth. This is a four-generation
myth.[1] The first was Alalu ; he is defeated in battle by Anu,
the god of the sky, and like the Elioun of Philo he then disappears
from the story. Anu becomes involved in battle with Kumarbi ;
he fled up to heaven, but Kumarbi caught him by the feet, bit
off his genitals and swallowed them. From his body, as a
result of this swallow, there eventually comes forth the god of the
storm. The similarities with Philo are striking : the first god
disappears from the myth at an early stage ; the second is " sky "
or " heaven " ; the third fights with him and cuts off his repro-
ductive organs ; the fourth god is the god of the storm (this is
not stated as such by Philo, but seems to follow if we accept the
equation Dēmarous=Baal=Hadad), and this fourth god, though
born in a sense to the third or coming forth from him, is in fact
begotten by the second. Thus in both myths the third god has
something to do with the birth of the fourth, and yet the actual

[1] The text is conveniently available in Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*,
pp. 120 ff.

father of the latter is the second god, in Philo Ouranos. This
parallelism in structure with the Hurrian myth is the strongest
argument for the antiquity of the basic material used by Philo ;
and, if this is right, then we have a feature common to Philo and
to the Hurrian myth which is absent from Ugarit, from Hesiod
and from *Enuma Elish*.[1]

On the other hand this close parallelism can be obtained only
if we take the two myths in a very formal and abstract way, and
large elements in Philo are left out of account in such a com-
parison. For instance, the castration of Ouranos, though
narrated by Philo, is told quite separately and has no structural
relationship to the birth of Dēmarous, while in the Hurrian story
this swallowing of the organs is structurally essential to the
birth of the fourth god. Again, the Hurrian myth seems to
offer no structural parallel to the place of the females in Philo's
narrative : the woman Bēruth, associate of Elioun ; still more
Gē, whose motherhood, jealousy, sufferings and vindication are
central in Philo ; and not least the unnamed concubine, mother
of Dēmarous. Again, in Philo the death of Elioun has no
structural connection at all with the following events, while in
the Hurrian story the first god, Alalu, was attacked by Anu and
chased " down into the dark earth ", thus forming the first in
the sequence of battles for the kingship. Philo's Elioun, who
is killed by wild beasts, seems very close to the common Phoe-
nician Adonis, killed by a wild boar ; and Bēruth also is probably
to be explained from local circumstances. It is thus not entirely
clear that Philo's scheme is structurally one of four generations ;
there are five, if Melkathros is included, and several modes of
reckoning are possible. Presumably one would say that Mel-
kathros was added at a later stage, after the functional importance
of the scheme of four had ceased to be understood. Thus in the
end the parallel with the Hurrian story may lie only in a theme,
the theme of the relationship between certain gods, the second,
third and fourth in the text as we have presented it ; it is a
common motif rather than a total structural parallelism.

Something more should here be said about Elioun. This
name has not yet been found at Ugarit, but it occurs in the Old

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[1] See below, pp. 53 f.

Testament in the form El Elyon, thus combining the two persons which in Philo are separate, and in certain other Semitic sources in the separate but conjoined form "El and Elyon".[1] Thus the name is well evidenced, and the only question for us is that of the line along which it has come to Philo. It is still conceivable that the exposition of Elioun in Philo is no more than a Hellenistic construction, based on the important cult of Hupsistos, "the Most High".[2] This common divine term expressed, and fitted equally with, both a Greek and a Jewish stream of consciousness, and the god thus named was thought of as the supreme deity and initiator of events. The channel of transmission of the name in the form Elioun could then be Jewish, but could equally well be the local Phoenician equivalent to the general Hellenistic term Hupsistos. But on the whole it must be agreed that the Philonic material, in setting Elioun apart from El and treating him as a separate person, agrees remarkably with ancient evidence, and that the common material shared by Philo and the Hurrian myth probably indicates a thread of really early tradition running through the former.

The four generations of Philo, if we count them as four, though corresponding with the Hurrian myth have no correspondence in the Ugaritic : Ugaritic myth, as we at present know it, works largely with the last two levels, the generation of El and that of Baal. El is father of gods and men, but seems not to be son of any ; he is characteristically senior and patriarchal. There is no Heaven and Earth from which he came forth : these terms occur as names in lists of deities at Ugarit, but do not have any place as gods in the mythology. The systematic structure of a theogony with multiple generations, as found in Philo, is strange to the world of Ugaritic myth : in his emphasis

[1] Cf. Pope, *El*, pp. 55–58 ; J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefîre* (Rome, 1967), pp. 12 f., 37 f.

[2] Note the lavish use of this term for the God of Israel in the Hellenistic sources Sirach and 4th Ezra, its wide use in synagogue inscriptions, and the existence of actual examples at Byblos. See F. Cumont in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, ix (1914), cols. 444–50 ; Baudissin, *Kurios als Gottesname* (Giessen, 1929), e.g. iii. 83, 115 f. ; G. Bertram in *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, viii (Stuttgart, 1969), 613–17 ; and other literature as cited in W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament* (Cambridge, 1957), p. 858a.

on the clear tracing of family relationships Philo comes closer to Hesiod and the Greek approach to mythology.[1]

An important difference lies in the relative places of El and Baal, in Philo the third and fourth generations. Though El is of the highest importance at Ugarit and is the father of the gods, it would be fair to say that the centre of interest in much of the mythology lies in Baal rather than in El. In Philo this is not so. Agreeing that Dēmarous is indeed Baal,[2] far less attention is paid to his doings than to those of Baal at Ugarit or those of Zeus in Hesiod. In fact, comparatively little is said about Dēmarous, and the attention and initiative continue to lie throughout with El (Kronos).

Again, and here in marked contrast with the situation in Hesiod (and also with that in the Hurrian myth), there is no clear or emphatic conflict between the third and the fourth generations, between that of Kronos and that of Zeus Dēmarous (El and Baal). As in Hesiod, Kronos is a pathologically sus-picious old person, whose ill-will can be circumvented only by guile ; but there is no story of a final attack on Kronos by Dēmarous or of any sort of final triumph over him. In spite of the presence of Dēmarous, and in spite of his once even assisting the forces of Ouranos, Kronos remains in control to the end and no actual conflict between him and Dēmarous develops. Some have thought that at Ugarit there must have been (in a passage now lacking) a conflict between El and Baal in which Baal was victorious,[3] parallel to the victory of Zeus in Hesiod ; but if so there is no evidence of it in Philo. The only hint is the fact that at one stage Dēmarous supports Ouranos in a war which the latter is waging against Pontos ; but if this implies that Dēmarous, because he is allied with Ouranos, is fighting against Kronos, nothing is done to make this explicit.

Another way in which Dēmarous is played down by Philo,

[1] For an interesting relevant survey see J. Forsdyke, Greece before Homer : ancient Chronology and Mythology (New York, 1964).

[2] It remains surprising and puzzling that this identification, so important for our understanding of Philo, is not made explicitly by that writer himself. The term Baal (Bēlos) is used by him, but never of Dēmarous.

[3] Pope, El, p. 92 ; Kapelrud, Baal, pp. 75-78, 86-93, 130-5 ; U. Oldenburg, Conflict, and see the remarks of Cross, p. 21 n.

in contrast with Zeus in Hesiod, is the lack of any picture of revolts against him, comparable with the revolt of Typhoeus against Zeus in Hesiod. Dēmarous does not defend his primacy in conflict, and because he does not defend it it is not clear that he has it at all. He does not become chief god in the way in which Hesiod's Zeus does ; when it is stated that he reigns over the land, it is explicitly along with Astarte and under the will of Kronos.

Basically, Philo seems to limit the amount of inter-generation conflict, which elsewhere is the soul of theogonic poetry. In him there is only one main generation-conflict, that between the third and the second ; while in Hesiod, though we start with one generation less, we have twice the amount of conflict. Moreover, such conflict as can be found in Philo is often set in a low key. The war of Dēmarous against Pontos may well correspond to the battle at Ugarit between Baal and Yam but the subject is not developed. Philo leaves Dēmarous defeated and suing for escape with an offering. Conflict is again reduced in Philo when we consider the case of Muth. There is no indication here of the violent battles between Moth on one side and Baal and Anat on the other, which at Ugarit are so important : Philo says no more of Muth than that he " had died " and was thereafter deified. Again, the part of the female deities is much less in Philo : the warlike character of Anat in alliance with Baal is unknown. Athena, who may well be Anat, does nothing more warlike than to assist Hermes (Taautos) in advising Kronos in the making of an iron sickle and spear (in Hesiod, *Theogony*, 174 f., 188, it is Gē, Earth, who provides Kronos with a sickle).

Kronos, i.e. El, is then the central god in Philo's scheme, and he is also extremely important at Ugarit ; but there is a great difference in his character. At Ugarit El is a kindly and well-disposed person, above all a gentlemanly deity ; in Philo, as we have seen, he is suspicious and ill-tempered, on the pattern of the Kronos of Hesiod. The character of Dēmarous (Baal), on the other hand, is simply not drawn at all by Philo, and equally lacking is any original or convincing characterization of the great goddesses. All in all, Philo is much more schematic and provides much less detail and colour than the Ugaritic texts : there is

nothing comparable with important episodes like Anat's wading in blood or the building of Baal's house in Ugaritic myth.[1] As we already saw, the parallels between Philo and oriental myth are valid mainly in terms of quite formal and external structure : when one looks at motivation and characterization, there is comparatively little that is peculiarly Semitic, and one has rather the impression that Philo has taken over much of the motivation straight from Hesiod, applying it irrespective of the change of structural place.[2]   Thus the suspiciousness of Kronos is emphasized in both ; but in Hesiod this is a foil against the different character of the younger Zeus, who is to vanquish Kronos, while in Philo, as we have seen, Kronos is to remain in control to the end.

In considering theogonies it is interesting to enquire how far later generations in the world of the gods may correspond with later stages in the historical development of religion in the area concerned.   This cannot apply more than in part, but if it is true even in part it is of interest.   Such a speculation is en-couraged, in the case of Philo, by the place of Melkathros in the fifth generation, for he was certainly a central Phoenician deity in historical times, say in the mid-first millennium and later. As has been observed, there is no myth about him, rather as if the myth-making productivity of the genealogical scheme has ceased by this time.   The prominence of El, and the relatively lower emphasis upon Baal, could be supposed to suggest a stage even anterior to the Ugaritic texts, in which Baal comes more into the foreground.   But such speculations, though stimulating, cannot be pressed very far.

One specially interesting case, because it rests on one of the most precise and characteristic details of the material, is that of the relation between Dēmarous and Dagon : Dēmarous is the true son of Ouranos and his concubine, but the lady was by the time of the birth wedded to Dagon under the will of El (Kronos).

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[1] The nearest to the latter is the placing of a wall around the house of Kronos after his gaining of power ; if this is a reminiscence of the same detail, it seems to have shifted a generation in its context in Philo.

[2] In kinship relations, on the other hand, Philo seems to have had no worries about flagrantly contradicting Hesiod, as has been illustrated above (p. 44) from the positions of Poseidon and Athena.

The Hurrian Kumarbi, the third god of that theogony, is identi-
fied with the Ugaritic El in part of the texts ; but E. Laroche
points out that in another part of the texts he is identified with
Dagan. Loewenstamm mentions the opinion of A. Malamat
(communicated orally) that in Ugaritic myth Dagan once occupied
the place which in the final form of the myth was occupied by
El.[1] If this is right, then here again a mythical detail may reflect
a change in the historical growth of the religion.

We must briefly return to the question already mentioned,
namely whether the total theogonic scheme of Philo may be in
part a compound from the genealogies or lists of deities from
several times and places. The group of gods born " in Peraea "
has already been mentioned as an instance of this.[2] Yet it is
difficult to press this too far, since from this group of gods is
descended Pontos, who plays a significant role in the develop-
ment of the central story through his battle with Dēmarous.
The statement, made after the basic theogonic story of Kronos
has been completed, that Astarte and " Zeus Dēmarous, who is
also Adōdos king of gods " reigned over the country by the will of
Kronos, is probably a depiction of the central mythological
situation of a certain place and time : Adōdos is certainly the
Semitic Hadad, mentioned in the Bible and often identified with
Baal. The place of Melkathros is another instance. It seems
clear, therefore, that at least some part of the total material is
made up from originally disparate situations. In fact most
scholars have given their main attention to the central line
running from Elioun to Demarous.

The place of the goddesses in Philo's scheme is on the whole
less clear and less well characterized than that of their male
counterparts. Scholars vary between themselves in the relations

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[1] See Loewenstamm, p. 320 ; E. Laroche, *Ugaritica*, v (Paris, 1968), 523 f.

[2] The significance of the localization " in Peraea " is not clear. A " small
town " of this name is listed in the dictionary of Stephanus Byzantius as existing
in Syria ; cf. Loewenstamm, p. 317. Is not the common usage for Transjordania
or the land to the east " beyond " the major rivers, Jordan, Orontes and Euphrates,
more likely? This is how Stephanus himself uses the word, referring to the
situation of Nisibis ; cf. Jacoby, p. 817, line 5. I think of an abode of the gods
in the east, somewhat parallel to the Bashan of the Bible from which the God
of Israel is described as coming.

they establish between Philo's Greek names of goddesses and the probable Semitic originals ; it seems to be widely thought that sometimes two or more ancient Semitic goddesses have merged into a single figure, while on the other hand a particular Semitic goddess may have been identified with more than one Greek. Though the ancient Anat is likely, as we have seen, to be Athena, the term " virgin ", highly characteristic of Anat at Ugarit, is not used of Athena, but is applied rather to Persephone and Astarte. On the whole, the portrayal of the goddesses in Philo seems more consistent with derivation from a later Phoenician or even Hellenistic situation than is the case with some of the male deities.

Some other deities are rather marginal in Philo's main scheme. Eshmun, an important deity of later Phoenicia, comes in by a sort of side entrance, as noted above : he does not belong to the genealogy of the main gods but comes in through the Suduk of the technogony.[1] As for Atlas, Gese[2] illuminatingly suggests that this is the Ugaritic *tkmn* (*wšnm*) " the divine pair which carries El ", related to Semitic *t-k-m* " shoulder " ; if *šnm* is " mountain-peak ", this makes good sense of the pair of words. One should not, however, neglect the facts that in Hesiod it is not Atlas himself, but his brother Menoitios (*Theogony*, 515) who was consigned (by Zeus) to Erebus, and also that the giants Obriareus, Cottus and Gyes (ibid. 617 ff.) were made to live under the earth, explicitly because of the jealousy of their father (Ouranos). This might suggest that part of the Atlas theme in Philo derives from the Greek side, or from other Semitic sources which correspond to these items on the Greek side. Philo says nothing about Atlas except that Kronos by the advice of Hermes cast him into the depths of the earth and covered him up : his function as upholder of the sky, found in Hesiod, has no place here.

If we start from the Ugaritic side, we quickly note many points at which Philo has preserved *some trace of* an old Semitic element but that element has come to lose its older function and significance, so that it now plays a quite different part in the whole. Kothar-and-Khasis, for example, is the craftsman of

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[1] See already above, pp. 28, 29, n. 2.   [2] Gese, p. 103.

the gods and has a central role in their life ; in Philo a formal trace of this remains in the identification of Chousōr with Hephaistos, but he has now fallen into a quite different slot within the narrative framework and become one of the long line of inventors.[1]   At Ugarit Moth is a deity of paramount importance, and his contest with Baal is a central theme ; but all of this has fallen away in Philo, and nothing of it could have been guessed from the reading of him.

Thus, although the Ugaritic material has indeed been historically instrumental in restoring confidence in the work of Philo, many of the points in which Philo is most convincing are paradoxically in some considerable degree of disagreement with Ugarit : e.g. the generational scheme, the character of El, the place of Elioun, the place of Ouranos and Gē.   Even where there is good evidence that Philo's material goes back to true and ancient oriental sources, this material is often best seen as contrasting with, and in tension with, the actual Ugaritic situation.

One other matter, and then it will be time to sum up.   I mentioned earlier the possibility that Jewish sources had influenced Philo, and one or two possible cases have been cited. It seems difficult to ignore the traditions which suggest (and indeed explicitly state) such connections, and we have to take into account both later Hellenistic Jewish traditions known to Philo personally and also earlier material known to Sanchuniathon or to earlier stages of the transmission.[2]   Judaea and Phoenicia were closely adjacent, and Jewish tradition was the largest solid body of oriental tradition and legend that was in Philo's time extant in literary form and in Greek as an oriental counter- weight to the overwhelming pressure of Greek culture.   When Philo says that " the allies of El or Kronos were called Elōim, just as those named after Kronos would have been Kronioi ", he is on the one hand using the markedly Jewish form *elohim*, well known as a divine name throughout the world of Hellenistic syncretism, and on the other following the paths of simple

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[1] Similarly, as we have seen, the Chousōr of Mōchos falls into a quite different functional slot—one within the cosmogony—from that found for Chousōr in Philo.

[2] Albright, *Yahweh*, p. 228 and n. 154, seems to accept the tradition, and to hold that a history of the Jews was actually written by Sanchuniathon.

etymologization of names which were characteristic of Jewish and Hellenistic interpretation alike.[1]

Other points of similarity with the Bible include : the phrase " land and sea, male and female " in the cosmogony, at the first moving of the living creatures ; the giants at the beginning of the technogony, and the promiscuity of women at that time ; the four eyes and four wings of the symbol of royalty devised by Taautos for Kronos, reminding us of Isa. vi and of Ezekiel. It may be difficult to decide whether these are echoes of the Bible, or old Phoenician themes which happened to find their way also into the Bible.   The cosmogony itself, as we have seen, with its wind and its *baau*, has some vague similarity to Genesis i. 1–2, where the spirit or wind moves over the darkened water ; but if Philo has borrowed from Jewish tradition here he has thoroughly garbled it.

In addition it should be remembered that the Euhemerism of Philo itself may stand in parallel with a tendency of Jewish interpretation.   If the gods of pagan peoples were to be mentioned at all within Judaism, it was very natural to treat them as human beings who had later mistakenly been elevated to divine status.   There is a striking parallel to Philo in the *Sibylline Oracles*, iii. 110 ff., where we hear of " Kronos, Titan and Iapetos " as " kings ".   They take the place of the Shem, Ham and Japhet of the biblical story.   Not only this, but they are the sons of Ouranos and Gē, and these names are explained in a way closely related to that used by Philo when he introduces his Ouranos and Gē.[2]

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[1] The Hebrew and Phoenician languages are very close to one another ; but the Phoenician plural form of " god " is repeatedly adduced as *alonim* or the like, or as '*lm* (= '*elim*), and thus differs from the Jewish form.   Common etymologizing techniques recur frequently in Philo's other works, e.g. in that on names of cities.   There is ascribed to him a legend that Moses was called *Alpha*, because his body was spotted with white (leprous?) marks, Greek *alphoi* ; this shows both etymological fancy and contact with Jewish lore.   Philo's list of cities includes Joppa, " a city of Phoenicia near to Jamnia " ; if " Phoenicia " extended so far south, then contact with Jewish traditions is extremely probable.

[2] See V. Nikiprowetzky, *La troisième Sibylle* (Paris, 1970), pp. 296 f. and note with full discussion on pp. 335 f., along with much discussion of Euhemerism in his introduction.   The passage in question may well, as he says, go back to a stage before the Jewish use of the Sibylline material (op. cit. p. 20) ; but, even if so, this particular Euhemeristic treatment of Kronos was essential to the integration of the material in its present Jewish and biblical context.

VI. *Conclusion*

To sum up, then, this quick survey has not been able to give a clear and universally applicable answer to the basic question posed by Philo : is the material early, and therefore good evidence for the myths of early Phoenicia, or late, and therefore a good example of Hellenistic syncretism? It looks as if some elements are one, and some the other ; or as if an element, taken quite formally, belongs to one, but in content and in present function belongs to the other. This paper has sought to point to some of the probable factors pointing in one direction or the other.

On many points, it seems, definite interpretative decisions must await further study : on the one hand, further evidence from near eastern sources, and on the other hand further study of the text and context of Philo. Discoveries like the discovery of Ugaritic myth have indeed " rehabilitated " Philo, but this often in a negative sense : they have made impossible some of the negative conclusions of earlier scholarship, such as Baudissin's unfortunate declaration that Muth was " a quite incredible god ", formed by translating the Greek Thanatos back into Semitic.[1] But the basic critical questions of the older scholarship remain, and, as we have seen, there are wide discrepancies between Philo's material and the Ugaritic. There is a danger that over-confident assertions about the reliability of Philo in our time may lead to a quite uncritical acceptance of those pieces of data which are often quoted from him, along with a failure to face up to the fullness of his text in its detail, taken in its contemporary context.

Our final plea, then, must be that, when scholars either classical or Semitic cite Philo, they should not simply quote this item or that out of context, but take into account the full range of tradition attributed to our author. In order to work this out in full, we need not an article or monograph but a full commentary on the entire writings of Philo ; but that must remain as a purpose for the future.

[1] *Realenzyklopädie*, xviii (1906), 469.

DIAGRAM I

Philo of Byblos: Main Scheme of the Technogony

Generations	*Discoveries*	*Incidents*
1. Wind Kolpia—woman Baau (" night ")		
2. Aiōn————————Prōtogonos	Food from trees	
3. Genos—————Genea	Lived in Phoenicia	Worshipped sun during droughts
4. Phōs————Pur————Phlox (" light ") (" fire ") (" flame ")	Fire by rubbing sticks together	
5. Kassios—Lebanon—Antilebanon— Brathu		These are giants; gave name to mountains
6. Samēmroumos————Ousōos (Hupsouranios)	Samēmroumos— huts from reeds Ousōos—clothes from animal skins ; use of log for seafaring	Women then promiscuous. Samēmroumos lived in Tyre ; quarrelled with Ousōos. Worship of fire and wind. Annual worship for Sam and Ous after death
7. Agreus————————Halieus	Fishing and hunting	
8. Chousōr————————another (Hephaistos, also Zeus Meilichios)	Both—iron and ironworking Chousor—incantations and divinations ; hook, line, bait, raft, sailing " His brothers "— walls made from bricks	Chousor—deified after death
9. Technitēs————Geinos Autochthōn	Sun-dried bricks with shavings ; roofs	

DIAGRAM I—*continued*

10. Agros———————————Agrou hērōs or Agrotēs		Courts, enclosures, caves	Large statue in Phoenicia ; greatest god in Byblos
11. Alētai—————————Titanes		(Farmers and hunters)	
12. Amunos—————Magos		Villages and flocks	
13. Misōr—————————Suduk		Salt	
14. Taautos	Dioskouroi (or Kabeiroi, Korybantes or Samothrakes)	Writing (Taautos) The ship (Diosk.)	
15.	Others	Herbs, the healing of bites, in-cantations	

DIAGRAM II

Philo of Byblos: Main Scheme of the Theogony

Elioun ———— Bēruth
(hupsistos,
most high)

Ouranos ———— Gē
(heaven)   (earth)

group of four   others (females)

El ——————————————————— Astarte   Rhea   Dione
(Kronos)

Baitulos   Dagon   Atlas

Athena   Sadidos   daughter   son   (by Astarte)   (by Rhea)   (by Dione)   (by Astarte)
         (killed)   (killed)   "only-   7 Artemides   7 sons incl. females   Pothos &
                                    begotten"   or   Muth   Erōs
Persephone   (later   Titanides   (Pluto,   (desire,
(died as   sacrificed)   death)   love)
virgin)

(concubine)

Dēmarous   (in Peraea)
(Zeus)
(= Baal?)   Kronos II   Zeus Bēlos   Apollo

Melkathros   Nereus
(Herakles)
                                                                 Pontos ─────────── Typhon

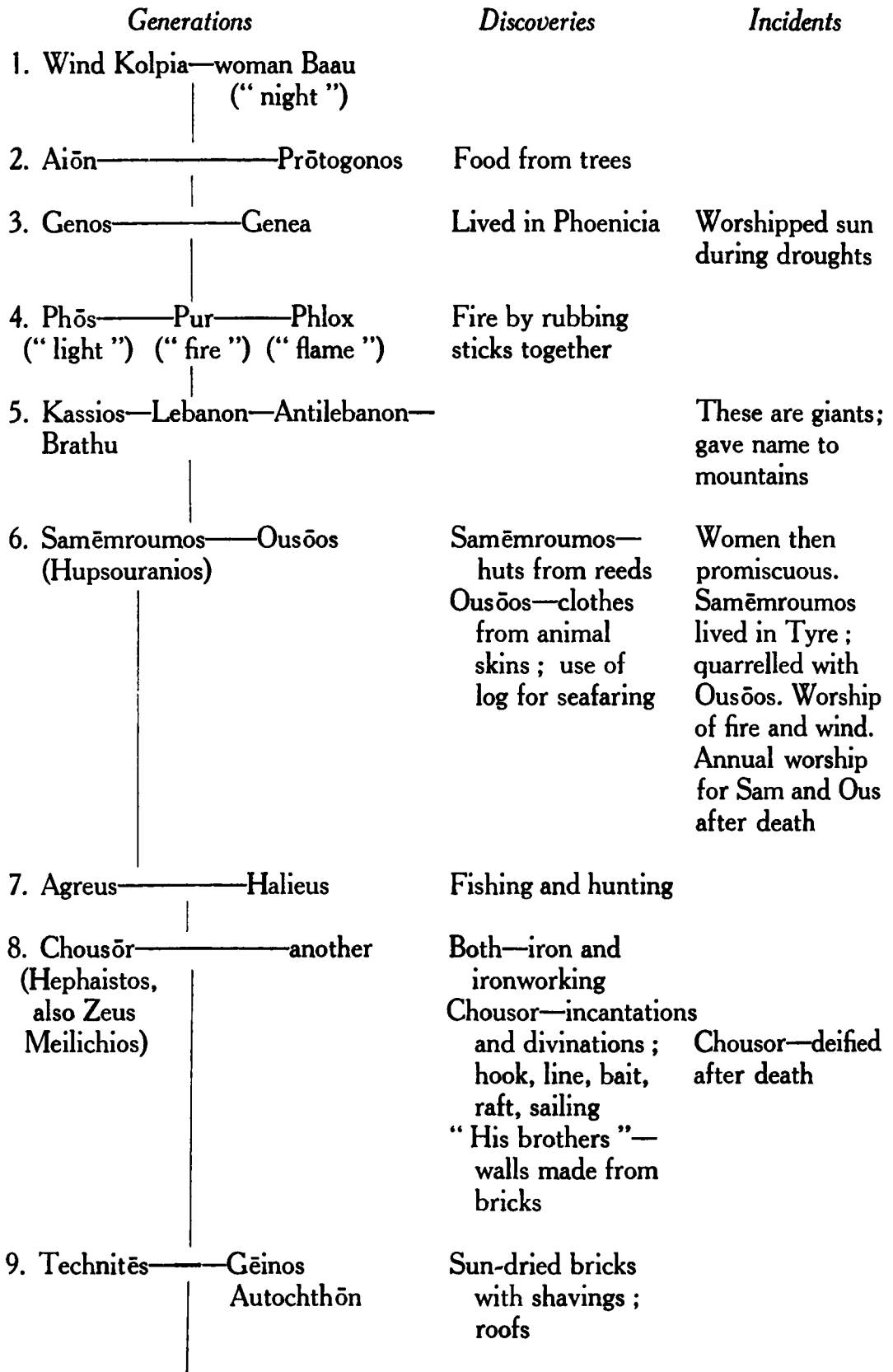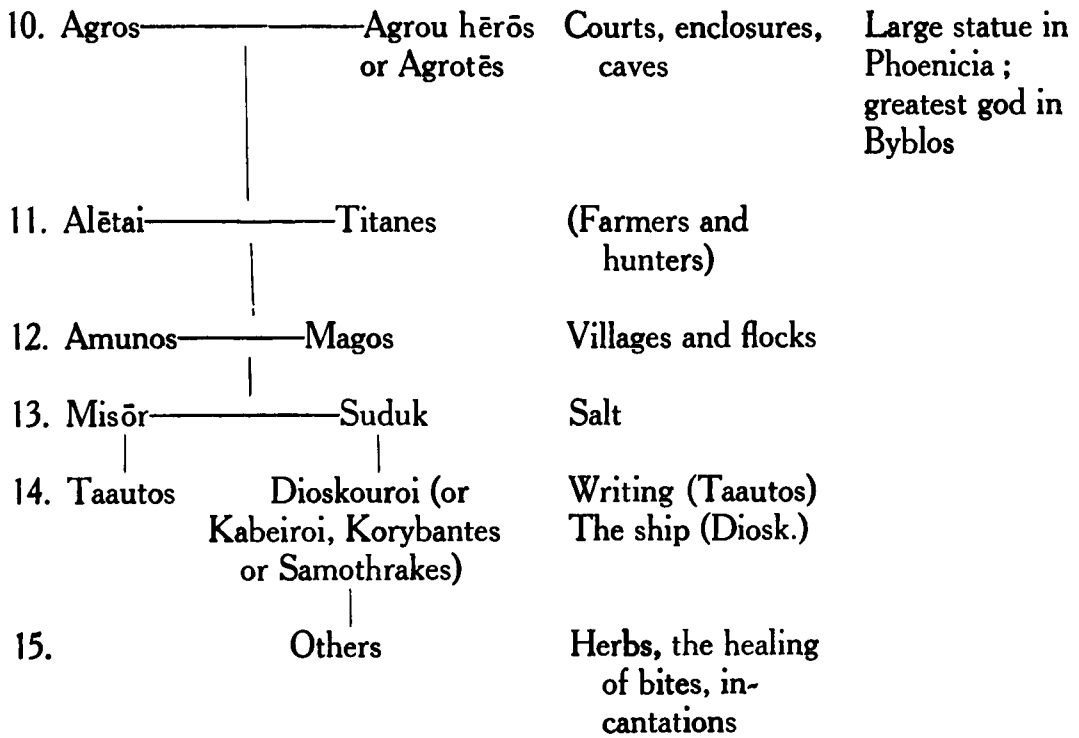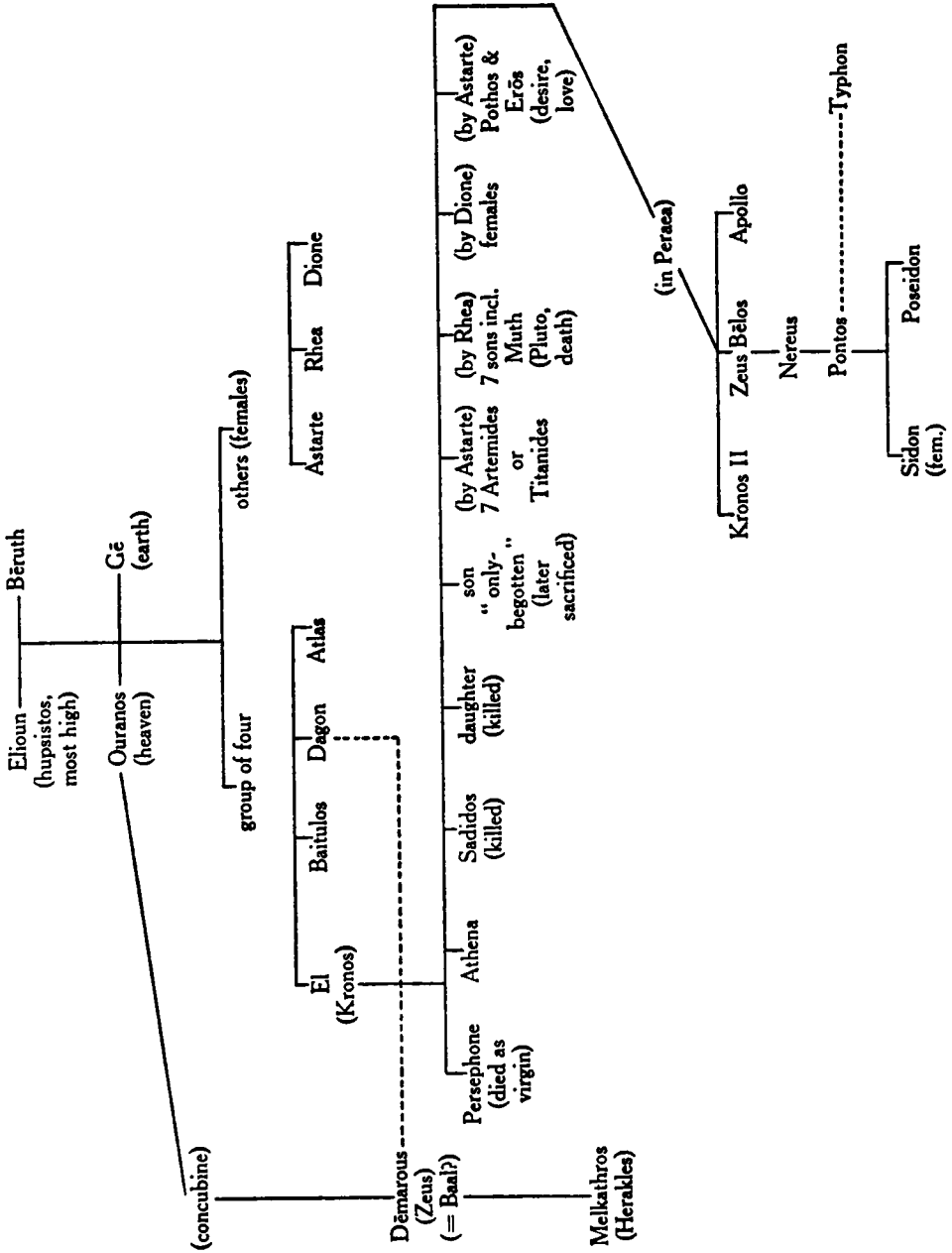   Sidon   Poseidon
                                                     (fem.)

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[A few of the items listed have not been seen by the writer ; works on Ugaritic are cited only when they devote particular attention to Philo, or are otherwise particularly relevant.]

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FF   *Forschungen und Fortschritte*
Kl. Schr.
RSS   see first entry under Eissfeldt

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