

PANDORA AND DIKE IN HESIOD'S *WORKS AND DAYS*

Pandora and Dike are negative and positive analogues integral as such to the most important themes of the poem. Pandora's myth explains why strife is deadly and must be rejected for accumulating *Bios* on the land. As punishment for Prometheus' attempts to trick Zeus, Pandora and her descendants eternally trick men who also cheat each other, neglecting productive work. The evils from Pandora's jar and the several ages of unjust men destroyed by Zeus represent respectively individual and generational mortality. Nevertheless, through Dike —harmonious work and *Bios* attained in the Just City, a new Golden Age— men may hope to recapture their immortality.

Hesiod's Pandora seems to have bedazzled classicists to such an extent that even they have generally taken her story in the *Works and Days* at little more than its traditional face value. How the tale of prototypical woman and the opening of her jar fits the composition as a whole remains problematical to this day. The following paper will attempt to show that Pandora establishes a legacy of bad-giving that begins with Prometheus and his brother, includes the five generations of men, and extends to the Iron Age brothers Hesiod and Perses¹. Then it will show that in and after the five ages myth Zeus' daughter Dike comes to the fore as Pandora's replacement². As guardian spirit of the ideal city which represents the potential for a sixth, millennial era approximating

¹ For instruction in colonic and verse structure and for the invaluable advice that an oral poem may only be understood as the accumulation of individual cola, hemistichs, verses, stanzas and larger sections composed of these structural elements I am indebted to the work of Berkley Peabody, *The Winged Word*, Albany 1975.

² Dike's prominence in the text has been widely acknowledged. See especially Friedrich Solmsen, *Hesiod and Aeschylus*, Ithaca 1949, pp. 95-96, and P. Walcot, «The Composition of the *Works and Days*», *REG* 74, 1961, p. 13: «It is the Justice of Zeus, personified as the daughter of the god (256 ff.) which forms a link throughout the *Works and Days*.» Peabody (above, note 1) has said «dik- belongs to the primary theme of the *Works and Days*...» (p. 246). «Dik- is first introduced in W&D 9. It appears again in W&D 36 and twice in W&D 39, the locus from which the [Pandora, five ages and fable segments all emerge...] Immediately after the fable... it becomes dominant» (p. 256, n. 87) appearing as many as 23 times in 70 lines (213-283).

the Golden age, she may reconcile mankind with the gods through the immortality of culture³.

Hesiod's feud with his brother over the proper way to live their life—either in agora wheeling and dealing and «strife rejoicing in evil» (Ἔρις κακόχαρτος, 28) or in accumulating *bios* through good striving on the land—leads into Pandora's myth. It is introduced to explain his puzzling assertion in 40-41 that the «benefit» of asphodel and mallow is a «half» greater than the «whole» and to prove why men should work for it.

According to Hesiod, the gods have mankind's *bios* hidden away—κρύψαντες γὰρ ἔχουσι θεοὶ βίον ἀνθρώποισιν (42)—for «Zeus hid it⁴, angered in his mind because twisty-minded Prometheus deceived him»:

47 ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς ἔκρυψε, χολωσάμενος φρεσὶν ἦσιν.

48 ὅτι μιν ἐξαπάτησε Προμηθεὺς ἀγκυλομήτης.

Ἀγκυλομήτης, the final position epithet used four out of five times in the *Theogony* of Kronos vanquished by Zeus and in Homer found only in reference to the same god seems by its association with Kronos' story to connote ill-fated boundary violation and its just reprisal⁵. Thus it may anticipate the outcome of Zeus' and Prometheus' dispute and invest the name «Prometheus» with an ironical air. In addition, παῖς (50) and the patronymic Ἰαπετοῖο (50) / Ἰαπετιονίδη (54) as opposed to Zeus πατήρ (59) may suggest that Prometheus and Zeus, like Kronos and Uranos, are antagonistic father and son figures. In Zeus' response to

³ Dike's potential supervision of a golden-like race has also been suggested by Pietro Pucci, *Hesiod and the Language of Poetry*, Baltimore 1977, pp. 54 and 65, but we arrive at the notion by different routes. Svein Osterud, «The Individuality of Hesiod», *Hermes* 104, 1976, p. 20, n. 23, lists the following works supporting his view that Hesiod «holds out a hope of better times to come» after the Iron Age: W. Nestle, *Vom Mythos zum Logos*, Stuttgart 1940, p. 50; H. J. Rose, *A Handbook of Greek Literature*, London 1948, p. 59. See also Kasimierz Kumaniecki, «The Structure of Hesiod's *Works and Days*», *BICS* 19, 1963, p. 82: «In the future men will be given an opportunity to reform and thus will escape Zeus' punishment.»

⁴ See M. L. West, ed. *Hesiod Works and Days*, Oxford 1978, p. 155: «... κρύψαντες βίον of 42 is picked up by Zeus ἔκρυψε in 47 (we still understand βίον as the object)» and C. J. Rowe, *Essential Hesiod*, Bristol 1978, p. 111. The text used throughout is West's, hereafter referred to as *WD*.

⁵ See Michael Nagler, *Spontaneity and Tradition: A Study in the Oral Art of Homer*, Berkeley 1974, p. 40 and p. 39, n. 17: «The traditional phrase always implies its own genealogy...; whatever particular feature or features are realized in a given context, the Gestalt draws attention to itself as itself...»

provocation the μητ- root of ἐμήσατο (49) shows that he will counter the Titan's deceitful act in kind:

49 τούνεκ' ἄρ' ἀνθρώποισιν ἐμήσατο κήδεα λυγρά.

So an ironically even-matched battle of wits emerges from colonic content and structure⁶. While κήδεα λυγρά jumps ahead to a theme integrated later, the narrative trochee κρύψε δὲ πῦρ readjusts thematic direction in the following line⁷. Zeus retaliated by hiding fire⁸:

50 κρύψε δὲ πῦρ. τὸ μὲν αὖτις εὖς πάϊς Ἰαπετοῖο

51 ἔκλεψ' ἀνθρώποισι Διὸς παρὰ μητιόεντος

52 ἐν κοίλῳ νάρθηκι, λαθὼν Δία τερπικέρχυνον.

Prometheus' phonetically imitative response to κρύψε (50) is ἔκλεψ' in 51⁹. 'Ανθρώποισι, his beneficiaries in the second colon of 51 structurally parallels ἀνθρώποισι in 49, Zeus' intended victims. So the formally symmetrical battle of wits continues, with Διὸς παρὰ μητιόεντος reminding us who will prevail in the end¹⁰.

The «anger» theme repeated in 53 in a Y-position response complementary to the X-position of the same notion in 47 (τὸν δὲ χολωσάμενος προσέφη νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς, 53) signals the next thematic movement toward this outcome. Zeus sneers, «Son of Iapetus, about all

⁶ For symmetrical conflict, especially within a family, as a metaphor for societal disorder characterized by proliferating role violations see René Girard, *La Violence et le Sacré*, Paris 1974.

⁷ See Peabody (above, note 1), p. 160 and p. 80 on «(t)he use of narrative formulas to make or mask radical semantic breaks».

⁸ That the deception in 47 was Prometheus' unequal sacrificial division (*Th.* 535 ff.) is West's belief, *WD*, p. 156 and Rowe's (above, note 4), p. 111.

⁹ For an explanation of the mechanics of hemistich responses see Peabody (above, note 1), p. 188 ff.

¹⁰ The μητ- root seems to function similarly in Hesiod's version of the story in the *Theogony* (see 543 ff.), where Zeus' establishment of political supremacy through his intelligence is a major theme. Final position Διὸς μητιόεντος, the same phrase in other cases, and its variation here are peculiarly Hesiodic (see M. L. West, ed. *Hesiod Theogony*, Oxford 1966, p. 78 and *WD*, p. 156). Thus the notions carried by μητ- in Hesiod's work may exemplify what Peabody calls deliberate «song». «When traditional thematic features have been removed from... the text, unusual, irregular and unexampled patterns and details remain. These... must be explained either as accident or song... Song patterns show a sequential structure» (above, note 1, pp. 226-227). «Song becomes important in the organizational control of large, complex compositions... (T)hose features that are *generative* of discourse belong mainly to theme, while those features that control or *limit* the realization of theme (and shape the forming discourse...) belong mainly to song. Theme... has linguistic substance... Song [is] a regulatory superstructure» (pp. 217-218).

things knowing schemes, you rejoice in stolen fire and having fooled my wits» (54-55). In this couplet Prometheus' theft of fire (πῦρ κλέψας, 55), his battle of wits with Zeus (μήδεα, 54 in opposition to φρένας, 55), and χάρεις as opposed to Zeus' enjoyment of fire (τερπικέραυνον, 52) are old elements that appear to continue symmetrical conflict. But χάρεις also looks ahead to Zeus' gleeful «cackle of triumph», as West said ¹¹, (ἐκ δ' ἐγέλασσε, 59) after announcing his cryptic plan (56-58) for defeating others' enjoyment of fire. His victory is anticipated too by Prometheus' characterization «πάντων πέρι μήδεα εἰδώς», which is ironical (like the identical phrase in *Theogony* 559) given the tradition of Zeus' supreme intelligence stressed three times in the *Theogony* incident at Mecone by ἄφθιτα μήδεα εἰδώς (*Th.* 545, 550 and 561 ¹²).

In the single verse that outlines Zeus' scheme the outstanding denotative element is μέγα πῆμα, defined in the following enjambed couplet 56-57 by ἀντί πυρός and δώσω κακόν:

56 σοί τ' αὐτῷ μέγα πῆμα καὶ ἀνδράσιν ἐσσομένοισιν.

57 τοῖς δ' ἐγὼ ἀντί πυρός δώσω κακόν, ὃ κεν ἅπαντας.

58 τέρπωνται κατὰ θυμὸν ἐὸν κακὸν ἀμφαγαπῶντες¹³.

59 ὥς ἔφατ', ἐκ δ' ἐγέλασσε πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε.

To compensate for the fire taken badly from him, Zeus will «give bad thing». This «bane» is realized as Hesiod's text spins itself out by the attractive and deadly Pandora, mistakenly embraced as man's own «bad thing», then by the evils of wearying toil, sickness and death given out of her jar, and finally by the succession of short-lived generations imminently doomed, in Hesiod's prophecy, to a fifth destruction by Zeus.

«The making of Pandora is recounted at length», West said, «as if it were to be the most relevant part of the story... the final unanswerable affliction imposed by Zeus on man» ¹³. Her association with the conflict between Zeus and Prometheus is reaffirmed in line 82 immediately after she is made by the repetition of πῆμα and by δῶρον ἐδώρησαν, which recalls δώσω κακόν, the preceding do-root in 56. Πῆμ' ἀνδράσιν ἀλφειστῆσιν in final position in 82 appears to be a gloss on πῆμα καὶ ἀνδράσιν ἐσσομένοισιν at the end of 56: somehow Pandora will be a bane for men to come in their «working for bread»; the plight of Perses and Hesiod immediately springs to mind. Indeed. Peabody regards

¹¹ WD, p. 158.

¹² West, *Theogony*, p. 79, deems this expression uniquely Hesiodic. So it may be a «song» feature in his work related to Διὸς παρὰ μητιόεντος. (See above, note 10.)

¹³ WD, p. 155. See also Rowe (above, note 4), p. 112.

the metrically unusual and transferred final-colon δῶρον ἄγοντα (85) «a clue to... a thematic germ» associated with the kings δωροφάγους in 39-40¹⁴ who abetted Perses' bad-giving to Hesiod of an unequal portion of their father's estate and encouraged his disinterest in earning *bios* as he should. This correlation will be considered presently.

For now, Pandora's graphic and lengthy fabrication must be taken into account. First of all, it makes her a palpable reality¹⁵. After mixing earth with water, Hephaestus is told to put in a human's voice and might (61-62). Then he must fashion the beautiful form of a maiden (παρθενικῆς καλὸν εἶδος) with a goddess' face (62-63). Next Athena is to add women's productive skills (63-64) and Aphrodite their sexual charms (65-66). But the final product is to be neither human nor divine but dog-like in mind (67-68). The orderly paratactic accumulation of these many traits shows how deliberately Zeus planned womankind, who may be mind-boggling for men in her diversity¹⁶. At last she turns out to be no genuine παρθένος after all, but rather the likeness of one (παρθένῳ αἰδοίῃ ἵκελον, 71) which receives in 72-76 some of the adornment ordered for the real maiden in 65-66¹⁷. By

¹⁴ Peabody (above, note 1), p. 96, n. 67. The singer's conceptual control over so much text seems to be a sign of «song». «The factor that properly distinguishes a song feature is the presence of conscious awareness and deliberate control» (Peabody, p. 221). «Any formula can be thematically salient... The most recently uttered formula is regularly salient. As composition progresses... salient elements are forgotten as individual features. Sometimes, however, an element remains salient and assumes semantic dominance over many verses. When this happens, the element acquires an organizational importance far greater than the momentary prominence of salience... it becomes a hero» (p. 223). Or, I might add, an anti-hero.

¹⁵ See Peabody, *ibid.*, p. 144: «The fundamental process of oral composition [is] that of a rich incantational tradition causing a phenomenological reality to appear, as it were, from nothing. Semantic phenomenalization follows rather than leads traditional composition.»

¹⁶ Ἐκέλευσε in Y1 position (60) is developed in 61-62 by verb forms also in Y-colon positions, while substantive elements for the most part occupy X cola. When ἐπὶ ἥρατον expands upon the Y-position substantive in the first hemistich of 63, stanzaic expansion seems to be impeded. The transitional αὐτὰρ Ἀθήνην begins a structurally comparable run in 64-66 that ends the same way. Composition is reset by the divided trochee ἐν δὲ θέμεν (67) which retrieves an old element (θέμεν, 61) whose expansion seems to be limited in 67-68 by the appearance of substantives in both X- and Y-positions. These successive break-downs and start-ups may suggest that the singer loses his self-possession (control over his technique) in the face of the astounding new phenomenon. That the rest of her creation may be a self-parodying correction upon its beginning is suggested by the extensive retrogressive recap in 70-71 of κλυτός (60), γαῖα (61) and παρθένος (63).

¹⁷ In the enjambed lines 73-75 the «golden chains» of the Charites and Peitho expand on the χάρις to be given by «golden Aphrodite» in 65. See West, *WD*, p. 163.

re-doing the ornamentation Hesiod may demonstrate once more how difficult it is to fathom woman, even for a singer. Finally she gets Hermes' gift of guile (ψεύδεά θ' ἱμυλίου τε λόγους καὶ ἐπίκλοπον ἦθος, 78 an impressive expansion of ἐπίκλοπον ἦθος in the climactic couplet 67-68) because «deceit» epitomizes the stupefying fascination of woman's multiformity. The gifts of «all» the Olympian dwellers incorporated in Pandora's creation are acknowledged by her name¹⁸ as Hesiod explains it himself, for «Pandora» denotes the multiplicity that is woman's special «trickery».

In the next thematic movement (signalled by the divided trochee πῶτ' ἄρ' ἐπεὶ, 83) deception becomes paramount. Here Hermes delivers the «trickery sheer and unmanageable (δόλον αἰπὺν ἀμήχανον, 83) from Zeus to Epimetheus. His name restores to prominence Prometheus' battle of wits with Zeus and sets its reprisal into effect. As Vernant said, the punishment befitting Prometheus' deceptive portion for the gods is womankind¹⁹, likewise a δῶρον that is a δόλον²⁰. Women eternally maintain the distinction between gods and mortal men that Prometheus' sacrificial division began, and they counterbalance the unrighteous equality that would have been achieved by his theft of fire. The treacherous sexuality by which Pandora differs from aboriginal woman in the *Theogony*²¹ may be understood in the *Works and Days*, which is a story of human life, as a function of her crucial role in begetting «bad-giving» in both a biological and behavioral sense for Epimetheus and all men after him²².

When Prometheus warned his brother not to accept the gift from Zeus «lest something bad for mortals happen» (μὴ πού τι κακὸν θνητοῖσι γένηται, 88), Epimetheus «paid him no mind» (οὐδ' Ἐπιμηθεύς / ἐφρα-

¹⁸ See West, *ibid.*, p. 167 and p. 161, citing E. Vollbehr, *Hesiodi Opera et Dies*, 1884, p. 132 ff., and Rowe (above, note 4), p. 116. According to Heinz Neitzel, «Pandora und das Fass», *Hermes* 104, 1976, p. 416, «Πάν-δωρος bedeutet entweder 'alles schenkend' oder 'mit allen Gaben (mit allem beschenkt)'... was im übrigen nur zwei Aspekte derselben Sache sind, denn nur der kann alles schenken, der selbst mit allem beschenkt ist...»

¹⁹ Jean-Pierre Vernant, *Mythe et Société en Grèce ancienne*, Paris 1974, pp. 187-188. See also P. Walcot, *Hesiod and the Near East*, Cardiff 1966, p. 60; p. 63: «Pandora is called a beautiful evil... an expression also applicable to the poorer part of the sacrifice [at Mecone].»

²⁰ See Peabody (above, note 1), p. 373.

²¹ See G. S. Kirk, *Myth: Its Meaning and Functions in Ancient and Other Cultures*, Berkeley 1973, p. 231.

²² It is noteworthy that West, *WD*, p. 167, thinks πῆμα applicable not to Pandora's making, but only to her giving away. If he is right, Zeus' punishment is even more straightforwardly a response in kind to Prometheus' bad-giving on both of its occasions.

σαθ', 85-86). But «when he had the bad thing, he knew it»: αὐτὰρ ὁ δεξάμενος ὅτε δὴ κακὸν εἶχ' ἐνόησε (89).

Κακόν, repeated twice in 88 and 89 at the end of Pandora's tale recalls the same word, also twice, in Zeus' announcement of her impending creation (57 and 58). The thematic ring formed by this key word²³ indicates that an expansion upon it may now begin: θνητοῖσι (first in the text in line 88) introduces the jar-opening episode whose subject is individual mortality²⁴. And γένηται, which looks back to the γένος of Good and Bad strife (11 and 17) anticipates the five alternately better and worse generation whose successive births and deaths are themselves a kind of strife. So individual and generational mortality are the evil bane Pandora wrought. But we, like Epimetheus, will know it only in retrospect after it has happened in song.

«In the singing of the epos,» Peabody said, «traditional thought calls reality into being»²⁵. So it is with Pandora.

«... the woman, with her hands lifting away the lid
from the great jar,
scattered its contents, and her design
was sad troubles for mankind.»²⁶

94 ἀλλὰ γυνὴ χεῖρεςσι πίθου μέγα πῶμ' ἀφελούσα
95 ἐσκέδασ'. ἀνθρώποισι δ' ἐμήσατο κήδεα λυγρά.

With this gesture Pandora enacts the revenge that first occurred to Zeus in line 49 (ἀνθρώποισι ἐμήσατο κήδεα λυγρά). In Pucci's words, «It seems as if Zeus, the inventor and father of Pandora, is effaced or absorbed by [her] at the very moment he is programming her»²⁷. Since Pandora opened her jar, μυρία λυγρά (100, an elaboration upon κήδεα λυγρά from 95) wander over land and sea, diseases for men night and day, «bearing bad things to mortals» (κακὰ θνητοῖσι φέρουσαι, 103) just as Prometheus had foreseen (κακὸν θνητοῖσι γένηται, 88)²⁸. This parallel suggests that Zeus removed diseases' voice (φωνήν,

²³ Peabody (above, note 1), p. 82, n. 44, has noted himself that κακός is a major denotative element in the *Works and Days*.

²⁴ See West, *WD*, p. 155 and Pucci (above, note 3), p. 95.

²⁵ (Above, note 1), p. 206.

²⁶ All indented translations are from Richmond Lattimore, *Hesiod*, Ann Arbor 1965.

²⁷ (Above, note 3), p. 88.

²⁸ While κήδεα λυγρά are negatively defined in 90-93 as the absence prior to Pandora of sickness and toil hastening death, in 100-104 their nature is specified positively. These complementary sections are related to each other and internally structured by their key theme word, κακόν, taken from 88-89 after Pandora's creation (which reaches back to 57

104) so that future men might not know their ills in advance, but confront instead a hostile silence that would compound the deception of Pandora's misleading voice (prominent at the beginning and end of her creation, αὐδὴν, 61 and φωνήν, 79)²⁹ by which things are seldom what they seem³⁰. Herewith Zeus gives man's fate its finishing touch. Μη-τιετα Ζεύς (104) looks backward in the text to Pandora planning to open her jar (ἐμήσατο, 95) and to Zeus' vengeful wrath at Prometheus during the final banquet of gods and men in line 49. The effect of this recap is to make Prometheus' treachery, and Pandora, and all that fly about from her jar even today a simple event expanding in composition like the approaching terror of Zeus' lightning bolt, the κεραινός that West said «hits you»³¹. Thus we are prepared to agree «it is not possible to evade the mind of Zeus», as Hesiod concludes immediately after the jar episode (105), for this is precisely what Prometheus had tried to do³², with the awesome results we have already experienced in song.

But should we like further proof «how from the same source» —that is, Prometheus' bad gifts and their punishment— «there came to be gods and mortal men» (ὡς/ὁμόθεν, γεγάασι θεοὶ θνητοὶ τ' ἄνθρωποι, 108), the singer offers to «summarize» another tale³³. In the Five Ages myth the Golden era —which verbal echoes suggest was like the time before Pandora³⁴— and every subsequent generation created by Zeus or the

and 58 before it) κακόν, repeated twice symmetrically in each (in 91 and 93 just before the B caesura and in 101 and 103 immediately after it). As usual in oral composition, νοῦσοι (102) develops only one of the two specific evils introduced in 90-93 (see Peabody, above, note 1, p. 244), while πόνος (91) reappears in the five ages segment (113) after which it is replaced by the motion of work in ἐργ- (119, 124, 146, 271 and 299 ff.).

²⁹ See Rowe (above, note 4), p. 119.

³⁰ Pucci (above, note 3), p. 42, n. 49, has said: «...the sweetness and healing power of the word are connected with its truth and memory. The oblivious discourse... is, on the contrary, connected with violence and death».

³¹ (Above, note 10), p. 207. Peabody (above, note 1), p. 246, has also noted that 11-105 «form a single segment of thematic expansion and development».

³² See Rowe (above, note 4), p. 119.

³³ See West, *WD*, p. 178 and Rowe, *ibid.*, p. 121 on ἐκκορυφώσω (106). Peabody (above, note 1), p. 248, takes the verb to mean «I shall elaborate» and translates the rest of 108: «how men as well as gods differentiated (into dissimilarity and conflict).»

³⁴ Νόσφιν' ἄτερ τε πόνου καὶ οἰζύος... in 113 repeats the beginning of line 91 (νόσφιν ἄτερ τε κακῶν καὶ ἄτερ χαλεποῦ πόνου whose context Neitzel [above, note 19], pp. 388 and 400 has said parallels 42-49 where Hesiod talks about an early time with little work) and is a step toward the theme of beneficial labor in 299 ff. γῆρας in 114 reechoes κῆρας in 92. In the Golden Age men lived like the gods free of care (ἄκηδέα θυμὸν ἔχοντες) and they enjoyed (τέρποντ', 115) everlasting youth. Both ended with Pandora. Her diseases wandering about αὐτόμαχοι (103) are the antithesis of the bountiful Golden age earth that bore fruit αὐτομάτη (118).

gods is destroyed by him in an orgy of bad-giving on a cosmic scale³⁵. However, the beginning and end of a completed cycle is suggested by similarities between the Silver and future Iron ages.

The 100-year babyhood of Silver men (100-34) corresponds inversely to the lifelong senility of Iron men soon to be born with gray hair, already old (181). Both races (and no others) are characterized as νήπιος —childishly irresponsible³⁶. Just as the Silver age failed to give properly to the gods (τιμὰς / οὐκ ἔδιδον, 138-9) or to tend their altars οὐδ' ἀθανάτους θεραπεύειν, 135). Iron children will refuse to give appropriate tendance to parents (ἀτιμήσουσι τοκῆας, 185; οὐδὲ μὲν οἳ γε... τοκεῦσιν ἀπὸ θρεπτήρια δοῖεν, 187-8). Their fate is foretold by Zeus' angry hiding of prior ages under the earth (ἔκρυψε χολούμενος, 138; κατὰ γαῖα κάλυψεν, 140, 121, 156 and θανάτου τέλος ἀμφεκάλυψεν, 166) which recalls his punishment of Prometheus by the hiding of alimentary *bios* and by the creation of women who are physiologically able to «hide» *bios* in another sense too. A similar historical wrap-up is made by the notion of Silver age folly (ἄφραδις, 134). It recalls the foolish Epimetheus whose inattention to his brother's advice became a turning point in history and anticipates Perses and the kings³⁷ whose attention Hesiod demands at a like juncture.

The Iron age will be destroyed, he predicts, when Pandora's legacy of ἄλγεα λυγρὰ (200) and competition «rejoicing in evil» prevail. Κακόχαρτος (196) recalls Prometheus' deluded pleasure in Zeus' stolen fire (χαίρεις,

³⁵ The divided trochee αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ which «stand(s) counter to the realization of regular stanzaic structure» (Peabody, above, note 1, p. 160) cuts short the development of every generation prior to the Iron age (in lines 121, 140 and 156) except for the heroes.

³⁶ The Silver age (131); Perses (286, 397, 633); the Iron age kings (40) and other non-specified contemporaries (218, 456). Susan Edmunds, «Homeric ΝΗΠΙΟΣ», unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard 1976, abstracted in *HSCP* 81, 1977, has said, pp. 299-300, «... a child who is *nēpios*, typically, is left in company with his mother... disconnected from his social status... and also from his own epic destiny... children are characteristically engaged in ephemeral activities... which have no claim on the future... Adult *nēpioi* are usually about to die».

³⁷ To Perses: οὗτος μὲν πανάριστος, ὃς αὐτὸς πάντα νοήσει,
φρασσάμενος τὰ κ' ἔπειτα καὶ ἐς τέλος ἦσιν ἀμείνω.
(293-294)

... ἔ σε φράζεσθαι ἔνωγα.
(367)

... ἀλλὰ σ' ἔνωγα
φράζεσθαι χρειῶν τε λύσιν λιμοῦ τ' ἄλεωρήν.
(403-404)

To the kings: ὦ βασιλῆς, ὑμεῖς δὲ καταφράζεσθε καὶ αὐτοὶ
τήνδε δίκην...
(248-249)

55) and is the very word used for Perses' bad strife with Hesiod ("Ἐπὶ κακόχαρτος, 28). Thus the theme of rejoicing in evil serves as yet another delineation of past, present and future history. When badness has no cure (κακοῦ δ' οὐκ ἔσσεται ἀλκή, 201) Pandora's legacy will have run its course and the Iron age will end, as Detienne noted, in a final rupture between the worlds of gods and men³⁸.

This break is portrayed by the shrouded leavetaking (καλυψαμένω, 198) of Aidos and Nemesis—a sense of shame and retribution for the lack of it—which represents the obscuring of traditional social distinctions necessary for community life. It also amounts to a hiding of *bios*. Pandemic violence, especially between brothers and between fathers and sons (182ff.) is the legacy of Prometheus' conflict with Zeus and recalls Hesiod's personal experience of unfair treatment at the hands of his brother in the matter of their father's estate (27-41)³⁹. After the fable (202-12) that illustrates how appalling and animalistic strife without right like Prometheus' and Perses' is⁴⁰ or (in an alternate view) how implacable the power of the stronger is when it comes from Zeus⁴¹. Hesiod his emissary begins warning Perses much as Prometheus had forewarned his brother⁴². «A fool knows that justice overpowers

³⁸ Marcel Detienne, *Crise agraire et attitude religieuse chez Hesiode*, Collection Latomus, vol. 68, Brussels 1963, p. 53.

³⁹ Another passage that links Prometheus' treachery with Hesiod's contemporaries' behavior and their punishment by Zeus as it is indicated at the end of the Iron age and in the proem is:

(Prometheus)	... εὐτ' ἂν δὴ κέρδος νόον ἐξαπατήσῃ
(Iron Age)	ἀνθρώπων, Αἰδῶ δέ τ' Ἀντιδείῃ καποκάζῃ,
(Proem.)	ῥεῖα δέ μιν μυροῦσι θεοί, μινύθουσι δέ οἶκον
	ἀνέρι τῷ, πῦρον δέ τ' ἐπὶ χρόνον ὄλβος ὀπηδεῖ.
	(323-326)

⁴⁰ Hesiod confirms this interpretation in lines 276 ff. See also Lloyd W. Daly, «Hesiod's Fable», *TAPA* 92, 1961, pp. 45-51. In Osterud's opinion (above, note 3), p. 18, the violent community of the fable is epitomized by ἐσθόμεν. Engulfment by eating seems to be a particularly vivid image for boundary violation at the root of social violence.

⁴¹ According to Peabody (above, note 1), pp. 251-253, the animal fable «relates directly to the Pandora myth and, more importantly, to the epiphany of the righteous victor in contest... The hawk is the singer himself» while the nightingale is associated elsewhere in Greek epos with the Pand-r element. Nevertheless, the nightingale's dragging about by her captor (τῇ δ' εἰς ἥ δ' ἂν ἐγὼ περ ἔγω, 208) seems to anticipate Dike (ἐλκομένης ἥ κ' ἔνδρε; ἔγωσι, 220) who Pucci said (above, note 3, p. 62 ff.) will take up its outcry later on in Hesiod's song. In addition, the hawk's brutal opinion that the nightingale is «senseless» (ἄφρων, 210) and will «suffer pain» in the end (ἄλγεα πάσχει, 211) seems ironic in view of the preceding use of these themes in the text.

⁴² Peabody, *ibid.*, p. 138, deems 214 ff. a «song intrusion» indicative of self-conscious thematic control.

arrogance in the end,» he says, «but only after he has experienced it» (δίκη δ' ὅπῃρ ὕβριος ἴσχει / ἐς τέλος ἐξελθοῦσα. Παθὼν δέ τε νήπιος ἔγνω, 217-8).

As verification Hesiod brings forth the goddess Dike. She punishes «eaters of gifts» like the kings (δωροφάγοι, 221) by appearing on earth shrouded in clouds giving evil to men (ἡέρα ἐσσαμένη, κακὸν ἀνθρώποισι φέρουσα, 223). The echo in this line of Prometheus' unheeded warning about evil to come (88) and of the diseases flying out of Pandora's jar (103) suggests that the vengeance of Zeus engendered by Pandora may take its final toll through Dike. Total disaster is seen in the Bad City (238-47) ⁴³:

«Often a whole city is paid punishment
for one bad man
who commits crimes and plans reckless action.
On this man's people
the son of Kronos out of the sky
inflicts great suffering,
famine and plague together, and the people die
and diminish.»

240 πολλάκι καὶ ξύμπασα πόλις κακοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀπηύρα,
241 ὅστις ἀλιτράινει καὶ ἀτάσθαλα μηχανάται.
242 τοῖσιν δ' οὐρανόθεν μέγ' ἐπήγαγε πῆμα Κρονίων,
243 λιμὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ λοιμόν. ἀποφθινύθουσι δὲ λαοί.

This passage suggests that every time a bad man like Perses contrives evil and neglects *bios* as a result he unwittingly accomplishes Zeus' intent to hide it under the earth in retaliation for trickery ⁴⁴. In the Bad City baneful hunger and contagion are accompanied as well by the suppression of *bios* in its more traditional sense, human life ⁴⁵:

244 οὐδὲ γυναῖκες τίκτουσιν, μινύθουσι δὲ οἴκοι
245 Ζηνὸς φραδμοσύνησιν Ὀλυμπίου...

⁴³ Which elaborates upon the notion of ὕβρις that first appears in the Silver and Bronze races (136, 146) and returns immediately after the fable in 213, 214 and 217 when Hesiod turns to Perses preceding the introduction of Dike. L. Gernet, *Recherches sur le développement de la pensée juridique et morale en Grèce*, Paris 1917, p. 13 ff., cited by Detienne (above, note 38), p. 29, said ὕβρις in the *Works and Days* expresses «l'esprit de perdition».

⁴⁴ In 265-266 Hesiod states outright that the bad man is his own worst enemy: οἱ τ' αὐτῷ κακὰ τεύχει ἀνὴρ ἄλλω κακὰ τεύχων, / ἢ δὲ κακὴ βουλὴ τῷ βουλευσάντι κακίστη.

⁴⁵ Since Homer never uses *bios* in the sense of food (see West, *WD*, p. 149) this sustained conflation of meanings may have been Hesiod's own and as such a song feature in the *Works and Days*.

So Zeus' «mindfulness» foils the mindlessness of men like Epimetheus and the Silver and Iron races ⁴⁶.

His will is executed in part by 30000 ghosts of the Golden age roaming about (φοιτῶντες, 125 and 255) as productive counterparts of Pandora's diseases (φοιτῶσι, 103), shrouded in clouds like Dike herself (ἡέρα ἐσσύμενοι, 125 and 255). Hesiod repeats and expands his vision of them and Dike by adjuring the Iron age kings «to be mindful of justice» (καταφράζεσθε... δίκην, 248-9) for Zeus' watchmen «are mindful» of the men who wear each other out with crooked justice:

250 ἀθάνατοι φράζονται, ὅσοι σκολιῇσι δίκῃσιν
251 ἀλλήλους τρίβουσι θεῶν ὅπιν οὐκ ἀλέγοντες.

But these spirits may also give wealth (πλουτοδοῦναι, 126). Dike's second appearance immediately after theirs suggests that she has a comparable power over corrective revenge and reward:

«Justice is a young maiden.
She is Zeus' daughter,
and seemly, and respected by all the gods of Olympus.
When any man uses force on her by false impeachment
she goes and sits at the feet of Zeus Kronion,
her father,
and cries out on the wicked purpose of men,
so that their people
must pay for the profligacy of their rulers,

256 ἡ δέ τε παρθένος ἐστὶ Δίκη, Διὸς ἐκγεγαυῖα,
257 κυδρὴ τ' αἰδοίη τε θεοῖς οἱ Ὀλυμπον ἔχουσιν,
258 καὶ β' ὅπότ' ἦν τίς μιν βλάπτῃ σκολιῶς ὀνοτάζων,
259 αὐτίκα παρ Διὶ πατρὶ καθεζομένη Κρονίωνι
260 γηρύετ' ἀνθρώπων ἄδικον νόον, ὅφρ' ἀποτείσῃ
261 δῆμος ἀτασθαλίας βασιλέων, οἱ λυγρὰ νοεῦντες
262 ἄλλῃ παρκλίνωσι δίκας σκολιῶς ἐνέποντες.

Unlike Pandora, the spurious maiden mistakenly revered by men (αἰδοίη, 71), Dike is a proper παρθένος under the watchful eye of her father Zeus and «revered» by all the Olympians. The sound of her voice in Hesiod's song phenomenalizes for all to experience the λυγρὰ in the kings' unjust minds and their crooked words inherited from Pandora who, as Pucci said, seems to have taken Zeus' place on earth. Dike in turn may supplant her ⁴⁷. As Pucci also said, «Through the figure of

⁴⁶ All characterized by the same root, see above, pp. 118 and 121 and note 37.

⁴⁷ As further evidence that Pandora and Dike are negative and positive doublets it is interesting to note that West, *WD*, p. 211, associates γηρύετ' with *Th.* 28 ἀλήθεια γηρύσασθαι

Dike Hesiod's *logos* acquires the force of a presence replac(ing) the absent Zeus»⁴⁸.

The ramifications of «straightened justice» which Hesiod begs from him in the proem (δίκη δ' ἵθυνε θέμιστας, 9) are portrayed in terms of abundant food and life in the Just City (225-37). It is «fruitful» (τέθηλε, 227), «nor ever does hunger accompany men of straight justice» (οὐδέ ποτ' ἰθυδίκησι μετ' ἀνδράσι λιμός ὀπηδεῖ, 230) «and amidst abundance (θαλίης, 231) work is allotted which is their care». «For them the earth bears much *bios* (232)»... «the women bear children resembling their parents» (τίκτουσιν δὲ γυναῖκες ἑοικότα τέκνα γονεῦσιν, 235) «and they thrive» (θάλλουσι, 236) «with good things continuously»... «and the grain-giving earth bears fruit» (καρπὸν δὲ φέρει ζείδωρος ἄρουρα, 237). This prosperity is much like that of the Golden age when

«...The fruitful grainland
yielded its harvest to them
of its own accord; this was great and abundant,
while they at their pleasure
quietly looked after their works,
in the midst of good things»:

117 ... καρπὸν δ' ἔφερε ζείδωρος ἄρουρα
118 αὐτομάτη πολλόν τε καὶ ἄφθονον. οἳ δ' ἐθελήμασ'
119 ἦσυχοι ἔργ' ἐνέμοντο σὺν ἐσθλοῖσιν πολέεσσιν.

During the Golden age people lived carefree, like gods,

112 ὥστε θεοὶ δ' ἔζων, ἀκηδέα θυμὸν ἔχοντες,

same as the race of heroes in their after-life in the isles of the blest:

170 καὶ τοὶ μὲν νάουσιν ἀκηδέα θυμὸν ἔχοντες
171 ἐν μακάρων νήσοισι παρ' Ὀκεανὸν βαθυδίνην,
172 ὄλβιοι ἦρωες, τοῖσιν μελιηδέα καρπὸν
173 τρίς ἔτεος θάλλοντα φέρει ζείδωρος ἄρουρα.

which he says «is on a par with ψεύδεα λέγειν.» For his comments on the importance of verbal deceit in the *Works and Days* see, for example, pp. 228 and 238.

⁴⁸ (Above, note 3), pp. 72 and 74. In the *Theogony* thematic similarities suggest that aboriginal woman is the negative analogue of the Muses. They maintain man's contact with the orderliness of Zeus through the mediating vehicle of song and thereby counteract the schism between the divine and human worlds established by the first woman. Thus the Muses seem to be structurally comparable to Dike whose voice is heard in the *Works and Days*. On Aletheia and Lethe as personified doublets see Detienne (above, note 39), p. 43.

«And there they have their dwelling place
and hearts free of sorrow
in the islands of the blessed
by the deep-swirling stream of the ocean,
prospering heroes, on whom every year
three times over
the fruitful grainland bestows its sweet yield.»

These correspondences point to a reinstatement of the Golden age in the Just City⁴⁹, which would be a new beginning⁵⁰, similar to the heroes' life-after-death, but different in that it would eternally transcend both individual and generational mortality through the undying continuity of culture⁵¹. Just as the idyllic Golden era gave way to a second, worse age characterized by irreligiosity and eternal childhood, and as the violent Bronze age led conversely to a better, fourth age of heroes⁵², so the contemporary fifth age in which Vernant said the cycle begun by pure justice threatens to close with its unmitigated opposite⁵³ seems likely to be followed by something better —the era of the Just City overseen by Dike. This possibility explains Hesiod's wish in 174-5 that he had been born after or before his time and is probably the ending he means for the good man who «knows all things» to «bear in mind»:

293 οὗτος μὲν πανάριστος, ὃς αὐτὸς πάντα νοήσει,
294 φρασσάμενος τὰ κ' ἔπειτα καὶ ἐς τέλος ἦσιν ἀμείνω,
295 ἐσθλὸς δ' αὖ καὶ κείνος, ὃς εὖ εἰπόντι πίθηται.

The notion of the good man's obedience to one like the singer who knows good things (ἐγὼ ἐσθλὰ νοέων, 286) and has spoken them well

⁴⁹ George Snider, «The Myth of Pandora in Hesiod», unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard 1970, p. 6, n. 15; p. 95, n. 24; p. 97, n. 35; pp. 99-100 also noted these repetitions and the resemblance of the Just City to the Golden age, as have Pucci (above, note 3), pp. 54 and 106, and Richmond Lattimore (above, note 26), p. 44.

⁵⁰ West. WD. pp. 175-176 reports that in the *Book of Daniel* 2, 31 ff. there is prophecy about a sixth everlasting age and in Indian literature the story of a 4-age cycle that repeats itself indefinitely.

⁵¹ A comparable transition from nature to culture occurs in the *Theogony* where, according to Norman O. Brown, ed., *Theogony*, New York 1953, p. 18, the purely familial, chaos-perpetuating, aboriginal power of «mother earth» succumbs in time to the male, extra-familial and politically stable regime of Zeus. The same development is at the root of Aeschylus' *Oresteia*, as Froma I. Zeitlin has shown in an as yet unpublished paper, «Male-Female Polarities in the *Oresteia* of Aeschylus» presented on April 9, 1976 at a conference on Neo-structuralism, Princeton, New Jersey.

⁵² «The heroes, in effect, have recovered *bios*» (Joseph Fontenrose, «Work, Justice, and Hesiod's Five Ages», *CPh* 69, 1974, p. 9).

⁵³ Jean-Pierre Vernant, *Mythe et Pensée chez les Grecs. Études de psychologie historique*, vol. I, Paris 1974, pp. 20-21 and 38.

recalls the gods' obedience to Zeus in the making of Pandora (οἱ δ' ἐπίθοντο Διὶ Κρονίωνι ἄνακτι, 69), and Epimetheus' fateful disobedience to Prometheus in receiving her, and Pandora's power of misleading persuasion (Πειθώ, 73) over his descendants. These precedents suggest that Perses' obedience to Hesiod's injunction to work (299 ff.) will be the means to overcome Pandora and mankind's Epimethean life⁵⁴ with her:

«Work, O Perses, illustrious-born, work on,
so that Famine
will avoid you, and august and garlanded Demeter
will be your friend, and fill your barn
with substance of living;
Famine is the unworking man's most constant
companion.»

299 ἐργάζεο, Πέρση, δῖον γένος, ὄφρα σε Λιμός
300 ἐχθαίρη φιλέη δέ σ' εὐστέφανος Δημήτηρ
301 αἰδοίη, βίτου δὲ τεῆν πιμπλήσι καλήν.
302 Λιμός γάρ τοι πάμπαν ἀεργῷ σύμφορος ἀνδρί.

Work is supremely important because it recovers *bios*⁵⁵, which Demeter personifies in this passage⁵⁶. Αἰδοίη associates her with Dike and Pandora, the only other recipients of the epithet in the text, and makes the latter an analogue of Limos, Demeter's opposite in the same context. The correspondence of Demeter to Dike and Limos to Pandora suggests that hunger and the suppression of natural *bios* may be offset by Dike as guarantor of a city's orderly observance of traditional mores, especially work⁵⁷, such as Hesiod recommends in the second half of the poem⁵⁸. As Solmsen said,

...recognition of [Dike] goes a long way towards reforming divine and human morality alike. To... recognize Dike as the great goddess that she is... is the one thing that sets man apart from the animals and gives him his specific status and dignity. This idea is the poet Hesiod's great contribution.⁵⁹

⁵⁴ See Neitzel (above, note 18), p. 402.

⁵⁵ See also lines 306-307, 395-400, 403-404.

⁵⁶ In five of its seven occurrences her name is associated with *bios* inside the house: *bios endon* (32); a barnful of *biotou* (301); *biotou endon* (476); *biotou endothi oikon* (597).

⁵⁷ That Dike represents primarily a judicial process to oversee extra-familial economic affairs is the thesis of Michael Gagarin, «Dike in Archaic Greek Thought», *CPh* 69, 1974, pp. 186-197 and «Dike in the *Works and Days*», *CPh* 68, 1973, pp. 81-94.

⁵⁸ See Solmsen (above, note 2), p. 89 and Detienne (above, note 39), p. 32 ff. In line 769 which says that all these have been appointed by Zeus (αἶδε γὰρ ἡμέραι εἰσὶ Διὸς παρὰ μητιόεντος) the final phrase shows that they are also the ultimate resolution of his falling-out with Prometheus.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 95-96.

The potential for betterment through Zeus' Justice goes as far back as the origin of badness. It is Elpis, held forever inside Pandora's jar ⁶⁰:

96 μούνη δ' αὐτόθι Ἑλπίς ἐν ἀρρήκτοις δόμοισιν
 97 ἔνδον ἔμιμνε πίθου ὑπὸ χεῖλεσιν οὐδὲ θύραζε
 98 ἐξέπτει. πρόσθεν γάρ ἐπέμβαλε πῶμα πίθοιο
 99 αἰγίοχου βουλῇσι Διὸς νεφεληγερέταο.

West has said:

Its detention... cannot mean that it was withheld from us, but on the contrary that it remained with us instead of being lost. To this extent, at least, the jar serves for the storage of what nourishes us.⁶¹

Indeed, four out of six other uses in the *Works and Days* of *endon*, the preposition that describes Elpis «inside» refer to stored up *bios* or *biotos*, including the *bios* Hesiod urges Perses to store up in his home (βίος ἔνδον... τὸν γαῖα φέρει Δημήτερος ἀκτῆν, 31-32), and a fifth applies to a

⁶⁰ Elpis' description precedes Hesiod's portrayal of the evils let out of the jar, just as a précis of the good life before Pandora precedes her bad effects, and as Hesiod prefaces his entire tale about the hiding of *bios* with a brief account of how easy it once was to acquire (43-44). In view of these related negative and positive segments and the two pairs of good and bad brothers and the Good and Bad strife we would agree with Charles Rowan Beye, *Ancient Greek Literature and Society*, New York 1975, p. 110, that «duality is itself a theme» in the *Works and Days* «from its beginning». See also Peabody (above, note 1), pp. 242-243.

⁶¹ WD, p. 169, citing Joseph Schrijen, *Elpis: De Voorstelling Van de Hoop in de Griekse Literatuur tot Aristoteles*, doctoral dissertation, University of Amsterdam, Groningen 1965: «...de hoop van de helden aan Griekse en Trojaanse zijde zich blijkt de verzen van de *Ilias* heeft gericht op tijdelijke voorspoed en succes» (p. 11).

«Trekken we onze conclusie uit... passages uit de *Odyssea*, dan blijkt evenals uit de *Ilias*... dat de hoop hier alleen gericht is op tijdelijk geluk en succes, voorts dat zij in dat opzicht een troost en bemoediging kan zijn, dat zij echter wat haar vervulling betreft geen enkele garantie biedt, hoe redelijk de motieven die ertoe leiden ook mogen schijnen en dat zij juist daarom de sterveling naast troosten en bemoedigen ook danig misleiden kan» (p. 14).

«Naar onze mening spreekt uit Hesiodus' werk de gedachte, dat te midden van alle ellenden in dit leven toch nog als laatste steunpunt de «hoop» zal blijven, die de mens juist in zulke omstandigheden tot moed en activiteit zal kunnen stimuleren... Zo bezien zal de hoop ook volgens Hesiodus voor de ongelukkige mens een zegen zijn, een zegen omdat zij hem behoedt voor de wanhoop en vertwijfeling, wanneer de golven der ellenden hem dreigen te overspoelen. Deze trek van de hoop, die geenszins haar bedrieglijkheid en kwalijke verlokking onder andere omstandigheden uitsluit, heeft Hesiodus naar ons gevoelen in deze passage bijzonder willen belichten» (pp. 37-38).

lovely unmarried girl inside her mother's house —an image that represents the everlasting potential for *bios* over the ages⁶². «Hope» for it was deliberately shut inside by Pandora⁶³ as part of Zeus' plan when he created her. As such Elpis is analogous to the life-giving fire Prometheus carried to men in the fennel stalk, and is also like the white bones inside his attractive, Pandora-like package for the gods in *Theogony* 540ff., which have been said actually to represent the well-spring of life⁶⁴. In the *Theogony* it remains under Zeus' control, much as does his daughter Dike who may realize the potential for life in the *Works and Days*⁶⁵. Finally, the «unbreakable home» of Pandora's jar in which hope is held may be a correlate, according to Peabody, of the Olympian «homes» in which immortals dwell⁶⁶.

⁶² See lines 452, 476, 523, 601. This association between *elpis* and *bios* is confirmed by three of four subsequent uses of the root ἐλπ- in 475-476, 498-501 and 273, which follows an elaboration of the evils Dike may bring upon the unjust city. Neitzel (above, note 18) p. 406, cites the following passages in which *elpis* is said to nourish:

S. fr. 862 N. Ἐλπίς γὰρ ἡ βόσκειν τοὺς πολλοὺς βροτῶν.

E. Ph. 396 αἱ δ' ἐλπίδες βόσκειν φυγάδας, ὡς λόγος.

E. fr. 826 N. (Phrixos) δ' ἐλπίδος ζῆ καὶ δι' ἐλπίδος τρέφου.

He has also said, pp. 390-395:

«Eine Untersuchung aller Stellen an denen das Aktivum von σκεδάννυμι (I. 95) in der griechischen Dichtung von Homer bis zum Hellenismus vorkommt, ergibt, dass die Bedeutung dieses Verbums immer wenigstens zwei Sachverhalte deckt: 1. eine Kraft wirkt auf ein Ganzes (eine Einheit von Teilen) direkt ein, und 2. das so affizierte Ganze verliert seine Einheit, seinen Zusammenhang, und damit seine ursprüngliche Funktion und Wirkung. σκεδάννυμι bedeutet 'zerstreuen' in Sinne der Auflösung einer Einheit... Nur die gesammelte Einheit übt die Wirkung aus. Ist nun das Zerstreute etwas Gutes, dann wird die Folge des Zerstreuens negativ sein; ist es dagegen etwas Schlechtes, dann positiv... Wenn... Pandora etwas 'zerstreute' und damit 'den Menschen furchtbare Sorgen ersann, muss dasjenige, dessen Einheit da aufgelöst wurde, ein Gut und kein Übel gewesen sein... die beiden Hauptbegriffe der Verse 94 und 95, πίθος und ἐσκέδασε offenbar einander so zugeordnet sind, dass der eine das Objekt des anderen darstellt; ἐσκέδασε (πίθον)... Pandora 'zerstreute' das Vorratsfass, d. h. sie zerstreute seinen Inhalt, den Bios... im Pithos befindet sich der Vorrat, von dem man lebt. Nachdem Pandora diesen aber 'zerstreut' hat, bleibt im Fass als 'Vorrat' nur die Hoffnung (auf neue Vorräte).»

⁶³ See West, *WD*, p. 171.

⁶⁴ Nagler (above, note 5), pp. 38-39.

⁶⁵ Hesiod's concern lest a clever talking woman «steal your barn» μηδὲ γυνή σε νόον πυγιστόλος ἐξαπατάτω / αἰμύλα κωτίλλουσα, τεῖν διφῶσα καλὴν (373-374) may perhaps be explained symbolically by understanding the barn as a «womb» through which men's control over nutritional *bios* represents their control over human life as well.

⁶⁶ Peabody (above, note 1), p. 252, n. 81. Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες, 81, in Pandora's story and related formulaic expressions in the five ages myth (110 and 128) seem to

So it seems Pandora the multiform «all giver» has two major aspects—one that bequeathes bad-giving, non-work, contagion, famine and death, and the other that offers the eternal potential for *bios*. One half is certainly better than the other, and also better than the whole, as Hesiod tells Perses enigmatically at the start: «Fools neither understand by how much the half is more than the whole, nor how great is the benefit in asphodel and mallow»:

40 νήπιοι, οὐδὲ ἴσασιν ὅσῳ πλεον ἤμισυ παντός,
41 οὐδ' ὅσον ἐν μαλάχῃ τε καὶ ἀσφοδέλῳ μέγ' ὄνειρα.

Having experienced this reality in song, we may store it in our hearts as hopeful food for thought, our very own Elpis⁶⁷. Knowing and doing the work of Zeus every day, we may reconcile the worlds of gods and men divided by Prometheus. So Hesiod, a loyal son of Zeus⁶⁸, may take his place as our mediator with the gods much as Dike may supplant Pandora. In the end, as Pucci said, «the hero... is Hesiod with his *logos*»⁶⁹ for it does indeed prove «that man and his troubles are the product of historical events... and that the cause (and the cure...) of those ills is to be sought within time.»⁷⁰

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underline the difference Vernant noted (above, note 54), p. 14, between the gods' permanent existence and man's mortality.

⁶⁷ Pucci (above, note 3), p. 110:

«Perses should lay up in his heart... and keep present in his memory the voice of his brother singing about Dike... The truth of Hesiod's poem is offered as a gift to Perses, to be stored inside along with the other plentiful goods of life.»

West, *WD*, p. 148, remarks that τεῦ ἐνιγάτῃσθαι θυμῷ (27) is like «similar phrases with κόλπῳ» and that the «standard Homeric phrase for 'take this to heart'» (σὺ δ' ἐν φρεσὶ βάλλεο σή'σι, in *WD* 107 and 274) compares with Egyptian 'to put these words in thy heart is good... let them rest in the casket of thy belly'.

⁶⁸ See Pucci, *ibid.*, p. 74: «Since Dike embodies Hesiod's voice, the text presents the image of a family relationship in which Hesiod's voice plays the role of a son of Zeus.»

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

⁷⁰ J. Douglas Stewart, «Hesiod and History», *Bucknell Review* 43, 1970, p. 42.