prayers and prudent agricultural practices were seen to be bulwarks against disaster (xvii. 2–4). Because some calamities such as hailstorms can devastate a plot of land and leave a neighbouring plot unscathed, a Greek farmer might well have thought the gods were intimately involved in rewarding the pious farmer and punishing the evildoer. Plut. Mor. 700e and Sen. Q.N. 4.6 mention χαλαζοφόροι (‘hail-wardens’) who predict and avert hail. Of course Zeus, as weather-god, was often the recipient of offerings and prayers, and rain magic was practised as well.129

Here Socrates states for the first time that human success is to be attributed to a combination of the favour of the gods and human virtue and diligence (επιμελεία). This view recurs in vii. 22, xi. 7–8, and xx. 14. Xenophon’s attitudes toward the divine were typical of the late fifth and the fourth centuries. Thus in his theology Xenophon is neither archaizing nor attempting to exonerate Socrates from the charge of impiety, but rather expressing conventional beliefs.130

vi. 1. ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀρχεσθαι παντὸς ἔργου. Conventional piety demanded that all undertakings, public and private, begin with the gods, and that the gods be continually taken into account. Xenophon follows this principle throughout the Oeconomicus. See ii. 18, v. 20, viii. 8, xi. 8. For examples of Xenophon’s own piety see Anab. 4.3.13, 5.2.9, 24–5, 6.1.24, and 7.10.20.

2. ἐπανελθομεν. A superb teacher, Socrates gives a summary review of the discussion, which has included definitions and generalizations, before proceeding to the specific example which constitutes the next part of the lesson. The points are reviewed, by and large, in the same order as their original statement (but see further Ch. 1, sect. D). A list of the major points with a reference of their original statement follows:

(4) Definition of oikos as a branch of knowledge i. 1

by which estates can be increased i. 4

Definition of oikos as all the property a person possesses i. 5


a historical person. The name Ischomachus appears in the following historical sources, in addition to the Oeconomicus.133

1. Cratinus fr. 365 Kassel-Austin = Athen. 1. 8A, a remark addressed to Ischomachus' son: 'How could you, the son of Ischomachus the Myconian, be generous?'

'Myconian' means stingy. The remark, out of context, is ambiguous: of course, how could the son of a stingy man not be stingy? or, with amazement, how could he be generous? Cratinus seems to have died by 421. Therefore, even if the Myconian had been Xenophon's Ischomachus, the son could not have been either of the two orphans who became wards of Callias III. The miser, more likely, was our Ischomachus' father (cf. xx. 26); our Ischomachus was generous (xi. 9).

2. Plut. Mar. 516C = Aeschines Socrates fr. 49 Dittmar: an Ischomachus was questioned at Olympia about Socrates by Aristippus.

Dittmar conjectures that the passage derives from an unknown dialogue of Aeschines.

3. And. 1. 124, in 399, in the course of relating the vicissitudes of Ischomachus' daughter, her two daughters, and her mother Chrysilla (see below).

4. Lys. 19. 46, c.387; when Ischomachus was alive, everyone thought he had more than 70 tal., but when he died, he left barely 10 tal. to each of his two sons.

This legacy was by no means negligible (cf. the 14 tal. inherited by Demosthenes who was an only son); 10 tal. would have been sufficient to place the sons in the liturgical class. Ischomachus' property had probably been damaged by the Decelean War.134

5. Lys. 'Pros Diogenen', fragments in P. Oxy. XXXI. 2537, verso, 8-11, and F 92 (Thalheim) c.388/7, referring to Callias, who as the guardian of Ischomachus' sons, had leased their estate to a certain Diogenes (and Archestratus?) for less than its assessed value.

6. Heracleides Ponticus fr. 58 Wehrli = Athen. 12.537 c, asking who squandered the fortune of Ischomachus, and responding Autocles ('Self-Invited') and Epicles ('Invited Too').

In other words, his property was devoured by parasites. These parasites were not necessarily Ischomachus' contemporaries;

133 For the name of Ischomachus' father see on vii. 3 πατριΔον.  
134 See Davies, Wealth, 28, and APF 261, 268.

rather, they may have dissipated the property left to his heirs. The names indicate that they were characters in comedy.

7. Araros, the comic poet, Aristophanes' son (fr. 16 = Athen. 6. 237A), mentioning an Ischomachus who supported parasites.

This Ischomachus was probably identical with the one mentioned by Heracleides Ponticus, above. But he need not have been a contemporary of the poet (who began to write in the mid-5th century) to have been pilloried by him.

8. Isaeus fr. 19 = Harpocrates, s.v. χιλιοι διακόπτες, a prosecution of an Ischomachus, c.357-350.

Inasmuch as Isaeus was a specialist in speeches dealing with property, presumably the speech was about an inheritance. This Ischomachus may be identical with the one in

9. Ps.-Dem. 58. 30, a wealthy Ischomachus (Davies, Athenian Propertied Families, 6, no. 436) who died in the late 340s leaving a young son Charidemus and a widow.

10. SEG 36 (1986), no. 155, 112-13, a list of ephebes from Xypete c.329/7, in which the name appears twice: Ischomachus father of Asopodorus and Ischomachus son of Aristomachus. Unless the occurrences of the name Ischomachus are merely fortuitous, Asopodorus and Ischomachus may be cousins, descendend from the two sons of Ischomachus. The father of Asopodorus would be the right age to be identical with the Ischomachus mentioned by Isaeus above, but if this is true, he is not the same as the father of Charidemus. According to a plausible, though incomplete and necessarily conjectural, reconstruction by J. K. Davies, the description in the Oeconomicus is consistent with that of an Ischomachus who was born at the latest by 450, married Chrysilla, and by her became the father of a daughter (c.435-30) and of two sons who were minors when their father died, probably by 404.135

The daughter of Ischomachus and Chrysilla married Epilycus (c.420-15) and then Callias. The economic status of Epilycus is not known, but he is likely to have been wealthy too at the time of his marriage, since the wealthy in Athens were endogamous. However, he died in debt (And. 1. 118). The two daughters born of this marriage were sufficiently desirable εύποροι ('heireses') to have been the subject of litigation by male relatives who wanted to claim them in marriage, despite Andocides' allegations (1. 119)

135 Athenian Propertied Families, 248, 265-8, no. 7728.
that they were the objects of their relatives' charity (Andocides is not an impartial source in the case). The daughters were destined to inherit their mother's dowry. The daughter of Ischomachus and Chrysilla probably had a substantial dowry appropriate to Callias' economic status. On Callias' finances see on i. 17 ευπαρμοίων; his expectations may be deduced from his sister's dowry. The largest dowry known from classical Athens was the 20 tal. of Hipparete, sister of Callias (Plut. Alc. 8. 2). According to Andocides (1. 124–7), Callias repudiated his wife and began to live with her mother Chrysilla. The younger woman tried to hang herself and then left home. Callias grew tired of the mother and drove her out as well. Although Chrysilla was already a grandmother, probably in her forties, and Andocides refers to her as γυναῖ ('old woman', 1. 127), she was still fertile. When she bore a son her relatives asked Callias to acknowledge him as his own, but he denied that he was the father. Years later, Callias received Chrysilla back into his house and acknowledged the boy as his son (ibid.).

It is interesting to observe that the ménage à trois had come into being despite the existence of Chrysilla's male relatives. Such a situation could have developed in the confusion reigning in Athens at the end of the Peloponnesian War. As a widow with sons, Chrysilla could have continued to live in Ischomachus' house, rather than with Callias and her daughter. But during the war and its turbulent aftermath, women were moving in with relatives living in safer areas (Xen. Mem. 2. 7. 2; for the location of Ischomachus' house, see on xi. 14–15) and Chrysilla might have consolidated her household with that of her son-in-law. Intimacy between them could readily develop since Chrysilla was her sons' guardian: he will have spent time discussing the boys' finances and the management of their household with Chrysilla. As we shall see in cc. vii–x, owing to Ischomachus' tutelage she was accustomed to conversing with a man and was more knowledgeable than most respectable women about economic matters. The control of widows and other unmarried women may have been one of the purposes of the law the Athenians are said to have passed which permitted a man to marry one Athenian woman and have children by another.136 In the Funeral Oration delivered at the end of the first year of the Peloponnesian War, Pericles had perhaps anticipated a problem when he warned widows that the

at its height (see Ch. 1). On the other hand, Plato did not hesitate to include in his casts of characters people who, after the dramatic date of the dialogue in which they appear, are known to have experienced adverse changes in fortune. Of course, as is the case for all Socratic dialogues, we do not know whether the characters actually met as described or whether they ever propounded the philosophy attributed to them. The historical Ischomachus’ reputation as an ἄνθρωπος πολιτικός (i.e. ‘businessman’) was probably most important to Xenophon. Xenophon may have chosen to portray him at a time in his life when his marriage and his financial situation were exemplary. On the dramatic date of the dialogue (see Ch. 2, sect. F.) Later, like so much else in Athens, this good marriage and well-run oikos deteriorated. Thus the Oeconomicus is a dialogue between past and present. Xenophon expresses nostalgia for the days when Athens was prosperous as he did in c. 4 for the time when Persia was well governed.

vii. 1. στόα. The stoas of Zeus Eleutherios was a popular meeting place. Socrates’ dialogue with his pupil Theages took place there (Pl. Theages, 121 A, also Ps.-Pl. Eyrx. 392 A). In Aeschines Socrates’ dialogue Miltiades, Socrates, Hagnon (father of Theronenes), and Euripides are sitting in the stoas when Miltiades appears (P. Oxy. XXXIX 2888, 2889). The dramatic date of the Theages cannot be fixed precisely, but the Miltiades probably precedes Euripides’ move to Macedonia in 408 and certainly antedates his death in 406. Such colonnades, protected from rain, wind, and sun, provided a comfortable, though not private, place for conversations such as the one about to be narrated. Harpocration (ed. Dindorf 1853 [1969]), Hesychius, and the Ἰδεά, s.v. Εὐθυδέμος Ζεῖος, refer to Hyperides’ statement (fr. 197) that the stoas was constructed by freedmen. But these three sources, in addition to Ἑλυμ. Μαγν., s.v. Εὐθυδέμος, and a scholion on Ps.-Pl. Eyrx. 392 A, prefer the aetiology of Diodorus, according to which Zeus acquired the title ‘Giver of Freedom’ when Athens was freed from the Persian threat.

The stoas were built in the last third of the fifth century. For the date, architecture, and location see R. E. Wycherley, The Athenian Agora, viii: Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia (Princeton, NJ, 1957), 25-31; and Homer A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, The Athenian Agora, xiv: The Agora of Athens (Princeton, NJ, 1972), 96-103. This dating is still accepted. The Nike acroteria are dated about the turn of the century, but these were probably added to a completed building. I am grateful to Homer A. Thompson for this information.

vii. 1] the floor, archaeologists date the beginning of construction to 429. It was located in the north-west corner of the Agora, just north of the Temple of Apollo Panepisteme. The location of the stoas may have inspired some of the material of the dialogue. Statues of great generals such as Conon, Timotheus, and Eukratides of Cyprus stood outside it (Paus. 1. 3. 2, Isoc. 9. 57, Schol. Dem. 26. 70, and Nepos, Timotheus 2. 3). Ischomachus often refers to generals and armies. It faced the agora: Ischomachus mentions sending a slave on an errand in the agora (vii. 22). Athenian courts and perhaps inscriptions of laws were to be found in the vicinity of the stoas. Ischomachus makes several references to legal matters (xi. 25, xiv. 4). In it, Ischomachus was in the centre of Athenian political life; he could look out on the city which his contributions had helped to support and to adorn (xi. 9-10).

The stoas was originally designed as a picture gallery. Pausanias (1. 3. 1-4, 9. 15. 5) reports that Euphranor had depicted the battle of Mantinea in it. He adds that Xenophon had written the history of the whole war, and that in the picture, which showed a cavalry battle, the best-known Athenian was Gryllus, son of Xenophon, depicted in the act of killing Epaminondas. (See also Plut. De Gloria Athen. 2 = Mor. 34 B-F.) The floruit of Euphranor (364-361) in Pliny, NH 35. 128-9, is based largely on the paintings in this stoas. Xenophon, then, chose to set the Oeconomicus in a building which paid him great honour. See further Ch. 1, sect. D.

2. ξένους. On ξένους (‘guest-friend relationships’) see ii. 5. Judging from the dramatic date of the Oeconomicus, Ischomachus could well have been waiting for ξένους who were on some diplomatic mission (see Ch. 2, sect. F.). Loyalty to one’s ξένους was of the same quality as loyalty to the permanent members of the oikos. Thus Ischomachus does not complain about giving up a morning to wait for some ξένους, although in the course of the dialogue they fail to arrive.

καλὸς κἀγαθὸς. See on vi. 12. In his response to Socrates, Ischomachus eschews the moral or abstract connotations of the expression and answers in terms of his wealth alone. Thus he is characterized at the outset as a realist with a particular interest in material goods.

3. εἰς ἀντίθεσιν καλωσθαι. ‘Challenge to an exchange of property’. Ischomachus, like Critobulus, is wealthy enough to be liable for liturgies (see on ii. 5-6). When a liturgy was imposed on a man

139 For the date, architecture, and location see R. E. Wycherley, The Athenian Agora, viii: Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia (Princeton, NJ, 1957), 25-31; and Homer A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, The Athenian Agora, xiv: The Agora of Athens (Princeton, NJ, 1972), 96-103. This dating is still accepted. The Nike acroteria are dated about the turn of the century, but these were probably added to a completed building. I am grateful to Homer A. Thompson for this information.


141 Ibid. 101-2.
he had the right to challenge another whom he judged better able to bear the burden and ask him either to assume responsibility for the liturgy or to submit to a mutual exchange of property (ἀντιθέσεις). After such an exchange, the original challenger would, theoretically, be able to perform the liturgy. No actual exchanges are recorded. The language in this sentence is technical: the challenger had to summon (καλέω) the challengee.\(^{146}\) Davies estimates that there were probably 400 men in the liturgical class at any given time in the 5th c. and identifies seventy-one men liable for liturgies in the last third of the century.\(^{147}\)

It was important that the man who was challenged appear to be wealthy, for the decision was not based on a census or any objective accounting.\(^{148}\) Thus it was possible to assert that a challenger had hidden his assets (as in Ps.-Dem. 42. 20-4). As I have mentioned above, a historical Ischomachus was reputed to have had more than 70 tal. during this lifetime but to have left less than 10 tal. to each of his sons when he died (see on vi. 17). If the attribution of 70 tal. to Ischomachus is correct, then he was one of the wealthiest Athenians we know of, surpassing Pasion, who left an estate worth approximately 66 tal.\(^{149}\) Isaeus 8. 35 defines visible property as land, buildings, slaves, animals, and household property. In contrast, cash and movable could be concealed. If Xenophon’s portrait is based on the historical Ischomachus, then it contributes additional information about this man. Ischomachus’ conspicuous interest in visible property may have persuaded his peers that he was even wealthier than he actually was, and thus he may have been subject to challenges more frequently than his fortune actually warranted.

\(\pi\alpha\tau\rho\delta\epsilon\nu\). According to Arist. Ath. Pol. 21. 4, Cleisthenes prohibited the identification of a man \(\pi\alpha\tau\rho\delta\epsilon\nu\). This regulation is probably a fourth-century invention rather than a law which fell out of use. At any rate it was not observed. By Xenophon’s time it was customary to identify a man by both his patronymic and deme, but sometimes only one was used.\(^{146}\) The name of the father


\(\text{Vita,}\) 33: APP, p. xxvii.


\(\text{Dem. 36 and Davies, \text{APP 431-3.}}\)

Although it has been argued that a member of the upper class with aristocratic sympathies was often identified by his patronymic while a common citizen with democratic tendencies would usually be known by his demotic, this hypothesis has not yet been corroborated by statistical evidence. See further P. J. Rhodes, \textit{Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenian Politica, 254.}\) P. J. Bicknell, \textit{Studies in Athenian Politics and Genealogy} (Wiesbaden, 1972), 43-4, and Whitehead, \textit{The Demos of Athens, 69-72.}
Commentary on pp. 138 [vii. 4
managing the domestic economy is of primary importance, so they may as well do it with knowledge and efficiency (see Ch. 6, and on i. 1 ἐπιστήμη). In proposing that a woman’s education was to take place in the home and that her husband was to be her teacher, Xenophon is adopting and transforming a traditional practice. For the husband as teacher, compare the advice of Hesiod to marry a young woman and teach her careful ways (WD 699). Ischomachus is also imposing on his wife a system that had prevailed for the education of aristocratic males in a slightly earlier time. The erotic feeling that might be present between the older male and the younger in the private form of education was likewise found between husband and wife.

Ελέγχει παρά τοῦ πατρός καὶ τῆς μητρός. Sim. vili. 5 παρέλαβον. In ordinary and legal Athenian usage, the groom regularly takes (λαμβάνει) the bride, and the father or κόρσοι alone gives her in marriage (Men. Peric. 436–7 and LS) s.v. λαμβάνει ii. 1c and s.v. διδάσκει ii. 2). In this passage and in vili. 10 and 11 (εἰ σοι γυναίκα, hις) Xenophon has enhanced the mother’s role in giving away the bride. In the earliest extant Greek marriage contract, P. Elephanteine I (311 BC), the mother also joins the father in giving away the bride. Further evidence of women’s expanding social role appears in some documents of the third century BC (P. Tebtunis III. 815 and P. Petrie III. 196), where mothers alone, acting with the approval of male κόρσοι, give daughters in marriage. See on vili. 13 for the age difference between the spouses which results in the fact that the groom is his own κόρσος and he himself, rather than his father, takes the bride in marriage.

5. οὗτο πνευκακίδεα. Ischomachus’ bride is old enough for him to marry but still young enough for him to educate. Information about the upper classes indicates that men tended to marry at about 30, but 14 was a normal age for the first marriage of an Athenian girl. The age of marriage for girls in the Greek world varied from place to place, and over time. No doubt class also played an important role, at least because a girl’s nurture and activities affect the age of menarche, which in turn tended to coincide with the age of marriage. Ischomachus’ bride was surely upper-class and probably reached puberty earlier than her harder-

147 For a comparison of Xenophon’s views on education with those of other authors see e.g. Werner Jaeger. Pauata, 2nd edn. (Leipzig, 1944), iii, and H. I. Marrou, Histoire de l’éducation dans l’Antiquité, 6th edn. (Paris, 1965). For women’s education outside the home see Sarah B. Pomeroy, ‘Technikai kal Mousika’.


149 On the Arcteya see e.g. Harpocratia, Lex. s.v. ἀρετέων; Suda, s.vv. ἀρέτου τί Βραυμάκων and ἀρετέων; Ante. Graec. i. 266 Bekker, s.v. ἀρετέων; and e.g. Lilly G. Kahil, ‘Artemis de Brauron: Rites et Mystère’, AK 8 (1965), 20–33.


were many festivals, both local and city-wide (see on ii. 5 θεῖαν πολλά), as the remarks of Crizobulus and Ischomachus indicate, attendance did not provide a significant educational opportunity for girls. Plutarch (Istis and Ostris 381 E–F, Conj. Prec. 142 D) gives the conventional view when he declares that for unmarried girls surveillance is required and for married women staying at home and silence are suitable. He refers to this passage when he states in De Pyth. Orig. 450 c that like the bride in Xenophon, a girl who is chosen as Pythias should have seen and heard as little as possible.¹⁵³

6. έρια ... ταλάσσια. Wool-working was characteristically women's work, and it would have been surprising if a well-brought-up woman did not know how to spin and weave and to supervise the manufacture of textiles by domestics (see Ch. 5). At Athens girls as young as 10 years of age who were selected to serve as δρομήδοια were able to begin weaving the peplos of Athena. In Ischomachus' opinion making a cloak and supervising the wool-work of slaves is not enough. He believes his wife has potential capabilities in other areas and cherishes greater expectations for her.

Ischomachus' wife must have learnt more than he gives her credit for from other women in the women's quarters, though perhaps she would not have learnt about estate management if the women there had been as lazy and unproductive as those described in x. 13. At least her mother imparted moral values such as self-control (vii. 14). In any event, a didactic work like the Ὀικονομικοῦς must imply the need for a lesson, regardless of reality. Furthermore, Xenophon's intended audience was male, including men like Crizobulus who needed elementary lessons in estate management. (See also the discussion of Renaissance treatises on household management in Ch. 6, sect. E.) Most upper-class women could probably sing and dance as required at religious ceremonies, but Ischomachus does not attribute such accomplishments to his wife. However, she does know how to read, for she and her husband make a list of the utensils in the house (ix. 10). Ischomachus also assumes that she knows something about nursing and pharmacology, since he tells her that one of her responsibilities is the care of the slaves when they are ill (vii. 37).

7. άνδρι καὶ γυναίκι. The virtue of control over one's bodily appetites, like that of συνοικονομία (vii. 14–15), is the same for men and women. Socrates, in Xen. Symp. 2. 9, in conversation with the philosopher Antisthenes, asserts that women's nature is in no way inferior to men's except in its lack of judgement and physical strength. In vii. 23–6 Xenophon elaborates on the difference in physical strength. In that passage he also insists that some values traditionally rated very highly by the Greeks are found in men, others in women. According to D.L. 6. 10 Antisthenes himself stated simply that the virtue of man and woman is identical. The Stoic Cleanthes wrote a book Concerning the Proposition that the Virtue of Man and Woman is the Same (D.L. 7. 175). Views attributed to Socrates on the virtue of men and women are also developed at far greater length in Pl. Rep. 5 and Meno 71 E–73 B.¹⁵⁴ In Meno 73 A 6–7 Socrates implies that the virtue of all human beings is basically the same. Perhaps it is superfluous to point out that the ideas on the equality of women and men were held by a small number of philosophers, not by the majority of Greeks. See further on vii. 15 and x. 1.

8. άθεου καὶ τηλέματιν. Ischomachus begins every important undertaking by cultivating the good will of the gods (see on vi. 1).

¹⁵³ On the seclusion of women see Pomeroy, Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves, 79–84, 111, 131.
Ischomachus initiates the prayers and sacrifices, and determines that his wife should participate too. In patriarchal societies, the family religion, like the family itself, is controlled by men.15

10. χειροφθης ... ἐπετίθαετο. The same words often connote the domestication of animals. (On analogies between people and animals see on iii. 11, iv. 24; on civilizing women see on vii. 5–6.) It was traditional for the husband to be the wife's teacher, and a natural result of the difference in their ages (see on vii. 4–5 and Xen. *Symb. 2. 7*). References to the education of the noble woman as 'taming' were common in Greek literature. For example Medea, who complains that a new bride is like a resident in a foreign land who must learn the νόμοι of the place, uses the word νεόδημος 'newly tamed' when she refers to Jason's relationship with his young second wife (Eur. *Med. 623*). Creon (Soph., *Ant. 477–8, 579*) declares that Ismene and Antigone must no longer run free, but should be bridled.16 Before they married, young Athenian girls participated in the cult of Artemis at Brauron. The girls dressed as bears. This costume symbolized, *inter alia*, their primitive state before they were domesticated by marriage (see on vii. 5 ὀφφῳ πεντεκαίδεκα).

Of course, the Athenian wife actually is a stranger in a new domestic situation. Thus the mythical marriage of Procone to the savage Thracian Tereus, depicted by Sophocles in *Oedipus the King* and *Antigone*, and on vii. 4–5, 12, 30, couples was a paradigmatic marriage to a stranger: she laments the fate of young women who are given in marriage to strangers and who must move to un congenial and contentious houses. In contrast, Ischomachus is concerned to transform the wife, who was an outsider to his oikos, to an insider by means of education.

Dem. 3. 31, couples παθαινώ and χειροφθης to describe the humiliation of the Athenian citizenry by rival politicians. Plut. *Dem. 5. 3* employs the two words to characterize the power of Demosthenes' oratory over his opposition.

*Διαλέγεσθαι.* Women were expected to be silent. Ischomachus' wife had been brought up properly by conventional standards so that she spoke as little as possible (vii. 6). See also iii. 12 for Critobulus' admission that there are few people with whom he converses less than with his wife. According to Aristotle (Pol.


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Mem. 2. 2. 13, Dem. 24. 103–7, Lys. 13. 91, Aesch. 1. 28). Sons who had themselves been mistreated by their fathers or not taught a trade were relieved of the obligation to care for them when they were old (Plut. Sol. 20. 22, Aesch. 1. 13). For the possibility that an older woman might be mistreated by her husband and children, see vii. 42.

13. ἀποφαίωνο...κοινὸν κατέθηκας. The present tense of ἀποφαίωνο indicates that Ischomachus makes payments, from time to time, into the common resources; in contrast, the aorist of κατατέθημι indicates that his wife contributed her dowry all at once (See Ch. 5, sect. G). Even if Ischomachus and his bride's father were members of the same economic class, it is likely that the dowry did not equal the bridegroom's initial contribution to the marriage. Among wealthy Athenians, a son’s inheritance of parental property was many times larger than the amount taken as dowry by a daughter. For example in Isaeus 5. 27 four sisters share two-thirds of an estate, while an adopted son receives one-third. On Chryssa’s dowry, see on vii. 17.

Marriage was the foundation of the oikos. For didactic purposes, Xenophon begins the story of the life-cycle of Ischomachus’s oikos with marriage. Since the bride is barely 15 her parents are still living (§ 4 ὁδικές παρὰ τοῦ πατρός καὶ τῆς μητρός). Ischomachus is much older than his wife: his mother is probably dead, for otherwise she would be living in his house and probably telling her son’s bride how to manage the oikos. Evidently Ischomachus has been without a woman to run the house for quite some time: his possessions are in a mess (vii. 10). However, the disorder may be a didactic device. Ischomachus’ father is also dead (xx. 25) and he has come into possession of his patrimony. Ischomachus represents the property as held in common, or merged. As was natural at the beginning of marriage, the relationship was expected to be permanent. In case of divorce, however, the husband was obliged to return the dowry.

13–14. ὑδάτερος...συμβάλλεται. Normally weaving was women’s only productive activity that was accorded some recognition (see on vii. 6 ἔριμα...τολάμα). On Ischomachus’ methods of reckoning whether his wife or he had made a greater contribution to the estate, see Ch. 5, sect. E, and on xx. 16 λυστέλεν.

14. τίς...δύναμις. Ischomachus’ wife is herself unaware of her future contribution to the household (see on vii. 5–6). Or she may be displaying the diffidence usually appropriate to a Greek wife, and especially to a young girl, though not acceptable to Ischomachus.

15. σωφρονεῖν...ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς. σωφρονεῖν was the most characteristic virtue attributed to women. As a traditional female quality it bore the connotations of inhibition, self-restraint, and chastity. In this conventional sense it was akin to a woman’s control over her γυνή (see on vii. 6). In the fourth century the Socrates defined σωφρονεῖν more broadly. According to Pl. Meno 71 e–73 b, both men and women may exhibit the same qualities of δικαιοσύνη and σωφρονεῖν, but the man’s ἀρετή is displayed in managing the polis, the woman’s in managing the household. (On male and female virtue see further Ch. 4 and on ix. 14–15, x. 1.)

In his various works, Xenophon mentions σωφρονεῖν often and with a wide range of connotations. He is the first to connect the σωφρονεῖν of both men and women with good administration of the household and with the military virtues of obedience, discipline, orderliness, and practical knowledge. For σωφρονεῖν as a virtue of a person in authority, see its attribution to Cyrus (Cyrop. 8. 1. 30), xii. 11–13, and xx. 12.

16. οἱ θεοί ἔρφαναν σε...ο νόμος. οἱ θεοὶ and οἱ θέω are used without distinction in the Οἰκονομικός. See vii. 23, 30 where φόνος (the physical nature of human beings) is also under the direction of the divine. In vii. 30 divine law is again paired with νόμος (man-made law). F. Heinmann cites Oec. vii. 16 as an illustration of the notion that νόμος and φόνος are to be considered as influences, but not as opposing forces, in the formation of human beings. By the end of the fifth century in Athens νόμος meant ‘statute’ or ‘written law’, rather than custom, and implied obligation. 156

17–18. ἢ ἐν τῷ σμήνῃ ἡγείμονα μέλλετα. The activities of the bee-wife are also referred to in §§ 32, 33, and 38. On the wife as queen bee see on vii. 32.


160 Nemes und Physis (Rade, 1965), 168 n. 9.

18. ἐφι θάναι. Reminders of the time-frame of the dialogue recur (cf. vii. 23); see Ch. 2, sect. E.

19. τὸ ζῷον. The basic necessities of life referred to in this passage are: children, who will care for their parents when they are old; shelter; and provisions, including food and clothing. It is illuminating to compare this passage with Pl. Rep. 369 b, where the necessities of life can be provided by a farmer, a builder, and a weaver, and perhaps a cobbler and someone else who serves physical needs. No one in Plato’s primitive city is female, not even the weaver or the person who provides for the needs of the body.

23-9. βήγα ... διαπράττεσθαι. Although the conjugal relationship of Ischomachus and his wife is based on a division of labour, they are mutually dependent and their marriage is thus a partnership. Greek marriage contracts from Roman Egypt also stipulate a division of labour. For example, in P. Ryl. II. 154 (66 AD) a husband agrees to perform all the agricultural labour and pay taxes, bringing the harvest into the couple’s common abode, and in CPR 24 (= Chrest. Mitt. 288, 136 AD) a husband is responsible for ἔργα and τελέσματα (see Ch. 5 and vii. 11 ἐκαθοδομεῖν ... κούναντο).

30-1. ἀνδρὶ αἰσχρον ἐνδόν μένειν. Banausic work, by forcing men to remain sitting indoors by a fire, renders their bodies womanish (iv. 2) whereas farming creates men capable of undertaking military endeavours (vi. 7).

Ps.-Dem. 59. 122 distinguishes a wife from other women by her role as bearer of legitimate children and as guardian of the property that is indoors (τὸν ἐνδόν φθάλακα). Shame accrues to the man who remains indoors, for such behaviour is womanish and cowardly (see e.g. Aes. Agam. 1625–6). The same attitude prevails in some contemporary Mediterranean societies.\(^\text{169}\)

32. ή τῶν μελιττῶν ἡγεμόν. For additional references to the queen bee see §§ 17, 33, 38, and ix. 15. For the Persian king as a model for Ischomachus’ wife as queen bee and for the extensive parallels between cc. iv and vii see notes in c. iv. The concept of queens and influential royal women was, of course, not new to Xenophon. In the Anabasis (e.g. 1. 1. 4, 2. 4. 27) he refers repeatedly to Parysatis, who favoured Cyrus over her elder son Artaxerxes, and in the Cyropaedia (5–7 passim) he tells the story of Panthea, wife of Abadatas king of Susa, whose actions helped determine the outcome of political events. Rule by a woman was repugnant to the usual Greek view of gender hierarchy; the barbarian world, however, produced some illustrious queens who, to varying degrees, exercised power in their own right, and not merely as consorts of kings. For example, Herodotus uses the word βασίλεια not only of the wife of Candaules of Lydia (1. 11. 1), but of Nitocris, queen of the Babylonians (1. 185. 1, 187. 1, 5, 191. 3) and Tomyris, queen of the Massagetae (1. 205. 1, 211. 3, 213). The most famous female ruler of all was Artemisia of Halicarnassus, who accompanied Xerxes’ fleet on his expedition against Athens (Her. 7. 99, 8. 87–8, 101–3). Furthermore, like any other Athenian, Xenophon knew that in the Homeric epics queens such as Penelope, Arete, and Helen personally supervised their households and actually did some work themselves. But none of these queens of epic were as busy as the ‘queen bee’ described here.

The analogy between the good housekeeper and the bee can be traced in Greek literature as far back as Semonides (fr. 7. 83–93).\(^\text{165}\) As Semonides, and then Phocylides (fr. 2 Diehl) had envisaged her, the bee-wife makes her husband’s property increase. The industriousness of the good wife was a common theme in Greek epitaphs;\(^\text{164}\) see further Ch. 5. But, in addition, the good wife serves as a catalyst for general prosperity. Similarly, not only does the activity of worker bees produce honey, but by pollination bees enhance the fertility of plants and crops.

The hive is an appropriate metaphor for many reasons, including the fact that it is a neat and orderly edifice housing a social organization with a class structure. (Plato uses the same metaphor in Rep. 532 c). Like wives, bees must be domesticated in order to produce sustenance for the oikos. For example, Pliny, NH 11. 59, distinguishes between wild and domesticated bees. Bees should not be left to behave ‘naturally’, but trained by the beekeeper, who must lure them to new hives by offering pleasant tastes and fragrances. The bees are willing to stay because they love the flowers the keeper offers (Pliny, NH 21. 71, and see on vii. 33 ἄποικης and 38–9 πὴ ἄνθρωπον ... ἀπολεπτένων). The division of labour appropriate to husband, wife (see vii. 23–9 βήγα ... διαπράττεσθαι), and other members of the oikos has its counterpart among bees.\(^\text{166}\)


\(^{165}\) As early as the 9th c. pottery vessels shaped like beehives were placed in a woman’s grave in the Athenian agora. See Armando Cherici, ‘Granai o arnie ? Femme dans le monde méditerranen’, in le monde méditerranen (Lyon, 1985), iii. 85–112, discusses the recurrent use of φίλερα and synonyms in praise of women.
Ischomachus tells his wife she is like a queen bee because she is to stay indoors, care for the young, supervise the workers, and oversee the transformation of raw material into manufactured products. The hive also houses ordinary workers, including the guardian bees, who defend the queen and larvae against predators who would invade the hive. Although the hive contains drones, Ischomachus and his wife endeavour to eliminate unproductive elements from their oikos (see vii. 33 δυράτας). On the relationship between the hive and the bridal chamber see ix. 3 δήμαρχος κτιος δυράτας. Analogies between bees and human beings are abundant in c. vii.

Honey was a staple of the Greek diet, and beekeeping was very common. Legislation attributed to Solon prescribed the distance between hives (Plut. Sol. 23). Arist. *HA* 553*7*2 reports that there was considerable discussion about the habits of bees. The construction of wooden or pottery bee hives permitted beekeepers to observe the interior of the hive. Thus Xenophon’s readers, and probably Ischomachus’ wife as well, would have readily understood the metaphor, including the details of its implications. Xenophon adopts practices from civic management, but the household is not a democracy. Rather it is governed on monarchial and meritoric principles. The wife may be the supreme ruler, and may even be compared to the Persian king. Semonides does not refer to the bee-wife as a ‘queen’ (see vii. 6 τα η... γαθερια). Ischomachus, in contrast, tells his wife ‘the greatest happiness of all will result from showing yourself better than I am and making me your servant’ (vii. 42). Ischomachus’ wife eventually sits in judgment on him, sentencing her husband to endure punishments or to pay fines (xi. 25 and see Ch. 4).

In these passages, as in vii. 39, where Ischomachus’ wife uses the masculine article to describe her husband as the leader of the bees, Xenophon’s identification of the leader of the hive as female is deliberate: it results from the metaphor he is constructing rather than from scientific knowledge. In the *Ctehopadia* (5. 1, 24), the ruler of the hive is male; the Persian king is compared to the leader (masculine) of bees (feminine) in the hive. At *Hell.* 3, 2, 28 the leader is also male. Plato (*Rep.* 520B and *Pol.* 310E) and Aelian (NA 5. 10–11) speak of king bees. Aristotle (*HA* 553*6*1) reports that Greek entomologists were uncertain about both the sex of the leader of the bees and of the drones, although there was general agreement that the workers were female. Despite the controversy, Aristotle, unlike Xenophon, consistently refers to the leaders as male. Misogyny coupled with the Greek tradition of seeing analogies between human society and the hive affected Aristotle’s view of the sex of the bees. Arrian (*Indica* 8. 11 and *Epict.* 3, 22, 99) revives the idea that the leader may be female.

The bee was famous for purity and abstinence. Ancient entomologists did not understand the sexual reproduction of bees; therefore they associated this insect with chastity. Pliny, *NH* 11. 46, notes that no one has ever observed the coitus of bees. Ael. *NA* 5, 11, remarks on this creature’s σωματοποιημ. According to Semonides (fr. 7, 90–2), the wife who is like a bee is so uninterested in sex that she does not even like to sit and listen to other women when they gossip about it. Various priestesses were called μελασα (LSJ, s.v. μελασα). These included virgin priestesses of Apollo at Delphi and some who served Demeter and Persephone at Eleusis (Schol. *Pl. Phyle* 4. 60=E II, 112–13 Drachmann, Call. *Hymn to Ap.* 110–11, and Schol. *Theoc.* 15, 94). Married women who participated in the Thesmophoria were also referred to by this term (Apollodorus of Athens, *FGrH* 244 F 89). Bees were said to be censorious about human beings. Plutarch (*Conj. Prec.* 44=Muralia 144 B–E), stating that bees behave in a hostile manner towards men who have been with women, and wives do likewise, urges husbands not to have had intercourse with other women when they approach their wives. He also (*Natural Phenomena* 36=Loeb xi. 218–19) cites incidents of bees stinging adulterous or perfidious lovers in *Theoc.* 1, 105, and in *Pind.* fr. 252 Snell–Macler. Charon of Lampascus, giving a different version of the myth told by Pindar, states that a nymph who had promised to sleep with Rhoeclus on condition that he remain chaste until she summoned him punished him for insulting the bee that she had sent as a messenger (see *FGrH* 23 F 52 and comments by Jacoby ad loc.). According to the *Geoponika* (15. 2, 19) bees hate men who reek of wine and myrrh, and attack women who have had sexual intercourse. Col. *RR* 9. 14. 3 advises the man who intends to handle bees to stay indoors, care for the young, supervise the workers, and oversee the transformation of raw material into manufactured products.
bees to abstain from sexual relations for a day. Similarly, Pall. 1. 37. 4 advises the guardian of the hive to be pure and chaste. Among the tasks that Columella assigns to the *silva* or bailiff's wife is collecting honey; so that her husband will be sexually faithful but not lascivious, Columella recommends that she be neither too pretty nor too ugly (RR 12. 1. 1–2).

*όπω τού θεοῦ.* The association of bees with divinity and immortality was traditional in Greek and Roman literature. For parallels with the Persian king, who was associated with Ahuramazda, see on iv. 21 and xxii. 12.

33. *ἀργοὺς.* Sim. 1. 19 and Cyrop. 1. 6. 17, 2. 2. 25 for criticism of idle households. In vii. 1–2 we observe Socrates' surprise at finding Ischomachus at leisure. Condemnation of idleness was traditional in Greek thought. Hes. WD 303–7 compares the idle man to a drone. In Athens laws punishing idleness were attributed to Draco, Solon, and Peisistratus (Plut. Sol. 17. 2, 22, 3, 31. 5, Herod. 2. 177, D.L. 1. 55, Pollux 8. 42). In Mem. 2. 7, 8 work is praised. But the work must be appropriate to a free person: see on iv. 2–3.

35. *ἀποκικεῖται.* On the reproduction of slaves see on ix. 5.

The metaphor of swarming is employed here. Varro, RR 3. 16. 29 and Ael. NA 5. 13 follow Xenophon in applying the image of swarming to human colonization. Modern hives often house some 60,000 bees. Swarming commences when the bees need more room. Ancient beekeepers encouraged and controlled the swarming of their bees. The new swarm needed a queen (or 'king'), who is referred to here as τιμία ἀρπαγόν. The swarming metaphor continues in vii. 36.

The Greeks often dealt with the potential problem of population increase by sending citizens to form colonies. In the present context, perhaps excess slaves are to be sent from the main house to rural dwellings. In Attica, though settlements in towns or villages were more common than nucleated farm dwellings, permanent rural buildings, often belonging to wealthy men, were also found.

36. *σωματών.* What is most interesting about the description of the wife's activities here, as in iii. 15, is that she alone is in charge of the expenditures. (In ix. 8 decision-making is shared by husband and wife.) When Socrates first mentioned the serious matters that Critobulus entrusted to his wife (iii. 12), one subject which he must have had in mind was being her role as financial manager. Managing the finances of a household in the liturgical class was indeed a great responsibility and did require training.

Archaeologists are just beginning to pay serious attention to smaller sites. In the absence of conclusive evidence scholars are divided in their views concerning whether rural settlements were inhabited permanently or only for part of the year. The function of rural buildings is unclear: they are not necessarily residences, but they may have been used to house workers temporarily. However, it appears likely that workers of lower status did dwell on farm properties. A calendar dedicated to Hermes by the *ekepetron xapjou* and a small farmhouse found on a farm in Agrileza north of Souinion indicate that the foreman lived on the premises. The present passage as well as the implications of xii. 3 give some support to the view that those who worked on the farm might be housed permanently there.

35–7. δὲ μὲν ἐν ἔξω καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄχρείοις. Ischomachus' wife is to supervise not only female slaves but also males who live in the house. She will probably be required to enter the men's quarters to minister to male slaves who are ill. Ischomachus evidently considers the slaves as property whose value warrants the mistress' personal attention rather than as strange men whose bodies are taboo to a respectable woman.

37. *σωματών.* What is most interesting about the description of the wife's activities here, as in iii. 15, is that she alone is in charge of the expenditures. (In ix. 8 decision-making is shared by husband and wife.) When Socrates first mentioned the serious matters that Critobulus entrusted to his wife (iii. 12), one subject which he must have had in mind was being her role as financial manager. Managing the finances of a household in the liturgical class was indeed a great responsibility and did require training.


and knowledge beyond what a 14-year-old girl would possess. It was by no means the usual situation for an Athenian housewife to be in charge of managing a household, even one of modest size. But some women did acquire expertise. Scattered references in comedy and in orations dealing with family matters indicate that women were conversant with their household finances, although their formal legal capacity to manage money was severely restricted.\footnote{See further G. E. M. de Ste. Croix, ‘Some Observations on the Property Rights of Athenian Women’, CR, NS 20 (1970), 273–8, and Schaps, Economic Rights of Women.} For example, in Lys. 32. 14–15 a widow can list the property left by her husband, and in Isaeus 11. 43 a widow can recount loans made by her husband. Demosthenes' father entrusted his wife with knowledge of hidden property (Dem. 27. 55). In Ps.-Dem. 47–57 a wife knows her husband's financial dispositions in detail. In Lys. 1. 6 a husband relates that he delegated the management of his household to his young wife after apparently a year or two of marriage. But the speaker was a man of modest means. In Ar. Clouds 19–22 Strepsilades, who is managing a household in the style of the rich, goes over his accounts himself. Pericles, who was quite wealthy, and who had his sons and daughters-in-law living with him, managed his household finances quite differently from the way Ischomachus recommends. Plutarch (Per. 16. 5) reports that Pericles turned his finances over to a male slave who was either naturally talented or trained by Pericles himself. In any event, in Athens independent women such as Aspasia were the only ones who regularly got to manage large amounts of money (see on iii. 14 Ασπασία). However, Xenophon knew that women were capable of managing oikoi, for he reports that Spartan women controlled their oikoi and that some controlled more than one (Sp. Const. 1. 9).

διανεμηστέον. According to Ps.-Arist., Oec. 1344\footnote{See Philodamus, Πεπί οἰκονομίας 11. 22–5 does not consider the latter system practical.}30–1, the Persians and the Spartans administer their households in the same fashion, by dividing and storing their supplies. In contrast, Athenians with smaller households immediately spend whatever cash their produce has yielded and do not store supplies.\footnote{Subsistence farmers in Greece nowadays calculate their future needs generously, and thus retain a surplus as insurance against a poor yield in the following year. In antiquity the standard ration of one choinix of wheat per man per day not only provided sufficient calories for a man performing heavy labour, but was more than enough for a person engaged in less strenuous activities. A slave might be given half the allocation of a free man without danger of starvation.} On budgeting, see also ix. 8.

As honey is stored in the hive, so supplies are stored in the house (see on ix. 4). The beekeeper must determine how much honey may be taken and how much should be left for the bees (Pliny, NH 11. 33–5, 40, 42, Pall. 11. 13, (2. 8, Geoponica 15. 5).}.

\footnotetext[177]{See Schaps, Economic Rights of Women.}
According to Eva Keuls, age. Carrying as hard labor; Ar. carriers in the underworld were first represented without clear designation of sex or

41. ἀνεπιστήμωνα ταλάσσας . . . διπλασίαν. On weaving see above on vii. 6 ἐρα . . . ταλάσσα, θεραπαίνας δίδοσα, and Ch. 5. Wool-working is the most frequently attested occupation of Athenian freedwomen. It is also the job most frequently attested for female slave apprentices in Graeco-Roman Egypt. Slave women whose primary task was not wool-working were expected to spin if they had any spare time. Xenophon may be referring to such activities when he mentions doubling a slave's value to her mistress. So few sale-prices of female slaves are known for this period that it is not demonstrable that a skilled wool-worker actually cost twice as much as an unskilled labourer. In his first speech against his guardians, Demosthenes reckons the value of his property, including his male slaves, in excruciating detail, but he never places a

42. καλάδα. See on iv. 5, 7 for Cyrus' system of rewards and punishments and ix. 5, 11-15 for the rewards and punishments of slaves.

43. καλά τε κάγαθα. This phrase refers here to both spiritual and material goods. See on vi. 12 καλός τε κάγαθας and vii. 2 καλὸς κάγαθάς.

viii. In this chapter the concept of order first proposed in iii. 3 is developed as fundamental to successful estate management. This chapter contains some of the most elaborate prose in the entire work. Xenophon's admiration for order was apparent in the description of the straight rows of trees that Cyrus had planted at Sardis. (See on iv. 21 for the cosmic connotations of the orderly garden.) Orderliness as a principle of organization appears here
in Ischomachus’ concern with the proper disposition of household possessions, and again in c. ix in the description of the arrangement of rooms. Interest in orderliness may be attributable, in part, to Xenophon’s military background. In the context of the education of a wife, the ability to separate items into appropriate categories and to bring order out of chaos distinguishes her as a civilized person.

1. Ἡ . . ἔμπολεαν. At the opening of c. ix and in ix, 18 Socrates makes similar queries about the efficacy of the teaching Ischomachus imparted to his wife.

3. καλῶν ἀνθρώπων ὡς τάξις. Order is nothing less than a part of a cosmological system. Good housekeeping has an ethical basis. In traditional Greek thought, the appearance of the house was a direct reflection of the wife’s sexual probity. Xenophon expands this notion so that a successful household economy is the result of the virtue of all its administrators. Cyrus the Great, one of the wealthiest men, is also one of the most virtuous. Because Critoebus is an aristocrat he is likely not only to be impressed by the success of the world’s most powerful and wealthiest men, but to find it personally relevant to him.

In Pl. Gorg. 504 A, Socrates praises the order produced by craftsmen and discusses the effect of regularity and order (τάξις and κόσμος) on the body and soul. χορός. The example of a chorus is used again in viii. 20. Choral performances were common at festivals. Therefore, like the beehive that was used as a metaphor in c. vii, the chorus would be known to all Xenophon’s readers as well as to Ischomachus’ wife.

4. στρατιά. Ischomachus lists the regular components of a Greek army, including both warriors and the support system that conveyed supplies and equipment. In Mem. 3. 1 6–7 Xenophon points out that a skilled general was needed to co-ordinate the variety of troops that constituted a Greek army. In Cyrop. 8. 5. 2–16 Xenophon describes the orderly army camp where each soldier knows his place, and in 8. 5. 7 he remarks that Cyrus practised orderliness in household management. Choruses, armies, ships, and beehives are clearly delimited, hierarchical social organizations in which all participants must know their specific duties and

all work together for the good of the entire group. The analogies from the public world of ships, cavalry, and men’s choruses, rather than being ill chosen, serve to enhance the private sphere and imply that both spheres are equal (sim. iii. 15). Inasmuch as the private sphere is associated with the woman and the public sphere with the man, equality of the sexes is also implied. The education of Ischomachus’ wife is not to be limited to what convention prescribed for women: eventually she is said to have a masculine mind (x. 1). But because of the innate differences between male and female described in vii. 22–5, women are not given roles in the public sphere and vice versa. Although it is unlikely that Ischomachus’ wife will have been familiar with the sight of a real army or a Phoenician ship, she may have seen artistic representations or heard descriptions of them. She certainly will have had personal experience of synchronized choruses. In any case, it is necessary to remember that Xenophon did not write the Oeconomicus for women like her but rather for male readers. Like Xenophon himself, this audience will have had first-hand knowledge of armies and ships. Metaphors of army and ship recur in the final chapter.

8. τριήρης. Because of the importance of navies and overseas trade, and their use for general travel, Xenophon’s readers would have been familiar with the trireme and other ships. A ship was not simply utilitarian, but could be emblematic of its owners. The metaphor of the ship of state was common in Greek literature (e.g. Alcaeus fr. 18, Ae. Sept. 2, 62, 208, Soph. Ant. 162–3), for, as Xenophon suggests here, the well-organized work of the men on board is indicative of the favour of the gods (viii. 16) and predictive of wide-spread harmony and prosperity.

A trireme of the classical period measured about 36 m x 6 m and carried about 200 men. Even in a large country house most rooms—with the exception of the andron, which was used for entertaining—were quite small by modern upper-class Western standards (but see viii. 13 ἐν ἑαυτῷ). Furthermore, there were no closets or cupboards. Thus there were advantages in storing possessions at home as neatly as they would be on a ship. 186

186 So Anderson, Xenophon, 14.
187 See vii. 22 ὑπὸς μετέχοντων ἑγεμόνων and Pomeroy, Women in Hellenistic Egypt, 97–8.
188 On the composition of the Greek army of the classical period see F. E. Aisock, The Greek and Macedonian Art of War (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967).
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14-15. ἡ σύνεσις τῆς γυναίκος τῆς ὑστοὐ ἔχειν. The executive powers of the wife in the oikos are analogous to those exercised by male magistrates in the state. On parallels between the wife and the Persian king see on iv and vii. 32. In xi. 25 she serves as judge and jury in a mock domestic court.239

From the time of Draco and probably even earlier, until the democratic reforms of Ephialtes in 462/1 the Areopagus was assigned to watch over the city's laws. According to Philochorus, the ἕνωμασία was established at the time of Ephialtes' reforms (FGrH 528 F 64, IIb Suppl. and Jacoby ad loc.). Philochorus is the only source for the office of ἕνωμασία in classical Athens. Because there is no additional evidence about them, Rhodes maintains that the office did not exist in the classical period, and Jacoby asserts that it was probably not important, or may have disappeared completely until it was revived in the last quarter of the fourth century.240 Neither Rhodes nor Jacoby uses the present passage as evidence for the legitimacy, though it is doubtful that Xenophon would have invented it and included it in a list of offices which definitely did exist. The idea that existing laws should be enforced, preserved, and guarded (against new legislation of the democratic Assembly) is essentially aristocratic and conservative and is pervasive in Plato's Laws.

Phourarchus in the Persian Empire are mentioned in iv. 10, 11. Military officers bearing this title appear in Greek contexts as well, e.g. in the Athenian Empire: IG II² 14 (mid 5th c.). δοκομασία was a general term applied to official examinations, e.g. of magistrates before taking office, of members of the Boule, of ephebes, and of invalids. As stated here and elsewhere (e.g. Xen. Cav. Comm. 1. 8. 13; 3. 9-14, Arist. Ath. Pol. 49. 1-2, and Hesych. s.v. τροφομητων, cols. 1477-8 Schmidt), the Boule conducted the δοκομασία of cavalry and inspected the horses; it cancelled the sustenance allowance for horses that were poorly fed, briddled and discharged those no longer capable of being ridden in battle, checked the lists,

239 Sheila Murnaghan, 'How a Woman can be More Like a Man: The Dialogue between Iscocamachus and his Wife in Xenophon's Oeconomicus', Helios, 15 (1988), 9-22, interprets the assimilation of the wife to a man as part of a degrading view of women. For a different interpretation see my comments on vii. 32, et passim.

240 Arist. Ath. Pol. 3. 6, 4, 8, 4, 25, 2, 52, 1, and P. J. Rhodes, A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenian Politics, 315-17. According to Andr. 1. 84, in 495/2 (see also Lys. fr. 178 Sauppe) the Areopagus was again assigned to guard the laws. According to G. L. Cawkwell, 'ΝΟΜΟΦΑΣΜΑ and the Areopagus', JHS 108 (1988), 1-12 who cites Ath. Pol. 3. 6, it exercised a supervisory role over morals in the 4th c. There is no evidence that it did so, though such an activity would certainly be appropriate to Iscocamachus' wife.

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ix. 14-15-x. 1] and required every cavalryman to make a personal appearance before it.44 The analogy implies that Iscocamachus' wife is to examine all the slaves and consider whether they are capable of carrying out their duties. If they can no longer perform their tasks, they are probably given less arduous duties or dismissed. (On the treatment of older slaves see on i. 22.)

15. βασιλείαν. This word appears here and in Xenophon's contemporary Alcaeus the comic poet, fr. 6, for the first time. βασιλείαν became normal for βασίλεια in the Hellenistic period. Xenophon may have coined the word.444 On the wife as queen bee, see further vii. 32 ἡ τῶν μελιττῶν ἱδρυμα.

16. πλείω σεύτη πράγματα. Those in charge bear the heaviest burdens as in Cyrop. 1. 6. 25 and Plato, Republic. χρήσιμα δὲ οὐδὲνι. On the relationship between possession and use see i. 7-8 κράτημα ... χρήσιμα.

19. τῶν ισοτητῶν. In vii. 13 Iscocamachus represented the property of the married couple as held in common, or merged. His wife finally comes to agree with this vision.

x. 1. ἄνδρικην ἀκούσας ἐπείθετο. Iscocamachus reminds Socrates that, despite the masculinity of his wife's mind, she continues to obey her husband, and to live in accordance with his teachings (x. 13). It is insulting to describe a man as 'womanish' (see LSJ, s.v. γυναικείος). Aristotle doubtless transmits the common view in stating with the virtues and aptitudes of men and women are different. But in some passages in more radical philosophical works, for example the Oeconomicus and Plato's Republic, it is a compliment to ascribe masculine traits and virtues to a woman.445 In these works, despite Plato's and Xenophon's insistence that the soul has no sex, the patriarchal framework of Greek society is not totally eliminated.

On male and female virtue in the Oeconomicus see Ch. 4 and notes on vii. 7, 15, 23-9, ix. 14-15. See also Xen. Symp. 2. 12, where Socrates asserts that ἀδρεία ('courage') can be taught, for even a woman can learn it.

Zeuxis: The painter from Heraclea in Lucania whom Xenophon
also mentions in Symp. 4. 63 and Mem. 1. 4. 3. According to Pliny, 
NH 35. 61, his floruit was 397 BC. Pl. Prot. 318 b–c (dramatic date 
c.430) mentions his recent arrival in Athens. Socrates names him 
here not merely because he was the most famous painter of his 
day but because he was known for his realistic portrayals and for 
his paintings of beautiful women (Pliny, loc. cit., Cíc. De Inv. 
2. 1. 1). Ar. Ach. 991–2, refers to his painting of Eros (Schol. ad 
loc.). Because of Zeuxis’ popularity it is quite possible that some 
of his work was also visible in the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherius, where 
the dialogue takes place, or in another nearby picture gallery (see 
on vii. 1 976).

Socrates may be portrayed here as engaging in specific criticism 
of Zeuxis’ innovative style as he is shown doing in Pl. Phil. 53 b, 
where he rejects mixed in favour of pure colour. Plato (Rep. 
602 c–603 b), like Xenophon in the present chapter, criticizes 
human attempts to use paint for purposes of deception. The simple 
colour of Ischomachus’ house (ix. 2 ολ γάρ ποικίλαμαι) is consistent 
with the rejection of Zeuxis here.

2. ἐντερπριμένη. Socrates’ remark about a woman painted by 
Zeuxis and a living woman reminds Ischomachus of a time when 
his wife had painted her face. With the exception of Ovid, no 
Greek or Roman author approves of cosmetics. Rather, moralist 
texts assert that make-up is worn to conceal blemishes and signs 
of age and that it is not appropriate for respectable women. This 
attitude culminated in the misogyny tides of Roman authors such as Gregory of Nazianzus, κατὰ γυναικῶν καλλιτε 
ζομένων (‘Against Women who Use Cosmetics’). Andreas Knecht 
considers Oec. x as the indisputable model for such works, but 
perhaps exaggerates the influence of this passage. In Greek 
tradition, cosmetics were linked with drugs and deception and 
were condemned as a needless expense. Of course, all these texts 
were written by men. The visual arts in the Greek world as far 
back as Bronze Age frescoes from Cnossus and Thera indicate that 
most women—even those of the highest rank, including priestess 
es—used cosmetics liberally with no attempt to render their 
appearance as natural. Athenian marriage-vases show that 
application of cosmetics was an important part of the bride’s 
toilette and the cosmetic containers found among women’s grave 
goods reveal that cosmetics were considered essential for respect 
able women. Literary evidence such as the opening scenes of 
Aristophanes’ Lysistrata and Lys. 1. 14 also implies that wives 
applied cosmetics in order to make themselves attractive to their 
husbands. Most husbands must have approved of the use of cos 
metics or at least have tolerated it.

Xenophon’s censorious attitude was perhaps shaped by his 
experience in Sparta or by the Spartan ideal, according to which 
cosmetics, perfumes, and other bodily adornments were banished 
and beauty was the natural result of good health and hard work 
(Xen. Sp. Const. 5. 8, Plut. Lyce. 1. 4. 4, Athen. 686–7). Xenophon 
portrays Socrates as concurring with Ischomachus. In x. 1 Socrates 
asserted a preference for reality over appearance. He voiced stric 
tures on the use of perfume too (Xen. Symph. 2. 3 quoted by Athen. 
619 A). In Socrates’ description in Mem. 2. 1. 22, the woman who 
is called by some ‘Good Fortune’ and by others ‘Vice’ makes 
herself up so that she has a white and pink complexion and appears 
taller than she really is. Compare also the condemnation of female 
mistresses in i. 20–3, and the praises of agriculture for her lack 

ψιμυθία. Despite its toxicity lead carbonate was used to whiten 
the complexion. Respectable women ideally spent their time 
indoors, though some in unfortunate circumstances had to perform 
work out of doors. As Arist. Pol. 1323 b 5–6 pointed out, the poor 
must use their wives and children to perform the tasks of slaves. 
Therefore a fair skin marked a woman as a member of the leisured 
class. This idea of beauty can be traced as far back in the eastern 
Mediterranean world as the frescoes of Cnossus and Thera, where 
women are portrayed with white skin and men with suntanned 
leather. The same conventions are followed in Egyptian painting. 
The fashion was long-lasting. Round tablets of lead carbonate 
have been found in third-century BC tombs of women in Attica 
and Corinth.

Έχομενότα... ἐφωρθοτέρα. A rouge made from the plant alkanet 
commonly used by women, see e.g. Ar. Lys. 48. See also on 
x. 5 μάλωυ.

244 On Zeuxis see R. G. Steven, ‘Plato and the Art of his Time’, CQ 17 (1933), 
149–55, and Vincent J. Bruno, Form and Color in Greek Painting (New York 
245 See Bernard Grillet, Les Femmes et les fards dans l’antiquité grecque (Lyon, 1975), 
97–100.
246 Andreas Knecht, Gregor von Nazianz: Gegen die Putsucht der Frauen 
(Wissenschaftliche Kommentare zu griechischen und lateinischen Schriftstellern; 
Heidelberg, 1975), 107.
247 See T. Leslie Shear, ‘Psimythion’, Classical Studies Presented to E. Capps (Princeton, 
NJ, 1937), 314–16.
248 See Grillet, Les Femmes, 33.
3. **δεξιοφίλητον**. Chapter x touches delicately, though frankly enough, on the sexual aspect of marriage (4-5 τῶν συμάτων κοινωνφορίασ ἀλλήλοις, 5 σωμάτος ... κοινωφορία), the physical attractiveness of husband and wife (2-13), and their spending the night together (8). The wife is referred to as loving the husband (3, 5 δεξιοφίλητος, 4 ἀσπασάσθαι ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς) and willing to engage in intercourse (12 ἐκδοθάνα χαρίζεσθαι). However, she is more modest than her husband in speaking of these matters, for example, responding διαν γοῦν (5) to his forthright question about bodies.

The husband expects to be sexually stimulated by his wife’s appearance (12 κυριτικῶν), although he raises the possibility of having sexual relations with a slave (12 διακόνως; see also on vii, 42 προώσεως τῆς ἐπικές αἵμομέτρε). Socrates, not wanting to hear further confidences about this intimate subject, abruptly terminates the discussion of marriage here.

5. **μόλυνος**. The rouge μόλυνος (‘red ochre’ or ‘ruddle’) was probably more brownish-red in colour than the alkanet mentioned in x. 2 and thus approximated the sun-tanned skin appropriate for men. It was also used for other purposes, especially as a pigment and pharmaceutical, and was important enough for the Athenians to control its export.490

**άνθρεικέλος**. A natural-coloured foundation created by various tinted powders, used as eye make-up (Pl. Crat. 424e, Arist. GA 725a27). The pigment was also used by artists.590

7. **πηκώς ... βουσί ... προβατίκως**. Arguments employing examples from the animal world are common in the works of Xenophon and Plato, where they are typically attributed to Socrates (see e.g. on iii, 11).

8. **τούς ... έξω**. A respectable woman might be seen by strangers at festivals or funerals. Cosmetics certainly constituted part of women’s dressing-up for festivals although they were not deemed appropriate for periods of mourning (Lys. 1. 14).

10. **ιστόν προστατάν**. Weaving was done seated, using small hand-loom, or standing up at vertical looms. Some looms were so wide that two women worked together throwing the shuttle between them (as depicted, e.g. by the Amasis painter ABV 154, see Pl. 3). Otherwise a solitary weaver had to walk back and forth. Thus weaving could provide exercise for Ischomachus’ wife.551

11. **περιπάτης**. Ischomachus states in xi. 15, 18 that he himself walks every day for exercise. Aristotle (Pol. 1335b12-14) suggests that pregnant women should. Plato (Rep. 452c-d, 460c, Laws 833c-d, cf. 785b) recommends physical education for women. The Spartan educational system prescribed outdoor athletics for girls and women. In contrast, Athenian women had few opportunities to exercise. The only indications that girls did so are depictions of them running around an altar on vases from the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron.552 Of course dancing (which was an integral part of many religious ceremonies) involved some physical activity for women.

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590 See Grillet, Les Femmes, 48. 79 n. 135.
Xenophon, 12-13.

253 So with slaves.

Not all who had slept with the suitors without his permission (Horn.) enjoyed sexual access to them, or might make them available to himself. It is worth recognizing that an ordinary slave without such a history may be had destroyed her homeland. Xenophon is the first Greek author to assume that the slave, whose sex is not specified, is male. In the *Economicus*, however, Xenophon uses δίακονοι of both males (viii. 14) and females (viii. 10). Because bisexuality was not uncommon among upper-class Greeks, the sex of the slave who was the pathetic partner probably made little difference to many men who, like Ischomachus, owned both male and female slaves. Intercourse with one's slaves need not cost anything; for expensive affairs with free youths see on ii. 7 παιδικοί δὲ πράγματα.

12-13. ἐκουσάν... ἀναγκασμένην. Euripides had portrayed Andromache, in his play of that name, as a female slave who resented being her master's concubine, although she hoped for his protection. But Andromachus had special reasons to hate Neoptolemus, for the Greeks had killed her husband and son and had destroyed her homeland. Xenophon is the first Greek author to recognize that an ordinary slave without such a history may be reluctant to have sexual intercourse with a master. It is worth noting that Ischomachus is not excited by the idea of forcing himself on an unwilling partner, but prefers reciprocity in a sexual relationship. In *Hiero* i the despot's sexual pleasure is diminished by the ease with which he makes his conquests.

The bodies of slaves belonged to their master and he alone enjoyed sexual access to them, or might make them available to others. Thus Odysseus decrees a shameful death for his slavewomen who had slept with the suitors without his permission (Hom. Od. 22. 443–5). Not all masters took advantage of the vulnerability of slaves. Laertes, it is pointed out, abstained from a relationship with Eurykleia. Although he was attracted to Eurykleia, he respected his wife's feelings. Eurykleia must have had a baby and remained in her master's good graces, for she served as wet-nurse to Odysseus (Od. i. 433, 19. 482–9). Similar situations occurred in classical Athens. A husband who was considerate of his wife's feelings did not necessarily abstain from sexual liaisons with others, but he did not flaunt them in her presence. Thus Alcibiades' notorious relationships with prostitutes were cause for censure (Plut. Alc. 8. 3), while Lysias was more discreet in arranging for his mistress to stay with one of his unmarried friends (Ps.-Dem. 59. 22). See further on ix. 5 τεκνοποιήσας οἱ αἰδήται.

11. In the remainder of the treatise Xenophon continues to discuss wealth, piety, education, and human virtue, but he devotes special attention to the subject of farming. Xenophon does not need to give detailed instructions on it, for his audience lived in an agricultural society and must have had a general idea about how farms were managed, even if they were not aware of details and controversies. Ischomachus and his upper-class contemporaries employ experienced labourers and foremen (see i. 3–4 τῶν ἀδόνων δὲ οἰκον and Ch. 2, sect. A). They must know how to supervise these specialists and must understand enough about the agricultural operations to enable them to make decisions and to suggest alternative methods of production. Like Cyrus (iv. 24), they may actually perform some agricultural chores for the sake of exercise, but for the most part they farm by supervising others.

The comparison with the wife has induced translators to assume that the slave, whose sex is not specified, is female. In the *Economicus* (p. 59·), however, Xenophon uses ὑλεκτρίζω of both males (viii. 14) and females (viii. 10). Because bisexuality was not uncommon among upper-class Greeks, the sex of the slave who was the pathetic partner probably made little difference to many men who, like Ischomachus, owned both male and female slaves. Intercourse with one's slaves need not cost anything; for expensive affairs with free youths see on ii. 7 παιδικοί δὲ πράγματα.

Aristophanes (Clouds 1485) and Eupolis (386 and 388 Kassel–Austin) use this verb and its noun form to describe Socrates; sim. Lucian (Ver. Hist. 17). These words were commonly used of Sophists (see LSJ, s.v.).

3. ἄδολοσχεῖν. Aristophanes (Clouds 1485) and Eupolis (386 and 388 Kassel–Austin) use this verb and its noun form to describe Socrates; sim. Lucian (Ver. Hist. 17). These words were commonly used of Sophists (see LSJ, s.v.).

4-5. Νικοῦ... χρήματα... πένητι ἵππω. Socrates humorously transfers the wealth of the owner Nicias (not otherwise known) to his horse. To argue by analogy from animals to human beings is a standard feature of Socratic literature (see on iii. 11 οἰκεία... Πρόβατον... νομίζω). But the opposite, to impose human characteristics on animals, is bizarre and amusing. Anthropomorphization of animals is the stuff of comedies: extant works in which such transformations occur are Aristophanes, *Birds*, *Frogs*, and *Wasps*. Another genre in which animals behave as though they were...