

## ON THE QUESTION OF PRIORITY OF HOMER AND HESIOD

Hesiod's listeners or readers could have better understood his references to the creation of Pandora and to the character of women in general if they had previously known Homer's poetry. The present argument supports the view that the epics of Homer preceded those of Hesiod.

### I

It has been argued that the real problem in discussing the chronological order of Homer and Hesiod lies mainly in our «methods» and «criteria»<sup>1</sup>. Several passages and contexts<sup>2</sup> indicate some kind of borrowing or influence, and the matter has been further complicated by the analytic methods applied to each poet separately in an attempt to distinguish in his work the «old» from the «new» or the «genuine» from the «spurious».

It makes good sense to propose that the disputed passages be interpreted in the light of the poet's own «style» and «thought» and that their contexts be also taken into consideration<sup>3</sup>, but dispute can arise about these matters. Poetic contexts are certainly important, but they are often motivated by purposes which are not always easy to identify. Consequently, we may not be able to establish the priority of a certain passage over another. I would propose an examination of major thematic elements with particular reference to the manner in which they are introduced into the poem, and I will presently confine

<sup>1</sup> Cf. H. Neitzel, *Homer-Rezeption bei Hesiod (Abhandlungen zur Kunst-Musik- und Literaturwissenschaft, Bd. 189)*, Bonn 1975, p. 1 ff., esp. p. 14 and *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> Relevant material and bibliography in Neitzel's book.

<sup>3</sup> Neitzel puts emphasis on this approach which has been suggested by others (cf. F. Kraft, *Vergleichende Untersuchungen zu Homer und Hesiod [Hypomnemata 6]*, Göttingen 1963, p. 85), and explores its potential more fully. He comes to the conclusion that Hesiod depends upon Homer.

my discussion to Hesiod's treatment of women which is best illustrated by the Pandora-myth.

Some think that Hesiod was an anti-feminist<sup>4</sup>. It has been pointed out that the poet was deeply concerned with the economics and politics of his days and that, reflecting the worries and troubles of the average Boeotian peasant, he viewed women as a necessity but at the same time as a bad economic liability, owing to their vices and also to the fact that women had no concrete stake in any particular social or political order, and hence his hostility towards them<sup>5</sup>. According to another view Hesiod derived his ideas about women from the East<sup>6</sup>.

It is true that Hesiod lived in a time when cultural contacts were reestablished with the Orient<sup>7</sup> and that the hard realities of his days influenced his work, but Hesiod was, above all, writing poetry, not sociology. This means that he was open to literary influences and stimulations as well. His audience too would look forward to listening to his poetry and not to an account of their daily chores and troubles. There existed poetic competitions<sup>8</sup>. The significance of this fact is fully explored and utilized in the present argument. Such competitions sharpened the wits of the audience and provided a pool of information about traditional and contemporary poetry.

The Pandora-myth (*Works and Days* 57-101, *Theogony* 570-590) should reflect some of the poet's own ideas about women, but there are

<sup>4</sup> Yet cf. F. Brenk, «Hesiod: How much a Male Chauvinist?», *CB* 49, 1973, p. 73 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Sarah B. Pomeroy, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives and Slaves*, New York 1975, p. 48 f., and, in more details, Marilyn B. Arthur, «Early Greece: The Origins of the Western Attitude Toward Women», *Arethusa* 6, 1973, p. 24 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. F. A. Wright, *Feminism in Greek Literature*, N. Y. 1923, p. 16 ff., quoted with approval by T. A. Sinclair, *Hesiod Work and Days*, Hildesheim 1966 (Repr.), Introd., p. xxxii. Wright does not elaborate; occasionally he vaguely speaks of Oriental influence. Cf. also W. Erdmann, *Die Ehe im alten Griechenland (Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte, Heft 20)*, München 1934, p. 13, n. 5. J. Vogt, «Von der Gleichwertigkeit der Geschlechter in der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft der Griechen», *Ak. d. Wiss. u. d. Lit. Abh. d. Geistes- u. sozialwiss. Klasse*, Wiesbaden 1960, Nr. 2, p. 216, points out that the treatment of women in the Orient was consistently bad and that in early times influence was not at work though Greece and the Orient had maintained contacts. Yet it should not be overlooked that prior to the Dorian conquest the matriarchal element was strong in the Greek and Oriental societies. In this context cf. Annemarie Jenzer, *Wandlungen in der Auffassung der Frau im ionischen Epos und in der Tragödie bis auf Sophokles*, Zürich 1933, p. 6 ff.

<sup>7</sup> In this context cf. C. G. Starr, *The Origins of Greek Civilization*, London 1962, pp. 192 ff. and 221 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Hesiod himself alludes to them when he says ἀοιδὸς ἀοιδῷ (κοτέει), *Erga* 25-26. The poet also tells us that he took in a competition at the funeral games of Amphidamas at Chalkis (*Erga* 650 ff.). On the nature, time and circumstances of those ἀγῶνες see Kraft, *op. cit.*, p. 21 ff. with bibliography.



some relevant passages in his work which should also be taken into consideration. What concerns us here is not the myth and its symbolism<sup>9</sup> but the attributes and qualities which the poet ascribes to Pandora and also the way in which he presents the divinities that contribute to her creation. There should be little doubt that Hesiod was familiar with an «old folktale» and that the theme of «women's extravagance and ill-nature» is known the world over<sup>10</sup>, but it is the treatment of the theme that makes all the difference.

In Hesiod it is Zeus who first speaks of Pandora in terms of an evil (κακόν) in which men will rejoice (*Erga* 57f.). The poet might or might not have had unpleasant experiences with women<sup>11</sup>; he might or might not have heard accounts of the first woman. But in the *Odyssey* we read κακῆς... γυναικός (XI 384) which is left rather vague<sup>12</sup>. We cannot date this passage or the book in which it occurs, and for the present purpose it may not be very important whether women or some women were considered «evil» in literature before Hesiod. There is however another, more important, consideration.

Hephaestus is ordered to make a creature and to endow her with the voice and strength of a human being (ἐν δ' ἀνθρώπου θέμεν αὐδὴν καὶ σθένος, 61f.) and also to give her the form of a lovely maiden, resembling the very gods (62-63). But these references to the skills of the god presuppose some knowledge on the part of the listeners. For the poet does not explain why it is Hephaestus who gets the special job of mixing water and earth to make the creature. The poet obviously assumes that his listeners knew that Hephaestus was a maker, and all that is now needed is to find the source or sources of the listeners' knowledge of the functions of the god. Let it also be noted that this is not the only passage that assumes familiarity, on the part of the listener, with traditional sources and poetry.

We look in vain for this kind of information in Hesiod's own work. In *Theogony* 571f. the god is even introduced without his personal name:

<sup>9</sup> On the subject in general see esp. G. S. Kirk, *Myth, its Meaning and Function in Ancient and other Cultures*, Cambridge 1971, p. 235 ff.; P. Diel, *Symbolism in Greek Mythology*, London 1980, p. 209 ff.; O. Lendle, *Die «Pandorasage» bei Hesiod*, Würzburg 1957, p. 58 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. G. S. Kirk, *The Nature of Greek myths*, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1974, p. 140 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Lendle, *op. cit.*, p. 87, thinks that Hesiod speaks from his own experience.

<sup>12</sup> The poet may mean Helen or Clytemnestra. Cf. W. B. Stanford, *Homer Odyssey*, I, p. 384.

γάλης γὰρ σύμπλασσε περικλυτός Ἀμφιγυήεις  
παρθένῳ αἰδοίῃ Ἰκελὸν Κρονίδεω διὰ βουλᾶς<sup>13</sup>.

West comments: «The fashioning of a figure from clay is *naturally* (italics mine) attributed to a potters' god, here Hephaestus...»<sup>14</sup>. But «naturally» can only stand on the assumption that Hesiod's listeners knew about the god's functions as we do. How else could they understand this activity of the god?

Even when the poet comes to speak about the god's family tree (vv. 927-929), there is no explanatory reference to this important function of the god; only a vague hint:

ἐκ πάντων τέχνησι κεκασμένον Οὐρανιῶνων<sup>15</sup>.

It is in the *Iliad* that the περικλυτός Ἀμφιγυήεις<sup>16</sup> is a maker and a builder. In I 607f. he built the divine dwellings<sup>17</sup>. In II 101 he made Agamemnon's sceptre, in XVIII 239-241 a special chair for Hera, and in vv. 478ff. Achilles' arms. But the most important passage is of course XVIII 417ff. where reference is made to the golden servant girls which worked for Hephaestus and which he fashioned<sup>18</sup>, giving them αὐδή καὶ σθένος<sup>19</sup>.

The idea too that gods give women their εἶδος is introduced by Hesiod, in the above context, on the assumption that his audience are familiar with this function of the gods, and though we do not know all sources of this kind of information, we know, for a fact, that the Homeric epics contain it<sup>20</sup>.

Hephaestus is not the only god whose skills and functions are taken for granted by the poet<sup>21</sup>. The same is true of the other gods who par-

<sup>13</sup> Cf. also *Erga*, 70-71.

<sup>14</sup> M. L. West, *Hesiod Theogony*, Oxford 1966, p. 326. West, who believes that Homer comes after Hesiod (p. 46 f. For criticism of his views see G. P. Edwards, *The Language of Hesiod in its Traditional Context*, Oxford 1971, p. 203 ff.), says in his work *Hesiod Works & Days*, Oxford 1978, that v. 61f. «appear to have influenced Homer's description of another creation of Hephaestus, his golden girl-robots» (p. 158).

<sup>15</sup> Note however that he made a golden wreath for Pandora (*Theog.* 579 f.).

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *Il.* I 607, XIV 239, XVIII 383, etc. Cf. also *Od.* VIII 300, 349, etc.

<sup>17</sup> Note too that in *Il.* I 571 ff. the god is properly introduced.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. West, *op. cit.*, p. 326.

<sup>19</sup> Notice these words in Hesiod's account (*Erga* 61 f.), and cf. further θεοῦ αὐδήν *Il.* XV 270, Ἐκτορος αὐδήν *Il.* XIII 757.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. *Od.* XX 70 ff. and my study, *Nature and Background of Major Concepts of Divine Power in Homer*, Amsterdam 1977, p. 80, n. 1. For ἀθανάτης δὲ θεῆς εἰς ὅπα (v. 62) cf. *Il.* III 158, and *Od.* VI 152.

<sup>21</sup> It should be noted that the cult of Hephaestus was very old. Cf. L. R. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, Oxford 1909, V, p. 374 ff.



ticipate in the creation of Pandora. Athene, we are told, should teach Pandora<sup>22</sup> needlework and weaving (63f.):

ἔργα διδασκῆσαι, πολυδαίδαλον ἱστὸν ὑφαίνειν.

But this task presupposes that Athene was known to possess and to impart these skills to women. Elsewhere Hesiod only stresses the goddess' warlike nature (*Theog.* 924ff.) and he refers to her as γλαυκῶπις (*Th.* 573, *Erga* 72)<sup>23</sup>. It is in Homer that we again find the complete information about Athene's handicraft skills (*Od.* XX 72)<sup>24</sup>:

ἔργα δ' Ἀθηναίη δέδασε κλυτὰ ἔργαζεσθαι.

The goddess, we are told, taught the daughters of Pandareus the *erga*, and there are more references to this quality of Athene (*Il.* IX 390, *Od.* VII 111, XIII 289 etc.): she is skilled at handicrafts and teaches women.

Athene was worshipped as ἔργανη<sup>25</sup>, and though we cannot date the beginnings of the cult<sup>26</sup>, we can safely connect it with the com-

<sup>22</sup> Cf. also West, *op. cit.*, p. 159. On διδασκῆσαι see Neitzel's comments (*op. cit.*, 28 ff.). He thinks that the idea of teaching is not appropriate in view of the fact that Pandora is supposed to be a κακόν or a πῆμα and that weaving does not agree with the character qualities ascribed to Pandora in *Erga* 67-68. His comments are illuminating but I am not convinced by his argument. A woman's abilities need not be in conflict with her character. Helen, for example, is an excellent weaver (*Il.* III 125 f.) but she may also be a κακή γυνή (cf. n. 12, p. 191). A weaver needs not necessarily work, and the drones (*Theog.* 594 ff.) are not necessarily ignorant and incapable by nature; they simply do not work. Pandora's other divine gifts might interfere with her handicraft abilities, but this is another question. Zeus is not totally unfair to man. The god does not give man a beautiful but stupid woman, though the danger is there that her good qualities might be destroyed by the «bad» ones. V. 72 is not a «statt dessen». We are not told that Zeus canceled his orders to Athene; nor should we expect more details on this point.

<sup>23</sup> It should be noted that Athene is a war goddess of wise counsel in Homer (cf. my study, *op. cit.*, p. 46 ff.) and her cult was probably much older. Cf. M. Ventris - J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, Cambridge 1956, p. 126, for a-ta-na po-ti-ni-ja KN 208 = V 52.

<sup>24</sup> Note that the verse occurs in a passage (vv. 66-82) which is bracketed by some editors (cf. Stanford, *Odyssey*, II, p. 344). West, *op. cit.*, p. 158 f., apparently considers it genuine.

<sup>25</sup> For the testimonies see my study, *op. cit.*, p. 53, n. 33.

<sup>26</sup> According to Pausanias (I 24) the title ἔργανη was given to Athene by the Athenians, and Horace (*Carm.* III 12, 5) renders it by *operosa Minerua*. Hesiod calls the plough maker a servant of Athene (*Erga* 450), but already in the *Iliad* XV 410 ff., the carpenter derives his skills from Athene. In the *Hymn to Aphrodite*, which is dated about 700 B. C. (cf. A. Athanassakis, *The Homeric Hymns*, Baltimore 1976, p. 92), Athene taught the carpenters but also women (cf. vv. 12-15):

mercial rise of Athens sometime in the sixth century. Even if the cult were older it probably did not supply listeners of Hesiod with the kind of information which would facilitate an understanding of his references to the goddess in the creation myth<sup>27</sup>. The real source of information should be the Homeric epics which were recited at festivals and on other occasions<sup>28</sup>.

The Homeric gods endow man with physical qualities as indicated above, but also with various skills. The poet says about Hephaestus' girl servants (*Il.* XVIII 420):

ἀθανάτων δὲ θεῶν ἄπο ἔργα ἴσασιν<sup>29</sup>.

Aphrodite is another major goddess who participates in the creation of Pandora. She sees to it that Pandora is given grace, longing and cares (65f.):

καὶ χάριν ἀμφιχέαι κεφαλῇ χρυσέην Ἀφροδίτην  
καὶ πόθον ἀργαλέον καὶ γυ:οκόρους μελεδώντας.

Even the elaborate account of the goddess' nature in the *Theogony* 191-206, was not sufficient for Hesiod's audience to fully understand the function ascribed to her in the above passage. Her spheres of influence (vv. 203-206) do not include giving lovely gifts to mortals. Did the poet assume that his listeners were familiar with this aspect of the goddess's power?

In Homer Aphrodite is the giver of δῶρ' ἐρατά (*Il.* III 64)<sup>30</sup> and Hera asks her (*Il.* XIV 198f.):

δὸς νῦν μοι φιλότητα καὶ ἔμερον, ᾧτε σὺ πάντας  
δαμνᾷ ἀθανάτους ἡδὲ θνητοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

---

πρώτη τέκτονας ἄνδρας ἐπιχθονίους ἐδίδαξε  
ποιῆσαι σατίνας καὶ ἄρματα ποικίλα χαλκῷ.  
ἡ δὲ τε παρθενικὰς ἀπαλόχρους ἐν μεγάροισιν  
ἀγλαὰ ἔργ' ἐδίδαξεν ἐπὶ φρεσὶ θεῖσα ἐκάστη.

<sup>27</sup> It should be further noted that Athene dressed Pandora (ζῶσε καὶ κόσμησε, *Erga* 72, *Theog.* 573), and that in *Il.* XIV 178 Athene is the maker of the garment which Hera puts on. Following Robert, *Hermes* 49, 1914, p. 29, Kraft, *op. cit.*, p. 102, rightly understands this part of Athene's involvement in terms of an «instruction» (*Unterricht*).

<sup>28</sup> In this context see Kraft, *op. cit.*, p. 21, with bibliography.

<sup>29</sup> Note in this context that the μέρμερα ἔργα γυναικῶν (*Theog.* 603) has its Homeric parallels in ἔργα γυναικῶν (*Il.* VI 289, *Od.* VII 97).

<sup>30</sup> Cf. also *Il.* V 429, ἱμερόεντα ἔργα γάμοιο.



Hesiod's πόθον replaces φιλότητα καὶ ἥμερον, and the idea of his γυιοκόρους μελεδώντας is expressed by δαμνᾶ. On the other hand, χάριν ἀμφιχέαι κεφαλῇ is nothing more than χάριν κατέχευε κεφαλῇ which is repeatedly used in Homer in passages where people are miraculously transformed by the gods<sup>31</sup>.

Hermes was ordered to put in Pandora κύνεον τε νόον καὶ ἐπικλοπον ἦθος (67f.). This introduction too assumes that the poet's listeners were familiar with the god's powers and functions. But Hesiod's work does not provide the complete information. In *Theog.* 444 Hermes appears as a herdsman god<sup>32</sup> and in v. 939 (*Erg.* 80) as a divine herald (κήρυκ' ἀθανάτων)<sup>33</sup>. There is nothing here about the activity of the god which the above words describe. The background of this activity may be found in Homer. Hermes has the power to coze the mind (*Il.* XXIV 343, *Od.* V 47)<sup>34</sup>, and this is apparently what an ἐπικλοπος νόος is supposed to do. In *Od.* XI 364-366 an ἐπικλοπος tells lies (ψεύδεα)<sup>35</sup> which amounts to deceiving. As a matter of fact in v. 78 we read that in addition to the ἐπικλοπον ἦθος Hermes gives Pandora, at the request of Zeus, ψεύδεα θ' αἰμυλίου τε λόγους.

We do not know if Hesiod or his audience knew the Hermes ἐριούνης (*Il.* XX 34, 360 etc.) and how they understood this attribute which grammarians and lexicographers explained in terms of κλέπτῃς<sup>36</sup>. Certain Homeric contexts present Hermes as a thief or as a patron of thieves. In *Il.* XXIV 24 the gods urge him to go and steal the body of Hector, and in *Od.* XIX 396f. Hermes endowed Autolycus with the talents of thievery and perjury<sup>37</sup>. The *Hymn to Hermes* contains an elaborate account of this aspect of the god's nature, and though we cannot date the *Hymn* there is reason to assume that it comes after the Homeric epics<sup>38</sup>.

As for the κύνεον νόον, the Homeric epics provide sufficient information. The *locus classicus* is of course *Od.* XI 424-428, which belongs

<sup>31</sup> Cf. for example *Od.* VI 235, VIII 20, XXIII 162.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. also *Hymn to Hermes*, and West, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

<sup>33</sup> West comments, p. 416, «Hermes is not described by any corresponding phrase in Homer». Yet *Od.* V 29 ff. ('Ερμεία — σὺ γὰρ αὖτε τὰ τ' ἄλλα περ ἄγγελος ἔσσι κτλ.) clearly demonstrates that Hermes was «the herald of the immortals».

<sup>34</sup> However, other gods too have the same power. Cf. *Il.* XII 255, XIII 435.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. also *Il.* XXII 281, ἐπικλοπος μύθων.

<sup>36</sup> Yet cf. H. Frisk, *Griech. etym. Wörterbuch*, I, p. 559.

<sup>37</sup> On δρκαφ, v. 396, see Stanford's illuminating comments (*Odyssey*, II, p. 332).

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Athanassakis, *op. cit.*, p. 87, who thinks that this portrayal of Hermes «is not an innovation by the composer of the hymn» and quotes Homer. Athanassakis would place its date «somewhere in the middle of the seventh century».

to a section of the poem considered by some to be late, but already in the *Iliad* Helen calls herself a woman with a dog's mind (*Il.* III 180)<sup>39</sup>.

Even minor divinities, such as Charites, are introduced in a way that is best understood in the light of some foreknowledge of them. Charites, and Peitho, put ὄρμους χρυσελούς on Pandora (73f.). In *Theog.* 64 the Charites dwell on Olympus, in v. 907 they are named and in v. 910 their eyes can excite desire. But they do not appear as givers of any kind of δῶρα. In Homer however they can groom a person (*Od.* VIII 364ff.) and they also gave Aphrodite her *peplos* which they made for her (*Il.* V 338).

It has been indicated above that there might have been a number of sources which influenced Hesiod. His language shows that he was familiar with «dialect sources»<sup>40</sup>, and there should be little doubt that some hexameter poetry existed on the mainland. Hesiod might have known local compositions about the great Olympians who were traditional gods<sup>41</sup>. Yet Herodotus's statement (*II* 53) that it was Homer and Hesiod who gave the Greeks their gods throws light on an important point: no other poet or poets from that period spoke to the people about the gods with reverential authority. If we therefore find that Hesiod presupposes some knowledge about the gods on the part of his listeners, it can only be that both he and his listeners learned about the gods from the source *par excellence*, i.e. the Homeric epics.

Hesiod, on the other hand, was not writing solely for a local audience; the range of poetry which a local audience could understand should be very limited indeed. Hesiod's participation in competitions abroad (*Erga* 65ff.) indicates that he wanted to make his poetry known elsewhere, and possibly everywhere, in the Greek world. He should therefore be expected to give it a panhellenic appeal, which he could best achieve along the lines of the Homeric epics. The tradition too that he competed with Homer indicates that he only rivaled the poet *par excellence*, whatever his borrowings from other sources might have been. If «it was the prestige of the Homeric epics which led Hesiod to adapt the metre and diction of Homer to his own matter»<sup>42</sup>, we should now

<sup>39</sup> This is of course κυνῶπις which literally means «dog-eyed». But this attribute cannot refer to the physical characteristics of the eyes in view of the fact that often women so called are evidently beautiful as Helen in this case (cf. the Trojan Elders' reaction, *Il.* III 156 ff.) or even Aphrodite in *Il.* III 319 ff. who is a κυνῶπις κόρη after committing adultery. The word best describes character.

<sup>40</sup> G. P. Edwards, *op. cit.*, p. 101. In this context see also A. Hoekstra, «Hésiode et la tradition orale», *Mnemosyne* 10, 1957, p. 193 ff.

<sup>41</sup> For a recent discussion see my study (n. 20 above).

<sup>42</sup> J. A. Thomson, *A Companion to Homer* (ed. Wace-Stubbings, London 1962), p. 4.



add that Hesiod also adapted religious accounts of Homer for the same reason.

It may not be necessary for us to assume that the information about the gods participating in the creation of Pandora is derived from the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*, but the incompleteness of the same information in Hesiod is best explained in terms of a background knowledge of the Homeric epics on the part of the poet's listeners. The epics themselves contain a similar kind of incomplete information which also presupposes knowledge of pre-Homeric poetry. A case in point is the vague introduction of, and some references to, the *dramatis personae* most of which figured in traditional poetry<sup>43</sup>. But even the composition of the *Iliad*, for example, can be better understood against the background of a chronicle type of narrative poetry<sup>44</sup>. Homer's technique of composition<sup>45</sup> did not favor inclusion of all details of traditional stories.

Homer need not be the source of information for Hesiod and his listeners but then there must be some other major poetry which supplied the poet and his audience with the kind of information that is omitted from his work. Such poetry did not, to our knowledge, exist before Hesiod, unless one thinks of the inferior Cyclic epics or some of them. We know next to nothing about the date of these epics but the linguistic evidence and other considerations point to a post Homeric date<sup>46</sup>. The poetic «stuff» of the Cyclic epics is for the most part traditional; it antedates the composition of the Homeric epics, and it is apparently this «stuff» that informed listeners about much of what Homer did not tell. The same «stuff» might still, at a later age, be in circulation, but I should think that it were the specific compositions rather than the fluctuating «stuff» which was the source of information since such compositions would be considered the official and most authoritative accounts of the past.

It is difficult to establish what account exactly Hesiod presupposed for his listeners, and the absence, on the other hand, of a text of the

<sup>43</sup> In this context see my study, *Form and Content in Homer*, Wiesbaden 1982 (*Hermes Einzelschriften* 46), *passim*.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. W. Kullmann, «Zur Methode der Neoanalyse in der Homerforschung», *WS* 15 NF, 1981, p. 42.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Aristotle, *Poetics* 1451 a 21-26, and my paper, *Phoenix* 22, 1968, p. 159 ff.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. J. Wackernagel, *Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Homer*, Göttingen 1916, p. 181 ff.; J. Griffin, «The Epic Cycle and the Uniqueness of Homer», *JHS* 97, 1977, p. 48; H. Lloyd-Jones, «Stasinus and the Cypria», *Stasinos* 4, 1968, p. 119. On the influence of the Homeric epics on some fragments of the Cyclic epics see Griffin (*loc. cit.*, p. 42 ff.), G. L. Huxley, *Greek Epic Poetry*, London 1969, p. 128 ff. and, more recently, A. Boskos, *Τὰ κύπρια καὶ τὰ δημηρικά ἔπη. Πρακτικά Β' διεθνoῦς κυπριολογικοῦ συνεδρίου, τόμος Α', Λευκωσία* 1984, p. 4 f.

Cyclic epics<sup>47</sup> makes a discussion of the question even more difficult. As it is, the presentation of the gods in the two poets indicates that chronologically Hesiod follows Homer. To assume that Hesiod precedes the Homeric epics, would require that we also assume that another complete and authoritative treatment of the gods precedes Hesiod. Nothing is known about such a treatment that might be important enough to influence Hesiod and his listeners. We know, on the other hand, that organized guilds were promoting the poems of Homer<sup>48</sup>.

It might be added, in support of the above argument, that Hesiod omits still other important details from the presentation of traditional personages elsewhere in his poetry. So, for example, in fr. 198<sup>49</sup> Odysseus is referred to only as υἱὸς Λαέρτῃος in connection with Helen's suitors<sup>50</sup>. The poet undoubtedly assumed that his listeners were familiar with genealogical and other details of those heroes, which could only come from heroic poetry of a high rank. However, in some other way Hesiod completes Homer. So he tells us, for example, more about Scylla (fr. 262) than *Od.* XII 85ff. does and more about Mycene (fr. 246) than *Od.* II 120. This is of course in line with his genealogical interests.

## II

The above discussion has indicated that the Homeric epics provided the kind of background which enhanced the understanding of the role assigned to individual gods and goddesses in the creation of Pandora and that Hesiod assumed this background on the part of his listeners<sup>51</sup>. Hesiod might have other reasons for omitting this background from his presentation<sup>52</sup>, but I think that the chief reason lies in his listeners' acquaintance with the Homeric epics. Without the listeners' knowledge

<sup>47</sup> As is well known, we depend, for our knowledge of those epics, upon later sources which were subject to a number of influences. In this context cf. Ø. Andersen, «Thersites und Thoas vor Troja», *SO* 57, 1982, p. 7 ff.

<sup>48</sup> On the so-called Homeridae see A. Lesky, *RE* Suppl. XI, 1968, 690, 67 ff.

<sup>49</sup> R. Merkelbach - M. L. West, *Fragmenta Hesiodica*, Oxford 1967, p. 97.

<sup>50</sup> See further fr. 204 (Merkelbach-West, p. 100) for Idomeneus.

<sup>51</sup> Note in this context that only the involvement of Peitho and the Horai (cf. vv. 73-75) seems to be left a little vague.

<sup>52</sup> We should not forget that Hesiod treated mythological accounts in a critical spirit and that he professed to tell the truth (on this point recently, Neitzel, *op. cit.*, p. 5 ff.). For this reason Hesiod might have decided not to include all traditional information about the gods or about some of them (e. g. about Hermes being a «thief» and a «trickster»). But if he considered that «information» or part of it to be «lies», he certainly did not stop from using it in the Pandora myth by presenting the gods along traditional lines.



of those aspects of the nature and functions of the gods the description of Pandora would be confusing—to say the least. If the modern reader understands it, it is mainly because he knows Homer.

Aside from the main consideration discussed above, we find that the qualities of Pandora and the shortcomings of women in general are best understood in light of the Homeric epics. As already indicated, Hesiod's listeners would judge his poetry not so much by their personal experiences as by certain literary standards. They had of course their own ideas about women just as Hesiod had his, but women figured in poems composed by earlier generations of poets. Consciously or unconsciously the listeners would compare various poetic accounts of women's faults or virtues, and they would thus learn to appreciate the message of their poet.

Pandora is a δόλος (*Erga* 83, *Theog.* 589), and she is so called after she has been created by the gods. I am sure that Hesiod's audience well understood the general meaning of the term which is strengthened by αἰπύς and ἀμήχανος (v. 83), and the poet needs not qualify it in its application to the first woman. But would Hesiod's audience interpret the word in the light of their personal experiences or in the light of any relevant poetic accounts? Moreover, what would Hesiod assume on their part?

The Homeric epics show several instances of feminine δόλος, and they surely illustrate its meaning. Circe's δόλος (*Od.* XXIII 321) differs from that of Clytemnestra (*Od.* XI 439) as Hera's δόλος differs from both of them (*Il.* XIV 197ff.). But even a virtuous woman like Penelope<sup>53</sup> is endowed with δόλος (*Od.* XIX 137ff.). Pandora is a δόλος, but if listeners were familiar with the feminine δόλος in Homer, they would probably conclude that she was not meant to be all bad despite the emphasis on the κακόν of her nature (v. 88). In fact the poet does not think that women are all bad (*Theog.* 609f., *Erga* 405ff.). Yet it is the *Odyssey* which best illustrates feminine δόλος and people's reactions to it<sup>54</sup>.

In referring to the weaknesses of women outside the Pandora myth Hesiod also seems to assume that the listeners are familiar with the Homeric epics; hence the apparent lack of elaboration or comment, notwithstanding the proverbial style of some utterances. In *Erga* 327-329 the poet says:

<sup>53</sup> Cf. for example Agamemnon's (i. e. his ghost's) praise of her in *Od.* XI 445 f.

<sup>54</sup> Note also that the αἰμύλιοι λόγοι with which Pandora is endowed (v. 78) has its Homeric parallel: in *Od.* I 56 the words are applied to Calypso. But Hesiod can also speak of the αἰμύλιοι λόγοι of Zeus (*Theog.* 980).

ἴσον δ' ὅς θ' ἰκέτην ὅς τε ξεῖνον κακὸν ἔρξῃ,  
ὅς τε κασιγνήτοιο ἐοῦ ἀνὰ δέμνια βάλῃ  
κρυπταδῆς εὐνῆς ἀλόχου, παρακαίρια ῥέζων.

He condemns adultery when committed by relatives<sup>55</sup> and compares the offence to that of the maltreatment of a suppliant or a stranger. But he has not stated how serious a crime the maltreatment of suppliants and strangers is. Does he not take it for granted that his listeners understand what he means and that they are familiar with well known cases? It is the Homeric poems, especially the *Odyssey*, which deal with this question and supply memorable examples<sup>56</sup>.

Next there is nothing to enlighten the audience about the consequences of the offence, after its seriousness has been underlined, and I think that the poet further assumes that his listeners are again familiar with the whole problem in the same sources. The most striking case of adultery involving relatives is described in *Od.* VIII 268ff. Ares and Aphrodite are the offenders:

μίγησαν ἐν Ἥφαιστοιο δόμοισι  
λάθρῃ· πολλὰ δ' ἔδωκε, λέχος δ' ἥσυχνε καὶ εὐνήν  
Ἥφαιστοιο ἄνακτος.

Hesiod's κρυπταδῆς, in the above passage, matches Homer's λάθρῃ (269, also *Il.* VI 161) and the comment λέχος δ' ἥσυχνε stresses Hesiod's outcry<sup>57</sup>. More importantly however, the Odyssean passage hints at the consequences of the offence which involve, among other things, financial settlements (318f.) and which would add to the problems of the Boeotian peasant in Hesiod's time.

It is not only adultery which the Homeric background elucidates for Hesiod's listeners<sup>58</sup>. There is also deceit. Hesiod advises (*Erga* 372-375):

<sup>55</sup> We should remember that Hesiod is primarily addressing himself to his brother Perses (*Erga* 10). Sinclair, *op. cit.*, p. 36, seems to overlook the importance of this fact for the interpretation of the verses quoted above.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. *Il.* III 351, XXIV 569 f., *Od.* XIII 213 f., XVI 412 ff., IX 270 ff., etc. For a recent discussion see my study, *op. cit.*, p. 22 ff.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. also ἀτιμάζει v. 309 which Hephaestus says of his wife Aphrodite. In 319 f. he refers to her as κυνῶπις (cf. n. 39 above).

<sup>58</sup> Cf. also *Od.* III 272 ff. where Nestor refers to Clytemnestra and Aegisthus. There are no explicit statements condemning this adultery. Vague and ominous are the words ἐκτελέσας μέγα ἔργον, 275 in the same context, which refer to what happened as stated in 272.



πίστιες ἄρ τοι ὁμῶς καὶ ἀπιστίαι ὤλεσαν ἄνδρας  
 μὴ δὲ γυνή σε νόον πυγοστόλος ἐξαπατάτω  
 αἰμύλα κωτίλλουσα, τήν διφῶσα καλήν.  
 δς δὲ γυναικὶ πέποιθε, πέποιθ' ὃ γε φηλήτησιν.

What a πυγοστόλος<sup>59</sup> and αἰμύλα κωτίλλουσα woman is, we learn from *Il.* XIV 166-186<sup>60</sup>. Here the poet details how Hera prepares herself to deceive her husband for her own advantage. She also lies to Aphrodite in the same context to enlist her help (198-210), and this is «wily chattering»<sup>61</sup>. Hesiod associates ἀπάτη with φιλότητα (*Theog.* 224) but the idea is evident in several passages of the Homeric epics<sup>62</sup>.

If in Hesiod the woman is after a man's barn, which is understandable from the viewpoint of a farmer poet, in Homer she is after other things equally important<sup>63</sup>. The message is the same: «fix up your rump» for more effective results. Hence Hesiod's advice to fellow man: women are not to be trusted (375). But the *Odyssey* makes the same point (ἐπεὶ οὐκέτι πιστὰ γυναιξίν, *XI* 456)<sup>64</sup>, and Agamemnon learned the truth about his wife's falsehoods. I would say that Hesiod alludes to some

<sup>59</sup> On this word see H. Frisk, *op. cit.*, and the views quoted by Sinclair (*op. cit.*, p. 40) and West, *Erga* 251.

<sup>60</sup> The relationship between the *Dios Apate*, where the above quoted words belong, and Hesiod's *Theogony* has been discussed, and while some think mainly on linguistic grounds that the composer of the *Apate* had Hesiod in mind (cf. F. Schwenn, *Die Theogonie des Hesiodos*, Heidelberg 1934, p. 72 ff.), others are not convinced by the argument (cf. F. Solmsen, *Hesiod and Aeschylus*, New York 1949, p. 11 ff.). For criticism of Schwenn's «criteria» see Neitzel, *op. cit.*, p. 6 ff.

<sup>61</sup> In the same context we are reminded of Hera's previous machinations (249-256). Note also *Il.* XIX 96 f. δολοφροσύνης ἀπάτησεν with reference to another episode.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. first *Od.* XV 420 ff. where the weakness of the female is attributed to love and sex. In *Il.* VI 160 ff. Anteia's unrequited desire for Bellerophon led her to make false accusations. Cf. further *Od.* XXIII 219 with reference to Helen's adultery and XVIII 321 ff. Melantho's affair with Eurymachus.

<sup>63</sup> Yet the idea that women may set their minds upon seizing a man's property and possessions is not entirely absent from the *Odyssey*. In XV 10 ff. the disguised Athena advises Telemachus to go home before his mother carries off his possessions (v. 19); he is supposed to know the kind of mind women have: οἷσθα γὰρ οἷος θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι γυναικὸς (20). Odysseus reflects with satisfaction upon his wife's words to the suitors in reference to marriage gifts (XVIII 275 ff.). He applauds his wife's ruse to get presents from the suitors while she is not intending to marry anyone of them (282-283):

ὄνεκα τῶν μὲν δῶρα παρέλκετο, θέλγε δὲ θυμόν  
 μείλιχ' οἷος ἐπέεσσι, νόος δὲ οἱ ἄλλα μενοίνα.

<sup>64</sup> Such passages are considered late additions. Some argue that they reflect a hostile attitude towards women which best belongs to the time of the rising *demos* and the curtailment of women's rights. Cf. A. Jenzer, *op. cit.*, p. 46 f. Cf. also Vogt, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

well known case when he says ἀπιστῖαι ὤλεσαν ἄνδρας, and the case might very well be the death of Agamemnon as it is told in the *Odyssey*. Listeners would interpret this statement in the light of other poetic accounts though I am sure that they would also reflect on personal experiences. Above all, they were listening to poetry which was not exactly a record of people's experiences though poetry was rooted in social life<sup>65</sup>.

The above discussion has sufficiently indicated that in his treatment of an important theme<sup>66</sup>, Hesiod took into consideration his listeners' general knowledge of the Homeric epics with which he was of course acquainted himself<sup>67</sup>. Those who find misogynistic tendencies in some parts of the *Odyssey* believe that they belong to the time of the *polis*<sup>68</sup>, but the argument presented above is not affected by this view aside from whether a «late» Homeric passage is necessarily later than Hesiod.

ODYSSEUS TSAGARAKIS

<sup>65</sup> In this context see my study *Self-Expression in Early Greek Lyric Elegiac and Iambic Poetry* (*Palingenesia* XI), Wiesbaden 1977, p. 10 ff. and 148 ff.

<sup>66</sup> Occasional remarks or statements on some good qualities of women might appear more illuminating if seen against the Homeric background. For example, Hesiod does not elaborate on the κενὴ ἀκοίτις (*Theog.* 609) who offsets the evil for man. There are enough examples of the «devoted wife» in Homer, and Penelope first comes to mind. In this context cf. *Od.* I 432, XXII 223.

<sup>67</sup> In this context cf. p. 194, n. 28 above. In what state Hesiod and his listeners knew the Homeric epics, we do not know. Solmsen thinks, *op. cit.*, p. 6, that «a good part of the *Odyssey* may not yet have existed when he composed his *Theogony*».

<sup>68</sup> Cf. n. 60 above. But even in earlier parts of the poems some passages seem to reflect a change in the status of women. Cf. *Od.* VII 68 ὅσαι νῦν γε γυναῖκες ὅπ' ἀνδράσιν οἶκον ἔχουσιν, and Erdmann's comment (*op. cit.*, p. 5). According to M. Arthur, *op. cit.*, p. 19, the negative elements in the Homeric treatment of women look forward in the status of women in the *polis*. The generally accepted view is of course that the Homeric epics reflect Bronze Age and Dark Ages attitudes, while Hesiod's reflect those of the early Archaic society.