The Women's Room:

Social interactions in 4th century Athens

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1. Introduction

The lives of Greek women are mostly that of obscurity. They are mentioned but rarely do we hear from them with their own voices. In this study, the lives of women will be analysed through the presence of them in written texts. The field of women's studies which draws on feminist and interdisciplinary methods, grew during the 1970s, trying to fit women into the existing narrative, studies were going back to the 1920s, which discussed the lives and status of ancient women in Greece. The social customs that were applied to them, however, are something we do not have a clear image of. With this as a basis, this thesis will focus on the actions and interactions of ancient Greek women in 4th-century Athens.

When a girl was born to an Athenian citizen a clear path was laid out before her. Children were educated, both girls and boys, but the lessons were different depending on the gender. Girls did not need the same information that boys did. The goal of a girl's education was for her to be prepared for her role as a wife and mother. A young girl was often considered ready to be married already at the age of fifteen. She was meant to be a virgin and the marriage was settled by her father or another male relative. There was no space in society for unmarried women, it was the duty of women to marry. A married woman was to care for the home and those living in it. The image of Athenian women comes to us from various sources, the most detailed being that of ancient literature. The ancient philosophers and statesmen argue and discuss women as the means of creating an image of the ideal society.

1.1. Previous research

In this section the previous research will be contextualised, what has been done, and from where the aim was drawn. The field of feminist research within the Classics evolved in the 1970s. The fields of gender studies and social studies within classical archaeology have had much work done previously. The following section will bring forward the research which has led to the research questions this study will attempt to answer.

The early feminist studies were of a 'add women and stir' type, adding women to the narrative wherever they could. Feminist classical scholars have sought to call attention to women in the ancient record to understand gender construction and representation. This created room for feminist scholars to study the power dynamic in ancient art, giving power to the female reception of the art.¹ Feminist theory can be broken down into 'waves'.

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¹ Eaverly 2013, 13.
Structuralist-feminist theory analyses how gender inequalities are a result of a patriarchal structure. This evolves into radical feminist theory, which analyses how men's dominance over women is something that is created by social constructs. Feminist theory shows how gender as a construct has shifted throughout history and that changed what was being studied. Early gender studies started in the 1920s and focused on ancient women and how they fit into the bigger picture. It focused mainly on the schism that was to be found in the written sources, such as Xenophon, and the imagery in Greek vase paintings. The early days of feminist research studied the status of women. The early theoretical frameworks used to study gender were based on feminist art history and anthropology. The post-processual archaeological movement opened the door for ideas that the same sources could be perceived with a multitude of perspectives, on gender and feminism.

In the early 21st century research has also focused on the meta-study of gender in classical archaeology and the Classics, as the shifting attitudes on gender and women have influenced the research and how modern feminism has transformed the study of ancient women. Radical feminist theory, the third wave of feminism, analysed how men's dominance over women is something that is created by social constructs. Marxist-Feminist and Socialist-Feminist theory creates a base idea that the oppression of women comes from the patriarchal capitalism's division of labour, where men were the breadwinner and women deal with the home and family. The study of gendered space is a continuation of the feminist study field. The discussions in the early 1980s centred on the archaeological research bias of male ideas and male achievements. The discussion grew into feminist or "gender" archaeology, where the aim is to identify or imagine the participation of women and "others" in ancient society.

The field of literary studies is a diverse and old field of study. There are many branches to the field, and this thesis will move into the branch of textual criticism. Marxist theories focused on the class struggles found in the texts, something that is very applicable to ancient texts dealing with women as the divide between men and women was pronounced. Literary

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2 Spencer-Wood 2013, 393.
3 Spencer-Wood 2013, 395.
4 Richter 1920 – She argues that what is depicted in Greek vase paintings could tell us something about Greek women and their lives, such as physical activities and chores never mentioned in the texts.
5 Pomeroy 2015, 58.
6 Brown 1997, 23.
7 Spencer-Wood 2013, 417.
8 Spencer-Wood 2013, 397.
9 Brown 1997, 23f. – The discussion in 1984 between Margaret Conkey and Janet Spector.
10 Culler 2011, 109.
studies during the late 1900s focused on the social and political functions of literature, giving literature an agency in the world.\textsuperscript{11} The uses of texts are varied, as the meaning of texts can be interpreted differently depending on the reader and the reader's perspective.\textsuperscript{12} This thesis will follow in the tradition of Louis Althusser, a post-structuralist Marxist theorist, who argued that 'social formation' is not a singular thing with a solid base but a loose structure there are several levels that shift over time.\textsuperscript{13} One important aspect of literature is the creation of identity found in the texts. Whether implicitly or explicitly, the written word conveys information both about the author and the individuals written about it. Those studying literature have therefore always had the aspect of identity as part of their field of study.\textsuperscript{14}

Gendered space connects gender studies and archaeology by trying to decipher if evidence for it is found in the physical material. Gendered space and how women were separated from men and which areas were available to them, the terms used for the spaces is one such evidence of gendered space.\textsuperscript{15} GIS, and the information that is now available by using this method created the need for new theoretical frameworks to incorporate the new sources. The theories mentioned are derived from other theoretical frameworks and are considered "promising but reductionist". Space is not something passive and the terms used previously might not be enough to describe as they can come off as too small or too general when the analysis can give more detail.\textsuperscript{16} Gender studies as a whole is a wide field, with much variation. The status of women and adding women to a narrative where they have been lacking previously were part of the earlier forays in the field. Women live outside of the mainstream narrative of antiquity, which is dominated by men. As such modern feminism has focused on the treatment of ancient women. Previous research has focused on the private lives of women and the aspects of their seclusion from public life.\textsuperscript{17} Art history and its studies on what images depict and mean have progressed the study of ancient women in imagery. Ancient women in art have been interpreted as an affirmation of the status of men, creating a visual representation of the real world in the visual material.

\textsuperscript{11} Culler 2011, 35.
\textsuperscript{12} Culler 2011, 38.
\textsuperscript{13} Culler 2011, 129.
\textsuperscript{14} Culler 2011, 110.
\textsuperscript{15} Nevett 1995, 363.
\textsuperscript{16} Wheatley 1996, 129.
\textsuperscript{17} Pomeroy 2015, 79.
1.1. A The gap in the research

This section means to narrow in on the gap in the research and place the study in its context. Based on the previous research, gender, literature, and archeologically space, have all been studied extensively. Combining the three creates interesting new questions. The law court speeches give various insights into what was improper behaviour of the women. But while court speeches are a varied material, no woman is heard with her voice.\textsuperscript{18} The interpretation possibility when studying textual sources and archaeological material is endless, while research cannot know what the material does not tell, there can always be speculation.\textsuperscript{19} There are methodological issues with using written texts and archaeological evidence to provide an insight into the gender divide found in Greek homes.\textsuperscript{20} The archaeological sources have their limitation in that there is no clear way to identify rooms as gendered spaces. The written sources do not detail the interior of every home, and even the accounts which mention gendered space are vague and differing. As such building an interpretive study on written text to find physical and social spaces is a way to bridge the gap between philology and social space studies. Centring the female interactions, that are both mentioned and implied in the written texts with a focus on the social space is something that should be studied more, and thus it will be in this thesis.

1.2. Aim

The purpose of this study is to analyse the actions and interactions of Greek women as described in a selection of excerpts from written primary sources. By using an interpretive phenomenological study approach the Athenian female society by describing three different accounts where women are either following the norm or breaking it based on the ancient literature. The literary texts from Demosthenes 59, Lysias 1, and Xenophon \textit{Oeconomicus}, all touch on the lives of Athenian women of the upper classes. While the lives on the surface are that of seclusion, there are interesting details that come to light through close readings of the texts. The texts are written by men and thus show us a focus on women from the same classes. Athenian men worried about women being granted freedom which would lead to women making connections outside the family hierarchy, with other women and unrelated men, as any such connection could lead to the corruption of the social structure as a whole. Control is

\textsuperscript{18} Just 1989, 1.
\textsuperscript{19} Lewis 2002, 209.
\textsuperscript{20} Antonaccio 2000, 517.
a recurring theme in the written accounts, control not only of women but also of the oikos at large.

Women's lives were not as monotone as it appears on the surface, so this study will focus on the non-tangible aspects of life. To study the networks discovered in the Greek homes, what space was open to whom, and when will be useful to then discuss the networks in the polis. The networks focusing on "gender, labour, and the use of space", will give insight into the network women had to exist in. While this framework is focused on the oikos, placing it on the polis might give insight into Athenian society at large and look at the female movement in the social space of the city. The goal of feminism has been to challenge the male-centric Western ideal of what the 'norm' was. Feminism wants to see antiquity with a new perspective, to reshape the big picture to include everyone, not only the white man. The texts bring forward women from other classes as well, but they are mentioned in contrast. The upper-class married Athenian woman is held up as an ideal that all women are to strive for.

1.3. Research questions

What rooms did she move in and what did she do there? What is the norm described by the written accounts and what is the exception to the norm as described in them? The norm is what is brought forward as an ideal, the perfect status for the oikos. The exception is when the women have dared to act in a way, not following the norm.

The space to be discussed is not simply a physical space, but a space created by those within it. Connecting both the limitations of physical space and the written accounts show the network in which the people moved, will be difficult as they focus on different aspects of antiquity.

The research questions of this thesis are:

1.

What are the physical limitations of her experience, and what does the norm dictate her actions to be? – The norm is identified by what is described in positive or neutral terms. In

21 Antonaccio 2000, 519.
22 Antonaccio 2000, 517.
Lysias, this is what the wife is described as in the beginning. In Demosthenes, it is the opposite of Neaera and Phano. What was she allowed to do and what virtues did she need to embody?

2.

How does the norm reflect her status in the polis? How does the aspect of citizenship influence the reaction of society to norm-breaking women? – The issue of citizenship is an important aspect as this is a privileged position the men wish to protect. Breaking the norm is seen as a threat and must be controlled.

3.

How do her actions as seen in the cases described destroy the community around her? – The women described in the texts are either described as following the norm or breaking it. In the cases where the exceptions to the norm are described the writers emphasised it, how is that framed?

4.

What are the conditions for Athenian women's experiences in the religious space? And how does breaking the norm influence society? – The religious space is a space of freedom, how is this freedom dealt with when the texts deal with unruly women?
2. Theory and method

2.1. Theoretical framework

This section will create a base understanding of the theories used in this study. The theoretical framework that is the basis for the discussion is a combination of Judith Butler's performance theory and social space theory from Henri Lefebvre. Butler's theory belongs in the sphere of gender theory, namely gender as a construct. Lefebvre's theory looks to the audience of media to see what the meaning of the art or text is supposed to invoke. Together, these two theoretical frameworks locate the social space created by those inhabiting it and how gender is performed in the space.

Spatial studies within archaeology have become more popular during the last decade. Several theories are used within the field of spatial archaeology. The "built environment refers, in the broadest sense, to any physical alteration of the natural environment, from hearths to cities, through construction by humans". This is a concise description of the way people construct their surroundings, creating structure from nothing and creating boundaries. When studying the architecture of human dwellings several theoretical approaches could be used. But the point is how the physical structure of the building fits the lives of the individuals inhabiting the space. What can be said about the society that dwelled in the space based on the form? What is the discussion of power and space that can be seen? People move in space, and they build up the space around them to suit their needs and mirror them as individuals. Together the two frameworks map the social space being inhabited and the gender performance taking place in it.

2.1.A. Judith Butler's Performativity Theory

To analyse the actions of ancient women there has to be an understanding of what gendered action entails. Butler's theory suggests that the discussion of human action should be more about the repetition of social rules rather than the behaviour of a conscious and aware individual. Gender is not a state of being it is an action; it exists in a specific context and fits into the norm of the society. By using the performativity theory there is a possibility to understand the concept of gender in a given context. It is the context that creates a specific act

25 Butler 1990, Gender troubles; Lefebvre 1974, La production de l'espace.
26 Lawrence & Low 1990.
27 Butler 1990: 25.
of gender. Gendered actions have changed based on the society in which they are done. What one society sees as 'feminine' or 'masculine' thus changes based on what the society as a whole sees as gendered. There is conformity when one discusses what it means to be a woman. The material being biased texts is the context in which we have to observe the act of womanhood. The norm is what is being praised in the text, that is what the act should look like. The aspects that are being disparaged are what breaks the norm, where the mask has broken, and the act is at an end. Gender as such is an idea created by the outside world, something one conforms to fit into the norm. The theory of performativity studies the act of gender, there is no norm that has not been created by the society as a whole. There is a cultural inscription in the body that is decided by outside forces. Gender is thus not something one is, but something one does in an action. This theory will be applied to the women found in the written accounts, by looking at how they acted and what reactions this garnered from those narrating the accounts.

2.1.B. Henri Lefebvre’s Social Space Theory

To define the female sphere, the social space theory as it is expressed by Lefebvre, will be used. The three factors of this theory are spatial practice, representation of space, and spaces of representation. These three factors are the produced social space, where everyday actions mark the line of the space. This social space reflects those that inhabit it and change depending on the intentions of the people in it. By identifying the social space found within the written accounts part of the social triad is identified. The physical space described in the text gives one part of the puzzle and the way the people interact with each other gives the other. The social space theory acts as a mapping system, connecting the social interactions with the social space they are inhabiting. The social space is what has been created by both those inhabiting it and the rules put on them by their society. This will be applied to the discussion when the power structures described are discussed. In the ancient texts, there is control over space and social expectations narrated. This theory will be used to discuss the breaks found when the subversions of control and social expectations occur.

29 Butler 1990, 25.
31 Lefebvre 1992, 68.
2.2. Method

The method used in this study will be based on the Heideggerian interpretive phenomenology, as a qualitative research methodology. Hermeneutics through interpretive phenomenology can assist with interpreting the meaning of human experiences and texts, or any source which holds significance. An interpretative phenomenological analysis is used to explore the lived experience of a phenomenon through the subject's personal experiences and perception of objects. It studies everyday phenomena, which are mostly hidden, aspects of life that do not get recorded.\(^{32}\) This is the reason this method works with this thesis, as the aim is to discuss a non-tangible aspect of life. Pulling information from the unspoken, to find the unspoken everyday occurrences that are not visible physically. The methods created by Martin Heidegger and Paul Ricoëur together create an understanding of lived experiences as depicted in written texts. There is meaning in the small moments and the unspoken.\(^{33}\)

The method is in three steps; explain the text, understand the text, and apply the understanding to oneself.\(^{34}\) The way the method will be used is to first describe the texts, and create a nuanced image of the text and its content. Secondly, to understand the text, by analysing the women described in the texts, how she acts, and what reactions her actions garner from the surroundings. Lastly by applying the analysis of the text to the discussion, mapping the social spaces in which the women's interactions happen and what types of women are allowed to exist within them. When choosing the material used, the focus was on the texts in which men describe women, as what is not mentioned and what is inferred is the 'forgetfulness' from which the understanding can be found. When analysing the text, the focus is what is said and what is left out, a description of household chores can both describe what the women were meant to do but also what they were not. What is the norm and what is breaking the norm? The norm is the words written, the surface-level understanding. The exception is what is left out, the information that is inferred by not being written.

When applying this to the discussion the goal is to use the analysed material to reach a new level of understanding. To be able to create a mapped-out social space, where the actions and interactions of women are lively and nuanced rather than flat. Interpretive phenomenology tries to frame the lived experiences of those being studied, in this thesis the experiences of the women will be drawn from the written accounts and trying to centre the female experience in the discussion. The discussion will use the analysed text to discuss the

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\(^{32}\) Frechette et al. 2020, 2.

\(^{33}\) Frechette et al. 2020, 3.

\(^{34}\) Barone & Eisner, 2012, 1.
norms and the exceptions of the norms to identify the consequences of female interactions in 4th-century Athens.
3. Material

3.1.A. Presentation of material

In this thesis, the discussion will focus on the ancient Athenian women's social rooms, the social spaces they inhabit, the actions they take, and the interactions they have with others. The material which best suits this is written from ancient sources, literary text. The *Oeconomicus* by Xenophon concerns the running of a household and how the man of the house teaches his wife to help him in this endeavour. Lysias 1 *On the Murder of Eratosthenes*, a law court speech that concerns the murder of the man Eratosthenes by Euphiletos the husband of the lover. Demosthenes 59, *Against Neaera*, a law court speech against the woman Neaera and the man she is living with. These are the three primary sources for the thesis. These three were chosen for their proximity in time, all having been written during the classical period. They are also texts where women are in focus, with their interactions and duties described and debated in detail, making them the perfect material for this thesis. The lives of Athenian women are mentioned in all three of these texts, with a focus on the proper way for women to act in the role set for them. Women were meant to marry, to become a wife and mother. This was the life goal of Greek women. The analysis of the texts starts with a summary of the content after which follow extracts that constitute the basis of the discussion. These are abbreviated and numbered, such as Xen. 1, Lys. 1, Dem. 1, etc.

The primary sources will help map the social space and find the social norms. The primary sources in this thesis are the three main texts, which will be described in depth later. These are primary sources as they are contemporary to the period that will be discussed later. Demosthenes and Lysias are both law court speeches, where women stand accused of crimes. These accounts show how the polis reacts when women act in a way outside of the ideal/norm. The texts all focus on the Greek women of Attica, the city of Athens in particular, or more specifically the social norms applied to them. The secondary material comprises ancient texts which help support the arguments made in the discussion. These are Lysias 3, the laws of Solon, and excerpts from other texts by Demosthenes. The laws of Solon have not been preserved; they have been described by others.35 The laws introduced by Solon affected the social norms as they changed the moral code of the polis. These laws are used in the text which are the primary material, the main example being the law which permitted the husband to abuse the seducer with impunity or accept financial compensation. Two complements to the

35 Plut. Sol. 20f. – The description of the laws used is the one found in Plutarch. Solon's laws went into effect around 594 BCE and considered the family and how it fits into the state.
secondary material are one quote from Aristotle found in *Politics* and a mime written by Herodas. These two are used to contextualise and deepen the discussion. The quote by Aristotle concerns the place of women, that women were to be kept indoors. Herodas mime four describe a visit to a sanctuary by a couple of women. A mime is a theatrical performance and as such does not reflect reality, but this mime concerns something that could have been a normal day-to-day occurrence and will stand as a complement to the normalcy of women being a part of the religious part of Athens. In this specific mime it is a visit to the sanctuary of Asclepius being described. The dating of these two texts have not been taken into account as they are not central to the analysis, but rather will support the discussion as they are evidence that the information is not outlying ideas from singular sources.

The texts show us a world where the men wish to control the women, either through law as can be seen in Solon, or through the education they get whilst growing up as Xenophon describes it. These laws and reforms Solon created to serve as the backdrop for this study as they predate the law court speeches. Women were mostly never referred to as *politēs* or citizens. The word was used for the men and implied political and legal rights in a polis. Instead, the term mostly used was *astē*, 'a woman of the city', or *Attikē gunē*, 'an Attic woman/wife'. Relegating the women to property not only of their husbands but also to the city. While these terms are not used in the accounts used in this thesis, they are important to keep in mind as the arguments about citizenship are being debated.

The texts will be broken down into sections, first a short introduction of the author's work. After that a description of the chosen text, leading into an analysis of the women found in them. Finishing off with comments on both the description and the analysis, and how the separate texts will be used in the discussion.

### 3.1.B. Comments of the Sources

Written sources are a snapshot of one individual's thoughts and ideas at one moment. Rather than an objective truth of what made the text be written. None of these accounts are unbiased. Xenophon's text is a philosophical discussion, it is an ideal oikos that is described in it. Lysias and Demosthenes are both written records of law court speeches, as such it is one side of the conflict which is speaking. They could be likened to propaganda, creating a positive image of the speaker and a negative image of the opposition.

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36 Herod. 4.
37 Pritchard 2014, 45f.
Xenophon was a philosopher from Athens, he was a Socratic philosopher, and as such his texts are written mostly as a dialogue between Socrates and another individual. This removes Xenophon from the narrative in his text, giving him a distance to his ideas and a way to protect himself from the reactions that arose from them. The *Oeconomicus* is written as two separate dialogues, one between Socrates and Kritoboulus and then Socrates and Ischomachus. The conversation between Socrates and Ischomachus is used to describe the ideal views on land management. It is generally agreed that the ideas of Ischomachus are Xenophon’s own, he simply gave them to another individual which gives him distance from them. This text does not concern real people, as while a person named Ischomachus existed the individual in the text does not. As this thesis will try to approach the lives of real women and not ideal images of them, this text while detailed can be used as a base idea of what women were meant to do and what the ideal for women was whether they lived up to it or not is something else entirely.

Lysias was a speech writer and as such his works are that of several law court speeches. A returning theme in them is the morality of the involved are discussed and often women are subjects for discussion. In Lysias 3, *Against Simon*, the plaintiff in the lawsuit attempts to prove that the females in his family are respectable by pointing out that they are ashamed to be in the presence of men, even from the family.\(^{38}\) Lysias 3 has been used to prove that the women of classical Athens remained apart from the men, not only because it was ideal but also because the women themselves wished it so. The marked emphasis on morality is an obstacle to reading the texts, as while morality is discussed today as well the moral ground has shifted throughout time. Lysias 1 is only from the perspective of Euphiletos, the other side is never heard from. As one of them is dead, Eratosthenes and the other is the wife who was not permitted to speak. This makes the testimony of Eratosthenes subjective in a way that is damning. An argument always has three sides, one side, the other side, and the truth. In this case, we cannot reach the truth as the other side will never be heard.

Demosthenes was a statesman, with a corpus of several law court speeches. Several of the speeches that have been allocated to Demosthenes are believed to have been written by Apollodorus. The authorship has been questioned since antiquity. The dispute of authorship is not something that will be influential in this study, but it is something to be conscious of.\(^{39}\) This text while focused in its entirety on the moral life of women, has a focus on non-

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\(^{38}\) Lys. 3.  
\(^{39}\) Johnstone 2002, 229.
Athenian women. Neaera was from Corinth and not Athens and was a known prostitute. The rights of all women are discussed as proper Athenian women are held up to contrast the 'wicked' Neaera and her daughter.\textsuperscript{40} The issue with this text is that all the information we get about Athenian women is from implications and inference. By this means, Neaera is shamed for something, and as such the proper Athenian women would do the opposite of this.

Following this will be individual descriptions of the texts, starting with a short introduction of the text. After that, the most central quotes will be listed, with a short description of why it was chosen. In the analysis, the women found in the texts will be discussed, along with the circumstance they are in and who is speaking. The specific quotes have been chosen as they highlight the women in the texts and their interactions with the other individuals in the texts. The quotes show the reactions and consequences of the women's interactions with their surroundings. When diving into the discussion the roles of women will be broken down. The wife, the mother, and the religious women are of most interest. The ideal women will also be a point of discussion as they are the standard. To contrast the Athenian women there will be a discussion of the 'others', those in the text called 'alien women', such as Neaera is, and slave girls, as mentioned in Lysias. While the term \textit{hetaera} will be mentioned, as that is Neaera's former profession, no larger focus will be placed on it other than to name it. Finishing off the individual sections will be comments on both the description and the analysis, and how the separate texts will be used in the discussion. The questions posed in every analysis section are, what is the situation, who is speaking, and what roles do the women have in the texts? These questions will act as a base for the research questions in the discussion. The quotes that are listed all contain mention of either the women that the text discusses or the reactions to the women's actions.

\textsuperscript{40} Kapparis 1999, 2.
3.2. Xenophon

3.2.A. Description

The texts start with a dialogue between Socrates and Kritoboulus. This opening dialogue leads to Socrates narrating a dialogue he had with estate owner Ischomachus. The dialogue between Ischomachus and Socrates narrates the duties and values of Greek women. The woman described is the wife of Ischomachus. She is described as young, being fifteen years old, and having not learned the ways of managing a household. From chapters 7 to 10 the lessons of the wife are told. The lessons are narrated through analogies, using situations outside the home as examples. One lesson describes the duties of men on a ship. Another describes the inner workings of a beehive. They are used as analogies to situate the lessons. The physical space is not described, outside of a mention of separate quarters for men and women. The nature of genders is a reoccurring theme in the texts, that they were built by the gods to excel in their respective chores. The chores of women are that of caring for the resources brought to the estate and making those resources into useful goods. The example brought up is wool, she was to see that it was made into cloaks, and the corn was to be dried so that it could be made into food. She was also meant to care for the ill inhabitants of the estate, from the lowest slave and up.

Main extracts from the texts. The parts which will be the basis of the discussion:

**Xen. 1:**

Did you yourself teach your wife so that she would be the sort of woman that was necessary, or did you take her as a wife already having learned of the household duties from her father and mother?" "And what, Socrates," he [Ischomachus] said, "Did you think she knew, when she came to me not even fifteen years old, and until that time she lived with great care so as to be seen, heard, and spoken about as little as possible?\[41\

This shows what the wife's circumstance was when she arrived at her husband's home. It shows the seclusion of the young girl before she was chosen to become a wife.

**Xen. 2:**

Tell me, dear, have you realised for what reason I took you and your parents gave you to me?

[11] For it is obvious to you, I am sure, that we should have had no difficulty in finding someone else to share our beds. But I for myself and your parents for you considered who was

\[41\] Xen. Oec. 7.4–5.
the best partner of home and children that we could get. My choice fell on you, and your parents, it appears, chose me as the best they could find. [12] Now if God grants us children, we will then think out how we shall best train them. For one of the blessings in which we shall share is the acquisition of the very best of allies and the very best of support in old age; but at present we share in this our home. [13] For I am paying into the common stock all that I have, and you have put in all that you brought with you. And we are not to reckon up which of us has actually contributed the greater amount, but we should know of a surety that the one who proves the better partner makes the more valuable contribution.42

This describes both what Ischomachus looked for in his wife, that she be a partner to him in life. That she would be able to care for the home and their children.

Xen. 3:

And since both these things, of indoors and outdoors, require labour and care, God immediately prepared, according to the nature of woman, it seems to me, the labours and cares of indoors, and by his nature, man to the outdoors. For he equipped the body and soul of man to be more able to endure the cold, heat, marching, and military campaigns; so he assigned to him [man] the outdoor labours. For the woman, whose body is less able [to endure these things], because of her nature, it seems to me that God assigned the indoor labours to her.43

This quote emphasises that it is not simply a choice that women should work indoors, but that it is to deal with endurance. Women were built differently from men, and not built for hard labour.

Xen. 4:

Now since we know, dear, what duties have been assigned to each of us by God, we must endeavour, each of us, to do the duties allotted to us as well as possible. [30] The law, moreover, approves of them, for it joins together man and woman. And as God has made them partners in their children, so the law appoints them partners in the home. And besides, the law declares those tasks to be honourable for each of them wherein God has made the one to excel the other. Thus, to be woman it is more honourable to stay indoors than to abide in the fields, but to the man it is unseemly rather to stay indoors than to attend to the work outside. [31] If a man acts contrary to the nature God has given him, possibly his defiance is detected by the

43 Xen. Oec. 7.22–23.
gods and he is punished for neglecting his own work, or meddling with his wife's. [32] I think that the queen bee is busy about just such other tasks appointed by God.\footnote{Xen. Oec. 7.29–32.}

This brings in both the law and god as having created this system. By not doing the duty decreed by the husband the wife would be going against the laws of the polis and even God.

**Xen. 5:**

"Indeed you will," said I; "your duty will be to remain indoors and send out those servants whose work is outside, and superintend those who are to work indoors, and to receive the incomings, \footnote{Xen. Oec. 7.35–37.} and distribute so much of them as must be spent, and watch over so much as is to be kept in store, and take care that the sum laid by for a year be not spent in a month.

And when wool is brought to you, you must see that cloaks are made for those that want them. You must see too that the dry corn is in good condition for making food. \footnote{Xen. Oec. 9.5.} One of the duties that fall to you, however, will perhaps seem rather thankless: you will have to see that any servant who is ill is cared for.\footnote{Xen. Oec. 7.35–37.}

This explains the chores and duties which a wife was do. The duty she had to the day-to-day running of the oikos, taking care of the resources and the inhabitants of the household.

**Xen. 6:**

I showed her the women's quarters too, separated by a bolted door from the men's, so that nothing which ought not to be moved may be taken out, and that the servants may not breed without our leave. For honest servants generally prove more loyal if they have a family; but rogues, if they live in wedlock, become all the more prone to mischief.\footnote{Xen. Oec. 7.29–32.}

This describes the physical setting of the estate and the placement of the women's quarters in the house. Also, the duty of the wife's duty to the servants, is that she was in charge of them completely.

**Xen. 7:**

Moreover, I taught her that she should not be vexed that I assigned heavier duties to her than to the servants in respect of our possessions. Servants, I pointed out, carry, tend and guard their master's property, and only in this sense have a share in it; they have no right to use anything except by the owner's leave; but everything belongs to the master, to use it as he
Therefore, I explained, he who gains most by the preservation of the goods and loses most by their destruction, is the one who is bound to take most care of them.\textsuperscript{47}

This highlights the virtues Ischomachus wants his wife to have. That she not be lazy, but work hard, even harder than the servants.

\textbf{Xen. 8:}

Thereupon Ischomachus took up his parable. 'Well, one day, Socrates, I noticed that her face was made up: she had rubbed in white lead in order to look even whiter than she is, and alkanet juice to heighten the rosy colour of her cheeks; and she was wearing boots with thick soles to increase her height. [3] So I said to her, "Tell me, my dear, how should I appear more worthy of your love as a partner in our goods, by disclosing to you our belongings just as they are, without boasting of imaginary possessions or concealing any part of what we have, or by trying to trick you with an exaggerated account, showing you bad money and gilt necklaces and describing clothes that will fade as real purple?\textsuperscript{48}

This explains that the wife tried makeup, and this is a false enhancement. This is described as vanity, and not something to be encouraged, as there is nothing real, and only shows bad morality.

\textbf{3.2.B. Analysis}

The difficulty with this text is that it is a description of a dialogue that has already taken place. So, the reader is removed from the original speaker by several steps. The reader gets Ischomachus' lessons through Socrates' narration of them to Kritoboulus. Even if we focus purely on the lessons being taught to the wife, the lessons happened in the past and Ischomachus does not recite the exact speech he gave his wife. Her world was very small, going first from the home of her parents, where she was kept out of sight as she was not meant to "hear or see much" to the home of her husband where he meant for her to be in charge of the household as a whole.

Ischomachus details the way he questions his new wife if she knew what her duties were to be and what role she was to hold. She is to be his partner and help in running the home he brought her to. Her answers tell us what women might have seen as her role. "How can I possibly help you? What power have I? Nay, all depends on you. My duty, as my mother

\textsuperscript{47} Xen. Oec. 9.16–17.
\textsuperscript{48} Xen. Oec. 10.2–3.
told me, is to be discreet.". This response from the wife speaks to a lack of power and a subservient mindset that has been taught by the mother. There is an emphasis from the teachings of Ischomachus that he sees marriage as a partnership, that the gods themselves couple men and women to form perfect partners. Both to create children but also to support each other in the specific ways only that gender can, as is described in Xen. 4. Women are designed by the gods to be less able to do the chores of men, thus making them suited for the indoor tasks. She is designed to be more fearful, a protector of the resources, and a carer for the children. In other words, the wife is meant to be a nurturer not only for the children but for the estate at large, or at least the indoor parts. The wife is likened to the queen-bee in Xen. 4, meant to stay "in the hive", that her duty was to remain indoors. The dealing with the resources was also put on the wife, she was to send the servants to gather the resources and then watch over the caring of them. The example brought up is wool, she was to see that it was made into cloaks, and the corn was to be dried so that it could be made into food. She was also meant to care for the ill inhabitants of the estate, from the lowest slave as seen in Xen. 5.

As this is a philosophical text, it deals with morality and ideals. The focus of certain parts on the vanity of the wife shows this. The wife had painted her face white with lead and used alkanet juice to give her a rosy blush on her cheeks. She had even tried to give herself some height by wearing shoes with thick soles. There is an aspect of this dealing with vanity, by doing this the wife is trying to create a false image that he as her husband does not like it. He does assure her that he prefers her looks to be natural, that the gods made them the most beautiful and no human-made concoctions could achieve. After this rebuke the wife, she tries to ask how she might make herself beautiful to him and he responds with, 'Be active, stand and work', this would give her exercise and naturally rosy cheeks. Combined with the fine clothes that her station as his wife gives her, she would outshine any other. As seen by the quote "Besides, when a wife's looks outshine a maid's and she is fresher and more becomingly dressed, they're a ravishing sight, especially when the wife is also willing to oblige, whereas the girl's services are compulsory" from Xen. 8.

The speaker who is of interest in this thesis is Ischomachus. It is his lessons and narrated conversations with his wife which lay the basis for what the ideal wife for a Greek man was meant to be. So, while the wife is not heard from, we do get second-hand quotes from her husband. The wife was fifteen years old when she was married to Ischomachus, and

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49 Xen. Oec. 7.15.  
50 Xen. Oec. 10.2.
she did not know about caring for a household. Something that is explained in Xen. 1 is that because of her age is that she was kept in a way to hear and say very little. All the dealings of the daily running of the estate deal with resources and caring for those living within it. Ischomachus remarks to the wife that all the lessons and tools he had given to her would be "futile unless she saw to it herself that our arrangement was strictly adhered to in every detail".51

There are two roles of women found in this account. That of the wife, both young and old, with the wife of Ischomachus and her mother. And that of the slave women found in the estate. The likeness of the estate to a hive is a reoccurring theme in the text, as such the wife is likened to the queen bee, her role is to bring new life and steer the workers in the proper direction. Even dictating the 'breeding' of the slaves was put under the purview of the wife according to Xenophon. The likeness brought up here is that the wife is the guardian of the law. Making her not only the carer for the estate but also the 'queen' and ruling with a firm hand, as seen in Xen. 7. The wife is this timid creature at the beginning of the account, and by the end is described as meeting her husband with complaints in how the house was run if she saw an issue with it. The lessons given to her make her grow visibly, it is a development we can see in the account. The roles of the female slaves are mentioned in conjunction with the wife. It is her duty and standing over them which is the focus rather than the reality of the slaves themselves. In Xen. 6 and 7 we see that the slaves were to be kept under strict control down to their reproduction. It was important for them not to be inactive as that would lead to laziness, but they were also to be kept content to not argue. There is a balance to be striven for in this idealistic account, for the perfect oikos.

3.3. Lysias

3.3.A. Description

In Lysias 1 defence speech *On the Murder of Eratosthenes*, the man Euphiletos is accused of the murder of Eratosthenes, his wife's lover. Athenian law had an allowance that, if a husband caught his wife's lover in the act of adultery, he could kill him and that was within the scope of the law. There was another option to the husband, he could instead demand financial compensation from the other party, this option had become the more common type of settlement in Athens at this time. Euphiletos found Eratosthenes with his wife and killed him in front of witnesses. This speech is now him having to prove that the killing was not premeditated murder but both legal and understandable. So, the result Euphiletos wishes from this appeal is to present himself as a credible character with a convincing account of events. He tries to appear honest, hardworking, and perhaps a little gullible, in short, an ordinary Athenian with whom a jury of other, ordinary Athenians could be expected to sympathize.

Main extracts from the texts. The parts which will be the basis of the discussion:

**Lys. 1:**

Now, Athenians, when I decided to get married and brought a wife into my house, for some time I did not wish to impose on her or let her be too free to do whatever she wanted. I used to keep an eye on her as far as I could and give her a suitable amount of attention. But from the time my son was born I began to have more confidence in her, and I gave her full responsibility for my house, as I believed this to be the best type of domestic arrangement.\(^{52}\)

This describes the setting of the marriage, and how the husband treated the wife when they first married.

**Lys. 2:**

Well, in the beginning, Athenians, she was the best of all wives, for she was clever and frugal in her running of the house, and carefully supervised every aspect of its management. But when my mother died, her passing proved to be the cause of all my problems.\(^{53}\)

This shows the regard the husband had for his wife at the beginning of the marriage. The virtues which were important to him. This quote also starts to describe the corruption of the wife.

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\(^{52}\) Lys. 1.6.

\(^{53}\) Lys. 1.7.
Lys. 3:

It was at her funeral, which my wife attended, that she was seen by this man and was eventually seduced. You see, by keeping watch for the times when our slave girl went to market and by propositioning her, he corrupted her.  

This quote introduces the lover, how this man first saw the wife, and how the lovers become acquainted.

Lys. 4:

First of all, gentlemen, for I must also explain such details to you, I have a modest, two storey house, which has equal space for the women's and men's quarters on the upper and lower floors. When our child was born its mother nursed it, and, so that she would not risk a fall on her way downstairs whenever the baby needed bathing, I took to living on the upper level while the women lived downstairs.

This section describes the house and the layout of the building. Here we also learn of the child the husband and wife have. The birth of this child changed the use of the rooms, moving the wife downstairs and the husband upstairs into what had been the women's quarter.

Lys. 5:

I laughed, and she got up, closed the door as she left, pretending it was a joke, and drew the bolt across. Thinking there was nothing serious in this, and not suspecting a thing, I happily settled down to sleep as I had come back from my farm work.

In this section, the wife locks the husband in his room. The husband sees this as a joke and sees nothing wrong with this at this point.

Lys. 6:

So saying, gentlemen, she went away, while I was immediately confused as everything began to come back to me. I was full of suspicion as I reflected on how I was locked in my room, and I remembered that on that night the inner and outer doors made a noise -- this had never happened before -- and I thought my wife was wearing make-up. Every detail came to my mind, and I was full of suspicion.

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54 Lys. 1.8.
55 Lys. 1.9.
56 Lys. 1.13.
57 Lys. 1.17.
This quote is the beginning of the end, the husband is remembering the different actions of his wife and becomes suspicious of what they mean. This quote even brings up the use of makeup, which is a negative action as it was close to the death of the wife's brother.

Lys. 7:

I went home and told the slave-girl to come with me to the market. I took her to a friend's home, and said that I knew about everything that was going on in my house. "So you," I said, "can have your choice, either to be beaten and thrown into the mill and suffer endless torture, or to confess the whole truth, receive no punishment, but instead be pardoned by me for the wrongs you have done. Tell me no lies, but speak the whole truth."  

This quote shows the actions of the husband towards the slave girl, the same slave girl who had ferried the messages between the lovers from the beginning. The threat of torture is mentioned in passing, but no large amount of time is spent on it.

Lys. 8:

She denied it at first, and told me to do what I liked because, she said, she knew nothing. Yet when I mentioned the name of Eratosthenes to her, and said that he was the one visiting my wife, she panicked, because she imagined that I knew every detail of the whole affair. Right then she fell at my knees, and, getting me to promise that she would come to no harm, she confessed first how he approached her after the funeral, [20] then how she ended up carrying his messages, how my wife in time was won over, how he entered the house, and how, during the Thesmophoria when I was at the farm, my wife had gone to the temple with that man's mother. She explained everything else that happened as well.  

This quote shows the slave girl changing her loyalty from the wife to the husband. This shift is due to fear, that she would be punished as well. The slave girl explains the whole affair to her husband.

Lys. 9:

You hear, gentlemen, that it lays down that if anyone rapes a free man or child, he owes double the damages. If he rapes a woman, in those cases that carry the penalty of death, he is liable at the same rate. Thus, gentlemen, rapists are thought to deserve a lighter penalty than

58 Lys. 1.18.
seducers, because the law condemned the latter to death, but assigned double the amount of the damages to the former.\(^{60}\)

This quote discusses the legal ramifications of an affair in comparison to rape. A rapist does not get as heavy punishment. A seducer gains a much higher punishment.

**Lys. 10:**

The assumption is that those who achieve their aims by force are hated by those they have violated, while seducers so corrupt the souls of their victims that they make other men's wives more intimate with them than they are with their husbands. They make the whole house theirs, and it becomes unclear to which father the children belong, the husband or the seducer.

Because of this the lawmaker assigned death as the penalty for seducers.\(^{61}\)

This section continues the description from the last section. It shows that the seducer is a threat to the entire oikos, which a rapist was not. A seduced woman was a danger to the oikos, a raped woman was violated and filled with hatred.

**3.3.B. Analysis**

As the account is that of a law court speech, the action described by the speaker has already happened. The actions taken by the women found in this account are not portrayed in a positive light. The wife was seduced and 'corrupted' by the lover, Eratosthenes. The corruption was not simply of the wife, but also the oikos. Eratosthenes disgraced the children and Euphiletos, the husband, by entering the house. When Euphiletos married his wife, he kept her in seclusion, making sure that she did not have the freedom to do whatever she wanted. But he also describes that he kept himself away from her, to not 'impose' on her. He kept watch over her and gave her "a suitable amount of attention", as described in Lys. 1. After she gave him a child, he gave her more freedom and more responsibility around the house. She is described as the best of wives, a clever woman with a head for running the house. Taking to the management of the estate with ease. After Eratosthenes saw the wife at the funeral, it is implied that he started asking around for her identity and finding out her routine. After getting information out of a slave in the wife's household he also involved his mother in this seduction. The slave girl carried messages from between the lovers and this won over the wife. While doing her religious duties in the city, at the Thesmophoria the mother of

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\(^{60}\) Lys. 1.32.

\(^{61}\) Lys. 1.33.
Eratosthenes accompanied her. The slave girl helps facilitate the affair and later helps the husband interact with all other individuals in this account. The slave girl provokes the baby to cry, giving the wife an excuse to leave the room and be away.\textsuperscript{62} The girl has all the secrets of her mistress and until the threat of pain and torture does keep the secret. As can be seen in Lys. 7 The girl was brought by Euphiletos to the home of another man who threatened her with violence. It is first after this that the slave girls' actions start to help Euphiletos rather than his wife.

Euphiletos marks the death and funeral of his mother as the beginning of his wife's corruption, as it was at the funeral she was seen by Eratosthenes. In Lys. 4 Euphiletos describes how the women's quarters were placed on the second floor, when the child was born the women moved downstairs so that the wife could be close to the child at night, showing that there was flexibility when it came to the running of the household. Rooms were able to shift their use depending on the needs of the inhabitants. In Lys. 9 & 10 Euphiletos notes the difference between rapists and seducers, that while rapists are bad seducers are worse as they poison the entire family of the woman, claiming her loyalty and affection from the husband and bringing the legitimacy of children in doubt. Eratosthenes, as mentioned in Lys. 8, had the slave girl carry messages back and forth. She also mentioned all the details Euphiletos mentions he 'learned later' at the beginning of the speech. Meaning the slave girl is the one giving him all the knowledge of the affair. This implies that she was in the confidence of the wife, the wife, and the lover had not concealed anything from her. After the threat of torture, the slave girl's loyalty shifts from the wife to Euphiletos and so she helps him catch the lovers in the act. She informs Euphiletos when Eratosthenes returns to the house and is made to stand watch.\textsuperscript{63}

There are three women found in this text. The wife and the mother, are roles in themselves, but they also contain the role of the religious women. There is also the role of the slave girl, noticeable that she is not considered a woman. The norm of a husband and wife is to live in a partnership. In this text, the divide between husband and wife becomes noticeable through small shifts in behaviour. The wife is actively placing doubt in the relationship and projecting what is happening to her on her husband. After this the wife locks him into the room, she does not unlock the door until morning. At this point, she has painted her face with makeup, not something socially acceptable as her brother had died the month before.\textsuperscript{64}

\textsuperscript{62} Lys. 1.11.
\textsuperscript{63} Lys. 1.23.
\textsuperscript{64} Lys. 1.14.
wife becomes over time a corrupt creature, that brings nothing but bad things to the home. The mother of Eratosthenes uses the guise of being an older, religious woman to gain access to the wife. This created more affection between the lovers, widening the fracture in the oikos. An older woman helping a younger woman with her religious duty could be a guise to carry messages.

The implication is also that the mother is not a virtuous woman, as she is actively helping her son in the corruption of another's wife. The wife is meant to be a protector of the oikos, the corruption of the wife shows that a wife holds the key to keeping the oikos dignified. The mother is to care for her children, to care for them and raise them to take their place as proper citizens of the polis. The mother in this text uses their nurturing to corrupt and destroy. The wife of Euphiletos is a new mother, using the excuse of her child to remove herself from her husband. The mother of Eratosthenes shows her care for her son by helping him have an affair with the wife of another man. The slave girl stays loyal, to a fault. This is what a slave was to do, which is to follow the norm. The exception to the norm is that she is loyal to a corrupt individual. Her loyalty is divided, and she changes sides throughout the text. After she is found out she starts helping Euphiletos. The act of using the slave girl to spy and inform him is part of why the case became contentious, the reason that Eratosthenes family claims it was premeditated murder and not justice. The loyalty of the slave girl is reproached when it is to the wife, the one being corrupted. But when she shifts to the husband she is spoken of in neutral terms.

The women found in this text are all described in one way or another as duplicitous. They are behaving badly and outside the bounds of society. The wife is never seen or heard from, but we know she has developed a duplicitous nature, influenced by Eratosthenes and his mother. The mother, while we do not know what she thought of the affair helped her son, actively by spending time with the wife. The slave girl is an active helper to both Eratosthenes and the wife. All the women in the account make active choices and have in one way or another claimed freedom in which to further the affair. The account shows that women had freedom in daily life but is framed in such a way as to make this a negative. Freedom led to the destruction of the oikos.

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65 Lys. 1.37–38.
3.4. Demosthenes

3.4.A. Description

Demosthenes 59, *Theomnestus and Apollodorus against Neaera*, is a law court speech. The speech accuses the woman Neaera of representing herself as an Athenian citizen, and through this deception living as is married to another citizen. This was at the time against the law, Athenian citizens could not marry anyone other than other Athenians at this time. She was a courtesan in Corinth, which is the city she was from. She left Corinth and after coming to Athens started to live with the Athenian man Stephanus. The case against her is that she violated the marriage laws of Athens. For not only was she not a citizen of Athens she was a hetaera. Neaera was also the mother of three children, though Stephanus claimed that the mother was his first wife. This resulted in the daughter, Phano, of Stephanus being drawn into the case. She had been married off to an Athenian man, under false pretences, making her new husband another plaintiff in the case. In this case, we will look past what Neaera and Phano were accused of and infer what proper women would have done. Phanos's name was originally Strybele but was later changed to Phano, which is also what will be used for her in this thesis.

Main extracts from the texts. The parts which will be the basis of the discussion:

**Dem. 1:**

And more than this, his other daughter would never have been given in marriage; for who would ever have taken to wife a portionless girl from a father who was a debtor to the treasury and without resources? Of such magnitude, you see, were the calamities which Stephanus was bringing upon us all without ever having been wronged by us in any respect. To the jurors, therefore, who at that time decided the matter I am deeply grateful for this at least, that they did not suffer Apollodorus to be utterly ruined, but fixed the amount of the fine at one talent, so that he was able to discharge the debt, although with difficulty. With good reason, then, have we undertaken to pay Stephanus back in the same coin.\(^{66}\)

This quote describes the necessary circumstances for a marriage and the resources needed for an Athenian marriage to work.

**Dem. 2:**

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\(^{66}\) Dem. 59.8.
Now, men of the jury, I would have you ask yourselves, considering in your own minds the natural course of events, what I could have done with myself and my wife and my sister, if it had fallen to the lot of Apollodorus to suffer any of the injuries which this fellow Stephanus plotted to inflict upon him in either the former or the latter trial, or how great were the disgrace and the ruin in which I should have been involved.67

This section plays on the jurors' conscience, making sure that their female relatives are on their minds.

Dem. 3:

And as Stephanus here sought to deprive me of my relatives contrary to your laws and your decrees, so I too have come before you to prove that Stephanus is living with an alien woman contrary to the law; that he has introduced children not his own to his fellow-clansmen and demesmen; that he has given in marriage the daughters of courtesans as though they were his own; that he is guilty of impiety toward the gods; and that he nullifies the right of your people to bestow its own favors, if it chooses to admit anyone to citizenship; for who will any longer seek to win this reward from you and to undergo heavy expense and much trouble in order to become a citizen, when he can get what he wants from Stephanus at less expense, assuming that the result for him is to be the same?68

This quote describes the consequences of the choice of living with a non-Athenian woman as if she was his wife. The destruction of citizenship that introducing non-Athenian children to the polis might lead to.

Dem. 4:

If an alien shall live as husband with an Athenian woman in any way or manner whatsoever, he may be indicted before the Thesmothetae by anyone who chooses to do so from among the Athenians having the right to bring charges. And if he be convicted, he shall be sold, himself and his property, and the third part shall belong to the one securing his conviction. The same principle shall hold also if an alien woman shall live as wife with an Athenian, and the Athenian who lives as husband with the alien woman so convicted shall be fined one thousand drachmae.69

67 Dem. 59.11.
68 Dem. 59.13.
69 Dem. 59.16.
This quote contains the basis of the law which has been broken in this text. Stephanus has been living with and claimed that Neaera is his wife. The consequence of this, if they were convicted was that Stephanus might lose all his possession and his citizenship.

**Dem. 5:**

Please call Euphiletus, son of Simon, of Aexonê, and Aristomachus, son of Critodemus, of Alopecê. "Witnesses Euphiletus son of Simon, of Aexonê, and Aristomachus son of Critodemus, of Alopecê, depose that they know that Simus the Thessalian came to Athens for the great Panathenaea, and that Nicaretê came with him, and Neaera, the present defendant; and that they lodged with Ctesippus son of Glaucônides, and that Neaera drank with them as being a courtesan, while many others were present and joined in the drinking in the house of Ctesippus." 70

This quote shows that Neaera drank alone with men, something that was against the moral laws. Thus, is further proof of her not being like the proper women.

**Dem. 6:**

The daughter of this woman Neaera, whom she brought with her as a small child to the house of Stephanus, and whom they then called Strybele, but now call Phano, was given in marriage by this fellow Stephanus as being his own daughter to an Athenian, Phrastor, of Aegilia; and a marriage portion of thirty minae was given with her. When she came to the house of Phrastor, who was a laboring man and one who had acquired his means by frugal living, she did not know how to adjust herself to his ways, but sought to emulate her mother's habits and the dissolute manner of living in her house, having, I suppose, been brought up in such licentiousness. 71

This section describes the marriage between Phano and Phrastor, an important factor in this case as this broke many of the laws of Athens.

**Dem. 7:**

Phrastor, seeing that she was not a decent woman and that she was not minded to listen to his advice, and, further, having learned now beyond all question that she was the daughter, not of Stephanus, but of Neaera, and that he had been deceived in the first place at the time of the betrothal, when he had received her as the daughter, not of Neaera, but of Stephanus by an

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70 Dem. 59.25.
71 Dem. 59.50.
Athenian woman, whom he had married before he lived with Neaera—angered at all this and considering that he had been treated with outrage and hoodwinked, he put away the woman after living with her for about a year, she being pregnant at the time, and refused to pay back the marriage portion.\(^{72}\)

This section highlights the differences between Phano and proper Athenian women. She did not embody the virtues that she ought, she took after her mother. The consequence of her being found out was that her husband had her removed from his home, even as she was pregnant.

**Dem. 8:**

If anyone shall give an alien woman in marriage to an Athenian man, representing her as being related to himself, he shall lose his civic rights and his property shall be confiscated, and a third part of it shall belong to the one who secures his conviction. And anyone entitled to do so may indict such a person before the Thesmophoria, just as in the case of usurpation of citizenship.\(^{73}\)

This shows the extreme consequences of the lies, the loss of civic rights being one of the worst punishments. This punishing not only the one getting the punishment, but also later generations.

**Dem. 9:**

they came while he lay sick and had no one to care for him, bringing him the medicines suited to his case and looking after his needs; and you know of yourselves what value a woman has in the sick-room, when she waits upon a man who is ill—well, he was induced to take back and adopt as his son the child whom the daughter of this woman Neaera had borne after she was sent away from his house in a state of pregnancy, after he had learned that she was the daughter, not of Stephanus, but of Neaera, and was angered at their deceit.\(^{74}\)

This describes the duties of women in the oikos, caring for the household. When a family member was sick, she was the one to take care of them. As such the lies Neaera and Stephanus mocked the sanctity of this.

**Dem. 10:**

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\(^{72}\) Dem. 59.51.  
\(^{73}\) Dem. 59.52.  
\(^{74}\) Dem. 59.56.
And this woman offered on the city's behalf the sacrifices which none may name, and saw what it was not fitting for her to see, being an alien; and despite her character she entered where no other of the whole host of the Athenians enters save the wife of the king only; and she administered the oath to the venerable priestesses who preside over the sacrifices, and was given as bride to Dionysus; and she conducted on the city's behalf the rites which our fathers handed down for the service of the gods, rites many and solemn and not to be named. If it be not permitted that anyone even hear of them, how can it be consonant with piety for a chance-comer to perform them, especially a woman of her character and one who has done what she has done?75

This section describes the consequences of 'alien' women gaining access to spaces meant for only Athenian women. The destruction that can come from it, is the threat to civic life.

Dem. 11:

Thus the people testified to their own piety toward the god, and left it as a deposit for future generations, showing what type of woman we demand that she shall be who is to be given in marriage to the god, and is to perform the sacrifices.76

This describes the religious duty of Athenian women; she is important for the future of Athens.

Dem. 12:

To prove the truth of these statements of mine, I will call before you as witness to these facts Theogenes himself, and will compel him to testify.

Call, please, Theogenes of Erchia.1

Deposition

Theogenes of Erchia deposes that when he was king he married Phano, believing her to be the daughter of Stephanus, and that, when he found he had been deceived, he cast the woman away and ceased to live with her, and that he expelled Stephanus from his post of assessor, and no longer allowed him to serve in that capacity.77

75 Dem. 59.73.
76 Dem. 59.76.
77 Dem. 59.84.
The testimony of Theogenes, about his marriage to Phano shows that Stephanus and Neaera married Phano with a purpose in mind. They had Phano marry so that Stephanus could gain more power.

Dem. 13:

And the women, when they have heard, will say, "Well, what did you do?" And you will say, "We acquitted her." At this point the most virtuous of the women will be angry at you for having deemed it right that this woman should share in like manner with themselves in the public ceremonials and religious rites; and to those who are not women of discretion you point out clearly that they may do as they please, for they have nothing to fear from you or the laws. For if you treat the matter with indifference or toleration, you will yourselves seem to approve of this woman's conduct.78

This shows that the female relatives of the jury are used to influence them. The idea that the women would be upset about an acquittal being used to make sure the judgment was to Apollodorus's liking.

Dem. 14:

I would, then, have each one of you consider that he is casting his vote, one in the interest of his wife, one of his daughter, one of his mother, and one in the interest of the state and the laws and of religion, in order that these women may not be shown to be held in like esteem with the harlot, and that women who have been brought up by their relatives with great care and in the grace of modesty and have been given in marriage according to the laws may not be seen to be sharing on an equal footing with a creature who in many and obscene ways has bestowed her favors many times a day on all comers, as each one happened to desire.79

They speak of what the morals of women were to be, that Athenian women were to be held to a higher standard than other women.

Dem. 15:

For this is what living with a woman as one's wife means—to have children by her and to introduce the sons to the members of the clan and of the deme, and to betroth the daughters to husbands as one's own. Mistresses we keep for the sake of pleasure, concubines for the daily care of our persons, but wives to bear us legitimate children and to be faithful guardians of

78 Dem. 59.111.
79 Dem. 59.114.
our households. If, therefore, Stephanus had previously married an Athenian woman, and these children are hers and not Neaera's, he could have shown it by the most certain evidence, by delivering up these women-servants for the torture.³⁸⁰

This section explains the different uses men had for women, and what the different types of women were. These roles are all in connection to what they brought to the men, not what they did.

3.4.B. Analysis

The speech begins with Theomnestus explaining why he is the one bringing the case to the court, Stefanos' actions had disgraced his family and were a threat to the civic rights of the city.³⁸¹ In Dem. 1 we see the need for a family to have some means so that the daughters in the family could be married. "For who would ever have taken to wife a portionless girl from a father who was a debtor to the treasury and without resources?".³⁸² This is an example of the status of women, their marriage was not only the question of the two getting married but also the families. The women of the families are something precious to be protected and cared for, that will care for the men in turn. In Dem. 11 the jury is asked to think of their wives and daughters, and what they would have done if anyone threatened their financial well-being.

This case shows that the acts of women could bring shame or honour to their families and that women acting as Neaera acts not only against social conventions but against the gods themselves. In Dem. 4 the law which has been broken is read out. Non-Athenian women were not proper, and Stephanus brought home a non-Athenian woman and her children steals the honour given to true Athenian women by birth.³⁸³ This law shows that Athenian women were placed on a higher pedestal than non-Athenian women. Even children from such a union were not permitted. Citizenship was an important aspect of life and as such the protection of those holding the key to legitimate children was important. In Dem. 5 Neaera is described as drinking with men while acting as a courtesan. Meaning that this act, drinking with men was something forbidden, something proper women were not to do. In Dem. 6 – 8 the deception of Stephanus and Neaera, having someone marry the daughter of an 'alien' become an important part of the case against them. To marry an outsider could cause the defendant to lose their

³⁸⁰ Dem. 59.122.
³⁸¹ Dem. 59.1.
³⁸² Dem. 59.8.
³⁸³ Dem. 59.13.
civic rights. Thus, Phano has through deception been granted access to a space not made for her. The marriage between Phano and Phrastor was not a good one, as Phano did not know how to fit into his household and instead emulated the ways of Neaera, as is seen in Dem. 6. In Dem. 12 we can see that this marriage was not the only one made for Phano, as she also married Theogenes of Erchia with the same lie. After finding out the truth the woman was removed from the home of the man she had married, and Stephanus was removed from his position in the city.

The narrative comes to us from Apollodorus and Theomnestus, they are the wronged party. As such the narrative is skewed. Proper Athenian women are used as a prop to show the proper way to interact with the polis. Neaera and Phano are the dangerous outsiders, here to corrupt the polis from the inside. As this is a law court speech the biased narrative is understandable. The speaker needs to cast doubt on the other side to win the case. The speakers are trying to appeal to the jury's sense of civic duty. Lying about Neaera's children's birth they were able to pass them as legitimate Athenian citizens. This lie elevates the children to a station that grants them a great deal of privilege. For Phano this makes a marriage to an Athenian man possible. The disparaging comments directed at the women do show what 'proper' women would /should have done in the same circumstance. Neaera dines alone with men, which is noted as especially scandalous.

As can be seen in Dem. 13 Athenian women in public were to be modest, take part in the religious life of Athens and do their part in the civic duties in the city. Rich or poor the laws provide girls with "adequate dowry". The fear Apollodorus is trying to invoke in Dem. 14 is that if Neaera is acquitted Athenian women will face hardship, and their worth would diminish as one could no longer be sure they are true-born Athenian girls. The different levels of women that existed in Athens and their roles are defined in Dem. 15 by Apollodorus as "Mistresses we keep for the sake of pleasure, concubines for the daily care of our persons, but wives to bear us legitimate children and to be faithful guardians of our households". Women were to care for the ill members of their families, and even those of friends. The care of a woman in the sick room is noted to have value in Dem. 9. The religious duties of the Athenian women were held in high esteem, the rites were to be witnessed and performed by Athenian women only and no other was allowed in where they were performed. The rites were held by Athenian women alone, and the details were not allowed to be named, as mentioned in Dem. 10. As such the account is showing Athens, the polis at large, what a danger that women from other places bring. Not only to men but to their women and the polis itself. Foreign women
being able to exist and through duplicitous means gain access to rights held by citizen women puts the men at risk of ending up in a position to lose their citizenship.
4. Discussion

4.1. The limitations of space and the norm

The evidence of female seclusion, also described as 'oriental seclusion', is not explicitly stated. The economic restrictions put on Athenian women kept them dependent on the men in their lives. The topic of domestic life is not one focused on in the literary sources. As can be seen in Dem 13, the regard women had for the men in their lives was important. In other works of Demosthenes, we see that unrelated men entering the 'female quarters' of the home was a great source of shame. Keeping the women removed from the outside world was an ideal situation and is described in all three cases. This is not a possible reality for all households, practicality demands otherwise. But it is an ideal of the elite. The wife, found in the Oeconomicus is an idealised image of a wife. Not only of the wife but an idealised image of the household, a smooth-running machine, where the husband and wife work as complementary pieces. Xenophon notes that both are created especially for their roles, by nature, it is not something decided by people but predestined. Men were meant for outdoor chores and women for the chores indoors. In the household created in Oeconomicus, it is not only the wife that stays indoors but all women down to the slaves.84 This shows that this is not a real case, as the slave women would have been the ones getting water from the well and other such tasks.

As mentioned in both Xenophon and Lysias there is a description of the two separate areas. While these are not placed in the same places in the different homes this could be a result of different styles of homes. Xen. 6 mentions how the female quarters are on the same floor as the men's quarters. In Lys. 4, Euphiletos notes that the female quarters were above the men, so not only removed to different rooms but on another floor entirely. In both cases this separation is lifted as something proper, this was the way it was meant to be. Proper Athenian women were meant to stay away from the public space, but perhaps this is a more complicated issue than 'women are to stay indoors'. There is a notion of untouchability that exists when it comes to the wives and daughters of the higher classes, the separation of the male and female spheres is simply the visible part of this. The space behind the doors of the estate was the world of the Athenian women, the outside was not fit for women. The women, according to Xenophon, because of them not being equipped to deal with the outside the way men were. This was not just a social reason, but the very nature made men more able to work

84 Antonaccio 2000, 522.
outside and women indoors. The rich seclude their women, but there is also the aspect that this is a Socratic philosophic text written for men. While this text gives us insight into the female reality, it is a text with a clear agenda, not an objective truth. But it is not the only ancient text that mentions female seclusion, the very homes have been interpreted to have been separated into male and female quarters in the texts. These interpretations are difficult to prove with archaeological evidence and the 'male/female spaces' might be more of a social idea rather than a firm architectural phenomenon. That the house was divided into men's and women's spaces might have been built into the homes. Archaeology has shown that dividing up property with strict lines between men and women is difficult. While houses of the rich might have been able to do this the lower classes might have just had to make do with what they could get. Houses that have fewer rooms might not have been possible to divide like this, as the space was needed to fill many functions.

One task that women did in the household was weaving, this is a task that requires good lighting, and depending on the house and layout the best light might move around the home during the day. So most probably the male and female spaces moved throughout the day and possibly the year. This could perhaps have been a widespread tradition and been true for the classical Greek houses. So, the gendered spaces were probably a fluid idea, it would be impractical to draw hard lines throughout the home. So, the women's quarters might have been a more social construct than an architectural design.

Gendered space in contemporary sociological theories, has been explored as a tool of control over women by men. Secluding women puts them in a controlled area, where they naturally can be observed by those striving for control. In all three texts, there is a theme of control, the men attempt to control the women's actions. Female ritual space is the one sphere where men were not allowed and as such this was a 'free' space. The Greek homes were built principally as single-entrance courtyard houses. This type of home does not lead to physically built-in gendered space. Leading to the idea that the separation of female family members where the result of social pressures, rather than a physical division between men and women. In both Xenophon and Lysias there, as mentioned, space meant for women only, but these were probably rooms with doors that were able to be locked and not specifically built from the beginning to be 'female space'.

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85 Everly 2017, 133f.
In the material, there is an emphasis on the physical space, the house in which they inhabit as important. There is a divide in the social norm, between what is proper to share with outsiders and what is to be kept private for the family only. In the writings of Lysias and Demosthenes the emphasis on the 'inner sanctum' of the house is not available to guests and that this is the space where the women existed. There is shame and scandal in outsiders gaining access to this space. So, when Euphiletos describes the lover having gained access to the female rooms of the house, is part of the overall scandal as this intrusion destroys not only their marriage but also the social space created in the house. 88

If we use the networks found in the homes to see the gendered spaces in the community the borders created the movement made within them. "Built environment provides cues for social behaviour", the space is built in one way and the movements one can make within it shapes the social norms. The movement of the individual is based on the cultural expectations that they were taught by the community, it is about conformity, fitting in, and doing one's duty. As such the physical environment is created to reinforce the rules. 89 So, when we look at the house plans and city layout there might not be spaces that would denote exclusive use, that could have been used by women to keep them separate, rather the space is more flexible and can change based on individual needs. This can be seen in Lysias when Euphiletos needs to describe the arrangement in his home, while there are no questions about the space being arranged with the women on another floor, there is a need to explain it.

The estate is described as a microcosmos, it contains all of that which the polis does. Ischomachus takes his new wife on a guided tour on her arrival in her new home, in quite a structured way. 90 The home contained many important aspects needed to run, not only the estate but also a larger community. It was a centre for production and a place where children were raised to take their place in society. As both aspects were to be taken care of by the wife the things shown to the wife reflect this. The productions mentioned are weaving and cooking, the wool and crops were to be refined by the women to be of use for the entire oikos. The children raised in the estate were to reflect well on the husband, or a son who will take over the property and gain citizenship. If it was a daughter, she was to be married to an Athenian man and take on a role just like her mothers in her new household. The daughters were brought up for this, but not taught much outside of this, to make sure that the husband

88 Antonaccio 2000, 522.
89 Antonaccio 2000, 529.
90 Xen. Oec. 7–10.
might impart the knowledge he prefer his wife to have.\textsuperscript{91} She was the one to care for the oikos, making sure that everyone stayed on task and did not fall into laziness, herself included.\textsuperscript{92} So, in this ideal world, women were meant to stay active, but in such a way that was proper and could be done indoors.\textsuperscript{93}

There is never a mention of seclusion in Xenophon's account of women's lives, but there is separation. But not that she must be kept away from everyone. Indeed, the wife is an active participant in the everyday life of the household. Her duties only concerned the home, but this does not mean she never leaves it, to go to market or attend festivals. It is seemly for women to remain indoors. The sphere inside belongs to her, and it is appropriate for her to remain there.\textsuperscript{94} The chores within the home produce goods that could be turned into a profit, and for women of lower classes, this might be of necessity. The wife in \textit{Oeconomicus} is told that her chore is to make usable goods out of the resources brought in. In times of need, this could make an extra income. Women learned weaving from a young age, and that was women of all classes, making this one way for the wife to contribute an income.\textsuperscript{95}

The idea of keeping the wife in seclusion was not something plausible for all stations of society. The lower classes simply could not do so. This freedom of the lower classes is a double-edged sword as the ideal is being able to keep one's wife at home. Another reason that secluding the women always would not be practical is that one of the civic duties of the women was to help and support the people they knew, both family and friends. A more probable notion would be that individuals were not to enter the other gender's space for reasons outside of practical need. As mentioned in Xenophon men and women were built by nature to do specific chores and they were specially equipped for them and not for the ones of the opposite gender. Women could be hired to do labour that would have been classified as male chores, and this might mean that the demarcation within a social space is not as ridged as written about.\textsuperscript{96} In Lysias, Euphiletos mentions that a reorganisation of the rooms after the birth of the son was important for the daily lives of the inhabitants to run smoothly. As such it might be more like the double standard that exists to this day, men would not do female chores as they are beneath them, but women would take on male chores as they are practical duties that simply need to be done.\textsuperscript{97}

\textsuperscript{91} Xen. Oec. 7.  
\textsuperscript{92} Xen. Oec, 10.  
\textsuperscript{93} Walker 1983, 82.  
\textsuperscript{94} Just 1989, 117.  
\textsuperscript{95} Brock 1994, 338.  
\textsuperscript{96} Cohen 1989, 4–7.  
\textsuperscript{97} Brock 1994, 345.
There are events mentioned in other works of Demosthenes where the virtue of mothers is called into question. One such example is when Demosthenes' mother is being used as proof that she is no citizen and as such neither is he. The proof was that she had worked outside the home for money. This was something not to be done by citizen women as this would be beneath her. Demosthenes retorts that women had to undertake work as poverty was something that could happen to everyone, be they citizens or not, and that his mother worked to care for her family and child. As this was the main duty of a mother, care for her child, the just should look upon this with sympathy.  

The underlying notion is that working women are seen as unseemly, it is degrading for women to do paid work. Women were meant to be nurturers, and as such going outside the home and working for money no matter how 'unseemly' fit into the role of a nurturer if there was a need.

4.2. Status and Citizenship – breaking the norms

Within the accounts described, several types of roles define the women within. Women were important for Athenian citizenship; they are at the heart of the household and hold the key to male citizenship. As such the city cannot live without their women, but they are defined by what they can do for the city, for the men. Women birthing the citizens lead to the men needing control over the true-born Athenian girls. This creates a divide between proper Athenian women and the 'others' or as Demosthenes writes alien women. Both have their position in the city and as such their movements and spaces are shaped in different ways.

In Xen. 3 women are described as physically weaker than men, and this is by nature. There is also a reinforcement of the separation of indoors and outdoors. Public and private, what could be seen by everyone, and what was to be kept to the family. Perhaps this is a separation of male and female, the men acted in public while the women acted in private. The biggest theme of the Oeconomicus is that the men teach the women. The husband is to teach his wife how to do her chores and work. The women, according to Xenophon had to be taught by men and not other women. It is a common phenomenon that women and young girls are taught to tend to the home and the family, but the younger women are taught by older women most commonly their mothers. That Xenophon argues that the husband is meant to teach his wife is quite interesting.

99 Morgan 2007, 309.
Both Lysias and Demosthenes contain mention of the women's movement, in a negative light. Domestic and religious spaces are mentioned as open to women, as their duties are similar in both. As such women have the same power in both rooms. In Lysias the wife physically locks Euphiletos in a room, seizing control over the estate, placing herself as the most powerful individual there. She circumvents the natural social order and threatens the social structure. This act allows the lover, Eratosthenes, to gain entrance to the home. The wife's action destroys the space that had been created by society. While the wife acted by locking Euphiletos up, Eratosthenes was actively seducing her and even his mother helped in this endeavour. The Thesmophoria became a way for the lovers' mother to gain access to the wife and create more distance between husband and wife. The female ritual duty became part of the destruction of a marriage and ruining the oikos. Gendered space can be used as a method of social control by men. This corruption of space spreads further as the wife meets Eratosthenes' mother which furthers the corruption of the wife and the household. As such female rituals, meant to create a stronger oikos and polis, are part of the destruction of the family. There is a similar theme in Demosthenes 59, where Phano takes place in Anthesteria, a festival meant for married Athenian women, as an 'alien' she should have been forbidden to take part. Because of the lies of Neaera and Stephanus, the ritual was corrupted and invaded by outsiders. Apollodorus argues that the corruption of this space will have negative effects, not only on the involved but on the polis. In the case of adultery, any male could prosecute, if the case is found valid the husband is required to divorce the wife and she will be barred from religious rights. This was a public situation, the polis is involved in the integrity of the oikos, which can be seen in both Lysias and Demosthenes. This shows that while there is a divide between the public and the private, the demarcation between them is flexible and some aspects of life are subject to both spheres.

There is mention of the home as a place for the family, the oikos, and that the women in Demosthenes and Lysias have compromised this space. This creates a view of a divide between the private and public. In Oeconomicus the wife is meant to see her world as ending at the front door, meaning her life is to be lived in private away from public life. But public life cannot be kept out of the home, guests and work were brought home by the men, so the space had to be built to accommodate this. Lisa Nevett points out that threshold blocks indicate that certain rooms had closable doors, this is one way to control the flow of

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100 Lys. 1.19-20.
individuals within a space. By closing and opening doors, certain people would be on the inside and certain people on the outside. This also fits into the building of social space, when male guests arrived the women would sequester themselves in rooms away from the reception room, and such that space would now be the 'female space'. At the end of the day, physical space and the building of separate quarters is a question of money and social standing. It becomes a class issue, the upper classes can follow the trend of keeping the women at home, while lower class people cannot as they need the skills of the women to also bring in an income. This means that the movement of women outside the home is skewed as the women that most often frequent the outside are lower-class women. In larger houses, women could comfortably do their chores inside away from men all the while moving about the space freely, while smaller houses mean less space to move about freely.

The Athenian women depicted in the ancient texts are suppressed matrons, wives, and daughters. In visual imagery there is an aspect of female companionship, time spent with other women is spent while doing domestic chores, carrying water among other things. But this is still a clear divide between the two sources. Meaning that, while the text shows us the oppressive status of women, women were subservient to men and had little to no freedom. Whilst the vase paintings show us a level of freedom that the texts ignore. As the Greek homes were believed to have been separated, into male and female spheres, if the family was affluent enough the women would be kept in seclusion from the outside world. Doing chores and attending religious festivals. These interactions were what was expected of her.

The Athenian democracy is not available for women, this does not create an inclusive society, but a society built on hierarchy. This means that someone needs to be subservient, and it comes down to a lack of power. The men hold the power, and women must follow. The laws of Solon were a big influence on Athenian society and its treatment of women. What has been called a social reform, removing the right to sell children into slavery also made distinctions between so-called 'good' women and whores. These reforms were influential in the lives of Athenian women in the classical period. This change as the backdrop of the other texts is important, as it gives context to what the cultural thinking was when it came to the individuals living there. According to Plutarch, the laws of Solon gave men a greater latitude in naming beneficiaries in their wills if the will was not made "under the influence of sickness, drugs,
imprisonment, or when a man was the victim of compulsion or yielded to the persuasions of his wife”.\textsuperscript{106} Meaning female "persuasion" is put on the same level as deceit. While the laws of Solon forbid the act of selling children into slavery, there is a loophole in this law: "No man is allowed to sell a daughter or sister, unless he finds that she is no longer a virgin”.\textsuperscript{107} There is a weight of virtue and morality in these laws, most of which make women beholden to reaching a higher morality.

He also subjected the public appearance of the women, their mourning and their festivals, to a law that did away with disorder and licence. When they went out, they were not to wear more than three garments, they were not to carry more than an obol's worth of food or drink, nor a pannier more than a cubit high, and they were not to travel about by night unless they rode in a wagon with a lamp to light their way. Laceration of the flesh by mourners, the use of set lamentations, and the bewailing of anyone at the funeral ceremonies of another, he forbade.\textsuperscript{108}

While the laws are not directed toward women overtly, they do impact them. They were striving to eliminate strife among men, and women were often the cause of this strife.\textsuperscript{109} They equate sumptuous displays and women's unregulated behaviour as disruptive of the social order. Women were not completely without virtue, but this virtue was very different from the men.\textsuperscript{110} This set the scene for how Athenian women lived, and what the community at large looked like. These reforms fit in with the social ideal of women remaining separate from men. In Lysias 3 the man claims that his sisters and nieces were ashamed when men were present, even men of their own family.\textsuperscript{111} This was presented as evidence that the women were respectable. While the women are important in law-court speeches, their status is a point for either setting the scene or as evidence for the case. The women themselves are rarely named. The wife of Euphiletos whose lover has been killed is never named even though her action is discussed. Another example is Demosthenes who speaks about his mother and sister in five speeches relating to inheritance, neither woman is ever named. The way the women are identified is with their connection to the men.

\textsuperscript{106} Plut. Sol. 21.3.  
\textsuperscript{107} Plut. Sol. 23.2. – On the issue of slavery see Sol. 13.2-3.  
\textsuperscript{108} Plut. Sol. 21.4.  
\textsuperscript{109} Pomeroy 2015, 57.  
\textsuperscript{110} Stansbury-O'Donnell 2014, 225.  
\textsuperscript{111} Lys. 3.6.
While the ideal would have been to keep women secluded this could not have been possible for everyone. Aristotle mentions in *Politics*; "How is it possible to prevent the wives of the poor from going out of doors?".\(^{112}\) It would not be possible for the poor to have their economy work if parts of the household did not pull their weight. So, while it might be a sign of respectability for women to stay secluded, this would also be a class issue. It would therefore be a sign of both 'respectability' and of wealth to have their women in seclusion. That the house was divided into men's and women's spaces might have been built into the architecture but might also be a social divide. Certain rooms were in use by the men at certain times and by women at others, all depending on the needs of the household. Some responsibilities would have the women leave the home. And while the richer women would have servants and slaves, possibly it would not be possible for there to be so many servants that the women would never leave. Certain tasks could not be delegated to servants.

If it came to the point that women had to work outside the home, if the family needed the extra money, there were still demarcations preventing them from interacting with unrelated men.\(^ {113}\) On the other hand, in some areas of Athens, such as the Agora would have been a so-called "free space" where women and men could interact more openly.\(^ {114}\) There were social instances where women went outside, as visiting family and being of help to them were part of women's social duties.\(^ {115}\) While the ideal was for women to remain out of sight, there must have been practical needs that had priority. The connections to other people are important, and as such keeping in touch and helping family and friends would probably be an important aspect of life even if this did not fit into the ideal.

The strong wife is the ideal, as she is to be the representative of her husband in daily running of the oikos. The wife was to rule over the servants, she is not simply meant to sit about and do nothing. The wife was an extension of the husband in the home and kept the day-to-day tasks going in the way her husband wished them to. The wife was given absolute rule over the servants, she was meant to make sure that they were kept content as this would ensure a good household. This is exemplified in Xen. 6. As the sources focus on a specific class of women, the other classes and those that fall outside the norm are people that is only possible to speculate on. These cases touch on the realities of household routines, which is something that is not touched on in detail.\(^ {116}\) The reality of status and class is obvious, and so

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\(^{112}\) Arist. Pol. 1300a.  
\(^{113}\) Gould 1980, 48.  
\(^{114}\) Vlassopoulos 2007, 42.  
\(^{115}\) Cohen 1989, 8.  
\(^{116}\) Antonaccio 2000, 521.
is the reality of the lowest individuals on the scale, the outsider and slaves exist though it is difficult to see it. In both Xenophon and Lysias, there is a negative connotation placed on the vanity of the wives. In Xen. 8 and Lys. 6 the wives are described using makeup to enhance their appearance. In Xen. 8 this is negative as the wife is showing signs of vanity, trying to please her husband through artificial means. In Lys. the makeup is proof of her immodest behaviour, as she is doing this to appeal to her lover. The use of makeup in both accounts is proof of the wife not being virtuous, even though the aims of the wives are distinctly separate from each other. The wife in Lys. is not only being immoral for using makeup for her lover, but she is also immoral for being vain to close to the death of a relative. The appearance of the wife is a marker of her virtue, and she has compromised it through this action.

The wife was to make sure that the servants were content so that they would not do bad things. While women were subordinate to men, they did have some rights, and investigating them is thus difficult. The Athenian wife was able to divorce her husband but could not do this alone, without male assistance. The Oeconomicus is an important discussion of the roles of women, while it is a philosophical discussion centred on the respectability of women and how they uphold the household and the respectability of the men. So, the text does not focus on individual women and is more of a general idea of what a wife was supposed to do and be. While the discussion is about an ideal image of women and not about all Athenian women, it is focused on "economically upper-class Athenian family in exile in a foreign countryside".117

Ischomachus through his lessons to his wife creates a smaller version of Greek society, where the wife holds the power of an Athenian citizen. The husband is the leader of the nation and the wife the citizen, but this means she has the power to impeach him if she finds him lacking, as seen in passage 11.25. In the Athenian democracy women held little power, as they were not one of the peers called upon to make decisions or to vote, they did not have the right to do so. And so Athenian women held less power in the democracy than in an oligarchic society, where women of the elite had some influence. The divide between public and private became more noticeable during the democracy. Thus, the importance of Athenian women and their status became what they brought to the male citizen, which is legitimacy, they are the boundary with which the men became citizens.118 Xenophon presents the relationship between Ischomachus and his wife as an ideal, not as a reality.119 But it is an ideal that is hopeful, an idea to strive for, as the individuals the text is speaking to are identified as the dialogue

117 Oost 1978, 225.
118 Just 1989, 22f.
119 Just 1989, 114.
partner of Socrates, who questions the lessons Ischomachus impart on his wife. He gives his wife power that the other men in the text do not. She is to be the queen bee, the one in charge of everything domestic, and through this, she will win the esteem of the oikos.  

The ideal described by Ischomachus suggests that the ideal might become reality. "She had applied a great deal of white lead to her face, that she might seem fairer than she was." In Greek theatre the males who portrayed female characters wore white masks to mark their identity as women, this visual marking of women being pale shows that the ideal was for women to stay away from the sun. As such the female figure, in the visual iconography, can be used to explore Athenian civic values. The values conform to the male gaze narrative to suit the male dominance of Athenian culture. The vague status of women in visual media creates a place for artists and viewers to view women as abstract idea rather than an actual person. This means that the contemporary ideas of what the status of women was to be could easily be inferred from the visual media, creating an ideal vision without substance. Both in the visual and literary media the female figure is a performance of citizenship. Ischomachus's wife is the image of a good wife, taking her husband's lessons and without argument fitting into her role as the proper wife. In visual iconography, the female figure is used as a tool, either for positive or negative ideas.

The marriage of an Athenian man and woman and the obligations to it bleeds the personal into the public side of the society, which is displayed in Dem 13. These relate to the feelings and interests of Athenian women, that they would be upset about what the acquittal of Neaera would mean to them. What the results of a courtesan being considered on the same level as them would be? Apollodorus is playing on the fact that the women would be angry at their men. That this would threaten the wives' and daughters' position and as a result the position of the men, and any connections they would try to make through their female relatives. A married girl was to take the mantle of the kyria in her new household. This position granted the wife a great deal of power within the home. The movements of the women were in the hands of the husband, but within the home she held power. Thus, acquitting Neaera and Phano would bring instability to this position, as the power held by the kyria would be questioned in every oikos.

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120 Just 1989, 116.
121 Xen. Oec. 10.2.
122 Eaverly 2013, 136.
123 Thompson 2013, An index for masculinity.
124 Thompson 2013, An index for masculinity.
125 Just 1989, 42.
The shift in working conditions made a difference in the social structure and thus shaped the social space leading to a new gendered space for people to navigate. Women's chores moved indoors and thus became invisible.126 The wife became a needed but invisible part of Athenian society. Xenophon notes that women staying indoors might lead to the wife becoming lazy and this was not something to be strived for, the wife was to be an active participant of her oikos even though her contribution did not bring glory or wealth to the larger society. The wife held the oikos together while the husband furthered his agenda. Thus, part of the reason in Lysias that the defence is that he saw the lovers in the act that then the murder is simply an act of personal outrage. If the lovers are not caught in the act, there are legal courses for the husband, to charge the other man with seduction or rape. The act of seduction is punishable by death, as this creates a greater injury to the husband. While the rapist is less of a threat to the husband as he also gained the enmity of his female victim. The reason for this is less than the husband getting emotionally wounded and more the overall threat to the oikos.127

The advice we see from mother to daughter when it came to her future duties as a wife is in the *Oeconomicus*, the wife was to be modest, discrete, and wise. These lessons for the wife were meagre and according to Xenophon all that was needed as the wife should be taught the rest by her husband.128 One can assume that the wife has been taught the proper things by her mother, as that is the role she is meant to inhabit in the future. While there are no details on the lessons a young girl would have gotten from her mother, the lesson on being discreet could lend itself to the women having their own female culture away from the men. Marriage was meant to be a partnership, built to create a union and procreate.129 If one of the partners was taught to have 'discreet' be one of the main values, they were to inhibit the social space they inhabit becomes even less visible by nature.130

The partnership between husband and wife has been construed as a union without emotion, the social norms being to keep each other at arm's length. There are mentions in the cases of emotions between husband and wife. In *Oeconomicus*, Kritoboulos tells Socrates that he does not speak often to his wife, she is left to her own devices while he deals with the external affairs.131 The affairs of the household should be important to the man of the house,

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126 Pomeroy 2015, 71f.
129 Xen. Oec. 7.18-19 – One of Solon's laws was that a son must support his parents in their old age unless the son had not been taught a trade by his father.
130 Oost 1997, 232.
and as such the education of the wife should also be important.\textsuperscript{132} If the example of Kritoboulos and his wife is closer to a 'real' marriage than the ideal version of Ischomachus and his wife then the wife has much power over the oikos simply by default, and the husband is not there so she had to take charge to make everything work. Lysias 1 shows the affection between man and wife in another way. The husband explains how the affection and intimacy grew from the birth of the son. He does not feel growing affection towards her as a person but rather grew out of the establishment of a domestic unit and procreating of children. The relationship between them is a partnership, something practical not emotional.\textsuperscript{133} This affection might stem from a need from Euphiletos' side to establish their child as legitimate, but the need to proclaim them as growing closer might not have been needed for that.

In Xenophon and Lysias there is mention of slaves. In Xenophon the slaves are an important component of the estate, they belong to the estate. The wife is meant to care for them, but also rule over them and decide the 'breeding' between slaves, Xen. 6. The use of the term breeding, and the notion of outside decisions of whether or not two people 'breed' does create an image of slaves as property. In Lysias the slave girl is an active, if not consenting, participant in the affair between the wife and Eratosthenes. She is at first the messenger between the lovers, and after Euphiletos found out about the affair she is the informant for him. The slave girl can do all of this as no one cared what the slave did until her actions and deeds could be used for the gain of someone.

4.3. The exception to the norm

Lysias is a source for the law regarding adultery, especially after the Solon reform. So, it helps create an image of how adultery and its consequences were handled in ancient Greek society.\textsuperscript{134} There is a depiction of family life found at the beginning of the speech. In it, the wife locks, Euphiletos in a room and physically takes the power in the home, a role held by the head of the household, the man. This act allows the lover, Eratosthenes, to gain entrance to the home. The wife's action destroys the space that had been created by society.

Kinship is a strong force in Athenian society, and it plays a part not only in the oikos but also in the political sphere.\textsuperscript{135} The laws and customs mentioned in these accounts are those that shape the ways women moved in civic life, they shaped the moral standard of the polis.

\textsuperscript{132} Just 1989, 135f.
\textsuperscript{133} Just 1989, 137.
\textsuperscript{135} Just 1989, 126f.
The laws brought up in Lysias offered a system that could have secured the settlement of the dispute without resulting in violence.\textsuperscript{136} That the result was still the death of the lover is why the case is framed the way it was, it is the morality of Euphiletos that is also on the stand. Women lacked moderation according to the writers and so could not regulate their appetites, in any aspect of their lives. Most importantly they were all too sexual and would find it hard to reject the advances of handsome men even were he not their husband. And so, Athenian men feared that the wives could turn casual contact between them and unrelated men into adulterous affairs. The best example of this is in Lysias 1 where that is what the wife did.\textsuperscript{137}

Within the home women were expected to care for the children, the early childhood education was left to the mother. Contact with non-family males was not something that was encouraged. The main work for women was wool-working and weaving, which was possible to do while indoors. Women were the property of the man, first her father and then her husband. The faithfulness of women was of utmost importance, any women found being unfaithful was guilty of the crime of \textit{moicheia}.	extsuperscript{138} Unfaithfulness was not simply a threat to the marriage but to the male line of her husband, it threatened the legitimacy of her children and their future. To be found guilty of adultery was to be banned from civic life. There was a wildness to be found in a young girl, they needed to be tamed and the way to do so was marriage, the earlier the better. It was first after having a baby she was considered a creature of value, which can be seen in Xenophon. The different sources we have of ancient culture and the individuals that lived then often come to us from men. Most textual sources we have are written by men for a male audience. This means that the female sphere is difficult to see. It existed but to reach it is problematic since there is little to no physical evidence of it.

The law texts that restrict female life all centre on keeping society to a moral standard, and women were considered as lesser by Solon. Plutarch describes how Solon's laws restrict the mourning process, and when dealing with women the board of censors was to deal with it.\textsuperscript{139} The aspect of keeping women in seclusion was a social ideal. And probably this social idea is also a class idea. Families of the higher classes would have an easier time keeping their women separated. While the lower classes would need everyone to work and help the household even if that meant the women worked outside the home. There was a rapid

\textsuperscript{136} Levick 2012, 96.
\textsuperscript{137} Pritchard 2014, 56.
\textsuperscript{138} A term used for 'adultery', but referred specifically to the relations between an Athenian man and an Athenian woman, not his wife or concubine. See Wolicki 2007, 'MOICHEIA: ADULTERY OR SOMETHING MORE?' For a clearer definition.
\textsuperscript{139} Plut. Sol. 21.
expansion of Athens during the 4th century which had people focusing less on agricultural work and moving from the rural spaces and into urban areas. This move had women taking over the indoor jobs, caring for the household.\textsuperscript{140} Xenophon describes the ideal situation for a man and wife, Ischomachus household is this utopia. Through this Socratic dialogue, Xenophon is showing how he believes society should look.

In both Lysias and Xenophon, there is mention of separate quarters within the home. In Lysias' work, especially \textit{Against Simon}, this separation is emphasised to prove the respectability of the women and to create a vision of a demure and modest woman. This has been an accepted idea of how Athenian women lived. But possibly this is an idea that has to do with the class of citizens being discussed. The social sphere drawn up by Xenophon ends by the front door, the respectable women were model wives and the three parts of this role as brought up by Xenophon were to look after children, take care of the house and property, and oversee the servants. The main role of women, according to Xenophon, is to be a good wife. She is to be an extension of him within the home. To care for the home and the children that came from the union. It is not only society from which this notion comes but also the 'natural law which makes it easier for responsible women to care their children than to neglect them'.\textsuperscript{141} He also points out the differences between the genders, that they have different roles that are opposite to each other, as can be seen in Xen. 2. There is a clear emphasis on the importance of children, this is the goal of the union. Furthermore, the most important role for women was that of a wife and mother.

The Athenian women we meet in the cases are all demure and 'proper', but they are not always submissive. Ischomachus's wife is identified as the citizens of the polis, which questions him and holds him accountable when he shirks his duties. The wife of Euphiletos actively robs him of his freedom to lock him in. The Athenian women mentioned in Demosthenes are used to guilt the jury, as they would be upset and question the men if they acquit Neaera. This shows strength in the women, women that had things to say when it came to their own lives. Socially and economically women had power over men, even if this power was not visible everywhere.\textsuperscript{142}

\textit{Oeconomicus} in its description of the ideal image of a household, shows us that a man should be able to hand over the affairs of the oikos to the wife. The wife should, with supposedly little communication, be able to be a good leader for the oikos. At the same level

\textsuperscript{140} Pomeroy 2015, 71.
\textsuperscript{141} Xen. Oec. 9.4.
\textsuperscript{142} Just 1989, 4.
as the husband. Xenophon mentions that while the husband is the one in charge of the economy, the wife is in control of the expenses day to day.\textsuperscript{143} The primary reason for an Athenian marriage was procreation, to create more citizens for the polis. After the birth of a child, the mother is the most important person to it, the Athenian mother had all the power over the early years of the child, she cared for it and nurtured it. Ischomachus's wife is taught to be a nurturer, making her role of mother her primary role. The question of citizenship is the reason that Athenian marriages were scrutinized to the extent they were. Citizenship was a powerful status; something was closed to the masses.

The laws surrounding marriage and legitimacy were codified to keep the exclusivity of the status. The reason why Euphiletos is making sure to keep the legitimacy of their child out of the courts' interest, is that after the birth of the son, the purpose of the marriage was fulfilled. It could be argued that this is an attempt to keep both his child's and his wife's dowry. "A cuckolded husband had to surrender the dowry, but an adulterous wife was sent back to her family without her dowry". Thus, creating a better future for his family and making it easier to remarry as he could now afford to look for a 'better' wife.\textsuperscript{144} The wife's virtues are on trial, she has ruined the sanctity of the oikos and failed as a wife. But her values as a mother would be dangerous for Euphiletos to do as this would threaten the future of his line, his child being removed and needing to start over. There is a careful way that Euphiletos forms the narrative, that makes sure the legitimacy of his son is not cast in doubt. There is not much said about what is to be done of the women in the affair, according to Plutarch, Solon has allowed a father and brother to sell their daughter and sister into slavery for being caught in the act of lovemaking.\textsuperscript{145} But there is mention in Dem. 59, that men were legally bound to divorce adulterous women. As she was no longer a woman that was able to carry forth \textit{gnoi}.\textsuperscript{146}

In Demosthenes, the term used for Neaera is 'alien'.\textsuperscript{147} Putting her in a category of 'other'. Part of Demosthenes 59 is the aspect of citizenship. Apollodorus is trying to prove that Neaera is living contrary to the laws of Athens, by living with an Athenian man as husband or wife, see Dem. 13. There is political power that comes with citizenship, a power that granted rights not given to everyone. To be a citizen was to be able to share in public life, there was a

\textsuperscript{143} Oost 1977, 228.
\textsuperscript{144} Pomeroy 2015, 82. – An abridge quote.
\textsuperscript{145} Plut, Sol, 23.
\textsuperscript{146} Just 1989, 69f.
\textsuperscript{147} \textit{ξένος} 'Xenos' is the term used in the Greek text, in the translation the term 'alien' has been chosen, and another translation is foreigner.
privilege to be a citizen. The citizenship of men exists in a network, a network that also is a kinship connection. This connection exists both with the dead and the not yet born. And that point, the not yet born, is where the legitimacy both of children and the women bringing them forward is important. This is why Stephanus introducing the daughters of a courtesan as his own, is not only against the law, but it also destroys the foundation on which the Athenian society stands. It seeds doubt about who is a true citizen and not.  

4.4. Religious experiences and transitional events

The ideal role for the Athenian women was that of a wife and mother. The wedding rituals were intricate. The rites of the wedding as a transformational rebirth, showing the bride transforming from a girl to a woman and wife. Modesty, the act of being demure, and a notion of untouchability are present in the wedding scenes. The bride is this being in the middle of a transformation, from one stage to another. The depictions of wedding scenes showcase this. While not all women get married, there is prestige in being a bride, in becoming a wife and mother, a status that gets visual representation repeatedly on the vases. In Greek myth there is a wedding type called 'marriage by capture', Roger Just explains this as a prevalent theme within Greek Mythology and the attitudes seeming from it could have carried over to real people. The argument for this phenomenon's existence was that women had to be "domesticated" to be fit to exist in civil society. This notion that women needed to be 'reformed' by this new stage to be fit to exist in the city. This is evident in Xenophon, as the wife knew nothing when she was first married and was reformed as a proper wife by the husband. There is an aspect of distrust in Oeconomicus of other people teaching the necessary skills and values and to be sure that the proper way was known one had to teach their wife. Weddings and the transformations of various transitional rites fall under the umbrella of religious rites.  

There is an aspect of freedom when it comes to the religious room. Women were able to take part in almost every religious festival in Athens, but some festivals were meant to only be for women. That instead were restricted for men to attend. One of these was the Thesmophoria, a festival to Demeter and meant for married women of the noble classes. The specific details of the festival are unknown at least for the first day as the festival lasted for

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149 Sabetai 2019, 34.
150 Just 1989, 234f.
three days, but pigs were sacrificed and buried as these have been found through excavations. As the festival was to Demeter it has been assumed that it was a fertility ritual, as it was in connection to the fall harvest. As the married women's role in the home was to be mothers and care for children, the purpose might have been to increase the fertility of the participants so that the goal of motherhood could be reached, as the last day of the festival was called "beautiful birth". Female mobility through the social space is presented with diversity in myth, and this could reflect cultural flexibility. By removing the polis from the conversation a clearer idea of female mobility could be seen. The issue with this is that the myths exist outside of the social norms, there is neither a public nor private sphere in them, they just 'are'.

A description, written by Herodas, shows that the temple is available to everyone, one can enter the temple no matter your status, as both the Greek women and their slaves move freely. It also showed that the space is visited even on ordinary days, showing that sanctuaries were not only for festival days. Herodas' fourth mime, while not a serious text, does observe something that could have been an ordinary trip to the sanctuary. It is an ordinary occurrence: a trip to the sanctuary a sacrifice and the placing of votives at the altar. One of the women described is more familiar with the 'schedule' of the sanctuary. She knows what to do and how, she knows that entering the temple will be acceptable. The absence of female religious activity in the texts is a result of female activity being disregarded by the authors when not the object of fantasy.

Religious festivals gave women exposure to the entire community. While some festivals were open only to a specific section of the female population, several were open to all women if only they were the right age. One festival with such restrictions is the Thesmophoria, the three-day festival which was open only to married Athenian women. Held in honour of the goddess Demeter. The details of the festival were meant to be kept secret and men were not allowed to attend. This was an opportunity for women to be alone with other women, without the influence of men. In Dem. 59, part of the case against Phano is that she had, through the deception of her mother, gained access to the Thesmophoria, and as such has compromised the sanctity of the festival not only for herself but for all the women there. This also

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151 Stehle 2012, 192.
152 Konstantinou 2018, 9.
154 Herod. 4.50.
155 Dignas 2007, 169f.
156 Stehle 1983, 191.
compromises the results of the festival and the importance it holds for the city. In Lysias, the Thesmophoria is where the further corruption of the wife happens through the involvement of the mother of Eratosthenes. These law court speeches bring up the Thesmophoria, as a place where the control the men had over their wives is lessened and as such a place where corruption might happen unless there is a careful structure surrounding it. While Euphiletos is careful to not imply that his son's legitimacy is cast into doubt, the same care is not taken to the sanctity of the Thesmophoria, he implies that it is his wife's freedom to join other women that gives the mother of Eratosthenes leave to further her son's education.

The religious events where women were able to appear are not often described in detail as these were meant for women only and as such not written down by men as they did not attend. The ones we have preserved are rites of transition, all-female festivals, and cults that broke the social norms by design. Female movement in connection to religious events shows that the Greek home was a vital part in showing how the behaviour of citizen women was designed. In public the movement of women is defined by tradition, men and women move in different spaces. Religion breaks this divide and creates interesting behaviour as religion breaks the social norm of everyday life. In the private sphere, the women's sphere is centred on the home and family, and as such religion creates an escape from their place in the world. In Dem. 10 Phano gains access to a space not meant for her, showing her a community where women have the power if only for a few days, showing her how religious practices give freedom. In Lysias 1. religion is used as a cover for the developing affair, the mother of the seducer is using the religious festival to gain access to the wife on behalf of her son. In Xen. 5 while religion is not mentioned, the wife is limited in the scope of her world to the home, and one can then only assume that Xenophon is not mentioning the festivals as this is a given, something that all married Athenian women did.

The religious events are visible in both Lysias and Demosthenes. Athenian girls were raised to take part in religious events, depending on the age of the girl different ceremonies were available to them. Religious festivals coincided with various milestones of a girl's life. The festival Brauronia in honour of Artemis was open to young girls. A marker of adolescence in young girls. Since women married young, the marking of adolescence was important for her to take the step to realise the role she was born for. After marriage, religious festivals were one avenue for women to gather without the presence of men. Married Athenian women gathered for the Thesmophoria. In Lysias, we see that women were trusted

157 Morgan 2007, 309.
to go to the festivals alone as Euphiletos were visiting the farm during the same period. In Dem. 10 it is described that Phano is allowed entrance to the religious rites simply as she has now married an Athenian under 'proper' circumstances, she had gained the religious duties of an Athenian matron. These cases show that when it comes to religious festivals women were trusted to carry themselves with dignity away from the oikos.

This freedom is noted as a double-edged sword, women held the dignity of the oikos. Their conduct was a marker of their status and the values they held as the matron of the home. Women thus being able to spend time with other women or among unrelated men was something to be concerned about, even if the circumstance was a religious event or funeral. In Lysias Eratosthenes had no avenue to speak directly to the wife. The affair had to be started through messages ferried by a slave girl. It was at the funeral of the mother of Euphiletos that the lover first saw the wife. So, the freedom to attend a funeral, or a public event, lead to an affair that destroyed the marriage and the household. That the affair was able to develop further under the guise of the wife and the lovers' mother going to an all-female festival creates the image that moments away from male relatives and in the company of others were rare. A woman going to a festival, meant for the wives of Athenian men, with an elder matron seems an innocent occasion. As both women were meant to be respectable, but the agenda behind the trip makes it malicious.

Thus, classical Athens' view of the religious role of women is contradictory. While women were relied on and needed to conduct religious festivals and perform in the funerary rights. These duties could not be placed on the men, as this would not have been the 'done thing'. There is on the other hand a fear of women claiming too much freedom and showing emotions in public. Women lacked self-control as has already been mentioned, and this religious freedom was feared for this reason. There was a notion of this lack of self-control affected the men and destroyed the foundations of civic life from within.

158 Possibly the country part of the estate.
159 While funerals fall more under the classification of life transitions and funerary rights are a separate concept rather than religious festivals. They will be discussed in this section, as they are a communal ceremony with strict rules similar to religious festivals.
160 Just 1989, 120f.
161 Pritchard 2014, 60.
5. Conclusion

5.1. The issue of citizenship

Women were an integral point in Athenian citizenship, they are the key for the families of Athens to continue. Therefore, the conduct of the women had to be above reproach. The virtue of Athenian women was important to not cast doubt on the family, breaking the norm could cast doubt on her status. Women brought legitimate children to the world, furthering the polis, and strengthening it. Women breaking the norm, and casting doubt on the children, was a threat to the men. Lysias case showcases this, the son might be tarnished if the mother was found corrupted before the birth. The family bonds created through marriage and birth are important, and the moral lives of the citizens were scrutinized to not tarnish the city. Citizenship was a powerful motivator; it was a sought-after status and as such had to be protected. To protect the status of citizenship the people that brought the next generation had to be protected and that were the women.

5.2. The norm in the written texts

The 'wife' is more than a role, there is an idealised image that exists in the written texts. The ideal is to keep the wife in seclusion, making the position of wife one of being controlled and protected. The untouchability of Athenian women is realised in the seclusion the wife is to be kept in. Athenian elite women were to be controlled; the ritual space was the one exception to this. The world of women was very small, going first from the home of her parents, where she was kept out of sight as she was not meant to "hear or see much" to the home of her husband where he meant for her to oversee the household as a whole. The layout of the physical space could shift and change, the way people acted in it stayed the same as the rules of how they moved did not. The ideal wife was a nurturer, her role in the oikos was to care for others. The ideal women, dictated by Xenophon in Oeconomicus, were strong they were the perfect partner for the strong Athenian men. Women were to be discrete and some help, not acting immorally, but with grace. Women were to be the strong backbone of the men so that the men could get their work done. The norm was that women were to care for the home and the children, follow the 'natural' law, and make life easier for men. To do this the norm could expand to women doing male work, as this could be seen as necessary, while men doing women's work would be degrading. Athenian women were to stand above other women, they were precious to the polis, and anything threatening them needed to be dealt with as the future
of the polis might be in question. The religious festivals were an important part of everyday life, women had a clear duty when it came to the religious side of civic life.

5.3. The exceptions of the norm

The norm is a status quo, but it can also be an unrealistic ideal. The expectation of the norm is therefore more varied and complicated to find. For outsiders to enter the private sphere is a breaking of the norm, it is a destruction of the ideal. For women to claim control over the house was to place herself above her husband, breaking the social order. The divide between private and public existed, but in certain cases, it blurred. The moral destruction of one oikos could lead to others being corrupted as well. The moral laws which act as a backdrop to the court cases show that female freedom was seen as breaking the norm and was a threat to the status quo. Women were an immoral entity, they needed to be regulated to not be destructive. While the norm was for women to stay out of sight, their role as nurturers meant that they were needed outside the home. This was an acceptable break of the norm but stands as evidence that the ideal was not strict. For women to take a lover was to destroy the sanctity of the oikos. The Murder of Eratosthenes shows the corruption of the oikos, the wife destroys not only her marriage but the entire household. The wife's action destroys the space that had been built. Against Neaera describes the societal norms broken by Neaera, Athenian women would not stand for it. The breaking of these norms was a danger to their standing in the polis.

Women that broke the norm were to be removed from society, they were no longer fit to be among the community. There is a level of distrust for women, they needed to be brought to heel to not be a danger. Religious festivals were important for civic life, but they were a danger. Women did not have self-control, as such women being alone around others was something to be feared. Non-Athenian people gaining access to sacred space was a threat to the polis, not only to the individuals involved. Norm-breaking women gaining access to religious space could lead to corruption, making a holy space malicious. The lack of self-control in women could without the control of men lead to the destruction of the foundation of civic life from the inside out. The women found in Lysias are all described in one way or another as duplicitous. They are behaving badly and outside the bounds of society. They are using the roles available to them to circumvent the duties placed on them by the community. The women are showing assertiveness in the way that was available to them. Lysias and Demosthenes show that women had freedom in daily life but are framed in such a way as to make this a negative. Freedom led to the destruction of the oikos. Demosthenes is showing
Athens what a danger that women from other places bring. Not only to men but to their women and the polis itself. Foreign women being able to exist and through duplicitous means gain access to rights held by citizen women puts the men at risk of ending up in a position to lose their citizenship.
6. Bibliography

The abbreviations used in the bibliography are according to the list provided by the American Journal of Archaeology (AJA).

6.1. Primary sources


6.2. Secondary sources


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6.3. Internet Sources

6.4. List of figures