Some Considerations about the Second Book by Philo of Byblos

Ju. B. Tsirkin – St. Petersburg

[The second book of the work by Philo of Byblos contained most probably some stories about the "young gods" who died and were resurrected, who were associated with certain female deities and were the lords of particular cities, though they were common to the whole of the Phoenician world.]

The preserved fragments of Philo's work have repeatedly attracted the close attention of numerous researchers. The work has been believed to be a Greek translation of Sanhuniaton's "Phoenician History" written in the Phoenician language long before Philo's day (Euseb. Praep. ev. IV, 16, 6). Besides Philo himself admitted that he had expounded Sanhuniaton's theology in Greek (fr. I, 9, 30). Until recently most historians have maintained that Sanhuniaton had never existed, that Philo had referred to the ancient Phoenician sage with the sole aim to add weight and authority to his own book[1] but today the historicity of Sanhuniaton is practically beyond doubt[2]. The whole work by Philo was composed in 8 or 9 books (Euseb. Praep. ev. I, 9, 23; IV, 16, 6) but only several fragments of the first book (quoted by Eusebius to condemn and denounce the "pagan abomination") and one mention of the second book by Johannes Lidus (De mens. IV, 154) have come down to us. Naturally it is only the first book that has been thoroughly studied and commented on. But let us try and imagine what kind of mythology Philo could have treated in the second book of his work.

To begin with, it must be pointed out that although Philo had claimed to render Phoenician theology as it was seen by Sanhuniaton (Euseb Praep. ev. I, 9, 30), the extant fragments fail to supply us with the whole of this "teaching about the Gods"; moreover nothing is written in them about the Gods who played a most important role in Phoenician religion. For instance, about Melqart it is only said that he was born by Demarous (fr. I, 10, 27) but in general, there were quite a number of myths about this God who was considered the Lord of Tyre (KAI 47) and whose very name meant "king of the city". Cicero (De nat. deor. III, 16, 42) mentions among six Herculeses Jupiter and Asteria's son especially venerated by the Tyrians. Philo (fr. I, 10, 31) calls Demarous Zeus, which means that the Jupiter of Cicero is no doubt Demarous, while Asteria is called by the orator Leto's sister. This information surely comes from Greek

[1] E. G. Gudemann, "Herennius, 2)", in *RE.* Hbd. 15 (1912), col. 610.

[2] O. Eissfedt, *Taautos und Sanchuniaton*, Berlin 1952, pp. 52-56; S. Moscati, *I Fenici e Cartagine*, Torino 1972, p. 315; I. Sch. Schiffmann, "Phoenician Mythology and Ancient Historical Tradition", in *Phoenician Mythology*, Saint Petersburg 1999, pp. 194-197 (in Russian).

mythology where Asteria and Leto, mother of Apollo and Artemis, were daughters of the Titans Coios and Phoiba (Hes. Theog. 404-410). But in the Hellenistic times, if not even earlier, Asteria was understood as a Graecised form of the name Astarte[3]. At Tyre an interesting bas-relief of the Roman time was found; in it a woman is depicted, evidently in childbirth; underneath a fallow deer is suckling a baby and a snake is creeping towards it; also we can see here an eagle with extended wings, head downwards (that is, as if already fallen down or just falling down) and a blazing tree with a snake twining itself round it[4]. Achilleus Tatios (II, 14) gives an oracle allegedly received by the Byzantines and its interpretation that leaves us in no doubt as to the localisation of the oracle's operation at Tyre. In the oracle, among other things, is mentioned a sacred olive tree whose insingeable branches are being licked by an immortal flame. Nonnos (XL, 439-547) describes the founding of Tyre thus: Heracles demanded that the people should cross over to the wandering islands known as the Ambrosian Rocks, where they would see a huge olive tree ablaze with an all-devouring fire that however spared the tree itself; its trunk is entwined by a snake threateningly hissing its way up towards an eagle. The people should sacrifice the eagle to Zeus and the other immortal gods and the rocks would then cease wandering and the people would found a city. The people obeyed the hero and did as they had been told. The study of this book of the poem has shown that its main source was a local Phoenician legend[5]. The Ambrosian Rocks are represented on some Tyrian coins[6]. It follows that the Heracles of Nonnos, the divine founder of Tyre, is none other than Melqart. The scene in the bas-relief is a direct illustration of this myth. It seems possible that in the Roman times the eagle was identified with the attributes of Zeus-Jupiter, the Tyrian god's father[7]. So we can infer that the scene represents Astarte giving birth to Melqart.

No less than Melqart's nativity did the Tyrians and their colonists venerate his death and resurrection. Eudox of Knides (Ath. IX, 37, 392), quoting the Tyrians, writes that Heracles, son to Asteria and Zeus, was murdered in Libya by Typhon and raised from the dead by Iolaos who gave him a quail to smell. As regards the origin of the hero, the author makes it absolutely clear that he means the Tyrians' one, Melqart but not the Greek hero, Heracles, son to Zeus and Alcmene. On the some text by Eudox drew also Zenobius (Cent. V, 56) who unambiguously mentions Heracles of Tyre. We also have at our disposal a trace of the story about his death in a bon-fire and this event is localized at Tyre itself (Ps.-Clem. Recogn. 10, 24). The Tyrian king Hiram I established the holiday of Melqart's "awakening" in the month of Peritios, i. e. approximately in January[8]. Another version of the myth localized the death (and perhaps the awakening as well) of Melqart in Spain (Sall. Iug. 18, 3). The sepulchre of Melqart was also in the temple of Gades (Mela III, 46). Melqart's assassin was most probably the sea god Yam[9], i. e. the very same Pontos of Philo, against whom Melqart's father Demarous waged warfare (Phil. fr. I, 10, 28).

Also widespread at Tyre stories and myths about Melqart's labours and expeditions. Sallust (Iug. 18) mentions an expedition of Melqart-Hercules and his death in Spain. In greater details this expedition is described by Diodorus (IV, 17-18) and we can argue that the author's protagonist here is unquestionably Melqart the Phoenician, not the Greeks' Heracles[10]. Silius Italicus (III, 32-44) describes the decorations on

[3] O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, München 1906, p. 243; W. W. Baudissin, *Adonis und Esmun*, Leipzig 1911, p. 307; E. Lipi½ski, *Dieux et déesses de l'univers phénicien et punique*,. Leuven 1995, p. 153.

[4] H. Seyrig, "Les grands dieux de Tyre a l'époque romaine", *Syria,* 40, 1963, pp. 23-24, tabl. II; E. Will, *De l'Euphrate au Rhin*, Beyrouth 1995, pp. 243-244, tabl. I.

[5] O. Eissfeldt, *Ras Schamra und Sanchunjaton*, Halle (Saale) 1939, pp. 128-151.

[6] E. Will, *op. cit.,* pp. 245-246.

[7] H. Seyrig, *op. cit.,* p. 24.

[8] R. Stieglitz, "The Phoenician-Punic Calendar", in *Actas del IV Congreso internacional de estudios fenicios y púnicos»,* Cádiz 2000, p. 691.

[9] I. Sch. Schiffmann, *The Culture of Ancient Ugarit*, Moscow 1987, p. 156 (in Russian).

[10] M. N. Makushkin, "The Mythe of Heracles as the source on the History of North-West Sicily", in *Norcia* 2 (1978) 8-10 (in Russian).

the gate of the Herakleion, in other words, the temple of Melqart, at Gades. The scenes executed on the gate of the Herakleion represent the divinity's struggle against various manifestations of the evil chtonian powers –floods of water issuing from the earth, terrestrial monsters and terrifying subterranean creatures– and finally Melqart's death and resurrection plainly treated as the triumphant end of his eventful life full of labours, and passions, and battles[11]. To Melqart came to be attributed the founding of both Tyre (Nonn. XL, 439-547) and Gades, Tyre's colony in the extreme West (Strabo III, 5, 5). In the bilingual inscription (KAI 47) in its Greek part, the Lord of Tyre is called "arkhegetes", i. e. leader. He appears as the undeniable leader of the whole of Tyre's colonisation. He is considered to have discovered purple that played an important part in Tyre's economy (Onom. IV, 45-47). There were other stories about Melqart, too. We may even tentatively suppose that Melqart was a pivotal figure in the Tyrian mythological tradition.

A role similar to that of Melqart at Tyre must have been played by Adonis at Byblos. Strabo (XVI, 2, 18) says that Byblos was dedicated to Adonis, his grave was shown near the city[12]. In the Treatise "On the Syrian Goddess" (6-8) ascribed to Lucian, we can read about the holiday of Adonis at Byblos. The myths about Adonis have a paradoxical fate. The name of this is purely Semitic. When unwilling or wary of calling the god by his name, the Phoenicians used the name "Adonai". The Phoenicians of Sardinia called Melqart Adonis[13]. This name became an epithet of Baal too[14]. However, it does not preclude the existence of an independent figure in the Phoenician pantheon. The residents of Byblos must have created as many tales about their «Lord» as the Tyrians about their "King of City" but the one remnant of the Phoenician (not Greek) myth about this divinity is the information from Lucian or Pseudo-Lucian (De dea Syra 6) that his Byblos informers emphatically stressed the fact that Adonis had died in their country by a wild boar's tusks. A similar echo of this Phoenician myth may be the evidence of Pollux (Onom. IV, 76) that in the Phoenician language the gingra, a variety of the flute, is called adonic. Except for this, whatever we know about Adonis comes from Graeco-Roman sources. The Greeks had included this god into their pantheon out of mind. Adonis is first mentioned by Hesiod who considered him to be the son of Phoenix whom the Greeks regarded as the Phoenician's eponym (Apollod. III, 14, 4). Afterwards, many authors of different epochs and periods of the Greek history wrote diverse myths about him (Apollod. I, 3, 3; III, 14, 3-4; Ovid. Met. 10, 300-739; Luc. De dea Syra 6; Hig. Fab. 58; 248; 251; Schol. Hom. Il. V, 385), they differ in some details but are basically identical, which makes it possible to reconstruct the original myth.

Once there lived Myrrha (or Smyrna), the daughter of Cinyras, king of Cyprus. Her mother had sneered and jeered the goddess of love (evidently Astarte) and even boasted that her daughters were by far more beautiful than the goddess. The latter got incensed by her profanity and decided to punish the girl for her mother's blasphemy. The goddess enticed in the girl an impious passion for her father. Cinyras aware that his daughter was of marriageable age, began to invite prospective suitors but the young lady adamantly turned them all down. When he asked her what sort of husband she wished to have, she replied: the one exactly like her father. Cinyras was immensely gratified by her answer; he read in it her respect and deference for him. Myrrha, thought burning with passion was at the same time overwhelmed by the enormity of her sin. Finally the desperate girl made up her mind to hang herself but her wetnurse rescued her. On learning about the girl's immoral perverse feelings, the devoted wetnurse promised to help her appease her love hunger.

One holy day, when the women of the court had gone to glorify the goddess, Cinyras was left alone in his palace and got drink. In the night the wetnurse brought Myrrha into his bedroom saying that that girl

[11] Ju. B. Tsirkin, *Phoenician Culture in Spain*, Moscow 1976, pp. 66-71 (in Russian).
[12] B. Soyez, *Byblos et la fete des Adonies*, Leiden 1977, pp. 21-23.
[13] G. Garbini, "Nuove epigrafi fenici de Antas", in *RstFen* 25 (1997) 65.
[14] O. Loretz, "Adn como epiteto de Baal e sui rapporti con Adonis e Adonaj", in *Adonis,* Roma 1994, p. 33.

so much like his daughter and of the same age, was madly in love with him. Thus Myrrha conceived by him. At dawn when he saw who was lying by his side on his couch, he was horrified and furiously ready to murder his obnoxious daughter. She had a very narrow escape and on leaving her father's palace, she long roamed the world. Exhausted by her wandering, Myrrha pleaded the gods to banish her – on account of her ignominy – from the kingdoms of both the quick and the dead. The gods consented to satisfy her entreaty. And presently Myrrha's legs were covered with earth, from her feet sprang some roots, her bones became a tree, her blood turned into its sap and her skin into its bark. So is how Myrrha became a tree but inside her trunk there was still a baby, the fruit of her pious love. After nine months the tree trunk burst open and out came the baby called Adonis. According to another version of the myth, Cinyras in nine month's did find Myrrha after all and struck her trunk with his sword out of the crack emerged the newborn Adonis.

Adonis was quick to grow and soon he become a boy of surpassing beauty. Baalat-Gebal (Aphrodite) saw him and fell in passionate love with him. She hated to part from him, she always wanted him by her side. When Adonis took to hunting, she often accompanied him but, however, she could not afford to be constantly with th youth. She implored him to take care of himself when hunting and warned him against chasing such dangerous animals as lions and wild boars. Once, when the goddess was away, Adonis went hunting and saw his hounds chase a huge wild boar out of its lair. Some peoples said that the jealous god of war turned himself a giant wild boar in order to ruin Adonis. The beautiful youth bravely met the challenge and struck the boar with his spear but the wounded beast attacked him. Adonis recollected the warnings of the goddess and took to his heels but the boar overtook him and drove its horrible tusk into his flesh. The boy dropped down dying. The goddess heard the youth's cry of agony and rushed to his rescue. She clutched his body in her arms bemoaning him, she besought him not to leave her, not to go to the other world, she begged him to wale up and give her a farewell kiss lasting as long as possible. The goddess was desperate: she was immortal and not able to follow her beloved into the underworld to enjoy his company eternally. Then she took the dead body, carried it out of the forest, placed it on the purple fabrics, rubbed some incense and poured some precious chrism upon it. The mourners laid the funeral wreaths on the body and cut their hair off as a token of grief and bereavement. To immortalise her Adonis, she grew out of his blood the beautiful flower anemone. Still she knew no peace of mind and appealed to her father and the supreme god resolved to resurrect the boy but to avoid hurting the underground queen, he decreed that part of the year Adonis should spend under ground and the other part he should live about ground, and Byblos was chosen as his earthly abode.

According to Apollodorus' version of the myth, Aphrodite (i. e. Baalat-Gebal no doubt) enraptured and charmed by the beauty of the newborn Adonis and obviously anxious for his life, put him into a casket and entrusted him to the underworld's mistress, but the latter refused to part with the youth when he grew up and both the goddesses appealed to the supreme god's judgement. The sovereign ordered to divide the year into three parts so that Adonis could live by himself over ground for a third, under ground for another third and with Aphrodite-Baalat-Gebal for the last third of the year. Adonis, though, wilfully added his part of the year to the last one so that the beautiful boy and the goddess of love lived together two thirds of the year. There are several variants of this story too. According to one of them, Adonis spends in the kingdom of death half a year, not one third, and the other half in this world. According to another variant, Adonis alive and active in the underground too and when the goddess went down to meet Adonis there, she saw him in this shape and state. Finally, there was a variant of the myth in which Adonis came back to life at his beloved goddess' will, rather than at the will of the supreme god.

In the Phoenician (not Greek) myth there must have been an episode about how Adonis invented a new variety of the flute. Adonis in general was very closely connected with music, and in his cult a

threnody for the dead and later a hymn for his resurrection played a significant role[15]. There is an opinion that the name of Adonis' father, Cinyras, is evocative of the lyre or the cithara which in the West Semitic world was called kinnor[16].

The Graeco-Roman authors when telling this myth naturally give all the personages Greek and Roman names, but it is not at all difficult to use in their stead Phoenician ones: Baalt-Gebal (in place of Aphrodite or Venus), Sheol (in place of Persephone), El (in place of Zeus), but to identify Adonis is not so easy. That it is not the god's own name is plain enough. In the scholia to Lycophron's poem «Alexandra» (831) we find that the Cypriots call Adonis Gavas and the same name is used by Lycophron himself (828-833). The myth connected Adonis or rather his mother with Cyprus, and Pseudo-Meliton connects the young god with this island too. Could the Cyprian name of this god be an echo of his «true» name as Haddu was in Ugarit the "true" name of Baal-Sapanu.

It must be noted, though, that in the inscriptions of Byblos this god is never mentioned, the kings appeal chiefly to Baalat-Gebal. Only one time, in the early inscription of Yehimilk (KAI 4) about 950 b. C. instead of this goddess are mentioned Baal-Shamim, Baal-Gebal and the holy gods of Byblos. We may advance a supposition that the "Lord of Byblos" is name none other than the "Master" whom the Greeks understood as Adonis. But why this god disappears from later royal inscriptions of Byblos so far defies explanation. If Baal-Gebal is Adonis (very much like Baal-Sor is Melqart), then the myth and cult must have existed as early as the Xth century b. C. The above-stated connection between the myth of Adonis and Cyprus bears witness to the fact that the Greeks borrowed the myth in Cyprus. However it seems unlikely that Hesiodus was well acquainted with the myths of Cyprus. It looks more probable that he used common myths widespread in Greece in his day in their Graecized form. The poet calls the father of Adonis Phoenix and his mother Alphisibea, i. e. the character of a purely Greek myth. Consequently by the time of Hesiodus, Adonis had so firmly established himself as an integral figure of the Greek pantheon that he was given a Greek mother and people were no longer aware of his foreign origin. Therefore we may hold that the myth of Adonis had found its way to Greece as early as the Mycenaean times. The subject of the myth as such well corresponds with a traditional and common scheme whose «meat» is an attempt to escape a foretold misfortune[17]. This fairy-tale scheme fused with the mythical and religious notion of a dying and rising god. Such blending could not possibly be very modern, it must be traced back to very early days. All this enables us to speak about the "longevity" of the Byblos myth about Adonis.

In the remains of the first book by Philo, very little is said about Eshmun except that one of Astarte's daughter (Titanides) by Sydikos gave birth to Asklepios (fr. I, 10, 25). In the Hellenistic-Roman period (perhaps even prior to it), Asklepios-Aesculapius was identified with Eshmun[18]. Some more information about Eshmun comes from Damascius (Vita Isid. 302). He says that Eshmun was a beautiful young hunter pestered by the goddess Astronoë with her ardent love. When the youth saw the goddess overtaking him, he cut off his genitals and died but the goddess with the assistance of young Paean brought him back to life and made him god. Damascius mentions that Eshmun was the eighth son of Sadykos (i. e. of Sydicos).

Eshmun was one of the most ancient gods whose cult was practiced not only at Ugarit but even at Ebla[19]. In the first millennium b. C. his cult was spread throughout the whole of the Phoenician world but especially popular Eshmun was at Sidon where his most famous temple was erected[20] so that he may be

[15] Cf.: B Servaz-Soyez, "Musique et Adonis", in *Adonis,* Roma 1984, pp. 67-68.

[16] E. Will, *op. cit.,* p. 197.

[17] S. Ju. Neklyudov, "On the Fatalistik Rites and Conseptions in Traditional Cultures", in *Poetics. History of Literature. Linguistics,* Moscow 1999, p. 41.

[18] E. Lipi½ski, *op. cit.,* p. 155; E. Will, *op. cit.,* p. 207.

[19] E. Lipi½ski, *op. cit.,* p. 155.

[20] A. Parrot, M. Chehab, S. Moscati, *Les Phéniciens*, Paris 1975, pp. 104-107.

understood as this city's patron[21]. Interestingly, Astronoë's assistant is Paean. He must be some healing god, one of several such deities in Phoenician religion; Damascius calls him by the Greek name. In Homer's epic (Il. V, 401; 899), Paean is a divine healer abiding on mount Olympus; in other passage in "The Iliad" (I, 473) Paean appears already as a joyous song in honour of Apollo. In Mycenaean Greece there was the god Paean, later identified with Apollo[22]. The memory of this god, vague as it may be, must have come down to the late Roman epoch which allowed Damascius to introduce his name into his narration about Eshmun's resurrection. The two aspects of this deity – healing and singing – were tightly intertwined because originally it was more likely than a magical charm, a sacred incantation used to treat gods and people. In this connection we may recall Philo's obscure phrase (fr. I, 10, 26) about the splendid singer Sidon born by the sea god, which seems to corroborate the affinity between Eshmun and the myth about his death and rising and Sidon.

Thus we have three gods whose cults and whole myths figured prominently in the Phoenician world. They were younger that the generations of the deities described by Philo in the preserved fragments of the first book and therefore we may call them "young gods". They had some characteristics in common. First, they were all dying and rising gods and so they connected the two worlds – the world of life and the world of death. Second, they are inseparable from a certain goddess. The goddess could be their mother or wife or a loving women, but in either case hers was the major role in the god's first or second nativity. Third, they were above all urban gods and so was even Eshmun whose cult, as has been stated earlier, was common outside Sidon and even the Phoenician world in general. In the images of such divinities the residents of the city saw the incarnation of everything they valued most highly[23]. Small wonder, such deities could perform all sorts of functions even those typical of other gods. And finally nothing – save the mention of their birth – is said about them in extant fragments by Philo. As for Adonis, it seems this privilege is denied him.

Yet it is as clear as day that the work by Sanhuniaton-Philo could not possibly have omitted such this material. It has been convincingly shown that this book has combined at least two traditions – those of Tyre and Byblos[24] or perhaps even more. For the time being we shall only emphasize that both Melqart at Tyre and Adonis at Byblos played too significant a role so that the ancient authors could ill afford to pass their lives and deeds in silence. Therefore we feel justified to assert that the second book by Philo could contain this information.

As has been mentioned above, the only reference to the second book of Philo's work is the phrase of Johannes Lidus specifying that it dealt with Kronos who reigned in Libya, Sicily and the western countries[25]. Philo calls El Kronos as he himself underlines it (fr. I, 10, 16). At the same time in Africa, Kronos and, correspondingly, Saturn is most often identified with Baal-Hammon. This is especially plainly seen at the sanctuary of Cirta where in the Greek inscriptions we find Kronos whereas in the Punic ones, mostly Baal-Hammon[26]. In Roman Africa, the cult of Saturn uninterruptedly continued the cult of Baal-Hammon[27]. So whom we identify the Kronos of Philo's second book with, El or Baal-Hammon?

[21] Cf. E. Lipi½ski, *op. cit.,* pp. 154-168 (in Russian).

[22] A. Bartonek, *Mycenae the Golden,* Moscow 1991, pp. 203-204.

[23] O. Leslie, *Old Testament Religion in Its Canaanite Background*, New York-Chicago, 1936, p. 24.

[24] S. E. Loevenstamm, *Sanchuniat(h)on*, in RE, SptBd. XIV, 1974, col. 594.

[25] Johannes Lidus combines the information about Kronos supplied by Philo and Harax. The latter mentions the city of Kronia allegedly founded by Kronos. But no doubt the information about Kronos' control over the western countries belongs to Philo.

[26] A. Berrtié, R. Charlier, *Le sanctuaire punique d'El-Hofra à Constantine*, Paris 1955, *passim*.

[27] M. Leglay, *Saturne Africaine,* Paris 1966, *passim*; R. Bloch, "Religion romaine et religion punique à l'epoque d'Hannibal", in *L'Italie prerromaine et la Rome republicaine. Mélanges offertes à Jacque Heurgon,* t. I, Paris 1986, pp. 37-38.

It is often believed that El lost his significance in the first millennium b. C. as a result of his fusion with Baal-Hammon, with the latter playing first fiddle in the syncretic image[28]. But we deem it most unlikely. True, the cult of El, so remote and considerably abstract a deity, came to be less venerated than baals, people's concrete and more human rulers, but El did not disappear altogether from the Phoenician religious thought. At Samaal that was strongly affected by the Phoenicians, we find a mention of the El the Creator of the Creation in the Phoenician part of the bilingual inscription of the eight century b. C.[29] The cult of El persisted in Tyre's colonies in Africa[30]. Since the territory of Phoenicia proper is only slightly investigated in terms of archaeology it is impossible to state with any degree of certainty how far and how deeply the cult of El survived in the metropolis. But what matters is that in the western area of the Phoenician world, the control over which is ascribed to Kronos, El was still worshipped. The answer, it seems, should be sought in Philo's phrase (fr. I, 10, 26) that El-Kronos begot a son of the same name. This El the junior, seems to be none other than Baal-Hammon.

Baal-Hammon was indeed one of the major deities of the Phoenician West, including Carthage. Though this god's cult existed in the metropolis too[31], it enjoyed its greatest popularity and its widest spread in the Western colonies, however. Leaving alone at present scholarly disputes about the essence of his epithet Hammon, we shall just remark that the god's solar character is evident enough. For instance, before the fifth century b. C., the only decoration of the stelae in honour of Baal-Hammon at Carthage was the disc of the sun[32]. The similar disc is to be found on the stelae from Motya[33]. Of great interest is also the solar disc with the representation of a human face with big open ears meant to listen to the believers' supplications[34]. Sometimes Baal-Hammon is represented as a hefty bearded old man sitting on his throne, often decorated with cherubs, with a crown or tiara on his head, his right hand is raised in benediction, his left hand is holding a staff ornamented either with a pinecone or a corn ear[35]. On an ancient gem of the sixth or maybe even seventh century b. C., Baal-Hammon's throne is set on a ship of the Egyptian type resembling the vessel of Osiris plying the underground waters as can be deduced from the plant stems growing downwards[36]. To sum up, Baal-Hammon attends to the peoples and blesses them. His attributes, especially the combination of the sun's disc and corn ears, bespeak him as a solar diety and simultaneously the god of earth fertility. The corn ear could be sometimes replaced by the pinecone, the time-tested symbol of immortality and of man's fecundity alike[37]. His voyage over the subterranean ocean unites the underground and the overground worlds. And, finally, it must be pointed out that on the Carthage stelae Baal-Hammon is constantly accompanied by a goddess, first Astarte, later Tinnit.

Although no myths associated with Baal-Hammon are known to us so far, we may suppose that this god joined the domains of life and death, he was accompanied by a goddess and was one of the most influential and prominent patrons of Carthage and possibly of the whole of the Phoenician West, and, besides, his nativity was just mentioned by Philo in his first book. Thus it follows that Baal-Hammon possessed all the qualities of Melqart, Adonis and Eshmun. His mention in Philo's second book indicates

[28] E. g., R. Dussaud, *Les religions des Hittites et des Hourrites, des Phéniciens et des Syriens,* Paris 1949, p. 368; A. Bertié, R. Charlier, *op. cit.,* p. 216; I. Sch. Schiffmann, *op. cit.,* pp. 260-261.

[29] P. Magnanini, *Le iscrizioni fenicie dell'Oriente,* Roma 1973, p. 56.

[30] Mh. Fantar, *Le Dieu de la mer chez les Phéniciens et les Punique*, Roma 1977, pp. 97-103; E. Lipi½ski, *op. cit.,* pp. 392-393.

[31] E. Lipi½ski, *op. cit.,* p. 251-256.

[32] C. Charles-Picard, *Catalogue du Musée Alaoui*, Tunis 1954, pp. 20-21.

[33] M. G. Guzzo Amadasi, *Le iscrizioni fenicie e puniche delle colonie in Occidente*, Roma 1967, tabl. XVII, XIX, XX.

[34] J. Ferron, "Le betyle inscrit du Musée National du Bardo", in *Africa,* 5-6 (1978) 96-103.

[35] E. F. Macnamara, "The role of Greece as Intermediary between the Cultures of the Near East and Etruria during the 8th and 7th centuries B. C.", in *Acta of the XIth International Congress of Classical Archaeology*, London 1979, pp. 132-134.

[36] L. Foucher, "La présentation de Baal-Hammon", in *Archéologie vivante,* 1/2 (1968/1969) 132, ill. XLV.

[37] M. Leglay, *op. cit.,* pp. 200-203.

that all the other deities under consideration in the present paper must have been dealt with in this book, too.

According to Eusebius (Praep. ev. I, 9, 20; IV, 16, 6), Philo entitled work "Phoenician History" (τὰ Φοινικικά or Φοινικὴ ‘ιστορία). It is impossible to say what the title of Sanhuniaton's original work. In the West-Semitic world, there coexisted two traditions of naming books: a) according to their initial words and b) according to their subject if their salient features. Which tradition was preferred by Sanhuniaton is not known, but the Greek title given by Philo plainly shows that the subject-matter of his work, as well as Sanhuniaton' one was the history of Phoenicia, of the whole country, not just of this or that Phoenician city. The mythological stories were unmistakably treated as the initial stages of his history. A vivid sample of such historiography is the Bible. Its events are narrated in an orderly and logical succession: the creation of the world, the first people before the Flood and after it, the disintegration of the single human race into separate peoples, the forefathers of the Jews, not only of the Israelites but of their cognate Aramaeans and Arabs as well, and comes history of the Jews. The history developed during the period between Solomon's death and the seizure of Samaria by the Assyrians in two states and is presented in two more or less parallel accounts. In an entirely different world –antique– and at different time (the first century b. C.) Diodorus Siculus arranged his "Historical Library" essentially in the same way trying to blend both mythological and historical occurrences of different peoples. He himself (I, 4) characterizes the composition of his work thus: in the first six books he recount the myths of the Greeks and barbarians (three myths of each group), the next eleven books are devoted to the general history from the Trojan war to the death of Alexander the Great and the rest - to the subsequent events. This composition seems very logical. Obviously, Sanhuniaton had used the same scheme. With a fair degree of probability we may presume that after the account of the «young gods» he passed on the description of the history of people. In thus respect, his work could have resembled that by the Greek logographers who joined the description of mythological antiquity with the concrete history of human down their own time[38].

We may be relatively sure that the stories about the "young gods" were gathered exactly in the second book of Philo's work. As we remember, this book included the unpreserved passages about Baal-Hammon (Kronos the Junior) reigning in the Western areas of the Phoenician universe. But it is more logical for Sanhuniaton to have dealt first with those gods who ruled in Phoenicia proper; then the transition from the gods' rule to that of the kings was quite convincing. It is hard to say how many books (out of eight or nine) by Philo contained mythological subjects which incidentally neither Sanhuniaton nor Philo separated from purely historical ones, the former because of the ideas current in his age, the latter, on account of his Euhemerism. Nor is it possible to guess something else in the stories about Melqart, Adonis, Eshmun and Baal-Hammon which are in the second book. Yet it seems that a considerable portion of its lends itself to reconstruction. That is the reason why we have undertaken to reconstruct the missing material of Philo's second book.

(Translated from the Russian by L. Chistonogova)

[38] E. D. Frolov, *The Torch of Prometheus*, Leningrad 1991, pp. 98-99 (in Russian).