

MARY MANTZIOU

THE AUTHENTICITY AND CHARACTER OF *fr. ad.* 1018 (Page)*

(a) *Εὐριπίδου Πηλεΐ*. (fr. 620 N.)

κλῦτε, Μοῖραι, Διὸς αἶ τε πα-
ρὰ θρόνον ἀγχοτάτω θεῶν
ἐζόμεναι περιώσι' ἄφυκτά τε
μήδεα παντοδαπᾶν βου-
λᾶν ἀδαμαντίναισιν ὑφαίνετε κερκίσιν.

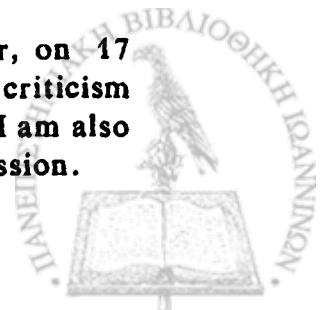
(b)

Αἴσα <καὶ> Κλωθῶ Λάχεσις τ', εὐώλενοι
κοῦραι Νυκτός,
εὐχομένων ἐπακούσατ',
οὐράνιαι γθόνιαί τε
δαίμονες ἔῃ πανδείματοι.
5 πέμπετ' ἄμμιν <τὰν> ῥοδόκολπον
Εὐνομίαν λιπαροθρόνους τ' ἀδελφὰς
Δίκαν καὶ στεφανηφόρον Εἰράναν,
πόλιν τε τάνδε βαρυφρόνων
λελάθοιτε συντυχιᾶν.

The lyric fragments quoted above have been the subject of a long scholarly dispute. In this paper I shall present the views of the scholars who have argued for their authorship and character and I shall discuss my own views on these matters.

Stobaeus included in the *Anthologium* three fragments in succession, which refer to the Moirai (1.5. 10-12 = 1.76.8 ff. Wachsmuth). Stobae-

* This paper was read to the Cambridge Greek and Latin Seminar, on 17 June 1987. I wish to express my gratitude for their help, advice and criticism to Professor Pat Easterling, Dr. James Diggle, and Dr. Colin Austin. I am also grateful to all participants of the Seminar for a most profitable discussion.



us' MSS FP assign Eclogue 10 to the *Peleus* of Euripides (κλύτε ... ἐζόμεναι), Eclogue 11 to Sophocles (P¹, περιώσι' ... κερκίσιν αἴσα), and Eclogue 12 to the *Phaedra* (P: «Phaedra of Sophocles» F, Κλωθὼ ... συντυγιάων). Meineke in his edition of Stobaeus assigned the first Eclogue to Euripides (*Peleus*), the second to Sophocles (*Phaedra*) and the last to Simonides or Bacchylides, because this fragment did not seem to him to be tragic (Vol. I [1860] 44f., Vol. II [1864] XXX); nevertheless, he did not argue the question in detail. Wachsmuth (Vol. I [1884] 76f.) followed Meineke as far as the first two Eclogues are concerned, but he attributed the third to an unknown lyric poet, as did Bergk before him (Vol. III [1882⁴] *fr. ad.* 140). The latter suggested that Pindar was probably the author of the fragment, comparing *fr.* 38-41 εἰς Τύχην (*fr.** 38-*41 Sn.-M.). On second thoughts, however, it seemed to him that Sophocles might quite well be the author of the lyric, which might come either from a choral ode in tragedy or from a hymn to Fortune (Vol. III, 733, Vol. II, 248). In support of his view he noted that Eclogue 12 is preceded and followed by fragments from Sophocles. In 1886 Wilamowitz¹ argued for the conjunction of Eclogues 11 and 12 on metrical grounds and for the authorship of Simonides by process of exhaustion (see below). Three years later (1889) Nauck included Eclogue 10 among the fragments of Euripides (*Peleus*, *fr.* 620) and left Eclogues 11 and 12 out of the second edition of the Greek Tragic Fragments, having been convinced by Wilamowitz that they form a lyric poem. In the *Epimetrum* 3 (p. XX) he argued that all three of the Eclogues under discussion form a lyric poem and thus Euripides' *fr.* 620 (*Ecl.* 10) «a tragoedia alienum est». It is worth mentioning here that Pearson also did not include Eclogues 11 and 12 among the fragments of Sophocles². In 1958 Bowra published his paper entitled «A prayer to the Fates»³, in which he argued for the conjunction of the three Eclogues and for the authorship of Simonides. In this paper we find for the first time a fully developed and *prima facie* sound argumentation. Bowra argued that the fragment (consisting of the three Eclogues) comes from lyrical song and not from drama; in structure it repeats the pattern of *Pi. O.* 14, as it starts with an appeal (κλύτε Μοῖραι), but the actual address is postponed. In his opinion the song is a hymn to the Fates,

1. See «Isyllos von Epidauros», *Philol. Untersuch.* 19 Heft, (Berlin 1886) 16-17, n. 2.

2. On the other hand, both Smyth (1900) and Diehl (1925) included the three Eclogues as a lyric adespoton, having been convinced by Nauck; see *Greek Melic Poets*, *Mel. ad.* XIII, and *Anth. Lyr. Gr.* II, *Mel. ad.* 5.

3. *CQ* n. s. 8, 231-240.



composed for a city which was in dire straits and suffered from internal dissensions; but we do not know which city it was. He assigned the song to Simonides mainly on metrical and stylistic grounds. Nevertheless, Bowra did not convince Page, who included the three Eclogues in his edition of the Greek Melic Poets (1962), *fr. ad. 1018*, but printed them in two parts: a) Ecl. 10 and 11, b) Ecl. 12. In his opinion part a) might come from the *Peleus* of Euripides; part b) cannot be assigned to Simonides on grounds of vocabulary and in particular of the adjective ῥοδόκολπος (ῥπαξ λεγόμενον and in Page's view «insulsum»). Page quotes (and apparently approves) Wilamowitz's view that the lemma Σοφοκλέους ἐκ Φαίδρας in the margin of F and the lemma ἐκ Φαίδρας in the margin of P belong to the following Eclogue 13 and not to Eclogue 12.

The latest stages of the dispute concerning the three Stobaeian Eclogues, are to be found in Collard's *Supplement to the Allen & Italic Concordance to Euripides* (1971), Radt's new edition of Sophocles' fragments (*TrGF*, Vol. 4, 1977) and West's *Greek Metre* (1982). Collard was not convinced by Page and included E. fr. 620 N² (=Ecl. 10) in the list of deleted texts (p. XV). Radt did not include Eclogues 11 and 12 among the fragments of Sophocles; as far as Eclogue 12 is concerned, he was convinced by Wilamowitz that the lemma Σοφοκλέους ἐκ Φαίδρας belongs to the following Ecl. 13 = S. fr. 686 (see p. 479). Finally, West classed Ecl. 12 (=part b) in Page's edition) with the lyrics of the later classical and Hellenistic period (inc. aet., see 139-140).

The aim of the present paper is to examine the three Eclogues of Stobaeus in the form they have come down to us and to discuss whether it is sound to follow the MSS and assign them to Euripides and Sophocles. It seems that this question has been neglected in the course of the long dispute, which I have presented above¹. The examination which follows includes structure, vocabulary and imagery, content and metre.

I

Eclogue 10

κλῦτε, Μοῖραι...
...ἐζόμεναι

This is an apostrophe to the Moirai, which consists of an appeal of the κλῦθι type, the name of the deities in a collective form, a relative

1. The three fragments, in Bowra's words «...form a single piece, and the ascriptions to Euripides and Sophocles do not concern them»; see art. cit. in preceding note, 231.



clause, whose verb is missing, and a participle. In structure it follows the traditional hymnic patterns¹. We find appeals of the κλῆθι type in Homer (e. g. *Il.* 1.37, 1.451, 5.115, 10.284), in archaic poetry (Archil. 108 W., Pi. *O.* 14.5), in Aeschylus (*Th.* 171, *Supp.* 77, *Ch.* 802), etc. Nevertheless, we do not find any such appeal in Euripides. In his hymnic appeals, however, we find some other traditional formulas, such as μολεῖν (*Ion* 452 ff., *Hel.* 1495 ff.), ἀμφί μοι (*Tr.* 511). The request appears, too, at the very beginning of the stanza in *Hel.* 1495, *Ba.* 1017. A participial and a relative clause describe mainly the attributes, activities and haunts of the gods invoked. Euripides offers examples of this kind (I quote from the *OCT*: Vols. I, II Diggle, Vol. III Murray):

Ion 452ff. σὲ τὰν ὀδίνων λογιᾶν
 ἀνελείθουα', ἐμὰν
 Ἄθ' ἀνα', ἱκετεύω,
 Προμηθεῖ Τιτᾶνι λογευ-
 θεῖσα'....

and at 1048 ff. Εἰνοδία θύγατερ Δάμαρτος, ἃ τῶν
 νυκτιπόλων ἐφόδων ἀνάσσεις,

.....

Or. 317 ff. δρομάδες ὧ πτεροφόροι
 ποτνιαδες θεαί,
 ἀβάκχευτον αἴθιασον ἐλάχετ' ἐν
 δάκρυσι καὶ γόοις,
 μελ' ἀγγρωτες εὐμενίδες², αἴτε τὸν
 ταναὸν αἰθέρ' ἀμπάλλεσθ', αἵματος
 τινύμεναι δίκαι', τινύμεναι φόνιν,

.....

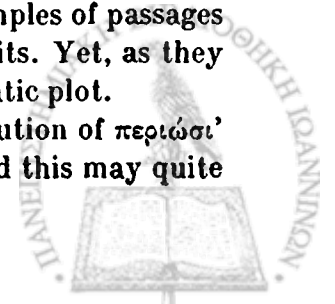
On grounds of structure (and content) there is nothing to object to in the conjunction of Eclogues 10 and 11, as Page printed them: Ecl. 10 does not make complete sense in itself³; Ecl. 11 provides the verb for the relative clause of the invocation: περιώσι'... ὑφαίνετε κερκίσιν⁴.

1. Cf. E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos* (Leipzig - Berlin 1913) 166-176.

2. Εὐμενίδες, see Willink's Commentary, *ad. loc.*

3. As D. A. Campbell remarks («Stobaeus and early Greek lyric poetry» in *Poetry and Philosophy. Stud. in honour of L. Woodbury*, ed. by D. E. Gerber [Chico, Calif. Scholars Pr. 1984] 56), one of Stobaeus' principles is that the extracts must make complete sense in themselves: Hense (*RE IX* 2584) gives examples of passages which have been altered by Stobaeus so as to become complete units. Yet, as they are deprived of context, the tragic extracts give no idea of the dramatic plot.

4. We shall not give too much weight to the manuscript attribution of περιώσι'...κερκίσιν to Sophocles: the lemma Σοφοκλέους occurs only in P¹, and this may quite



II

Metre: lyric dactyls and hemiepes¹.

- 1 - υ - - υ υ - υ υ e 2da
 2 - υ υ - υ υ - - D -
 3 - υ υ - υ υ - υ υ - υ υ 4da
 4 - υ υ - υ υ - - D -
 5 - υ υ - υ - υ υ - υ υ - υ υ d¹ υ D υ υ

Wilamowitz's remark that the «link-syllable» is nearly as often short as long in the poem he discussed (which consists of Ecl. 11 and 12) applies here to line 5 only; this is not an abnormality for a tragic passage: such a syllable, which links the hemiepes with other lengths is an anceps in Tragedy, cf. e.g. E. *HF* 1029ff.

Nevertheless, there remain three features in the metrical analysis presented above, which need further discussion. Dr. J. Diggle has informed me that the initial cretic before the run of dactyls in l. 1 has only two doubtful parallels in Euripides: *Ph.* 818 υ υ υ - - υ υ - υ υ (ἔτεκες, ὦ Γαῖ', ἔτεκές ποτε), without strophic respension, and *Ba.* 582 υ υ υ - υ υ - υ υ (ὠὸ ὠὸ δέσποτα δέσποτα), which could be υ - υ - (ia), since hiatus is allowable in exclamations. A possible alternative could be:

κλυτέ <μοι>, Μοῖραι, Διὸς αἴ τε πα-
 - υ - - - υ υ - υ υ, cf. E. *Alc.* 569.

2 For the scansion παρὰ θρόνον (υ-υυ), see Barrett on E. *Hipp.* 760 (cf. in particular the example from *Heracl.* 753 παρὰ θρόνον) and Addenda (p. 435).

4 As we should expect the colon - υ υ - υ υ - - not to be in synapheia with a line which begins with - υ υ -, but to be marked out by word - division (cf. also l. 2), a possible alternative, as suggested to me by Dr. J. Diggle, could be:

μήδεα παντοδαπᾶν - υ υ - υ υ - D

5 The sequence - υ υ - υ - υ υ - υ υ - υ υ seems to be unparalleled. Dr. J. Diggle, again, has suggested the following alternatives:

βουλᾶν ἄδαμαντίναισιν - - υ υ - υ - α enoplian
 or: βουλᾶν ἄδαμαντίναις - - υ υ - υ - telesilleian
 ὑφαίνετε κερκίσις υ - υ υ - υ α telesilleian

For the *brevis in longo* in the enoplian before a telesilleian, cf. E. *Med.* 860-61.

well be a mistake, since the following Ecl. 12 is assigned to the «*Phaedra*» (P), and to the «*Phaedra* of Sophocles» (F).

1. Page (PMG p. 536) warned that the colometry is uncertain.



III

Let us now consider the vocabulary and the imagery of the two Eclogues. Here we find a considerable number of words which are not employed by Euripides (nor by Sophocles)¹: ἀγχοτάτω, περιώσια, μίδεια, ἀδαμαντίναισι; the first two of these words are ἄπαξ τραγωδούμενα. Except for the adverb ἀγχοτάτω, which is found in *h.Ap.* 18, the remaining words are used by Lyric poets, and in particular by Pindar. The epic μίδεια and the adjective ἀδαμαντίνος are also found in *A. Pr.* (ll. 601, 6 and 64). The adjective περιώσια, apart from Pindar, occurs also in Solon, 24.7 W². Can we argue, then, against the Euripidean authorship of the fragment on grounds of vocabulary? I believe we cannot. As Lloyd - Jones³ remarks in discussing the Gyges - fragment, «the specifically early elements are more numerous than those one would expect to find in a Sophoclean or Euripidean passage of the same length. But since the later tragedians took over the vocabulary from their predecessors, this criterion can be nothing like decisive». In this choice of words there is nothing alien to Euripides' usage, although the number of the non-Euripidean words is rather excessive in this short fragment. W. Breitenbach has collected various borrowings from Homeric and Lyric diction in the lyric parts of Euripides⁴. Among them we find six words which are ἄπαξ τραγωδούμενα: ἀκρόκομος, Θούβεις, καλλίκομος, καλλίχορος (from Homer), δοναχοτρόφος (from Theognis), ἱππόκροτος (from Pindar). If one goes through the Concordance of Euripides, one can collect numerous words which are used once only in his fragments; had these fragments not been preserved, one would perhaps have inferred that Euripides had never used these words⁵. Among them, there are a few, which are again ἄπαξ τραγωδούμενα: ἀπομόργνυμι (fr. 694, Homer), ἀτρέχεια (fr. 91, Pindar), ὑπώπιον (fr. 374, Homer), φιλοστέφανος (fr. 453, *h. Cer.*, Bacchylides), χαρίεις (fr. 453, Homer)⁶. The vocabulary of the fragment under examination raises some

1. It is worth mentioning that they are not found in Aristophanes either.

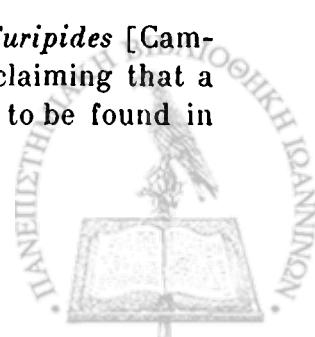
2. In Homer and the *h.Hom.* this adjective is used in the neuter only, as adverb, see LSJ *s.v.*, II and 2.

3. *PCPhS* 182 (1952-53) 36.

4. See *Untersuchungen zur Sprache der Euripideischen Lyrik* (Stuttgart 1934) 268 ff.

5. As W. Ritchie remarks (*The Authenticity of the Rhesus of Euripides* [Cambridge Univ. Pr. 1964] 142) «...we are obviously not justified in claiming that a particular word is not Euripidean simply because it does not happen to be found in his extant works».

6. Note the two ἄπαξ τραγωδούμενα in fr. 453 N².



further points for discussion: within archaic and classical poetry it is only in Euripides that we find the verb ἔζομαι with παρὰ plus accusative (*Hel.* 1574 ἀνὴρ παρ' ἄνδρ' ἔζονθ',...); it is again in Euripides only among the tragic poets where the verb ὑφαίνειν occurs (*IT* 814, 817, *Ion* 1417). In all instances it is used in its literal sense; in our fragment it is used in a metaphorical sense.

The Moirai «weave» their devices and decisions, which are inescapable (ἄφυκτα). Here the poet had a specific tradition at hand. In Homer the Moirai are the «spinners» of a man's lot¹: in *Il.* 20.128, 24.210 we find the metaphor ἐπένησε λίνω, and in *Od.* 7. 198 νήσαντο λίνω. Our poet has expressed this Homeric notion by a metaphor which is new in conception, but not in diction. In Greek Tragedy the Homeric notion of the Fates' thread does not occur. The image of «weaving» (ὑφαίνειν) with reference to the Moirai is not used elsewhere in Greek literature, so far as I know². The image of «weaving» is Homeric, being used in the sense of contrive or plan, good or bad³, cf. *Il.* 6.187 ... πυκινὸν δόλον ἕλλον ὑφαίνε, 3.212 ... μύθους καὶ μῆδεα πᾶσιν ὑφαίνου, *Od.* 13. 386... μῆτιν ὑφηνον, ὅπως ἀποτίσομαι αὐτούς; cf. also B. *Dith.* 16 (15) 23 ff. τότ' ἄμαχος δαίμων / Δαϊτανεῖραι πολὺδακρυον ὑφαίνε / μῆτιν ἐπίφρον'... Euripides, on the other hand, used the image of «sewing» and «plaiting» (ῥάπτειν, πλέκειν) in the metaphorical sense of plot or contrive⁴; and he had Homer behind him, cf. *Il.* 18.367, *Od.* 3.118⁵. It is worth mentioning here that it is only Euripides who ever uses to my knowledge another common metaphor, that of τίκτειν, with reference to the Moirai, *Heracl.* 899: πολλὰ γὰρ τίκτει Μοῖρα τελεσσιδῶ - / τειρ'...

The devices of the Moirai are ἄφυκτα in our fragment; this recalls Solon 13.63:

Μοῖρα δέ τοι θνητοῖσι κακὸν φέρει ἡδὲ καὶ ἐσθλόν,
δῶρα δ' ἄφυκτα θεῶν γίγνεται ἀθανάτων.

1. See Bowra, art. cit. (n. 3, p. 52) 236 and B. C. Dietrich, *Death, Fate and the Gods* (Univ. of London Class. Studies III 1965) 289 ff.

2. There is, however, one funeral inscription from Smyrna (Kaibel *ep.* 314.8, 3rd cent. A. D.), in which the verb κρέκειν is used with reference to the Moirai: Μοῖραι γὰρ πρῶται περὶ μου κεκρίκεισαν ἅπαντα; κρέκειν means either «weave» or «play an instrument».

3. See Dietrich op. cit. (n. 1, above) 294. For a different use of this image see J. McIntosh Snyder, *CJ* 76 (1980-81) 193-196.

4. See S. A. Barlow, *The Imagery of Euripides* (London 1971) 106, and J. Diggle, *Studies on the Text of Euripides* (Oxford 1981) 115.

5. See Dietrich loc. cit. (n. 3, above).



As the μήδεα are ἄφυκτα here, so are the δεσμὰ of Ananke in *E. Acl.* 984, the τόξα of Eros in *Med.* 531, the οἰστός of Kypris' τόξα at l. 635. And in fact, Kypris is δόλιος in *Hel.* 238 (cf. also *B. Dith.* 17 (16) 116), δολιόφρων in *IA* 1301 and δολοπλόκος in *Sapph.* 1.2, *Thgn.* 1386, *Simon.* 541.9 P. Thus the conception of the Moirai as «weavers» might imply a sense of «plot», in which case an appropriate context is to be assumed (see below). At any rate, the metaphor we are considering is elaborate; in *Od.* 5.62 Kalypso χρυσεῖη κερκίδ' ὕφαινε; here the Moirai weave ἄδαμαντίναισιν κερκίσιν: the adjective is rare in poetry, and shows how hard the devices of the Moirai are. Euripides has been accused for his limited and unoriginal use of metaphor¹. As Barlow has observed in certain plays «Euripides' feeling for metaphor was impressive and far from conventional»².

IV

We now proceed to the examination of the content. The connexion of the Moirai with Zeus recalls *Hes. Th.* 904 ff.

Μοίρας θ', ἧς πλείστην τιμὴν πόρε μητίετα Ζεὺς,
Κλωθῶ τε Λάχεσιν τε καὶ Ἄτροπον, αἳ τε διδοῦσι
θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποισιν ἔχειν ἀγαθὸν τε κακὸν τε

on which see West, *ad loc.*, and Bowra, art. cit. (n. 3, p. 52) 235, 237: the Moirai become thus agents of divine order working to fulfil the will of the gods. In Euripides we find this connexion in *El.* 1248:

... τάντεῦθεν δὲ χρῆ
πράσσειν ἃ Μοῖρα Ζεὺς τ' ἔκρανε σοῦ πέρι

and as Denniston remarks *ad loc.* «Zeus and Fate work in harmony...»³; this passage refers to an individual's allotted fate. The notion of the περιώσι' ἄφυκτά τε μήδεα παντοδαπᾶν βουλῶν is not alien to Euripides; it is expressed, though, in a different form, cf. e.g. *Heracl.* 608 ff.

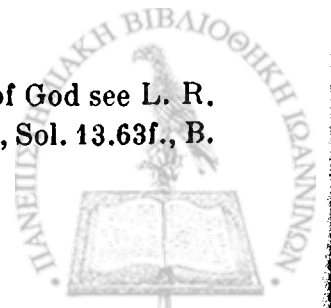
(Χορὸς) οὔτινά φημι θεῶν ἄτερ ὄλβιον, οὐ βεβήκητον,
ἄνδρα γενέσθαι·
οὐδὲ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀεὶ ἴμβεβάναι δόμον
εὐτυχίαι· παρὰ δ' ἄλλαν ἔλλα
μοῖρα διώκει.

.....

1. See Barlow op. cit. (n. 4, p. 57) 96.

2. See Barlow op. cit. (n. 4, p. 57) 97.

3. For this reconciliation of the power of Fate with the will of God see L. R. Farnell, *The Works of Pindar* (London 1932) 465; cf. also *Od.* 3. 269, *Sol.* 13.63f., *B. Dith.* 17 (16) 24.



μόρσιμα δ' οὔτι φυγεῖν θέμις, οὐ σοφί-
αι τις ἀπώσεται,...

Hipp. 1256 (Χορός) οὐδ' ἔστι μοῖρας τοῦ χρεῶν τ' ἀπαλλαγῆ.

El. 1301 (Κάστωρ) μοῖρά τ' ἀνάγκη τ' ἤγ' ἐς τὸ χρεῶν

Tr. 1204 (Ἐκάβη) . . . τοῖς τρόποις γὰρ αἱ τύχαι,
ἔμπληκτος ὡς ἄνθρωπος, ἄλλοτ' ἄλλοσε
πηδῶσι, † κούδεις αὐτὸς εὐτυχεῖ ποτε †.

Ion 1512 (Ἴων) ὦ μεταβαλοῦσα μυρίους ἤδη βροτῶν
καὶ δυστυχεῖσαι καθύθις αἶ πρᾶξαι καλῶς
τύχη, ...

Next we have to consider whether *fr. a*) in Page's edition can suit a tragic context, and in particular a Euripidean tragic action. The Fates are mentioned in a collective form only (*Μοῖραι*), not by their names, in *Alc.* 12 and 33 (they appear to dominate the life of an individual and in particular they bring death), in *IT* 207 and *Ba.* 99 (as birth goddesses); on the other hand, we find a mention of the personal figure of *Moirai* in *Heracl.* 899 (*τελεσσιδώτειρα*: everything depends on her), and in *El.* 1248 (quoted above, p. 58: *Moirai* and *Zeus* dominate the life of an individual). Nevertheless, appeals to the *Moirai* or the *Moirai* do not occur in his plays; note, however, *Ar. Th.* 700 ὦ πότνιαι Μοῖραι τί τόδε δέρκομαι / νεοχμὸν αἶ τέρας; probably taken from the *Telephus* of Euripides¹. We find, instead, one prayer (in lyric) and some apostrophes (in dialogue) to the impersonal *μοῖρα*, which are not constructed in accordance with the hymnic techniques:

Hipp. 1111 ff. (Χορός) εἶθε μοι εὐξάμεναι θεόθεν τάδε μοῖρα
παράσχοι,

Andr. 1081 f. (Πηλεὺς) ὦ μοῖρα, γήρως ἐσχάτοις πρὸς τέρμασιν
οἶα με τὸν δύστηνον ἀμφιβᾶσ' ἔχεις.

HF 456 (Μεγάρα) ὦ μοῖρα δυστάλαιν' ἐμή τε καὶ τέκνων

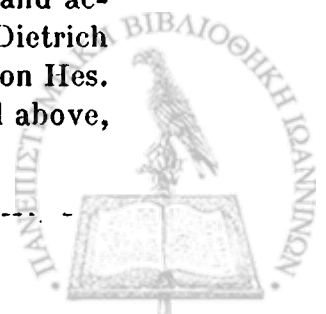
Ph. 1595 (Οἰδίπους) ὦ μοῖρ', ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὡς μ' ἔφυσας ἄθλιον

IA 1136 (Ἀγαμέμνων) ὦ πότνια μοῖρα καὶ τύχη δαίμων τ' ἐμός.

The appeal under discussion, which is addressed to the *Moirai* who preside over an individual's lot² and work for the fulfilment of the

1. See P. Rau, *Paratragodia* (München 1967) 49. I owe this note to Dr. C. Austin.

2. It is important to bear in mind that the *Moirai* as «spinners», and accordingly as «weavers», are concerned with the life of an individual, see Dietrich *op. cit.* (n. 1, p. 57) 80-81, 289-91. One's fate is fixed at birth, see West on *Hes. Th.* 219; in our fragment the present tense (as at *Ion* 1049, *Or.* 321 quoted above, p. 54) demonstrates a common function of the *Moirai*.



will of the gods, might have the following functions in a tragic context:
 a) It might be an apostrophe uttered by the hero himself in great distress, to complain of his misfortune¹. In Euripides we find some further examples in which the characters cry out against fate (though none of them is cast in the form of a hymnic appeal):

HF 508 ff. ('Αμφιτρύων) ὄρατ' ἔμ' ὅσπερ ἤ περιβλεπτος βροτοῖς
 ὀνομαστὰ πράσσω·, καὶ μ' ἀφείλεθ' ἡ τύχη
 ὡσπερ πτερὸν πρὸς αἰθέρ' ἡμέραι μιᾷ.
 ὁ δ' ὄλβος ὁ μέγας ἦ τε δόξ' οὐκ οἶδ' ὅτι
 βέβαιός ἐστι ...

Hipp. 1363 ff. ('Ιππόλυτος) ...Ζεῦ Ζεῦ, τάδ' ὄραϊς;
 ὄδ' ὁ σεμνὸς ἐγὼ καὶ θεοσέπτωρ,
 ὄδ' ὁ σωφροσύνηι πάντας ὑπερσχών,
 προὔπτον ἐς "Αἰδην στείγω, κατ' ἄκρας
 ὀλέσας βίοτο·,...

Tr. 469 ff. ('Εκάβη) ὦ θεοί· κακοὺς μὲν ἀνακαλῶ τοὺς συμμάχους,
 ὅμως δ' ἔχει τι σχῆμα κικλήσκειν θεοὺς,
 ὅταν τις ἡμῶν δυστυχῆ λάβηι τύχην.

Or. 976 ff. ('Ηλέκτρα) ἰὼ ἰὼ, πανδάκρουτ' ἐφαμέρων
 ἔθνη πολύπονα, λεύσσεθ', ὡς παρ' ἐλπίδας
 μοῖρα βαίνει.
 ἕτερα δ' ἕτερος ἀμείβεται
 πῆματ' ἐν χρόνῳ μακρῶ·
 βροτῶν δ' ὁ πᾶς ἀστάθμητος αἰών.

b) It might be a prayer to the Fates, or an apostrophe simply, uttered by a (possibly female²) Chorus as they are struck by the action on behalf of either themselves or the hero. A parallel for the first case may be found in *A. Pr.* 894 ff. in which the Chorus pray at the end of Io's episode (I quote from the *OCT*, ed. Page):

μήποτε μήποτέ μ', ὦ Μοῖραι <
 >, λεχέων Διὸς εὐνά-
 τειραν ἴδοισθε πέλουσαν,

1. In *Od.* 2. 262 ff. Telemachus, after he had been mistreated by the suitors, addresses Athena as follows:

«Κλυθί μοι, δ χθιζὸς θεὸς ἤλυθες ἡμέτερον δῶ
 καὶ μ' ἐν νηϊ κέλευσας ἐπ' ἡρωειδέα πόντον,
 νόστον πεισόμενον πατρὸς δὴν οἰχομένοιο,
 ἔρχεσθαι· τὰ δὲ πάντα διατρίβουσιν Ἀχαιοί,
 μνηστῆρες δὲ μάλιστα, κακῶς ὑπερηνόροντες».

2. The cult of the Moirai was observed by women, see *E. Melanipp. Capt.*, *GLP* I (LOEB), ed. Page, 112. 14 ff.



For the second case we have a parallel in *A. Ch.* 306 ff., in which the Moirai are appealed to by the Chorus after the recognition scene to act as agents of Zeus and bring vengeance:

ἀλλ' ὦ μεγάλοι Μοῖραι, Διόθεν
τῆιδε τελευτᾶ·,
ἦι τὸ δίκαιον μεταβαίνει·

Euripides offers some examples in which the Chorus, struck by the action, lament for the hero's fate:

Hipp. 1142 ff. ἐγὼ δὲ σᾶι δυστυχίαι
δάκρυσιν διοίσω
πότμον ἄποτμον. ὦ τάλαινα μᾶτερ,
ἔτεκες ἄ όνατα· φεῦ,
μανίω θεοῖσιν.
ἰὼ ἰὼ·
συζύγιοι Χάριτες¹, τί τὸν τάλα·' ἐκ πατρίας γᾶς
οὐδὲν ἄτας αἴτιον
πέμπετε τῶνδ' ἀπ' οἴκων;

As W. C. Greene remarks², «they ...are dismayed by the vicissitudes of man, and the disparity between deeds and fortunes (τύχαι); and when they behold blameless Hippolytus in his stricken state, they feel anger at the gods (1146). Yet, as they know, there is no escape from what must be». (Cf. l. 1256: οὐδ' ἔστι μοίρας τοῦ χρεῶν τ' ἀπαλλαγῆ). In *Heracl.* 608 ff. (quoted above, p. 58) the Chorus express their sympathy with the heroine, Makaria, and also their fatalism, while ruin threatens the heroes³. The Chorus express themselves similarly in *Hel.* 211 ff., when they are informed about the fate of the heroine's family:

αἰᾶ ἰαῖ·
ὦ δαίμονος πολυστόνου
μοίρας τε σᾶς, γύναι.
αἰῶν δυσαιῶν
τις ἔλαχεν ἔλαχε·, ὅτε δ' ἐτέκετο ματρόθεν

.....

From the examples quoted above we are entitled to infer that the fragment under discussion could suit a similar dramatic context in a lost

1. In popular belief Moira was connected with the Charites, see Dietrich op. cit. (n. 1, p. 57) 77.

2. *Moira. Fate, Good and Evil in Greek Thought* (Harvard Univ. Press 1944) 182.

3. See Greene op. cit. in preceding note, 217.



play of Euripides¹. On the whole, the fragment can suit any dramatic context which presents the misadventures of a hero. Such a hero was Peleus, the φίλος ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν (Hes. fr. 211.3 M.-W.), the εὐσεβέστατος mortal (Pi. I. 8.40). There is no consensus among scholars as to what part of the story Euripides chose for his plot². It seems that the prevailing view is Lesky's³: the young Peleus was purified by Akastos in Iolcus, but Akastos' wife attempted to seduce him. When he rejected her, she accused him falsely; Akastos believed her and threw him out into the forest unarmed, but the gods saved him by giving him a sword⁴. It is plain, then, that we have a romantic tragedy with a happy ending, which presents Peleus' earlier misadventures. Euripidean plays of this kind are full of references to fate⁵. We are entitled to assume that in the *Peleus* the hero is threatened by ruin as the action develops; at the crucial point he might address the Moirai and complain of his misfortune⁶, as Hippolytus does (cf. *Hipp.* 1363 ff.). Nevertheless, in the *Hippolytus* the ending is not happy. In the *Peleus*, as far as we can guess, the hero is unaware of Akastos' plots; the third stasimon of the *Hippolytus* (see above, pp. 59 and 61) is sung after Theseus has uttered his curse against Hipp. The song of the Chorus is a lament for the hero's misery of exile⁷. The Chorus of the *Peleus* must be aware of Akastos' plots. In such a context it is reasonable to assume that they can sing this song to the Moirai, when ruin threatens the hero. The metaphor of the Moirai as «weavers» of μῆδεα παντοδαπᾶν βουλᾶν can suit a context of plotting (see above, p. 58)⁸. Be

1. Some of these examples, as well as some further examples addressed to gods, as for instance *Med.* 148 ff., 160 ff., are cast in the form of a question, and this apparently stresses the emotion of the speaker. Our fragment might quite well be cast in the same form: κλύτε, Μοῖραι...ὕφαίνετε κερκίσιν;

2. See Fr. Jouan, *Euripide et les Légendes des Chants Cypriens* (Paris 1966) 65.

3. See *A History of Greek Literature* (transl. by J. Willis - C. de Heer) 372 and *Greek Tragic Poetry* (transl. by M. Dillon) 239. See also T. B. L. Webster, *The Tragedies of Euripides* (London 1967) 85.

4. Aristophanes in *Nu.* 1063 alludes to this story.

5. See Greene op. cit. (n. 2, p. 61) 195, 198, 200, 201, 218.

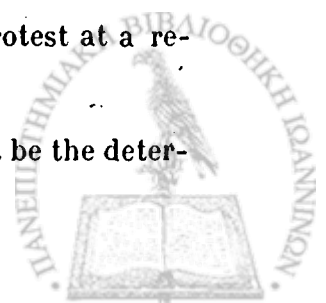
6. In E. fr. 617a N² / Sn., which is assigned to the *Peleus*, the hero maintains that no action is successful without the gods; see Webster loc. cit. (n. 3, above):

θεοῦ γὰρ οὐδεις χωρὶς εὐτυχεῖ βροτός
οὐδ' εἰς τὸ μεῖζον ἦλθε· τὰς θνητῶν δ' ἐγὼ
χαίρειν κελεύω θεῶν ἄτερ προθυμίας

A person who expresses his faith in these terms, can also, I believe, protest at a reversal of fortune.

7. See Barrett's Commentary, p. 366.

8. As Barlow observed (op. cit. [n. 4, p. 57] 102) «context must be the determining factor in estimating metaphorical skill».



that as it may, the Chorus cry out against the injustice of Peleus' fate; or, less probably, they pray to the Fates on behalf of the hero, as do the Chorus in the *Alcestis* at the crucial point for the life of the heroine, although her death appears to be inevitable:

ll. 213 ff. -ὠὸ Ζεῦ, τίς ἄν πᾶσι πόρος κακῶν
 γένοιτο καὶ λύσις τύχας
 ἃ πάρεστι κοιράνοις;
 ...
 - ὦναξ Παιά·,
 ἔξευρε μηχανάν τιν' Ἀδμήτῳι κακῶν.

V

To sum up: Eclogues 10 and 11 can form a single extract, as printed by Page, and it seems likely that we have a genuine tragic fragment. Be that as it may, Euripidean authorship can be supported by its structure and a specific dramatic function not alien to Euripidean dramaturgy; the metre also does not point against Euripidean authorship. Language and content to a certain extent provide evidence in that direction. Bowra's argumentation against a tragic origin of the fragment applies to the three Eclogues of Stobaeus as a single fragment. His arguments do not seem to be sound in the case of Eclogues 10 and 11. As he argued (art. cit. [n. 3, p. 52] 232 f.) «What is lacking is anything that smacks of the stage or drama, not merely the individual references which keep a play going but the air of fictitious urgency which has to be more emphatic in a play than in a theme drawn from life». If we isolate in a fragmentary form some hymnic appeals from Greek Tragedy and compare them to our fragment, we shall not agree with Bowra on this point: cf. *Ion* 452 ff., *Or.* 317 ff. (quoted above, p. 54), and *S. Ant.* 1115 ff. (I quote from the *OCT*, ed. Pearson):

πολυώνυμε, Καδμείας ἄγαλμα νύμφας
 καὶ Διὸς βαρυβρεμέτα
 γένος, κλυτὰν ὅς ἀμφέπεις
 Ἴταλίαν, μέδεις δὲ
 παγκοίνοις Ἐλευσινίας
 Δηοῦς ἐν κόλποις, ὦ Βακχεῦ.

On the other hand, however, another of Stobaeus' principles was to reject what is personal and individual in his selection of material¹. If

1. See Campbell art. cit. (n. 3, p. 54) 55.



this extract comes from a tragedy, can we be certain that this is the original text? In my opinion, its construction and content point to an original text. Can we, therefore, follow the MSS of Stobaeus and assign it to the *Peleus* of Euripides?¹ We can be more positive than negative. Total confidence is, of course, impossible. What we can be totally certain of, however, is that this fragment is not «a tragoedia alienum», despite Nauck's opinion.

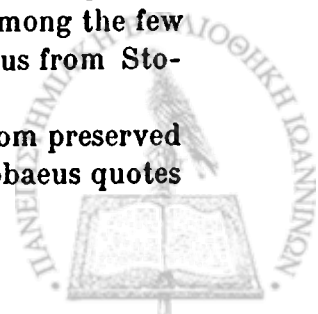
VI

Turning now to Eclogue 12 (fr. b) in Page's edition), I shall confine myself to a few points only. As mentioned above (p. 52), Stobaeus' MSS (F P) assign it to the *Phaedra* (of Sophocles), but apart from Bergk, who suggested that Sophocles might possibly be the author, no one else has ever proposed Sophoclean authorship. For the reasons I have already given in discussing fr. a) (see above, p. 63), I cannot agree with Bowra's argument against a tragic origin of the fragment. In the case of fr. b) we cannot be certain that we have the original text, since Stobaeus was interested in the conception of the Moirai only². Moreover in Greek Tragedy, and in particular in Sophocles, we find hymnic appeals for divine help on behalf of a city (cf. the parodos of the *OT* and the last stasimon of the *Antigone*). Euripides, on the other hand, offers an example of an appeal to Eirene, which recalls our fragment to a certain extent (*Krephontes* fr. 453 N² = 71 A Harder):

στρ. Εἰρήνα βαθύπλουτε καὶ
 καλλίστα μακάρων θεῶν,
 ζῆλός μοι σέθεν ὡς χρονίζεις.
 δέδοικα δὲ μὴ πόνους
 ὑπερβάλη με γῆρας,
 πρὶν σὰν προσιδεῖν χάριεσσαν ὥραν,
 καὶ καλλιχόρους ἀοιδὰς
 φιλοστεφάνους τε κώμους.
 ἴθι μοι, πότνα, πόλιν,

1. It is worth mentioning here that Euripides is the poet most frequently quoted by Stobaeus (see Campbell art. cit. [n. 3, p. 54] 54), and that among the few important fragments of the *Peleus*, another three have come down to us from Stobaeus (frr. 617, 618, 619 N²).

2. To support my view I shall give two examples of extracts from preserved Euripidean plays:- Stob. 1.4.3 (1. 71.10 Wachsmuth) = *Alc.* 962-66: Stobaeus quotes



ἀντ. τὰν δ' ἐχθρὰν Στάσιν εἶργ' ἀπ' οἴ-
κων τὰν μαινομέ' αν τ' Ἔριν
θηκτῶι τερπομέναν σιδάρωι¹

My examination of Eclogue 12 will be limited to the text available to us and will avoid over confident generalizations. On this basis we can make some remarks on the metre, the vocabulary and the character of the appeal.

VII

Metre: dactylo - epitrite with aeolic cola².

1 - υ - - - υ υ - - - υ -	e - glyc. a
2 - - - υ	2 da
3 - υ υ - υ υ - υ	D υ
4 - υ υ - υ υ - υ	D υ
5 - υ υ - - - υ -	glyc. a
6 - υ - - - υ υ - υ	hippon. c
7 - υ υ - υ υ - υ - υ - -	D υ e -
8 υ - - υ υ - υ υ - - -	υ - D - -
9 υ - υ - υ υ - υ -	nameless c
10 υ υ - υ - υ υ -	? - υ υ -

Line 2 consists of two dactyls, the second of them having a final *brevis in longo* (- - - α).

7 Following the colometry of Bowra, who printed ἀδελφὰς, Δίκαν the line runs: D υ e e ; consequently, l. 8 runs: D - -

9 Perhaps, resolution in βαρυφρόνω³, and accordingly: υ - υ - υ υ υ - 2 ia³.

10 This is a puzzling sequence; there is an example of this at E. *El.* 191, a line which, however, shows an unusual freedom of responsion with its counterpart in the strophe (191 υ υ - υ - υ υ - - = 168 υ υ - υ υ - υ - -)⁴.

the beginning of strophe α only; Stob. 1. 5. 6 (1. 75. 11 Wachsmuth) = *Heracl.* 608-609; 615-17; Stobaeus quotes the beginning and the end of the strophe only, omitting the middle section.

1. This poetry is «painting which speaks». One of Bowra's arguments in favour of Simonides' authorship of the lyric under examination was the figurative language and the powerful emotion, see art. cit. (n. 3, p. 52) 233.

2. For the nomenclature of the aeolic cola, see Barrett's Commentary on E. *Hipp.*, Appendix I, p. 423.

3. See West op. cit. (p. 53 above) 140.

4. See K. Itsumi, *CQ* n.s. 32 (1982) 69.



The short «link - syllable» is not a characteristic of Simonides only, as Wilamowitz and Bowra claimed, but also of Greek Tragedy¹ and of post-classical lyric, to which West has assigned this fragment².

There exists, however, a feature in this Eclogue which probably shows that it does not come from fifth century Tragedy: this is the pronoun ἄμιν in the prayer. In Greek Tragedy, when the Chorus sing a hymnic appeal on behalf of the city, their specific demand is phrased in the first person singular, as in S. OT164 τρισσοὶ ἀλεξίμοροι προφάνητέ μοι, 205 βέλεα θέλωμ' ἄν ἀδάματ' ἐνδατεῖσθαι, E. Heracl. 751 ἀγγελίαν μοι ἐνέγκαι, and at l. 766 Ζεὺς μοι σύμμαχος, ... Kresphontes fr. 453. 9 N² (quoted above, p. 64) ἴθι μοι, πότνα, πόλιν. This tragic choral «I» shows in my opinion that the self interest is identical with the communal interest, and thus affirms the solidarity of the community³. In post-classical lyric this practice appears to be interchangeable: cf. *Pae. Erythr.* 19 ff. (934 P.)

χαῖρέ μοι, Ἴλαος δ' ἐπινίσειο
τᾶν ἁμᾶν πόλιν εὐρύχορον,
ἰὲ Παιάν,

δὸς δ' ἡμᾶς χαίροντας ὄρᾶν φάος
Aristonous I. 47 f. (C.A. 162)

ἄει καὶ σῶζων ἐφέποις
ἡμᾶς, ὦ ἰὲ Παιάν

id. II. 14ff: (C.A. 164)

Ἔστία, δίδου δ' ἀμοιβὰς
ἕξ ὁσίων πολὺν ἡμᾶς
ὄλβον ἔχοντας...

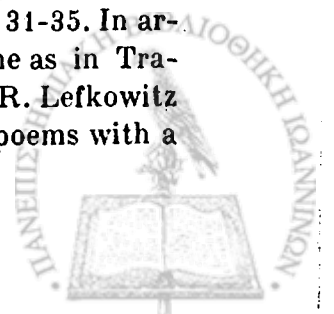
VIII

The examination of the vocabulary has brought to light some interesting features. Fr. a) has a solid archaic background. In fr. b) epic vocabulary is strikingly restricted, although it is only in Homer and

1. See J. Diggle, *Euripides Phaethon* (Cambridge Univ. Pr. 1970) 148, and also above, p. 55.

2. Loc. cit. (n. 3, p. 65).

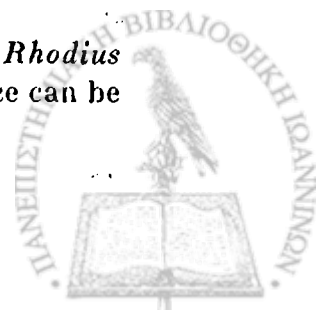
3. M. Kaimio, in *The Chorus of Greek Drama within the Light of the Person and Number Used* (Helsinki 1970) failed to distinguish this type of usage of the choral «I» in Tragedy; for the practice in archaic choral lyric in general, see 31-35. In archaic hymnic choral lyric in particular, the practice seems to be the same as in Tragedy, cf. *Pi. Pae.* 9. 7, *Dith.* fr. 75. 7; but our evidence is scanty. M. R. Lefkowitz (*HSPh* 67 [1963] 183f., 187, 194) discussed the choral «I» in Pindaric poems with a communal character, such as *Paeans* 2 and 4.



in this fragment where the epic reduplicated aorist 2 λέλυθον is used as causal. The most significant words are in fact compound adjectives; and among them, πανδείματοι, ῥοδόκολπον and βαρυρόνων raise some interesting points for discussion. Πανδείματοι (Wachsmuth: - δείμαντοι FP) is also used once by Pindar of the Persians cf. *fr. 189* (πανδείματα Sn.: - δείμαντοι Sn. - M.). An adjective of the same root is ἀδείμάντος, used by Pindar, Aeschylus and Euripides. Βαρύρων was probably coined by Apollonius Rhodius (4. 731 βαρύρωνος Αἰήταο, which is recognized to be a reminiscence of *Od. 10.137* ἐλοόφρονος Αἰήταο)¹. This adjective is widely used from the Hellenistic period onwards²: cf. *Theoc. 25.110*, *Lyc. 464*, *AP 12.141.6* (Meleager), *Opp. H. 4.174*, 505, *Nonn. D. 5.327*, 27.266. Ῥοδόκολπος is ἕπαξ λεγόμενον, and according to Page it is «insulsum». This adjective belongs in my opinion to what I should call a «fashion» of post - classical poetry to coin «rosy - » compounds: thus, Isis is ῥοδόσπερος in an inscription from Nubia (*CIG 5115*), and the Horai are ῥοδόπιδες in *Nonn. D. 11.487*; this fashion also includes the adjectives ῥοδόχρως (*Theoc. 18.31*), ῥοδόχρως (*AP 5.56.1*, Dioscorides, *Opp. H. 1. 130*), ῥοδόφυρος (*AP 5.55.1*, Dioscorides), ῥοδόσφυρος (*Hymn. Mag. 11.21 = PGM II*, p. 245, Q. S. 1.138), ῥοδόπεπλος (Q. S. 3.608), ῥοδοσσεφής (*Nonn. D. 48.381*). In early poetry the use of «rosy-» compounds referring to someone's appearance is restricted to two adjectives: ῥοδοδάκτυλος and ῥοδόπηγος. It is worth mentioning here that in Greek Tragedy we do not find «rosy-» compounds. On the other hand, in early poetry it seems that we have a similar fashion with «calli-» compounds: καλλιζωνος, καλλίχομος, καλλιπέδιλος, καλλίπεπλος, καλλίσφυρος, καλλίπηγος, etc., but not καλλίκολπος. Ῥοδόκολπος is a reminiscence of βαθύκολπος (with dress falling in deep fold), which Pindar used metaphorically of the Earth, cf. *P. 9. 101* βαθύκολπου Γῆς (deep - bosomed); and the Earth is κουροτρόφος *par excellence*. A final remark on the vocabulary concerns the aeolic ἄμμιν: this is found in Homer, Pindar, Bacchylides, *A. Th. 156* (cf. also *S. Ant. 846* ἄμμ'); it is also found in Hellenistic and later poetry.

1. See M. Campbell, *Echoes and imitations of early epic in Apollonius Rhodius* (Leiden 1981) 75. In *Alcm. 3.82 P.* (παῖδα βα[.]ύφρονα) no certain choice can be made between βαρυ- and βαθυ-.

2. For its meaning see Gow on *Theoc. Idyll 25.110*.



IX

We may turn now to consider the character of the lyric under examination. For this purpose it is important to examine the functions of the Moirai and the Horai and the cultic implications of the epithets employed by the poet. The Moirai as daughters of Nyx were concerned with retribution and vengeance and in this capacity they were related to the Erinyes: they were the guardians of law and justice¹. Both, however, as chthonic deities were primarily concerned with fertility and with death². On the other hand, the Moirai were associated with the Horai in Hesiod (*Th.* 901 ff.) and in cult³: they were thus concerned with order and regularity⁴, but not only in ethical terms. The Horai were primarily nature deities, season goddesses, concerned with fertility and cosmic order⁵, cf. *Pi. O.* 13.17, *P.* 9.60, *Orph. H.* 43: they were affiliated with the earth goddesses. The Moirai were also affiliated with the earth goddesses, and with marriage goddesses⁶. The epithet *χθόνιαι* implies the chthonic character of their cult, their relation to the earth and to death. In funeral inscriptions, in which the Moirai appear to be goddesses of fated death, the epithets describe them as hostile, cruel, etc⁷. This side of the Moirai is probably implied by the epithet *πανδείματοι* in our fragment. But the Moirai were not entirely negative; as nature divinities they also possessed a light side⁸: this is apparently implied by the epithets *οὐράνιαι* and *εὐώλενοι*. In Greek poetry the epithet *εὐώλενος* is employed to describe the beauty of a maiden, cf. *Pi. P.* 9. 17 (Kyrene), *Nonn. D.* 38.113 (Klymene, one of the Nereids); in *Pae. Delph.* I. 2 (*C.A.* 141) it is employed of the Muses⁹. The epithets used of the Horai in our fragment imply in my opinion their character as nature deities: for *ῥοδόκολπος* see above, p. 67, and cf. also *Pi. O.* 13.17 *Ῥοραὶ πολυάνθεμοι*, *Orph. H.* 43.6 *πέπλους*

1. See Hes. *Th.* 211ff., with West *ad loc.*, Fraenkel on *A.A.* 1535f., Dietrich op. cit. (n. 1, p. 57) 70, with *Orph. H.* 59.

2. See Dietrich op. cit. (n. 1, p. 57) 63f., 117 f.

3. See *RE XV*, s.v. *Moirai*, 2494-95 (Eitrem), Dietrich op. cit. (n. 1, p. 57) 77.

4. See West on Hes. *Th.* 904.

5. See *RE VIII*, s.v. *Horai*, 2302 (Jolles), West on Hes. *Th.* 901, Dietrich op. cit. (n. 1, p. 57) 63.

6. See Dietrich op. cit. (n. 1, p. 57) 65, 81, 89. The Horai are also present at divine marriages, see *RE VIII*, s.v. *Horai*, 2309.

7. See Dietrich op. cit. (n. 1, p. 57) 77.

8. See Dietrich op. cit. (n. 1, p. 57) 63.

9. Nonnus used the epithet *εὐποδες* to describe the beauty of the Horai, see *D.* 7.107, 8.5, 28.330, 38.131, 331, 415.



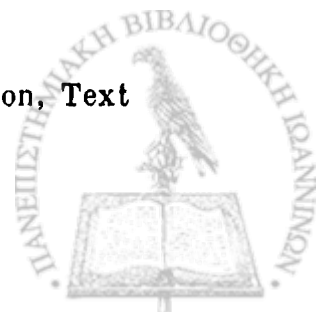
ἐ νύμεναι δροσερούς ἀνθῶν πολυθρέπτων; λιπαρόθρονοι recalls εὐθρονοι, which Pindar used of the Horai as season goddesses in *P.* 9.60; it may also recall the epithet λιπαρῆν of their mother Themis in Hes. *Th.* 901; στεφανηφόρος associates Eirene with festivals, but it also recalls the epithet φιλοστέφανος, used of Aphrodite in *h. Cer.* 102, and of Εὐκλεία in *B. Ep.* 13 (12) 184¹. In Eclogue 12 the Moirai and the Horai (though it is not mentioned that they are sisters born of the same parents, as in Hesiod) are appealed to on behalf of a city, which is suffering from βαρύφρονες συντυχίαι, distressing misfortunes. Bowra argued (art. cit. [n.3, p.52] 235) that although the Moirai have much to do with individuals, but not with cities, «it would not be difficult or anomalous to extend their scope to families and even countries»; and he quotes *Pi. O.* 2.35 f., in which the Moira guides the house of the Emmenidae, and also *A. Eu.* 963 f., in which the Chorus address the Fates as civic deities (παντὶ δόμοι μετὰκοῖνοι). The Moirai were indeed concerned with kinship, since they were the deities who presided over birth, marriage, death and all important undertakings during a man's life². And in fact in *A. Eu.* 956 ff. they are addressed as marriage deities, since the prayer is for healthy children. The lyric under examination was composed, according to Bowra, for a city which was in dire straits and suffered from internal dissensions and thus the prayer is for the restoration of civic order. This might be so, but the text available to us does not permit such confidence. In the fragment from E.'s *Kresphontes* quoted above, p. 64 (fr. 453 N²= 71 A Harder) we are explicitly told that the city is suffering from civil strife. In Stobaeus' extract we are not told of what kind the βαρύφρονες συντυχίαι are in the city. Apart from possible civil strife the συντυχίαι could refer to other misfortunes and the Moirai and Horai might be invoked to restore some different upset balance. Within Greek literature we have lyrics in which blessings are mentioned with reference to a whole society. These lyrics are the following: - *A. Supp.* 625 ff. and *Eu.* 916 ff.: in both cases the blessings concern for the most part the avoidance of civil war and the fertility of women and the earth.

Carm. Cono. 884 P. which is a prayer to Athena:

ὄρθου τήνδε πόλιν τε καὶ πολίτας
ἄτερ ἀλγέων [τε] καὶ στάσεων
καὶ θανάτων ἄωρων,....

1. See A. Harder, *Euripides' Kresphontes and Archelaos*. Introduction, Text and Commentary (Leiden 1985) 108.

2. See *RE XV*, s. v. *Moirai*, 2485, 2487.



Timotheus' closing prayer in the *Persae* (791.237 ff. P.):

ἀλλ' ἑκαταβόλε Πύθι' ἀγνᾶν
 ἔλθοις τάνδε πόλιν σὺν ὄλβωι,
 πέμπων ἀπήμονι λαῶι
 τῶιδ' εἰρήναν θάλλουσαν εὐνομίαι.

Finally, in *Hymn. Curet.* (C.A. 160) the god is asked to come in the crops, in the beasts of the field, in men, and in everything that is subject to success or failure: in the ships that bring merchandise, in the citizen body as a whole, and in Themis, the principle of order and regularity that both men and nature do best to obey¹. Thus, I believe, a city can be under βαρύφρονες συντυχίαι, not only when a civil war has broken out, but also when the civic ἔλβος or harmony has been broken by natural phenomena. And this could equally be the case with our fragment, addressed to the Moirai and the Horai, who were also deities of fertility of both women and the earth.

X

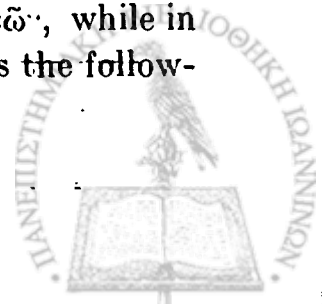
To conclude: Page had good reasons to separate Eclogue 12 from the preceding Eclogues 10 and 11, although his argumentation was brief and not exhaustive. In his opinion the beginning of each fragment, as he printed them, points to two different compositions: κλυτε, Μοῖραι (a) — Αἴσα...ἐπακούσατ' (b). On this Bowra's comparison of the whole poem with Pi. O. 14, which is addressed to the Charites, is valid, as far as structure is concerned (art. cit. [n. 3, p. 52] 234):

Α' Καφισίων ὑδάτων
 λαχοῖσαι αἶτε ναῖστε καλλίπωλον ἔδρα',
 ὦ λιπαρᾶς ἀοίδιμοι βασίλειαι
 Χάριτες Ἐρχομενοῦ, ...
 κλυτ', ἐπεὶ εὐχομαι...

Β' <ὦ> πότνι' Ἀγλαΐα
 φιλησίμολπέ τ' Εὐφροσύνα, ...
 παῖδες, ἐπακοῦτε νῦν, ...

Nevertheless, in Pindar's song there exists no such discrepancy between the two invocations as exists in the song we are examining. According to Page, in fr. a) the Moirai haunt Διὸς παρὰ θρόνον ἀγχοτάτω θεῶν, while in b) they are both οὐράνιαι and γθόνιαι. On this Bowra's view is the follow-

1. See West, *JHS* 85 (1965) 158.

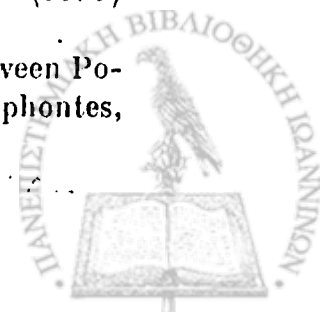


ing (art. cit. [n. 3, p. 52] 237): «...the Fates have a dual character. On the one hand, they are enthroned at the side of Zeus and carry out his will; on the other hand, they belong to the underworld of darkness and death and perform very different functions. This side has to be emphasized since the poet is concerned with the eradication of evil as well as with the establishment of good». In this case, the invocation of the Moirai as weavers of an individual's allotted fate, as destiny goddesses (see above, n. 2, p. 59) appears to be out of context. Bowra noticed this discrepancy, but apparently thought it unimportant. Thus, he argued (art. cit. [n. 3, p. 52] 236): «Our poet differs from Homer in accepting the existence of three Fates and in applying their dominion not to the life of an individual but to the existence of a city». Yet there exists a discrepancy between the two invocations over the precise relation between the Fates and those who pray to them. The Moirai as spinners and weavers are concerned specifically with the life, the destiny of an individual; the Moirai associated with the Horai are concerned with the existence of a city, with the cosmic order, and they are appealed to when this order has been broken either by particular civil strife, or by natural phenomena. Thus, we are entitled to suggest that the two fragments, as Page printed them, have a different origin and character: fr. a) might quite well have a tragic, and in particular Euripidean, origin; fr. b) could hardly suit a plot like the one which the *Phaedra* of Sophocles had¹: although Hippolytus is denouncing Theseus' administration (cf. fr. 683 Radt) and Theseus is apparently the destroyer of his *οἶκος*, we are justified in assuming that the city in which the action takes place is not under *βαρύνφρονες συντυχίαι* which need the intervention of the Moirai and the Horai under their functions discussed above². On the other hand, the lines available to us contain nothing but requests and epithets, and this does not allow us to make a judgement on their poetic quality. Thus, we cannot follow Bowra and assign these lines either on stylistic or on metrical grounds to Simonides³. The visual epithets given to the deities are not evidence for Simonidean authorship; we find visual epithets for example in *Orph. H.* 43 applied to the Horai (*λαίμωνιάδες, πολυάνθεμοι, παντόχροοι, ἡδυπρόσωποι*). Finally, it is not unlikely that the Horai are treated not

1. For a reconstruction of the plot of this play, see A. Kiso, *BICS* 20 (1973) 22-36.

2. In E.'s *Kresphontes* (see above, p. 64) the city is upset by strife between Polyphontes and those like Merope who are loyal to the memory of old Kresphontes, see Webster op. cit. (n. 3, p. 62) 141 and Harder op. cit. (n. 1, p. 69) 103.

3. See also above, n. 1, p. 65, and p. 66.



as ethical - political powers, but as nature deities, as in Orph. *H.* 43, in which they are addressed by their names Εὐνομίη, Δίκη and Ειρήνη as daughters of Zeus and Themis and are associated with Persephone, the Moirai and the Charites¹. The vocabulary of the fragment, on the other hand, includes certain features that in all likelihood are post-classical (ῥοδόκολποῖ, βαρυφρόνων).

If my argumentation is sound, then we are forced to doubt whether Bowra's views can be accepted without reservations as far as the authenticity and character of fr. b) are concerned.

1. In late antiquity the Horai were exclusively season deities, see *RE VIII*, s. v. *Horai*, 2304.



ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

Η ΠΑΤΡΟΤΗΤΑ ΚΑΙ Ο ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡΑΣ ΤΟΥ *ἀδέσπ. λυρ. ἀπ. 1018 P.*

Τὸ λυρικό ἀδέσποτο 1018 στὴν ἔκδοση τοῦ Page ἀποτελεῖται ἀπὸ τρία χωρία, τὰ ὁποῖα παραθέτει διαδοχικὰ ὁ Στοβαῖος στὴν Ἀνθολογία του (1. 5. 10-12), μὲ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Εὐριπίδη καὶ τοῦ Σοφοκλῆ. Διάφοροι μελετητὲς ἀμφισβήτησαν τὴν πατρότητα τῶν χωρίων αὐτῶν, κι ἀκόμη τὴν τραγικὴ προέλευσή τους. Ὁ C.M. Bowra ὑπῆρξε ὁ μόνος ποὺ τὰ μελέτησε ἀρκετὰ διεξοδικὰ πιστεύοντας ὅτι ἀποτελοῦν καὶ τὰ τρία μαζὶ ἓνα ἑνιαῖο ἀπόσπασμα, τὸ ὁποῖο ἀπέδωσε στὸ Σιμωνίδη.

Στὴν ἐργασία μου προσπαθῶ νὰ δείξω, μέσα ἀπὸ τὴν ἐξέταση τῆς δομῆς, τοῦ μέτρου, τοῦ λεξιλόγιου, τῶν ἐκφραστικῶν μέσων καὶ τοῦ περιεχομένου, ὅτι τὸ πρῶτο μέρος τοῦ ἀποσπάσματος 1018 στὴν ἔκδοση τοῦ Page μπορεῖ πράγματι νὰ εἶναι τραγικὸ καὶ μάλιστα Εὐριπίδειο, μὲ χαρακτήρα προσωπικό. Τὸ δεύτερο μέρος παρουσιάζει μερικὰ στοιχεῖα ποὺ εἶναι ἴσως μετακλασικά, ἐνῶ ὁ μὴ προσωπικὸς χαρακτήρας του μᾶς ὁδηγεῖ στὸ συμπέρασμα πὼς πρόκειται γιὰ ἓνα διαφορετικὸ ἀπόσπασμα, τοῦ ὁποίου ἡ προέλευση εἶναι μᾶλλον ἀδύνατο νὰ προσδιοριστεῖ.

M. MANTZIOY

