

XENOPHON AND THE ATHENIAN DEMOCRACY

This book seeks to understand Xenophon as an elite Athenian writing largely for an elite Athenian audience in the first half of the fourth century BC. It argues that Xenophon calls on men of his own class to set aside their assumptions of superiority based on birth or wealth and to reinvent themselves as individuals who can provide effective leadership to the democratic city and serve it as good citizens. Xenophon challenges, criticizes, and sometimes satirizes the Athenian elite, and seeks to instruct them concerning the values, knowledge, and practical skills they will need to succeed as civic leaders. Xenophon is thus best understood not as an aristocratic dinosaur who is out of place in a democratic setting, as some have assumed, but as a thoughtful and pragmatic reformist who seeks to ensure that meritorious members of the elite step forward to lead within the democracy.

MATTHEW R. CHRIST is a professor in the Department of Classical Studies at Indiana University. He is the author of *The Limits of Altruism in Democratic Athens* (Cambridge, 2012), *The Bad Citizen in Classical Athens* (Cambridge, 2006), and *The Litigious Athenian* (1998).

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-49576-9 — Xenophon and the Athenian Democracy
Matthew R. Christ
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

XENOPHON AND THE
ATHENIAN DEMOCRACY

The Education of an Elite Citizenry

MATTHEW R. CHRIST

Indiana University



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press
 978-1-108-49576-9 — Xenophon and the Athenian Democracy
 Matthew R. Christ
 Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

CAMBRIDGE
 UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom
 One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
 477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
 314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India
 79 Anson Road, #06–04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108495769

DOI: 10.1017/9781108862998

© Matthew R. Christ 2020

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2020

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

NAMES: Christ, Matthew Robert, author.

TITLE: Xenophon and the Athenian democracy : the education of an elite citizenry / Matthew R. Christ.

DESCRIPTION: Cambridge, United Kingdom ; New York, NY : Cambridge University Press, 2020. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

IDENTIFIERS: LCCN 2020012394 (print) | LCCN 2020012395 (ebook) | ISBN 9781108495769 (hardback) | ISBN 9781108797757 (paperback) | ISBN 9781108862998 (epub)

SUBJECTS: LCSH: Xenophon. | Elite (Social sciences)—Greece—Athens. | Democracy—Greece—Athens. | Leadership—Greece—Athens. | Athens (Greece)—Politics and government. | Athens (Greece)—History.

CLASSIFICATION: LCC JC75.D36 C47 2020 PA4497 (print) | LCC JC75.D36 PA4497 (ebook) | DDC 320.938/5—DC23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2020012394>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2020012395>

ISBN 978-1-108-49576-9 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-49576-9 — Xenophon and the Athenian Democracy
Matthew R. Christ
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

To Maggie, Miranda, and Helen Christ

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-49576-9 — Xenophon and the Athenian Democracy
Matthew R. Christ
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

Contents

<i>Acknowledgments</i>	<i>page</i> ix
Introduction: Xenophon the Athenian	I
1 Athens in Crisis in the <i>Hellenica</i>	16
The Arginusae Affair	17
The Thirty	26
The Elite as Leaders of the Democracy	31
2 Politics and the Gentleman in the <i>Memorabilia</i>	37
Critias, Alcibiades, and the Problem of Elite Political Behavior	39
The Importance of Political Engagement	43
Toward a New Elite: Making Good Leaders	51
Politics and <i>Philia</i> among Gentlemen	65
3 Work, Money, and the Gentleman in the <i>Oeconomicus</i>	72
Elite Neglect of <i>Oikonomia</i>	73
Ischomachus, the Perfect Gentleman	79
Farming as an Occupation for a Gentleman	83
Work, Management, and Entrepreneurship	85
The <i>Oikos</i> and the City	97
4 The Education of Callias in the <i>Symposium</i>	102
(Re)educating Callias	105
Callias, Wealth, and the Democratic City	108
Callias as Aristocrat, Lover, and Politician	114
5 Xenophon as Expert, Advisor, and Reformer in the <i>Hipparchicus</i> and <i>Poroi</i>	126
<i>Hipparchicus</i> : How to Succeed as a Democratic Military Leader	127
<i>Poroi</i> : How to Succeed as a Democratic <i>Rhêtôr</i>	141

6	Xenophon the Democratic Orator: The Politics of Mass and Elite in the <i>Anabasis</i>	153
	The <i>Anabasis</i> as an Athenian Story	154
	The <i>Anabasis</i> and Democratic Athens	158
	Xenophon the Democratic <i>Rhētōr</i>	166
	Conclusions: Elite Readers, Elite Citizens	184
	<i>Bibliography</i>	193
	<i>Index of Ancient Citations</i>	205
	<i>General Index</i>	212

Acknowledgments

As I wrote this book, I benefited greatly from the feedback of audiences at University of Michigan, Ohio State University, University of Toronto, Rutgers University, Wilfred Laurier University, and Indiana University. I am particularly grateful to Ben Akrigg, Greg Anderson, Ryan Balot, Judy Fletcher, Sara Forsdyke, Adriaan Lanni, Kurt Raaflaub, Eric Robinson, Bernd Steinbock, Rob Tordoff, Bob Wallace, and Victoria Wohl for their suggestions and comments along the way. I also want to express gratitude to my family and friends for their kind support, and to Michael Sharp at Cambridge University Press and the anonymous readers of my manuscript, whose suggestions and criticisms were extremely helpful. The College of Arts and Sciences at Indiana University generously provided me with support for materials and other research costs.

Translations in the text are adapted from those found in Bowen 1998; Brownson 1985, 1986; Dillery 2001; Henderson 2013; Krentz 1989, 1995; Marchant and Bowersock 1984; Pomeroy 1994; Smith 1999; Strassler, Marincola, and Thomas 2009; Tredennick and Waterfield 1990; and Waterfield and Cartledge 1997. Greek texts are from the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (University of California, Irvine).

Ancient passages that are cited on specific points are given *exempli gratia* rather than as comprehensive listings of all testimonia, unless otherwise indicated. Abbreviated references to ancient authors and works are based primarily on those used in H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th edition, revised by H. S. Jones and R. McKenzie (Oxford, 1996). References to modern scholarship are listed in the Bibliography at the end of this book. Abbreviations of periodicals in the Bibliography follow the system of *L'Année philologique*.

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-49576-9 — Xenophon and the Athenian Democracy
Matthew R. Christ
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)
