The Text of the Recognition Duet in Euripides' *Helena*

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A more conservative attitude to the colometry of manuscripts ought to have received a substantial impetus from the publication in 1954 of Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 2236, with its stimulating fragments from the recognition duet of Helen and Menelaos in the ever puzzling *Helena* of Euripides. This papyrus is assigned to the late first century B.C., age of the chalcenteric Didymus, and the sole independent witness for the play among the Byzantine mss is L, *Laurentianus* 32.2, dated by its watermarks and otherwise to the second decade of the fourteenth century. Yet there is almost complete agreement on colometry between the two documents, written some fourteen centuries apart. This was first seen by Professor Günther Zuntz;¹ and the general conclusion is well expressed by Professor A. M. Dale in her edition of the play in 1967 (p.170):

It has long been held that one of the chief arguments for the descent of all our medieval mss. from an authoritative Alexandrian edition, the work of Aristophanes of Byzantium, is their general agreement in lyric colometry; in such a daunting complexity of material, the key to which was for so long completely lost, the influence of this first great systematic ordering must have been paramount. L P show little more divergence from II [the *Helena* papyrus] in this respect than they do (when Triclinius's alterations are removed) from M A B V in the Select Plays; that is to say, colometry is, on the whole, the same, with a few minor discrepancies.²

¹ Professor Young died suddenly at Chapel Hill on 24 October 1973. This final essay has been seen through press by his admiring friends, the editors.

² Professor Günther Zuntz appears to have been the first to observe publicly that the cola-divisions in papyri and mediaeval mss of Euripides are, by and large, identical, and that this must go back to Aristophanes of Byzantium. He did so in a lecture at the University of London Institute of Classical Studies in November 1960, in the presence of Professor A. M. Dale and Dr W. S. Barrett.

³ A. M. Dale, *Euripides: Helen* (Oxford 1967), App. I p.170. This edition is later quoted as Dale, by page number. Reference is made to her *The Lyric Metres of Greek Drama* (Cambridge 1968), as LMGD. My excerpt from Dale conveniently summarizes pp.31-34 of
Unfortunately for her readers, Professor Dale edited as if she understood Greek metre better than Aristophanes of Byzantium had done, and in her edition of the recognition duet, at pp. 104-06, she needlessly abandons the colometry of the paradosis in some 21 cola. She also needlessly accepts changes in more than a score of words. She thus shows greater fidelity to the tradition of Gilbert Murray, her beloved preceptor, and mine, than to the paradosis of Euripides. Professors Günther Zuntz and Richard Kannicht are a good deal less hospitable to innovations than Dale, but by no means so conservative as the facts warrant.

In this paper an attempt is made to interpret the text and colometry of L and of the papyrus, denoted by II, with the minimum of changes. Another and longer paper could prove that the colometry of L is as valid for the rest of the lyrics in the play, and in the other ‘alphabetic’ plays for which it is the sole source, except in so far as its apograph P may here and there preserve a reading which has been removed from L by later alteration, usually by Demetrius Triclinius. Experience having suggested that the recognition duet is more assimilable if presented in smallish gobbets, like hors d’oeuvre variés, rather than served up whole as a pièce de résistance, I break up the text and sauce each portion with some exegetical trimming.

The recognition duet may be held to start at 622, when Menelaos

Zuntz’s An Inquiry into the Transmission of the Plays of Euripides (Cambridge 1965), referred to as Inquiry.

3 Richard Kannicht, Euripides Helena (Heidelberg 1969), hereafter KANNICHT.

4 By the wisdom of my neighbours at Duke University’s having acquired a substantial Nachlass of the late J. A. Spranger, I was able to study his excellent facsimile of L, a book which I had examined in Florence only in regard to its Aeschylean contents and its watermarks. The three bouts of arbitrary alteration undertaken in Helena by Demetrius Triclinius have been admirably illustrated by Zuntz in his Inquiry as regards the recognition duo. He and Kannicht, in his excellent commentary, have added most of the material needed to form a judgement on matters of language and metre, following, of course, Dale, Prinz-Wecklein, and the long series of learned editors. My presentation, with a working version, aims at succinctness. I am indebted to Professor Bernard Knox, Director of the Center for Hellenic Studies at Washington, D.C., and the learned Fellows in residence in 1972-73, for their prolonged and helpful discussion of my views as presented in a seminar there on 16 February 1973. I am obliged also, for valuable comments on a draft of this article, to my colleagues Professors Henry Immerwahr, Brooks Otis, Kenneth Reckford, David Sider and Philip Stadter, and to Dr Thomas J. Fleming, to Professors Kenneth Dover of St Andrews, George M. Paul and William J. Slater of McMaster, Eric Turner of London, and Professor Zuntz himself, whose salutary observations might best be described as glycyptic. Inevitably, not all of them endorsed all my preferences of reading and interpretation.
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grasps the fact that Helen's explanation of the phantom, at 582–88, had been confirmed by the man who reported the heavenward departure of the phantom from the cave.

MEN. τοῦτ' εἶτε ἔκειστο, ἔξυμπτεθαίκεν οἱ λόγοι
οἱ τῆς ἁληθείας ὁ ποθεινός ἡμέρα,
ὡς εἰς ἐμάς ἔδωκεν ὡλένας λαβεῖν.

HEL. οὗ φιλταρ' ἀνδρῶν Μενέλαιοι, ὁ μὲν χρόνος
παλαιός, ἢ δὲ τέρψεις ἄρτικως πάρα.

625 ἐλαβον ἄμενα πόσιν ἐμόν, φίλαι,
περιπετείας ἀρά φίλιον ἐν μακραί
φλογι φαεσφόρωι.

630 <MEN.> κάγως εἰ. πολλοῦ τοῦ, δ' ἐν μέσω λόγους ἔχων
οὐκ ὑδ' ὁ ποίον πρῶτον ἄρξωμαι τὰ νῦν.


A working version might run thus:

MEN. (So) this is (what) that (was)! [So Miss Dale] Her utterances coincide (with his as being) true. O yearned-for day, because it gave you to my arms to take.

Menelaos incontinently embraces Helen.

HEL. O dearest of men, Menelaos, the (interval of) time (has been) long, but the joy is newly present.

As she embraces him, she plays to the gallery of the Chorus by bursting into dochmiacs.5

I gladly received my husband, friends, stretching around a loving arm in a long light-bringing flame [=after a long succession of sunrises].

<MEN.> And I (gladly received) you. But, having many topics for speech in between, I do not know which to start upon first now.

In ascribing verses to speakers L uses abbreviated forms of names at 622 and 625, but merely a paragraphos thereafter till 646. Usually it is plain who says what, but I put in hooked brackets the abbreviated names not specifically given as such by L. The authority of a paradosis is at its weakest in this matter of ascriptions of speakers, but ratio et res ipsa coincide far more often than not with L's paragraphoi.

At 624 Kannicht defends the paradosis ὡς in the sense 'because'. At

5 It is not clear whether Helen's dochmiacs here represent an aria or a recitative. Kannicht has no doubt, II.176 n.9: "παρακαταλογάδην, also als melodramatisches Rezitativ ausgeführt ..."
628 he defends περιπετέασσα χέρα as being υ υ υ, a resolved iambic tripody, Dale’s ‘long dochmiac’, LMGD p.216. Others may think it a rare form of the normal dochmius, χ - χ - χ - , with resolution of the initial anceps, a resolution accepted by Dale, LMGD p.105, and by W. J. W. Koster. In this connection it should be noted that the musical setting of the dochmiac dimeter at Orestes 344, in Vienna Papyrus G 2315, shows two vocal notes over the syllable ε in the phrase λάβροις ὀλέθροι - ειν ε-ευ κύμαειν, so that the second dochmius scans υ - υ - υ - , with resolved initial anceps. This is what one would expect if those are right who surmise that a dochmius started life as a syncopated iambic tripody, because iambic metra show frequent resolution of initial anceps.

In the initial exchanges the dithyrambic extravagance of Helen’s lyrical phraseology contrasts with the comparatively laconic and matter-of-fact tone of the less sharp-witted Menelaos’ bewildered reactions; and she continues dithyrambically at 632-36.

632 <HEL.> γέγηθα, κρατайте ὑπεροῦς ἐθέρας iambic trimeter catalectic ἀνεπτέρωκα καὶ δάκρυ σταλάσσετοι. iambic trimeter catalectic ἤρεν δὲ γυναί χέρας ἔβαλον, ἡδονᾶν 2 dochmii
635 <τύχα> κ ω λάβων, dochmius ὁ πόλυς, ὁ φιλτάτα πρόσοψις. syncopated iambic trimeter with initial choriamb
636 ανεπτέρωσα II. 634 χέρας L, ἡδονῆ II. 635 <τύχα> papyrum suppl. Zuntz. 636 φιλτάτη L.

6 W. J. W. Koster, Traité de métrique grecque suivie d’un précis de métrique latine (Leiden 1953) 276-77. Referred to as KOSTER.

7 The most authoritative opponent of the resolved initial anceps in dochmias is Dr W. S. Barrett in his learned edition of Hippolytus (Oxford 1964) at p.434, Addenda on 670. He explains away or arbitrarily alters all the apparent occurrences of resolved initial anceps then known to him. Thus, at 1277, for the paradoxos σκῦλακων πελάγων, scanning χι χι χι , he champions Wilamowitz’ σκῦμων as “required by the sense” (p.393). He asserts (p.394): “the σκῦλακων of the ms. is not merely dubious metre (see above) but impossible sense: σκῦλακες are puppies, the young of the dog; σκῦμων are the young of any wild animal (or at least of carnivores).” This pontification is undermined by LSJ s.v. σκῦλαξ 1.2, where we find that σκῦλακες can be the offspring not only of dogs but also of bears, weasels, dolphins and even, figuratively, of grammarians. Dr Barrett’s erroneous special pleading merely strengthens the case for accepting the multiple evidence of the ms for the resolved initial anceps which he labours to outlaw. He himself accepts the resolution of the second anceps (p.434 n.1), and deems the iambic hexasyllable to be admissible among dochmii (p.268), and opines that an iambus may be a syncopated dochmius (p.267). Moreover, he recognizes dochmias to be “the wildest of lyric metres” (p.266). Scholars should not seek to tame their wildness by removal of the resolutions of initial anceps through what they imagine to be emendations.
I am rejoicing, but on my head I have fluffed up my hair (to be) upright [= I am excited], and I am shedding a tear. But around your limbs I put my arms, that I might take pleasure in the event, O husband, O dearest sight to see.

Helen and Menelaos relax their embraces, and gaze at each other long and carefully.

At 633 the perfect found in L is slightly preferable, because an uncial kappa is more likely to have been misread as the sigma of II than vice versa, and it goes well with γέγηθα, a perfect with present meaning. In 634 L's χεῖρας would give in the second half of the dimeter a dochmius with resolved initial anceps, as at 628. II's ηδονη shows loss of terminal nu, perhaps represented by an overstroke on the vowel, and the inconsistency between eta and lyric alpha probably endemic from the author's holograph right on. At 636 L has φυλτάτη, but Dale may be right in giving Helen lyric alphas and allowing the less lyrical Menelaos to pronounce more prosy etas. In 634-35 L's loss of Zuntz's τόχα or the like has led to the colometry, on L's two-column layout:

περὶ δὲ γυνὰ χεῖρας ἔβαλον ἢδοναν ὡς λάβω. 4th paeon+ dochmius (or doch.+ 4th paeon) 2 cretics (or syncopated iambic dimeter)

After the long-separated couple have gazed sufficiently at each other, Menelaos comments, with L and the papyrus concurring in the colometry and most of the text, from 636 to 645:

οὐκ ἐμέμφθην. trochaic monometer (epitrite)

ἔχω τὰ τοῦ Διὸς λέκτρα Λήδας τὲ. iambic tripod+ dragged hypodochmius

ἀν ὑπὸ λαμπάδων κόροι choriambo-iambic dimeter

λευκιπποι εὐνομαίμονες glyconic

640 ἀλβισε, ἀλβισε ἐμὲ σὲ τέ, μέταν, dochmius+ 4th paeon

641α τὸ πρόβεθον. ἐκ δόμων iambic tripod

641β δ' ἐνόφισαν θεοὶ ε' ἐμοὶ. iambic dimeter

πρὸς ἄλλαν δ' ἐλαύνει θεὸς συμ- bacchiac pentapody

φορὰν τὰς κρείσσων. anapaestic monometer

τὸ κακὸν δ' ἀγαθὸν.
Murray, a true man of the theatre, and Grégoire are among the editors who saw no reason to depart from L's ascription of 636b–45 to a single speaker. One may imagine Menelaos' expression of his train of thought being punctuated by actors' business, and the hiatus at pause after 637 confirms the probability of prolonged actors' business at that point. The sense is:

"I found no fault. [= She is perfect, and therefore the true Helen.] I have the (fruit of the) bed of Zeus and Leda. Prolonged actors' business. Her whom, to the accompaniment of torches, whitehorsed youths sharing her blood [= Castor and Pollux] declared happy, declared happy me and you, to no purpose, in the past. For from my home the gods separated you from me. But to another upshot the god is driving, better than this. And the evil (was) good. It brought together you and me, a husband belated, but nonetheless. May I be blessed in my fortune!"

At 636b, οὐκ ἑμέμφθην, compare Helen's remark at 1424, while cajoling Theoklymenos, οὐδὲν εὖ μεμπτός, "You are not at all to be found fault with (i.e. You are absolutely perfect)." For the monometer cf. Koster p.124. In the context of 637 λέκτρα is proved to mean 'offspring' by Zuntz (237–38), following Passow and LSJ s.v. The same rare metonymy of the common word had been used by Euripides in Medea 594, λέκτρα βασιλέως ἀ νῦν ἐχω, "the king's offspring whom I now have (to wife)." Psychologically, it is not unnatural that Menelaos should next think back to his marriage, at least eighteen years before, and then revert to the divinely engineered separation and the eventual reunion. In 640 L has lost the (admittedly dispensable) accusative pronouns, and is left with a dochmius in the form -GU-ux. The longer line in II may be scanned as -GU-GUGU, dochmius, + uGu-, fourth paeon. Another analysis would be -GU-uGU, dochmius, + uGu- u-, iambus. In 641a and 641b the papyrus has on each line only one letter now surviving, the final nus of πρόσθεν and of ἐνόσφισαν. L divided after δόμων with his double dot that signifies colon-end; but Triclinius, according to Zuntz (214), deleted L's double dot by thickening the delta of δ᾽ ἐνόσφισαν. The reconciliation of L and II seen
above was suggested by Dale (173), but in her preferred text at p. 105
she followed Wilamowitz in deleting the final iamb, to make an
iambic trimeter of τὸ πρὸς τεν... θεόι. L’s ὄμοι might be defensible if
taken with θεόι: “the gods all together removed you.” But Portus’
correction is supported by the fact that in 1447 we find ὄμοι corrupted
to ὀμοί, by uncial confusion of round letters; and at Andromacha 1257
the paradox is split between the two readings.

At 639 it is notable that Π and Λ concur in presenting a glyconic,
which implies that Aristophanes of Byzantium approved of that
colometry. Miss Dale, however, opines (170) that “glyconics are
utterly alien to the metrical style,” which she considers (106) to con-
sist of “trimeters and ‘associable’ metres... of the types which could
easily pass into a half-spoken delivery: chiefly dochmiacs, bacchiacs,
cretics, enoplians, hemiepe. Aeolo-choriambic and ionic are rigidly
excluded.” Maybe, however, they were not so rigidly excluded by
Euripides. Maybe, on the contrary, it is precisely a startling mixture
of metrical units that he is offering in this strange amoibaion, a metrical
cocktail not easily surpassable by comic parodists of late fifth-century
bravura pieces. When Aeschylus in the Frogs parodies the later
operatic Euripides he introduces glyconics and resolved glyconics
rather noticeably, as at 1311, 1317, 1318, 1322, 1323. With all due
respect to the gracious lady whose books are so helpful to other
earnest seekers, what reason have we to suppose that any modern
student, lacking the ancient music, can understand the colometrical
notions of an ancient tragedian better than Aristophanes of Byzan-
tium understood them?

Line 642 is divided by both Π and Λ after θεός, but the bacchiac
intention throughout seems most probable. Apparently Π cannot
have had room for Λ’s συμφοράν, but may have had τῦχαν, probably as
an intrusive gloss. An original τῦχαν would, in this context, hardly
have been glossed by Λ’s συμφοράν. The division of a long colon
between two lines is not unusual. For δ’ Π has γ’, by a common con-
fusion of these particles. One may quote Kannicht’s verdict (II.186):
“aber Π ist in Kleinigkeiten auch sonst ziemlich unzuverlässig (633 -ca,
statt -κα, 634 ηδονή(ν), 642 γ’ statt δ’ und (?) τῦχαν statt συμφοράν).”

At 643 it may assume too bold an oxymoron to interpret “the bad
good” as subject, and Professor Bernard Knox suggested putting a
period at the colon-end. We then have an explanatory asyndeton, cf.
654f. In 645 the punctuation is Kannicht’s. In 644 Zuntz thought he
could read an omega before ποςει in Η; but C. H. Roberts and E. G. Turner could see no omega. Thus the papyrus does not support Hermann’s vocative ποςει or W. Dindorf’s δποςει. The accusative ποςειν could have been corrupted to ποςει by loss of terminal nu accompanied by itacism, helped by a scribe’s inclination to expect a dative after the eνν- in ενναγαγεν.

At 646 L has an ascription to Helen, who utters as follows:

Helen’s speech may be translated thus: “May you be blessed indeed. For I join in making that prayer. For when there are two persons it cannot be that one is wretched and the other not [i.e. Our happiness is inseparable]. Again Helen plays to the gallery with a lyrical outburst. Friends, friends, the former events we no longer bewail; no I am pained. My husband we have. We have him for whom I was waiting. I was waiting for him to arrive from Troyland after many years.”

In 646 L’s δη can be a mere slip for Η’s δε. In the ‘fat blob’ style around 1300 one finds forms of epsilon that are easily misread as an eta. In 647 the Hellenistic δνείων is, according to Zuntz (p.130), “confined, in L, to the alphabetic plays.” Atticist grammarians of the Roman period must have restored the correct form in the commented selection. In 650 one might make two dochmii, each ending with a brevis in longo at a pause. L’s colometry divides after the second έχομεν, to make ωοω ωοω ωοω χ, iambic dimeter catalectic, and after Τροιᾶς, to make ωοω ωοω ω-υ-, iambic dimeter, with internal correction of the diphthong in Τροιᾶς. L ends 651, as does Η, with a dochmius. L’s two-column layout, or a similar layout in a minuscule ancestor, may have contributed to the misdivision of the lines.

From 652 the wording permits or encourages us to imagine some actors’ business involving reciprocal huggings by the rediscovered spouses.
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655

εξεις, εγώ τέ ε'. ἥλιους δὲ μυρίους
μόγις διελθὼν ἠισθόμην τὰ τῆς θεοῦ.

655

χάριτος ἡ λύπας.

Ante v.656 lacunam vv.2 vel 3 statuit Zuntz (p.248).

HEL.

tί φῶ; τίς ἂν τάδ᾿ ἡλπιεν βροτῶν ποτὲ;

660

πρὸς θεῶν, δόμων πῶς τῶν ἐμῶν ἀπεστάλης;

660

You have (me) and I (have) you. And after traversing with
difficulty countless suns [= days] I have perceived [= I now
understand] the deeds of the goddess. He bursts into song or
recitative. But my tears are joy. They have more of delight
than of grief.

HEL.

What am I to say? Who among mortals would ever have
expected these things? I hold you unexpectedly to my
breast.

<MEN.> And I hold you, her that seemed to have gone to the city of
Ida and the miserable ramparts of Troy. In the name of the
gods, how were you conveyed away from my palace?
[Alternatively: Why in Heaven’s name did you depart from
my home?]

At 654 Triclinius altered to χαρμονάν and Brodaeus to χαρμονάν,
Hermann to χαρμονά. For the oxymoronic statement at 654 and the
asymdetic explanation at 655 compare 643f. At 657, for the combination
doehmius+ molossus, compare 680f and the paeono-dochmiac colon
at 655. Note the changed tone at 660, and Helen’s embarrassed
emotionalism thereafter.

662

ἐπικράν ἐς ἀρχὰν βαίνεις.

iambic metron+

662

iambic metron+
doehmius

662

ὀπέπτυσα μὲν λόγον οἶον

iambic trimeter

paroemiac
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664b οἶνον ἐσοίκομαι.
dochmius (or
dodrans A)

⟨Men.⟩ ὁμώς δὲ λέξεων. ἥδυ τοι μόχθων κλύειν. iambic trimeter
⟨Hel.⟩ οὖν ἐπὶ λέκτρον βαρβάρου νεανία 2 dochmiıı
petitiones κώπας,
πετομένου δ’ ἔρωτος ἄδικων γὰμων. 2 dochmiıı


At 661 L's marginal γράφεται variant could have been an early draft by Euripides, later rejected by himself for excess of sibilance, or by his friend Kephisophon or some producer or editor. For the spondaic scansion of ε ντε cf. Dale, LMGD 108 n.3, on the same phenomenon in Aeschylus. At 664b the papyrus may have had εκοικομεν, which Lenting had conjectured. Interchange of the inflectional endings εν/ει seems to have been fairly common at all periods. Dale ad loc. defends the middle form, on the ground that "there are so many verbs that sooner or later drop into a rare middle, especially in the future." A. C. Pearson found it acceptable as a "subjective middle." Kannicht, however, rejects it as unidiomatic, and arising from negligent assimilation of number to that of the foregoing verb ἀπεπτυκα. In 666 the Spranger facsimile suggests that L was as likely to have meant λέκτρον as λέκτρον. L's minuscules often confuse ν and upsilon, and in this word the final letter may have been retouched. If the epsilon of νεανία was not in synizesis, we have another iambic tripod, or 'long dochmius'; or else the whole line is an iambic trimeter with choriambic first metron.

⟨Hel.⟩ Alas! You are entering upon a cruel theme. Alas! You are searching into a cruel story.
⟨Men.⟩ Tell it, for all gifts of the gods can be heard [= Whatever the gods send, men can bear to be told].
⟨Hel.⟩ I abominate the tale, such it is, such it is that I shall utter.
⟨Men.⟩ But nonetheless tell (it). Truly it is pleasant to hear of woes.
⟨Hel.⟩ Not (pleasant to hear) of the oar flying towards the bed of the barbarian youth [= Paris], and the flying passion of an unrighteous marriage. [Alternatively: (I was) not (conveyed from your palace) to the accompaniment of an oar flying to
the bed of a barbarian youth, and of a passion flying towards an unrighteous marriage.]

Here, as later in the *amôibaion*, Euripides left ambiguities of interpretation, perhaps deliberately as part of his apparent preoccupation throughout this play to produce a 'he-goat-song' of unparalleled multivalency of interpretation. My alternative working version represents the explication favored by Kannicht, who thinks the *ovê* at 666 answers Menelaos' question at 660, *δόμων πῶς τῶν ἐμῶν ἀπεκτάλης*; I fully admit the possibility of his way of taking the phrases, as involving genitive absolutes. But it seems to me slightly easier to supply with the *ovê* at 666 a repetition of Menelaos' phrase in the immediately foregoing line, 665 ἥδω...κλέων. An *oar*, that is, a ship, had in fact flown, that is, rowed or sailed, towards the bed of Paris, conveying Paris and his phantom pseudo-Helen, and there had been, for Paris, a flying passion for an unrighteous marriage, at the same time as the true Helen had been conveyed to Egypt by Hermes. Paris' voyage with his phantom was part of the same *φυξιά* that Helen wishes Menelaos to leave undiscussed. Helen's dithyrambically allusive phrasing may have been chosen to leave both interpretations open, and Euripides would have been supplying his audience with some more talking points.

Menelaos pursues his interrogation by demanding, at 669:

\[<\text{Men.}> \, \tauίς \, \epsilon \, \deltaαμών \, \eta \, \πότμος \, \κυλάι \, \πάτρας; \]

"What deity or doom pillages you from your fatherland?" L's text is a syncopated iambic trimeter. It is possible that the papyrus had after the initial *τίς* some particle, such as Barnes' *γὰρ*, Wecklein's *καὶ*, or Zuntz's suggestions *οὖν* and *δή*.

In Helen's reply at 670A–71 the paradosis of *L* sustained a small lipography, as Elmsley suspected and the papyrus has proved.

\[<\text{Hel.}> \, \delta \, \Deltaίος, \delta \, \Deltaίος, \delta \, \πότε, \, \text{syncopated iambic dimerter} \]
\[670B \, M< \alpha\alpha\zetta \tauε> \, \piα\zetta \, \text{iambic monometer} \]
\[\mu' \, \epsilonπέλασε \, \Neιλωι. \, \text{iambic penthemimer} \]

Here the papyrus has now only the initial letters of three lines; but the significant point for colometry is that they are three lines, not two. The letters are:

\[670A \, \OmegaΔ[ \]
\[670B \, M[ \]
\[671 \, M[ \]
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<H.> The son of Zeus, the son of Zeus, O husband, and of Maia [= Hermes], brought me to (the) Nile.

Some uncial ancestor of L seems to have omitted the sequence MALACTE before the letters ΠΑΙ. Then L, or an ancestor, lacking Malac τε, presented 670AB as a single colon, ποιματία -τέ-, which is intelligible as a wilamowitzian, or polyschematic choriambic dimeter, with its first metron resolved. Admittedly, since the only son of Zeus regularly sent on errands is Hermes, the paradosis in L is intelligible without the Malac τε.

At 672 Menelaos reacts by saying:

<M.> θαναστά τοι πεμψαντος; δεινοι λόγοι.
<H.> κατεδάκτυλα καὶ βλέφαρων ὑγραίνω
674 δάκρυσιν. ἡ Δίως μ’ ἀλόχος ὀλέεσιν. 2 dochmii
<M.> Ἡρα; τί νῦν χρήμασις προσθείναι κακῶν;


<M.> Astonishing! Who was the sender? Oh, strange terrible tales!
<H.> I burst into tears, and I wet my eyes with tears. The wife of Zeus ruined me.
<M.> Hera? Why did she wish to inflict evil on us two?

At this point the amoibaion again becomes dithyrambically allusive and offers multiple choices for interpretation.

<H.> ὡμοί ἐμῶν δεινῶν. λουτρῶν καὶ κρηνῶν,
677 ἵνα θεαὶ μορφὰν ἐφαίδρυναν ἐν- 2 dochmii
θεν ἐμολευν κρίσις.
<M.> τὰ δὲ εἰς κρίσιν κοι τῶν Ἐθηχ’ Ἡρα κακῶν;


<H.> Alas for my terrible (experiences)! Oh! bathing places and fountains, where the goddesses [Hera, Athena, Aphrodite] brightened the beauty from which came the judgement [by Paris]!
<M.> And was it in regard to the matters concerning the judgement of these (goddesses) that Hera caused evil for you?
In 672 the punctuation is Matthiae's. In 676 Helen passes from a genitive of cause, after the plaintive exclamation, to a simple genitive of exclamation. The paradosis is kept by Murray, Grégoire, Nauck, Paley and others, though it seemed 'Unsinn' to Wilamowitz, Vers-kunst 565. He had printed his own conjecture ἀμοι τῶν Ἡδαι λοντρῶν καὶ κρηνῶν, but repented slightly two pages later with the admission: "Aber die Änderung ist eigentlich zu stark." The comment is applicable to all his large and small alterations to the paradosis here, undertaken, of course, without knowledge of the papyrus which can enrich our insight into ancient colometry. For the sense of 679 ἡδα δ' εἰς κρήσιν Kannicht well cites fr.493.4ff: ἡδα δ' εἰς γάμον οὐδέν δοκοῦσιν ἓνες ἀνδράσιν φρονεῖν.

In Helen's answer to Menelaos' inquiry at 679 Euripides excels himself in calculated ambiguity, exploiting the possibilities of the verb ἀφαίρεομαι, which, from Homer down, may take two accusatives.

Lines 680 and 681 are both split between the spouses. In each line Helen starts with a dochmius and Menelaos responds with a molossus. The combination of dochmius and molossus is found at 657 here also. Euripides plays with two senses of the divine name 'Kypris', using it first to mean 'sexual pleasure', as at Bacchae 773, and then as the goddess Aphrodite herself. So we find exchanges that have tended to baffle the modern learned. For the sake of clarity I repeat verse 679 first, and then proceed.

<MEN.> τὰ δ' εἰς κρήσιν κοι τῶν δ' ἐθήξ' Ἡρα κακόν;
HEL. Κύπριν ὡς ἀφέλοιτο . . . <MEN.> πῶς; αὕτα.
HEL. Πάριν, ὦ μ' ἐπένευσεν. <MEN.> ὦ τλήμον.

<MEN.> And was it in regard to the matters concerning the judgement of these (goddesses) that Hera caused evil for you?  
HEL. That she [Hera] might deprive of Kypris [sexual pleasure] . . .  
<MEN.> How (do you mean)? State (it).  
HEL. . . . Paris, to whom she [Kypris as goddess of sex] had assigned me. <MEN.> O hard-hearted!

For the play with the word Κύπριες one may compare the handling of the word ἑρως at 666–68, where Paley comments: "As Eros was represented as winged (Hippol. 1275), there is an ingenious play on the preceding πετομένας (cf. Med. 1), as if the god flew along with the
ship across the Aegean sea to Troy . . . But "Ερως is not in fact personified, for the poet puts instead of the god 'the desire of an unrighteous marriage'."

In 681 Menelaos may be addressing Hera, and using the sense 'hard-hearted'; or else he is addressing Helen, and using the sense 'wretched'. But Helen takes him up in the sense 'hard-hearted'.

Hel. τλάμων, τλάμων, ὧν ἔπελασ' Αἰγύπτωι. 2 dochmii

〈Men.〉 ἐπ' ἀντέδωκ' εἴδωλον, ὡς σέθεν κλών.

Hel. τὰ δὲ κατὰ μέλαθρα πάθεα πάθεα.

dochmius+ 4th paean

685 μάτερ, οἱ ἐγώ. 〈Men.〉 τί φής;

syncopated

iambic dimeter

Hel. οὐκ ἔστι μάτηρ, ἄναγκην δὲ βρόχον

iambic trimeter

δὲ ἔμε κατεδήσατο δύσγαμος αἰσχῦναι.

Men. ὡμοί. θυγατρὸς δ' Ἐρμίονης ἔστιν βίος;

2 dochmii

Hel. ἄγαμος ἀτεκνος ἀτεκνος, ὃ πόσις, καταστένει

iambic trimeter

dochmius+

leythion

690 γάμον ἄγαμον αἰσχῦναι.

syncopated iambic dimeter

Men. ὥς πᾶν κατ' ἀκρας δῶμι' ἐμὸν πέρας Πάρις.

iambic trimeter

Hel. τάδε καὶ σὲ διώλεσε μυριάδας τε

procephalous

dactylic
tetrameter

χαλκεᾶπλων Δαναῶν.

hemiepes (or dochmius)

έμε δὲ πάτριδος ἄπο κακόπτομον

dochmius+ iambic metron

695A ἀπαίαν ἔβαλλε θεός

polyschematic

choriambic
dimeter

695B ἀπὸ πόλεος ἀπὸ τε σέθεν

syncopated iambic dimeter

ότι μέλαθρα λέχεα

dochmius

τ' ἔλιπον, οὐ λυποῦσ' ἐπ' αἰσχροῖς γάμοις. 2 dochmii

690 αἰσχύνα L, corr. Nauck. 691 καὶ μὲν L ac, corr. L1 vel Triclinius.
696 μέλαθρα L ac, corr. Triclinius.
For the concluding section 682–97 a version might run:

**Hel.** Hard-hearted, hard-hearted, thus she brought me to Egypt.

**<Men.>** Then she gave (to Paris) a phantom instead, as I hear from you.

**Hel.** And the sufferings, sufferings, in the palace, mother, woe is me!

**<Men.>** What do you mean?

**Hel.** My mother does not exist, for she tied on herself a strangling noose, on account of me, unhappy in her marriage, through shame.

**Men.** Woe is me! But does (our) daughter Hermione's life exist?

**Hel.** Unmarried, childless, childless, O husband, she laments a marriage that was no marriage, through shame. [Helen means her own supposed marriage to Paris, which Hermione would believe to be real and shameful.]

**Men.** O Paris, you that ravaged my household utterly!

**Hel.** These deeds destroyed both you and myriads of bronze-armored Danaans. And me from my fatherland, (a woman) evilly doomed, accursed, a deity was expelling, from the city and from you, on the ground that I left the palace and the bed, though I did not leave for a shameful marriage.

One may scan 684 as \( \text{\( \text{O.O.O.O}\text{O.O.O.O.x} \)}, \) which makes a dochmius and fourth paean; or as dochmius + iamb, by dividing thus: \( \text{O.O.O.O - O.O.O.O.O.x} \). At 685, instead of assuming correcption in \( \text{o\( \text{O.O.O.O.O.} \)} \), one may suppose a scriptio plena for \( \text{o\( \text{O.O.O.O.O.} \)} \), with prodolision of epsilon; and this would equally produce a syncopated iambic dimeter. At 690 a dative, \( \text{a\( \text{i.e.}\text{\( \text{X.O.} \)} \)}, \) seems the easiest interpretation of the paradosis; and the repetition of the concept 'through shame' is dramatically effective. At 696 Kannicht defends the paradosis \( \text{\( \text{O.T.} \)}, \) with some difference of emphasis from my version; but Dobree's \( \text{\( \text{O.T.} \)} \) would involve little change and may be what Euripides actually wrote. The problem involves Helen's actual guilt and her fluctuating sense of guilt. There is a refreshing examination of the characters of Helen and Menelaos by Robert Schmiel,\(^8\) where he quotes a shrewd insight of W. E. J. Kuiper in 1926.

In ipsa fabula nonnulla insunt, e quibus apparat, heroinam non omni culpa liberam esse idque ipsam quodammodo sentire. Non temere

\(^8\) Robert Schmiel, *Hermes* 100 (1972) 280.
enim poeta egisse mihi videtur cum Menelao roganti εἰτ’ ἀντέδωκ’ εἴδωλον, ὡς σέθεν κλάω (683) iam nihil amplius respondentem eam fecit, sed de matris morte nuper audita subito acres planctus subiun-gentem, quippe quae intellexerat in huius raptus historia diutius morari famae suae non multum expedire. Quam opinionem praecedentibus versibus (660–682) confirmari censeo.

Thus at 198f Helen states that Troy was burned

δι’ ἐμὲ τὰν πολυκτόνον,
δι’ ἐμὸν ονόμα πολύπονον,

“because of me, the ‘woman who slew many’, because of my name [i.e. the so-called ‘Helen’], that caused many troubles.” As Dale comments ad loc., “199 as it were corrects 198.” Similarly at 280f Helen says:

μὴτηρ δ’ ὅλωλε, καὶ φωνὲς αὐτῆς ἐγώ,
ἀδίκως μὲν, ἄλλα τάδικον τούτ’ ἔστ’ ἐμὸν.

Euripides and his characters are expert in equivocations, akin to the cult of δίσσοι λόγοι.9 Thus at 138f Teukros says about the Dioskouroi τεθνάς καὶ οὐ τεθνάς. δύο δ’ ἔστ’ νόμῳ.

and Helen replies: πότερος δ’ κρείσσων; With such expertise in what may be termed didtologistics one can appreciate why Euripides ends this recurrently ambiguous amoibaion by giving Helen a pointedly dittologistical last word, ἐλπον οὐ λιτοίς’ ἐπ’ αἰχροῖς γάμωις. Many in the Athenian audience of 412 must have thought, with the canny Kuiper, “Methinks the lady doth protest too much.” No doubt, through the power of Aphrodite, Helen had committed adultery in her heart by consenting to elope with the handsome Paris, and it was only Hera’s spite that frustrated the consummation of their amours. As Helen says at 31ff, Hera turned her intercourse with Paris into thin air.

“Ἡρα δὲ μεμφθεὶς οὖνε’ οὐ νικählen θεάς,
ἐξημένωσε τὰμ’ Ἀλεξάνδρωι λέχῃ,
δίδωσι δ’ οὖν ἐμ’, ἄλλῳ ὀμοῖωσας’ ἐμοὶ.

9 Paley, in his introduction to Helena (p.113), remarks: “There is much of that sort of irony which rejoices in clever equivocations . . .” He also notes that “Helen is too prompt in the arts of deception to suit our ideas of a thoroughly sincere woman . . .” Grégoire, in his Notice (Budé ed., V p.38), suggests that “L’ironie, plus comique que tragique, mérite le nom de parodie.” He also finds elements of self-parody by the poet: “Dans l’Hélène, une sorte de persiflage d’Euripide par Euripide me paraît certain.”
At 689 it is curious how editors still follow Musurus in corrupting Helen's ὀ πόσεις to the vocative, especially in view of her ὀ πόσεις at 636 and another nominative for vocative at 1399, addressed to Theoklymenos, ἰ καῦνδε ἡμῖν πόσεις (if indeed Reiske's καῦνδε be correct for L's κλεινόοι). At 1399 Kannicht rightly notes: "die Anrede im Nominativ ist, ihrer betörenden Absicht entsprechend, von gesuchter Solennität: vgl. Svennung, Anredeform, Uppsala 1958, 207." Presumably there is a nuance of propitiatory ceremoniousness in Helen's use of the nominative at 689 also. Here we have an example of the vis inertiae of printed texts. Because Musurus in the Aldine editio princeps of 1504, perhaps casually, 'normalized' the text, even careful editors today take it for granted that the normalization was correct. Now every unnecessary departure from paradosis is eo ipso a corruption, and papyrologists sedulously eschew such corruptions when interpreting papyri. For texts primarily dependent on Byzantine manuscripts it is a task of this generation to go through printed editions in the light of up-to-date codicological research and weed out the thousands of Verschlimmbesserungen foisted upon the ancients since the invention of printing.

Reviewing L's performance in the recognition duet in the light of the foregoing, one sees that L, or its ancestry, had lost some lines, phrases, words and letters: two or three lines before 656, if Zuntz is right in his suspicion; ἐμὲ ἐκ τε μάταν 641; Μαῖας τε 670; τύχας 635; a sigma by haplography at 624; ephelkystic nus at 644 and 688; adscript iotas at 675 and 690. L confused omicron and omega at 631, 667, 679; had an itacism at 665, and an eta for a lyric alpha at 636. Otherwise L's errors in the duet seem to be only these—putting the true reading first: 634 χεῖρας — χέρας; 641β ἐμοῦ — ὁμοῦ; 646 δὲ — δὴ; 647 δυοῦ — δυεῦ; 673 βλέφαρον — φλέφαρον; 687 αἰσχύναι — αἰσχύναν; 691 δωμ' — εὐμ'; 696 μέλαθρα — μέλαιθρα. Further, L may have misdivided cola at 650. This is a small number of errors by L in some eighty lines—a far smaller number, and of errors less grave, than those perpetrated by learned conjecturers of the past two centuries. L's errors mainly affect single letters, and are readily corrigible by attentive readers. The corruptions by the learned include sweeping transpositions and
deletions, which would make recovery of Euripides' text impossible if we had to depend only on modern printed versions.

Zuntz, in his *Inquiry*, has a statement, at p.35: "Now that it is realized that the verse division in the medieval manuscripts derives from the authoritative Alexandrian edition, that is, from Aristophanes of Byzantium, its neglect by editors and students in general would seem to be hard to maintain." In a later article I hope to discuss just what Aristophanes may have done to make an authoritative colometry, and the relevance to the problem of the Vienna papyrus G 2315, dated to the lifetime of Aristophanes, with its fragment of what recent scholarship believes to be the original music of Euripides to his *Orestes*.

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