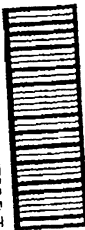


# HESIOD WORKS & DAYS

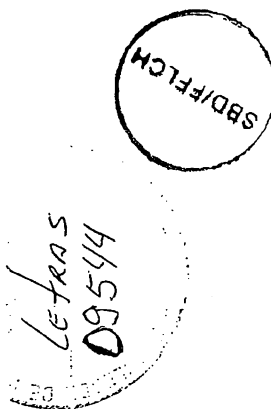
*Edited with  
Prolegomena and Commentary  
by*

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105 οὕτως οὐ τί πη ἔστι Διὸς νόον ἐξαλέσθαι.

εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις, ἕτερόν τοι ἐγὼ λόγον ἐκκορυφώσω,  
εὐ καὶ ἐπισταμένως, σὺ δ' ἐνὶ φρεσὶ βάλλεο σῆψιν,  
ὡς ὁμόθεν γεγάασι θεοὶ θνητοὶ τ' ἀνθρώποι.

110 χρίσειον μὲν πρώτιστα γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων  
ἀθάνατοι ποίησαν Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες.

οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ Κρόνου ἦσαν, σὺ δ' οὐρανῷ ἐμβασιλεύειν  
ᾧστε θεοὶ δ' ἔξωον, ἀκηδέα θυμὸν ἔχοντες,  
νόσφιν ἄτερ τε πόνου καὶ αἰζύος· οὐδέ τι δειλὸν  
γῆρας ἐπῆν, αἰεὶ δὲ πόδας καὶ χεῖρας ὁμοιοί  
τέρποντ' ἐν θαλίῃσι κακῶν ἔκτοσθεν ἀπάντων·

115 θνητὸν δ' ᾧσθ' ὑπὸν δειδυμένον· ἐσθλὰ δὲ πάντα  
τοῖον ἔην· καρπὸν δ' ἔφερε ζεῖδωρος ἄρουρα  
αὐτομάτῃ πολλόν τε καὶ ἄφθονον· οἱ δ' ἐβελήμοι  
ἥσυχον ἔργ' ἐνέμελλον σὺν ἐσθλοῖσιν πολέεσσιν.

120 {ἀφνειοὶ μῆλοισι, φίλοι μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν·}  
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ τοῦτο γένος κατὰ γαῖα κάλυψεν,  
τοὶ μὲν δαίμονες εἰσι Διὸς μεγάλου διὰ βουλὰς

106 (ἔτ.) Etz s. ἐκκορυφώσω, cf. Etzsch Eu. 1850. 30 109-10 Tz. Ch. 10. 294  
111-20 Diod. 5. 66. 6; 111-16 cf. Eu. 1786. 2; 113 (-ὦλ.) 'Hdn.' *de fig.* iii. 102.  
12 Sp.; 116 (-δεδρ.) Eu. 1843. 43; (ἐσθλὰ)-119 Porph. *abst.* 4. 2 c Dicaearcho  
(fr. 49 W.); 117 (καρπὸν)-118 (-ἀφρ.) Porph. *abst.* 3. 27; 118 (οἱ)-119 Etzsch  
s. ἐβελήμοι (ex e); (-ἐνέμ.) Etzsch s. θέλημοι-ος 121-3 Pl. *Grat.* 397e (unde  
Aristid. 46 (ii. 229 D.), exscribit Theodoret. *Graec. aff. aur.* 8. 47; 122-3+126  
Maer. in *Sonn. Scip.* 1. 9. 7 (Latine), cf. Plut. 361b, 417b; 122-3 Pl. R. 468e (quem  
exscribunt Eus. PE 13. 11. 1, Hermogen. π. ιδεῶν 2. 4 p. 337 R.), Aristid. l.c.,  
Olymp. in Pl. *Alc.* I p. 16. 4, Lact. *div. inst.* 2. 14. 7; 123 Plut. 431e, cf. Them.

105 ποι ψ<sub>14</sub>: που Tr. ἐξελασθῆαι Π<sub>41</sub>: ἐξαλέσθαι φ<sub>5</sub> 106 ἐθέλωσιν D  
σοι Etz. ἐκκορυφώσω ΣΤΡΕΤΖ Φ<sub>11</sub>: ἦσαν CD 111 ἐμβασιλεύειν ψ<sub>14</sub>ψ<sub>10</sub>ψ<sub>12</sub>:  
ἐβασ- CD Φ<sub>11</sub>\* Diod. 112 δ' ἔξωον ὅς Diod. b. ζώεσκον Diod. g 113 τε  
om. DTz Φ<sub>14</sub>(ψ<sub>14</sub>)ψ<sub>10</sub>ψ<sub>12</sub> 'Hdn.': γε ψ<sub>12</sub> Diod. b. πόνοισιν Π<sub>8</sub> 'Hdn.': πόνοισιν ο Eu.:  
κακῶν καὶ ἀτερ χαλεποῦ πόνου νοσῶν τ' ἀργαλέων καὶ ἀπῆμονες οὐδὲ μέλεσσι Diod.  
pro πόνου-δειλόν οὐδ' ἐπὶ φ<sub>14</sub>φ<sub>5</sub> 115 ἀπάντων: εἰόντες Diod. 116 δ'  
Π<sub>14</sub>DΦ<sub>11</sub>: θ' Ω: om. Dsc. ᾧσθ' Π<sub>14</sub> (θ ex τ, et sscr. τ) CD<sub>14</sub> Diod. b: ὡς Φ<sub>14</sub>\*  
Or. Sib. 1. 70. 301 ἄλλα τε πολλὰ Diod. 117 δ' Π<sub>14</sub>στ\*: τ' Diod. b  
118 ἐβελήμοι (proparox.) D Etz s. θελ.: ἐπὶ γαῖᾳ Diod. 119 ἥσυχον Σο  
Porph. Etz: εὐφρόνης Diod.: γήρυχα Bentley ἐνέμελλον Π<sub>14</sub>στ\*: νέμονται ω<sup>ac</sup> Etz  
120 solus praebet Diod.: om. Π<sub>14</sub>ω, prorsus neglexit Dicaearchus 121 δῆ  
Plato Pr<sup>1</sup>, quasi φ<sub>14</sub>ψ<sub>14</sub>: κε(ν) ο (καὶ φ<sub>14</sub>φ<sub>5</sub>) μοῖρ ἐκάλεψεν Plato 122 οἱ  
Plato-bis Aristid. Lact.<sup>vi</sup> Olymp. εἰς: ἀγροὶ Plato-bis Plut. 361b<sup>uv</sup> Aristid.  
Olymp. Διὸς-βουλὰς Pro Lact. Maer.: ἐπιχθόνιοι καλέονται Pl. *Grat.* (cod. W.,  
Theodoret.: ὑποχθ. BT, Aristid.) Olymp.: ἐπιχθόνιοι τελέθουσιν Pl. R. (καλέονται  
Hermogen.)

125 ἐσθλοί, ἐπιχθόνιοι, φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων,  
{οἱ ῥα φυλάσσουσιν τε δίκας καὶ σκέτλια ἔργα  
ἡέρα ἐοσάμενοι, πάντῃ φοιτῶντες ἐπ' αἶαν,}  
πλουτοδοτά· καὶ τοῦτο γέρας βασιλῆιον ἔσχον.

δεύτερον αὐτὲ γένος πολλὴ χειρότερον μετόπισθεν  
ἀργύρεον ποίησαν Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες,  
χρυσέω οὕτε φυτὴν ἐναλγικὴν οὕτε νόημα.

130 ἀλλ' ἑκατὸν μὲν παῖς ἔτεα παρὰ μητρί κενυῇ  
ἐρέφετ' ἀτάλλων μέγα νήπιος ᾧ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ·

ἀλλ' ὅτ' ἀρ' ἠβήσῃσι τε καὶ ἡβῆς μέτρον ἴκοντο,  
παυρίδιον ζώεσκον ἐπὶ χρόνον, ἀλγέ' ἔχοντες  
ἀφραδίης· ὕβριν γὰρ ἀτάσθαλον οὐκ ἐδύναντο

135 ἀλλήλων ἀπέχυν, οὐδ' ἀθανάτους θεραπεύειν  
ἤθελον οὐδ' ἔρδεν μακάρων ἱεροῖς ἐπὶ βιωμοῖς,  
ἢ θέμυς ἀνθρώποισι κατ' ἡβῆα. τοὺς μὲν ἔπειτα  
Ζεὺς Κρονίδης ἔκρυψε χολούμενος, οὐνεκα τιμὰς  
οὐκ ἔδιδον μακάρεσσι θεοῖς οἱ Ὀλύμπιον ἔχουσιν.

140 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦτο γένος κατὰ γαῖα κάλυψεν,  
τοὶ μὲν ὑποχθόνιοι μάκαρες θνητοὶ καλέονται,  
δεύτεροι, ἀλλ' ἔμπτῃς τιμῇ καὶ τοῖσιν ὀπηδεῖ.

Ζεὺς δὲ πατὴρ τρίτον ἄλλο γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων  
χάλικεον ποίησ', οὐκ ἀργύρεω οὐδὲν ὁμοῖον,  
145 ἐκ μελίων, δεινὸν τε καὶ δειρμον, ὅσων Ἄρης  
ἔργ' ἔμελε στονόεντα καὶ ὕβριες· οὐδέ τι σῖτον

20. 240b; (φύλ-) cf. sch. Il. 1. 222 127 (-γεμρ.) Etzsch s. πλειότερος  
131 (-νήπιος) Etzsch s. τέλας 132 Melet. AO iii. 109. 13 134 (ἔβρυν-)-  
137 (-ᾧσθρ.) + 138-9 (-μακ.) Porph. *abst.* 2. 8; (ἔβρυν-)-135 (-ἀπέχυν) Lex. Vind.  
15. 7 145 (ἐκ μ.) sch. Od. 24. 13

123 ἐσθλοὶ Pr<sup>1</sup>\*: ἀγροὶ Plut. 431e Maer.<sup>1</sup> (quoniam homines) ἐπιχθόνιοι Σο  
Plut. Lact. Maer.: ἀλέξικακοὶ Pr<sup>1</sup>\* θνητῶν: μερόπων Pl. R. (sed non Hermogen.)  
124-5 (=254-5) om. Π<sub>14</sub>ω Pr<sup>1</sup> Plut. Maer.: habent ὁδρ 127 μετὰ πινυέν  
Π<sub>14</sub>ω: μετέπειτα ω<sup>1</sup> 131 ἀτάλλων Tr 132 δρ' ἀρ Ω<sub>14</sub>\*: ὅταν D Φ<sub>12</sub>  
Melet.: στ' αὖ Blomfield ad Call. H. 1. 56 ἡβήσῃσι τε Dsc: -ση τε ΩDψ<sub>10</sub>ψ<sub>10</sub>:  
-σεε Tz Φ(-οιστο Φ<sub>12</sub>)ψ\* Melet. 134 ἀφραδίην D Φ: -ιας Tr οὐκ ἔβλε-  
σκον Porph. 135 ἀλλήλων ἀπέχυν: ἵσχαν Porph. 137 ἀθανάτους Porph.  
ἀνθρώπους κατὰ ἡβῆα Bentley 139 ἐδίδων CIDe (sscr. ο) Φ<sub>14</sub>ψ<sub>10</sub>ψ<sub>10</sub>: ἐδίδον ψ\*  
Porph. 141 ὑποχθόνιοι Pr<sup>1</sup>GrasD, reicit Tz: ἐποχθ. ΣΤΖδ: τοι χθ-φ μάκαρες  
Σο: φύλακες Pr θνητοὶ E: θεοὶ Dsc-φ<sub>12</sub>+ψ<sub>12</sub>: θνητοὶς Peppmüller, Phil. 41, 1882, 3  
144 ἀργύρεω Spohn: ἀργυρώ ο (-αί C) ὁμοιον C 145 μελίων ΣΤΡαί: μελίων  
φ<sub>14</sub> 146 ὑβριος(ς) Π<sub>14</sub>ω, jς Π<sub>14</sub>ω

ἦσθιν, ἀλλ' ἀδάμαντος ἔχον κρατερόφρονα θυμόν·  
ἀπλᾶστοι· μεγάλη δὲ βίη καὶ χεῖρες ἄσπτοι  
ἐξ ὧμων ἐπέφικον ἐπὶ σιβαροῦσι μέλεσιν.

150 τῶν δ' ἦν χάλκα μὲν τεύχεα, χάλκιοι δὲ τε οἶκοι,  
χάλκῳ δ' εἰργάζοντο· μέλας δ' οὐκ ἔσκε σιδήρος.  
καὶ τοὶ μὲν χεῖρεσιν ὑπὸ σφετέρῃσι δαμέντες  
βῆσαν ἐς εὐρώεντα δόμον κρυεροῦ Ἰδίου

155 νώνυμοι· θάνατος δὲ καὶ ἐκπάγλους περ ἔοντας  
εἶλε μέλας, λαμπρὸν δ' ἔλιπον φάος ἡελίοιο.

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦτο γένος κατὰ γαῖα κάλυψεν,  
αὖτις ἔτ' ἄλλο τέταρτον ἐπὶ χθονὶ πονυβοτείρῃ  
Ζεὺς Κρονίδης ποίησε, δικαιότερον καὶ ἄρειον,

160 ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων βέον γένος, οἱ καλέονται  
ἡμίθεοι, προτέρῃ γενεῇ κατ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν.

καὶ τοὺς μὲν πόλεμός τε κακὸς καὶ φύλοπις αὐτῇ  
τοὺς μὲν ὕψ' ἐπταπύλῳ Θρήβῃ, Καδμηίδι γαίῃ,  
ὥλεσε μαρναμένους μῆλιν ἑνὲκ' Οἰδιπόδαο,

165 τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐν νήεσσιν ὑπὲρ μέγα λαῖτμα θαλάσσης  
ἐς Τροίην ἀγαγὼν Ἑλένης ἐνεκ' ἠκυμοιο.

168 εἴθ' ἥ τοι τοὺς μὲν θανάτου τέλος ἀμφεκάλυψεν,  
τοὺς δὲ διχ' ἀνθρώπων βίωτον καὶ ἦθε' ὀπάσας

170 Ζεὺς Κρονίδης κατένασσε πατῆρ ἐν πείρᾳ γαίης,  
καὶ τοὶ μὲν ναύουσιν ἀκηδέα θυμὸν ἔχοντες

151 sch. A.R. 1. 430, Ap. Soph. 166. 18, Elys. s. χαλκός, Eu. 98. 11; (μέλας-) sch. H. 15, 713b, sch. E. Ph. 1091, Philostr. VA 6. 2, Procl. in Pl. R. ii. 76. 14 K. 160 (πρ.-) sch. Arat. 16 162 (Καδμ. γ.) Hdn. ii. 231. 7 L. 163 (μῆλιν-) sch. Lyc. 933

148-9 habent  $\Pi_{38}\Pi_{42}\Sigma\text{Pro}$ : del. Wilamowitz  
ἀπλᾶστοι PrΩψ\*: ἀπλῆτοι Vat. gr. 1421 (teste Livinadara) μεγάλη PrCDΦψψ<sub>12</sub>  
ψ<sub>10</sub>ε'ψ<sub>12</sub>: μεγάλοι ψ\*Cs δὲ PrCDεΦψ: τε ψ\*Cs: om. D<sup>ac</sup>φ<sub>3</sub>φ<sub>4</sub> 149 σι-β-ῖ-  
ροῖται μέλ'ιστοι  $\Pi_{380}$ , [μλ]  $\Pi_{42}$ : οἷται μέλεσσι ψ<sub>3</sub>ψ<sub>4</sub>, -οἷς μ. Tr 150 τοῖς Tr  
ζοντο Aldus οὐκ ἔσκε  $\Pi_{38}\Pi_{420}$  (εἶχε φ<sub>6</sub>+ψ<sub>1</sub>ψ<sub>2</sub>): ἀνέκειτο Philostr.: οὐκ ἔστι  
Seleucus scripsisse autumat Σ corruptum 152 δαμέντες  $\Pi_{380}$ : δαίμνησαν?  
 $\Pi_{42}$  153 ἡγερόντα ω<sub>2</sub>ac vel c κ.ρ. μ.ερού  $\Pi_{380}$ : ? κρατ'ερ[ε].] scr. μλ] vel  
ρ.[ ]  $\Pi_{42}$  154 νώνυμοι φ<sub>3</sub>acφ<sub>3</sub>ψ<sub>12</sub> Tr: νώνυμοι ceti. 157 om.  $\Pi_{42}$  (habuit  
 $\Pi_{38}$ ) αὖτις ΩDTzψ<sub>12</sub>ψ<sub>4</sub>: αὖτις Φψ\* ἐπ' ψ<sub>4</sub> 160 προτέρῃ γενεῇ fere omnes  
(πρότεροι φ<sub>3</sub>ac): γ'ενεῇ  $\Pi_{6}$  161-206 deest ψ<sub>10</sub> 162 ὕψ' CDTrzφa (post  
ras. duarum litt. E) ψ\*: ἐψ' Φbψ<sub>12</sub> 165 ἠκυομλ  $\Pi_{38}$ ac, fuerat vox longior  
166 om.  $\Pi_{38}\Pi_{40}$  neglexit Pr ἀμφεκάλυψε ψ<sub>3</sub> 167 τοὺς  $\Pi_{40}\text{Pr}^{\text{C}}\text{CD}^{\text{C}}\Phi\psi_{12}\psi_{13}$ :  
τοὺς D<sup>ac</sup>ψ<sub>13</sub>ψ\* 168 ενπειρασι  $\Pi_{38}$ : ἐς πείρατα o

ἐν μακάρων νήσοισι παρ' Ὠκεανὸν βαθυδύνῃ·  
ὄλβιοι ἦρωες, τούσιν μελινθεά καρπὸν  
τρὶς ἔτεος θάλλοντα φέροι ξειδωρος ἄρουρα.

173a {τηλοῦ ἀπ' ἀθανάτων· τοῖσιν Κρόνος ἐμβασιλεύει.  
b ... (.) γάρ μ]ιν ἔλυσε πατ[ῆρ ἀνδρῶν]ν τε θε[ῶν τε·  
c νῦν δ' ἦδη] μετὰ τοῖς τιμῇ[ν ἔ]χει ὥς ἐ[πιεικές].  
d Zeús δ' αὐτ' ἄλλο γένος θῆκ[εν μερόπων ἀνθρώπων,  
e τῶν οἱ νῶ]ν γεγάσιν ἐπὶ [ }

μηκέτ' ἔπειτ' ὄφελον ἐγὼ πέμπτοισι μετεῦναι  
175 ἀνδράσιν, ἀλλ' ἥ πρόσθε θανεῖν ἤ ἔπειτα γενέσθαι.

νῦν γὰρ δι' γένος ἐστὶ σιδήρεον· οὐδέ ποτ' ἦμαρ  
παύσονται καμάτου καὶ οἰζὺς οὐδέ τι νύκτωρ  
τειρόμενοι· χαλεπὰς δὲ θεοὶ δώσουσι μερίμνας.

180 ἀλλ' ἔμπτῃ καὶ τοῖσι μεμείζεται ἐσθλὰ κακοῖσιν.  
Ζεὺς δ' ὀλέσει καὶ τοῦτο γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων,  
εἴτ' ἂν γενόμενοι πολιορκήσασιν τελέθωσιν.

οὐδὲ πατῆρ παιδεσσιν ὁμοίος οὐδέ τι παῖδες,  
οὐδὲ ξείνους ξενοδοκῶ καὶ ἑταῖρος ἑταίρω,

185 οὐδὲ κασιγνήτους φίλος ἔσσεται, ὥς τὸ πάρος περ.  
αἶψα δὲ γηράσκοντας ἀτιμήσουσι τοκήτας·  
μέμψονται δ' ἄρα τοὺς χαλεποὺς βάζοντες ἔπεσιν,

171 (παρ-) Tz. in Lyc. 1204 174-5 Procl. in Hes. Op. 169, 40 iii. 221.  
19; (μετεῦναι) Eu. 1400. 49 176 (-σιδ.) Elys. s. νῦν, Eu. 168. 42; (-εστὶ) sch.  
H. 2. 12, sch. D.T. 97. 6 H. 176 (οὐδέ)-8 Clem. Str. 5. 130. 1 (unde Eus.  
PE 13. 13. 58) 181 Aristid. 26. 106 (ii. 123. 13 K.), Elys. s. τελέθωσι  
186 Marc. Ant. 11. 32

173 εἰτερος  $\Pi_{40}$ φ: τοῦ ἔτους Tr 173a-e] post 173 habuit  $\Pi_{38}$ , ]b-e ante 174  
 $\Pi_{42}$ : desunt in  $\Pi_{40}$ φ, praeter quod 173a (olim '169') a Σ servatum (τοῦτον καὶ τὸν  
ἐξ ἧς ... ἐξοικίζουσι τῶν Ἡσόδου) post 173 recepit ψ<sub>13</sub>, post 168 ψ<sub>4</sub>, ante 167 in  
marg. sup. N<sup>100</sup> 173a τοῖς δ' N, τοῖς ψ<sub>13</sub> ἐμβασιλεύει ψ<sub>13</sub>: ἐμβασιλεύει(ν)  
Nψ<sub>13</sub>: ἐμβασιλεύει Σψ<sub>13</sub>: ἐμβασιλεύει ψ<sub>4</sub>ac 173b init. fort. αὐτὸς vel αὐτῆς finem  
suppl. Weil, Rev. Phil. 12, 1888, 173 173c init. ego τοῖσι  $\Pi_{42}$  fin. Maehler,  
Muz. Hebr. 24, 1967, 66 173d init. ego fin. Wilamowitz 173e init.  
Kuiper, Serium Nabericum 220 λχβὸν πονυβοτείρῃ Weil: fort. praestat [ξείδωρον  
ἀρουραν 174 ἀφῆλλον  $\Pi_{42}\Pi_{43}\text{Pr}^{\text{C}}\text{N}^{\text{C}}\text{φ}^{\text{C}}\psi_{12}$ , ὄφ- ψ: ἀφῆλλον ΣCDΦψ<sub>13</sub>:  
ἀφῆλον ω<sub>2</sub>ψ<sub>13</sub>+ 176 (ν)ῶν CTras, fuerat . en; δη om. ω<sub>2</sub>ψ<sub>12</sub>+ 177 π'λαον-  
ται  $\Pi_{6}$  καμάτου  $\Pi_{42}\Pi_{43}\text{CD}^{\text{C}}\psi$  Clem.: -τοῦ  $\Pi_{42}$ ac (sed statim correctum) Φ  
178 ]μερμεροι  $\Pi_{6}$ , supplevi, φθερ- o: γιν- Clem. cod., στεν- Eus. 179 μεμεί-  
ξεται  $\Pi_{42}\Pi_{40}$  181-6 ante hos vv. sigla in  $\Pi_{42}$ : 181 obelus (fort. olim post  
alterum siglum), 182 et 184 diple cum asterisco, 185 asteriscus cum obelo, 186 chi  
vel asteriscus 181 γιν-  $\Pi_{42}\Pi_{43}\text{CD}^{\text{C}}\Phi\psi$ : γιν- Ω 182 ὁμοίως Fick  
183 ξε]νοδοκῶ  $\Pi_{43}$  186 ἄρα τοὺς  $\Pi_{40}$ φ: ἀρετήν Marc. -οντες ἔπειτα  $\Pi_{43}\text{C}\Phi\psi$   
Marc.: -οντες ἐπέεσι(σ) D (an -οντ' ?) ψ<sub>4</sub>ψ<sub>13</sub>: -οντ' ἐπέεσι Tzφ<sub>3</sub>ψ\*

σχέλιοι, οὐδὲ θεῶν ὅπιν εἰδότες· οὐδὲ μὲν οἷ γε  
γηράντεσαι τοκεῶν ἀπὸ θρεπτήρια δοῦν.

χειροδίκαι· ἕτερος δ' ἑτέρου πόλιν ἐξαλαπάξει·

190 οὐδὲ τις εἰόρκου χάρις ἔσσεται οὐδὲ δικαίου

οὐτ' ἀγαθοῦ, μάλλον δὲ κακῶν ρεκτήρα καὶ ὕβριν

ἀνέρα τιμήσουσι· δίκη δ' ἐν χερσὶ καὶ αἰδώς

ἔσσειται· βλάμει δ' ὁ κακὸς τὸν ἀρεῖονα φῶτα

μύθιοι σκολοῖς ἐνέπυν, ἐπὶ δ' ὄρκον ὁμείται.

195 ζήλος δ' ἀνθρώποιον διζυροῦσιν ἅπασιν

δυσκέλαδος κακόχαρτος ὁμαρτήξει, στυγερῶπης.

καὶ τότε διή πρὸς Ὀλύμπον ἀπὸ χθονὸς εὐρουδείης

λευκοῖσιν φάρεσαι καλυψαμένω χρέα καλὸν

ἀθανάτων μετὰ φύλλον ἴτον προλιπὸντ' ἀνθρώπου

200 Αἰδὼς καὶ Νέμεσις· τὰ δὲ λείψεται ἄλγεια λυγρὰ

θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποιαι, κακοῦ δ' οὐκ ἔσσειται ἀλκή·

νῦν δ' αἶνον βασιλεῦσ' ἔρῳ, φρονέουσι καὶ αὐτοῖς.

ὥδ' ἱρήξ' προσέειπεν ἀηδὼνα ποικιλῶδεϊρον,

187 (οὐδὲ -) 8. Etas s. γηράντεσαι (ex e); 188 (-τοκ.) A.D. *prom.* 88. 7, sch. II. 17. 197b, Etas s. γηράς, Eu. 1101. 65, 1490. 38, 1900. 10 189 (χεῖρ.) cf. Eu. 201. 3, 1459. 55, 1762. 13 190-6 Stob. 2. 2. 9; 192 (δίκη)-193 (-έσσει) cf. Eu. 1762. 14; 193 (βλ.-) sch. S. Ph. 456; 194 (ὅμ.) AO i. 451. 12; 195 Etas ~ Lex. *Vind.* s. ζήλος 197 (-χθονός) + 199 (ἱτήρ) + 200-1 (-ἀνθρ.) sch. Od. 2. 65; 197-200 (-Ném.) sch. S. OC 1676; (-Aidώς) = *Epigr.* Gr. 1110 1-4 Kaibel (Acharnis, saec. II); 197 sch. Arat. 96-7; 198 + 200 (-Ném.) sch. E. *Med.* 439; 198 (καλ.-) A.D. *synl.* 294. 4 U., sch. II. 8. 455; 199 (προλ.-) 200 (-Ném.) Eu. 723. 17; 199 (προλ.-) sch. II. 1. c.; 200 (-τῶ) Eu. 886. 60, 966. 13, 1373. 65, cf. 1434. 35 202-3 'Ammon' ~ Eren. Philo ~ Etas s. αἶνος, *An. Par.* iii. 371. 18; (-ἐρέω + ὥδ-) ἀηδὼνα Eu. 855. 6; 202 Etas s. αἶνος (ex e), Io. Doxap. in *Aph.* p. 154. 11 Rabe (*Proleg. Sylloge*); (-ἐρέω) Eu. 1158. 37, 1330. 40, *An. Par.* iii. 36. 25; (-βασ.) Argum. 'Isoc.' 1; (αἰών-, confuse) Eu. 1768. 57; (αἰών-ἐρέω) id. 855. 2, 1425. 49; 203 *Theo. Progm.* 3 (ii. 74. 16 Sp.), Greg. Cor. p. 475 Sch.; (-ἀηδὼνα) Etas s. ἱέραξ

187 οὐδὲ θεῶν Π43: οὔτε θεῶν ο μὲν Π43<sup>uv</sup> 20: κεν Brunck οἷδε Π43<sup>e</sup>  
189 damn. Hagen, *Mérel. Crit.* ii. 24 χειροδίκαι: οἱ Dsi 190 οὐδὲ (δικαίου)  
Π38Π43CD Φψψ13 Stob.: οἷρε ψ\* 191 οὐδ' Stob. κακῶν Π43<sup>o</sup> Stob.: κακὸν  
Τ<sup>rac</sup>: κακοῦ ψ18 192 post χερσὶ interpunct: Heinisius 193 ἔσσειται scripsi:  
οὐκ ἔσσει ο Stob., οὐκ ἔσσει Eu. <sup>uv</sup> βλάπτει sch.-S. 194 σκολῶς Blass, Rh.  
*Mus.* 62, 1907. 268 (cl. 262) 196 στυγερῶπης ψ1ψ12 + Stob.: -ωπῆς CΦψ\*  
Stob. vi1: -ωπῆς Π43: -ωπῆς De1ψψ14 Tr 198 φάρεσαι Π43 epigr.: φάρεσαι α1  
καλυψαμῶν Π43<sup>o</sup> A.D. sch.-Hom. (disertum) sch.-S.: -μένη sch.-E. cod.: -μενα  
epigr. 199 ἴτον ΣΝΜο1τω3<sup>2</sup>ψ1<sup>2</sup> epigr.: ἱτήρ CDEΦψ sch.-Hom.: ἴτον  
sch.-S. 202 βασιλεῦσ' [Π38]CΦψ\* Etas Eu. (interdum) *An. Par.* iii. 371:  
-έσσειν ψ4 + i\*: -έσσει[uv] D, -έσσειν Φα φρονέουσι Π43<sup>o</sup> Eren. Doxap. Eu.: φρονέου  
Π38Π43<sup>o</sup> epigr.\*

ὑμῖ μάλ', ἐν νεφέεσσι φέρων, ὀνύχεσαι μεμαρπώς·

205 ἡ δ' ἐλεόν, γναμπτοῖσι πεπαρμένῃ ἄμφ' ὀνύχεσσιν,  
μύρετο· τήν δ' ὁ γ' ἐπικρατέως πρὸς μύθον ἔειπεν·

“δαμονίη, τί λέληκας; ἔχει νύ σε πολλὸν ἀρείων·

τῇ δ' εἷς ἦ σ' ἂν ἐγὼ περ ἄγω καὶ αἰοδὸν εἴδωσαν·

δέπνουν δ' αὖ κ' ἐθέλω ποιήσασθαι ἡ ἐμεθίσω.

210 ἀφρων δ' ὅς κ' ἐθέλη πρὸς κρέσσονας ἀνταφρίζειν·

νίκης τε στέρεται πρὸς τ' αἰσχεῶν ἄλγεια πάσχει.”

ὥς ἔφατ' ἀκυπότης ἱρήξ, ταυσιπτερος ὄρνυς.

ὦ Πέρση, σὺ δ' ἄκουε Δίκης, μηδ' ὕβριν ὀφελλε·

ὕβριν γάρ τε κακῇ δειλῷ βροτῶ· οὐδὲ μὲν ἐσθλός

215 ῥηιδίως φερέμεν δύναται, βαρύνει δέ θ' ὑπ' αὐτῆς

ἐγκύρσας Ἀττησιν· ὁδὸς δ' ἐτέρηφι παρελθεῖν

κρέσσονας ἐς τὰ δίκαια· δίκη δ' ὑπὲρ ὕβριος ἵσχει

ἐς τέλος ἐξελθοῦσα· παθὼν δέ τε νήπιος ἔγνω·

αὐτίκα γὰρ πρέχει Ὀρκος αἶμα σκολιῇσι δίκησιν,

220 τῆς δὲ Δίκης ῥόθος ἐλκομένης ἦ κ' ἄνδρες ἄγωνιν

δωροφάγοι, σκολιῆς δὲ Δίκης κρῖναι θέμιςτος.

ἡ δ' ἔπεται κλαύουσα πόλιν καὶ ἥθεα λαῶν,

ἡέρα ἑσσαμένη, κακὸν ἀνθρώποισι φέρουσα

205(-πεπ.) AO i. 238. 31 207 (-λέλ.) sch. E. *Hec.* 678, Eu. 714. 59  
208 Hdn. ii. 828. 5 L., Choer. ii. 27. 14, 326. 1, 328. 5, 332. 22 H., AO iv. 171. 28,  
201. 4, 209. 3 210-11 Stob. 3. 4. 3, Etas s. ἀνταφρίζω; 210 *Theo. Progm.*  
l.c., 'Nicol.' *Progm.* i. 281. 1 Walz, *Macr. Sat.* 5. 16. 6, Etas s. ἀνταφρίζω; 211  
216 (ὁδός)-217 (κρ.) Etas s. φηγήρηφι, 216 (ὁδός-) sch. II. 13. 588a, Choer. *Psalms*.  
p. 21. 34 Gaisf.; (ὁδός δ' ἐτ.) *Suda* s. ἱφ; (ἐτ.) Eu. 1251. 25, AO iv. 273. 22; 217  
(δίκη)-218 (-ἐξ.) sch. E. *Hec.* 1192; 218 (παθῶν-) Clem. *Protr.* 90. 3, sch. Pi. I.  
1. 56 (tanquam Homeri), sch. A. *Alg.* 187, Diogenian. 2. 31 220-1 Etas s.  
ρόθος (ex e)

206 δ' om. ω2 ἐπικρατέων? Paley 207 ἀρείων Π43<sup>o</sup>: ἀμείνων ψ5  
208 εἰσθ' Nauack, *Mél. Gr.-Rom.* iii. 269 αἰοδὸν PrCDΦψ<sup>1</sup>ψ1<sup>1</sup>: ἀηδὸν Etas, ἀηδὸν  
ψ\* 209 σ' Mitscherlich, *Disquisition de nominalis Hes. locis* (1824) 5 (post  
ἀγῶν interpungens) 210-11 ath. Aristarchus, habent Π38Π43 etc.: post  
212 transp. Gracivus 210 (βέλη) ε, ψ13 ψ1\* i\*: -e CDΦψ13 'Nicol.'; -oi ψ14  
Macr. Stob.: -ησι εω (cod.O) ψ1ψ10 κρέσσονας Π601\*, -ονα 'Nicol.'; κρεσσονας Π38  
211 αἰσχεῶν ἄλγεια Π1Π2Π38εο1: ἀλγέων αἰσχεῶν Merkelbach, *SJFC* 27/8, 1956, 297  
213 δ' κ' ου γ' Π5<sup>uv</sup> Pr<sup>o</sup>: αἰε ε (παύσα τῶ ἐγκράθεο κόλπῳ αἰε δ' ε<sup>vi</sup>): αἰε Schulze,  
*Kl. Schr.* 347 214 μὲν Π60: μὲν ψ15 215 αὐτῆς Π43<sup>o</sup>: αὐτοῦ Π4  
216 παρελθεῖν Π6PrCDΦψ1\*: μετελθεῖν ΩΤζ1ψ14 sch.-Hom. c 218 ἐξελθεῖν  
Usener, *Alleg. Veribau* 48 δέ τε Π601: δέ τε ψ1ψ2 220 ἦ Π6Pro: ἦν ελ: c1 Fick  
221 σκολιῆς δὲ Δίκης Π43<sup>o</sup>: σκολιας δὲ Δίκας Tr 222 τὴν καὶ Tr 223 secl.  
Hetzl, *De carm. Hes. quod Op. et D. inuic. comp. et interpolatiōibus* (1860)

οὗτ' ἐπεὶ μὴν ἐξελάουσιν καὶ οὐχ ἰθεῖαν ἔνευμαν.

225 οἱ δὲ δίκας ξείνους καὶ ἐνδύημοι διδοῦν

ἰθείας καὶ μὴ τι παρεκβαίνουσι δικαίαν,

τοῖσι τετλήε πολὺς, λαοὶ δ' ἀνέουσιν ἐν αὐτῇ·

Εἰρήνη δ' ἀνὰ γῆν κοιροτρόφος, οὐδὲ ποτ' αὐτοῖς  
ἀργαλέον πόλεμον τεκμαίρεται εὐρύππα Ζεὺς·

230 οὐδὲ ποτ' ἰθὺδίκησι μετ' ἀνδράσι Λιμὸς ὀπηδεῖ

οὐδ' Ἄττη, θαλίης δὲ μεμηλότα ἔργα νέμονται.

τοῖσι φέρεται μὲν γαῖα πολὺν βίον, οὔρεσι δὲ δρύς  
ἄκρη μὲν τε φέρεται βαλάνους, μέσση δὲ μελίσσαι·

εἰρόποκοι δ' οἷες μαλλοῖς καταβερβίβαν·

235 τίκτουσιν δὲ γυναικες εὐκότα τέκνα γονεῦσιν·  
βάλλουσιν δ' ἀγαθοῖσι διαμπερές· οὐδ' ἐπὶ νῆσῳ

νίσονται, καρπὸν δὲ φέρεται ξειδωρὸς ἄρουρα.

οἷς δ' ὕβρις τε μέμληε κακῇ καὶ σκέτλια ἔργα,  
τοῖς δὲ δίκην Κρονίδης τεκμαίρεται εὐρύππα Ζεὺς.

240 πολλάκι καὶ ξύμπασα πόλιν κακοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀπήντα,

ὅστις ἀλτραπεῖν καὶ ἀτάσθαλα μηχανάταται.

224 (ἰθ-) Eu. 1316. 61 227 sch. II. 9. 156 (T m. al., vi. 522. 11 Maass),  
E. 1. 743. 37, 1007. 17 228 (-κούρ.) sch. Pi. P. 8. 16 229 (πολ. τεκ.) cf.

Eu. 692. 64 230 (ἰθὺδ.) cf. Eu. 1066. 6, 1057. 58 233-4 Pl. R. 364b;

233 Plut. fr. 157. 7 S., sch. Nic. Al. 448; 234 Clem. Paed. 3. 24. 1 235 Alleg.

Hom. II. 1. 9 (Ludwich, Ind. lect. Regimont. 1895 aest. 5. 1), Elias CAG xvii

(1). 237-39; (ἐν-) Plut. 824c, cf. 63d, Liban. x. 93. 3 F. 238 Ael. fr. 25

239 Procl. in Hes. Op. 217-19; (-τεκμ.) Etas s. δίκη 240-7 Aesch. Cles. 135;

240-1 id. fals. leg. 158; 240 Liban. ii. 180. 4 F., sch. Pi. P. 3. 64b, sch. min. II. 1.

42. Orion anth. 6. 13, Eu. 127. 1, cf. 1059. 15, 1909. 49, Macar. 7. 32; cf. sch. II.

511, Io. Sic. ~ Io. Doxap. in Hermog. pp. 409. 21, 426. 23 Rabe (Prolég.

Syllage); 242-3 Chrysipp. SVF ii. 337. 35 ap. Plut. 1040c; 243 sch. Od. 15. 407 ~

Eu. 1787. 28; (-λοιμόν) sch. II. 16. 385

224 ἐξελάουσιν φ<sub>1</sub> + : -άουσι Tr.: -άουσι ω<sub>2</sub> 225 διδοῦσιν Π<sub>12</sub>CD

φ<sub>1</sub> γ<sub>1</sub> φ<sub>2</sub>: διδῶντες φ<sub>2</sub>: διδάσι Paley 226 παρεκβαίνουσι Π<sub>12</sub>ω<sub>2</sub> <sup>131</sup>ψ<sub>12</sub> δικάων Π<sub>12</sub>

227 ἀνθεύαν Π<sub>12</sub>ω<sub>2</sub>: possis ἀρεΐωσιν, cf. Od. 19. 114 230 ἰθὺδίκησι PrCD

Φαψ<sub>1</sub>ψ<sub>12</sub> hoc vel -καισι Eu.: -καισι φ<sub>1</sub> Tr.: -κοισι Φβψ\* 231 με-

μηλέτες Heinisius 233 ἀκρη ἐπὶ μέσση Cω<sub>1</sub>NΦβ 235 αἱ δὲ γυναικες τί-

κτουσιν tantum sch.-Ar. Pac. 1325 (confuso 244) γονεῖσι(ν) Π<sub>12</sub>ω<sub>2</sub>CDψ<sub>12</sub>\*: τοκεῖσι

D (post litt. erasam) ψ<sub>1</sub>ψ<sub>10</sub> + 236 εὐ δ' Leunep 237 νίσονται Cω<sub>1</sub>De:

νίσω- Φαβ<sub>1</sub>γ<sub>1</sub>ψ<sub>1</sub>ψ<sub>10</sub>: νέτω- vel νείσω- Π<sub>12</sub>: νείω- φ<sub>2</sub> + : νείσω- φ<sub>2</sub>ψ<sub>12</sub>NΦTr.: νήσ-

ω<sub>2</sub>ψ<sub>12</sub>(sscr. i) + : νήσω- ω<sub>2</sub>\* 240 και<sub>1</sub>ol\*: δη Aesch.-Cles. Macar.: τοι Aesch.-

fals. leg. σύμπασα Liban. ἀπήντα ol: ἐπαυρεῖ Tr.: ἐπήνθεν Thiersch, Gr. Gramm.<sup>2</sup>

337: ἀπήνθεν Wilamowitz 241 65 κεν ἀλτραπεῖν Aesch.-bis: ἀστισα[ Π<sub>12</sub>: ὅστις

-νῃ Goettling μηχανάσται Π<sub>12</sub>ω<sub>2</sub>ol\*: μηχανάσται Aesch.-Cles.\*k

τοῖσιν δ' οὐρανόθεν μέγ' ἐπήγαγε πῆμα Κρονίων,  
λιμὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ λοιμόν· ἀποφθινύθουσι δὲ λαοί·

οὐδὲ γυναικες τίκτουσιν, μυνύθουσι δὲ οἶκος

245 Ζηρὸς φραδμοσύνην Ὀλυμπίον· ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε  
ἦ τῶν γε στρατῶν εὐρὺν ἀπώλεσεν ἦ' ὃ γε τεῖχος

ἦ νέας ἐν πόντι Κρονίδης ἀποτείνυνται αὐτῶν.

ὦ βασιλῆς, ὅμως δὲ καταφράζεσθε καὶ αὐτοὶ

τῆνδε δίκην· ἐγγὺς γάρ ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν εἶντες

ἀθάνατοι φράζονται, ὅσοι σκολῆσι δίκην

250 ἀλλήλους τριβουσι θεῶν ὅπιν οὐκ ἀλέγοντες.

τρεῖς γὰρ μυριοὶ εἰὼν ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ

ἀθάνατοι Ζηρὸς φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων,

οἱ ρα φυλάσσουσιν τε δίκας καὶ σκέτλια ἔργα,

255 ἥερα ἐσάμενοι, πάντῃ φοιτῶντες ἐπ' αἶαν.

ἦ δέ τε παρθένος ἐστὶ Δίκη, Διὸς ἐκγεγαυῖα,

κυδρὴ τ' αἰδοῖται τε θεοῖς οἱ Ὀλυμπον ἔχουσιν·

καὶ ῥ' ὁπότ' ἂν τις μιν βλάβῃ σκολῶς ὀνοτάζων,

αὐτίκα παρ Διὶ πατρὶ καθεζομένη Κρονίῳ

260 γηρύειτ' ἀνθρώπων ἄδικον νόον, ὅφρ' ἀποτείσῃ

248 (ἡμ-)-249 (-δίκην) Etas s. δίκη 252-3 Clem. Protr. 41. 1, Sext. adv.

math. 9. 86, Elias in Greg. Naz. xxxvi. 899c Migne; (-Ζ. πρόπολοι) Max. Tyr. p.

98. 1 H.; (-ἀδ.) Oenom. ap. Eus. PE 5. 36. 2, Clem. Protr. 103. 2; 252 (-εἰσὶ) Eu.

1542. 47; (τρεσμ.) cf. Max. Tyr. p. 144. 3 H., 'Hcl.' epist. 9 p. 77. 30 Byw.; 253

(φύλ-) Eus. PE 4. 17. 9 254 Etas s. δίκη 255-5a Sext. adv. math. 9. 16;

255 Plut. 948c, Etas s. ἥρωες, Eu. 17. 38; (-έσσ.) Plut. 431b, Them. 7. 90c,

sch. II. 1. 4, Etas s. ἥρωες, cf. Eu. 379. 21; 255a cf. Oenom. ap. Eus. PE 5. 36. 2

256 (-ἐστὶ) Plut. 781b; (Δίκη-) sch. Arat. 97 p. 126. 21 Martin 258 (σκ.-)

Eu. 744. 23

242 om., marg. rest. Π<sub>12</sub> ἐπήγαγε πῆμα Pro: ἐ πῆλασε πῆμα Π<sub>12</sub> Chrys. seu

Plut.: πῆμα δῶκε Aesch. (π. μέγα δ. vi) 243 init. καλέ(μ)ων Π<sub>12</sub>: λοιμόν

ὁμοῦ καὶ λιμὸν Aesch. x 244-5 om. Aesch., damm. Pr (Plut.): habent Π<sub>12</sub>Π<sub>12</sub>

Π<sub>12</sub>Π<sub>12</sub>ω<sub>2</sub> 247 Kr. ἀποτίνυνται αὐτῶν ο (-τίνω- Τρψ<sub>12</sub>, κρονίδηστέοντιν-τῇ

αὐτοῖς D): ἀποτίνυνται εὐρύππα Ζεὺς Aesch. ἀποιούνατ Peppmüller, Phil. 34, 1876,

180 248 βασιλῆς Π<sub>12</sub> C: βασιλῆς C<sup>3</sup>Φψ καταφράσασθε Etas 250 λέωσ-

(ο)ουσι ψ<sub>1</sub>Τρω<sub>2</sub>tra<sup>3</sup>\*; ὁρώσι, λείδουσιν E<sup>2</sup>mg 252 τρεῖς Π<sub>12</sub> Clem-cod. (c

priore loco) Eus. vi μυριοί. Protr.: χιλιοί Π<sub>12</sub> 253 ἀθάνατοι Ζηρὸς Π<sub>12</sub>Pro

Max. Sext.: δαίμονες ἀθάνατοι\* φύλακες Protr\*: πρόπολοι Max. θνητῶν Pro

Elias: μερόπων l\* 255 πάντῃ Protr\*: πᾶσιν Plut. huic versui subiungunt

(255a) ἀνθρώπων ὅφριν τε καὶ ἐνδομῆρν ἐφόροντες (Od. 17. 487) Oenom. et Sext.

(ὄφρις . . . εὐνομίας Sext. ut Pl. Soph. 216b) 256 τε Π<sub>12</sub>: γε Plut-codd.

257 θεοῖς Pro: θεῶν Π<sub>12</sub> 258 τίς μιν Π<sub>12</sub>ω<sub>2</sub>: μιν. [ Π<sub>12</sub> 260 ἄδικον

[Π<sub>12</sub>]PrDψ\*: ἀδίκων CD<sup>ac</sup>Φψ<sub>12</sub> ἀποτί(σ)η Π<sub>12</sub>ω<sub>2</sub>

δῆμος ἀτασθαλίας βασιλεύων, οἱ λυγρὰ νοέοντες  
ἀλλῃ παρκλίνωσι δίκας σκολιῶς ἐνέποντες.

ταῦτα φυλασσόμενοι βασιλῆς ἰθύνετε μύθους

δωροφάτοι, σκολίων δὲ δικέων ἐπὶ πάγχυ λάβεσθε.

οἱ τ' αὐτῶ κακὰ τεύχεα ἀνὴρ ἄλλω κακὰ τεύχων,  
ἡ δὲ κακῇ βουλῇ τῷ βουλευσάντι κακίστη.

πάντα ἰδὼν Διὸς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ πάντα νοήσας

καί νυ τὰδ' αἶ κ' ἐβέλησ' ἐπιδέρκεται, οὐδέ ἐ λήθει  
οὔτην δὴ καὶ τήρδε δίκην πόλις ἐντός ἐέργει.

νῦν δὴ ἐγὼ μήτ' αὐτὸς ἐν ἀνθρώποισι δίκαιος  
εἶην μήτ' ἐμὸς υἱός, ἐπεὶ κακὸν ἄνδρα δίκαιον  
ἔμμεναι, εἰ μείζω γε δίκην ἀδικώτερος ἔξει·  
ἀλλὰ τὰ γ' οὗ πω ἔοικτα τελεῖν Δία μητιόεντα.

ὦ Πέρση, σὺ δὲ ταῦτα μετὰ φρεσὶ βαλλέο σῆσιν,

καί νυ Δίκης ἐπάκουε, βίης δ' ἐπιλήθιο πάμπαν.  
τόνδε γὰρ ἀνθρώποισι νόμον διέταξε Κρονίων,  
ἰχθύσι μὲν καὶ θηραῖ καὶ οἰωνοῖς πεπενηνοῖς  
ἔσθων ἀλλήλους, ἐπεὶ οὐ δίκη ἐστὶ μετ' αὐτοῖς.

265-6 *Floril. Monac.* 145 (*Maineke Stob.* iv. 278), *Tz. Ch.* 8. 28, cf. *Democr.* Chium ap. *Arist. Rh.* 1409<sup>28</sup>; 265 *Plut.* 554a, *Philipp. Theophrastes Cerameus in Heliod.* p. 368, 69 *Colonna*; 266 *Plut.* 36a, 554a, *Gell.* 4. 5. 7  
*Sal.* 1. 23. 9, sch. *Arat.* 1 p. 42. 17 *Martin*; (-φθλ.) sch. *Arat.* 2 p. 49. 23 *Martin*  
270-2 *Stob.* 3. 2. 11, *Tz. Ch.* 9. 355, *epist.* 57 p. 84 -eone 276-81 *Orion anth.*  
6. 10; 276-9 *Clem. Str.* 1. 181. 6, *Stob.* 1. 3. 1; 277-9 (-δίκη) *Plut.* 964b-Porph.  
*adit.* 1. 5, id. *ad Od.* 9. 106 (p. 87. 18 *Schr.*), *Ael. H14* 6. 50; 277-8 *Sext. adv. math.*  
2. 32

261 *βασίλειον* *Π10* Ωφψ13 + : -λήων *DTz* φ\* φ\* 262 *παρκλ- Π5* *Π10* φ\* ψ1 Tr :  
*παρκλ- CD* *Tz* φψ1\* : *παρεκκλ- ω3* : *παρεκκ- ψ13* -νοσι *Π5* *Π10* φ\* : -νοσι Tr *δίκη*  
*Π10* 1. 263 *βίαι* *Ιωλῆς* *Π10* : -λέεις *ψψ13* + : -λήεις *ceft.* *μύθος* *φψ1\** : *δίκας* Ωφψ13 +  
264 *σκολίων* *Π10* : *σκολιέων* *Π10* *δίκαιων* *Π10* (et fort. delete) : *δικῶν* ο 265 ολ  
τ' *CD* φψ12 : ολ θ' Tr φψ1\* : ...] *Π5* : ολ Tr φψ12 : ολ γ' Rzach 65 δ' ἔλλω κακὰ  
τεύχεα ἐξ κακὸν ἥπαν τεύχεα *Plut.*, δς κακὸν ἔλλω -εὐχε-τεύχεα *Philipp.*, *confusus*  
*Call.* fr. 2. 5, *Lucill. A.P.* 11. 183. 5 267-73 *damn. Plut.* 267 *πάντ'*  
*εἰδὼς* sch.-*Arat.* 1 cod., 2<sup>vi</sup> 268 *εβέλη* *Π10* *Π13* (ci. *Heinrich ap. Twisten p.*  
69) 269 *ᾗδε* *Bentley* *πολυν* *Π10* 270 δ' ἐγὼ *Π10* (sscr. ε) *ψψ13* δὲ ἐγὼ  
ὈβTr : δὴ καὶ γὰρ *ψψ12* *μητ'* *Π43* 271 *αρα* *pro* *ἀνδρα* *Π10* [*Π43*] *Stob.* 1. 272 γε  
*δίκην* *ἀδικ* *ωτέρως* *Π43* φ\* : γε *δίκη* *ν* *ἀδικωτέρως* *Π10* : *δίκη* *ν* *ἀδικωτέρως* *Stob.*  
(*τυμὴν* *ἀδικ.* *Buechelet*) 273 *τε(λ)εῖν* *sscr.* ε *Π43* *ν* *μυρία*  
*Π10* *Π13* *Pr* *CD* φψ1\* : *τερμικεύσαντων* *DTz* *N* *μψ12* φψ12 + : *incertum* *utrum* *Π5* (βε[ vel  
]κε[*l*]) 274 *οἷον(ν)* *Π5* *Π10* : *ἵσαν* *Brugmann*, *Ein Problem d. hom. Textkritik* 76  
277 *πεπενηνοῖς* *Π5* *Π10* *Π13* *CD* φψ1\* : *πεπενηνοῖς* *Stob.* : *πεπενηνοῖς* *D* *ψ13* + sch.-*Hom.* (et  
*οἰωνοῖσι* *ψ13* + sch.-*Hom.*) 278 *ἐσθων* [*Π10* *Π13*] *st* : *ἐσθόμεν* *Clem.* *μετ'* *αὐ-*  
*τοῖς* *ε\** : *μετ'* *αὐτῶν* *Clem. Porph.* : *μ[ετ']* *αὐτους* *Π5*, *μεταυ[τ]* *Π10* : (ἐστὶν) ἐν αὐτοῖς ο  
(ἐν' *Mo* *Tr*) *Stob.* sch.-*Hom.*

ἀνθρώποισι δ' ἔδωκε δίκην, ἡ πολλὸν ἀρίστη  
γίνεται· εἰ γὰρ τίς κ' ἐβέλῃ τὰ δίκαι' ἀγορεύσει  
γινώσκων, τῷ μὲν τ' ἔλθον διδοὶ εὐρύστα Ζεὺς·  
ὅς δὲ κε μαρτυρήσαν ἐκὼν ἐπίορκον ὁμόσας  
ψεύσεται, ἐν δὲ Δίκην βλάβας νήκεστον ἀάσθη,  
τοῦ δέ τ' ἀμαυρότερη γενεὴ μετόπισθε λέλειπται.

285 ἀνδρὸς δ' εὐόρκου γενεὴ μετόπισθεν ἀμείνων.  
σοὶ δ' ἐγὼ ἐσθλὰ νοέων ἐρέω, μέγα νήπιε Πέρση.  
τὴν μὲν τοι κακότητα καὶ ἱλαδὸν ἐστὶν ἐλέσθαι  
ρήιδίως· λείη μὲν δόδος, μάλα δ' ἐγγύθι ναίει.

τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς ἰδρωτα θεοὶ προπαροῖθεν ἔθηκαν  
ἀθάνατοι· μακρὸς δὲ καὶ ὄρθιος οἶμος ἐς ἀπὴν  
καὶ τρηχὺς τὸ πρῶτον· ἐπὴν δ' εἰς ἄκρον ἔκηται,  
ρήιδῇ δῆπνεται πέλει, χαλεπὴ περ εὐδασ.  
οὗτος μὲν πανάριστος, δς αὐτὸς πάντα νοήσει,

282-4 *Orion anth.* 6. 11; 283 (ἐν-) *Eitz s. νήκεστον* 285 *Suda* (unde *Eitz*) s.  
εὐόρκου 287-92 *X. Mem.* 2. 1. 20 (exscribit *Stob.* 3. 1. 205), *Aristid.* *Quint.*  
3. 17, sch. *Pl.* *Proi.* 340d; 287 + 289-92 *Philo de ebriet.* 150 (ii. 199. 4 W.); 287-9 *Pl.*  
*R.* 364c; 287 + 289 *Max. Tyr.* p. 192. 10 H., sch. *E. Hipp.* 379; 287-8 (-ρ.) *Archae*  
sch. *Pl. Gorg.* 459c; 287 *Orion. Berol.* 12319 (Wil., S.-B. *preuss.* *Ak.* 1918, 742), *Plut.*  
24c, *Clem. Str.* 5. 16. 8, *Eur.* 1868. 1; (ἀλ.) id. 179. 22; 289-92 *Pl. Lg.* 718c, *Orion*  
*anth.* 7. 12, *Floril. Monac.* 105, sch. *Aph.* ii. 604. 24 *Walz*; 289-90 (-αδ.) sch. *Dem.*  
*Proem.* p. 818. 2 *Dind.*, comm. *Bern.* in *Lucan.* p. 300. 20 U.; 289 *Plut.* 24d,  
*Hermog.* p. 8. 9 *Rabe*, *Alex. Aphr. CAG* ii (2). 255. 12, *Agath. A.P.* 9. 653. 1, sch.  
*Fi. O.* 5. 34c (mutulum), 6. 14 f. 9. 161c, *Eu.* s. *ἀρετή*, *Io. Doxap.* in *Aph.* ii. 251. 8  
*Walz*; (-ἰδρ.) *Cic. ad fam.* 6. 18. 5; (-πρω-) sch. *E. Med.* 296; (ἀρ-) *Io. Doxap.* in  
*Hermog.* vi. 96. 3 *Walz*; (ἰδρ-) *Synes. phusc.* 144. 6 *Tarz.*; 290 (μακρὸς)-292  
*Clem. Str.* 4. 5. 2; 290 (μακρὸς-) *Argum.* 'Isoc.' 1, cf. *Lucian.* 33. 14 293-7  
*Orion anth.* 1. 24; 293-4 + 296-7 *Etc.* s. *ἀρχήος* (cx e); 293 + 295-7 *Arist.* *EN*  
1095<sup>10</sup> (et 294 in cod. rec.) (cum *Heliod.* *CAG* xix (2). 7. 10), *Aristid.* 2. 97 (i. 338

279 -οισι δ' ἔδωκε *Π43* φ\* : -οις δὲ δέδωκε *Porph.-Od.* 280 (ἐ)βέλῃ *ψψ12* *Mo*  
*Orion* : -ει *D* *ψψ13* *at* : -οι *C* *φψ1\** ἀγορεύσει *D* : -εἰεν *CTz* φψ *Orion* : *incertum*  
*utrum* *Π10* 283 *ἀάσθη* ολ(-θως *D* *ν*), -θρη *ψ6* *Tr* : *ἀασθῇ* *Schaefer* 284 δ' ἐτ' φ4  
*κατοπίσθε* *Π10* 285 *μετόπισθεν* et *orac.* ap. *Hdt.* 6. 86γ *aliosque* : *κατοπίσθεν*  
*Π10*, cf. *Pl. R.* 363d *ἀρείων* *orac.* *vi* (Paus. 8. 7. 8) 287 *τοι* *ol\** : γὰρ  
*X. Max.* ostr. *Aristid.-Quint.*, cod. unus *Plut.* : om. *Pl.* *λλαδων* ostr.  
288 *λείη* *X. Pl.* (et *Lg.* 718e) *Aristid.-Quint.* *ψ3* *st* (cste *Livadara*) : *όλίγη* *Π13* *Proi.*  
289 *θεός* . . . *έθηκεν* *Philo* (ct 290 *αδύνατος* ; at *θεός* . . . -εν -oi cod. H) *Io-Sic.*  
290 *τε* *κα* *Argum.* 'Isoc.' οἶμος *CD* φψ13 + : οἶμος *Gree* φ\* *es* *Π13* (ενε) *CD* φ\*  
*ψ\** : ἐπ' *N* *φ5* + *ψ5* *Mo* *Tr* *Argum.* 'Isoc.' sch. *Aph.* *vi* 291 *ἐκπαυ* *Π6* *Proi.* :  
*ἐκπαυ* *ψ2* *φ3* *X.* *vi* *Pl.* *Philo* *Argum.* 'Isoc.' sch. *Aph.* *vi* 292 *δ' ἡπείρα* ο (*δὴ* *ἐπείρα* *ω2*)  
*π* *έλει* *Π11* *ol\** : *φέρων* *Pl.* 293 *οἶτος* *Π11* *ol\** : *κεῖνος* *Aristid.* *Clem.* *Olymp.*  
*Stob.* 1. variant *Zenonius testes* *μετ' υ* *Π11* *ol\** : γὰρ *Olymp.* *αὐτός* *Π6* *Π43* *ψ12*  
*Arist.* *Heliod.* *Olymp.* *Stob.* *vi* : *αὐτῶν* *Π13* *φ3* *CD* φψ1\* : variant *Zenonius testes*  
*νοήσει* *ol\** : *νοήτῃ* *Π5* *Π43* *Arist.* *Heliod.* *Clem.* *Stob.* *vi* sch.-*Hom.* sch.-*S.*

ἄλλον πημονήν προσιζάνει; Hdt. 7. 16β. 2 ἐνύπνια γὰρ τὰ ἐς αὐθρόους πεπλανημένα.

101. Cf. *Od.* 20. 355 ἐδῶλάν δὲ πλέον ποσούρου, πλεῖη δὲ καὶ ἀλγή. 102. νοῦσοι: following up κακά, as in 91 f. The idea of countless Nisbet-Hubbard on *Hor. C.* 1. 3. 31.

ἐφ' ἡμέρη, αἱ δ' ἐπὶ νυκτί: cf. *Alc.* 72. 4-5 εἴπ' ἀμέραι | καὶ νύκτι. For the absence of αἱ μὲν cf. *Il.* 7. 420 ὀρνύοντο νέκυσ τ' ἀγέμεν, ἔρεοι κακῶν, ἔρεος δὲ τ' ἔδων; later examples in Willamowitz's note on *E. HF* 635; Kühner-Gerth, ii. 265 Anm. 4; Denniston, p. 166. Sometimes the first member expresses what is mainly the case, and the second is something of an afterthought, but in other places both have equal weight. So here: day and night, like earth and sea in 101, make a comprehensive 'polar' expression (*Th.* 197 n., cf. 667; *Od.* 2. 345, *al.*, νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμῆρας; *Sem.* 7. 47 πρὸνὺς πορφυρά).

103. αὐτόματα: the ending is supported by 118, *Il.* 5. 749 = 8. 393. (-τοι has intruded in some manuscripts in *Il.* 5.)

κακά θνητοῖσι φέρουσαι corresponds to αἱ τ' ἀνδράσι κήρας ἔδωκαν in 92.

104. Sch. vet. defends the line against someone's athethesis. The defence is that the diseases are personified, like Eris and Deimos in Homer, so presumably the athethesis was on the ground of absurdity. σνγῆ: cf. *A. Eum.* 935-7 σνγῶν ὀλέθρος καὶ μέγα φωνοῦν' ἐχθραῖς ὀργαῖς ἀμαθίαι. With Dike and the Watchers in 223, 225 it is their invisibility that is stressed (though we have a silent Dike in *Sol.* 4. 15, *Trag.* adesp. 486, 493). There is no sound-proofing material to correspond to their envelopes of ἀήρ; silence has to be accounted for by the removal of a voice. By Zeus, of course. The diseases, though αὐτόματα, are part of his will, because whatever happens must be. Πολύφημος' companions admonish him: εἰ μὲν δὴ μὴ τίς σε βιάζεται ὁλον εἶντα, | νοῦσόν γ' οὐ πως ἔστι Διὸς μεγάλου ἀλέασθαι (*Od.* 9. 410 f. influenced by *Op.* 102-5?).

105. To close the section Hesiod repeats the moral which he drew from the Prometheus story in *Th.* 613, ὥς οὐκ ἔστι Διὸς κλέψαι νόον οὕτως: 'so we see the principle confirmed'.

οὕτως οὐ πάρεσσι θεοὶ χαρίεντα δίδουσιν; Similarly *Od.* 8. 167 ἦν φλόηρον ἄλλο πάσης; perhaps *S.* fr. 682; with *ws*, *Th.* 1.c., *Od.* 9. 34. αὐτὶ πη ἔστι: cf. *h.* 1. 18, 7. 58. See also *Th.* 613 nn.

106-201. The Myth of Ages. Hesiod knows another story about man's passage from an original paradise-state to his present misery, and he determines to put this too into his poem. He presents it simply as ἔρεος λόγος and does not attempt to reconcile it with the Prometheus-Pandora myth, with which it is in fact incompatible (cf. J.

Fontenrose, *CPH* 69, 1974, 2). It leads him away from the work theme which took him into the Prometheus myth; see p. 49.

The story is that there have been five distinct γένη of men, races or species, successive in time. First was the Golden race who lived under Kronos, free from all hardship, and physically unaffected by age. Although they no longer live on earth, they continue to exist as beneficent daimones who protect men and bring them prosperity. Second came the Silver race, who were inferior to the Golden both physically and morally. It took them a hundred years to reach manhood, but the rest of their life was short, marred by hybris towards each other and neglect of the gods. They too are honoured in death, but less than the daimones. Third came the Bronze race, sturdy and violent men who used bronze for everything because there was no iron at that time. Some scholars have doubted whether the Bronze men were conceived to be inferior to the Silver, but this is certainly implied by their fate after death: they dwell in Hades, nameless and unsung. However, the decline is interrupted by the fourth race, which is named after no metal. These are the heroes who fought at Thebes and Troy, a more noble and righteous race than the one of bronze, and they live on happily in the Isles of the Blest. But now finally we have the Iron race, the worst of all, plagued by hardship, destined to lose all respect for what is right and decent, and to come to a time when children are born with grey hair, whereupon the race will be destroyed by Zeus. That completes the story. It has nothing to say of any subsequent age (cf. 175 n.) or of a repetition of the series. For this myth, the history of mankind runs for an appointed term and then ends.

What gives the story its cohesion is in the first instance the series of metals: gold, silver, bronze, iron. This can be understood as a scale of value, though it must be pointed out that iron was quite precious (*Il.* 6. 48, 9. 366, 23. 261, *h. Herm.* 180, etc.), and Hesiod makes the metals stand for other things too. He connects the Bronze race with that distant but not forgotten era when iron was not yet in use and bronze had to be used instead, and so by implication the Iron race is associated with iron-working. (But we must not infer that there was a theory of ages of gold and silver technology preceding the bronze: it is only with the Bronze race that this aspect appears.) Further, σιδήρεον in 176 has definite overtones of sternness and cruelty. See also on 109.

There are three other schematic elements in the myth which tend to integrate the individual races into an organic system. (i) The moral deterioration which advances with each new metal. Only the non-metallic Heroic race is better than its predecessor. (ii) The encroachment of old age upon youthful beauty. This motif appears in a rather fragmented and obscured form. The Golden race show no signs of aging. The Silver race do not age till near the end of their life (which is longer than ours); but Hesiod describes their hundred-year defiance of time in terms of mere childishness, not as anything desirable.

Nothing is said about the onset of aging in the next two races, but at the end of the fifth the process is complete: youth has disappeared altogether, and the marks of old age are present from birth. (iii) The progressively less glorious afterlives. Again the Heroes break the sequence, in accordance with their merits.

It has long been recognized that the Heroes have been inserted (whether by Hesiod or a predecessor) into a system of four metallic races, each worse than the one before. Greek traditions about men of the past were almost wholly concerned with those who fought at Thebes and Troy and with people linked to them by a network of genealogies. They had to be accommodated in any survey of man's past. The position they occupy in Hesiod follows from the view that they were the people who preceded us (160), coupled with an unwillingness to identify them with the Bronze race—perhaps because the epics showed them as users of iron. In the *Catalogue of Women* it is quite different. There is no scheme of metal races. The heroes' world resembles that of Hesiod's Golden men (fr. 1. 6-13). Its end comes, as in Hesiod, with the Trojan War and removal to a happier place, but is apparently accompanied by a climatic change (fr. 204. 95-140). Cf. *CQ* 11, 1961, 133-6.

The account of the Bronze race may also contain elements derived from other traditions. Before the brave but basically civilized age of the heroes, certain legends tell of still mightier figures, grim and rough figures like the Lapiths who fought with Centaurs (*Il.* 1. 267 f. *κάρπιοι, μὲν ἔσαν καὶ καρτίστοις ἐμάχοντο, | φησὶν ὁρεσκόμοιοι, καὶ ἐκράνλωσ ἀπόλεσαν*). Heracles and Eurytus who strove with the gods (*Il.* 5. 636 ff., *Od.* 8. 223 ff.), Otus and Ephialtes who put Pelion on Ossa (*Od.* 11. 308 ff.), Orion the great hunter. In *Th.* 50 and 185, Hesiod refers to the mighty, bellicose Gigantes, whose lineage is somehow connected with that of men, and who were born together with the Meliai nymphs at the beginning of Kronos' reign. In his Bronze men who are born *ἐκ μελῶν*, sch. vet. sees the Gigantes; and, indeed, all that Hesiod says about them seems appropriate to those violent valiants. So the last three of his five ages correspond fairly well with the general Greek idea of history (F. Bamberger, *Rh. Mus.* 1, 1842, 527-9 = *Hesiod*, ed. Heitsch, pp. 442-4). It is not so with the first two. The Silver race has no counterpart in legend: the description of it is constructed from the schematic elements given by the system. The Golden race has features in common with the first men in other paradise myths (90-2; 111 n.), but these myths are self-contained and do not belong in a series with the 'Gigantic' and Heroic ages.

When we subtract from Hesiod's narrative all that seems to have been put in to do justice to 'folk memory', we are left with the doctrine of four metallic races, each of which is more sinful than its predecessor and quicker to age. The account of the last race is largely cast in the form of a prophecy. This scheme has striking oriental parallels.

1. In two lost books of the Avesta a vision was described in which Ahura Mazdāh revealed the future to Zoroaster. In the version of the

*Sūdgar* or *Sūdgar Nask*, paraphrased in the Pahlavi *Dēnkart* 9. 8 and *Bahman Yāst* 1. 2-5, the prophet sees a tree with four branches, one of gold, one of silver, one of steel, and one of iron alloy, and the god explains to him that these are the four successive ages into which the thousand years of Zoroastrianism will fall. The first is that in which Zoroaster talks directly to his god; in the last, religion is weak and every kind of wickedness rife, the earth's fertility is reduced, and men are smaller. The Pahlavi sources identify the silver and steel ages with particular historical epochs, but do not make the same identifications—the *Bahman Yāst* displays a later historical standpoint than the *Dēnkart*—so that this does not seem to be an integral part of the Avestan account. The other Avestan version was that of the *Vohimān Yāst*, reported in *Bahman Yāst* 2. 14-22. Here there are seven branches of different metals and seven periods. The tree is identified with the world.—The texts are translated and discussed in E. W. West, *Pahlavi Texts*, i. 191 ff. with introduction pp. 1 ff., iv. 180 f. (*Sacred Books of the East*, ed. F. Max Müller, v and xxxvii); N. Söderblom in Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, i. 206 f., 209. The parallel with Hesiod was drawn by R. Reitzenstein, *Vorträge d. Bibl. Warburg* 4, 1924/5, 3 ff. = *Hesiod*, ed. Heitsch, pp. 525 ff., and developed by him in *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus* (1926, with H. H. Schaeder), pp. 45-68.

2. In the Book of Daniel 2: 31 ff., Nebuchadnezzar dreams of a large statue with a head of gold, breast and arms of silver, belly and thighs of brass, legs of iron, and feet of iron mixed with clay. Daniel explains to him that the various parts represent five successive world kingdoms, the first (that of gold) being his, the others inferior to it. After the fifth kingdom God will set up a new one which will last for ever.

This is closely related to the Zoroastrian myth. In each case the course of future ages is revealed in a symbolic dream vision which is then interpreted to the man who has seen it. In each case the ages are represented by a sequence of metals from gold to iron, linked together as members of one organism, a world-tree in one case,<sup>1</sup> a great statue in the other. The statue may also represent the world.<sup>2</sup> Daniel was written about 166 B.C., which gives a more definite *terminus ante quem* for the myth than the Persian evidence. The author is writing about the Babylonian and Persian empires, and is likely to have got the story from a Babylonian or Persian source;<sup>3</sup> it is almost certainly not of Jewish origin. However, it is not of Zoroastrian origin either, for Zoroastrianism has a well-established chronological system of its own, upon which the metal ages are superimposed (Söderblom, p. 209).

3. In Indian literature, but not early, we find the doctrine of four world ages (*yugas*) named after the throws of the die, Four, Three, Two,

<sup>1</sup> Of the 'Tree of Destinies' type. See my *Early Greek Philosophy and the Orient*, pp. 56 f.

<sup>2</sup> Reitzenstein (1924/5), p. 2/526 f.; cf. *Early Greek Philosophy* . . . , p. 218.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. E. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, ii. 189-91.

and One. Their length decreases in these proportions, and so does righteousness; evil and disease progressively increase. Men grow smaller in stature, and their life-span contracts until finally they beget children at the age of ten and are grey-haired at sixteen. The cycle repeats itself indefinitely, and is generally treated as a unit in even vaster cycles, but there is reason to believe that it originally comprised the whole existence of the world. There is no metal symbolism, but Vishnu takes on different colours in the four ages—white, red, yellow, black—corresponding to the different castes. In one account the description of the last age, after beginning in the present tense, quickly slips into the future and becomes a prophecy, just as in Hesiod.

The theory is set out in detail in the *Laus of Manu* and the *Mahābhārata*, and alluded to here and there in the Upanishads, but absent from the Vedas and Brāhmaṇas. This means that its appearance can be dated (very roughly) to the period 500–100 B.C. It may have come to India from the west, like a number of other striking doctrines of post-Vedic theology (the self-fertilizing creator Time, metempsychosis, etc.; see *Early Greek Philosophy and the Orient*).—For the texts and discussion see R. Roth, *Tübinger Universitätschriften*, 1860, 21 ff. = *Hesiod*, ed. Heitsch, pp. 460 ff.; F. Jacobi in Hastings, op. cit. i. 200–2; A. Olrik, *Ragnarök*, pp. 385 ff.; Reitzenstein, opp. cit.; P.-E. Dumont in A. O. Lovejoy and G. Boas, *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity* (Baltimore, 1935), pp. 433–43. Some interesting survivals in Asiatic mythology (Mongol, Tartar) are described by Olrik, p. 389.

4. The Sumerians and Babylonians, too, believed in the progressive shortening of man's life. This can be seen from their king-lists. The antediluvian kings reign for periods ranging from 10,800 to 72,000 years, and the great destruction of the Flood marks this off as a distinct historical age. The kings of the first dynasties after the Flood have much shorter reigns, but still of up to 1,200 years. We see a reflection of this mythological system in Genesis (130 n.), as well as the idea that the earth was peopled in antediluvian times by giants, the offspring of gods and mortal women, and the idea that the first humans lived in paradise conditions, free from evil.—T. Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List* (Chicago, 1939).

Thus in the orient, while we do not find a system that combines all the features of Hesiod's system of metallic ages, we find parallels for each of those features, and sometimes for several of them together, which go beyond coincidence. A historical connection of some kind must be assumed. That the myth originated in Greece is improbable. It is true that Hesiod is centuries earlier than the oriental sources that tell of metals or of four ages. But the scheme appears quite alien to the general Greek view of the past as reflected in the whole corpus of epic and genealogical poetry. According to this general view, there was indeed a time of heroes stronger (but not longer-lived or more righteous) than ourselves, and perhaps even stronger ones before that. This age was not, however, demarcated from the times that preceded and followed it. The heroes' descendants live on as our kings. They

were themselves descended not from a Golden race but from local nymphs or autochthonous progenitors like Pelagus. This common mythology has, as we saw, been pressed into combination with the scheme of ages, but in a manner that leaves the separate origin of the latter distinct. Its very formalism is un-Greek.

Mesopotamia is a likelier place of origin. It was well situated to disseminate ideas to the Persians, the Indians, the Jews, and the Greeks, and we know that it did. Greece's oriental contacts in the eighth century were primarily Semitic; and the eighth century is the most probable time for the myth to have come, since it cannot be put back before the Greek Iron Age. Nineveh-Karkemish-Posideion-Chalcis-Boeotia would be a plausible enough route. But we must be content with plausibility.

Hesiod was the sole source of the myth for later Greek and Roman writers. This is not the place to go into the uses they made of it: how Plato and other philosophers adapted it to their own purposes; how the attempt to historicize it by incorporating the Heroic Age was abandoned in favour of the strictly regular mythical scheme; how the Romans made the Golden (etc.) race into a Golden time or age (*tempus, saecula, aetas*); and how this Golden age became a cliché of imperial panegyric, its return being recognized in the reigns of sixteen different emperors. These matters may best be pursued through the work of Gatz mentioned below.

*Select bibliography.* F. Bamberger, *Rh. Mus.* 1, 1842, 524–34 = *Opusc. Philol.* 93–61 = *Hesiod*, ed. Heitsch, 439–49; E. Rohde, *Psyche*, 10th edn., i. 91–110 = 67–79 of the English edn.; E. Meyer, *Genehliakon* (Festschrift für C. Robert, 1910), 157 ff. = *Kl. Schr.* ii. 15–66 = *Hesiod*, ed. Heitsch, 471–522; Reitzenstein, works cited above; R. Eisler, *Revue de synthèse historique* 41, 1926, 15–17, and *Isis* 40, 1949, 108–12 (ingenious use of oriental lore which I have not followed but would not wish forgotten); Lovejoy and Boas, op. cit., chapter 2; Julia Kerschensteiner, *Platon und der Orient* (1945), 161–79; H. C. Baldry, *CQ* 2, 1952, 83–92; J. Gwyn Griffiths, *Journal of the History of Ideas* 17, 1956, 109–19; A. Murgeler, *Hesiod. Die Lehre von den fünf Weltalter* (Düsseldorf, 1958); B. Gatz, *Weltalter, goldene Zeit und sinuervandale Vorstellungen* (*Spudasmata* 16, 1967); F. Lämmli, *Homio Faber* (1968), 18 ff.; A. W. H. Adkins, *From the Many to the One* (London, 1970), 50–6; E. R. Dodds, *The Ancient Concept of Progress* (Oxford, 1973), chapter 1; J. Fontenrose, *CPh* 69, 1974, 1–16.

106–7: cf. *Il.* 1. 297 (etc.) ἄλλο δὲ τοῦ ἐρέω, αὐτὸ δ' ἐνὶ φρεσὶ βάλλεω σφισιν; Xenoph. B 7 γὰρ αὐτ' ἄλλον ἐπιμυ λόγον.

εἰ δ' ἔθελαι: cf. *Il.* 6. 159; 20. 213, where Aeneas passes from speaking of his semi-divine parentage to his earlier ancestry, εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις καὶ ταῦτα δαήμεναι κτλ. Sinclair quotes a parallel from a modern Greek poem.

λόγον: the earliest example of the word in the singular. Hesiod presents the story not as an absolute truth but as something that people tell, worth serious attention. Cf. Sim. 579 ἔσσι τις λόγος τὰν ἡρετὰν

ναίεν δυσαιμιάτους ἐπὶ πέτρας; E. fr. 484. 1 κοῦκ ἐμός ὁ μῦθος, ἀλλ' ἐμῆς μητρος πάρα, | ὥς...; Pl. *Phd.* 110b εἰ γὰρ διὰ καὶ μῦθος λέγεται καλόν, ἀξίον ἀκούσαι... λέγεται τοῦτον...; *Gorg.* 523a, *Tim.* 20d. It is common to define the status of a story in advance by saying 'Now I will tell you a story' (or 'a true story'). Cf. 202.

ἐκκορυφώσω: the 'head' of a story is what completes it and gives it organic unity and meaning. Pl. *Tim.* 69b καὶ τελευτήν ἥδη κεφαλὴν τῇ μύθῳ περὶ μέλα ἀρμόττουσαν ἐπιθεῖναι τοῖς πρόσθεν, *Phil.* 66d, *Phdr.* 264c, *Gorg.* 505c, *Lg.* 752a; *Crat.* 415a ἐρχομαι γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν κορυφὴν ὧν εἴρηκα; *Plut. sol. anim.* 975a ἵνα δὲ κορυφῇ ὁ λόγος ἐπιθεῖς ἐαυτῷ παύσῃται... Hence Hp. *Morb.* 4. 48 οὕτω δέ μοι ὁ λόγος πᾶς ἐκκορυφώσεται; A. *Chlo.* 528 καὶ ποὶ τελευτῇ καὶ κορυφαῖοι λόγοι; Sometimes it is the 'essential sense' of the whole, not just the conclusion: Emp. B 24 κορυφαῖς ἐτέρας ἐτέρησι προσάπτειν | μύθων, μήτε λέγειν ἀτραπὸν μίαν (of a sequence of dissimilar arguments); *Pind.* *O.* 7. 69 τελευτήθεν δὲ λόγων κορυφαὶ ἐν ἀλαθείᾳ πεσοῦσαι; P. 3. 80, *Pae.* 8a. 13; in P. 4. 116 κεφάλαια λόγων, which becomes the standard prose word for 'main points'. In *Hdt.* 5. 73. 2, Artaphrenes' blunt, pithy answer to the Athenian delegation is introduced by the expression ἀπεκορυφούσθι τῷδε. Hesiod presumably means something similar: 'state summarily'. ἀνακεφαλαιώσωμαι is one of three interpretations offered by sch. vet. / *El.* *Magn.*

ἐπισταμένους: of the telling of a story 'like a singer', *Od.* 11. 368. 108. ὁμοθέν: properly of blood-relationship, as *h. Aphr.* 135 κασιγνήτοι οἱ τοι ὁμόθεν γεγάασιν, S. *El.* 156, E. *Or.* 486, *al.*; cf. *Il.* 4. 58 (Hera to Zeus) καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ θεός εἰμι, γένος δέ μοι ἔσθην ὅθεν σοί. But, although gods and men have common parents in Earth (*Pind.* *N.* 6. 1 ff.) and Sky (in Hesiod Uranos, but originally Zeus, *πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε*), this is not relevant to the myth of Ages. Hesiod means here that they started on the same terms. The first men lived like the gods (112), they were ἀγγέλιοι, like the Phaeacians (*Od.* 5. 35, 7. 201-6); Dicaearchus spoke of them as ἐγγυς θεῶν γεγονότες (fr. 49 W. *ap.* *Porph. abst.* 4. 2). This aspect of the myth is picked out as the heading because this is the link with the Prometheus story. See p. 49. 109. χρῦσεον: on the contraction of -eos in such words see Volkmar Schmidt, *Sprachl. Untersuchungen zu Herondas*, p. 42. It is possible to take it predicatively, 'out of gold', as *Sem.* 7. 21 τῇ δὲ πλάσασαυτος γῆνιν, etc. (Headlam on *Herondas* 4. 65). But 144 f. and 176 show that Hesiod does not conceive the metals as the physical substance of the races. They are more symbolic. Gold is the metal of the gods, not only rare and precious but spotless and incorruptible. Eating it can make one unaging, according to a Chinese treatise on alchemy of A.D. 142 (A. Waley, *Notes on Chinese Alchemy*, p. 11). In Greek we find it standing for moral sincerity: *Thgn.* 449 ff. εὐφροσύνη δέ με πᾶσιν ἐπ' ἐργμασιν ὡππερ ἀπέφθον | χρυσόν, ἐρυσθρον ἰδὲν τριβόμενον βασιάνῳ, | τοῦ χροῆς καθύπερθε μέλας οὐχ ἄπτεται ἰός | οὐδ' εὐρύς, and 417 f.; *Call.* fr. 75. 30. In the fourth century, χρυσεὺς comes to mean 'ingenuous', charmingly but inappositely innocent: Pl. *Phdr.* 235c, *Men.* D. 675.

(The use is imitated by Lucian 64. 1, *Alciph.* 2. 14. 2, 3. 33. 1.) In the Hebrew prophets, the moral impurities of nations are symbolized by base metals alloyed with precious ones, which the Lord will refine: *Isa.* 1: 25, *Jerem.* 6: 27-30, *Ezek.* 22: 17-23, *Malachi* 3: 3. *Yévos*: cf. *Th.* 21 n.

110. ἀθάνατοι: 111 implies that these are the Titans, who perhaps ought not to be called 'Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες', see on *Th.* 391 and 632. But the phrase is formulaic; and Hesiod is liable to oversights in such matters, cf. 18 n.

111-20. The quotation of these lines by *Diod.* 5. 66. 6 diverges considerably from the text of the manuscripts and other quotations. (I disregard the late manuscripts of D., which have been affected by cross-contamination with the Hesiodic tradition.) Most of the differences look like faults of memory: 112-13 contaminated with 90-2, 116 with 37; 113 μέλας, 115 εἰόντες, 118 ἐπὶ γαῖῃ. One might be a genuine survival (115 εὐφροσύνη). The extra line, 120, may come from a 'wild' text of the sort that (to judge from Homeric papyri) was probably common before the time of Aristarchus. *Diodorus* may have copied the quotation from one of the earlier Hellenistic historians of Crete whom he is following in the section in question (5. 66. 1, 80. 4). Cf. *Stephanie West, The Ptolemaic Papyri of Homer*, p. 15, on eccentric quotations from *Homer* in *Strabo* and others.

111. ἐπὶ Κρόνου: the myth of a happy, easy life in the reign of Kronos existed independently of the Ages myth, and was more firmly rooted in the popular imagination; see Baldry's article cited in the introduction to this section. It had to do with the Kronia festival (*Th.* 137 n.), when masters and slaves feasted together in the pleasant idle period after harvest. τὸ λεγόμενον may have been, 'we enjoy this feast and this leisure as a legacy from the time when Kronos ruled all the year round instead of just at this one season'. Hesiod combines the two myths. Only the Golden race can be put under Kronos: Zeus is in charge of the others (138, 143, etc.), and of the Golden race's fate after death (122 codd.).

δῖ' οὐρανῷ ἐμβασιλεύειν: cf. *Th.* 71.

112. ὥστε θεοὶ δ': 45 n.

ἀκήδεα θυμὸν ἔχοντες: 170, *Th.* 61.

113. νόσφι ἄνερ: 91 n.

τῆ: 254 n.

πόνου καὶ οὐζύος: *Sc.* 351, cf. *Il.* 13. 2, 14. 480, *Od.* 8. 529. The parallels confirm πόνου as against πόνων, which can be accounted for by the influence of the similar line 91 (*E. Livrea, Helikon* 6, 1966, 237). Contamination with that passage has gone much further in *Diodorus*, quotation, making two lines out of one.

οὐδέ τι: often in this position in the verse, with the τὶ hardly more than a metrical stopgap, cf. 146, 177, 182, 649 (οὐρε), *Th.* 102, 386 (τῆς), *Il.* 1. 115, 3. 45 (τῆς), 20. 345, 22. 243, *Od.* 11. 393, 463.

114. Exemption from the horrors of old age seems to be a feature of the happy time described in the poem of the *Catalogue*, fr. 1. 8-13;