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THE PROBLEM OF THE CAPHTORIM

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The problem of the ethnic derivation of peoples in the ancient Near East, not to mention the investigation of their inter-relationships, forms an extremely complex study.

The famous "Table of Nations" in Genesis chapter 10 has been called by W. F. Albright "an astonishingly accurate document." It supplies us with the first Biblical reference to a people of extraordinary interest, not only to the Hebrews, but to the Egyptians, Babylonians, and Canaanites as well. The problem raised by the question of the origin of this race has produced an avalanche of scholarly literature, none of which has advanced much beyond the classic, almost ironic, terseness of Deuteronomy 2:23: "The Caphtorim. . . came forth out of Caphtor." Where was Caphtor? Who were the Caphtorim? These are the fascinating questions which we shall proceed to investigate.

WHO WERE THE CAPHTORIM?

The question, "Who were the Caphtorim" is not quite as simple as one may gather by consulting the average atlas or ancient history text. The Bible nowhere specifically gives a location for the land of Caphtor, although it seems to be an island or coastland from the reference in Jeremiah 47:4. Likewise, the Philistines are said to have come from Caphtor, but beyond this the Bible gives very little information. Other languages in the Near East have provided words which are linguistically parallel to the Hebrew term Caphtor, as the Egyptian Keftiu, and the Akkadian Kaptara. These diverse literatures provide supplementary clues which are of great value in analyzing the problem.

The search for a homeland for these mysterious people has been expanded into the far corners of the ancient world, though it must be admitted, without conclusive results. The nature of the inquiry and its significance has been succinctly stated by H. R. Hall:

One of the most important inquiries in the ancient history of the Near East relates to the explanation, in the light of modern archaeological research, of the Egyptian records of connections. . . with certain seafaring tribes of the Mediterranean coasts, apparently Cyprus, the southern coast of Asia Minor, Crete, and the Aegean.¹

A great variety of views has emerged from the study of the sources. The translators of the LXX rendered "Caphtor" as "Cappadocia,"² while the Ptolemaic geographers noted Phoenicia³ as the locale of the dimly remembered Keftiu-land. This ancient confusion has persisted down to modern times. Young's Analytical Concordance seeks to place Caphtor in Egypt, claiming that the name is preserved in that of the old Egyptian city Coptus.⁴ The discovery of Egyptian tomb-paintings indicating Keftiu as a foreign land has effectively dealt a death-blow to this theory, but the problem of the alleged Hamitic origin of the Caphtorim (Gen. 10:14), and eventually of the Philistine, still remains.⁵

Only two theories have been seriously considered within the last hundred years due to the addition of archaeological science to the arsenal of critical scholarship.⁶ Perhaps the majority of Biblical and classical scholars today favor Crete as the site of Caphtor Keftiu, following Sir Arthur Evans' identification, made in 1900. This idea has been strengthened by subsequent spectacular discoveries on the island, especially at Knossos. It must be admitted, however, that the discoveries from Crete fall short of proof for the identification. On the other hand, they do provide material that links Crete in some way with important Egyptian evidence for the location of Keftiu.

The alternative view, which has drawn much recent attention, has as its foremost proponent G. A. Wainright. He cites an impressive list of scholars who have supported the idea of an Asiatic Keftiu, which he places in Cilicia Tracheia. Between 1892 and 1898, such notables as Steindorff, Mueller, and Von Bissing all contended that Keftiu was to be found in North Syria, Cyprus, or Cilicia.⁷

As long ago as 1857, however, Birch identified Keftiu with Biblical Caphtor, which he thought to be either Crete, or preferably, Cyprus. Brugsch supported Crete in the same year.⁸ And so the debate continues,

while the unhappy Caphtorim, like wandering ghosts, cannot be laid to rest because an abode has never been found for them.

SOURCES FOR THE INVESTIGATION

Numerous ancient sources supply information that may, if properly interpreted, enable us to trace the travels and discover the origins of the Caphtorim. One major problem, however, is the confusion which seems to be attached to the term Keftiu from its very inception around 2000 B. C. The Egyptian scribes, especially, reflect considerable uncertainty in referring to Keftiu. Nevertheless, a general picture emerges from the ancient references, the outlines of which can be traced into a fairly consistent picture.

Literary Evidence

Hebrew Literature--The Biblical evidence has been alluded to above. Its main contribution is to associate the Philistines with Caphtor. The Philistines, in turn, have been connected with the Purasati, or sea-peoples whom Ramesses III subdued (ca. 1200 B.C.). The "r" in the name is the Egyptian equivalent of the Semitic "l". Therefore Pursati, Pilshti, and Philistines are believed to be equivalent.⁹ But the deeper and more important question relates to the origin of the Philistines. These sea-peoples are thought to have derived from the Aegean area, but again certain strands of evidence point in the direction of Asia Minor. In essence, the problem boils down to this: If we knew where the Philistines originated, we should be able to find Caphtor. Conversely, if we could only locate Caphtor, we should be able to find where the Philistines originated. In consequence, we are arguing in a circle from the Biblical evidence alone.

It can be claimed equally well that the sea peoples came either from Crete or the coastlands of southern Asia Minor, if one bases his theory on the route of conquest followed by the invaders. They advanced southward down the Mediterranean coast of the Levant, ending in Egypt. The characteristic feather headdresses of the Philistines shown on the reliefs from Medinet Habu correspond to those included as signs on the Phaistos disk. The source of this style, however, is probably Anatolia, so definite proof is still lacking as to the actual homeland of the Philistines. The weight of scholarly opinion still favors Crete. This uncertainty also renders the evidence regarding the Philistines and their origin somewhat inconclusive as well.

There are other references which are often adduced as further evidence that Caphtor should be equated with Crete. David's bodyguard was formed of certain mercenary contingents called Cherethites and

Pelethites, commanded by Benaiah the son of Jehoiada (2 Sam. 8:18). The names may simply mean "executioners" and "swift ones" (both appropriate for their tasks), or as has been more probably supposed, they may be toponyms referring to the tribe of Cherethites (I Sam. 30:14) and inhabitants of the village of Beth-Pelet (Josh. 15:27). In any case, these were both located in Philistine territory. The LXX translates the name Cherethites as "Cretans" in both Ezekiel 25:16 and Zephaniah 2:5. The translators may have been guided only by the sound, but the deity Zeus Cretagenes in Gaza suggests a connection with the Island of Crete.¹⁰ Thus the tenuous, although perhaps correct, equation of Caphtor with Crete via the connection of Caphtorim--Philistines--Cherethites--Cretans.

Egyptian Literature--The Egyptian literary evidence apart from the funerary paintings is quite extensive. Keftiu is spelled various ways in the hieroglyphs, but the general rendering apart from minor variations is kftyw followed by the determinative for foreign lands.¹¹ Two significant variants, k3ftyw and kftw, appear in Dynasty 19 and may indicate the vocalization. It certainly approximates that of Caphtor.

The first mention of Keftiu occurs in the famous lamentation of Ipu-wer at the end of the Old Kingdom.

No one really sails north to Byblos today. What shall we do for cedar for our mummies? Priests were buried with their produce, and (nobles) were embalmed with the oil thereof as far away as Keftiu, (but) they come no (longer).¹²

This earliest reference to Keftiu seems to demand a place as far away as the ends of the earth, that is, to the limits of Egyptian knowledge. Crete fits this requirement better than any other place, and merits consideration in this regard above Cilicia, which can hardly have been construed as much farther than Byblos in the minds of the Egyptians.

The eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties furnish most of the literary texts mentioning Keftiu as a place-name. It is listed in company with other countries under Amenhotep II, Amenhotep III, Thutmose III, and Ramesses II.¹³ The countries are all equated with the region of Northern Mesopotamia, Northern Syria, Cyprus, and Cilicia, according to Wainwright's thesis. The places themselves--Nahrin, Retenu, Qadesh, Tunip, Ikariti, Tikhsi, Sangar and Mennus--are all undeniably Asiatic, but it should be pointed out that the tomb paintings often relate Keftiu to the "Isles in the midst of the Great Green (sea)." Likewise, Thutmose III's Hymn of Victory¹⁴ mentions Keftiu and Asy (Cyprus) in the same line, which would be consistent either with a Cretan or Cilician

Keftiu, and would rule out neither interpretation.

The Annals of Thutmose III provide some valuable insights into the kinds of commerce which obtained between Egypt and Keftiu:

Behold all the harbors of his Majesty were supplied with every good thing of that which (his) Majesty received (in) D-'hy, consisting of Keftiyew ships, Byblos ships, and Sk-tw ships of cedar laden with poles, and masts, together with great trees for the (_____) of his Majesty.¹⁵

Of greater significance in this connection, however, is the account of Thutmose's 17th campaign, listing tribute brought from various areas:

(The tribute of the Chief) of Tinay (Ty-n'-y): a silver (s'-w'-b'ty) vessel of the work of Kf-tyw, together with vessels of iron¹⁶

Wainright points out that the tribute was obtained in Syria, and that silver is mined and worked in Cilicia.¹⁷ It seems plausible that the "work of Keftiu" here refers to the more famous and widely imitated Minoan style of craftsmanship.

Ramesses II claimed to have captured Keftiu along with other countries (mostly Asiatic), and Breasted admitted that this seems to place it in "Phoenicia or Coele-Syria."¹⁸ If the text is taken literally--a dangerous practice when dealing with the self-adulatory Egyptian inscriptions--and if it indeed refers to Coele-Syria, then it can only be explained as a homophonous place name, or possibly as a scribal error. However, the list also names Asy (Cyprus) and Kheta (Hittite lands). The great Pharaoh or his scribe could easily have included Keftiu in this vast boast, with as much substance to the claim, even if Keftiu be read as Crete.

Babylonian Literature--The Akkadian word Kaptara is the philological equivalent of Caphtor and Keftiu in the Hebrew and Egyptian languages. The earliest use of the term actually occurs in an inscription of Sargon of Akkad (ca. 2300 B. C.), which corresponds generally with its first appearance in Egypt toward the end of the Old Kingdom.¹⁹ Crete's first era of greatness, the Old Palatial period, was begun subsequent to these early contacts. Foreign trade probably originated in Early Minoan II and reached its peak in the New Palatial period. Kaptara is also mentioned among the correspondence of the Mari tablets, but there is no attempt at precise localization. A distant place in the region of the Taurus mountains or beyond is implied in all the references occurring in Akkadian. One document found at Ugarit and dated to the

reign of Ramesses II²⁰ mentions a boat as coming from Kaptara, which causes us to look westward for the identification of this place as one of the major seafaring and trading nations of antiquity. Again, Crete or the Mycenaean world fit this description best.

Canaanite Literature--There is important evidence from an Ugaritic religious poem which places the chief seat of the craftsman god in Kaphtor and implies a considerable cultural indebtedness to Crete.²¹ Proof is lacking for Gordon's thesis that Ketet is somehow related to Crete.

In this epic,

. . . the messengers of the gods are sent (flying) over the sea by way of Byblos (Gebal) to fetch the god of handcrafts, Kothar Wa-khasis, from his throne in Kaphtor (Crete). He is brought to build a palace for Baal; but elsewhere he is concerned with fine metal-working, melting down precious metals to cast a dias of silver covered with gold and fashioning a throne, a couch, and a footstool. The compelling impression made by the volatile Minoan genius is evident throughout the eastern Mediterranean world. . . .²²

The entire passage seems to imply a place of great distance, because the gods, naturally enough, are always reported to have lived in mysterious, inaccessible places. The idea of the origin of craftsmanship appears to be applied here to kaphot; could there be a relationship between the Canaanite god of handcrafts, Kothar Wa-khasis, and the Greek Zeus Velchanos (Vulcan?) who was worshipped on Mount Dikte in eastern Crete? It is more than likely that this was the case. Certainly this is one of the more tantalizing clues to the location of Kaphtor, although proof for the identification is lacking at present.

Hittite Literature--Apparently there exists no recognizable reference to Keftlu Kaptara in the Hittite or Louvian literature.²⁴ This strikes a blow at Wainright's theory, although it is admittedly an argument from silence. His explanation for the absence of the name in Hittite records points to the conclusion that, since the region was a coastland and, therefore, on the other side of the Taurus, it was "quite outside the purview of the Hittites."²⁵ The same journal, however, in reporting the Cilician survey, notes that no less than sixty-one Hittite sites of the Imperial period were located in Cilicia proper.²⁶ Can the Hittites have been ignorant of the existence of this coastland or of its name? It is possible that we possess in the extant material the Louvian or Hittite place-name corresponding to the Akkadian Kaptara, but if this is so, it has not been satisfactorily explained philologically. Reference is made in Hittite royal correspondence, however, to the land of Ahhiyawa,

which is generally agreed to refer to the Homeric Achaioi or the Mycenaean. ²⁷

Supposed Keftian Language--The two documents from Egypt displaying some knowledge of the Keftian language (presumably Linear A if Keftiu is Crete) have been shown by Wainright and Astour to have North Syrian or Cilician connections. This may still be explicable as supporting the identity of Keftiu with Crete if one accepts the attractive hypothesis that Linear A and Louvian are related. The so-called "Keftian Spell" is an inscription invoking names of Cilician deities. ²⁸ It reads, "sntkppwymntrkkr." This is translated by Wainright as follows: snt--Sandas; kpp--Kupapa; and trk--Tarku. The other elements are so far impossible to decipher, although numerous suggestions have been made. Personal names from Keftiu also occur in Egypt, dating from ca. 1500 B. C. They are listed as, "3šḥr, Nsy, 3kš, 3kšt, 3dn, Pnrt, Rs, Bndbr." According to Wainright. "A widespread search has revealed scarcely any names bearing any resemblance to those of Keftiu except in southern Asia Minor. There, on the contrary, we get a number which do seem to be comparable to them." ²⁹

Peet claims that a discovery of contemporary inscriptions indicating the locale of these names would show merely that the language was spoken in that area, but would not prove the identity of the land Keftiu itself. Wainright, of course, disagrees.

Linear B--These documents are unsuited to normal literary and historical analysis as they provide neither continuous texts (for the most part) nor official archival material. ³⁰ The vocabulary is limited as well, but the word for Crete (Ke-re-te) is admitted by some, as is the term for "Cretan workmanship" (Ke-re-si-jo we-ke), first recognized by Palmer. Whether or not there is any connection between these ethnic terms and an earlier syllabic spelling of Caphtor/Keftiu remains to be seen. It is an intriguing question which is, in essence, tied up with the decipherment of Linear A.

To summarize the literary evidence, particularly the Egyptian, we may refer to the work of Jean Vercoutter, L'Égypte et le monde égéen préhellénique. This admirable synthesis has produced, according to William Stevenson Smith, "what seems to be overwhelming evidence for the identification of Keftiu. . . as Crete." ³¹

Modern scholars are not in a position to evaluate geographical designations from ancient times as precisely as may be desired. Neither can ethnic identity always be established by examining minute aspects of the physiognomy, religion, or cultural elements of ancient peoples. But rigid and exact philological texts can frequently be used to obtain

accurate information. Literary usage can often provide helpful data as well. Vercouter's analysis of the term Keftiu shows its changing use by the Egyptians over a period of time, and helps to explain some of the problems attached to the name.

Two terms were used by the Egyptians for the Aegean region. These were the problematical Keftiu, and "The Islands in the midst of the Great Green." The following outline will show the historical interpretation suggested by Vercouter.

1. Earliest use of the term Keftiu--This designation for groups of foreigners is found as early as the end of the Old Kingdom, and roughly at the same time Kaptara appears in an inscription of Sargon of Akkad. This fits in with the idea that the original contacts between Keftiu and Egypt occurred at the beginning of the heyday of Cretan civilization.

2. Introduction of a new term--The terms Keftiu and "Islands in the midst of the Great Green" are found in conjunction in the tomb of the Vizier Rekhmire during the reign of Thutmose III. Historically, one may infer that the new term, "Islands in the midst of the Great Green" was designed to describe the Mycenaeans, who first came in touch with Egypt during the time of Thutmose III.

3. Latest use of the term Keftiu--Apparently the last use of the term Keftiu is found on a stone vessel in the tomb of Thutmose IV, placed in his tomb by his son Amenhotep III. This bit of evidence fits into the usually accepted chronological scheme regarding the destruction of Knossos, and would, by thus matching, help to explain why the term drops out of use.

4. Final period of use--Subsequent use of the term "Islands in the midst of the Great Green" coincides with the great expansion of Mycenaean trade indicated by the wide distribution of Mycenaean pottery in Egypt and the Levant.

A practical explanation for this phenomenon is suggested by Smith:

Both were perhaps first encountered by the Egyptians in Syrian harbors and to the Egyptians the Cretans and Mycenaeans, appeared so clearly related in culture that it was hard to distinguish one from the other. Gradually the Egyptians became conscious of a new, more distant element ³² to which they applied a different geographical term.

Pictorial Evidence

The controversy between the two alternatives of a Cilician or a Cretan Keftiu has raged mainly over the important Egyptian tomb paintings and their interpretation, rather than the literary evidence. These form the chief factor in the argument of Evans and others linking Keftiu with Crete.

A bewildering variety of opinions have been voiced by scholars, and sharply different conclusions have been drawn, all based on the same evidence. Smith remarks, "The same pictures of these foreigners have been used to show that they came from Crete or from the mainland of Greece or from western Asia."³³ Miss Kantor concurs, asserting, "We may safely say that the Aegeans in Egyptian tombs cannot be differentiated into Minoans or mainlanders by their physical appearance or dress."³⁴

Nevertheless, there is general agreement that genuine Minoans do appear, at least in the tomb of Senmut, in spite of later divergence and confusion in detail from the other tombs. Two main issues spring from an examination of the tomb paintings: Can the term Keftiu be linked to a particular geographical area on the basis of these paintings; and to what extent can the minute details of the paintings be used as evidence?

It must be admitted that there is no evidence from the tombs to prove that the term Keftiu itself refers specifically and exclusively to Crete. The main argument in favor of this identification, as we have seen, is the historical coincidence of Egyptian contacts with Minoan civilization. We shall deal with the question of the accuracy of the pictorial evidence later, but it should be observed that certain valuable clues to the ethnic identity of the people depicted on the monuments is to be expected. "Such peculiar personal adornments and fashions of dressing the hair are, as all students of ethnology know, matters of tribal custom, and extremely important as criteria of race."³⁵

A survey of the tomb paintings and their significance is necessary in order to evaluate these factors.

1. Chapel of Senmut at Thebes--

The dress, hair style, and vessels depicted are all definitely Cretan. Wainwright claims that this tomb is the only one showing unmistakable Cretan garb.³⁶ Unfortunately, there is no inscription preserved. (Cf. Fig. 1 for a drawing of these famous emissaries.)

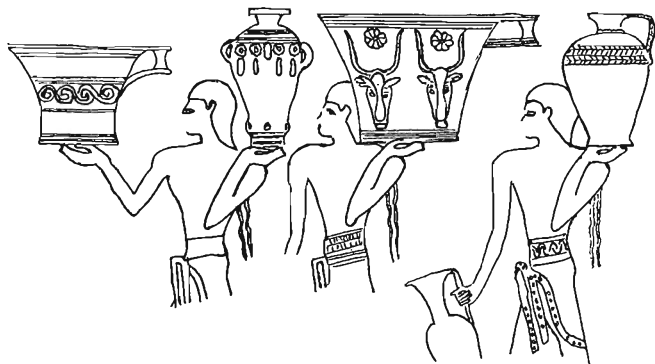


Fig. 1 Cretans depicted in a painting from the Chapel of Semmut at Thebes.

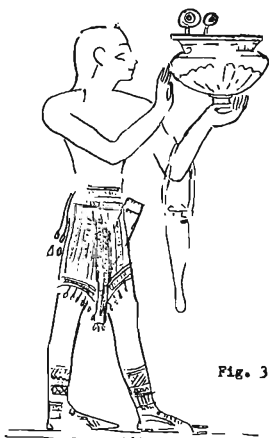


Fig. 3 Keftian, Chapel of Rekmira (Theban tomb 100)

Fig. 2 Keftian, Chapel of Menkheperraseneb (Theban tomb 86)

II. Chapel of Menkheperraseneb (Theban tomb 86)--

This tomb is located in the cliff of Shekh Abdel-Kurna at Thebes. Breasted describes the scene as follows:

Two lines of Asiatics bring forward splendid and richly chased vessels of gold, silver, etc. The Asiatics are designated as "The chief of Keftiyew, the Chief of Keftiyew, the Chief of Kheta, the Chief of Tunip (tnpw), the Chief of Kadesh".³⁷

Hall, in referring to tomb 86, claims that the offerings are badly drawn but recognizable as Cretan. The Cretan coiffure is plain, but the kilts are "not specially Cretan in character."³⁸ On the other hand, Wainright and others are perhaps right when they point out that these figures, unlike those of Senmut's tomb, are not Cretans, rather, they are probably north Syrians or Cilicians. The vessels are undoubtedly Aegean, but may be Mycenaean instead of Minoan. The larger scene from tomb 86 includes a mixed group of bearded Asiatics with the "Keftiu" (Cilicians?). If Keftiu is indeed Crete, the possible explanations are:

1. The figures are wrongly labeled;
2. The figures are carelessly drawn;
3. The term Keftiu in this period was vaguely applied to a certain class of seafaring foreigners, and not used as a specific geographical place name. One of these figures is pictured in Fig. 2, cf. Fig. 4.

III. Tomb of Rekhmire (Tomb 100)--

These emissaries may be Minoan, but it is difficult to be sure. They could quite possibly be Mycenaean. This is in accord with Ver-couter's thesis that the term Keftiu was ambiguously used in the XVIII dynasty to mean either "Cretan" or "Mycenaean". But the sandals are seemingly Minoan, and the curls definitely so, according to Evans.³⁹ Traces of the distinctive sheath envelopes are also to be seen. (Fig. 3)

IV. Chapel of Huy at Amarna--

The foreigners pictured here are possibly Aegeans, but more likely are Anatolians or north Syrians to judge by their dress. The accompanying inscription notes that they come from "the islands in the midst of the Great Green."

V. Tomb of User-Amon--

The tomb of the Vizier User-Amon dates from the reign of Thutmose III. Pictured in this tomb are figures in coiffeur and kilt-styles similar to those in the tomb of Senmut. In addition, they wear the Lybian sheath and carry a bull's head rhyton among the offerings. (Fig. 5.)

The objects in the painting from User-Amon's tomb are definitely identified as Minoan by Evans. The "bull at full gallop" which is carried by one of the tributaries, is a Minoan theme, though not exclusively so, being found on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus as well as the Tiryns fresco. The sandals and puteses are also of the Minoan type.

VI. Tomb of Puemra--

This chapel from the time of Hatshepsut shows a red-colored youth with Minoan wavy hair, but wearing a plain kilt. The fresco is imperfectly preserved.⁴⁰

VII. The Chapel of Onen--

A royal throne base from the chapel of Onen (brother to Queen Tiy) at Thebes, dating from the reign of Amenhotep III (ca. 1400 B. C.) yields a painted representation of a man in Anatolian dress. The accompanying inscription labels him as coming from Keftiu.⁴¹

If Keftiu is indeed Crete, this can only be explained as a mistake in labeling by the scribes, or ignorance of the true character of the Minoans on the part of the artist. It does serve to show, however, the very real confusion in the Egyptian sources regarding the term Keftiu. Cretan types, Hittite types, and north Syrian types are all alike labeled as from Keftiu or as being from the "midst of the Great Green".⁴² Strict interpretation of Menkheperasonob's tomb, for example, would apply the epithet Keftiu to a definite Asiatic type, since the label is evidently placed mistakenly over the Asiatic rather than the Aegean figure. (Cf. Fig. 4.)

An interesting comparison is provided by observing the procession of tribute bearers from Rekhmire's tomb (Fig. 6) and restored fragments of the famous "procession fresco" from the palace of Minos. The apparent and striking similarities between the Egyptian paintings and Minoan civilization are concentrated in the hair style, kilts, sandals, and tribute vessels. But these likenesses may be more superficial than real, since the parallels are not exact, and have occasioned much controversy.



Fig. 4 Wall painting from Theban tomb 86 showing foreigners bringing tribute



Fig. 5 Tributaries from Keftiu: Tomb of User-amon

It would seem dangerous to press the details in the paintings too far, as perhaps Wainright has done. He contends that the pattern of double volutes ending in spirals found on the kilt of one of the tribute-bearers in Menkheperasesen's tomb are native to Cilicia Tracheia. This proves that the southern coastal region of Asia Minor is the correct place to look for the land of Keftiu, according to his view.⁴³

One cannot fault the methodology here (except, perhaps, for the appeal to designs in modern Turkish rugs as evidence) as much as the logic. It may be admitted that the figures could be wearing Anatolian garb, but the question of what the Egyptian scribes meant by using the term Keftiu should also be faced honestly. Wainright implies that the Egyptians always stayed strictly and consistently with one precise meaning for the term over a long period of time. Such an assumption would seem to be belied by the facts. It is the very nature of the problem of Caphtor that inconsistencies and contradictions abound, and we know that political, cultural, and commercial conditions changed greatly over the period from the end of the Old Kingdom to the XIX dynasty. Perhaps Wainright's analysis has depended too heavily upon the Egyptian evidence without proper regard for the Assyrian, Ugaritic, and Hebrew sources, and likewise has emphasized the graphic evidence without a corresponding balance of the literary.

An insistence upon slavish literalism in copying objects from life on the part of the artists is the chief logical pitfall which Wainright fails to avoid. Granted that those used to writing hieroglyphs must be exacting in terms of details, it is nevertheless plausible that the artists frequently applied familiar "space fillers," particularly where foreign motifs might be involved.

Disregard of the fundamental character of Egyptian pictures has led Wainright to fallacious conclusions in the opinion of Miss Kantor. She makes five significant observations in this regard:

1. Not all the representations are of equal value.
2. Even the best artists were not anthropologists.
3. Many sections of their work were filled with stock Egyptian motifs.
4. The degeneration of accuracy in depicting the Aegean emissaries indicates that successive copying of earlier tombs was the practice of the artists.
5. The kilt patterns are not from the actual garments, but from Egyptian representations of these garments.⁴⁴

Miss Kantor, as opposed to Wainright, sees primarily Mycenaean

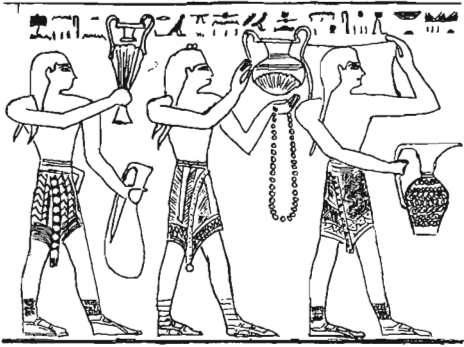


Fig. 6 Tribute bearers from Keftius: Tomb of Rekmira

influence upon Egypt reflected in the tomb paintings. She claims that the Minoans had some limited contact with Egypt, but they quickly lost their connections to the mainlanders. She points to the fact that pottery of the LB period in Egypt shows strong Aegean influence. "It is impossible to accept (Wainwright's) conclusion that the Keftians were an Anatolian people. On the contrary, their Aegean character cannot be doubted."⁴⁵

H. R. Hall, who holds to the traditional identification of Minoan Crete with the Egyptian Keftiu, summarized the pictorial evidence by stating:

If the Keftians appear depicted by the Egyptians in costumes departing considerably from the Minoan fashion, and approaching that of the Syrian, this may be due either to the Cilician origin of these particular Keftians, or more simply to inaccuracy on the part of Egyptian artists.⁴⁶

In addition to the literary and pictorial evidence, we may now turn to the ceramic artifactual record.

Archaeological Evidence

Material from the excavations, particularly pottery, has a limited validity, since it can only test theories and affirm or deny the presence of certain peoples in a given area. The archaeological evidence pertaining to the problem of the Caphtorim attests definite interrelations between Crete and the eastern Mediterranean, notably from finds at Ugarit and Byblos.⁴⁷

The earliest of these contacts seems to have occurred in Middle Minoan I, since pottery characteristic of the Old Palatial period at Knossos and Phaestos has been found in levels XXI-XXV at Byblos (ca. 2100 B. C.).

Egypt also yields Minoan and Syrian painted pottery associated together from the XIIth dynasty side of Kahun.⁴⁸ This would provide additional evidence that the Cretans traveled to Egypt via the Syrian ports of call as is implied in the mixed cargoes listed in the inscriptions of Thutmose III.⁴⁹

Evans points out numerous Egyptian finds from Crete⁵⁰ as does Hutchinson.⁵¹ The actual connection of the Minoan culture with Egypt and Syria may be regarded, upon this evidence, as firmly established.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The basic and primary orientation of Caphtor is with the Aegean area. This is the inescapable conclusion to which the foregoing material evidence points. There are numerous historical facts supporting the association of Caphtor with Crete. These may be briefly summarized as follows:

1. Ceramic and pictorial evidence established that there was definite and direct contact between Minoan Crete and Egypt.
2. Egyptian literary evidence also proves direct contact between Egypt and Keftiu, wherever it is located.
3. Aegean cultural elements are unmistakably associated with the term Keftiu on the Egyptian tomb paintings.
4. The use of the term Keftiu parallels closely the expansion and contraction of the Minoan cultural sphere.
5. The northern orientation of Keftiu from the Egyptian perspective corresponds with the known Minoan sea route.
6. The Bible connects Caphtor with the Philistines (who certainly came from the Aegean cultural continuum if not from Crete itself).
7. The Canaanite god of craftsmanship, whose throne was in Caphtor may correspond with the Cretan Zeus VeIchanos (Vulcan?). If this is true, it provides conclusive proof that Caphtor was Crete.

A possible synthesis between the opposing views may be attempted. Evans admits that in "all cases the evidence associates the Minoans with the north Syrian peoples."⁵² He also points out that Mallus on the Cilician coast appears in a late inscription as a silver-producing district of the Keftian country. The men of Mallus are depicted with the red skin and flowing hair so characteristic of Minoan fashion.⁵³ The name Mallus, moreover, may be connected with Cretan Mallia.

Evans was aware of Wainright's early criticisms of a Minoan Keftiu:

It may be a moot point whether or not the Minoans had some kind of commercial settlement in the neighborhood of Mallos or elsewhere on the Cilician coast, to which in a narrower geographical sense the name of Keftiu should apply. But the attempt to regard the Kefti people of the Egyptian wallpaintings and records as primarily of Cilician stock, will hardly now claim adherents.⁵⁴

In the same vein, Wainright conceded that his Cilician "Keftiu" possibly had Minoan colonists, but insists that it was not just a Minoan trading station.⁵⁵ Certainly the admission that Minoan elements existed in Cilicia is tantamount to saying that Keftiu and Crete were interrelated in the minds of the Egyptians--and in view of the vast cultural influence of Crete--it is almost the same as admitting that "Cretan" and "Keftian" were interchangeable in their vocabulary.

One generally overlooked piece of evidence may be adduced. The prevailing winds in the Eastern Mediterranean come from the north or northwest in good sailing weather, and it was likely just as easy, safer (because of the proximity to shore), and more profitable to travel east via Cilicia, Syria, and Phoenicia before journeying to Egypt. The Etesian winds would make the direct route to Egypt possible,⁵⁶ and the Cretans were not afraid of the voyage, because they apparently traded with such distant places as Macedonia, Lybia, Sardinia, Sicily, and possibly Spain, but it was not in their best commercial interest to travel directly to Egypt. The route generally followed by the Minoan and Mycenaean traders is described by Lionel Casson:

A trail of pottery fragments dug up by archaeologists marks the routes these traders followed. Their ships worked eastward to the west coast of Asia Minor, or southward to Crete from where they cut east by way of Rhodes and Cyprus to the cities along the Syrian coast. Here most unloaded and, letting the Phoenicians transship whatever was consigned to Egypt, picked up return cargoes that included whatever the Phoenicians had brought back from there. All papyrus, for example, was manufactured in Egypt, but so much of it came to Greece by way of the Syrian coast that the standard Greek word for the product was byblos, reflecting the name of the harbor at which most Greek traders must have taken on their cargoes of it.⁵⁷

If this were indeed the case, an accord with Wainright's hypothesis of an Asiatic Keftiu might be sought. For who could blame the Egyptians for vaguely locating Keftiu in the region where the goods were shipped from, namely the coast of Syria or Cilicia? Wace seems to agree when he says, ". . . the appearance of Minoan objects among the presents of the princes of the Keftiu and of the islands in the midst of the sea would not be surprising, if the Cretans used the longer coasting route by way of Asia Minor and Cyprus to Egypt besides adventuring directly across the Libyan Sea."⁵⁸

I submit that this is precisely what happened. The profitable north Syrian trade route and the favorable winds would have attracted the export-minded Minoans, and the very fact that Cretan culture was quickly adopted by other tribes of the Aegean, Anatolian, and Levantine areas guaranteed that the Egyptians would soon become confused. After all, the Egyptians were accustomed to classifying people not by where they hailed from, but primarily by what they looked like.

The geographical area, if it could be comprehended by the Egyptians, was a secondary consideration, and was often addled in the inscriptions. Despite the confusion, it appears that there is sufficient evidence to support the contention that Caphtor was Crete.

DOCUMENTATION

1. H. R. Hall, "The Keftians, Philistines, and other Peoples of the Levant" Chapter XII in the Cambridge Ancient History, J. B. Bury, et al eds. (Cambridge: The University Press, 1926), II, 275.
2. Charles Pfeiffer and Howard Vos, Wycliffe Historical Geography (Chicago: Moody Press, 1967), 442.
3. Hall, loc. cit.
4. Robert Young, Analytical Concordance to the Bible (New York: and Wagnall, n. d.), 142.
5. I propose to attempt a solution of this difficulty while still holding to the Aegean (or Anatolian) origin of the Philistines as follows:
 - A. Both Baumgartel and Evans note strong Lybian and Egyptian influences on Crete in the predynastic and protodynastic periods. A stone vase of protodynastic Egyptian make, among other things, was found on Crete. Mrs. Baumgartel conjectures that the trade route to Crete in prehistoric times may have gone overland to Lybia to the point nearest Crete, and thence by sea. This marked influence is thought by Evans to have occurred at about the time of Menes' conquest. The

negroid element can be seen in the Mesara at this time. Other items include Lybian plumes, side-locks, bow, shield, figurines, the penistache, etc. See Sir Arthur Evans, The Palace of Minos (London: Macmillan and Co., 1921-1935), II, 22-92; and Elise J. Baumgartel, The Cultures of Prehistoric Egypt (London: Oxford University Press, 1955), I, 44.

B. Homer's "native Cretans" or Eteo-Cretans (only one of the five ethnic strata on the island) may thus have been Hamitic in origin. Cf. Odyssey xix, 175 ff. Staphylos placed them in the south. See R. W. Hutchinson, Pre-historic Crete (Baltimore: Penquin Books, 1965), 318. If this is true, Linear A may thus have primary Egyptian affinities.

C. A transposition has occurred in Gen. 10.14 and I Chron. 1:12, which represent the Philistines as having come forth from the Casluhim, contrary to what is expressly stated elsewhere in all the other Biblical references. The Philistines actually came from Caphtor, which has much earlier been colonized by a Hamitic race. Cf. Jer. 47:4 and Amos 9:7.

6. W. Ewing, "Caphtor" in The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia, ed. James Orr. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1949), I, 568.
7. G. A. Wainright, "Asiatic Keftiu" American Journal of Archaeology 56:4 (October, 1952), 196-212.
8. Hall, loc. cit.
9. Ewing, loc. cit.
10. W. Ewing, "Cherethites" ISBE, I, 603.
11. Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow, Wörterbuch Der Aegyptischen Sprache (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1957), V, 122.
12. John A. Wilson, "The Admonitions of Ipu-wer" Ancient Near Eastern Texts ed. J. B. Pritchard (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), 441.
13. Wainright, loc. cit.
14. James H. Breasted, Ancient Records of Egypt (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1906), II, 264-65.
15. Ibid., II, 206 Sk-tw is an unknown place name; the lacunae refers to some wood construction.
16. Ibid., II, 217.
17. Wainright, loc. cit.
18. Breasted, ARE, III, 162.
19. William Stevenson Smith, Interconnections in the Ancient Near East (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), 91.
20. Idem.
21. H. L. Ginsberg, "Poems about Baal and Anath" ANET, 132-34, 138.

22. Smith, op. cit., 46.
23. R. W. Hutchinson, Prehistoric Crete (Baltimore: Penquin Books, 1962), 200-203.
24. John Garstang and O.R. Gurney, The Geography of the Hittite Empire (London: The British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 1959). For related material see also: Albrecht Goetze, Kizzuwatna and the Problem of Hittite Geography. Yale Oriental Series XXII (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940). Cf. Johannes Friedrich, Heithitisches Wörterbuch (Heidelberg, C. Winter, 1952); and Emmanuel Laroche, Dictionnaire de la Langue (Paris: Libraire Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1959).
25. G. A. Wainright, "Keftiu and Karamania (Asia Minor)", Anatolian Studies IV (1954), 33-48.
26. M. V. Seton-Williams, "Cilician Survey", Anatolian Studies IV (1954), 134, Fig. 4.
27. O. R. Gurney, The Hittites (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1954), 46-58.
28. Smith, op. cit., 95. The spell contains cartouches of Amenhotep III.
29. Wainright, op. cit., 200.
30. Smith, op. cit., 91.
31. Idem.
32. Ibid., 91-92.
33. Idem.
34. Helene J. Kantor, "The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium B. C." American Journal of Archaeology LI (1947), 44.
35. Hall, op. cit., 279
36. Wainright, AJA 56:4, p. 200.
37. Breasted, ARE II, 761.
38. Hall, loc. cit.
39. Sir Arthur Evans, The Palace of Minos (New York: Biblio and Tannen, 1964), Vol. II, Part 2, 727, 740.
40. Ibid., II, 2, 739.
41. Smith, op. cit., 33.
42. The perverse ambiguity of the Egyptian and Semitic ʿl "coastland, island" has often been noted. The term "in the midst of the Great Green", however, most naturally applies to islands rather than coastlands.
43. Wainright, Anatolian Studies IV (1954), 33-48.
44. Kantor, AJA LI (1947), 44.
45. Idem.
46. Hall, op. cit., 278.
47. Claude F. A. Schaeffer, Stratigraphie Comparée et Chronologie de l'Asie Occidentale (London: Oxford University Press, 1948), 65-67. Cf. Figs. 63, 72-74.
48. Idem. Cf. Fig. 53.

49. Breasted, ARE, II, 206.
50. Evans, op. cit., II, 22-92.
51. Hutchinson, op. cit., 103.
52. Evans, op. cit., II, 2, 655.
53. Ibid., II, 2, 656.
54. Ibid., II, 2, 657-658.
55. Wainright, AJA 56:4, 200.
56. Hutchinson, op. cit., 95.
57. Lionel Casson The Ancient Mariners (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1959), 24.
58. A. J. B. Wace, "Crete and Mycenae", Chapter XVI in the Cambridge Ancient History, II, 438.