

## THE FEMALE VOICE OF JUSTICE IN ARATUS' *PHAENOMENA*\*

Aratus' striking mythical digression (96–136) in the *Phaenomena* on the constellation of the Maiden (Παρθένοϛ), whom he identifies with the virginal Justice (Δίκη), stands out against the preceding technical description of star groups.<sup>1</sup> The passage has unsurprisingly received the frequent notice of critics, with particular attention paid to the episode's relation to and refashioning of the Myth of Ages in Hesiod's *Works and Days* 106–201:<sup>2</sup> one tale that circulates among men, so the narrator informs us (λόγος γε μὲν ἐντρέχει ἄλλος | ἀνθρώποις, 100–1), has the constellation *qua* Dike live among men and women in a Golden Age (101–14), withdraw to the mountains but still visit humans in a Silver Age (115–29), and then withdraw permanently to the sky (where, however, she is still visible) in a Bronze Age (129–36).

Dike, who in Hesiod is described as the daughter of Zeus overseeing justice among mankind outside the context of the Myth of Ages (*Op.* 256–85), is given a central role in the myth by Aratus. Her unique presence is marked all the more by the pronouncement in her own voice of a four-line prophecy to the denizens of the Silver Age (123–6):

οἶν χρύσειοι πατέρες γενεὴν ἐλίποντο  
χειροτέρινον· ὑμεῖς δὲ κακώτερα τεξεῖσθε  
καὶ δὴ που πόλεμοι, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀνάρσιον αἶμα 125  
ἔσσεται ἀνθρώποισι, κακῶν δ' ἐπικεῖσεται ἄλλος.

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<sup>1</sup> D. Kidd, *Aratus. Phaenomena* (Cambridge, 1997), 216, goes so far as to call the digression 'poetic relief from the specialized (albeit poetic) description of constellations.

<sup>2</sup> See, with further bibliography, M. Fantuzzi and R. Hunter, *Tradition and Innovation in Hellenistic Poetry* (Cambridge, 2004), 238–42; C. Fakas, *Der hellenistische Hesiod. Arats Phaenomena und die Tradition der antiken Lehrepidik* (Wiesbaden, 2001), 149–75; and A. Schiesaro, 'Aratus' Myth of Dike', *MD* 37 (1996), 9–26.

What an inferior generation your golden fathers have left! And you are likely to beget a still more evil progeny. There will surely be wars, yes, and unnatural bloodshed among men, and suffering from their troubles will come upon them.<sup>3</sup>

Dike's utterance is the only instance of direct speech in the poem. The limited amount of *oratio recta* need not surprise us in a poem working within the didactic tradition,<sup>4</sup> but the singularity of Dike's female voice within Aratus' *Phaenomena* is nonetheless arresting. The language of Dike's direct address has, however, received only limited attention in previous scholarship. My purpose in what follows is to consider more fully the interpretative implications of this speech, particularly in relation to the model of Hesiod's *Works and Days*, for the role of women in Aratus' Myth of Ages.

It has been suggested that Dike's direct address is in part modelled upon Zeus's threatening speech to Prometheus at *Works and Days* 54–8,<sup>5</sup> in which the father of the gods famously promises to give to mankind a great evil, albeit one that will be embraced, in the form of Pandora:

Ἰαπετιονίδη, πάντων πέρι μήδεα εἰδώς,  
χαίρεις πῦρ κλέψας καὶ ἐμὰς φρένας ἠπεροπεύσας,  
σοὶ τ' αὐτῷ μέγα πῆμα καὶ ἀνδράσιν ἐσσομένοισιν.  
τοῖς δ' ἐγὼ ἀντι πυρὸς δώσω κακόν, ᾧ κεν ἅπαντες  
τέρπωνται κατὰ θυμόν, ἐὼν κακὸν ἀμφογαπόντες.

Son of Iapetos, clever above all others, you are pleased at having stolen fire and outwitted me – a great calamity both for yourself and for men to come. To set against the fire I shall give them an affliction in which they will all delight as they embrace their own misfortune.<sup>6</sup>

There is a natural connection between the two speeches, as both foretell future misery and decline for humankind, in Hesiod through the figure of Pandora, who is tied to humankind's later suffering in the Iron Age.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Translation from Kidd (n. 1). All translations of the *Phaenomena* are taken from this edition.

<sup>4</sup> Direct speech is ubiquitous in the Homeric poems (45% of the *Iliad* and 67% of the *Odyssey*), on which see J. Griffin, 'Homeric Words and Speakers', *JHS* 106 (1986), 36–57, but Hesiod's use of direct speech is drastically lower. Direct speech makes up less than 4% of the *Theogony* and 2% of the *Works and Days*: Zeus's rebuke of Prometheus (54–8), the hawk's address to the nightingale (207–11), and the imagined command to workers (503). On the characteristically curt nature of Hesiod speeches, see also M. West, *Hesiod. Theogony* (Oxford, 1966), 74–5.

<sup>5</sup> Kidd (n. 1), 226, followed by Fakas (n. 2), 162 n. 50.

<sup>6</sup> Translation from M. West, *Hesiod. Works and Days* (Oxford, 1978). All translations of *Works and Days* are taken from this edition.

<sup>7</sup> On Hesiod's Pandora, with references to essential bibliography, see recently L. G. Canevaro, 'The Clash of the Sexes in Hesiod's *Works and Days*', *G&R* 60 (2013), 185–202.

Aratus, it seems, has transposed the foreboding prophecy of mankind's future from the male voice of Zeus to the female voice of his daughter Dike. The link between Dike and Zeus is suggested obliquely at the outset of the mythical digression, when the poet indicates that one tradition makes the Maiden the daughter of Astraeus, while according to an alternative tradition she is the daughter of 'some other' (εἴτε τευ ἄλλου, 99), apparently a reference to Zeus.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, just a few lines later in the episode we are subtly reminded of Zeus's centrality in the Stoic ordering of the cosmos through an echo of the *Phaenomena's* prologue: [Δίκη] ἀγειρομένη δὲ γέροντας | ἢ ἐ που εἰν ἀγορῇ ἢ εὐρυχώρῳ ἐν ἀγυῖῃ ('[Dike] gathering together the elders, either in the market-place or the broad highway'; 105–6) recalls μεσταὶ δὲ Διὸς πᾶσαι μὲν ἀγυαί, | πᾶσαι δ' ἀνθρώπων ἀγοραί ('Filled with Zeus are all highways and all meeting-places of people; 2–3).<sup>9</sup> Through this echo, as Fantuzzi and Hunter observe of Aratus' un-Hesiodic inclusion of agriculture in the Golden Age,

the Prologue's emphasis on agriculture (7–9) is now seen not merely to mark the most obvious sphere in which Zeus's 'signs' may be exploited and to evoke the *Works and Days* as primary model, but also to privilege agriculture as a model for the right ordering of the world: honest toil is rewarded with the earth's plenty.<sup>10</sup>

At the same time, the echo aligns the voices of Dike and Zeus. Gathering together the elders in the market-place or streets, Dike speaks to them to urge just decisions for the people (δημοτέρας ἤειδεν ἐπισπέρχουσα θέμιστας, 'she urged them in prophetic tones to judgements for the good of the people'; 107), while in the prologue Zeus, who fills the marketplaces and streets, not only gives signs but 'speaks' to mankind (5–9):

τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος εἰμέν· ὁ δ' ἥπιος ἀνθρώποισι  
δεξιὰ σημαίνει, λαοὺς δ' ἐπὶ ἔργον ἐγείρει  
μιμνήσκων βιότοιο, λέγει δ' ὅτε βῶλος ἀρίστη  
βουσί τε καὶ μακέλησι, λέγει δ' ὅτε δεξιαὶ ὄρα  
καὶ φυτὰ γυρῶσαι καὶ σπέρματα πάντα βαλέσθαι.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Kidd (n. 1), 217–18.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Kidd (n. 1), 220, 'The balancing of ἀγορῇ and ἀγυῖῃ, enhanced by the internal rhyme, recalls the Proem (2–3), and so brings out the relevance of this episode to the general theme of the poem'. For other links between the prologue and the Dike episode, see Schiesaro (n. 2), 18–19.

<sup>10</sup> Fantuzzi and Hunter (n. 2), 240.

For we are also his children, and he benignly gives helpful signs to men, and rouses people to work, reminding them of their livelihood, tells when the soil is best for oxen and mattocks, and tells when the seasons are right both for planting trees and for sowing every kind of seed.

The repetition of λέγει δ' ὅτε in lines 7–8 evokes Zeus's verbal capacity,<sup>11</sup> which through the recollection of the prologue is later taken up by Dike, first in indirect speech and then later in direct speech. The link between Zeus's voice in the prologue and the prophetic speech of Dike is perhaps made even stronger by the rare predicative sense of λέγει in lines 7–8, which is elsewhere connected to oracular response.<sup>12</sup> Behind the prophetic voices of the Aratean Zeus and Dike hovers the Hesiodic prophecy of Zeus to Prometheus.

Dike's voice is ultimately connected to several voices. Her wandering in the mountains and the introduction of her indirect speech by the verb αἰείδω (107), here to 'utter solemnly' but also to 'sing', connect her to the figure of the poet: both that of the Aratean poet-narrator, furthered through the ties to the speaking Zeus of the prologue, and that of the Hesiodic poet-narrator,<sup>13</sup> who prophesies the destruction of the Iron Age by Zeus at *Works and Days* 180–2:<sup>14</sup>

Zeὺς δ' ὀλέσει καὶ τοῦτο γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων,  
εὖτ' ἂν γεινόμενοι πολιοκρόταφοι τελέθωσιν.  
οὐδέ πατήρ παίδεσσι ὁμοίος οὐδέ τι παῖδες

Yet Zeus will destroy this race of men also, when at birth they turn out grey at the temples. Nor will father be like children nor children to father.

<sup>11</sup> On Aratus' poem itself as a 'speech act' of Zeus, see Fantuzzi and Hunter (n. 2), 231.

<sup>12</sup> See Kidd (n. 1), 167, who compares Hdt. 8.136.1. The verb αἰείδω used of Dike's indirect speech to humans of the Golden Age (ἤειδεν, 107), in this instance to 'utter solemnly', is also linked to prophetic speech; see also N. Hopkinson (ed.), *A Hellenistic Anthology* (Cambridge, 1988), 141, who cites E. *Ion* 92.

<sup>13</sup> See Fantuzzi and Hunter (n. 2), 241, and 231 on the possible alignment of Zeus's 'speech act' in the prologue with the *Phaenomena* itself. E. Gee, *Aratus and the Astronomical Tradition* (Oxford, 2013), 34, suggests that the verb is an intertextual reference to Pl. *Resp.* 607a–608a, in which prose and poetry are compared and contrasted.

<sup>14</sup> The female prophetic figure of Dike also shares characteristics with the Heraclitian Sibyl, a lonely figure (cf. μουνός, 'all alone'; 119), outside time and particular geography, who gives advice to mankind as the mouthpiece of god (Heraclitus fr. 75 Markovitch = 22 B 92 D.–K. Σίβυλλα δὲ μαινομένη στόματι καθ' Ἡράκλειτον ἀγέλαστα καὶ ἀκαλλώπιστα καὶ ἀμύριστα φθεγγόμενη χιλίων ἐτῶν ἐξικνεῖται τῇ φωνῇ διὰ τὸν θεόν, 'The Sibyl, according to Heraclitus, with a raging mouth uttering grave, unadorned and rude things, through the god reaches across a thousand years with her voice'). See J. Lightfoot, *The Sibylline Oracles* (Oxford, 2007), 1–2.

Of course, there are differences: Aratus' Myth of Ages includes only three generations, stopping before the Iron Age, and Zeus in Hesiod (both in this prophecy and more generally in the Myth of Ages) takes an active role in the creation and destruction of the ages, whereas in Aratus Dike plays a more passive role, with the agency for creation and destruction transferred to humankind itself.<sup>15</sup> Dike's prophecy to humankind nonetheless seems to recall this particular Hesiodic warning.<sup>16</sup> The theme of degenerative procreation, which in Hesiod gives rise to Zeus's destruction of humankind (Ζεὺς δ' ὀλέσει καὶ τοῦτο γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων, εὐτ' ἂν γεινόμενοι πολιοκρόταφοι τελέθωσιν. οὐδὲ πατὴρ παίδεσσιν ὁμοίος οὐδέ τι παῖδες, 'Yet Zeus will destroy this race of men also, when at birth they turn out grey at the temples. Nor will father be like children nor children to father'; 180–2), is adapted by Aratus to explain, in the mouth of Dike, the future decline from one age to the next (οἶν χρύσειοι πατέρες γενεὴν ἐλίποντο | χειροτέρην· ὑμεῖς δὲ κακώτερα τεξεῖσθε, 'What an inferior generation your golden fathers have left behind! And you are likely to beget a still more evil progeny'; 123–4).

In this second recollection of male prophecy in Hesiod, the transposition of the foretelling from the male voice of the poet-narrator, 'Hesiod', to the female voice of Dike is underscored by the particular choice of language. Dike describes the decline from the Golden Age to the Silver Age as effected through the paternal line (οἶν χρύσειοι πατέρες γενεὴν ἐλίποντο | χειροτέρην, 'What an inferior generation your golden fathers have left behind!'; 123–4), but the language of leaving behind an inferior race recalls a Hesiodic passage in which Dike features prominently: the man who lies in violation of his oath, thereby harming Dike, will leave behind an unprosperous line ([ὄς] ψεύσεται, ἐν δὲ Δίκην βλάψας νήκεστον ἀάσθη, | τοῦ δὲ τ' ἀμαυροτέρη γενεὴ μετόπισθε λέλειπται, 'but whoever deliberately lies in his sworn testimony, therein, by injuring Right, he is blighted past healing; his family remains more obscure thereafter'; Hes. *Op.* 283–4), whereas the man who keeps his oath will leave behind a 'better race' (ἀμείνων γενεή, *Op.* 285).

Dike's use of the verb *τίκτω* ('to beget'/'to birth') in line 124 (transmitted by the manuscripts ὑμεῖς δὲ κακώτερα τεξεῖσθε, 'You are likely

<sup>15</sup> See Fakas (n. 2), 161–2.

<sup>16</sup> For the general connection of the two passages, see Schiesaro (n. 2), 11–12 and cf. Fantuzzi and Hunter (n. 2), 241.

to beget/birth a still more evil progeny') to describe the decline from the Silver Age to the Bronze Age places even more emphasis on the role of human reproduction in the degeneration of humankind, but also balances the paternal and maternal roles in the process. Whereas the deterioration from the Golden Age to the Silver Age is in Dike's telling patrilineal, the generalized ὑμεῖς ('you') potentially places blame on both sexes. This possibility is especially present after the clear statement at the outset of the digression that Dike, in coming face to face with humankind in the Golden Age, spurned the tribes of neither ancient men nor women (οὐδέ ποτ' ἀνδρῶν | οὐδέ ποτ' ἀρχαίων ἠγήνατο φύλα γυναικῶν, 102–3).<sup>17</sup>

The verb τίκτω can describe either men begetting or women giving birth to children,<sup>18</sup> but there is reason to think that women are at least included as addressees. For the sentiment concerning childbearing/begetting, given the strong background presence of Hesiod's *Works and Days*, may again recall a Hesiodic passage concerned with Dike, this time in which the production of children by women is closely linked to justice. In contrasting the cities of the just and the unjust, shortly after the introduction of the personified Dike, Hesiod tells that for those who respect justice women bear good children resembling their fathers (τίκτουσιν δὲ γυναῖκες εἰκότα τέκνα γονεῦσιν, 235), whereas for those who embrace hubris women do not bear children at all (οὐδὲ γυναῖκες τίκτουσιν, 244).<sup>19</sup> There is a structural parallelism between the two passages. Following Hesiod's positive statement about women bearing εἰκότα τέκνα γονεῦσιν ('children resembling their fathers') to the just, two lines (236–7) expand upon the benefits that such people enjoy (they flourish, never take to the seas, and live with plentiful provision from the land), in language that recalls the

<sup>17</sup> With its positive vision of women's role in public discourse, this line contrasts with the openly misogynistic message of the similar τῆς [Πανδώρας] γὰρ ὀλώλιόν ἐστι γένος καὶ φύλα γυναικῶν ('For from her [Pandora] derives the destructive race and the tribes of women, a great bane') at Hesiod *Th.* 591. The Hesiodic verse is possibly an interpolation (see West [n. 4], 329–30), but may well have been known to Aratus. Cf. also γυναικῶν φύλον ('tribe of women') at [Hes.] *Sc.* 4 and fr. 1.1: the latter parallel may be particularly relevant, as the scholiast to *Phaenomena* 104 cites the proem of the Hesiodic catalogue (fr. 1.6) for the idea that gods and humans once mingled.

<sup>18</sup> See LSJ, s.v. τίκτω.

<sup>19</sup> Verse 244 was suspected in antiquity but there is good reason to retain it as a counterpart to 235. See West (n. 6), 218. Apart from the theogonic statement that Eris bore Oath (Ὀρκον...τὸν Ἐρις τέκε, 804), these are the only two instances of the verb τίκτω in the *Works and Days*. It is, of course, a common verb, but, given the general importance of the Hesiodic model, Aratus' particular choice could be significant.

description of the Golden Age.<sup>20</sup> Conversely, following Dike's negative statement in Aratus, two lines (125–6) expand upon the evils that accompany the degenerates of the Bronze Age (war, unnatural bloodshed, and suffering).

In the Hesiodic model, the description of just and unjust cities concludes with a second-person plural address (the only such address in the poem) to the kings responsible for upholding justice (ὦ βασιλῆς, ὑμεῖς δὲ καταφράξεσθε καὶ αὐτοὶ | τήνδε δίκην, 'You too, my lords, attend to the justice-doing of yours'; 248–9).<sup>21</sup> In Aratus, Dike again takes over the voice of the Hesiodic poet-narrator through the use of the same pronoun, ὑμεῖς,<sup>22</sup> which however no longer targets kings specifically but humankind as a whole, including both men and women. Aratus thus recasts the Hesiodic role of women in relation to just living, to give them more agency in its maintenance or dissolution. Whereas in Hesiod women's bearing of good children is a consequence of respecting justice and sterility the product of ignoring it, Dike's prophecy in Aratus suggests that women, through their role in childbirth, play an active role in the preservation (or, in this negative exemplum, loss) of justice.

As indicated above, Aratus makes explicit earlier in the mythical digression that Dike comes face to face with both men and women (102–3), a feature that has been connected by Schiesaro to Stoic thought concerning the participation of both men and women in political activities.<sup>23</sup> This is an attractive supposition. According to Diogenes Laertius, the Stoic Zeno advocated no distinction between the sexes in matters of dress, presumably because he held that there was no essential difference between men and women, and there is a good amount of evidence for Stoics treating men and women as equally capable of philosophizing and attaining virtue.<sup>24</sup> It seems safe to assume also that in

<sup>20</sup> See West (n. 6), 216. Hesiod's Golden Age does not feature the toil of agriculture, but the abundance of agriculture is part of Aratus' Golden Age (100–13), an element which already recalls the advantages of the just in Hesiod. See also Fantuzzi and Hunter (n. 2), 240; J. Martin, *Aratos. Phénomènes* (Paris, 1998), 208.

<sup>21</sup> As West (n. 6), 219, points out, the preceding passage is more a message for the kings than Perses.

<sup>22</sup> Hes. *Op.* 235 εἰκότα τέκνα ('children resembling their fathers') itself invokes the prophecy concerning the Iron Age at *Op.* 182 (οὐδὲ πατὴρ παίδεσσιν ὁμοίος οὐδέ τι παῖδες, 'Nor will father be like children nor children like father'), through the *topos* of sons resembling fathers.

<sup>23</sup> Schiesaro (n. 2), 20.

<sup>24</sup> See Diog. Laert. 7.33: καὶ ἐσθῆτι δὲ τῇ αὐτῇ κελεύειν χρῆσθαι ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ μηδὲν μόριον ἀποκεκρύθφαι ('Furthermore, he calls upon men and women to wear the same clothing and to conceal no part of the body'); cf. 7.131. Cleanthes, according to Diog. Laert. 7.175, wrote a treatise entitled *Περὶ τοῦ ὅτι ἡ αὐτῇ ἀρετῇ καὶ ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικός* (*Concerning the view that the virtue of a man and a woman is the same*), and Lactantius at *Div. Inst.* 3.25 speaks of the Stoic

Zeno's ideal republic, as in Plato's, women should share political responsibilities with men.<sup>25</sup> If such Stoic thinking does lie behind the explicitly public role of women in Aratus' Golden Age,<sup>26</sup> Dike's prophecy carries further the implications of this role by pointing to the significance of women's shared activity for a just, harmonious existence. Importantly, the decline of humankind in Aratus' Myth of Ages is not an inevitable moral degeneration, as in Hesiod, but a process brought about through human actions – the threats which Dike makes in her prophecy imply that humankind, men and women together, can change its lot in life.<sup>27</sup>

The verbal connection between Dike's ὑμεῖς δὲ κακώτερα τεξεῖσθε ('You are likely to beget/birth a still more evil progeny'; 124) and *Works and Days* 235 (τίκτουσιν δὲ γυναῖκες ἔοικότα τέκνα γονεῦσιν, 'women bear children resembling their fathers') would be strengthened should one adopt Kaibel's conjecture τέκνα τεκεῖσθαι for the unparalleled form τεξεῖσθε, often taken as desiderative.<sup>28</sup> Martin, who adopts Kaibel's proposal, rejects the transmitted form as a 'monster'.<sup>29</sup> Kidd retains it on the grounds that the manuscript evidence is strong, but follows Veitsch in taking τεξεῖσθε as a future form.<sup>30</sup> The transmitted text might well stand as a unique poetic future, but it is worth pointing out that Kaibel's κακώτερα τέκνα τεκεῖσθαι, with cognate accusative, would potentially evoke more than one relevant intertext. Not only would this strengthen the verbal allusion to *Op.* 235

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view that women should philosophize); see also Chrysippus (*ap.* Philod. *De pietate* col. 5.11; cf. Antisthenes, Diog. Laert. 6.12). See P. A. Vander Waerdt, 'Zeno's Republic and the Origins of Natural Law', in P. A. Vander Waerdt (ed.), *The Socratic Movement* (Ithaca, NY, 1994), 306; M. Schofield, *The Stoic Idea of the City* (Cambridge, 1991), 43.

<sup>25</sup> Zeno's inclusion of both men and women in political activity follows Plato (*Resp.* 5), whose guardians are both male and female; in contrast to Plato, however, he seems to have accepted heterosexual as well as homosexual love as a binding force in his ideal city. See further Schofield (n. 24), 43–6.

<sup>26</sup> Aratus' inclusion of agriculture in the Golden Age can also be linked to Stoic thought; see Kidd (n. 1), 222.

<sup>27</sup> See Schiesaro (n. 2), esp. 11–12, who argues that Aratus reshapes 'the myth of the ages as an atemporal moral paradigm which entails ethical choices still largely available to modern men' (24). The verbal and thematic links suggested above support and extend Schiesaro's general argument that Aratus read lines 105–273 of the *Works and Days* (including the tale of the nightingale and Dike's role among mankind) 'as an organic whole'. See also Fantuzzi and Hunter (n. 2), 241–2, on Aratus' 'reading' of *Op.* 252–5 and the optimistic outlook of the digression.

<sup>28</sup> J. Kaibel, Review of E. Maass, *Arati Phaenomena* (Berlin, 1893) in *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeiger* n.s. 1 (1893), 950, offered tentatively against other conjectures.

<sup>29</sup> Martin (n. 20), 211.

<sup>30</sup> Kidd (n. 1), 226, on the grounds of comparison with θερπείουσι (Nic. *Ther.* 124 and *Alex.* 567), a poetic form of θέρουσι ('to become warm').



τίκτουςιν...ἔοικότα τέκνα (with which, as I have suggested above, Aratus seems to engage),<sup>31</sup> but it would also bring into play the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* 127, ἀγλαὰ τέκνα τεκεῖσθαι ('to give birth to glorious children'), on which Kaibel based his conjecture.<sup>32</sup>

In that poem, the phrase is used by the goddess Aphrodite, who in disguise as a mortal Phrygian princess is foretelling to Anchises, as part of an elaborate lie intended to seduce him, the future children whom she will bear as his wife. Here we have not only another prophecy, but a mendacious one in the mouth of a trickster goddess: that is, a prophecy whose nature stands in direct opposition to the Hesiodic figure of Dike. As we have seen, at *Works and Days* 282–5, the man who lies (ψεύσεται, 283) in violation of his oath harms Dike and leaves behind a reduced generation (τοῦ δέ τ' ἀμαυροτέρη γενεὴ μετόπισθε λέλειπται, 284), a passage recalled by the language of Dike's prophecy in Aratus. Also relevant here is Dike's relation to the Hesiodic Muses, who in contrast to the clearly visible Dike are able to speak both lies and truth.<sup>33</sup> The potential allusion also to the false prophecy of Aphrodite would in this context serve as a pointed foil for the prophecy of the upright and truthful Dike.

Whether one accepts Kaibel's conjecture or not, the figure of Aphrodite-Love is undoubtedly at play in Aratus' Dike episode. In addition to Hesiod's Myth of Ages, Aratus also summons up Empedocles' Golden Age, in which there was no Ares, Battle-Din (Κυδοιμός), Zeus, Kronos, or Poseidon, but Aphrodite-Love was queen (βασίλεια), and men did not eat the flesh of the ox.<sup>34</sup> Aratus' Golden Age similarly

<sup>31</sup> The expression τέκνα τεκεῖσθε would also make more explicit that women are addressed by ὑμεῖς; cf. *Od.* 22. 324 and *H.H. Dem.* 136 of women bearing children to husbands.

<sup>32</sup> The future form τεκεῖσθαι is itself a *hapax*, but has linguistic parallels and should be retained; see A. Faulkner, *The Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* (Oxford, 2008), 202, with bibliography. The rarity of the form τεκεῖσθε could in fact explain corruption in the manuscript tradition, albeit to the similarly problematic τεξεῖσθε.

<sup>33</sup> See Gee (n. 13), 33–4, on the echo of and contrast with Hesiod's Muses.

<sup>34</sup> Fr. 122 B. Inwood, *The Poem of Empedocles* (Toronto, 2001): οὐδέ τις ἦν κείνοισιν Ἄρης θεὸς οὐδὲ Κυδοιμός | οὐδὲ Ζεὺς βασιλεύς οὐδὲ Κρόνος οὐδὲ Ποσειδῶν, | ἀλλὰ Κύπρις βασίλεια ('For them there was no god Ares, nor Battle Dine, nor king Zeus, nor Kronos, nor Poseidon, but queen Kyprius'). Ruby Blondell suggests to me that the speaking Dike of Aratus is perhaps also distantly reminiscent of Parmenides' *On Nature*, in which Dike receives and instructs the philosopher (fr. 1. 22–3: καὶ με θεὰ πρόφρον ὑπεδέξατο, χεῖρα δὲ χειρὶ | δεξιτερὴν ἔλεν, ὅδε δ' ἔπος φάτο καὶ με προσηῖδα, 'And the goddess received me kindly, took my right hand into hers, and spoke to me thus'). This seems to have influenced Virgil at *Georgics* 2.477 (*accipiant* ~ ὑπεδέξατο) in his description of the departure of Justice (Iustitia) from the earth: see D. Nelis, 'Georgics 2.458–542: Virgil, Aratus, and Empedocles', *Dictynna* 1 (2004), 6; A. Hardie, 'The *Georgics*, the Mysteries and the Muses at Rome', *PCPhS* 48 (2002), 186–7.

contains neither violence nor battle-din (οὔπω λευγαλέου τότε νείκεος ἤπισταντο | οὐδὲ διακρίσιος περιμεμφέος οὐδὲ κυδοιμοῦ, 'At that time they still had no knowledge of painful strife or quarrelsome conflict or noise of battle'; 108–9), while the degenerate Bronze Age is the first to eat ploughing oxen (132).<sup>35</sup> Moreover, whereas in Empedocles Aphrodite-Love is portrayed as a queen (βασιλεία), in Aratus it is Dike who is queen (αὐτὴ πότνια λαῶν, 'Justice herself, queen of the people'; 112).<sup>36</sup> Divine παρθένοι ('maidens'), although virginal, contain a strong potential for fecundity and are often connected to vegetal and human fertility,<sup>37</sup> as Dike is linked here to Demeter (97, Στόχυν, 'Spica') and generation of humankind.<sup>38</sup> Empedocles' cosmogonic force of Love naturally lacks the deceptiveness and emphasis on physical beauty of the Hesiodic Aphrodite, who within the mythological tradition deceptively wields her sexuality, beauty, and charm to get what she wants.<sup>39</sup> She is instead a unifying cosmogonic force (in contrast to the dividing force Strife), a being who engenders harmony and causes mortals to work together.<sup>40</sup> Aratus' honest and virginal Dike, whose advice to men and women concerning good judgements (θέμιστας, 107) ensures the harmony of the Golden Age, is an alternative form of such positive female agency, reorienting the Empedoclean

<sup>35</sup> On these parallels, see Gee (n. 13), 29–30, and Nelis (n. 34), 9–12; also Martin (n. 20) and Kidd (n. 1), ad loc. For the influence of Empedocles on Aratus more generally, see Gee (n. 13), 30–3, and A. Traglia, 'Reminiscenze empedoclee nei *Fenomeni* di Arato', in *Miscellanea di Studi Alessandrini in memoria di Augusto Rostagni* (Turin, 1963), 382–93.

<sup>36</sup> On Dike as Empedoclean Love, see again Gee (n. 13), 30. Martin (n. 20), 203–4, points out that Dike's role as queenly dispenser of justice also takes over the public function of the just king in Hesiod. Cf. Nelis (n. 34), 15.

<sup>37</sup> See E. Irwin, 'The Invention of Virginity on Olympus', in B. MacLachlan and J. Fletcher (eds.), *Virginity Revisited. Configurations of the Unpossessed Body* (Toronto, 2007), 18–21.

<sup>38</sup> On the association of the Maiden and Demeter, see Fantuzzi and Hunter (n. 2), 240. For the fecund potential of the virgin constellation, cf. later Nonnus, *Dion.* 41.212–20 (a passage that recalls Aratus), in which the Maiden serves as nursemaid to Beroe, the daughter of Aphrodite (note in particular 214–17 Παρθένος ἀστράτη, χρυσέης θρέπτειρα γενέθλης, | ἔννομα παπάζουσαν ἀνέτρεφον ἔμφορον μαζῶ | παρθενί φ δὲ γάλακτι ρόος βλύζουσα θεμιστων | χεῖλα παιδὸς ἔδευσε, 'The Virgin constellation, nursemaid of the golden race, reared the infant girl lawfully with her sensible breast. Gushing forth streams of decrees, she wet the lips of the child with her virginal milk').

<sup>39</sup> For Aphrodite's connection to deception, see e.g. Hes. *Th.* 205; Hes. *H.H. Aphr.* 7.

<sup>40</sup> See fr. 25. 22–4 [Φιλότης] ἦτις καὶ θνητοῖσι νομίζεται ἐμφυτος ἄρθροις, | τῇ τε φίλα φρονέουσι καὶ ἄρθρια ἔργα τελοῦσι, | Γηθοσύνην καλέοντες ἐπόνυμον ἢ δ' Ἀφροδίτην, '[Love] who is deemed even by mortals to be inborn in their bodies, and by whom they think loving thoughts and accomplish works of unity, calling her by the names Joy and Aphrodite' (trans. adapted from Inwood [n. 34]). For an overview of the Empedoclean forces of Love and Strife and their cycles, see Inwood (n. 34), 42–55.

image of feminine power toward the primacy of Justice in the cosmic order.

The particular language of Dike's prophecy, which as we have seen recalls Hesiod's concern with the role of women in a just society, underscores this relevance of female justice on the mortal plane also. For lurking in the shadows of Dike's speech is a quite different and dangerous image of female power, Pandora, evoked through recollection of the Hesiodic model for Dike's prophecy with which we began: Zeus's speech to Prometheus foretelling the suffering that he will inflict on mankind through Pandora (*Op.* 54–8). For in her ideal beauty and her capacity for deception (indeed in her very nature as δόλος, 'trick/deceit'; *Th.* 589, *Op.* 83), Pandora gives mortal expression to essential elements of the more familiar deceptive Aphrodite of the mythological tradition.<sup>41</sup> Divine and mortal archetypes thus converge as Dike's prophecy, in conversation with key passages of Hesiod's *Works and Days*, recasts the potentialities of female power in human society. In Dike's prophecy, women may still play a role in engendering suffering (κακῶν... ἄλγος, 126),<sup>42</sup> but this is no longer, as for Pandora, tied to inherent traits of beauty and deception, nor in Aratus' recasting of the Myth of Ages are women, as is Pandora, a 'fundamentally different breed', such that 'man and woman cannot converse with one another because she conceals the truth in order to deceive'.<sup>43</sup> Dike's strong female voice, in contrast to the models of male prophetic speech in Hesiod's *Works and Days*, places men and women on a more equal footing.

Like Dike, mortal women do converse publicly with men in an ideal society (102–3). Furthermore, Dike's prophetic language, which through its recollection of Hesiod's treatment of women suggests that women are to be included as addressees in the unspecified ὑμεῖς in line 104, implies that the potential for women to help or harm society is controlled not only by male, as in Hesiod, but also by female agency.

<sup>41</sup> See F. Zeitlin, *Playing the Other. Gender and Society in Classical Greek Literature* (Chicago, IL, 1996), 82, and A. Bergren, 'The Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite: Tradition and Rhetoric, Praise and Blame', *CLAnt* 8 (1989), 11–12, comparing Pandora and Aphrodite disguised as a mortal woman in *H.H. Aphr.*

<sup>42</sup> As Pandora (e.g. *μεγὰ πῆμα καὶ ἀνδράσιν ἐσσομένοισιν*, 'A great calamity both for yourself and for men to come'; *Op.* 56).

<sup>43</sup> Zeitlin (n. 41) 56–7, who underlines that Hesiod's myth is from a cross-cultural perspective 'conspicuous in creating woman as a separate and alien being, the first exemplar of a race or species, the *genos gunaikōn*, who as the agent of separation between gods and mortal men remains estranged, never achieving a mediated partnership with man'.

In line with Stoic views, men and women must work together to ensure a harmonious society of concord. As if to underscore this point, the discordant separation of men and women is enacted at the end of the episode, as the female Dike sets herself at a permanent remove from the degenerate Bronze Age. Whereas the description of her interaction with humankind of the Golden and Silver Ages is either explicitly inclusive of both sexes or generic (102–3: οὐδέ ποτ' ἀνδρῶν | οὐδέ ποτ' ἀρχαίων ἠνήνατο φύλα γυναικῶν, 'and she did not ever spurn the tribes of ancient men and women';<sup>44</sup> 116: ποθέουσα παλαιῶν ἤθεα λαῶν, 'she longed for the ways of the earlier folk'; 120: ἀλλ' ὅποτ' ἀνθρώπων μεγάλας πλήσαιτο κολώνας, 'But filling the broad hillsides with people'; 127: τοὺς δ' ἄρα λαοὺς, 'the people'), subsequent to her prophecy Dike is unambiguously at odds with ἄνδρες ('men'): the Bronze Age consists of ὀλοώτεροι ἄνδρες ('men more destructive'; 130) and Dike withdraws to the sky in hatred of the γένος ἀνδρῶν (καὶ τότε μισήσασα Δίκη κείνων γένος ἀνδρῶν | ἔπιταθ' ὑπουρανίη, 'then Justice, conceiving a hatred for the generation of these men, flew up to the sky'; 133–4).<sup>45</sup> The estrangement of Dike from the Bronze Age is therefore also representative of an estrangement of the sexes. The unjust actions of men (ἄνδρες) who act apart from her, a divine paradigm of human female voice and agency, are simultaneously a symptom and a cause of dissonance in Aratus' humanity. Men might take special care not to disenfranchise women. For if, as a constellation in the night sky, Justice remains a ray of hope, she is once more a visible sign relevant to all humankind (ἔτι φαίνεται ἀνθρώποισιν, 135), men and women alike.

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<sup>44</sup> 105: ἀγειρομένη δὲ γέροντας ('gathering together the elders') seems to include at least the presence of sage women, given their explicit mention alongside men in the preceding sentence.

<sup>45</sup> The phrase γένος ἀνδρῶν again evokes, and here inverts, the pejorative γένος γυναικῶν ('race of women') of Hesiod (*Th.* 590–1). See above n. 17 on *Phaenomena* 102–3.