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**Cultural Assimilation Shown in the
Concepts of Justice. Labor. War in
the Ancient Greek Epics and the Old
Testament. - Centering the Hesiod'
Works and Days -**

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**Cultural Assimilation Shown in the Concepts of Justice. Labor.
War in the Ancient Greek Epics and the Old Testament.
- Centering the Hesiod' *Works and Days* -**

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Abstract

The meaning of the term '*dike*' in Homer and Hesiod has been defined diversely, such as sense of shame (Latte), avoiding disaster (V.A. Rodgers), a legal process and peaceful settlements (G. Gagarin), as well as justice or righteousness.

My discussion is focused on two points. First is that Hesiod used *dike* with different meaning from Homer. It seems to me, Hesiod, even if he knows that *dike* as a kind of claim or right could be realized wrongly and rightly, inclined to advise a desirable dike, justice, being realized on labor distributed to all. The Second of discussion is that the *dike* based on labor is opposed not only to violence (*bie*) or hybris (arrogance), but to war.

Common factors could be found in Hesiod' *Works and Days* and the Hebrew *Bible*, as in both cases the justice of humankind was ultimately connected with the peaceful life guaranteed by work. In the Bible, however, the justice of God used to be realized against the whole community for having betrayed God's instruction, which was utterly unfamiliar to the ancient Greek society. This difference, it could be said, originated in the different social structures, as the oriental Hebrew was more patriarchal and group-oriented than the Greeks who existed in a decentralized social structure.

Keywords:

1. Hesiod
2. *Old Testament*
3. Justice
4. Labor
5. War

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I. Introduction

Hesiod lived at the end of the 8th Century. Information on the life of Hesiod comes only from the fragments of his own writing. His father, who was supposedly a descendent of Orpheus, was a native of Asia Minor. Failing in overseas trade, Hesiod's father settled in Ascra of Boeotia in the middle part of the Greek mainland where Hesiod was born. According to the first part of *Theogony*, Hesiod was a shepherd, and, being called by the goddess of Muse on the slope of Helicon, became a poet.¹ About him nothing is known except that he led the life of a roaming poet, and made his living as a farmer in his old age. Herodotus says that Homer and Hesiod taught the Greeks the descent of Gods, and gave the gods their names, determined their spheres and functions, and described their outward forms.²

In *Works and Days* (*WD*), Hesiod described the five ages of the world (Gold, Silver, Bronze, Hero, Iron), which were succeeded one by another and corresponded to the five races respectively. His view of the world has sometimes been regarded as pessimistic or retrogressive. Kerschensteiner³ asserted that Hesiod's myth of five ages was not his original creation, but was affected by the four ages view of Persia⁴ or India.⁵

On the other hand, the possibility has not been excluded that the works of Homer and Hesiod had an impact on Asia Minor and the Orient. As Greece and the Orient lie relatively near to each other, the possibility of mutual influence especially between the Greek epics and the Old Testament could not be excluded. However, whereas similar words or concepts are used, they do not necessarily have identical meanings, so that variety could exist according to the differences of natural environment or social structure.

As an example of this phenomena, this essay will review the concepts of *dike* as Justice, and Labor in the Hesiod's *WD*, and then demonstrate how they could be compared with the concepts of justice in relation to the importance of labor presented in the Old Testament. These two texts show considerable

¹Hesiod, *Theogony*, 25~35.

²Herodotus, 2.53.2.

³Cf. J. Kerschensteiner, "Zu Aufbau und Gedankenführung von Hesiods Erga," *Hermes* 79 (1944), pp.149~191.

⁴It is said that the four ages myth of Persia has its origin in the Zoroastrianism. Ahura-Mazda appeared in the dream of Zoroaster and, showing the four trees with each metal, Gold, Silver, Iron, and iron of low purity respectively, predicted the four ages coming in future. In the Golden Age Devil is expelled and true religion prevails under the reign of King. In the last, Iron Age, devil and evil spread, and deceptions and the enmity between father and son, among brothers prevail, and the righteous and the virtuous get poor and short-lived. Cf. R. Reitzenstein, *Studien zum Antiken Synkretismus aus Iran und Griechenland* (Leipzig, 1926), p.45ff.

⁵The four age myth of India consists of colors, white, red, yellow, black respectively. In White Age there is abundance without labor, poverty, disease, senility and enmity. As each age passing, each 1/4 of virtue and wisdom reduces, and in the last, Black Age, deceptions, hatred, greediness prevail, and, while the virtuous got poor, the wicked got long-live and prosperous. Sons kill parents, usurp their property, and wife kills her husband and children. Cf. R. Roth, *Der Mythos von den Fünf Menschengeschlechtern bei Hesiod* (Tübingen, 1860), pp.21~33.

similarity regarding the recognition of social problems related to the concepts of justice and labor, which are opposed to that of war or violence. Some overlap between the two texts, however, does not necessarily premise the mutual intercourse of the two societies, but instead means that similar social issues could occur in every human society including the contemporary. And there are also the differences which prove the variety of methods dealing with social issues depending on social structure.

II. Views on the Variant Meanings of *Dike* in the Hesiod's *WD*

1. *Contradictory Views on the Meaning of Dike*

Much has been discussed on the meaning of *dike* in the Greek epics. One contentious point is the belief that *dike* and *adikia* and their cognates are devoid of moral significance. Latte, argued that in early Greek society men acted in one way or another, not because they themselves believed that to act one way or another was right or wrong in itself, but because they wished to win the approbation or avoid the disapproval of their fellows. Then, it is fear of shame, and not a conviction for right or wrong, which kept men from overstepping the bounds, as the Homeric man of early Greek society lacked any inner moral consciousness.¹ According to him, *dike* does not refer to the morality or conscience of right or wrong. Also, Rodgers maintained that until Plato *dike* is what avoids disaster and *dikaïos* is the man who avoids disaster. Quoting the dialogue² between hawk and nightingale in the *WD*, he insisted that the standpoint of hawk represents candidly the truth of life, and it is *hybris* that the weak resists the strong. And the meaning of *dike* is to avoid violence and disaster by not opposing the strong, so as to secure peace and order.³

On the other hand, Gagarin asserted that the *dike* in *WD* does not have any general moral sense, but may mean 'law' in the sense of a process for the

¹K. Latte, "Der Rechtsgedanke im archaischen Griechentum," *Antike und Abendland* 2 (1946), p.63ff.

²V.A. Rodgers, "Some Thoughts on Dike," *Classical Quarterly*, n.s.21 (1971), 291ff. Cf. Hesiod, *WD* 205~212 : Thus said the hawk to the nightingale with speckled neck, while he carried her high up among the clouds, gripped fast in his talons, [205] and she, pierced by his crooked talons, cried pitifully. To her he spoke disdainfully: "Miserable thing, why do you cry out? One far stronger than you now holds you fast, and you must go wherever I take you, songstress as you are. And if I please, I will make my meal of you, or let you go. [210] He is a fool who tries to withstand the stronger, for he does not get the mastery and suffers pain besides his shame."

³Cf. Otherwise, A. Adkins ("Values, Goals, and Emotions in the Iliad," *Classical Philology* 77 [1982], pp.292~326; "Friendship and 'Self-Sufficiency' in Homer and Aristotle," *Classical Quarterly* 13 [1963]: 40~45) insists that in Homer human beings have no rights *qua* human beings, but only in virtue of some definite relationship, and such relationships are grounded in self-interest. However, for H. Lloyd-Jones, even if, according to M. Gagarin (Morality in Homer," *Classical Philology* 82 [1987], pp.287), he did little to explain precisely what he means by the sense of 'Justice' or being 'in the right' in Homer, it could be said that people have an obligation to respect the rights of others, the right to a 'proper time,' not simply out of self interest but because it is in some sense (probably, in some moral sense) 'wrong' not to.

peaceful settlement of disputes.¹ He says, when two parties had a dispute over land or other property, they could settle the matter by force (*bie*), or by peaceful settlement which is *dike*. That is, *dike*, according to him, is a procedure for settling disputes peacefully, a legal process. Thus, for him, violence (*bie*) or arrogance (*hybris*) which are opposed to *dike* mean disregarding the process of legal settlements.²

Against these views that *dike* lacks moral force, many arguments have been deployed. Contradicting Latte, Lloyd-Jones maintained that it is a mistake to think any culture refers so much to the sense of shame as to not have elements of a guilt culture in it and vice versa.³ W. Dickie asserted that Latte's argument is an illegitimate inference from the undoubted fact that ancient Greek society was what anthropologists call a shame culture, as E.R. Dodds has in his *Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley, 1951, p.28ff.).⁴ Dickie also countered the views of Gagarin and Rodgers, vindicating the point that *dike* may mean 'justice' or 'righteousness' in Homer and Hesiod, although the word does not always have that sense, that is, in fact, it is more commonly used to mean 'custom' or 'judgement.'

Contradicting Gagarin's view, Dickie argued that Gagarin offers no analysis of those other terms whose meaning his radical revision of the meaning of *dike* necessarily affects.⁵ The meanings of *hybris*, *bie*, *themis*, and *aisimos*, for example, are not discussed, though the meanings traditionally assigned to these terms cannot stand if Gagarin is right about *dike*.⁶ In addition, according to Dickie, Gagarin does not examine very closely the context in which those instances of *dike*, traditionally given the meaning of 'righteousness' or 'justice' are found.

Then, against Rodgers' opinion, Dickie says that Rodgers conflated the prudential considerations that the gods punish those who trample upon *dike*,

¹Cf. Gagarin ("Dike in the Works and Days," *Classical Philology* 68 [1973], p.91), supporting that the *dike* in Hesiod oversees only one activity, the peaceful litigation of disputes, criticized as completely erroneous the views to see the *WD* as a poem of morality, a poem setting forth the 'justice of Zeus,' overseeing all human morality. According to him, the role of Zeus in supervising the function of *dike* refers to straightening out (crooked) decisions with a (straightener) legal process. And, just as in Homer and elsewhere the treatment of guests and suppliants is under the special care of Zeus, so in Hesiod the administration of *dike* is under the care of Zeus. Cf. *ibid.*, "Dike in Archaic Greek Thought," *Classical Philology* 69 (1974), p.187ff. Then, Gagarin ("Morality in Homer," *Classical Philology* 82[1987], p.288) declared to use the term 'morality' in Homer to designate a disinterested concern for others, not closely tied to rational self-interest, but without the specially privileged status of pure morality. That is, Rather than seeing morality and self-interest as discrete opposites Gagarin treats them as the ends of a continuous spectrum, along which there is a gradual extension of concern, from concern for oneself to concern for others.

²M. Gagarin, "Dike in the Works and Days," *Classical Philology* 68 (1973), pp.85ff.,

³H. Lloyd-Jones, *The Justice of Zeus*, pp.24-26

⁴M.W. Dickie, , "Dike as a Moral Term in Homer and Hesiod," *Classical Philology* 73(1978), p.92.

⁵M.W. Dickie, , "Dike as a Moral Term in Homer and Hesiod," *Classical Philology* 73(1978), p.96.

⁶Cf. Gagarin ("Dike in the Works and Days," p.88) refers to *Bie*, *hybris* meaning force, only as an opposite to *dike* as a legal process through which disputes must be settled.

with the meanings of the terms *dike* and *dikaiois*.¹ According to Dickie, even if a poet whose acknowledged purpose is to promote the pursuit of *dike* says that *dike* triumphs over *hybris* in the end and that the man who acts with *hybris* meets with disaster, we have no warrant for concluding that *dike* means ‘the condition of being free of disaster.’

2. *Dike as Justice related to Labor and against War*

Gagarin discussed on *dike* in the *WD* connecting it with the meanings of that in Homer. Gagarin² concludes that in Homer *dike* has two separate areas of meaning, "characteristic" and "settlement."³ Then, every use of *dike* in Hesiod, he says, belongs to the second area of meaning, "settlement, legal process." The adjective *dikaiois* is still associated with both areas of meaning as it was in Homer, but there is no case of *dike* being used to mean "characteristic, proper behavior," etc. On the other hand, within the second area the meaning of *dike* is extended both toward a more abstract notion of "legal process, law" and toward the idea of punishment for the violation of this process. But the meaning is not extended to include any sense of justice or morality or punishment for improper behavior in general. *Dike*, he said, still operates only in the domain of the legal process.

It should be pointed out, however, that the values in Homer and Hesiod are different from each other, as Hesiod opposes militaristic value. Wade-Gery, putting emphasis on the fact that Hesiod did not deal with the problem of war, appraised his attitude of despising war as quite unique in contemporary Greece where war was habitual.⁴ According to him, the ancient Spartans regarded Homer as a poet who dealt with the warrior, while Hesiod the farmer.

On the other hand, Gagarin says, The *WD* tells first how life came to be as hard as it is, there is certainly no "justice" in the stories of Prometheus and Pandora, or the five ages of man, or in the little fable of the hawk and the nightingale (although the search for justice, especially in the fable, never ends),⁵ and then it gives advice on how to improve things, first through an effective litigation process and second by harder and more efficient labor. Life

¹M.W. Dickie, , “Dike as a Moral Term in Homer and Hesiod,” *Classical Philology* 73(1978), p.100f.

²M. Gagarin, “Dike in the Works and Days,” p.88f.

³M. Gagarin, “Dike in the Works and Days,” p.88.

⁴H.T. Wade-Gery, “Hesiod,” *Essays in Greek History* (Oxford, 1958), p.13. He says, war was, to the Greek imagination, what love has been to the modern English and American, but Hesiod simply ignores it.

⁵According to Gagarin, the most common solution is to see the fable as illustrating life in the animal kingdom where there is no justice (*WD* 277-78), the implication being that it is (or should be) different for mankind (cf. W. Daly, “Hesiod’s fable,” *Transactions of American Philological Association*, 92 [1961], pp.45-51). Gagarin says, the function of a fable is precisely the opposite: to illustrate a truth about human society by a story about similar behavior among animals. Here the fable shows the hard life of man in the age of iron and the meaning is that the weak are at the mercy of the strong. Thus, Hesiod describes reality, not morality (cf. The traditional moral interpretation of the fable is rightly challenged by C. B. Welles, in *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, 8 [1967], pp.17-19).

is hard; prosperity comes only through peaceful co-operation and hard work, which is, according to him, the "moral" of the *WD*.¹

Again, contrary to the view of Gagarin, however, Hesiod does not seem to commend the litigation process of court. He wanted to keep away from the court itself, and substitute labor for the *dike* sentenced in the court.

Although Gagarin contrasted *dike* as a legal process with settlement by violence (*bie*), the violence in Hesiod is actually opposed to the life based on labor which is the *dike* of justice, and never to the legal process which Hesiod detested so much. For example, in the admonition of Hesiod to his brother, Perses, just after the episode of Hawk and Nightingale, *dike*, as a kind of justice, is opposed to violence which is harmful to everyone both of prosperous and poor social status.

..... you, Perses, listen to right and do not foster violence; for violence is bad for a poor man. Even the prosperous cannot easily bear its burden, but is weighed down under it when he has fallen into delusion. (*WD* 213~216)

And this is further connected with the antithesis of miserable war and the feast of abundant and various foods.

Peace, the nurse of children, is abroad in their land, and all-seeing Zeus never decrees cruel war against them. [230] Neither famine nor disaster ever haunt men who do true justice; but light-heartedly they tend the fields which are all their care. The earth bears them victual in plenty (*WD* 228~232)

Dickie, as mentioned above, confuting the opinion of Gagarin who regarded *dike* as a legal process or settlement of dispute, supported the *dike* of justice and right.² According to Dickie, Gagarin attached too much weight to minor details, missing general context. And Gagarin, Dickie says, did not comprehend the main concept of *dike*, as well as those of *hybris* and violence (*bie*), and also he did not make out the relation of antithesis of concepts. Dickie argued that Gagarin regarded *hybris* as violence, but it actually refers to arrogance. That is, it could be said, Gagarin understood the antithesis of *dike* and *hybris* as the contradiction of peace and violence, but Dickie as that of desirable behavior (*dike*) and arrogance (*hybris*).

It seems to me, however, Gagarin and Dickie do not refer absolutely to different things which contradict each other. If the arrogance and desirable behavior Dickie says are applied to practical life, they could be linked to violence and peaceful life respectively, but they are not necessarily limited to legal process or the method of settlement which Gagarin insisted upon. In addition, this essay is to point out that the opposing concepts of violence and

¹M. Gagarin, "Dike in the Works and Days," p.8.

²M.W. Dickie, "Dike as a Moral Term in Homer and Hesiod," *Classical Philology* 73(1978), p.96f., 98f.

peace could be extended to the antithesis of war and labor. On the basis of labor every evil and predicament of society could be eradicated, while the life without labor and sustained by plunder and exploitation inevitably bring about violence and war.

III. The Five Races in Hesiod's *WD*

In the *WD* of Hesiod, the Golden Age liken to a garden of Eden is described as following.

... For ere this the tribes of men lived on earth remote and free from ills and hard toil and heavy sicknesses which bring the Fates upon men; for in misery men grow old quickly. But the woman took off the great lid of the jar¹ with her hands [95] and scattered, all these and her thought caused sorrow and mischief to men. (*WD* 90~95)

First of all [110] the deathless gods who dwell on Olympus made a golden race of mortal men who lived in the time of Cronos when he was reigning in heaven. And they lived like gods [115] without sorrow of heart, remote and free from toil and grief: miserable age rested not on them; but with legs and arms never failing they made merry with feasting beyond the reach of all evils. When they died, it was as though they were overcome with sleep, and they had all good things; for the fruitful earth unforced bare them fruit abundantly and without stint. They **distribute work** (*erg' enemonto*) in ease and peace upon their lands with many good things, [120] rich in flocks and loved by the blessed gods. (*WD* 109~120)

The Golden Age was an ideal agricultural society of an early period, without overwork and disease.¹ In the paradise of the Golden Age, cooperative relations with regard to labor are voluntary.

This paradise, however, ended with the emergence of Pandora, beautiful, cunning, stupid and hazardous.² Deviation from the Golden Age resulted in overwork and disease. Then, Havelock pointed out that there is the clue warning of another kind of degradation which is different from overwork and disease. That is, according to him, the verse 119, 'They distributed labor (*erg' enemonto*) with pleasure and leisure,' is a muffled protest against economic competition and war in the days to come.³

The Silver Age of the second race is described as following.

¹E.A. Havelock, *The Liberal Temper in Greek Politics* (New Haven/ London, 1957/1964), p.37.

²Cf. Hesiod, *WD* 47~89; *ibid. Theogony*, 570~613.

³E.A. Havelock, *The Liberal Temper in Greek Politics*, p.37.

It was like the golden race neither in body nor in spirit. [130] A child was brought up at his good mother's side a hundred years, an utter simpleton, playing childishly in his own home. But when they were full grown and were come to the full measure of their prime, they lived only a little time and that in sorrow because of their foolishness, for they could not keep from sinning and [135] from wronging one another (WD 129~135)

Then Zeus the son of Cronos was angry and put them away, because they would not give honor to the blessed gods who live on Olympus (WD 138~139)

Then, the third race of the Bronze Age was made of ash tree, its creator being Zeus.¹

Zeus the Father made a third generation of mortal men, a brazen race, sprung from ash-trees¹; and it was in no way equal to the silver age, [145] but was terrible and strong. They loved the lamentable works of Ares and deeds of violence; they ate no bread, but were hard of heart like adamant, fearful men. Great was their strength and unconquerable the arms which grew from their shoulders on their strong limbs. [150] Their armor was of bronze, and their houses of bronze, and of bronze were their implements: there was no black iron. These were destroyed by their own hands and passed to the dank house of chill Hades, and left no name. (WD 143~153)

Havelock maintained that the third race refers to the Mycenaean civilization of the bronze age, and, with a social critique repeated from the second (Silver) race, unmitigated violence, already proved dangerous for the men of Silver, becomes self-destructive for the men of Bronze, for all their terrible force.²

The fourth comes from the Race of Heroes, which is as following.

Zeus the son of Cronos made yet another, the fourth, upon the fruitful earth, which was nobler and more righteous, a god-like race of hero-men who are called [160] demi-gods, the race before our own, throughout the boundless earth. Grim war and dread battle destroyed a part of them, some in the land of Cadmus at seven-gated Thebes when they fought for the flocks of Oedipus, and some, when it had brought them in ships over the great sea gulf [165] to Troy for rich-haired Helen's sake: there death's end enshrouded a part of them. But to the others father Zeus the son of Cronos gave a living and an abode apart from men, and made them dwell at the ends of earth. [170] And they live untouched by sorrow in the islands of the blessed along the shore of deep-swirling Ocean, happy heroes for

¹Hesiod, WD 143~145.

²E.A. Havelock, *The Liberal Temper in Greek Politics*, p.38f.

whom [173] the grain-giving earth bears honey-sweet fruit flourishing thrice a year, [173a] far from the deathless gods, and Cronos rules over them; [173b] for the father of men and gods released him from his bonds. (*WD* 157~173b)

This fourth race of heroes is not like the Golden Race, while it is superior and more just than the previous Bronze Age. The heroes are described as those who fought in Thebe and Troy and a part of them survived to go to the blessed island similar to the Garden of Eden and took a rest.

The last, the fifth race of the Iron Age is described as following (176ff.).

For now truly is a race of iron, and men never rest from labor and sorrow by day, and from perishing by night; and the gods shall lay sore trouble upon them. But, notwithstanding, even these shall have some good mingled with their evils. [180] And Zeus will destroy this race of mortal men also when they come to have grey hair on the temples at their birth.¹ The father will not agree with his children, nor the children with their father, nor guest with his host, nor comrade with comrade; nor will brother be dear to brother as aforetime. [185] Men will dishonor their parents as they grow quickly old, and will carp at them, chiding them with bitter words, hard-hearted they, not knowing the fear of the gods. They will not repay their aged parents the cost of their nurture, for might shall be their right: and one man will sack another's city. [190] There will be no favor for the man who keeps his oath or for the just or for the good; but rather men will praise the evil-doer and his violent dealing. Strength will be right, and reverence will cease to be; and the wicked will hurt the worthy man, speaking false words against him, and will swear an oath upon them. [195] Envy, foul-mouthed, delighting in evil, with scowling face, will go along with wretched men one and all. [200] And then Aidos and Nemesis,² with their sweet forms wrapped in white robes, will go from the wide-pathed earth and forsake mankind to join the company of the deathless gods: and bitter sorrows will be left for mortal men, and there will be no help against evil. (*WD* 198~201)

Wade-Gery insisted that in the *WD* of Hesiod, pain, labor, disease, death and every other predicament troubled humankind, but war was not yet indicated.¹ Even in the fifth race (174~200), he says, there were all the kinds of defect, anxiety, disease, labor, perjury, contempt for aliens, lack of kinship ties, but war was not mentioned. And Hesiod did not commend military courage or leadership. According to him, even if two ideal pictures, a City of Justice and a City as being free of war (228~9) of Outrage as having military disasters (245~7) are mentioned, Hesiod practically never mentions war. He also pointed

¹H.T. Wade-Gery, *Essays in Greek History*, p.14.

out that the plagues which Pandora lets out of her jar include Pain, Labor, Disease, Death; but not War. The Golden Race do not fight, the Silver Race do but they are just like spoilt children (134).

Here I would like to revise Wade-Gery's point of view with two considerations. One is that, even if war is not mentioned actually in Hesiod's *WD*, there are constant warnings against aggressive, militant deeds.¹ The other point to be referred to is that, counting every other vice and evil of the Iron Race except war, Wade-Gery added labor to other evils. In my opinion, however, although 'hard' labor, might be a vice, simple 'labor' itself is inevitable for even an ideal state.

IV. Labor under the Rule of Kronos and Violence and War under the Rule of Zeus

Havelock founded the similarity between Platon and Hesiod in the notion that the earth was in the ideal condition to be a spontaneous provider.² A point to be stressed here, however, is that Hesiod did not suppose a paradise without labor. According to Rand,³ to Hesiod life without work would not be a Golden Age. And after the men of that time had perished, they (i.e. the Golden race who had perished) became by the will of Zeus. 'good spirits upon earth, watchers of mortal men, who watch over judgments and unrighteous deeds. The Golden Age refers to the reign of Kronos, and the concept of injustice appears later, being related to the gods of Olympus or Zeus. Here, it should be noted that the concept of justice or injustice does not refer to Kronos but Zeus. In addition, the goddess *Dike* is a daughter of Zeus.⁴ Actually, Zeus is described as having authority to realize law and justice. In Hesiod's *Theogonia*, Zeus, after fighting to eliminate Typhon the monster, married Themis who was related to law or usage, and begot the daughters, *Dike* (Justice), *Eunomia* (order) and *Eirene* (Peace).⁵

It is not strange that the significance of labor in *WD* has been recognized by most scholars. According to Gagarin, the "moral" of the *WD* is first through an effective litigation process and second by harder and more efficient labor.⁶ He says, life is hard and prosperity comes only through peaceful co-operation and hard work.

¹Hesiod, *WD* 124 (mutual aggression): 145 (war and aggression): 191 (the deeds of aggression).

²E.A. Havelock, *The Liberal Temper in Greek Politics*, p.43. According to him, Hesiod's peaceful social utopia is of distributed functions voluntarily performed, but Platon added divine overseers to handle this, for the science of a divine intelligence is the only possible source for such a way of life.

³E.K. Rand, "Horatian Urbanity in Hesiod's Works and Days," *American Journal of Philology* 32. 2 (n.126), 138f. Cf. *WD* 124~125; 252~262.

⁴Hesiod, *WD* 226~259.

⁵Hesiod, *Theogony*, 901f.

⁶M. Gagarin, "Dike in the Works and Days," p.92.

In my opinion, however, it should be pointed out that Hesiod did not vindicate a society of hard work, but eventually the blessed earth with proper and comfortable labor. Moreover he preferred the reign of Kronos to that of Zeus, as the former is the best Golden Age. This point could also be proved from the fact that the Race of Heroes of the fourth is connected again with the reign of Kronos. In this age the war of Thebe and the Trojan War broke out, and Herodotos did not describe this race negatively but as more righteous than the previous one. Thus, the race of Heroes was different from the next fifth race where chaotic competition prevailed. Furthermore, a part of the heroes who had survived from the wars moved out to the blessed land lying at the end of the earth, enjoying abundant life. This land was ruled not by Zeus but by Kronos like the Golden Age which Hesiod idealized as the best world. On this fact it could be said, Hesiod premised a more valuable world than that of realizing justice or waging war. War is not itself desirable,¹ but those who took part in the Trojan War could only be justified in connection with the justice of Zeus, as they fought to demand the return of Hellene, just as those who fought in Thebe fought to guard the flock of sheep of Oidipus

Moreover, Hesiod held the stance of being fundamentally opposed to punishment of sin or waging war itself. War lets human beings fall into predicaments such as discord, deception, lie, delusion, perjury as well as punishment for sin. This is proved by the following description of *Theogonia*.

And Night bore hateful Doom and black Fate and Death ...
(*Theogony* 211~2)

Also she bore the Destinies and ruthless avenging Fates
...(Theogony 217)

They pursue the transgressions of men and of gods: and these goddesses never cease from their dread anger until they punish the sinner with a sore penalty. Also deadly Night bore Nemesis (Indignation) to afflict mortal men, and after her, Deceit and Friendship [225] and hateful Age and hard-hearted Strife. But abhorred Strife bore painful Toil and Forgetfulness and Famine and tearful Sorrows, Fightings also, Battles, Murders, Manslaughters, Quarrels, Lying Words, Disputes, [230] Lawlessness and Ruin, all of one nature, and Oath who most troubles men upon earth when anyone willfully swears a false oath. (*Theogony* 219~232)

Thus, the more ideal life without war is carried on in the blessed land under Kronos. Labor was inevitable even in the Golden Age of Kronos, but it is properly distributed. Furthermore, in the circumstances full of abundance and peace due to labor, even Zeus cannot dare to wage war, which is described in the following

¹Cf. Hesiod, *WD* 161.

... Peace, the nurse of children, is abroad in their land, and all-seeing Zeus never decrees cruel war against them. [230] Neither famine nor disaster ever haunt men who do true justice; but light-heartedly they tend the fields which are all their care. The earth bears them victual in plenty (WD 228~232)

With the same purport, Fontenrose insisted that Zeus created the exceptional age of heroes, which interrupts the sequence of metals (WD 156~73). They, Hesiod says, were more just and better men, the divine group of heroic men, who are called demigods. And, if these heroes were just and upright, they must work for their livelihood in obedience to Zeus. Here, according to Fontenrose, Hesiod surely remembered the legends in which epic heroes plowed their field, like Odysseus, or cultivated their vineyards, like Laertes, or tended flocks, like Anchises.¹

On the other hand, in the Iron Age (145~146) appeared Ares, the god of war. This race does not eat bread and is a terrible humankind with a heart as strong as iron. The Iron Race does not work, and used to end up in predicaments.

According to Hesiod, there might be a situation in which an unjust person has more 'dike'.²

..... may neither I myself be righteous among men, nor my son—for then it is a bad thing to be righteous—if indeed the unrighteous shall have the greater right. But I think that all-wise Zeus will not yet bring that to pass.

In this case, the word 'dike' never refers to whether it is right or wrong, but to some kind of right or claim. Gagarin himself referred to the plural 'dikai' being used in opposite contexts: "straight" (36, 225, *Theog.* 86, cf. 230 in adjective 'euthydikes') 272 and "crooked" (219, 221, 250, 262, 264).³ We could say that *dike* does not itself have a definite meaning and could be perverted in reality, but Hesiod gives advice to apply it in a desirable way.

V. War and Labor in the *Old Testament*

1. *The Justice and Labor of Zeus and Yahweh*

Carroll asserted that on the subject of war much of the Hebrew Bible breathes the same atmosphere as that expressed in the opening lines of the *Iliad*.

¹J. Fontenrose, "Works, Justice and Hesiod's 5 Ages," *Classical Philology* 69.1 (1974), pp.8~9. Cf. Od. 18.366~75; *Hymn. Hom.* 5.53~55; Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 95; Lucianus, *De Domo*, 30; Serv. auct., *Aen.* 2.81.

²Hesiod, 272 ei meizo ge diken adikoteros exei.

³Cf. M. Gagarin, "Dike in the Works and Days," p.89.

Iliad, 1~4, Sing, goddess, the anger of Peleus' son, Achilles, and its devastation, which brought countless woes upon the Achaians, and sent forth to Hades many valiant souls of heroes, and gave their bodies to be the delicate feasting of dogs and all birds; thus the will of Zeus came to fulfillment

According to Carroll, this Homeric description of war reflects a point of view that would hold good for many of the Biblical narratives about war and fighting. A paradigmatic example Carroll gives from the Bible is the story of the slaying of King Ahab (Kings I, 22).

Kings I, 21:23~24, Also concerning Jezebel the LORD said, "The dogs shall eat Jezebel within the bounds of Jezreel." Anyone belonging to Ahab who dies in the city the dogs shall eat; and anyone of his who dies in the open country the birds of the air shall eat.'

According to Carroll, This could have been scripted by Homer with very few changes (the name of Gods, perhaps the use of more adjectives).¹ Gordon also maintained that between the Hebrew Bible and early Greek writers there is considerable sharing of concepts, including the representation of war and some of its causes.²

Carroll says, the Bible tells of preparation for war, involving performances by groups of prophets, and includes a narrative that depicts the means whereby the king will be lured to his death by the machinations of the deity in council with his cohorts. Thus, similarities may be noted between the biblical story and the arguments put forward in *Iliad I* to explain how the countless woes suffered by the Achaeans are caused by strife among the gods, just as the prophetically inspired games lure the ill-fated king to his appointed death in the Bible.

Actually, the Hebrew God, Yahweh, is commended as a warrior³ who used to fight for his own tribesmen.⁴ Actually, the concept of a God – Warrior was

¹R. Carroll, "War in the Hebrew Bible," p.24.

²Cf. C.H. Gordon, *Before the Bible: The Common Background of Greek and Hebrew Civilisations* (London, 1962). Cf. R. Carroll, "War in the Hebrew Bible," p.25. In relation to the Greek historiography, however, Carroll preferred the Dover' opinion to the Gordon's, as the former wrote about the originality of the first Greek historians in terms of edging the divine out of the history of human affairs (K.J. Dover, "The originality of the first Greek literature," in *The Greeks and their Legacy: Collected papers, ii: Prose Literature, History, Society, Transmission, Influence* [Oxford, 1988], pp.38~44). Carroll says, most of Greek historians including Herodotus and Thucydides as well as Roman Historians, reducing the significance of the role of gods, made a distinction between traditional myth and sincerely investigated, even if not perfect, history. The Bible, however, belongs to the category of 'theological history', according to the classification defined by Collingwood (R.G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History* [Oxford, 1961], pp.14~17).

³Exodus, 15:3.

⁴Chronicles II, 20:1~30. 'for the LORD had enabled them to rejoice over their enemies. ... (ibid. 27)'

not a monopoly of the Hebrews, but is shown generally in the languages and thought of the ancient Orient. The enemy of a tribe equaled that of God.

Moreover, it should be noted that God of the Bible used to punish his own tribesmen,¹ the examples of which could be divided largely into two categories. One is that in which enraged Yahweh inflicts punishment and calamity on those who despise public interest. For example, Eli the priest incurred the wrath of God which caused his whole family to be exterminated, as he had not dissuaded his son from usurping the offering for God.² Ahab, the king of Israel, brought death on himself due to the wrath of God, as he connived with his wife to get rid of Naboth, the Jezreelite, in order to possess Naboth's vineyard.³

The other category is that in which Yahweh imposes a penalty upon those who have disobeyed his own instructions. Saul, the king of the Hebrews, lost the favor of Yahweh, having disregarded the order of Yahweh to exterminate the Amalek without benevolence and instead extending his sympathy to them, and is succeeded by the next king, David.⁴ In *Judges* (2:14ff.), whenever the Israelites were oppressed by aliens, the disaster was described as owing to the will of God, as he sold to aliens those Israelites who had fallen into evil ways against God's will. The Yahweh of the Bible used to either protect his own people against enemies, or inflict disaster or trials on them when they disobeyed God's will.

Greek gods, however, quite differently from the Yahweh of monotheism, are plural being divided into opposing parties and according to their wish to take part in one side or the other. This divergence shows the disparity in values systems of each society. The Justice of Yahweh in the Bible represents the demands and criterion of the Hebrew community, and that of Zeus in the Greek community. The punishment of Zeus against people used to be administered against an individual, but the Justice of Yahweh is administered not only against an individual but against whole communities. Moreover, the punishment of Yahweh sometimes led against his own people who were devoted to him when they were at fault,⁵ and not against the enemy.

Then, there are the sentences in the Bible which prove that the ultimate purpose of the enraged Yahweh was to prevent the occurrence of war and to enjoy a peaceful life through labor. It is shown in the following phrases whereby plows are produced instead of swords, sickles instead of spears, and weapons are discarded.

¹J.B. Pritchard, *The Ancient Near East in Pictures Relating to the Old Testament* (Princeton, 1969).

²Samuel I, 2.

³Kings I, 21.

⁴Deutronomy 25:17~19.

⁵Cf. The phenomena of human degradation proved in the *Old Testament* are similar to those in the *WD* of Hesiod. The bribed and unfair judge (Micah 7); the enmity between parents and sons (Micah 7); murder and robbery, adultery and rape (Hosea 4:2); enacting bad law, despising common people, usurping widow's property (Isaiah 10:1~2), etc.

Psalm 46:9 He makes wars cease to the end of the earth; he breaks the bow, and shatters the spear; he burns the shields with fire.

Isaiah 2:4. He (Yahweh) shall judge between the nations, and shall arbitrate for many peoples; they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.

Hosea 2:18 I (Yahweh) will make for you^{*} a covenant on that day with the wild animals, the birds of the air, and the creeping things of the ground; and I will abolish^{*} the bow, the sword, and war from the land; and I will make you lie down in safety.

In Samuel I, Yahweh issues a warning to the people through the mouth of Samuel that, once the king is established, his power could be exploited to enslave people, collect taxes, and to make weapons and chariots.

Samuel I, 8:6~18 the thing displeased Samuel when they said, 'Give us a king to govern us.' Samuel prayed to the LORD, ⁷and the LORD said to Samuel, 'Listen to the voice of the people in all that they say to you; for they have not rejected you, but they have rejected me from being king over them. 10 So Samuel reported all the words of the LORD to the people who were asking him for a king. ¹¹He said, 'These will be the ways of the king who will reign over you: he will take your sons and appoint them to his chariots and to be his horsemen, and to run before his chariots; ¹²and he will appoint for himself commanders of thousands and commanders of fifties, and some to plough his ground and to reap his harvest, and to make his implements of war and the equipment of his chariots. ¹³He will take your daughters to be perfumers and cooks and bakers. ¹⁴He will take the best of your fields and vineyards and olive orchards and give them to his courtiers. ¹⁵He will take one-tenth of your grain and of your vineyards and give it to his officers and his courtiers. ¹⁶He will take your male and female slaves, and the best of your cattle^{*} and donkeys, and put them to his work. ¹⁷He will take one-tenth of your flocks, and you shall be his slaves. ¹⁸And in that day you will cry out because of your king, whom you have chosen for yourselves; but the LORD will not answer you in that day.

The following sentences show that political power and military force can never be an ultimate solution.

Psalm 33:16 A king is not saved by his great army; a warrior is not delivered by his great strength.

And in the words of Hosea it is stated that crime is closely related with war, and on the contrary labor is related with plowing fields and old soil. Those who cultivate evil, commit crime, and eat deceitful fruits are supported by soldiers, but those who practice public justice and charity are plowing old land.

Hosea 10:9~13 ⁹ Since the days of Gibeah you have sinned, O Israel; there they have continued. Shall not war overtake them in Gibeah? ¹⁰ ¹¹ Ephraim was a trained heifer that loved to thresh, and I spared her fair neck; but I will make Ephraim break the ground; Judah must plough; Jacob must harrow for himself. Sow for yourselves righteousness; reap steadfast love; break up your fallow ground¹; for it is time to seek the LORD, that he may come and rain righteousness upon you. ¹³ You have ploughed wickedness, you have reaped injustice, you have eaten the fruit of lies. Because you have trusted in your power and in the multitude of your warriors, -

Thus, we could say, the antithesis of war is peace,² but peace could be realized through farming, that is, labor.

2. Pandora and Eve

The early agricultural society of the age without pain of work or disease came to an end with Pandora, the woman of beauty, cunning, blockheaded and hazardous.³ The loss of paradise caused by a woman is related to another fact, which is more fundamental, that Prometheus brought fire to humankind. The fact that Prometheus and Pandora made humanity fall into a predicament is compared to Eve who ate the fruit of the Tree of forbidden Knowledge (i.e. Good and Evil) and was expelled from the Garden of Eden.

According to Headlam, the Tree of forbidden Knowledge and the Fire that Prometheus stole are two symbols meaning the same thing – Reason and its fruits.⁴ He argued that man, by exercise of mental powers, gradually learnt the use of clothes, huts, houses, and towns, and so became civilized. Civilization

¹‘Fallow ground’ is also referred to in Jeremiah, 4:3 For thus says the LORD to the people of Judah and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem: Break up your fallow ground, and do not sow among thorns.

²For the description of peaceful life in the *Bible*, cf. *Isaiah*, 11:6~9 The wolf shall live with the lamb, the leopard shall lie down with the kid, the calf and the lion and the fatling together, and a little child shall lead them. The cow and the bear shall graze, their young shall lie down together; and the lion shall eat straw like the ox. ⁸The nursing child shall play over the hole of the asp, and the weaned child shall put its hand on the adder’s den. They will not hurt or destroy on all my holy mountain; for the earth will be full of the knowledge of the LORD as the waters cover the sea. *Isaiah*, 52:7 How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of the messenger who announces peace, who brings good news, who announces salvation, who says to Zion, ‘Your God reigns.’; *Luke* 2:14 ‘Glory to God in the highest heaven, and on earth peace among those whom he favours!’; *Hebrews* 12:14 Pursue peace with everyone, and the holiness without which no one will see the Lord.

³Hesiod, *WD* 56~89. Cf. Women could be described as an inevitable evil, lovable evil (*Theogony*, 570~613).

⁴W. Headlam, “Prometheus and the Garden of Eden,” *Classical Quarterly* 28 (1934), p.63ff.

however brought its own curse, and man suffered, as the other creatures did not, both in body and in spirit, as ‘much grief in much wisdom and he that increases knowledge increases sorrow.’¹

In my opinion, however, the stories of Pandora and Eve have similarity as well as divergence. The similarity is found in that both of them refer to universal human predicaments of disease, poverty, hatred, deception, but not yet to war. The divergence is that, as having disobeyed God’s order to eat the Fruit of Good and Evil and having been banished from the Garden of Eden, Eve suffers endless pain in childbirth and labor. In the first part of the *Works and Days* of Hesiod, however, an idyllic and optimistic agricultural life of labor is depicted. It could not be regarded simply as a lost past, but as an alternative to the contemporary world, proving Hesiod’ firm intention to advise his brother, Perses, on desirable living. The ideal society could be realized through the distribution of labor in which everyone should take part.

VII. Conclusion

The values in Homer and Hesiod are different from each other, as Hesiod opposes militaristic value. In reality the term ‘dike’ could be made use of with various meanings, but Hesiod loaded his wish on desirable morality to it. He attached much importance to labor and the Golden Age of Hesiod is a social utopia of distributed work. Hesiod never suggested a paradise without labor.

The ideal land of Hesiod was not ruled by Zeus, but his father Kronos. Zeus, who was a God of the second and the following ages, realized justice by punishing the evil, but in the age of Kronos, whose reign was of the Golden Race of men, various evils were not dispersed yet and there was not any necessity of punishment. The best society Hesiod idealized operated just on labor being allotted to everyone. The reign of Kronos and the peaceful life on labor also referred to the blessed isles at the ends of the earth, where a few of the fourth race of heroes, who was superior that the previous age and righteous. got to be assigned to. Then, Zeus came on stage as a protector of justice, just after the box of Pandora opened and every kind of disaster including hard labor were disseminated.

Gagarin defined the violence (bie), which is opposed to *dike*, as disregarding the process of legal settlements. In my opinion, however, the meaning of violence should be extended to refer to war and usurpation without labor, which Hesiodos warned against.

The story of Pandora in the *WD* of Hesiod is quite similar to that of the lost paradise in the Bible, as the disobedience of Adam and Eve caused humankind

¹Here Headlam (“Prometheus and the Garden of Eden,” p.65) incites the words of Mimnermus, ‘We are like the leaves, enjoying pleasure only for a span, only in the flowers of careless youth, knowing neither good nor evil, untroubled by the knowledge (reason, *logos*) in possessing which we differ from the beasts (*ta aloga*).’ That means, the human before eating the fruits of the Tree of forbidden Knowledge or getting fire from Prometheus did not know on good or evil and was untroubled by knowledge.

being banished from Paradise, and shackled by the pain of delivery and hard labor. In both cases, however, war was not referred to.

It should be noted that a society of another race appeared after Hesiod, which Hesiod did never imagine and does not belong to his five races. That is a society of chronic war waged, nay, stimulated by professional warriors. The people of the God-Warrior age and the race of heroes in Hesiod did not know professional mercenaries but were basically the farmers of agriculture or cattle stock farming, and they only pursued war in inevitable situations.

This situation applies also to the Old Testament. Even if the inexorable wars and the God's punishments are described in the Bible, but war is usually waged by farmer-soldiers and the punishment of God is inflicted not only against outward enemy but, now and then, against the whole community inward for having betrayed God's instruction.

The God's punishment against a whole community was utterly alien to the Greek society, and it proes the difference of social structures, as the oriental Hebrew was more patriarchal and group-oriented than the Greeks who existed in a decentralized social structure.

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