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978-0-521-51535-1 - Benefaction and Rewards in the Ancient Greek City: The Origins of Euergetism

Marc Domingo Gygax

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BENEFACTION AND REWARDS IN THE ANCIENT GREEK CITY

This volume presents for the first time an in-depth analysis of the origins of Greek euergetism. Derived from the Greek for “benefactor,” “euergetism” refers to the process whereby citizens and foreigners offered voluntary services and donations to the polis, which were in turn recognized as benefactions in a formal act of reciprocation. Euergetism is key to our understanding of how city-states negotiated both the internal tensions between mass and elite and their conflicts with external powers. This study adopts the standpoint of historical anthropology and seeks to identify patterns of behavior and social practices deeply rooted in Greek society and in the long course of Greek history. It covers more than 500 years and will appeal to historians and scholars in other fields interested in gift-exchange, benefactions, philanthropy, power relationships between mass and elite, and the interplay between public discourse and social praxis.

MARC DOMINGO GYGAX is Associate Professor of Classics at Princeton University and author of *Untersuchungen zu den lykischen Gemeinwesen in klassischer und hellenistischer Zeit* (2001). His main interests lie in ancient Greek history, historical anthropology, historical theory, and modern historiography.

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The Origins of Euergetism

MARC DOMINGO GYGAX

Princeton University



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University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

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

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Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521515351

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First published 2016

Printed in the United Kingdom by Clays, St Ives plc

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

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

Domingo Gygax, Marc, author.

Benefaction and rewards in the ancient Greek city : the origins of euergetism / Marc Domingo Gygax (Princeton University).

Cambridge, United Kingdom ; New York, New York : Cambridge University Press, 2016. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

LCCN 2016006999 | ISBN 9780521515351 (hardback : alkaline paper)

LCSH: Greece – History – To 146 B.C. | Benefactors – Greece – History – To 1500. | Voluntarism – Greece – History – To 1500. | Gifts – Greece – History – To 1500. | City and town life – Greece – History – To 1500. | City-states – Greece – History – To 1500. | Interpersonal relations – Greece – History – To 1500. | Power (Social sciences) – Greece – History – To 1500. | Greece – Social life and customs. | Greece – Social conditions – To 146 B.C. | BISAC: HISTORY / Ancient / General.

LCC DF78 .D645 2016 | DDC 302.3–dc23

LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2016006999>

ISBN 978-0-521-51535-1 Hardback

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To the Memory of Jipé, Josep Maria, and Charles

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Preface

The origins of this book on Greek benefactors, rewards, and the institution of euergetism go back to my earlier work on the development and evolution of the polis in classical and Hellenistic Lycia. Although the two projects may seem to have little in common, my research on Lycia largely relied on inscribed honorific decrees for benefactors. I soon became interested in such decrees not only as sources of local history but also as manifestations of a universal institution in the Greek world. Euergetism is key to our understanding of how the Greek polis negotiated both internal relations between the demos and the elite and its relations with external agents. My first step was to write a paper on euergetism in Lycia, followed by a comparative essay on the two main scholars of euergetism, Paul Veyne and Philippe Gauthier. I originally envisioned a book on euergetism in the Hellenistic and Roman imperial periods, but when I began work on it, I realized that a study of the institution's origins was needed.

The true beginning of this book is my 2003 article on euergetism and gift-exchange, which marks the line followed in my subsequent research. Since then, I have published a number of other articles on the subject, which were reworked for this volume and are listed in the Bibliography. Half of these articles were not written in English but in German, French, or Spanish, which has limited their diffusion but has allowed me to think about euergetism through different lenses. The latter consequence is also a result of carrying out my work in places with different languages and scholarly traditions: Barcelona (closely linked to Paris), Tübingen, Berlin, Berkeley, Washington D.C., and especially Princeton. I tried to learn from each tradition, making the result a somewhat heterogeneous product that corresponds to no particular "school."

This is a historical study that adopts the standpoint of historical anthropology. I do not mean by this that the book is partially based on the work of social and cultural anthropologists dealing with gift-exchange. Instead,

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I refer to the approach to history from which it is written. Specifically, I seek to identify – beyond individual cases and exceptions – patterns of behavior and social practices deeply rooted in Greek society and the long course of Greek history. I look for regularities, continuities, and rules underlying a wide range of human actions. My goal is not to isolate ahistorical features but to analyze the role these more or less stable elements played in the historical process and how their articulation with more dynamic constituents triggered social change. Simplification is inevitable in such an approach, but my belief is that in historical inquiry, a certain degree of generalization is both possible and desirable. On the other hand, the basis of the book is strongly empirical. At this level, I have tried to avoid simplification; the reader will find substantial footnotes with many references to literary and epigraphic sources and detailed discussion of documents. Since the evidence for the early stages of euergetism has not previously been collected, I hope that this will be helpful even for readers who disagree with my interpretations.

The first chapter begins with a case study that attempts to pose the major questions discussed in the book as a whole, offering an explanation of the main principles and structure of euergetism as we find them in the Hellenistic period. This means that I begin with analysis, without narrative and with a focus on the final stage of the process I seek to explain. The chapters that follow, by contrast, are arranged in chronological order and take the reader from the origins of euergetism in the archaic age to fourth-century Athens and the transition to Hellenistic euergetism. The result is an essay covering more than 500 years and based on highly diverse evidence: inscriptions, oratory, historical writing, poetry, plays, philosophy. My purpose, however, is not to provide an overview of a significant period of Greek history but to analyze the *longue durée* of a particular aspect of it, the understanding of which requires detailed knowledge of historical context. To attempt this for such a long period has been one of the main challenges of the project. I apologize in advance to specialists in any of these periods, types of documents, and literary genres for the shortcomings they may discover here.

I have written for an audience of ancient historians and classicists, but I hope this book will also appeal to scholars in other fields in the humanities and social sciences interested in gift-exchange, benefactions, and related phenomena (philanthropy, altruism, charity), power relationships between mass and elite, and the interplay between public discourse and social praxis. With this in mind, I have renounced use of the Greek alphabet and have transliterated Greek words; proper names have been

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Latinized. Quotations from Greek texts are given in English translation. Most translations of literary texts are based on the Loeb Classical Library. In the case of inscriptions, I have tried to use translations from easily accessible collections such as Michael Austin's and Stephen Lambert's, where available, to allow non-classicists to check the context of the passages if necessary. Where not otherwise indicated, translations of inscriptions are my own.

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Acknowledgments

In the course of writing this book, I incurred many debts on both sides of the Atlantic. The Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, the Center for Hellenic Studies in Washington, Princeton University, and the AGAUR office of the Generalitat of Catalonia provided support in the form of fellowships. I was invited to present some of my ideas and preliminary versions of portions of the manuscript in lectures and papers at the University of Tübingen, Princeton University, the University of Provence Aix-Marseille, the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, the University of Pennsylvania, the Catalan Institute of Classical Archaeology in Tarragona, Yale University, the University of Münster, the University of Basel, Brown University, the College of New Jersey, and the Institute for Advanced Study. I am very grateful for the hospitality of these institutions and for the many suggestions I received from audiences at them. Special thanks are due to the colleagues and friends who read earlier versions of the manuscript or parts of it: Anna Alsina Naudi, Zach Biles, Kostas Buraselis, Tim Duff, Marco Fantuzzi, Joshua Fincher, Harriet Flower, Elizabeth Key Fowden, Johannes Hahn, Stephen Lambert, Nino Luraghi, S. Douglas Olson, Adrià Piñol Villanueva, David Rosenbloom, Brent Shaw, and Stephen Tracy. My colleagues in the Department of Classics at Princeton University have influenced me more than they may suspect. After having spent most of my career surrounded by historians and archaeologists, the experience of working with “classicists” changed many of my views. I am also grateful to Frank Kolb, Erich Gruen, and Josh Ober. Without their many years of continuous help and encouragement, it would have been impossible to complete this book. One of my greatest debts is to Jean-Pierre Vernant, who was a constant source of inspiration and support from the time I first visited him in Paris in 1986. But not all my inspiration came from scholars. The poetry and art of Joan Brossa, Perejaume, Alfons Borrell, and Chema Madoz taught me ways of looking at things that I believe can be felt throughout this book. I conclude on a personal note, expressing my gratitude to Anna Alsina Naudi, Jan, and Georgina for their love and patience, for which I will never be able to thank them enough.

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Abbreviations of journal titles are those used in *L'Année philologique*. Other abbreviations are as follows.

<i>Agora XV</i>	B. D. Meritt and J. S. Traill, <i>The Athenian Agora. XV. Inscriptions. The Athenian Councillors</i> . Princeton. 1974.
<i>Agora XVI</i>	A. G. Woodhead, <i>The Athenian Agora. XVI. Inscriptions. The Decrees</i> . Princeton. 1997.
<i>Bull. ép.</i>	“Bulletin épigraphique” in <i>Revue des études grecques</i> . Paris. 1888–
<i>CEG</i>	P. A. Hansen, <i>Carmina Epigraphica Graeca</i> . Berlin. 1983–9.
<i>FGrH</i>	F. Jacoby, <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> . Berlin and Leiden. 1923–
<i>FGE</i>	D. L. Page, <i>Further Greek Epigrams</i> . Cambridge and New York. 1981.
<i>FHG</i>	K. Müller, <i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> . Paris. 1841–70.
<i>I. Cret.</i>	M. Guarducci, <i>Inscriptiones Creticae</i> , Roma. 1935–50.
<i>I. Ephesos</i>	H. Wankel et al. <i>Die Inschriften von Ephesos</i> . Bonn. 1979–84.
<i>I. Erythrai</i>	H. Engelmann and R. Merkelbach, <i>Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai</i> . Bonn. 1972–3.
<i>I. Kyme</i>	H. Engelmann, <i>Die Inschriften von Kyme</i> . Bonn. 1976.
<i>I. Olympia</i>	W. Dittenberger and K. Purgold, <i>Die Inschriften von Olympia</i> . Berlin. 1896.
<i>I. Smyrna</i>	G. Petzl, <i>Die Inschriften von Smyrna</i> . Bonn. 1982–90.
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
<i>LSJ</i>	<i>A Greek–English Lexicon</i> . Oxford. 1996 ⁹ .

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List of abbreviations

- Meiggs–Lewis R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century*. Oxford. 1988².
- Michel, *Recueil* C. Michel, *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques*. Brussels. 1900.
- Nomima* H. van Effenterre and F. Ruzé, *Nomima. Recueil d'inscriptions politiques et juridiques de l'archaïsme grec*. Paris and Rome. 1994–5.
- OCD* *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Oxford. 2012⁴.
- OGIS* W. Dittenberger, *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*. Leipzig. 1903–5.
- PMG* D. L. Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci*. Oxford. 1962.
- RC* C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period: A Study in Greek Epigraphy*. New Haven. 1934.
- RO* P. J. Rhodes and R. Osborne, *Greek Historical Inscriptions: 404–323 BC*. Oxford. 2003.
- SEG* *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*.
- SLG* D. L. Page, *Supplementum lyricis graecis*. Oxford. 1974.
- Syll.*³ W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*. Leipzig. 1915–1924.
- TAM* *Tituli Asiae Minoris*.
- Tod* M. N. Tod, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions*. Oxford. 1933–48.
- TrGF* B. Snell, R. Kannicht, and S. Radt, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*. Göttingen. 1971–2004.
- W* M. B. Walbank, *Athenian Proxenies of the Fifth Century B.C.* Toronto and Sarasota. 1978.