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# Patronage and Clientelism in Archaic and Early Classical Greece: A Hypothesis

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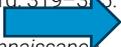


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## Plutarch, *Life of Cimon*, 10.1–2 (tr. B. Perrin):

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And since he was already wealthy, Cimon lavished the revenues from his campaign, which he was thought to have won with honor from the enemy, to his still greater honor, on his fellow-citizens. He took away the fences from his fields, that strangers and needy citizens might have it in their power to take fearlessly of the fruits of the land; and every day he gave a dinner at his house—simple, it is true, but sufficient for many, to which any poor man who wished came in (καὶ δεῖπνον οἴκοι παρ’ αὐτῷ λιτὸν μὲν, ἀρκοῦν δὲ πολλοῖς, ἐποιεῖτο καθ’ ἡμέραν, ἐφ’ ὃ τῶν πενήτων ὁ βουλόμενος εἰσήει...), and so received a maintenance which cost him no effort and left him free to devote himself solely to public affairs. [2] But Aristotle says [AP 27.3] that it was not for all Athenians, but only for his own demesmen, the Laciadae, that he provided a free dinner. He was constantly attended by young comrades in fine attire (αὐτῷ δὲ νεανίσκοι παρείποντο συνήθεις ἀμπεχόμενοι καλῶς), each one of whom, whenever an elderly citizen in needy array came up, was ready to exchange raiment with him. The practice made a deep impression.





# Theopompus of Chios, *BNJ* 115 F 89 (*ap. Athen. XII* 533 A–C; tr. S. Douglas Olson):

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Kimon the Athenian set no guard in his fields and gardens, so that those of the citizens wishing to come, might pick the fruit and take whatever they might need in the fields. Then he made his home open to all (ἔπειτα τὴν οἰκίαν παρεῖχε κοινὴν ἅπασι) and always prepared a magnificent feast for many people (καὶ δεῖπνον αἰεὶ εὐτελεῆς παρασκευάζεσθαι πολλοῖς ἀνθρώποις), and the Athenian poor came to dine. And on a daily basis, he ministered to those needing anything from him (ἐθεράπευεν δὲ καὶ τοὺς καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν αὐτοῦ τι δεομένους), and they say that he always had two or three young men with him (περιήγετο μὲν αἰεὶ νεανίσκους δύο ἢ τρεῖς) carrying money and bid (them) to give it to whomever might come to him in need. They say that he also assisted with burial costs. He also did this often: whenever he saw one of the citizens poorly clothed, he ordered one of the youths who followed him to exchange clothes with the man. Because of all these things he was esteemed as the first man of the citizenry.





## Herodotus, VIII 17 (tr. R. Waterfield):

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[In the battle of Artemisium – M.W.] [o]n the Greek side, battle honours went that day to the Athenians, and among the Athenians to Cleinias the son of Alcibiades, who provided two hundred men and his own ship, all at his expense, for the war effort (... ὃς δαπάνην οἰκηίην παρεχόμενος ἐστρατεύετο ἀνδράσι τε διηκοσίοισι καὶ οἰκηίῃ νηί).





## Herodotus, V 47,1 (tr. R. Waterfield):

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Another person who went to Sicily with Dorieus, and died with him, was Philippus of Croton, the son of Butacides [...]. He provided his own trireme, and paid all his men's expenses himself (... οἰκηίη τε τριήρει καὶ οἰκηίη ἀνδρῶν δαπάνη).





## Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 37–39 (in its traditional tr. by Hugh G. Evelyn-White):

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ἤδη μὲν γὰρ κληῖρον ἔδασσάμεθ', ἀλλὰ τὰ πολλὰ  
ἀρπάζων ἐφόρεις μέγα **κυδαίνων** βασιλῆας  
δωροφάγους,\*) οἱ τήνδε δίκην ἐθέλουσι δίκασσαι.



For we had already divided our inheritance, but you seized the greater share and carried it off, greatly swelling the glory of our **bribe-swallowing lords** who love to judge such a cause as this.

\*) Incidentally, this new interpretation may give some relief to the editors of Greek dictionaries, in the past puzzled by this seemingly exceptional, negative occurrence of the otherwise very dignified verb **κυδαίνω**. The great linguist Émile Benveniste described *kudos* as 'the shining force of victory' [M.W.]





## Athenaeus, VIII 348 A–C (tr. S. Douglas Olson):

Aristotle in his *Constitution of the Naxians* [fr. 566] writes as follows about the proverb [“No rotten fish can be described as big” – M.W.]: Many rich Naxians lived in the city, while the rest were scattered about in villages (τῶν παρὰ Ναξίους εὐπόρων οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ τὸ ἄστυ ὄκουν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι διεσπαρμένοι κατὰ κώμας). In one village, known as Leïstadae, lived Telestagoras, who was extremely wealthy and well-respected, and whom people honored in many ways, including by sending him gifts every day (πλούσιός τε σφόδρα καὶ εὐδοκιμῶν καὶ τιμώμενος παρὰ τῷ δήμῳ τοῖς τ’ ἄλλοις ἅπασι καὶ τοῖς καθ’ ἡμέραν πεμπομένοις). And whenever people went down to the harbor from the city and tried to drive down the price of some merchandise, the vendors routinely said that they would rather give it to Telestagoras than sell it for so little. Some young men (νεανίσκοι) were trying to buy a large fish; when the fisherman said the usual thing, they became annoyed at hearing this again and again, and got drunk and went in a group to visit him (ὑποπιόντες ἐκώμασαν πρὸς αὐτόν). Although Telestagoras welcomed them amiably (φιλοφρόνως), the young men beat him up and abused (ὑβρῖσαν) his two marriageable daughters. The Naxians were appalled at this behavior, and seized their weapons (τὰ ὄπλα ἀναλαμβάνοντες) and attacked the young men. The result was a major civic crisis, in which Lygdamis served as the Naxian leader (καὶ μεγίστη τότε στάσις ἐγένετο προστατοῦντος τῶν Ναξίων Λυγδάμιδος); he emerged from this command as tyrant of his native land.



## Herodotus, III 42,1-2 (tr. R. Waterfield):



[...] [A] fisherman caught a huge, beautiful fish, and decided to present it to Polycrates (ἀνὴρ ἀλιεὺς λαβὼν ἰχθὺν μέγαν τε καὶ καλὸν ἡξίου μιν **Πολυκράτει δῶρον δοθῆναι**). [...] ‘My lord, I decided not to take this fish I caught to the town square [...], because it seemed to me to be good enough for you and your rule (ἀλλὰ μοι ἐδόκεε σεῦ τε εἶναι ἄξιος καὶ τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς) [...].’



# Pseudo-Aristotle, 16.1–7 (tr. H. Rackham):

[2] [...] Peisistratus's administration of the state was, as has been said, moderate, and more constitutional than tyrannic; he was kindly and mild in everything, and in particular he was merciful to offenders, and moreover he advanced loans of money to the poor for their industries, so that they might support themselves by farming (καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖς ἀπόροις προεδάνειξε χρήματα πρὸς τὰς ἐργασίας, ὥστε διατρέφεσθαι γεωργοῦντας) In doing this he had two objects, to prevent [3] their stopping in the city and make them stay scattered about the country, and to cause them to have a moderate competence and be engaged in their private affairs, so as not to desire nor to have time to attend to public business. And also the land's [4] being thoroughly cultivated resulted in increasing his revenues; for he levied a tithe from the produce. [...] And in all other [7] matters too he gave the multitude no trouble during his rule, but always worked for peace and safeguarded tranquillity; so that men were often to be heard saying that the tyranny of Peisistratus was the Golden Age of Cronos (διὸ καὶ πολλάκις ἀκούειν ἤ [ὡς ἡ Πεισιστράτου τυραννὶς ὁ ἐπὶ Κρόνου βίος εἶη]); for it came about later when his sons had succeeded him that the government became much harsher.





## Herodotus, VI 35,1–2 (tr. R. Waterfield):

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ἐν δὲ τῆσι Ἀθήνησι τηνικαῦτα εἶχε μὲν τὸ πᾶν κράτος Πεισίστρατος, ἀτὰρ ἐδυνάστευέ γε καὶ Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κυψέλου ἐὼν οἰκίης τεθριπποτρόφου, τὰ μὲν ἀνέκαθεν ἀπ' Αἰακοῦ τε καὶ Αἰγίνης γεγονώς κτλ.

Athens at the time was an autocracy, under Pisistratus, but Miltiades the son of Cypselus was a man of influence, at any rate. His household was wealthy enough to maintain a four-horse chariot and he traced his ancestry back to Aeacus and Aegina [...].





# Herodotus, VI 127 (tr. A.D. Godley):

ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ Ἰταλίας ἦλθε Σμινδυρίδης ὁ Ἴπποκράτεος Συβαρίτης, ὃς ἐπιπλεῖστον δὴ χλιδῆς εἶς ἀνὴρ ἀπύκετο (ἢ δὲ Σύβαρις ἦκμαζε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον μάλιστα), καὶ Σιρίτης Δάμασος Ἀμύριος τοῦ σοφοῦ λεγομένου παῖς. [2] οὗτοι μὲν ἀπὸ Ἰταλίας ἦλθον, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ Ἰονίου Ἀμφίμνηστος Ἐπιστρόφου Ἐπιδάμνιος: οὗτος δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου. Αἰτωλὸς δὲ ἦλθε Τιτόρμου τοῦ ὑπερφύντος τε Ἑλλήνας ἰσχύι καὶ φυγόντος ἀνθρώπους ἐς τὰς ἐσχατίας τῆς Αἰτωλίδος χώρας, τούτου τοῦ Τιτόρμου ἀδελφεὸς Μάλης. [3] ἀπὸ δὲ Πελοποννήσου Φεῖδωνος τοῦ Ἀργείων τυράννου παῖς Λεωκίδης, Φεῖδωνος δὲ τοῦ τὰ μέτρα ποιήσαντος Πελοποννησίοισι καὶ ὑβρίσαντος μέγιστα δὴ Ἑλλήνων πάντων, ὃς ἐξαναστήσας τοὺς Ἡλείων ἀγωνοθέτας αὐτὸς τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ ἀγῶνα ἔθηκε: τούτου τε δὴ παῖς καὶ Ἀμιάντος Λυκούργου Ἀρκὰς ἐκ Τραπεζοῦντος, καὶ Ἀζῆν ἐκ Παιίου πόλιος Λαφάνης Εὐφορίωνος τοῦ δεξαμένου τε, ὡς λόγος ἐν Ἀρκαδίῃ λέγεται, τοὺς Διοσκούρους οἰκίοισι καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου ξεινοδοκέοντος πάντας ἀνθρώπους, καὶ Ἡλεῖος Ὀνόμαστος Ἀγαίου. [4] οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐξ αὐτῆς Πελοποννήσου ἦλθον, ἐκ δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἀπύκοντο Μεγακλῆς τε ὁ Ἀλκμέωνος τούτου τοῦ παρὰ Κροῖσον ἀπύκόμενος, καὶ ἄλλος Ἴπποκλείδης Τισάνδρου, πλούτῳ καὶ εἶδει προφέρων Ἀθηναίων. ἀπὸ δὲ Ἐρετριῆς ἀνθεύσης τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Λυσανίης: οὗτος δὲ ἀπ' Εὐβοίης μούνος. ἐκ δὲ Θεσσαλίας ἦλθε τῶν Σκοπαδῶν Διακτορίδης Κραννώνιος, ἐκ δὲ Μολοσσῶν Ἄλκων.

From Italy came Smindyrides of Sybaris, son of Hippocrates, the most luxurious liver of his day (and Sybaris was then at the height of its prosperity), and Damasus of Siris, son of that Amyris who was called the Wise. [2] These came from Italy; from the Ionian Gulf, Amphimnestus son of Epistrophus, an Epidamnian; he was from the Ionian Gulf. From Aetolia came Males, the brother of that Titormus who surpassed all the Greeks in strength, and fled from the sight of men to the farthest parts of the Aetolian land. [3] From the Peloponnese came Leocedes, son of Phidon the tyrant of Argos, that Phidon who made weights and measures for the Peloponnesians<sup>1</sup> and acted more arrogantly than any other Greek; he drove out the Elean contest-directors and held the contests at Olympia himself. This man's son now came, and Amiantus, an Arcadian from Trapezus, son of Lycurgus; and an Azenian from the town of Paeus, Laphanes, son of that Euphorion who, as the Arcadian tale relates, gave lodging to the Dioscuri, and ever since kept open house for all men; and Onomastus from Elis, son of Agaeus. [4] These came from the Peloponnese itself; from Athens Megacles, son of that Alcmeon who visited Croesus, and also Hippocleides son of Tisandrus, who surpassed the Athenians in wealth and looks. From Eretria, which at that time was prosperous, came Lysanias; he was the only man from Euboea. From Thessaly came a Scopad, Diactorides of Crannon; and from the Molossians, Alcon.





# Herodotus, V 30,1 and VI,91,1 (tr. A.D. Godley):

## V 30,1:

ἐκ Νάξου ἔφυγον ἄνδρες τῶν παχέων ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, φυγόντες δὲ ἀπίκοντο ἐς Μίλητον.

Certain men of substance who had been banished by the common people, went in exile to Miletus.

## VI 91,1:

Αἰγινήτων δὲ οἱ παχέες ἐπαναστάντος τοῦ δήμου σφι ἅμα Νικοδρόμῳ ἐπεκράτησαν, καὶ ἔπειτα σφέας χειρωσάμενοι ἐξήγον ἀπολέοντες.

The rich men of Aegina gained mastery over the people, who had risen against them with Nicodromus, then made them captive and led them out to be killed.





# Herodotus, VII 156, 2–3 (tr. A.D. Godley):

Μεγαρέας τε τοὺς ἐν Σικελίῃ, ὡς πολιορκεόμενοι ἐς ὁμολογίην προσεχώρησαν τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν παχέας, ἀειραμένους τε πόλεμον αὐτῷ καὶ προσδοκῶντας ἀπολέεσθαι διὰ τοῦτο, ἀγαγὼν ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας πολίητας ἐποίησε: τὸν δὲ δῆμον τῶν Μεγαρέων οὐκ ἐόντα μεταίτιον τοῦ πολέμου τούτου οὐδὲ προσδεκόμενον κακὸν οὐδὲν πείσεσθαι, ἀγαγὼν καὶ τούτους ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας ἀπέδοτο ἐπ' ἐξαγωγῆ ἐκ Σικελίης. [3] τῷτὸ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ Εὐβοέας τοὺς ἐν Σικελίῃ ἐποίησε διακρίνας. ἐποίηε δὲ ταῦτα τούτους ἀμφοτέρους νομίσας δῆμον εἶναι συνοίκημα ἀχαριτώτατον.

[...] and when the Megarians in Sicily surrendered to him on terms after a siege, he took the wealthier of them, who had made war on him and expected to be put to death for this, and brought them to Syracuse to be citizens there. As for the common people of Megara, who had had no hand in the making of that war and expected that no harm would be done them, these too he brought to Syracuse and sold them for slaves to be taken out of Sicily. [3] He dealt in a similar way with the Euboeans of Sicily, making the same distinction. The reason for his treating the people of both places in this way was that he held the common people to be exceedingly disagreeable to live with.

