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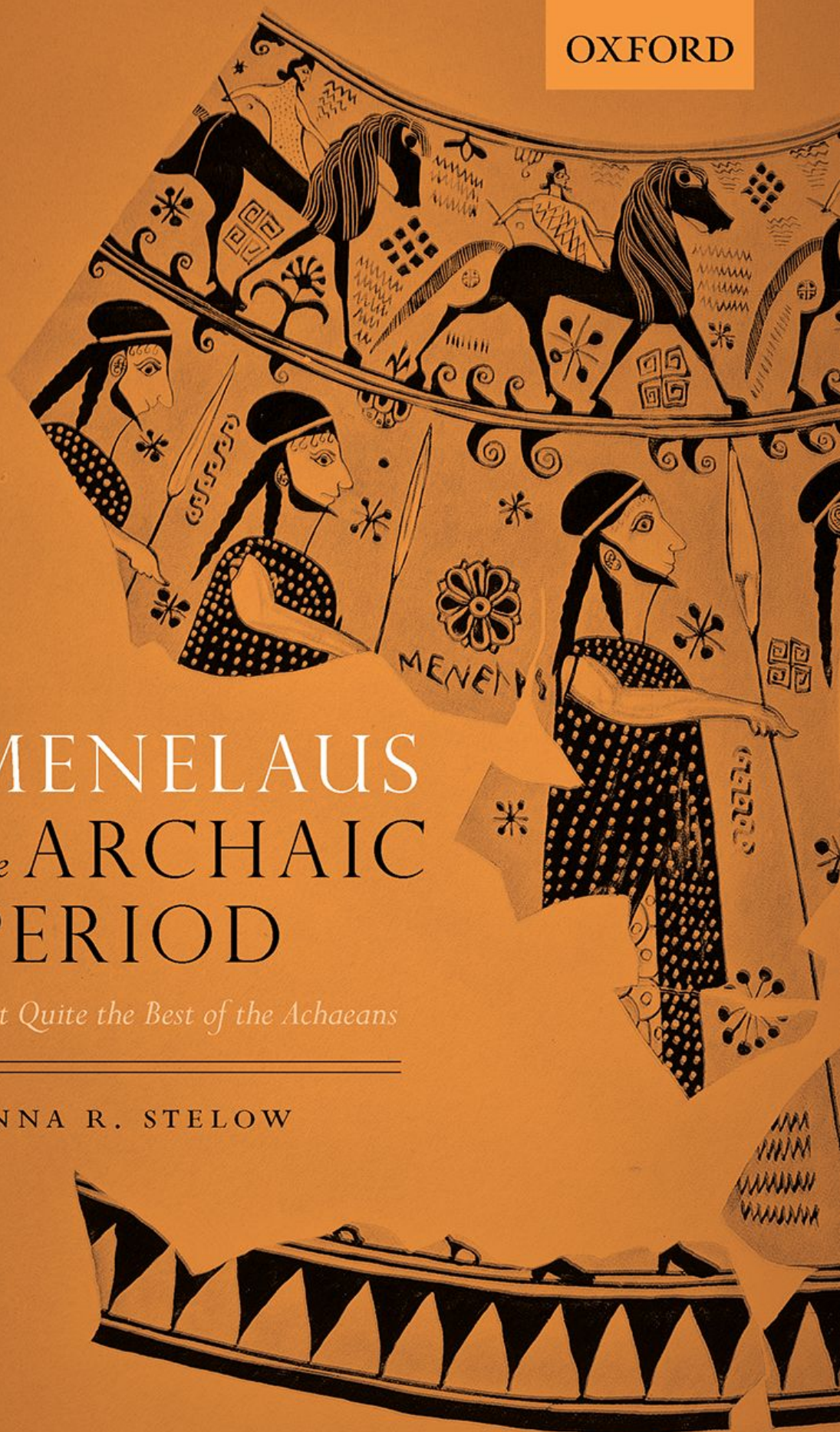

MENELAUS *in the* ARCHAIC PERIOD

Not Quite the Best of the Achaeans

ANNA R. STELOW

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Preface

'To be as gallant as possible, one might call Menelaus the perennial second best.'[1]

To the casual reader of Homer, Menelaus might seem an odd choice for a character study. Achilles and Odysseus are the stars of the Homeric epics, and their characters dominate our understanding of the poems of which each is the centre.[2] Of all the characters in Homer, Helen has arguably held the most enduring interest, for obvious reasons.[3] However great her appeal, though, she plays a limited role in Homer. In the *Iliad* she only appears in several brief, albeit pivotal, passages.[4] It is quite the reverse with Menelaus. Menelaus has received rough treatment by many post-Homeric audiences. He has been an object of ridicule since antiquity and continues to receive short shrift in modern scholarship as indicated by the epigraph above.[5] Still worse is his fate in popular American film.[6]

Yet in Greece during the archaic period it was not this way.[7] Menelaus is central to the story of the Trojan War and an impressive and memorable character in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Indeed, Homer rather liked him, as sensitive readers and scholars long have known.[8] Menelaus' pre-eminence among the Achaean suitors of Helen is insisted upon in the Hesiodic tradition, where the marriage of Menelaus to Helen stands alongside the wedding of Peleus and Thetis for its world-historical implications.[9] Sappho and Simonides

[1] Austin (1994) 59.

[2] Esp. Stanford (1963²); Clay (1983); Nagy (1999² [orig. pub. 1979]); Schein (1984); Pucci (1995 [1987]).

[3] Cf. Kahil (1955); West (1975); Clader (1976); Suzuki (1989); Austin (1994); Gumpert (2001); Hughes (2005); Maguire (2009); Blondell (2013); Edmunds (2016).

[4] Cf. *Il.* 3. 121–244, 383–448; 6. 323–68; 24. 761–76.

[5] Austin (1994) 59; cf. Visser (Neue Pauly online), 'eine Persönlichkeit … deren Ansprüche größer sind als ihre Fähigkeiten'. (http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/der-neue-pauly/Menelaus-e732380#e732390); Krieter-Spiro (2009) *BK* III. 2: 124 (M. 'nur ein mittelmäßiger Kämpfer ist').

[6] Petersen (2004), *Troy*.

[7] I follow the conventional dating of the Greek 'archaic period' as *c.*700 to 480/479 BC; cf. Whitley (2001) 60–74. Kotsonas (2016) explores the validity of the periodization of the Greek 'Dark Age' but in discussing the archaic period largely retains the convention, e.g. 241, 259; cf. 244 fig. 1.

[8] Cf. Σ^{bT} ad *Il.* 17. 1; Willcock (1987) 189–90; Zanker (1994) 1.

[9] Cf. Clay (2003) 168–74, (2005) esp. 28–9.

extol him. He is not only depicted but named on several of the most important works of art surviving from the seventh century BC, including the seventh century masterpiece in the British Museum known as the 'Euphorbos plate' (Fig. 4.10).[10] In spite of it all, there remains to date no comprehensive study of Menelaus in Homer, much less in other archaic poetry or art.[11] The lack of a more complete account of the archaic Menelaus has resulted in some startling philological missteps, as when one scholar rejected the widely accepted supplement [πανάρ]ιστον ('most excellent') in Sappho (fr. 16. 8 V) on the grounds that for Sappho to describe Menelaus thus is 'surely to stretch credulity'.[12]

There is more at stake here than literary interpretation and names on vases. As a seemingly second-class Homeric hero one might not have expected Menelaus to have merited religious honours. Yet Menelaus is one of the few Homeric heroes for whom a cult has been demonstrated, beginning in the late eighth or early seventh century BC.[13] With Helen, he was worshipped as divine in a sanctuary known as 'the Menelaion' (cf. Plb. v. 21. 1). The shrine was established just outside Sparta over the site of rather impressive Mycenaean ruins. Menelaus 'was' to Homer, early archaic vase painters, and votaries not only Helen's husband but an epic hero with a stature and afterlife all his own.

In the archaic period Menelaus achieved a heroic stature and cultural importance that he was never to regain. He was a unique and impressive figure, quite apart from his brother and his wife; a pan-Hellenic epic hero with a local cultic identity at Sparta. Though not, perhaps, a contender for the title 'best of the Achaeans' (e.g. *Il.* 1. 412), Menelaus was not only 'best husband of Helen' (*Il.* 3. 429; *Od.* 4. 263–4) but, simply, 'best'—at least, according to what one loves (Sapph. fr. 16. 3–4V).[14]

[10] London, BM A749.

[11] Schmidt's (1931) *RE* article compiles material from all periods of ancient literature, yielding a composite portrait of Menelaus that does not reflect the wide variation in the depictions of him in sources disparate in date, genre, and intent. Menelaus' entry in *LIMC*, authored by Lily Kahil, appears in the (1997) supplement (*LIMC* VIII s.v.).

[12] Austin (1994) 59; cp. Voigt (1971) 44 (app. crit. ad Sapph. fr. 16. 8); accepted by West (2014a) 2.

[13] Mazarakis Ainian (2017) 101–2.

[14] Cf. Nagy (1999^2) 26–41.

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I should like first to acknowledge with gratitude S. Douglas Olson, the advisor of the dissertation on which this book is based, and other members of the examining committee and faculty at the University of Minnesota. Mark Stansbury-O'Donnell advised my original study of the archaic vases and offered substantial assistance in subsequent revisions for the book. Richard Catling guided my understanding of the archaeology of the archaic Menelaion, shared his unpublished work on the site, and read several versions of Chapter 5. Anthony Spawforth also allowed me to study his unpublished work on the inscriptions from the archaic shrine. Without the very gracious help of these scholars I should not have been able to include this material.

Next my thanks extend to those who read and commented on the manuscript, most especially to Nicholas Richardson (who read it nearly in entirety); Benjamin Sammons, Jenny Strauss Clay, and Tyler Jo Smith. In addition, thanks to readers of individual chapters including Naoko Yamagata, Jonathan S. Burgess, Anne Mackay, Paul Cartledge, Deborah Boedeker, John Dillery, Anke Walter, and the anonymous readers for the Press. All errors are my own. Earlier versions of material contained in Chapters 1 and 6 have appeared in *CJ* (2009) and *ZPE* (2013) respectively; I am grateful to the editors for permission to reprint material contained therein.

I am deeply indebted to those who proffered assistance and hospitality during a (2013) research visit to Oxford and Greece: in Oxford, Richard Catling and Thomas Mannack at the Ioanniou Centre; Susan Walker and her staff at the Ashmolean Museum, who provided me a selection of Laconian lead votives for study. At the British School at Athens, I should like to thank Amalia Kakissis; Tania Gerousi; Vicki Tzavara and Catherine Morgan (then Director of School). Euaggelos Vivliodetis and his staff at the National Archaeological Museum provided me several objects from the collection for private study; Athanasia Papadimitriou, an overview of the Menelaion artefacts displayed at the Sparta Museum; and *chère* Adamantia Vasilogamvrou, with whom I spent a most pleasant day touring the site of Ayios Vasileios at Xerokambi.

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PART II. VOTARIES, PAINTERS, AND POETS

List of Figures

Whilst every effort has been made to secure permission to reproduce the illustrations, we may have failed in a few cases to trace the copyright holders. If contacted, the publisher will be pleased to rectify any omissions at the earliest opportunity.

Selected Abbreviations

ABSA	*Annual of the British School at Athens*
AD	*Archaiologikon deltion*
BAPD	*Beazley Archive Pottery Database*. www.beazley.ox.ac.uk.
BK	Latacz, J. and A. Bierl, eds. 2000– . *Homers Ilias Gesamtkommentar, auf der Grundlage der Ausgabe von Ameis-Hentze-Cauer (1868–1913)*. Munich and Leipzig.
Beekes	Beekes, R. 2010. *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*. 2 vols. Leiden and Boston.
Bernabé	Bernabé, A., ed. 1987. *Poetae Epici Graecae. Testimonia et Fragmenta. Pars I*. Leipzig.
Chantraine	Chantraine, P. 1968– . *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue Grecque*. 2 vols. Paris.
D-F	Davies, M., and P. J. Finglass, eds. 2014. *Stesichorus: The Poems*. Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries, 54. Cambridge.
Dev.^{2}	Beazley, J. D. 1951. *The Development of Athenian Black Figure*. Berkeley. 2nd rev. edn, D. von Bothmer and M. B. Moore, eds. 1986. Berkeley.
Erbse	Erbse, H., ed. 1969. *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem*. 7 vols. Berlin.
Fowler	Fowler, R. L. 2000. *Early Greek Mythography. Vol. 1. Text and Introduction*. Oxford.
HE	Finkelberg, M., ed. 2011. *The Homer Encyclopedia*. 3 vols. Hoboken.
Laconia Survey	Cavanagh, W. G., et al., eds. 1996. *The Laconia Survey: Continuity and Change in a Greek Rural Landscape*. 2 vols. London.
LakSpoud	*Lakonikai spoudai*. Hetaireia Lakonikon Spoudon. Athens.
LfgrE	Snell, B., ed. 1956– . *Lexicon des frühgriechischen Epos*.
LIMC	Ackermann, H. C., and J. R. Gisler, eds. *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae*. 1981–99. Zurich and Munich.
LSAG^{2}	Jeffery, L. H., and A. W. Johnston. 1990. *Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*. Oxford.
M-W^{3}	Merkelbach, R., and M. L. West, eds. 1990. *Hesiodi Theogonia Opera et Dies. Scutum. Fragmenta Selecta*. Oxford.
Menelaion I	Catling, H. W. 2009. *Sparta: Menelaion I. The Bronze Age*. 2 vols. *BSA Suppl.* 45. London.
Menelaion II	Catling, R. W. V., et al. forthcoming. *Sparta: Menelaion II: The Historical Periods*. British School at Athens.

NCH	Morris, I., and B. Powell, eds. 1997. *A New Companion to Homer*. Leiden.
RE	Wissowa, G., W. Kroll, K. Mittelhaus, and K. Ziegler, eds. *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. 1894–1978. Stuttgart.
PMG	Page, D. L., ed. 1962. *Poetae Melici Graeci*. Oxford.
PMGF	Davies, M. 1991. *Poetarum Melicorum Graecorum Fragmenta. Volumen I. Alcman, Stesichorus, Ibycus*. Oxford.
SLG	Page, D. L., ed. 1974. *Supplementum Lyricis Graecis*. Oxford.
TC	*Trends in Classics*
TCSV	*Trends in Classics Supplementary Volume*
Voigt	Voigt, E. M., ed. 1971. *Sappho et Alcaeus. Fragmenta*. Amsterdam.
W^2	West, M. L., ed. 1992^2. *Iambi et Elegi Graeci*. 2 vols. Oxford.
West *Il.*	——. 1998–2000. *Homeri Ilias*. 2 vols. Stuttgart and Leipzig.
West *Od.*	——. 2017. *Homerus. Odyssea. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana, 2026*. Berlin and Boston.

Note on Citations

For Homer, I cite from the texts of M. L. West (= West *Il.*; West *Od.*) with discussion, where appropriate. For Hesiod and the Hesiodic Catalogue, M-W^3; for Cyclic epic, Bernabé (1987); for Alcman, Calame (1983); for Sappho and Alcaeus, Voigt (1971) and West (2014a); for Stesichorus, D-F; for Ibycus, *PMG* and Wilkinson (2013); for Simonides, W^2. For *BK* I cite from the German edition; otherwise, I cite from standard English translations of secondary works where available (thus Schefold [1966], [1992]; Reinhardt [1997]; Giuliani [2013]). All other translations of primary and secondary texts are my own. I have not been able to include most material published after 2018.

Introduction

Methods and Terms

It is certain archaic vases—as much as the Homeric texts—that invite 'parallel' consideration of Menelaus in the art and poetry of the age. We begin with the exceptional vase known as the 'Euphorbos plate' mentioned in the Preface (p. vi; Fig. 4.10) which was painted on Kos, found on Rhodes, and destined for heirloom status. We see depicted there a duel scene involving three figures, each identified by painted name-label. 'Menelaus' engages 'Hector' in a duel over a fallen warrior, 'Euphorbus'. And in fact, in the seventeenth book of the *Iliad*, Menelaus slays Euphorbus and prepares to despoil the corpse (*Il.* 17. 45–67). No one dares challenge him until Hector enters the fray (68–72). Yet, as Homer tells it, the duel illustrated on the 'Euphorbos plate' never quite comes off. Of course, to ask the question whether the vase painter or his patron knew 'our' *Iliad* by no means entails an affirmative answer.[1] I shall return to this fascinating vase in its artistic context (as best it can be understood) in Chapter 4 (pp. 232–9). What is important here is the more fundamental invitation that this vase provides to look more closely at Menelaus in all his various depictions and establish a strategy for their interpretation.

The notion that Menelaus possessed a discrete and recognizable identity in the archaic period that can be 'read' in its texts and glimpsed in its images and artefacts is an underlying premise of this book—without any *parti pris* as to the dependence or independence of image and text. Art and poetry are distinct endeavours, perhaps better understood as 'parallel worlds' whose inhabitants do not (and cannot) interact.[2] The Homeric poems loom large in my study, and not merely for their length (outstripping all other extant poetry of the time). Nor do they preponderate the discussion because Homer provides the archetypal view of the character, as Stanford claimed in

[1] Cf. Snodgrass (1998) esp. 105–9; Lowenstam (2008) 4–10; Giuliani (2013) 98–102 with further bibliography at 285 n. 35; cp. Burgess (2001) 77–81 ('Iliadic-derived').

[2] Cf. Small (2003) 8–36, 155–72.

Menelaus in the Archaic Period: Not Quite the Best of the Achaeans. Anna R. Stelow, Oxford University Press (2020).
DOI: 10.1093/oso/9780199685929.001.0001

his literary study of Odysseus and Friis Johansen analogously investigated in art.[3] Rather, the Homeric poems dominate the study of Menelaus in the archaic period because they stand at or near the beginning of the Greek mythic/historical tradition as it was understood and critiqued by the Greeks themselves.[4] And while it is in Homer, as we shall see, that Menelaus achieves his greatest potential as hero, the same author(s) paradoxically invites us to question Menelaus' stature and to doubt his strength. Critical responses to Menelaus accordingly have diverged since antiquity. The exegetical scholia to the *Iliad* are generally sympathetic to Homer's Menelaus; Plato, far less so.[5] In this introduction I provide a methodology for assessing how 'Homer' made Menelaus who he was, likeable or not. Pertinent areas of Homeric research on authorship, unity, traditionality, and allusivity will be surveyed prior to discussing the specific matter of Homeric characterization and differences between the two poems. I conclude with an overview of the remainder of the book, providing my approach to the relationship between Menelaus as we find him in Homer and the figure as depicted in art and honoured at Sparta in cult.

The 'Homeric Question'

The interpretation of (any) character in Homer depends on certain basic commitments. Characterization depends on stability and coherence, which would seem to require a composition whose parts can internally be referred to the others and to the whole.[6] Scholars have not always agreed that the Homeric poems are susceptible of this kind of interpretation.[7] Furthermore, it is taken as a given that Homer did not invent Menelaus; he is a traditional figure in the Trojan War story whose basic identity and role at Troy are assumed to be known to the audience. Two questions are pertinent. What—if anything—can be ascertained from Homer regarding Menelaus' pre- (or extra-) Homeric identity? Still more broadly, how is any 'traditional' figure expressed in the oral idiom of Homer? The answers to these questions will depend on assessing competing accounts of Homeric composition, involving traditional referentiality, neoanalysis, and intertextuality.

[3] Stanford (1963[2]) 5–7; cf. Friis Johansen (1967 [orig. pub. 1937]).
[4] Cf. Hdt. i. 3–4 , ii. 116–17; Thuc. i. 3.
[5] Cf. Σ^{bT} ad *Il.* 17. 1; Pl. *Smp.* 174b–c.
[6] e.g. Arist. *Po.* 1451a; Krischer (1971) 1; Bakker (2017) 57.
[7] Cf. Bakker (2013) 157.

Leaf took it as axiomatic that one's view of the 'Homeric question' necessarily informs his textual criticism ('It is impossible to approach either the textual criticism or the exegesis of Homer without some theory as to the way in which the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* reached their present form'). This view, though susceptible to challenge,[8] has in practice been upheld by scholars of diametrically opposed commitments.[9] W. B. Stanford, for his part, unapologetically indicates his view of Homer as a single creative author with 'literary' sensibilities, conceiving of him as 'a sophisticated writer'.[10] It is not my intention to rehearse the history of the 'Homeric question'.[11] My own view is that each of the Homeric poems was authored orally by a master composer and that, while the author of the *Odyssey* was different from (and later than) the poet of the *Iliad*, he knew it intimately.[12] The manner of the poems' registration and performance context is indifferent to my interpretation of Menelaus.[13] As to the relative and absolute dating of the Homeric poems and the Cyclic epics, I make no prior claims, preferring rather to observe such evidence (vis à vis Menelaus) as the poems and vases provide along the way.[14]

Orality, Traditional Referentiality, and Neoanalysis

Scholarly approaches to the 'Homeric question' have tended, at least since the eighteenth century, to be related to scholars' adherence to one of two opposing positions on authorship and composition. Over the course of the mid-twentieth century the older dichotomy between 'analyst'/'unitarian' positions largely shifted to a division between 'oralists', emphasizing the importance of traditional diction, typology, and theme (along with the improvisatory

[8] Cf. Bacharova (2018) 151, contrasting her method with that of Leaf [1900] xiii.

[9] e.g. Nagy (1999^2) vii-11; cf. West (2014b) 1–4. Edmunds (2016) notes that these classicists' disagreement on the role of orality vs writing in the creation of the Homeric poems is similar to longstanding debates among folklorists (esp. 2–8).

[10] Stanford (1963^2) 8. Stanford's 'unitarian' and 'literary' rhetoric was that of a scholar with a deep understanding of the insights of recent 'oralist' research (Stanford [1959^2] xiv–xvii); cf. Davison (1956).

[11] Recent overviews include Janko (1998); West (1999), (2012); Latacz (2006); Finkelberg (2018).

[12] For the position, e.g. Scodel (2002) 52–3; West (2014b) 1, 25–7, 44–5 (though I differ with West's views as to the specifics of the manner of composition/revision). I use the term 'Homer' as a collective term to denote the authorship of the two Homeric poems and specifically to name 'the author of the *Iliad*' as against 'the author of the *Odyssey*'.

[13] Jensen (2011) 295–302 outlines the relevant considerations; cf. Finkelberg (2017) 29–30, (2018).

[14] Cf. Burkert (2012); S. Morris (2014) 13–14; Finkelberg (2017).

and essentially unique and unrepeatable nature of any given oral performance) and 'neoanalysts', viewing the Homeric poems as unified poetic compositions that could be interpreted as such. Neoanalysts noted in Homer numerous motifs and characters that seemed to have been borrowed from older epics (collectively known as the 'Epic Cycle'). 'Neoanalysis', in Kullmann's recent formulation, 'is understood to mean especially the method of explaining sections of the *Iliad* as semi-rigid adaptations of motifs taken over from older epic contexts.' The criteria by which such adaptations may be spotted involve 'friction' between a given motif and its context.[15]

Ongoing research into living oral traditions has substantially enriched our understanding of various modes of oral composition-in-performance and the artistic possibilities open to oral poets, tempering more extreme critical assessments by M. Parry and others regarding the poet's subordination to the tradition.[16] Even 'oralist' conceptions allowed for the creation of the Homeric poems by means of some manner of dictation or recording by an amanuensis.[17] Gregory Nagy pioneered a contrasting interpretation, however, hypothesizing the evolution of the Homeric poems over time instead of composition or fixation at a single point in time.[18] John Miles Foley elucidated an incisive 'oralist' method for the interpretation of the 'art' of Homer, demonstrating through comparative research how oral poets create and shape their compositions within a traditional idiom and poetics. Each recurrence of traditional wording or theme draws on its meaning in the larger tradition ('traditional referentiality').[19]

The 'neoanalyst' interpretive approach has been modified over time in response to substantial anglophone scholarship on Homeric orality, as Kullmann made clear in his (1984) article published in English, decisively abandoning the requirement of written Homeric exemplars.[20] The *rapprochement* between 'oralist' and 'neoanalyst' positions continued apace, and in fact scholars such as Malcolm Willcock already had accommodated

[15] Kullmann (2015) 112; Currie (2016) 22–38 discusses an 'expanded neoanalysis' seeking not so much an account of the 'genesis or composition' of the Homeric poems but a 'poetics of allusion'.

[16] Cf. A. Parry (1971) lii–lv; Foley (1991) 3–4 with n. 6 on M. Parry's early 'mechanist' view of the operation of Homeric epithets.

[17] e.g. Lord (2000^2) 124–38; A. Parry (1989 [orig. pub. 1966]) 134–40; Jensen (2011) esp. 224–7, 295–328; cf. 'scripsist' views at Gould (1977); Kullmann (1981) 29–30; Powell (1991); Dowden (1996); West (2011) 3–4, 10–14.

[18] Cf. Nagy (1999^2) esp. xiii–xvii, 3–11; cf. Bierl (2012).

[19] Foley (1991) esp. 6–37, (1999) esp. xiii–xv; Foley† and Arft (2015) 82–5.

[20] Kullmann (1984); cf. Kullman (1991), (2002b), (2015).

both approaches for years.[21] Willcock's deft studies of Homeric character, blending oralist and neoanalyst approaches, have guided my own work on Menelaus (more below). Here it is sufficient to note his intuition into the compatibility of oralist and neoanalyst interpretations that later became the norm.[22] The Cambridge commentators of the *Iliad* take a generally balanced approach to both positions.[23] Since the turn of the millennium the two approaches have been in full and productive dialogue, notably in edited volumes and conference papers.[24]

The poems of the 'Epic Cycle' were always important both for neoanalysis and oral theory: preserving (according to the former method) the antecedent poems or stories drawn on by Homer; for the latter, the traditional diction and typology creatively employed by Greek oral poets.[25] As the two methods have come into alignment, the Epic Cycle has received increased attention.[26] The depictions of Cyclic subjects in archaic art have proved fruitful to philological debates regarding the dating of the composition and dissemination of the Homeric poems, more or less in the form that we know them.[27] Margalit Finkelberg, for instance, in a recent survey of the various arguments regarding an eighth- vs seventh- or sixth-century dating for Homer, considers the evidence of the vases decisively in favour of West's (and Burkert's) seventh-century dating of the poems.[28] As indicated above, I make no prior assumptions as to the relationship between Homer, Cyclic epic, and the vases; although I do believe that my study of Menelaus in the

[21] Cf. Fenik (1968) 235–40; Willcock (1973); as Currie comments, 'there is no necessary tension between allusion and typology', Currie (2016)11.

[22] Willcock (1973) 3, 6; cf. Edwards (1990). [23] Cf. Edwards (1991) 16–19.

[24] Cf. esp. Montanari and Ascheri, eds. (2002); Andersen and Haug (2012); Montanari, Rengakos, and Tsagalis, eds. (2012); Gallo, ed. (2016); Tsagalis and Markantonatos, eds. (2017). An excellent series of studies have been conducted by Jonathan Burgess, esp. (2001), (2006), (2009), (2016). A. Kelly has challenged several neoanalyst 'proof texts', cf. (2006), (2012); for Kelly's method (focusing on the 'referential' nature of Homeric and other oral traditional poetry), (2007) esp. 5–14; cf. Kelly (2015). Bakker (2017) reconciles neoanalysis with his earlier 'scale of interformularity' (59 n. 3); cf. Bakker (2013) 157–60.

[25] e.g. Kullmann (1960); J. A. Notopoulos (1964).

[26] For the texts, Bernabé; Davies (*PMGF*); cf. the Loeb text and English translation by West (2003) followed by his study of the fragments (2013). Important studies include Danek (1998); Burgess (2001); Frame (2009); the contributions in Fantuzzi and Tsagalis, eds (2015); Sammons (2017); Scafoglio (2017); Davies (2014), (2016), (2019).

[27] Esp. Wiencke (1954); Beazley (1957); Davies (1977); Cook (1983); Burgess (2001); Burkert (2012).

[28] Finkelberg (2018); cf. Burkert (1976); West (2001) 5–9, (2012). For the importance of a festival context in the creation of the Homeric poems, see recently Frame (2009); Jensen (2011) (with contrasting views on the manner of composition [esp. Jensen (2011) 232 with n. 47]); Finkelberg (2018) 29–32 with further discussion of the 'Pisistratean recension' and bibliography. For the vases, Burkert (2012) esp. 8–9; S. Morris (2014) 13–14; Finkelberg (2018) 32–8.

several narrative idioms will prove suggestive, and I shall return to the matter in the conclusion (pp. 291–5). Disagreements over exactly when and specifically how the Homeric epics were composed does, and probably always will, persist.[29] Substantial agreement among Homerists on certain points has, however, been reached. Not only are other epic songs and stories generally agreed to have been important, in a general way at least, to the creation of the Homeric poems, these poems (however they came into being) are generally agreed to be susceptible of interpretation as 'texts', even if only later as 'written'.[30]

Stanford, for his part, ignored such issues in his study of Odysseus (1963[2] [orig. pub. 1954]). He unapologetically posited for the Homeric poems 'an author' and proceeded from 'scripsist' assumptions.[31] He speculated about how 'a sophisticated writer like Homer' creatively negotiated the 'demands of reader and audiences' in transforming the 'wily lad' of folk tale into his epic hero.[32] Later, when Piero Pucci took up the study of Odysseus (1995 [orig. pub.] 1987), by contrast, he took overt notice of the orality of the Homeric poems and considered their origins to be the composition-in-performance of lays over a period of time.[33] Yet Pucci's affirmation of Homer's susceptibility of 'literary' interpretation was, if anything, more pronounced than Stanford's. 'It is…with polemic intent and with a specific strategy in mind that in this book I speak of Homeric "writing."' Pucci, among others, encouraged subsequent scholars to 'rethink…the nature of Homeric oral poetry as a phenomenon as technically complex and literarily sophisticated as written poetry.'[34]

Homeric Intertextuality and Methodologies of Allusion

Research into the nature of intertextuality and allusion in the Homeric poems has taken over from, though not entirely superceded, disagreements between oralists and neoanalysts.[35] At its most stark, the opposition

[29] Cf. Currie (2016) 13–22.

[30] Cf. Willcock (1973) 6; Pucci (1995 [orig. pub. 1987]) 17–19, 251–5; (2018) 146 n. 67; Nagy (1999[2]) 4–5; Burgess (2012) ('intertextuality without text'); for discussion, Currie (2016) 16–17. Jensen (2011) 179–213 discusses comparative and ancient Greek models for orality and writing; on 'entextualization' Ready (2015); (2018) 320–7.

[31] For the term ('scripsist'), Taplin (1992) 36.

[32] Stanford (1963[2]) 8–24.

[33] Pucci (1995 [orig. pub. 1987]) 26–30.

[34] Pucci (1995 [orig. pub. 1987]) 27.

[35] Cf. Schein (2016 [orig. pub. 1999]) 81–91; I. Rutherford (2012) 154–5; Currie (2016) 9–36; Bakker (2017).

between oralist and scripsist interpretations yielded contrasting positions on the very possibility of intertextuality or allusion in Homer. Foley explained seemingly allusive relationships in the Homeric poems as that of (traditional) 'part' to 'whole'. Each new instantiation of an oral phrase, motif, or story pattern implicitly makes reference to the entire epic tradition ('traditional referentiality').[36] Burgess extended the notion to include the repetition of specific wording, discussing possible examples of 'textless intertextuality'.[37] For 'scripsist' scholars, by contrast, identifying 'literary'-type allusion is relatively unproblematic as they take the Homeric poems to have been known early on (as written).[38]

Ian Rutherford comments that while there is general agreement that early Greek poets composed against a tradition and substantial (though lesser) agreement that poets were able to intend audiences to identify relationships between their poems, what remains at issue is how to understand and describe such relations. He remarks that earlier terms such as 'allusion' and 'imitation' have given way to 'intertextuality' and 'traditional referentiality'.[39] For all its nuance, Pucci's (1987) study met with criticism regarding the use of the term 'intertextuality'. In an afterword published in the (1995) edition Pucci addressed the critique, admitting that 'the legitimacy of using [the term] "intertextuality" with pure aesthetic implications is a question … it is true that I have collapsed "allusion" and "intertextuality." ' Pucci claims that in his usage 'intertextuality' has the sense 'total allusiveness, or textuality … . Accordingly, in using it as a deconstructive tool, I have altered also the traditional notion of "allusion."'[40]

Georg Danek implicitly pointed the way forward in his (1998) study of the *Odyssey*, exhaustively demonstrating how the poet incorporates Cyclic material to (self-consciously) 'overwrite' the tradition. What is most pertinent to my study, moreover, is Danek's view that Homer's remodelling of tradition is undertaken with a view to the depiction of character ('correcting' the traditional character of Odysseus).[41] Danek found that Homer's preferred method for the adoption of traditional stories, motifs, and themes was 'quotation' (*Zitat*), in which the oral poet relies on the audience's familiarity with (specific) 'alternative versions' of the story to construe the

[36] Foley (1991) esp. 6–10; Foley† and Arft (2015) 82–5; cf. Kelly (2007) 5–14; cp. Danek (1998) 13–23.
[37] Burgess (2012). [38] e.g. Dowden (1996); West (2014b) 27.
[39] I. Rutherford (2012) 154–5.
[40] Pucci (1995 [orig. pub. 1987]) 255; cf. 29 with n. 30.
[41] Danek (1998) 1–28; cf. Danek (2010) 126–7.

meaning of his own.[42] Danek finds oral parallels for this compositional strategy in Bosnian epic and, like Pucci, justifies his understanding of the concept of 'intertextuality' as applicable to oral-traditional poetry.[43] In several subsequent studies Danek clarifies and further refines his understanding of 'intertextuality' in Homer. In one such study, he explores Jean Genette's theory of *palimpsests*.[44] The notion of palimpsest allows for a clear delineation of the relation between texts, with one text, the *hypo-text*, inscribed 'behind' the other (*hyper-text*).[45] In parody, for example, an especially clear hierarchical relationship exists between a dominating hypo-text and an accompanying hyper-text.[46]

The opposite type of 'palimsestuous' relationship can exist as well, which Danek sees at work in the *Odyssey*: the hyper-text aims 'to outdo and replace its hypo-text'.[47] Broadly speaking, '[T]he whole epic tradition', which forms the hypo-text of the Homeric poems, can no longer be regained 'except by some kind of alchemy, in this case by philological reconstruction'.[48] In the *Iliad*, however, Danek detects a somewhat more nuanced relationship between hypo- and hyper-text: rather than seeking to replace it (as in the *Odyssey*), the *Iliad* incorporates it anew into the narrative while continuing to hold it in relief, alluding to the 'original' meaning. Danek briefly discusses how this variation of the theory of palimpsests better describes Iliadic 'intertextuality'; his test case is Homer's invocation of the traditional 'plan of Zeus' formula for the story of Achilles.[49]

Danek's account of the Homeric poems as two different types of palimpsests corresponds rather nicely, as we discuss further below, to the somewhat different strategies taken in each poem to portray Menelaus. What remains unspecified at this point, however, are (1) criteria for defining more

[42] Danek (1998) 5–7; cf. Schein (2016 [orig. pub. 2002]) 37.
[43] Danek (1998) 8–23.
[44] Danek (2010) 123–9.
[45] Published in the same year, Kelly (2010) uses the term 'hyper-text' differently, alluding to (electronic) hypertexts as an analogy for the 'encoding' of traditional stories and strands in the Homeric poems; cf. Tsagalis (2012a); Pucci (2018) 3 n. 4.
[46] On the parodic relationship between the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad*, cf. R. B. Rutherford (1991–3) 50–1, reviving Monro's discussion (1901) 127, 326–31; Pucci (1995 [orig. pub. 1987]) 69–70, 159; Bakker (2013) 143; cf. D. Steiner (2010) 239 ('Index' s.v. 'parody'). Pucci (2018) detects an 'almost' parodic interaction with the tradition in the depiction of Zeus in the *Iliad* (esp. 3–4, 29–30, 201–31).
[47] Danek (2010) 129; cf. Lang (1995), though Danek emphasizes their differences (133 with n. 25). Margalit Finkelberg employs the term 'meta-epics' for the Homeric poet(s)' desire to supercede and replace other Trojan epics, cf. (2003), (2011) 201–2, (2015). Somewhat different is Burgess (2006) ('metacyclic'); cf. Andersen and Haug (2012) 17–18.
[48] Danek (2010) 135; cf. Pucci (2018) 4.
[49] Danek (2010) 132–4; cf. Danek (1996) 33–4, (2002a) 176–8.

precisely the nature of whatever 'palimsestuous' relationship(s) exists between the Homeric and extra-Homeric texts and (2) the best terminology to describe it. Danek, for his part, in spite of expressed uneasiness about the use of the term 'intertextuality' (which, in its 'soft' versions, 'becomes little more than a newly coined label for old fashioned concepts like "citation" or "allusion"')[50] has continued to employ it as a working definition.[51]

As regards the role of the 'palimpsest' in Homeric character portrayal, if Danek is right that the poet of the *Odyssey* has 're-written' the tradition to correct the character of Odysseus, one might expect a similar re-writing of the character of Menelaus. What Stanford deftly stated of Odysseus is true, and even more so, of Menelaus: 'As far as extant literature goes the story of [the hero] begins in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.'[52] The folk-tale origin of the character of Odysseus and certain other Homeric figures can be plausibly reconstructed.[53] Stanford is able to use the folk-tale character-type ('wily lad') as a foil for Homer's Odysseus. Though it is obvious that Homer did not create Menelaus (any more than Odysseus) *de novo*, a folk-tale origin proves less compelling for understanding Menelaus' Homeric character.[54] And the nature of Menelaus' character in the Greek epic tradition is underdetermined.[55] Menelaus was not solely—or even primarily—defined by a mythic function ('husband of the departed bride') nor was he the craven, political, or simply ridiculous figure he later became on the Athenian stage.[56] So, in the absence of adequate comparative material about Menelaus' origin, various methodologies for assessing Homer's use of traditional or borrowed material (of whatever sort) will be surveyed in what follows, to establish my own preferred method for assessing possible relationships between the depiction of Menelaus in Homer, other early Greek epic poems, and/or the larger epic tradition. Once the terms have been defined, the relationships between poems and their influence (or lack thereof) on visual representations can properly be assessed.

As to the relationships between Homer and the epic tradition, neoanalysts looked to narrative inconcinnities or anomalies as evidence for

[50] Danek (2010) 129; cf. I. Rutherford (2012) 154–5.

[51] Cf. Danek (2016c) 145: 'What intertextuality definitely "is" can be seen, in my opinion, only by analyzing concrete cases'; cf. Currie (2016) 34.

[52] Stanford (1963^2) 8.

[53] Stanford (1963^2) 8–12; cf. Edmunds (2016) 39.

[54] Cf. Edmunds (2016) 49–65; Rousseau (1990) posits a 'functionalist' Indo-European origin for the hero based on the Dumézil's tripartite model of sovereignty; cf. Rousseau (1992) 58 with relevant bibliography at n. 5; on the tripartite scheme, J. Nagy (2014).

[55] Cf. Willcock (2004); Sammons (2014).

[56] Cf. Blaiklock (1952) 74–100; Edmunds (2016) 126–9, 139–57; E. Hall (2018).

Homer's adoption of an epic exemplar or theme ('friction').[57] Burgess adapts Kullmann's work on 'motif transference' to assess Homeric borrowings from an oralist perspective.[58] Pucci, on the other hand, used the criterion of a 'pointed repetition marked by purposeful change' to identify 'a sort of quotation' of the *Odyssey* in Hesiod (*Th*. 26–8; cf. *Od*. 19. 203).[59] Burgess (2012), revisiting his own earlier work on the topic, points to the fundamental issue lurking behind Pucci's purposeful qualifier ('sort of'). Given that most scholars agree on a 'general correspondence of motifs' in Homer and Cyclic epic, Burgess asks 'what about words and phrases? Is there such a thing as quotation in early Greek epic?'[60] He decides that even in instances such as the character-specific phrase *μέγας μεγαλωστί* 'the general epic tradition, not specific poems' provide the origin of certain specific phrases.[61] Granted that this might have been the case, Burgess's findings do not preclude the possibility that regardless of their ultimate origin, the re-use of certain phrases such as *μέγας μεγαλωστί* in one Homeric text might depend on an intermediary (Homeric or epic) text.[62] In subsequent research Burgess concedes the possibility of some degree of Homeric influence on the Cycle by the early sixth century BC.[63]

Other methodologies have been proposed. Bakker (2013) uses linguistic models to resolve the dichotomy between 'orality' and 'literacy', proposing a 'scale of interformularity' that accounts for repetition of verses or phrases within and across the Homeric poems.[64] The model brings Homeric formulae into line with research in natural language use.[65] Hutchinson approaches repetition from a cognitive rather than linguistic methodology. Repetition is an 'attention-grabbing' feature common to oral and 'literary' poetry. Like Bakker, Hutchinson provides a way of understanding formulaic diction as encompassing a range of meaningfulness (generic/particularized ~ audience

[57] e.g. Kakridis (1949) 8; Burgess (2001) 61; Currie (2006) 5 (critiqued by Kelly [2012] 228 n. 20); cf. Currie (2016) 22, 27–8, 238–45.

[58] Burgess (2006) 148–9 with Kullmann (1981), (1984), (1991); cf. Burgess (2009) 59–71, (2012).

[59] Pucci (1995 [orig. pub. 1987]) 193; cf. 238.

[60] Burgess (2012) 168.

[61] Burgess (2012) 182–3.

[62] As Burgess recognizes: 'My concern is not with the borrowing of phraseology from one poem by another poem, but rather the reuse of traditional phraseology in a secondary fashion', (2012) 171 n. 9; cf. 170 with n. 5.

[63] Burgess (2016) 18.

[64] Cf. Bakker (2017), employing the traditional terminology ('neoanalysis'; 'allusion').

[65] Esp. Bakker (2013) 159–61.

'inattention'/'attention') rather than as a binary opposition (implied by Parry's description of the Homeric epithets).[66]

di Benedetto (2007) employs the terminology of 'reuse' specifically for the repetition of Iliadic verses in the *Odyssey*. He distinguishes between two basic possibilities for the 'reuse' of verses: non-meaningful ('*irriflesso*', i.e. without full awareness of the context in the *Iliad*) or meaningful ('*consapevole*').[67] The latter '*consapevole*'-type of re-use is itself subdivided into two categories, '*generic*' (i.e. a deliberate re-use of verses without the intention of making meaningful allusion to the Iliadic context) and '*individualized*'. Each of these approaches creatively assesses the ability of Homer to use, and re-use, traditional formulae and phraseology in a way that is meaningful and context-specific. di Benedetto's caveat is paramount: '[i]t is very uncertain how much hearers of the *Odyssey* could remember from the other poem.' Interpreting repetition as allusion often presupposes an 'optimal' audience ('se il lettore se ne ricorda').[68]

As a review of these various methodologies makes plain, the underlying phenomenon at issue is the *repetition* of phraseology, motif, or theme, whether within a single text or across others.[69] Pucci identifies four 'features' of meaningful recurrence: (1) rarity, (2) marked repetition, (3) specificity of context or exclusivity of theme, (4) a 'textual reason for the allusion', by which Pucci seems to imply something like the neoanalyst notion of 'narrative inconcinnity'. These features 'force upon the reader the conviction that an allusion is either meant or has slipped in'.[70] Similar to Pucci's second criterion ('marked repetition') is the conventional requirement that to be considered meaningful, correspondences must be 'striking' and 'significant'.[71] The fact that certain repetitions, whether verbal or thematic, continue to incite audiences and scholars to seek for meaning suggests that, at the least, an allusion 'has slipped in'.

It must be emphasized that the determination of what is 'marked' and/or 'meaningful' is necessarily subjective.[72] Due to Homer's 'overwriting' of the

[66] Hutchinson (2017) 156–8; cf. Bakker (2013) 158–9.
[67] Cf. Monro (1901) 327–8.
[68] di Benedetto (2007) 692; see Scodel (2002) 6–41.
[69] Cf. Bakker (2013) 157–8; Pucci (2018) 146 n. 67. Burgess (2006) 157–9 discusses repetition in (oral) typological analysis, with bibliography at 157 nn. 20–1; in neoanalysis and motif-transference, certain instantiations of motifs are considered to be prior to others (158–61). For an analogous methodology in interpreting repetition of typical pictorial elements on Greek vases, Steiner (2007).
[70] Pucci (1995 [orig. pub. 1987]) 238.
[71] Currie (2016) 33 with further bibliography; cf. Currie (2012) 547–8; Danek (2016b) 41. Somewhat different are the criteria of R. B. Rutherford (1991–3) 43–4.
[72] Currie (2016) 33.

tradition, not to mention the 'accidents' of later preservation (which themselves depended in part on scholarly predilections and prejudices), one can appreciate and even infer—but never prove—allusion.[73] 'Unfortunately', as Pucci remarks regarding the behaviour of Zeus in Homer, 'we cannot compare the Iliadic text with its sources, models and contemporary versions so as to judge what appears to be the *Iliad*'s parodic intent: only a precise comparison would allow us to define the reflexive intensity and innovative, even revolutionary force of the Iliadic text.'[74]

Bruno Currie offers a robust method and comprehensive terminology for inferring and discussing instances of seeming-allusion in early hexameter poetry, starting from the famous 'allusive' crux that opens the *Iliad* (the *Διὸς … βουλή* formula, *Il.* 1. 5 = *Cypr.* fr. 1.7 Bernabé = *Od.* 11. 297).[75] Currie reclaims, polemically, the old (literary) sense of the term 'allusion' as 'specific, unidirectional' repetition of material from one text to another, even while recognizing the existence and art of multidirectional "traditional referentiality" also at work in Homer'.[76] Currie's interest is in repeated phrases, narrative sequences, themes, and motifs in early Greek hexameter epic (and its forerunners). My work applies his method and terminology to the creation of character.

Currie begins by drawing a distinction between several broad categories of meaningful repetition (*allusion*) found in Homer and other early hexameter epic that justify his views on Homer's 'allusive' art.[77] We shall detect several of these allusive techniques in the depiction of Menelaus in Homer. The first category involves 'self-reflexive tropes of allusion' such as (1) signals to the source-text; (2) repeated words, indicating a sequel or prequel; (3) the use of a character's 'recalling' of a motif or episode to cue the audience's own recollection of it in another poem; (4) references to fate, prophecy, or the will of the god(s) as a figure for the poet's adoption (or rejection) of the tradition; (5) the use of *nekyiai* to engage the poetry of the past; (6) metapoetic metaphors of 'borrowing', 'theft', 'filiation', or 'sibling' relationships; (7) song within a song. Other allusive techniques include opposition in imitation (*contrast-imitation*), often studied in the *Iliad* in the context of paired speeches, and *narrative inconsistency*. Having distinguished between these categories, Currie discusses the two conventional conditions to be met for inferring that an allusion is at hand: *markedness* and *meaning*.[78]

[73] Cf. Danek (2010) 134–5; cf. Finkelberg (2011) 207–8.
[74] Pucci (2018) 4; cf. 231.
[75] Currie (2016) 1–4.
[76] Currie (2016) 11, cf. 4–9, 16–17.
[77] Currie (2016) 26–8.
[78] Currie (2016) 33–4, 259–62; cf. Bakker's 'scale of interformularity' ([2013] 157–69).

Currie elucidates a comprehensive terminology by which *allusion* (in varying degrees of markedness and meaning) can be described and further defined.[79] While preferring 'allusion' as a general term for purposive, unidirectional repetition between poems, Currie adopts a non-standard use of 'intertextuality' as synonymous with *allusion* (somewhat like Pucci, quoted above [7]). For Currie, *intertextuality* facilitates a helpful distinction between *intra-* and *intertextual* allusions.[80] 'Interaction', as defined by Currie, is a broader term than allusion that allows for the range of marked relations between a poem and other entities (including the poetic tradition, the mythical tradition, a 'simple story', or another poem). *Interaction* between poems comprises a range of markedness, with 'evocation' being a less strongly marked interaction than 'quotation'. In the latter category, *verbatim quotation* can exist between (or within) poems and is more strongly marked than *non-verbatim quotation* (which is possible at the level of story-pattern, motif, or wording). Other distinctions of terminology that may prove helpful in interpreting character include 'reception' as a means of neutrally describing meaningful changes worked on one text by another (which, in its stronger form, is called 'refiguration'). Genetic claims between repeated material include 'reprises', indicating that a later recurrence is cued by the former; and 'dependence' (x *depends on* y), which can be direct or mediated. I shall employ these terms as appropriate to describe allusive elements and techniques in Homer's portrayal of Menelaus. Though Currie applies his methodology of allusion to Cyclic epic and other early hexameter poetry, I do not make much use of it for discussing Menelaus in the Cyclic summaries and fragments—not because allusivity did not exist in these poems, but because for Menelaus the evidence is so slight that they must be assessed on a case-by-case basis (Chapter 3).

Theories of Homeric Character Depiction

Character vs Personality

Any hearer or reader of the *Iliad* readily recognizes that the greatest heroes—Achilles, Odysseus, Nestor and, I hope to show, Menelaus, are vividly drawn and utterly distinct.[81] Currie's methodology of Homeric

[79] Currie (2016) 34–6. [80] Cf. Pucci (1995 [orig. pub. 1987]) 205–6.

[81] On interpretation of character in the exegetical scholia, Richardson (1980) 272–5; on scholiasts' understanding of point-of-view, Nünlist (2003).

allusion contributes to approaches already available for the description and interpretation of Homeric character. Christopher Gill drew a basic distinction between 'character' and 'personality' in Homeric character-portrayal and audience response. 'Characters' are figures that generally show agency in their actions, are guided by moral and ethical concerns, and are presented from an impartial or 'objective' standpoint. 'Personality' is associated with individuals whose behaviour often is determined rather than chosen, arising from psychological causes rather than conscious reasons. The latter types employ a self-referential ethical framework and a 'first personal' point of view.[82] 'We moderns tend to view Achilles as a "personality," ' Gill comments, ' "subjectively", in so far as we merge our view with his, rather than situating him "objectively" in his context.'[83] The distinction is meaningful for Menelaus in the *Iliad*, as we shall see, where the poet invites the audience to regard Menelaus as a 'personality'.

The 'Literary Self'

Lowell Edmunds discusses the notion of selfhood in mythological character-portrayal, defining the 'self' as a literary character 'whom the poet can imagine and from which his representation starts'. He rejects the definition of Helen as a 'self' in this sense on the objection that the Greeks did not consider Helen a fictional character like the 'literary selves' of characters in modern novels. Ancients considered her a historical person 'whose bones could, hypothetically, have been dug up somewhere'.[84] The objection fails, perhaps, to do justice to the ability of Homer's audience (and successive auditors of the Homeric epics) to engage the same character in different conceptual frames or to allow for the imaginative reconstruction of a real but historically now-distant individual. Still more, when it comes to Menelaus Homer explicitly rejects the possibility of Menelaus' bones 'being dug up

[82] Gill (1990) esp. 2–5. Gill interprets Achilles in the *Iliad* as conforming to both types. Other characters react to Achilles as a 'character', terrible and proud (*Il.* 11. 653–4; 9. 699–700). Achilles' own speech and the situation in which he finds himself elicits a different reaction (13–16).

[83] Gill (1990) 16. Edmunds (2016) draws on Gill's distinction to define his approach to Helen. Edmunds distinguishes his approach from others by limiting his analysis to Helen as a 'character' in narrative, understood through her actions and speech, rather than as 'personality' (or 'self') with an inner life (189–96); cp. Blondell (2013) xi–xii.

[84] Edmunds (2016) 239.

somewhere', even hypothetically, in Proteus' prophecy of Menelaus' afterlife in Elysium (*Od.* 4. 563–5).

'Boring' vs 'Interesting'

Peradotto (2002) distinguishes two types of character: the first is a simple, folk-tale type, in which character arises simply from a series of actions; the second is subject to moral valuation by the narrator or other characters.[85] Individual characters of the second type are distinguished from one another, Peradotto argues (in a conception derived from Barthes), by 'precisely the unclassifiable, the irreducible residue that remains when all generic, classificatory, categorizing predication has been exhausted'.[86] 'Boring' characters are conventional; 'interesting' characters are marked and 'defamiliarizing'.[87] There is an intuitive logic to the unapologetically subjective distinction. I shall discuss the linguistic and rhetorical means by which Homer marks out Menelaus as 'interesting'. Christoph Barck—reacting against evaluative readings of character such as 'good' or 'bad'—emphasizes the importance of the poet's intention and the character's function within the poem.[88] And indeed in each of the Homeric poems Menelaus is distinguished from the other figures by a particular and unique function within the story.

'Mental Moulds' and Meaningful Repetition

It has been mentioned above that Malcolm Willcock anticipated the *rapprochement* between competing interpretive models of Homeric composition, drawing on oralist research and type-scene analysis as well as neoanalysts' hypotheses as to the poetic origins of certain characters and motifs.[89] Willcock developed a lucid account of Homeric character-portrayal in a series of short articles published over a number of years.[90] His emphasis on the importance of repetition in character portrayal, moreover, aligns with the recent work discussed above on the importance of marked and meaningful repetition as an intertextual or allusive strategy. In an early

[85] Peradotto (2002) 2–10. [86] Peradotto (2002) 11. [87] Peradotto (2002) 13.
[88] Barck (1971) 7. [89] Willcock (1973) 5–6; cf. Willcock (2002) 224–5.
[90] Willcock (1973), (1983), (1987), (2002), (2004). Edwards (1987) builds on Willcock's insights to discuss Homeric adaptation of traditional *topoi*; Minchin (2011) confirms the validity of Willcock's approach through comparative studies in machine learning and psychology.

study (1973) of the Funeral Games Willcock observed that Homer's characters are the result of a stable conception of the figure within the mind of the poet (a 'mental mould or pattern') that expresses itself in action.[91] The characters' actions, in other words, follow certain traditional patterns inherited by the poet, but within these patterns there is ample room for the poet's creative invention. Diomedes, for example, is a 'natural winner', Willcock claims; this would reflect Homer's 'mental mould' of the character. Homeric invention occurs in how the poet chooses to bring about Diomedes' victory, the 'proper and acceptable result' according to the traditional pattern of the character.[92] Willcock reiterated and refined the principle in a subsequent article (1983) on Antilochus.

> [I]t often seems that incidents in the *Iliad* are chosen, not for the excitement or significance of the incidents themselves, but for the presentation of character. The method is repetition; individuals behave in a consistent way, so that the hearer or reader becomes familiar with them and finds the actions appropriate precisely because the people involved are recognizable. This is a particular case of the well-known 'composition by theme'.... Thematic patterning of thought parallels formulaic patterning of the language; and an example is the repetition of behaviour which delineates character.[93]

Character expresses itself in action, as in the previous (1973) formulation, but now Willcock emphasizes that character-portrayal guided Homer's choices about the stories he would tell. 'Repetition' of characteristic actions, moreover, is the means by which individual characters are delineated.

In a brief but incisive study (2002) of Menelaus in the *Iliad*, Willcock comments on the sensitivity and vulnerability of the figure. To the repetition of characteristic patterns of action (here called 'scenarios') Willcock adds traditional epithets to his account of Homeric character.[94] Willcock considers the epithets to provide 'a new source of information', though he acknowledges the speculative nature of the endeavour.[95] Bakker (2017) articulates a somewhat similar methodology in his study of Hector but confines his approach to understanding the *intratextual* repetition of epithets and phraseology. '[T]he repetition of key phrases or sequences of verses, within the system of a single poem that constitutes its own grammar, can

[91] Willcock (1973) 3. [92] Willcock (1973) 3–5.
[93] Willcock (1983) 480; cf. (2002) 223–5. [94] Cf. Bakker (2017) 73–4.
[95] Willcock (2002) 223–4.

guide knowledgeable audiences to the interpretation intended by the poet(s).'[96] Willcock (2004) continues to develop the notion of reconstructing character through the epithets, emphasizing the discrepancy between Menelaus' martial epithets (*ἀρηΐφιλος*, *ἀρήϊος*) and the 'seeming change' in his depiction in Homer. No longer a 'great warrior', as the epithets imply he was in poetry before Homer, Willcock describes the Iliadic figure as 'the least warlike of all the major heroes . . . amiable, ineffectual, requiring protection'.[97] The overall relationship between Homer's depiction of Menelaus and the tradition is one of interaction: Menelaus' behaviour appears in a marked relationship with the meaning encoded in the traditional epithets. Willcock describes Homer as having refigured the 'warlike' Menelaus of tradition, contradicting it.

Willcock's methodology of interpreting Homeric characterization as the repetition of stable, characteristic patterns of action has been confirmed in subsequent research.[98] In my view, however, Willcock failed to fully account for the nuance in Homer's depiction of Menelaus and reception of the tradition. Currie's terminology allows for the nuances and contradictions to be isolated and discussed. I believe that Homer interacts with the tradition as encoded in Menelaus' epithets but does not entirely refigure it. The seeming-contradiction between the hero and his epithets *itself* becomes Menelaus' characteristic theme, a 'mental mould' problematized, and then resolved, by the poet. This finding is in line with recent studies of other Iliadic characters exploring contradictions and nuances in Homer's use of tradition for the creation of character.[99]

Stanford insisted that Odysseus was 'meant' to be the same character in the *Iliad* as in the *Odyssey*, and Pucci in his very different study of the character upheld the view. My study of Menelaus begins from the premise mentioned above that the *Odyssey* interacts with the *Iliad* as master-text.[100] Danek's (2010) comments regarding the different 'palimsestuous' relationships that obtain between the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad* and the epic tradition are pertinent here. As we shall see, there are differences in the allusive

[96] Bakker (2017) 73; cf. Hutchinson (2017), on Homer's use of traditional verse elements such as epithets, formulae, and similes to guide audience attention.

[97] Willcock (2004) 53; cf. Willcock (2002).

[98] Minchin (2011); Hutchinson (2017) 146–9.

[99] Esp. Scafoglio (2017) (Ajax); Bakker (2017) (Hector); Pucci (2018) on the polyvalent nature of Zeus and his relations with men; cf. Bacharova (2018) on poetic competitions' role in the creation of the Iliadic character of Hector; cf. Kelly (2018) on contrast imitation in the paired speeches of Tlepolemus and Sarpedon as a tool for enhancing the poet's authority.

[100] Cf. Currie (2016) 26–8.

strategies for the depiction of character in the two poems as well. A broad overview is provided in what follows of the various allusive strategies employed for the depiction of Menelaus in Homer. This outline of Homeric allusivity leads to the methodological considerations pertinent to the chapters in Part II concerning the relationship between Homeric texts, other archaic poetry, and the 'parallel worlds' of art and cult.

Overview of Part I: Homer

Both in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, intratextual allusions are the most productive type of meaningful repetition in Homer's portrayal of Menelaus. Currie defines contrast-imitation as 'the tendency for a target-text to work detailed and systematic reversals on its source-text'.[101] Willcock emphasized the seeming-contrast in the *Iliad* between Menelaus' martial epithets and his failure to decisively overcome the sons of Priam in battle. For Willcock, Homer refigured the traditional meaning of the character (as the epithets, in his view, embed his traditional 'meaning'). But Menelaus' contradictory reputation becomes itself an important 'theme' in the poem: the narrator, other characters, and even Menelaus himself remark on it. This self-reflexive trope ('recalling') interacts chiefly within the *Iliad*. Whereas in Willcock's assessment a 'weak' Iliadic Menelaus contrasts with the 'warlike' Menelaus of the tradition (embedded in epithets), in my reading narrator- and character-text contrast a purportedly traditional reputation for 'weakness' with a present eagerness to fight. If Menelaus was a weakling in some other text than the *Iliad*, it is no longer accessible to us—and this is certainly not what the epithets imply. For Menelaus in the *Iliad*, we cannot easily 'get behind' the text. Pucci (2018) has remarked on the revisionist quality of Iliadic allusions: 'the Iliadic allusion to a previous text—even a quotation—appears not simply as a repetition, a reusing of the text, but a disapproval, or an amused or mocking rewriting of it. Unfortunately, the lack of the original model has made it impossible for us to decide.'[102]

Homer does exploit a marked interaction with Menelaus' traditional role in the Trojan War at two pivotal junctures in the *Iliad*. The epic tradition is prominently evoked in the duel with Paris and its aftermath (*Iliad* 3–4) and in the defence of Patroclus (*Iliad* 17).[103] Georg Danek, like many others, has

[101] Currie (2016) 27 with nn. 172–3.
[102] Pucci (2018) 266; cf. 4.
[103] Barck (1971) 7; cf. Barck (1971) 9–11; Minchin (2011) 328–9.

emphasized the subtle and allusive manner by which the *Iliad* incorporates the Trojan War story. '[T]he poet rewrites the poem of the Trojan War, assuming knowledge on the part of his audience and alluding every now and then to its own hypo-text, but correcting and changing it in a consistent way.'[104] Menelaus plays a central role in the re-writing. While the main character of the *Iliad* is Achilles and its main theme is his wrath, the sub-theme of the poem is the Trojan War and it, by and large, belongs to Menelaus. As we shall see in the following chapter, Menelaus' story-within-a-story is coherent, carefully plotted, and satisfactorily resolved.[105] Menelaus is the living *raison d'être* and chief protagonist of the Trojan War as Homer conceives it. He claims personal responsibility for the war and is, in his way, as critical to its eventual success as Achilles.[106]

In light of his conflicted identity as a warrior, moreover, it is striking that Menelaus accomplishes what Achilles in his wrath does not: the successful defence of the corpse of Patroclus. Menelaus' curious prominence in the defence, as I shall show, may be explained in light of Homer's re-writing of the Trojan War story.[107] At the beginning of the *Iliad* Achilles' withdrawal from battle sets the two stories ('war' and 'wrath') in tension with the other. Over the course of the poem Homer conducts an implicit negotiation between the two stories through their heroes. Menelaus and Achilles never meet; instead, however, Menelaus 'plays proxy' for Achilles at two critical junctures. Menelaus' proxy fight for Patroclus in Book 17 results in Achilles' return to battle; his reconciliation with Antilochus in the Funeral Games realigns the paradoxical narrative stance taken by the *Iliad* to its tradition. While Antilochus is Achilles' companion in the *Aithiopis* (*Aith*. arg. 13–14, 19–20) he fights alongside Menelaus throughout the *Iliad*. After the rescue of Patroclus Menelaus sends him (allusively) 'back' to Achilles (*Il*. 17. 691).

The traditional relationship between Antilochus and Achilles is alluded to again in the midst of Menelaus' dispute with Antilochus at the Games, when the narrator 'quotes' Antilochus' role as Achilles' beloved companion (23. 555–6). Chief among Menelaus' complaints against Antilochus is his seeming-breach of their friendship; Menelaus' subsequent reconciliation

[104] Danek (2010) 132.

[105] Cf. Whitman (1958) 182–3; Reinhardt ([1963] 1997) 187; Lang (1995) 152; Danek (2010) 130–3.

[106] Robert (1950) 237; A. Parry (1989) 317–18; Mackay (2001) 9; Scodel (2008) 71.

[107] Kullmann (1960) 94, examining the matter from a neoanalyst standpoint, remarks that unlike other motifs in the episode Menelaus' prominence in the defence of Patroclus may not be traced back to any known incident from the *Aithiopis* or another Cyclic poem.

with Antilochus on this score intratextually points to the reconciliation of Achilles with the Achaeans and intertextually to the successful conclusion of the war. In Danek's view, the *Odyssey* seeks to outdo and replace the tradition, whereas the *Iliad* re-writes the tradition but cannot, and does not aim to, replace it.[108] The logic of Menelaus in the *Iliad*—which is the logic of a contradictory, flawed hero—depends on maintaining both the traditional and novel Homeric facets of his character in view: 'warlike' (ἀρηΐφιλος) Menelaus, championing the sack of Troy; and Menelaus, the 'soft' one (μαλθακός *Il.* 17. 588) who eagerly seeks to challenge, but never quite prevails, against the sons of Priam.

It is uncontroversial that the *Odyssey* poet quotes or depends on Cyclic return stories to contextualize the story of Odysseus.[109] Most scholars also generally agree that the *Odyssey* interacts with the *Iliad*.[110] Yet while scholars have observed 'Cyclic' themes that are evoked in the character-drawing of Menelaus,[111] the importance of the *Iliad* as source-text for the characterization of Menelaus in the *Odyssey* has been less appreciated. Nestor's speech in the third book of the *Odyssey*, recalling Menelaus' return, signals the Cyclic tradition as source-text. The *Iliad* is the source-text alluded to at the beginning of Book 4, however, through the narrator's quotation of Menelaus' entry in the Catalogue (*Od.* 4. 1–2; cf. *Il.* 2. 581) and by means of the narration of a nuptial feast between Menelaus' (and Helen's) daughter and the son of Achilles (*Od.* 4. 5–7). Other allusive techniques appear throughout the episode at Sparta, including narratorial quotation of Iliadic verses of causation and suffering; the sibling-relationship between Peisistratus and Antilochus; and Helen and Menelaus' competing 'recollections' about the Trojan horse. The Proteus episode on the second day of Telemachus' visit, in which Menelaus narrates his own account of the return, is among the most multi-valent episodes in the poem, and the poet employs a range of self-reflexive tropes: embedded song, memory, prophecy and fate. The Proteus story reaches beyond the Greek epic tradition to folk tale and shamanism.

[108] Danek (2010) 126–7, 129, 132–4.

[109] Danek (1998) 37; cf. Currie (2016) 35.

[110] For *verbatim quotation*, Monro (1901) 327–31; Marg (1956); Burkert (1960); Usener (1990) esp. 5–8; cf. R. B. Rutherford (1991–3) 42–9; Maronitis (2004 [1983]); di Benedetto (2007); West (2014b) 25–7, 40; Currie (2016) 40–2. For *non-verbatim quotation*, Danek (1998) esp. 5–28, 509 (and cf. 525, 'Iliaszitate'). For 'allusion', Pucci (1995 [1987]) 26–30 with 29 n. 30; Currie (2016) 4–36; cp. Kelly's (2012) concerns with the proliferation of terminologies (esp. 223, 262–3 with n. 105).

[111] Cf. Petropoulos (2012); West (2013) 284ff. (implicitly answered by Danek [2015] 356–60, 366); West (2014b) 27–30; Currie (2016) 72–3.

Further still, in Proteus' prediction of Menelaus' unique translation to Elysium, the *Odyssey* may point beyond the confines of its fictional narrative to the contemporaneous 'real-world' existence of Menelaus as not merely a heroic character, but divine. In *Odyssey* 15, however, Menelaus' prominence recedes even as Helen's stature increases (esp. *Od*. 15. 172–3). Self-reflexive strategies at work in the several other 'nonce'-mentions of Menelaus define him according to the relationship with Helen and with his brother Agamemnon.

Overview of Part II: Votaries, Painters, and Poets

The shift in Menelaus' relationship with Helen in Book 15 of the *Odyssey* and the 'nonce'-mentions of the figure elsewhere in the poem signal a refiguring of Menelaus, orienting the Homeric poem (back) toward his depiction in other archaic narratives. From what we can glimpse of Menelaus in the disparate and fragmentary texts of non-Homeric archaic poetry, Menelaus remains a hero of significance among the Achaeans. In these texts, however, he is often defined by Helen (Chapter 3). This is so when he is depicted on Athenian vases as well (Chapter 4).

Menelaus long has been identified, with Helen, as protagonist(s) in a specific variation of conventional 'warrior/recovery' iconography on sixth-century Athenian vases, often in conjunction with other images from the Trojan War.[112] The study of narrative in ancient Greek art presents its own methodological considerations, however, quite apart from the possible interaction between art and text.[113] One may speak broadly of two contrasting scholarly approaches to the matter, one emphasizing the differences between visual and literary narrative, the other depending on analogies or similiarities between them. The latter approach has been taken by Mark Stansbury-O'Donnell (1999) who employs (literary) semiotic theory to interpret visual narrative, applying Roland Barthes's delineation of the four essential components ('functions') of narrative ('nuclei', catalysts, indices, and informants).[114] Ann Steiner (2007) also draws a connection between literary and visual narrative, using the analogy of 'reading texts' for

[112] Esp. Ghali-Kahil (1957); Kahil and Icard (1988); Anderson (1997).
[113] For an overview, cf. Stansbury-O'Donnell (1999) 1–8.
[114] Stansbury-O'Donnell (1999) 13–17.