Fraud or Fiasco? Philo's Nine Books of *Φοινικικὰ* ('Phoenician Affairs') vis-à-vis Mediterranean archaeology and beyond: a reappraisal long overdue

*Eleftheria Pappa**

PAPPA, E. Fraud or Fiasco? Philo's Nine Books of *Φοινικικὰ* ('Phoenician Affairs') vis-à-vis Mediterranean archaeology and beyond: a reappraisal long overdue. *R. Museu Arq. Etn.* 42: 69-142, 2024.

Abstract: Somewhat telling of the fortunes of Phoenician studies in European scholarship and academia (to this day) is the abandon of scepticism with which Herennius Philo's *Φοινικικὰ* ('Phoenician Affairs'/'Phoenician History') was met from the very beginning of its resurfacing in western Europe. The reserve over the historicity of Philo's extant passages continued for centuries until the resistance to its status as authentic was curbed only after the excavations at the site of Ugarit early in the previous century yielded epigraphic evidence corroborating information contained in Philo's *Phoenician History* and quoted in Eusebius of Caesarea's *Evangelical Preparation*, especially regarding the Canaanite pantheon. Although contemporary research has focused on the euhemeristic climate for the examination of Philo's passages, relegating them to the study of Hellenistic literary culture, its significance for Near Eastern and Biblical Studies, though invaluable, has been neglected since earlier decades. In the present instance, I seek to rehabilitate a manuscript containing the Nine Books of Philo's *Phoenician History*, published by Friedrich Wagenfeld almost two centuries, ago, in 1837. I argue through a range of data and arguments that the manuscript facsimile of the entire *Phoenician History* that he published was authentic, demonstrating both that the scepticism of the time was unwarranted and that excavations undertaken across the eastern and western Mediterranean since then corroborate much of information contained therein but not available to someone living in the 1830s. Works by Philo survived in at least three manuscripts reported by different individuals, none of which was studied. Curiously, this information was communicated in print in 1836 in an article by Philippe Le Bas that aimed to expose Wagenfeld's facsimile as fraudulent, albeit at the same time hedging on the matter of its authenticity, allowing for the possibility that an ancient manuscript had existed and was elaborated on by Wagenfeld. Despite that qualification, as of then, Wagenfeld was fully discredited as a forger by his peers on petty grounds. Yet the content of the manuscript published by Wagenfeld significantly adds to our knowledge of history, culture and literature of the Canaanite-Phoenician world and its neighbours in the eastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age and beyond.

Keywords: Philo of Byblos; Friedrich Wagenfeld; Phoenician History; Academic fraud; Phoenician Studies.

* DPhil, Archaeology, University of Oxford (2010). She has worked as a lecturer and researcher at universities and research institutes in the UK, Netherlands, Germany, Brazil, Spain and the USA.

To the legacy of Friedrich Wagenfeld (1810-1846) – for his unjustly tainted reputation, if I am correct, or, if I am wrong, for his ingeniousness in accurately conjuring past worlds.

1. Introduction

From the very beginning of its reception in the early modern period, Philo's ***Φοινικικά*** ('Phoenician Affairs')**,** conventionally translated by the not-so-apt title *Phoenician History*,[1] has been met with doleful predictions on its veridical authority, returning at best sceptical verdicts, at worst claiming outright mendacity regarding every figure involved: from the mythical figure Taautos, whose wisdom was supposedly handed down through the generations in sacred texts, to a certain Sanchuniathon of Beirut, assigned to remote antiquity, who compiled some of that store of wisdom into a treatise, to 1st -2nd c. CE Herennius Philo, a native of Byblos, who claimed that he translated that treatise into Greek, and even to the Church Father Eusebius of Caesarea quoting from it in his *Evangelical Preparation* some two centuries later – thereby implicating in its longspun deception even the scholars publishing those excerpts as of the 16th c. onwards.[2] In essence, rather than collecting his own information from other Hellenistic or Roman authors who wrote analogous works based on autopsy, witness reports and visits, such as ***Ἰνδικά*** ('Indika'), ***Περσικά*** ('Persika') or ***Βαβυλονιακά*** ('Babyloniaka'),[3] Philo purportedly translated into Greek a compilation of various older texts, thus laying claim to a historical work of considerable antiquity.

While hardly uncommon, the complicated transmission history of the original sources, first by Sanchuniathon in Canaanite/Phoenician, who allegedly assembled into a treatise the writings of a certain (divine) Taautos (elsewhere in the work, this name is given with a variant spelling), equated (probably by Philo) with the Egyptian Thoth, then its translation by Philo into the Hellenistic Greek *koine* idiom of the 1st-2nd c. CE, and later its embeddedness into the Christian theological work authored by Eusebius (c. 260-340 BCE), perhaps via Porphyry's polemical *Against the Christians* (*Con. Crist.*) as an intermediary source, spurred waves of modern critics.[4] Banned in antiquity and now largely lost, this late 3rd c. CE 16-volume work in Greek by the Neoplatonic philosopher from Tyre is often considered to be the main source for Eusebius' (*P.E.* 1.9; 1.10) passages of Philo's *Phoenician History*. This oft-repeated supposition is hard to credit, not merely because Eusebius' aims were directly at loggerheads with Porphyry's, but because the latter's work was banned by Constantine's imperial edict.[5] Given the ambiguity created by the different agendas guiding authors in their selection of passages from this postulated ancient, multi-layered work, ranging from the postulated euhemeristic tendencies of Philo, Porphyrios' zealotic support of pagan religion, and the apologetic aims of Eusebius, the long transmission history has certainly infused modern scholarship with an overabundance of scepticism.[6]

Originally considered a late compilation of mythological tales, such trends in the reception of Philo's work were attenuated, but not fully kept in check, only after

1 Employing the neutral plural adjective of the title, *Φοινικικά*, the implied noun was something akin to 'matters' or 'affairs', not necessarily 'histories', hence the conventional translation of the work as 'Phoenician History' is erroneous.

2 Philo's extant fragments, mainly consisting in those quoted by Eusebius and a couple of meagre references in other authors can be consulted in FGrH 608a-856, with commentary in Baumgarten (1981).

3 Such as Megasthenes (350-290 BCE), for example, whose *Indika* (FGrH 715) followed several diplomatic missions of the author to India (Knippschield 2014: 458).

4 On a historical overview for scholars' incredulity at the historical existence of a Sanchuniathon, and the general scepticism surrounding Philo's work, initially considered a pastiche of late mythology, see Barr (1974: 17-21).

5 On the banning of this work, see Pearse (2001).

6 On the euhemeristic tendencies of Philo, see Delalonde (2021: 46-66).

archaeological excavations corroborated some of the information surviving in the extant passages from Book 1 of the total 9 quoted in Eusebius' (*P.E.*). Following the archaeological discoveries of the 1930s in Ugarit (Ras Shamra) led by Claude Schaeffer that uncovered tablets with Ugaritic texts attesting to the names of gods contained in Philo's work, the *Phoenician History* was rehabilitated as containing some authentic Canaanite-Phoenician traditions of great antiquity. Despite having been treated as a *sui generis* Hellenistic-era compilation (and unfortunately the trend in scholarship shows a flawed reversal to this mode of thinking in this regard), Philo's *Phoenician History* did contain information on religion and mythology that is echoed in the Ugaritic tablets of myth and ritual from the ancient Canaanite kingdom, lending credence to the authenticity of the Phoenician work.[7] At least one of the divine names, Dagon, mentioned in Philo's fragments, can be cross-referenced through the epigraphic records found at the site of Ugarit, where there stood a temple to this Canaanite deity whose name meant 'wheat'. It is extremely doubtful that any such name of a north Syrian/Canaanite god from Ugarit, a city-state the floruit of which can be placed between the 15th and the 12th c. BCE and the cult of which ended in the Late Bronze Age, would have been known to Hellenistic authors through oral transmission alone had some of them not actually been drawing on ancient literary sources, as Philo claimed, probably truthfully, to have done. Crucially, *Sanchuniathon*, whose name meant 'the sky has given', is epigraphically attested as a personal name in 3rd c BCE Hadrumetum, an old Phoenician colony in Tunisia.[8]
In essence, postulating that Philo assumed Sanchuniathon's identity, pseudonymously ascribing to a fabricated persona his work, thus posing as a captivating voice from the distant past, was the other side of the 20th-century historical and philological scholarship in Europe refusing to accept the limits of its own knowledge until archaeology and epigraphy faced new generations of scholars with its inherent limitations.

Failing to grasp this objective challenge in the appreciation of the informational content of Philo's *Phoenician History* for the study of the Canaanite/Phoenician past,[9] rather than merely for the euhemeristic literary circles of the Hellenistic scholarship, the reception of Philo's work in modern times has been unduly hostile in terms of its historical value, coupled with the fact that the entrenched disciplinary boundaries (and therefore professional competences) of 21st-century scholars often do not permit archaeologists of the Late Bronze Age to appreciate the contents of the extant work in the original language. Conversely, classicists who study the text as a product of euhemeristic rationalization of religion, or as a historical confabulation analogous to those of Ktesias of Knidos whose 'histories' of Persia are known through later authors (FGrH 688 F1), appear unaware of research on 2nd millennium BCE archaeologically documented interregional contacts, transposing narratives on distant lands to imaginary domains, as if by reflex. In this vein, despite the documented antiquity of at least part of the material contained in the *Phoenician History*, recent work has focused on the agendas of the historically-attested Philo and Eusebius, as evinced through the long transmission chain of the quoted passages, investigating the different accretion layers of the *Phoenician History* as a purely literary discourse whereby Philo refashions the currents of his own intellectual and philosophical milieu to achieve his aims of imbuing Phoenician culture with prestige in the multicultural and polyethnic environment of his time (Delalonde 2023).

7 On Ugaritic texts of myth and ritual, see e.g. Olmo Lete (1998).

8 Dixon (2013: 344) remarked on how the vocalization of the name would fit Septuagint-era translations, thus purportedly being of a later date due to the last long vowel. But not enough is known about personal names in the LBA Canaanite world, let alone the vocalization of their vowels.

9 The modern convention by which 'Canaanite' refers to the Late Bronze Age, and 'Phoenician' to the Iron Age is to an extent artificial, and will only be loosely followed herein, not least because Philo's Nine Books contain sources overlapping this chronological division.

Rather than seeking to invalidate this perspective on the study of this Greco-Roman work, through which different intellectual currents of the Greek-speaking Roman East are filtered, the present investigation affirms the historical value of Philo's compilation as a work containing material of a considerably earlier period. It publishes for the first time a reappraisal of the work of Philo's *Phoenician History* as it survives in its totality of Nine Books in a facsimile published by Friedrich Wagenfeld, the only publication of the reported four manuscripts by Philo in existence. Wagenfeld's publication in 1837 of the purported facsimile of a manuscript containing the entirety of Philo's *Phoenician History* in Greek, supplying along with it an accompanying translation in the Latin vernacular idiom of his day, has been called the most daring scientific fraud of the 19th c.[10] Following a short-lived esteemed reception of the work by the leading scholars of the day on the basis of some preparatory study offering an abridged version, the first charge of forgery against Wagenfeld led to a barrage of negative pronouncements and dismissals that have continued to this day as if through peer pressure. With scholarship *almost* uniformly critical of his alleged mendacity, the published facsimile was deemed a forgery in 1836. What constitutes the main paradox in this event is that the discrediting of an ancient work published in ancient Greek occurred after discussions amounting to merely a matter of months, prior to the publication of the full text of the postulated manuscript in question, instigated by individuals who appear to have had limited facility in ancient Greek in the first place and no knowledge of Phoenician history.

Here, prior to looking at the content of the manuscript in a cursory way, I will sketch out the reasons for which the matter is in need of reconsideration from a philological and historical perspective, since new archaeological discoveries are giving credence to what was once deemed a motley of fanciful accounts. Questions of narrative plausibility became central to literary criticism in this case of alleged fraud, yet the foundations of historical knowledge on which this plausibility rested have radically shifted since the 1830s. In the 21st c. there exist ample ways to test the authenticity of a text spanning over Nine Books, even if the actual manuscript is not available. After all, manuscripts continue to be found (and subsequently to get lost, from museums and other institutions, no less) to this very day.

Firstly, this examination will be concerned with the circumstances of the discovery and reception of the manuscript, which involve a monastery in Portugal, looted during a civil war pitting an ex-emperor of Brazil against his brother. That such a manuscript was found in a monastery in Portugal is anything but outlandish, and highly plausible in the conditions created by the war, as I demonstrate below. Secondly, the study will be concerned with providing documentation, if not proof, of the authenticity of the text, based on archaeological, historical, epigraphic and linguistic grounds, some of which constitutes evidence that has come to light in the intervening period of two centuries, tallying reasonably well with the information contained in the Nine Books – that is, information that a forger in the 1830s could not have been aware of.

Since this is the first time that the manuscript is examined in nearly 187 years, it is also a call for a renewed interest in this scholarly work for the study of the Late Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean and beyond, as well as for some professional retrospection as to how far scholars' conflict of priorities (a focus on professional competition and personal ambition rather than the promotion of knowledge) can wreak havoc in the objective pursuit of (historical) truth as well as in others' careers and by extension, lives. Limited archaeological and epigraphic knowledge of the time, academic competition within certain circles in France and Germany, and what is more, a glaring inability to evaluate the text as authentically Greek, resulted in its easy dismissal, based, with few exceptions, on people who could read

10 See for example Farrer's (1907, 194-200) grandiloquent indictment of Wagenefeld's alleged forgery.

only the Latin translation in the vulgate idiom still spoken at the time as a *lingua franca*.[11]

Demonstrating the authenticity of the *manuscript facsimile* (henceforth, **"MF"**) does not impugn contemporary understandings of the Late Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean – rather, it fills the gaps and perhaps changes some of the long-established paradigms unquestionably inherited from earlier generations of scholars that continue to have an impact as modern researchers unconsciously confine themselves to artificial limits imposed through cognitive bias.[12] Secondarily, it is a vindication of the memory of a young scholar whose life was cut short not least through diffused academic pompousness, paternalism and public defamation on thin grounds. Although the present study was not researched and composed as a defense speech for posthumous acquittal, inevitably there are repercussions in that direction too. [13]

Contrariwise, if future research eventually exposes the text as fraudulent, confirming earlier views, then the present study can function as a testament to the ingeniousness of someone able to picture a civilization dating to over 3000 years earlier, commandeering the voices of Phoenician sailors and scribal students of the late 2nd millennium BCE, on the basis of ancient Greco-Roman literary sources, thus anticipating 21st-century archaeological and epigraphic research on the ancient Mediterranean history. Even in such an eventuality, there is value in this enterprise, as a call to turn again towards the much-discredited, within certain archaeological quarters in this century, literary sources as a source of historical knowledge, not just as reflections of the oft-repeated tropes of 'constructions', and 'agendas' of ancient historians and geographers.

The penultimate time that anyone examined the manuscript text purportedly containing Philo's Nine Books of *Phoenician History* was a year before the MF was published in full, on the basis of a brochure that Wagenfeld issued, circulating an abridged version as a preparatory stage. The final judgement that sealed the verdict on the authenticity of the manuscript was peremptory and yet itself called for a revision of opinion should the full manuscript be published, but it proved a bulwark to any fruitful debate. The man to determine the fate of Philo's work and fatefully, Wagenfeld's own life, was no other than Philippe Les Bas, a Hellenist and tutor to Napoleon III (-1827), son of a prominent member of the 1789 French Revolution. After the full publication of the MF, a German translator of the text accepted the authenticity of the manuscript, but by then no one was to pay any attention to Wagenfeld or his MF. The tide had turned and it was to last centuries. Indeed, an appraisal, is long overdue.

2. History of discovery and the premature and facile verdict of forgery

In summary, the *alleged* circumstances of the discovery of the MF are contained in the exchange of letters informing of the discovery, and in newspaper articles that dealt with the affair, along with personal accounts of those involved (minus Wagenfeld, who does not appear to have publicly authored a defence, minus his reserved comments in the preface of his 1837 publication of the MF). According to these recounts and personal commentaries, the manuscript in question was found in a box, along with other manuscripts, at a convent, Santa Maria de Marinhão, situated between the Douro and Minho rivers in northern Portugal.

11 On Latin as a *lingua franca* to the late 18th c. Europe, see Tosi (2020: 168-188).

12 For the need to critically examine inherited flaws in our construction of models in Aegean Late Bronze Age (which was hardly 'self-contained' in the Aegean), see recently Kelder (2024); Waal (2022).

13 Regardless of the different principal aims of this study, the conclusions reached here provide a proof of Wagenfeld's integrity, restoring his reputation as a scholar, while at the same time denouncing the presumptuous arrogance and grating narrow-mindedness of his era's scholarship, and the easiness with which personality assassinations were summarily executed and publicly performed – sadly, features of academia that are not entirely absent nowadays.

A certain Portuguese man by the name João Pereira first sent a letter to Georg H. Pertz, seemingly posted from Oporto (Porto, Portugal) in 1835, informing him of the existence of the manuscript. Soon after, he sent another letter, this time addressing it to Friedrich Wagenfeld. In the correspondence on the affair which G.F. Grotefend published in 1836, Pereira's nephew turns out to be a man who had spent a stint in Bremen, where he made Wagenfeld's acquaintance in the latter's capacity as a tutor in Portuguese – hence his uncle's vote of confidence in him.[14]

Friedrich Wagenfeld, the culprit behind this alleged orchestration of a scientific fraud concerning the lost manuscript of Philo's work, was then a 26-year-old scholar who had studied philology (and likely, theology too) for four years at the renowned University of Göttingen. In 1836, a brochure (also referred to as 'epitome' in later publications) appeared under his authorial name, purportedly containing an abridged version of the alleged manuscript text in Greek that had been found in Portugal, with the following title: *Sanchuniathon's Urgeschichte der Phönizie in einem Auszuge aus der wieder aufgefundened Handschrift von Philo's vollständige Überlieferung nebst Bemerkungen. Mit einer Borworte von Dr. G.F. Grotefend, Director des Lyceums des Lyceusm zu Hannover*.[15]

This brochure was published by the editorial house Hahn in Hannover, it contained an abridged facsimile of the manuscript text in Greek, and an 'avant-propos' by Georg Friedrich Grotefend, then director of a Lyceum in Hannover. Of some standing in philological circles, the author of this foreword conducted linguistic research on inscriptions from Persepolis and Lycia, and is now best known for his (later) contributions towards the decipherment of Persian cuneiform (Grotefend 1840). Initially generating enthusiasm, the announcement of the discovery of the manuscript was soon greeted with scorn, following the dismissal of the work as a forgery by Carl Ludwig Grotefend, Georg Friedrich son. This younger Grotefend had just begun making his name in the scholarly circles dedicated to antiquity studies, publishing around the same time his decipherment of the Karoshthi script inscribed on 'Indo-Greek' coins (Grotefend 1836; 1839). Taking it upon himself to demonstrate Wagenfeld's mendacity, he aired his opinions, aided by the published correspondence between his father, Georg Friedrich and the purported Portuguese contact that had informed Wagenfeld of the manuscript's existence, signed by the name João Pereira. Returning a verdict of forgery on the basis of the circumstances of its discovery as contained in the correspondence and the absence of a publicly available manuscript ready for inspection, Carl Ludwig Grotefend effectively muted through intimidation the enthusiastic initial impulse of its reception, with vehement critique on issues lateral to the actual content of the manuscript that was yet to be published by Wagenfeld.

C.L. Grotefend's criticism zeroed in on the following points. Allegedly the Portuguese convent where the manuscript had been found according to the correspondence Grotefend the senior had received and proceeded to publish in 1836 was called Santa Maria de Marinhão, said to be located between the river Minho and Douro – the very existence of which convent was summarily dismissed by Grotefend the younger. Several added reasons were listed by him on why the manuscript had never existed, and according to this view, neither had the sender of the letters who signed as 'João Pereira'. That a Portuguese man by the

14 The events of this affair, as presented here, are reconstructed through various publications that were contemporary to the events as well as later publications: Le Bas (1836); Wagenfeld (1837); Classen (1837); Farrer (1907), in addition to others tangentially treating the subject and cited below where appropriate.

15 I have maintained the original spelling, as reported in Classen (1837, vi). Although one would expect the original title of the abridged facsimile of 1836 to have been in Latin, Classen cites it in German, maintaining the Latin for the 1837 full publication, from which it may be inferred that he kept the source language in quoting the titles of the two publications in German and Latin respectively. In Le Bas (1836), the 1846 title is translated into French: *Analyse de l'histoire primitive des Phéniciens par Sanchuniathon, faite sur le manuscrit nouvellement re-trouvé de la traduction complète de Philon; avec des observations de Fr. Wagenfeld.*

name João Pereira could have written letters in Latin to German scholars was deemed incredible because Portuguese 'knights' such as Pereira (in one contemporary version of the saga) or monks (in another) – a variance itself evident of how misinformation spread – Grotefend the younger argued, were not versed in Latin (!). Added to this criticism was that the first letter sent by Pereira informing of the manuscript spelled his name as the unattested Portuguese surname 'Pereiro', evidently not taking into account the possibility of misreading a signature in a hand-written letter. Furthermore, an additional reason to distrust the account of the discovery was that according to Grotefend, the epistolary paper Pereira (or someone hiding under this name) had used was made in Hannover, and therefore the letter had never actually been posted from Portugal, but was written and sent from within a German city. Thus, C.L. Grotefend concluded, this Pereira was Wagenfeld's figment of imagination, part of his scheming.

These are incredulous factors on which to base a judgement on the authenticity of the manuscript. And yet the matter was considered settled within months of the appearance of the brochure containing a facsimile of the abridged manuscript in Greek, in essence some excerpts of it, in 1836. With suspicions stoked by C.L. Grotefend, the initial favourable reactions as to its authenticity by experts, including by Wilhelm Gesenius, who in 1837 published a corpus of Phoenician and Punic inscriptions, turned into divided opinions.[16] Within at most nine months of the *epitome*'s publication, the brochure made available with the text in Greek, was discredited as a forgery in the press. This rebuttal of its authenticity was published by Le Bas (1836), who did not wait for the full publication of the MF in the following year before treating it as a forgery, publishing a letter by G.F. Grotefend addressed to him that excoriated the young scholar, in which the former was forthright about wanting to 'to drive him up the wall' ("le mettre au pied du mur") in order to get certitude over the matter of the manuscript's authenticity.[17] In particular, focusing his account on the initial acceptance of the manuscript's existence by G.F. Grotefend who had penned the foreword of the brochure, a puzzled Le Bas's (1836) reproduced the letter that he had received from him, who had retrospectively repudiated the authenticity of the manuscript. Yet already in his 1836 foreword, G.F. Grotefend's embracing of the manuscript's authenticity betrayed an oscillating stance. Befuddled at this mixed stance, to the point of considering an excerpt of G.F. Grotefend's preface to Wagenfeld's brochure, reproduced in the English-speaking press (*Athenaeum*, 25 July 1836), of spurious authorship, Le Bas (1836, 546) quoted his colleague's desultory remarks from the newspaper article:[18]

> *je suis moralement convaincu que l'extrait de Sanchuniathon n'est qu'une ingénieuse fiction. Et je fais cette déclaration sans attendre aucune recherche, qui prendrait trop de temps; car, en supposant qu'en définitive le résultat démontrât que cette déclaration n'était pas fondée, elle suffit dès à présent pour engager M. Wagenfeld a défendre son honneur en donnant des preuves de sa probité.*

With compelling clarity, in this simpering confession of sorts, one diagnoses a case of social coercion, pompousness void of facts but no academic authority. Enthusiastically embracing the manuscript in print, Grotefend backtracks out of fear of being proven wrong at the very same time, in his own preface to Wagenfeld's 1836 abridged publication of the manuscript. While acknowledging he is now "morally convinced" that the manuscript is a "fiction", the paradoxical claim follows that he makes this "declaration without waiting for any research,

16 See a summary in Le Bas (1836, 558), mentioning that an expert was also consulted on the narrative of Sri Lanka after the publication of Wagenfeld's abridged brochure.

17 Letter, in French, of 18 August 1836, reproduced in Le Bas (1836, 547).

18 All translations from ancient and modern languages are by the present author unless otherwise stated.

which would take too much time" on the expectation that should the opposite obtain, Wagenfeld would rise to the challenge of "defending his honour" by giving "evidence of his integrity". Poor young Wagenfeld. No longer satisfied with evidence on the whereabouts of the manuscript or the chronological accuracy of its contents, the academic establishment of his time demanded of him to defend his honour, as if urging him to a duel. Histrionic displays of honour by scholars had taken centre-stage in the unfolding drama.

With more reason, Le Bas (1836, 546) appeared aware of that focus on character assassination and tried to delve, instead, into the facts of the purported manuscript text, translating long passages of the abridged publication, though dwelling on the point that the manuscript had not be shown to the interested public. Nonetheless, the French philologist treated Wagenfeld with kid's gloves, musing over the young scholar's scientific knowledge, his "deep sentiment for the ancient Semitic past" and his "so poetic and fecund imagination" that imbued an ingenious work, one which nevertheless was to destroy the young German man's future, offering the caveat that he himself may reconsider his views if and when the full MF were to appear.[19] Laying out in this manner the events of the affair as he understood them at the time, the French Hellenist weighed in on the evidence, deeming Wagenfeld's abridged brochure of the manuscript a forgery, albeit one composed with feeling and imagination, adding at the very end of his otherwise scathing critique that the young German may have elaborated on an actual, existing manuscript (!).

The paradoxes among Wagenfeld's detractors did not end there. In the same rebuttal deeming the manuscript a fraud, Le Bas (1836: 545), supplied copious references to other discovered manuscripts, or fragments thereof, of Philo's works, reported by different witnesses in different world regions. These comprised an unpublished fragment in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence, reported by a certain Beck who mentioned this in a note on "the Greek library of Fabricius", adding that another manuscript fragment had been collected in the "Orient" by someone named Peiresc, who had taken it to Rome to a certain "Père Kircher", with the latter refusing to publish it, in addition to reporting the witness account of another individual, Léon Allatius, who himself had seen a manuscript of Philo of Byblos in a "monastery in the environs of Rome" (Le Bas 1836: 545). At least the first individual named "Beck" can be identified with Christian Daniel Beck, who had published two volumes of an edition of Pindar with Scholia in 1792-1795, and who, as an experienced classicist, must have been unlikely to misidentify a manuscript containing a lost treatise in Greek.[20] This is a total of three manuscripts or parts of manuscripts that to this day remain unpublished and unlocated, in addition to the one deemed a forgery. The four manuscripts reported to contain part or in its totality Philo's text in Florence, Rome and in the 'Orient' are way too many, with disjointed histories and different people reporting on their existence, for all to have been forgeries, fictions and delusions.

Despite all this international rebuttal of the authenticity of the manuscript based on the publication of an abridged version in 1836, and the paternalistic treatment Wagenfeld had received, the young scholar was not shocked enough to be deterred from the publication of the full MF. Although the final publication was not suppressed, the damage was fully done. By the time the full text of the entire manuscript was published in the following year (Wagenfeld 1837) supplemented with a Latin translation (*Sanchuniathonis historiarum Phoeniciae libros novem graece versos a Philone Byblio edidit latinaque*

19 "on ne pourra s'empêcher de regretter qu'avec tant de science, avec un sentiment si profond des antiquités sémitiques, une imagination si poétique et si féconde, il ait compromis son avenir littéraire en se rendant coupable d'une supercherie qui ne peut nuire en rien à ceux qu'il aurait trompés, mais qui porterait à jamais atteinte à son caractère et à son honneur" (Le Bas 1836: 564).

20 On the publications of Christian Daniel Beck on Pindar, see Bauer (2015: 434, note 35).

versione donavit F. Wagenfeld), the young German scholar had turned into an outcast. Yet the published volume of the full MF (Wagenfeld 1937) runs to over 100 pages of a text in ancient Greek with the attendant translation into Latin on the opposite page (**Fig. 1**). The only defence of himself that Wagenfeld mounted were a few lines in the Preface of this full publication of 1837. Holding his poise, but brittle, the young graduate dismissed Grotefend's remarks against him (as declared in the preface of the 1836 edition) as a redundant urge for him to speedily proceed with the publication of the full MF, and apologized for taking some time to do so, on account of arranging for the correct typographic fonts for the Greek text.

In April of the same year, thus with accelerated speed, of which modern scholarship should be envious, a German translation of the Nine Books of the MF was published by Johannes Classen (1837), by the title *Sanchuniathon's Phönizische Geschichte* ('Sanchuniathon's Phoenician History'), ostensibly so as to compensate for Wagenfeld's lack of translation of the MF into a modern language and purportedly, as a corrective to his many errors as a translator. In his own preface, Classen chafed at a litany of real or perceived shortcomings of the 1837 MF seeking to correct them,[21] while also giving a full and lengthy run-down of the reception of the "unseen" manuscript affair up to that moment, thus reiterating the negative critique Wagenfeld had received, and even reproducing in German, as Les Bas did in French from an English translation, Grotefend's declamatory moralizing on Wagenfeld ("daß er sich durch eingezogene Erkundingungen moralish überzeugt habe jener Auszug sei nur eine sehr ...gelugene Dictung" [("that I am, through collected inquiries, morally convinced that this excerpt is a very lying dictation"] (Classen 1837: viii). Yet surprisingly, this was not one more repudiation of the manuscript's existence.

21 Including typographic errors, but principally, according to Classen's opinion, grammatical errors and in addition, Wagenfeld's alleged deficiencies as a translator of the Greek language (Classen 1837: v).

Three pages before the ending of that Preface, Classen suddenly delves into an exclamatory espousal of the unadulterated authenticity of the manuscript, which finds its way into the dense critique of the previous pages, yet even that is paired with slighting Wagenfeld as a Greek philologist:

> *Nein, Herr Wagenfeld had sicher nicht diese Bücher der Geschichte des Sanchuniathon geschrieben, weil wir ihm, offen gesagt, nicht so viel Griechisch, neder das Gutes noch das Schlimme an der Sprache zutrauen.*
>
> "No, Mr Wagenfeld has certainly not written these Nine Books of the History of Sanchuniathon, because, we do not, openly said, trust him with so much Greek, neither the good nor the bad in the language."

In short, the case of the alleged manuscript fraud began with the initial denouncement coming from the son of the German scholar, C.L. Grotefend, whose father had first ambivalently embraced its authenticity along with Gesenius, who at the time was preparing a corpus of Phoenician inscriptions, published in 1837 (Gesenius 1837).[22] Grounded not in the content of the manuscript, the full publication of which it anticipated, most of the criticism was levelled against the information concerning the discovery and the absence of a manuscript ready to be inspected by scholars located in German states. In 1836, the French rebuttal of its purported authenticity, replete with the period's Franco-German antagonism, written in the same year as the publication of an abridged version of the alleged manuscript text and prior to its full publication in 1837, appears to have turned into the tombstone of the published edition of a manuscript that was as yet to see the light of day.

Yet in 1836, Le Bas had left open the possibility that the manuscript was authentic at the very ending of his diatribe; some months later,

22 Gesenius' comments appeared in print in the *Athenaeum* of 25 July 1836.

Classen (1837) had proclaimed its authenticity, noting the idiomatic language use in Greek that could not have been of Wagenfeld's invention, albeit serving his defence of the manuscript with vehement remarks against the man who had speedily translated the manuscript into Latin and published it. Far from a redemptive manifesto, Classen's publication dealt a blow to the intellectual qualities of the young scholar, a match for his moral failings according to the grouchy Grotefend. By then nothing mollified the hostile reactions, casting doubt on the declamatorily supercilious pronouncements on Wagenfeld's alleged failing moral and scholar qualities.

Enough of hostility and public humiliation in German, French and English intellectual quarters had been brewed, leaving the young Wagenfeld without means to defend himself and his work. That scholars of a certain clout had publicly humiliated Wagenfeld may not have been unrelated to his early death 11 years later out of alcoholism at the age of 36, having confined his intellect to German folkloric studies. It is worth recalling that G.F. Grotefend had remarked in his private correspondence with Le Bas (1836) that his intention was to "drive him up a wall". In that he succeeded. Internationally discredited within scholar circles as a fraudster, humiliated and cast away, Wagenfeld was ultimately defeated by the arrogance, conservatism and inertia of those who should have proven intellectually curious and men of integrity. Such was his disgrace even posthumously that Gustav Freytag modeled his 1871 didactic novela *Die verlorene Handschrift* ('The Lost Manuscript') on Wagenfeld's affair with the Philonic manuscript. Even in death Wagenfeld remained under strict tutelage.

An ebullient climate appeared to have prevailed in the academy in the 1830s, and the ultimate judgement on the manuscript's authenticity may owe something to personal ambition and envy, in addition to Franco-German antagonism following the annexation of German territories by Napoleonic forces, events within living memory of the actors of the manuscript affair.[23] Some French-German enmity evident in Le Bas (1836) critique, subtle in its expressions, may have coloured the conclusions drawn therein, not independent of the political and military conditions of the time. To make matters worse, Grotefend the younger's dismissal of Wagenfeld's publication as authentic came out the same year the former published his seminal deciphering of the Bactro-Indian coinage legends (Grotefend 1836; 1839) – perhaps he did not want the spotlights of glory directed elsewhere. Emerging nationalistic distortions of the ancient past may have also been a contributing factor. By 1840, in a nationalistic turn that did not leave antiquity unaffected, Angelo Mazzoldi discounted all Phoenician and Greek contributions to the ancient past of Italy and Sicily, considering instead the Mediterranean as born from Italians.[24] A fractious Europe following the 1848 revolutions that swept much of France, the Prussian and Habsburg empires, and the Italian kingdoms across the western, central and north-eastern regions of the continent, reaching the northern Balkans, was not propitious for revising old scholarly tenets. The university system itself was undergoing rapid reforms on discipline formation, often aiming at solidifying imperial power (as in the Austro-Hungarian empire), which would not have advanced a multi-disciplinary look at the discredited MF containing Philo's work. In essence, not only such an important matter was decided a long time ago with the means available at the time, but also in a political and academic context not conducive to establishing the facts of events. Even with its authenticity proclaimed, the matter was left to fall into oblivion. The barricades of the February 1848 Revolution and the June

23 As of 1810, when Napoleonic forces withdrew, Hannover pertained to the Kingdom of Hannover; while Bremen (annexed by Napoleon in 1811-1813) and Lübeck, Wagenfeld's and Classen's domiciles respectively, regained their former autonomy as members of the German Confederation only after 1813.

24 On Mazzoldi's impact on Phoenician studies, see Gras et al. (1989: 13-14).

Uprising of the same year in France put a stop to other kinds of flows from the past, recalibrating priorities.

Even allowing for prodigal interests and training into classical and biblical studies, Wagenfeld was a young university philology and theology graduate at the time and it is doubtful that he could have accomplished such a forgery of an ancient Greek text at a length spanning over 100 pages, and one which he could with some degree of persuasion claim to have been the translation of a compilation of treatises and autobiographies written by various Canaanite/Phoenician individuals, containing a plethora of Semitic names given in Greek, and recreating an ancient eastern Mediterranean world that is familiar from modern archaeological and historical research. Even leaving aside the motive for such a hypothesized stunt, composing a book in ancient Greek that fits the fragments quoted by Eusebius would constitute more than an aberrant feat, an inexplicable one. Texts in ancient Greek spanning Nine Books published in over 205 pages of parallel text in Greek and Latin, with a dense narrative content offering many events in great detail, describing Phoenician myth and travels stretching from Tartessos in Iberia to the Indian Ocean, steeped in the history of the late 2nd millennium BCE eastern Mediterranean world that only archaeological research two centuries later can corroborate in its broad outline, would have been a tall order with modern technology, let alone in the 1830s, for a young German scholar who had undertaken only few years of university studies. Of all these considerations, the most astounding fact is that the content of manuscript corresponds to the social and political history of Canaanite city-states that modern research since the 1830s has sketched out, and to archaeological finds that demonstrate interregional contacts between the Levantine coast and the Indian Ocean. In the 1830s, it was somehow easier to consider the manuscript discovery story a fraud because the letter of an alleged Portuguese contact was written on paper manufactured in Hannover than to reject that a young scholar would write 205 pages in 2nd c. CE Greek and vernacular Latin – rather than assume, in fact, that for reasons of legality or financial gains pertaining to the acquisition of a rare manuscript, the account given on the circumstances of its discovery was partly fictive but the manuscript did in fact exist, and may have been sold off by then by whoever had looted it, or was destroyed following the hostile reception of Wagenfeld's publications.

Rather, the counter-argument of inauthenticity bears the burden of proof, as the vigorous but in places vacuous rebuttals of two centuries ago neither dispel the qualms of accepting the MF as a fraud, nor answer persuasively as to how a German graduate could reconstruct in such detail a past society now known to have operated along the lines described therein. In essence, arguing that composing in Hellenistic Greek a comprehensive, reasonable narrative centred on Canaanite/Phoenician culture by a German in 1830s is more outlandish than the discovery of a manuscript of an ancient treatise in a Portuguese convent. So many manuscripts, after all, containing ancient texts were transferred to Latin America from Spain and Portugal, forming the core of the collections of the large holdings of Jesuit libraries.[25]

No actual scholarship on the 1837 publication in Greek and Latin has been produced since, and references to it consist only in grandiose statements on the supposed most 'daring hoax' by authors who evidently were not versed in the Greek language and could not philologically opine on the possibility that the text was authentic, that it reflected the linguistic idiom and tropes of Philo's era and region, and that it fits the picture sketched out by progress into Phoenician history since Wagenfeld's tine. Although the affair continues to generate popular interest, the output consists in rehashing the old charade, even romantically claiming that Wagenfeld's books are lost,

25 On classical traditions in Latin America, and the role of manuscripts brought from Europe therein, see contributions in Laird & Miller (2018).

as if in the hazy mist of a fairytale themselves.[26] In the most recent publication on Philo's *Phoenician History*, reference to Wagenfeld and his use of this alleged manuscript is made in a footnote (Delalonde 2021: 31), with the clarification that the manuscript never existed, albeit without any discussion or arguments as to the reasons behind adhering to such a stance that takes it cue directly from scholars working with the tools available in 1836.[27] Thus, current aphorisms mindlessly follow on the 1836 dictum, having been propagated in the scholarship ever since,[28] without anyone actually having looked at the manuscript text in Greek!

It is the contention here that the MF, regardless of whether the original manuscript can ever be tracked down somewhere, requires serious scrutiny with the means available at present. Employing some of these means, the text of the (alleged) forgery requires urgent reexamination in light of this recent historical, archaeological, philological and biblical research and with this in mind, the present study contributes towards a reappraisal for determining its authenticity – and if fissiparous tendencies are detected in the present study's fields of interest, it is not so as to exhaust the subject, or claim multi-expertise for its author, but so as to recruit all means possible in making a claim of authenticity.

3. A multi-parameter thesis of the authenticity of the manuscript on historical, philological, ancient historical and archaeological grounds

3.1 A thesis of its authenticity based on addressing the account of its discovery

If we are to credit Wagenfeld's account of events, C.L. Grotefend's charge of fraud on the basis of the German-manufactured epistolary paper of Pereira's letters may betoken nothing more than that the Portuguese contact had visited Hannover, or bought paper made in Hannover at some stage (or even borrowed the epistolary paper from his nephew who had spent a stint in Bremen!). At any rate, the exact conditions of the discovery of the manuscript are of lesser importance since secrecy over the possession of a rare manuscript may have been preferred for a number of reasons. A fiction over the circumstances of its discovery does not make the manuscript automatically fictitious.

The historical events of its discovery suggest that the manuscript may have been plundered during the military conflict that took place between 1828 and 1834 pitting the forces of Dom Pedro IV, ex-emperor of Brazil, against those of his brother, Dom Miguel, pretender to the Portuguese throne, who had usurped the crown of Portugal.[29]

Furthermore, Grotefend's charge that there was no monastery of Santa Maria in Marinhão, turning the manuscript's locale of discovery into a fictive one, thereby adding to the suspicion with which Wagenfeld's discovery was met, may be due to a simple error in names. A convent

26 "[...] como el libro de Freytag, perdido hoy en los anaqueles de los germanistas, las falsificaciones de Wagenfeld casi desaparecieron.", see "Friedrich Wagenfeld" (2019): https://perfilformosa.com/general/friedrich-wagenfeld-la-vida-breve-de-un-linguista-brillante-que-falsifico-la-primera-historia-de-todos-los-tiempos/

27 "l'arnaque scientifique de Friedrich Wagenfeld qui, en 1836, publie son Sanchuniatons Urgeschichte der Phönizier, traduction allemande d'un prétendu nouveau manuscrit complet de l'Histoire Phénicienne découvert à Porto, qui n'a jamais existé." (Delalonde 2021, note 28).

28 See Barr (1974: 17): "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." Yet James Barr was a biblical scholar whose expertise in the Greek language amounted to a sole Master of Arts in Classics decades prior and who never appears to have published on Greek literature. It seems that the aura of scholarly authority in one field transferred to opinions voiced for other disciplines, leading to a chain of non-expert caustic irony on Wagenfeld amounting to nearly two centuries worth of scorn without a single investigation into the matter since the mid-1830s.

29 Known as the 'War of the Two Brothers', 'Civil War', 'Miguelite Wars' or 'War of the Portuguese Succession' (1828-1834) during which time Dom Pedro abdicated the Brazilian throne (1831) and faced off his brother in the Azores and in Portugal. For a contemporary to the period account, see the first-hand testimony of the British naval commander Charles Napier (2013), initially published in 1836, who led the fleet of Dom Pedro against Dom Miguel's forces in 1833.

dedicated to Santa Marinha da Costa is located in Guimarães, 18 km to the west of Marinhão. Could there have been a confusion via which the convent of Santa Marinha, immediately west of Marinhão, turned into Santa Maria de Marinhão in the letters concerning the manuscript? After all, the correspondence between Grotefend, Wagenfeld and the Portuguese contact was in hand-writing (one assumes!) and *Marinha* could easily be mistaken for *Maria* in writing and by scholars from different linguistic and national backgrounds at that. The hypothesis I put forward here is attractive for another reason. Marinhão is situated less than 70 km from the location of the first major battle of the 1828-1834 war that took place at Ponte Ferreira in 1832.[30] Conceivably, the monastery could have been looted and the manuscript stolen by marauding mercenary troops in Dom Miguel's service. But even if the name of the monastery had been indeed fictive, or had not existed at all, the circumstances of its discovery may explain a degree of mendacity on Wagenfeld's part or of his contact, if the manuscript had been plundered from the monastery during the period of military battles and political upheaval of the civil war, and had been whisked out of the country.

That a member of the military forces taking part in this war was from Portugal but had links with Hannover, or that he was from a German city and fought in Portugal, is conceivable given the multinational mercenary battalions deployed. The manuscript being carried off by a Hannoverian officer returning to Hannover or to another German city with a looted manuscript is not only possible but also explains the route via Oporto and the manufacture locale of Pereira's epistolary paper. The war had begun with a populous rebellion against the usurper Dom Miguel breaking out in Oporto, wherefrom Pereira allegedly had posted his letters. The fact that the conflict had only ended in 1834, and the manuscript may have been looted out of the country in ways that were legally questionable, even in Bremen or elsewhere in the new German Confederation, may have been the main pivot determining the silence on the manuscript's whereabouts that followed the original publication of the brochure by Wagenfeld in 1836, and the fact that the manuscript could not be presented to the public, or that a partly fictive account of its discovery was given. In fact, that much concerning a possible plundering of a monastery was conceded by Le Bas (1836: 545-546) in his own rebuttal of the manuscript's authenticity (!), who writing two years after the end of the war was aware of the upheaval in Portugal. Despite his astute judgement and his admission that more manuscripts of Philo's *Phoenician History* had been reported elsewhere by different individuals, he still judged the entire affair a fraud, only leaving a small possibility as to the contrary.

In addition, G.F. Grotefend, in his correspondence with Pereira that was published in 1836, admits that he received another manuscript of a medieval text from Germany, purportedly found in the same box along with Philo's *Phoenician History* manuscript, at the same Portuguese convent (Le Bas 1836). Unless one expects Wagenfeld to have been a master forger of the content of ancient Greek manuscripts over 100 pages long, but also to be handcrafting forged medieval manuscripts with German tales, the accusations of forgery do not hold water. In conclusion, the circumstances of the discovery of the manuscript at a convent during a time of a multi-year war and its removal may have involved illegality and the possibility of disrepute or actual legal action against the culprit, which may explain why the manuscript was not available for examination - had there originally been plans for it to be examined, the accusations levelled against Wagenfeld and the public humiliation that he suffered within the same year would have aborted them. In conclusion, any of these factors may have led to a partly fictive account of the discovery of the manuscript causing its unavailability for inspection, which however does not affect its authenticity.

30 One of the major battles of the war, the battle Ponte Ferreira, Valongo, near the district of Porto, took place on 22-23 1832.

While universally rejected close to two centuries ago, there is no fundamental problem with the MF text in terms of linguistic or historical data or even, narrative form. Several of the evidence for Phoenician colonization in the eastern Mediterranean, which is implied in the text, would not have been a current academic idea in the 1830s. Even a background in Semitic philology and a fantastic knowledge of ancient Greek would require an enormous amount of investment for authoring nine books of an imaginative narrative spanning the regions from Iberia to Sri Lanka with the means available in the 1830s. It seems more likely that the precocious publication by a young scholar lacking the means to defend the authenticity of the manuscript and dying humiliated less than a decade after its publication, resulted in a considerable loss for scholarship, in addition to the loss of his life. It is up to modern and future investigations to examine in depth the text of the purported and probably real manuscript – if this interpretation defending the veracity of Wagenfeld's manuscript publication is correct.

3.2 A thesis for its authenticity based on examination of the knowledge of Phoenician antiquity available in the 1830s

What information could have Wagenfeld consulted to make his forged manuscript appear authentic? The counter-factual pertaining to the claim of forgery requires an assessment of the stage of research and the diffusion of knowledge concerning the Phoenicians by the 1830s. Several aspects of Phoenician colonization, such as its territorial extent, had been published and analyzed at length by that time, even if archaeological excavations were yet to take place. By the mid-19th c., the knowledge concerning Phoenicia – which an interested forger may have absorbed – derived from the Bible and the Greco-Roman literature on Phoenician colonies: principally the works of Diodorus of Sicily and Strabo, as well as ongoing attempts at epigraphic decipherment of Phoenician inscriptions (Fales 2017: 181-182). Knowledge of the Bible would have facilitated Wagenfeld in coining names and toponyms with a biblical ring to them had he decided to contrive a pseudonymous content of an ancient work on the Phoenicians.

Wagenfeld's interest in Philo's *Phoenician History* did not surface out of a Philonic-like primeval void. Fragments pertaining to this work had been published over a century prior to Wagenfeld's forays into Philo in the 1830s, but attention had begun already in the 16th c. In western scholarship, the text appears to have been accessed in print at least by the year 1544, with the edition of extant passages in Eusebius' *PE* by the active printing firm of Robertus Stephanus in Paris,[31] which early print was still a point of reference two centuries later, as demonstrated by the commentary in a mid-18th-century dissertation on Sanchuniathon (Hök 1745). In his work on universal chronology combining philological sources and astronomical and calendrical data so as to build a systematic world chronology, the humanist Joseph Juste Scaliger regarded with distaste the seemingly incoherent work of Philo (1583: 432), a view not shared by Giambattista Vico (1668-1744), who in his *Scienza Nuvoa* (1725) buttressed with several arguments the historicity of Sanchuniathon (Grafton 1975). A translation of the work in English by Richard Cumberland (1720) credited the antiquity of Philo's work and the existence of Sanchuniathon.[32] The latter's historicity was also defended by Samuel Hök (1745) in his short graduate dissertation written in Latin, on the basis of Philo's fragments, offering a critique of what he regarded as the unreasonable critical reception of the historicity of Philo's texts. Another English translation, aspiring to be closer to Eusebius' original, appeared by Isaac Preston Cory (1828) over a century later. Yet soon after, Franz Karl Movers (1836) published a critical study on the strategy of oral transmission in Philo's fragments,

31 See the catalogue issued by this press (Robert 1546), listing the publication of Eusebius' *P.E.* in 1544.

32 On Scalliger and Vico vis-à-vis Philo's *Phoenician History*, see Delalonde (2021: 30-31).

setting the tone for the hostility of much of 18th-century scholarship.

More broadly, discussions over the Phoenician civilization had timidly made a start several centuries prior to Wagenfeld's lifetime. Historical evaluations of the emergence of Phoenician studies (e.g. Gras et al. 1989) single out Samuel Bochart (1599-1667) as a pioneer who systematized research on the Phoenician language and script, as well as on the history of the Phoenician colonies, followed by Simon's (1682) contribution to biblical exegesis. By the 18th c. the Phoenician presence in the Mediterranean was being discussed widely in historical circles, assisted through archaeological finds and forays into Phoenician epigraphy. In 1758, Abbé Jean-Jacques Barthélemy (1716-1795) gave a seminal lecture on Phoenician monuments and the alphabets. His study of the Phoenician alphabet concerned inscriptions and numismatic evidence, including from Cyprus and Malta, thus giving an extent of the geographical ambit of the Phoenician civilization.[33] Transcribing Phoenician inscriptions from Kition and Malta, of which the first had been found *in situ* and reported in print by Pococke (1745, vol II: 213), who had described the foundations of what in his view was a Phoenician colony, Barthélemy (1764) discussed the deciphering in dialogue with passages from Eusebius' oeuvre. That Kition was a Phoenician colony would have been known from Greek literature, for example from the biography of Zeno, the Stoic philosopher, a Phoenician native of the city. The famous Assyrian Sargon stele was discovered in Larnaca only in 1845 and important excavations did not occur until late in the following century.

In the same year of Barthélemy's seminal study, Michele Vargas-Machuca (1764) first claimed that the Campanian coast, from Ischia and the entire region of the Bay of Naples to Capri, was first colonized by the Phoenicians and at a later stage, by Chalcidian Euboeans. By the late 18th c. the ambit of Phoenicians, initially on the authority of Diodorus of Sicily (*Bib. Hist.*) and Josephus (*Ant Jud.)*, had even reached the shores of the British Isles. The Phoenician legacy was seen not only in Phoenician commercial enterprises of tin acquisition in Cornwall, but in the antiquity of the Irish language itself, as argued by Charles Vallancey (1772) in his *An essay on the antiquity of the Irish language; being a collation of the Irish with the Punic language*, in which he claimed that the Irish language bore traces of Phoenician heritage. Almost becoming a household name, the Phoenicians had left the ambit of scholarly circles, invading other social and professional realms. Indicative of that is the following episode taking place in central America. In May 1786, under the orders of José Estachería, President of the Royal Audiencia of Guatemala, a reconnaissance of abandoned Maya cities was undertaken by Antonio del Río, Captain of Artillery in the Spanish army, and Ricardo Almendáriz, professional artist, with the former, upon encountering Mesoamerican ruins, declaring the following about those who had built Palenque, Chichén Itza and Uxmal: "the conclusion… must be that the ancient inhabitants of these structures lived in extreme darkness, for, in their fabulous superstitions, we seem to view the ideology of the Phoenicians, the Greeks, the Romans and other primitive nations most strongly portrayed". Antonio del Río then goes on to suggest that " […] some one of these nations pursued their conquests even to this country […]".[34] One gathers that if Phoenician antiquity was commonplace or a familiar encyclopedic knowledge among the military personnel sent to entrench Spanish colonial rule in Mexico in the 1780s, with military commanders so well-versed in Phoenician history as to espouse a possible Phoenician ancestry for Maya cities, then a philologist in Germany a century later could have come up with the idea of writing a fabulous account of Philo's text. On that, he would have had a state-of-the-art historical grounding, arriving in the following decade.

33 On the seminal steps into Phoenician history, see Gras et al. (1989: 11-12).

34 del Rio (1822: 19), cited in Drew (1994: 42-43).

In 1793, the first volume of Arnold Hereen's (1793-1815) historical work on "the politics, intercourse, and trade of the principal nations of antiquity"[35] developed the historical outline, political and commercial structures of Asiatic people, devoting at least a third of the book to the Phoenicians, along with presenting historical narratives on the Babylonians and Persians. Stressing their role in the development of the Mediterranean, going into detail in the organization of commerce across the Mediterranean, the Red Sea and the Arabian Peninsula, Hereen discussed various themes utilizing Greco-Roman authors: the exploitation of argentiferous ores in Andalusia (Strab. *Geog.* 3), spice trade with Arabia in the Red Sea and beyond through the coastal seaways and overland caravan routes, as well as early trade with Egypt, involving Greeks and Phoenicians (e.g. on cinnamon: Hdt. *Hist.* 3.111), informed through a critical examination of the Bible and other sources.
A detour on Tyrian Herakles put emphasis on Mediterranean trade with Egypt.
Several of the German historian's insights on Greek myth and Phoenician commerce, as well as the organization of commercial structures and the commodities traded, while relying on ancient Greek sources for the most part, on occasion picked through a curious elective affinity, such as Hellenistic-era Theophrastus' bucolic poetry, would not have been out of place in contemporary accounts of the Phoenicians, with the caveat that the latter almost exclusively privilege archaeology over literary sources. By the 1830s, discussion on the mineral wealth of southern Iberia was gaining attention.[36] In the year Wagenfeld's MF appeared in print, Gesenius' (1837) *Scripturae Linguaeque Phoeniciae*, a milestone on Phoenician epigraphy in three volumes, was also to be published, yet too late for Wagenfeld to have consulted it while weaving a forged narrative on Phoenicians. Another multi-volume work dedicated exclusively to the Phoenicians, authored by Franz Karl Movers, appeared in four volumes between 1841 and 1856. The first volume, dedicated to the religion and gods of the Phoenicians (Movers 1841), came out five years after Wagenfeld's published manuscript. Phoenician archaeology began with Ernest Renan's exploration mission of Lebanon, tasked by Napoleon III in 1860 and published as *Mission de Phénicie* (Renan 1864).

By the late 18th and early 19th centuries, exciting discoveries and research into the Phoenician past, from historical, archaeological and epigraphic perspective, could have motivated a 'scientific' fraud. In a climate charged with a *Phoenicomania,* from a private obsession to a public climate shaping tastes on the reception of antiquity, Phoenicians had become a household name, had been claimed as ancestors to the Irish and were being sharpened as notional, if not real, ancestors to the commercially-focused, British empire-building.

Had Wagenfeld intended to recreate a lost Phoenician world, Hereen's volumes, published in Wagenfeld's native tongue, would have provided a backbone as to the kind of society and political structure his text was to envision, in addition to being able to directly consult ancient sources, such as Strabo (*Geog.* 3) on the Phoenician settlement and the exploitation of the mineral wealth of Iberia. From this source of information alone, Wagenfeld could have weaved into his allegedly fictional account an episode of Melqart set in Kition, naming his main character Melikarthos, a name mentioned by Bartélemy (1764).

In the MF, Crete is referred to as a place with once a formidable navy, the population of which was later concentrated on the mountains, while on the coasts there were located substantial Phoenician colonies of various cities. Excavations revealing the now-termed Minoan and Mycenean past of

35 This was the English title of the translated work (Hereen 1846); the original publication of this multi-volume work in German spanned a long period of time, see Hereen (1793-1815).

36 Specifically on Augustan-era mines in southern Iberia, see volume 11 of the *Mémoires des Institutes Royale de France, Academie des Belles Lettres* (1835), which referred the reader to earlier volumes.

Greece were yet to take place, so there was little to go by on the Canaanite settlement in Crete described in the MF. Heinrich Schliemann's excavations at Mycenae would not begin before 1878, almost half a century after Wagenfeld's publication. The maritime character of what is termed the Minoan civilization, and concepts of thalassocracy, to which the MF clearly alludes, had no archaeological corroboration until the discovery of Knossos in the early 20th c. Thus, on the importance of Cretans as a significant seafaring nation in the 2nd millennium BCE, Wagenefeld would not have had access to the archaeological discoveries of the Minoan civilization, which were yet to take place. Other than drawing inspiration in poetic reminiscence over the divine Minos as a watcher and guardian of Crete (Hom. *Il.* 13.450), and delving into Thucydides' (*Hist.* 1.4) references to Minos as the first to construct a fleet, evict Carians from the Cyclades and install his progeny as governors, Wagenfeld would have had access to Strabo's (Geog. 10.4.8-10.4.9) summarizing of historical knowledge of Minos as an important lawgiver who was the first to rule over the seas (*ἱστόρηται δ' ὁ Μίνως νομοθέτης γενέσθαι σπουδαῖος θαλαττοκρατῆσαι τε πρῶτος*). While Wagenfeld could have glimpsed information on Bronze Age Cretan thalassocracy from such ancient sources, anticipating archaeological discoveries over the maritime character of Cretan Bronze Age through scattered references to Minos' thalassocracy, and granted that he could have had an inkling over the extent of Canaanite travels westwards through the extent of the Phoenician inscriptions that were being studied and published in the 1830s, there is no way he would have been aware of these intricate relations of Canaanites in Crete. As regarding specifically Canaanite/Phoenician settlement on Crete, it is doubtful Wagenfeld could have had any knowledge of such presence on the island.

On present archaeological evidence, early Phoenician presence is unambiguously attested for the Early Iron Age at the sites of Itanos and Kommos on Crete. Given the lengths into which Hereen went in the 1790s so as to describe Phoenician presence in Cyprus, Asia Minor and Sicily, one may suppose that Wagenfeld could have framed his account in that existing historical narrative. In Chapter 2 of Hereen's first volume, the utilization of Crete by Phoenician mariners as a by-way station actually relied on interpreting Herakles' enmity against Geryon, set in Iberia and pertaining to Herakles' 10th labour in the myth, as revealing a kernel of truth. Accordingly, the hero's deadly fight against Geryon, the son of Chrysaor (*'χρῡσ-άωρ'*, cognate with *χρυσός*, 'gold') condenses adversarial encounters between Tyrians and a local, Iberian kingdom. Note that in Hereen's interpretation, Herakles is explicitly equated with Melqart, as a metonyme for Phoenician commercial expansion.

Another problem that attends the evaluation of the authenticity of the manuscript concerns the snippets of information on Phoenician presence on Crete available to Wagenfeld through Stephanos of Byzantium's (Ethn. S.v. *Ἴτανὸς*) reference to Itanos, mentioned in this Byzantine work as a port and colony on the edge of Crete, founded by the homonymous son of Phoenix or one of the mixed-origin mythical men known as Kouretes (Strab. *Geog.* 10.3). The assumption that Wagenfeld may have been inspired to build a narrative on Canaanite colonies in Crete having come across this two-line reference to Itanos in Stephanos' dictionary,[37] is weakened by the fact that Meineke's publication of it,

37 The word *Ethnika* had a numinous significance by Stephanus' era in the 6th c., written at a time when *ἐθνικὸς* had acquired the meaning of a follower of idolatrous religions (rather than referring to particular ethnic groups), and for this reason, the translated title of his work is sometimes given as 'Pagan Affairs' or 'On Pagans'; yet in the sense of *Ethnika* being a geographical-cultural dictionary of monumental proportions dedicated to a lexicon pertaining to different nations and civilizations, written by a grammarian with the aim of offering the standard reference for the correct grammatical formation of ethnic adjectives (on this last view, see Browning 2003), such translations of the title must be incorrect. Nonetheless, since this work, originally spanning 60 volumes, is known in an abridged version redacted by HermolaUs, there are limitations as to the conclusions that can be drawn on Stephanus' intention.

the first modern publication, took place in 1849, with the main text ending on page 713.[38] Even if Wagenfeld had access to the Aldus Pius Manutius' (1502) version of Stephanos' text he must have studied it thoroughly in order to gain inspiration from it on Phoenician colonies in Crete. Although the Aldine Press of the Italian humanist and printer had innovated by introducing the portable book format at a time that incunabula were going out of fashion,[39] it is dubious that Wagenfeld would have had access to a copy and that he would have encountered the brief reference to Itanos on Crete, the Phoenician origins of which are merely alluded to in Stephanos' works. A list of ancient Cretan cities in a manuscript held in the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice features Itanos, albeit it was not published until the middle of the previous century, making it improbable that Wagenfeld was aware of it.[40] Since then, archaeological research has identified Itanos with the abandoned town Erimoupolis ('deserted city') in the Siteia munipality, in north-eastern Lasithion, but the earliest archaeological identification of the site by Federico Halbherr (1891) well postdates Wagenfeld's publication. The only source on Itanos that Wagenfeld may have had access to must be limited to Herodotos' (*Hist.* 4.151.2) remark that prospective Theran colonists, following the oracle of Delphi to found a colony in Libya, arrived in Crete seeking men to guide them in their colonial forays in Libya, chancing upon Korobios, a man from Itanos, who eventually led them to Libya to found Cyrene; yet the episode is not placed in the Late Bronze Age and makes no reference to Phoenician connections for Itanos – albeit, to the sharp-eyed reader of Herodotos' *Histories* it was probably clear that Korobios hailed from a Phoenician colony, for he is singled out as *ἀνδρί πορφυρέι*, a "prophyran man", i.e. a man fishing for murex shell or otherwise associated with it.

Neo-Babylonian cuneiform sources attest to a Phoenician man named *Yatūnu* (ˡ *ia-a-tu-nu*) who held a high royal office as a resident (*qīpu*) of a Babylonian temple ca 750-560 BCE, whose Phoenician name, *ytn* translates as "He has given" (Zadok 2024: 168, 174). This is an independent source for the Phoenician origin of Itanos as a name, with a Hellenized masculine ending in-os. Yet all of that would not have been known in the 1830s. One may retort that the discoveries of Phoenician inscriptions in Wagenfeld's era, from across the Mediterranean, naturally led to an understanding of the reach of Phoenician expansion even if its dates and exact places were shaky. Regarding Phoenician colonies on Crete, Wagenfeld could have conjured up the notion from the plentiful Phoenician inscriptions that had been unearthed across various Mediterranean spots prior to the 1830s, some of which had been published. Similar suspicions could arise on the basis of classical Greek texts that could have added to the general knowledge of Phoenicians and from which Wagenfeld may have gleaned information on Phoenician maritime activities, using them as a source of inspiration.

Book 8 of the MF is a maritime exploration voyage given in the form of a round-sailing trip (*Periplous*) of uncharted territory into the Indian Ocean. Le Bas (1836) painted with aghast incredulity the reception of this account as published in Wagenfeld's (1836) abridged form of the manuscript, charging Wagenfeld with drawing inspiration from the 6th-century BCE Periplous by pseudo-Skylax, a text purporting to be a sailing manual across the Mediterranean, surviving in a 13th-century manuscript and first appearing in print by David Hesel in 1600, providing a possible prototype for the alleged forger. But this is not the only possible source. The *Periplous of Hanno*, narrating a Carthaginian expedition across the coast of Africa and supposedly the Greek translation

38 For the *lemma* Itanos, see Steph. Byz. Ethn. S.v. *Ἴτανὸς*, edited by Meineke (1849: 341).

39 On the humanist Manutius and his innovations in printing, see Margolis (2023).

40 Codex 918 Marciane Biblioteca (Mss. Italiani, Cl. 7, No 918/8392), see the list by Spanakis (1957).

of the original Phoenician text of the 5th c. BCE, survived in the 9th-10th century *Codex Heidelbergensis 398* and was first edited for publication in print by Sigismund Gelenius in Basel in 1533. This first edition in print by Gelenius (1933) included three other works, including Arrianos' (*Anab.*), which in his description of Alexander's III Indian military campaigns (8) supplies an independent testimony for Hanno's' circumnavigation of Africa. The expansive cartographic view offered by these ancient accounts shaped early modern understandings of geographical information at the time of European 'discoveries' of the so-called New World. In this context of expanding maritime navigation, commerce and the emerging extra-territoriality of political authority, classical texts such the *Periplous of Hanno* received attention and influenced the early modern shaping of conceptualizing the world (Kroupa 2019). From this point of view, an enraptured European readership spread knowledge of Hanno' Periplous among certain circles of classical learning far and beyond. Hanno's Periplous may have inspired some of the tales in the description of the sea voyage to the Indian Ocean in Wagenfeld's MF. Conceivably, in his wonder with the Phoenician past, the young scholar could have hunted for rare folios. In both the Periplous undertaken by the Carthaginian Hanno and the one described in Wagenfeld's publication, the sea voyage account has to be written down and deposited at a temple (in the case of Wagenfeld on the columns of the temple, in the case of Hanno, on tablets deposited at the temple). Yet this earlier publication of a Greek translation of a text written in Phoenician and deposited at a temple constitutes in itself no exposé that can dish out Wagenfeld as a forgerer. In describing a maritime expedition force along the coast of Africa by the Carthaginian naval commander Hanno, which was translated into Greek already in antiquity, there is a precedent for this other Phoenician voyage, the recounting of the expedition in writing and its deposition in a temple. After all, topographical lists following expeditions are known to have been inscribed on temple columns in Egypt too (Kilani 2020b: 140-141). One may choose to view the ancient Periplous genre as a *comparandum* for Wagenfeld's discovered manuscript, rather than, as Le Bas (1836) claimed, a source of inspiration for a subversive forgery which sought a gloss of legitimacy in a much-disseminated ancient work.

3.3. *A thesis for its authenticity on historical grounds of textual transmission of antique literature in Iberia*

Further, the examination of the other two factors, history and archaeology of the Phoenician past into Portugal, also suggests authenticity. Although considered forgery and discredited, the postulated discovery of such a manuscript in Portugal is plausible since Phoenician myths survived in Iberia through to the medieval Arab lore. After all, it is now known that the southern and central Portuguese coast was densely inhabited with populations influenced by the Phoenician culture, with Phoenician communities archaeologically detected in the deltas of almost all major river systems of Portugal. Archaeological research has identified Phoenician colonies and Orientalizing settlements on the river plains and estuaries of the Guadiana, the Gilão, the Sado, the Tagus and the Mondego, showing the extent of Phoenician penetration in Iberia. Apart from the cultivation of the domesticated olive and viticulture that continue to this day, other economic practices established by the Phoenician colonial system in the early 1st millennium BCE, such as salt pans and fish preservation, survived well into the medieval period (Pappa 2017: 297-299). It is unclear how late into the Roman period the Phoenician language was spoken in Atlantic Iberia. But it is possible that pockets of Phoenician populations maintained their identity into late antiquity, as in other regions. In Libya, populations self-identifying as Tyrian are epigraphically attested in the Punic language as late as the 5th c. CE (Krahmalkov 1994).

In such a situation, where the ancient Phoenician past was valorized, it is no wonder

that a treatise on Phoenicians written in Greek would have been preserved in a monastery through the Roman period, and the period of the Arab conquests. It could have survived for centuries in a Christian convent even during the Al-Andalus rule given the latitude Islamic rule showed towards Christian monastic life in the early centuries of conquest.[41]

In addition, it is rather significant for the evaluation of the authenticity of the manuscript that the image of Herakles, as a syncretized Melqart, the titulary god of western Phoenicians, continued to play a significant role in popular and elite culture of Iberian societies, not only up to the Roman period, but through to the medieval and beyond. Despite manifold cultural interactions emanating from the Roman conquest of Iberia, this Phoenician god continued to have a bearing in Iberia, leaving his legacy on the independent Spanish and Portuguese kingdoms that evolved out of the disintegration of the Roman empire and the invasions that followed it. Drawing on Roman propaganda for imperial self-representation, the Habsburgs were recasting the legacy of the past as the legitimacy of the present. In the Habsburg empire of Carlos V, with its territorial grasp extending from Spain and the Netherlands to Peru and the Caribbean, the motto of royal propaganda was the that "the sun never set". Yet that was only a repurposing, to the same end, of Roman imperial propaganda. As Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Dion. *Ant. Rom.* 1.3.3) noted, the Romans were the first empire-builders to be remembered for making the sunrise and sunset the boundaries of their empire. Not confined to the expansive view of the empire, royal self-representation in Portugal and Spain drew on the local cults of Melqart that had pre-existed in Iberia, as manifested in the art and culture of the period. A historical examination of the continuing importance of Melqart/Herakles/Hercules in early modern Iberian culture encompasses royal self-representations and the various staged comedy plays that featured Hercules or the emasculation of Hercules (deriving from episodes in his Greek mythology) penned by playwright Pedro Calderón de la Barca.[42] In discussing the importance of Hercules in early modern Iberia, Fox (2019) treats the evidence as a royal propaganda and performance of masculinity in that era, albeit noting that it has relevance for the population which maintained legends and artefacts connected to Hercules.[43] For Fox (2019), Herakles, in his Roman guise as Hercules, becomes a hero of "Hispanic foundational fictions", adopted by the Hapsburg monarchy, which claimed direct descent from Hercules, which King of Portugal Sebastian sought to emulate (1554-1578) (Fox 2019). If an imperial royal house as powerful as the Habsburgs needed a legitimating figure, would they really have resorted to a secondary hero from Rome if this tale had no local traction and relevance at the time? A merely literary analysis of this historical representation of the royal elite fails to trace the gravitas of the myths in Iberia; for far from being a Hispanic fiction of the time of Calderón, these were myths with a presence of over two millennia by then. Down to the 16th c. BCE, tales related to Hercules, entrenched in local memory, were still

41 On the subject of Christian monastic life as a resilient institution in early Islam, from the point of view of fluid or elastic social, religious, but also legal and political interactions between Christians and the ruling Islamic authorities, especially between the 7th and 9th c., see Bowman (2023). Visits of Muslims to monasteries continued and shaped Islamic culture. In Umayyad-ruled Middle East, monasteries became sites of courtly indulgence. Later texts by Muslim authors on monasteries absorbed perceptions of Christianity, generating a wide-ranging Muslim literary tradition that betrayed varied forms of cultural interactions at these Christian institutions (Campbell 2009).

42 *Los tres mayores prodigios (The Three Greatest Prodigies) (1636); El pintor de su deshonra (The Painter of His Dishonor) (1650); Las manos blancas no ofenden (White Hands are No Offense) (ca. 1640); and Fieras afemina Amor (Love Feminizes Beasts) (1670 or 1672).*

43 Fox (2019) argued, as Muñoz (2022) observes, that the motif of the emasculation of Hercules played on the era's legalistic obsessions with maintaining the purity and legitimacy of the bloodline in a family. Such obsession with lineage derived from real-life constraints, such as the award of honours on the condition of fulfilling requirements of a 'pure' familial lineage

in circulation. Such tenacity of mythological figures from the Phoenician past into early modern Spain, through the inherited Roman cultural repackaging, makes it plausible both that manuscripts with Greco-Roman works were circulating, and that a copy of Philo's *Phoenician History* would have been treasured enough to survive. Roman culture, having absorbed the ideas of Hellenistic period, had been integrated into popular ideas and ways of seeing the world, crystallized in the language itself. When Pindar describes that Artemis Lochia ('of pregnancy') and Eilytheia, minor deity of birth labour, are shown in Greek art holding torches, in Pausanias' interpretation the imagery is explained as a symbol of bringing children to light through the act of birth (Parisinou 2000, 162-163). Birth as a way of giving light to children has been transmuted into the common phrase that denotes 'to give birth' in Portuguese: *dar luz* ('to give light').[44] Whether Pausanias was influenced by Roman culture that passed on to Iberia in his interpretation of Greek poetry and art, or whether Roman culture had adopted a Greek way of understanding giving birth as illumination, is a moot point for the survival of ancient motifs in early modern and modern Iberian culture.

Intimations that Phoenician myths contained in Philo's *Phoenician History* circulated for centuries after the Roman conquest, through transmutations, preserved in medieval texts show the continuing importance of a Phoenician myths in the intellectual but mainly popular culture domain. In the geographic book 'The Book of Roger'[45] composed mainly through witness accounts and supplemented by ancient historical and geographic works where the former was not possible, the geographer Muhammad al-Hammudi, known as al-Idrisi, born in the last decades of the 11th c. CE in Ceuta, Spain (under Muslim rule) transmitted a local tale circulating in Lisbon deriving from the myth of the *kabirim*, a variant of the one surviving in Philo's *Phoenician History*. In particular,

Matesanz Gascón (2002) argued persuasively that this medieval tale, set in a distant, timeless world, reflects a Phoenician myth on the eight brothers *kabirim*, described in Philo's work as sailors who built a ship, were shipwrecked near Mount Casius, the Phoenician Mount Saphon, the seat of Canaanite storm gods. When al-Idrisi visited the still-Muslim Lisbon, he was informed that a road close to the 'thermal baths' was called 'the street of the Adventurers' (*al-mugarrarun*). Al-Idrisi's visit to Lisbon dates to before 1115 and this is when he must have received this account. A vernacular story linked to this street name told of a bizarre account where the first primordial brothers, eight in number, built a ship, and out of yearning for adventures, sought to explore the ocean. Landing upon an island with a sycamore tree and rams whose flesh could not be eaten, they sailed off again, but were shipwrecked on a foreign land. Captured by the men of that kingdom, they were kept in prison and then transferred to another place, abandoned while still bound. That place was named 'Asafi'. In his analysis, Matesanz Gascón identified the toponym 'Asafi' in the story, said to be populated with Berbers, with the region of Safi, on the Atlantic coast of Morocco.

But if we look for archaeological support to this medieval topographic description, and Matesanz Gascón's interpretation of a concealed Phoenician myth underlying this medieval lore, there may be some other locality closer at hand. Al-Idrisi's description of 'the street of the Adventurers' being close to the "thermal baths" can be mapped onto the archaeological topography of the city. Medieval Lisbon was known for its thermal springs (Ramalho et al. 2020). The central district, Alfama derives from the Arabic *al-hamma* (thermal, or hot water). Roman baths have been excavated in the foundations of the Palácio Penafiel, located at an area surrounding the intersection of the Rua de São Mamede and

44 Added legacies to the present day in the Lusophone world is the persistence of ancient Greek names, see Pappa (2020a: 374-375)

45 *Nuzhat al-mustaq fi-ijtiraq al-afaq*. For the manuscript history and publication, see Matesanz Gascón (2002: 95, note 61).

Rua das Pedras Negras ('street of black stones'), in the vicinity of the remains of a temple of Kybele.[46] A 4th c. CE inscription identified the baths as the *Thermae Cassiorum*, the name linked in scholarship to the Roman *gens* Cassia. Even disregarding the assonance between 'Asafi' and 'Saphon', and 'Casius' and 'Cassiorum', al-Idrisi's topographic detailing appears to place the 'Street of the Adventurers' near the Roman-era baths, close to the summit of central Lisbon, close to the modern Cathedral, and near the bank of the Tagus – an ideal location for the transposition of the toponym Mount Casius/Saphon, as the seat of storm gods, translocated from the mouth of the River Orontes in Syria to that of the River Tagus in Atlantic Iberia. Rather than an anomaly, this would reflect a common pattern of transferring sacred toponyms, stamping the new colonial realms with familiar place names as also attested in the 4th c. CE geographical poem *Ora Maritima* by Avienius, which locates a Mount Cassius (Cassius inde mons tumet) on the Iberia coast (*Or. Mar* 255),[47] not necessarily the same sacred mountain by that name in Iberia. If so, the summit could have been a cultic locus of the Phoenicians, linked to their mythology of expanding maritime frontiers as betokened by the myth of the kabirim. In that case, a myth from the Phoenician past would have been anchored into the landscape of Lisbon, ancient *Olisipo*, and the memory of the landscape, even when the locale turned into Roman baths and later fell under Islamic rule. All this vindicates Matesanz Gascón's argument of a distant memory of Phoenician myths in medieval lores.The survival of a Phoenician myth in a medieval geographical work which as its primary source used witness accounts of its time finds a parallel in Arab literature of the High Middle Ages where the religious elements are hard to distinguish from the profane in Islamic narrative literature that contained biblical Greek and Jewish stories that by then had taken the colour of fantastic folk tales (e.g the biblical, Book of Daniel 13, story of Susana (Pennachietti 2006).

What all this shows is the circulation of remnants of old Phoenician myths in medieval Portugal, making the preservation of a manuscript with an ancient translation of a Phoenician text at a monastery in Portugal plausible. To investigate with such fastidiousness all possible sources for the narratives contained in MC, as attempted here, and the possible sources of transmission of ancient knowledge through the medieval period, is to shoehorn the unnecessary conceit of disproving the forgery claim, which proves futile, evaporating on philological and historical grounds that inhere in the manuscript text and corroborate its authenticity.

4. A thesis for its authenticity on philological, ancient historical and archaeological grounds

Independently of other factors external to the manuscript, the matter of its authenticity can be determined based on several parameters inherent in the manuscript as a historical document: the philological examination of the text, the historical and the archaeological. The first cannot be undertaken here in detail, but a few remarks will be made.[48]

4.1 Philological remarks on the authenticity of the MF

Concordance with the accepted fragments of Philo's Phoenician History

Passages of Book 1 of the MF concord with the 'accepted' Philonic passages contained

46 The street name *Rua das Pedras Negras* is interesting given that in his work al-Idrisi provided the witness account that during the winter months the people of Lisbon searched for mineral stones in the estuary of the Tagus (Matesanz Gascón 2002, 99).

47 For a recent translation, see Shipley (2024).

48 The numbers in brackets separated by full-stop in bold correspond to Book and Section in Roman numerals in Wagenfeld's edition (1937).

in Eusebius' work.[49] To this observation, there are the following potential exceptions. A short quotation or paraphrase (John, *De Mens* 4,154=Baumagrten fr. 5) attributed to Philo's *Phoenician History*, Book 2 does not appear in Wagenfeld's text. Two other quotes from Philo's work, also not contained in Wagenfeld's text, cannot be ascribed with any certainty to the *Phoenician History* and therefore do not constitute proof of forgery, nor even an anomaly.

A passage on serpents in Eusebius' selection of Philo's excepts seems out of place in the Church Father's passages. In an effort to explain the seeming discrepancy, Barr (1974: 30-31) questioned if it indeed pertained to the *Phoenician History* and was not a later interpolation (e.g. by Porphyry). In the MF, the passage (2.9-2.10) fits seamlessly into the narrative, providing a brief digression into the divine nature of serpents in association with the description of Leiathane, a serpent-legged woman whom Melqart (named Μελίκαρθος) encounters in Tartessos.

Genres and Style of Composition

In the MF, the nine books constitute (the alleged) translations of different source material compiled by Sanchuniathon, lightly edited by Philo that supplied in the beginning of each book a synopsis of the key points of the preceding one. If in the passages quoted by Eusebius, Philo decenters the cultural authority of the Greeks (most notably in comments charging the Greeks with falsifying embellishment of the divine wisdom that obfuscates the truth handed down by Taautos, a tutor to humankind assigned to distant antiquity), he does so directly in his editorial interventions in the treatise he was translating, showcasing his cultural and intellectual environment; yet this does not detract from the fact that the accounts are in their majority a compilation of sources, not conjured from a Hellenistic author's imagination.[50]

That paragraphs in several Books of MF show overlap of narratives, from different angles at synchronous times or focusing on singular events in a book that is described in a summary form elsewhere, is consistent with Sanchuniathon's programmatic assertion of a compilation of different city archival resources, doubled down in the introduction by Philo.

If the fidelity to traditions is doubtful on Philo's part, passing his *Phoenician History* as a vehicle for a less heterodox order of culturally-inflected truth, it is not so on Sanchuniathon's part. The overlapping narratives and the disjuncture of genres, constitute more than a gregarious dalliance with ancient historiography in a 19th century artful way – stylistically they concord with those quoted by Eusebius. Just as the opening remarks by Philo (in both the passages quoted by Eusebius and in the MF) suggest that Sanchuniathon had compiled sources from different city and sanctuary archives, so the overlapping stories and disjuncture in the fragments of Book 1 has led modern scholars to postulate the use of multiple sources [51] *Prima facie* any effort to identify the precursors of genres contained in the Nine Books of the MF is bound to fail for lack of immediate

49 See Classen's (1837) comments in his preface on the positioning of the passages in the MF vis-à-vis Eusebius' (*P.E*) quoted passages.

50 Philo's stance in this work is often interpreted as 'secular' in current scholarship, in line with the so-called euhemeristic tradition, which is a modern construct. To this assumption contributes the exegesis of the text in translation, which does not permit the nuance of Philo's specific choice of vocabulary to come into full effect. In fact, Philo may have been a Christian himself when translating this Canaanite study, as not only his critical stance towards mythology and paganism betrays, bluntly stating that in Phoenician religion every inventor was accorded some divine status and every natural phenomenon some "kinship" (with the gods), but also given his striking use of theologically-charged, Christian vocabulary (e.g. *υἱός μονογενής*). That Philo then may have been Christian on the basis of his criticism of paganism and adoption of terms familiar from Christian theology is plausible, though it remains plausible too that he was a follower of an atheistically-inclined philosophical movement.

51 Barr (1974: 44-46) noted that the discrepancies in the extant narratives relate not only to Eusebius' apologetic aims, but also to the different archives, with overlapping subjects, consulted for the compilation of sources by Sanchuniathon.

comparanda of Phoenician literature. For example, some of the laments, in a dirge form, weaved into what otherwise seems an austere chronicle, are either interpolations made by Sanchuniathon when composing his treatise, from different sources (books of laments) or they inhered in the chronicles. In Book 6.4, a taste of that is given:

> *Θρηνήσετε ὦ ἄνδρες Σιδόνιοι τὸν ἀριστεύσαντα· τύψεσθε τὸν ὡραίον ὦ παρθένοι*
>
> "Mourn o Sidonian men the excellent man; beat your breasts [in mourning] for the beautiful man o maidens"

Apart from snippets of mourning songs which find parallels in songs of laments from other culturally adjacent textual corpora, specific narratives contained in the MF represent genres of historical works, in the form of chronicles based on the succession of kings known from Mesopotamia and the Near East, but approximating more the form known from later, Hellenistic-era compilations, wherein the name of the king and regnal years are accompanied by epigrammatic descriptions of the main events or ongoings and in later examples, by brief reports on the actions of said kings. But the MF contains also a narrative of a different register altogether, purportedly an autobiographical novella, but in reality a squib in the form of autofiction, perhaps intended for language instruction. A range of literary motifs known from the earlier Mesopotamian literary traditions reappear in this tale, which are however not easily ascribed to a particular eastern culture, not least because the source language is gone, and due to Philo's editorial manipulation of the material.

Scholarship on cuneiform texts or their Hellenistic-era translations into Greek indirectly but decidedly imputes valency to the authenticity of the allegedly fraudulent manuscript. For example, Berossos, whose Hellenized name probably renders the personal name *Bel-re'-ushu* ('Bel is my shepherd'), lived under Seleucid rule in Babylonia and is known for composing his *Babyloniaka* in Greek: a historiography on Babylonia commissioned by Antiochos I Soter.[52] Although it survives via a long chain of transmission, what is known of this work suggests that it began with a book on geography, cosmogony and anthropogony (loosely, the format of Philo's *Phoenician History*), followed by a list of kings, and their deeds. While reflecting the historiographical traditions of western Asia going back millennia (Knippschild 2014: 456-457), *Babyloniaka* serves also as a Mesopotamian mirror for Philo's *Phoenician History*. In a striking parallel, Berossos' focus on Oannes, a sage who held the form of a mar-man and taught humankind the basis of its civilization, from building and agriculture to crafts and scripts, is a counterpart to Sanchuniathon's Taautos. Whether a parallel for this figure existed in ancient Mesopotamian literature eludes us, but is implied by the similar role Taautos plays in Philo's *Phoenician History*, suggesting that a sage-figure teaching men the arts of civilization may not have been confined to the Babylonian milieu.

The language of the text

Lacking the sophistication of atticizing language affected by philosophers or scholars (and derided for example by Lucian of Samosata), Philo's language is composed in an unassuming, dry Hellenistic Greek idiom, which could have been spoken and written by a Hellenized Phoenician and fits seamlessly into the language of the passages quoted by Eusebius.[53] Although its

52 Verbrugge and Wickersham (2001: 43-68) on the surviving fragments and the chain of transmission.

53 Note that purposefully here the transliteration of Phoenician and other Semitic names is based on Philo's Greek text since the original does not survive, therefore in Latin characters it follows a transliteration from the attested Greek, which may not always coincide with the transcription of these names into Latin characters directly from a Semitic language in modern studies (e.g. Sydyk versus Suduk). When attested comparanda from epigraphic or literary studies in Phoenician, Aramaic etc are brought forth, the transcription follows the rules of the source languages, but the reader should note that there do not always exist standardized conventions of transcription from one source script and language into another.

plainness was used to criticize its authenticity (Le Bas 1936), it is important to remember the date and region of its composition. Attic Greek was not habitually spoken in the Roman East and was already a literary and rhetoric language register by then. Despite its plain idiom, the language of the MF reflects the language of Philo's time, it is concise, coherent, has no evident or glaring grammatical or syntactic mistakes,[54] contains a reasonably rich vocabulary, and spans over 100 pages, accompanied by a parallel text in Latin. In terms of it grammatical and syntactic texture, its richness is such that its forged nature over 100 pages of length is almost impossible to conceive. By no means does it have the flavour of an artificially constructed language by a German speaker writing 1600 years later.

Of significance too is that Philo was not merely composing a text in a language that was not his mother tongue. He was translating, and not just any text from his mother tongue, but texts that were likely compilations of over a millennium-old treatises by then, written in an abjad. Vocalizing names from a script that was by Philo's time several centuries old must have been a great challenge to him, not only because of the shifts in the phonology of the Phoenician language in the intervening period, but due to unfamiliarity with some of the names and vocabulary. The Byblian dialect, after all, was already distinct in the Iron Age from the Sidonian-Tyrian dialect, to the extent that Krahmalkov (2001) classifies them as separate languages. If Sanchuniathon had used archives other than those of Beirut, the Phoenician idiom of which may have been closer to that of the Tyro-Sidonian idiom, his final composition may have included a mosaic of different Phoenician dialects, which a millennium later Philo would not have found easy to translate. His knowledge of the Hebrew Bible is thin, for example, and in many places he struggles to make sense of Sanchuniathon's terms.

54 And what few are mentioned in Classen's (1837) volume could be simply down to typographic errors with the Greek fonts used by the press that published the MF; Wagenfeld (1837) did note in his preface the challenges in finding the correct fonts.

This has been remarked upon already on the basis of the passages quoted by Eusebius. One of Philo's excerpts (FGrH 790F2.10.13=Eus. *P.E*, 1.10.36a1-2) reads:

> *Ἀπὸ τούτων γενέσθαι Μισὼρ καὶ Συδύκ, τουτέστιν εὔλυτον καὶ δίκαιον.*
>
> "From them were born Misor and Sydyk, that is, 'easily dissolved/ easy to loose/ yielding' and 'just' ".

So, in Philo's translation, one person's name was 'Easily Dissolved'; this would be a strange personal name even for the first theogonic beings. Barr (1974: 43) noted that this divine pair, Misor and Suduk, attested in Philo's *Phoenician History*, is cognate with a pair known from the Ugaritic textual corpus (*sdq* and *msr*), with comparable Mesopotamian antecedents (*kittu u mesary*). Misor, from this linguistic perspective, cognate with Hebrew *rmsor*, *mesarim* denotes "uprightness, equity".[55] The name Sydyk, finds correspondence in *Sdq*, a personal name attested on late 2nd millennium BCE arrowheads from Phoenicia – interestingly, a name absent from Iron Age II onomastics (Golub 2021: 24), which constitutes indirect evidence for the antiquity of sources used to compile the *Phoenician History*. The strange translation of Philo, as 'easily dissolved' does not detract from the authenticity of his source, but underlines Philo's own difficulties with names, terms, and scripts recording a language spoken a millennium earlier, and probably in a Phoenician dialect lost by then.

Other tendencies in the MF find their counterpart in the fragments quoted by Eusebius. Personal names are either transcribed or translated. King Solomon's name is given as 'Eirenios' (Philo's effort at translating the Hebrew name into Greek) and a Byblian King is rendered in Greek with *Λεοντοῦργος*, a *hapax*,

55 But note Jacobson's (2002) proposal who restores Philo's skills as a translator, reading *εὔθυνον* instead of *εὔλυτον*, a word that in both Greek and Hebrew derives for the root for 'straight' - by implication attributing the error to Eusebius or to the scribe that had produced a copy of Philo's work.

but with a clear Greek root (along with a host of names simply transcribed in Greek letters). It appears that for cognate words with which Philo was familiar, including personal names with etymological roots in common vocabulary terms such as 'peace' and 'lion', he preferred giving their Greek translation.

Augmenting the probability of the MF being authentic is the enumeration of several names, place and personal names that can be reconstructed as genuinely Semitic. Several of them are known only due to recent research in epigraphy. This allows for cross-checking information with names, toponyms and other details that can be considered plausible now but would have been inconceivable two centuries ago had they been the figment of someone's imagination. Here only few examples will be given that point towards the authenticity not only of the manuscript but also of Sanchuniathon drawing on Canaanite records. Another indication of authenticity is that some of the Greek vocabulary in the MF is exceedingly rare, which obviates the possibility that Wagenfeld was aware of it, albeit the practice of using excessively refined or arcane vocabulary is compatible with scholastic tendencies from the Hellenistic periods onwards where rare lexicon was preferred. The above make it exceedingly implausible that Wagenfeld forged the document.

Rare Greek vocabulary and a counter-factual on the authenticity claim

Noticeably, the MF is in places replete with words that are rare in Greek literature (with less than 50 appearances in the whole extant corpus), rendering extremely unlikely their calculated use by a forger in the 1830s. While this is not the place to exhaust their appearance in the MF, some examples will be presented. To this category of a rare vocabulary belongs the inflected forms of *ἀετιδεύς* (3.4), *μεγαλαυχὴς* (6.3), *γῆμας* (6.9) or the hapax attested in Greek literature, such as *θηρόβρωτος* (4.5), and ἐπιζόμενοι (8.7).[56] Of note is also another composite adjective, *λεοντοδάμας*, 'lion-master', attested once by Lucian who quotes an anonymous poet.[57] Imagery, artistic and mental, of gods and kings described as 'lion-masters' has a long ancestry in Mesopotamia and the Levant (Ulanowski 2015). In the MF (6.4.), this compound adjective is reserved as an epithet for Nasoukos, once an exiled man of Sidon, but later its elected leader (*ἡγεμόνα*) and commander of all its army (*της στρατιᾶς ἄρχοντος*)[58] after the city came into great distresses from external forces and internal disintegration (6.4). The name of this king appears authentic, probably cognate with Aramaic *nsk*, denoting the person who copies manuscripts or a well-educated member of the priestly class.[59] Succeeding in the conquest of the Tyrians and the Beirutians, Nasoukos' violent ending in battle is described in the form of a lament. In a source that may have been composed as a dirge, on which Sanchuniathon drew, the king enters a lair of lions, a metaphor for his adversaries in battle, the Ashkelonite Philistines (*Ἀσκαλωνίτας*), facing whom he met his death:

> ἐν δὲ τῶν λεόντων κευθμῶνι,
> καθηῦδεν ὁ Νάσουκος· ἀλλ' ὁ τὴν μάχην
> νικήσας λίθου ἀπὸ τείχους βολῇ ἀπέθανε
> καὶ παῖς ἀπέκτειν τὸν λαόδαμαντα
>
> "Nasoukos descended into the hiding place of the lions, but the victor of the battle, hit from the fortification by a stone's throw, died and the young man killed the lion-master."

56 Strabo (*Geog.*6.263), consult also: https://logeion.uchicago.edu/*θηρόβρωτος*

57 Lucian (*Pro Im.* 19); the attribution is to Pindar, though there is no consensus.

58 Compare the formulation *Rb mḥnt* ('commander of the army' in a Neo-Punic inscription (KAI 118.2).

59 See the lemma *nsk* in the *The Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon*: https://cal.huc.edu/.

Some, however, scepticism as to the authenticity of the text regarding the vocabulary can be outlined with reference to philological publications on the semantics of Greek words that Wagenfeld may have encountered. If the manuscript were a forgery, Wagenfeld's ingenuity in adapting Hellenic forms would have its most arresting expression in a gamut of rare vocabulary, acquired through keeping up-to-date with the philological and epigraphic research of his time. Exploring this as a counterfactual to the claim of the authenticity yields some interesting results. An example will be presented here. To a discriminate reader, the use of *ἤριον* in the MF (6.4) raises suspicions. The word appears to have denoted a tomb or part of a tomb, but modern dictionaries offer as a definition 'sepulchral mound'. While ever so rarely used in Greek, appearing less than 50 times in the extant Greek literature, it was nevertheless embedded in the famous Homeric passage on the burial of Patroklos (*Il.* 23.126).[60] Much as the burial of Patroklos must have been one of the most widely-read verses of this epic, it is still curious that Wagenfeld would have chosen to use it for what was meant to be the Greek language of Philo's time after all. If Wagenfeld had been composing a fictional narrative in Hellenistic Greek, why not use the far more common word with a semantic affinity, *τύμβος*;

Rare as it was, the term had survived in the Greek language through Philo's time. Already in 1860 (Rauchenstein 1860), attention was drawn to a passage of Athenaeus in relation to Lyssandros' use of *ἤριον*. It also turns up in a 5th c. BCE Orphic tablet from Hipponium in Italy (Giannobile & Jordan 2008), while a close cognate is found on the epigram of an early Christian tomb from Costantinople (Gottwald 1904). The choice of a seemingly rare word may be explained by the fact that as Philo was translating into Greek a Canaanite text of a millennium earlier, so an obsolete by his time Greek word would have appeared more appropriate for a Canaanite term that he may have been unfamiliar himself. Or, conversely, this very syllogism underpinned Wagenfeld's strategy to contrive an authentically-looking manuscript text by subtly interpolating unusual words into his manuscript-style confabulations. In fact, Wagenfeld may have been aware of the word's post-Homeric usage in choosing it. Although his unfamiliarity with it as a rare word would support the authenticity of Philo's contested Nine Books, this observation may be *prima facie* invalidated by the fact that despite its rarities, a lemma on *ἠρίον* makes two brief appearances in the series of *Mémoires de l'Institut de France*, close enough for the German scholar to have taken notice. Appearing in print in 1839, the gigantic 11th volume of the *Mémoires de l'Institut de France, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres,* featuring an alphabetic index of the subjects treated in the previous ten volumes, contains an Index-style *Table des Matières*, where the *ἠρίον* is listed.[61] Grouped with words written in Latin characters and beginning with 'H', this particular lemma refers to the reader to Vol. 2 of the same series, laconically only adding the page number. In that referred to volume, one can find an analysis of discussion of the meaning of the word from Euripides to Lucian and other sources, determining its definition as the part of the tomb that is not raised above the ground, synonymous with ὑπόγαιον (*hypogeon*), an underground tomb (De Sainte-Croix 1815, 592).[62] Interestingly, that volume began with an article that digressed into a discussion of Greco-Roman sources on the Phoenicians (Petit-Radel 1815), and included another contribution on Arabic inscriptions in Portuguese literature (De Sacy 1815). Could all these three articles in this volume have synergistically led to the inspiration of a tale involving a lost manuscript found in Portugal containing ancient

60 "φράσσατο Πατρόκλῳ μέγα ἠρίον ἠδὲ οἷ αὐτῷ"; consult also the relevant lemma in https://logeion.uchicago.edu/ἤριον

61 Mémoires des Institutes Royale de France. Academie des Belles Lettres, Vol. 11, p. 136.

62 *Histoire et Mémoires de L' Institut Royal de Franc, Classe d'Histoire et de Littérature Ancienne. Tome Seconde.* The volume was published in 1815. From Vol. 5 onwards, the series title changed into: *Mémoire des Institutes Royale de France. Academie des Belles Lettres.*

Phoenician histories, embellished with words known from Greek literature?

If Wagenfeld had been scouring the *Mémoires* on sources for the Phoenician past, then he may have come across De Sainte-Croix' discussion of *ἤριον* in Greek literature and decided to embellish with it his forged text. From this example, one may infer a method on how the German scholar could have arrived at utilizing a rare ancient Greek vocabulary, adding notes of authenticity to his forged text. But this argumentation relies on a ladder of inferences of chance events of miniscule probability. The associations borne out by the inclusion of ἤριον in a text of over 100 Greek pages and its listing in a French publication of two decades earlier than the publication of the MF are by no means proof of forgery. Despite the suspicions it raises, the existence of an unfamiliar word in the manuscript may well have been the outcome of happenstance. If anything, it is more probable after all that the text Wagenfeld published was authentic, precisely as shown by the inclusion of unusual words.

Greek onomastics

The Greek names given by Philo can be assumed to be translations of their Semitic equivalents (as is done in the accepted excerpts of Philo in Eusebius' passages, e.g. naming an individual 'Autochthon', meaning 'indigenous'), and less likely that they are the product of a multi-glottal environment where Canaanite kings bore Greek names (as was actually historically attested for archaic-classical Cyprus). In most cases it appears that Philo, when coming across some specific Canaanite personal onomastics, translated them when he identified a word stem with a clear meaning to him. This is consistent with the practice of onomastics in the extant books of Philo's *Phoenician history* in Eusebius' work, where some personal names are transcribed/transliterated and others are translated.

Several king names appear. The list begins with the *hapax Λεοντοῦργος* (**3.1**). This Leontourgos, named as the first king of Byblos reigned for 50 years. Although with no previous attestation, the name is a composite of 'lion' with the Greek ending *-ουργος*, following a typical ending derivative of ἔργον ('deed', 'action'), ε.γ. κακοῦργος. Here Philo evidently translates a Semitic name referencing 'lion-ess'. Such a name is attested among the personal onomastics of Canaanite individuals of the late 2nd millennium BCE. A personal name referencing 'lioness', *Lb't* (lioness), is attested among the Canaanite names inscribed in abjad on the 63 bronze arrowheads dating to the 11th c. BCE (Iron Age I to Iron Age II) and found in Phoenicia (Golub, 2021: 24), and its cognates, both for women and men, are attested in the later Phoenician onomasticon (Krahmalkov 2000, s.v. lb'i). Also attested as a composite name with the 'lion' component is a Phoenician name surviving in Babylonian sources in cuneiform tablets, Ašid-rummu (I a-šid-ru-um-mu) meaning 'Aš(a)d is exalted', containing the component *ʾšd* 'lion' (Zadok 2024, 172). Similar naming proclivities are observed among Lydian rulers in the Iron Age, such as Alyattes' Lydian name **Walweteś*, referencing 'lion-ness' (Dale 2015). Given the heavy symbolism of the lion, as an emblem of both divine and royal authority in the Near East, signalling kingship in myth, imagery and metaphor (Ulanowski 2015), it is no surprise that it became emblazoned in personal royal onomastics.

Ethnonyms and toponyms in translation (?)

As a preamble to the discussion of onomastics and toponyms pertaining to a Semitic language family, the lack of clarity should be noted as to whether Philo translated into Greek from documents written in the Canaanite or Phoenician abjad or even from a transliterated Canaanite text into Greek. The scribal practice of copying documents in Sumerian or Akkadian cuneiform script with the text appearing on the reverse transliterated in Greek alphabetic characters began in the 2nd c. BCE Babylon and may have been more

customary in the Levant too, albeit given the widespread use of leather and other perishable materials, the survival of such documents is rare.[63] If the texts that Philo was translating was written in an abjad, then for transcribing the Canaanite names into Greek, the Roman-era scholar would have to resort to a phonological inference based on the Canaanite or Phoenician orthography, depending on the dates of the various source texts, and its assumed vocalization of a millennium earlier, some of which may have been out of use by then, permitting some leeway on the phonology of the actual name or toponym.[64] For example, a recurrent toponym is the island of a peoples named *Κέρατοι,* Keratoi (3.4). If Philo was translating from an abjad, Keratoi could have stood for the original *qrt* of Sanchuniathon's text in an abjad. It is assumed that since the locale is described as an island of barbarians with Canaanite colonies, the toponym concerned is *Crete (Krete)*, which in an abjad would be written as krt, as an allophone.[65] Remarkably, Strabo (*Geog.* 10.4.8) preserves a variant of this name, written as *Καίρατος* (Kairatos), which designated Knossos after an adjacent river:

> *ἐκαλεῖτο δ' ἡ Κνωσσὸς Καίρατος πρότερον ὁμώνυμος τῷ παραρρέοντι ποταμῷ.*

If Kairatos became *qrt* in an abjad, it left Philo with a choice of vocalization, turning its residents into Keratoi. This also fits with a host of Crete-themed names and figures that would have been spelled as Krt, such as the *Kouretes* (**Κουρῆτες**) of Greek mythology, attesting to an originally common source for **Κουρῆτες** and **Κέρατοι** in the name of Crete. An objection to this reconstruction of Philo's transcription of a toponym written in an abjad is raised by the fact that **Κέρατοι** is not a meaningless vocalization in Greek, but designates someone or something with a 'horn', cognate with *κέρας* and *κεράτιον*. Was Philo translating a Canaanite word rather than simply providing a vocalization of it into Greek? In his treatise, he may have simply crystallized a broader practice of transliterating Phoenician toponyms into the Greek language. From several examples one may infer that there was a broader tendency among Greek speakers to not merely adapt a toponym into Greek by adding a case ending for a foreign word, but actually to select an approximate homophone with semantic equivalence in the Greek language.[66] For example, the town name Amrit (*Mrt*) (Syria) turned into *Μάραθος* (Marathos in Greek), albeit *μάραθος* is the word for 'fennel', not merely a Hellenization of a toponym in a north-west Semitic language. Another example, where the Greek toponym is both phonetically and semantically close to the original in the Phoenician language, is the toponym *Κέρνη* (Kerne) denoting the island on the Atlantic where Phoenicians traded with 'Ethiopians' in the Greek translation of the *The Periplous of Hanno*. By the 1st-2nd c. CE, Ptolemy (*Geog.* 4.7-8) listed the name for a caravan station on the route between the Sous Valley and Volubilis as *Βουκάνων Ἡμαιροσκόπειον* (Boccanon Hemairoskopeion), meaning the "day watch-tower of horns", a locality archaeologically identified with the isle of Mogador (Essaouira, Morocco).[67] If the *βούκανα* ('horns') of the toponym translated the Semitic root *qrn* ('horn') of the original Phoenician toponym, then the latter may be reconstructed as **Mgdl qrnm*, vocally approximating the attested medieval name of Mogador, *Amogdul*.[68] While modern scholarship

63 For such bi-facial documents, see Knippschild (2014: 449).

64 On reconstructing the phonology of vowels in ancient Semitic languages, see Lipiński (2001: 105-106).

65 *Qrt* probably could not be used as an allophone as it stood for Carthage; Cirta in Algeria was spelled KRṬN (Krahmalkov 2000: s.v. *qrt*; *krṭn*).

66 This may not obtain if these Greek words were loans into Greek, which current bibliography does not suggest.

67 For the identification with Mogador, see Lipiński (2004: 434–476).

68 For the archaeological and historical evidence: López Pardo et al. (2003: 398-399); López Pardo (2008: 52–53).

suggests that the Kerne of the Periplous derived from Phoenician *qrn* ('horn')[69] – etymologically related to the medieval name for Mogador in Morocco – Kerne has clear assonance and semantic proximity with the Greek word for *κέρας* (keras), 'horn' (Pappa 2015a, 74). If so, this suggests a predilection of the Phoenicians into naming places after the word for 'horns', in which case they may have named Crete after a cognate word. That the 'brand symbol' of Minoan Crete were the bull's consecration horns, identified at Bronze Age palaces and emblazoned on its glyptic art, may have played a role. As with Kerne, Keratoi may have been the Greek attempt to offer not merely the transcription of a Canaanite toponym and its associated ethnonym, but the translation of a Semitic toponym, which is conceivable in multi-ethnic Bronze Age Crete.

Canaanite, other Semitic and few Egyptian personal names and toponyms

Personal names recorded in the MF can be compared to the Aramaic and Canaanite onomasticon of the epigraphic and textual record as reconstructed from epigraphic documents in the Canaanite and Phoenician abjad, as well as in other languages and scripts, such as such cuneiform Babylonian texts, as well as through the study of Egyptian archival sources. In particular, a corpus of Canaanite/Phoenician names has been built using diverse sources spanning a broad period of time, such as personal names inscribed on arrowheads found in Phoenicia dating to the late 2nd millennium BCE and others known from 1st millennium BCE Phoenician votive and other inscriptions from the Mediterranean, as well as from Neo-Babylonian records concerning Phoenician and Aramaean individuals, and other Levantines (Moabites etc). Although personal Phoenician names are known from Phoenician and Punic inscriptions (Benz 1972), for the onomasticon closer to the time of Philo's source documents, the names attested on arrowheads found in tombs across Phoenicia are more relevant. Research into the onomastics of Iron Age I, based mainly on inscribed arrowheads, has resulted in a total of 110 Phoenician/Canaanite names c. 1100 BCE (Golub 2021; Röllig 1995). These have been divided into three subcategories: theophoric, hypocoristic theophoric and 'other' names. Personal names dated to the Iron Age II, from the 10th to the 4th c. BCE, albeit unevenly distributed within this time span, are known from a study of household religion and family in Israel and the Levant, which has yielded a list of 258 names out of a sample of 581 names (Albertz 2012). Additionally, Aramaic names, which are mentioned in the MF in relation to Syria and its nomadic populations, are known from Syro-Mesopotamian texts and inscriptions (Simonson 2019). Ongoing research has resulted in a corpus of Aramaic, Phoenician and other Canaanite (Edomite and Moabite names) from the Mesopotamian epigraphic record of 8th-1st c. BCE, some of which were already in use in the previous millennium. The corpus is small and concerns mostly deportees into Babylonia and their descendants from Aramaic-speaking regions (Sonnevelt 2024) as well as Canaanites, that is a mostly Phoenician population, but also Moabites and Edomites (Zadok 2024).

Some of the most frequent personal names in the MF pertain to theophoric names containing the component Baal. Interestingly, compound names with Baal are among the most common in the Canaanite/Phoenician names preserved on the arrowheads from Phoenician sites. In addition, the common root *bd* ('servant'), attested in compound names known from the arrowheads, appears frequently in the onomastics of the MF. Based on the above, several names contained in the MF can be reconstructed as names that are attested among Canaanites and Phoenicians. Here I will focus on a selection of examples:

- *Ὀβίβακρος* (<Ὀβίβακρον), Obibakros (**2.11**): The name appears as that of a cattle-owner set on an island in the narrative on Melqart's voyage to the West. It may be etymogically connected to the root *brk* ('to bless'), with comparanda in the Aramaic

69 On *qrn*, horn, Krahmalkov (2000: 423, s.v. *qrn*).

onomasticon of the Neo-Babylonian period (Sonnevelt 2024, Table 8.1).

• *Βαράδωδος* (<Βαράδωδον), Varadodos (**4.2**): Son of the king of Sidon who installed him as king of Beirut, Varadod(-os) with the nominative masculine ending in Greek removed gives Var-adod, that is, Bīr-Hadad/Bur-Hadad. This was a popular name among the Arameans. It is attested in the Aramaic inscription of the stele depicting Melqart, erected by the royal house of Gūš, formed out of the Yahan tribe in the 9th c. BCE.[70] In Neo-Assyrian annals, the dynasty of Bīt-Agūsi, ruling over the **Iaḫānu**, was one of several, independent, West Semitic-speaking polities in the northern Levant, which the Assyrians referred to synthetically as Amurrû. This masculine name is attested among the Aramaic onomasticon of cuneiform texts (e.g. the corpora of **Yāhūdu** and Našar), whereby the component **Būr** comprises a main theophoric element in father-son couplings, i.e. Būr-Adad or Adad-Būr (Sonnevelt 2024, 129-130). It stems from a compound name referencing the Mesopotamian divine father-son pairing Bur and Hadad.

• *Βεθόβαλος*, Bethobalos (**3.6-3.10, 3.12**): The name appears theophoric (< Beth-baal), denoting the house of Baal.

• *Ὀβαδῖλος*, Obadilos (**3.6**): The name is compound with *bd* ('servant'), in the common form of 'servant of X god'. The proposal here is that this was vocalized *'bd 'l* ('servant of El').

• *Βαλμαχάνης*, Balmachanes (**3.11**): Attributed to a king who ruled over Syria and fought against the 'Giants' (Philistines), the name Balmachanes is a compound theophoric name, probably from Baal and Magon. The masculine name Magon is an epigraphically attested Phoenician name in the western Phoenician world, e.g. from a 7th c. BCE tomb at the necropolis of the colony *Seks* (Almuñécar, Granada), belonging to "Magon, son of Arish, son of Hilles" (Pappa 2015b). Another possible reconstruction of the name is with the attested Phoenician deity name Baal Malage, invoked in a 7th c. BCE treaty between Assyria and Tyre.[71]

• **Μελκάρινος**, Melkarinos (**3.11**): The name of a Sidonian man, which may be analyzed into the components *ml* and *qrn* ('horn').

• *Ἀδραμοῦσα*, Adramousa (**3.12**): The maiden Adramousa, whose ruse leads to the elimination of the rascal Egyptian fugitives, *Σέμφος*, Semphos and *Πασοῦργος*, Pasourgos, plundering Phoenician lands, bears a name that may be cognate with the toponym Hardumetum, a colony in Tunisia. Attested in Roman sources is Hadramaut, province of Arabia Felix, rich in gold (Hereen 1846, 348, original publication of 1793), which may have inspired Wagenfeld. The name Pasourgos could derive from an authentic Egyptian one, compare for example, the Persian-Era 'Pasou' attested in Elephantine (Porten *et al.* 2016: Table 7b).

• **Βεθατάβα** (<**Βεθατάβᾳ**), Bethataba (**3.8**, **4.1**): mentioned in different accounts. Its foundation is attributed to two brothers who delimited with wall the "Hebrew Mountain" and inhabited the region. The meaning of an aetiological origin as to its name is challenging to understand, but appears to imply that the name is a paraphrase of a jeering ("oh wonderful city of Barca") in a local language (Hebrew?), which the local inhabitants exclaimed in scorn at that new foundation by a certain Barcas (probably one of the brothers?), essentially at the pair of Canaanite intruders (and one may imagine, their contingent); compare with Bethesba (Israel), where Phoenician elements are archaeologically attested by the 9th c. BCE. In a later account, Bethataba is again associated with Barcas and mentioned as the site of a big battle between the Byblians

70 For a new reading of the Melqart stele, see Hackett & Wilson-Wright (2022).

71 IAKA, 69; Katzenstein 1991.

and the 'Islanders' who were raiding Phoenician cities.

- *Βίμαλος*, Bimalos **(4.2)**: Referring to a Sidonian king, the Canaanite original name was most likely Abi-Maal. The proposition here is that the first component of this name is Phoenician ʾb, attested as a component of Aramaic names in cuneiform Neo-Babylonian texts, where the Babylonian-rendered *ʾab/Phoenician ʾb stands for 'father' (Sonnevet 2024, Table 8.3); also compare with Abi-Milku (a correspondent from Tyre) of the Amarna correspondence (Kilani 2020a: Table 1).
- *Βελῖρος*, Beliros **(4.10)**: A king of Sidon, with a theophoric name pertaining to Bēl, a Babylonian god from which there derived theophoric names in great numbers in the Aramaic onomasticon from the cuneiform records of Nippur, along with those from other deities such as Tammeš, Nanāya and Nabû (Sonnevelt 2024: 133).
- *Ὀβδοβάλτις*, Obdovaltis (Obd-Baalat) or *Ὀβδαστάρτης*, Obdastartis **(4.9)**: Both are both theophoric names, compounds of *bd*, 'servant', followed by the name of a deity, Baalat and Astarte respectively. Compound names whereby the name-bearers are designated as 'servants' or 'subordinates' of a deity are attested in Akkadian records of the Aramaic onomasticon from Mesopotamia, e.g. *Abdi-Iššar* (Servant of Iššar), vocalized as *ab-du*$^{d.}$ *Iššar* (Sonnevelt 2014: 132). This vocalization gives a sense of how *Ὀβδοβάλτ(-ις)* stands for 'Servant of Baalat' and *Ὀβδαστάρτ(-ις)* for 'Servant of Astart'. Philo in transliterating the names has preserved their foreign origin by giving them a masculine ending in *(-ις)* that is inconsistent with Greek orthography.
- Μελκάριμος (from the genitive <Μελκαρίμου), Melkarimos **(4.4)**: The name is theophoric. It may be related to the Ammonite name Milkom, attested in the neo-Babyloanian records (Zadok 2024: 167).
- *Γαδύλκαρος*, Gadylkaros **(6.10, 7.1)**: The name of a Sidonian king, it probably stood for *Gdlq* in the original source language, a compound name with the component *gd* ('fortune', good luck) as the first element, common in Punic names (Krahmalkov 2000, 136, s.v.). In addition, a cognate form is attested in the Aramaic and Phoenician onomasticon from Neo-Babylonian records as Giddâ, "a hypocorism of *gadd (variants: *gedd, *gidd), meaning 'fortune, good fortune' (Zadok 2024, 178; Sonnevelt 2024, Table 8.2). The possible evaluation of the name as a whole should take into account various possibilities. Following the component *gd* is *l qr*. *Qr* has multiple meanings in Phoenician, ranging from 'wall' and 'money', while qr' meant 'to read', and also had the meaning of the nouns 'crier/lector', perhaps as a function of a priest, but could also refer to the invocation of gods, i.e. the 'call [to a god]' (Krahmalkov 2000: s.v. *qr*). In Moabite, one of the attested meanings of *qr* is 'city' on evidence from an altar inscription at a Moabite sanctuary attesting to *gdl* (Bean et al. 2018; Chang-Ho Ji 2018). Yet there is also the possibility that the name derives from the root *gdl* (to grow), a highly productive root in Hebrew, in which case it may be a personal name that grammatically is of the verbal predicate type. At any rate the Semitic etymology is indisputable.

Non-Semitic onomastics

When the narrative of the MF moves to Melqart's arrival in Tartessos, the story involves a man with renowned riches, by the name Μασισάβας, Masisabas (his name is found inflected in various cases as a masculine noun) (2.13). Accounting for a plausible Greek ending in -ς, this name rings somewhat like a Numidian name, be that of the 3rd -2nd c. BCE king Masinissa, or of the ethnonym Masaesylian, a sub-group of Numidians, which names pertained to a Libyco-Berber language.[72] If the MF is authentic, it should pertain to the onomastics of the indigenous peoples of the south-west Iberia who

72 On Masinissa, see Lazenby (2016).

spoke a Celtic language or of a person from the opposite coast of Africa that had settled in the region.

Comparison can only be attempted on meagre evidence provided by ongoing epigraphic and linguistic research. The main sources comprise a grave marker bearing local names in the Phoenician alphabet, monumental inscriptions in the South-Western script on stelae mentioning individuals, both dating to the first half of the 1st millennium BCE and for the period closer to the Roman annexation of Iberia, numismatics. This later source of names for possible comparison purposes is provided by coins issued by cities in Iberia bearing the names of local magistrates. For example, on the earliest coins issued by Bevipo (Beuipo), ancient Salasia (Alcácer do Sal), the legends on coins include various names of city magistrates, prior to the Roman annexation of the city (between 139 BCE, *i.e.* the date of the Lusitanian war, and 45/44 BCE, when the region was annexed by the Roman empire). While the earliest issues in the indigenous language (218-139 BCE) did not include the city magistrates, those appear in Latin characters in phase 2 of the city mint when the personal name is accompanied by the *aedilis* (magistrate) or the letter F, denoting Filius (son), among which *Odacis* (Correia 2004). But this evidence is few and quite removed in time from the period under discussion. Thus, the most productive avenue is the limited set of inscriptional evidence.

Written in the Phoenician alphabet, the two masculine personal names *Wadbar* and *Ibadar*, reflecting people living in the Tagus region in the 8th- 7th c. BCE are known from a grave stele following Phoenician traditions of burial (Neto et al. 2016).[73] Without a consensus on the deciphering, many more indigenous names are attested on stelae erected by the local inhabitants of south-west Iberia. In comparison with the reconstructed onomastics of individuals alive in the period (ranging from the 8th c. BCE to the 6th c. BCE and perhaps later), elaborated on the working hypothesis that the language of the South-Western stelai is Celtic and that these monuments were grave markers that record epitaphs, Masisabas phonetically and grammatically somewhat approximates these names. According to the deciphering of the South-West inscriptions by Koch (2013; 2009), the translations of the epigrams resulted in several personal names, among which the following: *Ta [χ]seovono*s (stele J.1.1.), –(s)-ekvos, Tegos (J.1.4), Mutura (J.1.5.), Aiburis (J.3.1), Samos (or Sabos (J.5.1), Boduo- (or **Bōdo-**) (J.7.2), Argos and Iouba (J.7.6) [?Se]keuuos (J.7.8.], *Ariaris (J.10.1),* **Kēlavā**, wife of **Oiśas** [J.11.1], Sovlir(os) [J.11.3], Alkos (*or* Valkos) [J.12.1], Ultina (?) [J.12.3], Salsalos [J.12.4], Turekvos [J.14.1], Aitura, **Meleśa**, **Meleśos** [J.15.1], Uursaos [J.16.1], Ioba [J.16.2], Kuika*sa: [J.17.1], **Kuiarairī** [J.17.2], **Bōdiana** [J. 18.1], Oor'oir (Vorviros) [J.19.1], **Urnī** [J.20.1], *Saruna [J.22.1], Oar[?boiir [J.22.2], Betisa [J.23.1], Alburos (?)[J.24.1], Tarnos [J.26.1] Korbos [J.53.1], Darivelnos [J.55.1], [**Kē**]lova [J.57.1].[74] From the extant personal masculine name in -as (**Oiśas**), it may be inferred that Philo may not have needed to 'hellenize' a name such as Masisabas by giving it a masculine ending as he did with Semitic personal names.

The language of the south-west and western part of Iberia is now considered a proto-Celtic form of language, but would that have been known in the 1830s, with a forger coming up with such a coined name?

4.2 A thesis on the authenticity of the MF based on historical and archaeological grounds

Historical Investigation into the Narratives of Philo's Phoenician History in Nine Books

With few exceptions, Philo's Nine Books do not make for enthralling fiction and neither can they be considered a historiography that

73 Reused as building material in the Alfama district of Lisbon.

74 Numbers in brackets refer to the stela in the inventory, see Koch (2009), with corrections in Koch (2013). There is no consensus on this deciphering.

fleshes out historical figures in the manner of Herodotus. They follow the pattern of king lists and episodic narrative, consistent with Near Eastern historical records. Still the prose holds plenty of allure across the many genres reflected in it. In terms of content alone, the MF appears to be anything but a forgery. It describes a world of competing Phoenician city-states, often under *a primus inter pares* model of kingship, where kingship is not always hereditary and at any rate requires a process of election, which is not at odds with contemporary historical and archaeological research on the model of governance of the Phoenician city-states; in fact, such a political system has been envisaged for the Phoenician poleis of the early 1st millennium BCE (Kormikiari 2021). Corroborating an impression that is much alive through the study of archaeological and historical sources, the MF affords in more detailed form what is already known of the Canaanite-Phoenician world. The colonization of the western Mediterranean, the successive migration waves, the political role of the colonies vis-à-vis Tyre and other mother colonies are all aspects that reflect modern archaeological research. While Phoenician migration and colonization had been the subject of historical investigation in the 18th c. based on the writings of Greco-Roman scholars, with Hereen (1793), for example, developing his idea on the successive migration waves that affected Iberia and the mixed populations of the Phoenician colonies,[75] the MF contained information not yet available regarding Phoenician expansion in the Mediterranean, as well as describing the political situation of Late Bronze Age/Iron Age I Levant.

The MF is dominated by stories on Byblos, Tyre, Sidon, and less so Beirut and Arad, with references to Ashkelon as an enemy, with a large clash between a Syrian pastoralist land and Byblos, with 'islanders' having a foothold in Gaza, and with Cretans being among the preeminent adversaries in the Levant or in strongholds near Phoenician cities. The rich, recurring references to peoples from the 'islands' and especially from Crete, described as once very strong in their maritime character, with islanders and Cretans conducting raids on the Levantine coast and Gaza, and with the 'Giants' (*i.e.* probably Mycenean Greeks) invading Crete, Ashkelon and Gaza, is a striking feature of the narrative.

The contemporary historical reconstruction of Phoenicia that has been painstakingly pieced together through the study of cuneiform corpora of adjacent states, of Egyptian texts and of archaeology corroborates the importance of Byblos, Beirut, Sidon and Tyre as the four most powerful Canaanite kingdoms during the Late Bronze Age (Pfälzner 2012), with warring Amûrru encroaching on Byblos (Xella 1995), just as the MF describes. In the Papyrus of Hori, dated to before the 21st year of Ramesses III (1186-1155 BCE), Tyre and Byblos emerge as the most important cities in Phoenicia (Kilani 2020b: 177-179). In addition, only in the past few decades has it become clear that the Pentapolis in Philistia, at one point formed by Gaza, Ashkelon, Asdod, Ekron, Gath and Jaffa, was largely the result of settlement by Mycenaean Greeks who first settled in Ashkelon in the 12th c BCE.[76] These appear to be the 'Giants' of the MF. Cretans had been already involved in the southern Levant, where a sizeable production of Cretan artefacts had been arriving already by the Middle Bronze Age, presently attributed to a Minoan/Cretan palatial centre in the region later known as Philistia (Banyai 2022) and specifically with Gaza as an important centre in the south where 'islanders' (i.e. Aegeans) held a foothold (Dothan 2003). In the MF, they are the marauding Keratoi, with extensive maritime prowess.

Excerpt for the biblical references to Cretans in the Bible (Banyai 2022), Wagenfeld would not have been aware of any of this Cretan involvement in southern Levant. The attendant matter as to whether he could have utilized ancient historical books in order to conjure up a convincing account of the Phoenicians is further obviated by the emphasis

75 In the translated edition, see e.g. Hereen (1846: 318-319).

76 For an overview, see Wylie & Master (2020).

on Byblos in the MF. Phoenician archaeology had not yet begun so the primacy of Byblos among the Phoenician cities was unknown. Nothing much was known about Phoenicia at the time, and even Classen (1837), who thought the manuscript published by Wagenfeld was authentic, placed Sanchuniahton's life to the 6th c. BCE. Yet Byblos comes out as a main player of the day in the MF. Had a forger wanted to confect a narrative with a plausible claim to authenticity why not choose Beirut for this role of pre-eminence? In the fragments of *Phoenician History* quoted by Eusebius, not only is Sanchuniathon a native of Beirut but also presents his treatise to Abibalos (Abi-Baal), king of Beirut. Yet the MF is largely concerned with the history of Byblos, whose historical primacy is now undeniable. Archaeological and historical information shows that Byblos was a main centre of power, a hub of interregional trade, in contact with Egypt since Early Dynastic times and certainly affluent during the Late Bronze Age (Kilani 2020b).

Another parameter to be considered is the large-scale maritime voyages narrated in the text, reaching to the Atlantic coast of Iberia. Plenty of evidence point to the Atlantic connections of Iberia with Cyprus at the turn of the 2nd millennium BCE, as indicated by a plethora of material evidence documenting eastern Mediterranean trips to the Atlantic shores of Iberia at the end of the 2nd millennium BCE (Pappa 2020b), which are so vividly described in Wagenfeld's text.

The intention here is not to reconstruct a Late Bronze Age history of the eastern Mediterranean, or even the historiography of Canaanite cities in that era, but to read the text against the grain so as to show multiple ways of understanding historical events that reflect a kernel of historical truth and not the imaginations of a German scholar in the 1830s.

Use of the term 'Phoenician' as an emic gentilicon

A counter-argument to its authenticity could be provided by the appearance of the term Phoenician as an ethnonym used in an ancient Phoenician text. Was the term inserted by Philo for a different ethnonym, given that allegedly it only arose within a Greek milieu in the early 1st millennium BCE? Supposedly no such ethnonym existed in the Phoenician language itself.[77] Despite avid reflection on the etic nature of the term 'Phoenician' lasting for several decades that determined 'Phoenician' as of a purely Greek etymology,[78] contributions from Egyptology suggest otherwise. Independent evidence for the use of this ethnonym is supplied by the term ***fnḫw***, vocalized *Fenchou,* surviving in Egyptian hieroglyphics, denoting a group of foreign people associated with a region in Syria although originally the term signified 'carpenter' and 'shipbuilder'. Its earliest attestation is found during the 5th Dynasty (c. 2400 BCE), whence it appears sporadically until the 18th Dynasty (c. 1550-1292 BCE).[79] If this etymological connection between the Egyptian term with 'Phoenicians' is correct,[80] and plenty of evidence suggesting close contacts between Egypt and Byblos since pre-dynastic times does not contradict it, 'Phoenician' is an Egyptian exonym, not used by Phoenicians themselves, which explains why Assyrian sources never make use of the term – the Greeks picked it up from the Egyptians, it would appear, while Mycenaean trade in Egypt was still strong. If this reconstruction is correct, there were no semantic or etymological affinities between the word, *φοῖνιξ*, as an ethnonym and the identical Greek word denoting a bird reborn from its ashes – just the influence that Egypt exerted over Greek cultures, since the former was a loan

77 For the Assyrian stance on the matter, see recently Fales (2017).

78 More recently Ercolani (2023), who does not depart from these scholarly tendencies.

79 'Story of Sinuhe' (B 219-21), 20th Dynasty; and 'Urk 4.25.12', 18th Dynasty, mentioned by Regev (2021: 8).

80 It was discussed in Muhly (1970: 31-32), but Regev (2021: 8-9) who brought up this old, forgotten theory takes this identification for granted, based on the Tale of Sinuhe (B 94-95) as a source for Phoenician ethnonym; on the latter, see Kilani (2020b: 223).

word and the latter a local reworking of the divine in Egyptian religion bird-formed deity of creation, the bennu.

Cartography of Canaan

In the wider environs of Tyre, the principal villages are listed in the MF as follows: Hysora, Maine, Silyphe, Ramase. As already remarked, the mock toponym 'Bethataba' (**3.8**, **4.1**), a name understood as deriving from the locals jeering 'oh wonderful city of Barcas' is described as a town established by two Tyrian brothers (in the years of the reign of Bethobalos in Byblos who had come into an alliance with Obadilos, a man ruling in the 'islands'), who delimited the "Hebrew Mountain" in a land inhabited by Hebrew-speaking people (**3.8**). In a following passage, Barcas is called the man "who established Bethataba" (**4.1**). It is a time of utmost turmoil, with the Egyptians having withdrawn in Phoenician and Arabia, and the islanders laying siege and taking cities on the coast. Barcas with a large alliance of 10 kings entered the battle against the marauders but they were all slain. The battle took place in Bethataba where the royal tomb was located.

> Ἡ δὲ μάχη ἐν τῷ παρὰ Βεθατάβᾳ ἐγένετο πεδίῳ, ἔνθα καὶ νῦν τῶν βασιλέων τάφον ἰδεῖν ἐστίν .
>
> "The battle took place on the plain close to Bethataba, where now the tomb of the kings can be seen".

The above suggests that Bethataba was located close to Hebrew-speaking population and was, if not coastal, then accessible by sea. As a toponym, it can be compared with *Beth-tappuah*, a town allotted to the tribe of Juda after the conquest of Canaan (*Joshua* 15:35). A similar toponym is listed in the topographic list of Canaanite and other place names encountered along the route of an Egyptian expedition into southern Levant, commissioned by Pharaoh Shishak/Shesonq I, whose reign inaugurated the Libyan, 21st Dynasty. Preserved on the southern side of the Bubastite portal of the central temple of Amun at Karnak, Shesonq's I list of originally up to 187 toponyms (of which 150 survive) pertains to an Egyptian military campaign into the Levant mentioned also in the Bible (1 *Kings* 14: 25-28; 2 *Chronicles* 12: 1-12), dated to 925 BCE. The axis of the expedition followed a route into southern Levant, through the Negev, west of Jerusalem, central Palestine, the Jezreel Valley and east of the Jordan River, though the exact route is debated (Junkkaala 2006: 80-82, 173). The toponym no. 39, in row 3 of this list, is spelled b-t t-p-w-[h?], read as *Beth-Tappuah*, which due to the region where the first 65 places of this list fall, must be situated to the west of Jerusalem and towards Northern Israel (Junkkaala 2006, 175, 219-221, drawing on Simons 1937, 181).[81] Though there is no consensus in which order to read the toponyms of the inscription or whether it followed a geographical order or one of the expedition, according to one view the place names on the topographic list from no. 27 to no. 39 form a continuous line southwards from Megiddo to *Beth-tappuah* along the 'Via Maris' (Junkkaala 2006, 210-221). In that case, the town would be located on this trajectory of the Pharaoh's expedition along the coast.

Around Sidon, village-size settlements are referred to as: Monychos, Jauphe, Moyra, Dibon, Nebra, Soate. The towns named close to Byblos are listed as: Asmania, Jasude, Nebite and Nebra. Around Arados, settled communities are named as: Arboze, Kasauron, Hynna, Delibas, Asypotia, Misybata. This last place is mentioned as a locale where prophetic stones were set by the god Ouranos ('sky'). The towns around Beirut are named as: Arbe, Isbas, Sydrobal, Beth-Astaroth.

Close to the road that leads to Byblos from Beirut there were the ruins of an Egyptian fortress where Egyptian forces under a certain *Pasurgos* were vanquished through a ruse of the mainden named Adramousa. On the mountains, there are named the villages

81 For the source of this reading and other variations, as well as possible geographic locations, see summary in Junkkaala 2006: 219-221.

Gabara and Oryx, the former ostensibly the location of the betyls set up by Ouranos. A Mount Zetunos and the opposite Mountain Momigura are mentioned, and then the Phoenician possessions on the islands. It should be mentioned here that in Philo's Book 1 as quoted by Eusebius, Ouranos enlists betyls in his fight against Kronos.

Anatolia, Syria, Cyprus and other neighbouring peoples

Throughout the Books the most tenacious adversary of the Byblians appears to be the people referred to as Γίγαντες (Gigantes). While this word stands for 'Giants' in Greek, the clear ethnonymic use of the term in the work of Philo is indisputable. In several books of the MF, these populations appear present in Crete, but as intruders, in Philistia, and again as intruders, in south-western Anatolia as being settled in a patch of land facing Cyprus, on the mountainous land of Syria, and in Cyprus itself. One of the most interesting aspects is that on the coast opposite north Cyprus, these Giants compete for land with colonization attempts by colonists from Tyre and other Phoenician cities. Book 5 describes the foundation of Phoenician colonies by Byblos, some populated by Tartessians (colonists from Tyre) on the mainland opposite Kition (e.g. southwestern Anatolia). There are references to significant disruption and abandonment due to attacks by Giants and other foreign peoples.

This picture sketched out in the MF may not find exact corroboration in current understandings of the region, which are not uniform depending on the exact era and source of documentation. Yet in all its detailing of consecutive episodes, broken in time, collected from different archives, the broad patterns of settlements, colonies, raids, alliances and adversaries stands in line with current archaeological, epigraphic and linguistic research, which shows an Achaean presence in south-western Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age, which is at least linguistically and culturally, if not demographically, supplanted in the 10th -8th c. BCE by a state that appears to be bilingual, formed by a Luwian and Phoenician speaking elite (and/or population) that maintains some Greek names. Several hypotheses have been put forward to explain this linguistic shift in that region as attested by the bilingual Phoenician-Luwian stelae discovered in southern Turkey (e.g. Fales 2017), none of which is satisfactory.

In particular, recent understandings of western Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age on the basis of Hittite, Luwian and Akkadian texts, supported by archaeological evidence, document substantial Mycenean Greek colonization on the Asia Minor shores. Linguistic research into epigraphic data suggest Greek colonization of western and south-western Anatolia ca 1400 BCE, as also indicated by contemporary eastern archival sources. The *Ahhiyawa* (Achaeans) of the Hittite records, the *Hiyawa* of the Luwian (and Akkadian) sources, were described as active around the (later-named) Miletus, but were also to be found further south in Anatolia, where they had formed a state.

In the famous bilingual inscription from Karatepe, dated to the early 1st millennium BCE, the Luwian ethnonym Hiyawa turns into *'mq 'dn* in Phoenician in a bilingual inscription, denoting the people that had settled in south-west Anatolia, having set up a polity that modern research equates with the kingdom of Q(u)we mentioned in the biblical (1 Kings 10:28) and in Neo-Assyrian sources.[82] Evidently these are emic ethnonyms, referencing the well-attested Ἀχαιοί as Hiyawa ('Achaeans') and the Δαναοί ('Danaans') of the Homeric epics as *'dn*.[83] The latter's

82 For a reconstruction of Late Bronze western Anatolia on the basis of literary sources (Hittite and Luwian records), see Gander (2010); Forlanini (2012); Woudhuizen and Zangger (2021: 73-104); Hajnal et al. (2022).

83 Assuming contacts with Egypt is not to redress the 'Indo-European' origin. Linguistic studies into the pronunciation of attested Greek names, including *Moq*^{u}*sos*, is consistent with Greek vocalization in the 2nd millennium BCE, referring to 'proto-Greeks' arriving from the Pontic-Caspian steppe in the Early Helladic IIIB, archaeologically identified by the arrival of the combined corded ware, mace heads, cists graves and tumuli in relation to the myth, see Sakellariou (1986: 134).

presence has crystallized in the present-day toponym Adana of the Turkish south-western province. Interestingly in Greek myth, Danaos, king of Libya, who goes on to marry Elephantis, descends from a genealogy connected to Egypt and the Near East: his brother is Aigyptos and his father Belos, the King of Egypt, a Hellenized version of Baal or the Babylonian god Bel (Apol. *Bibl.* 2.1.4).

The modern archaeological and historical understanding of the human geography of the region, settled by Mycenaean Greeks in the Late Bronze Age but culturally merging into the Luwian substratum and the expanding Phoenician element of the early 1st millennium BCE is in line not only with the later Archaic and Classical-era historical attestations of the large-scale colonization of western Anatolia by Greeks from the mainland after the end of the Troyan War, but also with the genealogies of mixed Lydian royal houses as narrated by Herodotus, himself a man of mixed ancestry, his mother being Carian. Thus, known as both Achaeans and Danaoi in external sources, the Greek presence that is linguistically and epigraphically attested for south-western Anatolia confirms the later Greek historians and myths. In addition to this epigraphic attestation of Achaean Greeks in the region corroborating Greek mythologies on the settlement of Greeks and the genealogy of Mopsos as given in Herodotus (*Hist.* 7.9) who described the Hypachaeans ('sub-Achaeans') of the region, there is also the additional parameter of Arcado-Cyprian elements in the later Pamphylian language, suggesting an earlier linguistic substratum of Myceanean origin (Kopanias 2020).

The hypothesis proposed here is that in **Book 5** of the MF and elsewhere, Philo describes the early stages of the events when Achaean presence was disrupted by Phoenician attempts at settling for commercial purposes in south-western Anatolia.
I go one step further by tracing the origin of this peculiar ethnonym, *Γίγαντες*, to the transliteration by Philo of the term Hiyawa, and perhaps the biblical influence exerted on him through references to the Philistines as 'Giants' (with Philo having probably identified the two as of an Aegean origin, and correctly so). What I infer is that Philo vocalized the word Hiyawa written in an abjad as *Γίγαντες,* following his pattern of transliterating names in a way that maintained assonances but also gave a meaning in Greek. My hypothesis is grounded in the fact that the use of a gentilicon that is cognate and co-terminous with Hiyawa is attested in Canaanite-speaking Ugarit through the deciphering of the Akkadian letters found at the site, dating to just before Ugarit was destroyed c. 1185 BCE, *i.e.* to the late 13th and early 12th c. BCE.[84] The men known as *Hiya-wa*, with gentilicon Hiyau(wi) could be vocalized as a word that in Greek sounds similar. In particular, *Hiya* with the suffix *-wa*, has a considerable assonance to masculine nominative singular *Γίγα* with ending *-ς*. Perhaps Philo was not exactly translating from Canaanite, but transliterating and at the same time using a Greek word that came close to the transliterated version, as in the case of describing Cretans as the Keratoi ("of/with horns").

Regarding the biblical Giants, according to the Book of Judges, the Giant Philistines came from the island of Caphtor. This place name is also known from cuneiform corpora, such as those from the kingdom of Mari and Assur (kaptara/kptr) and an Old Babylonian text that mentions "kap-ta-ra", locating it "beyond the Upper Sea", while it is attested as Kapturi/KPTR in Ugaritic records; modern research places the source of this people in the Aegean area, while the term appears to refer at times "to the region encompassing the Aegean Sea, parts of the Greek mainland, the western coast of Anatolia, and the island of Crete" (Caesar 2016). Archaeological studies of ceramic typology, with new intrusive types, and archaeogenetic research, also place the origins of this population of the southern Levant in the Aegean (Gilboa 2013; Dothan 2003). For example, the so-called Philistine

84 Letter RS 94.2523: *Hi-ia-a-ú-wi-i*; Letter RS94.2530: *Hi-ia-a-ú*, see Cline (2009: 178); Lackenbacher & Malbran-Labat (2005).

Monochrome pottery, comparable to the typology of Late Bronze Age IIIC pottery of the Greek mainland (but also Cyprus) appears in southern Levant, produced locally, in the Late Bronze Age/Iron Age horizon, C. 1200-1150 -1900/980 BCE (Gilboa 2013; Dothan 2003). This all suggests that some of those new populations settled in Philistia were Mycenaean Greeks, while in biblical texts, their Aegean origin allows that they concerned Cretans.

Regarding Cyprus, the MF also offers a multi-cultural and ethnic population. On the *mesogaia* of Cyprus there live a folk that speak a language which is identified with that spoken by "the Giants of Mount Lebanon". These people called Giants, appear to have settled Ashkelon and Gaza and to speak a language that was spoken on the land of the Giants. One of their leaders is described as 8 cubits tall and leads an army of Amathia. When the narrative moves on to Syria (**3.10**), whereby a certain Mathaibalos whose flocks grazed near the 'Syrian river' came into conflict with some men that passed through Syria appropriating pastures, these shepherds come into conflict with Mathaibalos during the reign of Bethobalos, taking over of the town of Amathia. The name of a colony of Amathia (Amathus in Cyprus?) located in Koile Syria (ie. the Beqaa alley) is said to signify 'acropolis' in the Phoenician language. Is this a colony of or counterpart to Amathus, one of the Cypriot kingdoms with the earliest evidence for Hathoric cults? Syria, which at the time was known as Amurru, is described in the MF in terms that evoke pastoralism, with shepherds and flocks. On the other hand, archaeological studies on Amathus in Cyprus document a pronounced Egyptian character in the material culture of Amathus down to the Iron Age. Satraki (2012) has sketched out the self-representation of the Cypriot kingdom of Amathus as distinct, using the local Cypriot language very late into the 1st millennium BCE, adopting royal Egyptian propaganda for the self-representation of the elite, including the Egyptian gods such as Hathor. In contemporary scholarship, the argument is that Amathus was a native kingdom influenced by its neighbours to the south and to the east. Another view is given by Philo's text, suggesting Bronze Age Canaanite presence, with a similarly-named town on the opposite coast of Cyprus.

Cyprus may also be implicated in a group of recurringly appearing peoples in the MF named *Ὀνακύνες*. From the narratives of the MF, it is hard to place the origin of these Onakynes, but the name has a striking semblance to the personal names of several Cypriot kings. There is a parallel here with the names of Cypriot royal names Onasagoras of Ledra, Onasi-, Onasiharis, who were kings of Paphos, as well as Onessilos, king of Salamina.[85] Ledra is known as the kingdom of Onasagoras in Assyrian records as late Ashurbanipal's reign and from one votive attestation from Paphos, suggesting that the kingdom was absorbed by Salamis later on (Satraki 2015, 234-235). The region that concerns these Onakynes must then be delimited by the core power of the kingdoms of Salamis and Paphos in the Archaic period, largely the coastal region facing Lebanon and Syria from the south of the island to the north.

Finally, several other nations are named in the MF (**8.16**) as living "around the Tyrians", among which "the Cretans, the Jews, the Egyptians, the Arabs and the Damascenians and the Amathians, allies of Ierbas". After remarks on the Nile and the Ethiopians to the south of the country, there are references to the people living in the north, namely Armenians, Phrygians and Lydians, and towards the northernmost regions, the Gambroi, the Amydonoi and the Titanes. The latter are semi-naked, huge in bodily size and ride white horses obtained by the Medes, which they consider gods. The Titates and the Medes live around a lake, with a distance of 20 days travel separating them. Towards the east, the regions are inhabited by the Babylonians, the Medes, and the Ethiopians.

Could the Gambroi, Amydonoi be a reference to Hurrians or their descendants, a warrior class known for horsemanship whose

85 For these kings, see Satraki (2012: 215, 223-224, 225, 229, 246-247, 365).

heartland lay between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea? While Hurrians had created the Mitanni kingdom in northern Mesopotamia c. 1500-1300 BCE, the tribes that in the early 1st millennium BCE would give rise to the kingdom of Urartu in the Armenian highlands and around Lake Van, during the 13th-11th c. BCE were still loosely organized as a conglomerate of tribes. Those that can be invoked by a name such as 'Titanes' who ride on horses probably refer to semi-nomadic populations that were not incorporated into the state of Ugarit. Evidently these ethnonyms in the MF refer to the early 1st millennium BCE, not to the Late Bronze Age. As will be seen in the following section, this description is from a historical narrative that can only be placed to the 10th c. BCE and later, and not earlier. Downdating Sanchuniathon (though not the entirety of his sources) from the Late Bronze Age to the turn of the millennium presents no problems as there is no independent evidence as to the time he lived. Such a postulation also eases a lot of envisaged difficulties with the transmission of an ancient Phoenician text to the Roman period.

Cartography of the Mediterranean

The cartography of the Mediterranean as envisioned in the MF mainly comes from **Book 8** that details the content of a census-style, cartographic account commissioned by a royal decree, but is also pieced together in disparate comments and accounts throughout the MF that do not serve as an atlas or maritime itinerary, but are scattered in historical narratives of battles, raids, colonial trips and the narrative on a voyage gone horribly wrong. There is an extensive list of toponyms connected to settlements in the Aegean, primarily Crete, that appear to be settlements of people from Tyre, Byblos, or Tartessos but also to other Levantine cities. Sailing west (possibly from Crete, as **8.12** describes that island) for four days, one encounters the island of *Mazaurisa*, where Tyrians and Sidonians lived in six towns: the town of Nasbon (or Nasbos)[86] of Melikarthos, then Iamneia, Iatron, Malkouba, Ophala and Moraba (**8.13**). The penultimate of those toponyms may find a counterpart in the personal name Ophelta (?) inscribed in Cypro-syllabic script onto a bronze spit from a Cypro-Geometric I warrior tomb at Palaipaphos, Cyprus (tomb 49,4) (Vonhoff 2011: 136).[87] While the five-sign inscription has been read as a Greek name in the genitive case (rather than nominative 'Opheltas'), this appears to be an assumption. What if the word determined origin? From Moraba one arrives at *Melite*, a reference to Malta, which had no towns but only villages and an altar to Astarte Melite. Melite was a Phoenician colony in Malta, mentioned in ancient works (Ptol. *Geog.* 4.3). Sailing from there, one arrives at *Maphile*, a colony of Arados, Byblos and others that had united in a region named Tenga, which was vast, and was deserted due to shortages in water supply and the intense heat, graphically described ('burnt by the sun'). By assonance and the comment on aridity, Tenge could be identified with Tingis/Tangier, mentioned in pseudo-Skylax' Periplous and with archaeological evidence for a Phoenician presence (Pappa 2009), although this moves the cartographic route far too west. Sailing north to Mazaurisa, one arrives at *Ersephone*, where four colonies were set up, aided by Sidonian reinforcements during a war against the Tartessians (colonists whose mother-city was Tyre). The indigenous people are stated to be few and peaceful. There is a mountain called Mount Libnas, consecrated to Melikarthos. The two islands close to Eresphone (Sicily? Sardinia?) are named as Kition and Gadyla, and were said to be a ten-day sail from Tartessos, past the deserted isle of Leiathane and Obibakros.

If some of these toponyms refer to Sicily, then the historical attestation for the Phoenician

86 In Greek, the accusative as given here could determine a nominative as *Nasbos* (masculine/feminine noun) or *Nasbon* (neutral).

87 On the contexts of spits in Cyprus as an implement for feasting and its Atlantic paraphernalia, see Vonhoff (2011: 136).

colonization of the island prior to that of the Greeks fits Thucydides' (*Hist*. 6.2) well-known remark that the Phoenicians lived all over Sicily prior to the first Greek colonists. The above alone however does not suffice to claim forgery. Based on geographical considerations, and excluding Gozo in the Maltese archipelago whose ancient name was Gaulos, and given the well-attested Phoenician presence there in the 1st millennium BCE, Gadyla and Kition probably refer to the modern Pelagie islands of Italy. Effectively, Gadyla, may refer to Pantelleria (presently, there is a Gadir, meaning 'fortress' in Phoenician, situated on the north-east coast of Pantelleria, a toponym sharing the same Semitic root *gdl* with Gadyla). Lampesuda, whose name is Greek (Lampaisa: Ptol. *Geog.* 2.9), derives from *λάμπειν* ('to shine brightly'), and may have been known as Kition to the Phoenicians, who used it as a landing spot.

Phoenician presence in the Aegean, of some semi-permanent form, was reported by Herodotus (*Hist*. 2.44; 6.47), explicitly referring to the colonization of Thasos in the north-east Aegean. A colony on the Cycladic island of Melos is the sole colony in the Aegean attributed to Byblos in extant historiography, named Byalos (*Βύαλος*), though it was also known as Zephyria (*Ζεφυρία*) (St.Byz. *De Urb*. Μῆλος; Kilani 2020b: 2, n. 2). In continuing collective memory, on another Cycladic island, Syros, the port Phoenix (*Φοίνικας*) on the south-western coast, is thought to have been established by Phoenicians from Tyre, after which Syros was named. In another reported tradition (Str. *Geog.* 10.5.1), the settlement on Anaphe was founded by Membliaros, a companion of Phoenician Kadmos, later king of Thebes (Forsyth 2020, 302). Wagenfeld could have used ancient atlases with cartographic information to invent plausible names and Phoenician maritime itineraries. The above, however, does not constitute proof of forgery.

Crete

Early in the list of successive kings and their deeds, we are informed that following the death of the king of Byblos, Garousaos, there was no king for a long time (**3.5**). What is implied is a protracted period of upheaval lasting for 25 years. Byblos suffered invasions by the 'island people', whose king was Obadilos, who had assumed the kingship over the Keratoi after a war on the islands. Hence Obadilos was a king of Cretans albeit bearing a Canaanite name. The island people (either the enemies of Obadilos, other islanders, or Obadilos and his troops – the phrasing is ambiguous) had marched against Byblos after their city in Gaza had been attacked. The Keratoi arrive by the sea and plunder the region (**3.4**).

> *Οἱ δε Κέρατοι, ἀπὸ τῶν νήσων ἄνδρες, πολλὰ ἔχοντες πλοῖα περιπλέοντες καὶ ἀποβαίνοντες παρεγένοντο ἄγοντες πάντα και φέροντες*
>
> "The Keratoi, on the other hand, men from the islands, having many ships sailing around and disembarking came to ravage the country."

Elsewhere in a different book, Crete (**8.7**) is described as "the large island of the Keratoi" (Μεγάλη δὲ καί τῶν Κεράτων νῆσος). Founded by the Sidonians, Mapiza was a port town boasting 3000 hoplites and 100 archers, and fifteen ships while, Mapristor ("the Tyrian port"), a colony of Tyrians, had 1500 hoplites and six ships. The foundation story of Mapristor, also known as the Ashkelon of Crete, is detailed at the end of **8.7**. Gadeira is named as a populous and rich colony of Mapiza with a walled temple of Astarte, from which the city was named, "since Gadeira means 'wall'" (**8.12**). Indeed, Gadeira derives from the common root *gdr*, denoting 'fortress' or 'wall' in Phoenician. On the opposite land there are many villages and towers inhabited by the people of Gadeira. The city has a population of 7000 adults (perhaps only counting here the male adult population that served in the infantry army), 2000 archers and 300 triremes. It is unclear whether the reference is to an otherwise unattested Gadeira in Crete or to the

famous Gadeira in Spain, known as a Tyrian colony in a multitude of Greco-Roman sources:

> *Τῶν δὲ Μαπιζαίων ἀποικία τὰ Γάδειρα γίνεται πολυάνθρωπος καὶ εὐδαίμων · ναὸν δ' αὐτόθι ἀφιέρωσαν τῇ 'Αστάρτῃ περιτετειχισμένον, δι' ὃ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῇ πόλει· (Γάδειραν γὰρ τεῖχος λέγουσιν ·) Ἐν δὲ χωρίῳ τῷ ἀντικειμένῳ πολλὰς κατοικοῦσι Γαδειραῖοι κώμας τε καὶ πύργους. Τῷ δὲ πόλει ἑπτακισχίλιοι εἰσιν ἡλικίαν ἔχοντες, τοξόται διςχίλιοι, τριήρεις τριάκοντα .*
>
> "Gadeira the colony of the Mapizans is populous and happy; there they dedicated a walled temple of Ashtarte from which the city was named (since the fortification wall is called 'Gadeira'). On the opposite land there are inhabited many towns and fortresses of the Gadeirans. The city having 7000 people, 2000 archers and and 30 trieremes."

Of note is the remark that the Keratoi (Cretans), now subdued, inhabit the mountain lands whereas in the past they were rulers of the sea and had founded colonies to the south (8.12).

> *Ἐν τῇ ὀρεινῇ κατοικοῦσιν οἱ Κέρατοι, νῦν μὲν ὑποτεταγμένοι, πάλαι δὲ τῆς θαλάττης κρατήσαντες ἀποικίας ἐποιήσαντο εἰς τὰ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν. Τοὺς μὲν γὰρ Αὐτόχθονας Γίγαντας τῆς πατρίδος ἐκβαλόντες, οἱ μὲν, τὰς πόλεις κεκτημένοι τῶν Γαζαίων καὶ τῶν Ασκαλωνιτών, πᾶσαν τὴν μέχρις Αιγύπτου κατεστρέψαντο χώραν· τούτων δ' ἀποτελευτησάντων, τῶν Αὐτοχθόνων ἐπιζόμενοι καὶ τὴν διάλεκτον καὶ τὸν βίοτον, οἱ ἀπολειφθέντες ὅλως καταλελοίπασι τῶν πατέρων ὠμότητα , ὥστε τῶν νησιωτῶν μηδὲ ἐπίστασθαι τὴν γλώτταν.*
>
> "In the mountainous area there live the Keratoi, now subdued, but once rulers of the sea founding colonies to the south. Throwing out the Autochthonous Giants from the homeland, they on the one hand, acquired the cities of the cities of the Gazans and of the Ashkelonites, they destroyed all the land as far as Egypt; with these (deeds) completed, taking on the dialect and life sustenance of the Autochthonous, those left behind abandoned the brutality of their forefathers so that they no longer knew the language of the islanders."

These Cretans who were once renowned seafarers and had established colonies, subsequently forgot their native tongue, and could no longer understand the native language of the Aegean islanders. Having thrown the Authochthonous Giants (Αὐτόχθονας Γίγαντας) out of the homeland (whose homeland?), ἐπιζόμενοι (surviving through?) the land and means of living of the Authochthonous, they culturally and linguistically took after them. In the context of Crete, it may seem strange that the epithet 'Authochthonous' describes those coming from the outside, but perhaps the contradistinction is with a population of Cretans that was not native to the island, but foreign as the account in **3.4** (see above) would indicate. Otherwise, the term 'Autochthonous' may have turned into a moniker, complete with the 'Giants'. If the account refers to the Late Bronze Age disruption, then this account charges Minoan Crete with some of the havoc wrought in the eastern Mediterranean coastlands. What follows is a description of further population movements, with Aegean (Cretan) holdings in Gaza, attacks in Egypt and an inkling of a shared language spoken among the returning population of Crete and the natives of Kition. In particular,

> Οἱ δὲ μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον εἰς τὴν νῆσον ἐπανελθόντες τοῖς πατρίοις ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐμμένουσι τρόποις μὲν καὶ νόμοις καὶ διαλέκτῳ τῇ νησιωτική καὶ ἁπλάστῳ ἐκείνῃ, πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι τραυλίζουσι τῇ φωνῇ οὐχ οὕτως, οὔτε γογγύζουσιν ὡς οἱ ἐν Κιττίῳ βάρβαροι .
>
> "Those on the other hand that after the war returned to the island [Crete]

maintained their ancestral customs and laws and 'unformed' island language, except that they stutter with their voice not in the same way, nor groan in the manner of the barbarians of Kition."

Worth remarking is that the two verbs (τραυλίζουσι, γογγύζουσιν) meaning 'stutter' and 'groan' deployed here to define the language spoken by the returning populations of Crete are words used to communicate speech impediment due to physical deficiency in speech production and inarticulate sounds due to contingent circumstances (despair, illeness, tiredness) respectively. From the perspective of a Phoenician writer, the verbs refer to languages that were intelligible to them and may have denoted a Greek or pre-Greek language, which may also be the language of the "barbarians of Kition".

There follows the story of the colony of Mapristor in a short passage, the foundation of which is attributed to a man constantly on the move. This man, Marnotes, whose name is of unclear origin but whose patronymic has a Phoenician component, was an official of Ashkelon and was in the habit of being expelled from cities, first from Ashkelon, then from Maine (of an unclear identification),[88] thrown out by Tyrians

Τούτους οὖν πρῶτος ἐνίκησε Μαρνώτης ὁ Μελκάλακος ὃν μὲν οἱ ᾽Ασκαλωνῖται ἐξέβαλον τῆς πόλεως ἔπαρχον· τῇ δὲ Μαίνῃ ἐνοικοῦντα αὐτὸν οἱ Τύριοι ἀπήλασαν, μέχρις οὗ ἐπανέλθοι τῆς ἐν Κερατίᾳ Ασκάλωνος αὖθις ἐπάρχων. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Μαρνώτης εἰς τὴν τῶν Κεράτων νῆσον εἰςβαλὼν, πολέμῳ μὲν τὴν χώραν ἐκτήσατο· πόλιν δὲ κτίσας κατωνόμασεν Ασκάλωνα και βραχύ τι τοῦ χρόνου αὐτῆς ἐπάρξας ἀνεπικώλυτος ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα. Ταύτην δὲ τὴν πόλιν οἱ Τύριοι ὀνομάζουσι Μαπριστώρ· διέχουσι δ᾽ ἀλλήλων Μαπριστώρ τε καὶ Μαπίζα ὡς ἡμέρας ὁδόν

"Marnotes the son of Melkalakos, was the first who defeated those (the returning population of Crete?), whom official of the city the Ashkelonites threw out; inhabiting in Maine, the Tyrians expelled him, until, in turn he returned there (to Tyre?) as an official of Ashkelon of Crete. Invading into the island of Keratoi, he built a land by means of war; he built a city which he named Ashkelon and soon after he started it, unobstructed returned to the homeland (Ashkelon?). The Tyrians call this city Mapristor; Mapristor and Mapiza lie a day's journey apart."

Thus, in Book 8, the Cretans are described as presently subdued (c. 10th c. BCE, when the account of Book 8 is placed, see below), having been once powerful at sea and having conquered regions in the south. In addition to these competing groups of autochthonous people, Giants and Keratoi, there is also the additional stratum of Phoenician and Ashkelonite colonies in Crete, among which the colony of Mapristor, the name Tyrians knew it by. Thus, the ethnic groups contesting for power on the island before the 10th c. BCE are the Keratoi (Cretans), the Sidonian, Tyrian and Ashkelonite colonists and the Autochthonous Giants. While there is some confusion as to the identity of all these different groups of people involved, some clarity is in sight. What Book 8 appears to narrate in a summary form are invasions, population movements from mainland Greece to Crete, the concomitant language shift and the settling of Cretans in Philistia. Cretans had pushed out the 'Autochthonous Giants' (Mycenaeans) and they or the latter subsequently took over Ashkelon and Gaza, while their destruction of lands reached as far south as Egypt. It would make more sense for the Myceneans to be responsible for the take-over of Philistian cities and indeed, the interpretation rests on who can be identified with the subject of the

88 Compare the attested Punic word MN, of unclear meaning and vocalization (Krahmalkov 2000: s.v. *mn*).

sentence in the passage **(8.12)** quoted above: οἱ μὲν, "these on the one hand", which from from a syntactic point of view seems to indicate the Keratoi. The earlier account in **3.4** also speaks of the Cretans ravaging Byblos, offering support to the interpretation that the subject of the sentence is indeed the Cretans. Secondly, the narrative remarks on that the Keratoi have as a result lost their ancestral language and therefore the ability to communicate with the neighbouring islanders. Those that stayed behind (on Crete) took on the languages and customs of the Autochthonous populations, so that the islanders now do not know of the savagery of their forefathers.

Granted that the term 'Giants' stands for people who were late-comers in the region, i.e. the Indo-European Greeks termed in archaeology 'Mycenaeans', their presence in Philistia is archaeologically strongly indicated for the Late Bronze Age. In an earlier period, Minoan presence is archaeologically attested for the Middle Bronze Age in western Anatolia (Aykurt 2017), furnishing data that support this account of a Minoan expansion. Since 'Giants' stands for Achaeans, then the invasions of Mycenaean Greeks (ie Achaeans) into Crete and the resultant linguistic shift on the island is well documented. Given the preponderance of Luwian-speaking populations in Early and Middle Bronze Age Crete, a linguistic shift would create problems of communication with populations in the Dodecanese that adopt Greek at a later stage through a demographic influx of people from mainland Greece, a historical event remembered as the Dorian invasion of the islands. This multi-ethnic and polyglottal situation in the Cyclades and Crete is a thoroughly conceivable situation for the Middle and Late Bronze Age, and linguistically partly confirmed since the Cretan hieroglyphics, the Linear A and the Phaistos disc record different languages (a north-west Semitic language and Luwian) which are distinct to the Greek recorded in Linear B.[89] Hypotheses have long been advanced on the migration of western Semitic speakers to Crete on the basis of the deciphering attempts of Linear A tablets, classified as a language related to a North-West Semitic idiom. They support a migration of Semitic-speaking populations inhabiting parts of Crete in the Bronze Age, on the basis that Linear A and syllabic Byblian syllabary (c. 2000 BCE) are related, recording a north-west Semitic dialect.[90] Best's decipherments of the Bronze Age script of Byblos, which built on the reconstruction of the Cretan Hieroglyphic and Byblian syllabaries, have demonstrated that the Byblos and Linear A scripts (and languages) are closely related. These findings support close connections between eastern Crete and Byblos, which is also supported by archaeological reconstructions of maritime trade patterns. Secondly, Phoenician colonies on Crete, such as Ashkelon/Mapristor are conceivable given the evidence for early Phoenician contacts, already in the early 1st millennium BCE, as at the sites of Kommos and Itanos on Crete that have yielded evidence for Canaanite/Phoenician connections. It would be worth asking if some of these toponyms, especially those beginning with 'm' are Luwian in origin, one of the languages spoken in Minoan Crete (Woudhuizen & Zangger 2021: 54-55).

Relationships with Syria and Egypt

Egypt is only ever mentioned in passing in relation to protracted wars against it and the construction of Egyptian towers, which general picture can be archaeologically and historically corroborated given the wars Egypt fought in the Levant in the Late Bronze Age and the fortresses it established to maintain control in the region.[91] After civil strife and the assassination of a man named Geron **(3.14)** for apparently trivial reasons not sufficiently explained, there is a civil strife during which the

89 On the deciphering of Bronze Age scripts on Crete, see Woudhuizen (2006a; 2006b).

90 For the decipherment of the Byblian syllabary and its relationship to pre-Greek, Bronze Age scripts, see the life work of Best, e.g. in the edited volume of Best (2017).

91 For Egyptian invasions into the Levant, see e.g. Junkkaala (2006).

assassins and their followers are evicted from Byblos and find refuge in Sidon. It is after this time that "many and terrible wars are fought by Egyptians". The death of Taautos' kin and the end of his lineage may suggest the withdrawal of Egypt from Canaan (assuming the old identification that Philo made of Taautos with Thoth). Egyptian kings were attacked by the "shepherds that live near the sea", leading to a fleeing Pharoh and the Egyptian decision to build 100 chariots.

The references in the MF to Egyptian towers and to sustained wars against the Egyptians fit the broader historical and archaeological context. The same is true of descriptions of Syria, which conform to current understandings of the region as largely non-urban, excerpt for specific coastal centres, during the transition from Late Bronze Age to the Iron Age I. From the 15th c. BCE, there was significant disruption and some abandonment of settlement sites. Given the reconquest of southern Levant by the Egyptian forces, the 14th c. BCE was characterized by profound Egyptian influence, following the triumph of Thutmose III (1479-1425 BCE) over the Mitanni. During this Pharaoh's reign, Egyptian power, in the form of vassalage, stretched to Crete, as is suggested by the kings of the Keftiu (Minoan Crete) appearing as tribute bearers in tombs of different officials, such as the vizier Rekhmire ca 1400 BCE (Marinatos 2010). Contacts were however maintained between the Levant, Cyprus and the Aegean.
Across the Levant, a number of vassal kingdoms maintained some autonomy and a number of Egyptian fortresses were founded to secure the control of Canaanites cities, as at Gaza, Jaffa and Beth Shean. Egyptian overlordship was indisputable, even if there was a certain leverage for local initiatives, leading to changes in royal dynasties. In a fairly recent historical evaluation (Elayi 2014: 378), the local kingdoms are thought to number three: Amurrû with the capital at Sumur (Tell Kazel), Canaan with the capital in Gaza, and Upi, with its capital at Kumidi (Kamid el-Loz) (Metzger 2003). While Amorite dynasties had ruled Mesopotamia c. 2000-16000 BCE (Wasserman & Bloch 2023), in the early 2nd millennium BCE, the name Amurrû denoted populations inhabiting Syria that were characterized by loose social organization, and were in part semi-nomadic. This is consistent with how the region is described in the MF.
In the MF, descriptions of the area that must be Syria refer to 'shepherds' in various episodes. In one account (**2.7**) on the origins of the 'rule of Amorites' (Ἀμοραίων ἀρχή), there is a specific reference to a battle against a people called Somyraioi (ἐν τῇ πρὸς Σομυραίους μάχῃ). The reference must be to Simira, identified with Tell Kazel, which in the Late Bronze Age was capital of Amurrû (Xella 1995).

One impediment in dating these narratives is that they span a period of time that amounts to centuries, although specific chronological pegs are offered by individuals and events which can be independently cross-referenced in other textual sources.The fervent diplomatic correspondence, surviving in the Amarna archive, maintained between Rib-Addu (or Rib-Hadda), first in his capacity as king of Byblos and subsequently as an embittered deposed king of Byblos, persistently seeking help from Egypt to face off the kingdom of Amurrû and his enemies Abdi-Ashirta and his son, Aziru, who were probably culpable for his dethronement, suggests pervasive Egyptian influence over Canaanite affairs. The events concern the same Byblian king appearing as deposed and exiled for reasons beyond his control (illness, war) in the MF (see below), giving a date in the mid-14th c. BCE for some of the narratives contained in the MF, but *not* for when the texts were collected into one treatise.

5. Genres represented, narrative arch and cross-referencing of historical information: a selection of passages

Among the main charges laid against Wagenfeld is the treatment that the Nine Books reserve for well-known, recurrent motifs of Greek mythology and literature, which drew the opprobrium of his contemporaries at his perceived lack of subtlety at swagging his conceit. Eliciting scorn as a reckless raconteur of tall tales,

Wagenfeld was flouted for having invented plots out of Greek myths. But a Near Eastern precursor to a later-documented Greek myth is no imitation (on the Greeks' or Wagenfeld's part). In privileging a tradition of story-telling in a dry episodic narrative, bereft of detailed elaboration, the text conforms to styles of historiography prevalent in Mesopotamia over millennia, without the literary aspirations or concerns of later Greek literature. A Canaanite/ Phoenician historiography that captures in episodic plot, if not in image, style and tone, concepts known from later Greek poetry, prefigures elements that get singled out, reworked, and recast in a different light within a different cultural tradition, filtered through a Greek lens, developed within poetry composed for public performance occasions and responding to the impulses generated by a value system structuring Greek societies. Foregrounding the potential of a reactive aspect of Greek myths to Canaanite ones serves to legitimate the noted rapport between a late 2nd millennium BCE epigrammatic prose of Canaanite historiography and an in-depth treatment of Herakles, the syncretized deity of Melqart, in Greek poetics. Epic, tragedy, comedy, mythography were the means by which Greeks of the Archaic period onwards drew on a broader heritage resource, with a penchant for artistic creations. Canaanite and Aegean populations had been in regular contact and "interactions" (of varying degrees of amicable or not relations) in the Mediterranean at least from the Middle Bronze Age onwards. Early Greek literature neither followed the conventions of Near Eastern prose nor shared its purposes, but rather transmitted a heritage wherein Canaanite or earlier Mesopotamian myths may have been co-opted, in part, for a range of different artistic, philosophical and scientific pursuits, including the origins of myths – a tradition to which Philo also subscribed. Such rapport between the mythologies of Greece and its eastern neighbours is well-acknowledged nowadays (López-Ruiz 2014). Thus, any correspondences between motifs in the MF and Greek myths or narratives is no hint of forgery.

In other narratives of the MF, what stands out is no easily-recognizable Greek mythology, but parallels in artistic forms with early Mesopotamian literature and with the historic records of the Late Bronze Age Canaanite and Egyptian correspondence. It is to the latter that one needs to turn in order to corroborate the authenticity of the document – for they contain specific and verifiable historical information not yet available in the 1830s.

5.1 The travels of Melqart westwards

In an account of Melqart's travels west, he is described as if a mortal, aligned with the theogony of Book 1, as preserved in Eusebius' quoted passages, which treats gods as if humans (**2.9-2.12**).[92] His name is given as Melikarthos. Competing with his brother, Isroas, over the affections of a young maiden, Deisone (perhaps a name chosen by Philo, as the female version of Dias (Zeus), hence analogous to *Baalat* as a female version of Baal), whom he wins over, he composes melodies for her, the performance of which the Tyrians subsequently institute on the eve of Melqart's festival. Following Deisone's murder by his brother, Melqart and his companions reach Cyprus, where he conquers Kition, is proclaimed a king by the locals but rejects the honour, sails to the opposite island where he encounters the blind and aged Jurus (Ἴουρος), his uncle on the paternal side. Melikarthos' future, the old man prophesizes, is to conquer the unknown sea and reach the boundaries of the world, his status elevated to that of Kronos (Baal Shamon?). Soon after delivering his mantic forecast, Jurus dies and after mourning him for three days, Melqart rises, bathes and beguiled by the oracle, sets sail towards the West.

Apart from mythologically embodying what was known already in the 1830s of expanding Phoenician cults, the thrust of a long Near Eastern heritage emerges unmistakable in this passage, echoing Gilgamesh ending

92 For Barr (1974: 34-35), this reflects Philo's euhemeristic tendencies or an earlier, but still late local tradition.

his mourning over the death of his friend by bathing.[93] Yet the Epic of Gilgamesh could not have served as a vital resource for Wagenfeld from which to enrich the narrative texture of his supposedly farrago of a manuscript adding a legitimizing gloss to his concoctions, for it was only deciphered in 1872.

Marshalling his companions on his westward voyage **(2.11)**, Melqart/Melikarthos then comes ashore after a shipwreck on the land of Ersiphonia, ascends and descends mountains where he performs rites to the gods, continues further with a ship that his comrades had built and sailing on a river, the contingent reaches an island, Melikarthos steals the cattle he chances upon due to his great distress from hunger, causing the hostile reaction of their owner Obibakros **(2.11)**, then sails again, gets shipwrecked with his companions, whereupon they reach safety swimming to another island.

Assorted further mishaps earn him a spell of adventures whereby he comes to be seen as a god by the local populations of Tartessos. While Melikarthos **(2.12)** and his companions subsist on marine shellfish and littoral fish, he falls ill; subsequently, he alone braves the thick forest intending to hunt game in the hinterland but encounters a sleeping, serpent-legged woman who leads him to her similarly-figured queen Leiathane and her crew of servants. This queen had been banished from the city onto the island Melikarthos had reached by a certain Masisabas who ruled Tartessos at the edge of the earth. The queen bade him to go kill her persecutor, promising that he will then acquire his riches, and to this purpose gives Melikarthos a box containing a poisonous substance with which to smear his arrow, turning it into a toxic weapon. Melikarthos eventually kills Masisabas **(2.13-2.14)** and as a result becomes a god in the eyes of the locals, who are described as living in primitive ways, while his companions are also perceived as divine beings, albeit of lesser status than their leader. The locals build an acropolis for him, a city and a shrine at a time when silver abounded in the land. Finally, Melikarthos goes missing on a hunting expedition. Failing to recover him, whether alive or dead, his companions determine that the wifeless amongst them shall return to Tyre and erect a temple in his honour "in the old city of Tyre" before the city was built, the rest of the men having permanently settled down with local women in Tartessos.

Interestingly, Anatolian rituals of vanishing gods are now known to reflect Mesopotamian and Syrian traditions; the Ugaritic tradition preserves searches for Baal and the mourning for him.[94]

The name of the half-human, half-serpent queen, Leiathane, must be cognate with the biblical Leviathan, a crocodile or whale-like monstrous denizen of the sea (e.g. Job 41-41).[95] Echoes of Greek mythology also resonate in this narrative arch, mainly of Herakles' 10th and 11th labours and other episodes of his life. In his first western labour, Herakles steals the cattle of Geryon in Erytheia, located near Tartessos (Hes. *Theog.* 979-983),[96] while the episode of the Deianeira and the poisonous chiton she gives to her husband (Apol. *Bibl.* 2.7.7), whose origins date at least to the 7th c. BCE,[97] resonates with Leiathane's gift of a poison as a weapon to Melqart.

Acknowledging that Melqart appears as a symbol of Phoenician maritime commerce in this account, Le Bas (1836: 555) interpreted it as the alleged forger's naïve subterfuge, playing on the tropes of a temple of Melqart in Tyre, embellished with two columns, mirroring Herodotus' (*Hist.* 2.42) depiction of its wondrous sight. Equally manifest

93 On mourning in the epic of Gilgamesh, see De Villiers (2020).

94 On vanishing gods in Anatolian rituals and the Mesopotamian and Syrian undercurrents, see Ayali-Darshan (2024: 14-15, 103).

95 On Leviathan and possibly Ugaritic antecedents, see Fox (2012: 64-66).

96 For an early survival of the myth and the poetic placing of Erytheia in Tartessos, see Stesichoros' *Geryonis* (Eisenfeld 2018; Finglas, 2021).

97 Implied in the narrative of Kreophyllos of Samos on the labours of Herakles in his epic Herakleia, incorrectly known as 'The Sack of Oichalia', see Tsagalis (2022: 42).

in Le Bas' attitude towards Wagenfeld, is his postulate that the parallelisms with Herakles's mythology debunks its claim to authenticity, noting the narrative similarities with the Herakles-Deianeira debacle of a poisonous chiton leading to the hero's death and apotheosis, as well as with the stealing of Geryon's cattle. Such an argument can no longer stand. Near Eastern influence on Greek myth and religion is fundamental and pervasive, with many analogies and parallels explained as the product of cross-cultural encounters (López-Ruiz 2014), therefore any parallelism between the Herakles-Deianeira myth and the myth of Melqart cannot constitute from the outset a claim to forgery, especially given the well-documented, since antiquity, syncretism of Melqart with Herakles, already investigated in depths by Herodotos (*Hist.* 2.43-2.44).[98]

The MF not only explains the phenomenically intrusive passage on serpents in Book 1, as embedded in Eusebius' *P.E.*, but also illuminates Tartessian art depicting serpent-like beings on the Pozo Moro funerary monument in Spain whose origins cannot be traced back to Near Eastern models, and which depict anthropomorphic serpents at a banquet.[99] Such serpent-like beings find no correspondence in extant Phoenician mythology or art, and are difficult to explain. A serpent-bodied queen Leiathane in Iberia, however, provides a mythical resource otherwise missing. Located immediately to the west of modern Chinchilla de Monte-Aragón (Albacete, Spain), this funerary monument was erected at a point where the *Via Heraclea*, as was known by Roman times, the ancient road system connecting Gadir, famous for its temple to Melqart/Herakles,[100] linked Tartessos with the Pyrenees. At the plains of La Mancha, the road turned to the right towards the Mediterranean coast between ancient Libisosa (Lezura) and Saltigi (Chinchilla de Monte-Aragón) before descending southwards to Carthagena, from there following a costal road north to the Pyrenees. Although this stretch of the road, the Via Augusta, is documented better for the Roman period, the road network was a main axis of communication dating at least from the 8th c. BCE. Connecting the Atlantic Ocean with the Mediterranean Sea, the road passed through Abdera, a stop of the Phoenicians prior to the foundation of Gadir and of Herakles on his return from the stolen cattle according to Greek sources on the foundation of Gadir (Plácido 2002). The location of the monument at the intersection of the Via Heraclea, an ancient road, and the material dimensions of the mythical journey of Herakles in Iberia during his 10th and 11th labours of stealing Geryon's cattle and the golden apples (or flocks) of the Garden of Hesperides, both set at the far western edge of the world, seem to derive from early Phoenician interactions in the region, generating stories and lores that were absorbed by Greek mythology.[101]

In addition, an intriguing premise is that several of Melqart's companion stayed on in Iberia, having married local women. Consistent with early mixed populations in the colonies of the expanding Phoenician diaspora, the narrative offers a summary of the process of forming an early settlement, corroborated by archaeo-scientific finds on a personal, human scale. Emerging molecular analyses of uniparental (matrilineal) markers on skeletal remains from Phoenician colonies in the Mediterranean suggest

98 The seminal study on Melqart remains Bonnet (1988).

99 On the Pozo Moro monuments and its parallels with funerary architecture in Iberia, see Almagro Gorbea (1983).

100 For a recent examination of the archaeological evidence, see de Lima (2019; 2018).

101 Whether Herakles stole flocks of golden-fleeced sheep rather than golden apples is predicated on the translation of *μῆλα*, a word that denotes both apples/other fruit and flocks of sheep (Plácido, 2002: 131), a notion discussed already in antiquity (Diod. Sic., *Bib. Hist.* 4.26).

the input of foreign maternal lineages in ancient Phoenician colonies.[102]

5.2 Raboth in Philo's *Phoenician History* in the MF and Rib-Addu in the Amarna correspondence

Extant literary sources regarding the Late Bronze Age in Phoenicia are singularly reticent about details save for the Amarna corpus of diplomatic correspondence between regional powers. Comparing the names of rulers known from the corpus to the lists of kings in the MF returns some interesting results. The most robust case for a correspondence between the individuals mentioned in these two sources can be made for a king of Byblos, named as **Ῥάβωθος** in the MF **(4.2)**. Son of the king of Sidonians Bimalos (Abi-Maal?), he ascended the throne of Byblos through coercion orchestrated by his father, who after conquering Beirut amassed a fleet of Sidonians and Beirutians with the aim of sailing to Byblos to ascertain that Raboth's rule was welcome. Arriving with 1000 Sidonian archers, the narrative goes, Raboth reigned over Byblos for 30 years.

> *Ὁ μὲν Βίμαλος ὁ τῶν Σιδονίων βασιλεὺς υἱὸν ἔπεμψε Ῥαβωθον τοῖς Βυβλίοις, τὸν παῖδα ἐλέσθαι ἄρχοντα αὐτοὺς ἀξιῶν, ὡς Βαράδωδον ἤδη ἐποίησε τῶν Βηρυτίων βασιλέα*
>
> "Bimalos the king of the Sidonians sent his son Rabothos to the Byblians, demanding that they elect him as their ruler, as he already made Baradodos king of the Beirutians."

Raboth(-os) is clearly a Semitic name, transliterated here with the inflectional ending of masculine nouns in Greek; the root *rb* (a military title: 'commander') is attested among the Phoenician personal names inscribed on bronze arrow-heads from Lebanon and dating to 13th-11th c. BCE (Rolling 1995: fr. 6). This is approximately within the upper date range of Philo's *Phoenician History* on the basis of the accepted fragments in Eusebius' *P.E.*

A king of Byblos, particularly active in diplomatic correspondence with Egypt, is attested in broadly this date range. He is known by the Akkadian spelling of his name, transliterated in multiple orthographic variants in the Latin alphabet as Rib-Addu, Rib-Haddu, Rib-Hadda, Rib-Addi, Rib-Eddi, Rib-Addi,[103] allowing for differences in the rendering of sounds in a syllabary versus an abjad, and in the phonemes of modern languages (e.g. English vs French).[104] What if this Raboth stands for Rib-Addu? Philo's rendering of the Phoenician alveolar stop /d/ in the last element of the compound name Rib-Addu with the voiceless dental fricative /θ/ in Greek, instead of the expected dental voiced fricative /δ/,[105] does not pose too many problems given the lack of a standardized orthographic vocalization in Greek and the wide orthographic variety of Phoenician words in alphabetic scripts.[106] Since the most likely case is that Philo was looking at texts written in copies in the Phoenician abjad, for names he was not familiar, he would have to choose a likely vowel that may

102 Mixed results were obtained on the molecular level on a sample of human remains (assumed to be of a pre-Roman date) from Phoenician burial sites in Cádiz where maternal biogeographical ancestry was traced to different lineages in the Near East, Europe and north Africa (Gomes et al. 2023). A similar analysis on a single individual from Carthage suggests a matrilinear ancestry in Europe (Matisoo Smith et al. 2016), consistent with the Phoenician colonial populations having a gene pool of different origins. This is not to equate cultural identity with biological ancestry, neither to subsume the colonial realities across the Mediterranean and for several centuries thereafter under a totalizing paradigmatic model on the basis of few studies on limited samples from specific sites.

103 Elayi (2014: 377, note 1) notes this variant, to which Rib-Addi (Kilani 2019, Table 1) may be added.

104 For the spelling of Akkadian names in Aramaic texts from Persian-era Egypt, see Porten et al. (2016).

105 Compare for example the reverse case of ʾNDRWNKS for **Ἀνδρόνικος** from coins minted by Lapethos with legends in Phoenician (Krahmalkov 2000: 16).

106 For example, from neo-Punic, see Krahmalkov (2000, *passim*).

not have corresponded to the actual ancient pronunciation or the vocalization of Babylonian and Canaanite names written in Akkadian script and language, the *lingua franca* of Amarna corpus. This for example would explain the difference between Rib-Addu found in modern scholarship alongside the variants Rib-Hadda. Transliterating the name into Greek, Philo chose the closest three consonants of the original word, necessitating the hypothetical values for the second and third vowel for which graphemes were not provided (unlike with the name attested in the Akkadian syllabary in the Amarna archive, which supplies a final vowel due to the script used).

To the matching of kings' names, Raboth and Rib-Addu in the MF and the Amarna corpus respectively, and their offices (both were kings of Byblos) can be added a comparable life arch: both were kings of Byblos whose rule was cut short through external intervention. Both were described as suffering from illness. Known in detail through his prolific correspondence with Amenhotep III, and subsequently with his successor, the eccentric Amenhotep IV/ Akhenaton (1353-1336 BCE) of the Amarna archive (62 extant letters in total), Rib-Addu's ruling over Byblos in the mid-14th c. BCE, under Egyptian suzerainty, came to an end through a coup orchestrated by the usurper Abdi-Ashirta (spelling variant: ʿAbdi-Ašîrta) of Amurru (Pfälzner 2012, 772-773).[107] In exile, Rib-Addu continued being prolix in his correspondence with Egypt, sending demanding and panicky letters to the Pharaoh complaining of the conspirators.[108]

107 Attested in the Amarna corpus: 68:1; 71:2; 73:2; 74:1; 75:1; 76:1; 77:2; 78:1; 79:1; 82:3; 83:1; 83:40; 84:3; 85:2; 85:24; 86:2; 87:3; 88:1; 89:1; 90:3; 92:1; 92:35; 93:2; 94:1; 95:2; 96:1; 102:3; 103:2; 104:3; 105:1; 105:88; 106:1; 106:14; 106:31; 107:1; 108:1; 109:1; 110:2; 111:3; 112:1; 113:24; 116:1; 117:1; 118:3; 119:1; 119:19; 119:34; 121:1; 121:23; 122:1; 123:1; 124:2; 124:6; 124:18; 125:2; 126:1; 129:1; 129:45; 130:3; 132:2; 136:2; 137:1; 138:2; 138:66; 138:90; 138:111; 142:21; 362:1, see Kilani (2020a: table 1). For an interpretation into the historical circumstances and Rib-Addu's motives, see Elayi (2014).

108 Clay analysis of three tablets sent by Rib-Addu points to the localities of Akkar, Tripoli and Tartous, from which Elayi (2014: 380) deduces that they were written while he was in exile. In one letter (EA 137:29-30) of the Amarna correspondence, it is stated that Rib-Addu was ill (Kilani 2020b: 172). On his part, the usurper Abdi-Ashirta also addressed himself to the Egyptians, expostulating with mendacity on the deposed king's accusations of him acting treacherously against his Egyptian vassals.

In Books **4** and **6** of the MF, Raboth's life arch, recorded in a chronicle form, recalls the events described in 'real-time' in the Amarna correspondence. Having assumed the throne of Byblos, Raboth becomes "kings of all cities", implying that neighbouring Phoenician towns were under the suzerainty of Byblos, itself a vassal of Egypt. Yet after 30 years for reasons not elaborated on, he visits Sidon (where his father had been a king), leaving behind in his post in Byblos a certain Barsis who ruled for 18 years over Byblos while a war had broken out between Sidon and the "Giants". Assuming de facto power over Byblos, Barsis becomes a general of "all forces" in Byblos, while Raboth is stranded in Sidon, enfeebled by illness. Upon his death in battle, Barsis is succeeded by an individual for whose name the chronicle is not entirely certain; it gives us two possible names: he was either called Obdovaltis (Abd-Baalat) or Obdastartis (Abd-Astart). Both are theophoric names, composed of the element *'bd* (servant) and the name of a goddess. In the second case, the chronicle Philo translated would have given Abd-Astart, 'servant of Astart', corresponding to the identity of the Abdi-Ashirta of the Amarna corpus.

Thus, in the allegedly fraudulent manuscript of Philo, there is a king of Byblos, Raboth, who inexplicably leaves his throne of Byblos, which is then taken by Abd-Astart, while the deposed king is ill. In the Amarna correspondence, there is a king of Byblos, Rib-Addu that gets deposed, is ill, and his throne is taken by Abdi-Asirta. Interestingly, in the narrative of the MF, there is no real explanation as to why Raboth left Byblos other than stating that a war had broken out and he was ill. Yet that this is a pretext is evident by the fact that Raboth's illness did not prevent him from ruling over Sidon (his father's kingdom,

after all) for another 30 years. Whether there is any truth as to the duration of this rule, is of secondary importance; what stands out is the effort of the later chronicler to elide the turmoil in Byblos caused by a coup and Raboth's dethronement, glossing over dynastic usurpation. Philo gives us the narrative from official records of Byblos that would stump out any notion of coup, presenting an idealized picture, while the Amarna correspondence gives witness accounts of how the Byblian king Raboth's power was usurped. It is easy to see how the Middle-Babylonian of the Amarna 'Abdi-Asirta' in the Akkadian syllabary would transform into Obdastartis (in the Latin transliteration) of the Greek vocalization of the Canaanite name recorded in abjad.

Although the site of Amarna was identified by westerners in the late 1700s, the correspondence archive was only discovered in the 1880s, too late for Wagenfeld to have taken note. The remarkable correspondence between the chronicle events, in a Greek translation, and the Amarna corpus, in Middle Babylonian, is the surest proof, that Philo's *Phoenician History* published by Wagenfeld was in fact authentic.

5.3 A shipwrecked adventure in the islands of Imyrhakinai

Throughout the *Phoenician History*, Tartessos is considered a Tyrian colony. In Wagenfeld's text the Phoenicians routinely travel west, to Tartessos, one of the Tyrian colonies, defined as populated by the "descendants of Melqart". (**8.15**):

> *Σύμμαχοι δὲ καὶ τῶν Τυρίων οἱ Ταρτήσσιοι, γίνονται ἀπό Μελικάρθου, ἔχοντες τὸ γένος τε καὶ πρὸς ἑσπέραν κατοικούντες Ταρτεσσὸς μὲν οὖν (οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες Ταρσὶν λέγουσι)*
>
> "Tartessians are allies of the Tyrians, they are descended from Melikarthos, having the same descent (*genos*) and inhabiting Tartessos towards the West (which the Phoenicians call Tarshish)"

In a vivid language (**Book 8**), a detailed narrative is given of the fateful voyage west of the Byblian crew of a ship with an incompetent captain that drives the vessel off course on their route to Tartessos, and their subsequent travails and escapades after their shipwrecked ship ends up at an unintended destination, an island group west of Tinge (Tangier). The Byblian ship, having sailed past the Tiborsyfa Cape, the far western edge of the continental land, comes ashore at one of the islands of Imyrhakinai. These are the farthest western point (**4.18**):

> *Ἔσχαται μὲν πρὸς ἑσπέραν τείνουσιν Ἰμυρχακίναι νῆσοι*
>
> "At the far western limit extent the Imyrhakinai islands"

Of the archipelago, the isle furthest away is described as ten days' journey (voyage, in actuality) from "the cape of the winters":

> *ὧν μὲν ἡ ὑστάτη δέκα ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ὑπέχει τά τῶν χειμώνων ἀκρωτηρίον*
>
> "of which the last is ten days' journey from the winter cape"

This pithy description of the winter cape must be a reference to Phoenician sailing crews 'wintering out' in temporary locations as intermediary stops during long voyages until the following sailing season for their return voyage, which has long been a suggestion of contemporary archaeological research into Phoenician trading posts. Yet such references are also present in Herodotus's work (*Hist.* 4.4.2) with regard to Phoenician navigation,[109] of which Wagenfeld would have been aware had he intended to forge a *Phoenician History*.

The Imyrhakinai archipelago is dotted with islands of various names: Hyresa (Ὑρῆσα), Hyrizeima (Ὑριζεῖμα), and Igydoula (Ἰγυδούλα). Herysa is described

109 During the circumnavigation of Africa ca. 600 BC, the Phoenician sailors cultivated cereals while waiting for the next sailing season.

as a volcanic island. They were once populous but the narrative describes them as presently near-deserted due to wars, natural phenomena that led to many perishing and others deserting the islands.

The shipwrecked Byblian crew, having come ashore on one of the islands, divided themselves into two groups; one stayed on the beach, the others went on a reconnaissance march into the hinterland, in search of water and other provisions. Some islanders eventually spotted the members of the latter group, rescued them along with those stranded at sea, some of whom had already perished from thirst, and proceeded to salvage what they could of the crew's belongings from the ship, only to discover sacred books with images pertaining to the goddess Astart. Fearing that the rescued foreigners practiced sorcery, they determined to have the issue adjudicated by their king. Transported to a prison on a different island, the royal seat of the archipelago, the Byblians were left to await a decision on their fate. The king enlisted the services of an old man, who in his youth had spent some time in Tartessos where he had learned Phoenician ("our language"). Conspiring with the remaining crew to conceal the contents of the books so that everyone's life, including his own, would be spared, he offered instead to the king a tendentious account of the books' contents. The contrivance worked and after a few more events, one involving a night exploration of the town where they were held, there was a 'happy ending'. Decimated after the shipwreck and having been left stranded on the coast without provisions, some perishing in prison, and following some more incidents, the remaining crew could after all eventually return to Byblos. The narrative falters at this moment, implying that some of the sailors had managed to make their way back to Phoenicia earlier. In a vivid passage that wrestles with the details of a hard life at sea, the focus zeroes in on the callouses protruding from one of the men's deformed hands, befit of a sailor's hard life at sea.[110]
Could Wagenfeld have made all this up?

Recognizing that the toponym Imyrhakinai refers to the Canary Islands, Le Bas (1836, 564, note 1) posited a Hebrew origin for the toponym, allegedly embodying the phrase 'distant islands',[111] to him a clue of forgery. Indeed, at least in modern Hebrew, the vocalization of the phrase 'distant islands' (מיקוחר מייא) has considerable assonance with *Ἰμυρχακίναι*.[112] In biblical Hebrew, the term for 'island' was the same (יא), also used in relation to the island of Caphtor (probably Crete).[113] Not quite an automatic proof of forgery by Wagenfeld, who must have been versed in biblical Hebrew having presumably studied theology, though the argument for a common Semitic root for the word 'island' shared between Hebrew and Phoenician is invalidated by lexicographical works on Phoenician.[114] Yet given the biblical account of a joint fleet organized by Hiram and Solomon ("Tarshish ships") to Tarshish, one may theoretically at least account for a Hebrew place-name and loanword into Canaanite.[115]

110 Palaeopathological studies on Phoenician populations in Lebanon remains show occupational-related stress from physically demanding tasks, connected to routine daily activities. For dental wear, this is pronounced among certain professions (sailors, fishermen) who used teeth as an extra limb. For the Roman period which shows a more pronounced mechanical stress on the Byblian population, see Mardini et al. (2023).

111 "Le nom d'Imyrchakines s'explique par l'hébreu: limrakhokim, îles éloignées.".

112 The former with a sound approximating the transliteration 'eme rachokim', and 'imirkakinai' for the latter – the last syllables in each case concern plural endings and can be ignored in terms of phonetic approximation. Note that the vocalization concerns modern Hebrew.

113 Sander & Trénel (1832: 21-22, s.v. יא).

114 In Phoenician, 'island' is denoted by y at least in composite place-names, e.g. 'ynsm, Enosin refers to 'near Sardinia' (Karhmalkov, 2000: s.v. y).

115 For Solomon's and Hiram's join fleet to "Tarshish", see the Bible (I *Kings* 10.22); for the different contexts in which it is used, see Lipiński (2004: 226-250); for epigraphic and other archaeological evidence that prove its identification with Tartessos, see Celestino & López Ruiz (2016: 113-114).

Without underestimating these two observations, further avenues will be explored here. So alternatively, it is put forward here that the etymology of the toponym is to be sought in a compound word with a Hittite loan word, finding its counterpart in the attestation of the Luwian *irhanua*, from ***irḫa*** ("boundary"), of an ultimately Sumerian root, which may have been a more broadly shared loan word in neighbouring languages.[116] In that scenario, one may envisage singular nominative *Imyrhakine* analyzed as a composite of ***Ἰμ-υρχα-κίνη***: the Phoenician suffix ***ʾm*** ('mother city'),[117] followed by ***irḫa*** ('boundary') and ***kīnu-*** ('to break open', 'to open up).[118] In this sense, it would mean something close to 'mother-city of the opened border region', relating to the new borders of expanding maritime commerce by Canaanites during the 13th c. BCE, in diplomatic and other contacts with the Hittites that would explain loan-words and linguistic code-switching.[119] Alternatively, the initial '*m* in Imyrhakine may stand for the collective singular noun, with a plural meaning, denoting a cluster of 'opened up borders', i.e. an archipelago.[120] Another interpretation is that one of the compound toponym's root words may derive from the same root as the derivative Hittite adjective *araḫzena*, "bordering, adjoining, surrounding, outer, external, foreign alien", a good description for a distant group of isles.[121] But since *irḫa* derives from an originally Sumerian root, one may suppose a direct loan into Canaanite, rather than Hittite, bypassing the need for a Hittite loan. If Luwian, it can be compared to the toponyms Ἴμβρος/ Ἰμβρασός, the name of the east Aegean Imvros island, and the epithet of the Luwian deity im(ma)ral-la/I, the latter with a postulated meaning of 'belonging to fields', cognate with *im(ma)ra, 'open country'.[122] If so, Imyrhakinai may stand for 'open border', apt for a new archipelago. Perhaps pushing too far, this is presented here as a hypothesis, pending research by specialists in Semitic, Luwian and Hittite languages.

Mycenaeans had travelled the central Mediterranean region and Luwians and Hittites were in contact with them on both epigraphic, textual and archaeological evidence (Fales 2017; Cline 2009), showing how loan words from Hittite could have passed on to Canaanites. Mycenaean Greeks, who identified as Achaeans, had trade stations in the Aeolian Islands (e.g. Lipari) in the Middle Bronze Age, being active in the central Mediterranean. They may also have plied the waters further to the west. Mycenaean pottery was imported c. 1400-1190 BCE in Iberia and during successive phases, as shown by ceramic finds at the well-stratified site in Montoro, Cordoba. These pertain to wheel-made Late Helladic IIIA2 or IIIB, spanning the period from 1400 to 1200 BCE, mineralogically traced to a workshop in Berbati, Argolid that exported types to various centres in the Levant, also found in Montoro. Argolid, after all, was the heartland of the Mycenaeans (Nikolopoulos 2009; Pappa 2019).[123] As shown by contemporary Hittire records, the 13th c. BCE brough famine

116 For loans into Phoenician and Punic, see Watson (2013). For Woudhuizen, the decoding of Luwian and Hittite texts suggests that "irhanua" is a composite word in Luwian, analysed in Luwian *nua* ('new') and *irha* ('border'), see Woudhuizen and Zagger (2021: 102).

117 See Krahmalkov (2000: 57, s.v. *m*) for M, often followed by a gentilicon, e.g. 'mother-city of the Sidonians. The assumption here is for a Phoenician element because a bounded morpheme in Hittite with the approximate vocalization of "Iμ' is to my knowledge not attested.

118 For attestation of Hittite compound words formed by a noun followed by a verbal adjective, see Hoffner (1966: 395-396).

119 For Semitic loans into Egyptian, see Kilani (2019).

120 Compare ***mḥnt*** ("members of the army") (Krahmalkov 2000: s.v. ***mḥnt***).

121 **Kīnu-**: to open up, to break open; **irḫ**(a)-, **erḫ**, **araḫ**-, **arḫ**, border. See Kloekhorst (2007: 201-202, 553, 450).

122 For a discussion of views on Luwian toponyms and epithets beginning with 'im', see summary presentation in **Taşkin** (2022: 322).

123 For the Aiolan islands, the EBA Capo Graziano (I: 2300/1700-1650 and II: 2300/1700-1650) is a cultural horizon attributed to a proto-Greek ethnic group. The successive horizon brings a different culture from Sicily. The settlements were rebuilt or built over. Late Helladic II pottery of Mycenaean manufacture in the period of 1400-1190 BCE attests to an intense trade with the Aegean. At the end of 1300 BCE, all the villages were abandoned and partially destroyed (Iacono 2019: 186).

in the Hittite region, probably due to drought and Ugaritic letters refer to armies of Sikels (probably originating in southern Italy) just before the latter's destruction. It is tempting to connect the abandonment and destruction layers of the 13th c. BCE on the Lipari to the general destruction and abandonment attested throughout the eastern Mediterranean and the Near East. Palatial correspondence from the Hittites is explicit over crop failures and famine which is attributed to drought, corroborated by scientific studies (Podany 2022, 399). This would have not left unaffected the Aeolian islands. Interestingly, some of the names of the so-called Sea Peoples in Egyptian accounts record ethnonyms that may pertain to Sardinians and Sikels. If so, this general population movement would not have left unaffected the central Mediterranean. Thus, "a new border" opened by the Mycenaeans in the central Mediterranean, predating those centuries of turmoil at the end of the Late Bronze Age, could have been communicated through a Hittite transmission route to the Canaanites, who may have adopted the toponym, Imyrhakinai, themselves. If the volcanic islands west of Tigge are not the Aeolian islands situated west of some Tigge long forgotten in the mist of time, then there is a mass of data to connect the Imyrhakinai with the Canary Islands, which is the most plausible scenario.

For the toponym Tigge (**6.5**; Τέγγα), the most parsimonious explanation is that it refers to Tangier (Morroco), turning under the appellation Θρίγκη in Hecataeus' (*Perieg.*) geographical work of 6th c. BCE, as Θυμιατήριον ('incense-burner') (Hanno, *Per.*) in the Greek translation of a 5th c. BCE Phoenician sailing account, as Τίγγις/Τίγγα in the later work of Strabo (*Geog.* 3.1.8; 17.3.2), and also in the plural as Θυμιατήρια (Steph. *Ethn*), drawing on the work of Ephorus.[124] The latter name ('incense burners') designated a core implement of Phoenician religious ritual, at least in Cyprus, with specimens discovered at Phoenician and Tartessian sites across the Mediterranean, but primarily in Cyprus and Iberia. From a nautical perspective, Lipiński (2004, 426) postulated that the meaning of 'incense-burner' as a toponym was a reference to lighthouses, functioning with braziers, which Greek sailors encountered during their voyages. While this suggestion is not inconceivable,[125] a likely hypothesis derives from the Kerne case described above: in Greek Phoenician toponyms were not merely adopted as loan-words; rather a phonological approximate was chosen, with a specific meaning in the Greek language.

North Africa west of the later Greek Cyrenaica was settled by Phoenicians of various origins. Influence is arguably direct over the local populations of Tangier by the 8th-7th c. BCE, as shown by the extensive Phoenician cultural elements in the necropoleis of Tangier, which may have been linked to metal trade (Pappa 2009). A comparable orientation towards an eastern Mediterranean cultural influence emerges from the local Roman-era historiographers, heirs to Phoenician legacy in Iberia. Pomponius Mela (*Chor.* 1.22), a native of Tingentera, in the Straits of Gribraltar region (Batty 2000), refers to a cavern (*specus*) in honour of Hercules close to Tinge and a promontory called by the Greeks Ambelusia, evidently the Latin version of Ἀμπελουσία, cognate with ἄμπελος, 'vine', meaning a place of vines. The promontory is identified with the present-day Cape Spartel (Ras-el-Shukkúr).[126] Cape Spartel has yielded a Phoenician tomb in ashlar masonry, comparable with finds from the elite Phoenician necropolis of Trayamar in Malaga (8th-7th c. BCE) (Pappa 2013: 91-93). Beyond Ampelusia, Mela continues with a foundation myth concerning Tinge/Tangier,

124 For the literary sources on the designation of Tangier see Lipiński (2004: 426), who views a Libyco-Berber toponym in Tiggis/Tigga.

125 To this day, the Ratray lighthouse in Aberdeenshire, Scotland functions with a small light the intensity of which is magnified by light reflectors (William Guthrie, Letters, London Review of Books 46, no. 6, 16 March 2023).

126 Gras (1992: 28) remarked that Mela was unaware of the temple of Melqart in Lixus but that is difficult to credit. For identifications with a geographical locality, see Smith (1854: s.v. Ampelusia).

allegedly founded by Antaeus (a giant adversary of Herakles in Greek myth), whose cult was still in existence in Mela's day. The wider region shows pervasive evidence for Phoenician and Punic culture, dating at least to the 8th c. BCE, explained though the foundation of colonies such as Gadir. If the "winter cave" in the MF was Cape Spartel, then the archaeological evidence offers additional support – Phoenician presence, early but pointing to a temporary or seasonal nature.

The Imyrhakinai islands, described as volcanic in nature, and partially abandoned after a lengthy period of wars, earthquakes and volcanic eruptions, were populated by a society organized into a centralized royal authority. They spoke neither Tartessian nor Phoenician, save for an old man who learned Phoenician in Tartessos. These volcanic western islands located off Tigge, one may assume, are the Canary Islands. Due to Greco-Roman works that equated the Isles of the Blessed and the Hesperides' Gardens of the Greek mythology with the Canary Islands, eastern Mediterranean connections to this archipelago have long been envisaged in modern scholarship. Although the setting of the myths of Herakles in the West has been approached as a later cartographic transposition of mythical geography, the MF outlines a world in which western-eastern interconnections were conceivable, if not exactly routine.

Recent advances into the past of the Canary Isles, refute that this account is a fabulistic tale of geographical dislocation, akin to Iambulus' or Euhemerus' descriptions of imaginary worlds in the Hellenistic literature. The view that the Isles of the Blessed of the Greek myth were inspired by the Canary Isles had been previously expressed both on archaeological and literary grounds, with different views as to the systematic nature or not of the trips involved (Nikolopoulos 2009, 307-311), depending on the extent to which one credited the identification of the Isles of the Blessed and the Hesperides' Garden with the archipelago (Santana & Arcos Pereira 2016).

Substantiating this trend in the history of the islands vis-à-vis Greek mythological narratives, contemporary archaeological investigations demonstrate that contrary to received wisdom, the Canary Islands were in fact inhabited at some stage between the 2nd and the 1st millennium BCE, with most evidence suggesting that settlement was initiated on Lanzarote (Atoche Peña et al. 2016; García-Talavera Casañas). Near Eastern wheel-made pottery dated to 1090 BC has been found in La Graciosa in the Canary Islands (Nikolopoulos 2009, 307-310). Archaeological excavations of settlements on this archipelago and a series of calibrated dates (C14 and AMS) by various contexts in multiple settlements, undertaken by three laboratories, have shown beyond doubt that the Canary Isles were inhabited, at least two of them, by the 10th c. BCE. Settlements with oval houses and other structures, domestication of sheep and goats and wheel-made pottery at several locations have been dated with cross-referencing of sequences from several laboratories and on different samples. Together, the evidence shows a low-scale settlement at the end of the 2nd millennium BCE and contacts with the eastern Mediterranean. There are grounds to consider that the Madeiras were also inhabited (Seglins 2016). In the Canary archipelago, the move towards social complexity stalled and stagnated as suggested by archaeological investigations (Atoche Peña et al. 2016), a discontinuity of settlements on the islands that matches the account of the MF. In addition, in the narrative, they are referred to as islands west of a cape where Phoenician wintered out, and that they were accidentally reached by a vessel led off course by an incompetent captain, though they were not altogether cut off the ambit of their networks – after all, an old man had been sent to Tartessos and learned Phoenician as a child, in which he communicated with the desolate Byblian crew. This is consistent with the archaeological evidence, allowing the identification of the Tiborsypha Cape with Cape Spartel, where an elite Phoenician tomb has been excavated.

5.4 A Trip to the Indian Ocean

The two penultimate Books **(7; 8)** contain information on the Periplous of a Phoenician fleet to the Indian Ocean. The narrative concerns the deeds of a king of Tyre, Ioramos, son of Bartophas. As a king, he had been embroiled in wars in Phoenicia and over the colonies, and ruled over Tyre yet not "all of Phoenicia", while upon his death was succeeded by his son Ἰώραμος (Ioramos), whom the Tyrians called Ἰέρβας (Ierbas) and went on to rule for 57 years **(7.5)**:

> *Ἀποτελευτήσαντος δὲ τούτου,*
> *Ἰώραμον τὸν Βαρτώφα εἵλοντο βασιλέα,*
> *ὃν Ἱέρβαν ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ Τύριοι,*
> *ἔτη πεντήκοντα ἑπτὰ ἄρχοντα.*
>
> "After he died, they elected king Ioramos, son of Bartophas, whom the Tyrians called Ierbas, [he ruled as] archon for 57 years"

The account of the Periplous in Book 7 **(7.13)** is taken to come from the text inscribed on a stele at the sanctuary of Melqart, which "fell down during last year's earthquake but which did not break so that the treatise could be read". By contrast, another source is given for the same Periplous in the following Book **(8.1-2)**, where it appears that the text of the stele had been destroyed but of the four copies made, one survived in Byblos and provided the account. Specifically, Ioramos had ordered that a complete census of all cities of Phoenicians, colonies and the land of the 'barbarians' be set down in writing, remarking on the need for this Periplous, since the trip eastwards of which he was responsible was something new, and that their forefathers had until then only sailed to the islands **(8.1-2)**. This periplous was to be redacted into a story, inscribed on a stele at the temple of Melqart in Tyre and copies of it be sent to Sidon, to Byblos, to Arados and to Beirut. Essentially a narrative composed by the priest of Melqart, Ioramos, son of Madynos, at the behest of the king, written by the scribe Sydyk, it is the account of a Phoenician fleet reaching the Indian Ocean that also describes the cities of Phoenicia, their colonies and their armed forces. While the stele was burnt and the three copies sent to other cities were lost, the copy kept at the temple of Baalat in Byblos was said to survive and provide the verbatim account that follows straight after this introduction. Some discrepancies emerge from these accounts. It is bizarre but not impossible that both the king of Tyre and the priest of Melqart were named Ἰώραμος. It is also strange that the verbatim account of the inscribed text given in Book 8 did not contain the Periplous east as narrated in Book 7. A positivistic solution to the conundrum would be to assume that Sanchuniathon found no need to reduplicate the account.

For such Phoenician practices of inscribing tablets and depositing them at temples there are historical and archaeological comparanda. The *Periplous of Hanno* states explicitly that it was the Greek translation of a Phoenician account of a maritime voyage that was originally inscribed in a plaque and deposited at the temple of Kronos. Along with this historical attestation, there is also a material one. The inscribing of an important document and its deposition at a temple of Melqart, as is narrated in the MF finds its parallel in the discovery of a bronze plaque, inscribed on both sides in the Phoenician language and alphabet, with votive texts, deposited at the entrance of the sanctuary of Es Culleram on Ibiza in the Balearic Isles (Spain), which cave sanctuary is considered to have been dedicated to Reshef-Melqart and to Tinnit (Zamora 2023). Egyptian topographic lists were also inscribed on temple columns, such as that commissioned by Pharaoh Shishak for the topography of the Levant, following a military expedition, which was inscribed on a column at the central temple at Karnak (Kilani 2020b: 140-141).

The Tyrian periplous was a narrative of a voyage described in part in the previous book. In Book 7 **(7.8-7.10)**, Ioramos king Tyre, wishes to undertake a commercial expedition to the East having heard of populous and rich lands. Petitioning the king of Babylonia Νατάμβαλος

(Natambalos) to permit him establish trade connections in his lands, an impasse is reached. While initially the request is granted by the Babylonian ruler, he later retracts his consent after being blackmailed with abandonment of commerce by Ethiopian merchants active in plying these routes in Babylonia, given that they viewed Phoenician competitors as a threat to their trade. The Phoenicians eventually succeed in their commercial expedition via an alternative but more distant departure point, offered to them by Eirenios (Greek for 'Solomon'), king of the Jews (**7.9**). Setting off from Eilat, sailing east along the coast, leaving behind them the land of Arabs and reaching an island in what can only be the Indian Ocean. The commentary on the environment, the use of the elephant and instances of court life is extensive. Once on this island called Rachios, the crew were escorted to the local king after arriving in a town called Rozzapatta. While there, some members of the Phoenician crew and "a man from Jerusalem" played a game on the sand involving cow dung and were chastised by a local priest who informed them of their sacrilege. They laughingly ignored him but both dropped suddenly dead soon after, their perishing supposedly caused by divine wrath. The island's political organization in several kingdoms under a supreme king and their respective resources, pearls, cinnamon etc are described in detail.

On geographical grounds Rachios can be identified with Sri Lanka. Had the MF been a forgery, the episode of the sacrilegious nature of interfering with cow dung would require Wagenfeld's familiarization with the Sanscrit epic *Mahabharata,* some of the source material of which dates to Vedic times (1500-500 BCE), in which corpus of texts instruction for the sanctity of cows and bovine dung is given in the 13th book *Anushassana Parva* ('Book of Instructions')**.**[127]

Even if Wagenfeld knew of these Vedic precepts, which is a stretch, why include it in his narrative? As early as 1793, Hereen's multi-volume work on ancient civilization began with the Phoenicians and their trade in the Indian Ocean, referring to Phoenician settlements on the eastern coast of Arabia and on the Bahrain islands, used for ship-building as narrated in the MF. Writing in the 1790s based on Herodotus' (*Hist.* 3.111) exposition of the Phoenicians as the importers of cinnamon, and other textual indications of a spice trade, as well as Ptolemy's description of the antiquity of Red Sea trade ports in commerce with India, Hereen described Phoenician trade with Sri Lanka on aromatics and other articles, placing emphasis on "Indian spices especially cinnamon from Ceylon". Additionally, the German historian remarked that the story of Phoenician trade in Sri Lanka was heard in Ceylon itself in modern times (1).[128]

With Mediterranean archaeology being a field that as it expands in scientific methods, it contracts in outlook having disengaged itself from the historical records of the period, as if an unimportant and distracting blip to the affair of understanding the past, only recently have these long-documented historical connections of the Mediterranean region with the Indian Ocean begun to resurface based on archaeobotanical studies on the spice remnants contained in Phoenician jugs, juglets and amphorae. And yet some of the recent archaeological advances establishing pre-Roman interregional contacts between the Levantine coast and the Indian Ocean were already part of the narrative on Phoenicians in the 1790s. This shift in the study of the past, whereby the inflection towards the material record does not merely result in the side-stepping of ancient authors, but in their direct discounting as irrelevant and 'constructed' histories, has led to the paradoxical situation whereby in the 2020s archaeologists tout 'discoveries' by reconstructing through archaeo-scientific research a history already written 230 years ago. Such is the case regarding the contacts of Phoenicians with parts of the

127 *Anushassana Parv*a Part 2, section 69 (Ganguli 1883-1896).

128 In the English translation of the original work: Hereen (1846: 444).

Indian Ocean, sailing off from ports in the Persian/Arabian Gulf.[129]

Taking the opposite stand, as a hypothetical purveyor of fanciful but borderline credible stories, Wagenfeld would have had access to a limited range of Hellenistic and Roman-era geographical works that could have proven influential upon an account of Indian Ocean communities hovering ambiguously between truth and falsehood, given from the perspective of Mediterranean visitors. But these would not suffice for the historically accurate account given in Book 7. Although the preservation of Aramaic and Phoenician texts is exceedingly rare in general in order to be able to give a credible witness testimony of India by Phoenicians, Greek works were not singularly reticent on India, with a small sample of texts surviving. Famously, the first explorer of the eastern regions was Herakles who however reached only as far east as the Aornos mountain and failed to reach its summit. Including this tale, Strabo's (*Geog.* 16) treatment of eastern lands elaborated on Hinduism and Buddhism, yet omitted any mention of sacred bovines or their dung. Greek and Roman historians, among whom Diodorus of Sicily, and Arrian (*Anab.)*, drew on the geographical work of Megasthenes (350-290 BCE) entitled *Indika*, who as an envoy sent to India by king Seleucus I had first-hand knowledge of the country. Other works dealing with India at that time fall within a philosophical ambit. The "Questions of King Milinga" were used by Strabo and Pompeius Trogus.[130] An awareness that such extant works do not suffice to fill the gaps of historical knowledge documented in Book 7 prompts an archaeological and historical investigation of the information contained therein.

Archaeological research has proven beyond doubt that there was systematic commerce between Uruk and other Mesopotamian cities with Syria in the 3rd millennium BCE, as well as between the Indus Valley and the Persian Gulf from Tell Abraq (ancient Magan) in Arabia. The Indus valley and southern Mesopotamian culture had been in contact at least through the second half of the 3rd millennium BCE, when the Harrapan civilization reached its floruit (2600-2000 BCE). Trade roues already from the Neolithic show the importation of lapis lazuli from Iran and Afghanistan while marine shells from the Arab Gulf document trade connections with those areas too, increasing incrementally in the following period, with the circulation of metals, minerals and animals. Gold, silver copper, carnelian, lapis lazuli, ivory and aromatic oils flowed west, towards Mesopotamia as indicated by script and measurements weights, which has led scholars to assume that there were maritime trips along the coast of the Gulf as well as overland routes via the Iranian plateau. In particular, on the basis of this bi-directional flow of commodities, Wilkinson (2014) showed that the Indus valley was fully engaged in trade with the Mediterranean by land and by sea c. 2600-2300 BCE (the 4th to the 6th dynasties of the Old Kingdom). Accordingly, the waters of the Persian/Arabian Gulf towards the Indus Valley were plied in previous millennia, with lapis lazuli and etched carnelian beads transported via maritime routes to southern Masopotamia. Between 2300 and 2000 BCE (Dynasties 6th-11th), the same maritime routes were plied with copper and textile trade linking the Indus directly with southern Mesopotamia. All these maritime routes presuppose a regular pattern of a maritime culture linking the Indus Valley with southern Mesopotamia, which involves a maritime culture, over a millennium prior to the period under investigation here. By the Aegean Late Bronze Age, the importation of lapis lazuli into Greece reflects continuing maritime commercial patterns (Bajema 2013).

Evidence for contacts between India and Phoenicia (Regev 2021: 132-135) on spice trade concern the identification of cinnamon and nutmeg in Iron Age I juglets from the site of Dor, interpreted as a Phoenician commercial

129 The choice of naming the Gulf this way in order not to adopt a subjective stance is prone to leave everyone with stakes in the matter unsatisfied. For the political issues involved with the naming of this Gulf vis-à-vis archaeologists, see Abdi (2007).

130 For a detailed overview, see Knippschild (2014).

port. Regev (2021: 134) considers additional evidence on Phoenician trade between the Mediterranean and Sri Lanka where an 8th-4th c. BCE Egyptian scarab was found, along with the attestation of a group of wine-importing foreigners termed *javanas* (Ionians?) in Tamil literature (Regev 2021: 134). Spices imported through long-distance trade, were also found at Philistine sites. Among the plants archaeobotanically identified at two consecutive and superimposed temples located at Gath (Tell es-Sâfi), a city belonging to the Philistine Pentapolis, in the Shephelah, dating to the 10th and 9th c. BCE, was cinnamon, which was used in cultic rites along with a horde of pharmacological plants (Frumin et al. 2024). The above may not constitute evidence for regular trade with the Indian Ocean, but after all it is not described as regular but as a remarkable event in the MF, in need of commemoration at the temple. Departing from an analysis of the South Asian pottery found at different sites (Sumhuram in the Sultanate of Oman and Tissamaharama in Sri Lanka), Pavan and Schenk (2012) argued for the longevity of long-distance trade in the Indian Ocean connecting Sri Lanka and the Arab/Persian Gulf. It should be emphasized that this is precisely the route the Phoenicians had initially intended to follow when petitioning the Babylonian king as narrated in the MF: sailing from southern Babylonia to the Indian Ocean. After all, it is well known that urban life was well flourishing in the Ganges River Valley ca 1100 BCE.

Finally, the passage provides a *terminus post quem* for the redaction of different sources by Sanchuniathon. That *Ἰώραμος*, transliterated here as Joram, is the Tyrian king Hiram known from the Bible to have forged an alliance with Solomon (1 *Kings*) over the fleet of Tarshish is certain. Extra-biblical sources on this alliance, involving a marriage alliance with Hiram's daughter and the shipment of wood to Solomon's kings, consist in a passage by Menandrus of Ephesus (FGrH 783 T3-ac) and in a reference to Hiram as *Εἴραμος* in Laitius' *Phoenician Events*, a work said to contain translations of historical studies by Phoenician men (Mochos, Hypsikrates, Theodotos) (FGrH 784 F1b) (Whitmarsh 2014, 404).

In itself, the required downdating of Sanchuniathon's compilation of sources, based on its inclusion of a 10th c. BCE alliance, is no proof of forgery. Philo may have assigned Sanchuniathon to distant antiquity, but if Sanchuniathon lived in the 10th c. BCE and not in the Late Bronze Age, he still predated Philo by well over a millennium. So, to Philo too, Sanchuniathon was a man living in the remote past. The chronological placing of this original compiler of the *Phoenician History* in the Late Bronze Age is easily amenable to revision, for this factoid of modern scholarship originates in a single comment made by Porphyry (*Con. Crist.*) in his polemical treatise with an explicitly anti-Christian agenda, quoted along with Philo's passages by Eusebius (*P.E.* I.8). The attribution of a pre-Troyan-War date to Sanchuniathon rests on Porphyry's flippant remark that dated Sanchuniathon by reference to Semiramis (*P.E.* I.8), a semi-legendary Syrian woman, queen of Assyria, fictionalized in the *Persian Affairs* of Ktesias of Knidos (FGrH 688 F 1), physician to the court of Artaxerxes II (436-358 BCE). While Ktesias' works were not 'plasmatic' as Whitmarsh (2014, 401-402) underlined, in the sense that Semiramis was not an entirely fictional person, they were not intended or received as pure historical works either, and could never serve as chronological foundations. Thus, Porphyry's linking of Sanchuniathon, in his anti-Christian propaganda, to a semi-mythical queen immortalized in the quasi-fictional accounts of Ktesias, is no yardstick by which to date Sanchuniathon. Thus, in itself, a post-10th c. BCE date for Sanchnuniathon is not an argument of forgery, but demands down-dating Sanchuniathon's era.

Such a lower chronology ameliorates several problems of historical enquiry related to the transmission of Philo's *Phoenician History*. If written down at the turn of the millennium, the script used would have been an evolved Phoenician *abjad* still readable by later generations and thus accessible to Philo. Furthermore, the narrative of the Babylonian king backing down after the threat of foreign

merchants to desert commercial enterprises in his kingdom should he allow Phoenician competition, rests more comfortably in 10th c. BCE Babylonia, a period of disintegration and instability. In the conventional Babylonian dynastic chart, the first king of Dynasty VIII (974-732 BCE) is *Nabu-mukin-apli* (974-932 BCE). In the neo-Babylonian onomasticon, Nabû is abundant as a theophoric element of personal names of Aramaeans from Aramaic records found in Elephantine, Egypt (Porten et al. 2016). Behind this Hellenization of Philos' Natambalos hides in plain sight a three-component Babylonian name revealing common theological phraseology, as standard in theophoric names.[131] It seems that such three-component Akkadian names, once adopted in Aramaic, appeared as a two-component name. For example, *Ša-Nabû-damqa* ("The one of Damqu is good") becomes in Aramaic *Nabû-danqu* (Porten et al. 2016, Table 3). Babylonian names undergoing a phonological change when transcribed in Canaanite and then again through a transcription into Greek would give a pattern onto which the three-component *Nabu-mukin-apli* in Akkadian contracts into a two-component Phoenician name, and ends as Natambal (minus the Greek ending -os) in Greek. This Natambal may not be other than the historically attested Babylonian king *Nabu-mukin-apli*, whose life overlaps with those of Solomon and Hiram. What one observes here is a morpho-phonological shift from Babylonian to Greek. This constitutes another indication of the authenticity of the Mf.

5.5. The humorous novela of scribal school life

Of special interest is a colourful narrative (**Book 9**), purporting to be part of an autobiographical account that reads like a novella on the mischievous antics of the adolescent pupils of a school attached to the sanctuary of Sidon. The school was founded by Beliros, elsewhere named as king of Sidon for 45 years and son of Raboth (4.10). Given the identification of Raboth with Rib-Addu, the account must concern the late 14th c. BCE or the early 13th c. Close to the city of Sidonians, Beliros erected a school where the sons of the priests were taught sacred matters, the laws and medicine. But when the directorship of the school came under a certain Daephos, who in his advanced age was guileless, the pupils' foolery and knavish tricks multiplied, as related by the former student Barmirhabas who had entered the school at the age of 18 and was taught there for 4 years (**9.1**).

In one protracted narrative that follows this introduction, the students frequent port taverns having donned sailors' clothes and imitate the speech of mariners. Seeing through their buffoonery and deceit, the tavern master blackmails them into offering him a rich banquet to avoid revealing their identities to the rugged patrons of his establishment. Through an intrigue involving shared attentions to a slave girl, the students play a trick on an inebriated peer among their own, persuading him that he is the tavern master. Yet the tone of the rumpus falters when the tavern master schemes to exploit the prank played on the hapless student by his peers in order to unburden himself of his debts. Summoning his creditors on the pretext of recovering past debts owed to them, he points to the drunken student made to believe he was the tavern master as the debtor. Justice in the end is delivered at the city gates where the debt collectors drag the student, in a case of mistaken identity, to face justice. With the pinnacle of the tale reached (**9.8**), an aetiology is presented for the Tyrian king Sydyk's decision to move the scribal school population back to Tyre adjacent to the sanctuary of Kronos, and to build a robust wall around it as a physical obstacle to students' fooleries.

Life in the Phoenician port towns assumes a luminous vivacity in the text through this purportedly autofiction, describing with wit social life, from the anti-conformist scribal students, the sons of the priestly elite, to sailors' frequenting of port taverns, the latter's disdain

131 For examples, see Porten et al (2016).

towards men of higher social classes, giving a sense of the threat posed by debt collectors and briefly mentioning an assembly of judges delivering justice at the city gates that could only be imagined through what is known of Phoenician socio-economic life.

Despite the plot's comic element of identity theft, one may not be sure what narrative register this tale was meant to occupy in its contemporary context. In the Sidonian scribal school story, the tavern master is regaled with a banquet through extortion but ultimately pays back his misdeeds even if the ending here is humorous. In the end, the inebriated scribal student, originally in a drunken stupor that conduces the trickery of the identity swap, manipulates and outwits the tavern master who had tried to cast him out and lade him with his own debts. Certainly, it comes closer to a comic novella of school life rascals that finds its Mesopotamian counterparts in Mesopotamian humorous tales produced within the 'academic' milieu of scribal schools, probably for internal 'consumption', though the practice of composing satirical literary tales in scribal schools existed in Late Bronze Age Egypt too.[132] This genre probably constitutes the only example from within the long literary traditions of Mesopotamian societies of anything that may approximate the contemporary notion of humorous or comic, even if its purpose was ultimately didactic, with humour serving only as one element as a vehicle for the story's aims. To the category of comic tales for the scribal class belongs a narrative known as 'The Physician from Isin' (one of the conventional titles by which it is known), a late 9th c. BCE Akkadian text found in Uruk, deemed as humorous even by the most reserved scholars, as discussed by d'Agostino (1998), who expressed reservation with suppositions on humorous texts intended as comic in Mesopotamia. Humour in this tale functions as a pivot for learning Sumerian, eased by its content revolving around a poor woman, a street vendor of vegetables who despite her lowly trade speaks in lofty Sumerian, a language dead for 1,5 millennia by then, while the educated doctor, reciting incantations in Sumerian during his exorcisms, is otherwise unable to use the language as a vernacular. Recent leaps into the study of Mesopotamian cuneiform corpora forces one to think more incisively on comic as a literary genre, extending its study to later periods, which show similarities with extant literary fictions from Mesopotamian narrative literature as preserved through Hellenistic transmission. In the so-called 'Poor man of Nippur' tale, the trickster Gimil-Ninurta who was disgraced by the mayor of his hometown, obtains help from the king and pays back the ill-treatment threefold (in a variety of disguises, he swindles the mayor of a large sum of money and beats him 3 times). Although the oldest Akkadian copy of this tale dates to 701 BCE, it was by then of substantial antiquity (Knippschild 2014, 453). The prevalent motifs of a false identity following mistreatment until justice is served appear to share topoi with those employed by the MF novella, where identity swap results in ill-treatment but ends with the restitution of justice.

That scribal schools existed in the Canaanite region and its orbit of influence is revealed by the recent identification of a locally-made clay tablet inscribed with alphabetic cuneiform writing in Ugaritic and found at Beth-Shemesh in the Shephelah region (Israel). The non-sensical writing and the imprint of a child's finger, as well as the non-standard shape of the tablet, suggest a scribal school exercise, probably pertaining to a school located in the region and operating in the 13th c. BCE (Fossé et al. 2024), i.e. prior to the region coming under the control of the Philistines. With Ashdod the closest port to Beth-Shemesh, the maritime distance to Sidon would have been some 100 nautical miles, an easy trajectory for Canaanite shipping capabilities of the time. This simply gives an indication of a near-contemporary preparatory school in a still Canaanite region, to the south of that attended by those students, fictional or real, described in the MF, thus allowing us to integrate the information transmitted

132 Such as the 'Letter of Hori', dated linguistically to c. 1279-1231 BCE, see Kilani (2019: 182-184).

by Philo in Wagenfeld's edition into the cultural nexus of the region sketched by modern archaeological research.

6. Conclusions

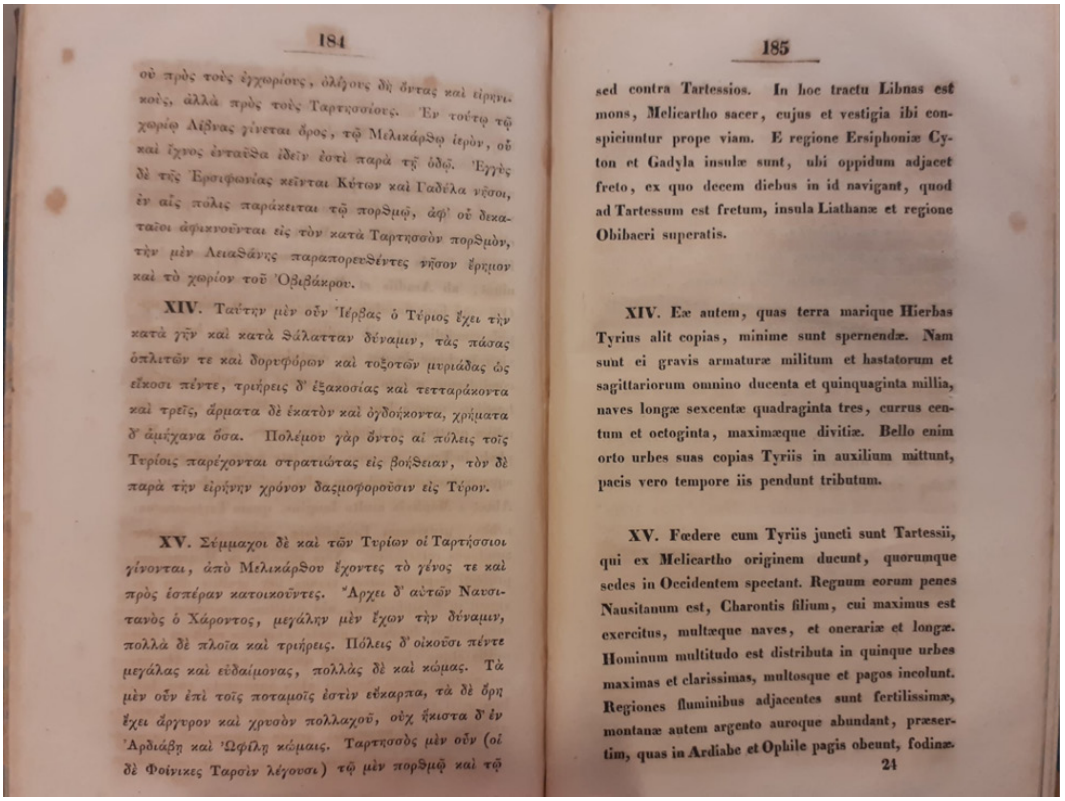
Somewhat ironically, an abundance of scepticism attended the reception of Philo's work from the outset of the publication as quoted by Eusebius, and was carried on to the publication of the manuscript containing the full work of the *Phoenician History* in Nine Books by Wagenfeld. Although allegedly exposed as fraud since before its publication in 1837, this judgement does not hold true. As demonstrated here, Wagenfeld's edition of Philo's *Phoenician History* was considered authentic by Classen (1837), who appears to have been the only scholar evaluating the MF after its full publication. In addition, Le Bas (1836) had allowed for the possibility that Wagenfeld had embellished an existing manuscript and left his final verdict open pending the publication of the final manuscript, though it is unclear if he followed up on it after the full manuscript text was published the following year. Yet the tide did not turn for Wagenfeld, perpetuating factoids ever since to the loss of a wealth of historical information for scholarship. Here I have done more than offer an appeal to plausibility by demonstrating that the manuscript published by Wagenfeld in 1837 and apparently not examined thereafter by anyone other than Classen (1837) is indeed authentic. Apart from impugning the adversarial scholarly climate of the 1830s, thronged with professional ambitions and superciliousness, which condemned Wagenfeld to disrepute, I have pointed out that the verdict of forgery that sealed speculations on the subject was delivered in 1836 prior to the publication of the full facsimile, when only an abridged version was available, and outrageously, on mistrustful claims of impossibility at having been discovered at a monastery in Portugal.

As a translated copy, with minimal edition, rather than as a diffused euhemeristic account, product of Hellenistic prose fiction, the work reflects a lost Canaanite/Phoenician corpus of literary and historical works, being a unique historical record of the period affecting not only Canaan, but also Syria, Cyprus, Crete, western Anatolia, mainland Greece and distant regions in contact with them. Nor is its significance confined to this, since it provides vivid descriptions of a maritime society that could only be gauged to date through its material culture – vocal in itself, but not so evocative as an actual contemporary text. Proven authentic, it provides not only a historical context and conditions that match the main tenets of Bronze Age Mediterranean but also and most significantly, it gives us a list of kings for Byblos, Sidon and Tyre, sketches out a setting in which Bronze Age Canaanite presence in Crete, as laid out on the basis of epigraphic and linguistic studies on Linear A, is validated, and more to the point, gives direction as to how scholars need to reconsider maritime and overland routes connecting the Mediterranean with the Indian Ocean.

Given the editorial interventions of Philo in a compilation of Bronze Age Canaanite text, the narrative conveyed was energized by discourses within Philo's cultural and intellectual environment as regards his light commentary on the ancient treatise, yet principally it reflects the vibrant milieu of Sanchuniathon's time and his predecessors. Too fixated upon the paradigm of euhemeristic accounts to acknowledge the existence of an earlier cultural environment, and disciplinary too distant from the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age, modern scholarship on classics has done a disservice with the general reluctance to consider the narrative of Philo's *Phoenician History* on its own terms, resulting in fallacies that can no longer be maintained.

I have demonstrated to the best of my abilities and given resources at this time that the text Wagenfeld published as authentic contains information that was not available to Wagenfeld or anyone else in the 1830s and which has been shown by archaeology and other disciplines to tally reasonably well with present-day archaeological and historical

understandings of the period. Yet the issue merits further consideration, not least by specialists in fields other than archaeology and classics, including scholars on ancient Phoenician, Luwian and Hittite languages. It is also an open call for historians of 19th c. Portugal to furnish more information on the possible whereabouts of the manuscript.



184

οὐ πρὸς τοὺς ἐγχωρίους, ὀλίγους δὴ ὄντας καὶ εἰρηνικούς, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς Ταρτησσίους. Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ Λίβνας γίνεται ὄρος, τῷ Μελικάρθῳ ἱερὸν, οὗ καὶ ἴχνος ἐνταῦθα ἰδεῖν ἐστὶ παρὰ τῇ ὁδῷ. Ἐγγὺς δὲ τῆς Ἐρσιφωνίας κεῖνται Κύτων καὶ Γαδέλα νῆσοι, ἐν αἷς πόλις παράκειται τῷ πορθμῷ, ἀφ' οὗ δεκαταῖοι ἀφικνοῦνται εἰς τὸν κατὰ Ταρτησσὸν πορθμὸν, τὴν μὲν Λειαθάνης παραπορευθέντες νῆσον ἔρημον καὶ τὸ χωρίον τοῦ Ὀβιβάκρου.

XIV. Ταύτην μὲν οὖν Ἱέρβας ὁ Τύριος ἔχει τὴν κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν δύναμιν, τὰς πάσας ὁπλιτῶν τε καὶ δορυφόρων καὶ τοξοτῶν μυριάδας ὡς εἴκοσι πέντε, τριήρεις δ' ἑξακοσίας καὶ τετταράκοντα καὶ τρεῖς, ἅρματα δὲ ἑκατὸν καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα, χρήματα δ' ἀμέτρητα ὅσα. Πολέμου γὰρ ὄντος αἱ πόλεις τοῖς Τυρίοις παρέχονται στρατιώτας εἰς βοήθειαν, τὸν δὲ παρὰ τὴν εἰρήνην χρόνον δασμοφοροῦσιν εἰς Τύρον.

XV. Σύμμαχοι δὲ καὶ τῶν Τυρίων οἱ Ταρτήσσιοι γίνονται, ἀπὸ Μελικάρθου ἔχοντες τὸ γένος τε καὶ πρὸς ἑσπέραν κατοικοῦντες. Ἄρχει δ' αὐτῶν Ναυσιτανὸς ὁ Χάροντος, μεγάλην μὲν ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν, πολλὰ δὲ πλοῖα καὶ τριήρεις. Πόλεις δ' οἰκοῦσι πέντε μεγάλας καὶ εὐδαίμονας, πολλὰς δὲ καὶ κώμας. Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖς ποταμοῖς ἐστὶν εὔκαρπα, τὰ δὲ ὄρη ἔχει ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσὸν πολλαχοῦ, οὐχ ἥκιστα δ' ἐν Ἀρδιάβῃ καὶ Ὠφίλῃ κώμαις. Ταρτησσὸς μὲν οὖν (οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες Ταρσὶν λέγουσι) τῷ μὲν πορθμῷ καὶ τῷ

185

sed contra Tartessios. In hoc tractu Libnas est mons, Melicartho sacer, cujus et vestigia ibi conspiciuntur prope viam. E regione Ersiphoniæ Cyton et Gadyla insulæ sunt, ubi oppidum adjacet freto, ex quo decem diebus in id navigant, quod ad Tartessum est fretum, insula Liathanæ et regione Obibacri superatis.

XIV. Eæ autem, quas terra marique Hierbas Tyrius alit copias, minime sunt spernendæ. Nam sunt ei gravis armaturæ militum et hastatorum et sagittariorum omnino ducenta et quinquaginta millia, naves longæ sexcentæ quadraginta tres, currus centum et octoginta, maximæque divitiæ. Bello enim orto urbes suas copias Tyriis in auxilium mittunt, pacis vero tempore iis pendunt tributum.

XV. Fœdere cum Tyriis juncti sunt Tartessii, qui ex Melicartho originem ducunt, quorumque sedes in Occidentem spectant. Regnum eorum penes Nausitanum est, Charontis filium, cui maximus est exercitus, multæque naves, et onerariæ et longæ. Hominum multitudo est distributa in quinque urbes maximas et clarissimas, multosque et pagos incolunt. Regiones fluminibus adjacentes sunt fertilissimæ, montanæ autem argento auroque abundant, præsertim, quas in Ardiabe et Ophile pagis obeunt, fodinæ.

21

Fig. 1. Wagenfeld's (1937) publication opened on pages 184-185.

Acknowledgements

I owe a debt of gratitude to the Nordic Library in Athens for allowing me the use of its resources. I would also like to thank the Royal Library in the Hague for permitting me to reproduce here a photographic image, taken for the purpose of this publication, of Wagenfeld's (1937) book, held in its collection.

Abbreviations

Corpora

FgrH : *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* ed. Jacoby
https://scholarlyeditions.brill.com/bnjo/
IAKA: *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien*, ed. Borger (1956)
KAI: Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschrifte, ed. Donner and Röllig (1964)

Greco-Roman Sources

Apol. *Bibl.* Apollodorus, *Βιβλιοθήκη* (*Library*)
Arrian. *Anab.*

Arrian, *Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀνάβασις* ('Alexander's Ascent/March')
Av. *Or. Mar.*
Avienius, *Ora Maritima*
Diod. Sic., *Bib. Hist.*
Diodorus of Sicily, *Ἱστορικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη* (Historical Library)
Dion., *Rom. Ant.*
Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ῥωμαϊκὴ Ἀρχαιολογία* (Roman Antiquities)
Eus., *P.E.*
Eusebius of Caesarea, Εὐαγγελικὴ Προπαρασκευή (Evangelical Preparation)
Hanno, *Per.*
Hanno, *Περίπλους τὼν ὑπὲρ τὰς Ἡρακλέους στήλας Λιβυκῶν τὴς γῆς μερὼν ὅν καὶ ἀνέθηκεν ἐν τῷ τοῦ Κρόνου τεμένει, δηλοῦντα τάδε. ('The Voyage of Hanno in the parts of Libya the Pillars of Herakles, which he deposited in the Temple of Kronos.')*
Hdt. *Hist.*
Herodotus, *Ἱστορίαι* (Histories)
Hec. *Perieg.*
Hecataeus of Miletus, *Περίδος γῆς / Περιήγησις* (Journey round the Earth)
Hes. *Theog.*
Hesiodos, *Θεογονία* (Theogony)
Hom. *Il.*
Homer, *Ἰλιάδα* (Iliad)
Hom. *Od.*
Homer, *Ὀδύσσεια* (Odyssey)
John *De Mens.*
Ioannes the Lydian, *Περὶ τῶν Μηνῶν* (On the Months)
Jos. *Ant. Jud.*
Flavius Josephus, *Ἰουδαϊκὴ Ἀρχαιολογία* ('Antiquities of the Jews')
Luc. *Pro Im.*
Lucian of Samosata, *Ὑπὲρ τῶν Εἰκόνων* ('Essay on Portraiture Defended')
Pomp. Mel. *Chor.*
Pomponius Mela *De choreografia/ De situ orbis* ('Description of the World')
Porph. *Con.Crist.*
Porphyry, *Κατὰ Χριστιανῶν* (Against the Christians)
Ps.-Skylax, *Per.*
Pseudo-Skylax, *Περίπλους τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς οἰκουμένης Εὐρώπης καὶ Ἀσίας και Λιβύης* (Round-sailing of the sea of the world of Europe and Asia and Libya)
Ptol., *Geog.*
Cladius Ptolemy, *Γεωγραφικὴ Ὑφήγησις* (Geographical Guidance)
Thycydides
Thucydides, *Ἱστορία τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ Πολέμου* (History of the Peloponnesian war)
St. Byz. *Ethn.*
Stephanus of Byzantion, *Ἐθνικὰ* ('Ethnics')
St. Byz. *De Urb.*
Stephanus of Byzantion, *Περὶ Πόλεων* ('On Cities')
Strab. *Geog.*
Strabo, *Γεωγραφικὰ* (Geography)

Pappa, E. Fraude ou fiasco? Os Nove Livros de *Φοινικικὰ* ('Assuntos Fenícios') de Filo em relação à arqueologia mediterrânea e além: uma reavaliação atrasada. *R. Museu Arq. Etn.* 42: 69-142, 2024.

Resumo: Algo revelador da sorte dos estudos fenícios no ambiente acadêmico europeio (até hoje) é a profusão do ceticismo com que a obra *Φοινικικὰ* ('História Fenícia') de Herênio Filo de Biblos se recebeu desde o início da sua publicação na Europa ocidental. As reservas sobre a historicidade das passagens de Filo continuou durante séculos até que a oposição à autenticidade da obra histórica se reduziu somente após as escavações de Ugarit no início do século 20, as quais trouxeram as primeiras evidências independentes, fora das passagens da *História Fenícia* citadas na *Preparatio Evagelica* do Eusébio de Cesareia, que corroboraram informações fornecidas pelos excertos de Filo, especialmente sobre o panteão cananeu. Embora a pesquisa contemporânea tenha se concentrado no clima ehemerístico para o exame da obra de Filo, tendo sido relegada ao estudo da cultura literária helenística, seu valor para os estudos do Oriente Próximo e os Estudos Bíblicos,

além de ser inestimável, se enfraqueceu desde as décadas anteriores. No presente caso, procuro reabilitar um manuscrito dos Nove Livros da História Fenícia de Filo, publicado há quase dois séculos por Friedrich Wagenfeld em 1837. Afirmo, através de uma série de dados e argumentos, que o manuscrito contenido a obra inteira da *História Fenícia* era autêntico, demonstrando que o ceticismo era injustificado e que as escavações realizadas no Mediterrâneo oriental e ocidental desde então corroboram várias das informações oferecidas pela publição, mas não disponíveis para alguém vivendo na década de 1830. Algumas obras de Filo sobreviveram em pelo menos três manuscritos reportados por diferentes indivíduos, nenhum dos quais foi estudado. Curiosamente, essa informação foi comunicada em um artigo de Philippe Le Bas em 1836 que visava expor o facsímile de Wagenfeld como fraudulento, embora ao mesmo tempo hesitando na questão de sua autenticidade, deixando aberta a possibilidade de que um manuscrito antigo tenha existido e sido elaborado por Wagenfeld. Apesar dessa restrição feita no artigo, a partir de então, Wagenfeld foi totalmente desacreditado como falsificador por seus pares por motivos mesquinhos. No entanto, o conteúdo do manuscrito publicado por Wagenfeld aumenta significativamente nosso conhecimento da história, cultura e literatura do mundo cananeu-fenício e seus vizinhos no Mediterrâneo oriental durante o final da Idade do Bronze e além.

Palavras-chave: Philo de Byblos, Friedrich Wagenfeld, História dos Fenícios, Fraude acadêmica, Estudos fenícios

Bibliography

Works without Author Name

Friedrich Wagenfeld: la vida breve de un lingüista brillante que falsificó la «primera historia de todos los tiempos. 2019. *Perfil Formosa*:

https://perfilformosa.com/general/friedrich-wagenfeld-la-vida-breve-de-un-linguista-brillante-que-falsifico-la-primera-historia-de-todos-los-tiempos/

Collected Volumes without Editorial Name

Mémoires de L' Institut Royal de France, Classe d'Histoire et de Littérature Ancienne. Tome Seconde. 1815. Imprimeur de L'Institut, Paris.

Mémoires des Institutes Royale de France. Academie des Belles Lettres. Tome Onzième. 1839. Imprimerie Royale, Paris.

References by Author Name

Abdi, K. 2007. The name game; the Persian Gulf, archaeologists, and the politics of Arab-Iranian relations. In: Kohl, P.L.; Kozelsky, M.; Ben-Yehuda, N. (Eds). *Selective Remembrances: Archaeology in the Construction, Commemoration, and Consecration of National Pasts*. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, London, 206-243.

Abusch, T. 1993. Gilgamesh's request and Siduri's denial, Part II: an analysis and interpretation of an Old Babylonian fragment about mourning and celebration. *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society* 22: 12-1

Aichner, C. 2015. The reforms of the Austrian University System 1848–1860 and their influence on the process of discipline formation. In: Simões, A.; Diogo, M.; Gavroglu, K. (Eds). *Sciences in the Universities of Europe, Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. Academic Landscapes* (Boston Studies in the Philosophy and History of Science 309). Springer, Dordrecht.

Albertz, R. 2012. Personal names and family religion. In: Albertz, R; Schmitt, R. *Family and Household Religion in Ancient Israel and the Levant*. Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake, 245-367.

Almagro-Gorbea, M. 1983. Pozo Moro. El monumento orientalizante, su contexto socio-cultural y sus paralelos en la arquitectura funeraria ibérica. *Madrider Mitteilungen* 24: 177-293.

Ayali-Darshan, N. 2024. *Dying and Rising Gods: The History of a Mythologem in West Asia of the Second Millenium BCE* (Kasion 10). Zaphon, Münster.

Aykurt, A. 2017. Minoan presence in western Anatolia. In Ergun Lafli, E. (Org.), *Archaeology and History of Lydia from the Early Lydian Period to Late Antiquity (8th century B.C.-6th century A.D.). An International Symposium.* Dokuz Eylül University – DEU The Research Center for the Archaeology of Western Anatolia – EKVAM (Colloquia Anatolica et Aegaea Congressus internationales Smyrnenses IX), Izmir, 19.

Bajema, M. 2013. The lapis lazuli road: a view from the Mycenean 'periphery'. In: Bombardieri, L.; D'Agostino, A.; Guarducci, G.; Orsi, V.; Valentini, S. (Eds). *SOMA 2012, Identity and Connectivity: Proceedings of the 16th Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology, Florence, Italy 1–3 March 2012*. Vol. 1. Archaeopress, Oxford, 407-411.

Banyai, M. 2022. Cretans in the Levant. *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 34: 1-28.

Barr, J. 1974. Philo of Byblos and his 'Phoenician History'. *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 57(1): 17-68.

Barthélemy, J-J. 1764. Réflexions sur quelques monumens phéniciens et sur les alphabets qui en résultent. *Mémoire de l' Academie des Belles Lettres,* 30: 405-427.

Batty, R. 2000. Mela's Phoenician geography. *Journal of Roman Studies* 90: 70-94.

Bauer, D.F. 2015. Problems in the Aldine Pindar. *The Princeton University Library Chronicle* 76(3): 419-46.

Bean, A.J.; Rollston, C.A.; McCarter, K.P.; Wimmer, S.J. 2018. An inscribed altar from the Khirbat Ataruz Moabite sanctuary. *Levant* 50(2): 211-236.

Benz, F. L. 1972. *Personal Names in Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions* (Studia Pohl 8). Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, Rome.

Best, J. 2017. *How to Decipher the Byblos Script* (Archäologie: Forschung und Wissenschaft). LIT Verlag, Vienna.

Bonnet, C., 1988. Melkart. *Cultes et Mythes de l'Heraclès Tyrien en Méditerranée* (Studia Phœnicia 8; Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de Namur 69). Peeters, Leuven.

Borger, R. 1956. Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien. *Archiv für Orientforschung* 9.

Browning, R. 2003. Stephanus of Byzantium. In: Hornblower, S.; Spawforth, T. (Eds). *Who's Who in the Classical World*. Oxford University Press, Oxford; *Oxford Reference*. Retrieved 3 Jul. 2024, from https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803100531207.

Bowman, C. 2023. *Christian Monastic Life in Early Islam*. Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh.

Caesar, S.W. 2016. Literary parallels between Homer's epics and the Biblical Philistines. *Jewish Bible Quarterly 44*: 143.

Campbell, E. 2009. *A Heaven of Wine: Muslim -Christian Encounters at Monasteries in the Early Islamic Middle East*. PhD diss., University of Washington.

Celestino, S.; López Ruiz, C. 2016. *Tartessos and the Phoenicians in Iberia*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Chang-Ho Ji. 2018. A Moabite sanctuary at Khirbat Ataruz, Jordan: stratigraphy, findings, and archaeological implications. *Levant* 50:2: 173-210.

Classen. J. (1837) *Sanchuniathon's Phönizische Geschichte.* Rohden, Lübeck.

Cline, E.H. 2009. Bronze Age interactions between the Aegean and the eastern Mediterranean revisited: mainstream, periphery, or margin? In: Parkinson, W.A.; Galaty, M.L. (Eds). *Archaic State Interaction. The Eastern Mediterranean in the Bronze Age* (School for Advanced Research Advanced Seminar Series). School for Advanced Research Press, Santa Fe, 161-180.

Cory, I.P. 1828. *Phoenician Fragments*. William Pickering, London.

Cumberland, D.D. 1720. *Sanchuniatho's Phoenician History*. R. Wilkin, London.

d'Agostino, F. 1998. Some considerations on humour in Mesopotamia. *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 72(41): 273-278.

Dale, A. 2015. WALWET and KUKALIM: Lydian coin legends, dynastic succession, and the chronology of Mermnad kings. *Kadmos* 54(1-2): 151-166.

de Lima, A.R. 2018. *As Colunas de Héracles/ Melqart no Final da Idade do Bronze: o Uso do SIG na Compreensão da Ocupação Fenícia em Território Tartésico na Ibéria*. Master diss., University of São Paulo.

de Lima, A. R. 2019. Herakles/Melqart: the Greek façade of a Phoenician deity. Dossiê "Fenícios" (ed. M.C. Kormikiari Passos). *Revista Hélade* 5(2): 186-200.

de Sacy, S. 1815. Mémoire sur quelques inscriptions Arabes existant en Portugal, et rapportées dans le voyage de J. Murphy, et dans les Mémoires de Littérature Portugaise, publiés par l' Académie Royalle de Sciences de Lisbonne. *Mémoires de L' Institut Royal de France, Classe d'Histoire et de Littérature Ancienne* 2: 596-615.

de Sainte-Croix, 1815. Mémoire sur la chronologie des dynastes ou princes de Carie, et sur le tombeau de Mausole. Éclaircissement sur le mot Mausolée, et sur les divers mots employés par les Grecs pour designer les sçepultures et les monumens funèbres. *Mémoires de L' Institut Royal de France, Classe d'Histoire et de Littérature Ancienne* 2: 587-595.

de Villiers, G. 2020. Suffering in the epic of Gilgamesh Epic. *Old Testament Essays* 33(3): 609-705.

del Rio, A. 1822. *Description of the Ruins of an Ancient City, Discovered New Palenque, in the Kingdom of Guatemala in Spanish America*. Henry Berthoud, London.

Delalonde, M. 2021. *L'Histoire Phénicienne de Philon de Byblos au Prisme du Multiculturalisme* (Le Religioni e la Storia 4). Quasar, Rome.

Dixon, H. 2013. Phoenician Mortuary Practice in the Iron Age I – III (ca. 1200 – ca. 300 BCE) Levantine 'Homeland'. PhD diss., University of Michigan.

Donner, H.; Röllig, W. 2002. *Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften*. Vol. 1. Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz.

Dothan, T. 2003. The Aegean and the Orient: cultic interactions. In: Dever, W.G.; Gitin, S. (Eds). *Symbiosis, Symbolism, and the Power of the Past: Canaan, Ancient Israel, and their Neighbors from the Late Bronze Age through Roman Palestina*. Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake, IN, 189-214.

Drew, D. 1994. *The Lost Chronicles of the Maya Kings*. Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London.

Eisenfeld, H. 2018. Geryon the hero, Herakles the god. *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 138: 80-99.

Ercolani, A. 2023. Phonikes: the history of an ethnonym. *Rivista di Studi Fenici i Punici* 51: 167-183.

Fales, F.M. 2017. Phoenicia in the Neo-Assyrian period. An updated review. *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* 23:181-295.

Farrer, J. A. 1907. *Literary Forgeries*. Bombay; Calcutta: Longmans, Green, & Company.

Finglas, P.J. 2021. 12 Labor X: the cattle of Geryon and the return from Tartessus. In: Ogden, D. (Ed). *The Oxford Handbook of Heracles*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 135-148.

Forlanini, M. 2012. The historical geography of western Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age: still an open question. Reviewed Work: *Die geographischen Beziehungen der Lukka-Länder. Texte der Hethiter, 27*, by M. Gander. *Orientalia* 81(2): 133-140.

Forsyth, D.C. 2020. *Economic and Social Development in the Cycladic Islands, 1000-480 BCE*. PhD diss., University of St Andrews.

Fossé, C.; Yogev, J.; Mirão, J.; Schiavon, N.; Goren, Y. 2024. Archaeo-Material study of the cuneiform tablet from Tel Beth-Shemesh. *Tel Aviv*, 51(1): 3-17.

Fox, D. 2019. *Hercules and the King of Portugal: Icons of Masculinity and Nation in Calderón's Spain*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Fox, M. V. 2012. Behemoth and Leviathan. *Biblica* 93(2): 261-267

Frumin, S.; Maeir, A.M.; Eniukhina, M.; Dagan, A.; Weiss, E. 2024. Plant-related Philistine ritual practices at biblical Gath. *Science Reports* 14: 3513 https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-024-52974-9

Gander, M. 2010. *Die Geographischen Beziehungen der Lukka-Länder* (Texte der Hethiter 27). Universitätsverlag Winter, Heidelberg.

Ganguli, K.M. transl. 1884-1894. *The Mahabharata of Krishna-Dwaipayana Vyasa* (12 Volumes). Bharata Press, Calcutta.

García-Talavera Casañas, F. 2002. Depósitos marinos fosiliferos del Holoceno de la Graciosa (Islas Canarias) que incluyen restos arqueológicos. *Revista de la Academia Canaria de Ciencias* 14 (3-4): 19-35.

Gelenius, S. 1533. *Arriani et Hannonis Periplus, Plutarchus de Fluminibus et Montibus, Strabonis Epitome.* Johann Froben, Basel.

Gesenius, F.H.W. 1837. *Scripturae Linguaeque Phoeniciae Monumenta quotquot Supersunt Edita et Inedita ad Autographorum Optimorumque Exemplorum Fidem Edidit Additisque de Scriptura et Lingua Phoenicum Commentariis Illustravit Guil. Gesenius*. Vol. 1-3. Fr. Chr. Guil. Vogelii, Leipzeig.

Giannobile, S.; Jordan, D.R. 2008. On the Text of the Hipponium Tablet. *Byzanine Studies* 48 (3): 288-298.

Gilboa, A. 2013. The Southern Levant (Cisjordan) during the Iron Age I Period. In: Killebrew, A.E.; Steiner, M. (Eds). *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of the Levant: c. 8000-332 BCE.* Oxford University Press, Oxford, 625-648.

Golub, M. 2021. Personal names on Iron Age I bronze arrowheads: characteristics and implications. *Jerusalem Journal of Archaeology* 2: 16-40.

Gomes, C.; González Wagner, C.; Calero-Fresneda, M.; Palomo-Díez, S.; López-Matayoshi, C.; Nogueiro, I.; López-Parra, A.M.; González, E.L.; Pérez, B.P.; Basallote, J.M.G.; Pajuelo, J.M.; Arroyo Pardo, E. 2023. Maternal lineages during the Roman Empire, in the ancient city of Gadir (Cádiz, Spain): the search for a Phoenician identity. *Genealogy 7*(2): 27. https://doi.org/10.3390/genealogy7020027

Gottwald J. 1904. Épitaphe chrétienne trouvée à Péra. *Échos d› Orient* 7 (49): 328-329.

Grafton, A. T. 1975. Joseph Scaliger and historical chronology: the rise and fall of a discipline. *History and Theory* 14(2): 156–185.

Gras, M. 1992. La memoire de Lixus. De la fondation de Lixus aux premiers rapports entre Grecs et Phéniciens en Afrique du Nord. In: *Lixus, Actes du Colloque Organisé par l' Institut National de Sciences de l' Qrchéologie et du Patrimoine avec le Concours de l' École Française de Rome (Larache, nov. 1989)* (Collection de l' École Française de Rome 166). École Française de Rome, Rome, 27-44.

Gras, M.; Rouillard, P.; Teixidor, J. 1989. *L' Univers Phénicien*. Arthaud, Paris.

Grotefend, C.L. 1836. Die unbekannte Schrift der Baktrischen Münzen (in Blätter für Münzkunde). *Hannoversche numismatische Zeitschrift*, 309-314.

Grotefend, C.L. 1839. *Die Münzen der griechischen, parthischen und indoskythischen Könige von Baktrien und den Ländern am Indus*. Hof-Buchhandlung, Hannover.

Grotefend, G.F. 1840. *Neue Beiträge zur Erläuterung der babylonischen Keilschrift nebst einem Anhange über die Beschaffenheit des ältesten Schriftdrucks bei der vierten Secularfeier der Erfindung des Bücherdrucks von Gutenberg*. Hahn, Hannover.

Hackett, J.A.; Wilson-Wright, A. M. 2022. A revised interpretation of the Melqart stele (KAI 201). In: Hardy II, H.H.; Lam, J.; and Reymond, E.D. (Eds). *"Like 'Ilu Are You Wise": Studies in Northwest Semitic Languages and Literatures in Honor of Dennis G. Pardee* (Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 73). The Oriental Institute, Chicago, 105-112.

Hajnal, I.; Zangger, E; Kelder, J. 2022. *The Political Geography of Western Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age* (Archaeolingua Series Minor 45). Archaeolingua Foundation, Budapest.

Halbherr, F. 1891. Researches in Crete. *The Antiquary* 24: 241-245.

Hereen, A.H.L. 1793-1815. *Ideen über Politik, den Verkehr und den Handel der vornehmsten Völker der Alten Welt*. Göttingen.

Hereen, A.H.L. 1846. *Historical Researches into the Politics, Intercourse, and Trade of the Principal Nations of Antiquity*. H.G. Bohn, London.

Hoffner, H. A. 1966. Composite nouns, verbs and adjectives in Hittite. *Orientalia* 35 (4): 377–402.

Hök, S. 1745. *Dissertation Gradualis de Sanchuniathone*. Guthorum, London.

Iacono, F. 2019. *The Archaeology of Late Bronze Age Interaction and Mobility at the Gates of Europe People: Things and Networks around the Southern Adriatic Sea*. Bloomsbury Academic, London.

Jacobson H. 2002. Misor in Philo of Byblos. *The Classical Quarterly* 52(1): 404-404.

Junkkaala, E. 2006. *Three Conquests of Canaan. A Comparative Study of Two Egyptian Military Campaigns and Joshua 10-12 in the Light of Recent Archaeological Evidence*. Åbo Akademi Press, Biskopsgatan.

Katzenstein, H.J. 1991. Some reflections on the Phoenician deities mentioned in the treaty between Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, and Baal, king of Tyre. In Acquaro, E. (Ed.). *Atti del II Congreso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici*, Roma, 9-14 Novembre 1987. Vol. 1. Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, Rome, 373-377.

Kelder, J. 2024. Epigraphy, archaeology, and our understanding of the Mycenaean world. In: Betrò, M.; Friedrich, M; Michael, C. (Eds). *The Ancient World Revisited: Material Dimensions of Written Artefacts*. Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 49-68.

Kilani, M. 2019. On the vocalization of Semitic Words in Late Bronze Age Egyptian transcriptions: new evidence from Papyrus Anastasi. In: Quick, L.E.; Kozlova, E.E.; Noll, S.; Yoo, P.Y. (Eds). *To Gaul, to Greece and Into Noah's Ark: Essays in Honour of Kevin J. Cathcart on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 166-184.

Kilani, M. 2020a. Naming practices and identity in the Early Late Bronze Age Levant: a linguistic and geographical analysis of local rulers' names attested in the Amarna Letters. *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 27: 70-93.

Kilani, M. 2020b. B*yblos in the Late Bronze Age: Interactions Between the Levantine and Egyptian Worlds*. Brill, Leiden.

Kloekhorst, A. 2007. *The Hittite Inherited Lexicon*. PhD diss., University of Leiden. https://hdl.handle.net/1887/11996

Knippschild, S. 2014. Literature in western Asia. In Clauss, J.J.; Cuypers, M. (Eds). *A Companion to Hellenistic Literature*. Wiley-Blackwell, Chichester, 448-462.

Koch, J.Y. 2009. *Tartessian. Celtic in the South-west at the Dawn of History* (Celtic Studies Publications 13). Aberystwyth: The David Brown Book Co.

Koch, J.T. 2013. Las inscripciones del suroeste y el Tarteso de la arqueologia y de la historia. In: Campos, J.M.; Alvar, J. (Eds). *Tarteso. El Emporio del Metal.* Editorial Almuzara, Cordova, 541-558.

Kopanias, K. 2020. Cilicia and Pamphylia during the Early Iron Age: Hiyawa, Mopsos and the Foundation of the Greek Poleis. *Athens University Review of Archaeology* 1: 69-95.

Kormikiari, M.C.N. 2021. A realeza fenícia: um rei primus inter pares. *Revista Caminhando* 26 (1-3): 1-30.

Krahmalkov, C.R. 1994. "When he drove out Yrirachan": A Phoenician (Punic) poem, ca. A.D. 350. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 294: 69-82.

Krahmalkov, C.R. 2000. *Phoenician-Punic Dictionary*. Peeters, Leuven.

Krahmalkov, C.R. 2001. *A Phoenician-Punic Grammar*. Brill, Leiden.

Kroupa, S. 2019. Humanists and travellers, gorgons and gorillas: Hanno and the navigator's *periplus* and early modern geography (1530–1630). *The International History Review* 41(4): 793-820.

Lackenbacher, S.; Malbran-Labat, F. 2005. Ugarit et les hittites dans les archives de la 'Maison d' Urtenu'. *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici* 47(1): 227-240.

Laird, A.; Miller, N. (Eds). 2018. *Antiquities and Classical Traditions in Latin America*. John Wiley & Sons, Chichester.

Lazenby, J. 2016. Masinissa. *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Retrieved 12 Mar. 2024, from https://oxfordre.com/classics/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199381135.001.0001/acrefore-9780199381135-e-3995.

Le Bas, Ph. (1836). Sur la découverte d'un manuscrit contenant la traduction de Sanchuniathon, par Philon de Byblos. *Revue Des Deux Mondes* 7(5): 543-564.

Lipiński, E. 2001. *Semitic Languages: Outline of a Comparative Grammar* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 80). Peeters, Leuven.

Lipiński, E. 2004. *Itineraria Phoenicia* (Orientalia, Lovaniensia, Analecta 127). Peeters, Leuven.

López Pardo, F. 2008. Las naves de Kerné (I). Las referencias literarias. In: Gonzalez Antón, R.; López Pardo, F.; Peña, V. (Eds). *Los Fenicios y el Atlántico*. Centro de Estudios Fenicos y Púnicos, Madrid, 51-67.

López Pardo, F.; Mederos, A.; Ruiz Cabrero, L.A. 2003. Sistemas defensivos en la toponimia fenicia de la costa Atlántica Ibérica y Norteafricana. In: López Castro, J.L. (Ed.). *Las Ciudades Fenicio-Púnicas en el Mediterráneo Occidental. III Coloquio Internacional del Centro de Estudios Fenicios y Púnicos*. Editorial Universidad de Almería, Almería, 383-404.

López-Ruiz, C. 2014[2]. Greek and Near Eastern mythology: a story of Mediterranean encounters. In: Edmunds, L. (Ed.). *Approaches to Greek Mythology*. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 154-199.

Manutius, A. (Ed.). 1502, *Στέφανος. Περὶ Πόλεων*. Aldine, Venice.

Mardini, M.; Badawi, A.; Zaven, T.; Gergian, R.; Nikita, E. 2023. Mechanical stress in the urbanized Roman Phoenician coast. *International Journal of Paleopathology* 43: 58-67.

Margolis, O. 2023. *Aldus Manutius: The Invention of the Publisher*. Reaktion Books, London.

Marinatos, N. 2010. *Minoan Kingship and the Solar Goddess: A Near Eastern Koine*. University of Illinois Press, Champaign, IL.

Matesanz Gascón, R. 2002 ¿Dónde está la mitología fenicia? : Al-Idrisi y los Aventuros de Lisboa (I). *Gerión* 20: 75-111.

Matisoo-Smith, E.A.; Gosling, A.L,; Boocock, J.; Kardailsky, O.; Kurumilian, Y.; Roudesli-Chebbi, S.; et al. 2016. A European mitochondrial haplotype identified in ancient Phoenician remains from Carthage, North Africa. *PLoS ONE* 11(5): e0155046. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0155046

Maurice, C.E. 1887. *The Revolutionary Movement of 1848-9 in Italy, Austria-Hungary, and Germany. With Some Examination of the Previous Thirty-Three Years*. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York; George Bell and Sons, London.

Meineke, A. 1849. *Stephani Bynzantii Ethnocorum qua Supersunt*. G. Reimer, Berlin.

Metzger, M. 2003. *Kāmid el Lōz*. Vol. 8. *Die Spätzbronzezeitlichen Tempelanlagen. Die Kleinfunde* (Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 40). Bonn: R. Habelt.

Movers, F.C. 1836. *Die Unechtheit der im Eusebius enthaltenen Fragmente des Sanchuniathon. Jahrbücher für Theologie und christliche Philosophie* 7: 51-91.

Movers, F.C. 1841. *Die Phönizier*. Vol. 1. Bonn: E. Weber.

Muhly, J.D. 1970. Homer and the Phoenicians. *Berytus* 19: 19-64

Muñoz, V.M. 2022. Review of *Hercules and the King of Portugal: Icons of Masculinity and Nation in Calderón's Spain*, by Dian Fox. *Comparative Drama 56*(3): 342-345.

Napier, C. 2013. *An Account of the War in Portugal between Don Pedro and Don Miguel* (Cambridge Library Collection - Naval and Military History). Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. doi:10.1017/CBO9781139410724

Neto, M.N.; Rebelo, P.M.; Ávila Ribeiro, R.; Roch, M.; Zamora López, J.Á. 2016. Uma inscrição lapidar fenícia em Lisboa. *Revista Portuguesa de Arqueologia* 19: 123-128.

Nikolopoulos, E. 2009. *Σχέσεις της Ιβηρικής Χερσονήσου με την Ανατολική Μεσόγειο κατά τη 2η και στις Αρχές της 1ης Χιλιετίας π.Χ. Μύθος και Πραγματικότητα*. Ph.D. diss., National and Kapodistrian University of Athens.

Olmo Lete, G., del. 1998. *Mitos, Leyendas y Rituals de los Semitas Occidenta*ls. Editorial Trotta/ Universitat de Barcelona, Madrid.

Pappa, E. 2009. Reflections on the earliest Phoenician presence in north-west Africa. *Talanta* 40-41 (2008-2009): 53-72.

Pappa, E. 2013. *Early Iron Age Exchange in the West: Phoenicians in the Mediterranean and the Atlantic*. Peeters, Leuven.

Pappa, E. 2015a. Who's the Phoenician on the Atlantic? Disentangling seafaring from colonisation in western Iberia and Morocco. In Pedersen, R. (Ed.). *On Sea and Ocean: New Research in Phoenician Seafaring*, 23–25 June 2011, Archäologisches Seminar der Philipps Universität Marburg (Marburger Beiträge zur Archäologie 2). Eigenverlag des Archäologischen Seminars der Philipps-Universität Marburg, Marburg, 71-94.

Pappa, E. 2015b. Representation of Phoenician eschatology: funerary art, ritual and the belief in an after-life. In Theodoropoulou-Polychroniades, Z; Evely, D. (Eds). *Aegis: Essays in Mediterranean Archaeology presented to Matti Egon by scholars of the Greek Archaeological Committee UK*. Archaeopress, Oxford, 117–130.

Pappa, E. 2017. A mere addition to someone else's genealogy? Perceptions of ancient cultural heritage, public policy and collective memory in Portugal. Special Issue: Public Archaeologies of the Ancient Mediterranean (ed. A. Dakouri-Hild).

Journal of Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology and Heritage Studies 5 (3-4): 287-310.

Pappa, E. 2020a. *Tropicalismo* in classics. Contemporary Brazilian approaches to the value of classical antiquity in research and education. *Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies* 18(2): 358-408.

Pappa, E. 2020b. The far western Mediterranean. In: Lemos, I.S.; Kotsonas, A. (Eds). *A Companion to Early Greece and the Mediterranean*. Vol. 2. Wiley-Blackwell, Oxford, 1325-1348.

Parisinou, E. 2000. *The Light of the Gods. The Role of Light in Archaic and Classical Greek. Cult*. London: Duckworth.

Pavan, A.; Schenk, H. 2012. Crossing the Indian Ocean before the *Periplus*: a comparison of pottery assemblages at the sites of Sumhuram (Oman) and Tissamaharama (Sri Lanka). *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 23: 191-202.

Pearse, R. 2001. Porphyry, Macarius Magnes, and Hoffman. A review of R. Joseph Hoffmann, Porphyry's *Against the Christians*: The literary remains, Prometheus Books (1994). https://www.roger-pearse.com/tertullian/rpearse/porphyry/hoffmann.htm

Pennachietti, F.A. 2006. *Three Mirrors for Two Biblical Ladies: Susanna and the Queen of Sheba in the Eyes of Jews, Christians, and Muslims*. Gorgias Press, Piscataway, NJ.

Petit-Radel, M. 1815. Mémoire sur l' origine greque du fondateur d' Argos. *Mémoires de L' Institut Royal de France, Classe d' Histoire et de Littérature Ancienne* 2: 1-43.

Pfälzner, P. 2012. Levantine kingdoms of the Late Bronze Age. In: Potts, D.T. (Ed.). *A Companion to the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East.* Vol. 2. Wiley-Blackwell, Oxford, 770-796.

Plácido, D. 2002. La Península Ibérica: arqueología e imagen mítica. *Archivo Español De Arqueología* 75(185-186): 123–136. https://doi.org/10.3989/aespa.2002.v75.131

Pococke, R. 1745. *A Description of the East and Some Other Countries*. Vol. II. W. Bowyer, London.

Podany, A.H. 2022. *Weavers, Scribes, and Kings. A New History of the Ancient Near East*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Porten, B.; Zadok, R.; Pearce, L. 2016. Akkadian Names in Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 375: 1-12

Ramalho, E.C.; Marrero-Diaz, R.; Leitão, M.; Dias, R.; Ramada, A.; Pinto, C.; 2020. Alfama springs, Lisbon, Portugal: Cultural Geoheritage Throughout the Centuries. *Geoheritage* 12 (74).

Rauchenstein, R. 1860. Lysanders Proscriptionsliste. *Philologus* 15(1-3): 338-340

Regev, D. 2021. *Painting the Mediterranean Phoenician. On Canaanite-Phoenician Trade-nets.* Sheffield: Equinox.

Robert, E. 1546. *Libri in Officina Roberti Stephani Typographi Regij, Partim Nati, partim Restituti & Excuse.* Officina Roberti Stephani, Lutetia (Paris).

Röllig, W. 1995. Onomastic and palaeographic considerations on early Phoenician arrow-heads. In: Fantar, M.H.; Ghaki, M. (Eds). *Actes du III Congrès International des Études Phéniciennes et Puniques (Tunis 11-16 Novembre 1991).* Vol. 2, Institut National du Patrimoine, Tunis, 348-355.

Sakellariou, M. 1986. Who were the immigrants? In: Cadogan, G. (Ed.). *The End of the Early Bronze Age in the Aegean* (Cincinnati Classical Studies. New Series 6), Brill, Leiden, 125-138

Sander, N.P.; Trénel, I. 1856. *Dictionnaire Hébreu-Français*. Bureau des Archives Israélites, Paris.

Santana, A.; Arcos Pereira, T. 2006. Las dos islas Hespérides atlánticas (Lanzarote y Fuerteventura,

Islas Canarias, España) durante la antigüedad: del mito a la realidad. *Gerión* 24(1): 85-110.

Satraki, A. 2012. *Κύπριοι Βασιλείς από τον Κόσμασο μέχρι το Νικοκρέοντα* (Αρχαιογνωσία 9). Demetrios and Egli Botsasris Foundation, Athens.

Scaliger, J.J. 1583. *De Emendatione Temporum*. Mamert Patisson pour Sebastien Nivelle, Paris.

Seglins, V. 2016. Possible indications of prehistoric occupancy at the Madeira archipelago. In *16th International Multidisciplinary Scientific GeoConference (SGEM 2016); Water Resources, Forest, Marine and Ocean Ecosystems. Extended Scientific Sessions, Vienna, Austria, 2-5 November 2016* (SGEM International Multidisciplinary Scientific GeoConference 16, 3.3). International Multidisciplinary Scientific GeoConferences (SGEM), Sofia, 221-226.

Shipley D.G.J. 2024. Avienus (Avienius), Ora maritima (The Sea Coast). In Shipley, D.G.J. (ed.), *Geographers of the Ancient Greek World: Selected Texts in Translation.* Vol. 2. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 889-920.

Simon, R. 1682. *A Critical History of the Old Testament.* Walter Davis, London.

Simons, S.J. 1937. *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists Relating to Western Asia.* Brill, Leiden.

Simonson, B.J. 2019. *Aramaic Names from Syro-Mesopotamian Texts and Inscriptions: A Comprehensive Study.* PhD diss., University of Boston. Boston University ProQuest Dissertations Publishing.

Smith, W. 1854. *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography, Illustrated by Numerous Engravings on Wood.* Walton and Maberly; Murray, London.

Sonnevelt, R. 2024. Aramaic names. In Waerzeggers, C.; Groß, M.M. (Eds). *Personal Names in Cuneiform Texts from Babylonia (c. 750–100 BCE): An Introduction*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 121-138.

Spanakis, S.G. 1957. Ανέκδοτος κατάλογος των 100 πόλεων της Κρήτης. *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 277-301.

Taşkin, S. 2022. Possible coastal Luwian settlements in the northeast Aegean. In Hajnal, I.; Zangger, E.; Kelder, J. (Eds). *The Political Geography of Western Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age* (Archaeolingua Series Minor 45). Archaeolingua Foundation, Budapest, 315-330.

Tosi A.2020. *Language and the Grand Tour: Linguistic Experiences of Travelling in Early Modern Europe.* Cambridge University Press; Cambridge.

Tsagalis, C. 2022. *Early Greek Epic Fragments* (Trends in Classics Supplement 129). De Gruyter, Berlin, Boston.

Ulanowski, K. 2015. The metaphor of the lion in Mesopotamian and Greek civilization. In: Rollinger, R.; van Dongen, E. (Eds). *Mesopotamia in the Ancient World. Impact, Continuities, Parallels. Proceedings of the Seventh Symposium of the Melammu Project*. Ugarit-Verlag, Münster 255-284.

Vallancey, C. 1772. *An Essay on the Antiquity of the Irish Language; Being a Collation of the Irish with the Punic Language.* S. Powell, Dublin.

Vargas-Machuca, M. 1764. *Dell' Antiche Colonie Venute in Napoli ed i Secondi Furono gli Euboici.* Simoni, Naples.

Verbrugge, G.; Wickersham, J.M. 2001. *Berossos and Manethos, Introduced and Translated: Native Traditions in Ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt*. University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor.

Vonhoff, C. 2011. The Phenomenon of feasting in early Iron Age Cyprus. Bronze and Iron obeloi from Cypriot tombs as evidence for elite self-conception. Social networks and trans-Mediterranean cultural exchange. *Cahiers du Centre d´Études Chypriotes* 41: 133-152.

Waal, W. 2022. Deconstructing the Phoenician myth. 'Cadmus and the palm-leaf tablets' revisited. *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 142: 219-254.

Wagenfeld, F. 1837. *Sanchuniathonis Historiarum Phoeniciae Libros Novem Graece Versos a Philone Byblio Edidit Latinaque Versione Donavit F. Wagenfeld*. Carol Schünemann, Bremen.

Wasserman, N.; Bloch, Y. 2023. *The Amorites. A Political History of Mesopotamia in the Early Second Millennium BCE* (Culture and History of the Ancient Near East, Volume 133). Brill, Leiden.

Watson, W.G.E. 2013. Loanwords in Phoenician and Punic. In: Loretz, O.; Ribichini, S.; Watson, W.G.E.; Zamora, J. Á. (Eds). *Ritual, Religion and Reason Studies in the Ancient World in Honour of Paolo Xella* (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 404). Ugarit-Verlag, Münster, 327-346.

Whitmarsh, T. 2014. Prose fiction. In Clauss, J.J.; Cuypers, M. (Eds). *A Companion to Hellenistic Literature*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 395-411.

Wilkinson, T.C. 2014. *Tying the Threads of Eurasia. Trans-Regional Routes and Material Flows in Transcaucasia, Eastern Anatolia and Western Central Asia, c. 3000-1500 BCE*. Sidestone, Leiden.

Woudhuizen, F.C. 2006a. *The Earliest Cretan Scripts*. Vol. 1 (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft Sonderheft 125). Institut für Sprachen und Literaturen der Universität Innsbruck, Innsbruck

Woudhuizen, F.C. 2006b. *The Earliest Cretan Scripts*. Vol. 2 (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft Sonderheft 129). Institut für Sprachen und Literaturen der Universität Innsbruck, Innsbruck.

Woudhuizen, F.C.; Zangger, E. 2021. *Conversations about Space and Time Early Mediterranean Scripts*. Frederik Ege Yayinlari, Istanbul.

Wylie, J.; Master, D. 2020. The conditions for Philistine ethnogenesis. *Ägypten und Levante* 30: 547-568.

Zadok, R. 2024. Phoenician and Related Canaanite Names. In Waerzeggers, C; Groß, M.M. (Eds). *Personal Names in Cuneiform Texts from Babylonia (c. 750–100 BCE): An Introduction*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 166-184.

Zamora, J. Á. 2023. *Las Inscripciones de la Cueva Santuario de Es Culleram (Ibiza). Estudio Epigráfico a los 100 Años de su Descubrimiento* (Treballs del Museu Arqueològic d'Eivissa i Formentera 84). Museu Arqueològic d'Eivissa i Formentera, Ibiza.

Xella, P. 1995. Les sources cunéiformes. In Krings, V. (Ed.). *La Civilisation Phénicienne et Punique. Manuel de Recherche*. E.J. Brill, Leiden, 39-56.