

HESIOD WORKS & DAYS

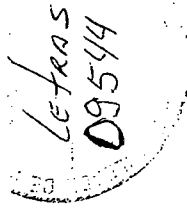
*Edited with
Prolegomena and Commentary
by*

M. L. WEST

TOMBO.:09544



SBD-FFLCH-USE



OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

QUALIFIED SIGLA

Letters and figures above the line qualify the siglum immediately preceding (and no earlier one; the same applies to remarks in parenthesis).

C¹, C²

C corrected by the original scribe/by the second hand (C² is an early corrector; C³ probably belongs to the later 13th or 14th c.; C⁴ and C⁵ belong to the earlier 14th c., C⁶ and C⁷ probably to the 15th)

C^{ac}

C before correction

C^c

C after correction (by an unspecified hand)

C^{yp}

γράφεται-variant in C

C^{mg}

marginal variant or correction in C

C^{sl}

supralinear variant or correction in C (not necessarily written in full)

C^{ras}

correction in C written over an erasure; unless otherwise specified, the letter or letters erased occupy the position of those which differ from the corrected reading in the other recorded variant(s), e.g. at 141 it is the letters *υπο* that are written over an erasure in C

C^{rec}a later hand than C¹, not more closely identifiedC^{uv}

C apparently (ut videtur)

Φ^v, Dio^{v1}

variant reading in Φ/in Dio

Σ^λ, Pr^λ

lemma in schol. vet./in Proclus

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

ath.

line(s) athetized by

agn.

reading recognized by

ci.

coniectit, coniecerat

gl.

glossesma

sscr.

suprascriptis, cum suprascripto

θ

letter uncertainly read

[]

enclose letters cancelled in the manuscript

[]

enclose letters lost through damage

[]

enclose letters missing in a papyrus; e.g. 'καλ[υψαμ,ένω Π₄₃δ'
is a compendious expression of 'καλ[....]ένω Π₄₃, καλυψα-
μένω δ'

The evidence of papyri, scholia vetera, Proclus, and Tzetzes is reported where it is available. Where I leave the sources for a reading to be deduced *ex silentio*, therefore, they consist of the medieval manuscripts and the quotations as specified, in so far as they are not cited for an alternative reading.

ΕΡΓΑ ΚΑΙ ΗΜΕΡΑΙ

Μούσα Πιέρηθεν, αἰοῖσι κλείουσαι,
δεῦτε, Δί' ἐνέπτετε σφέτερον πατέρ' ὑμνείουσαι,
ὃν τε διὰ βροτοὶ ἀνδρες ὁμῶς ἄφατοί τε φατοί τε
ῥήτοί τ' ἄρρητοί τε Διὸς μεγάλοιο ἔκητι.

5

ῥέα μὲν γὰρ βράζει, ῥέα δὲ βριάοντα χαλέπτει,
ῥέα δ' ἀρίζηλον μυῦθει καὶ ἄδηλον ἀέξει,
ῥέα δέ τ' ἰδῶναι σκολιὸν καὶ ἀγήνορα κάρφει
Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης ὅς ὑπέρτατα δώματα ναίει.

10

κλυδί ἰδὼν αἰὼν τε, δίκη δ' ἔθνε θεόμistas
τῶν· ἐγὼ δέ κε Πέρσῃ ἐτήτυμα μυθησαίμην.

Οὐκ ἄρα μῶνον ἔην Ἑρίδαν γένος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν
εἰσι δῖόν· τήν μὲν κεν ἐπαυήσκει νοήσας,
ἣ δ' ἐπιμυμήτῃ διὰ δ' ἄνδιχα θυμὸν ἔχουσιν.
ἣ μὲν γὰρ πόλεμόν τε κακὸν καὶ δῆρην οὐέλλει,
σχετλίῃ· οὐ τις τήν γε φιλεῖ βροτός, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀνάγκῃς
ἀθανάτων βουλῆσιν Ἑριν τιμῶσι βαρεῖαν.

15

τὴν δ' ἐτέρην προτέρην μὲν ἐγένεατο Νῆξ ἐρεβενή,

1-8 Dio Prus. 12. 24; 1-2 (-ένν.) vita II Arati p. 12, 11 Martin; (Μούσα+ένν.)
Eu. 9. 13; 2 Ἡδν. de fig. iii. 89. 11 Sp., Polyb. de barb. et sol. 288. 17 Nauck (post
Lex. Vitul.), Anon. de vol. et barb. 185. 4 Valck. s. sch. D. T. 447. 10 H.; (-ένν.) sch.
Il. 1. 14, Eu. 1809. 13; (σφετ.) Anon. de barb. et vol. 292. 2 Nauck (unde et Ἡδν.
ib. 307. 20), sch. D. T. 402. 15 H., Eu. 1383. 33; (σφ. π.) A. D. p. 109. 24, 110. 9;
3 (-δέκ) Greg. Cor. p. 109. 5 Sch., Eu. 52. 7; 5 Aristid. 26. 39 (ii. 102. 23 K.);
(-βριάει) A. D. adv. 562. 7, AO i. 383. 6, sch. Heph. 318. 17, 320. 6 C.; (ῥέα δέ-)
Eras s. Bp. 64. 8; (cum II. 18. 309 confusum), Diac. in Hes. Th. p. 339. 13 Fl.; 6-7
Dio Prus. 64. 8; (-μυν.) AO i. 383. 8 9 (-τέ) sch. A. Supp. 77; (δίκη-) Eras s.
δίκη; (θε-το τῶν) Eras s. ἐγών 11 (-γένεος) Plut. 736e, sch. A. R. 2. 438, sch.
Il. 17. 147, Procl. in Pl. Parm. 658. 16 Cousin, Etz s. μούσας; (δίκη-)-13 'Lucian'.
49. 37 12 (τήν-) Eu. 1315. 14 14 Etz s. οὐέλλει.
Aphr. CAG i. 590. 10 17 Alex.

1-16 deest C, 1-42 deest ω₁

om. libri a Praxiphanes Pausania vii
Anon. Eu., agn. 12: δὴ Τζφν-ψ* Ἡδν.: variant codd. t* 2 Δί' Π₄₃ΔΦνψ₁₂ψ₁₃ω₁ω₂ω₃ω₄ω₅ω₆ω₇ω₈ω₉ω₁₀ω₁₁ω₁₂ω₁₃ω₁₄ω₁₅ω₁₆ω₁₇ω₁₈ω₁₉ω₂₀ω₂₁ω₂₂ω₂₃ω₂₄ω₂₅ω₂₆ω₂₇ω₂₈ω₂₉ω₃₀ω₃₁ω₃₂ω₃₃ω₃₄ω₃₅ω₃₆ω₃₇ω₃₈ω₃₉ω₄₀ω₄₁ω₄₂ω₄₃ω₄₄ω₄₅ω₄₆ω₄₇ω₄₈ω₄₉ω₅₀ω₅₁ω₅₂ω₅₃ω₅₄ω₅₅ω₅₆ω₅₇ω₅₈ω₅₉ω₆₀ω₆₁ω₆₂ω₆₃ω₆₄ω₆₅ω₆₆ω₆₇ω₆₈ω₆₉ω₇₀ω₇₁ω₇₂ω₇₃ω₇₄ω₇₅ω₇₆ω₇₇ω₇₈ω₇₉ω₈₀ω₈₁ω₈₂ω₈₃ω₈₄ω₈₅ω₈₆ω₈₇ω₈₈ω₈₉ω₉₀ω₉₁ω₉₂ω₉₃ω₉₄ω₉₅ω₉₆ω₉₇ω₉₈ω₉₉ω₁₀₀ω₁₀₁ω₁₀₂ω₁₀₃ω₁₀₄ω₁₀₅ω₁₀₆ω₁₀₇ω₁₀₈ω₁₀₉ω₁₁₀ω₁₁₁ω₁₁₂ω₁₁₃ω₁₁₄ω₁₁₅ω₁₁₆ω₁₁₇ω₁₁₈ω₁₁₉ω₁₂₀ω₁₂₁ω₁₂₂ω₁₂₃ω₁₂₄ω₁₂₅ω₁₂₆ω₁₂₇ω₁₂₈ω₁₂₉ω₁₃₀ω₁₃₁ω₁₃₂ω₁₃₃ω₁₃₄ω₁₃₅ω₁₃₆ω₁₃₇ω₁₃₈ω₁₃₉ω₁₄₀ω₁₄₁ω₁₄₂ω₁₄₃ω₁₄₄ω₁₄₅ω₁₄₆ω₁₄₇ω₁₄₈ω₁₄₉ω₁₅₀ω₁₅₁ω₁₅₂ω₁₅₃ω₁₅₄ω₁₅₅ω₁₅₆ω₁₅₇ω₁₅₈ω₁₅₉ω₁₆₀ω₁₆₁ω₁₆₂ω₁₆₃ω₁₆₄ω₁₆₅ω₁₆₆ω₁₆₇ω₁₆₈ω₁₆₉ω₁₇₀ω₁₇₁ω₁₇₂ω₁₇₃ω₁₇₄ω₁₇₅ω₁₇₆ω₁₇₇ω₁₇₈ω₁₇₉ω₁₈₀ω₁₈₁ω₁₈₂ω₁₈₃ω₁₈₄ω₁₈₅ω₁₈₆ω₁₈₇ω₁₈₈ω₁₈₉ω₁₉₀ω₁₉₁ω₁₉₂ω₁₉₃ω₁₉₄ω₁₉₅ω₁₉₆ω₁₉₇ω₁₉₈ω₁₉₉ω₂₀₀ω₂₀₁ω₂₀₂ω₂₀₃ω₂₀₄ω₂₀₅ω₂₀₆ω₂₀₇ω₂₀₈ω₂₀₉ω₂₁₀ω₂₁₁ω₂₁₂ω₂₁₃ω₂₁₄ω₂₁₅ω₂₁₆ω₂₁₇ω₂₁₈ω₂₁₉ω₂₂₀ω₂₂₁ω₂₂₂ω₂₂₃ω₂₂₄ω₂₂₅ω₂₂₆ω₂₂₇ω₂₂₈ω₂₂₉ω₂₃₀ω₂₃₁ω₂₃₂ω₂₃₃ω₂₃₄ω₂₃₅ω₂₃₆ω₂₃₇ω₂₃₈ω₂₃₉ω₂₄₀ω₂₄₁ω₂₄₂ω₂₄₃ω₂₄₄ω₂₄₅ω₂₄₆ω₂₄₇ω₂₄₈ω₂₄₉ω₂₅₀ω₂₅₁ω₂₅₂ω₂₅₃ω₂₅₄ω₂₅₅ω₂₅₆ω₂₅₇ω₂₅₈ω₂₅₉ω₂₆₀ω₂₆₁ω₂₆₂ω₂₆₃ω₂₆₄ω₂₆₅ω₂₆₆ω₂₆₇ω₂₆₈ω₂₆₉ω₂₇₀ω₂₇₁ω₂₇₂ω₂₇₃ω₂₇₄ω₂₇₅ω₂₇₆ω₂₇₇ω₂₇₈ω₂₇₉ω₂₈₀ω₂₈₁ω₂₈₂ω₂₈₃ω₂₈₄ω₂₈₅ω₂₈₆ω₂₈₇ω₂₈₈ω₂₈₉ω₂₉₀ω₂₉₁ω₂₉₂ω₂₉₃ω₂₉₄ω₂₉₅ω₂₉₆ω₂₉₇ω₂₉₈ω₂₉₉ω₃₀₀ω₃₀₁ω₃₀₂ω₃₀₃ω₃₀₄ω₃₀₅ω₃₀₆ω₃₀₇ω₃₀₈ω₃₀₉ω₃₁₀ω₃₁₁ω₃₁₂ω₃₁₃ω₃₁₄ω₃₁₅ω₃₁₆ω₃₁₇ω₃₁₈ω₃₁₉ω₃₂₀ω₃₂₁ω₃₂₂ω₃₂₃ω₃₂₄ω₃₂₅ω₃₂₆ω₃₂₇ω₃₂₈ω₃₂₉ω₃₃₀ω₃₃₁ω₃₃₂ω₃₃₃ω₃₃₄ω₃₃₅ω₃₃₆ω₃₃₇ω₃₃₈ω₃₃₉ω₃₄₀ω₃₄₁ω₃₄₂ω₃₄₃ω₃₄₄ω₃₄₅ω₃₄₆ω₃₄₇ω₃₄₈ω₃₄₉ω₃₅₀ω₃₅₁ω₃₅₂ω₃₅₃ω₃₅₄ω₃₅₅ω₃₅₆ω₃₅₇ω₃₅₈ω₃₅₉ω₃₆₀ω₃₆₁ω₃₆₂ω₃₆₃ω₃₆₄ω₃₆₅ω₃₆₆ω₃₆₇ω₃₆₈ω₃₆₉ω₃₇₀ω₃₇₁ω₃₇₂ω₃₇₃ω₃₇₄ω₃₇₅ω₃₇₆ω₃₇₇ω₃₇₈ω₃₇₉ω₃₈₀ω₃₈₁ω₃₈₂ω₃₈₃ω₃₈₄ω₃₈₅ω₃₈₆ω₃₈₇ω₃₈₈ω₃₈₉ω₃₉₀ω₃₉₁ω₃₉₂ω₃₉₃ω₃₉₄ω₃₉₅ω₃₉₆ω₃₉₇ω₃₉₈ω₃₉₉ω₄₀₀ω₄₀₁ω₄₀₂ω₄₀₃ω₄₀₄ω₄₀₅ω₄₀₆ω₄₀₇ω₄₀₈ω₄₀₉ω₄₁₀ω₄₁₁ω₄₁₂ω₄₁₃ω₄₁₄ω₄₁₅ω₄₁₆ω₄₁₇ω₄₁₈ω₄₁₉ω₄₂₀ω₄₂₁ω₄₂₂ω₄₂₃ω₄₂₄ω₄₂₅ω₄₂₆ω₄₂₇ω₄₂₈ω₄₂₉ω₄₃₀ω₄₃₁ω₄₃₂ω₄₃₃ω₄₃₄ω₄₃₅ω₄₃₆ω₄₃₇ω₄₃₈ω₄₃₉ω₄₄₀ω₄₄₁ω₄₄₂ω₄₄₃ω₄₄₄ω₄₄₅ω₄₄₆ω₄₄₇ω₄₄₈ω₄₄₉ω₄₅₀ω₄₅₁ω₄₅₂ω₄₅₃ω₄₅₄ω₄₅₅ω₄₅₆ω₄₅₇ω₄₅₈ω₄₅₉ω₄₆₀ω₄₆₁ω₄₆₂ω₄₆₃ω₄₆₄ω₄₆₅ω₄₆₆ω₄₆₇ω₄₆₈ω₄₆₉ω₄₇₀ω₄₇₁ω₄₇₂ω₄₇₃ω₄₇₄ω₄₇₅ω₄₇₆ω₄₇₇ω₄₇₈ω₄₇₉ω₄₈₀ω₄₈₁ω₄₈₂ω₄₈₃ω₄₈₄ω₄₈₅ω₄₈₆ω₄₈₇ω₄₈₈ω₄₈₉ω₄₉₀ω₄₉₁ω₄₉₂ω₄₉₃ω₄₉₄ω₄₉₅ω₄₉₆ω₄₉₇ω₄₉₈ω₄₉₉ω₅₀₀ω₅₀₁ω₅₀₂ω₅₀₃ω₅₀₄ω₅₀₅ω₅₀₆ω₅₀₇ω₅₀₈ω₅₀₉ω₅₁₀ω₅₁₁ω₅₁₂ω₅₁₃ω₅₁₄ω₅₁₅ω₅₁₆ω₅₁₇ω₅₁₈ω₅₁₉ω₅₂₀ω₅₂₁ω₅₂₂ω₅₂₃ω₅₂₄ω₅₂₅ω₅₂₆ω₅₂₇ω₅₂₈ω₅₂₉ω₅₃₀ω₅₃₁ω₅₃₂ω₅₃₃ω₅₃₄ω₅₃₅ω₅₃₆ω₅₃₇ω₅₃₈ω₅₃₉ω₅₄₀ω₅₄₁ω₅₄₂ω₅₄₃ω₅₄₄ω₅₄₅ω₅₄₆ω₅₄₇ω₅₄₈ω₅₄₉ω₅₅₀ω₅₅₁ω₅₅₂ω₅₅₃ω₅₅₄ω₅₅₅ω₅₅₆ω₅₅₇ω₅₅₈ω₅₅₉ω₅₆₀ω₅₆₁ω₅₆₂ω₅₆₃ω₅₆₄ω₅₆₅ω₅₆₆ω₅₆₇ω₅₆₈ω₅₆₉ω₅₇₀ω₅₇₁ω₅₇₂ω₅₇₃ω₅₇₄ω₅₇₅ω₅₇₆ω₅₇₇ω₅₇₈ω₅₇₉ω₅₈₀ω₅₈₁ω₅₈₂ω₅₈₃ω₅₈₄ω₅₈₅ω₅₈₆ω₅₈₇ω₅₈₈ω₅₈₉ω₅₉₀ω₅₉₁ω₅₉₂ω₅₉₃ω₅₉₄ω₅₉₅ω₅₉₆ω₅₉₇ω₅₉₈ω₅₉₉ω₆₀₀ω₆₀₁ω₆₀₂ω₆₀₃ω₆₀₄ω₆₀₅ω₆₀₆ω₆₀₇ω₆₀₈ω₆₀₉ω₆₁₀ω₆₁₁ω₆₁₂ω₆₁₃ω₆₁₄ω₆₁₅ω₆₁₆ω₆₁₇ω₆₁₈ω₆₁₉ω₆₂₀ω₆₂₁ω₆₂₂ω₆₂₃ω₆₂₄ω₆₂₅ω₆₂₆ω₆₂₇ω₆₂₈ω₆₂₉ω₆₃₀ω₆₃₁ω₆₃₂ω₆₃₃ω₆₃₄ω₆₃₅ω₆₃₆ω₆₃₇ω₆₃₈ω₆₃₉ω₆₄₀ω₆₄₁ω₆₄₂ω₆₄₃ω₆₄₄ω₆₄₅ω₆₄₆ω₆₄₇ω₆₄₈ω₆₄₉ω₆₅₀ω₆₅₁ω₆₅₂ω₆₅₃ω₆₅₄ω₆₅₅ω₆₅₆ω₆₅₇ω₆₅₈ω₆₅₉ω₆₆₀ω₆₆₁ω₆₆₂ω₆₆₃ω₆₆₄ω₆₆₅ω₆₆₆ω₆₆₇ω₆₆₈ω₆₆₉ω₆₇₀ω₆₇₁ω₆₇₂ω₆₇₃ω₆₇₄ω₆₇₅ω₆₇₆ω₆₇₇ω₆₇₈ω₆₇₉ω₆₈₀ω₆₈₁ω₆₈₂ω₆₈₃ω₆₈₄ω₆₈₅ω₆₈₆ω₆₈₇ω₆₈₈ω₆₈₉ω₆₉₀ω₆₉₁ω₆₉₂ω₆₉₃ω₆₉₄ω₆₉₅ω₆₉₆ω₆₉₇ω₆₉₈ω₆₉₉ω₇₀₀ω₇₀₁ω₇₀₂ω₇₀₃ω₇₀₄ω₇₀₅ω₇₀₆ω₇₀₇ω₇₀₈ω₇₀₉ω₇₁₀ω₇₁₁ω₇₁₂ω₇₁₃ω₇₁₄ω₇₁₅ω₇₁₆ω₇₁₇ω₇₁₈ω₇₁₉ω₇₂₀ω₇₂₁ω₇₂₂ω₇₂₃ω₇₂₄ω₇₂₅ω₇₂₆ω₇₂₇ω₇₂₈ω₇₂₉ω₇₃₀ω₇₃₁ω₇₃₂ω₇₃₃ω₇₃₄ω₇₃₅ω₇₃₆ω₇₃₇ω₇₃₈ω₇₃₉ω₇₄₀ω₇₄₁ω₇₄₂ω₇₄₃ω₇₄₄ω₇₄₅ω₇₄₆ω₇₄₇ω₇₄₈ω₇₄₉ω₇₅₀ω₇₅₁ω₇₅₂ω₇₅₃ω₇₅₄ω₇₅₅ω₇₅₆ω₇₅₇ω₇₅₈ω₇₅₉ω₇₆₀ω₇₆₁ω₇₆₂ω₇₆₃ω₇₆₄ω₇₆₅ω₇₆₆ω₇₆₇ω₇₆₈ω₇₆₉ω₇₇₀ω₇₇₁ω₇₇₂ω₇₇₃ω₇₇₄ω₇₇₅ω₇₇₆ω₇₇₇ω₇₇₈ω₇₇₉ω₇₈₀ω₇₈₁ω₇₈₂ω₇₈₃ω₇₈₄ω₇₈₅ω₇₈₆ω₇₈₇ω₇₈₈ω₇₈₉ω₇₉₀ω₇₉₁ω₇₉₂ω₇₉₃ω₇₉₄ω₇₉₅ω₇₉₆ω₇₉₇ω₇₉₈ω₇₉₉ω₈₀₀ω₈₀₁ω₈₀₂ω₈₀₃ω₈₀₄ω₈₀₅ω₈₀₆ω₈₀₇ω₈₀₈ω₈₀₉ω₈₁₀ω₈₁₁ω₈₁₂ω₈₁₃ω₈₁₄ω₈₁₅ω₈₁₆ω₈₁₇ω₈₁₈ω₈₁₉ω₈₂₀ω₈₂₁ω₈₂₂ω₈₂₃ω₈₂₄ω₈₂₅ω₈₂₆ω₈₂₇ω₈₂₈ω₈₂₉ω₈₃₀ω₈₃₁ω₈₃₂ω₈₃₃ω₈₃₄ω₈₃₅ω₈₃₆ω₈₃₇ω₈₃₈ω₈₃₉ω₈₄₀ω₈₄₁ω₈₄₂ω₈₄₃ω₈₄₄ω₈₄₅ω₈₄₆ω₈₄₇ω₈₄₈ω₈₄₉ω₈₅₀ω₈₅₁ω₈₅₂ω₈₅₃ω₈₅₄ω₈₅₅ω₈₅₆ω₈₅₇ω₈₅₈ω₈₅₉ω₈₆₀ω₈₆₁ω₈₆₂ω₈₆₃ω₈₆₄ω₈₆₅ω₈₆₆ω₈₆₇ω₈₆₈ω₈₆₉ω₈₇₀ω₈₇₁ω<

text of the *Iliad* lacks one, but Crates knew of a version which began with a hymn to the Muses and Apollo (*Homeri vita Romana*, p. 32 Wil. Was Apollo chosen because of the part he plays early in book 1?). The same Crates saw the two Hesiodic poems as run-of-the-mill pieces which could be attached to any poem, and he atheized them (*Dion. Per. vita Christiana*, ed. Colonna, *Boll. Com.* 5, 1957, 11, 1. 51). That of the *Works and Days*, at least, was omitted from some texts, which encouraged the suspicion that it was not authentic. One such text attracted the notice of Theophrastus' pupil Praxiphanes (Procl. p. 2. 10 Pert.), another was shown to Pausanias on Mt. Helicon (9. 31. 4). Aristarchus obelized the lines. Cf. also [Hdn.] π. ἀρχιμάχων iii. 89 Spengel εἴ γε γνήσιον 'Ησιόδου τὸ ποιοῦμεν τῖθμεν (quoting *Op.* 2). (But Plutarch's reference to 11 ff. as τὰ πῶτα τῶν Ἐργων, *quaest. conv.* 736c, need not imply rejection of 1-10, and Proclus says nothing of Plutarch's taking this view.) Modern scholars with few exceptions have accepted it as Hesiod's own preface, and they are certainly right.

There is, of course, no reason whatsoever to think that the leaden text shown to Pausanias, μόλυβδον . . . τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ χροῦνυ λευμαμένον, was Hesiod's autograph, nor does he say it was claimed to be, though his guide seems to have regarded it as having some authority. It may have been a rhapsode's dedication. The material does not suggest an official monument (as the Delian temple plaque containing the *Hymn to Apollo* may have been: *Certamen* 18, 1. 320). Lead was otherwise used for documents of a temporary nature, letters, defixiones, etc. (V. Gardthausen, *Gr. Paläographie*², i. 26-8; a letter from the sixth century B.C. published in *VDI* 118, 1971, 74 ff., *ζPE* 17, 1975, 157 ff.).

There is an elaborate linguistic commentary on the poem by S. Martin, *Das Proömium zu den Erga des Hesiodos* (Würzburg, 1898).

1. A ποιοῦμεν normally begins either 'I will sing of . . . (such-and-such a god) or 'Sing, Muse, of . . .'. In hymning the Muses in the *Theogony*, Hesiod necessarily followed the first pattern. Here he has the second, but keeps the Muses' name in the initial position. He gives them a whole line; cf. *Th.* 965 f., fr. 1. 1 f., *h.* 14. 2, 32. 2, *Emp.* 3. 3, contrasting *Il.* 1. 1, 2. 484, *Od.* 1. 1, *h.* *Aphr.* 1, *Herm.* 1, etc.

Πιερίβην: usually taken attributively, as if Πιερίδες. So later Σωκράτης ἀλαμεικῶθεν and the like. Homer has Ὀδυσσοῦντα Καθηρσάθεν (*Il.* 13. 363); but the thought of his coming to Troy is near at hand, for the next lines relate how he came. Here, similarly, the poet has the Muses' coming in mind (2), even though the word order forbids us to take δεῦρε Πιερίβην together (as Tzetzes). Hermann and Wilamowitz link *Il.* with κλείουσαι; but it is from the poet's home, not the Muses', that the κλέος goes forth.

ἀοιδῆσσι κλείουσαι: a god's name in the vocative is often embellished by means of a participial phrase; see Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, p. 167 n. 1. This one is an echo of *Th.* 44 κλείουσιν ἀοιδῇ. That passage also tells of the Muses singing of Zeus (47), and then of their birth in

COMMENTARY

Title. The curious title Ἔργα καὶ Ἡμέραι is first attested, so far as I am aware, in Lucian (67. 6). It is often shortened to Ἔργα (Plut. *quaest. conv.* 736c, etc.; so even with a quotation from the 'Days', Stob. 4. 41. 35. Conversely Proclus, *vit. Hecm.* 57 Sev., and Diacorus on the *Theogony*, p. 323. 15 Fl., allude to 657-8 and 594-5 respectively as from the Ἡμέραι.) It was no doubt established a good deal earlier: Archias (?) uses ἔργα as a way of referring to the poem (not as a title) (*A.P.* 9. 64. 7), and it is hard to imagine that it was called anything but Ἔργα καὶ Ἡμέραι in Callimachus' *Puikes*.

Just as the title *Shield of Heracles* relates to a section of that poem which occupies not much more than a third of it, the title *Works and Days* relates to two sections which together fill less than 300 lines. They will have been picked out, perhaps by sellers, as representing what was of most practical value in the poem. Ar. *Kan.* 1034 considers Hesiod a useful poet especially for γῆς ἐργασίας, καρπῶν ὥρας, ἀπόρους; cf. also *Certamen* 12-13, ll. 179, 208, and (after the established title) Max. Tyr. 26. 4 p. 312 H. χερσὶ δ', αὐτὸς ἀφελὲν τὰ εἰς τὸν βίον, ἔργα τε ἃ δρᾶσθόν καὶ ἡμέραι ἐν αἷς δρᾶστέον; Themist. *or.* 30. 348d; Procl. on 826 (p. 258. 11 P.).

1-10. Proem. It was customary for a recitation of hexameter poetry to be prefaced by a hymn to a god. In the *Homeric Hymns* we have a collection of such prefaces, varying greatly in length, detached as if for use with any epic material. Hesiod, however, composes prefaces for the *Theogony* and *Works and Days* with these specific poems in view. In the earlier poem it is an ample hymn to the Muses. This time he chooses Zeus, the overseer of justice and righteousness. He might have made it a long hymn by telling of the god's birth (the commonest narrative theme in such hymns), or of how he established his rule in heaven; but that would have meant repeating material from the *Theogony*. (Hesiod does this with Prometheus, but that is to make a new point.) Instead he contents himself with a brief but powerful statement of Zeus' supremacy over man. The lines are rather stylized, marked by anaphora (5-7), chiasmus (3-4, 7), a balancing of phrases which results in rhyme (1-2, 5-8), and perhaps *figura etymologica* in 2-3. They fall easily into couplets, reminiscent of the parallel members that characterize Semitic and Egyptian poetry: we shall find this feature elsewhere (225-47 n.).

Because epic ποσειμια were so clearly marked off from what followed them, and often betrayed no connection with it, it came about, not only that they were copied by themselves, but that poems were copied sometimes with and sometimes without them. The standard

Pieria (53). The association of these ideas has determined the content of the present line.

2. δέουε: early epic does not otherwise summon the Muse(s) to 'come hither'. Lyric does: Sapph. 127, 128, Stes. 193. 9, 240. As when other gods are called to the speaker's presence, the implication is that they do not operate from a distance. But this does not apply to all gods. Zeus, for example, is never invited to approach; he sees and acts from where he is. It seems to apply particularly to gods who induce a certain emotional or mental condition: Aphrodite (Sapph. 1. 5, 2. 1), the Charites (Sapph. 53, 128), Dionysus (Anacr. 357), Pan (S. *Ag.* 693 ff.), Hypnos (S. *Phl.* 827), Iacchos (Ar. *Ran.* 324), Hymenaeus (Catull. 61. 9), Horace's wine-jar (C. 3. 21. 7), etc. The Muses fit this category, and Sappho's δέουε νυν ἄβραι Χάριτες καλλικόμοι τε Μοῖραι is distinctly a call for a particular kind of atmosphere.

Δέ: this reading is preferable. δῆ is often used after δευροδευρε (Denniston, p. 218; Mén. D. 866; cf. also Pl. *Phdr.* 237a ἄγετε δὴ δὲ Μοῦσαι), and Zeus would be adequately identified by σφέτερον πατέρα, but the subject of the hymn ought to be named outright at this point. The regular pattern is name—epithet(s)—relative clause. Hesiod follows this, as in the *Theogony* (2 n.), if we allow σφέτερον πατέρα to represent the epithet. It should anyway be taken as in apposition to Δία, not (with comma after ἐνέπερε) as a special object of ὑμνεύουσαι. ἐνέπερε: this verb in invocations to the Muse(s) also *Th.* 114, *Il.* 2. 484, 761, *Od.* 1. 1, etc.

σφέτερον: 'he is showing no respect for pronouns', complains the scholiast. 'He should have said ὑμέτερον. He has used the third person instead of the second.' Cf. Alcibiades 85(a) ὑμέ τε καὶ σφέτερος ἴππων (for σφωτέρους, if the Dioscuri are meant); below, 381 n. Later examples of the extension of reflexive σφέεις, σφέτερος, and εἰνυρ- to the second and first persons can be found in Kühner-Gerth, i. 571 ff.; LSJ s.vv. Cf. Wackernagel, *Synt.* ii. 94-6.

ὑμνεύουσαι: he fills out the line with a participle which he had used several times of the Muses in the *Theogony* poem (11, with Δία as object; 37 and 51 with Zeus nearby; 70). There it was ὑμνέουσαι (transmitted ὑμνεύουσαι), here it is lengthened after κλείουσαι in 1. Similar forms are οἰκείων in *Th.* 330 and ὀκνεύω in *Il.* 5. 255; ὑμνεύουσαι is borrowed by Antimachus, P. Oxy. 2516 fr. 1(a) i. 1. The verb does not occur in *Il.* or *Od.* It means no more than 'sing', to judge by 602, *Th.* 37, 51, 70, 101; cf. *Od.* 8. 429 ἀοιδὸς ὕμνον.

3. ὅν τε δία: for this δία with a god cf. Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 608, and his *KL Beir.* i. 183 n. 1. Postposition of δία is rare, apart from cases like νύκτα δὲ ὀφθαλμῶν with following adjective. It occurs especially with the relative: Tyrt. 2. 5, *h. Aphr.* 123, Hom. *epigr.* 4. 7, 'Sim.' *epigr.* 10. 1 Page v.l., and the imitation in [Arist.] *Peplias* 13. 1; θεοὺς δία πᾶντα τέτυκται is an ancient v.l. in *Il.* 19. 90. Ancient grammarians teach that δία and ἀνὰ do not suffer anastrophe, to avoid confusion with δία and ἀνὰ 'get up'. But sch. *Il.* 5. 824 shows that there was no unanimity about this, and some modern scholars (Norden, Deich-

gräber, Snell) reject the doctrine and assume Hesiod to be deliberately echoing Δία in 2. 'Etymologizing' word-play is certainly not foreign to Hesiod (*Th.* 252, 267-5, 346-7, 775-6, 901-3), and explanations of Zeus' name based on δία appear in Pl. *Crat.* 396b, Chrysipp. *SVF* ii. 312. 21, and elsewhere. Cf. A. *Ag.* 1485 ἡ δὲ δία Διὸς πανταρίων πανεργέτα, with Fraenkel's note; L. P. Rank, *Etymologizing in verwante verschijnnselen bij Homerus*, pp. 43 f. The collocation may be accidental; if there is a word-play, it does not depend on the accent.

ὁμῶς: linking opposites as in 669 ὁμῶς ἀγαθὸν τε κακὸν τε. ἀφάρτοι τε φάρτοι τε: Hesiod is fond of juxtaposing positive and negative words with the same root, cf. 319, 324, 355, 372, 471-2, 490, 529, 715; Troxler, p. 6. φάρος is only used negatively elsewhere, and here only as the reflex of ἄφατος. The usual meaning of ἄφατος, as of ἀφρητος, is 'unutterable', 'indescribable', especially in a bad sense, 'unspeakable'. But we see from 5-6 that the sense is 'not famous', 'obscure', and moreover that the line means not 'because of whom men have their being, both the ἀ. and the φ.' but 'because of whom men are (sometimes) ἀ. and (sometimes) φ.'. Hesiod may think of his ἀφάρτοι and φάρτοι in terms of social class; cf. Thgn. 797 f. τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄλλος μάλα μέμψεται, ἄλλος ἐπαινεῖ | τῶν δὲ κακῶν μνήμη γίνεται οὐδεμία.

4. ῥῆτοί τ' ἀφρητοί τε: this addition hardly affects the sense, but lends weight to the utterance. Similarly in Plut. *Is. Os.* 383a τὸ μὴ φάρων μὴδὲ ῥῆτων ἀνθρώποις κάλλος. The conjunction ῥῆτος καὶ ἀφρητος recurs in a different sense in S. *OC* 1001, Dem. 18. 122, 21. 79, *al.*, the negative regularly second, as here. (ἀφρητε ῥῆτῇ Orph. *H.* 32. 3.)

Διὸς μεγαλοιο ἔκτῃ: the line is filled out by the idea already expressed in ὅν δία. The effect is to magnify the chiasmus that centres on ἀφάρτων-ἀφρητοί τε. The phrase is not Homeric (though cf. *Od.* 20. 42); it is found as a variant in *Th.* 730 and Arat. 31.

5 ff. From the formal point of view cf. *Il.* 17. 461 f. πέα μὲν γὰρ . . . | πέα δ' . . .; for a word in anaphora beginning three successive lines see 182-4 (οὐδέ), 317-19, 578-80, *Th.* 833-5, *Il.* 2. 389-4, 23. 315-16 + 318, *Od.* 3. 109-11; four lines, *Il.* 1. 436-9. The difference between πέα and πέα was slight. The original *ppāa gave Ionic pēa, whose η tended to be raised to ε before the back vowel (later written ει; but P. Berol. 9774 (i B.C.) gives ppa in *Il.* 18. 600), and also to be shortened. There is no question of an i-sound, it is just a matter of the length of the ε; possibly also of ε, if we assume πέα by quantitative metathesis (Troxler, p. 104), but it is not necessary to do so.

Gods are frequently said to do things 'easily': 379, *Th.* 254, 442-3, *Il.* 15. 490, 16. 690 = 17. 178, *Od.* 16. 211, (Archil. 130, πέα c). Schneidewin), Thgn. 406; as a more emphatic theological statement, Xenoph. B 25 ἀνάνευθε πάροις, A. *Suppl.* 100, *Eum.* 651. Commoner still is the observation that the gods, or Zeus in particular, can make the great small and the small great. Cf. *Il.* 20. 242 f. Ζεὺς δ' ἀπὲρ ἡν ἀνδρῶσιν ὀφέλλει τε μινίβει τε | ὁππῶς κεν ἐθέλῃσιν· ὁ γὰρ κρείττορος ἀνδρῶν, the passages cited by Nisbet and Hubbard on Hor. C. i. 34. 12, and further *Th.* 447 (cf. 442-3 n.), *Il.* 15. 490-2, Sol. 13.

67-70, Thgn. 66r ff., E. fr. 420, X. *Anab.* 3. 2. 10, *Hell.* 6. 4. 23, Lucill. *A.P.* 10. 122. 1-2. Usually it is not represented as a question of what one deserves but simply as one of God's whim or private purposes (cf. *Il.* 1.c. and *Th.* 28 n.). In 5-6 Hesiod does not clearly go beyond this; 7, however, implies that it is the unrighteous who are brought down. But everyone can see that they sometimes prosper, while calamity falls upon the righteous (cf. Thgn. 373 ff.). The explanation presupposed later in the poem is that men sometimes have to suffer for the sins of their rulers (238 ff., 260 ff.) or their fathers (282 ff.). Cf. Sol. 13. 29-32; Thgn. 731-52, where it is criticized as an unjust system not calculated to encourage moral behaviour. It contrasts with the non-moral theory assumed by Herodotus, that good and bad fortune succeed each other in an inevitable cycle (1. 5. 3, 207. 2), and God brings down the mighty *because* they are mighty (7. 10c).

βρίαιε: transitive, as in the statement of Hecate's power to make flocks and herds great or small, *Th.* 447, but then intransitive in βριάοντα. The verb is not otherwise found in early Greek. For -αίε (rather than -αί) cf. *Th.* 775, *Il.* 15. 635, *Od.* 10. 227, 20. 15, *h.* 10. 3; K. Meister, *Die homerische Kunstsprache*, pp. 61-76. Then naturally -άοντα not -άοντα.

6. ἀπίζηλον: Hesiod seems aware that -ζήλον = -δηλον. If the ζ in this word was pronounced [sd], it might be relevant that the Boeotian dialect assimilates this combination to δδ. But perhaps the spelling conceals some other sound; cf. *Th.*, p. 86 on μέζα. Parallel forms are ἀίζηλον (*Il.* 2. 318 v.l.) and perhaps ἀζήλα (crac. *ap.* Hdt. 7. 140. 2). μινύθει with personal object: *Il.* 15. 492.

ἀδηλον: the word is otherwise absent from literature before the fifth century. This may be accidental, but it is also possible that it was not yet in use, and that Hesiod coins it *ad hoc* for the antithesis with ἀπίζηλον. The sense it bears here is unusual.

αἰέει with personal object: Sol. 11. 3, Thgn. 823, Pind. *O.* 8. 88. 7. ἰθύνει σκολιόν: prima facie, σκ. is masculine like ἀνήνορα, etc. ἰθύνει then amounts to 'chastises' (cf. Hdt. 2. 177. 2 ἰθύνεσθαι θανάτῳ; so also later εὐθύνεσθαι). Otherwise, in Hesiod and elsewhere, σκολιός is applied to δίκαι, βουλὰι and the like, not to persons (in Plut. *de sera num. vind.* 551f it is an interpretation of Cecrops' serpent-like form), but the transfer is possible, cf. Hdt. 1. 96. 2 ἰθὺς τε καὶ δίκαιος ἦν, *Carm. conv.* 892 εὐθὺν χρῆ τὸν ἐταίρον ἔμμεν καὶ μὴ σκολιὰ φρονεῖν. An alternative interpretation would be that σκολιόν is neuter, 'what is unjust'. ἰθύνει is then closer to its sense in 5 and 263; cf. Sol. 4. 36 εὐθύνει δὲ δίκας σκολιός. In so far as the phrase implied restoring to the wronged man what he had lost, it would provide an antithesis to ἀνήνορα κάρφει and so make the line more parallel with 5 and 6. To be rejected is Sittl's interpretation, 'he frees the oppressed', which is based on Thgn. 535 f. οὐποτε δουλὴν κεφαλὴ ἰθεῖα πέφθηκεν, ἄλλ' αἰεὶ σκολιῇ, καὶ γένα λοξὸν ἔχει. Hesiod says nothing of necks. κάρφει: cf. Sol. 4. 35 αἰαίνει δ' ἀτρεῖς ἀνθεα φυτόμενα; E. *Anthr.* 784; Ps. 37: 1-2 'Do not strive to outdo the evildoers, or emulate those

who do wrong. For like grass they soon wither, and fade like the green of spring'.

8. Hesiod feels the need to name Zeus again, so completing a ring. Only the first hemistich is Homeric. The second can be compared with the frequent 'Ολύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες (οἱ' *O.* δ. ἔχουσαν twice in the *Hymns*). For the gods' Olympian city see *Th.* 43 n. Zeus' house is the highest up. But the phrase can also be taken more generally of his dominant position above the world; cf. 18.

9-10. The προσοίμῳ typically ends with a direct address to the god of whom the Muse was asked to sing (*h. Herm.*, *Apoll.*, *at.*); the vocative can be omitted, as in *h.* 9. 7. The normal scheme is χαίρει; sometimes a prayer such as δὸς δ' ἐν ἀνῶνι νίκην τῷδε φέρεσθαι (6. 19, cf. *Dem.* 494, 10. 5 (~ *Th.* 104), 11. 5, 13. 3, 15. 9, etc.); then the announcement 'but I will sing of . . .'. As Nicolai p. 15 points out, Hesiod follows this pattern.

9. κλύθι takes the place of the typical χαίρει. It is a solemn imperative, in archaic Greek addressed only to gods (J. Kerschenshtiner, *Hermes* 79, 1944, 153 n. 1). It implies not just hearing but accepting; hence it can be combined with αἰών, as also in Sapph. 1. 5-7 *at ποτα κάρεωρα* | τὰς ἑμας αὐδὰς αἰόσια πῆλοι | ἔκλυες.

ἰδὼν: A. *Supp.* 77 ἀλλὰ θεοὶ γενέται κλύει· εὐ τὸ δίκαιον ἰδόντες. Cf. below, 267-9.

αἰών: Schultze, *Kl. Schr.* 344-8, showed that this is an aorist, as expected after κλύθι and ἰδὼν. The paroxytone accent of the tradition must be corrected. The corresponding present *αἰέω may occur in 213.

Δίκη δ' ἴθουε θέμιστας: present imperative this time, general in its reference, even if the poet has his personal interests in mind. Similarly *h.* 22. 6 f. χαίρει Ποσειδάων . . . | καὶ μάκαρ εὐμένες ἥτορ ἔχων πλώσαν ἀργεῖ.

Before written law-codes were established (or re-established, if the Mycenaean had had them, like their eastern neighbours), there was no exact 'law' that could be consulted and followed to the letter. The orator could not call to the clerk of the court καὶ μοι ἀνάγνωθι τὸν νόμον. Each community had nevertheless its own fixed customs (νόμος) and ideas of what was right (θέμις). When there was uncertainty about the facts of a case or about the attitude to be taken to an unusual situation, it was for the βασιλεὺς (38 n.) or some other outstanding authority to pronounce θέμιστας, which were lent extra weight by being supposed to pronounce θέμιστας, which were lent extra πόλιν οὔτε θέμιστας | πρὸς Διὸς εἰρύναται; 9. 97 ff. πολλῶν | λαῶν ἐσσι ἀναξ, καὶ τοὶ Ζεὺς ἐγγυάτιέε | σκηπτρὸν τ' ἥδε θέμιστας, ἵνα σφίσι βουλεύεσθαι; *h.* *Dem.* 103 θέμιστοπόλων βασιλίων. However, if the judgments appeared to the people to be 'crooked', the ruler alone was held responsible for them, and he could be warned that Zeus was likely to be angry. Zeus is here being asked to make sure that the judgments given are straight, shaped by δίκη. Cf. Ps. 72: 1-2.

10. τύνη· ἐγὼ δέ: corresponding to, e.g., *h.* *Ap.* 545 f. καὶ σὺ μὲν οὐτῶα χαίρει . . . | αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ . . . For the emphatic placing of contrasted

words in this position, see *Th.* 606-7 n.; on the form *τύνη*, *Th.* 36 n. The scholia record that the historian Polyzelus (521 F 9) read it as the vocative of a name *Τύνης*, supposedly a Chalcidian magistrate who was to adjudicate between Hesiod and Perses.

κε: for this polite 'I should like to' cf. *Od.* 18. 166 *παῖδι δέ κεν εἴποιμι ἔπος, τό κε κέρδιον εἶη*; 22. 262 *ῥῆθι μὲν κεν ἔγων εἴποιμι καὶ ἄμμι*; *Alcm.* 1. 85 *ῥεῖποιμί κε*; Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 838.

Πέρση: some editors strangely prefer the vocative, but in view of *τύνη ἔγων* δέ Hesiod must still be addressing Zeus. Perses is not hailed till 27. There is a similar dative in 202 *ῥῆθι δ' αἶνον βασιλεῦσ' ἔρεω*, and in the two *Odyssey* passages just quoted.

ἐντήρυμα μυθήσασιν: the phrase is used in the infinitive in *h. Dem.* 44; cf. *Homeric ἀνθήεα μ.*, and *Th.* 28 *ἀλγῆεα γηρύσασθαι* in the Muses' manifesto. Like the poets of the *Hymns* who say they will now sing 'another song, or κλέα φωτῶν . . . ἡμιθέων (32. 18, cf. 31. 18), Hesiod uses a vague, catch-all expression for the content of the coming poem. Cf. the beginnings of the *Instr. of Scheithibre*, 'Instruction which he composed for his children. I tell of a great matter and cause you to hear', and the *Instr. of Ani*, '(I tell thee) that which is excellent, that which thou shalt observe in thine heart'; also *Prov.* 8: 7-8 (near the beginning of Wisdom's homily) 'I speak nothing but truth . . . All that I say is right, not a word is twisted or crooked'.

11-46. The doctrine of the two Enides; sketch of the supposed situation between Hesiod, Perses, and the kings. See pp. 36-8 and 48.

In Greek admonitory literature we several times find utterances of the form 'There is such a god as . . . : 256 ἢ δέ τε παρθένος ἐστὶ Δίκη, Διὸς ἐκγεγάτα; *Alcm.* 1. 36 ἐστὶ τις θίων τίσις; *orac. ap. Hdt.* 6. 86 γ. 2 ἀλλ' Ὀρκον πάς ἐστιν ἀνώνυμος; *S. OC* 1267 f. ἀλλ' ἐστὶ γὰρ καὶ Ζηνὶ σύνθακος θρόνων | Αἰδὼς ἐν' ἔργους πᾶσι; *Anim.* 53 ἐστὶ δέ τις Νέμεσις, μεγάλη θεός; *Trag.* *adesp.* 421 = *Men. monost.* 225 ἐστὶν Δίκης ὀρθαλμός, ὅς τὰ πᾶσι; *orac.* (? 18. 34 ἐστὶν γὰρ, ἐστὶν, ὅς τὰδε σκοπεῖ δαίμων; *Lucian* 80. 12. 2 ἐστὶ τις θεὸς ἡ Ἀδράστεια, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ὀρά. A similar pattern can be used when a beneficial deity is being neglected: *Il.* 9. 502 καὶ γὰρ τε Διταί εἰσι, Διὸς κοῦραι: *μεγάλοιο*. Description of the deity's nature and effects follows. Hesiod had the idea of saying 'There is such a goddess as Emulation'—that is, a personification of *ἔρις* in the good sense which it bears, e.g., in *Od.* 6. 92, 18. 366. But he realized that this was a different Eris from the one he had spoken of in the *Theogony* (225 f.), the *Ἐρις καρτερόθυμος, στυγερή*, who was mother to pain and grief, battles, quarrels, lies, and lawlessness. He begins, therefore, by repeating the discovery aloud, explaining the difference between the two Erides, and fitting the new-found one into his genealogies. 'There is not after all only one Eris. They are two. There is the bad one, but there is beside her a good one, likewise a daughter of Night. Of her existence pray take notice.' On the deification of 'abstracts' see *Th.*, pp. 33 f. For the enunciation of a universal truth at the beginning of a poem or other

discourse, leading to a particular illustration, cf. *Il.* 17. 19, *Od.* 1. 32, *Archil.* 14. 16?, 25, 122, 131, *Pind. P.* 5. 1, 8. 44, 9. 39, *N.* 4. 1, 6. 1, *Bacchyl.* 5. 94, 160, 14. 1, *S. Aj.* 646, *Tr.* 1, etc.

11. οὐκ ἄρα . . . ἔην: cf. *Od.* 17. 454 οὐκ ἄρα σοὶ γ' ἐπὶ εἶδει καὶ φρένες ἦσαν, 16. 420, *Il.* 17. 142. Other Homeric examples are open to alternative explanations (*Il.* 9. 316, 16. 33, 60, *Od.* 13. 209, 24. 194), but the idiom is familiar later; see Denniston, pp. 36 f. The verb is usually *εἶνα*, and very often negated. The imperfect is used because, although the speaker is talking of the actual state of affairs as it now appears to him, he is more struck by the fact that it was so before, when it seemed otherwise. There are other places where a poem or speech begins with such a discovery: *Dem.* 55. 1 οὐκ ἦν ἄρ' ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι χαλεπώτερον οὐδὲν ἢ γένοιτο ποιητοῦ καὶ πλεονέκτου τυχεῖν; *Nicias ap. sch. Theoc.* 11. 1 ἦν ἄρ' ἀληθὲς τοῦτο θεόκριτε: οἱ γὰρ ἔρωτες | πολλοὺς ποιητὰς ἐδιδάξαν τοὺς πρὶν ἀμώστους; perhaps *Timocreon* 729 οὐκ ἄρα Τιμοκρέων μόνος Μήδοισιν ὀκτατόμει, ἀλλ' ἐντὶ κάλλοι δὴ ποιητοί.

μῶσυν: 'only one', see *Th.* 143 n.

γένος: cf. *Th.* 21 *ἀθανάτων ἱερὸν γένος*, 33, 44, 50, 105, 346, 590. Hesiod has the genealogical background of the *Theogony* in mind.

ἐντὶ γαῖαν: this unemphatic phrase would have gone better at the end of a clause.

12. εἰσι: the imperfect gives way to a present, as in *Timocr.* l.c. *ἐπαινήσῃσι*: v.l. *-έσ(σ)ι*; see *Th.* 664 n. In some cases where we feel the absence of *τις* as subject, there is a participle taking its place, as here and in 309; cf. *Od.* 5. 400 *τάσσον ἀπὴν δασὸν τε γέγωνε βοήσας*; *A. Ag.* 71, *S. Aj.* 155 v.l., *El.* 697. (For other cases than the nominative cf. *S. OT* 517, *El.* 1323, and below, 745 n.) We could therefore translate *νόσας* 'a man who noticed her'. But not all cases of 'omitted' *τις* are of this type; see *Il.* 13. 287, 22. 199, and Kühner-Gerth, i. 35 f.; Wackernagel, *Synt.* i. 112.

νόσας: probably 'seeing her at work', i.e. seeing people in healthy competition, not 'getting a mental concept of her' (as *Emp.* B 17. 21 of Love, *την αὐτὴν δέρεω*).

13. ἐπιμωμήτῃ: ἐπι- as in *ἐπιμέφομαι*.

διὰ δ' ἀνδρα θυμὸν ἔχουσιν: similarly *Il.* 20. 32 *δίχα θυμὸν ἔχοντες, διὰ δ' ἀνδρα θυμὸν ἔχοντες*, both followed by *μὲν . . . δέ* (or *ἀνδρῶν*). The converse is *ἐνα φρεσὶ θυμὸν ἔχοντες* (*Il.* 13. 487) or *ἰσον θυμὸν ἔχοντες* (*ib.* 704). All these, however, refer to agreement or disagreement over a particular matter; so also fr. 204. 95 *δίχα θυμὸν ἔθεντο* | *ἐξ ἐρίδος*. For permanent difference of disposition cf. *Sem.* 7. 1 *χωρὶς γυναικὸς* (-as Koeler) *θεὸς ἐποίησεν νόον*. For *διάνδιχα* cf. 'Cleobulus' *ap. D.L.* 1. 90 *διάνδιχα εἶδος ἔχουσαι* (of days and nights). For the 'trimesis' διὰ δ' ἀνδρα cf. *Od.* 9. 157 *διὰ δὲ τριχῶν*.

14. He takes the bad Eris first because his main point is about the good one.

πόλεμόν τε κακὸν καὶ δῆρην: cf. 161 n.

ὀφέλλει: so of Eris in *Il.* 4. 445 *ὀφέλλουσα στόνον ἀνδρῶν*. She appears