

Documents from Dillon & Garland, *Ancient Greece*

13.8 Pandora

Hesiod *Works and Days* 57–82

Pandora (the 'all-endowed') was given by Zeus to mankind in revenge for Prometheus' theft of fire; she removed the lid from a storage jar thus allowing all the evils to escape; cf. Hes. *Theogony* 570–89; for Pandora, see Walcot (1984) 40–41; Zeitlin (1995) 58–74, (1996) 53–86. Here Zeus is speaking.

- 'I will give them instead of fire an evil, in which all
May delight in their heart and lovingly embrace it, evil though it is.'
Thus spoke the father of gods and men and laughed out loud;
60 And he told renowned Hephaistos as quickly as possible
To mix earth with water, and place in it human voice
And strength, and liken it in face to the immortal goddesses
With the lovely and beauteous form of a maiden; and bade Athena
Teach her handiwork, to weave the intricate web;
65 And golden Aphrodite to shed grace on her head
And painful desire and cares that gnaw the limbs;
While to place in her a shameless mind and wily nature
He charged Hermes the messenger and slayer of Argos.
So he spoke, and they obeyed the lord Zeus, son of Kronos.
70 Immediately the renowned Lane God (Hephaistos) fashioned from earth
The likeness of a modest maiden through the counsels of the son of Kronos;
The goddess grey-eyed Athena girt and clothed her;
The divine Graces and august Persuasion
Put necklaces of gold around her skin; and the
75 Lovely-haired Hours crowned her with spring flowers;
And Pallas Athena equipped her with all kind of adornment.
In her breast the messenger, the Argos-slayer,
Contrived lies and crafty words and a wily nature
At the will of loud-thundering Zeus; and the herald of the gods
80 Put speech in her, and named this woman
Pandora, because each of those who dwell on Olympus
Gave her a gift, a bane to men who eat bread.

13.9 Maxims for Prosperity

Hesiod *Works and Days* 370–78, 695–705

Hesiod is often considered to have been unsympathetic towards women and their social role because of his portrait of Pandora: Arthur (1973) 23–25; Pomeroy (1975) 2; Lloyd-Jones (1975) 18–21; Sussman (1984) 88–89. But in the *Works and Days* he clearly distinguishes between wives whom men choose for themselves, and women who are simply out for what they can get. His description of a marriageable young girl (WD 519–

22), 'a tender maiden who stays indoors with her dear mother, not yet experienced in the works of golden Aphrodite, who washes well her soft body and anoints herself with oil', shows that his view of women's sexuality was not entirely negative. Pomeroy (1997) 5 considers that most Greek girls married at 14 or 15 years. Line 370 is generally taken as spurious; Starr (1977) 225 n.41.

- 370 See that the wage promised to a friend can be relied on;
Even with your brother smile and get a witness;
†For trust† and mistrust together have ruined men.
Do not let a woman who decorates her buttocks deceive you,
By wily coaxing, for she is after your granary;
375 Whoever trusts a woman, trusts thieves.
There should be an only son to preserve his father's house;
For thus wealth will increase in the home;
He who leaves another son should die old
695 In the prime of life bring a wife to your home,
When you are not much short of thirty,
Nor yet much above: this is the right age for marriage;
Your wife should be four years past puberty, and be married in the fifth.
You should marry a maiden, so you can teach her diligent habits,
700 And marry especially one who lives near you
Looking well about you, so your marriage is not a source of malignant joy to
your neighbours.
For a man acquires nothing better than a wife —
A good one, but there is nothing more miserable than a bad one,
A parasite, who even if her husband is strong
705 Sings him without a torch and brings him to a raw old age.

13.10 Youth and Age do not Mix

Theognis 457–60

A young wife is not suitable for an elderly husband;
For she is a boat that does not obey the rudder,
Nor do anchors hold her; and she breaks her mooring cables
Often at night to find another harbour.

13.11 A Happy Man

Theognis 1225–26

Theognis is here writing to his eromenos (beloved) Kynos, urging him too to marry. See Theognis 183–92 for unsuitable marriages between 'good' and 'base' people because of greed for possessions; for Kynos, see doc. 13.67.

Nothing, Kynos, is sweeter than a good wife;
I am a witness to the truth of this, and you should become so for me.

13.12 A Woman's Two Best Days

Hipponax 68

Hipponax of Ephesos was a master of abusive writing; he was banished from Ephesos and went to live at Klazomenai; for his poetry, see Burnett (1983) 98–104.

There are two days on which a woman is most pleasing —
When someone marries her and when he carries out her dead body.

13.16 The Upbringing of Spartan Girls

Xenophon *Constitution of the Spartans* 1.3–8

Xenophon appears to be giving a reasonably accurate picture, despite perhaps a certain degree of gullibility, of the traditions which in his view had made Sparta great (cf. doc. 14.5). He gives a useful contrast of Spartan upbringing of girls with that found in the rest of Greece. However, his account of Spartan dual households (including elderly men inviting youngsters into their house to sire children), while generally accepted, is at variance with Herodotos' account of Anaxandridas' double marriage (doc. 6.44), and, despite his account of bachelors siring children out of wedlock, Spartiates were expected to marry or else suffer penalties (cf. doc. 6.11). For this passage, cf. Plut. *Lyk.* 15; Kritias F32; Cartledge (1981b) 90–97; Scanlon (1988).

1.3 First, to begin at the beginning, I will start with the begetting of children. Elsewhere those girls who are going to have children and are considered to have been well brought up are nourished with the plainest diet which is practicable and the smallest amount of luxury food possible; wine is certainly not allowed them at all, or only if well diluted. Just as the majority of craftsmen are sedentary, the other Greeks expect their girls to sit quietly and work wool. But how can one expect girls brought up like this to give birth to healthy babies? 1.4 Lykourgos considered slave-girls quite adequate to produce clothing, and thought that for free women the most important job was to bear children. In the first place, therefore, he prescribed physical training for the female sex no less than for the male; and next, just as for men, he arranged competitions of racing and strength for women also, thinking that if both parents were strong their children would be more robust 1.6 In addition he put a stop to each man marrying when he wished, and laid down that men should marry when in their physical prime, thinking that this too would contribute to the production of fine children. 1.7 He saw, however, that if an old man had a young wife, such men particularly guarded their wives, and wanted to prevent this; so he arranged that the elderly husband should bring in any man whose physical and moral attributes he admired to produce children. 1.8 And if anyone did not want to live with a wife, but desired remarkable children, he made it legal for him to have children by any fertile woman of noble birth he might see, providing he first persuaded her husband.

13.19 'Spartans: The Only Women who Bear Men'

Plutarch *Lykourgos* 14.1–8

For the accuracy of Plutarch's account, note doc. 6.1, where Plutarch admits that he is unable to provide accurate details of Lykourgos' life and times, but nevertheless writes a biography. His *Life of Lykourgos* is, however, well worth reading. In *Sayings of the Spartans* (Plut. *Mor.* 225a) Gorgo is said to have asked Leonidas when he left for Thermopylai what instructions he had for her: his reply, 'To marry good men and bear good children'; see Lendon (1997) 113, 116.

14.1 Since Lykourgos regarded education as the most important and finest duty of the legislator, he began at the earliest stage by looking at matters relating to marriages and births 14.3 For he exercised the girls' bodies with races and wrestling and discus and javelin throwing, so that the embryos formed in them would have a strong start in strong bodies and develop better, and they would undergo their pregnancies with vigour and would cope well and easily with childbirth. 14.4 He got rid of daintiness and sheltered upbringing and effeminacy of all kinds, by accustoming the girls no less than the young men to walking naked in processions, and dancing and singing at certain festivals, when young men were present and watching 14.7 The nudity of the girls had nothing disgraceful in it, for modesty was present and immorality absent, but rather it made them accustomed to simplicity and enthusiastic as to physical fitness, and gave the female sex a taste of noble spirit, in as much as they too had a share in valour and ambition. 14.8 And so they came to speak and think in the way Leonidas' wife Gorgo is said to have done. For when some woman, who must have been a foreigner, said to her, 'You Lakonian women are the only ones who can rule men,' she replied, 'That is because we are the only ones who give birth to men'.

13.29 Aspasia and Perikles

Plutarch *Perikles* 24.2–9

Plutarch's picture of Aspasia is somewhat romanticized and apparently dependant on the satirical attacks of comic poets: Henry (1995) 10–11, 19–28; Podlecki (1998) 115–17, cf. 171–73; see doc. 13.86. Perikles had been unhappily married to a near relative, whom presumably he had married as an epikleros, and whom he divorced c. 445; see Thompson (1967) 278–80. Aspasia apparently bore Perikles a son, Perikles junior (for whom see doc. 10.13), who had no citizen rights, because of Perikles' law of 451/0, but was made a citizen at Perikles' request; see *Ath. Pol.* 26.4, Plut. *Per.* 37.2; for Perikles' reputation with other women, see Plut. *Per.* 13.15–16; 28.4–7; 36.6; 38.2. For Thucydides' failure to mention Aspasia, see Harvey (1985) 79; for her supposed trial for impiety, see Plut. *Per.* 32.1, 5; Henry (1995) 24–28; Podlecki (1998) 109–17; doc. 8.20; for her acquaintance with Socrates, Xen. *Mem.* II.6.36; doc. 13.87. Cf. Plutarch's description of Elpinike, sister of Kimon, Plut. *Kim.* 4.6–8; for Elpinike's marriage to Kallias (without a dowry), see Cox (1988) 186.

24.2 It seems that Perikles took these measures against the Samians to please Aspasia, so this would be a suitable place to discuss this woman and the art or

power she possessed by which she won over all the leading citizens and even provided the philosophers with a subject for long and important discussions. 24.3 It is agreed that by birth she was a Milesian, the daughter of Axiochos; and they say that she was trying to rival Thargelia, an Ionian woman of times of old, in setting her sights at the most influential men 24.5 They say that Perikles was attracted to Aspasia because of her wisdom and political awareness; and Socrates used to visit her sometimes with his acquaintances, while his close friends used to bring their wives to listen to her, even though she practised a calling that was neither decent nor respectable, since she brought up young girls as hetairai 24.7 Perikles' affection for Aspasia seems to have been quite romantic. 24.8 For his wife was a relation of his, who had been married first to Hipponikos, to whom she bore Kallias the wealthy, while to Perikles she bore Xanthippos and Paralos. When they found that they could no longer live together, Perikles handed her over to another man with her consent, and he took Aspasia as his companion and loved her to an unusual degree. 24.9 And they say that every day, when he left home and returned from the agora, he used to greet her with a kiss.

13.48 Solon's Legislation on Marriage and Inheritance

Plutarch *Solon* 20.2–23.2

Solon introduced a law permitting a man who had no sons to adopt a son by will and make him his heir, rather than leaving his property to other members of his family; however, a daughter could not be deprived of her rights as epikleros (MacDowell (1978) 100); cf. *Ath. Pol.* 35.2. Under Solon's legislation an illegitimate son was not obliged to support his father, and according to Plutarch sons who had not been taught a trade were similarly freed from this obligation (see doc. 3.27). Some of Plutarch's statements here should be taken with caution: heiresses in Athens married into their own not into their husband's family, and it is also unlikely that dowries would have been completely abolished. 21.6 is aimed at the employment of hired mourners, as opposed to family members; cf. doc. 12.33. Note that an adulterer caught in the act could be killed, but a rapist, it seems, could not: Carey (1995); cf. doc. 13.51.

20.2 Another law which seems out of place and ridiculous is that which allows an heiress, in the case of her lawful husband being unable to have intercourse with her, to be married by one of his next of kin. But some say that this was a sensible move against those who were impotent, but married heiresses for the sake of their property and used the law to do violence to nature. 20.3 It was also a good idea that an heiress should not be allowed to choose anyone for a husband but whomever she wished of the relatives of her husband, so that her offspring might be of his household and family (genos) 20.6 In all other marriages he abolished dowries, ordering the bride to bring with her three changes of clothing and household possessions of small value, and nothing else, for he did not want marriage to be a matter of profit or purchase, but the dwelling together of man and wife for the purposes of child bearing and love and affection 21.3 Solon also was well thought of for his law concerning wills. For before his time they were not allowed,

and the property and house of the deceased had to remain in the family; but he, by allowing anyone who had no children, to leave his property to whomever he wished, honoured friendship more than kinship and goodwill more than compulsion, and made property the possession of those who owned it. 21.4 On the other hand he did not allow bequests to be totally uncomplicated and without restraint, but only those not made under the influence of illness or drugs or imprisonment or compulsion or through a wife's persuasion 21.5 He also made a law concerning women's appearance outside their house, as well as their mourning and their festivals, to prevent disorder and licence: when they went out he laid down that they were not to have more than three garments, nor carry more than an obol's worth of food or drink, or a basket more than a cubit in size, nor to travel at night except in a wagon with a lamp in front. 21.6 He also forbade laceration by mourners at funerals and using set dirges and lamenting anyone at the funeral ceremonies of other people 22.4 Even harsher was his regulation that sons born from a hetaira were not compelled to maintain their father, as Herakleides of Pontos narrates (F146 Wehrli). For he who neglects the honourable state of marriage is clearly having a relationship with a woman not for the sake of children, but for pleasure, and forfeits his reward, and has lost the right of free speech towards his sons, since he has made their very birth a reproach to them. 23.1 In general, Solon's laws concerning women seem extremely incongruous. For he allowed anyone who caught an adulterer to kill him; but if anyone seized and raped a free woman, he laid down a penalty of one hundred drachmas, and, if he seduced her, twenty drachmas except for those women who openly sell themselves, meaning the hetairai; for they go openly to those who pay them. 23.2 He did not allow anyone to sell his daughters or sisters, unless he discovered that a virgin had consorted with a man.

13.57 Ischomachos Teaches his Young Wife her Duties

Xenophon *Oeconomicus* 7.35–37, 10.10–13

For other advice by Ischomachos to his wife, see doc. 11.9. For this 'typical' Greek bride, married at fourteen, see Xen. *Oec.* 7.4–6, 7.42; note the privacy and self-contained nature of the upper-class oikos: Shaw (1975) 256; Powell (1988) 341–50, 359; Just (1989) 114–18, 151–52, 164; Cox (1998) 130–31; cf. Cohen (1991) 159–62; Pomeroy (1994) 58–61 for the autonomy of the women's sphere. Murnaghan (1988) sees this orderly household as a microcosm of Xenophon's ideal polis; cf. Johnstone (1994) 229–35.

7.35 'It will be your duty,' I said, 'to stay indoors and to send outside those of the servants whose work is outside, 7.36 and to superintend those whose work is inside, and to receive what is brought in, and to distribute what of this has to be expended, and to take thought for and watch over what has to be stored, so that the sum laid by for the year is not expended in a month. And whenever wool is brought in to you, you must see that there are cloaks made for those who need them. And you must take care that the dry provisions are properly edible. 7.37 However, one of the duties that will fall to you,' I said, 'may perhaps seem thankless, as you will have to see