

Some Philistine Names from the Kingdom of Gaza

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THE ethnic components of the population of Philistia have remained enigmatic. The Philistine names known from the Bible, such as Achish and Goliath, have been taken as Indo-European and compared with Anchises (Ἀγκίσσης) and Alyattes (Ἀλυάττης), while the names of later Philistine rulers recorded in Assyrian sources, such as Šidqa, Padi, Ḥanun and Mitinti, show that the Canaanite element was dominant in the local population. The recent publication of two ostraca from Tell Jemmeh by Naveh¹ has enabled us to look into the ethnic make-up as well as the social structure of the major Philistine kingdom of Gaza, prior to the Assyrian occupation of Sargon II in 734 B.C.E. or that of Sennacherib at the end of the century. Since the ostraca were found in a stratum which dated from the time *before* the Assyrian vaulted buildings were constructed, it may be presumed that they belong to the period which preceded the Assyrian occupation of Philistia.² Of the two ostraca published, IDAM 84–207 and IDAM 84–208, the former is a short ration list of the usual type, although its names are peculiar, while IDAM 84–208 is a census or recruiting list of eight persons. Since this list is the more important of the two, a transcription is given here:

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|---------------------|--------------|
| 1. 1-hrš.bnkš [...] | 5. rkh.šmš |
| 2. wnnt.adnš | 6. b'1'.yymš |
| 3. š1m.anš | 7. ntn.ppš |
| 4. b'1šm'.šgš | 8. ṭb.š1[š] |

Naveh, who has already noted that the second-placed names have a *š/s* ending, came to no conclusion as to whether the language of the document was Semitic or not.

I believe that the document follows the form common in the Iron Age: X son of Y, a possibility already discussed by Naveh.³ The missing word in the first line, by analogy with the ostracon found at Tel 'Ira, might be *mpqd*, 'census'.⁴ The language

¹ J. Naveh: *Writing and Scripts in Seventh-Century B.C.E. Philistia: The New Evidence from Tell Jemmeh*, *IEJ* 35 (1985), pp. 8–21.

² *Ibid.*, p. 11.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 13–14.

⁴ I. Beit Arieh: *A First Temple Period Census Document*, *PEQ* 115 (1983), pp. 105–108.

in which the ostracon was written would thus be Semitic, in the sense that the syntactic structure behind the document is that of a Semitic dialect, which I will try to specify later (p. 24).

Of prime importance in the following discussion is the *-š/s* ending of the second names which defines them as belonging to the Indo-European group. If the names belong to the Anatolian or Aegean group of languages, this ending would indicate either the nominative or genitive case: here, we propose the genitive.

Line 1: The two first names, *hrš* son of *kš*, are not Semitic. The last name could be identified with *Kis(u)*, one of the two Cypriot names already referred to by Naveh,⁵ while it is tempting to see in *hrš* a second Cypriot name, transcribed *Erisu* by the Assyrian scribe.⁶

Line 2: *Wnnt* (of the) *Adon(i)s*. The first name may be Egyptian. Ranke refers to *wnn.t* as a woman's name of the Middle Kingdom.⁷ That such a name would survive into the eighth century B.C.E. is difficult to believe, although an Egyptian name in the southern part of Philistia would not be at all surprising. *Adon(i)s* on the other hand looks like the addition of the case-ending *-s* to the Semitic *'adon*. This phenomenon is quite common in Semitic names during the Hellenistic period: its occurrence here shows a tendency to standardize all the second names.

Line 3: *Šalum* (of the) *Annaš*. The first name is a common Semitic name from the root *šlm*;⁸ the second, however, is clearly an Anatolian name of which we possess both masculine and feminine forms. The feminine form is usually identified with the Anatolian word for 'mother'. It might be noted that a West Luwian (Arzawian) bears this name.⁹

Line 4: *Ba'īšamē* (of the) *Šaggaš*. I prefer to assume that this is a hypocoristicon of the divine name *Ba'al Šamēm* instead of Naveh's suggestion *B'al-Šama'* ('Baal has heard'), with a shift of an *'ayin* to an *'aleph*. Admittedly this shift could be expected in a Semitic language under the influence of an Indo-European language.¹⁰ *Šaggaš* has

⁵ Naveh (above, n. 1), p. 14, n. 17.

⁶ See *ANET*, p. 291.

⁷ H. Ranke: *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, Glückstadt, 1935, p. 79. A Mycenaean etymology for the name is also possible; for example, the most common name at Pylos was *Wa-na-ta-jo*, cf. Margareta Lindberg: *The People of Pylos*, Uppsala, 1973, pp. 124–125.

⁸ The name is frequently found in Phoenician and Punic inscriptions; see F.L. Benz: *Personal Names in Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions*, Rome, 1972, p. 180.

⁹ E. Laroche: *Les Noms des Hittites*, Paris, 1966 and Supplement in *Hethitica* 4 (1981), pp. 3–58, Nos. 57, 58 and p. 240, where Laroche refers to this type of a name as a monosyllabic base, consonant + a.

¹⁰ There are some cases in Punic, which is not surprising; see Benz (above, n. 8), p. 100, s.v. *B'LSM'*. If Naveh is right, the Tell Jemmeh eighth century specimen would be the earliest yet recorded example of such a shift.

no direct Anatolian parallel, but the element *šag/k* appears in Hittite and hieroglyphic Luwian names.¹¹

Line 5: Rekah (of the) Šam'aš. The first name is clearly Semitic; its biblical form was preserved in 1 Chron. 4:12. The name Šam'aš has as yet no etymology.

Line 6: Ba'la' (of the) Iyamaš. The first name is again clearly Semitic, probably Phoenician, of the type with an affirmative *'aleph*.¹² Iyamaš is possibly another Anatolian name. The element *iya-* (to make, do) exists in all second and first millennia Anatolian onomastica.¹³ In Hittite it probably appears in names like Iya-lai, Iya-liya, Iya-šala.¹⁴

Line 7: Natan (of the) Papaš. There is no need to comment on the first name;¹⁵ the second name is one of the most common Anatolian and Mycenaean names, and as observed by Laroche, is a *Lallwort* for 'Father'.¹⁶

Line 8: Ṭobi (of the) Šal[iš?]. The first name is a hypocoristic form of a common name Ṭob + a divine name, a form quite frequent in Hebrew but very rare in Phoenician.¹⁷ The last letter of the second name is missing, but can be restored by analogy with the other names as *-š/s*. If this last name is also of Anatolian origin, it might be a derivative of the Hittite adjective *šalli*, 'great'.¹⁸

As we have already observed, some of the second names of ostrakon IDAM 84-208 might be identified as Anatolian, belonging to the Hittite-Luwian sphere. The possible affiliation with Mycenaean or Cypriot cannot be excluded, although the evidence for such a connection is very scanty. The most distinctive feature of the names of this ostrakon is that the Semitic names are always written first, whereas the Indo-European ones are in second place. As noted above, Naveh

¹¹ Laroche (above, n. 9), Nos. 1078–1086.

¹² For this typical hypocoristic termination, see the many examples presented by Benz (above, n. 8), pp. 240–241.

¹³ J. Tischler: *Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar*, Innsbruck, 1984, p. 340.

¹⁴ Laroche (above, n. 9), Nos. 426–427, 439. For the divine name Ma in the first millennium Anatolian onomasticon, see L. Zgusta: *Anatolische Personennamensippen*, Supplement, Prague, 1970, §§ 831–840, pp. 52–53. But see *ibid.*, I, § 23, pp. 157–172.

¹⁵ This name is definitely not Phoenician but belongs to the Hebrew sphere.

¹⁶ Laroche (above, n. 9), No. 931 and p. 240. For its appearance in the Knossos tablets, see J. Chadwick, T. Killen and J.P. Olivier: *The Knossos Tablets*, I–IV, Cambridge, 1956–1971, s.v. *Pa-pa-jo* and *Pa-pa-so*. For the late Anatolian form, see Zgusta (above, n. 14), I, § 19, p. 21.

¹⁷ There is not a single reference to this in Benz (above, n. 8).

¹⁸ One should note that hieroglyphic Luwian has *ura* instead of Hittite *šalli* (J. Friedrich: *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg, 1952, p. 179, s.v. *šalli*; E. Laroche: *Les Hiéroglyphes Hittites*, Paris, 1960, pp. 190–192; idem, *Dictionnaire de la langue Louvite*, Paris, 1959, p. 102. This, however, does not exclude *šalli-* in West Luwian or other dialects.

has already suggested the possibility that this reflects the form 'X son of Y', although the word 'son' is omitted.¹⁹ What lies behind this strange affiliation, which points to the bearer of the Semitic name as a descendant of the Indo-European one?

It seems that we might have here a phenomenon which is common in an emigrant society: the clan's name is preserved in its original form, while the 'first' name usually conforms to current fashions or cultural influence. In late eighth century Philistia, the first name is Canaanite or Hebrew,²⁰ like Natan, Rekah or Ṭobi on one hand, or Phoenician like Ba'lšaṁ, B'ala' and Šalum on the other.

An analogy from approximately the same period is known from Cilicia: Azatiwatas king of the Danuna (dnnym) refers to the house of Mopsos (Phoenician *bt Mps̄*, hieroglyphic Luwian *Mu-ka-sa-sa-n DOMUS-ni-i*) as his patronymic.²¹ Mopsos (Moksos),²² a freebooter from the West, is referred to in several legends in connection with the 'Age of Migrations' soon after the Trojan War. Mopsos was the founder of the oracle of Colophon in western Asia Minor and was later involved in the foundation of Mallus in Cilicia.²³

It seems that the affiliation of Azatiwatas to the heroic figure of Mopsos over four hundred years after the period in which he presumably was active, shows that the tradition of clan names was still very strong in the eighth century B.C.E. If we accept the suggestions presented above, we may draw the following socio-cultural conclusion: the list of names represented on ostrakon IDAM 84–208 from Tell Jemmeh sheds light on the ethnic composition of Philistine society during the late eighth century B.C.E. These names are composed of two parts: the first is usually Semitic, and the second preserves the clan's name, which survives in its Indo-European form.

The clan names which have been identified point towards Anatolia as their place of origin, but it would be rash to try to define this more precisely. Western Anatolia of the late thirteenth-early twelfth centuries would be a suitable place of origin for the bearers of these names, but the few examples discussed cannot support such a far-reaching statement.²⁴

¹⁹ Naveh (above, n. 1), p. 13, n. 16, has already referred to other examples of this phenomenon.

²⁰ I prefer to define the non-Phoenician, i.e. south-coastal and inland people, as Hebrew-Canaanites. Their personal names must have gone through a different development from that of the Phoenicians, as a result of differences in religion and political organization.

²¹ For the Phoenician text, see H. Donner and W. Röllig: *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*, I, Wiesbaden, 1966, pp. 5–6; for the hieroglyphic Luwian, see P. Meriggi; *Manuale di Eteo Geroglifico*, III, Rome, 1967, p. 77. For the new reading of the name Azatiwatas, see J.D. Hawkins, Anna Morpugo-Davies and G. Neumann: *Hittite Hieroglyphs and Luwian: New Evidence for the Connection*, Göttingen, 1973, § 2.3.7.2 (= pp. 162–173).

²² For the various connections and relations of this hero see R.D. Barnett: Mopsus, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 73 (1953), pp. 140–142. For the sound shift of the Mycenaean labio-velar in *mo-ḡo-so* to Μόφος (not a Mycenaean-Greek name, though it appears in the Mycenaean tablets) see J.T. Hooker: *Linear B, an Introduction*, Bristol, 1980, § 96, p. 47.

²³ Strabo, *Geography*, VI, 235, 325.

²⁴ For the Anatolian origin of the 'Sea People' see A. Goetze: Cilicians, *JCS* 16 (1962), p. 50; W.F.

The phenomenon was probably shared by all descendants of the wandering 'Sea Peoples'. As they were a conglomerate of several Aegean-West Anatolian tribes, they tended to retain their affiliation to their earlier ancestors and clans: Azatiwatas, who bore a Luwian first name, harked back to his *pater eponymus* Mopsos/Moksos in his second name. A similar case of an emigrating clan is recalled in the stories of the Heraclids: one of them, Tlepolemos of Argos, had to flee to the island of Rhodes, where he settled and founded the cities of Lindos, Ialysos and Cameiros.²⁵ It is not at all surprising that some of the Philistine kings (except for Ekaus = Achish? of Ekron) appear in Assyrian documents bearing Semitic names, since the tendency of the upper classes and royal houses to adopt names of the dominant contemporary culture is a well-attested phenomenon. It is emphasized in Philistia during the period of Assyrian rule, when the kings of Gaza and Ashdod adopted typical Assyrian names: Šil-Bêl and Šarruludari.

During the eighth century B.C.E. Philistia was culturally influenced by its two strong neighbours, Phoenicia and Judea. This is shown by the Semitic names on the ostrakon discussed here, and has already been demonstrated by Naveh from the script.²⁶ How much of the old Aegean/ West-Anatolian cultural tradition was really retained in this society is still an enigma. The language of the people of Philistia was, as attested by the ostrakon, Semitic, but probably retained traces of an Indo-European dialect. Did this language preserve the case endings, for example, and was Natan Papas actually Natan of the Papa, with the -š designating the genitive case? These questions are still unanswerable,²⁷ and will remain so until more epigraphic material is available. That the language of Philistia was different from the rest of the Semitic dialects spoken in Palestine even as late as in the Persian period is clear from the passage in Nehemiah 13:24.

Albright in *Cambridge Ancient History*, II, Ch. 33; G.A. Lehmann: Die 'Seevölker' — Herrschaft an der Levanteküste, *Jahresbericht des Instituts für Vorgeschichte der Universität Frankfurt a. M.*, 1976, pp. 82–83, 97.

²⁵ Homer, *Iliad*, II, 653-670; Diodorus Siculus, Book IV, § 58; *PWRE*, VIII s.v. Herakleidai, pp. 444-448. It is of interest to note that Lindos and Ialysos were settled during the twelfth century B.C.E. by 'Sea People'.

²⁶ Naveh (above, n. 1), pp. 14-15.

²⁷ In the second ostrakon (IDAM 84-207), line 2 reads *klytbš*, which should be analysed as *kł + ytb* (verbal form) + -š, ending in a similar way to Adon(i)s. The other two names, *qsryh* and *bršyh*, have a typical -yh ending, which has a long history in Semitic personal names. Both names could be hypocoristic.