

HESIOD
WORKS & DAYS

*Edited with
Prolegomena and Commentary
by
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PREFACE

A WAGGISH pupil, observing what I was engaged with, ordered from the stack of the Bodleian Library a book entitled *Garden Rubbish*, and directed it to be delivered to my desk. I did not profit from this no doubt instructive work, for it never arrived. Instead came an assistant bearing the information—surprising to one who had not heard of the book—that *Garden Rubbish* was kept in the Science Library and therefore could not be brought to me where I was. But I was grateful for the joke, and for the reminder that some people, being not on close terms with the *Works and Days*, suppose it to be an early Greek *Georgics*. Quite recently I read in an Inaugural Lecture by an excellent scholar the statement that ‘Hesiod wrote a whole poem, the *Works and Days*, to inculcate the first principles of arable farming’. Such a one-sided view must be attributed chiefly to the pernicious influence of labels. Hesiod is traditionally labelled a didactic poet, and thereby assimilated to the later Greek and Latin didactic poets who systematically expounded some area of factual knowledge or practical art, and who indeed looked back to him as the founder of the genre. The concept of the literary genre is a useful one, but it should not be thought of as a sort of Platonic form that existed unchanged from the beginning of Greek literature, and it should not be allowed to hinder us from seeing a particular work as it is. The fact is that in some respects the *Works and Days* has better analogues outside Graeco-Roman literature than within it. In the present work it appears in a different exhibition case under a different label.

The book follows the pattern of my 1966 edition of the *Theogony*, and is designed to be as far as possible complementary to it. I have made frequent cross-references to the earlier work to avoid repetition of material. In the Prolegomena I have done without sections on language, style, and metre, because they were dealt with before with reference to both poems. There is more emphasis this time on Hesiod himself and his mental processes. I believe that the understanding of many works of

εἰ δέ σε ναυτιλῆς δυσπεμφέλου ἡμερος αἰρεῖ·
 εὐτ' ἂν Πληιάδες σθένος ὄβριμον Ὠρίωνος
 620 φεύγουσαι πίπτωσιν ἐς ἠεροειδέα πόντον,
 δὴ τότε παντοίων ἀνέμων θυίουσιν ἀήται·
 καὶ τότε μηκέτι νῆας ἔχειν ἐν οἴνοπι πόντῳ,
 γῆν δ' ἐργάζεσθαι μεμνημένος, ὥς σε κελεύω.
 νῆα δ' ἐπ' ἠπείρου ἐρύσαι πυκάσαι τε λίθοισιν
 625 πάντοθεν, ὄφρ' ἴσχωσ' ἀνέμων μένος ὑγρὸν ἀέντων,
 χεῖμαρον ἐξερύσας, ἵνα μὴ πύθη Διὸς ὄμβρος.
 ὄπλα δ' ἐπάρμενα πάντα τεῶν ἐγκάτθεο οἴκῳ,
 εὐκόσμως στολίσας νηὸς πτερὰ ποντοπόροιο·
 πηδάλιον δ' εὐεργές ὑπὲρ καπνοῦ κρεμάσασθαι·
 630 αὐτὸς δ' ὠραῖον μίμνειν πλόον, εἰς ὃ κεν ἔλθῃ·
 καὶ τότε νῆα θοῆν ἀλαδ' ἐλκόμεν, ἐν δέ τε φόρτον
 ἄρμενον ἐντύνασθαι, ἵν' οἴκαδε κέρδος ἄρηαι·
 ὥς περ ἐμός τε πατὴρ καὶ σὸς μέγα νήπιε Πέρση
 πλωίζεσκ' ἐν νηυσὶ βίου κεκρημένος ἐσθλοῦ.
 635 ὅς ποτε καὶ τύιδ' ἦλθε πολὺν διὰ πόντον ἀνύσσας
 Κύμην Αἰολίδα προλιπὼν ἐν νηὶ μελαινῇ,
 οὐκ ἄφενος φεύγων οὐδὲ πλοῦτόν τε καὶ ὄλβον,
 ἀλλὰ κακὴν πενήνῃ, τὴν Ζεὺς ἀνδρεσσι δίδωσιν·
 νάσσατο δ' ἄγχ' Ἐλικῶνος οὐζυρῆ ἐνὶ κόμῃ,
 640 Ἄσκηρῃ, χεῖμα κακῆ, θέρει ἀργαλέῃ, οὐδέ ποτ' ἐσθλῆ.
 τύνῃ δ' ὦ Πέρση ἔργων μεμνημένος εἶναι
 ὠραίων πάντων, περὶ ναυτιλῆς δὲ μάλιστα.

618 Et_{GMSZ} s. δυσπέμφελος (ex e ?); (ν. δ.) sch. Il. 16. 748b, cf. Eu. 1084. 40, 1153. 66 625 (ἀν.-) Et_{BMS} s. ἀέντες, Eu. 1468. 16 626 (χ.) Eu. 525. 33 628 (ν. πτ.) sch. Aristid. iii. 54. 23 Dind. 629 sch. Ar. Av. 711 631 (ἐν-) +632 (ἐντ.) Et_B s. ἐντύνω 636 (-πρ.) +639-40 Str. 13. 3. 6 p. 622; 639-40 id. 9. 2. 25 p. 409, Cert. Hom. et Hes. 1. 5, sch. Nic. Th. 11a; 640 Favor. Exil. 26. 5, Eu. 270. 38, An. Par. iii. 193. 20; (-ἀργ.) sch. Il. 2. 507a, Max. Tyr. p. 286. 12 H., cf. Lucian. 51. 19

618 αἰρεῖ sscr. η ψ₅ 621 θύουσιν ο (θύουσιν ψ₄φ₄^{γρ}) 622 νῆα Solmsen; possis νῆα γ' ἐπὶ ψ₁₂+ 623 δ' om. ψ₆ψ₉ (non Tz) 627 τ' Tr ἐνκάτθεο Pr^λψ₃ac²ω₄ 632 ἐντύνασθ' ἵνα Heinrich ap. Twisten 71 ἄρηαι Peppmüller, Rh. Mus. 40, 1885, 625 634 ἐνὶ Schaefer, cf. 689 635 τυιδ' vel τειδ' Bergk, Gr. Lit. i. 1020 n. 127 cl. Pr: τῆδ' ο πολὺν GDTzΦψ: βαθὺν Prφ₄^{γρ}ψ₁₄ω₄ 637 ἀφενον ω₃φ₉ 639 εἴσατο Cert. 640 θέρος Eu. οὐδέποτ' ψ*ι*: οὐποτ' CDΦψ₉ψ₁₀ Eu.

νῆ' ὀλίγην αἰνεῖν, μεγάλη δ' ἐνὶ φορτία θέσθαι·
 645 μείζων μὲν φόρτος, μείζον δ' ἐπὶ κέρδει κέρδος
 ἔσσεται, εἴ κ' ἀνεμοὶ γε κακὰς ἀπέχουσιν ἀήτας.
 εὐτ' ἂν ἐπ' ἐμπορίῃν τρέψας ἀεσίφρονα θυμὸν
 βούλῃαι χρέα τε προφυγεῖν καὶ λιμὸν ἀτερπέα,
 δειξῶ δὴ τοι μέτρα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης,
 οὔτε τι ναυτιλῆς σεσοφισμένος οὔτε τι νηῶν·
 650 οὐ γάρ πώ ποτε νηὶ γ' ἐπέπλων εὐρέα πόντον,
 εἰ μὴ ἐς Εὐβοίαν ἐξ Αὐλίδος, ἢ ποτ' Ἀχαιοὶ
 μείναντες χειμῶνα πολὺν σὺν λαὸν ἀγειραν
 Ἑλλάδος ἐξ ἱερῆς Τροίῃν ἐς καλλιγύναικα.
 655 ἔνθα δ' ἐγὼν ἐπ' ἄεθλα δαΐφρονος Ἀμφιδάμαντος
 Χαλκίδα τ' εἰς ἐπέρησα· τὰ δὲ προπεφραδμένα πολλὰ
 ἀθλ' ἔθεσαν παῖδες μεγαλήτορος· ἐνθά μὲ φημι
 ὑμῶν νικήσαντα φέρειν τρίποδ' ὠτώοντα.
 τὸν μὲν ἐγὼ Μούσης Ἑλικωνιάδεσσ' ἀνέθηκα,
 660 ἔνθά με τὸ πρῶτον λυγυρῆς ἐπέβησαν αἰοιδῆς.
 τόσσόν τοι νηῶν γε πεπείρημαι πολυγόμεφων·
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς ἐρέω Ζηνὸς νόον αἰγιόχοιο·
 Μοῦσαι γάρ μ' ἐδίδαξαν ἀθέσφατον ὕμνον αἰεῖδεν.
 ἤματα πεντήκοντα μετὰ τροπὰς ἡελίοιο,
 665 ἐς τέλος ἐλθόντος θέρεος, καματώδεος ὥρης,
 ὠραῖος πέλεται θνητοῖς πλόος· οὔτε κε νῆα
 καυάξαις οὔτ' ἀνδρας ἀποφθείσειε θάλασσα,

643 Plut. 22f, sch. Arat. 152, Eu. 610. 18; (-αἰν.) sch. Il. 9. 457b, Et_M s. αἰνεῖν, Eu. 802. 4, 1642. 31 649 Eu. in D.P. 707 (+οὐ γάρ ποτε νηὶ γ' ἔπλευσα); (-σεσ.) Clem. Str. 1. 25. 2 650 (ἐπ.-) AO iii. 259. 18 653 (Tr.-) cf. Eu. 385. 35 656 (ἐνθα-) 657 (-νικ.) Eu. 754. 39 662 Eu. in D. P. 1181 663 v. ad 564 666 = 693 (καυ.) Hsch. καυάξαι

643 ἐν DTr 645 κακὰς sscr. ους φ₅ ἀέλλας φ₂ C⁷ 646 τρέψας ΣΩDψ₇+; τρέψης TzΦψ* 647 βούλῃαι Sprohn: βούλει δὲ ο (βούλει δὴ φ₅+; βούλῃαι δὲ Mo⁷Tr) τε om. ψ₁₁ φυγεῖν ψ₆ac²ψ₉Mo⁷Tr, φεύγειν ψ₂ λιμὸν ἀτερπέα ψ₆ψ₉N²: λιμὸν ἀτερπέη CIDΦ: ἀτερπέα λιμὸν ψ* 648 ἔργα ψ₉ac 649 οὔτε bis Cω₂, οὔτε bis Nφ₄ σεσοφισμένος C, σεσοφισμένος Tz'φ₄c οὐδέ Eu.^{v1} 650¹-62 ath. Plut.; ἀθετοῦνται δέκα στίχοι (651-60?) Σ_c 650 γ' CD^{ras}Φψ*: δ' ψ₂φ₇: om. ψ₆ψ₁₂ ἐπέπλων φ₃⁷ 651 ἐς ΩD: εἰς Φψ ἀπ' αὐλίδος ψ₇ψ₁₀+ εἰ μὴ γ' εἰς... ἀπ' vel εἰ μὴ ἐς... γ' ἐξ Paley; Εὐβοίῃν? Wilamowitz 652 ξὺν ψ₁₂+ ἔγειραν ψ₆ 655-828 deest ω₄ 656 μεγαλήτορες ψ₇ψ₁₂+ ἔνθα ΩΦ 658 μούσαις D^cψ₁₂+Tr 659 ἐνθά ΩΦ λυγυρῆς C 660 τόσσόν Ω 662 οἴμον Hermann, Orphica 817 665 θνητοῖς ψ₄+; -οἴσι ο οὔτε CN 666 ἀποφθείσειε D^{ac} vel c: -φθῆ- ΩD^c vel ac: -φθῆ- Φψ

641 resumes the thread from 630-2, with an echo of 616 f.

τύνη: *Th.* 36 n.

643. The instruction proceeds from the point reached in 632.

Cf. p. 55.

αἰνεῖν: cf. *S. fr.* 28. 2 f. τὰ μὲν | δίκαι' ἐπαίνει, τοῦ δὲ κερδαίνειν ἔχου; *Virg. G. 2.* 412 f. *laudato ingentia rura, | exiguum colito* (*hoc etiam Cato ait in libris ad filium de agriculturá—Serv.*); *Juv. 1.* 74 *probitas laudatur et alget.* τὰ μὲν σ' ἐπαυνῶ, says Prometheus to Oceanus before declining his offer of help (*PV* 340), and in Attic the verb comes to mean 'politely decline'.

644. μείζων μὲν: explanatory asyndeton (*Th.* 533 n.).

ἐπὶ κέρδει κέρδος: for this idiom see 382 n. Combined with μείζων it makes an overloaded phrase. The similarity of μείζων μὲν . . . μείζων δὲ to 380 πλείων μὲν . . . μείζων δ' ἐπιθήκη may have put Hesiod in mind of the figure which he had used two lines later.

645. εἴ κ' ἀνεμοί γε κακὰς ἀπέχων ἀήτας: an escape-clause like 667-9. On the gender of ἀήται see 675 n.

646 ff. I have suggested on p. 55 that this paragraph was originally composed to open the sailing section, with εἰ δὲ κ' ἐπ' ἐμπορίην, and that εἶτ' ἄν was substituted when it was put in its present position. βούληται goes better after εἰ (one might expect βουληθῆς after εἶτ' ἄν), and εἰ βούληται . . . δείξω may be compared with 106.

ἐμπορίην: the primary meaning of ἐμπορος is 'passenger' on another's ship (*Od.* 2. 319, 24. 300). As trading was the commonest purpose of such travel, the word came to mean 'trader'. We have noted that Hesiod seems to picture him with his own vessel.

τρέψας ἀεσίφρονα θυμόν: the parallel of 315 f. confirms the participle, and τρέψεις . . . βούλει δὲ would weaken the second clause by detaching from it the specification 'by trading'. δὲ must therefore go; it is no place for δῆ, and Spohn's correction appears necessary. A serious corruption in the paradosis.

χρέα . . . καὶ λιμόν: cf. 404. χρεῶ only here for χρέεα, χρεῖα, χρεῶ; cf. κλέῶ, κρεῶ (532 n.).

λιμόν ἀτερπέα: *Il.* 19. 354 λιμός ἀτερπής. The variant ἀτερπέα λιμόν, a metrical *facilior lectio*, would have an analogue in *Od.* 11. 94 καὶ ἀτερπέα χῶρον.

648. δείξω: 502-3 n.

μέτρα . . . θαλάσσης: μέτρα is loosely used of the rules and formulae known to the expert, as in *Sol.* 13. 52 (of a poet) ἡμερηῆς σοφίης μέτρον ἐπιστάμενος; *Stes. S* 89. 7 f. (of Epeios) δαίς . . . μέτ[ρα] τε καὶ σοφίαν του[]; *S. fr.* 432. 8 ἐφηῦρε δ' ἄστρων μέτρα καὶ περιστροφάς. Cf. 694 μέτρα φυλάσσεσθαι. Differently *orac. ap. Hdt.* 1. 47. 3 οἶδα δ' ἐγὼ ψάμμου τ' ἀριθμόν καὶ μέτρα θαλάσσης (cf. *Pind. I.* 1. 37 ἀμετρήτας ἄλός); *Od.* 4. 389 = 10. 539 ὅς κέν τοι εἴπησιν ὁδὸν καὶ μέτρα κελεύθου; 3. 179 πέλαγος μέγα μετρήσαντες, cf. *A.R.* 1. 930, 2. 915, 4. 1779, *Mosch. Eur.* 157, *Leon. Alex. A.P.* 9. 106. 1, anon. 12. 156. 5, *D.P.* 716, Latin *mētiri*; *Theoc.* 16. 60 κύματα μετρεῖν (see *Gow ad loc.* and in *CR* 45, 1931, 10-12; *A. Y. Campbell, ibid.*, 117).

649 ff. *Sch. vet.* on 649 notes σημειοῦται ὁ στίχος οὗτος· εἰπὼν γὰρ εἶναι ἄπειρος ναυτίας πῶς ὑποτίθεται αὐτήν; Hesiod gives his answer in 662. Comparable passages are *Od.* 1. 200-2 αὐτὰρ νῦν τοι ἐγὼ μαντεύσομαι . . . | οὐτέ τι μάντις ἐὼν οὔτ' οἰωνῶν σάφα εἰδώς; *D.P.* 707-17 (imitation of Hesiod, as Eustathius observes); *Philostr. Her.* 11. 5 (Palamedes advises the Greeks on avoiding plague) ἱατρικῆς μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ἡψάμην, σοφία δὲ καταληπτὰ ἅπαντα. Van Groningen, *Hesiodae et Persæ*, p. 13 n. 37, refers to *Pl. Ion* 540d-1b, where Ion claims *qua* rhapsode to have a complete understanding of strategy, ἐκ τῶν Ὀμήρου μαθῶν.

649. ναυτιλίας . . . νηῶν: genitive as with εἰδώς *Od.* 1.c., *Il.* 2. 718, *al.*; διδασκόμενος 16. 811; ἐπιστάμενος *Od.* 21. 406; δεδακώς [*Hes.*] *fr.* 306; so with δαήμων, ἔμπειρος; *A. Soph.* 453 ἄδρις μᾶλλον ἢ σοφός κακῶν. Homer's use of verbs of knowing with the genitive is not confined to the participle, see Chantraine, ii. 55 f.

σεσοφισμένος: 'instructed'. σοφίη in early poetry is technical skill as possessed by the poet or musician (*fr.* 306, *Thgn.* 19, *Sol.* quoted on 648, *Sapph.* 56. 2, *Ibyc.* 282. 23, etc.), the carpenter (*Il.* 15. 412—here only in Homer; *Stes.* quoted on 648), the horse-rider (*Alcm.* 2. 6, *Anacr.* 417. 2), the assayer (*Thgn.* 120), the helmsman (*Archil.* 211), etc. *Margites fr.* 2 τὸν δ' οὔτ' ἄρ σκαπτῆρα θεοὶ θέσαν οὔτ' ἀροτῆρα | οὔτ' ἄλλως τι σοφόν· πάσης δ' ἡμάρτανε τέχνης.

650-62. Proclus records that Plutarch rejected as an interpolation 'all this about Chalcis, Amphidamas, the contest, and the tripod' and continued at 663. The note stands under a lemma from 650, but Proclus may not have been able to gauge the exact extent of Plutarch's athetesis from his commentary (see p. 68). In a manuscript containing scholia of Pertusi's class c, the sentence ἀθετοῦνται δέκα στίχοι διὰ τὸ νεώτερον τῆς ἱστορίας sits rudely in the middle of Proclus. It looks like a fragment of *sch. vet.* If so, the athetesis was probably Alexandrian. The ten lines affected were presumably 651-60.

The sophist Alcidas had taken the passage as the basis for his story of a contest between Homer and Hesiod (partly preserved in the extant *Certamen*; see *CQ* 17, 1967, 433-50). The success of Alcidas' work was such that to later critics the lines in Hesiod appeared to be a reference to the contest with Homer, which they rightly regarded as a later fiction. Hence the athetesis 'because the story is more recent'. Plutarch mentioned the inscription supposed to have been on the tripod (657 n.) as part of the tale, and said it was 'all nonsense' and 'had nothing sound in it'. In *Quaest. conv.* 674f he numbers the contest among stale topics of scholarly discussion; but in *Sept. sap. conv.* 153f he allows Periander to refer to it, at least as a story that is told.

650. νηί γ': the force of the particle is not 'by ship at any rate' (as if there were other means of crossing the sea) but 'for, as for ships, I have never . . .'. So, e.g., *Il.* 9. 394 Πηλεὺς θῆν μοι ἔπειτα γυναικὰ γε μάσσειται αὐτός (Aristarchus' text, which Maas, *Greek Metre*, § 87, wrongly questions as being 'strange on account of the γε').

651. εἰ μὴ ἐς Εὐβοίαν ἐξ Αὐλίδος: some 65 metres of water, scarcely 'the wide sea'. -*αν* may stand in the arsis, yet there is some attraction in the conjectures which avoid this, for a word scanning --*υ* would naturally have been put before a trochaic caesura, and it was easy to continue *ἀπ'* Αὐλίδος. It is unsafe to regard the appearance of *ἀπ'* in some *ψ* manuscripts as more than a scribal emendation after *ἐς* had become *εἰς*; the hiatus left after *μὴ* in this reading is unsatisfactory, especially as *μὴ* is a word that in ordinary speech had a particular tendency to be run into a following vowel. Hence Paley suggested *εἰ μὴ γ'* (*εἰ μὴ ἄρ'* would perhaps be preferable). His other idea *εἰ μὴ ἐς Εὐβοίαν γ'* is closer to what must be regarded as the *paradosis*, and altogether tempting; *εἰ μὴ . . . γε* *Il.* 9. 231, *Od.* 5. 178 = 10. 343, cf. *ὄτε μὴ . . . γε* *Il.* 13. 319. Wilamowitz's *Εὐβοίην* is a possibility (and he does not claim it to be more); cf. *Th.* 260 *δίη*, 938 *Μαίη*, with (*Th.*) p. 80. I do not know what he means by saying that such a form might 'still' have been possible 'in the proper name'.

ἢ ποτ' Ἀχαιοί: it shows how strong was the interest in heroic poetry, that Hesiod cannot mention Aulis without thinking of the Atreidai and their expedition. ἢ is properly 'via which', 'the way the Achaeans came when they'.

652. μείναντες χειμῶνα: in the *Cypria* (Procl. *Chrestom.*/Apollod. epit. 3. 21) and *A. Ag.* 149, 188 ff., they are delayed by stormy weather, presumably in the spring when they had expected to be able to sail; another version has them becalmed (Jebb on *S. El.* 563 f.). Hesiod's phrase is most naturally taken to mean 'waiting through the winter' (differently 674 f. *μένειν . . . χειμῶν' ἐπιόντα*). The version he knew, then, told of a winter passed at Aulis while the army assembled, but not necessarily of any further delay. The sacrifice of Iphimede-Iphigeneia first appears in fr. 23 (a). 17 ff., where the reason for it is not given. Homer mentions the gathering at Aulis (*Il.* 2. 303) but nothing more.

653. Ἑλλάδος: 527-8 n.

ἱερῆς . . . καλλιγύναικα: in Homer the first is an epithet of Troy, the second of Hellas. See Edwards, p. 80.

ἐς: cf. 611 n.

654. ἄεθλα δαΐφρονος Ἀμφιδάμαντος: the normal phrase is *ἄεθλα ἐπὶ τινι*, and was so already in seventh-century Boeotia (see Jeffery, *Local Scripts*, p. 91). The genitive has a parallel in *πατροφλυς ἀτλα* on a dinos by Sophilos (c. 580-70), Athens 15499: the form is extraordinary (for *πατροφλο* or *πατροκλεος*), but a genitive it must be.

It was not only the heroes of epic who were honoured with funeral games (Achilles in the *Aethiopsis*, cf. *Od.* 24. 85-92; Patroclus in *Il.* 23; Amarynceus, ib. 629 ff.; cf. 22. 162-4). Many great men and brave warriors were similarly honoured in historical times; see Jeffery, l.c., and Frazer, *Golden Bough*, iv. 92-6, who goes on to produce parallels from other parts of the world. Amphidamas' epithet, taken as 'warlike' rather than 'clever', implies that he has proved himself in battle, as does *μεγαλήτορος* in 656. Plutarch (*ap.* Procl.; *Mor.* 153f) says he

distinguished himself in Chalcis' struggles with the Eretrians for the Lelantine plain and died in a sea engagement. This would presumably antedate the earliest sea battle known to Thucydides (1. 13. 4), but it need not be rejected on that account. The information may have come from the Euboean historian Archemachus. See further *Th.*, pp. 43 f.

655. τ': the appositional use discussed by Denniston, p. 502.

656. ἀθλ' ἔθεσαν παῖδες μεγαλήτορος: cf. *Il.* 23. 631 *παῖδες δ' ἔθεσαν βασιλῆος ἄεθλα* (Nestor, like Hesiod, is boasting of his triumphs). *τίθημι* as ib. 263, 265, etc., *Od.* 24. 86; cf. *ἀθλοθέτης*, *ἀγωνοθέτης*, Pind. fr. 228 *τῶν ἐμμένων ἀγώνων*. Alcidas called the chief organizer Ganyc-tor (*Cert.* 6 l. 63), a name which also appears in the story of Hesiod's death (ib. 14 ll. 227, 241).

One expects *μεγαλήτορος Ἀμφιδάμαντος*. For the truncation of the phrase cf. *Od.* 18. 276 *ἀγαθὴν τε γυναικα καὶ ἀφνειοῖο θύγατρα* as against 14. 200 *ἀνέρος ἀφνειοῖο πάϊς*, and other examples in Meister, *Die hom. Kunstsprache*, p. 234. *μεγαλήτορος* is a *facilior lectio*.

It is a curious circumstance that *παῖδα . . . Ἀμφιδάμαντος* appears in the same part of the *Iliad* that describes funeral games (23. 87), as a boy killed by Patroclus in a childhood brawl. I suspect that Homer, with games already on his mind, seeking a name for an Opuntian nobody to go with *παῖδα*, was subconsciously influenced by the *Works and Days*. Those who insist on his priority must regard the homonymy as pure coincidence, for no one will suppose Hesiod's Amphidamas to be a fiction.

ἐνθά μὲ φημι: cf. *Od.* 8. 221 (another boast of prowess at games), and for the accusative Kühner-Gerth, ii. 32.

657: ὕμνω: as we see from 662, *Od.* 8. 429, *h. Ap.* 161, *Aphr.* 293, etc., the word is not yet specialized in the sense 'hymn' but may be used equally of narrative and didactic poetry. The poem Hesiod recited may have been the *Theogony*, or a version of it (*Th.*, pp. 44 f.).

ἄλλοι γράφουσιν "ὕμνω νικήσαντ' ἐν Χαλκίδι θεῖον Ὀμηρον" sch. This comes from a marginal quotation of the epigram which Hesiod inscribes on his tripod in Alcidas' story: *Ἡσίοδος Μούσαις Ἐλικωνίσι τόνδ' ἀνέθηκεν | ὕμνω νικήσας ἐν Χαλκίδι θεῖον Ὀμηρον* (*Cert.* 13 l. 213, Dio Prus. 2. 11, Procl. *vit. Hom.* 55 Severyns, *A.P.* 7. 53, cf. Varr. *ap.* Gell. 3. 11. 3, Plut. *ap.* Procl. on 650 ff.). The second line, being similar to this one, was foolishly mistaken for a variant.

τρίποδ': a usual prize at games, cf. *Il.* 11. 700, 22. 164, 23. 259, etc.; S. Benton, *BSA* 35, 1934/5, 102 ff., 114 f.; Jeffery, l.c. A fifth-century tripod found at Dodona bears the legend *Τερψικλῆς τῷ Δι Νατῶν ῥαψωιδὸς ἀνέθηκε* (*GDI* 5786; Ionian alphabet).

ὠπώντα: this is also the Homeric form, whereas Sim. 631, Antim. 91, Call. fr. 1. 31 use *ὠπατόεις* (but *ὠτώεις* Call. fr. 756). The situation resembles that of *ᾠρίων* and *ᾠαρίων* (598 n.).

658. τὸν μὲν: *Th.* 289 n.

Μούσης Ἐλικωνιάδεσσ': *Th.* 1 n.

ἀνέθηκα: Benton, art. cit., p. 114, writes 'Practically, however, a tripod-lebes was an awkward object to carry away, and a simple and honourable way of disposing of it was to dedicate it at the local shrine. Most of the tripods at Olympia, Delphi, Argos, Delos, and perhaps at Ithaca, should thus be regarded.' But Hesiod managed to take his prize back to Helicon, and still dedicated it. Many such dedications may have been made in fulfilment of vows, and made at the place of the victory because that was where the god concerned was established. That was not the case with Hesiod's Muses.

659. ἔνθά με τὸ πρῶτον: somewhere on the lower slopes of Helicon, *Th.* 23. Nic. *Th.* 11 has Hesiod composing *μυχάτοιο Μελισσηέντος ἐν ὄχθαις*, and the scholiast there says that Melisseis, called after a ruler Melisseus, was the place on Helicon where he 'found the Muses'. But Nicander may just mean 'Helicon'; see Livrea on Colluthus 23. According to Paus. 9. 31. 3 an ancient tripod said to be Hesiod's was to be seen in the Vale of the Muses. He does not say that it bore an inscription.

ἐπέβησαν: cf. Ibyc. 282 (S 151). 23 f. καὶ τὰ με[ν ἄν] Μοῖσαι σεσοφί[σ]μέναι | εἰδ' Ἑλικωνίδ[ε]ς ἐμβαίειν λόγω[ι]; *Th.* 396 n.; Becker, op. cit. (216 n.), pp. 68 ff.

660. νηῶν . . . πολυγόμεφων has the air of a formula but is not Homeric. Ibyc. l.c. had just written *κοίλα[ι νᾶες] πολυγόμεφοι* (17 f.). Cf. 809 n.

661. Ζηνὸς νόον αἰγιόχοιο: the seasonal cycle of wind and weather, which governs seafaring, is controlled by Zeus, and variable at his pleasure (483, 668). It is hard to say whether this simply reflects his traditional role as the sky-god (416 n.; he sends sea-winds, *Il.* 14. 19, *h. Ap.* 433, etc.) or his more developed status as the power responsible for the way the world works in general.

662. Μοῦσαι γὰρ μ' ἐδίδαξαν: cf. *Od.* 8. 488 ἢ σέ γε Μοῦσ' ἐδίδαξε Διὸς πάϊς ἢ σέ γ' Ἀπόλλων; Theoc. 7. 91 f. πολλὰ μὲν ἄλλα | Νύμφαι κῆμὲ δίδαξαν ἄν' ἄρα βουκολέοντα; Q.S. 13. 308 ff. When Phemius calls himself *αὐτοδιδάκτος* in *Od.* 22. 347, he is not claiming anything different, for the complementary *θεὸς δέ μοι ἐν φρεσὶν οἴμας | παντοίας ἐνέφυσεν* corresponds to 8. 480 f., (singers are respected) *οὔνεκ' ἄρα σφεας | οἴμας Μοῦσ' ἐδίδαξε*. He means that he did not learn from a teacher.

ἀθέσφατον: 'unlimited'. Cf. *Th.* 830; H. Fränkel, *ANTIΔΩΡΟΝ* (Festschr. Wackernagel, 1923), pp. 281 f.

ἕμνον: Hermann's *οἴμον*, though unnecessary (cf. 657 n.), deserves to be recorded, as the postulated corruption does occur at *h. Herm.* 451.

663. ἡμᾶτα πενήκοντα μετὰ τροπᾶς: this has been taken to mean either 'for a period of fifty days following the solstice' (Procl.) or 'when fifty days have passed after the solstice' (sch. vet.; G. L. Snider, *Teiresias* suppl. ii). It is doubtful whether the second can be justified grammatically—Snider can cite nothing more similar than *πολὸν μείζων*—and one cannot see why Hesiod should put the start of the sailing season so late. 670 makes it plain that he is thinking of the time of the

Etesians, those steady, predictable daily winds, excellent for navigation provided one is not heading northwards. Their beginning is generally put about the rising of Sirius, a month after the solstice but loosely describable as *μετὰ τροπᾶς*: Arist. *Meteor.* 361^b35 οἱ δὲ ἐτησίοι πνέουσι μετὰ τροπᾶς καὶ Κυνὸς ἐπιτολήν, 362^a11 μετὰ τὰς θερινᾶς τροπᾶς. Their duration is assessed at between 23 and 60 days in different calendars, 40 days being the figure most commonly given; see Rehm, *RE* vi. 713-17. This is in fair agreement with Hesiod's fifty days. But 'fifty days after the solstice' in his language ought to be a fairly precise specification, cf. 564. It will take us to 11 August or thereabouts. In 674 he sets the close of the season considerably later than that. We see that his precision is specious. He appears to have constructed his rule from the following general truths: the best time to sail is when the Etesians blow; the Etesians blow after the solstice; they blow for about fifty days.

664. ἐς τέλος ἐλθόντος θέρεος: 'when summer enters its final stage', the hot, wearisome season associated with the rising of Sirius (417 n.) and described in 582 ff.

καματώδεος ὥρης: after 584, with epithet transferred in the manner noted on 549.

665. ὠραῖος πέλεται θνητοῖς πλόος: 630 n.

οὔτέ κε: expository asyndeton, as in 682-4 below. For the disjunction ships—men cf. *Th.* 875 f.

666. καυάξαις: on this active use see 434 n.; on the form of the compound, *Th.*, p. 83.

ἀποφθείσειε: *φθίνω* ἔφθεισα as *τίνω* ἔτεισα; LSJ *φθίω* II.

667. εἰ δὴ μή: *Od.* 22. 359, 24. 434. Like the seer made fun of by Nicarchus in *A.P.* 11. 162, Hesiod provides himself with an escape-clause, cf. 379-80 n. and 645.

πρόφρων: 'on purpose', cf. *Il.* 8. 23; Thgn. 403 f. ὄντινα δαίμων | πρόφρων εἰς μεγάλην ἀμπλακίην παράγει; *GVI* 17. 3 ff. (Athens, 447/6) ἀλλὰ τις ἠμᾶς | ἡμιθέων . . . | ἔβλαψεον πρόφρων.

Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων: although thought of primarily as god of the sea from the beginning of recorded literature (*Th.* 441, 930, *Il.* 13. 21, 27 ff., 14. 390-2, 15. 190, *Od.* 3. 178 f., 4. 386, 500 ff., 5. 291 ff., 8. 564 ff., etc., Archil. 192), Poseidon has no epic epithet that expresses it. His titles all refer to his power to shake the earth: *ἐνοσίχθων*, *ἐνοσίγειος*, *γαίηοχος*, *ἐρίκτυπος*. So here, as in *Od.* 5. 282, shipwreck is caused by the earth-shaker. When we get away from epic formula, his marine interests assert themselves so strongly that we can meet the opposite phenomenon, earthquakes in the power of *πόντιος Ποσειδῶν* (E. *Erechth.* fr. 65. 56 Austin).

668. Ζεὺς ἀθανάτων βασιλεύς: Thgn. 1120, cf. 743. For Zeus' role here cf. 247, 465 n., 661 n.

669. ἐν τοῖς γὰρ τέλος ἐστίν: Archil. 298 (Zeus) καὶ τέλος αὐτὸς ἔχει; Sem. 1. 1 f. ὦ παῖ, τέλος μὲν Ζεὺς ἔχει . . . | πάντων ὅσ' ἐστί, καὶ τίθησ' ὄκη θέλει; Alc. 1. 83 f. θε]ῶν γὰρ ἄνα καὶ τέλος; Alc. 200. 10 Ζεῦ]ς ἔχει τέλος Κρο[νίδαις; Thgn. 660 θεοὶ . . . οἶσιν ἔπεισι τέλος;