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G. A. Wainwright

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## KEFTIU AND KARAMANIA (ASIA MINOR)

By G. A. WAINWRIGHT

IN THIS ARTICLE it is argued once more that the Egyptian Keftiu was situated in Cilicia Tracheia, and not in Crete as has generally been supposed. For this there has already been adduced evidence drawn from many sources, and here still more, mainly cultural and historical, is added to the sum total. Some of this new evidence shows that certain features of the culture with which it deals are at home in Cilicia Tracheia and its neighbourhood, and that they have continued to exist there from ancient times right up to the present day. The thread that leads us onward is the story of an elaborate design.

In following out this clue explanations of other things have emerged, and it is now found that Keftiu was much more than a coastland, that Cilicia Tracheia on the south of the Taurus was not cut off from the plains north of the mountains, and that explains a curious figure in a painting of fourteenth century Egypt, and also a Greek translation of the name Caphtor. The result is to show that neither the ancient artist nor the learned translator of a thousand years later was so ignorant, as our own ignorance has enabled various scholars to think. In fact each turns out to have known his job.

The design in question is shown in fig. 1. It will be seen that it is no simple one that might have been invented in many places independently, but on the contrary it is complex and must have grown gradually. It is in Asia Minor that we have its precursors from which it is elaborated. It consists of a double pair of volutes each ending in spirals. The volutes have points on them, four, five or six. A palmette originally figured in the centre of each pair of volutes, either between the spirals or at the junction of each pair of volutes. Not unnaturally so elaborate a design as the palmette soon became simplified.



FIG. 1.

As often happens, our earliest record of the double pair of volutes comes from Egypt, but it is not native to that country. It entered Egypt along with several other new designs suddenly at the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty. After this it is only used occasionally in its original form and never became common.<sup>1</sup> The earliest example is painted on the ceiling of Hapzefi's tomb at Asyut,<sup>2</sup> which is not later than Senusret I

<sup>1</sup> Ceilings : Eighteenth or Nineteenth Dynasties ; Prisse d'Avennes, *Histoire de l'art égyptien* I, *Architecture, Plafonds*, 31st plate in the list though they are not numbered, figs. 4, 6, 7, 9 ; Twenty-Sixth Dynasty ; 34th plate of *op. cit.*, fig. 1. As is noted further on a development of the design is quite well-known on scarabs and amulets.

<sup>2</sup> Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson, *The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* (edn. Birch), i, Pl. viii, fig. 7, and p. 363 and note 4. It is a very imperfect copy and is not fully shown here, but I have myself observed the pattern on the ceiling.

(1969-1926 B.C.),<sup>1</sup> for his cartouche also appears in the paintings. The tomb itself is, however, earlier than this, for the picture with the cartouche is a palimpsest over an earlier inscription.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, without study on the spot it is impossible to say whether the design belongs to the earlier or later phase of the paintings. Other Middle Kingdom examples are that in Ukhhotep's tomb at Meir dating to Amenemhat II's reign (1927-1893 B.C.),<sup>3</sup> and that on Wahka B's ceiling at Qau under Amenemhat III (1837-1789 B.C.), fig. 1.<sup>4</sup> For some reason blue is the proper colour for the design. On each occasion the Twelfth Dynasty ones are blue,<sup>5</sup> and three out of the five later ones on the ceilings keep that colour, as does the pattern on the Keftiu kilt.<sup>6</sup> In the other two ceilings the pattern is left plain white, though the large spot round which the spirals turn is still blue. It is also to be noted, though the meaning is not yet clear, that all the three Twelfth Dynasty places are close together in Middle Egypt, where they centre on Asyut; Meir being scarcely 30 miles away to the north and Qau only some 27 miles to the south of that centre.

The design that was introduced into Egypt at the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty was a new one, and another example of the strong foreign influences that are apparent throughout the period and the one preceding it.<sup>7</sup> Its earliest appearance is in Hapzefi's tomb at Asyut, the plan of which is almost identical with those at Qau and the whole group is unique in Egypt.<sup>8</sup> It is in one of these unique tombs at Qau that the new design appears again, and in each case it appears with others that are equally new.<sup>9</sup> Its foreignness is emphasised by the palmettes which it includes, for at a later date at any rate, the Eighteenth Dynasty, they occur mostly on things which Egypt imported from abroad.<sup>10</sup>

It is only natural that there should be these foreign introductions in the Twelfth Dynasty, for the characteristic of the preceding period, the First Intermediate, was the flood of button seals which broke over the country and primarily over that very tract round about Asyut; mainly from Qau itself which, as has just been said, is no more than 27 miles away

<sup>1</sup> The dates are those of Edgerton in *JNES*, i (1942), p. 314. The overlap of Amenemhat II with Senusret I is not a mistake, but is the co-regency of the two.

<sup>2</sup> Griffith, *The Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr Rifeh*, Pl. 4, first marginal note.

<sup>3</sup> Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, iii, Pl. ix = xxviii on a larger scale and p. 15 for the king.

<sup>4</sup> Petrie, *Antaeopolis*, Pl. i, fig. 2, from which our fig. 1 is taken. For the date see Steindorff in Steckeweh, *Die Fürstengräber von Qâw*, p. 8 and the present writer's review of the two books in *JEA*, xxiv (1938), pp. 143 ff.

<sup>5</sup> In the 1837 and 1847 editions of Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs*, vol. ii, Pl. vii, fig. 7, Hapzefi's design is blue, not green as in the Birch edition.

<sup>6</sup> Nina M. Davies, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*, i, Pl. xxii. It shows itself a dark greenish colour to-day, but where the surface is broken away the original colour is seen to be a bright blue.

<sup>7</sup> It is hoped to elaborate this before long in a companion article.

<sup>8</sup> Compare the plans in Porter and Moss, *Bibliography*, iv, p. 260 Hapzefi, and v, p. 12 Qau.

<sup>9</sup> HAPZEFI, Wilkinson, *op. cit.* i, Pl. viii, figs. 4, 7, 20, facing p. 363; WAHKA B at Qau, Petrie, *Antaeopolis*, Pl. i.

<sup>10</sup> Davies in *JEA*, xxvii (1941), pp. 127 f.

to the south, and from Mostagedda and Matmar which are even nearer to Asyut than that.<sup>1</sup> These little objects are definitely non-Egyptian in origin and some of the devices they bear are already known from Asia. Further, in the Eighth Dynasty of this First Intermediate Period one of the kings bore the un-Egyptian but Semitic name of Telulu.<sup>2</sup> Four reigns earlier there had been a king with the strange name Khendu.<sup>3</sup>

Then again, shortly after Telulu and Khendu, the father of Merykaré at the end of the First Intermediate Period had been greatly concerned with keeping out the foreigners, who were intruding into the country.<sup>4</sup> In fact he built "a wall", or rather a series of fortresses, for that very purpose.<sup>5</sup> The gradual infiltration of Asiatics did not cease with the rise of the Twelfth Dynasty but continued on at least into the middle of that time. It was under Senusret II that the famous company of thirty-seven Asiatics led by their chief, Absha, were allowed into Egypt.<sup>6</sup>

It is important for this inquiry that the steady infiltration of these foreigners was taking place just before the introduction of the new design of the double pair of volutes. It is also important that it was at this time that the Egyptians first mentioned Keftiu.<sup>7</sup> Thus, it was at a time of intense foreign intercourse and soon after the Egyptians had come in contact with Keftiu and an Asiatic style of art that they learned of the pattern under discussion.<sup>8</sup>

Five hundred years later Keftiu enters the question once more. This time a man from there wears a kilt originally entirely patterned over with

<sup>1</sup> Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, i, Pls. xxxii, xxxiii; id., *Mostagedda*, Pls. lx, lxx, 14-17; id., *Matmar*, Pl. xxxiii.

<sup>2</sup> No. 49 of the Abydos List, Stock, *Die erste Zwischenzeit Ägyptens*, pp. 42, 43. If, as Stock seeks to establish, the Eighth Dynasty reigned at Abydos, it would be thoroughly in accord with conditions in Middle Egypt. But in reviewing his book Posener points out the difficulties of such a view, and falls back on the Manethonian tradition that the dynasty reigned at Memphis (Posener in *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, viii (1951), pp. 165-172).

<sup>3</sup> Stock, *loc. cit.*, No. 45 of the Abydos List.

<sup>4</sup> Scharff, *Der historische Abschnitt der Lehre für König Merikaré*, pp. 19-21.

<sup>5</sup> id., *op. cit.*, p. 20, l. 95 and note 61. Under the name of "The Wall of the Prince" it figures again in Erman, *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians* (tr. Blackman), p. 115, *The Prophecy of Neferrohu*, and p. 17, *The Story of Sinuhe*.

<sup>6</sup> Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, i, Pls. 28, 31 and p. 69, and for Absha and the donkey and for four of the women see Nina M. Davies, *op. cit.*, Pls. x, xi.

<sup>7</sup> Erman, *op. cit.*, p. 96, The Admonitions of Ipu-wer. The Egyptians had been getting "cedars" and their "oil or resin" from Keftiu. Actually it was juniper oil that was used for embalming (A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (3rd edn.), pp. 355, 358, for the resins see pp. 368 ff, and for the old-established loose use of the word "cedar" see p. 492, for the use of cedar wood see p. 489, and for juniper wood see p. 490). The sweet-scented *juniperus excelsa* still grows in Cilicia Tracheia (Schaffer, *Cilicia*, p. 51 (*Petermanns Mitteilungen, Ergänzungsheft*, Nr. 141, 1903). Kilindria, i.e. Chelindreh-Kelenderis, still exports timber and firewood besides other things (V. Guinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii, p. 80).

<sup>8</sup> This puts out of court Miss Kantor's claim that the design in Menkheperassenb cannot be taken seriously, and her further claim that the ignorant and careless artist just filled up his Keftiuan kilts with a chance lot of native Egyptian motifs collected from anywhere in the country (*AJA*, li (1947), p. 43). The article has been reprinted separately under the title *The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium B.C.* as No. iv of the *Series of Monographs on Archaeology and Fine Arts Sponsored by the Archaeological Institute of America and the College Art Association*, 1947.

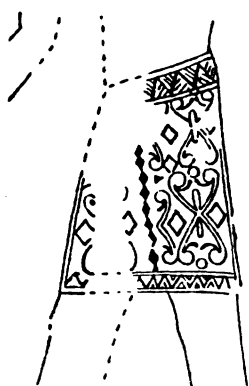


FIG. 2.

pairs of double volutes and their diamond-shaped space fillers, fig. 2.<sup>1</sup> This man is one of the tribute-bearers in the paintings of Menkheperresenb, which were executed in the latter part of Thutmosis III's reign,<sup>2</sup> and therefore rather before 1450 B.C.

Thus, in the Eighteenth Dynasty it is no longer a matter of deducing the foreign origin of the pattern as it was in the Twelfth Dynasty, for on this occasion it is being worn by a foreigner from the north coming down into Egypt. Moreover, that foreigner comes from the country that the Egyptians had discovered very shortly before they first learned of the new pattern under discussion. Keftiu is at present a still undiscovered land, but there is much evidence for its situation somewhere on the southern coastland of Asia Minor.

Asia Minor is a very likely place to produce a pattern based on a pair of spirals. Already by the end of Troy II a number of pieces of jewellery are decorated with gold wire twisted into this shape. Sometimes they turn inwards, sometimes they turn outwards, and sometimes both forms are combined in the one piece.<sup>3</sup> But specially important for the

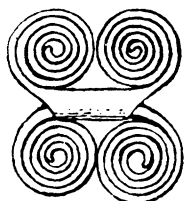


FIG. 3.

origin of the Keftiu double pair of spirals are the four ornaments of which three are figured by Schliemann in *Ilios*, pp. 489 f., nos. 836, 838, 853,<sup>4</sup> our fig. 3. These are just the double pair of in-turning spirals of Keftiu. All the above-named spirals come from the Great Treasure A of Troy II, and reasonably certainly from the last phase of the period, II, g.<sup>5</sup> This puts the date of the spirals to something not later than about 2300 B.C., which is the most recent estimate for the end of Troy II.<sup>6</sup> These ornaments, composed of a double pair of spirals, are not confined to Troy away at the north-western end of Asia Minor but are found in the centre also at Alaca Hüyük, at this same period.<sup>7</sup>

Outside Asia Minor and away to the east the ornament has been found

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 2 is taken from Nina and Norman de G. Davies, *The Tombs of Menkheperresenb, Amenmosē, and another*, Pl. v, top row, 3rd man. The pattern has often been published by students of Keftiu, for instance Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, ii, p. 745, fig. 480 b (where it is turned upside down) which is the most often used; Wainwright in *LAAA*, vi (1914), Pl. xv, fig. 17, etc., etc.

<sup>2</sup> Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 15 and *passim*. The usually accepted belief that Menkheperresenb was the son of Rekhmirē is not correct, p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Hubert Schmidt, *Heinrich Schliemann's Sammlung Trojanischer Altertümer*, nos. 6003, 6133, 6134 (Beilage ii) and 6401, and two others are shown by Schliemann in *Ilios*, p. 489, nos. 849, 850. Another was found by Blegen, Caskey, Rawson Sperling, *Troy*, i, fig. 356, 37-709, and p. 367.

<sup>4</sup> Schmidt, *op. cit.*, gives a sample one on p. 236, fig. d 5 (otherwise called no. 17), from which our fig. 3 is taken.

<sup>5</sup> Blegen and others, *op. cit.*, pp. 207, 210.

<sup>6</sup> Milojević in *BSA*, xlv (1949), p. 304; Schaeffer, *Stratigraphie comparée*, p. 292, calls this phase Troy III and puts it slightly later, 2300-2100 B.C.

<sup>7</sup> Schaeffer, *op. cit.*, fig. 176, no. 12.

at Brak in northern Mesopotamia and, once more, dating to the same period.<sup>1</sup> A whole necklace of these gold beads, as yet unpublished, is now in the Teheran Museum, having come from near Geoy Tepe in Azarbaijan, as Burton Brown kindly informs me. Later on the design has had a long vogue in these latitudes, for it is found again at Veri in the Caucasus in the Second Millennium, and at Mari on the middle Euphrates about 1300 B.C.<sup>2</sup> The simple form of the spirals is found again in Cyprus at the same time, Late Cypriote II, 1400–1200 B.C.<sup>3</sup> The design is stamped on a gold plate and is difficult to recognise at first because a number of isolated spirals are scattered about. When these are eliminated three pairs of double volutes stand out; one long one in the middle and one set up sideways at each end.

On the west the simple form of the pair of double volutes occurs on a vase from Cerigo (Kythera) which is considered to be probably of early M M I date.<sup>4</sup> It would, therefore, date to soon after 2100 B.C. In this case vertical pairs of volutes unite with horizontal pairs to form a row. The same arrangement is also to be seen once in Minoan Crete on a fragment of painted stucco which is later, being of the period M M Ib to M M II,<sup>5</sup> and, therefore, about 1850 B.C.

At Mycenae the same handsome pattern forms a framing to one of the stelae from the Shaft Graves,<sup>6</sup> and in Shaft Graves III, IV and V the double pair of volutes is found as an individual entity. At this site, therefore, the design dates to the century c. 1600–1500 B.C. But it always remained very rare, greatly though that people loved spirals and maeanders and produced them in many varieties. So rare is it that it does not appear at all in Karo's figures of such things and their construction.<sup>7</sup> In fact of the simple pattern there are only five examples all told in the plates,<sup>8</sup> of which one is nothing more than a second bead, thus reducing the independent members of the group to a mere four. To these must be

<sup>1</sup> Mallowan in *Iraq*, ix (1947), p. 171, no. 8. An important study of the pattern is made on this and the following pages.

<sup>2</sup> *id.*, *loc. cit.*, A number of other spiral decorations are studied resulting in the suggestion that spirals originated in northern Persia and came westwards.

<sup>3</sup> A. S. Murray and others, *Excavations in Cyprus* (Brit. Mus.), Pl. xi, 448, Tomb no. 79, and for the date Gjerstad, *Studies on Prehistoric Cyprus*, pp. 283, 287, 335.

<sup>4</sup> Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, ii (1), p. 208, fig. 117 B. For the probable date, to which Dr. Stais agrees, see pp. 199, 200. Kythera had considerable connections with the east at one time and another, and actually an oriental object had been imported there at the time of our vase. It bore the name of Naram-Sin son of Ibiq-Adad who were kings of Eshnunna in Mesopotamia about then (*JHS*, lix (1939), pp. 137 f; Wainwright in *Antiquity*, xviii (1944), pp. 59–60).

<sup>5</sup> Evans, *op. cit.* i, Pl. i, fig. k facing p. 231 = ii, p. 200, fig. 110 A, no. k. At this same time or slightly later the same design appears in Egypt on scarabs of the Twelfth to Thirteenth Dynasty Age, as for instance *id.*, *loc. cit.*, fig. 110 A, nos. c, d.

<sup>6</sup> Heurtley in *BSA*, xxv (1921–22; 1922–23), p. 139, fig. 32, no. aa. Nearly five hundred years later an elaborated version of this appeared on the ceiling of Imisibe's tomb at Thebes (for which see further, p. 43, note 2). This dates to the late Twentieth Dynasty and, therefore, to about 1100 B.C.

<sup>7</sup> G. Karo, *Die Schachtgräber von Mykenai*, Text, pp. 274–9, Figs. 108–123.

<sup>8</sup> *id.*, *op. cit.*, Pls. xxi, figs. 56, 57, and p. 52; xxxvii, fig. 234, and p. 73; lvi, figs. 649, 650, and p. 125.

added the development with the palmettes which figures alongside the ordinary simple design in no. 234 (Pl. xxxvii).<sup>1</sup> From Boeotia a simple pair of volutes is shown on a Late Mycenaean filler, 1400–1200 B.C., which comes from Livadia,<sup>2</sup> and no doubt was suggested by the development already seen in no. 234 from the Fourth Shaft Grave (fig. 4). Later again, a degradation from the developed form is to be seen on an amphora of the transitional time from the Geometric to the Orientalising style<sup>3</sup> or perhaps full Orientalising.

Apart from the single instance mentioned above the design does not seem to enter Crete in Minoan times at all, but to be very late in making its appearance there. Indeed, it is not before the Orientalising Period that I have succeeded in finding it in the island that is to say the seventh century B.C. The word "Orientalising" is significant, pointing back as it does to western Asia where the pattern had had a long history. Thus, we have it turned sideways on the fine pithos from Knossos of this Period.<sup>4</sup> This instance is exceptionally interesting in that the appendages, which will be discussed later (see pp. 41–2), reappear after having been lost to our view for some seven hundred and fifty years or more. They were last seen on the kilt of the Keftiu in the reign of Thutmosis III, c. 1450 B.C. Naturally in the course of centuries and change of locality they have been considerably modified and are now made to look like tendrils. Another of these late Knossian pithoi exhibits a quite new development of the pattern.<sup>5</sup> Yet another case of the pattern on one of these Cretan pithoi with orientalising details comes this time from Anopolis, where there are two of them side by side as they used to be on the ceilings of Egypt. They even have a memory of the diamond-shaped space-fillers between them, and between the spirals there is something which would represent a dim memory that something ought to be there, though it is quite forgotten that it should be palmettes.<sup>6</sup> At Anopolis again and on a

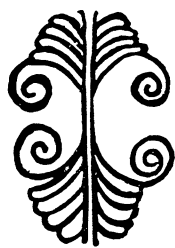


FIG. 4.



FIG. 5.

<sup>1</sup> The developed specimen in Karo's fig. 234 (our fig. 4) is specially interesting in showing what can happen to the design. Here the palmettes have been removed from within the volutes to the outside and then greatly enlarged. The whole design has then been turned sideways. Later on by some four hundred and fifty years this led to a beautiful descendant at Enkomi in Cyprus in the Late Cypriote III Period, c. 1200–1000 B.C. (see note 3, p. 40 and fig. 7). Karo's nos. 649, 650 (our fig. 5) exhibit yet another development of the design. In this case the palmettes have disappeared and each spiral is joined to its neighbour on the opposite volute by a swelling bow which arches over between the two. It is so exaggerated that it becomes the major part of the new pattern, quite over-powering the original pair of double volutes at the centre.

<sup>2</sup> E. Kunze, *Kretische Bronzereliefs*, p. 121, fig. 12.

<sup>3</sup> *id.*, *op. cit.*, p. 122, fig. 13b. The outside palmettes are represented by small triangles themselves representing the little conical cores from which the palmettes had at one time sprung. Similarly, large triangles are stood within the volutes where they represent the broad-based spikes which at Bor, for instance, fill the whole space.

<sup>4</sup> Payne in *BSA*, xxix (1927–28), Pl. xviii.

<sup>5</sup> *id.*, *op. cit.*, Pl. xxiii, fig. 2. The pithos is one of the latest of the polychrome series, p. 241, no. 51.

<sup>6</sup> Wide in *Mitt. kais. D. Arch. Inst., Athenische Abteilung*, xxii (1897), p. 243, figs. 13, 13a.

similar pithos of the same date we find the pattern in the original simple form known in Troy II.<sup>1</sup> One of the Palaikastro shields (no. 8) of about 650 B.C. is ornamented with the original simple form with nothing more added than the little conical core on the outside of the volutes which is the remains of the Enkomi palmette,<sup>2</sup> for which latter see p. 40 note 3, and fig. 7, but cf. also p. 43 note 2 and fig. 10.

Thus, the double pair of volutes had already spread into and all across Asia Minor<sup>3</sup> just before the Egyptians first discovered Keftiu and then very soon afterwards learned of the design. The earliest copy of it that they have left us dates to Senusret I's time (1969-1926 B.C.) or slightly earlier, and many hundreds of years before a slightly degraded form of it was woven into the kilt of Menkheperresenb's Keftiuan. On the other hand it is noteworthy that it did not appear in Mycenae until some four hundred years later than Senusret I's time, and then another nine hundred years had to pass before it appeared commonly in Crete and then only under orientalising influences. This must be born in mind by those who would identify Keftiu with that island.

On its first appearance in Egypt the pattern was more elaborate in its details than it had been originally or even than it later became on the Keftiuan's kilt. The volutes end in beautiful spirals. There is a palmette at the centre of each pair of volutes. It rises from the junction of the spirals in Hapzefi and Wahka B, as it does in all the later ceilings that show it, but in Ukhhotep it stands at the junction of each pair of volutes. Also there is in the Twelfth Dynasty a series of points on the inside of the volutes; five at Qau, three at Meir, and three or four at Asyut, though this latter drawing is very vague. It is interesting to note that, though lost on the New Kingdom examples,<sup>4</sup> the points are reproduced by the archaising Saitic artist. On the ceiling of Pedamenōpet's tomb of this date the design reappears with four points on the inside.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *id.*, *op. cit.*, p. 242, fig. 12a = Kunze, *Kretische Bronzereliefs*, p. 122, fig. 13a.

<sup>2</sup> Kunze, *op. cit.*, Pls. 21-23 and pp. 118 f. For the date see Benton in *BSA*, xxxix (1938-39), p. 62, and *id.* in *BSA*, xl (1939-40), pp. 53, 54, no. 14, for some more late examples of the design, and a discussion of the shield which is shown again on Pl. 25. I have to thank Miss Benton for a number of these references and for much help with the Orientalising Period.

<sup>3</sup> It no doubt originated far away to the east somewhere probably in the direction of northern Persia. There, in the remote past as for instance at Sialk III, patterns formed on spirals and hooks are common; the hooked diamond going back into Sialk II (Ghirshman, *Fouilles de Sialk*, i, p. 49, Pls. Frontispiece, 3, xii, etc., xiv, etc., lxxvi B, 22, and for Period II p. 28, fig. 3, no. 6. Sialk is close to Kashan). All of this is of the 'Ubaid Period, which is long before Jemdet Nasr (McCown, *The Comparative Stratigraphy of Early Iran*, Table ii at the end of the book), that is to say long before the Egyptian First Dynasty and 3000 B.C. In Sialk IV, which is of Jemdet Nasr date, there was a pin with a head of an elementary pair of outward turning spirals (Ghirshman, Pl. xxix, fig. 1, b) of which the pin of Troy II (Schliemann, *Ilios*, p. 489, no. 848) is a glorified derivative. Similarly, the Trojan pin, no. 849, seems to represent a memory of the "tree" of spirals of Sialk III (Ghirshman, Pls. Frontispiece, xii, etc.). But at Troy the spirals turn inwards whereas at Sialk they turn outwards.

<sup>4</sup> Prisse d'Avennes, *op. cit.*, Pl. 31, figs. 4, 6, and Texte, p. 368.

<sup>5</sup> *id.*, *op. cit.*, Pl. 34, fig. 1. The artist also reproduced the curious pattern something like an aeroplane within the diamond which seems to be peculiar to Qau. He also



On the Keftiuian's kilt much of this is changed and to some extent conforms to the fashion then in vogue. The spirals have degenerated into mere blobs much as on the New Kingdom ceilings where they curl round discs,<sup>1</sup> just as they do in the slightly earlier but very different development at Mycenae, fig. 5. The points have disappeared as on the New Kingdom ceilings. The diamond-shaped patterns at the side are filled in with smaller ones, again as on the ceilings.<sup>2</sup> It is the palmettes which have suffered the greatest change.<sup>3</sup> On the ceilings they have developed into a decorative pattern of a cross and dots. On the kilt, however, they have degenerated into mere bars and they are set at the junction of the volutes not at that of the spirals. This change of position had already taken place with the palmettes at Meir. The simplification from palmettes to plain bars and the placing of them at the junction of the volutes probably cannot be dissociated from another development of the pattern in which the bars are vastly exaggerated and duplicated, fig. 8. This, however, is another story with an interesting sequel.

The kilt shows appendages which hang from the heads of the volutes and, what is peculiar to it, a large spot below the base of the pattern. Presumably the appendages are a derivative of the points which originally adorned the inside of the volutes. Certainly a suggestion of both is to be

reproduced the surrounding spots which also appear at Qau, though unlike the pattern they appear at Asyut as well. Both details are lacking at Meir.

<sup>1</sup> *id.*, *op. cit.*, Pl. 31, figs. 4, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Davies only shows the pattern in outline in the publication from which fig. 2 is taken, hence does not show the filling of the diamonds. She shows it, however, in her large coloured copy, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*, i, Pl. xxii, which also shows the pitiable condition of the whole.



FIG. 6.

<sup>3</sup> As has already been seen and will be seen again, strange things happen to the palmettes. A crude, vague, memory of them, still inside the volutes, was common at Enkomi in Cyprus, fig. 6 (A. S. Murray and others, *op. cit.*, Pls. vi, 524, Tomb 93; viii, bottom right hand corner, Tomb 19; xi, 450, Tomb 79; xi, 192, Tomb 53 (from which our fig. 6 is taken), 367\*, Tomb 67) in the Late Cypriote II Period, which dates to 1400-1200 B.C. (Gjerstad, *op. cit.*, pp. 283, 287, 335). This design with its cross bars is no doubt also some sort of derivative from fig. 8 though all attempt at reproducing palmettes had disappeared from that.

Then, in the next Period, Late Cypriote III (1200-1000 B.C. or 1050 B.C. as Schaeffer puts it) we get a return to the original simple pattern, but with the palmettes so exaggerated that they can no longer find room inside the volutes but are pushed out beyond them.



FIG. 7.

The pattern still remains upright in its original position (Schaeffer, *Enkomi-Alasia*, Pl. xxxix, figs. 1, 2, pp. 170, 179). The same Period produced a beautiful development (fig. 7). Here the palmettes have been so enlarged that they have been moved round to the outside of the volutes and have blossomed out into the major part of the scheme (fig. 7 is taken from Murray and others, *op. cit.*, Pl. vii, 184, Tomb 45, and for the date see Gjerstad, *op. cit.*, pp. 284, 335). To accommodate the great palmettes the whole design is turned sideways, and so approximates the idea which had already been expressed in the Fourth Shaft Grave at Mycenae 450 years or so earlier (see note 1 p. 38, fig. 4). In that case the palmettes had still been naturalistic, but here at Enkomi they have become stylised. The palmettes spring

from a small conical core which in later days still remains long after the palmettes themselves had disappeared (see note 2 p. 43). The Enkomi development of one portion of the design until it overshadows the original basis of the whole is comparable to the other development at Mycenae which was recorded in note 1 p. 38, and fig. 5.

seen in fig. 8, which dates to the Second Intermediate Period, the time between the Twelfth and the Eighteenth Dynasties.<sup>1</sup> Is the large spot a vague memory of the row of spots surrounding the diamond-shaped space-fillers at Qau and Asyut, but which was sometimes lost on the ceilings.<sup>2</sup>

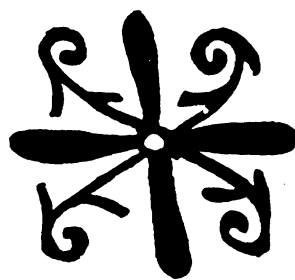


Fig. 8.

Thus, it has already appeared that the design lasted on in a simplified form in its homeland at least until the middle of the fifteenth century B.C. In fact it still exists there, if it be accepted that Keftiu lay somewhere on, or reached down to, the coast of southern Asia Minor in the neighbourhood of Cilicia Tracheia. In this country it even retains a feature that otherwise only appears in those examples of the twentieth century B.C. which Egypt has preserved to us. Apart from the archaising Saitic Period of Egypt it had been lost on the intermediate examples, though a memory of it is to be seen occasionally lingering in such examples as fig. 8 which should be compared with fig. 1. This feature which reappears in modern times is the row of points along the volutes, and it is in the country that used to be called Cilicia Tracheia that we find it.

These points may be seen to-day on certain *kelims* (tapestry-woven carpets). One day on asking a merchant in Cairo whence a certain one came that showed the double pair of volutes, I was interested to hear that it came from Karaman. On a later occasion, in 1924, the Orientalisches Kunstgewerbehaus in Vienna was exhibiting a *kelim* which showed this pattern and it was labelled "echt Karamanien". On the same visit the great Viennese carpet importers, Johann Backhausen Söhne told me that a *kelim* of theirs with the design had been bought in Asia Minor, though unfortunately I did not inquire more closely into its provenance. Not unnaturally the details of the pattern had again varied somewhat over the centuries. In one of these Viennese examples the palmettes had got reduced to a pair of triangles but were still within the volutes and at their junction, but on the other they had disappeared entirely. In each case moreover the row of points appeared which is most unusual for they had been lost to our view for long ages. In these modern *kelims* from Karamania, however, they had got round on to the outside instead of the inside as in the Twelfth Dynasty, but there were still four points in each row compared

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 8 is taken from Engelbach, *Harageh*, Pl. xxi, no. 143, and shows the appendages which, however, are generally omitted. As already mentioned on p. 38 the appendages are afterwards lost until the seventh century, when they reappear this time in Crete and as tendrils.

<sup>2</sup> Thus, if the otherwise "gaping blanks" of the Keftiu kilts were only filled up with "standard motives" of Egyptian art as Miss Kantor postulates (*op. cit.*, p. 43), this would have been an extraordinarily bad copy of such patterns, and a good example of the "extraordinary carelessness" and "surprising ignorance", etc., etc., which is too readily supposed to characterise the Egyptian artists' work. On the other hand I would suggest that in reality it is yet another version of what was evidently a "standard motive" of some Asiatic art which entered Asia Minor, Keftiu and Egypt.

with the five, three, and three or four to be seen in Twelfth Dynasty Egypt. The points were also on the outside on a *kelim* which used to be in the possession of Professor Newberry. The one that was labelled "echt Karamanien" had a little triangle in a different colour hanging from each spiral, and, therefore, much like the appendages on the Keftiu's kilt though the modern ones were white whereas the Keftiu's ones were red.<sup>1</sup> Seeing how many variations had been played in antiquity upon the original design, with its palmettes, it is not a little surprising to find so near an approach to the original in modern Karamania.

Thus, the pattern is evidently still characteristic of that part of Asia Minor to-day, just as anciently it was characteristic of Keftiu. Karaman is a town on the northern slopes of the Taurus Mountains, and three roads run from it through the mountains down into Cilicia Tracheia and so to the coast.<sup>2</sup> The ascent of the mountains is very gradual and easy.<sup>3</sup> The central road is the most important, for it dates at least from Roman times<sup>4</sup> and it was still by this route that the Sultan's couriers from Constantinople to Cyprus used to reach the coast, coming via Karaman to Chelindreh, the ancient Kelenderis.<sup>5</sup> The English traveller to Cyprus, Leake, also took the same road, and says that the natives reckoned the journey at 36 hours,<sup>6</sup> but Col. Stewart, however, reckoned it at 46.<sup>7</sup> The crossing to Cyprus from Kelenderis is evidently ancient, for Kinyras, founder of Paphos in Cyprus, was said to be the son of Sandokos, the founder of Kelenderis.<sup>8</sup> Hence, seeing how closely Karaman is connected with the coast, the name is applied in a general way to the coast-lands of Asia Minor from Mersina to Adalia,<sup>9</sup> that is to say of Cilicia Tracheia and Pamphylia.

<sup>1</sup> Nina M. Davies, *op. cit.*, Pl. xxii.

<sup>2</sup> W. M. Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 361, under the city's ancient name of Laranda, and map facing p. 330. The Christian inhabitants of Karaman still call their town Laranda, p. 336.

<sup>3</sup> Hogarth and Munro, *Modern and Ancient Roads in Eastern Asia Minor*, p. 645 f (*Roy Geogr. Soc., Supplementary Papers*, iii (1893), Pt. 5).

<sup>4</sup> Ramsay, *op. cit.*, p. 361.

<sup>5</sup> F. Beaufort, *Karamania* (1818), p. 209, who describes it as "a snug but very small port".

<sup>6</sup> W. M. Leake, *Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor* (1824), pp. 103, 118. He landed at Tzerina or Cerina (Turkish Ghirne), a small port on the north coast.

<sup>7</sup> Ramsay, *op. cit.*, p. 362.

<sup>8</sup> Apollodorus, iii, xiv, 3. He also says that Sandokos had come to Cilicia from Syria and married the daughter of the king of Hyria. According to Stephen of Byzantium (s.v) Hyria was the ancient name of Seleucia at the mouth of the Calycadnus. It is evidently at least as old as the eighth century B.C., for Sargon, having won a battle on the seashore, established a fortress at a place he calls Harrua at the far western end of Que, i.e. Cilicia Pedias (Forrer, *Die Provinzeinteilung des Assyrischen Reiches*, p. 71; Naster, *L'Asie mineure et l'Assyrie*, etc., p. 37 (*Bibliothèque du Muséon*, Louvain, 1938, vol. viii)). It has often been thought that the KRNTRYs which is named at Karatepe in the eighth century B.C. would have been Kelenderis in Cilicia Tracheia. But this need not have been so, for there proves to have been a place Kylandros in the valley of the Pyramus itself and, therefore, much nearer Karatepe than is Kelenderis (Isidore Levy in *Bull. de la classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques* (Ac. roy. de Belgique), 5e serie (1949), xxxv, p. 472). These inscriptions have already become the subject of a vast literature, a bibliography of which is published by Bossert and others, *Die Ausgrabungen auf dem Karatepe* (1950), pp. 76-83.

<sup>9</sup> *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.v., p. 744.

In between the two limits of fifteenth century B.C. Keftiu and twentieth century A.D. Karaman the pattern is to be found woven in, or less likely embroidered on, the tunic of the king at Bor.<sup>1</sup> This sculpture represents Urballa, king of Tyana, who was reigning about 740 B.C., for he was a contemporary of Tiglath-Pileser III, and there the pattern is turned sideways, the row of points is missing as on the Keftiuan kilt and so are the appendages, which however did figure on the kilt. On the other hand, there is a memory of the palmettes or bars within the volutes in the broad-based spikes which replace them. Outside there is the little conical core<sup>2</sup> which is all that is left of the splendid palmettes of Enkomi in Cyprus of about the twelfth century and therefore some three hundred and fifty years earlier (see fig. 7). Bor is about 85 miles east of Karaman.<sup>3</sup>

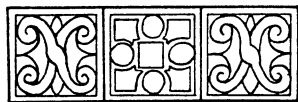


FIG. 9. Bor.

<sup>1</sup> Garstang, *The Land of the Hittites*, Pl. lvi facing p. 186, bottom row but one, or id., *The Hittite Empire*, Pl. xxxiii facing p. 162.

There is another case of a pattern lasting on in this neighbourhood almost indefinitely. This time it is one from Ivriz, a place about 50 miles from Bor. One of the patterns on the dress of the king there is a swastika of an unique shape, the four arms springing as they do, from a central bar instead of from a common centre (in the bottom row of the tunic). The identical pattern has been found again on a carpet bought at Konia, the modern capital of the district and about 95 miles away. The carpet is undoubtedly of local make for besides having been bought at Konia its knotting, colour scheme and severe geometrical design all indicate an Asia Minor origin (F. Sarre in *The Burlington Magazine*, xiv (Oct., 1908, to March, 1909), pp. 143-7 and plate). The carpet is no older than the eighteenth century, if as old, and the king at Ivriz whose tunic shows the pattern was reigning about 740 (Bossert, *Altanatolien*, p. 70 and note to no. 796). He is Urballa again, the same man as at Bor (Delaporte in *RHA*, iv (1936-38), pp. 138 f, and Pl. i shows the best photograph of the sculpture). The Ivriz monument, and probably also that of Bor before it was damaged, is of interest in another direction, for, the king's costume shows resemblances to that of a certain Keftiuan. The robe at Bor also has swastikas arranged in squares as at Ivriz. They are like those at Ivriz not only in the many turns they make, apparently five, but also in their position on the robe, which in each case is along the bottom edge. But so far as can be seen from the published photographs, the ones at Bor are of the normal construction and therefore to this extent unlike the others. The two sculptures may easily be compared in Garstang, *The Land of the Hittites*, Pls. lvi, lvii or in id., *The Hittite Empire*, Pls. xxxiii, xxxiv.

<sup>2</sup> As a matter of fact the disappearance of the palmette leaving only the little conical core and the removal of that to the outside of the volutes had already taken place at the very time of the splendid Enkomi palmette. This is dated to the Late Cypriote III Period, c. 1200-1000 B.C. (see p. 40 note 3) yet on the ceiling of Imisibe at Thebes in Egypt, fig. 10, the little conical core outside the volutes is already shown, though without filling the space between them as it should (Prisse d'Avennes, *op. cit.*, 31st Plate, fig. 5, and *Texte*, p. 368, where the owner is called Aïchesi. Our fig. 10 is taken from there). Imisibe lived towards the end of the Twentieth Dynasty and, therefore, about 1100 B.C. (Porter and Moss, *Bibliography* i, p. 94, No. 65). For further remarks on Imisibe's pattern see p. 37 note 6, and for Enkomi see p. 40 note 3. His pattern also shows the bands tying together the two pairs of volutes, which are so regularly seen in the late examples.

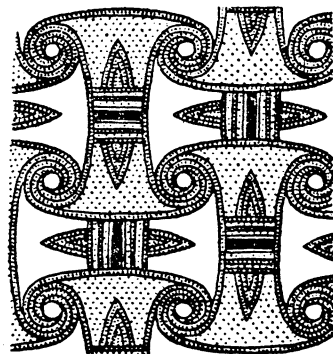


FIG. 10.

<sup>3</sup> At this time the design is well known away to the east. It decorates the crossbar of Ashur-nasir-pal's seat, 885-860 B.C. (Wallis Budge, *Assyrian Sculptures in the British*

The Egyptians knew of Keftiu merely as a coastland, just as we used to know the West Coast (of Africa). Hence, we also have thought of Keftiu as just a coastland. But any coastland must have a hinterland. It has just been shown here, and will be again shortly, that in later times at any rate the Keftiuan civilization extended inland across the Taurus Mountains into the plains of Lycaonia and Tyana and that the roads thither were easy. This is the same state of affairs as that reported by Strabo in classical times. He says that the country round Castabala, Cybistra and Derbe had belonged to Cilicia until given by the Romans to the king of Cappadocia. These are cities of the interior on the north side of the Taurus, and Derbe had belonged to Antipater the ληστής.<sup>1</sup> If this means "pirate", and not merely "robber", he would also have controlled the coast. We find the same conditions when the question is approached from the other direction, from the interior to the coast. Thus, in 712 B.C. Mita of Mushki, i.e. Midas of Phrygia, came down into Cilicia Tracheia and captured the city later known as Seleucia at the mouth of the Calycadnus. Sargon, who won it back after a battle on the sea-shore, calls it Ḫarrua, which is accepted as being Hyria an ancient name of that city.<sup>2</sup> Nineteen hundred years later another army followed in his footsteps. In A.D. 1190 Frederick Barbarossa led the Third Crusade from Karaman into and down the Calycadnus Valley only to meet his death by drowning in attempting to cross the river near Seleucia-Selefkeh.<sup>3</sup> In between these

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*Museum : Reign of Ashur-nasir-pal*, 885-860 B.C., Pl. xxxi). In this case, as in the others quoted here, the design is set upright as it should be, but the original internal palmettes or bars have been transformed into a binding holding the two pairs of volutes together as they were in the beautiful example from Enkomi in Cyprus of three hundred years earlier. The splendid palmettes of Enkomi have however disappeared and are now represented only by the little conical core on the outside of the volutes from which they originally sprang.

An actual seat from Assyria bears the same ornament in the same position (von Luschan, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, iv, p. 347, fig. 256) as do the lower cross-bars of Sennacherib's great throne of state, some hundred and seventy-five years later, Sennacherib having reigned from 705-681 B.C. (Kleinmann, *Assyrian Sculptures*, Pl. lxix = *A Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities : British Museum* (1922), Pl. xix and p. 49 where, however, the details are not clear). In between the two extremes of Cilicia on the west and Assyria on the east the Assyrian version of the design is seen on the cross-bar of another seat of the same sort as Ashur-nasir-pal's. This is the one used by Barrakub at Sendschirli (Sinjirli, Zincirli) about 730 B.C. (von Luschan, *op. cit.*, Pl. lx). It is conveniently reproduced by Bossert, *Altanatolien*, fig. 952 and references on p. 76). His footstool has it also in the same position.

The double pair of volutes were shown attached to a sort of tree on a Late Mycenaean vase from Livadia in Boeotia (E. Kunze, *Kretische Bronzereliefs*, p. 121, fig. 12). The idea of doing this sort of thing had, therefore, grown up by the period 1400-1200 B.C. Can there be some connection between the earlier pair of volutes and the much later double pair of horns so often bound in the same position to the sacred tree in Assyria, in the reign of Ashur-nasir-pal for instance (Wallis Budge, *op. cit.*, Pls. xi, xlii bottom, xliii, xlv, xlv).

<sup>1</sup> Strabo xii, i § 4 (tr. Loeb). He may well have been a pirate, for he was presumably living before Pompey suppressed these people in 67 B.C. Cicero was travelling in Asia Minor about 79 B.C., and twenty-five years later he speaks of the mutual hospitality and closest intimacy which he had with a certain Antipater of Derbe, when recommending him and his sons to Q. Philippus, proconsul of Asia, *ad Fam.*, xiii, 73.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 42, note 8.

<sup>3</sup> Baedeker, *Konstantinopel und Kleinasien* (1905), p. 166 ; *Encyclop. Brit.* (11th edn.), s.v. Frederick I, p. 46.

two extremes we have Archelaus, who was king of Greater Cappadocia. But when he was given Cilicia Tracheia <sup>1</sup> he actually established a royal residence on the island of Elaeussa <sup>2</sup> a little further to the east than Seleucia.

Probably the story of the Turkoman dynasty of Karaman-Oghlu in the Middle Ages gives the picture of the position. The whole area, and the city of Laranda-Karaman, takes its name from this dynasty. The ancestral home, continuing centre, and at times capital, of these Karamanids was the district of Germanicopolis-Ermenek in the middle valley of the Calycadnus River. Thence, they conquered not only Selefkeh-Seleucia at the mouth of the river but also came over the Taurus and conquered such places as Laranda-Karaman and even Konia. Laranda-Karaman seems to have become the principal royal residence.<sup>3</sup> This is just what Strabo had discovered (xiv, v § 6) many centuries before, for he says that the country in the neighbourhood of Cilicia Tracheia was by nature well adapted to robbery "on account of the greatness (extent, presumably) of the mountains, and the peoples situated beyond them who occupy plains and large tracts of cultivated land which are easily overrun".<sup>4</sup> Thus, though so very different a country and apparently so cut off from Cilicia Tracheia, the inland plains on the northern side of the Taurus are in fact closely connected with the south. In fact so close is the connection that the country at the junction of the Calycadnus and the Alata Su sends its early grapes right up to Konia (Iconium),<sup>5</sup> and the not far distant Khadem Valley is the summer resort of the Vali of Konia.<sup>6</sup>

Yet again, Cilicia Tracheia must not be thought of as a barren hopeless tangle of mountains. Mountainous it certainly is with gorges and abysses in plenty, but many of the travellers speak of the splendour of its forests and the fertility of its valleys. In classical times at any rate the country was thickly populated, as the numerous ruins and cemeteries attest; whether in the plains of Mut-Claudiopolis and Ermenek-Germanicopolis in the interior or at Selefkeh-Seleucia in the delta of the Calycadnus River or at Korykos on the coast or at Olba inland therefrom. Indeed, Hogarth describes the area bounded by these latter places as "this wonderful land of the dead" and says that it will become a place to be visited by those who "travel to see the marvellous".<sup>7</sup> Bent says of the district "until the tenth century of our era it was probably one of the most flourishing corners of the world".<sup>8</sup> Moreover, the coast itself is dotted with the ruins of cities.

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<sup>1</sup> See further p. 46, note 6 for some information apropos of Greater Cappadocia and its bearing on the Septuagint rendering of the Hebrew Caphtor by Cappadocia.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, xiv, v § 6.

<sup>3</sup> *E.I.*, s.v. *Karaman-Oghlu*.

<sup>4</sup> Strabo also tells us (xii, vi § 2; xiv, iii § 3) that Isaura was a robber stronghold. It is in the mountains close to the upper course of the Calycadnus River.

<sup>5</sup> Sterrett, *The Wolfe Expedition to Asia Minor*, p. 51 (*Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, iii).

<sup>6</sup> *id.*, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

<sup>7</sup> Hogarth, *op. cit.*, p. 654.

<sup>8</sup> Bent in *Proc. R. Geogr. Soc.*, 1890 (New Series xii), p. 445. J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, iv (Adonis, Attis, Osiris), 2nd edn., pp. 116 ff, gives an account of Cilicia Tracheia and a bibliography.



FIG. 11.

Thus, there were intimate connections between the coastland and its hinterland in the interior of Asia Minor, just as it has been shown elsewhere that as late as classical times Keftiu names lasted on in such inland places as Isauria, Lycaonia and Pisidia.<sup>1</sup> These are all on the periphery of the Hittite world. It is no doubt this which explains the peculiarities of Amenhotep III's Keftiu (fig. 11), c. 1400 B.C. Much might be said about his costume, but here we must confine ourselves to noting that it shows resemblances to some Hittite ones and to the much later ones of Bor and Ivriz, again on the periphery of the

Hittite world. Davies is thoroughly justified when, in criticising the figure as a supposed Cretan, he says "the man might be worth study if he had been presented as a Hittite".<sup>2</sup>

Since Keftiu evidently lay somewhere along the country of Cilicia Tracheia and Pamphylia, it occupied a somewhat similar position to that now given to Arzawa.<sup>3</sup> The centre of this latter country seems to have been in Pisidia whence it extended southwards and south-westwards into Pamphylia and Lycia.<sup>4</sup> It was much more than a coastland country, for it is known to have reached over the Taurus to the inland plains on the north, where its boundary ran through Tuwanuwa-Tyana and then to Uda-Hyde<sup>5</sup> a place about 35 miles north of Karaman. Arzawa's activities and history would, thus, have been very like those of the mediaeval Karamanids centred on the neighbouring and similar country of inner Cilicia Tracheia.

Similarly we have evidence that, at a later time at any rate, Keftiu civilization stretched inland up from the coastlands to the plains on the north of Taurus, to Karaman-Laranda, and to Bor and Ivriz. Bor is only a few miles from Tyana on the frontier between Arzawa and the Hittite country, that is to say Cappadocia,<sup>6</sup> and the other end of all this country adjoins the aforementioned countries of Lycaonia, Isauria and Pisidia.

<sup>1</sup> Wainwright in *JEA*, xvii (1931), pp. 31-38; id. in *AJA*, lvi (1952), pp. 200-203.

<sup>2</sup> N. de G. Davies in *Bull. Metrop. Mus. of Art*, Nov. 1929, *The Egyptian Expedition*, 1928-29, pp. 38, 39.

<sup>3</sup> Garstang in *LAAA.*, x (1923), pp. 21-26 and maps; id., *Index of Hittite Names* (*Brit. Sch. of Arch. in Jerusalem, Supplementary Papers*, i, 1923), pp. 7, 8; Götze, *Kleinasien*, pp. 53, 94, 168 and map at the end; id., *Kizzuwatna and the Problem of Hittite Geography*, map at the end of the book.

<sup>4</sup> Garstang in *Belleten*, v (1941), p. 36; id. in *AJA*, xlvii (1943), p. 40 and map.

<sup>5</sup> Garstang, *Index*, p. 8; id. in *AJA*, xlvii (1943), p. 39, and for the text see Goetze, *Kizzuwatna*, p. 22.

<sup>6</sup> It will be remembered that the Septuagint equates Caphtor with Cappadocia. The time of the translators was that of Greater Cappadocia which included Dana-Tyana

Here we are faced with the strange fact that well known as Keftiu-Caphtor-Kaptara was to countries on the south and south-east, nothing in the nature of such a name has yet been found in the Hittite records on the north. Perhaps the explanation may be as follows. Arzawa was an important kingdom powerful enough in the time of Amenhotep III to

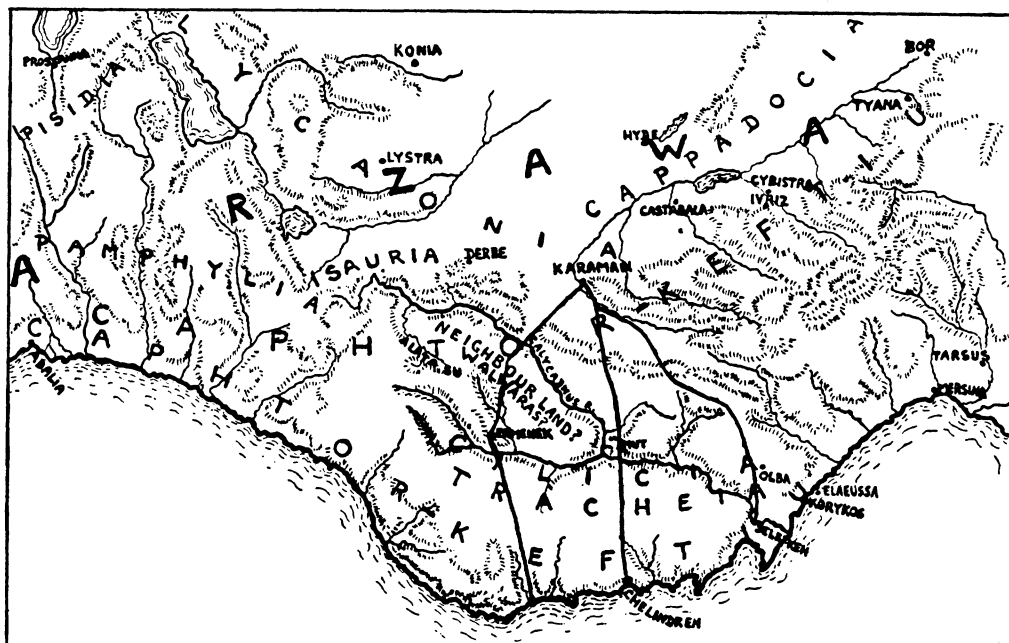


FIG. 12. Map showing proposed location.

make war on the Hittite Great King<sup>1</sup> and to correspond with the Pharaoh on equal terms.<sup>2</sup> It had many satellites, so that "the Arzawa countries" are often spoken of. Those of which the position is roughly established, Mira, Kuwaliya, Hapalla (?) and the Lands of the River Şeha, are all inland and north of the Taurus<sup>3</sup> and therefore well known to the Hittites. On the contrary Keftiu-Caphtor, as at present known to us, was a coastland<sup>4</sup>

(Xenophon, *Anabasis*, i, ii) and this was still one of the prefectures of that kingdom in the time of Archelaus and his predecessors (Strabo, xii, i, § 4), presumably therefore from 350 B.C. onwards. Strabo also says that in his time (about the turn of our era) Cappadocia was bounded by Lycaonia and Cilicia Tracheia (xii, i, § 1). There was evidently good reason for the equation, Caphtor = Cappadocia.

<sup>1</sup> Goetze, *op. cit.*, p. 22. This was in the reign of Tudhaliyas III (p. 24), and therefore about 1400 B.C., and so in the time of Amenhotep III (Bossert, *Altanatolien*, the Conspectus of dates inserted after p. 48).

<sup>2</sup> J. A. Knudtzon, *Die el-Amarna-Tafeln*, Letters nos. 31, 32. No. 31 is translated on pp. 271 ff, and no. 32 by Hrozný in *JA*, ccxviii (1931), pp. 307-320.

<sup>3</sup> Götze, *Kleinasiens*, pp. 119, 168 f, map at the end; *Kizzuwatna*, map at the end. Except Hapalla they are all somewhere off the map to the north, north-west and west, it being apparently agreed that the Şeha River is the Maeander on the north of Caria. Hitherto Hapalla has been grouped with Mira and Kuwaliya but now Garstang (*Belleten*, v (1941), and p. 34, 36 and map; id. in *AJA*, xlvii (1943), p. 39 and map) finds reason for putting it on the coast of Pamphylia where Arzawa used to be put and for moving Arzawa westwards.

<sup>4</sup> Ships sailed north from Egypt to Keftiu, and Caphtor is described as an *ai*, a word



and, therefore, on the other side of Taurus, and so quite outside the purview of the Hittites.<sup>1</sup> Any Keftiuans they may have encountered in the Arzawan army would merely have been Arzawans to them. Support for such a view is to be found in the mention in the Hittite records of "The Neighbour Land" a nameless country, and it is interesting that Garstang finds reason to suppose that it would probably have comprised the upper basin of the Calycadnus River.<sup>2</sup>

But on the other hand it was Keftiu, the southern coastland, rather than the more westerly and mainly inland Arzawa that was known to the Egyptians from of old. It was only later on, in the time of Amenhotep III, that they began to hear of Arzawa.<sup>3</sup> This was also the very time that the strangely dressed Keftiuian appeared in Egypt. On the one hand he is dressed in a fashion different from that of the coastal Keftiuans who are so well known; on the other hand he is dressed very much in the fashion of the interior. Is not the answer to the problem that the man came from the hinterland of Keftiu, i.e. either from the mountainous country of inner Cilicia Tracheia and its neighbourhood, or else from beyond the Taurus?

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meaning "coast, region, border" and finally "islands" (Brown, Driver and Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon*, pp. 15, 16). The Kaptara trade, so well known at Mari on the middle Euphrates, would also have come by sea as far as the Syrian coast, and not by the difficult, and no doubt dangerous mountain country of the interior. Moreover, Furumark points out that Cretan influence is non-existent at Mari, hence the Kaptara trade could not have come from Crete. (*Opuscula Archaeologica*, vi (1950) pp. 216, 243.)

<sup>1</sup> While of itself the Taurus forms no very serious barrier, it does divide two very different countries the one from the other. It is an obvious and natural division as has been recognised throughout the ages. Strabo (xiv, v § 1) speaks of Cilicia, both Tracheia and Pedias, as being "outside the Taurus". On the other hand the Turks speak of the Cilician coast as *Itshili* "the Interior Country" as lying within or behind the mountains, W. M. Leake, *Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor* (1824), p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> Garstang in *JNES*, iii (1944), pp. 27, 36. It may be the country otherwise called Walwaras which Hattusil could not hold.

<sup>3</sup> It was also the time that the Egyptians began to hear of other new peoples, such as the Danuna, Lukki, and Shirdani who like Arzawa first appear in the Tell el Amarna Letters.