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HESIOD
THEOGONY
WORKS AND DAYS
TESTIMONIA



Edited and Translated by
GLENN W. MOST

HESIOD

THEOGONY

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藏书章
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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The very first Loeb I ever bought was *Hesiod, The Homeric Hymns and Homerica*. After more than a third of a century of intense use, my battered copy needed to be replaced—and not only my copy: even when it was first published in 1914, Evelyn-White's edition was, though useful, rather idiosyncratic, and the extraordinary progress that scholarship on Hesiod has made since then has finally made it altogether outdated. The Homeric parts of that edition have now been replaced by two volumes edited by Martin West, *Homeric Hymns. Homeric Apocrypha. Lives of Homer* and *Greek Epic Fragments from the Seventh to the Fifth Centuries BC*; the present volumes are intended to make the rest of the material contained in Evelyn-White's edition, Hesiod and the poetry attributed to him, accessible to a new generation of readers.

Over the past decade I have taught a number of seminars and lecture courses on Hesiod to helpfully thoughtful and critical students at Heidelberg University, the Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, and the University of Chicago: my thanks to all of them for sharpening my understanding of this fascinating poet.

Various friends and colleagues read the introduction, text, and translation of this edition and contributed numerous corrections and improvements of all sorts to them.

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I am especially grateful to Alan Griffiths, Filippomaria Pontani, Mario Telò, and Martin West.

Finally, Dirk Obbink has put me and all readers of these volumes in his debt by making available to me a preliminary version of his forthcoming edition of Book 2 of Philodemus' *On Piety*, an important witness to the fragmentary poetry ascribed to Hesiod.

Glenn W. Most
Firenze, January 2006

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

<i>BE</i>	<i>Bulletin épigraphique</i>
<i>DK</i>	Hermann Diels, Walther Kranz, <i>Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker</i> , fifth edition (Berlin, 1934–1937)
<i>FGrHist</i>	Felix Jacoby, <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> (Berlin and Leiden, 1923–1958)
<i>FHG</i>	Carolus et Theodorus Müller, <i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> (Paris, 1841–1873)
<i>GP</i> ²	Bruno Gentili, Carlo Prato, <i>Poetae Elegiaci</i> , second edition (Leipzig-Munich and Leipzig, 1988–2002)
<i>JöByzG</i>	<i>Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft</i>
<i>K. A.</i>	Rudolf Kassel, Colin Austin, <i>Poetae Comici Graeci</i> (Berlin-New York, 1983–2001)
<i>OCT</i> ³	Friedrich Solmsen, Reinhold Merkelbach, M. L. West, <i>Hesiodi Theogonia, Opera et Dies, Scutum, Fragmenta selecta</i> , third edition (Oxford, 1990)
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
<i>SH</i>	Hugh Lloyd-Jones and Peter Parsons, <i>Supplementum Hellenisticum</i> (Berlin, 1983)

ABBREVIATIONS

SOD	Peter Stork, Jan Max van Ophuijsen, Tiziano Dorandi, <i>Demetrius of Phalerum: the Sources, Text and Translation</i> , in W. W. Fortenbaugh and Eckart Schütrumpf (eds.), <i>Demetrius of Phalerum: Text, Translation and Discussion</i> (New Brunswick-London, 1999), pp. 1–310
SVF	Hans von Arnim, <i>Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta</i> (Leipzig, 1903–1905)
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>
[]	words restored where the manuscript is damaged
< >	editorial insertion
{ }	editorial deletion
† †	corruption in text

INTRODUCTION

“Hesiod” is the name of a person; “Hesiodic” is a designation for a kind of poetry, including but not limited to the poems of which the authorship may reasonably be assigned to Hesiod himself. The first section of this Introduction considers what is known and what can be surmised about Hesiod; the second provides a brief presentation of the various forms of Hesiodic poetry; the third surveys certain fundamental aspects of the reception and influence of Hesiodic poetry; the fourth indicates the principal medieval manuscripts upon which our knowledge of the *Theogony* (*Th*), *Works and Days* (*WD*), and *Shield* is based; and the fifth describes the principles of this edition. There follows a brief and highly selective bibliography.

HESIOD’S LIFE AND TIMES

The *Theogony* and the *Works and Days* contain the following first-person statements with past or present indicative verbs:¹

¹ This list includes passages in which the first person is indicated not by the verb but by pronouns, and excludes passages in which the first person verb is in a different grammatical form and expresses a preference or a judgment rather than a fact (e.g., *WD* 174–75, 270–73, 475–76, 682–84).

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1. *Th* 22–34: One day the Muses taught Hesiod song while he was pasturing his lambs under Mount Helicon: they addressed him scornfully, gave him a staff of laurel, breathed into him a divine voice with which to celebrate things future and past, and commanded him to sing of the gods, but of themselves first and last.

2. *WD* 27–41: Hesiod and Perses divided their allotment, but Perses seized more than was his due, placing his trust in law-courts and corruptible kings rather than in his own hard work.

3. *WD* 633–40: The father of Hesiod and Perses sailed on ships because he lacked a fine means of life; he left Aeolian Cyme because of poverty and settled in this place, Ascra, a wretched village near Helicon.

4. *WD* 646–62: Hesiod never sailed on the open sea, but only crossed over once from Aulis to Chalcis in Euboea, where he participated in the funeral games of Amphidamas; he won the victory there and dedicated the trophy, a tripod, to the Muses of Helicon where they first initiated him into poetry and thereby made it possible for him to speak knowledgeably even about seafaring.

Out of these passages a skeletal biography of Hesiod can be constructed along the following lines. The son of a poor emigrant from Asia Minor, born in Ascra, a small village of Boeotia, Hesiod was raised as a shepherd, but one day, without having had any training by human teachers, he suddenly found himself able to produce poetry. He attributed the discovery of this unexpected capability to a mystical experience in which the Muses themselves initiated him into the craft of poetry. He went on to achieve success in poetic competitions at least once, in Chalcis; unlike his father, he did not have to make his living on the

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high seas. He quarreled with his brother Perses about their inheritance, accusing him of laziness and injustice.

We may add to these bare data two further hypothetical suggestions. First, Hesiod's account of his poetic initiation does not differ noticeably from his other first-person statements: though we moderns may be inclined to disbelieve or rationalize the former—indeed, even in antiquity Hesiod's experience was often interpreted as a dream, or dismissed as the result of intoxication from eating laurel leaves, or allegorized in one way or another—Hesiod himself seems to regard all these episodes as being of the same order of reality, and there is no more reason to disbelieve him in the one case than in the others. Apparently, Hesiod believed that he had undergone an extraordinary experience, as a result of which he could suddenly produce poetry.² Somewhat like Phemius, who tells Odysseus, "I am self-taught, and a god has planted in my mind all kinds of poetic paths" (*Odyssey* 22.347–48), Hesiod can claim to have been taught directly by a divine instance and not by any merely human instructor. Hesiod's initiation is often described as having been a visual hallucination, but in fact it seems to have had three separate phases: first an exclusively auditory experience of divine voices (Hesiod's

² Other poets, prophets, and lawgivers from a variety of ancient cultures—Moses, Archilochus, and many others—report that they underwent transcendental experiences in which they communed with the divine on mountains or in the wilderness and then returned to their human audiences with some form of physical evidence proving and legitimating their new calling. Within Greek and Roman literary culture, Hesiod's poetic initiation went on to attain paradigmatic status.

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Muses, figures of what hitherto had been a purely oral poetic tradition, are “shrouded in thick invisibility” [*Th* 9] and are just as much a completely acoustic, unseen and unseeable phenomenon as are the Sirens in the *Odyssey*); then the visual epiphany of a staff of laurel lying before him at his feet (Hesiod describes this discovery as though it were miraculous, though literal-minded readers will perhaps suppose that he simply stumbled upon a carved staff someone else had made earlier and discarded there, or even upon a branch of a peculiar natural shape); and finally the awareness within himself of a new ability to compose poetry about matters past and future (hence, presumably, about matters transcending the knowledge of the human here and now, in the direction of the gods who live forever), which he interprets as a result of the Muses having breathed into him a divine voice.

And second, initiations always denote a change of life, and changes of life are often marked by a change of name: what about Hesiod’s name? There is no evidence that Hesiod actually altered his name as a result of his experience; but perhaps we can surmise that he could have come to understand the name he had already received in a way different from the way he understood it before his initiation. Etymologically, his name seems to derive from two roots meaning “to enjoy” (*hēdomai* > *hēsi-*) and “road” (*hodos*)³—“he who takes pleasure in the journey,” a perfectly appropriate name for the son of a mercantile seaman who had to travel for his living and expected that his son would follow him in this profession or in a closely related

³ The ancient explanations for Hesiod’s name (see Testimonia T27–29) are untenable.

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one. But within the context of the proem to the *Theogony* in which Hesiod names himself, his name seems to have a specific and very different resonance. For Hesiod applies to the Muses the epithet *ossan hieisai*, "sending forth their voice," four times within less than sixty lines (10, 43, 65, 67), always in a prominent position at the end of the hexameter, and both of the words in this phrase seem etymologically relevant to Hesiod's name. For *hieisai*, "sending forth," is derived from a root meaning "to send" which could no less easily supply the first part of his name (*hiēmi* > *hēsi-*) than the root meaning "to enjoy" could; and *ossan*, "voice," is a synonym for *audē*, "voice," a term that Hesiod uses to indicate what the Muses gave him (31, cf. 39, 97, and elsewhere) and which is closely related etymologically and semantically to *aoidē*, the standard term for "poetry" (also applied by Hesiod to what the Muses gave him in 22, cf. also 44, 48, 60, 83, 104, and elsewhere). In this context it is difficult to resist the temptation to hear an implicit etymology of "*Hēsi-odos*" as "he who sends forth song."⁴ Perhaps, then, when the Muses initiated Hesiod into a new life, he resemanticized his own name, discovering that the appellation that his father had given him to point him towards a life of commerce had always in fact, unbeknownst to him until now, been instead directing him towards a life

⁴ To be sure, these terms for "voice" and "poetry" have a long vowel or diphthong in their penultimate syllable, whereas the corresponding vowel of Hesiod's name is short. But the other etymologies that Hesiod provides elsewhere in his poems suggest that such vocalic differences did not trouble him very much (nor, for that matter, do they seem to have bothered most other ancient Greek etymologists).

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of poetry. If so, Hesiod will not have been the only person whom his parents intended for a career in business but who decided instead that he was really meant to be a poet.

This is as much as—indeed it is perhaps rather more than—we can ever hope to know about the concrete circumstances of Hesiod's life on the basis of his own testimony. But ancient and medieval readers thought that they knew far more than this about Hesiod: biographies of Hesiod, full of a wealth of circumstantial detail concerning his family, birth, poetic career, character, death, and other matters, circulated in antiquity and the Middle Ages, and seem to have been widely believed.⁵ In terms of modern conceptions of scholarly research, these ancient biographical accounts of Hesiod can easily be dismissed as legends possessing little or no historical value: like most of the reports concerning the details of the lives and personalities of other archaic Greek poets which are transmitted by ancient writers, they probably do not testify to an independent tradition of biographical evidence stretching with unbroken continuity over dozens of generations from the reporter's century back to the poet's own lifetime. Rather, such accounts reflect a well attested practice of extrapolation from the extant poetic texts to the kind of character of an author likely to produce them. But if such ancient reports probably tell us very little about the real person Hesiod who did (or did not) compose at least some of the poems transmitted under his name, they do provide us with precious indications concerning the reception of those poems, by concretely suggesting the nature of the

⁵ See Testimonia T1–35 for a selection of some of the most important examples.

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image of the poet which fascinated antiquity and which has been passed on to modern times. We will therefore return to them in the third section of this Introduction.

If many ancient readers thought they knew far more about Hesiod's life than they should have, some modern scholars have thought that they knew even less about it than they could have. What warrant have we, after all, for taking Hesiod's first-person statements at face value as reliable autobiographical evidence? Notoriously, poets lie: why should we trust Hesiod? Moreover, rummaging through poetic texts in search of evidence about their authors' lives might well be considered a violation of the aesthetic autonomy of the literary work of art and an invitation to groundless and arbitrary biographical speculation. And finally, comparative ethnographic studies of the functions and nature of oral poetry in primitive cultures, as well as the evidence of other archaic Greek poets like Archilochus, have suggested to some scholars that "Hesiod" might be not so much the name of a real person who ever existed independently of his poems but rather nothing more than a designation for a literary function intrinsically inseparable from them. Indeed, the image that Hesiod provides us of himself seems to cohere so perfectly with the ideology of his poems that it might seem unnecessary to go outside these to understand it, while, as we shall see in the second section of this Introduction, attempts to develop a coherent and detailed narrative regarding the exact legal situation of Hesiod and his brother Perses as this is presented in different portions of the *Works and Days* have often been thought to founder on self-contradictions. Can we be sure that Hesiod ever really did have a brother named Perses with whom he had a legal quarrel,

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and that Perses is not instead merely a useful fiction, a convenient addressee to whom to direct his poem? And if we cannot be entirely sure about Perses, can we really be sure about Hesiod himself?

The reader should be warned that definitive answers to these questions may never be found. My own view is that these forms of skepticism are most valuable not because they provide proof that it is mistaken to understand Hesiod's first-person statements as being in some sense autobiographical (for in my opinion they cannot provide such proof) but rather because they encourage us to try to understand in a more complex and sophisticated way the kinds of autobiographical functions these statements serve in Hesiod's poetry. That is, we should not presuppose as self-evident that Hesiod might have wished to provide us this information, but ask instead why he might have thought it a good idea to include it.

There was after all in Hesiod's time no tradition of public autobiography in Greece which has left any discernable traces. Indeed, Hesiod is the first poet of the Western cultural tradition to supply us even with his name, let alone with any other information about his life. The difference between the Hesiodic and the Homeric poems in this regard is striking: Homer never names himself, and the ancient world could scarcely have quarreled for centuries over the insoluble question of his birthplace if the *Iliad* or *Odyssey* had contained anything like the autobiographical material in the *Theogony* and *Works and Days*. Homer is the most important Greek context for understanding Hesiod, and careful comparison with Homer can illumine not only Hesiod's works but even his life. In antiquity the question of the relation between Homer and Hesiod

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was usually understood in purely chronological terms, involving the relative priority of the one over the other (both positions were frequently maintained); additionally, the widely felt sense of a certain rivalry between the two founding traditions of Greek poetry was often projected onto legends of a competition between the two poets at a public contest, a kind of archaic shoot-out at the oral poetry corral.⁶ In modern times, Hesiod has (with a few important exceptions) usually been considered later than Homer: for example, the difference between Homeric anonymity and Hesiodic self-disclosure has often been interpreted as being chronological in nature, as though self-identification in autobiographical discourse represented a later stage in the development of subjectivity than self-concealment. But such a view is based upon problematic presuppositions about both subjectivity and discourse, and it cannot count upon any historical evidence in its support. Thus, it seems safer to see such differences between Homeric and Hesiodic poetry in terms of concrete circumstances of whose reality we can be sure: namely, the constraints of production and reception in a context of poetic production and consumption which is undergoing a transition from full orality to partial literacy. This does not mean, of course, that we can be certain that the Hesiodic poems were *not* composed after the Homeric ones, but only that we cannot use *this* difference in the amount of apparently autobiographical material in their poems as evidence to decide the issue.

Both Homer's poetry and Hesiod's seem to presuppose a tradition of fully oral poetic composition, performance,

⁶ See Testimonia T1–24.

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reception, and transmission, such as is idealized in the *Odyssey's* Demodocus and Phemius, but at the same time to make use of the recent advent of alphabetic writing, in different and ingenious ways. Most performances of traditional oral epic in early Greece must have presented only relatively brief episodes, manageable and locally interesting excerpts from the vast repertory of heroic and divine legend. Homer and Hesiod, by contrast, seem to have recognized that the new technology of writing afforded them an opportunity to create works which brought together within a single compass far more material than could ever have been presented continuously in a purely oral format (this applies especially to Homer) and to make it of interest to more than a merely local audience (this applies to both poets). Homer still focuses upon relatively brief episodes excerpted out of the full range of the epic repertoire (Achilles' wrath, Odysseus' return home), but he expands his poems' horizons by inserting material which belonged more properly to other parts of the epic tradition (for example, the catalogue of ships in *Iliad* 2 and the view from the wall in *Iliad* 3) and by making frequent, more or less veiled allusions to earlier and later legendary events and to other epic cycles. As we shall see in more detail in the following section, Hesiod gathered together within the single, richly complicated genealogical system of his *Theogony* a very large number of the local divinities worshipped or otherwise acknowledged in various places throughout the Greek world, and then went on in his *Works and Days* to consider the general conditions of human existence, including a generous selection from popular moral, religious, and agricultural wisdom. In Homer's sheer monumental bulk, in Hesiod's cosmic range, and in