IRREGULARITIES IN THE FUNERAL OF PATROCLUS:

INDO-EUROPEAN INFLUENCES AND EXPLANATIONS

by

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(Under the Direction of Jared S. Klein)

ABSTRACT

The funerals of the major heroes, Patroclus, Hector, and Achilles, described in Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, taken together can be used to construct a model for Homeric funerals. However, the funeral of Patroclus includes two significant deviations from the Homeric funerary paradigm: first, the irregular sacrifices, both animal and human, made by Achilles; and second, the treatment of Patroclus' bones after his cremation. Achilles conducts a sacrificial slaughter of both animals, including four horses and two dogs, and twelve Trojan youths. This thesis argues that these divergences from the typical Homeric funeral are significant because they refer back to earlier Indo-European traditions associated with kingship, power, and purification.

INDEX WORDS: Homer, Patroclus, Achilles, funeral, ritual, horse sacrifice, dog sacrifice, human sacrifice, Greek, Sanskrit, Hittite, Indo-European

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DEDICATION

To Mom and Dad,

who let me talk about this one at the dinner table.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction: The Homeric Funeral Rite

Death and its aftermath are integral themes in Homer's *Iliad*;[1] and, to a lesser extent, the *Odyssey*. One major aspect of the aftermath of death in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are Homer's descriptions of the funerals of some of the major heroes. The funerals of Patroclus and Hector, as well as the brief descriptions of Achilles' funeral in the *Odyssey*, are noteworthy not just in the narration and theme of the poems, but also in the ritual context in which they exist. In these three major funerals Homer describes a specific mortuary ritual.

This introduction seeks to establish that the descriptions of Patroclus' funeral (*Iliad* 18 and 23), Hector's funeral (*Iliad* 24), and Achilles' funeral (*Odyssey* 24) indicate that there was a particular mortuary ritual procedure for Homeric heroes. Using common aspects, particularly Homeric *formulae*, from each of these exemplars (Patroclus, Hector, Achilles), a Homeric funerary type scene can be constructed. As Kitts explains, "a typical scene has been considered an aggregate of traditional poetic elements- formulae, phrases, whole verses" which may be "stiff or flexible".[2] Kitts goes on to say that "the typical scene, as a family of meaningful elements

[1] See Alice Oswald, *Memorial* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2012) for an extensive list of deaths in the *Iliad*. Quoting Reinhardt, Schein notes that "The *Iliad* has been called "from beginning to end a poem of death." Seth L. Schein, *The Mortal Hero: An Introduction to Homer's* Iliad (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 67.

[2] Margo Kitts, "Killing, Healing, and the Hidden Motif of Oath-Sacrifice in *Iliad* 21," *Journal of Ritual Studies* 13, no. 2 (1999): 43.

presented in a variety of arrangements, thus can be a profoundly connotative vehicle of significance."[3]

And so, using this typified model of a Homeric funeral, the divergences from the model in the funeral of Patroclus can then be analyzed. Namely, the unusual sacrifices (both animal and human) conducted at Patroclus' funeral by Achilles, and also the post-cremation treatment of Patroclus' bones. While Hector's bones are, according to custom, placed in a casket and buried, Patroclus' bones are placed in a bowl or urn, covered with fat, and placed on a cloth covered couch, reserved to later be buried with those of Achilles after his eventual death. These differences indicate that Patroclus' funeral, therefore, is markedly different from the other two major Homeric funerals. For this reason, the funeral of Patroclus cannot be taken, as many scholars have done, as the standard Homeric funeral, but rather as the product of many and varied influences that will be discussed in the succeeding chapters.

The Purpose of Funeral Rituals

To begin, funeral rituals served an important purpose in early Greek society.[4] Death was a social disruption[5] and a regularized post-mortem ritual provided members of a community with the ability to "externalize this trauma, cope with it, and eventually exorcize it so that normal life could be resumed".[6] A regularized death/funeral ritual "creates and confirms solidarity within the group",[7] while also imposing order upon actions that address the realities of death, like

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[3] Kitts, "Killing, Healing," 44.
[4] Walter Burkert, *Homo Necans*, trans. Peter Bing (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983), 28.
[5] Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood, "To Die and Enter the House of Hades: Homer Before and After," in *Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in the Social History of Death*, ed. Joachim Whaley (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982), 29.
[6] Sourvinou-Inwood, "To Die and Enter the House of Hades," 25.
[7] Richard Seaford, *Reciprocity and Ritual: Homer and Tragedy in the Developing City State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 10.

decay.[8] According to Derderian, "Death ritual focuses on concrete treatment of the deceased (e.g. processing of the body, social transition from living to dead accomplished by lament) and on the social negotiations between survivors (e.g. activities of reciprocity, changing roles of the bereaved)."[9] Funeral rituals included both ritual expression and ritual actions. Lament was certainly a key part of ritual expression and has been treated extensively by scholars.[10] Funeral ritual actions included the burial, funeral feast, and funeral games. However, this thesis will focus specifically on the physical aspects of the funeral ritual as it pertains to the deceased's corpse and burial rites.

Model of the Homeric Funeral

The Homeric τάφος, or funeral rite, was a regularized procedure.[11] Through an examination of the three extended descriptions of funerals in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, commonalities between the rites, especially formulaic aspects, can be used to construct a model for Homeric funerals. The Homeric burial ritual included (but was not limited to): washing and anointing the corpse, clothing/covering the body, erecting a bier, the laying in state (*prothesis*) of the body upon the bier, burning of the body on the pyre (cremation), extinguishing the pyre with wine, gathering the bones, wrapping the bones in cloth/placing the bones in a vessel, and burying the bones.

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[8] Seaford, *Reciprocity and Ritual*, 68.
[9] Katharine Derderian, *Leaving Words to Remember: Greek Mourning and the Advent of Literacy* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 65-66.
[10] See Margaret Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2002); Ann Suter, *Lament: Studies in the Ancient Mediterranean and Beyond* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Christos Tsagalis, *Epic Grief: Personal Laments in Homer's Iliad* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2004).
[11] See R.S.J. Garland, "Γέρας θανόντων: An Investigation into the Claims of the Homeric Dead," *Ancient Society*, vol. 15 (1984), 12 for a list of aspects of Homeric funerary ritual, which include lament, funeral banquet, and funeral games.

First, the body was washed and anointed. This appears in all three funerary scenes. The word for anointing oil, ἄλειφαρ, is used in all three instances - in the nominal forms for Patroclus[12] and Achilles[13] and the verbal form for Hector.[14] One point of interest here is that Hector's funeral rites are initiated by his killer, Achilles. After he agreed to ransom Hector's body to Priam, Achilles ordered his handmaidens to wash and anoint Hector's body.[15]

Next, the body was clothed or covered. This again occurs for all three funerals, but varying clothing words are used. Patroclus is covered with a linen sheet (ἐανῷ λιτὶ) and white mantle (φάρεϊ λευκῷ).[16] Hector is also covered with a cloak (φᾶρος) and tunic/chiton (χιτῶνα).[17] Achilles is dressed in immortal garments (ἄμβροτα εἵματα)[18] and the clothing of the gods (ἐσθῆτι θεῶν).[19]

After this, a bier was erected. This is not described in the *Odyssey* for Achilles, but it is described for Patroclus and Hector. And the same word is used for the timber that is used to construct the bier: ὕλη. Indeed, the same collocation is used to describe the amount of timber used to assemble the respective biers, ἄσπετον ὕλην, "endless timber."[20] In both instances the

[12] *Iliad* 18.351, 23.170.
[13] *Odyssey* 24.67, 24.73.
[14] *Iliad* 24.582, 24.587.
[15] Richard Seaford, *Reciprocity and Ritual,* 9.
[16] *Iliad* 18.352-353.
[17] *Iliad* 24.588.
[18] *Odyssey* 24.59.
[19] *Odyssey* 24.67.
[20] *Iliad* 23.177, 24.784.

accusative case is utilized. This phrase appears only three times in the Homeric corpus,[21] and two of those three occurrences are in reference to the construction of a bier.

Following the erection and construction of the bier, the laying in state, or *prothesis* occurred. This lasted for nine days for Hector[22] and seventeen days for Achilles.[23] And though the *prothesis* for Patroclus' body lasts two days, it spans four and a half books of the *Iliad*,[24] which narratologically creates the impression of an incredibly lengthy *prothesis*.

Subsequently, the body of the deceased was laid upon the pyre. A formulaic phrase is used to describe this for both Patroclus and Hector:

> ἐν δὲ πυρῇ ὑπάτῃ νεκρὸν θέσαν[25]
>
> and on the peak of the pyre they laid the corpse[26]

But this action is not described for Achilles' funeral. Following this, the body was cremated on a pyre. The word πυρή is used to describe this in all three cases. Indeed, seventeen of the twenty-five occurrences of this word in the Homeric corpus occur during the descriptions of the funerals

[21] *Iliad* 2.455, 23.127, 24.784
[22] *Iliad* 24.785.
[23] *Odyssey* 24.63.
[24] Anton Bierl, "Lived Religion and the Construction of Meaning in Greek Literary Texts: Genre, Context, Occasion," *Religion in the Roman Empire* 2, no. 1 (2016): 15.
[25] *Iliad* 23.165 for Patroclus, *Iliad* 24.787 for Hector.
[26] Greek texts follow the most recent Oxford text. T.W. Allen, *Homeri Opera*/*Odysseae*, vols. 3-4 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922); T.W. Allen, *Homeri Opera/Iliadis*, vols. 1-2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920). All translations of Homer's poems are my own.

of Patroclus, Hector, and Achilles.[27] The pyre was then extinguished with wine and the bones were gathered. This is described in the following *formulae*, first in the funeral of Patroclus:

> πρῶτον μὲν κατὰ πυρκαϊὴν σβέσατ’ αἴθοπι οἴνῳ
> πᾶσαν, ὁπόσσον ἐπέσχε πυρὸς μένος· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
> ὀστέα Πατρόκλοιο Μενοιτιάδαο λέγωμεν
> εὖ διαγιγνώσκοντες· ἀριφραδέα δὲ τέτυκται·[28]
>
> First put out the entire funeral pyre with bright wine,
> as much as the might of the fire covered; then
> let us gather the bones of Patroclus, son of Menoetius,
> distinguishing them well, since they have been made conspicuous

and again, during the funeral of Hector:

> πρῶτον μὲν κατὰ πυρκαϊὴν σβέσαν αἴθοπι οἴνῳ
> πᾶσαν, ὁπόσσον ἐπέσχε πυρὸς μένος· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
> ὀστέα λευκὰ λέγοντο κασίγνητοί θ’ ἕταροί τε
> μυρόμενοι, θαλερὸν δὲ κατείβετο δάκρυ παρειῶν.[29]
>
> First they put out the entire funeral pyre with bright wine,
> as much as the might of the fire covered, then
> the brothers and companions gathered up the white bones,
> crying, and big tears flowed down their cheeks.

Once again, the *formulae* do not occur in the description of the funeral of Achilles in the *Odyss*ey. However, the description of Achilles’ funeral is the shortest of the three and in the context of its

[27] This data was gleaned from a lemma search using The Chicago Homer.
[28] *Iliad* 23.237-240.
[29] *Iliad* 24.791-794.

description as a flashback this is not surprising. Nevertheless, in each funeral the bones of the decedent are described as "white" ὀστέα λευκὰ[30] and λεύκ' ὀστέ'.[31]

Finally, the bones were wrapped in a cloth and/or placed in a vessel and then buried. Patroclus' bones were placed in a golden bowl (φιάλη)[32] with fat and preserved until they could be joined with Achilles' bones after his death. Hector's bones were placed in a golden λάρναξ,[33] wrapped in a cloak, and buried.[34] Achilles' bones are placed in a golden ἀμφιφορεύς,[35] or two-handled jar/urn and buried.[36]

The common elements shared between these funerals indicate that procedures for the Homeric funeral were to some extent regularized. From the three extended funerary descriptions it is possible to draw out common elements and to establish therefore a standard for the Homeric mortuary ritual. Using this standard, deviations from the model in the funeral of Patroclus may then be identified and analyzed.

Divergences from the Model

There are two significant divergences from the Homeric funeral paradigm detailed above that occur during the funeral of Patroclus: (1) the irregular sacrifices, both animal and human, made by Achilles; and (2) the treatment of Patroclus' bones after his cremation. The justification for these deviations is bipartite: these are remnants from older traditions that Homer has drawn

[30] *Iliad* 23.252, 24.793.
[31] *Odyssey* 24.72.
[32] *Iliad* 23.243-244.
[33] *Iliad* 24.797.
[34] *Iliad* 24.797.
[35] *Odyssey* 24.74.
[36] *Odyssey* 24.80.

upon for a specific purpose; and, they occur during the funeral of Patroclus to poetically forecast Achilles' funeral.

Many scholars argue that Patroclus' funeral is in effect Achilles' funeral for himself. The audience of the *Iliad* is shown what Achilles' funeral will look like, even before he is dead. This narrative presaging is partly why Patroclus' funeral description is so extensive, because it is through that description that the audience can understand what the post-Iliadic funeral for Achilles would be. Scholars in the psychoanalytic school would also argue that since Patroclus is Achilles' second-self,[37] Achilles is effectually conducting his own funeral.

[37] Marco Fantuzzi, *Achilles in Love: Intertextual Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 202ff; Thomas Van Nortwick, *Somewhere I Have Never Travelled: The Second Self and the Hero's Journey in Ancient Epic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); Nagy also asserts that "Patroclus is a ritual substitute for Achilles". Mary Bachvarova, *From Hittite to Homer: The Anatolian Background of Ancient Greek Epic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 108 n.130; Gregory Nagy, *Greek Mythology and Poetics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 129-130.

CHAPTER TWO

Irregular Funerary Sacrifices

Though the Homeric τάφος, or funeral rite, was a regularized procedure,[38] the funeral of Patroclus deviates greatly from the standard Homeric funeral, especially with regard to irregular funerary sacrifices. Achilles conducts a sacrificial slaughter of both animals, including four horses and two dogs, and twelve Trojan youths.

> ἐν δ’ ἐτίθει μέλιτος καὶ ἀλείφατος ἀμφιφορῆας (170)
> πρὸς λέχεα κλίνων· πίσυρας δ’ ἐριαύχενας ἵππους
> ἐσσυμένως ἐνέβαλλε πυρῇ μεγάλα στεναχίζων.
> ἐννέα τῷ γε ἄνακτι τραπεζῆες κύνες ἦσαν,
> καὶ μὲν τῶν ἐνέβαλλε πυρῇ δύο δειροτομήσας,
> δώδεκα δὲ Τρώων μεγαθύμων υἱέας ἐσθλοὺς
> χαλκῷ δηϊόων· κακὰ δὲ φρεσὶ μήδετο ἔργα·
> ἐν δὲ πυρὸς μένος ἧκε σιδήρεον ὄφρα νέμοιτο. [39]
>
> And he placed two-handled jars of honey and oil
> leaning them next to the bier; and he threw four strong-necked horses
> quickly upon the pyre, groaning loudly.
> And there were nine table dogs which were the lord’s (i.e. Patroclus’),
> of which he cut the throat of two and threw them upon the pyre,
> so too did he slaughter twelve noble sons of the great-hearted Trojans
> with bronze; and he contrived evil works in his mind
> and he dispatched the iron might of the fire so that it might consume them.

[38] See Garland, “Γέρας θανόντων, 12. for a list of aspects of Homeric funerary ritual, which include lament, funeral banquet, and funeral games.
[39] *Iliad* 23.170-177.

Horse Sacrifice

Taken together, these sacrifices are highly unusual, but the inclusion of horse sacrifice speaks particularly to Indo-European influences on Patroclus' burial. Horses are not sacrificed during any of the other Homeric funerals. The inclusion of horses in the funeral of Patroclus serves then to differentiate and highlight Patroclus' funeral compared to the other Homeric funerals. Indeed, the presence of horses within the funerary sacrifice for Patroclus is curious because it is not specified to whom the horses belong or from where the horses originate. Also in question is how the horses are being sacrificed and why they are being sacrificed in this manner.

To begin, I propose two options for the source of the sacrificed horses: that the horses belonged to Patroclus or that they were captured Trojan horses. While they could have been Patroclus' chariot horses, sacrificed alongside their fallen owner, Patroclus died on the battlefield in a chariot drawn by Achilles' horses, two of which were immortal.[40] I would posit, rather, that is it more likely that the sacrificed horses were Trojan horses, which were captured as war booty. Horses were symbols of wealth and prestige in Homer,[41] and consequently may have even been the source of Trojan wealth. Accordingly, the archeological evidence of horse bones found in

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[40] *Iliad* 16.149ff.

[41] On horses as markers of high value see Donald Lateiner, *The Homer Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, "Body Language," ed. Margalit Finkelberg (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 139. For horses as prestige items see Richard Seaford, *The Homer Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, "Exchange," ed. Margalit Finkelberg (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 281.

Troy VI "suggest that the wealth of Troy was based in part on horse breeding."[42] Certainly, the "most common epithet" of the Trojans is ἱππόδαμοι, "tamers of horses."[43]

Moreover, the *Iliad* itself ends with the burial of Troy's preeminent warrior, Hector, with the following line:

> ὣς οἵ γ᾽ ἀμφίεπον τάφον Ἕκτορος ἱπποδάμοιο.[44]
>
> Thus they prepared the funeral rite of Hector, tamer of horses.

Ending the *Iliad* with this line underlines the significance of Hector within the narrative of the poem, and also the inexorable connection between horses and Hector and horses and Troy.[45] Sacrificed Trojan horses would thereby serve as a representation of Trojan wealth and the sacrifice of them would conversely stand for the destruction of Troy by the Achaeans, especially Achilles.

The other point of inquiry in this section is how the horses are being sacrificed and why they are being sacrificed in this manner. Customarily, ritual sacrifices in the Greek world had their throats cut. This also occurs when Achilles made Patroclus' funerary sacrifices. He cut the

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[42] Robin Mitchell-Boyask, *The Homer Encyclopedia*, vol. 2, "Horses," ed. Margalit Finkelberg (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 370. See also Denys Page, *History and the Homeric Iliad* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959); G. S. Kirk, *Homer and the Epic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965).
[43] Seth L. Schein, *The Homer Encyclopedia*, vol. 2, "Hector," ed. Margalit Finkelberg (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 334.
[44] *Iliad* 24.804.
[45] Platte notes that in Greek literature "horses and heroes are handled in notably similar ways and display a similar ontological positioning." Ryan Platte, *Equine Poetics*, (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2017), 47.

necks (δειροτομήσας) of the two table dogs and the twelve Trojan boys,[46] and it stands to reason that this was also done to the four horses sacrificed at the pyre.

Kitts contends that the compound verb δειροτομέω,[47] which is related to the verb τάμνω 'to cut' or 'to slay (a sacrificial victim)'[48] and δειρή 'neck, throat'[49] is used to specifically denote "sacrificial nuance."[50] The verb τάμνω is the Epic form of the Attic verb τέμνω[51] which Beekes traces back to the Indo-European root *$temh_1$ 'cut.'[52] Kitts notes that this verb is "used euphemistically for "cutting oaths" – in other words, cutting animal throats—in Hittite oaths.[53] There is a possible connection here between the Hittite *tamāi-/tame-* 'other, second' and the Greek τάμνω/τέμνω, though Kloekhorst muses that this etymological connection is possible if we are dealing with /tm-/ and not /tam-/ for the Hittite verb.[54] Kloekhorst goes on to argue that the verb should then be reconstructed as *tmh_1-oi-, *tmh_1-e-.[55]

As stated previously, horse sacrifice does not appear elsewhere in the Homeric funerals. I would argue that the presence of horse sacrifice during this particular funeral indicates meaningful Indo-European influence. Two exemplars of Indo-European horse sacrifice appear in the Hittite *Šalliš Waštaiš* Ritual and the Indic *aśvamedha* ritual. The *Šalliš Waštaiš* Ritual was a

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[46] *Iliad* 23.174.
[47] This verb appears only four times in the Homeric corpus: *Iliad* 21.89, 21.55, 23.174, and *Odyssey* 22.349.
[48] Richard John Cunliffe, *A Lexicon of the Homeric Dialect: Expanded Edition* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012), 372.
[49] *Ibid*, 87.
[50] Margo Kitts, *Sanctified Violence in Homeric Society: Oath-Making Rituals and Narratives in the Iliad* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 158.
[51] Though the verb form τέμνω appears only once in Homer, in *Odyssey* 3.175.
[52] Robert Beekes, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 1465.
[53] Kitts, "Killing, Healing," 48n.19.
[54] Alwin Kloekhorst, *Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexicon* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 821.
[55] *Ibid*, 822.

fourteen-day funeral ritual held for members of the Hittite Royal Family.[56] This heavily symbolic ritual has been preserved among "tens of thousands of cuneiform tablets"[57] found at Hattuša, the ancient Hittite capital, which is now Bogazkale, Turkey. The tablets were found in the late 19th century; and the Hittite language was deciphered in 1917. The cuneiform tablets detailing the ritual date back to the late 13th century BCE. Interestingly, horse sacrifice is included in the *Šalliš Waštaiš* Ritual, "but not elsewhere"[58] is horse sacrifice attested in Hittite.[59]

Unfortunately, the section detailing the process of horse sacrifice in the ritual is fragmentary, but it is clear from a later section that the horses (ANŠE.KUR.RA^{MEŠ}), alongside oxen, are decapitated and cremated as part of the ritual. [60]

nu SAG.DU^{MEŠ} ANŠE.KUR.RA^{MEŠ} S[AG.DU]^{MEŠ} GU$_4^{HI.A}$ *ku-wa-pí wa-ra-a[n-da-at]*

"and, where the heads of horses <and> the h[ead]s of oxen were burned…"[61]

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[56] "the colophon's formula *sallis wastais* ('great sin/loss' [for the land of Hatti]) specifically indicates the death of the Hittite king or his family members." Matteo Vigo, "The Use of (Perfumed) Oil in Hittite Rituals with Particular Emphasis on Funerary Practice," *Journal of Intercultural and Interdisciplinary Archeology* (2014): 29.

[57] Theo P.J. van den Hout, "Death as a Privilege: the Hittite Funerary Ritual," in *Hidden Figures: Death and Immortality in Ancient Egypt, Anatolia, the Classical, Biblical, and Arabic-Islamic World*, ed. Jan Maartem Bremmer, Theo P.J. van den Hout, Rudolph Peters (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1994), 37.

[58] Ian Rutherford, *Hittite Texts and Greek Religion: Contact, Interaction, and Comparison* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 252.

[59] "The horse is not an attested sacrificial animal in Hittite religion, except perhaps at burials." Jaan Puhvel, *Myth and Law Among the Indo-Europeans* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 171.

[60] Billie Jean Collins, "Hero, Field Master, King: Animal Mastery in Hittite Texts and Iconography," in *The Master of Animals in Old World Iconography*, ed. Derek B. Counts and Bettina Arnold (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2010), 66.

[61] KUB 30.25 + 39.4 + KBo 41.117. Translation and transliteration from Alexei Kassian, Andrej Korolëv, and Andrej Sidel'tsev, *Hittite Funerary Ritual: šalliš waštaiš* (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2002), 323. See also KUB 39.39 + 37 + 38 + 36: "and where the heads of horses [<and> the head(s of oxen)] were burned" Kassian, et al., *Hittite Funerary Ritual: šalliš waštaiš*, 421.

Haas notes that animal sacrifices, including the horse sacrifice may even have preceded the ritual.[62]

The Indic *aśvamedha* ritual, on the other hand, provides a more detailed description of the sacrificial rite. Just like the *Šalliš Waštaiš* Ritual, the *aśvamedha* is a state function, albeit for a living king. It is preserved in the Ṛgveda, a series of hymns which were composed sometime between 1400 and 1000 BCE.[63] As part of the ritual *aśvamedha*, a horse is allowed to wander at will for a year, "accompanied by armed troops who fight the sovereigns of any territory into which the horse strays."[64] Following the return of the horse, the ritual continues for another 27 days, and the horse is killed on the 26th day. The horse is reassured:

> ná vā́ u etán mriyase ná riṣyasi devā́ṁ íd eṣi pathíbiḥ sugébhiḥ
>
> You do not die nor are you harmed. You go to the gods along easygoing paths.
>
> (RV I.162.21) [65]

And rather than the decapitation seen in the *Iliad*, the horse in the *aśvamedha* is suffocated with a woolen or linen cloth (*śyāmūlena kṣemena vā* ĀŚS 17.9),[66] after which ritual copulation occurs between the dead horse and the chief queen, the Mahiṣī or 'Great Female Buffalo.'[67]

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[62] Volkert Haas, *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 220.
[63] Stephanie W. Jamison and Joel P. Brereton, *The Rigveda: The Earliest Religious Poetry of India* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2014), 5.
[64] Jamison, *The Rigveda,* 33.
[65] Translation and Transliteration *from Stephanie Jamison, Sacrificed Wife/Sacrificer's Wife: Women, Ritual, and Hospitality in Ancient India (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996*), 78.
[66] Calvert Watkins, *How to Kill a Dragon: Aspects of Indo-European Poetics* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1995), 272.
[67] Jamison, *Sacrificed Wife/Sacrificer's Wife*, 65.

Jamison refers to the next portion of the ritual as "notorious" and then remarks that "the verbal part of the ceremony is extremely explicit, and in fact tested the limits of our scholarly predecessors."[68] Following the death of the horse, priests (Adhvaryu) cover the chief queen (Mahiṣī) and the horse with a linen garment (*kṣaumeṇa vāsasā*), and say the following:[69]

> súbhage kā́mpīlavāsini
> suvargé loké sám próṇvāthām
> áhám ajāni garbhadhám
> á́ tvám ajāsi garbhadhám (TS VII.4.19.1cd)
>
> O lucky one, clothed in kāmpīla-cloth,
> may you two be entirely covered in the heavenly world
> I will drive the impregnator;
> you will drive the impregnator.[70]
>
> vṛ́ṣā vāṁ retodhā́ réto dadhātu (TS VII.4.19.1f)
>
> Let the bullish seed-placer of you two place the seed.[71]

Jamison goes on to assert that though "some discussions of this ritual refer to it as *symbolic* copulation," the ritual text explicitly describes a penetrative act; and, due to some post-mortem biological realities,[72] "the Mahiṣī's experience may have been even less symbolic than we tend to hope."[73] This view is in opposition to that of Puhvel, who instead offers that the queen merely

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[68] *Ibid.*
[69] *Ibid*, 67.
[70] Translation and Transliteration from Jamison, *Ibid,* 67.
[71] Translation and Transliteration from Jamison, *Ibid,* 68.
[72] "… death by suffocation induces "reflex-conditioned tumescence and emission," Jamison, *Ibid,* 68, 274n.114. Jamison quotes Puhvel's discussion of Kirfel. Puhvel, *Myth and Law Among the Indo-Europeans*, 162. W. Kirfel, "Der Aśvamedha und der Puruṣamedha," *Beiträge zur indischen Philologie und Altertumskunde* (1951): 39-50.
[73] Jamison, *Sacrificed Wife/Sacrificer's Wife,* 68.

"symbolically cohabitated with [the horse] under covers."[74] Puhvel, though, discusses the commonalities between the *aśvamedha* ritual and the Roman *October Equus* and a Celtic kingship ritual; however, both of these comparanda post-date the Homeric poems in question.[75] Still, Puhvel does offer a "tantalizing" question, "why does the Hittite Law Code expressly exempt from punishment bestiality with horses or mules, after sternly penalizing such a practice with cattle, sheep, and pigs? The horse is not an attested sacrificial animal in Hittite religion, except perhaps at burials."[76]

Nevertheless, as Fortson notes, there is a clear association between horse sacrifice and kingship in the Indo-European tradition.[77] Jamison maintains that the *aśvamedha* ritual was

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[74] Puhvel, *Myth and Law Among the Indo-Europeans*, 161.

[75] The Irish evidence dates back to the twelfth-century CE, and describes a ritual in Kenelcunnil, in northern Ireland. Platte, *Equine Poetics*, 49.
Collecto in unum universo terrae ilius populo, in medium producitur, iumentum candidum. Ad quod sublimandus ille non in principem sed in beluam, non in regem sed exlegem, coram omnibus bestialiter accedens, non minus impudenter quam imprudenter se quoque bestiam profitetur. Et statim jumento interfecto, et frustatim in aqua decoto, in eadem aqua balneum ei paratur.
"When the whole people of that land has been gathered together in one place, a white mare is brought forward into the middle of the assembly. He who is to be inaugurated, not as a chief, but as a beast, not as a king, but as an outlaw, has bestial intercourse with her before all, professing himself to be a beast also. The mare is then killed immediately, cut up in pieces, and boiled in water. A bath is prepared for the man afterwards in the same water." Text edited by J.F. Dimock, *Giraldus Cambrensis, Topographica Hibernica et Expugnatio Hibernica* (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1867), 169. Translated by J.J. O'Meara, *The History and Topography of Ireland* (Portlaoise: Dolmen Press, 1982), 110. Cf. Text from J.J. O'Meara, "Giraldus Cambrensis in *Topographica Hibernie*, 'Text of the First Recension.'" *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature* 52 (1949): 168.

[76] Puhvel, *Myth and Law Among the Indo-Euroopeans*, 171. KBo 6.26 IV 23-25/KBo 22.66 IV 8'-10': *ták-ku* LÚ-*aš* ANŠE.KUR.RA-*i na-aš-ma* ANŠE.GÌR.NUN.NA *kat-ta wa-aš-tai Ú-UL ḫa-ra-tar* LUGAL-*i-ma-aš Ú-UL ti-ez-zi* ^{LÚ}SANGA-*ša Ú-UL ki-i-ša* "If a man sins with a horse or mule: there is no offense. But he shall not approach the king, and shall not become a priest." Transliteration and translation from Ilan Peled, "Bestiality in Hittite Thought," *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society* 34 (2020): 145. Puhvel continues to contemplate this question in a later work adding, "The only reservation is that the perpetrator "does not become a priest," which seems to anchor the practice squarely in the warrior class, that is, among potential candidates for kingship." Jaan Puhvel, *Comparative Mythology* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 276.

[77] Benjamin W. Fortson IV, *Indo-European Language and Culture: An Introduction* (Maiden: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 24-25.

"performed for an already powerful king, to extend, consolidate, and display his power."[78] Similarly, the *Šalliš Waštaiš* Ritual is an immense demonstration and validation of power, but for a dead king or queen.

A possible drawback with the alignment of the horses sacrificed at the funeral of Patroclus and Indo-European ritual horse sacrifice is that Patroclus is neither alive nor a king, which muddies the issues of kingship and power. The lavish rites and sacrifices held at Patroclus' funeral seem incongruous with his status. But I would argue that this sacrifice is more about Achilles, the sacrificer, than Patroclus, the recipient of the sacrifice.

It cannot be ignored that Patroclus is aligned with Achilles in the *Iliad*. Indeed, Patroclus is presented as the doublet of the "principal hero," the "Achilles-doublet."[79] This is represented both visually in the poem and linguistically. In Book 16 Patroclus impersonates Achilles by donning Achilles' armor;[80] he then rides into battle on a chariot drawn by Achilles' three horses. Arrayed in the armor of Achilles, Patroclus appears to the mustered Trojan forces to be Achilles himself.[81]

Nagy asserts that Patroclus "became the actual surrogate of Achilles, his alter ego."[82] This conclusion is largely drawn from Nadia Van Brock's assertion that Patroclus, Achilles' *therápōn*,

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[78] Jamison, *Sacrificed Wife/Sacrificer's Wife*, 65. cf. Gonda: "Nur ein König darf es vollziehen, und zwar ein siegreicher König, dessen Macht unangefochten ist. Es bildet die höchste rituelle manifestation der Königswürde, verbürgt die Erfülling aller Wünsche, sühnt alle Sünden." Jan Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens Vol. 1 Veda und älterer Hinduismus* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1978), 168. Puhvel argues "the horse sacrifice was a regal consolidation ceremony in India, one that turned a *rāj-* into a *samrāj-*." Puhvel, *Comparative Mythology*, 273.

[79] Roberto Nickel, "Euphorbus and the Death of Achilles," *Phoenix* 56, no. 3/4 (2002): 216.

[80] *Iliad* 16.130ff.

[81] *Iliad* 16.278-282.

[82] Gregory Nagy, *The Best of the Achaeans: Concepts of the Hero in Archaic Greek Poetry* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 33, 292-293.

is a "ritual substitute" for Achilles.[83] Van Brock connects the Greek *therápōn* with the Hittite *tarpašša/tarpan(alli)* 'substitute', and argues that the Hittite word designates Patroclus as Achilles' other self.[84]

The Greek *therapon* is defined by Liddell and Scott as "henchman, attendant, companion in arms, squire."[85] Sometimes in Homer the term can also be translated as "charioteer."[86] Accordingly, the word contains multiple meanings and is a challenge to translate, even being referred to by Caroline Alexander as her "personal nemesis."[87] Nagy alleges that θεράπων is "a prehistoric Greek borrowing from the Anatolian languages" from sometime in the 2nd millennium BCE. He further argues that the prevailing interpretations of the word as "warrior's companion" or "attendant" are semantically secondary.[88] While the word θεράπων is not exclusively used for Patroclus, Patroclus is referred to as such three times after he dons Achilles' armor[89] and four more times after he has been killed in it.[90] Physically and linguistically within the poem Patroclus becomes "a surrogate for Achilles."[91]

Patroclus therefore effectually *becomes* Achilles. In doing so, Nickel reasons, his death "functions in part as an anticipatory enactment of the death of Achilles."[92] And to take this a step further, the funeral of Patroclus then anticipates the funeral of Achilles. As Schein notes,

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[83] Nadia Van Brock, "Substitution rituelle," *Revue hittite et asianique* 65, no. 19 (1959).
[84] Van Brock, "Subsitution rituelle," 119.
[85] Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).
[86] Paavo Roos, "The Homeric Charioteer," *The Athens Journal of Sports* 7, no. 4 (2020).
[87] Caroline Alexander, "On Translating Homer's *Iliad*," *Daedalus* 145, no. 2 (2016): 53.
[88] Nagy, *The Best of the Achaeans*, 292.
[89] *Iliad* 16.165, 17.388, 16.653.
[90] *Iliad* 17.164, 17.271, 18.153, 23.90.
[91] William Allan, "Arms and the Man: Euphorbus, Hector, and the Death of Patroclus," *Classical Quarterly* 55, no. 1 (2005): 3.
[92] Roberto Nickel, "Euphorbus and the Death of Achilles," 217.

"When Achilles presides over the funeral of Patroklos on the following day, he is really presiding over his own funeral."[93] In elevating Patroclus' funeral to such an extent through mortuary sacrifices associated with Indo-European kingship, the power of Achilles is in turn affirmed.

In this way, the horse sacrifice that occurs at the funeral of Patroclus can be understood in a new light. Rather than representing solely an irregular practice, emblematic of Achilles' violence, the sacrifice can be interpreted as an intentional ritual action, both metonymically representative of the destruction of Troy, but also as possibly triggering far earlier Indo-European cultural and linguistic associations with power and kingship for Achilles, the principal hero of the *Iliad*.

Dog Sacrifice

As Rutherford notes, "the use of dogs in ritual is not common in Greek religion."[94] The line of inquiry for this section is similar to that of the previous section. What kind of dogs are being used as part of the sacrifice, and what does their inclusion reveal? I maintain that the dogs sacrificed in the funeral of Patroclus are clearly domesticated dogs, in contrast to the horses, which, as discussed previously, were likely war booty. The dogs are referred to as τραπεζῆες κύνες, "table dogs."[95] The word τραπεζεύς, which only appears in Homer describing dogs, is used only three times in the Homeric corpus.[96] It is used prior to Patroclus' funeral in *Iliad* 22.69 during

[93] Seth L. Schein, *The Mortal Hero*, 155.
[94] Rutherford, *Hittite Texts and Greek Religion*, 203.
[95] *Iliad* 23.173.
[96] *Iliad* 22.69, 23.173; *Odyssey* 17.309.

a speech by Priam, when he begs Hector not to fight Achilles. He describes a heart-breaking scene in which he predicts what will occur once Troy falls:

> αὐτὸν δ᾽ ἄν πύματόν με κύνες πρώτῃσι θυρῃσιν
> ὠμησταὶ ἐρύουσιν, ἐπεί κέ τις ὀξέϊ χαλκῷ
> τύψας ἠέ βαλὼν ῥεθέων ἐκ θυμὸν ἕληαι,
> οὕς τρέφον ἐν μεγάροισι τραπεζῆας πυλαωρούς,
> οἵ κ᾽ ἐμὸν αἷμα πιόντες ἀλύσσοντες περί θυμῷ[97]
>
> And I myself, last, my dogs in front of the doors
> will tear me apart raw, after some man with sharp bronze
> striking or throwing, takes the limbs from my chest,
> whom I reared in my halls at my table as guards
> they will drink my blood restless in their heart

Priam describes the dogs as οὕς τρέφον ἐν μεγάροισι "whom I reared in (my) halls,"[98] using the verb τρέφω, which is the same verb used for raising children.[99] The word τραπεζεύς also occurs in *Odyssey* 17.309; the phrase τραπεζῆες κύνες is described in apposition with the following line ἀγλαΐης δ᾽ ἕνεκεν κομέουσιν ἄνακτες "because their masters care [for them] for show."[100]

This plainly delineates the sacrificed dogs in Patroclus' funeral as trained, domesticated dogs, as opposed to the seemingly wild dogs that roam the battlefield in the *Iliad*, scavenging corpses.[101] Indeed, the *Iliad* begins with a description of the souls of heroes being flung into

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[97] *Iliad* 22.66-70.
[98] *Iliad* 23.69.
[99] Liddell and Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, τρέφω.
[100] *Odyssey* 17.310.
[101] Priam's statement in *Iliad* 22.66-70, where he refers to his dogs as ὠμησταὶ 'flesh-eating' hints at the potential of even domesticated dogs to revert to savagery and turn on their owners. Segal also notes that "The threatened mutilation of Priam by his own dogs in his own house (cf. 22.69) also illustrates one of the broader implications of the corpse theme: that is, the destruction of civilized values, of civilization itself, by the savagery which war and its passions release." Charles Segal, *The Theme of the Mutilation of the Corpse in the Iliad* (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 33.

Hades, with their bodies left as ἐλώρια... κύνεσσιν οἰωνοῖσί τε "a feast for dogs and birds."[102] Similarly, bodies not recovered from the battlefield will be κυσὶν μέλπηθρα "sport for dogs".[103] Achilles even threatens to let dogs eat Hector's corpse:

Ἕκτορα δεῦρ' ἐρύσας δώσειν κυσὶν ὠμὰ δάσασθαι[104]

dragging Hector right here to give him to the dogs to eat raw

The etymology of τραπεζεύς further supports the argument that these dogs are domesticated dogs. The word τραπεζεύς "of, at a table"[105] comes from τράπεζα (f.) 'table, plate, etc.' from the Proto-Greek **t(w)r̥-ped-ja-* < Proto-Indo-European **k^{w}tur-ped-ih$_2$*.[106] This word is a compound of Indo-European **k^{w}etuer-* 'four' and **ped-* 'foot,' meaning 'having four feet.'[107]

As Collins notes, the linguistic collocation of a table dog, or "puppy of the table" is also present in Hittite, in the Ritual of Huwarlu.[108] In the Ritual of Huwarlu, "a puppy of tallow is used to protect the king and queen from evil."[109]

22. *[nu* U]R.TUR.RA *ap-pu-uz-zi-ya-aš i-en-zi na-an-ša-an ŠA É-TIM*
23. [^{GI}]^{Š}*ha-tal-wa-aš* GIŠ-*ru-i ti-an-zi nu ki-iš-ša-an me-ma-i zi-ik-wa-az*
24. *ŠA* LUGAL SAL.LUGAL ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR-*aš* UR.TUR *nu-wa-kán* UD.KAM-*az ma-aḫ-ḫa-an*
25. *da-ma-a-in an-tu-uh-ša-an pár-na-aš an-da Ú-UL tar-na-ši*
26. *ke-e-ti-ma-wa-kán* GE$_6$-*an-ti kal-la-ar ut-tar an-da le-e tar- na-at-ti* [110]

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[102] *Iliad* 1.4-5.
[103] *Iliad* 17.255, 18.178. M. L. West, *Indo-European Poetry and Myth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).
[104] *Iliad* 23.21.
[105] Liddell and Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, τραπεζεύς.
[106] Beekes, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, 1499.
[107] *Ibid.*
[108] Billie Jean Collins, "The Puppy in Hittite Ritual," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 42, no. 2 (1990): 212.
[109] *Ibid.*
[110] *Ibid.* Billie Jean Collins, "Huwarlu's Ritual "When terrible birds (are present)"," in *Hittite Rituals from Arzawa and the Lower Land* (SBL Writings from the Ancient World) (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming). KBo 4.2 i 22-26 (CTH 398).

> And they make a puppy of tallow, and set it on the wooden doorbolt of the palace. She speaks as follows: "You are the 'table dog' of the king and queen. And by day you do not allow another person into the house, on this night do not allow an inauspicious omen.[111]

In line 24 the phrase ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR-*aš* UR.TUR is used. The Sumerogram ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR is used for "table," with GIŠ as a determinative indicating that the table is wooden. And the Sumerogram UR.TUR is used for "puppy" where UR is the Sumerian for "dog" and TUR is the Sumerian for "young". As Sasseville and Yakubovich remark, "in Hittite texts, the lexeme, 'dog' remains hidden behind the Sumerogram UR.GI$_7$".[112] Collins adds that in addition to the tallow puppy, a live puppy is also used "for the purification of the king and queen."[113]

> UR.TUR-*kán* [(*A-NA* LUGAL SAL.LUG)AL *še-er ar-ha wa-ah-nu-wa-an-zi*]
> *nu a-pu-u-na* [(*ar-ha k*)*u-ra-an-zi*] [114]
>
> [They wave] the puppy [over] the king and queen and [they] se[ver] that one.[115]

As Collins explains, "puppies had two primary uses in Hittite ritual, namely, prevention and purification," and "the most common form of purification involving puppies is severing rituals."[116] Collins designates these rituals as "severing rituals" because "without exception, the Hittite verb *arha kuer-* is used to describe the act of dividing the puppy. Whether this division involves separating the head from the body or cutting an animal down or across its middle to make two

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[111] trans. Collins, "Huwarlu's Ritual," forthcoming.
[112] David Sasseville and Ilya Yakubovich, "Words for Domestic Animals and their Enclosures," *Historische Sprachforschung/Historical Linguistics* Bd. 131 (2018): 48. According to Hoffner's glossary, the Hittite words for "dog" are "UR.GI$_7$, UR.GI$_7$ SAL.AL.LAL^2, UR.TUR". Harry Hoffner, "An English-Hittite Glossary," *Revue hittite et asianique* 25, no. 80 (1967): 36.
[113] Collins, "The Puppy in Hittite Ritual," 216.
[114] trans. Collins, "Huwarlu's Ritual," forthcoming. KBo 4.2 ii 61-62, KBo 9.126: 14-15.
[115] Collins, "The Puppy in Hittite Ritual," 217, 217n.30.
[116] *Ibid*, 211, 218.

halves the texts do not tell us with certainty."[117] Nonetheless, in the Ritual of Huwarlu, the tallow puppy acts as an apotropaic preventative measure, while the live puppy is used to purify.

The use of dogs as a purification method may be linked to the association of dogs with death. Dogs are "strongly associated in Indo-European mythology and literary traditions with death and war."[118] Many Indo-European traditions depict a dog who guards the underworld. In fact, the Greek *Kérberos*, the three-headed dog of Hades, and the Indic *Śárvara*, one of Yama's dogs, are cognate from the PIE **k̂érberos* 'spotted'.[119]

This idea of the purificatory potential of dogs also has a militaristic context. Rutherford argues that "the Hittites do not *sacrifice* dogs, but they do use them in purification rituals, such as 'between the pieces' rituals and waving rituals which would end with the puppy being killed and burned or buried."[120] While Rutherford calls the ritual the "Between the Pieces ritual," Collins refers to this ritual as the "Ritual for a Routed Army."[121] As can be likely discerned from the name, this ritual is "performed when the army has been defeated."[122]

> *ma-a-an* ERÍN.MEŠ.HI.A *IŠ-TU* LÚ.KÚR *hu-ul-la-an-ta-ri nu* SISKUR.SISKUR EGIR ÍD *kiš-an ha-an-da-an-zi nu* EGIR ÍD UN-*an* MÁŠ.GAL UR.TUR ŠAH.TUR *iš-tar-na ar-ha ku-ra-an-zi nu ke-e-ez* MAŠ.HI.A *ti-ya-an-zi ki-i-iz-zi-ya* MAŠ.HI.A *ti-an-zi pí-ra-an-ma* ^{GIŠ}*ha-at-tal-ki-iš-na-aš* KÁ.GAL-*an*$^{!}$ *i-ya-an-zi nu-uš-ša-an ti-ya-mar še-er ar-ha hu-it-ti-ya-an-zi nam-ma* KÁ.GAL *pí-ra-an ki-iz-za pa-ah-hur wa-ar-nu-wa-an-zi ki-iz-zi-ya pa-ah-hur wa-ar-nu-wa-an-zi nu-kán* ERÍN.MEŠ

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[117] *Ibid*, 218.
[118] Dorcas R. Brown and David W. Anthony, "Late Bronze Age midwinter dog sacrifices and warrior initiations at Krasnosamarskose, Russia," in *Tracing the Indo-Europeans: New evidence from archaeology and historical linguistics*, ed. Birgit Anette Olsen, Thomas Olander, and Kristain Kristiansen (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2019), 101.
[119] J. P. Mallory and D. Q. Adams, *The Oxford Introduction to Proto-Indo-European and the Proto-Indo-European World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 411, 439; see also Brown and Anthony, "Late Bronze Age midwinter dog sacrifices and warrior initiations at Krasnosamarskose, Russia," 104.
[120] Emphasis my own. Rutherford, *Hittite Texts*, 203.
[121] Rutherford, *Hittite Texts*, 211; Collins, "The Puppy in Hittite Ritual," 219.
[122] Rutherford, *Hittite Texts*, 211.

> *iš-tar-na ar-ha pa-iz-zi* GIM-*an-ma-aš-kán* ÍD-*an ta-p*[*u-š*]*a a-ri*
> *nu-uš-ma-aš-kán wa-a-tar ša-ra-a pa-ap-pár-aš-kán-zi* [123]
>
> If the troops are defeated by the enemy, then they prepare the offerings behind the river as follows: behind the river they sever a human, a billy-goat, a puppy (and) a piglet. On one side they set halves and on the other side they set the (other) halves. But in front (of these) they make a gate of hawthorn and stretch a *tiyamar* up over it. Then on one side they burn a fire before the gate (and) on the other side they burn a fire. The troops go through, but when they come alongside the river, they sprinkle water over them(selves).[124]

Beal explains that through this ritual "whatever impurity caused the defeat was magically removed from the troops by the hawthorn's scraping, the fire's burning, the water's purification and the power of the severed corpses" and because of this the troops could return to "soldiering".[125] Eitrem suggests that "the severing of the dog may have been symbolic of the disunity of the army, which could then be repaired when the army passed between the two halves of the dog."[126] According to Collins, the human sacrificed in the ritual was likely a prisoner.[127] Collins remarks that this "is the only certain reference to a ritual human sacrifice in Hittite texts," and that "the sacrifice of humans was probably reserved for times of extreme need, such as a military defeat."[128] The "Between the Pieces Ritual", or "Ritual for a Routed Army," is similar to another ritual used to purify chariot horses:

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[123] Collins, "The Puppy in Hittite Ritual," 220 n.44. KUB 17.28 iv 45-55.
[124] trans. Collins, "The Puppy in Hittite Ritual," 219-220.
[125] Richard H. Beal, "Hittite Military Rituals," in *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*, ed. Marvin Meyer and Paul Mirecki (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 74.
[126] Collins, "The Puppy in Hittite Ritual," 223. S. Eitrem, "A purificatory rite and some allied *rites de passage*," *Symbolae Osloenses* 25 (1947). In this article Eitrem discussed the severing ritual, which was regularly performed for the army in Boeotia and Macedonia during the wars with Rome described in Livy XL VI, in which a dog's head was severed from its body and the army marched between the head and body to be purified. Eitrem then compares this ritual to Biblical passages in Genesis 15, 9-10 and Jeremiah 34, 18-20. As Collins notes, though the animals are different, the resemblance to the Hittite ritual is clear.
[127] Collins, "The Puppy in Hittite Ritual," 220.
[128] *Ibid.* More will be written regarding human sacrifice in the following section.

> […]x UR.TUR *ar-ḥa ku-ra-na-z*[*i…*]-*kán* ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ! *iš-tar-na a*[*r-ha pé-e-hu-da-na-zi*? ... *nu ke-e-e*]z 1 MAŠ-*pát*!? *ke-e-ez-zi*<-*ya*> 1 MAŠ [*ti-an-zi… nam*-]*ma-at-kán hu-it-ti-ya*-[*an-zi nam-ma ke-e-ez ke-e*-]*ez-zi-ya pa-ah-hur wa-ar-nu-w*[*a-na-zi* ANŠE.KUR.R]A.MEŠ *iš-tar-na ar-há pé-e-hu-d*[*a-na-zi*][129]
>
> The[y] sever a puppy […] the horses [they drive] throu[gh,… and they place] half on one sid[e] and half on the other side, […th]en [they] rein them in. Then [on either] side [they] burn a fire. [The hors]es [they] drive through.[130]

This idea of using a dog to purify a horse also appears in the *aśvamedha* ritual, which was introduced in the previous section. Before the horse in the *aśvamedha* ritual begins its year-long ramble, a "pre-sacrifice of sorts"[131] takes places. As Jamison explains, "before the horse is sent on its travels, it stands in water into which a dog is brought and killed… the dog is then put under the horse's feet, a symbolic display of the horse's vanquishing powers."[132]

> MŚS IX.2.1.19 śvānaṃ caturakṣaṁ saidhrakeṇa musalena pauṁścaleyo 'nvaiti … 23 saidhrakeṇa musalena pauṁścaleyaḥ śvānaṁ hanti
>
> A whore's son follows the four eyed dog with a club made of sidhraka wood… With the sidhraka club the whore's son kills the dog.[133]

Afterward, the horse is made to put its right foot on the dead dog, with the pronouncement paró mártaḥ paráḥ śvá "Away the man, away. The dog!" (MS III.12.1).[134] This ostensibly banishes the danger that will arise from hostile humans and animals during the horse's wanderings.

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[129] Collins, "The Puppy in Hittite Ritual," 221n49. KBo 10.44 obv. 13'-18' (CTH 644).
[130] trans. Collins, "The Puppy in Hittite Ritual," 221.
[131] David Gordon White, "Dogs Die," *History of Religions* 28, no. 2 (1989): 284.
[132] Jamison, *Sacrificed Wife/Sacrificer's Wife*, 78.
[133] trans. *Ibid*, 99.
[134] trans. *Ibid*, 99.

White conceptualizes the horse's year of wandering as a "ritualized conquest," explaining that "at the successful conclusion of this two-year sacrifice, the officiating priest declared the king a universal sovereign."[135] In this way, the purificatory significance of the dog sacrifice in the *aśvamedha* is then quite comparable to the Hittite military severing rituals described above. And while the conquest in the *aśvamedha* is ritualized, it is not symbolic in nature. Far from it, as White clarifies, "on whatever territory or land the horse trod, an accompanying army was obliged to make certain that that land's ruler recognize the authority of the royal sacrifice whom the horse represented. If such recognition was not forthcoming, it was the duty of the accompanying army to defeat that prince in battle and exact his submission by force."[136]

As for the dog sacrifice, Krick suggests an ingenious interpretation "that the dog is the ritual representative of the mythic dog Saramā, who will then function as a leader for the horse to the land of the dead."[137] Krick's reading may help to illuminate the role of the table dogs at Patroclus' funeral. The dog sacrifice in tandem with the horse sacrifice that occurs during the funeral of Patroclus bring into sharper relief comparisons with the *aśvamedha* ritual. Yet the dogs in the funeral are sacrificed in a manner more similar to that of the Hittite severing rituals, though it is not explicitly clear that the puppies in the Hittite ritual are decapitated like Patroclus' table dogs. In both the Hittite and Sanskrit rituals dogs are used as a method of purification. While it is possible that purification may have been an underlying motivation for the dogs sacrificed at Patroclus' funeral, the potential recipient of the purification is quite ambiguous. I

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[135] White, "Dogs Die," 284.
[136] *Ibid*, 284.
[137] Jamison, *Sacrificed Wife/Sacrificer's Wife,* 284 n.228. Hertha Krick. "Der vieräugige Hund im Aśvamedha. Zur Deutung von TS VII 1, 11, 1 (b)." *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens und Archiv für indische Philosophie (WZKSA)* 16 (1972): 27-39.

argue then that it is more probable that the table dogs sacrificed during the funeral of Patroclus are symbolic representatives of the dog of the underworld, meant to lead their master, Patroclus, to the land of the dead. The inclusion of dog sacrifice in addition to horse sacrifice in Patroclus' funeral strengthen the resemblance to the *aśvamedha*. Anthony reasons that "Pre-Greek and Pre-Indo-Iranian almost certainly were neighboring Indo-European dialects, spoken near enough to each other that words related to warfare and ritual… were shared."[138] Perhaps the funerary sacrifice of dogs and horses was another early shared innovation.

Human Sacrifice

Perhaps the most inscrutable sacrifice that occurs during the funeral of Patroclus is Achilles' sacrifice of twelve Trojan youths. Of all the sacrifices, this one appears to be the most violent and the most profane. Some scholars have even questioned whether this can truly be taken as a sacrifice, or if this killing should rather be classified as a vengeance killing. To consider this question, as well as that of how this sacrifice may have been influenced by earlier Indo-European traditions, this section will analyze the specific language surrounding the following lines:

> δώδεκα δὲ Τρώων μεγαθύμων υἱέας ἐσθλοὺς
> χαλκῷ δηϊόων· κακὰ δὲ φρεσὶ μήδετο ἔργα·
> ἐν δὲ πυρὸς μένος ἧκε σιδήρεον ὄφρα νέμοιτο. [139]
>
> so too did he slaughter twelve noble sons of the great-hearted Trojans
> with bronze; and he contrived evil works in his mind
> and he dispatched the iron might of the fire so that it might consume them.

[138] David W. Anthony, *The Horse, the Wheel, and Language: How Bronze-Age Riders from the Eurasian Steppes Shaped the Modern World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 56.
[139] *Iliad*, 23.175-177.

At the outset, the sacrificial verbs for this human offering hold separate nuance from the verbs used previously. Rather than throw (ἐμβάλλω) this sacrifice onto the pyre, as was done with the horses[140] and dogs,[141] or cut their throats (δειροτομέω),[142] like the dogs, Achilles slaughters them with bronze (χαλκῷ δηϊόων).[143] Instead of connotative connections to ritual, this word choice is semantically linked to militaristic contexts. Indeed, the verb δηιόω has implications of incredible violence, with Liddell and Scott defining the verb in part as "to rend, tear." [144] Cunliffe notes that this verb is used in this context to mean "to treat as a foe, to wound, kill, slay" and "to inflict slaughter upon (a hostile force)."[145] In other cases Cunliffe defines δηιόω as a verb used for "beasts tearing their prey."[146] Beekes ascribes δηιόω as a denominal verb derived from δήϊος, an adjective defined as "inimical, terrible," and used in formulaic conjunction with πῦρ 'fire', πόλεμος 'war', and ἀνήρ 'man'. [147] However, Cunliffe differentiates these usages into δήϊος (1) "epithet of fire, blazing, consuming" and δήϊος (2) "hostile, enemy".[148]

This discrepancy in sacrificial verbs is notable here because in what I will term the "plan-speeches", given by Achilles preceding Patroclus' funeral, the verb ἀποδειροτομέω is used instead:

> δώδεκα δὲ προπάροιθε πυρῆς ἀποδειροτομήσω
> Τρώων ἀγλαὰ τέκνα σέθεν κταμένοιο χολωθείς[149]

[140] *Iliad* 23.172.
[141] *Iliad* 23.174.
[142] *Iliad* 23.174.
[143] *Iliad* 23.176.
[144] Liddell and Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, δηιόω.
[145] Cunliffe, *A Lexicon of the Homeric Dialect*, 90.
[146] *Ibid.*
[147] Beekes, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, 323.
[148] Cunliffe, *A Lexicon of the Homeric Dialect*, 90.
[149] *Iliad* 18.336-337.

Before your pyre I will behead twelve
Splendid children of the Trojans, angry at your slaying

δώδεκα δὲ προπάροιθε πυρῆς ἀποδειροτομήσειν
Τρώων ἀγλαὰ τέκνα σέθεν κταμένοιο χολωθείς[150]

That I will, before your pyre, behead twelve
Splendid children of the Trojans, angry at your slaying

As discussed previously, the verb δειροτομέω is especially associated with sacrificial language.[151] When Achilles speaks about the sacrifices prior to their performance, the expected sacrificial verbs are used. However, curiously, when the sacrifice is being physically enacted at Patroclus' actual funeral, a different verbal collocation with more martial undertones is utilized. As a matter of fact, the phrase χαλκῷ δηϊόων,[152] in differing inflected forms, occurs only six other times in the Homeric corpus,[153] five of these are present in the *Iliad* and all five other occurrences specifically describe battlefield slayings.[154] The verbal choice then during the funeral of Patroclus serves to emphasize undertones of violence and armed conflict.

Moreover, the specific choice of sacrificial victims selected for this portion of the funerary sacrifice is noteworthy. The preceding sections have argued that the animal sacrifices that occur earlier were Trojan horses and Patroclus' domesticated dogs. Yet it is entirely explicit in the poem that the human sacrifices are Trojans:

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[150] *Iliad* 23.22-23.
[151] Kitts, *Sanctified Violence in Homeric Society*, 158.
[152] *Iliad* 23.176.
[153] *Iliad* 8.534, 11.153, 12.227, 16.650, 17.566; *Odyssey* 4.226.
[154] *Iliad* 8.534, 11.153, 12.227, 16.650, 17.566.

δώδεκα δὲ Τρώων μεγαθύμων υἱέας ἐσθλοὺς [155]

so too [did he slaughter] twelve noble sons of the great-hearted **Trojans**[156]

During the funeral the human sacrifices are described as υἱέας "sons," specifying the sacrificed individuals as male. However, the Greek υἱός, and even its Indo-European source **suH-i(e)u-* 'son,'[157] does not specify the age of the individual.

Once more it is advantageous to refer to Achilles' plan-speech for comparison. In *Iliad* 18, Achilles vows to the dead Hector that he will kill "twelve splendid children of Trojans" (δώδεκα… Τρώων ἀγλαὰ τέκνα)[158]. Achilles fulfills this vow in *Iliad* 21 when

ζωοὺς ἐκ ποταμοῖο δυώδεκα λέξατο κούρους
ποινὴν Πατρόκλοιο Μενοιτιάδαο θανόντος[159]

he picked out twelve Trojan boys, alive from the river,
to be recompense for the death of Patroclus, son of Menoetius.

During both the "plan-speech" (*Iliad* 18) and the river scene when Achilles captures the individuals who will become Patroclus' funerary sacrifices (*Iliad* 21), the soon-to-be sacrificial victims are described differently than at Patroclus' funeral. Whereas the funeral scene refers to them somewhat ambiguously as υἱέας "sons",[160] they are described as τέκνα "children"[161] and κούρους "boys"[162] in the other descriptions of the sacrifices. Both terms serve to emphasize the

[155] *Iliad* 23.175.
[156] Emphasis my own.
[157] Beekes, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, 1528.
[158] *Iliad* 18.336-337.
[159] *Iliad* 21.27-28.
[160] *Iliad* 23.175.
[161] *Iliad* 18.337; 23.23.
[162] *Iliad* 21.27

young age of the captives. Beekes defines the noun τέκνον as "child, young animal, shoot", tracing the word back to the Indo-European root **teḱ-* "beget, bear".[163] And the word κοῦρος is an Ionic variation of the Attic κόρος "boy".[164]

While it is possible given these definitions that Achilles' captives were Trojan civilian children, I would caution against this interpretation and argue instead that they are incredibly young soldiers, who are captured and killed as prisoners of war. This reasoning is based not only upon Cunliffe's second definition for κοῦρος as "one in youthful vigour, one fit to bear arms, a warrior",[165] but also formulated with the Homeric extension of κοῦρος present in κούρητες,[166] which both Beekes and Liddell and Scott define as "young warriors".[167]

This sacrifice of an enemy combatant is reminiscent of the Hittite "Between the Pieces Ritual," also known as the "Ritual for a Routed Army," described in the previous section. Collins argues that the human sacrificed in that ritual was likely a prisoner.[168] In that ritual, a human, a billy-goat, a puppy, and a piglet were severed in a purificatory ritual for a defeated army. While the semantic force of δειροτομέω is comparatively more similar to the type of severing verbs used in the "Between the Pieces Ritual" and other Hittite severing rituals, the collocation χαλκῷ δηϊόων does still fall within that semantic range. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the humans sacrificed during the funeral of Patroclus are prisoners, since, as Richardson comments, "within

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[163] Beekes, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, 1460. Beekes also notes in this entry that the related Sanskrit form *ták-man-* [n.] 'descendant' "is only attested in lexicographers and is better left aside."
[164] Beekes, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, 754.
[165] Cunliffe, *A Lexicon of the Homeric Dialect*, 235.
[166] *Iliad* 19.193, 19.284.
[167] Beekes, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, 752. Liddell and Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, κούρητες.
[168] Collins, "The Puppy in Hittite Ritual," 220.

the action of the *Iliad* itself prisoners are not taken elsewhere".[169] Hainsworth comments similarly that, "prisoners are not taken on the Iliadic battlefield (except, for an evil purpose, at 21.26ff.)".[170]

It should be noted that there was also a Sanskrit human sacrifice, called the *puruṣamedha*. The *puruṣamedha* ritual has been interpreted as a possible offshoot of the *aśvamedha* ritual,[171] which was discussed previously; however, the *puruṣamedha* utilizes a human, instead of a horse, as the sacrificial victim. However, there is significant disagreement amongst the scholarship on the *puruṣamedha* regarding the historicity of the ritual.[172] The *puruṣamedha* ritual is found in the *Vājasaneyi-Samhitā* and the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, the texts of which date to around 700 BCE.[173] Parpola strenuously asserts that the

> Vedic texts do indeed attest to real human sacrifices performed within the memory preserved by the authors, and that by the time of the Brāhmaṇa texts, the actual practice of bloody offering had already begun to diminish.[174]

The textual evidence, nevertheless, is contemporaneous with the Homeric poems and is therefore, unfortunately, outside the scope of this project.

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[169] Nicholas Richardson and G. S. Kirk, *The Iliad: A Commentary*, Volume VI: Books 21-24 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 56.
[170] Bryan Hainsworth and G.S. Kirk, *The Iliad: A Commentary*, Volume III: Books 9-12(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 237.
[171] R. D. Karmarkar, "The Aśvamedha: Its Original Significance," *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* 30, no. ¾ (1949): 341.
[172] For a discussion on the debate see Asko Parpola, "Human Sacrifice in India in Vedic Times and Before," in *The Strange World of Human Sacrifice,* ed. Jan N. Bremer (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 157-177.
[173] Parpola, "Human Sacrifice in India," 158 n.3.
[174] Parpola, "Human Sacrifice in India," 161

Returning to the Trojan youths sacrificed during the funeral of Patroclus, the motive for this sacrifice appears quite different from the motivations that have been discussed for the horse and dog sacrifices. Within the *Iliad*, the poet reveals Achilles' twofold internal motivation for the sacrifice. First, Achilles says that he is σέθεν κταμένοιο χολωθείς "angry at your slaying."[175] Achilles himself identifies that he is enacting this sacrifice of Trojan youths because of his anger over the death of Patroclus. Kitts remarks that χολόω is "one of a handful of expressive anger words in the *Iliad*… characterized by a burning volatility".[176]

Second, Achilles reveals that the twelve Trojan youths that he plans to sacrifice will be "recompense for the death of Patroclus, son of Menoetius" (ποινὴν Πατρόκλοιο Μενοιτιάδαο θανόντος).[177] The use of ποινὴν here is especially telling. Cunliffe defines ποινή as

> (1) a blood-price, a sum paid as compensation and satisfaction by a homicide to the family of the slain man… -In reference to requital or vengeance for men slain in battle… (2) something given in recompense for loss or deprivation, amends… -A sum to be paid by an enemy as compensation for loss or damage, an indemnity[178]

Kitts remarks that "the driving emotions for *poinē* are presumed to be violent"[179] and that the Achilles' ποινή in *Iliad* 21 is "ritualized revenge"[180] Indeed, the noun ποινή is derived from

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[175] *Iliad* 18.337, 23.23.
[176] Margo Kitts, *Sacrifice: Themes, Theories, and Controversies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), 16. See also Margo Kitts, "*Poinē* as a Ritual Leitmotif in the *Iliad*," in *State, Power, and Violence*. Volume 3, ed. Axel Michaels (Weisbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010), 7-31.
[177] *Iliad* 21.27-28.
[178] Cunliffe, *A Lexicon of the Homeric Dialect*, 334.
[179] Kitts, "*Poinē* as a Ritual Leitmotif," 21.
[180] Margo Kitts, "Funeral Sacrifices in Ritual Leitmotifs in *Iliad* 23," in *Transformations in Sacrificial Practices: From Antiquity to Modern Times: Proceedings from an International Colloquium, Heidelberg, 12-14, July 2006*, ed. Eftychia Stavrianopoulou, et al. (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2008), 234.

the Indo-European *$k^{w}oi$-neh_2 'punishment, vengeance', from the verbal root *$k^{w}ei$- 'punish, avenge'.[181]

Furthermore, the Homeric poet seems to contemplate an internal reaction to or contemporary reception of this sacrifice. Immediately following the description of the human sacrifice, the poet includes an interpretation of Achilles' actions, "and he contrived evil works in his mind" (κακὰ δὲ φρεσὶ μήδετο ἔργα).[182] The selfsame partial line is used in *Iliad* 21 when Achilles captures the Trojan youths by the river.[183] Accordingly, Richardson comments, "clearly attention is being drawn to the exceptional savagery of this action, even if we cannot necessarily take this as implying direct moral condemnation by the poet."[184] The mind of the Homeric poet is impenetrable, but it stands to reason that this partial line serves to acknowledge the brutality of Achilles' sacrifice of the Trojan youths. Indeed, Schein asserts, "the greatest lapse into savagery in the *Iliad* is Achilles' sacrifice at the pyre of Patroklos (23.175-76) of twelve Trojan youths captured near the river Skamandros for that purpose (21.26-32)."[185]

Furthermore, while the poet's explanation for Achilles' sacrifice of the Trojan youths does not necessarily negate their classification as funerary sacrifices, it certainly obfuscates the interpretation of the nature of the Trojan human sacrifices as functioning primarily in a funerary context. And although Kitts argues that "the representation of the twelve Trojan boys captured and then killed… [are] peppered with ritual symbols and vocabulary that disseminate a ritual

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[181] Beekes, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, 1217-1218, 1486. This root is found throughout the Indo-European family: Avestan *kaēnā-*, Lithuanian *káina*, OCS *cěna*, Russian *cená*, Sanskrit *cáyate*, Latin *poena*, and even Modern English *pain*. Beekes, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, 1218.
[182] *Iliad* 23.176.
[183] *Iliad* 21.19.
[184] Richardson and Kirk, *The Iliad: A Commentary*, Volume VI: Books 21-24, 189.
[185] Schein, *The Mortal Hero*, 79.

leitmotif for revenge killing,"[186] I contend alternately that the human sacrifices at Patroclus' funeral serve as part of an expression of sacrificial extravagance by Achilles.

In his article "Victimal Hierarchies in Indo-European Animal Sacrifice" Puhvel argues that there is a ranked order of animal sacrificial victims, and he cites a Vedic text which positions "in descending order man, horse, cattle, sheep, and goat… leaving such animals as pig and dog beyond the pale"[187] Puhvel goes on to suggest that "human sacrifice was… merely a special variety of animal sacrifice".[188] Puhvel alleges "In certain circumstances apparently horse and man were interchangeable as victims, with man being hierarchically first and thus reflecting an escalation of the ritual, an upgrading of its urgency."[189] Given the inclusion of horse sacrifice in Patroclus' funeral, the human sacrifice of the Trojan youths may then be interpreted as an extension and elevation of the associations to kingship and power. Certainly, in light of Puhvel's Victimal Hierarchy, Patroclus' funerary sacrifices as a whole can be construed as a gradation of sacrifices, increasing in significance from dogs to horses and finally to humans.

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[186] Kitts, *Sacrifice*, 16.
[187] Jaan Puhvel, "Victimal Hierarchies in Indo-European Animal Sacrifice," *The American Journal of Philology* 99, no. 3 (1978): 354.
[188] *Ibid*, 354.
[189] *Ibid*, 355.

CHAPTER THREE:

Patroclus' Bones

The post-cremation treatment of Patroclus bones diverges sharply from the established ritual paradigm discussed at the start. In the funerals of both Hector and Achilles, following cremation their bones were placed in a receptacle and then buried. The receptacles were different. Hector's bones were placed in a golden λάρναξ,[190] which was then wrapped in a cloak and buried. Achilles' bones were placed in a golden ἀμφιφορεύς[191] and then buried. Patroclus' bones, however, were not buried following cremation. In *Iliad* 23, Achilles tells Agamemnon that they should place Patroclus' bones into a golden urn (φιάλη) with fat and reserve the bones until they can be joined with Achilles' bones after his death.

> καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν χρυσέῃ φιάλῃ καὶ δίπλακι δημῷ
> θείομεν, εἰς ὅ κεν αὐτὸς ἐγὼν Ἄϊδι κεύθωμαι.[192]
>
> And let us place them (his bones) in a golden urn with a
> double fold of fat, until I myself am covered in Hades.

This is then enacted a few lines later when the Achaeans,

> κλαίοντες δ᾽ ἑτάροιο ἑνηέος ὀστέα λευκὰ
> ἄλλεγον ἐς χρυσέην φιάλην καὶ δίπλακα δημόν,
> ἐν κλισίῃσι δὲ θέντες ἐανῷ λιτὶ κάλυψαν:[193]

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[190] *Iliad* 24.795.
[191] *Odyssey* 24.74.
[192] *Iliad* 23.243-244.
[193] *Iliad* 23.252-254.

> Then crying, they gathered up the white bones of their gentle companion,
> and into a golden urn with a double fold of fat,
> they laid him in his hut and covered him with a linen sheet.

Patroclus' Bones and the Šalliš Waštaiš Ritual

The description of the treatment of Patroclus' bones shares significant similarities with the mortuary rituals for Hittite kings and queens, briefly discussed previously. Jaan Puhvel in his 1991 *Hittite and Homer* made a connection between Patroclus' funeral and "Hittite mortuary ritual for royalty",[194] though he did not identify the context of the Hittite text. A more recent and extensive 2002 volume by Kassian, Karolëv, and Sidel'tsev transliterates and translates the entire *Šalliš Waštaiš* Ritual and reveals a burial procedure similar to Patroclus' as part of the third day of this ritual.[195]

As Rutherford notes, "the expression Šalliš Waštaiš means "great sin", a euphemism for the death of the king or queen."[196] The expression is used in the opening lines of the ritual, which begins:

1. *ma-a-an* ^{URU}*Ha-at-tu-ši šal-li-š wa-aš-ta-a-iš kị-šạ-ri*
2. *na-aš-šu-za* LUGAL-*uš na-aš-ma* MUNUS.LUGAL-*aš* DINGIR-*LIM-iš ki-ša-ri*
3. *nu-za-kán hu-u-ma-an-za šal-li-iš am-mi-ja-an-{x-x-x}-za*
4. ^{GI}*ŠU-UL-PA-TE*^{MEŠ}*-ŠÚ-NU ar-ha da-an zi*
5. *nu ú-e-iš-ki-u-wa-an ti-an zi*

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[194] Puhvel, *Homer and Hittite* (Innsbruck: Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft, 1991), 19.
[195] Kassian, et al., *Hittite Funerary Ritual: šalliš waštaiš*, 260-261.
[196] Ian Rutherford, "Achilles and the Sallis Wastais Ritual: Performing Death in Greece and Anatolia," in *Performing Death: Social Analyses of Funerary Traditions in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean*, ed. Nicola Laneri (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 2007), 223.

> If a great sin occurs in Hattuša, either a king or queen becomes a god (*i.e.* dies)
> Everyone, adult <and> young, take away their reed objects and begin to wail.[197]

On the third day of the *Šalliš Waštaiš* Ritual, women extinguish the pyre,[198] take the bones out of the pyre with silver implements (possibly tongs), and anoint the bones with oil in a silver vessel, or *hūpar*, which Kassian, *et al*. comment was probably 20.5 *minae*, or around 10 kilograms. The bones are then wrapped into the linen ^{GADA}*gaz-zar-nu-li*-cloth and the fine cloth (TÚG.SIG). Following this the bones are placed on the throne.

> 3. *n(u)* 1 *hu-up-pár* KÚ.BABBAR *ŠA* ½ MA.NA 20-*ja* [*IŠ-T*]*U*
> Ì.DÙG.GA *šu-wa-an nu ha-aš-ta-i*
> 4. *IŠ-TU la-ap-pa* KÙ.BABBAR *da-aš-kán-z*[*i n*]*a-at-kán A-NA*
> Ì.DÙG.GA *hu-u-pár* KÙ.BABBAR *an-da*
> 5. *zi-ik-kán-zi IŠ-TU* Ì.DÙG.GA-*mạ-ạt-kán ša-ra-a da-aš-kán-zi*
> *na-ạt-kán* GAM-*ta*
> 6. *A-NA* ^{GADA}*gaz-za-ar-nu-li zi-ik-kạ́n-zi A-NA* GADA-*ma* GAM-*an*
> TṲ́G.SIG *ki-ịd-da-ri*
>
> 3. <They take> a silver *h.*-vessel (weighing) twenty minae and a half (?), filled with fine oil.
> 4. They tak[e] (out) the bones with silver tongs? And then put them (*i.e.* the bones) into the fine oil in the silver *h.*-vessel.
> 5. They take them out of the fine cloth and lay them down
> 6. on the linen *g.*-cloth. A fine cloth is laid under the linen cloth.[199]

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[197] KUB 20.16 lines 1-5; Kassian, et al., *Hittite Funerary Ritual: šalliš waštaiš*, 46-47.

[198] The pyre is extinguished with a mixture of beer, wine, and *walhi*, which seems to be another type of beverage. Kassian, et al., *Hittite Funerary Ritual: šalliš waštaiš*, 46-47.
KUB 30.15, line 2:
pa-a-anzi {x} *na-aš-tạ* IZI *IŠ-TṲ* 10 DṲG KAŠ 1[0 DUG GEŠTIN] 10 DUG *(wa)-al-hi* {x} *ki-iš-tạ-nu-wa-an-zi*
"They extinguish the fire with ten vessels of beer, te[n vessels of wine] <and> ten vessels of *w.*-beverage."

[199] Transliteration and Translation from Kassian, et al., *Hittite Funerary Ritual: šalliš waštaiš*, 260-261.

Looking back at Patroclus' funeral in *Iliad* 23, these passages are strikingly similar, and this resemblance has led some scholars to posit that the strange treatment of Patroclus' bones may be in reference to the *Šalliš Waštaiš* Ritual. Indeed, both funeral rituals follow the same structure with regard to the treatment of the bones. Both the Hittite and Homeric rituals follow the process of cremating the corpse, quenching the funeral pyre with wine (πρῶτον μὲν κατὰ πυρκαϊὴν σβέσατ᾽ αἴθοπι οἴνῳ),[200] gathering bones from the cremation site (κλαίοντες δ᾽ ἑτάροιο ἐνηέος ὀστέα λευκὰ ἄλλεγον),[201] placing the bones in a receptacle filled with fat or oil (ἐς χρυσέην φιάλην καὶ δίπλακα δημόν),[202] and covering the bones with linen cloth (ἑανῷ λιτὶ κάλυψαν).[203] Baldick reports that in both rituals "the bones are collected at dawn on the second day and placed in a precious vase filled with oil or fat and covered in a fine cloth" and that both funerary procedures include "the use of fat to cover the body before it is burnt."[204]

In the Hittite text the bones are anointed in the oil and subsequently removed and wrapped first in a linen cloth (^{GADA}*gaz-zar-nu-li*) and then in the fine cloth (TÚG.SIG). In Homer the bones are reserved in the urn to later be joined with Achilles' bones following his own heroic death. The urn is placed in a hut, probably Achilles', and covered in linen cloth.

[200] *Iliad* 23.237.
[201] *Iliad* 23.252-253.
[202] *Iliad* 23.253.
[203] *Iliad* 23.254.
[204] Julian Baldick, *Homer and the Indo-Europeans: Comparing Mythologies* (London: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 1994), 95; cf. Steven Lowenstam, *The Death of Patroclus* (Königstein: Anton Hein, 1981), 152; *Iliad*, 23.166-169.

Lexically there are few cognates in the two passages, though the Hittite *ḫa-aš-ta-i* and the Greek ὀστέα are derived from the same Proto-Indo-European source,[205] *h_3esth_1-*i*- 'bone'.[206] The particles *nu* in Hittite and δὲ in Greek, though not cognates, are both discourse particles, which indicate a continuation of action. Furthermore, the content of each ritual is incredibly similar. The Hittite ritual follows a clearly proscribed pattern for royal burial, which "had to be performed with scrupulous attention to detail, ensuring that the whole process was error-free, and that the deceased had a smooth transition from this world to the next."[207] And in comparing it to the funeral of Patroclus, strong parallels between the Hittite and Homeric ritual treatment of the bones can be observed.

Rutherford argues that there are "huge differences" between the *Šalliš Waštaiš* Ritual and the funeral of Patroclus, since the participants in the ritual differ and Homer does not include micro-rituals, which are part of the second half of the Hittite ritual, nor an effigy.[208] However, I would argue that echoes of the *Šalliš Waštaiš* Ritual are seen in the funeral of Patroclus, both in the treatment of Patroclus' bones and in the horse sacrifice as discussed in the previous chapter. Patroclus' funeral is decidedly not the *Šalliš Waštaiš* Ritual, but it includes remnants that Homer intentionally incorporates to highlight the elite status of Patroclus by alluding to a royal burial from a far older society.

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[205] Kloekhorst, *Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexicon*, 325.
[206] Beekes, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, 1119.
[207] Trevor Bryce, *Warriors of Anatolia: A Concise History of the Hittites*, (London: I.B. Tauris, 2019), 99.
[208] "the participants are not state officials, as in the sallis wastais ritual, but members of the same ethnic group or friends and family." Rutherford, "Achilles and the Sallis Wastais Ritual," 230.

The Hittites were in contact with the Mycenaeans (whom they called the Ahhiyawa), and as Bachvarova notes, Mycenae acted as a mediating layer between Anatolia and Greece during the Early Iron Age.[209] Bachvarova also suggests that among the methods of transmission from Anatolia to Greece were bilingual bards, intermarriage, and linguistic contact.[210] Rutherford even muses that the Mycenaeans might have been familiar with Hittite sacrifices.[211] It is possible, then, that the *Šalliš Waštaiš* Ritual was passed from the second millennium BCE in Anatolia to Homer's poems in the 8th BCE as almost a piece of fossilized custom, packaged and imported to a new context without the complete connection to its original ritual significance.[212]

In the same way, it is unclear to what extent Homer's audience would have been aware of these allusions to past practices and royal rituals. But as Seaford notes, "the cases of the failure, denial, or distortion of ritual that do occur in Homer have an important role in the narrative."[213] The fact that Patroclus' funeral is so highly differentiated from the other Homeric funerals is significant. That these differences refer back to earlier traditions regarding either royal or elite members of older civilizations is not a mistake. In making this association, Homer intentionally marks both Patroclus and his funeral as highly important and elite. This serves to increase the drama and emphasis surrounding the death and funeral of Patroclus, which is a substantial plot point in the *Iliad*.

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[209] Bachvarova, *From Hittite to Homer*.
[210] *Ibid*, 333.
[211] Rutherford, *Hittite Texts and Greek Religio*n, 248.
[212] Just as we vaguely understand the idea, of say, a Viking funeral - a body and grave goods are put in a boat out to sea and the boat is lit on fire. However, removed from context we don't fully understand the ritual significance.
[213] Seaford, *Reciprocity and Ritual*, xv.

CHAPTER FOUR:

Conclusions

The Homeric funerary ritual, though a regularized procedure, shows considerable irregularities in the funeral of Patroclus. This paper argues that these differences, both the sacrifices and the treatment of Patroclus' bones, are instances of influence from earlier Indo-European traditions. Through analyzing each aspect— the horse sacrifice, dog sacrifice, human sacrifice, and treatment of the bones— in isolation with their possible Hittite and Vedic forebears, a complex interplay of influences may be made clearer. The funeral of Patroclus is not exclusively influenced by one ritual or one Indo-European system. Indeed, it is difficult to ascertain in some instances which ritual elements are from Vedic or Hittite alone, or are merely part of a larger Indo-European heritage; and it may be impossible to completely disentangle each element from the other.

Nevertheless, it is evident that Patroclus' funeral includes elements that allude to and engage with older Indo-European rituals that are associated with power, kingship, and purification. The Vedic *aśvamedha* ritual and the Hittite *Šalliš Waštaiš* Ritual are two of the most visible influences in the funeral of Patroclus - both are primarily kingship rituals that signify assertions of power, and both include horse sacrifice. The horse sacrifice in the *Šalliš Waštaiš* Ritual is the only attestation of horse sacrifice in Hittite. The *aśvamedha* ritual includes not only horse sacrifice, but also dog sacrifice. And though the inclusion of dogs is uncommon in Greek

ritual, their presence in Patroclus' funeral evinces their purificatory potential in both martial and mortuary contexts.

Certainly, the Hittite "Between the Pieces Ritual", which includes both human and dog sacrifice is not a rite often cited in relation to the funeral of Patroclus. The human sacrifices at Patroclus' funeral are, at the outset, perplexing, but they cannot be discounted *in toto* as vengeance killings, though that may have been a key factor of Achilles' sacrificial motivation. Even so, Puhvel's argument for a Victimal Hierarchy, with human sacrifice as an upgraded animal sacrifice can be applied as a possible justification for the Trojan youths sacrificed at Patroclus' funeral. Finally, the post-cremation treatment of Patroclus' bones seems to manifestly evoke associations with the *Šalliš Waštaiš* Ritual, layering Patroclus' funeral in another ritual linked to power and kingship.

While associations to power and kingship at the funeral of Patroclus may at first seem out of place, Achilles' role as ritual enactor and sacrificer is definitively salient. Achilles' extravagance during Patroclus' funeral serves not only to elevate Patroclus' status with rituals associated with ancient kingship and martial dominance, it also elevates Achilles himself. The ability to conduct the animal and human sacrifices and insist on special treatment for Patroclus' bones is intrinsically an immense display of power on the part of Achilles. In this way, the funeral of Patroclus can be understood as a performance of power by Achilles. And since Patroclus' funeral is an anticipation of Achilles' funeral, in which Achilles effectually conducts his own mortuary rites, the funeral of Patroclus serves ultimately to affirm that in life as well as death Achilles is the best of the Achaeans.

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