

cf. fr. 356. Similarly in the reign of Yima in Iranian myth: 'There was neither heat nor cold, neither old age nor death, nor disease created by the *daēvas*. Father and son walked together, each looking but fifteen years of age, or so did they appear' (*Yasna* 9. 4-5, *ap.* Zaehner, *The Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism*, p. 93).

πόδας καὶ χεῖρας: feet and hands are mentioned in connection with the effects of age in *Od.* 11. 497, 19. 359. In the latter place it is their appearance that is in question, not strength and speed, and this is also what suits the *θαλάττα* here.

115. πέτρων: ἐν θαλήτῃσι: cf. *Th.* 65 n.

κακὸν ἔκτροθεν ἀπάντων: *Thgn.* 1121, cf. *Th.* 813, *Od.* 4. 221. (*Diodorus*) εὐντες, though less forceful, is not unformulaic, cf. *Th.* 752, *Od.* 14. 194, *h. Dem.* 342.) ἔκτροθεν implies 'beyond the realm of'.

116. Gentle death, uncomplicated by disease, is also a feature of the utopian account of the 'island' of Syria in *Od.* 15. 403-11.

ὡσθ' ὕπνῳ δεδιμμένοι: in *Od.* 18. 201 f. Penelope, waking from a sleep caused by Athene, says ἡ με μάλ' αἰωνοπαθὴ μάλακόν περὶ κῶμ' ἐκάλυψεν | αἰθε μοι ὡς μάλακόν θάνατον πέροι Ἀργεμύς ἀγρή. Another deep sweet sleep in 13. 80 is likened to death. In [*Hes.*] fr. 204. 138 the *κῆλη Διὸς* perhaps disable the sloughing snake *φῆ λυ[συμελὴς] γλυκὺς ὕπνος*, while in fr. 278 the aged Calchas, defeated in competition by Mopsus, is overcome by 'the sleep of death'. The chorus of the *Agamemnon* yearn for a swift, pain-free, un-bedridden 'endless sleep' (1451). Even when it comes violently, death is a sleep (*Il.* 11. 241), and Death and Sleep are brothers (*Th.* 756 n.): they transport the slain Sarpedon to Lycia (*Il.* 16. 454-7, 671-83). But Sleep's participation marks the hero's fate as a kindly one.

ἑσθλά: everything needed for prosperity. Cf. 119, *h. Dem.* 225, *h.* 30. 10, *Thgn.* 4, *Sol.* 33. 2, *Sapph.* 141. 8.

117. ἔφερε ζειδωρος ἄρουρα: cf. 173, 237, *Od.* 4. 229, 9. 357.

118. ἀφθονον: not in *Il.* or *Od.* The combination with *πολὸς* recurs in prose: *Hdt.* 7. 83. 2 *χρυσὸν τε πολλὸν καὶ ἀφθονον*, *X. Anab.* 5. 6. 25, *Pl. Ig.* 790a; also in the reverse order, *d. Phil.* 90a, *Aesch.* *Cits.* 203.

ἑθελήμοι: probably 'as they pleased', casually and unforcedly. *Emp.* 35. 5 f. *τάδε πάντα συνέργεται ἐν μόνον εἶναι, | οὐκ ἄφαρ, ἀλλὰ θελήμῃ συνιστάμεν* ἀλλοθεν ἄλλα. Thescus in Bacchylides dives into the sea, *πόντιόν τέ νιν δέξατο θελήμῃν ἄλσος* (17. 84 f.). Similarly *θελεμὸς* of the streams of the Argolid, *A. Supp.* 1027. *A.R.* 2. 656 echoes *Hesiod*: οὐδέ οἱ ὕβρις | ἥρδανεν, ἀλλ' ἑθελήμῃς ἐφ' ἔδεαι πατρός εἶο | μητρὶ συναΐσκειν ἐπάκτια πῶεα φέββων. *Call. H.* 3. 31, however, took the word to mean *πρόθυμος*, and so *Hesych.*

119. ἥσυχοι: the word is not Homeric (though *ἡσυχύος* occurs once). It appears in *Th.* 763, where, however, I have suggested that it might be an intrusive gloss. The same is possible here in view of *Sada ἑθελήμῃς ἥσυχος* (*Phot. θέλημος*) and *Diodorus'* variant *εἴθρονες*. But *Diodorus* is unreliable, *Porphyrus* (*Dicaearchus*?) and *sch.* vet. already read *ἥσυχοι*, and this reading may as well be the source as the product of

the interpretation *ἑθελήμῃς ἥσυχος*. There is a general similarity to *Od.* 11. 184 f. ἀλλὰ ἔκρηλος | Τηλέμαχος τέμνεα νέμεται.

ἐργ' ἐνέμνοντο: 'lived off their fields', as in 231, *Il.* 2. 751. But *ἔργα*, with its connotation of tillage, is not altogether apt. *Aratus'* Golden race use oxen and ploughs (112), but for *Hesiod's* the earth provides *ἀβρογάρη*. So *Ov. M.* 1. 101-10, 123-4.

120. The verse appears only in *Diodorus*, though there is a possible echo of it in *Or. Sib.* 1. 72 f. (*Rzach, Wien. St.* 34. 1912, 115). *Dicaearchus* ignored it in his rationalistic reinterpretation of the myth (fr. 49 *W. ap.* *Porph. abst.* 4. 2), although he quoted 116-19: his Golden race does not keep animals, and has no wealth. A line so poorly attested is unlikely to be genuine, but it has a Hesiodic enough appearance (cf. 234, 308-9; fr. 23(a). 32-3, 240. 2/6), and may be more than a figment of *Diodorus'* or his source's memory. It may have stood in a 'wild' text (see above on 111-20), perhaps borrowed from a similar passage in the *Catalogue* or some other poem.

ἄφνειοι, μῆλ' οἰσι: cf. fr. 240. 2, *Theoc.* 25. 119. Dative with *ἀφνειός* also *Thgn.* 559, *Theoc.* 24. 108, *Maneth.* 3 (2). 74. The genitive is more usual. Cf. *LSJ* *πλούσιος* I. 2-3.

φίλοι μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν: cf. fr. 25. 38, 30. 24, 136. 19, 176. 4, 185. 7, 211. 3. *Od.* 6. 203, etc.

121-6. *Hesiod* identifies two of the four past races with objects of current popular respect: the Golden race with daemons who walk the earth and concern themselves with men's fortune, the Silver with the occupants of certain venerated graves. The identifications did not catch on.

121. γαῖα: some have approved *Plato's* μοῖρα, on the ground that these people did not go below the earth but remain on it (*Blass, Rh. Mus.* 6a, 1907, 267; *Meyer; Wilamowitz*). But their bodies were buried. *Plato* is quoting from memory; and it is hard to see why, if *Hesiod* wrote μοῖρα here, he did not write it again in 140 and 156. *Homer* wrote κατὰ γαῖα καλύπτει (-ει), *Il.* 6. 464; 14. 114; θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κάλυψεν is a v.l. for κεύθεαι in 17. 478 and 672; *A. Pers.* 917 has θανάτου κατὰ μοῖρα καλύβα.

122-3. *Plato's* version runs οἱ μὲν δαίμονες ἄγνοοι ἐπιχθόνιοι, καλέονται (or τελέθουσιν) | ἐσθλοὶ ἀλέγειακοι. Apart from the οἱ, this is accepted by *Blass, Wilamowitz, Solmsen*, and others. But (i) in a case of such major variation, with one word changing its place, there is a strong presumption in favour of the direct tradition and against the author who is quoting from memory. The divergence is then easy to explain: otherwise it is hard. (ii) ἄγνός is not applied to male deities (or men) before the fifth century. (iii) Διὸς μεγάλου διὰ βουλὰς is a very characteristic *Hesiodic* comment (99 n.). The same phrase in *Th.* 465. (iv) ἐσθλοὶ, ἐπιχθόνιοι corresponds to *Th.* 972 (about *Ploutos*, who there performs the office of these daemons) ἐσθλόν, ὃς εἶσ' ἐπὶ γῆν τε καὶ εὐρέα νότα θαλάσσης.

Plato started going wrong by adding ἄγνοοι after δαίμονες, continued by taking ἐπιχθόνιοι out of order from 123, and finished the line with

καλέονται from 141 (*Cratylus*) or τελέθουσιν (*Republic*, where καλέονται would not have served his purpose). He may in part have been influenced by passages such as *A. Pers.* 628 χθόνιοι δαίμονες ἄγνοί, or *Pind.* fr. 133. 5 ἥρωες ἄγνοί... καλέονται (which he quotes in the *Menon*). In the next line, supplementing ἐπιχθόνιοι υ υ υ - | ἐσθλοί *Μερό*). he may have been influenced by Panyas. 12. 12 f. οἶνος γὰρ πύριτον ἐπιχθονίων δνειαρ, | ἐσθλὸν ἀλέξιακον, or another place where the same word-pattern occurred. Plutarch's (and Macrobius'?) ἀγνοί ἐπιχθόνιοι in 123 represents a contamination of Plato's version with that of the book tradition.—For detailed discussions see W. Ferrari, *SIFC* 16, 1939, 229-48 (for Plato's version); M. van der Valk, *Researches on the Text and Scholia of the Iliad* ii. 290-303 (against) τοί μὲν: *Th.* 289 n.

δαίμονες: the word is used in poetry as a synonym for θεοί, but particularly (in the singular) for the divine agent responsible for a man's good or ill fortune at any given time. It derives from δαίμας: the divider, the one who gives out shares. The examples in LSJ s.v. I. 2 may serve to illustrate the idea; see further Wilamowitz, *Glauke d. Hell.* i. 356-63; Nilsson, *Gr. Rel.* i. 217-22. The singular is normal not because there was felt to be only one such divine agent, but because the context is normally that of an individual's fortune, or of one shared by a group. There is one god Wealth travelling about the earth (*Th.* 969-74), but fortunes are various, and too personal to be reduced to one denominator. Hence the idea of an indefinite number of potential 'fairy godfathers' roaming about, the counterpart of the evils in 100. It was natural to call them δαίμονες; less so, perhaps, to identify them with a former population of the earth who once enjoyed the prosperity they now bestow. But there was a tendency to honour outstanding men after their deaths by believing them still to possess power for the good or ill of the community, in other words, to be δαίμονες. So of a Spartan king probably in *Alcm.* 5 fr. 2 i 13 (*CQ* 15, 1965, 189); cf. *Th.* 991 (Phaethon), *Thgn.* 1348 (Ganymede), *A. Pers.* 620 (Darius), *al.* Hesiod is conferring this honour on an entire race, whose members lack individual identities. He is bound to equate them with a recognizable class of δαίμονες.

It was not till the fifth century that δαίμων and θεός were explicitly distinguished; but it is doubtful whether Hesiod could have called his spirits θεοί, given their origin and limitations.

Διὸς μεγάλου διὰ βουλὰς: *Th.* 465 n. A feature of the world as it is now is naturally ascribed to Zeus' will, not to Kronos'.

ἐπιχθόνιοι: 'in contrast (not to the *ὑπερχθόνιοι* of l. 141, but) to the θεοὶ ἐπουράνιοι, as Proclus on l. 122 rightly remarks. Thus in Homer we have ἐπιχθόνιοι regularly used as an adjective, or standing alone, as an equivalent of men as distinguished from gods. Then the *ὑπερχθόνιοι* of 141 are brought in to form another and secondary contrast with the ἐπιχθόνιοι.' (Rohde, *Psyche*, i. 97 n. 1 = Eng. 85 n. 37.)

φύλακες: the title ἀνωξ, often applied to gods, seems originally to have meant 'protector' (*Th.* 543 n.), and gods φυλάσσειναι men from

danger from Homer on *iIl.* 5. 809, 15. 461, *Od.* 15. 35, *al.*, *A. Cho.* 1064; φύλαξ *Eum.* 64). In 253 Hesiod repeats the phrase in a different sense, of divine beings who keep watch on men's behaviour; he is copied by *A. Supp.* 381-4. The idea of certain men becoming φύλακες after death is taken up by Heracitus fr. 73, and developed especially by Plato: see F. Solmsen, 'Hesiodic Motifs in Plato', *Hardi Entretiens* vii. 173-96.

θηγῶν ἀνθρώπων: Edwards, p. 66, points out that in Homer this formula is used after a short final vowel (to create a long syllable), and in other circumstances μερόπων ἀνθρώπων. That Plato gives μερόπων in one of his quotations might be taken as evidence of his natural feeling for the epic language, except that (a) he may have been influenced by a memory of μερόπων ἀνθρώπων in 109, 143, (b) Sextus Empiricus and Clement make the same substitution in 253. Hesiod wrote θηγῶν to sharpen the contrast with the gods, see *Th.* 223 n. So also in the other epic breach of the principle, *h. Dem.* 73 ἡὲ θεῶν ἢ καὶ θηγῶν ἀνθρώπων ('one would expect ἡὲ... ἡὲ' (cf. *Dem.* 55, etc.)) Richardson).

124-5 have been interpolated in the manuscripts from 254-5 following the cue of φύλακες θηγῶν ἀνθρώπων. They break the connection between 123 and 126: these spirits are δαίμονες, ἐσθλοί, πλουτοδόται, not a secret police. The immortal watchers of 250 ff. appear in response to the needs of that context, and Hesiod says nothing of their being identical with a class of divine beings that he has described earlier—though he might not have rejected the idea if it had been put to him. Plato may have assumed it (Solmsen, p. 195 n. 2), and Plutarch seems to (*Def. orac.* 431b/e); Proclus denies it (p. 87. 15 ff. *Pert.*).

126. πλουτοδόται: in Hesiod's time 'wealth' was conceived primarily in terms of corn, cf. 21-4, 306 f./312 f.; Ploutos as the child of Demeter (*Th.* 969 n., Richardson on *h. Dem.* 489); Hesych. εὐπλουρον κανόν. ... διὰ τὰς ἐπ' αὐτῷ δαίς. πλουτον γὰρ ἔλεγον τὴν ἐκ τῶν κριθῶν καὶ τῶν πυρῶν περιουσίαν. A sixth-century Locrian vase shows Πλουτοδότας as a god in Demeter's entourage (*Archaeol. classica* 4, 1952, 153 ff.), and the word was applied to Iacchus in a ritual cry at the Lenaia (sch. *Ar. Ran.* 489). So we should probably think of the daemones as responsible for good crops rather than, say, success in business, or (Sittl) the discovery of hidden treasure.

καὶ τοῦτο γέρας βασιλῆιον ἔσχον rounds off the sentence in the same way as *Th.* 348 ταύτην δὲ Διὸς παρά μοῖραν ἔχουσιν; 520 βασιλῆιον can be interpreted in several ways: as a comparison of their offices with those of kings (Plutarch, Proclus, relating the phrase only to πλουτοδόται); as a comparison of their status as daemones with that attributed to dead kings (cf. *Pind.* fr. 133, with Rohde, *Psyche*, ii. 212 n. 1 = Eng. 445 n. 41); or as a grading of γέρας, 'the king's prize', i.e. the biggest, in opposition to the lesser grade in 142.

128. ποιήσαν Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες: repeated from 110. 129. οὔτε πυτὴν ἐναλίγκιον οὔτε νόημα: *Sc.* 88 (-οι), cf. Xenoph.

B 23. 2; a similar word-pattern in *h. Ap.* 351. In *Il.* 1. 115, *Od.* 5. 212, 7. 210, *h. Ap.* 465 we have the formula, 'not like/not inferior to X) οὐ δέμας οὐδὲ φῦνι; also *Il.* 2. 58 (*Nέστορος ἐώικας*) *εἶδος τε μέγας* οὐδὲ φῦνι; *Od.* 6. 152; ib. 16 *ἀθανάτων φῦνι καὶ εἶδος ὁμοίῃ*, [Hes.] fr. 229. 16. For the complementary pair 'physique and mentality' cf. *Il.* 1. 115 οὐ δέμας οὐδὲ φῦνι οὐτ' ἀρ' φρένας οὐτ' ἐπὶ ἔργα, 3. 208, *Od.* 8. 168.

130. In Genesis the first race of men live for up to 969 years (Methuselah); when God decides to destroy them by the Flood, he limits man's life to 120 years (6. 3). Hesiod gives his Silver race a similar life-span, not having specified that of the Golden race. (According to Jos. *Ant.* 1. 108, Hesiod, Hecataeus, and others said that the ancients lived for a thousand years, = fr. dub. 356.) That they remained youthful for nearly all their lives was evidently part of the traditional myth, and originally represented a blessing; Hesiod has lost the sense of this, giving them a long childhood instead of a long ἦβη.

ἔρεα: cf. *Th.* 803 *ἐννέα πᾶντ' ἔρεα*, which goes back to an older *πᾶντα (f)έρεα. The present line suggests that the development was pre-Hesiodic. Homeric examples of neut. pl. -ᾶ are mainly from o-stems, where the length is original (eight instances, including *ἔρεα* 'true'); but there is one case of *ἀνθρωπεία* and two of *ἀνθρωπάδα*.

παρὰ μητέρι κεδνῇ: cf. 520, *Od.* 10. 8, *Pind.* P. 4. 186. Proclus compares Plato's account of how Cyrus left his sons to be brought up by women, after which they grew up foolish and one killed the other (*Lg.* 694c-5e). Sch. vet. notes the logical difficulty of children being reared for a hundred years by mothers who only have a brief adult life.

131. ἀράλλων: playing, being ἀράλος, cf. *Il.* 13. 27, S. *Aj.* 559 (construe *ψυχὴν* with *βόσσκον*); oddly transitive in *Pind.* fr. 214 *γλυκεῖα οἱ καρδίαν ἀράλλουσα*... ἐπιός, 'playing with' (?). Closer to Hesiod is *Hom. epigr.* 4. 2 *νήπιον αἰδοῖς ἐπὶ γούνας μητρὸς ἀράλλων*, only it does not make sense, since, even if ἀ-άλλω could = ἀντάλλω, Zeus could hardly do it to 'Homer'. The whole poem is rather incoherent. (In *h. Herm.* 400 ἡχοὶ δὴ τὰ κρίματα ἀντάλλετο† the verb is correct as it stands; I suggest replacing τὰ κρίματα by κρήνα.)

Hesiod's prosody is unparalleled. Leumann, *Hom. Wörter*, p. 140 η. 107, thinks that he lengthened the first syllable on the analogy of *ἀείδω*. Perhaps a likelier model is *Ἀπόλλων*. The form of a word can be influenced by another of similar sound even when there is no semantic connection; for example the common mis-spelling of *ἀμφικύτων* as *ἀμφικύτων* may be explained by the similarity of *Ἀμφικύτων*. The line is filled out with formulae.

132. ὄτ' ἄρ' ἡβήσαι τε: we do not want ὄτ' ἄν, or ἀνῆβαν, which usually means 'grow young again' (though *Call. H.* 1. 56 has it in the sense required here). ἀλλ' ὄτ' ἄρα is confirmed by fr. 205. 2 = *Il.* 1. 225 *αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥ' ἡβης*... ἵκετο μέτρον. Similarly ἀλλ' ὄτ' ἄν ῥα (*Il.* 1. 493, 4. 210, etc.; with optative, 17. 732). The particle acknowledges that the happening is an expected one.

-σαι is rarer than -σειε in epic (Chantraine, i. 465), and preferable as *difficilior lectio*. -σαι τε possibly receives further slight support from *Od.* 1. 41 ὄππῳ' ἀν' ἡβήῃ τε (-σειε V1) καὶ ἥς ἡμείπεται αἰγῆς.

ἡβης μέτρον 'kouro means no more than ἡβήσαι, cf. *Od.* 11. 317-20; also 4. 668, 18. 217/19. 532, *h. Dem.* 166/221, *Thgn.* 1119, and below, 438. The 'measure' is the ration allotted to us; some are reaching it, some have it, others are past it.

133. παυρίδων: besides the scheme of the myth, which determines that the second race shall be young most of their lives, it may have been a Märchen-motif that someone who postpones old age must pay for it by aging all the faster. So Theopompus related of Epimenides: γηράσαι ἐν ποταύταις ἡμέρας αὐτὸν ὄναπερ ἑτῇ κατεκοιμήθη (D.L. 1. 115, *FGH* 115 F 69).

ῥώσκειον: the plural is awkward after 130-2, but imposed by the frequentative tense that Hesiod is adopting (after 90).

134-9. Critics have been struck, and sometimes misled, by the strong colours in which the Silver race's badness is painted. ὕβρις ἀράσθαλος, impiety: they are hardly better than the Iron race! But Hybris and Dike are for Hesiod absolute alternatives; there is nothing in between. He only says that these people could not refrain from crime, could not maintain perfect righteousness; and their sin against the gods is one of omission rather than commission.

135. θροαπέειν: an un-Homeric use of the word.

136. ἔρδειν: absolute as in *h. Dem.* 369; so with ῥέζω, *Il.* 2. 400, *ad.*

μακάρων ἱεροῖς ἐπὶ βώμοις: *Od.* 3. 273 *θεῶν ἰ. ἐ. β.*

137. ἡ θέμις ἀνθρώποισι κατ' ἥθεα: cf. *Th.* 416 f. ὅτε ποῦ τις... | ἔδων ἱερὰ κατὰ νόμον ἱλάσκηται; fr. 322 (sacrifice) ὥς κε πόλις ῥέζηται νόμος δ' ἀρχαῖος ἀριστεύς. They are comments on the local nature of cult. ἡ, not ἦ, see *Th.* 396 n. Bentley may have been right to restore κατὰ ἥθεα (as *Od.* 14. 411; μετὰ τ' ἥθεα *Il.* 6. 511 = 15. 268), buying a digamma at the cost of admitting a short dative, ἀνθρώποισι (*Th.* 61 n.). In *Il.* 9. 134 it is ἡ θέμις ἀνθρώπων; cf. *h. Ap.* 541.

138. ἔκρυψε: 'put away', removed from the scene. Cf. *Th.* 729 f. *ἔμβα θεοὶ Τηθύης ὑπὸ ζώφω ἡρώεντι* | *κεκρύφαται βουλῇσι Διὸς*; *Il.* 18. 396 f. (Hephaestus thrown from heaven by Hera), ἡ μ' ἐδέλῃσεν | *κρύψας χυλὸν ἔδωτα*; *h. Ap.* 383 (Apollo covering over the stream of Telphusa) ἀπέκρυπεν δὲ πέεθρα.

τιμᾶς: of the honours rendered to gods through sacrifice, *h. Dem.* 353 (cf. 311 f.), A. *Pers.* 622; cf. *Il.* 9. 155 οἱ κε εἰ δωτίνῃσι θεῶν ὥς τιμήσουσι, etc.

139. ἔδιδον: the form appears also in *h. Dem.* 327 (δίδον... δῶρα | *τιμᾶς θ'*; cf. Richardson ad loc.), and Ruhnkenius restored it ib. 437, where however the accent of the manuscript's *εἰδὸς* points to -ων or -ον. It has parallels in *ξύνειν Il.* 1. 273, *ἔειν* (v.l. *ἔει, ἔη*) 12. 33, *μέθειεν Od.* 21. 377 (**οἰ-σε-ν*); *πρόριθεν Od.* 1. 112 Aristarchus. Cf. also the matching aorist *έδων* in *Th.* 30. *έδιδον*, it is true, has perfectly good parallels in Homeric *έδοις, έδοι. έδιδου*, and, in the imperfect,

ἐδδους (*Od.* 19. 367, of sacrifices offered by Odysseus to Zeus); see Chantraine, i. 298 f. But it is also the Koine form, and was therefore likely to encroach on ἐδδον. ἐδδων cannot be ruled out either, but the analogies are remoter (Anna Davies, *Glotta* 42, 1964, 145 n. 1; and 145-7 on the whole problem).

141. Cf. 121-6 n. The Silver men are identified with certain dead who, though respected as if in some way powerful or dangerous, do not walk the earth but are confined to the soil in which they lie. They lack personal identities: had they been identified with particular men of the legendary past, Hesiod would have had to attach them to his fourth race. There were numerous ancient graves which people treated with superstitious veneration without knowing whose they were. An early fifth-century sherd found at Mycenae is inscribed simply τὸ ἥερος ἐμ[ε] (*JG* 4. 495; Jeffery, *Local Scripts*, pp. 173 f.), and there are many other examples of anonymous Heros. See Rohde, *Psyche*, i. 172 ff. = Eng. 126 f.; Wilamowitz, *Glaube d. Hell.* ii. 12; Nilsson, *Gr. Rel.* i. 188. The spread of Ionian heroic poetry in the eighth century did much to stimulate respect for old graves in many parts of Greece and the bringing of offerings to them (J. N. Goldstream, *JHS* 96, 1976, 8-17). Often it was decided that a grave belonged to a particular hero known to tradition, Odysseus or Oedipus or whoever, as easily as Schliemann decided that he had gazed on the face of Agamemnon. Hesiod seems to indicate that this process had not gone far in his time: his grave-folk are anonymous, while his 'epic' heroes are either simply dead and at rest or far off in the Isles of the Blest.

ὑποχθόνιοι: see 122-3 n.

μάκαρες θνητοί: probably not an established appellation, despite καλέονται, but an *ad hoc* definition, partly determined by the opposition to 122-3. Just as ὑποχθόνιοι answers ἐπιχθόνιοι, θνητοί answers δαίμονες. These are not gods. The word also serves to exclude the divine connotation of μάκαρες. They are not the μάκαρες χθόνιοι of A. *Cho.* 476 (= θεοὶ οὐ κατὰ γῆς, 475). They are μάκαρες in the way that specially favoured mortals can be, after death, even without going to the μακάρων νῆσοι (171 n.). In A. *Pers.* 634 μακάριτος ἰσοδαίμων βασιλεύς and E. *Alc.* 1003 μάκαρα δαίμων, it is associated with daimon-status, but very soon afterwards μακαρίτης and μακάριος are being used more generally of respected dead persons (respect being felt especially in the case of those who have died recently). See Rohde, *Psyche*, i. 308 n. 1 = Eng. 246 n. 10.

Some scholars allow μάκαρες its divine sense, and take μ. θνητοί to express a state partaking in both the divine and the mortal. There are certainly parallels for such a mixture, such as the messy attempt to define the condition of the Dioscuri in *Od.* 11. 301-4, τοὺς αἰμῶν ζωὸς κατέγει φυσίζους αἰα' | οἱ καὶ νέρθεν γῆς τιμὴν πρὸς Ζηνὸς ἔχοντες | ἄλλοτε μέν ζώνουσ' ἐφ' ἑρήμεροι, ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε | πεθνῶν τιμὴν δέ λελόγχασι ἴσα θεοῖσιν. Of Rhesus it is foretold: κρυπτός δ' ἐν ἀντροῦ τῆς ὑπαγυρίου χθονός | ἀνθρωποδαίμων κείσεται βλέπων φάος ([E.] *Rhes.*

970 f.). Cf. also Rohde, i. 101 n. 2 = Eng. 86 n. 43; A. Schoele, *Acta Antiqua Acad. Scient. Hung.* 8, 1960, 262.

Peppmüller's *θηητοίς*, adopted by Rzach and Mazon, would be syntactically without parallel in epic (Schoele, p. 257). Hesiod would have said τοὺς μὲν . . . θηητοὶ καλέουσιν.

142. δεότεροι: again in antithesis to the Golden race.

ἀλλ' ἔμπης τιμὴ καὶ τοῖσιν ὀνηθεῖ: cf. *Od.* 11. 302 quoted above. 143. The formula ποίησαν 'Ολύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες is abandoned. Zeus is firmly in charge. For alternation between 'Zeus' and 'the gods' cf. 16 n. γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων is repeated from 109.

144. οὐκ ἀργυρέω οὐδὲν ὁμοῖον: a cramped counterpart of 129. Note the part played by ὁμοῖος in the formulaic phrases cited on that line. On οὐδὲν cf. *Th.* 295 n.

For the correction of contracted -έω cf. 583 (~ *Il.* 3. 152), *Il.* 1. 15 = 374; similarly φάλέω Aracr. *eleg.* 2. 1; χρυσέου *h. Ap.* 185; *Ερμέω h. Aphr.* 148; ἀργαλέη below, 640.

145-6. ἐκ μελῶν: the other word with which Hesiod resorts to the Aeolic/Doric genitive -ᾶν is θεά (*Th.* 41 and 129), where θεῶν would not have brought out their femininity. Likewise with Aeschylus' κορᾶν (fr. 285; trimeter). Cf. *Th.*, pp. 83 f.; *Glotta* 44, 1967, 146 f. If he does it with μελῆαι, it must again be because feminine characterization is important. In other words, he is thinking of the Meliai nymphs, or else of another verse where Μελῆαν was used of them.

They are mentioned in *Th.* 187 as born with the warlike Gigantes, and Hesiod may have considered them the mothers of men. He links the lineage of men with that of the Gigantes in *Th.* 50. There are other traces of a myth that men were born from ash-trees (*Th.* 187 n.), and that is essentially the same as being born from tree-nymphs. *Od.* 19. 162 f. ἐν τῇ τεῶν γένος, ὀππόθεν ἑσσι' | οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ δρυός ἐσσι παλαιφάτου οὐδ' ἀπὸ πέτρης, may allude to a similar account. Cf. also [Hes.] fr. 266(a). 9 (the Pelasgians' mother is the oak), Zonas *epigr.* 7. 6 (*A.P.* 9. 312), Virg. *A.* 8. 315, Stat. *Th.* 4. 276-81, Juv. 6. 12; Roscher's *Lexikon d. gr. u. röm. Mythologie*, v. 500-1. Thus the Bronze race's origin from trees or tree-nymphs identifies them with the first men known to ordinary Greek tradition. See the introduction to 106-201. But Hesiod does not go as far in systematizing mythology in the framework of the Ages as sch. vet., who equates this third race with the Gigantes and the fourth with the descendants of Deucalion and Pyrrha, the two ages being divided by the Flood. Similarly Apollod. 1. 7. 2. Hesiod's third age ends differently.

Ἄρτος ἔργα: Tyrnt. 11. 7 Ἄρτος . . . ἐργ' αἰδῆλα; cf. *Il.* 5. 757; 11. 734, *h. Aphr.* 10; *Il.* 8. 453 πολέμοιο . . . μέριμνα ἔργα; similarly ἔργα ἡφροδίτης = φιλοτήσια ἔργα.

ἔμελε: *Il.* 2. 338 οἷς οὐ τι μέλει πολεμῆια ἔργα, *Od.* 12. 116, *h.* 11. 2; *h. Aphr.* 6 πᾶσαν δ' ἔργα μέριμνεν εὐσεφάνου Κυβερέης.

ὑβριες: it is difficult to decide between this and ὕβριος, which I conjectured in *Philol.* 108, 1964, 161 and which has since appeared in a papyrus. The plural of ὕβρις, meaning 'acts of violence', appears in

Xenoph. B 1. 17 and later (cf. also 255 n.); the phrase "Υβριος ἔργα in Sol. 13. 16. Hesiod wanted to say ὕβρις; cf. 238 οἷς δ' ὕβρις τε μέμηλε . . . καὶ σφέελα ἔργα, *Od.* 12. 116 f. πολέμηια ἔργα μέμηλε | καὶ πόνοιο. The question is whether, to make it into a dactyl, he turned more easily to the plural or to the genitive.

οὐδὲ τι σῖτον | ἦσθλον: another feature appropriate to the *first* civilization, first taught by Demeter to Triptolemus, is basic to like the Cyclopes (*Od.* 9. 107-11, cf. 191) and Laestrygones (10. 98). Both of these peoples will cheerfully eat any men that happen along, but their normal way of life is pastoral, and the Cyclopes, at least, enjoy abundant wild corn and vines. The Bronze men too lived on what grew wild and on meat. We need not follow the sch. vet.'s speculation that they practised cannibalism: if that had been in Hesiod's mind, he would surely have been more explicit. But it does feature in some accounts of primitive times, in contrast to others which postulate original vegetarianism (see Gatz, pp. 165 ff.). Aratus 131 f., following the vegetarian theory, makes the Bronze race the first who ἐχάλκευσαντο μάχαραν | . . . πρώτοι δὲ βόων' ἐπάσαντ' ἀροτήρων.

147. ἀλλ' ἀδάμαντος ἔχον κρατερόφρονα θυμόν: *Th.* 239 n., cf. *Pind.* fr. 123. 4. *E. Cycl.* 596; Troxler, pp. 19-21. Their endurance of a breadless diet was part of their general grim strength. Cf. [*Hp.*] *Vid. med.* 3. ἐπασχον πολλά τε καὶ δευὰ ὑπὸ ἰαγυρῆς τε καὶ θηριώδεος διαίτης, ὡμά τε καὶ ἀκρίτα καὶ μεγάλας δυνάμεις ἔχοντα ἐσφόρόμενοι . . . ἦσαν μὲν οὖν ταῦτα τότε εἰός ἢ πᾶσιν διὰ τὴν συνήθειαν, ἰαγυρῶς δὲ καὶ τότε.

148-9. Modelled on *Th.* 151-2, with the inapposite κεφαλαὶ δὲ ἐκάστω πενήτηκοντα replaced by μεγάλη δὲ βίη καὶ χεῖρες αἰαντοί, which comes from *Th.* 649. The alteration is unfortunate, because ἐπὶ στήθεσσι μέλεσσι no longer makes sense, but I see no reason why Hesiod should not be held responsible. δεινὸν τε καὶ ὄβριμον (145) ~ μεγάλοι τε καὶ ὄβριμοι (*Th.* 148) may have reminded him of that passage. The lines appear again, with a further change, in *Sc.* 75-6, where they do look like an interpolation.

ἀπλαστοί: see *Th.* 150-2 n., but reject the interpretation there offered. As πλαστός (*Th.* 513) means 'shaped' by a craftsman, ἀπλαστοί would describe the rough mass he started with. Hence it might be transferred to other things in the sense *rudis, informis*, including hulking monsters like the Hundred-Handers or these Bronze men. Polyphemus was a θαῦμα πελώριον, οὐδὲ ἔωκει | ἀνδρὶ γε αὐτοφάνῳ ἀλλὰ βίῳ ὑλῆντι | ὑψηλὸν ὀρέων (*Od.* 9. 190-2). We speak of a person's being (in manners, not appearance) 'unpolished' or 'a rough diamond'. καὶ χεῖρες αἰαντοί: *Th.* 649 n.

ἐπέβουκον: *Th.* 150-2 n.

150. The iron age came to Greece, via Cyprus, in the first half of the eleventh century. But in epic, bronze continued to be the standard metal even for swords and spearheads, now commonly made of iron. This is probably due more to the conservatism of the formulaic language (especially in regard to warfare) than to deliberate

avoidance of anachronism. But Hesiod shows us that it was remembered that there was a time when only bronze was in use, even if he does not equate it with the time of the epic heroes. The introduction of iron, like that of cereals, was evidently felt to mark an important epoch in the history of man. The wizards who learned its working, the Idaean Dactyls, won a place in mythology (fr. 282, *Phoronis* fr. 2, *Pherec.* 3 F 47, etc.). Hesiod not unnaturally identifies the earlier bronze-users with his Bronze race.

Later in antiquity the theory was put forward (by Apollonius Rhodius) that χαλκός in Homer could mean iron as well as bronze. Sch. vet. on this line is to be restored οὐ γὰρ οἱ παλαιοὶ πρὸς γεωργίαν μὲν ἔχρυντο τῷ σιδήρῳ πρὸς δὲ πόλεμον τῷ χαλκῷ, (ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν σίδηρον χαλκὸν ἔλεγον, τὸ τοῦ σιδήρου ὄνομα μῆτιρα εὐρηκότες). ἀπὸ τούτων δὲ οἱ ποιηταὶ "χάλκεον ἔγχος" λέγουσιν ἀντὶ τοῦ σιδήρεον. (cf. *Tz.* p. 109 G. (1820), sch. A.R. 1. 430, *Apoll.* *Soph.* 166. 17.

τεύχεα: properly 'suits of armour' (e.g. *Il.* 14. 420 ἀμφὶ δὲ οἱ βράχε τεύχεα ποικίλα χαλκῷ, 22. 322 ἔχε χρᾶς χάλκεα τεύχεα). But, since bronze was just as much the metal for armour in Hesiod's time as it had ever been, he is probably using the word to mean 'weapons', as in *Od.* 24. 534—something which, according to D. L. Page, 'no poet to whom the Epic language was a natural or even a familiar mode of expression' could possibly do (*The Homeric Odyssey*, p. 113), but which still seems more likely than that he is referring to urns or ships' gear.

οἶκος: Alcinous' palace has bronze walls and threshold (*Od.* 7. 86 ff., cf. 13. 4); Acrisius built a special bronze chamber to keep Danae in (*Pherec.* 3 F 10); the bronze threshold of Agaemmon's quarters at Aulis was displayed to tourists (*Paus.* 9. 19. 7). Elsewhere bronze architecture is associated with gods (*Th.* 726 n., *Il.* 1. 426, etc., 8. 15, 18. 371). But bronze facing was applied to Mycenaean tholos tombs, and later to the temple of Athene Chalkioikos at Sparta (*Thuc.* 1. 128, 134, *Paus.* 3. 17. 2) and the Sicyonian treasures at Olympia (*Paus.* 6. 19. 2).

151. ἐργάζοντο: elsewhere in the poem (at least till 827) the verb refers to farm work, and Hesiod may be thinking of ploughshares and spades (inconsistently with 146); so *Lucr.* 5. 1289 interprets him. Cf. *Varr. antiqu. rerum divin.* 16. 46a *Agahd.* Or he may be thinking of tools generally.

μέλας: 'imagining it rusty' (sch. vet.). Cf. *Thgn.* 451 μέλας . . . ἰός, *Il.* 23. 850 and *Phoronis* fr. 2. 6 ἰόντα σιδήρον (ἴ or γε?). Otherwise epic, iron is πολίος or αἰθων.

οὐκ ἔσκε: it was still hidden in the earth, it had not been 'born' (*Th.* 161 n.). *Ov. F.* 4. 405 f. *aes erat in pretio, chalybeia massa laeabat: | elen, perpetuo debuit illa legi.* Philostratus in quoting substitutes ἀπέκειτο, 'was neglected' (cf. *VA* 8. 21 ῥήτορικὴ μὲν γὰρ ἀπέκειτο ἀμελουμένη; *Pind. N.* 11. 46), which would seem to him truer than 'did not exist'; he may have been half thinking of *Ara.* 110 χαλεπή δ' ἀπέκειτο θάλασσα (Golden age). Scleucus was also bothered by οὐκ ἔσκε, but

the scholium which tells us so is unfortunately corrupt: Σέλευκος γράφει "† μέλας δ' οὐκ ἔστι† αἰσῆρος", ἵνα ᾗ μὴ καθόλου τὸ μὴ (εἶναι, ἵνα

153: εὐρέματα: see *Th.* 731 n., adding *Od.* 23. 322 (v.l. ἡρεόμενα, as here), 24. 10; *h. Dem.* 482 with Richardson's note; *Archil.* S 478. 12

τὴν νῦν γῆ κατ' εὐρώεσσι εἰλεῖ.
 κρουροῦ; cf. Sc. 255, Ogrh. fr. 222. 6 Τάρταρον ἐς κρούεντα (= Hades); E. fr. 916. 6-7 κρουρά... θανάτων... τελευτή; GVI 701. 4 (Smyrna, ii/j B.C.) κρουρὸν τόδ' ἔχομεν θάλαμον; Plut. Mor. 948f. (modern Greek parallels).

154. νόνηυμοι: formed like ἀπάλαμ-νος = ἀπάλαμος.
 155. νόνηυμοι: formed like ἀπάλαμ-νος = ἀπάλαμος.

154. *ώνυμοι*: formed like *α-παλαμ-νος* = *απαλαμνος*.
ἐκπύγλους: the Lapiths destroyed the Centaurs *ἐκπύγλους*, *Il.* 1. 268.

Laomedon, who refused Poseidon and Apollo their wages, was ἔκταλος, 21. 452. The myth is given generous treatment in Lsj., 'They died, for all their might': there is a tinge of moral satisfaction, as in *Th.* 616 καὶ πολύδριον εἰντα μέγας κατὰ δευμὸς ἐρύκει, Alc. 38. 7, see *Vic cōnq̄li exēters mole tuū sua*.

etc. *Vīs cōstila experts mole tui suā.*
 155. μέλας : in Homer of θάνατος, θανάτου νέφος, νύξ (the darkness of death), κήρ. The unusually delayed position in the sentence points to the contrast with λαμπρόν.

the contrast with *καμύρον*.
 λαμπρὸν δ' ἔλατρον φᾶος ἡελίοιο : both λαμπρὸν φ.ἡ. and λείπετο φ.ἡ. are Homeric expressions. Hesiod has now told us three times that φ.ἡ. are Homeric passages. The first statement gives the they died, in four magnificent verses. The first statement gives the essentials, the second serves to accommodate the embellishment καὶ ἐκείνην ἡμέραν ἐκείνην βαίνομεν us to the end of a line.

ἔκπαυλοί περ ἑόντες, the third brings us to the end of a line.
156. In 121 and 140 the race's afterlife was so introduced. The Bronze race has none, but the verse returns to Hesiod's mind, and he is ready for the transition to the next race.

157. αὐτὸς ἔρ' ἄλλο uses elements from 127 (αὐτῶ) and 143. ἐπὶ χθονὶ προυλοῖται: the subject and verb cannot be fitted in till the next line. To fill this one he takes a formula that goes well after 156.

after 156. 158. δικαιότερον : Homer's heroes, while not notably fairer in their dealings than ourselves, have the concepts of θέμις and δίκη, and expect to find them in others, whereas the Bronze men are to be imagined (again) as more like the Cyclopes of *Od.* 9. 112 ff.: τοῖσιν δ' οὐτ' ἀγοραὶ βουλὴφόροι οὐτε θέμιστές | θέμισται δὲ ἑκάστος παίδων ἢδ' ἀλοχῶν, οὐδ' ἀλλήλων ἀλέγουσιν; 188 f. οὐδὲ μετ' ἀλλοὺς πωλεῖτ', ἀλλ' ἀπάνευθεν ἑὼν ἀβέβαια ἦϊον; or like the obscure Menoitios of *Th.* 510-16, who is characterized by ὕβρις, ἀτασθαλίη, and προσητέ υπέρματος.

καὶ ὁρεῖ ὑπερβολικώς.
 ὅτι ἡ ἀρετὴ ἐστὶν ἀρίστη (279, cf. 36).

καὶ ἄπειτον : because *δική* is *ἀπύστη* (279, s. c. 30).
 159. ἀνδρῶν ἥρώων : fr. 25, 11, Sc. 19, *Od.* 4. 268, *al.* In epic generally the phrase seems to mean much the same as *ἀνδρῶν αἰχμητῶν*. Here it characterizes a whole age, cf. 172. Of course there were women, and others who were not ἥρώες, but they are ignored : there was nothing special about them. As in Homer, the term ἥρώας is devoid of religious significance. See Excursus I.

θεῖον γένος: they were descended from gods, and themselves
θεοεικέλοι. θεοειδέες, θεῖοι.

160. ἡμῶνθεοι: fr. 204. 100 (= τέκνα θεῶν, 101); *Il.* 12. 23 ἡμῶνθεὸν γένος ἀνδρῶν; Callin. 1. 19, Alc. 1. 7, Alc. 42. 13, *h.* 31. 19, 32. 19; Sim. 523. 1–2 οἱ πατέρων ποτ' ἐπέλοντο, θεῶν δ' ἐξ ἀνάκτορον ἐγένοντο, νῦν ἡμῶνθεοι; Pind. *P.* 4. 12, 184, 211, Bacchyl. 9. 10, 11. 62, 13. 155, fr. 203. 31, *E. IA* 172, *Pl. Apol.* 28C, 41A; *Crat.* 398cd οὐκ οἶσθα οὔτι ἡμῶνθεοι ὁ ἥρως; —τί οὖν; —πάντες δῆπου γεγόνασαν ἐρασθέντες ἡ θεοῦ θνητῆς ἡ θνητοῦ θεᾶς; Isoc. 9. 70, Arist. *Rhet.* 1396b¹³, etc. As the examples quoted show, the word refers to their parentage (cf. ἡμίονος, and our 'half-brother'), not to semi-divine status. It, not ἥρως, is the word used in speaking collectively of the men of the heroic age; and it is noteworthy that in Homer it is only admitted in a passage where that age is viewed from the distance of the poet's own time (cf. U. Bianchi, *Studi e Materiali* 24. 1063, 177 f.).

Studi e Materiali 34, 1903, 177-178.)
 προτέρη γενεή: 'the race before ours'. Differently *Il.* 23. 790, 'an
 older generation'.

older generation.

κατ' : so fr. 204. q7, *Od.* 17. 418; usually ἐπ'.

161. Hesiod has nothing special to tell us of these people's way of life, and passes straight on to the manner of their death. It is exactly the same as that of the Bronze race: they killed each other off. But he puts it in a more favourable light (M. van der Valk, *Researches on the Text and Scholia of the Iliad*, ii. 208 n. 121).

πόλεμος τε κακός καὶ φύλος αἰνή· II. 4. 82, *al.* For πόλεμος
Text and Scholia of the Iliad, ii. 290 n. 121f.
ἀλλεος cf. II. 61 (δαμᾷ); Hcst. fr. 29 Πόλεμος πάντων μὲν πατὴρ ἐστίν,
ἐλευσέων δὲ θεοποιήεις καὶ τοῖς μὲν θεοῖς ἔδειξε τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους κτλ.

162. Just as the whole age is represented by its famous warriors, the wars fought by these men are reduced to the two which dominated epic tradition, the Theban and the Trojan. The Theban, which Hesiod puts first (perhaps because he was so much nearer to Thebes) was considered the older: (*Il.* 4. 372-410), and in fact Thebes was destroyed over a century earlier than Troy VIIa. Cf. *CQ* 23, 1973, 188. The Epic Cycle known to later antiquity contained three epics on the Theban saga (*Oedipodia*, *Thebais*, *Epigoni*) and eight on the Trojan War and ensuing events. Some of these, possibly all of them, were composed after Hesiod, but Thebes and Troy were clearly well established in his time as the focal points of epic war.

ὑπὸ τοῖς ὀπίσθιοις τείχεσι: on the lower ground outside the walls. *Il.* 17. 404; *al.*, πύργῳ ἑλκετο· ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀκροπόλει ἐστὶν ὁ λόφος οὗτος, ἐπὶ ᾧ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχαίαν πόλιν ἦσαν οἱ πύργοι καὶ τὰ τείχη. *Iliad*. 17. 404. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 406. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 407. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 408. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 409. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 410. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 411. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 412. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 413. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 414. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 415. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 416. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 417. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 418. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 419. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 420. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 421. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 422. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 423. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 424. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 425. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 426. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 427. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 428. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 429. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 430. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 431. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 432. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 433. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 434. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 435. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 436. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 437. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 438. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 439. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 440. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 441. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 442. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 443. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 444. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 445. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 446. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 447. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 448. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 449. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 450. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 451. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 452. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 453. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 454. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 455. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 456. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 457. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 458. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 459. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 460. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 461. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 462. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 463. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 464. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 465. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 466. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 467. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 468. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 469. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 470. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 471. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 472. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 473. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 474. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 475. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 476. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 477. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 478. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 479. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 480. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 481. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 482. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 483. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 484. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 485. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 486. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 487. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 488. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 489. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 490. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 491. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 492. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 493. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 494. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 495. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 496. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 497. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 498. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 499. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 500. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 501. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 502. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 503. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 504. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 505. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 506. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 507. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 508. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 509. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 510. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 511. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 512. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 513. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 514. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 515. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 516. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 517. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 518. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 519. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 520. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 521. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 522. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 523. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 524. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 525. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 526. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 527. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 528. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 529. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 530. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 531. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 532. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 533. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 534. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 535. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 536. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 537. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 538. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 539. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 540. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 541. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 542. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 543. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 544. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 545. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 546. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 547. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 548. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 549. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 550. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 551. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 552. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 553. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 554. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 555. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 556. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 557. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 558. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 559. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 560. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 561. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 562. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 563. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 564. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 565. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 566. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 567. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 568. *cf.* *ibid.* 17. 5

παυροτέρων λαὸν ἀγαγόντ' ὑπὸ τεύχεσσι φέρον.
 ἔπταπύλοιο; this too must have been standard in that poetry. Hence
 also *Il.* 4. 406 and *Od.* 21. 263 Θῆβης πύλοιο ἐπταπύλοιο, *Sc.* 49
 ὠλοῦντ' ἐπταπύλοιο Pindar. Bacchylides. Tragedy.

Καδμήτιδες γαῖαι: the Thebans in epic are regularly *Καδμείοι* or *Θηβῆν ἐν πεπρωμένῳ*, Pindar, *bacchylus*, 11 ag. 47.
Καδμώωνες, Θηβαῖος being confined to Teiresias. Cf. Nilsson, *The Mxc. Origin of Greek Mythology*, p. 121. The ethnic appellation is

extended to the land as in *Il.* 1. 254, *al.*, Ἀχαιῖδα γαῖαν, *h.* 4p. 410 *Λακωνίδα γαῖαν*. For the apposition of γαῖη to 'seven-gated Thebes' cf. *E. Ph.* 245 ἐπτάπυργος ἀδὲ γᾶ.

163: μῆλων ἔνεκ' Οἰδιπόδοιο: the enmity between Polyneices and Eteocles is so firmly established in the tradition (already in *Thucis* fr. 2/3, *Il.* 4. 377/386) that it seems best to take Oedipus' flocks as standing for his whole estate, including the Theban throne, rather than as alluding to a wholly different, older, and simpler version. So sch. vet./Proclus. For a different view see Nilsson, *op. cit.*, pp. 106 ff. μῆλα include sheep and goats, see LSJ.

164: τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐν νῆεσσιν: the great sea journey is for Hesiod a striking part of the story. Cf. 651-3. He is not saying directly that some of them died at sea, but we find death in battle and death at sea making a complementary pair in *Od.* 11. 398 ff., *Archil.* 24. 12-13, 89. 19-21, *Sem.* 1. 13-17, *S. OC* 1679 f., and this may be at the back of his mind.

μεγα λαΐμα: probably from the same root as λαμῶς, thus 'the great greedy gulp'; and it may have kept this connotation.

165: ἀγαγών: a less natural verb for πόλεμος; *Il.* 2. 834 (κῆρες), *h.* 7. 8 (κακὸς μῆρος) are not comparable. Hesiod may be adapting some sentence like *Od.* 24. 427 f. (Odysseus) τοὺς μὲν αὖν νῆεσσιν ἄγων πολέας τε καὶ ἐπὶ θούλῳ | ὤλεσε μὲν νῆας γλαφυράς, ἀπὸ δ' ὤλεσε λαούς. 'Ελένης ἔνεκ' ἡκυμοιοιο: *Il.* 9. 339 (with λαόν ἀνήγαγεν ἐνθάδ' ἀγέρας Ἀτρεΐδης), 23. 81a (*ap.* *Aesch.*); rest, in fr. 200. 11. Cf. *Sem.* 7. 117 f. τοὺς μὲν Ἀτρεΐδης ἐδέξατο | γυναικὸς εἶνεκ' ἀμφιδηριωμένους...

166. Omitted by *Π38Π40* and disregarded by Proclus, who comments on 167 f. as if they referred to the heroes generally. Solmsen brackets the line. But would Hesiod really say that the whole race was transported to the Isles of the Blessed? Epic is constantly telling us that they went to Hades; Elysium is only for specially favoured people like Rhadamanthus and Menelaus (*Od.* 4. 561-9). It is true that the poet of the *Catalogue* (see below) makes the removal of the ἡμιθεοὶ to a happier place a feature of Zeus' great plan for the ending of the heroic age. But it seems more likely that this line should have been omitted by some to accord with that late and untraditional idea, or to purge the passage of an apparent contradiction, than that it should be an aimless interpolation.

τοὺς μὲν: not as in 122, 137, 141, 161, but as in 162, 'some of them', for what is described in 167 ff. is not a sort of death but an alternative to death, a *glorios*. This is explicit in *Od.* l.c., and in *Carm. conv.* 894 φίλασθ' Ἀλλοῖοι, οὐ τί πω τέθνηκας, | νῆσοις δ' ἐν μακάρων σέ φασιν εἶναι. Cf. *Mazon*, *comm.* p. 73.

167. τοὺς δέ: Menelaus is so privileged in the *Odyssey* because he is husband to Helen and thus a son-in-law of Zeus, while even such people as Agamemnon, Ajax, and Achilles are to be found in Hades like anybody else. By the sixth century, however, the club has become less exclusive, and admits at least Achilles, Medea, and Diomedes (*Ibyc.* 291, *Sim.* 558, *Carm. conv.* l.c.); Memnon was given immortality

after his death in the *Aethiopis*, and Eugeammon in his *Telegony* had Telemachus, Telegonus, and Penelope all living happily on for ever on Circe's island. Hesiod must already be thinking in terms of a significant number of heroes.

δῖχ' ἀνθρώπων βίον καὶ ἥθε' ὀπάσας: similarly *Catal.* fr. 204. 99 ff. (Zeus wanted to destroy most of mankind,) πρ[ό]φασιν μὲν δλέθαι | ψυχὰς ἡμιθέων, μὴ ὁμοῦ? θυηπ[ό]τοι βροτοῖαν | τέκνα θεῶν μινύθη? φάος ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὀρώντα, | ἀλλ' οἱ μ[ε]ν μάκα[α]ρες κ[αὶ] (ἐς) ἄλλο[ι]ν ὡς τὸ πάρος περ | χωρὶς ἀπ' ἀν[θρώπων] βίον κα[ὶ] ἥθε' ἔχουσιν.

168. κατένασσε: an un-Homeric word, also in *Th.* 329, 620.

ἐν πείρασι γαῖης (*Π38*) is favoured by γουνοῖαν κατένασσε *Th.* 329; *Pind.* *P.* 5. 69 ff. *Δακεδαίμονι ἐν Ἄργει τε καὶ βαλῆα Πύλῳ ἔνασεν ἀλκάντας Ἡρακλῆος ἐγκύνους*. The other manuscripts' ἐς πείρατα seems to be a later use, as *E. Ba.* 1339 μακάρων τ' ἐς αἶαν σὸν καθιδρύσει βίον, and examples of καθίζω τινά εἰς.

On πείρατα γαῖης (also Menelaus' destination, *Od.* 4. 563) see *Th.* 335 n.

170. ἀκηδέα θυμὸν ἔχοντες after 112.

171. ἐν μακάρων νήσοις: the place Menelaus goes to is called 'Hλύσιον πέδιον, but otherwise indistinguishable from these islands, and ps.-Arist. *Pephlos* 3, an epitaph for him based on the *Odyssey* passage, speaks of him as ἐν μακάρων νήσοις. This is much the commoner designation of the place in Greek; *Elysium* prevails in Latin for obvious metrical reasons. Cf. Gatz, pp. 180 f.

μάκαρες unqualified in the poetic language almost always means 'the gods', and there was no more natural way for a hexameter poet to say 'in the islands of the gods'. So it is probable that this was, if not Hesiod's meaning, at least the original sense of the phrase. If the Olympians do not live by Oceanus, they go there often enough: Zeus goes to feast with the virtuous Aithiopes, Apollo goes to feast with the virtuous Hyperboreans, Hera is evacuated to Océanus and Tethys in wartime. There too, by Atlas, is the θεῶν κῆπος where Zeus and Hera celebrated their marriage, where Hera planted the golden apples, and where springs of ambrosia flow (*Pherec.* 3 F 16, *E. Hipp.* 742-51; see Barrett's notes). Many other wondrous beings live in the same regions: Chryseor and Callirhoe, the Gorgons, the Sirens, the Hundred-Handers (*Th.* 290 n., 815 f.), and the Hesperides (θ[ε]ῶν περικαλλέ[α] νήσων *Stes.* S 8. 2). It is a fit setting for 'isles of the gods' where exceptional mortals are admitted to feast for ever with the gods, thus becoming immortals themselves. We have here a conception which can be traced back to Minoan Crete and ultimately to Egypt: see Nilsson, *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, 2nd edn., pp. 621-30; J. Gwyn Griffiths, *Greece & Rome* 16, 1947, 122-6.

But by Hesiod's time μακάρων may have come to be understood of the fortunate pensioners. The lines suggest that they are by themselves, and the poet of 173a adds τηλοῦ ἀπ' ἀθανάτων (except for Kronos). In the *Catalogue* fragment quoted above on 167, it is quite

clear: the word *μαίκαρες* is for them. In the Odyssean Elysium, too, the inhabitants are *ἀνθρώποι* (565, 568).

παρ' Ὠκεανὸν βαθυδύνῃν: for Oceanus in this context cf. *Od.* l.c., *Pind.* *O.* 2. 71; for the epithet, *Th.* 133, *Od.* 10. 511. The preposition suits a shore better than islands; cf. *Th.* 282 n.

172. *ἀλβιοὶ ἥρωες, τοῖσιν*: for this kind of formula see Richardson on *h. Dem.* 480. This is one of the places where the relative has a causal sense, as distinct from 'fortunate the man who . . .'. Richardson notes that *ἀλβιος* usually has strong material connotations.

μελινθεά καρπὸν: of grapes in *Il.* 18. 568, of 'lotus' in *Od.* 9. 94, of mixed pig-fodder in the line read by Callistratus in place of *Od.* 10. 242. But Hesiod probably means corn, cf. 173 *ζείδωρος ἄρουρα*, and *Il.* 10. 569 *μελινθεά πυρρὴν*. It corresponds to the *καρπὸς* which the *ζείδωρος ἄρουρα* provided for the Golden race in 117, and the *ποδὸς βίος* of 232. Likewise when the beattified Egyptian goes to join Osiris in the Field of Reeds, 'Barley and emmer shall be given to him therein: he shall be flourishing as when he was upon earth, and he shall keep doing what he pleases' (*Book of the Dead*, rubric to 72nd chapter). Another prominent feature of the Egyptian paradise, the cool refreshing breeze, appears in *Od.* 4. 567 f., *Pind.* *O.* 2. 71.

173. *τῆς ἔρεος*: a similar motif in the account of Libya, *Od.* 4. 86 *τῆς γὰρ τίκτει μῆλα τελεσφόρον εἰς ἐναυρόν*.

173a-e. Two papyri preserve parts of these lines (and no doubt contained all five); a third omits them. Sch. vet. preserves 173a as a lemma between 160 and 162, with the note *τοῦτον καὶ τὸν ἔξης (τοὺς ἔξης Schoemann) ὡς φησὶ μαρτυρεῖται ἐξοκίζουσι τῶν Ἡσιόδου, τὰ τε ἄλλα βαλόντες καὶ τὸ ἐθουσιαστικὸν τῆς ἐισβολῆς τῶν μετ' αὐτοὺς στίχων ἀφαιροῦντες εἰπόντες. ὡς γὰρ ἀποβλέπας εἰς τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος μετὰ τὴν ἐξύμνησιν τῆς τῶν ἡμιθέων λήξεως ἐπάγει "μηκέτ' ἔπειτ' — ἢ ἔπειτα γενέσθαι" (174-5); the scholiast proceeds to interpret these lines). From the scholium, 173a has found its way into the text in a few copies, but there is no unanimity about its position. b-e are unknown to the medieval tradition. The scholium apparently speaks of only one line following a, itself followed by 174. This would have to be d, if the text is to make sense and detract from the passion of 174 as the objectors said. But probably Schoemann's τοὺς ἔξης is correct. Cf. H. Maehler, *Mus. Helv.* 24, 1967, 67-9.*

Further ancient attestation at least of 173a is provided by Zenob. 3. 86 *εἰς μακάρων νήσους* ὁ Ἡσιόδος φησὶ μακάρων νήσους εἶναι περὶ τῶν Ὠκεανῶν, καὶ τοὺς εὐδαίμονας οἰκεῖν ὑπὸ Κρόνου βασιλευμένους, and by Marcellus of Side's claim that Herodas Atticus' late wife Regilla μετ' ἡρώωνος νένασται | ἐν μακάρων νήσοισιν, ἵνα Κρόνος ἐμβασιλεύει (*IG* 14. 1389 i 8 f.; Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* ii. 200; already adduced by Graevius).

τῆλοι ἀπ' ἀθανάτων follows badly on 173, and it looks very much as if a-c were designed to stand in place of 172-3; note *τοῖσιν* in the same position in a and 172. *Il.*₃₈, however, has both 172-3 and a ff., so the long text of the papyri contained alternative versions copied

in succession. For this phenomenon in early epic texts see *Th.* 590-1 n.

Against the authenticity of the second version, 173a-e, are its absence from some ancient texts (to judge from Homer, genuine lines do not disappear just because of critical objections to them), and the role assigned to Kronos, which contradicts *Th.* 717, 729 ff., 851. The desire to introduce Kronos into the picture was obviously the motive for the creation of the alternative version. If it had been the original, it is hard to see why anyone should have wished to substitute 172-3, 173d-e may also be rejected, not just because they are associated with a-c, but also because *μηκέτ' ἔπειτα* in 174 marks a transition: '(up to this point life was all right, but) after this point . . .'. Again, the absence of the lines from manuscripts cannot simply be put down to ancient critics' dislike of them; it is doubtful whether the argument about τὸ ἐθουσιαστικόν would have struck anyone if the evidence of the tradition had not first called the authenticity of the verses into question. The interpolator wanted the section to open in the same kind of way as the four preceding. If Hesiod had wanted this, we might have expected a true continuation of the series: *πέμπτον δ' αὖτις ἐτ' ἄλλο γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων* | *Ζεὺς Κρονίδης ποίησε, αἰδῆρεον*. 173a. Formerly numbered 169 because of its position in some manuscripts.

τῆλοι ἀπ' ἀθανάτων: *Th.* 302 (Echidna), cf. 777 (Styx). Fr. 204. 104 may have said something similar about the heroes' abode, but there are difficulties of reading. See also 171 n.

τοῖσιν Κρόνος ἐμβασιλεύει: *Pind.* *O.* 2. 70 ff. *ἔτελλαν Διὸς ὀδὸν παρὰ Κρόνου τύρῳ* (walled city?), *ἐνθα μακάρων νῆσον ὠκεανίδες ἀδοῦα περιπέουσιν* . . . (75) *Ῥαδάμανθους δὲ πατὴρ ἔχει μέγας ἐτοίμους ἀδοῦα πάρεδρον πόσις ὁ πάντων* 'Ῥέας ὑπέρτατον ἐχόισας θρόνον'. This should not be used as evidence that Kronos as ruler in the Isles of the Blessed is a specifically fifth-century or 'Orphic' idea, even if Pindar is following one of the early Pythagorean poems which bore Orpheus' name. It is an idea derived by extension from Kronos' rule over the Golden race (111 n.). Not only did he rule over a blessed race of men in the distant past: he still rules over them in a distant land. The myth arose from a psychological unwillingness to accept that Paradise is finally lost. It has parallels in stories about other rulers of golden eras: Yima, Alexander, Arthur, Holger Dansk, Barbarossa. They are still alive in some hidden place, and perhaps some day they and the happy times will return. (See Gatz, p. 123.)

In the case of Kronos, the development presupposes the identity of the Blessed Islanders with the first race of mankind that lived under his rule. We have seen that this identification is made, to all intents and purposes, by the poet of the *Catalogue*. Extant fragments do not mention Kronos as ruling either in heaven or on Ocean Beach, but the necessary conditions are there for the new myth to be created.

173b. The line reconciles what has just been said with the story that Kronos was bound in Tartarus with the other Titans. *Pind.* *P.*

4. 289 ff. says that though Demophilus, exiled by Arcesilas, is now oppressed like Atlas, there is hope for him: *λῶρε δὲ Ζεὺς ἀβήτορος Τιτάνας, ἐν δὲ χρόνῳ μεταβολαὶ λήξαντος οὐρου ἱστίων*. He may be thinking of Kronos, Rhea, and Prometheus (*Th.* 523–33 n.); if it is the Titans collectively, the story is unknown, though it has a parallel in Marduk's release of the gods he defeated (*Enûma Eliš* 6. 11–34, 7. 27–9).

Weil's supplement at the end of the line, based on *παῖ* in *Π*₈, is confirmed by *Π*₃₈. The beginning remains uncertain; presumably γὰρ μ[], preceded by a word of four or five letters. *δεσμῶν* (cf. *Th.* 501) is too long. I suggested αὐτός or αὐτὸς *ap.* Maehler, *Mus. Helv.* 24, 1967, 67.

173c. νῦν δ' ἦδη is used in accounts of how Heracles is now accepted in Olympus, even by Hera: fr. 25. 26 νῦν δ' ἦδη θεός ἐστι, and 25. 32 = 229. 12 νῦν δ' ἦδη πεφύληκε, *τίει δὲ μιν ἔξοχον ἄλλων*. It seems just right here.

ὡς εἰπικεύς Maehler cl. fr. 257. 5. It is also a Homeric clausula. 173d. Ζεὺς δ' αὐτ' (proposed in *CQ* 11, 1961, 139) fits the space better than my later suggestion ἐνθ' αὐτ' (*ap.* Maehler l.c.).

Θῆκεν: of a divine creation also in Alcman. 20 ὥσας δ' ἔθηκε *τρεῖς*. This is a very ancient use; the same verb is used in the inscriptions of the Achaemenid kings for Ahuramazdā's creation of heaven and earth, and seen in the name of the Vedic demiurge Dhātṛ. It appears in Latin as *fecit*. Related uses are common in Homer, e.g. *Il.* 9. 547 ἦ δ' (Artemis) ἀμφ' αὐτῷ ἔθηκε πολὺν κέλαδον καὶ αὐτῇν; 1. 2 (μῆνις) ἦ μὲν Ἀχαιοὶς ἀνέχε' ἔθηκεν; rare later, and confined to poetry. See LSJ s.v., C. 1–2.

173e. τῶν οὖν ὧν: cf. *Od.* 24. 84. (ἀνδράσιν) τοῖς οὖν γένεαι καὶ οἱ μετόπισθεν εἰσονται; *Il.* 1. 271 f. οὖν τις | τῶν οὖν βορροί εἰσιν ἐνὶ χθόνι μαχέονται.

ἐνὶ [χθονὶ] πονυβορέῳ (Weil) is expected after 157, but if it is right, the χ in *Π*₃ must have been a much more disciplined one than that in 178, where the long stroke extends under the three letters preceding. There is no trace of such a flourish under *ἐπι*. Another possibility is that the poet, with 173 before him, wrote ἐπὶ [λείδωρον ἀρούραν].

174. The outburst of personal feeling about the present age makes an effective variation of the pattern. For the wish that one had not been born, at least in the circumstances prevailing, cf. *Il.* 6. 345 f., 18. 86 f., 22. 481, *Od.* 8. 312; *A.P.* 7. 309.

μηκέτ' ἔπειτ': see above, 173a–e n. A good parallel for μηκέτι is Pind. *P.* 4. 243 ἔλπετο δ' οὐκ ἐνὶ οἱ κείνων γε πράξασθαι πόνον: Jason had mastered the fire-breathing bulls, but when it came to the serpent that guarded the fleece, Aietes did not expect him to accomplish that. Cf. also *Od.* 12. 223 Σκύλλην δ' οὐκέτ', ἐμυθεόμην 'I did not go on to speak of S.; 17. 303, 20. 137; *Sc.* 49 f. διδυμάονε γέννατο παῖδε, [οὐκέθ' ὁμᾶ φρονέοντε 'the likeness did not extend to their dispositions'; similarly [Theoc.] 23. 2 πὰν μορφὰν ἀγαθῶν, τὸν δὲ τῶπον οὐκέθ' ὁμοίω; A. *PV* 520, S. *El.* 611, O.T. 1251, E. *Tro.* 846, Meleager *epigr.* 37. 5 (*A.P.* 5. 177), [Opp.] C. 2. 383. So perhaps Euenus *eleg.* 1. 2.

μη' not οὐ, because the expression is equivalent in sense to an optative; see Wackernagel, *Synt.* i. 228. So regularly in Homer and later. ὠφέλλων: ὠφέλω is sometimes a variant in Homer too, but the form with λλ is much better attested. It is usually regarded as an Aeolism of the epic language (it is also found at Arcadian Orchomenos, though Tegea has ὀφῆλλω), but it is not clear why it was preferred to the metrically equivalent ὠφέλω which was current in Ionic in the same sense.

175. ἡ ἔπειτα γενέσθαι: sometimes taken to imply that Hesiod expects a new age, or a whole new cycle, to begin after this one. But the system as he expounds it is finite and complete; λόγον ἐκροφάσσω, he said, and if the λόγος had had a hopeful ending he would surely not have omitted to mention it. Others take 'either before or after' as the transformation of 'not now' into a polar expression which is not to be pressed. Verdenius, *Hardt Entretiens*, vii. 133, compares *Il.* 10. 249 μῆν' ἄρ με μάλ' αἰνεε μῆντέ τι νείκει (only praise is in question) and other passages of the sort discussed by Wilamowitz on E. *HF* 1106; cf. E. Kemmer, *Die polare Ausdrucksweise in der gr. Literatur*, Würzburg, 1903. This is a good explanation; only it is not necessarily the case that Hesiod's inner convictions coincide with the myth he is telling. Although the myth has no place for a brighter future, it may be that he is here betraying his own assumption that better times will come.

176. σιδήρεον: this time the name of the metal evidently has a built-in emotive value. Cf. *Th.* 764 n.; LSJ s.v. 1. 2. ἥμαρ: 'by day', *Od.* 10. 28, αἰ., νύκτας τε καὶ ἥμαρ; E. *Ba.* 1008 ἥμαρ ἐς νύκτα τε; also Sem. 7. 47 πρὸνδὲ προῆμαρ. Ills both day and night: 102.

177. παύσονται: the future seems right in view of 178; the present given by *Π*₈ was easily written after ἐστί. The tense is initially determined by the thought 'they suffer ills which will never end'. The futures in 178–9 follow by attraction (and are hard to account for if παύσονται precedes). Their 'will' thus really stands for 'will not cease to'. However, prophecy may have been an inherited feature of the myth, and this would certainly have made it easier for Hesiod to slip into the future. Cf. 179–81 n.

καμάτου καὶ οἰζύος: a formulaic alternative to πόνου καὶ οἰζύος (113); cf. *Il.* 15. 365. οὐδέ τι: 113 n.

νύκτωρ: v.l. for νύκτας in *Od.* 2. 105, but not otherwise in early epic.

176. τερόμενοι: I restore this with some confidence. There is only space for one letter before *τερομενοι* in *Π*₈, and *τερο-*, besides giving a better sense than *φθειρ-*, accounts neatly for γυν- in the manuscript of Clement (< γυν- < τεω-) and στευ- in those of Eusebius (< τεω-). *Or. Sib.* 1. 70 f., in a passage owing much to Hesiod, has οὐ γὰρ αἰτίας | τερόμενοι θηῆσκον, ἀλλ' ὡς δεδμημένοι ὑπνω (cf. *Op.* 116). *τερομενοι* begins several Homeric lines; *τερέσθαι καμάτω* *Il.* 17. 745.

χαλεπὰς . . . μερίμνας: Mimn. 1. 7 κακαὶ τεύρουσι μερίμναι;

Sapph. 1. 25 f. *χαλέπαν* . . . | ἐκ μέμνῳ. The noun is un-Homeric. *κάματος* belongs mainly to the daytime; with the μέμνῳ Hesiod may be doing justice to νύκτωρ.

179-81. These lines seem to interrupt the train of thought inopportunely: 182 ff. look more like a continuation from 178 than a series of portents parallel to grey-haired babies. Lehrs condemned the three lines, followed by Evelyn-White, *CQ* 9, 1915, 72. But we expect some account of the ending of this age, as in the four earlier ones, and the youthless babies fit the pattern that began with the unaging Golden men and the late-maturing Silvers. D. Arfelli, *Riv. Fil.* 35, 1907, 583 f., proposed transposition to after 201, but (as Evelyn-White remarks) 201 makes too good an ending itself. 179 would look particularly incongruous there. We had better take the text as it stands, and try to understand how Hesiod came to write it so.

The Iron race is identified with the men of the present time, but the description of them is almost entirely in the future. The oriental parallels (106-201 n.) suggest that the Myth of Ages may from the start have been cast in the form of a prophecy—or at least the account of the last age (as in one Indian version). If so, this would explain why Hesiod finds it so much easier to speak about the future of this age than its present. (Cf. M. Skaife Jensen, *Classica et Mediana* 27, 1966, 19.) But, conscious of this bias in his Muse, he may have thought it best to put the bulk of description in explicit connection with the end of the age, and accordingly to proceed to Zeus δ' ὀλέσει . . . as early as possible.

179 makes clear the difference between the present and the terrible final stage. It was a tenet of popular wisdom that human life is either a mixture of good and bad or wholly bad (*Th.* 606-7 n.).

μεμείξεται ἐσθλὰ κακοῖσιν: similar phrases in Thgn. 192, Stes. S 150 i 4 (rest.). μεμείξεται is not a future perfect of the 'will have between now and then' type, something that does not exist in Greek, but a future of the perfect describing a settled state: 'will be in a state of mixture'. For the form (with -μει-, not the zero-grade -μι-) cf. Homeric *ἀλεμείξεαι*, *τεμείξεαι* (despite *τέτρυμαι*).

180. Cf. *h. Dem.* 310 καὶ νῦν κε πάντῳ ὀλέσσει γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων. 181-6. The critical signs before these lines (possibly also before earlier or later lines) in *Π*₄₄ correspond to nothing in the extant scholia, though these mention *σημεία* at 276 and 649. An obelus by itself implies aliter. Preceded by an asterisk, it marks a line also found in another place and judged more appropriate there; that other place would be marked by asterisk alone. The combination diplex+asterisk is not known to me from elsewhere; the diplex may have its usual function of calling attention to something in the line worthy of remark. The chi is a general-purpose symbol, common in papyri, but not, I think, found in Homeric papyri. For more detailed remarks on the use of these signs see *Oxyrh. Papyri*, xlv. 51 f. Why any of them were deployed here is obscure.

181. The best parallel is the Indian myth described on p. 176.

Cf. also 2 (4) *Esd.* 6:21: as the Day of Judgment approaches, 'children only one year old shall be able to talk, and women shall give birth to babes after three or four months, who shall live and leap about'.

γενόμενοι: *Th.* 82 n.

πολιοκρόταφοι: of γέροντες, *Il.* 8. 518, Hom. *epigr.* 12. 3; cf. Anacr. 395, 1-2, Bacchyl. fr. 25, and Gow on Theoc. 14. 68.

τελέθων: like γίγνμαι, τελέθω means either 'become' or 'turn out to be' when observable, as distinct from 'being' by nature. Normally it is only found in the present, but the poet of *h. Dem.* 240 f. can correctly say of Demophon, whom Demeter secretly hid in the fire each night, τοῖς δὲ μέγα θάμν' ἐτέυκτο, | ὡς προβαλὴς τελέθεισκε (sc. each day when they saw him again). The babies in Hesiod 'turn out to be' white at the temples.

182-6. The breakdown of family ties and similarly sacrosanct relationships is a typical theme in oriental prophecies of doom. *Prophecy of Nefer-rohu* (*ANET* 445) 'I show thee the son as a foe, the brother as an enemy, and a man killing his father'; Babylonian myth of Erra (*H. Gressmann, Altorient. Texte zum alten Testament*, 2nd edn., p. 228) 'one land shall not spare another, one town another, one house another, one brother another'; *Isa.* 3: 5 'the people shall deal harshly each man with his fellow and with his neighbour; children shall break out against their elders, and nobodies against men of substance'; Micah 7: 2, 3-6, 2 (4) *Esd.* 6: 24, Mark 13: 12. In the last age of the series 'the affection of the father will depart from the son, and that of the brother from his brother' (*Bahman Yast* 2. 30), 'and sires will not forgive sons and sons will not forgive sires' (*Mahābhārata* 3. 189).

182. ὁμοῖος: in Homer this is not equivalent to ὁμοῖος but a separate word of uncertain etymology and meaning, an epithet of old age, death, strife, and battle. Hesiod uses it for ὁμοῖος (cf. *ὁλοῖος* = *ὁλοῖός Th.* [591]; *ὁλώων* codd.), as later do Xenoph. B 23. 2, Bion fr. 2. 18, Pankrates *GDK* 15. 2. 23. But in what sense? Sch. vet. offers two interpretations: 'at one with', or 'physically similar' in consequence of marital fidelity. I do not know a parallel for the first, *ὁμοῖος* = *ὁμόφρων*, but it is favoured by 183-4, and the other idea would more naturally have been expressed in the terms of 235 (see note) than in a sentence with the father as subject.

οὐδὲ τι παῖδες: 113 n. The dative to be understood is πατρί. People are παῖδες in relation to their parents, not to their brothers, and we must supply the correlate, just as in 184, 'nor will brother be friend (to brother)'.

183. ξένος ξενόδοκος: this correlative pair also in *Oz.* 8. 208-10, 543, 15. 54-5, 70-4; but in 1. 313 ξένου (= ξενόδοκοι) ξένουσι. The host-guest relationship in early Greece is discussed by (e.g.) M. I. Finley, *The World of Odysseus*, pp. 115-20. The most outrageous aspect of Paris' seduction of Helen was that it was a crime against his ξενόδοκος (*Il.* 3. 354, etc.). Cf. 327 n.

καί: οὐδέ would be more normal, but cf. *h. Dem.* 94 f. οὐδέ τις ἀδρῶν | εἰσπόρων γίνσκε βαθυζώνων τε γυναῖκων.

ἑταῖρος ἑταῖρος: the word can be applied to anyone who shares with another in a companionable activity—campaigning, drinking, political scheming, philosophical inquiry, and so on. Often it becomes a close, emotional relationship, in which mutual trust plays an important part, and which may be cemented by oaths. φίλος ἑταῖρος is a common expression from Homer on: *Il.* 1. 345, 17. 642, *al.*, Thgn. 113, 332a, 529, 643, 753, Sapph. 142. Hesiod gives his ideas on the ἑταῖρος-relationship in 707-14; the picture can be supplemented from passages such as Thgn. 79-82, 97-9, 415 f., 851 f., 1311-18, Alc. 129, 14 ff., Hippon. 115. 15 f.

184. κατ' ἑνός: a ἑταῖρος at his best is like a brother (707 n.), which illustrates both the aptness of the sequence here and the close ties supposed to obtain between brothers. Cf. *Il.* 24. 46 f.; P. Walcott, *Greek Peasants, Ancient and Modern*, pp. 52-4, 78 f.

κατ' ἑνός, five times in Hesiod, is his only word for 'brother'; it is commoner in Homer than ἀδελφεός. It remained in use in Aeolic-speaking areas and in Cyprus, which implies its currency both in North and South Mycenaean.

185-212. A similar train of ideas, ingratitude to aged parents—disregard for justice and νέμεσις—untrustworthiness of oaths—oppression of ἀγαθοί by κακοί—disappearance of Aidos from the earth—the savage predator of the wild, appears in a sequence of five anonymous excerpts in the Theognidea, 271-94 (W. Nestle, *Gnomon* 14, 1938, 121; A. Peretti, *Teognide nella tradizione gnomicologica*, p. 271). Some of them might possibly be excerpts from a single elegy.

185. αἶψα: probably not with the participle, despite *Od.* 19. 360 αἶψα γὰρ ἐν κακότητι βροτοὶ καταγρησάκουσιν.

γρησάκοντας ἀτήρουνσι τοκήτας: cf. Thgn. 821.

186. μέμνονται: un-Homeric.

τοὺς: an irregular position for this pronoun, see Monro, § 257. Marcus Aurelius jotted the line down with δ' ἀπερὶν: if this was not a deliberate adaptation, one might toy with the idea that Hesiod wrote δ' ἄρ' ἑτας 'their kinsmen', or δ' ἀγαθοὺς (cf. Thgn. 797 τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄλλος μάλα μέμφεταί, ἄλλος ἑταυεῖ, and Isaiah quoted on 182-6), either of which might become ἀπερὶν in Marcus. But the corruption is unlikely, and in 188 we are still with the parents.

χαλεποῖς βάζοντες ἔπεισαν: the parallel of 331 f. confirms one's natural impression that the children are still the subject. We must therefore reject the reading βάζοντε, which could only have been used for plurals (Erastosthenes and Crates, sch. *Il.* 24. 282; cf. Zenodotus at 1. 567, 3. 459, 6. 112, 8. 503, 13. 627, 15. 347, 18. 287, 23. 753), and such misuse in fact occurs as early as the Pythian Hymn to Apollo (456, 487, 501; then *h.* 6. 12, Hom. *epigr.* 4. 9-10, orac. *ap.* Hdt. 7. 140. 3, Emp. 137. 6, Arat. 968, 1023, A.R. 1. 384 (prob.), 3. 206, Theoc. (?) 25. 72 (dub.), 137, [Opp.] C. 1. 72, 144-6, 2. 165, 260, 494, 3. 464, 4. 358); but there is no good reason to attribute it to Hesiod, who elsewhere uses the dual correctly (see Troxler,

pp. 109-14). It appears to have been a medieval correction to mend the metre after ἔπεισαι had (as usual) become ἐπέεσαι. For the dative cf. A. Th. 571 κακοῖσι βάζει, χαλεπός as in *Il.* 2. 245, *al.*, χαλεπῶ ἡμίπαπε μύβῳ; 3. 438 μὴ με γύναι χαλεποῖσιν ὀνειδεῖσι θυμὸν εὐπτεῖ.

187. σφέτλιοι, οὐδέ θεῶν ὄπην εἰδότες: cf. *Od.* 21. 28 σφέτλιοι, οὐδέ θεῶν ὄπην αἰδέσθαι. On ὄπην see *Th.* 222 n.; on the σφέτλιοι, οὐδέ... formula, *Th.* 488 n.

οὐδέ μὲν, 'nor again' (Denniston, p. 362), may stand; for the omission of the potential particle in a negative sentence see Monro, § 299 (f).

188. Not only will they be disrespectful and rude to their old parents, they will not look after them either. The repetition of 'aging parents' is clumsy, and suggests that Hesiod has taken over the line ready-made.

γρηράνεσαι: an old aorist participle, also in fr. 304. 2 v.l., *Il.* 17. 197, Herond. 1. 38, corresponding to epic γήρα, tragic γηράναι. See Volkmar Schmidt, *Sprachl. Unters. zu Herondas*, pp. 15-18.

ἀπὸ θρηνηρία δοῖεν: *h.* Dem. 168 (δοῖν), see Richardson ad loc.; *Il.* 4. 477 f. = 17. 301 f. (of a slain youth) οὐδέ τοκεῦσιν | θρηνηρία φίλους ἀπέδωκε.

189. Often condemned, because χειροδίκαι doubles δίκη δ' ἐν χειρὶ (192), and because discord between states is not mentioned elsewhere in the passage. But it is an obvious thing to have in an age of misery (cf. 229/246). χειροδίκαι looks a fine Hesiodic compound, and it is characteristic of such coinages in him that the elements appear uncompounded nearby: 230 ἰβυδίζειν ~ 225-6; 411 ἐτρωσιεργός ~ 402, 440; 413 ἀμβολιεργός ~ 409-10, 412; 490 ὀψαρόρτης ~ 485. The lack of connection with 188 is not as complete as may appear at first sight, for the repayment of the debt owed to one's parents has a strong connotation of τὸ δίκαιον, what is fair and equal. These people are χειροδίκαι, might is their right. This idea leads easily to that of inter-state aggression, and then to δίκη within the state.

χειροδίκαι: cf. on 192. ἔτερος δ' ἑτέρου: the singulars suit monarchs, as e.g. *Il.* 2. 37 φῆ γάρ δ' γ' (Agamemnon) αἰρήσαν Πριάμου πόλιν.

190. Cf. Thgn. 1138 f. Χάρητές τ' ὦ φίλε γῆν ἔλπιον, | ὅροις δ' οὐκέτι πιστοὶ ἐν ἀνθρώποισι δίκαιοι; E. Med. 439 f. βέβαια δ' ὄρκων χάρις, οὐδ' ἔτ' αἰδώς... μένει, αἰθερία δ' ἀνέπτα; Hosea 4. 2.

οὐδέ τις... χάρις: 'no appreciation'. *Od.* 4. 695 οὐδέ τις ἐστὶ χάρις μερόσιθ' ἐπὲργάνω, 22. 319; differently *Il.* 9. 316, 17. 147, 'no fun'. (In the *Odyssey* passages ἐπὲργάνω, from ἐπὲργος, should perhaps be written.)

191. οὐτ' : legitimate after (οὐδέ...) οὐδέ, see Denniston, p. 510. (To his Hippocratic example in which οὐδέ is 'not even' may be added Sem. 7. 32 f.) The scholiast's paraphrase naturally substitutes the ordinary οὐδέ, and so does Stobaeus.

ἀγαθοῦ: here in a moral rather than a class sense, since κακῶν contrasts with it, as ὑβρον ἀνέρα with δίκαιον.

κακῶν ρεκτήρα : cf. Antim. 73 μεγάλων ἑκτορές εἰσι κακῶν. Homer has κακὸν ρέζουσαν / ρέξαντι in the same place in the verse, *Il.* 5. 374, 15. 586.

ἵβριν : apparently qualifying ἀνέρα, as if it were ὑβριστήν. He is Hybris incarnate. Cf. S. *Ant.* 533 πρέφω δὲ ἄτα κάπαναστάσεις θρόνων; *Ph.* 622 κείνος, ἡ πάσα βλάβη; Latin *scelus* (*scelus viri* Plaut. *Truc.* 621); Petr. 43 discordia, non homo; Mart. 11. 92. 2 non uitiosus homo *es* *zelle sed uitium*. Hybris is the name of a satyr on a red-figure pelike, Munich 2360, and Xenophon recommends it, among other abstracts, as a name for a hunting dog (*Cyn.* 7. 5).—More often a man is identified with his effect on others: *Il.* 16. 498 f. σοὶ . . . κατηβήτη καὶ δνεῖδος | ἐπείσμαι; Arclil. 172. 3 f. πολὺς | ἀσποῖτα φαίνεται γέλωτος (and Sen. 7. 74, *al.*); Sapph. 5. 6 f. (τὸν κατήγντον δότε) φίλωσι | φοῖτα χάραν γένεσθαι [κῶνταν ἔχθροισι]; Hdt. 3. 142. 5 γεγονώς τε κακῶς καὶ ἐὼν ὀλεθρος (Eur. 376, *al.*, ὀλεθρος ἀνθρώπος; LSJ s.v. II; cf. the colloquial expression ἀπολείς με); Ar. *Eg.* 1151 ὦ φθόρε, Machon 202 μανίαν τὴν Μέλντταν, ὡς καλὴν, | ἐφασκον εἶναι; similarly Lucr. 4. 1163 κατὰπληγῆς (as a flattering name for an oversized girl).—For the apposition of species and genus, 'a hybrid kind of man', cf., besides ὀλεθρος ἀνθρώπος and such phrases as δοδλος ἀνήρ, πόρνη γυνή, Hdt. 6. 75. 1 μαντὶ νοδός; Ar. *An.* 79 προχλός ὄρνις; Theoc. 13. 50 πυρρός . . . ἀστὴρ ('firebrand star', not 'ruddy star'); Plaut. *Rud.* 988-93 *uidulum piscem* ('a suitcase fish'); Tac. *H.* 2. 78 *cupressus arbor*.

Alternatives, hardly convincing, are to take ὕβριν as direct object of δεκτήρα, changing κακῶν to κακῶν (Fick) or κακά; construction as in A. *Ag.* 1090 f. (πέτην) πολλὰ συνίστατο αὐτοφάνα κακά, etc. (see Fraenkel *ad loc.*; Kühner-Gerth, i. 296 Ann. 4; Trollet, p. 130); or to emend 192 to ἀνέρες ἀνθρώπου (Evelyn-White, *CQ.* 9, 1915, 72). 192. δίκη δ' ἐν χερσὶ : this can only mean 'justice will be decided by main force'. Cf. *Il.* 15. 741 τῷ ἐν χερσὶ φάος, οὐ μελεχτή πολέμοιο; 16. 630 ἐν γὰρ χερσὶ τέλος πολέμου, ἐπέων δ' ἐν βουλῇ; Lucian 28. 10 ὀργίλων τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ τιθεμένων; Sext. *adv. math.* 2. 31 ῥηδενὸς γὰρ ἐπιστατούντος νόμου ἑκαστος ἐν χερσὶ τὸ δίκαιον εἶχε; Sen. *HF.* 253 *ius est in armis, obprimi leges timor*; also Hdt. 8. 89. 1, *al.*, ἐν χειρὶν νομῶ (LSJ χερὶ II. 6d); D.H. *Ant.* 4. 37 τῶς δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ βάλλειν τὸν Ταρκύνιον ἐβόων. ἐκείνος μὲν οὖν δέσας τὴν ἐκ χειρὸς δίκην κτλ.; *Od.* 20. 181 πρὶν χειρῶν γεύσασθαι, etc. If Hesiod had wanted to say 'will be available', he would have written ἐν τοῖσι, cf. 278.

δίκη cannot therefore be the subject of οὐκ ἔστα. The usual recourse of editors who have reasoned thus far is to punctuate after χερσὶ : 'right (will be) in violence, and inhibitions will not exist'. But even admitting the possibility of punctuation so late in the line (the only Homeric parallels are *Il.* 24. 556 and perhaps *Od.* 2. 111; P. Maas, *Greek Metre*, p. 61), this is too artificial. καὶ is not a suitable sentence-connective here; δίκη δ' ἐν χερσὶ καὶ αἰδώς is surely to be read in the same way as, e.g., *Il.* 13. 129 νόος δ' ἀπόλωλε καὶ αἰδώς; fr. 204. 82 νέμεσιν τ' ἀποθεῖτο καὶ αἰδῶ. The law of the stronger will replace fairness and decency.

What is wrong with the sentence is οὐκ ἔστα. I cut the knot by substituting ἐσσεῖται, a form used in 503. Just as in *Il.* 9. 453 an ancient reader brought the text into accord with his expectations by changing τῇ πιθόμην καὶ ἔρεξα to τῇ οὐ πιθόμην οὐδ' ἔρεξα, and in S. *OC.* 1677 someone else replaced ἔστιν μὲν εἰκάσαι by the more obvious οὐκ ἔστιν μὲν εἰκάσαι, so here someone who mistakenly took ἐν χερσὶ in the common prose sense 'at hand' may have changed ἐσσεῖται to οὐκ ἔστα. The conjecture has the additional virtue of not making Hesiod say first 'Aidos will not be there' and then a few lines later 'then Aidos will depart from men'. I first proposed it in *Philol.* 108, 1964, 162.

193. βλάψαι : *Th.* 89 n. ὁ κακὸς τὸν ἀρέονα : *Od.* 20. 132 f. ἐμπλήγηδιν ἑτέρον γε τίει μέρο- πων ἀνθρώπων | χείρονα. τὸν δέ τ' ἀρέϊον ἀτμήσας ἀποπέμψει; *Il.* 10. 237 f. For the articles with the contrasted terms cf. also 703 τῆς ἀγαθῆς τῆς δ' αὐτῆς κατῆς; *Il.* 1. 575 f. = *Od.* 18. 403 f. οὐδέ τι δαυτός | ἐοθλῆς ἔσσεται ἥδως; ἐπεὶ τὰ χερίονα νικῆς; *Od.* 18. 229 = 20. 310 ἐσθλά τε καὶ τὰ χέρεια; 15. 324 τοὺς ἀγαθοῖσιν . . . χέρητες; 17. 218 τὸν ὁμοῖον ἀγει θεὸς ὡς τὸν ὁμοῖον; 265-6 n., 776 n.

φῶρα : cf. *Il.* 2. 239 εἰ μεγ' ἀρέινονα φῶρα, 7. 111, 14. 377, *Od.* 11. 621. Hesiod uses the word again in 793.

194. μυθοῖσι σκολοῖς ἐνέπων : he makes false claims and accusations. σκολοῖς ἐνέπωντες is used of the judges in 262.

ἐπὶ δ' ὄρκον οἰεῖται : 'and will swear his oath on it', cf. *Il.* 1. 233, 9. 132/274, 23. 42, *Od.* 20. 229; Plaut. *Amp.* 889 *alique adiuret inaper*. From being used in contexts such as the present one, ἐπίτορκον ὁμοῖα acquired the sense of 'swear falsely' (*Th.* 232, 793, *Il.* 3. 279, etc.); hence εἰ δέ τι τῶνδ' ἐπίτορκον *Il.* 19. 264, ἐπίτορκος 'perjurer' *Op.* 804, ἐπίτορκέω, etc. Cf. Leumann, *Hom. Wörter*, pp. 79 ff.; E. Benveniste, *Le Vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes*, ii. 170 f. Other explanations in Frisk's and Chantraine's etymological dictionaries.

195. Ζήλος : *Th.* 384 n. The previous sentence leads naturally to a remark about Envy.

196. δυσκέλυδος : 'causing commotion'; cf. 220 τῆς δὲ Δίκης ῥόθος ἐλκομένης. Homer applies the word to a rout.

κακόχαρος : this Zelos is thus linked with the bad Eris (28). The good Eris is accompanied by a good Zelos (23, 312).

συμπερώπης : the hate in the envious man's face is attributed to the god's. Compounds of this type are usually accented paroxytone when the penultimate syllable is long, e.g. εὐάδης, κακοήθης. In other compounds in -ωπης, manuscripts apparently give -ωπῆς (-εος, etc.) in Theophr. *CP.* 3. 15. 2, Diosc. 2. 141 and 3. 45. 3, [Orph.] *A.* 14, -ώπης in S. *Ar.* 955, [Opp.] *C.* 2. 317, Triph. 69, while in Nic. *Al.* 442 they are divided, as in Hesiod. The choice will have been made in general in the early Middle Ages; cf. p. 86. συμπερώπης seems not to occur elsewhere. It is inelegantly placed after the verb.

197-200 : imitated in Thgn. 1135 ff. (cf. 96 n.).

198. λευκοῖσιν φάρεσσι : suggesting modesty and purity. φαρ(φ)ος always has a long α in Homer; -έεσσι has encroached on -εοσι in the

tradition, as in 149, 186, *al.* A.R. 3. 863 has *σὺν ὀφθαλμοῖς (-οισι L)* *φαρέσσιν*.

καλυψαμένω: Thgn. 579 *ἐχθαίρω κακὸν ἄνδρα, καλυψαμένη δὲ πάρεμιν*. Greek originally had no separate feminine dual form, and down to the end of the fifth century we find the masculine form being used instead in participles and adjectives: 199 *προλυπόντες*, *Il.* 8. 378 *προφάνετε* (v.l. ant. -είσας), 455 *πληγύνετε*, S. fr. 861 cj. *θροαύνετε*, *OC* 1113 *ἐμφύνετε*, 1676 *ἰδούτε* *καὶ παθούσα* (*παθόντε* Brunck, *Wackernagel*); *IG* i². 313. 111 f. (Eleusis, 408/7 B.C.) *μεγάλω* and *συμκράω*. Feminine forms were created by analogy in several dialects, appearing in Attic from the fifth century, in Arcadian and Boeotian in the fourth, in Locrian in the third. But in basic words like *δύω*, *ἄμφω*, *τώ*, *αὐτά*, *τούτω*, *ἐκείνω*, the masculine forms remained the norm. See *Wackernagel*, *Sprachl. Unters. zu Homer*, p. 59 n. 2; Troxler, p. 111 n. 4.

199. *ἀθανάτων μετὰ φύλον*: *Th.* 202 n.; Richardson on *h. Dem.* 36. 200. *Αἰδώς* καὶ *Νέμεσις*: also coupled in *Il.* 13. 121 f. ἀλλ' ἐν *φρεσὶ θέεβε ἕκαστος* | *αἰδῶ καὶ νέμεσιν*, cf. 11. 649 *αἰδοῖος νεμεσηρός*; fr. 204. 82 *νέμεσιν τ' ἀποθέτω καὶ αἰδῶ*. Aristotle takes them together in *EN* 1108^a32 ff. Both are forces that inhibit wickedness, one working from inside, the other, public disapproval, from without. Aidos is personified again in 324; Nemesis appeared in *Th.* 223 as a daughter of Night, after the Moirai and Keres. (Cf. Solmsen, *Hesiod and Aschylus*, p. 81 n. 18.)

τὰ δέ: those described above.

λεῖψεται ἄλγεα λυγρὰ: cf. *Il.* 24. 742 (*λελείψεται*).

201. *κακοῦ δ' οὐκ ἔσται αἰκή*: *Th.* 876 n.

202-12. The hawk and the nightingale. This little fable continues the theme of Dike and Hybris, and the series of stories; cf. p. 49. Animal fables can be traced back to Sumerian literature of the early second millennium, and the virtual identity of some Greek specimens with earlier-attested Babylonian ones shows that the Greek tradition is not independent of the oriental. Cf. p. 28. In archaic and classical Greek literature the fable is used in addressing a particular person, as a means of commenting on his behaviour or situation: Archil. 174-81, 185-7, Hdt. 1. 141. 1-2, S. *Aj.* 1142-58, *Ar.* V. 1399-1405, 1427-32, 1435-40, X. *Mem.* 2. 7. 13-14, Arist. *Meteor.* 356^b11-17, *Rhet.* 1393^b8-94^a2. (Cf. also A. fr. 231, *Ag.* 717-36, Antisth. fr. 100, Pl. *Alcib.* 123a.) Similarly in Hebrew literature: 2 Sam. 12: 1, 2 Kings 14: 9. This is the pattern that Hesiod is following, but he does not succeed in making effective rhetorical use of it. The hawk's hybris matches the kings' without putting it in a ridiculous light or showing it to be ill-advised. They might more aptly have told the tale to Hesiod, as Cyrus in Hdt. 1.c. tells the defeated Ionians the tale of the fisherman who told the fish in his net to stop dancing. It is the hawk, after all, who pronounces the moral.

As it is, Hesiod can only proceed by saying, 'Well, don't you behave like that' (213, with Perses displacing the incorrigible kings), and

later 'birds and beasts may eat each other, but there is a different law for men' (276 ff.). This is to negate the parallelism of animal and man which is fundamental to the genus fable.

He may well be adapting an existing fable. Similar in spirit, though entirely different in substance, is the Sumerian fable of the butcher who slaughters the pig, saying 'Must you squeal? This is the road which your sire and grandsire travelled, and now you are going on it: and yet you squeal' (Walcot, *Hesiod and the Near East*, p. 90). The later Aesopica offer two hawk-and-nightingale stories. One (4 Perry) is like Hesiod's, but the nightingale pleads that she is too small to satisfy the hawk's appetite, and he replies 'But I would be stupid to pass up what I have got for prey that is not yet in sight'. It is not obvious that this is pre-Hesiodic, as claimed by W. Aly, *Volkmärchen Sage und Novelle bei Herodot und seinen Zeitgenossen*, p. 26. In the other story (567) the nightingale has to sing for the hawk, who threatens her young. He then takes the nestling anyway, saying the song was not good enough, but suddenly he is caught by a fowler with a lined stick. We find here what we miss in Hesiod, the subjection of the bad bird by another, higher power. This motif is also a feature of Archilochus' fable of the fox and the eagle. But Hesiod seems not have known of such an ending, or he would surely have used it.

Hesiod's fable is usefully discussed by Sellschopp, *Stilistische Unters. zu Hes.*, pp. 84-6; Ll. W. Daly, *TAPA* 92, 1961, 45-51; M. Neijgaard, *La Fable antique*, i. 442-6; C. B. Welles, *GRBS* 8, 1967, 17-19; E. Livrea, *Giorn. It. di Filol.* 22, 1970 (2), 1-20; M. Puchner, *Mus. Helv.* 29, 1972, 86-109.

202. Cf. Archil. 185. 1 *ἐπέω τιν' ὕμιν αἶων ὦ Κληρυίδην*, and above on 106-7.

νῦν: in passing to a new section, *Il.* 2. 484, 681, *al.*; Xenoph. B 7 quoted on 106-7.

αἶων: of a fable or other story with an implied message in it for the hearer, *Od.* 14. 508, Archil. 174. 1, 185. 1, Call. fr. 194. 6, Theoc. 14. 43; cf. [Ammon.] *de diff. voc.* 18 N. Related are the senses 'proverb' (E. fr. 508, Call. fr. 178. 9), i.e. a saying not explicitly referring to the situation in hand but asking to be so interpreted, and 'riddle' (Panarces, *Iambi et Elegi.* ii. 91, (a) 1). *αὐτίστρομα* is 'say allegorically', 'hint at' a truth by indirect means; hence *αἰνυμός*, *αἰνυμα*, for which 'riddle' is too narrow a translation.

βοστρεῦς: 38 n. The elision (34 n.) is favoured by the fact that *ἐπέω* is trisyllabic elsewhere in Hesiod (286, 661) and constantly in Homer; though it is disyllabic in *h. Dem.* 406, and in Archil. 168. 3 (dactylic colon), 185. 1.

φρονέουσι καὶ αὐτοῖς: the ancient variant *νοέουσι* is probably from *Il.* 1. 577 *μητιρ' δ' ἐγὼ παράφημι καὶ αὐτῇ περ νοέουσθι*, 23. 305 *μηβέτρ' εἰς ἀγαθὰ φρονέων νοέοντι καὶ αὐτῶ*. If it were original, it is hard to see how *φρονέουσα* arose. Jacoby, *Kl. phil. Schr.* i. 389 n. 114, sees the phrase as a 'polite formula', that Hesiod concedes to the kings' rank. He compares A. *PV* 307 f. *ὁρῶ Προμηθεύ, καὶ παρανέσσα γέ σοι | θέλω*

τὰ λῶστα καίπερ ὄντι ποικίλῳ, and Hor. *Epist.* 1. 17. 1 f. Perhaps it is not so much being polite as pressing the kings to agree. Cf. *Hermes'* winning αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ χθιζὺς γενόμεν' τὰ δέ τ' ὅδε καὶ αὐτρός, and οἶδα καὶ αὐτρός | ὡς οὐκ αὐτιός εἰμι (*h. Herm.* 376, 382 f.); or the soul's plea to the guardians of the water of Memory, αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ γένος οὐράνιον' τῶδε δ' ἔσται αὐτοὶ (*G. Zuntz, Perséphone*, p. 359). 'You know it's true, admit it.'

203. Perry, *TAPA* 71, 1940, 399 n. 26, observes that the nub of many fables is what someone said under certain circumstances. In Hesiod this is emphasized from the start. The order of presentation has a close parallel in *Carm. conv.* 892 ὁ καρκίνος ὧδ' ἔφα | χαλὰ τῶν ὀφνυ λαβών | "εὐθὺν χρὴ τὸν ἑταῖρον ἐλμεν καὶ μὴ σκολιά φρονεῖν". The Aesopic version, typical of the later collections, begins 'A nightingale was sitting on a tall tree singing as usual, when a hawk spied her . . . ὧδ' : 24 times in Homer introducing a speech, but only when the subject is *τις*, ὧδε δέ τις εἶπεν or the like. The freer use recurs in *h. Dem.* 459 (with *προσέειπε* as here) and in lyric. See R. Führer, *Formproblem-Untersuchungen zu den Reden in der Frühgr. Lyrik*, pp. 11 f. ἀηδόνα : the hawk's standard prey in Homer is the dove (*Il.* 21. 493, 22. 140, *Od.* 15. 527; also an eagle's, 20. 243); jackdaws, starlings, and ringdoves also appear in this role (*Il.* 15. 238, 16. 538, 17. 755). Hesiod prefers a nightingale because it stands for himself, cf. 208. Sch. vet. καλῶς οὖν ἑαυτὸν ἀηδόνη ἀπῆλκε, μουσικὸν γὰρ τὸ ὄρνειον. Alternative identifications of the bird as the kings (with the hawk = Zeus: M. Skafte Jensen, *Classica et Mediaevalia* 27, 1966, 21 f.) or as Dike (Livrea, on the strength of the parallel between 208 and 220) are unconvincing.

ποικιλόειπον : not very appropriate to the nightingale; it can hardly be taken to refer to the bird's seasonal colour change (*Arist. HA* 632^b25) or to its voice (*Tz.*, Moschop.; *Opp. H.* 1. 728 ἀηδόνας αἰολοφώνων). It would better suit the thrush, which in summer ποικίλα τὰ περὶ τὸν αὐχένα ἵσχει (*Arist.* 632^b19). Thrushes are associated with doves in *Od.* 22. 468, and one might conjecture (i) that the epithet was transferred to a dove through such association, in some passage where both birds were mentioned, and that Hesiod's nightingale is a substitute for a dove in an earlier form of the fable, or (ii) that in an earlier form of the fable the hawk's prey actually was a thrush. *Alc.* 345. 2 applies the epithet to the *πτηνέλοιοι*.

204. ὄψι, μάλ', ἐν νεφέεσσιν : cf. *Od.* 16. 264, *h. Aphr.* 67 (v.l.); ὄψι, μάλα *Il.* 17. 723.

205-6. Before the hawk says τί λέληκας; Hesiod wants to tell us himself that the nightingale was crying. Hence this parenthesis, which necessitates a new *προσέειπεν*, the force of the first one being spent.

ἑλεόν : only here, for ἑλεένος. The accent, distinguishing it from the noun ἑλεος, is vouched for by sch. vet. Cf. ἀλεόν (*Hesych.*) for the usual ἀλεεών. Discussion in Troxler, pp. 172 f. In *Il.* 2. 314 a snake eats eight young sparrows, ἐλεεὶνὰ περιγιάσας.

ἀμφ' : Greek uses ἀμφί or περί where a body falls or is impaled on

something sharp, because when a spike is stuck into you, you are round it. *E.g. Il.* 23. 30 βόες ἄργοι δρέχθων ἀμφὶ σιδήρῳ | σφαζόμενοι, *Od.* 12. 395 κρέα δ' ἀμφ' ὀβελοῖσι μεμυκεί; *Il.* 21. 577 περὶ δοῦρι πεπαρμένῳ, 8. 86, 13. 441, 570, 16. 315, 17. 295, *Od.* 9. 394, 11. 424, 5. 41. 828; *Ar.* V. 523 περιπτεοῦμαι τῷ ξίφει, *Antiphon* 3. 3. 6; *Opp. H.* 5. 547 γλωχίται περισπαλῆσαι σιδήρου, *Q.S.* 1. 624.

δνύχεσθαι : the Greeks were less sensitive than we to the repetition of a word at a short interval.

μῦπερσ : properly 'was running with tears', but evidently the word was already used more generally for 'wail, lament'.

τὴν δ' : with δ' omitted (*ω₂*; Peppmüller, *Philol.* 39, 1880, 392) the effect is resumptive: 'her, then, he addressed'. Cf. *Th.* 583, *Il.* 2. 109. With the particle it is a simple narrative progression following ἡ δέ . . . μῦπερσ, abandoning the structure begun in 203.

207-11. Puelma, pp. 89, 93, notes some similarities to the triumphant speeches of Homeric warriors who have brought their opponent down. We find there the motifs 'You fool' (*νήπιε, νηπίυιε, Il.* 16. 833, 21. 410, 22. 333); 'why do you try to withstand me?' (21. 481, Hera to Artemis before putting her to flight); 'I am much stronger than you' (21. 186-91, 410, 488, cf. 16. 834); 'for all that you are a . . .' (21. 185, 483); 'you are going to suffer a dreadful fate' (16. 896, 22. 335); 'it is no good fighting against those stronger than yourself' (21. 184, 193-9, 486). There is no fixed sequence.

207. δαυμονίη : this form of address is studied by Elisabeth Brunijs-Nilsson, *AIMONIE* (Diss. Uppsala, 1955).

λέληκας : the expression of continuous noises by the perfect is Homeric: *Il.* 17. 263 f. ὡς δ' ὄρε . . . | βέβρυχεν μέγα κύμα, 4. 435 (ὄες) μεμακυίας, 18. 580 μεμυκώς, 2. 314 περιγιάσας, etc.; cf. *Thgn.* 1229 ἦδη γὰρ με κέκληκε θαλάσσιος οἰκαδε νεκρός (a conch); λάσκω is a surprising word for the nightingale (Puelma, p. 93 n. 33); in *Il.* 22. 141 it is the hawk pursuing its prey that is described as ὄν λεληκώς, and perhaps it was so in an earlier version of the fable. *Mel. adesp.* S 460. 8 ἐῖν κάρσις ἀηδονίς ὧδε λέλακε may derive from Hesiod.

ἀρετών absolute, 'one superior' : cf. *Th.* 572-3 n.

208. τῇ . . . ἡ . . . ἄνω : cf. *Th.* 386-7 n. Headlam-Knox on Herond. 5. 43 give a collection of similar expressions.

εἰς : this form only here. Nauck and Paley may be right to advocate the Homeric εἰσθα. But εἰς has good analogies in *τίθης, ἱστῆς*, etc., and especially in εἰς 'you are' (Ionic), and for all we know it may have been the ordinary Ionic form.

ἡ σ' ἄν : the intrusion of the pronoun between ἡ and ἄν is against Attic-Ionic and epic usage, and betrays the influence of Hesiod's home dialect. αἰ τῆς κα (= Attic εἰν τῆς) is widely attested in the West Greek dialects, and occurs (though it does not predominate) in Boeotian; for σ in this position cf. *GDI* 3339. 70 (Epidauros) αἰ τῷ κα ὕμῃ ποιήσω. Hesiod does a similar thing in 280. *Thgn.* 633 σ' τοί κ' ἐπὶ τὸν νόον ἔλθῃ was presumably composed by a Dorian (possibly Theognis). *Sapph.* 5. 3 κώσσα *ῥ* τοῖ θυμῷ κε θέλῃ γένεσθαι indicates an

even greater freedom in Lesbian. In Hellenistic Greek the confluence of different dialects led to some inconsistency, see Wackernagel, *Kl. Schr.* ii. 994-9.

πρρ: the 'determinative' use illustrated by Denniston, p. 482, stressing ἐγώ to the exclusion of alternative subjects.

αἰδὼν: the word is chosen to point the correspondence between the bird and the poet. There is an implication that a singer is a person of standing. αἰδώς cannot change its ending when feminine, because αἰδώς is bespoken for the sense 'song'. Similarly with φωνός, πομπός, τροφός, ἀρωγός: Wackernagel, *Synt.* ii. 15.

209. The hawk's absolute power is described like a god's: he can do one thing, or the complete opposite, just as he wishes. Cf. on 5 ff., *Th.* 28, 442-3.

δ': Mitscherlich's σ' would be an easy change; asyndeton would not be out of place, cf. *Th.* 533 n. But his punctuation before instead of after καὶ αἰδὼν εἶσθαι is hopelessly artificial.

210-11. Athetized by Aristarchus, ὥς ἐλόγῳ γνωμολογεῖν οὐκ ἂν προσήκον. Tzetzes sees no objection to animals moralizing if they are to have human speech at all. He misses the point, as usual. Aristarchus was evidently familiar with fables in which animals spoke but did not blatantly pronounce the moral; his idea of the fable was presumably based principally on the collection of Demetrius of Phalerum. Yet 'the great majority of fables from all periods end with a speech by one of the characters; and even when this speech does not take the form of a statement of a general truth, it nevertheless seems always designed to point the moral of the fable, insofar at least as any moral was intended' (Perry, *TAPA* 71, 1940, 403). The gnomic final speech looks regular in P. Ryl. 493 (which has been thought to be a fragment of Demetrius); cf. Babr. 6, 112, 143, Phacdr. 1. 26, 3. 15, 4. 20. Apart from Hesiod, there is an early example of the moralizing animal in the skolion quoted on 203. So Aristarchus' view is a little surprising. The 'epimythium', where the moral is stated by the author at the end of the fable, had been invented by his time (Enn. *ap.* Gell. 2. 29) but did not become standard practice till after Babrius (Perry, art. cit.).

The hawk's moral has parallels in the epimythia of certain fables of the Augustana collection: οὕτως οἱ τοῖς κρείττοσιν ἀναβαλλόμενοι πρὸς τῷ ἐκείνων μὴ ἐπικέσθαι καὶ γέλωτα ὀφλισκάνουσιν (104, 125); οὕτως οἱ τοῖς πράγμασιν ἀπεισιδέεσσις ἐπιχειροῦντες πρὸς τῷ δυστυχῶν γὰρ γέλωτα ὀφλισκάνουσιν (81). It is not strikingly apt for the nightingale, who (in this version at least) has not tried to match herself against the hawk, but for Hesiod and the kings it will serve. So Aegisthus advises the protesting elders πρὸς κέντρα μὴ λακτίτεις, μὴ παύσας μωρῆς (*Ag.* 1624).

ἄφρων δ' ὅς κε: cf. *Od.* 8. 209 f. More often νήπιος.

ἐθέλη: 'chooses to', cf. 39 n., 280; *h.* 4p. 532 f. νήπιος ἀνθρωποι... οἱ μελεδώντας | βοῦλεσθ' ἀργαλέους τε πόνοους.

κρείσσοντας: κρείσσοντας (*II*₃₈) may be correct, but the tradition of Hesiod as of Homer is heavily in favour of κρείσων, μεΐζων; see *Th.*

748 n. The plural is not used because the kings are plural (*G.* Radatz, *De Promethei fabula*, Diss. Greifswald, 1909, 32 n.), it is simply generalizing. Cf., besides the Aesopic epimythia quoted above, *II.*

21. 184 f. χαλεπὸν τοι ἐπισθενέος Κρονίως | παῖον ἐπιζέμεναι (i.e. against Achilles); 485 f. ἦ τοι βέλτερόν ἐστι... ἢ κρείσσουσιν ἱπὶ μάχεσθαι (sc. Hera); *Pind.* *O.* 10. 39 f. νεικὸς δὲ κρεσσάνων ἀποθέσθ' ἀπὸρον; *N.* 10. 72 χαλεπὰ δ' ἐπὶς ἀνδρώποισι ὀμλεῖν κρεσσάνων; *S. El.* 219 f. τὰ δὲ τοῖς δυνατοῖς οὐκ ἐρίσθ' ἀπὸ τῶν πλάθεν; *Ani.* 63 f. οὐνεκ' ἀρχόμεσθ' ἐκ κρεσσάνων | καὶ ταῦτ' ἀκούειν κατὰ τῶνδ' ἀλγίονα; *Append. Prov.* 1. 100 κρεσσάνων γὰρ καὶ δίκαια κἀκὶ ἐστ' ἀκούειν.

The explanatory nature of 211 justifies the asyndeton, cf. *Th.* 533 n. πρὸς τ' αἰσχεῖσθαι αἰγέα: Merkelbach's πρὸς τ' αἰσχεῖσθαι αἰγέα is more like the Aesopic epimythia, and our phrase 'add insult to injury', but the transmitted text is defensible. Failure is in any event something to be ashamed of. It would be αἰσχρόν for the kings to yield to their inferiors, but not necessarily αἰσχεῖσθαι, whereas he who measures himself against superior might can be sure of a drubbing. The combination αἰγός and αἰγέα perhaps recurs, as the reward of vain ambition, in *Thgn.* 1031-2, but the text is uncertain (*Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus*, p. 162). Cf. also *E. Cycl.* 670.

212. ὠκυπέτης: only of horses in Homer (hawks being ὠκύς or ὠκυπτερός), but the etymological equivalent ἄστυπτερος is applied to a hawk in *Rgo.* 4. 26. 4 (*M. Durante, Rendic. Acc. Naz. dei Lincei* 17, 1962, 31 = *Indog. Dichtersprache* (above), p. 26 n. 2), p. 302). τανυστίτερος ὄρνις: *Th.* 525, cf. *Od.* 5. 65, *Alc.* 345.

213-85. The superiority of Dike over Hybris. See pp. 38 and 49 f. 213. ὦ Πέρση, σὺ δέ: 27. After the fable comes the application to the addressee: Archil. 181. 12 σὺ δὲ θυμὸς ἐπείτα...; *S. Aj.* 1147 οὕτω δὲ καὶ σέ...; *Ar.* *V.* 1432 οὕτω δὲ καὶ σὺ...; *Call. epigr.* 1. 16 οὕτω καὶ σὺ... (Perry, art. cit. 394-6). But Perses is substituted for the expected kings, to whom Hesiod could only say 'There, you are like that'. To Perses he can say 'But don't you be like that, it doesn't suit your station'. His choice of expression is conditioned by the end of the fable: 'But you, Perses, listen (not to the hawk but) to Righteousness'. There are similar 'But you's in 298, 306, 335.

ἄκουε: Wilamowitz accepts αἰε from *ε.* αἰ- appears as a minor variant for ἀκου- also in *II.* 2. 486, 15. 506, *Od.* 1. 352, 353. (Conversely ἀκούοντες is an unmetrical v.l. for αἰόντες in *Od.* 17. 435, while in 2. 42 Zenodotus read ἦον for ἔλθον.) The scansion αἰ- is otherwise attested only in *GVI* 1920. 1 (i a.d.) and in some Byzantine ionics in sch. *Heph.* p. 285, 23 Conbruch. Schulze, *Kl. Schr.* p. 347 (cf. *Quaest. epicae*, p. 357), interprets it as *αε-, an e-grade present corresponding to the zero-grade aorist αἶον. So also Bechtel, *Gr. Dial.* iii. 191-3. It would be a tenable view that it is everywhere to be preferred to the variant ἀκου-, and that the familiar word has displaced it. But I know no parallel in the Homeric tradition for such a systematic and largely triumphant encroachment, and I find it as