

## CAPHTOR, KEFTIU, AND CAPPADOCIA.

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IN the present article I offer my own contribution to all that has been written about the origin of the Philistines. My apology for intruding upon this field of enquiry is that the various details seem to fit into one another and to build up a harmonious whole. The following remarks treat the subject from what seems to be a new angle, and are the result of what has come before me in the protracted study of a question of Egyptology. The two subjects are clearly allied, and may in due time prove to be really the same.<sup>1</sup>

Through all the pages of these earlier studies flit the Philistines, and they, as I hope I have shown, were the Keftiuans.<sup>2</sup> As is well-known the Philistines were the Caphtorim,<sup>3</sup> hence information as regards Keftiu must have a bearing on the problem of these Philistines or Caphtorim.

On the only two occasions that the Septuagint translates Caphtor and Caphtorim it does so by *Καππαδοκία* and *Καππαδοκες*.<sup>4</sup> Yet the opinion that Caphtor was situated there or thereabouts has never won favour as opposed to the firmly rooted idea that Caphtor was Crete. But though this proves to have no foundation in fact, it unfortunately obtained an added respectability during the early years of this century from the proofs that were forthcoming that Crete had been an important centre of civilisation. But the attempt to elaborate the Caphtor-Crete theory entangled its adherents in ever greater difficulties. These are sufficiently evident, for example, in Dr. Hall's chapter on "The Keftians, Philistines and other peoples of the Levant" in the second volume

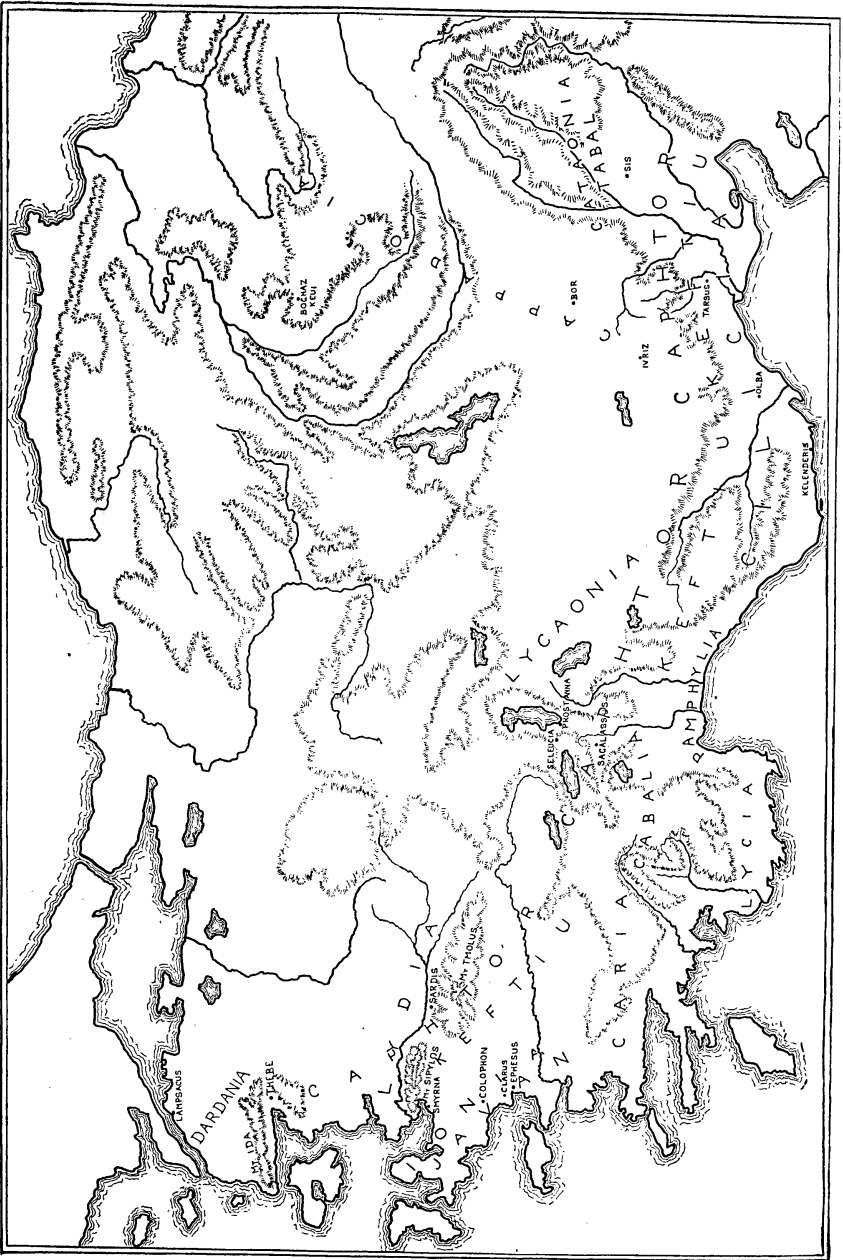
<sup>1</sup>My studies are, *The Keftiu-people of the Egyptian Monuments*, published in the *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, Liverpool, 1913, pp.24-83; Keftiu in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, XVII, pp. 26-43; and Keftiu: Crete or Cilicia? in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, LI (1931), pp. 1-38. References to these are made as *L.A.A.A.*, *J.E.A.* and *J.H.S.* respectively.

<sup>2</sup>*J.H.S.* pp. 10-13, 15, 16.

<sup>3</sup>Deut. ii, 23; Jeremiah xlvi, 4; Amos ix, 7; cf. also Gen. x, 14, where the gloss is clearly misplaced.

<sup>4</sup>Deut. ii, 23; Amos ix, 7.

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of the Cambridge Ancient History.<sup>1</sup> At the same time positive evidence continued to accumulate that the Philistine tribe itself and the vast majority of the Philistine confederacy were no Cretans. In Egypt we have pictures of them on the monuments of Ramesses III about 1190 B.C.<sup>2</sup> These shew them and their confederates to be dressed and armed in a style already known to belong to the mainland of Asia Minor.<sup>3</sup>

Here that other line of enquiry touches upon the question of Caphtor. It is that regarding the position of the land known to the Egyptians as Keftiu from 1600 B.C., or probably earlier, to about 1200 B.C.<sup>4</sup> When Crete began to loom so large on the archaeological horizon this name was also taken as representing Crete, and the other view which considered it to be Cilicia was ignored or disparaged. The similarity of the names Keftiu and Caphtor was no doubt a predisposing cause to the ready acceptance with which this idea met.

However, since those days a great deal of new information on Keftiu has come to light. Many years ago I was able to show that by their products and dress the Keftiuans of the Egyptian monuments could be no Cretans, but should belong to a country somewhere in the neighbourhood of Cilicia.<sup>5</sup> As one of their several embassies reached Egypt at the same time as another which came from Crete I drew an analogy between that representation of "The Great Ones of Keftiu and of the Isles in the midst of the Sea" of

<sup>1</sup>Some of them are pointed out in *J.H.S.*, *passim*, more especially pp. 26, 27, 28, 30.

<sup>2</sup>The Sea Raiders of the Egyptian monuments were a congeries of tribes. One of them—the Zakkal—seems to have given its name to Ziklag. It may be that there were a few Cretans among the various Asianic tribes. If "Cherethites" means "Cretans," as seems probable, the fact that they are so regularly mentioned alongside of the Philistines implies that they are to be distinguished from the others. Their presence would account for the later worship of Zeus Cretagenes at Gaza, and the putting of the name Minos on its coinage. (B.V. Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 805.)

<sup>3</sup>*L.A.A.A.* p. 64, note 4.

<sup>4</sup>The earliest mention is in a XIXth dynasty copy of a much earlier text, Gardiner, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*, p.32. For the date of the original composition see p. 18, and for that of the extant copy see p.3. The latest mention of Keftiu as a contemporary geographical term in the incantation *J.E.A.* p. 27. For the list of the occurrences of the name see *L.A.A.A.* pp. 78 *sqq.*

<sup>5</sup>*L.A.A.A.* ; and now in fuller detail in *J.H.S.*

the XVth century B.C. and the common Old Testament phrase "the Kerethim and Pelethim" of some centuries later.<sup>1</sup>

Just recently the question has become more closely defined by the discovery of what seem to be a pair of divine names in the Egyptian spell written "in the speech of Keftiu." These are Sandas, or Sandokos, and Tarku. Tarku forms part of many names from the neighbourhood of Cilicia while Sandokos' cult was peculiar to Kelenderis in Cilicia Tracheia, and Sandas was a Cilician god and founder of Tarsus.<sup>2</sup> Another step in the identification of Keftiu with Cilicia was taken when the hitherto inexplicable "names of Keftiu" of another Egyptian writing board were matched with others coming from Cilicia and its neighbourhood.<sup>3</sup> This once more introduces the Philistines, for it has long been recognised that the Philistine name Achish was comparable to the Keftiuan 'kš of about 1500 B.C. Both of these offer ready parallels not only to the Lycaonian [A]κκισις in the hinterland of Cilicia, but also further afield to the Trojan Ἀγχίσσης for the Septuagint spells the Philistine name Ἀγχοῦς, Ἀκχίς. Achish was king of Ziklag,<sup>4</sup> and this seems to contain the name Zakkal which the Egyptian records give as that of one of the tribes who raided Egypt along with the Philistines, about 1190 B.C.<sup>5</sup> That they settled in Palestine and founded states there, is known from the story of Wen-amon, who was at Dor and Byblos rather before 1100 B.C.<sup>6</sup> At that time the Zakkal had presumably been there for nearly a hundred years, for Zakar-baal's father and grandfather had ruled there before him.<sup>7</sup> Zakkal, or Zakar as it might equally well be transliterated, is often thought to be the same name as Teucer, and in later times Teukroi were priest-kings at Olba in Cilicia Tracheia. It has been suggested that their title represents the divine name Tarku, and so the native inhabitants of

<sup>1</sup>L.A.A.A. pp. 73, 75.

<sup>2</sup>J.E.A., pp. 27-30.

<sup>3</sup>Op. cit., pp. 30-38.

<sup>4</sup>1 Samuel, xxvii, 5, 6. What is evidently the same name was borne by the king of Ekron in the VIIth century B.C., when Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal write it Ikausu (?). E. Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, 11, pp. 149, 241.

<sup>5</sup>Breasted, *Ancient Records*, iv. §§ 44, 64, 77, 79, 129, 403.

<sup>6</sup>Breasted, *Ancient Records*, iv, § 565 where Dor is called "a city of Theke I (Zakkal)," and §§ 566, 567, where the prince of Byblos is called Zakar (Zakal)-baal. Reference will be made to this work as B, A.R.

<sup>7</sup>Id. op. cit. iv, §§ 575, 576.

the city as opposed to the ruling class of invaders.<sup>1</sup> The Teucrican city of Salamis of Cyprus is near the modern Enkomi. At the Enkomi of the Mycenaean age representations of warriors have been found whom comparison with the Egyptian monuments shew to be Philistines.<sup>2</sup>

Already in the first quarter of the XIVth century B.C. the Tell el-Amarnah Letters shew that men from western Asia Minor were about in Syria and Palestine. Such were the Lukki,<sup>3</sup> whose name suggests that of the Lycians, and the Sherden<sup>4</sup> whose name presumably represents Sardis in Lydia.<sup>5</sup> A hundred years later there were still Luka (Lycians ?) in Syria, for they were among the Hittite allies defeated by Ramesses II at Qadesh.<sup>6</sup> They were still roaming the Mediterranean in 1220 B.C., when Merenptah defeated more of them who were this time allied with the Libyans.<sup>7</sup> In 1287 B.C. the Hittite allies at Qadesh included not only the Lycians (?), but also the Kelekesh,<sup>8</sup> who can hardly be other than the Cilicians. This is their first appearance in history, and they come with the Derden (Dardanians ?)<sup>1</sup> and Kezweden (Kizzuwadna, Cataonia?).<sup>10</sup> Plenty of people from the west were to be found in Syria thus early. Although we are accustomed to think of the Philistines themselves as only appearing late on the scenes, this was not so. Already at the end of the M.M. iii period, say about 1600 B.C., the Phaestos Disc shews a head-dress which is apparently theirs.<sup>11</sup> Although Ramesses II does not name them among the Hittite allies at Qadesh, he shows a few men within the city who wear what seems to be the

<sup>1</sup>*J.H.S.*, p. 14, note 63.

<sup>2</sup>*Op. cit.*, pp. 10, 13, for the Philistines there, and p. 16 for the Teucrican connection of the city.

<sup>3</sup>Knudtzon, *Die el-Amarna-Tafeln*, letter No. 38, 10.

<sup>4</sup>*Id. op. cit.* Nos. 81, 16; 122, 35; 123, 15. They were at Byblos, apparently in the service of Pharaoh, or Ribaddi, who was loyal to him.

<sup>5</sup>There are also Danuna (?), *id. op. cit.* No. 117, 92, see also *L.A.A.A.*, p. 64, note 4. They do not appear again until about 1190 B.C., when Rameses III, defeated them (Denyen) among the other northerners, Breasted, *Ancient Records*, iv, §§ 64, 81, 82, 403.

<sup>6</sup>*B. A.R.* iii, §§ 309, 312.

<sup>7</sup>*B. A.R.* iii, §§ 574, 579.

<sup>8</sup>*Op. cit.*, iii, §§ 306, 309, 349

<sup>9</sup>*B. A.R.*, iii, §§ 306, 349.

<sup>10</sup>*Op. cit.*, iii, §§ 309, 312.

<sup>11</sup>Evans, *Scripta Minoa*, p. 276, No. 2, and p. 285 for the date. This is about the date of the faience from Mycenae showing the Sherden-like helmet.

Philistine head-dress.<sup>1</sup> When they do come in force, in the reign of Ramesses III,<sup>2</sup> they and their confederates were dressed and armed in an Asianic manner. But the invading hordes of 1190 B.C. did not only come by sea, but like their predecessors they established themselves in Syria, for Ramesses III says "They set up a camp in one place in Amor"<sup>3</sup>. Later still there may have been Carians in Palestine, for on one occasion the routed Philistines fled to a city called Beth-car,<sup>4</sup> and there were men called *Karim* in David's army,<sup>5</sup> and also in the bodyguard of the later kings of Judah.<sup>6</sup>

It is not surprising, therefore, that, both by its own name and that of its king, one Philistine city, Ziklag, has referred us back to the coastlands of southern and western Asia Minor. But Ziklag was not the only city with these connections, for at least one other was intimately connected with this part of the world. This was Ascalon. According to a historian, stated to have been a Lydian, Mopsus, also called here "the Lydian," captured Atargatis the goddess of Ascalon, and cast her and her son into the lake where they were devoured by fishes.<sup>7</sup> This story implies that Ascalon was already in existence before the arrival of Mopsus. This was correct, for at about 1375 B.C. the Tell el-Amarnah Letters often mention the name Aškaluna,<sup>8</sup> and excavation shews it to have been founded earlier still, about 1800 B.C.<sup>9</sup> Other sources relate how Mopsus was priest at the Lydian city of Clarus,<sup>10</sup> whence he moved

<sup>1</sup>Rosellini, *Monumenti storici*, pl. civ.

<sup>2</sup>B, *A.R.*, iv, §§ 44, 64, 71, 81, 82, 129, 403.

<sup>3</sup>*Op. cit.*, iv, § 64. Amor is in Central Syria; round about Qadesh for example.

<sup>4</sup>I Samuel, vii, 11.

<sup>5</sup>II Samuel xx, 23, where the word accompanies "the Pelethites" and is altered to "Cherethites" by the "written" text of the Hebrew.

<sup>6</sup>II Kings xi, 4, 19, where it is translated as "captains" though the Septuagint, taking it to be a proper name, merely transliterates it.

<sup>7</sup>Athenæus, viii, 37, where he quotes from Xanthus the Lydian.

<sup>8</sup>Knudtzon, *op. cit.* Nos. 287, 14; 320, 6; 321, 6; 322, 5. Its king was a certain Widia. Ramesses II had to recapture Ascalon about 1285 B.C. (B, *A.R.* iii § 355), as had Merenptah about 1220 B.C. (*Id. op. cit.* § 617) and "the king of the Ascalonians" had attacked Sidon and driven out the people "the year before the fall of Troy." (Justin, xviii, iii). This restlessness is characteristic of the Sea Raiders, for the Zakkal at Dor and Byblos were still raiding about 1100 B.C. in the third generation after their establishment in Syria (*Cf.* p. 206, notes 5, 6, and B, *A.R.* iv §§, 568, 588, 590).

<sup>9</sup>Phythian-Adams in *Q.S. of the Pal. Explor. Fund*, 1921, p. 170.

<sup>10</sup>Strabo, C 642.

to Pamphylia, and thence to Cilicia, where he founded cities<sup>1</sup>. Quite other evidence for this racial movement will be found on p. 215. Cilicia and Pamphylia are part of the country which I venture to think was called Keftiu by the Egyptians. The same story finds expression in the relationships of Ascalus, the eponymous hero provided for Ascalon. He was said to have been brother of Tantalus, one king of Lydia, and general of another, a certain Aciamus. Aciamus sent him into Syria where he married a wife and founded Ascalon<sup>2</sup>. Moreover, Tantalus was said to have been native to, and resident at, Mount Sipylus<sup>3</sup>. This brings us back once more to the spell "in the speech of Keftiu" of 1500 B.C., for it may be that the name  $K\upsilon\beta\acute{\eta}\beta\eta$  is recognizable there<sup>4</sup>. If so, it will be remembered that this is a variant form of Cybele, the name of the great goddess of that district, who had her seat on Mount Sipylus and was called Sipylene. It also introduces the Sherden, for this is the country round about Sardis, a city which is supposed to preserve their name. Our first representation of them is probably to be seen on the faïence fragment from Mycenae, which shews a man wearing their very distinctive helmet. Mycenae was the chief centre of the Pelopidae, and Pelops came from Lydia or Phrygia, was son of Tantalus, and his throne was shewn on Mount Sipylus. Moreover, he was no solitary wanderer but came with his own people<sup>5</sup>. His arrival, therefore, seems to have been but the culmination of a long-continued racial movement. If so, the faïence fragment would be a relic of its early phases for it is probably not later than 1450 B.C., and might be as early as the XVIIth century.<sup>6</sup> It is, therefore, of about the same date as the Phaestos Disc<sup>7</sup> which

<sup>1</sup>For references see Roscher, *Lexikon*, s.v. *Mopsos*, col. 3209.

<sup>2</sup>*Id. op. cit.* s.v. *Askalos*, col. 611.

<sup>3</sup>*Id. op. cit.* s.v. *Tantalos* cols. 75, 76.

<sup>4</sup>The spell begins *'sntkpp*, &c., or something very like it. Mr. Gordon points out to me that, if the first division be made after the *t*, *kpp* could be taken as the next group. This might stand for the original native name which the Greeks reproduced as  $K\upsilon\beta\acute{\eta}\beta\eta$ , while the *snt* could represent Sandas, as I originally proposed. Mr. Gordon hopes to publish his suggestions shortly in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*.

<sup>5</sup>Roscher, *op. cit.* s.v. *Pelops*.

<sup>6</sup>Schuchhardt, *Schliemann's Excavations* (Sellers' trans.), Fig. 198. It comes from the Third Shaft Grave. The graves may be dated to a period beginning in M.M. iii and running from the XVIIth century to c. 1450 B.C. Evans, *The Shaft Graves and Beehive Tombs of Mycenae*, pp. 23, 90.

<sup>7</sup>Evans, *Scripta Minoa*, p. 285, puts it at the end of M.M. iii. It would, therefore, date to the xviii century B.C., *Camb. Anc. Hist.* ii, p. 693.

shews the head-dress like that worn later by the Philistines of the Egyptian monuments. So far as the Egyptian evidence goes the the Sherden seem to have been the most numerous and also the most prominent of the northern peoples. Not only were they at Byblos in Syria early in the XIVth century B.C., but a hundred years later Ramesses II had captured more of them and drafted them into his army.<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere he mentions them as if they had ships and were perhaps allied with the Libyans.<sup>2</sup> He also gives us our earliest Egyptian pictures of them.<sup>6</sup> Seventy years later Merenptah found them allied with the Libyans,<sup>4</sup> and after another thirty years Ramesses III was still employing them as mercenaries.<sup>5</sup> He also employed a few Philistines in this capacity.<sup>6</sup> In the great sea battle some of the Northerners' ships were manned by Sherden and some by Philistines,<sup>7</sup> and one of the Sherden chiefs appears among the captives.<sup>8</sup> This last sculpture is important, for it gives the name of this well-known type. So numerous had the Sherden become in Ramesses III's army that by the end of his reign they were settled in cities and formed one of the estates of the realm.<sup>9</sup> If the Sherden really were from Sardis, they anticipated by about six hundred years the activities of their compatriots and neighbours, the Ionians and Carians, whom the Pharaohs of the XXVIth dynasty also employed as mercenaries and settled in cities, in their case Daphnae and Memphis.<sup>10</sup> They also gave them Naukratis as a trading centre<sup>11</sup>. The Sherden were, thus, widely scattered over

<sup>1</sup>B, A.R. iii, § 307.

<sup>2</sup>Id. *op. cit.* § 491, but the passage is unfortunately damaged.

<sup>3</sup>ABU SIMBEL, Champollion, *Mons.* pl. xxviii = lowest register pl. xvii bis; LUXOR, Rosellini, *Mon. storici*, pls. 105 bottom right hand corner, and 106; ABYDOS, on the external wall, for photographs of examples see Hall, *P.S.B.A.* xxxi, pl. xxx, facing p. 232.

<sup>4</sup>B, A.R. iii, §§ 574, 579, 588, 601.

<sup>5</sup>Id. *op. cit.* iv, §§ 50, 51, 72, 397, 402, 410; *Medinet Habu* (Chicago) i, pls. 17, 18 lowest registers; 31 lowest register, 32, 34, 35 lowest register. These plates now supersede the old publications of Rosellini, *Mon. stor.* and Champollion, *Monuments*.

<sup>6</sup>*Medinet Habu* (Chicago) i, pls. 9 lowest reg., 17 lowest reg., 19, 24.

<sup>7</sup>*Op. cit.* pls. 37, 39 (= Rosellini, *Mon. storici* pl. cxxxi and Champollion, *Mons.* pl. cxxii which they now supersede). In photograph, von Bissing-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler ägyptischer Sculptur*, pls. 94 a, b.

<sup>8</sup>Rosellini, *op. cit.* pl. cxliii, 10 = Champ. *Mons.* pl. cciii. For the attached descriptions see B, A.R. iv, § 129.

<sup>9</sup>B, A.R. iv, §§ 397, 402, 410. cf. § 403.

<sup>10</sup>Herodotus, ii, 30, 154.

<sup>11</sup>Id. II, 178, 179.

the Levant for a long period, being found not only in Syria, but in Egypt, Libya and apparently Greece as well. As there had been people, who were presumably from Lydia, all about in Syria ever since the early XIVth century B.C., we may well believe that at least one Philistine city in Palestine looked back to Lydia as its mother-country. Egypt shews one end of the story in considerable detail and Greek legend sketches out the other. Strabo, indeed, epitomises that end when he says that, Calchas having died at Clarus, "some of the people, who together with Mopsus crossed the Taurus, remained in Pamphylia and others were scattered in Cilicia and Syria and as far as Phœnicia."<sup>1</sup>

A quantity of evidence has concentrated attention on Lydia as the country in which we are first able to trace the Philistines. Here let me remark that throughout this article the words Lydia and Lydians are only used geographically and in no sense racially. The racial movements of this period in the Levant are too complicated and too little known at present to admit of more than that. With this proviso let us record that the Old Testament uses a word *seren* for the "lords" of the Philistines. This has often been compared to the word well-known through the Greek as *τύραννος*. If this equation should be accepted,<sup>2</sup> it would be noteworthy that the latter is a late importation into Greek, and that the ancients considered it to be a Lydian word.<sup>3</sup> It was also an epithet of the god Men in Lydia.<sup>4</sup>

Tantalus carries the question further, for his kingdom is said to have stretched as far as Mount Ida.<sup>5</sup> This brings us to Thebe, where lived other Cilicians,<sup>6</sup> and whence Achilles carried off the lump of "self-cast" iron. Next beyond this were Dardania and Lampsacus. At the latter the Cilician name Sandes was used,<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Strabo, C.668.

<sup>2</sup>It might, however, be a Semitic word meaning "axle-tree."

<sup>3</sup>G. Radet, *La Lydie et le monde grec*, pp. 146, 147. W. Prellwitz, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 1905, p. 471, would see in it a Phrygian root. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, 1916, p. 992, considers this conjectural. In any case Phrygia borders on Lydia. Myres, *Who were the Greeks?* p. 118, returns to the old correlation with *kolpavos*, equating both words with the Hittite *kuirvanas*.

<sup>4</sup>Roscher, *Lexikon*, s.v. *Men*, cols. 2753, 2754, also in Thasos and Attica.

<sup>5</sup>Id. *op. cit.*, s.v. *Tantalos*, col. 75.

<sup>6</sup>Iliad, vi, 397, 415, 416.

<sup>7</sup>Roscher, *op. cit.* s.v. *Sandas*, col. 330.

and Dardania was the home of Anchises, whose name is so like those of the woman of Lycaonia [A]κκισις, and the Philistine kings Achish and Ikausu.

The Philistines arrived in Palestine at the opening of the Iron Age, and, a hundred years before we hear of them, people from the iron-working country of Kezweden (Kizzuwadna, Cataonia ?) had been at Qadesh.<sup>1</sup> It is natural to suppose, therefore, that it was the Philistine migration that brought the knowledge of the new metal. But before any of this had happened iron had already been sent as tribute to Thothmes III in the early XVth century B.C. It was sent by only one country, Tinay, and it is surely significant that this should also be the only country that sent "a *shawabty* (vessel) of the work of Keftiu."<sup>2</sup> Hence, Keftiu was already connected with iron even at this early date, and the Egyptian evidence shews this country to have been Cilicia and its neighbourhood. Each end of this district had at one time or another been famous for iron-working. On the western sidelay that city of Seleucia which in Greek times was called ἡ σιδηρᾶ,<sup>3</sup> and at the eastern end was the country known to the Assyrians as Tabal.<sup>4</sup> This would have been the Tubal-Cain of the Hebrews, "an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron."<sup>5</sup> The country was round about Cataonia, whence no doubt came the iron that Tarsus (Tarshish) later exported to Tyre.<sup>6</sup> Unfortunately it is not yet certain whether Cataonia was the Kizzuwadna which already exported iron in Hittite times<sup>7</sup>, but the fact that Luvian, the language of Cilicia, was spoken there,<sup>8</sup> seems to make this probable. In the Iliad the famous lump of "self-cast" iron had belonged to Eëtion, king of those Cilicians who lived near Troy.<sup>2</sup> Cilicia and Cilicians, therefore, were intimately connected with iron-working. Keftiu had so been from a date long

<sup>1</sup>See p. 207.

<sup>2</sup>B, A.R. ii § 537. Its situation is at present unknown, but this does not affect the argument.

<sup>3</sup>W. M. Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 406; W. Smith, *Dict. of Greek and Roman Geography*, ii, s.v. *Seleucia*, p. 954.

<sup>4</sup>E. Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* (1883) pp. 82 sqq.

<sup>5</sup>Genesis iv, 22. For the important iron mines near Sis see Garstang, *The Hittite Empire*, p. 194, Note 3.

<sup>6</sup>Ezekiel xxvii, 12.

<sup>7</sup>J.E.A. viii, pp. 45 sqq.; x, pp. 104 sqq.; xi, pp. 19-35.

<sup>8</sup>Ferrer, *Sitzungsber. preuss. Ak. Wiss., phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1919, p. 1040.

<sup>9</sup>Iliad, xxiii, 826, 827. For Cilicians see vi, 396, 397, 415, 416.

preceding the time when the Iron Age broke upon those countries of the Levant, the archæology of which is known to us at present. The south coast of Asia Minor and the neighbourhood of Troy are, therefore, important for the history of the coming of iron. They are also the two regions to which we have already been referred so often in our study of the direction whence came the Philistines along with the knowledge of iron.

Not many miles from Seleucia lay two cities which interest us here. The first is Sagalassus, whose name is supposed to represent the Shekelesh, one of the tribes who raided Egypt along with the Philistines. The other is Prostanna. These cities were not far from the borders of Lycia, and Herodotus' describes the Lycians as wearing a cap encircled by feathers. This is the head-dress of the Philistines of the XIIth century B.C. Further, Sundwall derives the name Prostanna from two native elements *prusttā-(a)ñna*.<sup>2</sup> In view, therefore, of all that has gone before it does not seem too fanciful to think that *prusttā* may be the original of the Egyptian *Prsti*, *Plsti*, of the Hebrew Pelethi, Pelishti, and of the English Philistine. Or again these forms might easily have been built up of the components *pele-* and *astte-* or *ustta-*, which are quite common in Asianic names.<sup>3</sup>

Prostanna, Seleucia and Sagalassus lie at the western end of Keftiu, in the mountains between Lydia on the one hand and Pamphylia and Cilicia on the other. The Philistines, and therefore the Caphtorim, had a reputation as soothsayers.<sup>4</sup> The only scrap of the Keftiuan language we possess is a spell, and Cilicia proves to have been an important home of divination.<sup>5</sup> The story of Mopsus, which has already proved so helpful to our study, is once more prominent in the question of divination. In classical tradition Mopsus was a famous soothsayer of Lydia. Thence he went to Cilicia, and the other country of southern Asia Minor that was especially connected with his name was Pamphylia, *i.e.*, the coastland of Sagalassus, Seleucia and Prostanna.<sup>6</sup> There was

<sup>1</sup>vii, 92.

<sup>2</sup>Sundwall, *Die einheimischen Namen der Lykier* (published as Beiheft 11 of *Klio*, 1913), p. 187.

<sup>3</sup>*Id. op. cit.* pp. 55, 56, 177, 178, 236.

<sup>4</sup>Isaiah ii, 6.

<sup>5</sup>*J.E.A.* p. 30.

<sup>6</sup>See p. 208, also *J.E.A.* p. 30, and Roscher, *op. cit.* s.v.

substance in the tradition connecting Lydia with the land I believe to be Keftiu. People from Lydia had certainly got at least as far as Cabalia, where their language was still spoken in the first century A.D., though it had died out in Lydia itself.<sup>1</sup> Cabalia is the neighbouring country to the south and west of Prostanna, Seleucia and Sagalassus. It is also the hinterland of Pamphylia where Mopsus established himself. These Cabalian-Mæonians, as they were called, formed a connecting link between Keftiu and Lydia. Not only was their equipment the same as that of the Cilicians to the eastwards,<sup>2</sup> but to the north westward similarities to Cilicia existed in Lydia. Thus, the Lydian name Sandanis and such Lydian words as *σανδόνες*, *σάνδυκες* can hardly be separated from the name of the Cilician gods Sandon (Sandas) and Sandokos.<sup>3</sup>

It is clear, therefore, that there were inhabitants of Cilicia and Lydia who were closely related; that soothsaying was common to both countries; and that Cilicia had already been a famous centre of divination under the name of Luia in Hittite times,<sup>4</sup> and as Keftiu its fame had already reached Egypt by 1200 B.C. Cilicia was also a centre whence the art was disseminated at least as far as Cyprus.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, there were both Teucrians and Keftiuans in Cilicia,<sup>6</sup> there were Teucrians and Philistines in Cyprus,<sup>7</sup> and there were Zakkal and Caphtorim (Philistines) on the coast of Syria and Palestine.<sup>8</sup> This is an interesting chain from Keftiu to Philistia, with divination prominent at both ends and also in the middle. It is possible to go further, for from Cilicia we step back to Lydia, and here divination is encountered again. In Greek tradition the most famous link was Mopsus, the priest at the Lydian city of Clarus. His proficiency in the art of soothsaying was great enough to kill through grief another seer of no mean repute who had pitted himself against him. This Mopsus is the

<sup>1</sup>Strabo C.631.

<sup>2</sup>Herodotus vii, 77.

<sup>3</sup>*J.E.A.* p. 27, Note 6.

<sup>4</sup>*Op. cit.* pp. 29, 30.

<sup>5</sup>Tacitus, *Hist.*, II, 3.

<sup>6</sup>At Olba, *J.E.A.* pp. 32, 36; *J.H.S.* p. 14, Note 63; p. 16. It is possibly significant that here also we are concerned with priests.

<sup>7</sup>At Enkomi, the ancient Salamis, *J.H.S.* pp. 10, 12, 13, 16.

<sup>8</sup>See p. 205 and n. 2, also *J.H.S.*

man who is found again at the other end of the chain, in Philistia, where Ascalon was especially the scene of his exploits. Suitably to his calling as a priest, and reputation as a seer, his activities were religious, for, having conquered the place, he cast the native goddess (or queen) Atargatis and her son into the sacred lake.<sup>1</sup>

With such affinities it is no wonder that the Philistines had a reputation for divination, and in its turn, this reputation supports the belief that they came from the coastlands of Asia Minor about Lydia and Pamphylia and Cilicia.<sup>2</sup> In other words the Caphtorim came from Keftiu, which must, therefore, have been Caphtor. In view of the Caphtorim's connection with Lydia and the Keftiuans' connections with it and the Troad, we cannot refuse at present to include these districts under the names Caphtor and even Keftiu. It is, however, hardly to be supposed that before the time of Ramesses III the Egyptians knew much, or indeed anything, of these remote extensions of the land of Keftiu. As is well-known the coastlands of southern and western Asia Minor are quite distinct from the central plateau and form a world of their own.<sup>3</sup> It, thus, becomes apparent that Caphtor represents those quite definite entities, the coastlands of southern and western Asia Minor.

The Philistines were "the Caphtorims which came forth out of Caphtor," and their homeland is described as 'i.<sup>4</sup> This is usually thought to mean "the isle" of Caphtor, but it may equally well mean "the coasts" or "borders" of Caphtor. For, Isaiah uses the word 'i of Palestine,<sup>5</sup> which was no island but a country on the

<sup>1</sup>Athenaeus, viii, 37.

<sup>2</sup>Lydia was evidently a stronghold of soothsaying, for a most famous nation of augurs was believed by all classical writers to have come from there. These people were the Etruscans whom Herodotus (i, 94) actually brings from Smyrna. Smyrna is not far removed from the tales of the Philistine origins, for its foundation is variously ascribed to Tantalus, who was brother of Ascalus (Roscher, *op. cit. Tantalos*, col. 76) or to people from Colophon (Hdts, i, 16, 150, Strabo, C. 634). Colophon itself was said to have been founded by Mopsus, and Mopsus is sometimes called the "Colophonian." (For references see Roscher, *op. cit. Mopsos*, col. 3208). Smyrna is also in the neighbourhood of Mopsus' own city of Clarus. It should not be forgotten that one of the tribes who attacked Egypt both with the Philistines and again with the Libyans was the Tursha or Teresh. The comparison of their name with Tyrrh-, Turs-, Etruscan, is unavoidable and has often been made. Similarly their personal name Tarquin is suspiciously like the Keftiuian divine name of Tarku, Tarhun.

<sup>3</sup>See for instance *Cambridge Ancient History*, ii, pp. 2-6.

<sup>4</sup>Jeremiah xlvi, 4.

<sup>5</sup>xx, 6.

seaboard of a continent. This expression would, therefore, be perfectly proper to our region of Asia Minor.

In this respect another passage of the Old Testament is of interest. It gives a list of countries, Tarshish, Pul, Lud, Tubal and Javan.<sup>1</sup> With the exception of Pul, which is unknown, these countries are situated within the area I would call Caphtor or Keftiu. It is significant, therefore, that appended to them are "the isles afar off." Here again the coastlands of Asia Minor are named in company with the isles, as I would maintain they are in the Old Testament expression Kerethim (Cretans) and Pelethim, and in Rekhmirê's inscription of the XVth century B.C., where he groups together "The Great Ones of Keftiu and of the Isles in the midst of the Sea."<sup>2</sup>

The Asiatic situation of Caphtor brings us back to the point whence the discussion started. It was that the only translation of Caphtor and Caphtorim that the Septuagint gives is Καππαδοκία and Καππαδοκες. Although this has hardly received consideration in view of the prevailing idea that Caphtor was Crete, yet it now begins to appear important. In fact the Caphtorim and their culture are found all round about the frontiers of Cappadocia. Not only so, but a new Egyptian picture of the XVth century B.C. shews a man labelled "Keftiu" with many striking resemblances to the Hittite king who visited Ramesses II in the XIIIth century B.C., and also to figures at Ivriz and Bor.<sup>3</sup> Patterns for the dress materials of other Keftiuans are also found at each of these places.<sup>4</sup> Ivriz and Bor are just over the Taurus Mountains from Tarsus in Cilicia, and are, therefore, actually in Cappadocia itself. Other Keftiuian dress patterns and the new Keftiuian's skull cap occur at Boghaz-Keui itself,<sup>5</sup> which is in the heart of Cappadocia. The translators were, therefore, not so very far wrong when they gave Cappadocia as the equivalent of Caphtor.

Hence, in conclusion, it is not out of place to draw attention to the fact that the names Caphtor, Keftiu, Cappadocia, only differ from each other in the endings. The main part of each consists of *k, f(p), t(d)*.

<sup>1</sup>Isaiah lxvi, 19.

<sup>2</sup>*L.A.A.A.* pp. 35, and 80 No. 10; *J.H.S.* p. 4.

<sup>3</sup>*J.H.S.* pp. 24, 25.

<sup>4</sup>*Op. cit.* p. 20.

<sup>5</sup>*Op. cit.* pp. 20, 25.