

E.R. DODDS' LECTURE NOTES ON HESIOD'S *WORKS AND DAYS*¹

Abstract: This article offers the text of a lecture on Hesiod's *Works and Days* written by E.R. Dodds, along with transcriptions of the extensive marginalia he wrote in his copy of Paley's edition of the poems. The pages provide an insight into Dodds' thinking about the poet, reflected in his published work. They also show the style of Dodds' work on both philological detail and broader themes, his skill as a translator, and the intellectual climate of discussion of Hesiod in the mid-twentieth century (before the landmark editions of M.L. West). Extensive discussion is added to Dodds' notes to show how this newly discovered lecture fits into the history of scholarship on the poet.

Keywords: E.R. Dodds; Hesiod; wisdom literature; *Works and Days*; M.L. West

This paper provides a transcription and discussion of four quite closely written pages tucked into E. R. Dodds' copy of the edition of Hesiod by Paley.² The handwriting has been confirmed as Dodds' by Prof. Donald Russell (Oxford), who was a graduate student of Dodds' in the 1940s. The first page is headed 'Notes for introductory lecture on *Works and Days*'. Whether this 'introductory lecture' was ever delivered, and if so whether this was at Birmingham, Oxford, or some other venue entirely, is impossible to ascertain from its contents; some suggestions will be considered in the main part of the paper, but little hangs on the question.³ The notes are a fascinating insight into Dodds' thinking about Hesiod, as well as showing the

¹ I received valuable help and advice on this paper from Annette Lawrence, Assistant Librarian, Library of the University of Lancaster; Prof. Donald Russell (Oxford); Prof. Gerard O'Daly; Dr Enrico Prodi; from two anonymous reviewers and the editors of *HCS*; and Prof. Christopher Pelling (Oxford), who in his capacity as Dodds' literary executor kindly allowed me to publish these pages. Prof. Christopher Stray read the whole thing several times and kindly provided help on some difficult decipherments. Like many classicists, one of the first academic books I ever read was Dodds (1951), and it is a huge privilege to uncover part of Dodds' intellectual legacy.

² Paley (1861). A second edition of this book was published in 1883. Frederick Apforth Paley (1815-1888): educated at Shrewsbury School and St John's College Cambridge; Professor of Classical Literature at the Roman Catholic University in Kensington 1874-77. Besides the edition of Hesiod, he published editions and commentaries on Aeschylus (on which see Fraenkel (1950) 1.52-53), Euripides, Propertius, Homer, Sophocles and Theocritus. See further Collard (1996), and id., 'F.A. Paley', in R.B. Todd (2004) 3.739-41.

³ For Dodds' career, one can draw in the first instance on his autobiography, Dodds (1977) and the biographical note by Todd, 'E.R. Dodds', in id. (2004) 1.247-251; also on three informative obituary notices by West (1979) = (2013) 480-2, Lloyd-Jones (1980), and especially by Russell (1981). Stray, Pelling, Harrison (2019) is a comprehensive assessment of Dodds' life and scholarship. Various other papers of Dodds have received posthumous attention; see Todd (1999) for two striking early examples.

sort of content he thought relevant for an introductory lecture. Comparanda may perhaps be traced among Dodds' papers in the Bodleian, but this contribution focuses solely on the documents at hand.

1. The book

I acquired Dodds' copy of Paley from an online bookseller in March 2019.⁴ A bookplate in the front bears the inscription 'Lancaster University Library, from the library of Prof. E. R. Dodds'; the flyleaf bears Dodds' signature. There is in addition a library stamp recording an accession date of 17th April 1984. Dodds bequeathed his library to Lancaster on his death (in 1979); the plan seems to have been formed as early as 1969, and was intended to enrich the holdings of the fledgling department.⁵ In the event, Classics at Lancaster closed in 1989.⁶ The book had been part of a reserved collection for books that were neither frequently consulted nor particularly valuable in their own right. The book had, according to the slip in the back cover, never been taken out of the library, which no doubt accounts for the preservation of the notes. It is hard to explain why the library stamped the book only in 1984, but it may have taken a relatively long time to catalogue the books and determine which were to be kept.

It can be no coincidence that the marginalia in the *Works and Days* are extremely frequent but almost non-existent in the *Shield* (two notes only, on 425) and *Theogony*. Despite this scarcity, the *Theogony* notes are interesting because they can be dated. First in chronological order is a reference to F. Solmsen on *Th.* 472; another is to the 1951 paper by Nilsson on the ἄρπη (*Th.* 175), the other (the only ink note in the book) cites a correction by West (*Th.* 540 τοῖς for τῶ)

⁴ Hermann (1902), with letters from R.E. Witt to E.R. Dodds, was acquired at the same time from the same bookseller; see Cartlidge (2019).

⁵ I am grateful to Prof Gerard O'Daly, who responded generously to an email request for information on this point.

⁶ On the history of Lancaster's Classics department, see Jim (2015).

and therefore postdates 1961.⁷ Less relevant notes on *Theogony* are two records of Homeric epithets (τε βοῶπις *Il.* 18.40 for τ' ἐρώεσσα *Th.* 245; ἀγακλειτή *Il.* 18.45 for εὐειδής *Th.* 250) and a (to my mind rather doubtful) parallel in Herodotus (*Th.* 220 cf. *Hdt.* 6.12, for the construction of παραβασίαι, παραβάντες). On one occasion, Dodds remarks on a deletion (that of 473 by Heyne); by contrast, Dodds frequently takes issue with deletions in the text of the *Works and Days* (I record all cases below), and this is an index of the different concentration Dodds brought to bear on the two poems. There are also sporadic pencil marks. The intense activity on *Works and Days* argues for this being the copy Dodds read or reread while writing these notes. The marginalia are in pencil of varying degrees of clarity (which may not mean they were written at different times) and are not easy to read. I have not attempted to transcribe all of them: many are trivial notes on vocabulary, underlinings, question marks etc. I reproduce a selection based on (i) what could be securely read, (ii) illustrations of the character of the notes, (iii) remarks with particular bearing on the lecture notes. Abbreviations have been expanded using rounded brackets; Dodds' comments are always in single quotation marks; bold numbers refer to the *Works and Days*. Beneath each note I have added some light annotation in smaller font. I have not compared translations systematically, but I have made constant reference to Most's Loeb, on the assumption that it is a widely used version of Hesiod.⁸

1 (on Περὶ Ἥθην): 'is this why patriotic Heliconians suppressed it?'

See Paus. 9.31.3; Dodds is referring to a tradition that the proem was missing from a copy preserved on lead at Helicon.

⁷ Solmsen (1949) 158 n. 151; Nilsson (1951); West (1961) 137-8. On the latter, see also Renehan (1980) 344. It is likely that West sent Dodds an offprint of this paper; otherwise Dodds will have seen the emendation either after 1961 or on publication of the *Theogony* edition in 1966. I thank Stephanie West for help on this point.

⁸ In the sections in smaller type, West = West (1978); 'ad loc.' refers to the relevant lemma in the commentary, page numbers to the introduction. Other works are cited in full by page number, unless the reference has been taken from West (1978).

1-10, where Paley has cited Paus. 9.31.3, Dodds adds ‘but see W(ilamowitz)-M(oellendorff)’s defence of the proem’.

See Wilamowitz (1928) 39-41; further literature (for and against) in Schmid & Stählin (1929) 278 n.2; Koechly & Kinkel are, to my knowledge, the latest editors to have deleted the verses. West *ad loc.* gives the doubters short shrift, without even citing the literature, a plain indication of changed priorities.

6-7: ‘cf. wisdom literature’.

A revealing note in the light of West’s commentaries on Hesiod – see in particular West 3-25 – in which the concept of ‘wisdom literature’ was first exploited to its fullest extent.

9 (on κλῦθι): ‘pay heed’.

‘Give ear to me’ (Most 2006, 87).

21 (on χατίζων): ‘v.l. χατίζει. ἔργοιο χατίζων sh(oul)d mean “out of work”; but if so, ὄς is relative, and the sentence is unfinished (possible?) S(inclair) takes it, doubtfully, to mean “slack”: then ὄς is demonst(rative). χατίζει probably a false emendation?’

Dodds’ note is based on the account by Sinclair (1932) 4-5; the passage is a difficult crux. Sinclair and Dodds approach the text through ὄς, which either has ἔργοιο χατίζων as antecedent, or πλούσιον. West, *ad loc.*, takes a different approach by asking which of the available verbs (either in the text or acquired by conjecture) is the main verb.

34-5, Paley remarks ‘αὐθι is explained by the Schol. αὐτόθι and ἐν τῷ παρόντι’: Dodds writes: ‘so S(inclair)’.

See Sinclair (1932) 6: ‘here’, ‘on the spot’; Most (2006) 89: ‘right here’.

39 (on τήνδε δίκην): ‘this kind of justice (Mazon)’.

See Mazon (1928) 87: ‘telle justice’. But see West (*ad loc.*): ‘The τήνδε can only mean *this* (known) verdict’.

95 (on ἐμήσατο): ‘merely “brought about”? ἐλύσατο Paley’

Cf. West *ad loc.*: ἐμήσατο ‘has probably come to be a mere synonym of ἔρεξεν’.

96 Paley’s note is struck out, in the margin Dodds adds: ‘Hope is a blessing which is denied to men’.

Contrast West *ad loc.*: Hope’s ‘detention in the jar, therefore, cannot mean that it was withheld from us, but on the contrary that it remained with us instead of being lost’, endorsing Paley over Dodds in this case.

99: Dodds has struck out the athetising brackets.

106-8: ‘106-8 genuine, I think’

The lines are deleted by Goettling (1843) 173, Paley (1861) 18-19 and as late as 1902 by Rzach; they are seen as filler needed only to join the narrative of the Five Races to what precedes. **108** is bracketed in Mazon and Solmsen. Wilamowitz 54-5 and West, *ad loc.*, ably defend **108**, Wilamowitz on the ground that its removal creates a lacuna, West because gods and men ‘started on the same terms’; see further Meyer (1924) 34-5 = Heitsch (1966) 489. On the lines’ interpretation see Wakker (1990).

108: ‘refers to l. 122? or to the verses quoted in Paley’s note on 120’

108 reads ‘how the gods and mortal men were born from a common source’; **122** ‘good, walking the earth, the watchers of mortal men’, referring to the Golden Race who became δαίμονες. Presumably Dodds took ὁμόθεν to mean ‘alike’ in a less strict sense (contrast West *ad loc.* ‘properly of blood-relationship’). Paley’s note on **120**, however, quotes other hexameter verses on ‘common feasts’ between gods and men.

114: ‘ever unfaltering in their (dancing?) hands and feet’

Most (2006) 97: ‘they were always the same in their feet and hands, and delighted in festivals.’ Dodds’ translation again is a picturesque version.

121 (on καί): ‘γρ(άφε) δὴ (Plato, S(inclair))’

126 (on πλουτοδόται): ‘the dead as fertility daemons’

132: ‘ἀνηβήσειε? MSS vary. “ἄν prob wrong” S(inclair)’

See Sinclair (1932) 19. Since ἀνηβᾶν usually means ‘grow young again’, it is out of place here. Its use at Call. *H.* 1.56 raises interesting questions about how old the corruption is: Callimachus may have based his usage on what he read in a faulty MS of Hesiod.

145 ‘cf. Il. xxii. 126, Od. xix. 126 ἀπὸ δρυὸς ἦδ’ ἀπὸ πέτρης. A pre-Achaean motif, laughed at in Homer?’

The passage in Hesiod describes the appearance of men from trees (particularly ash-trees, see Wilamowitz (1928) 57-8 for the Norse tradition). The literature on the proverb, which also appears at *Th.* 35 (where see West’s very full note) is huge; see now J.T. Katz (2018).

150: ‘cf. the bronze appliqué in Mycenaean houses and Homer’s χαλκοβατέες δῶ’

Dodds’ ‘bronze appliqué’ seems to be a version of Sinclair’s assertion (1932, 20) of bronze murals in Mycenaean times (echoed without further elaboration by West, *ad loc.*). For later ages, see Thuc. 1.128, 1.134, Paus. 3.17.2, 6.19.2. There seems to be no evidence in the archaeological record for this; it is hardly thinkable that such large pieces of bronze, had they existed, should have survived to the present day unmolested (my thanks to Dr Zosia H. Archibald, Liverpool, for discussion of this point). The assessment of the relationship between the myth of the five ages and the historical record is an extremely complex issue. Early positivist scholarship is summarised by Gatz (1967) 1, and more generally 1-6; Gatz saw a ‘new historicism’ emerging in contemporary Hesiod criticism (4). For the kinds of views reflected Dodds’ note, see Rzach (1913) 1176, and more closely still Myres (1908) 127-8. See p.3 of the lecture notes below on ‘Hesiod’s world’ (with footnotes).

152: ‘a genuine tradition of the wars that ended the great palace period at Knossos?’

See Burn (1936) 11-12 for an early view: earthquakes at Knossos are not sufficient as explanations for the collapse of society, and Myres (1908) 127-8. On memory of Mycenaean civilisation in epic, see Vermeule (1972) 309-12: this (perhaps derived from an earlier edition – the book was first published in 1964) might reflect something of the view that Dodds’ adopts, though Vermeule is much more focussed on Homer than Hesiod.

160: ‘πρωτέρη γενεή? (So S(inclair))’

The reading was found on a papyrus, *P. Genav.* 94; see West *in app. ad loc.*

178 (on φθειρόμενοι): ‘wasting’

See now West *ad loc.* (note the misprint in the edition of **176** for **178**), who conjectured τειρόμενοι convincingly on the basis of later parallels and the papyrus evidence; see Renehan (1980) 344. Most (2006) 103 now translates ‘being worn out by suffering’.

182-9: ‘S(inclair) compares Mark xiii.12’

182 (on ὁμοίος): ‘like- minded? But cf. v. 235’

Cf. Renehan (1980) 348: ‘the meaning here is “similar in disposition”, “like-minded”,’ thus also Most (2006) 103. The etymology proposed by Athanassakis (1976) is implausible. Dodds’ reference to **235** (τίκτουσιν δὲ γυναῖκες ἑοικότα τέκνα γονεῦσι, ‘women bear children similar to their parents’) would make the reference of **182** one of literal similarity.

186: ‘βάζοντες dual makes no satisf(actory) sense’

Paley’s note gives a lot of detail on MSS readings and the secondary tradition; but as West points out *ad loc.* the dual could only refer to the parents, not to the children.

189 (on χειροδίκαι): ‘cf. Faustrecht, χειρὸς νόμος’

The formulation χειρὸς νόμος is given by Goettling (1843) 181. See D.L. Cairns (1993) 152 for the link between violence, the loss of *aidōs*, and the ‘iron race’.

191 (on ὕβριν): ‘? read κακόν (Fick) and treat both κακόν and ὕβριν as objects of ῥεκτῆρα’;
“‘a piece of insolence’? or is this adj?’

West *ad loc.* rejects Fick’s idea out of hand; ὕβριν is ‘apparently qualifying ἀνέρα.... He is Hybris incarnate’. Dodds translation, it would seem, hits closer to the mark than the interpretations he records. Most (2006) 103 has ‘the doer of evil and the outrage man’.

200 (on Αἰδῶς καὶ Νέμεσις): ‘i.e. sense of the shameful, the unfitting’

See Murray (1934) 82-3 on translating these terms (Murray suggests the quaintly archaic ‘Ruth and Wrath’). For *aidōs* and *nemesis* see D.L. Cairns (1993) 51-4.

202 (on αἶνον): ‘parable’

Interesting adoption of explicitly Biblical phraseology – other translations have ‘fable’ or ‘tale’.

—— (on φρονέουσι καὶ αὐτοῖς): ‘who know that the cap fits [the kings will treat us both as the hawk did the Nightingale]’

An example of Dodds’ spirited translation. Compare Most (2006) 105: ‘who themselves too have understanding’. Sinclair (1932) 25 remarks: ‘there is a sort of antithesis between αἶνον and φρονέουσι’; Dodds’ translation indicates a different view. The wisdom of the kings is precisely that they *do* understand the relevance of an αἶνος.

222-3: ‘i.e. justice returns invisibly after being cast out?’

‘Invisible’ likewise Paley and West (*ad loc.*).

232 (on δρῦς): ‘√tree’

In modern terms, from a paradigm *dóru, dreu-; the English form, via Germanic *trewa- (Gothic *triu*) reflects thematic *dreuo-.

248 (on βασιλεῖς): ‘βασιλῆες Rzach, S(inclair)’

The reading entails a synzesis paralleled also at **607**, and removes from the text a late form of the nominative plural.

249 (on δίκην): “‘custom” S(inclair): but cf. l. 256.’

Sinclair (1932) 29 suggests ‘right usage, good custom’, i.e. not in the sense of ‘vengeance’ or ‘punishment’ as translated by Mair (1908) 10 and Evelyn-White (1914) 21; Most (2006) 107 has ‘justice’. Paley capitalises the form Δίκη at **256** (likewise most editors). Dodds seems to be hinting that the idea may be personified here as well; editors have not as yet endorsed this view.

251-2: ‘i.e. the Men of the Golden Age?’

The phraseology echoes that at **123**; where one might content oneself with a line number, Dodds' marginal note underlines the issue at hand.

257 (on θεοῖς): 'θεῶν S(inclair) from a papyrus, cf. δῖα θεάων'

The papyrus in question is *P.Oxy.* 1090 (West's Π₁₀); West himself does not adopt its reading (though he endorsed it in his note on *Th.* 240), but his commentary *ad loc.* does not argue against it.

270-273: 'honesty only justifiable if it is the best policy'

A nice remark, worthy of note by the commentary literature on the poem.

281 (on γινώσκων): 'answers to ἐκόν'

'emphasizing the correspondence between what he knows and what he says, as ἐκόν emphasizes the divergence' (West, *ad loc.*). The note is written in a markedly different hand to the note on *Th.* 540; consequently I do not think Dodds has derived this from West.

284-5: 'the inherited curse [unHomeric]'

See now Gagné (2010) 2-3. Gagné cites Dodds (1951) 33; that passage only refers to Hesiod in passing. This marginal note shows that Dodds had indeed made the connection explored by Gagné.

289: "“Before her gate high God did sweat ordain” (Spenser)'

The imitation of Hesiod by Spenser (*Faerie Queen* 2.3.41) was recognised already by Elton (1815) 37, and even earlier by the editor of Spenser J. Upton (1758) 2.447. If Dodds did not get it from his own knowledge of Spenser, another possible source is A.C. Merriam's review of Jowett's translation of Plato, which discusses *Op.* 289 in Plato's citation at length, see Merriam (1893) 179-80. The reception of Hesiod by Spenser demands further study: J. Wolfe (2018) 439-40 is brief (and focuses almost entirely on *Theogony*); a useful collection of parallels is given by S.P. Revard s.v. 'Hesiod', in Hamilton (1990) 369-70.

291: 'ἴκηαι in Plato's citation'

The reference is to the citation in *Laws* 719a; contrast *Prot.* 340d where the correct reading is retained. On Plato and Hesiod in general, see Solmsen (1962) 173-211, Boys-Stones & Haubold (2010), Van Noorden (2015) 89-167.

291-2: ‘sound answering to sense’

It is impossible to be sure what Dodds might have heard here. The repeated r-sounds might have been the salient factor. Dodds makes no general remarks about ‘sound effects’ in Hesiod in the lecture notes.

293 (on ἀὐτῷ): ‘R ἀὐτός, Aristotle, ?papyrus’

West (*in app. ad loc.*) records this reading at Arist. *EN* 1095^b10, and on Π₅ (P. Vindob. G 19815) and Π₃₃ (P. Michigan 5138), but prints ἀὐτός.

294: Dodds has struck out the athetising brackets.

The basis for the athetesis is that the verse is frequently omitted by the authorities that quote the lines (again, see Arist. *EN* 1095^b10); see West *ad loc.*, however. Dodds, it will be seen, repeatedly restores verses deleted by Paley (and others); see above on the difference in his reading of *Op.* and *Th.* on this point.

306-7: Dodds has struck out the athetising brackets

The objections to the lines are Paley’s: (i) **307** resembles **301**; (ii) ἔργα is used without account of the digamma. But the resemblance is not so close as to rouse suspicion; as for digamma see **382**.

306: Dodds has underlined ἔργα μέτρια κοσμεῖν, adding ‘manage a decent farm’.

At several points, Dodds translates ἔργα as ‘farm’, see **549** and (less directly) **756**; Paley’s translation of the title (1861) 5 is ‘farming operations and lucky and unlucky days’. See Dodds’ remarks in the lecture notes on the *Works and Days* as a ‘farmer’s *vade mecum*’. West is curiously silent on the subject.

310, Paley writes ‘Goettling puts this verse within brackets’; Dodds adds: ‘so Mazon’.

Cf. Mazon (1928) 97: the line has been relegated to the apparatus.

313: ‘ἀρετή includes economic good?’

For this notion, virtually a paraphrase of the line by Dodds, compare p.3 of the lecture notes: '[Hesiod] identifies riches & happiness as the poor do everywhere always'.

314: 'cf. Sophocles, O.C. γενναῖος πλὴν τοῦ δαίμονος'

The reference is to S. OC. 76. The parallel, missed by West, is a further argument against Lehrs' tentative conjecture (which 'strikes a prison chaplain's rather than a Hesiodic tone' – thus West, *ad loc.*) δαίμονι', οἷος ἔησθα. Less good, Gow (1917) 114.

320, trans. Paley as 'wealth is not to be clutched at': Dodds adds 'so Mair'.

'Property is not to be snatched' (Most 2006, 112).

327-8 Paley writes of a 'catalogue of offences...giving a code of principal sins according to the early Hellenes. We do not find our notions of the graver crimes, murder, fornication, nor adultery in the general sense, here recognised': Dodds comments: 'No: these are violations against αἰδώς'.

See Murray (1934) 87 for this interpretation (referring to 327ff. as 'five deadly sins'). For a modern treatment, see Cairns (1993) 148-56.

330 (ὄν ἀλιταίνεται ὀρφανὰ τέκνα): 'cf. Astyanax in Homer?'

See *Il.* 6.431-2 in general and 22.490-9 (cited also by West *ad loc.*) specifically.

339-341: 'do ut des'

353: 'be at hand for him who comes to you'

Most (2006) 117: 'go visit those who visit you'. Dodds' rendering requires a less proactive approach by the recipient of the advice.

378 (ὄν θάνοις): 'θάνοι Hermann (Rzach, W[ilamowitz]-M[oellendorff])'

West *ad loc.* gives an account of these lines, including the discovery of Hermann's conjecture ('die leichte Verbesserung Hermanns', Wilamowitz 1928, 86) on a papyrus (*P. Michigan* 6828 = Π₁₉).

380 (on πλείων μὲν πλεόνων μελέτη): ““the work of more” (Mair), “more goods to look after” (Waltz), “more sons to look after” (S[inclair])’

Most (2006) 119 follows Mair: ‘more hands, more work’.

381 (on σῆσιν): ‘ῆσιν as 2nd person S(inclair) with most MSS cf. Apoll. Rhod. iv. 1015’

Rather than ‘second person’ it is more accurate to relate the pronoun to the reflexives (thus West, *ad loc.*)

403 (on ἐπέων νομός): ‘the range of your eloquence’

Most (2006) 121: ‘the rangeland of your words’, a more pointed version of the metaphor.

406: ‘potential without ἄν? “who could at a pinch” (καί)’

Most (2006) 121: ‘one who can’; Dodds adds a colourful touch.

455: ‘T. W. Allen w(oul)d <...> “hasty” cf. ἄφνω – a less good sense’

The two words before “hasty” are illegible. See Allen (1897) 397. Allen’s suggestion, which he commends to the leniency of the etymologists, has not found favour; Dodds’ etymological judgement was sound. On ἀφνειός and ἄφνος see Willi (2004).

462: ‘many ed(itors) reject 462-4 (wrongly)’

The lines were deleted by Steitz (cf. Koehly & Kinkel 1870, 133, in app.) but few later editors have raised concerns. Mazon (1928) 103 reordered **462** and **463**.

468 (on ὄρηκα): ‘v.l. ὄρηκι (Brunck)’

Brunck’s conjecture has since materialised on a mediaeval manuscript (Vat. gr. 57, 14th c.); see West *ad loc.*

469: ‘τυτθος codd. Waltz, W(ilamowitz)-M(oellendorff), Mair, S(inclair)’

481: ‘said to be the practice today in Attica and parts of France’

For the French practice, see P. Mazon (1914) *ad loc.*

492 (on πολίων): “cloudy” (W[ilamowitz]-M[oellendorff]), cf. Apoll. Rhod. ἄηρ πόλιος’

Wilamowitz (1928) 100, citing a number of passages of Apollonius; Dodds is citing 3.275.

493 (on ἐπαλέα): “warm” Proclus, Mair; “crowded” Evelyn-White, S(inclair), Paley’

An etymological crux. The latest proposal on this word (characteristically ignored by Beekes 2010) is Jouanna, (1983). He suggests that the group ἀλεύομαι, ἀλέομαι, ἀλεινός, ἀλέα pertain to a root *alew- ‘avoid, protect’ (in modern notation *h₂leu-, cf. Tocharian B ālyinträ ‘they shall keep away’); the λέσχη is a ‘protecting’ place. The scansion suggests a formation *(ep-)alw-ēs; this is preferable to the view relating ἐπαλής to ἀλέα ‘heat’ < Proto-Greek *hwalea < *s₁lH-ea, cf. Lith. *svilti* ‘scorch’, OE *swelan* ‘burn’ pointing to a root *s₁leH-, which requires the additional hypothesis (unstated in the handbooks) of metrical lengthening (a secondary association with the meaning ‘warm’ is no objection to this). Furthermore, zero-grade of the root in an s-stem adjective has important theoretical consequences for this type of adjective, joining the evidence for hysterokinetic inflection; for (sceptical) discussion of the issue see Meissner (2005) 160-65.

497 (on παχύν): ‘swollen (from chillblains?)’

Derived from Sinclair ‘swollen with frost-bite’, perhaps, but with an added picturesque detail. Most (2006) 127 n.25 thinks of malnutrition; see West *ad loc.*, including a telling entry in Hesychius s.v. παχύποδα (i.e. παχὺν πόδα?)

499 (on κακὰ προσελέξατο θυμῷ): ‘addresses reproaches? gathers evil thoughts? latter fits 500 better.’

Most (2006) 129 takes the opposite view to Dodds: ‘says many evil things to his spirit’; West *ad loc.* also assumes an act of self-address (comparing *Od.* 5. 298-9). Dodds may have based his view on Mair, who renders ‘garnereth many sorrows for his soul’ (1908, 18).

511: Dodds has struck out the athetising brackets.

The athetesis appears to be Paley’s suggestion, and to be inadequately motivated.

526 (on δείνυ): ‘Aeolism?’

This note may derive from Sinclair (1932) 57, but it may alternatively post-date the publication of West's *Theogony*, where (1966, 83) this reading is energetically defended as an Aeolism; see also West *ad loc.* in more detail.

527 (on κυανέων ἀνδρῶν): 'Ethiopians?'

Thus Sinclair; see also West, *ad loc.*

530 (on μυλιόωντες): 'chattering teeth √molar: but S(inclair) pr(efers) μυκάομαι'

The reference is to the root of the Greek word for 'molar' μύλη (ϋ); the difference in quantity is difficult, hence Dodds' interest in Sinclair's alternative. West *ad loc.* attributes the change in quantity to metrical lengthening.

538: 'weave much woof on little warp'

Most (2006) 131: 'Wind plenty of woof on a puny warp'; Dodds' translation is punchier.

549 (on μακάρων ἐπὶ ἔργοις): 'on the farms of ~~happy~~ rich men'

The correction brings the translation in line with Sinclair's note (1932) 59.

—— (on ἀήρ πυροφόρος): "'fruitful mist"; -οις Hermann, <crossed out> but cf. the French saying "brouillard en février vaut du fumier"

The French proverb is cited in Mazon (1928) 106 n.1 (whence recorded also by Sinclair *ad loc.*). Hermann's conjecture is accepted and robustly defended by West (*ad loc.*); it also appears in a single mediaeval manuscript.

555 (on μείς): 'month (mensis)'

562 (on ἰσοῦσθαι νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμέρας): "'let the long nights balance the long days"?' [i.e. go to bed with the sun]'

567 (on παμφαίνων): 'if this means "shining all night", it puts H. at beginning of c. viii (Waltz)'

West (*ad loc.*) gives a full review of the difficulties inherent in dating Hesiod by means of this line. Most (2006) 133 translates 'shining brightly'.

—— (on ἀκροκνέφαιος): ‘on the edge of darkness, i.e. in the evening’

Most (2006) 133: ‘just at dusk’; I find Dodds’ rendering evocative.

568 (on ὀρθρογῶν): ‘or ὀρθρογῶν shrill crying’

See Livrea (1967) advocating for ὀρθρογῶν, rightly acc. West *ad loc.*

569 (on ἐς φάος ἀνθρώποις): ‘into the sight of men [has she been underground?]

Dodds’ comment leads me to think that he is not convinced by Paley’s case for deletion. The line refers to the swallow, i.e. Philomela, the victim of rape and mutilation in the story of Tereus and Procne.

587: Dodds deletes the athetising brackets.

589-596: Dodds deletes the athetising brackets.

589: Dodds marks a *brevis* over τε and adds ‘so Theog 345’; to Paley’s reference to ‘Homer’s occasional use of Σκάμανδρος, σκέπαρνον, &c.’, Dodds adds ‘but S(inclair) says this license is unknown in Homer -?’

For σκέπαρνον, see *Od.* 5. 237, 9. 391; forms of Σκάμανδρος, Σκαμάνδριος are always in Homer preceded by a short open syllable which does not count as heavy; see Chantraine (1942) 110 (§47). The same applies to *Th.* 345. Sinclair (1932) 62, quoted and rightly doubted by Dodds, based his erroneous view on Solmsen (1905), but must have misread him, for Solmsen at 495-7 gives a full list of the relevant examples; see further his 503 for Hesiod, and add West (1966) 98-9.

—— (on βίβλιος) Dodds alters the first letter to a capital and adds the note ‘Thracian’.

βίβλιος οἶνος would mean wine made of the papyrus plant – an implausible idea. Rather, ‘wine from Byblis’ is meant, i.e. Thracian wine; see West *ad loc.*

606-8: ‘W(illamowitz)-M(oellendorff) puts 606-8 after 601, since getting in litter sh(oul)d be done ~~at the end of autumn~~ after the harvest, while hiring extra help sh(oul)d not. So S(inclair). But there is a grim joke about housing your corn und unhousing your tenant?’

See Wilamowitz (1928) 109-110. Papyrus finds have yet to show whether this transposition was known in antiquity; West, *ad loc.*, defends the paradosis.

609: ‘Sept. 18’

‘Mid-September’ (West, *ad loc.*).

614-617: ‘genuine’, without deleting the brackets.

617 ‘? “the fulfilment [i.e. the new season’s seed] lie, duly set, beneath the earth”’ [or R εἴη, jussive?]

618 (on δυσπεμφέλου): “‘stormy’ or ‘perilous in the transit’”

The meaning of this word is a crux known to Hellenistic scholarship already; see Herodicus (Ath. 5. 222a = *SH* 494) with B. Cartlidge (forthc.).

622: ‘sound’, without deleting the brackets.

639-40: ‘the farmer’s grumble’

Burn (1936) 32: ‘though Hesiod may grumble at the climate, the farm did prosper...’

647: ‘or put stop at θυμόν and γρ(άφε) βουλῆαι δὲ (with MS authority)...λιμόν;’

A bold rearticulation of the passage.

648 (on μέτρα): ‘rules? cf. ἄστρον μέτρα “the periods of the stars” (Sophocles)’

The reference is to S. fr. 432.8 Radt, first adduced by Gow (1931) 12.

662 (on ἀθέσφατον): ‘inspired’

Most (2006) 141 has ‘inconceivable’.

666 (on κανάξαις): ‘Aeolism. κατ-φάξαις = καφάξαις = κανάξαις’

See Rzach (1913) 1186, with references to earlier treatments; apocope and progressive assimilation of κατά is certainly an Aeolic feature (the characterisation of the change as ‘diphthongization of the vowel + ϕ(φ)’, by West (1966) 83, is less precise).

701 (on πάντα μάλ’ ἀμφις ἰδών): ‘after considering pros and cons’

Strikingly modern! Most (2006) 143 has ‘after you have looked around carefully in all directions’, a more literal rendering.

714: “‘let not your looks prove false your (alleged) feelings towards your friend”, i.e. accept his apologies gracefully? [al. do not flatter people]’

718: ‘Whoso mocketh the poor reproacheth his Maker’ (Prov. xvii.5)

Taken from Sinclair (1932) 73.

720 (on ιούσης): ‘when it wags’

Of a speaking tongue. Dodds’ instinct for colourful translation is on show once again, but perhaps, with μέτρον, and thus of measured and appropriate speech, a *charis* to the speaker, not entirely appropriately in this case.

722 (on δυσπέμφελος): ‘standoffish? at a parish outing’

See above on **618**.

740: (on κακότητι) ‘other ancient readings are 1. κακότητ’ ἰδέ “unwashed of hands and wickedness”: This as S(inclair) says, sounds Orphic: so most MSS. 2. κακότητ’ ἴδε “has seen an evil”: impossible? 3. κακότητ’ ἔπι “to his undoing”: anticipates 741. Mazon would reject 740-1, following Aristarchus. But Paley’s reading may be right?’

The reading under (1) is adopted by Solmsen (1990) and by West (‘a bold zeugma’, *ad loc.*). The impossibility of (2) may either be because of the lack of observance of digamma, or more likely because of the sense (‘he who enters a river with unwashed hands has seen evil’ – why has he?). The third reading is preserved in the *scholia vetera* and goes back to Proclus, who gives it as an alternative reading (paraphrasing ἐπὶ κακῷ); see Pertusi (1955) 225. Mazon’s ‘rejection’ of **740-1** (following Aristarchus’ athetesis, likewise reported in the *scholia vetera*) was

tempered by the time of his 1928 Budé edition, where the lines are printed in the text. Assuming West's 'bold zeugma' is the best procedure – a classic case of *lectio difficillior*, from which all other versions can be easily explained.

744-5: '+ superstitions about crossing objects are not exclusively Xtian, acc. to Sinclair. Rose explains that to put the wine under anything is to expose it to various dangers'

See Sinclair (1932) 76, Rose (1925) 139-40.

746: 'γρ(άφε) ἀνεπίρρεκτον with some ancient edd.'

The reading of the majority of manuscripts is ἀνεπίξεστον; the alternative, going back to Proclus, is reported in the scholia (Pertusi 1955, 227). West, *ad loc.*, points out that this would be best explained as 'accidental anticipation' of **748**.

751 (on δωδεκαταῖον): 'cf. τριταῖος; 12 days old Sinclair and Mair [is a 12 days old baby likely to sit on a tomb?] 12 years old Paley and Waltz'

West *ad loc.* remarks 'the scholiast strangely interprets as if δωδεκετηῖ'; see Pertusi (1955) 229. Paley and Waltz follow the scholiast's line of thought (Goettling 1843, 239-40 already endorses this interpretation, which he attributes to Proclus). Mair (1908) 27 translates 'a boy of twelve days', but Sinclair is apparently silent on the issue.

756 (on μωμεύειν ἀΐδηλα): 'mock what you don't understand (e.g. someone else's farming culture)?'

'make dark murmur' (Mair 1908, 27); 'carp destructively' (Most 2006, 149, following the interpretation of West, *duce* Richardson; see West *ad loc.*).

768: 'when the calendar is accurate'

—— Paley's note reads 'perhaps we should read λαοῖς for λαοί'; Dodds adds 'yes, if this explanation is right, which I doubt'

772 (on γε μέν): ‘however’

See Denniston (1950) 387 on ‘adversative γε μέν’ (citing Mair 1908, 8), and lviii for the different interpretation of **772** and **774**. Dodds nowhere refers to Denniston’s book (first ed. 1934) explicitly, but this note may reflect his use of it.

818 (on ἀληθέα κικλήσκουσι): ‘give it its right name viz. ἀρίστη?’

Other marginalia on the ‘days’ mostly record which day of the month is meant, as well as some isolated remarks on the text.

The marginalia show splendidly that combination of exact and humanistic scholarship for which Dodds was so well known. Russell said of Dodds that he ‘could clearly have been a notable translator’,⁹ and some of the marginal notes on Hesiod reflect both Dodds’ own talents in this area and his interest in the translations of others (striking translations have been recorded above). Dodds read this edition of Paley with a battery of multilingual scholarship at his side, and plainly used the edition while thinking Hesiod out afresh. It is all the more interesting that Paley is not named in the lecture notes; the marginalia are on the whole more technical than the (preserved portion of the) lecture notes are, though there are some complementary elements. A name that is perhaps most frequently mentioned is that of Sinclair, who had produced a more modern edition of the *Works and Days* than was Paley’s. One wonders why Paley’s edition had been made the basis of Dodds’ work, rather than Rzach (1902), the *editio maior*, or why Dodds had not worked straight from Sinclair (1932). The unique status of Paley’s book – a complete annotated edition of Hesiod – probably ensured its role in Dodds’ study of the poet.¹⁰

If Dodds was lecturing on Hesiod as a ‘general book’ at Oxford, as part of a ‘circus’ given by different lecturers on a range of texts, it is likely that the more linguistic aspects of the notes

⁹ Russell (1981) 359.

¹⁰ See Collard (1996) 76 on ‘the number of publishing “firsts” Paley scored’, explicitly mentioned the Hesiod edition.

did make their way into the lecture.¹¹ But a more intriguing possibility is suggested in the next section.

2. The lecture notes

The character of the notes is revealing: an introduction to Hesiod for Dodds meant an account of the poet's life and work, his relation to Homer, and his role in the formation of 'didactic' literature (comparing the *Works and Days* to Lucretius as well as the *Georgics*). Furthermore, there is a short statement of the poetic qualities of Hesiod's composition: I am assured that this would have been highly unusual in mid-century Oxford lectures;¹² for that matter, it is not especially common now. On the whole, this fits with the scope of sections devoted to Hesiod in histories of Greek literature in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: biographies, followed by appraisals of the individual poems, some comment on Hesiod's poetry and wider thematic interests, as a rule in explicit contrast with a preceding chapter on Homer. Of particular note is the account given by Sinclair of the *Works and Days* in his history of Greek literature, which I set out at length (omitting the odd phrase) for comparison with Dodds' lecture:¹³

The way of life which is the main theme of the *Works and Days* may be summed up in the advice "Work hard and do right."... for the first time in Greek history we find a man who judged deeds by their rightness and not their strength, brilliance or cleverness.

There is a quality of moral earnestness in Hesiod which is reminiscent more of Hebrew

¹¹ Dodds (1977) 180 does not explicitly mention Hesiod among his lecture courses; the record of Dodds' teaching at Oxford gathered by Rutherford, in Stray et al. (2019), does not include any mention of lectures about Hesiod. The notes may therefore reflect preparation for a lecture given in a less formal setting – a Classics society, at a college or a local branch of the Classical Association, perhaps even a school – or perhaps teaching at Birmingham. Hesiod also formed part of the Mods syllabus in the Sixties (in 1966, *Works and Days* plus *Theogony* 1-34, 507-616) and presumably earlier, so this might have formed part of a lecture for these purposes too (my thanks to Chris Pelling for discussion of this point).

¹² Donald Russell and Chris Pelling (p.c.).

¹³ Sinclair (1934) 66-7.

prophets than of anything in Greek literature.... Further, like many amateur moralists and earnest preachers, Hesiod did not distinguish between moral and non-moral. Everything man does must be either right or wrong.... If you wish to obtain sufficient wealth – and it is assumed that you do – you must act justly and work hard. Just as acting justly is demonstrated by a series of examples and precepts without which Hesiod knew his advice would be disregarded or not understood, so in the matter of work it was useless to tell many people, especially Perses, to work hard if they did not know how and when work was to be done. Hesiod’s long description of a year’s work on a farm is not an interpolation of a separate poem but a very important part of his teaching and which for him was just as much part of morality as the rest. Besides, for most people in this world the problem how to live at all comes before the problem how to live aright.

The Biblical comparisons (which Sinclair gives at length in his edition of the poem and which Dodds frequently adopts), the identification of wealth as a major theme of the poem, and the unitarian view of the poem’s structure are all echoed in Dodds’ notes.¹⁴ Sinclair, however, makes only a single comment on Hesiod’s style (almost certainly to be read as a significant silence).¹⁵

At several points, Burn (1936) also seems to inform Dodds’ perspective. The following passage fits well with Dodds’ manner of presentation:¹⁶

Certainly Hesiod’s outlook is pessimistic. We live in the Iron Age, even harder than the Age of Bronze, and the days of Gold are far away. The nobles who govern us are predatory and corrupt (*Works*, 36) but it is no use complaining. A stronger has got you,

¹⁴ Contrast the presentation by Murray (1906) 55: ‘Of Hesiod’s poems we have nominally three preserved, but they might as well be called a dozen, so little unity has any one of them’; see further Murray (1946) 26-9.

¹⁵ Sinclair (1934) 71 on the ‘winter’ passage (*Op.* 509-542), a frequently praised passage (see Burn 1936, 39: ‘nothing to do with work, but too good to leave out’; further references in the notes to the relevant section of the lecture, below).

¹⁶ Burn (1936) 72.

as the Hawk said to the Nightingale in the fable (207). The gods have hidden Life from men (42), and that is why we have to work so hard.

Dodds' introductory lecture, then, aimed at a comprehensive examination of the text, going beyond the purely philological and text critical. The lectures are interested in the text as literature. It is tempting to relate this to Dodds' post-war lectures on Homer in particular,¹⁷ but in fact it is more reasonable to think of this as part of Dodds' conception of ancient literature in general.

Those familiar with Dodds' general interests will be entirely unsurprised by the extensive remarks on Hesiod's theology and eschatology, including its relationship to Judaeo-Christian thought; the more general conception of the poem stresses its religious purpose over its practical 'didactic' quality, while the passage dealing with this in detail is by far the most fluently written passage in the notes. It is all the more intriguing that this passage bears no small resemblance to a section of *The Greeks and the Irrational*. I give the passage at length, with some excision of some (for these purposes) extraneous material:¹⁸

In Mainland Greece... the Archaic Age was a time of extreme personal insecurity. The tiny overpopulated states were just beginning to struggle up out of the misery and impoverishment left behind by the Dorian invasions, when fresh trouble arose: whole classes were ruined by the great economic crisis of the seventh century, and this in turn was followed by the great political conflicts of the sixth, which translated the economic crisis into terms of murderous class warfare... Moreover, insecure conditions of life might in themselves favour the development of a belief in daemons, based on the sense of man's helpless dependence upon capricious Power; and this in turn might encourage

¹⁷ Russell (1981) 365-6.

¹⁸ Dodds (1951) 44-5.

an increased resort to magical procedures.... It is also likely, as I suggested earlier, that in minds of a different type prolonged experience of human injustice might give rise to the compensatory belief that there is justice in Heaven. It is doubtless no accident that the first Greek to preach divine justice was Hesiod – “the helot’s poet,” as King Cleomenes called him, and a man who had himself smarted under “crooked judgements.” Nor is it accidental that in this age the doom overhanging the rich and powerful becomes so popular a theme with poets – in striking contrast to Homer, for whom, as Murray has observed, the rich men are apt to be specially virtuous.

The phrase ‘the first Greek to preach divine justice’ in the book is very similar to the notes’ formulation ‘Hesiod invented divine justice because he lived in a dark age’; the notion of gods or a god being ‘a Power’ is likewise reflected in the notes. Similar observations occur in Dodds’ essay ‘The ancient concept of progress’.¹⁹ The similarities are at least revealing of something of the cast of Dodds’ thought on Greek poetry. Whether the other passage of *The Greeks and the Irrational* dealing with Hesiod (80-81) was also reflected in these notes is a moot point. The book was based on the series of Sather Lectures given by Dodds in 1949-1950.²⁰ I am inclined to think that the notes antedate these Lectures, as otherwise Dodds might, for his own purposes, have jotted a reminder to use his own material, but self-quotation from memory or self-paraphrase cannot be ruled out. The role of Sather Professor included a light teaching requirement; it is a tempting speculation that these notes were preparatory material worked up with this purpose in mind, but Dodds’ teaching at Berkeley focussed on Greek tragedy.

¹⁹ Dodds (1973) 3-4.

²⁰ The Sather Professorships were instituted at the University of California, Berkeley, on the initiative of Benjamin Ide Wheeler and the generosity of Jane K. Sather in 1914. Professors, distinguished visitors from other institutions, offer a course in one term and a series of six lectures in the other; these lectures are as a rule worked up into a book. See further Dow (1965) and the informative website of the professorship <https://www.classics.berkeley.edu/people/sather/history> (accessed 10/9/19).

In terms of the notes' place in intellectual history, one can make a few observations. Modern scholarship on Hesiod was changed entirely by the commentaries of Martin West on *Theogony* (Oxford, 1966) and *Works and Days* (Oxford, 1978). It is interesting to compare West's approach to the kind of take on Hesiod outlined in these few pages. Dodds taught West, and was elected Honorary Fellow of University College, Oxford, in 1960, just before West's own appointment to the Tutorial Fellowship there in 1963.²¹ Even if West rapidly developed an entirely independent line of thought about Hesiod, some possible connections between Dodds' notes and West's commentaries can be traced. I interpret such connections as reflecting contemporary understandings of ancient literature as much as any particular observations on Hesiod Dodds and West may ever have made in each other's hearing (whether over tutorial sherry or high table port); certainly I infer nothing so crude as a 'stemma' of intellectual influence. As a trivial example, one might cite West's hope (*Theogony*, viii) that his commentary on *Theogony* might correct the view that it is a less interesting poem than the *Works and Days*; this is a view set down by Dodds in these notes.²² With Dodds, West shares the view that Hesiod was not a professional rhapsode, indeed he develops that view in more detail.²³ However Dodds seems inclined to accept the idea that the *Theogony* might not be genuine, while West argues forcefully for the *Theogony* being the poem with which Hesiod made his name.²⁴ Dodds, like West, rejects the idea that the *Works and Days* was 'an early Greek *Georgics*', and draws on contemporary scholarship making use of the concept of 'wisdom literature'.²⁵ The characterisation of the genres within *Works and Days* as a whole is shared: with Dodds compare West (1978) 1. It is clear, however, that Dodds thinks of Hesiod

²¹ I am grateful to the Archivist of University College (Oxford), Robin Darwall-Smith, for these details.

²² Cf. Schmid & Stählin (1929) 272: 'das für hesiodische Eigenart am meisten bezeichnende Gedicht'.

²³ West (1966) 48.

²⁴ West (1966) 43-6; cf. West (1978) 32.

²⁵ West (1978) v, after the charming incident of his 'waggish pupil'; Dodds cites the introduction of Mair (1908) whose conception of wisdom literature is entirely Biblical. For a considerably broader take on the subject, see West (1978) 3-25.

as later than Homer (the notes to the text give references to relevant bibliography on this vexed question). The remarks on the poetics of Hesiod reveal an interesting contrast with modern preoccupations: one would today expect more discussion of the reception of Hesiod. Indeed, this is a positive industry in modern study of the poet.²⁶ Dodds is not unaware of the potential for comparison with later literature (see the marginal note on *Op.* 289, for example), but it is - in these notes at least - nowhere the focus.

On the physical character of the notes only a little need be said. The notes are written in a blue-black ink, with some additions in pencil; some of these additions make the connection of thought clearer, add details, or nuance what has been written in pen. One of the pencil notes includes the single reference to Sinclair (1932); this is not of course evidence that the ink portions were drafted before that date, especially given the dense use of Sinclair's book in the marginalia to *Works and Days*. In the transcription, ^(?) marks any doubt in the transcription, and a footnote explains if necessary; <this> indicates pencil; \this/ indicates material raised above the line; abbreviations (other than obvious names) are expanded in [square brackets] (the occasions on which Dodds himself uses square brackets should not cause confusion). The footnotes do not attempt to give a complete bibliography of the Hesiodic scholarship that engages with the ideas raised by Dodds; as well as citing the ancient evidence for convenience, they merely attempt to be indicative of later trends and to cite some of the standard handbooks and guides to modern Hesiodic scholarship. It is assumed that interested readers will have ways of tracking further references down.

²⁶ Already in 1962 the Hesiod volume produced by the Fondation Hardt in the *Entretiens* series was entitled *Hésiode et son influence*. For recent developments, see Koning (2010); Ziogas (2013); Hunter (2014); Van Noorden (2015); Stamatopoulou (2017); and Vergados (2017). Well over half of Loney & Scully (2018) is dedicated to ancient (193-410) and modern (413-494) receptions.

=P.1

Notes for introductory lecture

on Works and Days

1. Life

Homer impersonal; Hesiod personal.²⁷ The W&D starts from a personal incident, tho[ugh] it develops into a farmer's vade mecum.²⁸ H. tells us: (1) his father a ~~faet~~ merchant of Cyme (Aeolis in Asia) who came 'fleeing poverty' to Ascra under Helicon;²⁹ (2) Perses brought suit ag[ain]st him before the 'kings' of Thespieae and won it by bribery.³⁰ But in the poem (396) P. is reduced to beg from H.; <ἐργάζεσθαι, νήπιε Πέρση> (3) H. never crossed sea but once, to compete in poetry at funeral games in Chalcis,³¹ like a Welsh farmer at an Eisteddfod. (Authenticity denied by Plut. & some mod. editions.)³² Later legends: defeat of Homer;³³ exile to Ozolian Locris (wh. some accept);³⁴ the murder;³⁵ the dolphins (or the faithful dog):³⁶ <see Sinclair for details>³⁷

²⁷ Nestle (1966) 44: 'die erste greifbare Dichterpersönlichkeit';

²⁸ See Burn (1936) 35-6.

²⁹ *Op.* 633-40.

³⁰ *Op.* 33-39.

³¹ *Op.* 650-662. This passage has been a central focus of modern Hesiod scholarship; see Rosen (1990), Steiner (2005).

³² For Plutarch's athetesis, recorded by Proclus and thence the Hesiod scholia, see West (1978) 319, and 67-9 on Plutarch's and Proclus' Hesiod scholarship more generally. The *scholia vetera* on *Works and Days* are edited by Pertusi (1955), for which see West (1978) 71 n.3.

³³ The account of the 'contest' in the *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi*; see now Bassino (2018).

³⁴ I find no indication in the sources that Hesiod had been *exiled* to Locri. For the relation of this tradition to the text of the *Works and Days*, see now Bershadsky (2011) 17-22.

³⁵ Thuc. 3.96; Plut. *sept. sap. conv.* 162d.

³⁶ Dolphins: Plut. *sept. sap. conv.* 162e, and see Beaulieu (2015) 120-129 for the comparison with the Arion story, e.g. in Hdt. 1. 23-24; dog: Plut. *de soll. animal.* 969e; dolphin and dog together: Plut. *de soll. animal.* 984d.

³⁷ Sinclair (1932) xxxvii-xlv.

What was H.? Not a professional rhapsode like Demodocus at courts of kings, not a crofter in a highland village. Hence v. banal^(?), v. realistic, v. naif: but he knew his Homer & doubtless chanted him in his spare time.

2. Date. No \direct/ int[ernal] evidence ~~except style~~:³⁸ Hdt. said 400 years before <i.e. c. ix> himself:³⁹ Parian marble said 61 years – before 1st Olympiad <776>.⁴⁰ Some \incl. Parian marble/ made him earlier than Hom.,⁴¹ some contemp[orary],⁴² some later.⁴³ But certain that he borrows from Hom., not v[ice] v[ersa]⁴⁴: definitely a later civilisation: monarchy declining;⁴⁵ civil law & moral speculation beginning.⁴⁶ If Semonides of Amorgos knew him, as seems prob[able], he is earlier than c. vii.⁴⁷ Solon & others quote him in c. vi.⁴⁸ Most modern authorities say c. viii, but he may be earlier?

=P.2

3. Writings

(a) W&D; (b) the Theogony; (c) Shield. Hesiodic Sp^a.⁴⁹ Inhabitants of Helicon recognised only W&D as authentic (Pausanias);⁵⁰ & author of Theogony ~~uttered~~ speaks of H. in third person,

³⁸ A fascinating deletion. One wonders if Dodds had a change of heart on the point, or if he saved the exploration of the matter for another place.

³⁹ Hdt. 2. 53.

⁴⁰ Parian Marble, *FGrH* 239. 28-9; see now Rotstein (2016).

⁴¹ Hesiod earlier: Hippias B 6 D.-K., Ar. *Ran.* 1032-6, Pl. *Ap.* 41a. This position has been championed in modern times by M.L. West: see West (1966) 46-7; West (1995) = West (2011) 188-208; West (2011a).

⁴² Hesiod and Homer contemporaries: Hdt. 2. 53, Alcidas (i.e. the ultimate source of the *Certamen*, see n. 33).

⁴³ Hesiod later: Xenophanes (*apud* Gell. 3.11.2), Heraclides Ponticus (fr. 177 Wehrli).

⁴⁴ See West (1995) 208-9 = West (2011) 194-5.

⁴⁵ Burn (1936) 108-9.

⁴⁶ See Rzach, *RE* VIII s.v. Hesiodos, 1176; Burn (1936) 73-4.

⁴⁷ Cf. Semonides fr. 6 West ~ *Op.* 702-3; for other reminiscences of Hesiod in early Greek poetry see West (1966) 40 n. 4.

⁴⁸ Solon fr. 4, fr. 13 ~ *Op.* 213-326. Full discussion in Almeida (2018).

⁴⁹ Very unclear, but perhaps an abbreviation for 'spuria'. On the other poems in the Hesiodic corpus see Schwartz (1960) 199-264, and more recently the papers in Tsagalis (2017); on the *Catalogue of Women* see Schwartz (1960) 265-483, West (1985), Hunter (2005), Ormand (2014).

⁵⁰ Pausanias 9.31.4.

apparently as somebody distinct from himself.⁵¹ Shield now gen[erally] regarded as later.⁵²
Both far less indiv⁵³ and interesting than W&D.

4. W. & D.

loose constr[uction] (a) exhort[ation] to Perses 1-382

(b) advice on agriculture, w[ith] appendix on navigation 383-694 (Works)

(c) collection of wisdom, moral & religious 695-764

(d) calendar (Days) 765-end⁵⁴

Hesiodic Question again: e.g. Lehrs thought only (b) and (d) original,⁵⁵ \<Murray rejected (a)>.⁵⁶ But this makes Perses a fiction, or makes the second part build the first poem into a very unnatural personal framework.⁵⁷ Wilamowitz etc. reject (d):⁵⁸ but Heraclitus knew the 'Days' as Hesiod's.⁵⁹ Mod[ern] opinion tends to accept whole as genuine; apart fr[om] minor interpolations. Prob[ably] H. wrote a bit now & a bit again, & advice to Perses gradually turned into advice to the world. <(Doubtless much of the proverbial wisdom is traditional)>

⁵¹ Cf. Waltz (1906) 35 n. 2; for the biographical readings of *Theogony* see Stoddard (2004) 1-33.

⁵² Modern treatment of the question with full bibliography by Stamatopoulou (2013).

⁵³ Perhaps for 'individual', but the writing is unclear. On the 'individuality' of Hesiod see already the remarks in Schmid & Stählin (1929) 248, Lesky (1957-8) 94 (I cite this as the edition Dodds is more likely to have consulted); further on the *Works and Days* West (1981) 53-67 = West (2011) 146-158. On the 'individuality' or otherwise of the *Aspis*, see Martin (2005).

⁵⁴ The scheme adopted here is identical to that in Wright (1907) 56; while Dodds may have developed it independently (and does not copy Wright's headings for each section), the four-part division is not a rule in general accounts of the poem, many of which favour more fine-grained divisions.

⁵⁵ See Lehrs (1837) 221-248.

⁵⁶ See Murray (1906) 56-7.

⁵⁷ Precisely the unusual nature of the personal framework led West (and others) to think that Perses must be real; see West (1978) 34.

⁵⁸ Wilamowitz (1928) 8; cf. Mahaffy (1883) 1.105. Rose (1948) 58 n.4 terms this 'the only question now seriously debated'; see M.P. Nilsson (1911) 438-9 with n.1, Sinclair (1932) lvii, F. Solmsen (1949) 76 n.1, Lesky (1957-8) 97, Solmsen (1963). This might put Dodds ahead of the intellectual fashion, or indicate that this was to be a post-war lecture. For modern discussion of the issue, see Quaglia (1973) 229-242, West (1978) 346-7, Lardinois (1998).

⁵⁹ Heraclitus B 106 D.-K., a testimony neglected by Wilamowitz.

5. Hesiod and Homer:⁶⁰ (i) H. didactic, Hom. not.⁶¹ In what sense didactic: (a) not \mainly/ an attempt to make the common beautiful (like Georgics) and to make the abstract vivid, concrete (like Lucretius): he writes verse because memory is the mother of the Muses. (b) Not making a practical manual of agriculture: the moral purpose dominates the agricultural: the farmer's year preaches the gospel of work. H. wants to put the farmer in touch w[ith] the gods & w[ith] the world: hence history of the world to date, theological scheme of things, and mixture of religious & practical precepts. Cf. wisdom literature (Mair):⁶² Same mixture of utilitarianism, protection^(?) of divine justice: material rewards for goodness: parables, proverbs.

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(ii) Hesiod's world.⁶³ The age of heroes is gone: they were all killed by πόλεμος \τε/ κακὸς καὶ φυλοπις αἰνὴ.⁶⁴ ~~No longer ad~~ Fighting no longer the most respectable of all professions. Homer on piracy.⁶⁵ H. knows that piracy is (a) dangerous to the pirate, (b) a violation of the rights of private property. All the people he knows are in agriculture or trade. But they are mostly bad people, like Perses. 174ff. ~~This is the iron age~~ : πλείη μὲν γὰρ γαῖα κακῶν, πλείη δὲ θάλασσα.⁶⁶ The result of a Fall by mankind and Pandora's Box <theft of fire = apple Pandora = Eve> the descent from Golden Age (Garden of Eden) to Iron Age. \[Heroic age a bit of history interpolated]/.⁶⁷ How can we get back? (a) by keeping on the right side of the gods (b) by

⁶⁰ For a systematic modern comparison see Koning (2010), but most literature on Hesiod has some remarks to make about Homer.

⁶¹ Cf. Nestle (1966) 44: '[Hesiod] will nicht unterhalten, wie Homer, sondern er will lehren und erziehen.'

⁶² Mair (1908) xii-xiv, 162. 'Didactic' vs. 'wisdom' literature: contrast the remarks e.g. in Mair (1908) xi (who vacillates), or Sinclair (1932) xi 'didactic and admonitory medley', with West (1966) 1-16, West (1978) 3-25. For more recent treatments of the problem see Heath (1985) 245-263, and Nightingale (2000) 156-191.

⁶³ See Nelson (1998) 31-40; Edwards (2004).

⁶⁴ *Op.* 161.

⁶⁵ It is unclear what passage Dodds might have in mind, but see *Od.* 17. 419-44, esp. 425-44.

⁶⁶ *Op.* 101.

⁶⁷ For this conception of the myth of the Five Ages, see Griffiths (1956) 110: 'we at first hardly realize that Hesiod is giving us a piece of true tradition about the Mycenaean age.' Older literature is best sampled in Heitsch's useful anthology (1966) 439-648 (contributions by Bamberger, Roth, Meyer, Reitzenstein, Heubeck, Lesky and Rosenmeyer). A quite different interpretation of the historicity of the passage was advanced by I. Morris (2000) 228-238; see now the refinements by Bachvarova (2016) 278-94, and the contrasting approaches (with full bibliographies) by Currie (2012) 45-7 and Most (1997). Gatz (1967) 1-6 is a valuable overview.

working hard & getting rich: “if you want to be rich, ὦδ’ ἔρδειν καὶ ἔργον ἐπ’ ἔργῳ ἐργάζεσθαι”. He identifies riches & happiness as the poor do everywhere always (cf. ὄλβιος “well-off”).⁶⁸ In the Golden Age “they were rich in sheep, dear to the blessed gods” and lived without work or worry.⁶⁹ But now there is nothing for it but work. Utilitarianism: justice necessary, lest we be punished: but don’t give something for nothing.

καὶ δόμεν ὅς κεν δῶ, καὶ μὴ δόμεν ὅς κεν μὴ δῶ⁷⁰

Pay your labourer his wages – and have a witness even if he is your brother.⁷¹ Don’t trust these wheedling women who are always trying to get money out of you.⁷² Have only one son, so as to keep your farm intact.⁷³ This is the ancient, universal wisdom of the peasant, handed from mouth to mouth at the λέσχῃ (= pub).⁷⁴ Just so old men talk today in chimney corners in Shropshire & Achill, in Normandy & the Black Forest.

But H. prophet as well as peasant: early hymns, modes (Pythia invented hexameter?)⁷⁵

The Gods.⁷⁶ More mysterious & ~~t~~ than Homer’s: powers rather than persons, making the world silent & invisible.⁷⁷ This is older <i.e. gods as powers>

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⁶⁸ Cf. e.g. *Op.* 637.

⁶⁹ *Op.* 113.

⁷⁰ *Op.* 354.

⁷¹ *Op.* 370-1; however, see West (1978) 249-50 for possible grounds for athetesis.

⁷² *Op.* 373-4.

⁷³ *Op.* 376-7. The style of this paragraph, in virtual quotation, echoes the paraphrase of Sinclair (1934) 70.

⁷⁴ Cf. *Op.* 493-5.

⁷⁵ Cf. Pliny *NH* 7.57, Paus. 10.5.7.

⁷⁶ See Nelson (1998) 98-110.

⁷⁷ Burn (1936) 44: ‘a preoccupation with unseen powers that is quite absent from Homer’; Nestle (1966) 46: ‘Die Götter sind kosmische und ethische Mächte.’ See the remarks (in a book dedicated to Dodds) of Dodds’s pupil Adkins (1970) 50: ‘One could never guess from Homer’s portrayal of the Olympian gods the dark and bloody myths of the earlier generations of gods which appear in Hesiod’s *Theogony*’.

than Homeric anthropomorphism – wh[ich] prob[ably] came into Greece from the North in the Achaean invasion.⁷⁸ Hom’s gods just enjoy themselves like human beings: H’s have a moral plan^(?) – to punish injustice, reward the virtuous. This view of the universe always arises when people are v. depressed: Hesiod invented divine justice because he lived in a dark age after Troy & Crete & Mycenae had become remote legends. The Jews invented the Last Judgement & Resurrection when they were in captivity in Babylon.⁷⁹ The X^{tian} heaven & the X^{tian} Hell were developed if not invented in the days of the persecutions.⁸⁰ Hes. hopes ~~th~~ for his reward in this life: but he also believes in special rewards after death for some people: the Heroes went to the Isles of the Blest, the Silver Men are μάκαρες θνητοὶ ὑποχθόνιοι, the Golden Men are δαίμονες, φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.⁸¹ ≠ Hom. (but cf. the case of Menelaus).⁸²

6. H. as poet:⁸³ If more reflective than Hom., H. is far less imaginative.⁸⁴ When his imagination works, it is \often/ vague, bizarre, rather impressive: e.g. the Silver Age of men who never grow up (127ff.)⁸⁵ <But> H’s \realistic/ pictorial skill:⁸⁶ e.g. the farmer’s midday rest 582ff. Nature here as in Homer is the decorative background of the human scene. Nature is an intimate enemy in H. Practical thoughts never far away: he notes the first cuckoo, but notes it as a sign to the farmer that he must get to work & plough.⁸⁷ – H’s enigmatic terms: The Boneless One

⁷⁸ For this conception of Minoan or Pre-Greek religion being non-anthropomorphic, see Evans 1901). On the ‘Achaean invasion’, see Burn (1936) 46-7 (with refutation of earlier, racial interpretations). On the question of Pre-Greek and Indo-European elements in Greek religion (including history of the criticism of Evans), see W. Burkert (1985) 15-53.

⁷⁹ Barton & Muddiman (2001) 10: ‘the Exile seems to have been the crisis that first focused the minds of Israel’s thinkers on the problem of how to make sense of apparently unjust suffering.’

⁸⁰ Modern Biblical commentators more usually trace continuity between Christian conceptions of Heaven and Hell and second-century Jewish ideas of the afterlife (*sheol*, *gehinnom* / *gehenna*); cf. Barton & Muddiman (2001) 363-4, 624.

⁸¹ *Op.* 141, 122-3.

⁸² Hom. *Od.* 4.561-9.

⁸³ See Hunter (2014) 282-315, Tsagalis (2017a), Scully (2018).

⁸⁴ Rose (1948) 60-1 contrasts Hesiod’s ‘reflective’ qualities and ‘earnestness’ with Homer.

⁸⁵ *Op.* 131-2.

⁸⁶ Cf. Mahaffy (1883) 108: ‘much fine and vigorous painting... quaint and happy thoughts, expressed in terse and suitable words’; see also West (1978) 54 on Hesiod’s ‘taste for description for its own sake’ (differently Sinclair 1934, 71: ‘Rarely does he dwell long on descriptions!’)

⁸⁷ *Op.* 485-92. Comparable remarks in Mahaffy (1883) 108; Wright (1907) 62-3.

\<cuttlefish>/,⁸⁸ <φερέουκος snail>,⁸⁹ the Three-legged One \<γέρων>/,⁹⁰ the Five-Branched One \<hand>/.⁹¹ Are these dictated by avoidance of a dangerous name.⁹² Other explanations in Mair.⁹³

Dialect⁹⁴ Homer's Ionic plus a few Aeolisms (αἴνημι, τρηκόντων: from his father?),⁹⁵ a few Doricisms (τέτορα: influence of Delphi?).⁹⁶

⁸⁸ *Op.* 524. A controversial identification. The view that ἀνόστειος refers to the octopus ('not the cuttlefish, as Paley and Mair have it', West, *ad loc.*) goes back to Antigonus of Carystus (*Mir.* 21.1); see Jouanna (1983) 209-212, and the full literature review in Bagordo (2009) 32-4 n.3. Others have proposed the snail, see Beall (2001) 159-160, Bagordo (2009) 38-40 with n.18; Bagordo's own view, building on contributions by Watkins and Campanile, is that the 'boneless one' is an impotent man masturbating (ὄν πόδα τένδει, with 'foot' used as a metaphor for 'phallus') during the winter. Watkins' interpretation was published in 1978.

⁸⁹ *Op.* 571.

⁹⁰ *Op.* 533.

⁹¹ *Op.* 472.

⁹² The concept Dodds is applying is that of the 'taboo' name, which has to be replaced in speech with an oblique description or a distorted form. Mair (1908) xvii refers to the language of Scottish fisherman: see now Lockwood (1955); Knooihuizen (2008) 106-8.

⁹³ Mair (1908) xv-xviii, suggesting 'desire for picturesqueness and variety', euphemism, 'poetical dignity' (see Paley's note on *Op.* 524, 'oracular and sacerdotal', quoting Müller), humour, and pet names, as well as 'a superstitious motive', on which see previous note. On Hesiod's *kenningar* cf. West (1978) 290-1 and *ad locc.*, Wærn (1951) 38-40, 80-1.

⁹⁴ In general, see Edwards (1971).

⁹⁵ Aeolisms in Hesiod: West (1966) 82-4, 90; West (1978) 30 with n. 3. This last note echoes Dodds' observation that reminiscence of Hesiod's father could have provoked stronger Aeolic dialect features; could the 'Irishman' in West's note be Dodds? See West's obituary (1979) 30 = (2013) 482 on Dodds' 'strong, unmusical Irish voice'.

⁹⁶ Doricisms in Hesiod: for an early view see Wright (1907) 55. See now Morpurgo Davies (1964); West (1966) 85-90; West (1978) 31 with n. 4.

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Ben Cartlidge, Liverpool