



Endnotes for *Literary Parallels Between Homer and the Biblical Philistines*

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Notes

¹ All Bible citations are from *The New JPS Translation*, 2nd ed.; all Homeric citations are from the Loeb Classical Library.

² Michael Astour, "Second Millennium BC Cypriot and Cretan Onomastica Reconsidered," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 84 (1964), 248, n. 103; R.D. Barnett, "The Sea Peoples," in I.E.S. Edwards et al., eds., *The History of the Middle East and the Aegean Region, c. 1380–1000 BC*, vol. 2, no. 2 of *Cambridge Ancient History*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge University Press, 1975), 375.

³ Astour, "Second Millennium BC," 249, n. 109.

⁴ Kenneth A. Kitchen, "The Philistines," in D.J. Wiseman, ed., *Peoples of Old Testament Times* (Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1973), 54.

⁵ "The Religion of the Canaanites," in V.T.A. Ferm, ed., *Forgotten Religions* (Freeport, NY: Books for Library Press, 1970), 124. This island, near the Peloponnese, is mentioned by Herodotus (*Histories* 3.45). The fact that Carpathos is a single island may be why Jeremiah 47:4 uses the singular "the island of Caphtor."

⁶ In the ancient Near East, linen was considered a fabric worthy of the aristocracy, exemplified by the fact that it was used to mummify pharaohs. A passage of Egyptian wisdom literature called the Harper's Song (3rd millennium BCE) instructs the listener to enjoy the finest luxuries in life: "Put myrrh on your head,/Dress in fine linen,/Anoint yourself with oils fit for a god" (Karel van der Toorn, "Did Ecclesiastes Copy Gilgamesh?" *Bible Review* 16:1 [2000], p. 26). The Hittite king Hattushili III (13th century) mentions "the silver and the linen which I have given to the physician" (Kathleen R. Mineck et al., "Hittite Historical Texts II," in Mark W. Chavalas, ed., *The Ancient Near East: Historical Sources in Translation* [Oxford: Blackwell, 2006], 278). Assyrian king Ashurnasirpal II (ninth century BCE) received tribute that included "silver . . . gold . . . [and] multicolored linen garments" (Sarah C. Melville et al., "Neo-Assyrian and Syro-Palestinian Texts I," in Chavalas, 288). The only biblical episode that resembles the Samson incident is that in which Joseph, now vizier of Egypt, supplies his brothers with provisions for the journey back to Canaan to collect their father, including a change of clothing for each of them (Gn 45:21–22). However, the passage does not specify if the garments were particularly luxurious, and no economic barter was involved.

⁷ Barnett, "The Sea Peoples," 373; Trude Dothan and Moshe Dothan, *People of the Sea: The Search for the Philistines* (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 10.

⁸ Even the Trojan-born Aeneas is portrayed as having been steeped in this peculiarly Aegean form of combat. First, he challenges a native Italian warrior-prince, Turnus, to single combat (*Aeneid* 11.434–35, 440–42); following this, Book 12 recounts in vivid detail the fight between the two while their respective armies look on (12.697–790, 887ff.).

⁹ "Archaeology and the Study of Cultural Diversity," in A. Biran and J. Aviram, eds., *Biblical Archaeology Today 1990* (Jerusalem: Keter Press, 1993), 724. This author had the honor of personally attending one of her lectures during his participation on the Ashkelon dig.

¹⁰ *People of the Sea*, 48–49. Moreover, according to R.D. Barnett, writing in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, scholars "see in the challenge to single combat between David and the Philistine champion Goliath a typically European, Hellenic idea" ("The Sea Peoples," 373).

¹¹ *Greece in the Bronze Age* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1964), 135.

¹² Nancy K. Sandars, *The Sea Peoples: Warriors of the Ancient Mediterranean 1250–1150 BC* (London: Thames and Hudson: 1978), 188, 199.

¹³ "Hebrew 'Helmet,' a Loanword, and Its Bearing on Indo-European Phonology," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 57 (1937), 75; cf. Barnett, "The Sea Peoples," 373.

¹⁴ Barnett, "The Sea Peoples," 367, 372.

¹⁵ Nancy K. Sandars, *The Sea Peoples*, op. cit., 73, 92 [italics original].

¹⁶ *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands*, vol. 2 (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963), 354–55 (emphases added).

¹⁷ Lawrence E. Stager, "Forging an Identity: The Emergence of Ancient Israel," in M.D. Coogan, ed., *The Oxford History of the Biblical World* (Oxford University Press, 1998), 169; Sandars, *The Sea Peoples*, 188–89; T. Dothan and M. Dothan, *People of the Sea*, 46–47.

¹⁸ Y. Yadin, *The Art of Warfare*, 355; Philip J. King and Lawrence E. Stager, *Life in Biblical Israel* (Louisville & London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001), 153–54.

¹⁹ See, in particular, Tristan J. Barako, "The Philistine Settlement as Mercantile Phenomenon?" *American Journal of Archaeology* 104 (2000), 513–30.