

The notion that manual labor mutilates the body and mind was a frequent *topos* among elite critics of classical Athenian democracy (Ober 1998, 306). I would like to suggest that this mutilation was understood more specifically as a feminization of the (male) body, which resulted in a feminization of the mind. I will examine the case of the craftsman (*banausos*), in the thought of Xenophon and Aristotle in particular.

de Sainte Croix (1988, 412) observed that "[t]he notion that manual work, because it 'weakens the body' (as Greek gentlemen evidently supposed), therefore weakens the mind, may have been a commonplace of the Socratic circle." It is a member of this circle, Xenophon, who most explicitly casts this weakening as a feminizing. He claims that craftsmen are "forced to be sedentary and spend their time out of sunlight, and sometimes to even spend their days by the heat of a fire. As a result their bodies are feminized (*thêlunomenôn*) and this physical debilitation is accompanied by considerable weakening of their minds too" (*Oec.* 4.2-4.3). The most obvious sign would be the white skin characteristic of the other indoor worker, woman. Aristophanes had already played up this idea in *Ecclesiazousae*. A male citizen, shocked by the white skin of the disguised women in the Assembly (described as *leukoplêthês*), thinks he is witnessing an assembly of shoemakers (384-6).

Sitting by the heat of a fire was the polar opposite of the (male) military ideal of toughening the body through exposure to cold. Aristotle recommends exposure to cold from an early age for the (male) citizens of his ideal state (*Pol.* 1336a11-15); Socrates himself provided a legendary example, going barefoot in the snow in Thrace (Plato's *Symposium* 220b). The craftsman sitting by his fire lacked this toughening process, which combined with exposure to heat may have been thought to render his body cold-natured rather than hot-natured. In Aristotelian terms, this made his body more feminine; Aristotle ascribes the physical inferiority of woman to her colder nature (*GA* 737a27-9, 728a17 ff.). A cold nature leads to a lack of *thumos* (spirit), the source of freedom and the ruling principle (*to arkhon*) (*Pol.* 1328a6-7). (Cf. Aristotle's contention at *Pol.* 1327b27-33 that the people of northern Europe are full of spirit, and free, while Asiatics – living in warmer climes – lack spirit and are slavish, and Lloyd 1983.19-26 for connections of *thumos* and courage with hot body temperature and timidity with cold.)

Aristotle thus follows Greek tradition in making woman more cowardly or less spirited than man (e.g. *HA* 1.608a21-b18), and prone to wantonness (*akolasia*) (e.g. *Pol.* 1269b13-23). If *thumos* is responsible for the ruling principle, then those who lack it cannot be expected to rule themselves. It is to *akolasia* that Aristotle finds craftsmen susceptible (*Pol.* 1260a33-1260b2). Craftsmen are banned from citizenship in the ideal state, as being corrupted, i.e. feminized, by manual labor. This answers Kraut's (2002, 215) question of why Aristotle denies citizenship to those with no natural deficiency, such as bars women and natural slaves from virtue.