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HYMNS TO TYCHE  
AND RELATED ABSTRACT ENTITIES

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### Abstract

*As Greek religion and personal philosophy developed in the Hellenistic period and after abstract entities such as Fate, Chance, Virtue or Health came to receive cult worship in a manner similar to that of the Olympian pantheon itself. We possess a small number of hymnic texts which illustrate this development, in particular a 'Hymn to Tyche' preserved on a third-century papyrus in Berlin. This chapter seeks to place the Hymn to Tyche in context within the general phenomenon of worship of abstract entities and to revisit the text itself with suggestions for new readings at points where the text is difficult. This short hymn, taken together with similar hymnic texts, reveals an awareness in later antiquity of the degree to which human life and happiness is dependent on blind forces operating apparently at random. The concept of 'blind chance' which can raise the humble and destroy the mighty is quite distinct from 'destiny' (moira or heimarmene) or Roman 'fatum' according to which the course of events is preordained.*

### 1. Introduction

With the emergence of active cults to abstract entities such as Tyche, Peithō, Eirene, Hygieia, Homonoia in the fourth century BC one might expect that some hymns and prayers to these new deities might have survived in some form<sup>1</sup>. To a limited extent, this is the case. This chapter will focus in particular on the Hymn to Tyche preserved on a papyrus in Berlin (P. Berlin 9734) along with other hymnic invocations to Tyche and related forces. Perhaps it was the influence of philosophical schools and modes of thought which led to the deification of abstract entities. The habit of philosophical thought as well as the overt criticisms of certain philosophers led undoubtedly to a

\* Thanks go to Andrew Faulkner for helpful suggestions on this piece.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. STAFFORD 2007, esp. pp. 81-83, following her monograph STAFFORD 2000; see also STAFFORD & HERRIN 2005.



questioning of traditional Olympic deities. In their places philosophers tended to place abstract entities reflecting their own doctrines or representing a more 'scientific' view of cosmic forces. We see the process already in action as early as Aristophanes' lampoon of the gods worshipped in Sokrates' 'think-tank' (the *phrontisterion*) in *Clouds*. Here worship of airy-fairy entities like 'Clouds' or 'Atmospheric Swirl' (*dinos*) takes over from that of familiar old Zeus, Apollo and their like. It is not that religious belief itself is jettisoned by these 'atheists' (as they were known)<sup>2</sup>; rather, they introduced new-fangled deities clearly at variance with traditional gods. Another aspect of the process can be seen at work in the sophistic Derveni Author, datable probably to the fifth century<sup>3</sup>. The anonymous author of the exegesis of an Orphic cosmogony likes to 'explain' the named gods of the Orphic text allegorically, that is, by saying that this-or-that god is 'really' air, or fire or whatever. At the same time there was a tendency among progressive historians (such as Thucydides) to omit all traces of theodicy from their historical narratives and to emphasize the role of chance or contingency. True, this force of happenstance sometimes seems to take on a life of its own so that the reader is left to wonder whether the historian is not pointing to some higher instance of justice or divine causality at work behind the scenes, but the fact remains that Thucydides has jettisoned the Olympians from his narrative<sup>4</sup>. Beside 'blind chance' there emerges a concept of 'divine chance', that is, a force of unpredictable causality which nevertheless reflects, at some level, a kind of divine intelligence or providence<sup>5</sup>. The equation of chance with a divine causality guiding human actions comes out nicely in a passage of Andokides (*On the Mysteries* 113-114) in which the orator argues that an inadvertent action by himself can only reflect divine providence working in his favour<sup>6</sup>.

The second factor which is commonly adduced for the rise in importance of cults of Chance (*et al.*) is the alleged 'turmoil' of the Hel-

lenistic age. It is thought that the decline of the city-states to be replaced by the empires carved out by Alexander's successors, accompanied by many wars and a new mobility of armed forces and mercenaries, might have led to a 'scrambling' of people's traditional allegiances to city-state and city gods. It is suggested that the increased (perceived) instability of the Hellenistic world might have led to an enhanced awareness of the role of chance in human affairs: if the Olympians no longer looked after the city and its citizens, then perhaps mere abstract entities such as Chance, Fate, Destiny might be the single governing factor in life<sup>7</sup>. I personally am somewhat sceptical of this explanatory model. The Greek city states had made war on each other with depressing frequency before Alexander conquered the *oikoumene*. People might easily be sold into slavery in the fifth century who had been dignitaries (or at least free) in their cities before it fell to an enemy. And which age has ever considered itself stable and secure? Even the last fifty years of Western European history, which have been characterized by amazing peacefulness and stability, may not have been perceived as such by individuals or politicians.

I would guess that humans tend to cling to traditional beliefs when their lives and livelihoods are seriously at risk. A readiness to embrace new beliefs and endorse intellectual experiments might conversely reflect greater perceived security and prosperity. Surely that, in a way, was the case in Hellenistic Greece. The Macedonian conquest of Greece put an end to earlier territorial and hegemonic wars between individual city-states. Greece was, in a way, more united than it ever had been. Mobility of mercantile and intellectual goods increased throughout the Mediterranean. Traditional enemies such as the Persians had been banished to the far eastern horizons. It is this new mobility and freedom to wander from home and country which might perhaps be seen to have increased people's awareness of chance or fate

<sup>2</sup> Cf. WINIARCZYK 1990 and WINIARCZYK 1992.

<sup>3</sup> Of many works on this exciting text cf. LAKS & MOST 1997, BETEGH 2004; an authoritative text has finally appeared in KOUREMENOS *et al.* 2006. A good text is also provided by BERNABÉ 2007.

<sup>4</sup> For this tragic sense in Thucydides see CORNFORD (reprint 1965 of 1907 original).

<sup>5</sup> For this concept of θεία μοῖρα or θεία τύχη in the fifth and fourth centuries see BERRY 1940; YUNIS 1988, p. 168 on Eur. *Her.* 1393 τύχηι ἥρας. HERTER 1976.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. FURLEY 1996, pp. 115-116.

<sup>7</sup> SFAMENI GASPARRO 1997, p. 90) writes: «The turbulence of that age (sc. Hellenistic), in politics, society, culture and religion, certainly encouraged the rise of belief in the idea of a divine power with sway over the universe as a whole, yet at the same time capable of intervening in the daily life of the individual». Then, on Tyche (91): «she thus appears in the context of Hellenistic religion as a personal, "daimonic" power, actively intervening in the lives of individuals and nations, often unforeseeably, now for good, now for ill. But at the same time, thanks to this progressive individualisation, she became, as it were, the prisoner of the men and the communities who offered her private or public cult. For thereby they established a bond, a relation of reciprocity, between themselves and the sovereign Mistress of the Universe; and were no longer the hapless victims of fumbling chance».



as a defining factor in life. The god who speaks the prologue in Menander's *Shield* is Tyche, Chance. She explains how the mercenary Kleostratos picked up the wrong shield by chance when campaigning in Asia Minor. He was thought dead because the man who *had* picked up Kleostratos' shield had been found lying under it, dead. Similarly, the lady who speaks the prologue of Menander's *Rape of the Locks* is Agnoia (Unawareness). She explains how the mercenary Polemon does not know that the man he saw kissing his girl – whom he then shore in rage – was in fact her brother<sup>8</sup>. Here we have what became the typical Hellenistic ingredients: mercenaries fighting abroad; chance ignorances and confusions leading to dramatic turns of events<sup>9</sup>.

There are a number of Greek words associated with, or related to, τύχη, chance itself. Μοῖρα, Fate, is already present as a force to be reckoned with in Homer<sup>10</sup>. She can also appear as a collective plural Μοῖραι, comprising the trinity of 'Fates': Klotho, Lachesis and Atropos. Αἶσα, 'fate', appears too, though with less personality than Moira. Δαίμων is used to denote an anonymous divine force which, typically, looks after individual lives<sup>11</sup>. Beside τύχη there is τὸ αὐτόματον, used to denote something which happens without identifiable reason: chance or random occurrence. In cult the beneficial side of δαίμων and τύχη are, understandably, invoked by means of the appellative ἀγαθός/ἀγαθή<sup>12</sup>. Conversely the figure of νέμεσις, Downfall, appears, sometimes in combination with Artemis, representing ill luck or retribution<sup>13</sup>. The concept of the 'lucky moment' finds expression in καιρός, whilst time as a living entity is personified and, by Roman times, worshipped as Aion<sup>14</sup>. One sees that these terms form a word

8 For τύχη in Menander cf. fr. 372 KA from *Hypobolimaïos*; VOGT-SPIRA 1992. For αὐτόματον see *Epitrepontes* 1108 with my note (FURLEY 2009).

9 Cf. SFAMENI GASPARRO 1997, p. 86: «During the Hellenistic period, in keeping with the new psychological climate created by the changes in socio-economic, politico-military and cultural affairs, the cult of Tuchê flourished exuberantly – became indeed one of the determining features of the religious life of the Greeks».

10 Famously in *Il.* 16.433–38, she stays even Zeus' hand when he debates saving Sarpedon's life.

11 SFAMENI GASPARRO 1997, pp. 70–82.

12 *Ibid.*, pp. 78–82.

13 STAFFORD 2007, pp. 76 and 83. Note the Attic rf. neck amphora in Berlin (Antikensammlung no. 30036 = Beazley no. 215552) by the Heimarmene Painter depicting Nemesis with Tyche (or perhaps Eukleia) at the scene of the seduction of Helen by Paris (ca. 430 BC).

14 Cf. DEGANI 1961.

cluster round the central concept of chance/fate both in collective and individual existences. The concepts are linked with time, in that time is seen to be relevant to what happens when and where: occurrences are the result of a 'conspiracy' – whether fortunate or unfortunate – of circumstances which seem to include body, space and time. Maddeningly, these events occur unpredictably: causality is either absent, or imperceptible to humans. Although the Delphic (and other) oracle(s) hardly lose custom until the end of antiquity, there is never a link posited between *mantikē* and *tyche*. Tyche is, by definition, that which cannot be predicted. Since *tyche* eludes *manteia* one might think that any form of worship would be pointless<sup>15</sup>. After all, cult is designed to please deity and gain religious credit. However, cults of Tyche sprang up in Greece in the fourth century; she acquired an iconography and public cult, mainly in the form of Agathē Tyche, or 'Saving Grace'<sup>16</sup>.

Tyche has a place already in early theogonic myth, albeit minor and without narrative elaboration. Hesiod (*Th.* 360) and the author of *HHDemeter* (420) name her as an Oceanid; Alkman calls her sister of Eunomia and Peitho, daughter of Promatheia<sup>17</sup>. An anonymous piece of dactylo-epitrite verse which some have ascribed to Simonides retains the epic picture of individuated Moirai capable of granting people's prayers<sup>18</sup>. Tyche as 'Chance' begins to be personified and apostrophized as early as Archilochos who pairs Tyche with Moira as the decisive factors in life: 'Perikles, Chance and Fate decide all for man'<sup>19</sup>. This marks a departure from epic, in which Moira decides men's fate, in that Tyche now acts alongside her. Pindar recognizes Tyche as a force sometimes more powerful than might<sup>20</sup>, as 'city-holding'<sup>21</sup>, and as an 'unbiddable' goddess 'wielding the twin steering-oar'<sup>22</sup>. *Kairos*, the de-

15 Cf. Soph. *Ant.* 1160 (below).

16 See STAFFORD 2007, pp. 82–83, SFAMENI GASPARRO 1997, pp. 78ff.

17 *PMGF* fr. 64 Davies.

18 *PMG* 1018b (Stobaios 1.76ff.). Meineke suggested Bakchylides or Simonides as author; Page rejects Simonidean authorship because of the jarring epithet ἡδοκόλοπος. Now that βροδόπαυος has turned up in the new Sappho (line 9) one wonders whether the argument has force.

19 Fr. 16 πάντα Τύχη καὶ Μοῖρα, Περίκλεες, ἀνδρὶ δίδωσιν.

20 Fr. 38 ἐν ἔργμασιν δὲ νικᾷ τύχα, / οὐ σθένος.

21 Fr. 38 Τύχα φερέπολις.

22 Fr. 40 Τύχα ἀπειθής...δίδυμον στρέφοισα πηδάλιον. For Τύχη in Pindar see STROHM 1944. For iconography of Tyche with her steering oar see *LIMC* VIII s.v. Tyche nos. 28–38b.



cisive moment, receives attention in the fifth century. Ion of Chios is said by Pausanias to have composed a hymn to Kairos; only one detail is given: Kairos is said to have been the youngest son of Zeus<sup>23</sup>. In Euripides, too, we can find passages highlighting the ineluctable forces of chance and necessity. In *Alkestis* the chorus sing an ode to Anankē, Necessity, after Death has taken Alkestis – only to be proved wrong by Herakles' recovery of Alkestis from the maw of death<sup>24</sup>.

In these passages Tyche has the status of a 'personification' who can be apostrophized on occasion – like other abstract entities such as Arete, Hosia (Holiness), Eirene or Hypnos<sup>25</sup>. In the fourth century, however, as we have said, Tyche advanced to become a fully-fledged goddess with official cult and worship. Unfortunately no cult hymns to Agathē Tychē survive either on stone or in the literary tradition. However, three hymns to Tyche as a fickle decider of men's fate have survived, one in Stobaios<sup>26</sup>, another on a third-century papyrus and the third among the 'Orphic Hymns' (no. 72). Let us consider the first and third mentioned pieces by way of introduction to our main theme, the Berlin Hymn to Tyche.

Tycha PMG 1019 (Stob. 1.6.13):

Τύχα μερόπων ἀρχὰ  
καὶ τέρμα, τὸ καὶ Σοφίας θακεῖς ἔδρας  
καὶ τιμὰν βροτέοις ἐπέθηκας ἔργοις·  
καὶ τὸ καλὸν πλεον ἢ κακὸν ἐκ σέθεν,  
ἅ τε Χάρις λάμπει περὶ σὰν πτέρυγα χρυσεάν·  
καὶ τὸ τεῖα πλάστιγγι δοθὲν μακαριστότατον τελέθει.  
Τὺ δ' ἀμαχανίας πόρον εἶδες ἐν ἄλγεσιν,  
καὶ λαμπρὸν φάος ἄγαγες ἐν σκότῳ, προφρεσάτα θεῶν.

2 θακεῖς ἔδρας Jacobs: ἄκος δρᾶις F, lacun. decem litt. P

8 σκότῳ: σκότει corr. Page numerorum causa

(Laurence Villard); with twin oar *ibid.* no. 31a. The 'twin' rudder may simply reflect the fact that steering oars of ancient ships were paired, one on the port, the other on the starboard side; or perhaps the symbolism of bad and good luck is implicated. Tyche may steer things in a lucky, or disastrous, direction.

<sup>23</sup> WEBSTER 1936 compares Ion's interest in *kairos* with instances in Sophokles. In the Hellenistic age note the interesting epigram by Poseidippos on Kairos: *A.P.* 16.275.

<sup>24</sup> Lines 962–1005. Note in the same play 889 the chorus' desperate wail τύχα τύχα δυσπάλαιστος ἥκει, 'ineluctible fate approaches'.

<sup>25</sup> ἀρετή: Aristotle's hymn to Arete PMG 842 = FURLEY & BREMER 2001, no. 7.4; ὁσία: Eur. *Ba.* 370–378; εἰρήνη: Bakchylides *Pa.* 4.61–81, Aristophanes *Peace* 974–986; ὕπνος: Soph. *Phil.* 828–832.

<sup>26</sup> Stob. 1.6.13 = PMG 1019. Lyrici incerti (fr. adesp. 1393 B.).

Chance, beginning and end  
for men, you who sit on Wisdom's throne  
and apportion honour to mortal works.  
The good outweighs the bad through you,  
and Grace radiates from your golden wing.  
What is granted by your scales is most blessed;  
you see a way through helplessness in troubles  
and you bear a shining torch in darkness, greatest goddess.

This piece takes a positive view of Tyche: she is associated with wisdom, which seems to dissociate her from 'blind' chance, which can hardly be said to show wise counsel. Her action conveys 'honour' on men's endeavours; more good than bad stems from her; her wings are 'golden', radiating grace. Only the image of her 'scales' points to ambivalent action: as in the traditional Homeric image, fate's scales may swing either way: to death or to salvation. The final two lines return to an optimistic appraisal of this 'greatest goddess'. As we will see, this piece differs from the Berlin text, which emphasizes chance's ambivalent power to raise the humble and humiliate the great.

The 72nd Orphic Hymn to Tyche addresses her in a manner indistinguishable from other gods in the collection<sup>27</sup>. She is brought into association with Artemis and said to be the daughter of Eubouleus. The piece does however characterize her as 'many-sided' (6 πολύπλαγκτον) and 'all-variegated' (10 παμποίκιλος), attributes which chime with epithets of Tyche found in the Berlin hymn. The Orphic Hymn also points to the essential ambivalence of Tyche, in that she may grant men wealth, or, when her anger is stirred, poverty (lines 8–9):

οἷς μὲν γὰρ τεύχεις κτεάνων πλήθος πολυούλβον,  
οἷς δὲ κακὴν πενίην θυμῷ χόλον ὀρμαίνουσα.

This two-edged quality of the goddess's power is the basis of the anonymous Berlin author<sup>28</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> The collection of Orphic Hymns is thought to date to the second century AD, see QUANDT 1962 and MORAND 2001.

<sup>28</sup> And of the next hymn in the collection of Orphic hymns, to Daimon: ἐν σοὶ γὰρ λύπης τε χαρᾶς † κληῖδες ὀχοῦνται (line 6). SFAMENI GASPARRO's study (1997) shows the close connection between these two entities in Hellenistic religiosity.



2. *The Berlin Hymn to Tyche*

With the help of a new scan of P.Berlin 9734, 'Hymn to Tyche', kindly provided by Dr Fabian Reiter, it is worth revisiting the text of this short hymn to Tyche, as I think several improved readings can be obtained<sup>29</sup>. The first editors of the text, Schubart and Wilamowitz, characterized the scribe as a «ganz ungebildeter Ägypter» who made many orthographic errors, mainly by confusing λ for ρ (e.g. lines 6 and 8) and aspirated with non-aspirated consonants (e.g. θ for τ in line 2, and, I think, line 4; π for φ in lines 4, 5 and 6)<sup>30</sup>. Once we find *media* for *tenuis* (8 γελαιν[α]). Instances of itacism are found in lines 3 (διξαι and εισχυν), 6 (ταπινα) and 11 (εχις); the strange spelling ιρεν for Ἰριον in line 10 also falls under this heading, I suppose. Despite this sloppy orthography, the scribe certainly understood Greek; apart from the difficult second half of line 4 (for which see below) the text is not garbled in a major way. In view of his slipshod spelling one might surmise that he was jotting down a text from memory rather than copying from a (one hopes, better) exemplar. Because the top right corner of the papyrus is damaged, one cannot be certain how many letters are missing at the ends of lines 1-5, although the number is certainly not large<sup>31</sup>. There seem to be faint traces of ink above and below the text proper, which the first editors thought might have been a title. The metre of the poem is not clearly recognizable, but see below. The first editors ruled out composition in the classical period for reasons of diction and content<sup>32</sup>; the papyrus itself is ascribed to the third century AD<sup>33</sup>. It will be as well to begin with a transcription.

πολυχροε ποικιλομορφε πτανο[...].[  
θνατοις συνομεσθιε πανκρατες τυχα [

29 W. SCHUBART, U. v. WILAMOWITZ, *Berliner Klassikertexte* V 2, Berlin 1907 pp. 142-143. Cf. notices by P. MAAS, «LZB» 41, 1907, p. 1310; J. SITZLER, «NPhR» 7, 1908, pp. 149-150; K.F.W. SCHMIDT, «WKPh» 25, 1908, pp. 462-463. POWELL 1925, p. 196; PAGE 1950, III no. 99; HEITSCH 1969, no. LV. I thank Dr Reiter for the scan, which was made by Sandra Steiß. I also thank Rodney and Julia Ast for an opportunity to discuss the text and, in particular, the new readings.

30 Schmidt talks of «verwilderter ägyptischer Schreibweise».

31 Lines 4 and 5 seem to be a good bit longer than the rest. R. Ast wondered whether the last ink traces do in fact belong to the same text. However, line 5 seems to run on continuously in a similar hand, if with increasing illegibility.

32 They date the hand of the metrical text on the → side to the 3rd c. AD.

33 HEITSCH *GDK* no. LV.

πως χοη τεαν εισχυν τε διξαι και κρατ[  
τα μεν υψιπαη και σεμναεκακονθαχ.[...][  
υπηρι.ας ποτι γαν νεφος αμπιθηκαμενα....[  
τα δε παυλα και ταπινα πολλακις πτελ....  
εις υψι.ε.αιλες ω δαιμον μεγαλα  
ποτελον σε κληζωμεν κλωθω γελαιν.[  
η ταν ταχυποτμον ανα.καν  
η ταν ταχυαγγελον ιρεν αθανατων  
παντων γαρ αρχαν και τελος αιεν εχις

I suggest the following corrected text, with comments and explanations below:

πολύχροε ποικιλόμορφε πτανο[πέδι]λε  
θνατοῖς συνομέστιε παγκρατὲς Τύχᾱ, [  
πὼς χοῆ τεὰν ἰσχύν τε δεῖξαι καὶ κρατ[ος;  
τὰ μὲν ὑψιπαῆ καὶ σέμν' ἀέκ{ακ}οντα χο[ρονιζ]όμενα  
ὑπήριψας ποτὶ γὰν νέφος ἀμφιθηκαμένα νύχι[ον],  
τὰ δὲ φαῦλα καὶ ταπεινὰ πολλακίς πετροῖσι  
εἰς ὑψιπέτ-η αἴρεις, ὦ δαῖμον μεγάλα.  
πότερόν σε κλήζωμεν Κλωθὼ κελαιν[άν  
ἢ τὰν ταχύποτμον Ἀνάγκαν  
ἢ τὰν ταχύ-ν ἄγγελον Ἰριον ἀθανάτων;  
πάντων γὰρ ἀρχὰν καὶ τέλος αἰὲν ἔχεις.

Translation:—

You of many colours, many shapes, with winged sandals,  
almighty Fortune, co-resident of human beings,  
how best to show your strength and power?  
The exalted and proud, unwilling, in the course of time,  
you dash down to earth, enveloping it in murky cloud.  
The paltry and the humble you often raise  
on wings to soaring flight, O great goddess.  
Shall we compare you to dark-clad Klotho,  
or to Compulsion swiftly deciding fate?  
Or to Iris, the swift messenger of the gods?  
All things' beginning and conclusion you ever hold.

1 The scribe appears to have written ι before ρ of πολυχροε. The first editors corrected to πολύχειρε, 'many-handed', but Schmidt recognized «ägyptische Vokalentfaltung», proposing πολύχροε, 'many-hued', instead<sup>34</sup>. Ast wonders whether the ι is not, in fact, an illusion, and that

34 K.F.W. SCHMIDT, «WKPh» 25, 1908, p. 462, comparing μελιχερόου (for μελιχροόου) in P. Grenfell I 33, 33; cf. E. MAYSER, *Grammatik d. griech. Pap. der Ptol. Zt.* Leipzig 1906, p. 155. 'Many-handed' would be an odd description of Tyche anyway, not matching anything in her iconography elsewhere.



the descender of ρ is simply split by a tear in the surface of the papyrus. The word πολύχρους occurs fairly frequently in later poetry, e.g. Oppian *Kyn.* 1.348; 4.406, but not, so far as I can see, in the metaphorical sense required here 'many-coloured' = 'with many aspects'.

πτανο[πέδι]λε (Sitzler) with parallels in *OH* 28.4 Quandt, and a magical hymn to Hermes (*PGM* II 5.403 Preisendanz), seems preferable to unattested πτανόπους favoured by others. The space available after ν is, unfortunately, an unknown quantity.

2 It seems unlikely to me that anything followed Τύχα; moreover, there is some space after α without ink before the edge of the papyrus.

3 The first four letters of κρά[ος] are quite clearly legible.

4-7 For the thought we may compare Sophocles *Ant.* 1158-1160:

τύχη γὰρ ὀρθοῖ καὶ τύχη καταρρέπει  
τὸν εὐτυχοῦντα τὸν τε δυστυχοῦντ' αἰεί,  
καὶ μάντις οὐδεὶς τῶν καθεστώτων βροτοῖς.

and, for a similar antinomy (dependent on Dike, not Tyche) Aeschylus *Cho.* 61-65:

ὅσα δ' ἐπισκοπεῖ Δίκας  
ταχεῖα τοὺς μὲν ἐν φάει,  
τὰ δ' ἐν μεταίχμῳ σκότου  
μένει χρονίζοντας ἄχῃ,  
τοὺς δ' ἄκράτος ἔχει νύξ.

A. Faulkner also draws my attention to Bacchylides 14. 1 ff for the reversal of human fortunes συμφορά... (especially given ὑψιφανῆ, cf. ὑψιφαῆ v. 4).

The twin potency of the goddess Tyche was symbolized by the 'twin rudders' she held, cf. Pindar fr. 40 Snell. Note id. *Isthm.* 4.52-53 for defeat of the greater by the lesser owing to Tyche. Id. *Ol.* 1-6 for the wilful fluctuations in men's fortunes owing to Tyche; cf. id. *Isth.* 3/4.51. Menander fr. 395.4-5 K.-Th. = fr. 349 KA (*Titthē*): αὐτόματα γὰρ τὰ πράγματ' ἐπὶ τὸ συμφέρον / ῥεῖ κἂν καθεύδῃς, ἢ πάλιν τούναντίον.

4 The second half of this line has caused great difficulty. Edd. pr.' transcription εἰ δεονομ., which they tentatively restored as εἰς τεὸν ὄμ[μα], does not make good sense (as they acknowledge). In fact, several letters of their transcription, δ, ε, ο, μ, do not match the new scan. Heitsch prefers to leave the space blank. Palaeographically the letters after σεμνα seem relatively clear in the new scan with the possible exception of κ after σεμναε, which might be ις instead:



Assuming it is κ I suggest that the scribe mistakenly then wrote ακ by dittography with preceding αεκ. The dittography might have been facilitated by the two forms ἄεκων and ἄκων, which might have momentarily entered the scribe's mind and caused him to write both. If that is the case we can read ἀέκοντα, 'unwilling', 'against their will', agreeing with τὰ μὲν, the object of the sentence<sup>35</sup>. This reading also entails the assumption that the scribe wrote θ for τ, but such mistakes in orthography are the order of the day in this text (see above). The sense would be that fate dashes lofty things to the ground without them wanting it, against their will. In Hesiod *W&D* 3, the high are said to be brought low, and the low high *by the will of Zeus* (Διὸς μέγαλοιο ἔκητι). This is not the same as saying that the high are brought low against their will, but it introduces the idea of whose will it is which brings down the lofty. For ἄεκων (ἄκων) cf. Bakch. *Dith.* 17.43-45 τιν' ἡἴθε[ων] / σὺ δαμάσειας ἀέκων-/τα. Antiphanes *Dip.* fr. 2.4 where Charon is said to drag those clinging to life ἄκοντας, *unwillingly*, to their death.

After final α traces which can only be χ, or conceivably κ, followed by a left vertical which might belong to μ, ν, ρ, ι. Very tentatively I suggest χρ[ονιζ]όμενα, 'in the course of time', to link up with what looks like ε in third-from-last position; cf. esp. the passage just quoted from Aeschylus' *Cho.* line 64 χρονίζοντας (Dindorf: χρονίζοντ' M). The thought would be the common one in Greek ethics that the high-and-mighty are brought low in the course of time (as in Solon's elegy to the Muses (fr. 13.29-32; cf. fr. 4.16), or Solon's words to Kroisos in Herodotus); cf. Aesch. *Cho.* 650 χρόνον; 956 ἐγχρο-νισθεῖσαν; 1012 ξὺν χρόνῳ, all on the late visitation of justice. For instances of χρονίζομαι pass., cf. LSJ s.v. II. A problem with χρονιζόμενα is that initial χρ should make position with final α of ἀέκοντα, but metrically this is undesirable. For my conjecture I have to assume that *muta-cum-liquida* here do not make position.

<sup>35</sup> Perhaps it is worth recording rejected predecessors of this suggestion: (1) σέμν' αἰὲν ἄκοντα (ν of αἰὲν very dubious, sense and metre not satisfactory) (2) σέμν' ἀκαχόντα (epic form and of dubious sense - 'distressed' or 'distressing'?).



ς ὑπήριψας, from ὑπερείπω, as Wilamowitz suspected, although he printed ὑπήρικας, as if from ἐρείκω. The doubtful letter after ι might be κ, or π with damaged right descender, or, as I prefer to think, ψ:



The verb ὑπερείκω, favoured by previous editors, is *hapax* and the second aorist of ἐρείκω, ἥρικον, generally is intransitive, 'tear'<sup>36</sup>. A third objection to ὑπήρικας is the anomalous (athematic) ending, but this phenomenon is common enough, particularly in later texts. ὑπερείπω, on the other hand, occurs, with an intransitive second aorist, e.g. *Il.* 23.691: ὑπήριπε φαίδιμα γυῖα, 'his trusty limbs collapsed under him'. Wilamowitz believed the scribe of our hymn intended (but did not write) ὑπήρειψας, adducing Hesych. ἥριψε καὶ ἥριξεν· κατέβαλε. κατέπεσε. On the strength of this I suggest reading ὑπήριψας (= κατέβαλες) as a variant spelling of ὑπήρειψας, although one might take ι as = ει (as in εχίς in the last line). The ψ, I believe, is palaeographically tenable, if far from secure<sup>37</sup>. It may be compared to ψ in υψι- in line 7. Certainly the descender of putative ψ is clear here, with a small hook or serif pointing to the right. This fact alone is actually sufficient to rule out κ or π.

ποτί. Powell strangely accuses Wilamowitz of negligence («neglegenter») in printing ποτί here whilst the papyrus has κατά. Clearly Powell had not looked at the papyrus. ποτι is indubitable.

ἀμφιθηκαμένα, aorist middle participle from aor. Π ἔθηκα, a somewhat unusual formation but paralleled as early as Pindar *Ol.* 6.39 καταθηκαμένα (cf. *Pyth.* 4.29 and 113), and later: Philetas ap. Athen. 15.22.8 quotes an elegiac distichon with θηκαμένη, a form which recurs twice in the Greek Anthology (6.280.6 and 7.287.7 Beckby: θηκαμένη / θηκαμένα).

<sup>36</sup> Although Wilamowitz correctly notes that a transitive instance of διερείκω, διήρικον, is found in Euphorion fr. 41.1, with the sense 'pierce', 'penetrate'.

<sup>37</sup> Ast confirms the reading as palaeographically possible.

At the end of the line there are ink traces after ἀμπιθεκαμένα. They are sufficient to rule out edd. pr.' σκότιον, and the first three letters at least can plausibly be read as ν-υ-χ. The supplement νύχιον gives the sense 'a cloud dark as night', which suits the obscurity into which Tyche can plunge the renowned<sup>38</sup>.

6 φαῦλα or παῦρα? The papyrus has παυλα, permitting either correction. παῦρα however usually means 'few in number' rather than 'small', 'slight', which is the required sense here. Instances of the latter sense do, however, occur in early poets so παῦρα remains a (less likely) option here. Although φαῦλος can carry a negative connotation ('low' because bad, mean) it also regularly has the ethically neutral sense 'slight', 'trivial' (LSJ). The triple alliteration of π which follows might also be thought to favour φαῦλα (so as not to overdo things). On balance edd. pr.'s φαῦλα is preferable.

περοῖσι. The first four letters are relatively clearly π-τ-ε-λ and the σ is also discernible, making edd. pr.' περο[ι]σ[ι] very likely:



7 εἰς υψ- Π. So much is clear, and edd. pr.' εἰς ὕψος gives acceptable sense. The problem is: the letter after ψ is definitely not ο. It consists of a descender extending below the 'line' with perhaps a slight curve to the right at the bottom. ι looks likely. Then the letter which edd. pr. took as ξ is not really legible at all. It looks more like τ to me, suggesting the supplement εἰς ὑψιπέτη, Tyche raises the lowly 'to high-flying things' (like birds). A problem then presents itself with the following verb, which seems to begin with α. I suggest synizesis between -η and α-, which the scribe indicated by simply omitting the η. If the text was dictated the omission of η would be readily explicable, as it is not sounded. The letters which follow are most plausibly read, in my opinion, as α-ι-λ-ε-ς. I suggest correcting to present

<sup>38</sup> Julia Ast suggested as alternative ἰοέν, 'dark', which would suit apart from the apparent hiatus after -θηκαμένα.



αἴρεις, although I would not want to rule out edd. pr. -άειρας as aorist of αἴρω. The section looks like this:



μεγάλα. Powell corrects quite wilfully to μέγα.

10 ταχὺν ἄγγελον. As Wilamowitz says, the genitive ἀθανάτων requires that we divide Π's ταχυαγγελον into ταχὺν ἄγγελον, accepting the somewhat anomalous masculine ending of the adjective with τὰν ἄγγελον (cf. LSJ s.v.), which edd. pr. compare with θήλυς ἔερση («u. dgl.»). Schmidt defends ταχύαγγελον as a noun «wie sie in dieser Zeit häufig vorkommen» (p. 463).

11 πάντων. The first three letters are rubbed, but this reading seems preferable to alternatives (e.g. τούτων), giving a suitable 'universal' sweep to the closing statement.

11 αἰὲν (Sitzler). There is really little doubt about Π's reading here, α-ι-ε-ν, although the ι might conceivably be γ (but ἄγειν does not make sense, and seems metrically impossible with five successive short syllables). This ending of the hymn is, perhaps, a little bathetic, but true enough. Edd. pr. very appositely compare the beginning of the hymn to Tyche in Stobaios (1.6.13 = PMG 1019): τύχα, μερόπων ἀρχὰ καὶ τέλος (see above). For ἔχεις here cf. Plato (*Laws* IV p. 715E) on Anankē: “Ὁ μὲν δὴ θεός, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς λόγος, ἀρχὴν τε καὶ τελευτὴν καὶ μέσα τῶν ὄντων ἔχων, εὐθείᾳ περιβαίνει, κατὰ φύσιν περιπορευόμενος”. Wilamowitz says that ἄγιον ‘ist so gut wie sicher zu lesen’, but I see no trace of ι-ο:



Wilamowitz' conjecture τέλος ἄκρον (for ἄγιον in commentary) is presumably influenced by Pindar *Isth.* 4.50.

### 3. General comment

#### 3.1. Metre

Previous editors have been reluctant to name the metre used by the poet<sup>39</sup>; where lines approximate to iambic trimeters (e.g. 3 and 6) Wilamowitz cautioned against trimming them to fit this metrical scheme. In fact it seems to me that this text fits easily into a small class of shorter post-classical hymns which use a kind of loose dactylo-epitrite rhythm which verges at times on lyric dactyls. The type is seen in Ariphron's hymn to Hygieia (*GH* 6.3), Aristonoos' hymn to Hestia (*GH* 2.3), a hymn to the Moirai (*PMG* 1018b), a hymn to Mnemosyne (*CA* 191-2), the short hymn to Tyche quoted by Stobaios (*PMG* 1019 above), a short hymnic address to Titus Flaminus (*CA* 173), Aristotle's hymn to Areta (*GH* 7.4), and the paean to Asklepios by Makedonikos (*GH* 7.5)<sup>40</sup>. The ancestor of such compositions may be seen in texts such as Sophocles' paian to Asklepios (*GH* 7.3). The modulation from dactylic runs to iambic lines (3, 6) is paralleled by Ariphron's paean to Hygieia (lines 1-9 dactylo-epitrite, line 10 iambic). Most lines in the hymn to Tyche have a 'rising' start consisting of one or two (short) syllables; this, too, reminds one of Ariphron's piece, whose first two lines can actually be scanned as anapaests. There is no evidence of stress accent influencing prosody as in some late poetic compositions (e.g. the Tbilisi hymn to Dionysos, 3rd c. AD<sup>41</sup>).

#### 3.2. Language

If ὑπήρως in line 5 is right, the piece contains no significant linguistic anomalies which would indubitably date it to a period when classical usage was falling into decline. Edd. pr. say that «Wortwahl» and «Inhalt» exclude composition in «klassischer Zeit», whatever that might mean. It is true that the papyrus itself is sloppily written with

<sup>39</sup> SCHMIDT gives a different colometry and a metrical scheme showing longs and shorts – he even emends some lines (e.g. 8 ὦ μεγάλα θεά) «wegen des Metrums» – but without naming cola.

<sup>40</sup> I cannot agree with P. Maas, «LZB» 41, 1907, p. 1310 that the poem «erinnert einigermaßen an die Mesomedeshymnen und wird etwa in diese Sphäre gehören».

<sup>41</sup> P. Ross. Georg. I. 11 cf. FURLEY, «ZPE» 162, 2007, pp. 63-84.



widespread itacism and confusion of consonants, but the text itself, when restored, may be Hellenistic. There is nothing in the language or content which makes the text later than Hellenistic. The preponderance of flowery epithets (lines 1-2, ὑψιπέτης 7, ταχύποτος 9) seems, indeed, characteristic of this age. As we have seen in the introduction, hymns and apostrophic invocations of abstract entities (Hygieia, Tyche, Eirene etc.) reach cult status in the fourth and third centuries BC; Nilsson (1955, vol. II pp. 200-218) comments on the emergence of Tyche and Daimon as gods of personal religion who rose to prominence in the Hellenistic period. It is precisely these personifications to which the present composition is addressed (named in lines 2 and 7)<sup>42</sup>. Diction and vocalization are lyric *koine* with some conspicuous forms: τεάν, ποτί, ἀμφιθηκαμένα. One notes that the piece lacks a prayer of any sort, which is a normal constituent of a hymn. Perhaps the author felt that Tyche was not a suitable entity to address prayers to, being a willful and arbitrary force, not a just deity with a moral sense.

The structure of the piece is clear and symmetrical. The opening two lines are an invocation of Tyche (*invocatio*). Then the hymnode hesitates with a reflective question how best to demonstrate the power of this divine force. Such 'dubitative' questions are a common strategy by which hymn-writers begin a new section. In this case it leads into a brief description of the goddess's powers by showing the two sides of her actions: to humble the mighty and raise the humble. This middle section (*argumentum* or, here inappropriately, *pars epica*) closes with a renewed salute to the deity, ὦ δαίμον μεγάλα. There follows another 'dubitative' question how best to address the goddess: the alternatives suggested – Klotho (one of the Moirai), Ananke or Iris, messenger of the gods – are intended to capture aspects of Tyche: she influences men's fate<sup>43</sup>, she compels, and she mediates between the world of gods and men. The closing line sums up her omnipotence: she holds in her hands the beginnings and outcomes of all things, eternally. As just mentioned, this would be the normal place for a prayer: 'Please visit me kindly, goddess' or similar<sup>44</sup>. Presumably the

<sup>42</sup> For a detailed study see now SFAMENI GASPARRO 1997.

<sup>43</sup> Pindar seems to have called Tyche one of the Fates, see Paus. 7.26.8 = fr. 41 Snell.

<sup>44</sup> The *Orphic Hymn* 72 ends with ἀλλά, θεά, λίτομαί σε μολεῖν βίωι εὐμενέουσιν, ὀλβοῖσι πλήθουσιν ἐπ' εὐόλοισι κτεάτεσσιν. Pindar prays to Tyche Soteira to protect Himera in *Ol.* 12.1-2

author felt that in the case of Tyche this was a vain appeal, going against everything he had just said about the daimon's wilful actions.

Poetically the author has acquitted himself quite passably. His images are by no means redundant: in particular, the image of Tyche residing 'at the same hearth' as men, well invokes the devastating proximity of luck in personal life. The 'dark cloud' which Tyche casts on the high and mighty as she dashes it to the ground might resonate in the minds of modern investment bankers or leaders of state. The wings Tyche sometimes lends humble things to enable them to soar upwards is a conventional image, but still apposite enough<sup>45</sup>. The thematic tricolon of Klotho-Ananke-Iris is also an effective stroke in combination with the epithets 'dark' and (repeated) 'swift'. The lines well convey the idea of a strong force swooping swiftly and inexorably on its chosen target. When we compare the piece with that in Stobaios we see our anonymous emphasizing the dark side of Tyche – her ability to plunge the high-and-mighty into gloom – whilst the anonymous in Stobaios thematizes the golden glow of Charis on Tyche's wing (5) and the torch she raises in the dark (8).

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<sup>45</sup> Nemesis, a goddess with whom Tyche is sometimes associated, is usually depicted as winged, too. See Mesomedes' hymn to Nemesis περὶ Νέμεσος (no. 11 lines 1 and 10 Horna).



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Fragment of an ancient papyrus scroll with visible hieroglyphic text. The text is arranged in several columns, though the fragment is too small to transcribe fully. The papyrus is heavily damaged and discolored.

