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Title of extract: **Symbolic Scenes and Significant Objects**

Name of Author: **Griffin, J.**

Title/Author of book/edition (if applicable): **Homer on Life and Death. Griffin, J.**

Name of Visual Creator or other acknowledgement (if applicable):

Journal details –title/Vol/Year (if applicable):

Publisher: **Oxford University Press**

Pages scanned: **20 - 23**

Course of Study (Module name and number): **Muses' Playground CLCS5001**

Name of Designated Person
authorising scanning:

Date authorised: 05.04.17.

Moodle/Powerpoint

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slain are ὠμησται, eaters of raw flesh.⁵¹ That word is also applied to Achilles by Hecuba: 'Raw flesh eater, not to be trusted, he will not spare you'—ὠμηστής καὶ ἀπιστος ἀνὴρ ὄγε, οὐ σ' ἐλεήσει | οὐδέ τί σ' αἰδέσεται, she says to Priam, trying to dissuade him from his perilous journey to the slayer of his son. And in fact Achilles says to the dying Hector (22.346), 'Would that my passionate heart would incite me to chop up your flesh and eat it raw, to pay you out for what you have done to me'; while Hecuba in her turn longs to hold Achilles' liver in her hands and devour it in revenge for Hector's death, and Zeus asks Hera whether she would satisfy her hatred for Troy only by eating Priam and his children raw. In the *Odyssey* cannibals do make their appearance—the Laestrygons and the Cyclops; and in one early epic, the *Thebais*, the hero Tydeus, wounded by his enemy Melanippus, sated his passionate hatred by gnawing his skull, so that Athena in disgust turned away with the immortality she was bringing him.⁵² Such terrible acts of cannibalism, in which we are aware of the superstitious purpose of possessing the strength and power of one's adversary for oneself, represent in the *Iliad* a temptation which is avoided, something which would be too appalling to be actually allowed to happen.

Germanic parallels suggest strongly that both this and another related practice, that of eating animal flesh raw, were genuinely ancient Indo-European ideas of the way terrible heroes behaved. Early Vikings ate raw meat: 'this barbaric practice was condemned in later times.'⁵³ The killer of Sigurth, according to the *Eddas*, was fed on the flesh of serpents and wolves to harden him to the terrible deed. In the *Nibelungenlied* the Burgundians, besieged in Etzel's hall and deprived of refreshment, drink the blood of their enemies with gusto. Pindar knew of a tradition that the young Achilles was brought up on the raw entrails of wild beasts.⁵⁴ The werewolves of Germanic

⁵¹ 7.256, 11.479, 15.592, 16.157; 11.454, 22.67.

⁵² Hecuba to Priam, 24.207; Achilles to Hector, 22.346; Hecuba on Achilles, 24.212; Zeus to Hera, 4.305; Laestrygons, x.114; Cyclops, ix.289. Tydeus, *Σ* Gen. in 5.126, cf. E. Bethe, *Thebanische Heldenlieder*, 76, A. Severyns, *Le Cycle épique*, 219; the scene was represented on an Attic red-figured bell-krater, cf. J. D. Beazley in *JHS* 67 (1947), 1-9.

⁵³ L. M. Hollander, *The Poetic Eddas*, 192 n. 13.

⁵⁴ Hollander, loc. cit., 244; *Nibelungenlied*, p. 261 (Penguin trans.); D. S. Robertson, 'The food of Achilles', *CR* 54 (1940), 177-80.

legend have the same implication, as perhaps do such incidents as Sigurth eating the heart and drinking the blood of both Regin and Fafnir; in Greek legend the stories of cannibalism are numerous.⁵⁵ But we remember also that ὠμοφαγία, the eating of raw flesh, continued to be a feature of the ecstatic cult of Dionysus, who numbered among his titles that of Ὠμηστής.⁵⁶ The ecstasy of Dionysiac cult is excluded from the Homeric poems as scrupulously as the eating of raw flesh, but Dionysus' name is found on the Pylos tablets, and Homer knows all about him and his maenads (6.130 ff., 389; 22.460). The only ecstasy permitted by the *Iliad* is that associated with fighting, and cannibalism and the eating of raw flesh must conform and be attached exclusively to the passion of war. Again we see that the physical details of life are capable of bearing symbolic value—not only what the heroes do, but also what they do not do;⁵⁷ and the intense delight with which heroes gloat over the prospect of their enemies' corpses being the prey of carrion animals and birds, it is not too much to say, draws some of its power from the existence, just below the surface, of the desire to perform this action, at once fascinating and disgusting, themselves.⁵⁸

I turn to some simpler instances of the use of objects for emotional impact. When Achilles pursues Hector for his life round the walls of Troy, they pass the springs of the River Scamander, two springs, one hot and one cold; 'and there by them are the broad washing places, beautiful, paved with stone, where the wives of the Trojans and their beautiful daughters used to wash their shining garments, in the old days of peace, before the coming of the sons of the Achaeans':

ἔνθα δ' ἐπ' αὐτῶν πλύνου εὐρέες ἐγγὺς ἔασι,
καλοὶ λαῖννοι, ὅθι εἴματα σιγαλόντα
πλύνεσκον Τρώων ἄλοχοι καλαὶ τε θύγατρες
τὸ πρὶν ἐπ' εἰρήνης, πρὶν ἔλθειν υἱας Ἀχαιῶν (22.153-6).

All this is fantasy, of course; Scamander rose high up on Mount Ida, the hot and cold springs have no existence, and no

⁵⁵ W. Burkert, *Homo Necans* (1972), esp. 119-23.

⁵⁶ E. R. Dodds on Eur. *Bacchae* 139 and his *Introduction*, 14 ff.

⁵⁷ Cf. *Σ*bT in 1.449. οὐ γὰρ μόνον τί εἶπη ἀλλὰ καὶ τί μὴ εἶπη ἐφρόντισεν.

⁵⁸ e.g. 11.393, 452; 21.122; 22.354.

doubt there was no tradition about the location of Trojan wash-places—why should there have been?⁶⁰ As Bassett says, this is an invention for tragic contrast. The great hero and sole defender of Troy is being hunted to death beneath its walls, and the cruelty of his fate is brought out by dwelling for a moment on the peaceful countryside as it used to be, a delightful picture of handsome women at their everyday tasks. The technique is akin to that of the presentation of Andromache amid her household work as her husband's body is dragged behind Achilles' chariot.

The *Odyssey* offers a parallel, similar yet different as usual: the weather-beaten Odysseus, having dragged himself ashore naked and half-dead, has spent the night in a bank of leaves under a thicket. He is awoken by the shrill voices of girls. They have spent a morning washing clothes and having a picnic, and they are now playing ball on the beach, like nymphs. Into this enchanting and light-hearted scene bursts the much-enduring hero, a grim figure, caked with brine, with nothing but a leafy branch to hide his nakedness. All the girls run—the wrong way, towards the sea—except the princess Nausicaa⁶¹: οἷη δ' Ἀλκινόου θυγάτηρ μένε, 'alone did the daughter of Alcinous stand her ground' (vi.130–40). In the *Iliad* the contrast of heroic suffering with the pleasantness of the world of women is a tragic one. Hector dies, and Andromache's happiness is over for ever. In the *Odyssey* it is piquant and touching, and the poet gives Nausicaa a 'symbolic' position as she alone does not run—she is the princess, they are only servants and friends. The battered hero, persecuted by gods, menaced by monsters, the sole survivor of his crew, appears suddenly amidst the delicate girls of Phaeacia, before Nausicaa whose father and mother take such loving care of her, and who can spend her time in elegance and pleasure. But his sufferings are at an end now, and the contrast, effective in its own way, is decorative, not tragic.

At 11.164 Agamemnon, in the course of his great outburst of killing, his triumphant ἀριστεία, is pursuing the routed Trojans: 'Hector was snatched away from the flying weapons, the dust,

⁶⁰ 22.153; source of Scamander, 12.21. Cf. W. Elliger, *Landschaft in gr. Dichtung*, 43, S. E. Bassett, *The Poetry of Homer*, 138. See below, p. 112.

⁶¹ F. Cauer in *NJbb.* (1900), 599, who rightly sees in this a touch of humour. On the contrast of the princess and the servants, cf. *ΣΤ* on 24.538.

the slaughter, the blood, and the turmoil; but the son of Atreus pressed on violently, exhorting the Achaeans. The Trojans fled past the tomb of ancient Ilus, son of Dardanus, over the middle of the plain, past the fig-tree, while Agamemnon constantly pursued them, shrieking, his invincible hands spattered with blood.' Ilus, the ancestor after whom Ilium (and so the *Iliad*) was named, is a venerable name and no more, from early Trojan history. His grave should be a scene of peace, but now it is surrounded by 'weapons, dust, slaughter, blood, and turmoil', as Agamemnon massacres his descendants. Again we are reminded of the lost happiness of Troy;⁶² among its sacred places its people are slaughtered. Later in the same book Paris leans on the tomb to shoot at Diomedes. He slightly wounds him and exults, wishing that he had succeeded in killing him and delivering the Trojans, 'who fear you as bleating goats fear a lion' (11.383). But the wound is superficial, and Diomedes answers with contempt: 'That was like the dart of a woman or a child, but when I hit a man he dies at once—his wife tears her cheeks, his children are orphans, and he rots, staining the earth with his blood, with more carrion birds round him than mourning women.' Here we see that in the presence of the historic dead, even 'leaning on his tomb', Paris can do nothing heroic,⁶³ and the Trojans are the weak victims of the Achaeans.

Finally, something rather different in the last book. Priam is making his dangerous journey to Achilles with the ransom for the body of his son. At the tomb of Ilus Priam stops to water his mules; it is getting dark. Suddenly Hermes appears, sent by Zeus to help the old man. Priam is struck helpless with terror.⁶⁴ Hermes is a god who guides the dead, Priam is out by night on a mission concerned with a dead man; the god appears at a tomb. The appropriateness of this is perfect and obvious, but there is no irony in it this time, except the very different sort of irony that Priam does not recognize the god yet says 'A god is

⁶² Explicit at 18.288, 'Once all men spoke of Priam's city as rich in gold and rich in bronze, but now all the splendid treasures are lost and gone', and 24.543, 'You too, old man, we hear were prosperous once . . .'

⁶³ *ΣΤ* in 11.372 ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ μνήματι τοῦ παλαιοῦ προγόνου ἔστη, μηδὲν ἄξιον ποιῶν: 'he took his stand at the tomb of his ancient ancestor, but did nothing worthy of him.' Contrast Idas and Lynceus making their last stand against the Dioscuri at their father's tomb: Pindar, *Nemean X*; Theocritus XXII.

⁶⁴ 24.349 ff. Cf. H. Schrader, *Götter und Menschen Homers*, 217, W. F. Otto, *The Homeric Gods*, 116.