

# “GOOD WILL FOR THE CITY”: DEVELOPMENT OF A FORMULA IN INSCRIPTIONS AND LITERATURE

WILLIAM C. WEST

This paper will study the development of the formula expressing good will in inscriptions and in the Greek authors, from Homer to the Attic orators. There are two principal usages: (1) *Eunoia* occurs as part of a rhetorical topos, with good examples from Homer to Quintilian; (2) *Eunoia* occurs as a political virtue, with examples, especially, in Thucydides and inscriptions and also in Herodotus, Xenophon, the Attic orators, among others. Both usages involve the good will of the leaders and followers which must exist for the stability and progress of the polis.

A fundamental rule for speakers in securing attention is to establish their good will toward the audience. Cf. Quint., *Inst. Or.* 3.8.7: *In senatu et utique in contionibus eadem ratio quae apud iudices, adquirendae sibi plerumque eorum, apud quos dicendum sit, benevolentiae.* “In addressing the senate or the people the same rule applies as in the law courts, and we must aim as a rule at acquiring the good will of our audience” (Butler trans.).

*Eunoia* does not occur in Homer, but in both *Iliad* and *Odyssey* the idea of being kindly disposed to the audience of a speech is there, expressed in the formulaic line: ὁ σφιν εὐφρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν. The idea is that in giving advice in a particular situation the speaker shows that he has the interests of the audience at heart<sup>1</sup>. There are 15 examples of this formula (*Il.* 1.73,253; 2.78,283; 7.326,367; 9.95; 15.285; 18.283; *Od.* 2.160,228; 7.158; 16.399; 24.53,453). Although the word εὐνοία does not occur it is represented by εὐφρονέων “being of kind or prudent mind”.

In Greek literature of the classical period εὐνοία is well established as a political virtue in Thucydides. Pericles’ Funeral Oration (2.40): βεβαιοτέρως δὲ ὁ δράσας τὴν χάριν ὥστε ὠφειλομένην, δι’ εὐνοίας ᾧ δέδωκε σῶζειν. “In goodness we are equally singular, acquiring our friends by conferring, not by receiving, favors. Yet, of course, the doer of the favor is the firmer friend of the two, in order by continued kindness [*eunoia*] to keep the recipient in his debt.” (Crawley trans.).

A difficult passage, variously interpreted, but it certainly points to friendship between cities and can mean that honors conferred upon allies (with the virtue of *eunoia* specified) contribute to the maintenance of friendship between cities. Note also Diodotus’ speech in the Mytilene Debate (3.47): “... the *demos* is *eunous* to you in all the cities.”

Other examples of *eunoia*, *eunous* in Thucydides show that the historian’s use of the term indicates that its meaning as a term of political diplomacy is well established in the 5<sup>th</sup> cent<sup>2</sup>. The same sense is also found in Demosthenes, attesting its continued use in the 4<sup>th</sup> cent. Demosthenes cites *eunoia* as a public virtue, operative in the political sphere. *Olynthiac* 1.10: “a benefit of the *eunoia* of the gods is that we have a new opportunity for alliance”; *Olynthiac* 2.9: “when it is beneficial to engage in war because of *eunoia*, then men work together”; *Peace* 5.17: “not in equal measure

2. Four of the five examples in Herodotus are associated with speeches. Cf. 3.36, 6.108, 7.104 and the examples from Thucydides vary between speech and narrative: 1.22.3; 1.134.1; 1.77.6; 2.8.4; 2.40.4; 2.45.1; 3.9.2; 3.12.1; 3.30; 3.37.3; 3.47.2; 3.58.2,4; 4.46.20; 4.71.6; 4.87.15; 4.114.4; 5.106; 6.29; 6.32; 6.36; 6.64; 6.99; 6.92.

\* University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (U.S.A.).

1. The line is spoken by the poet, who attributes good will to the speaker. I am indebted to Deborah Beck for this observation.

is each ally *eunous* to us and the Thebans"; *Answer to Philip* 11.7: "when the opponents of Philip manage together affairs by *eunoia* . . . things remain as established"; *Freedom for the Rhodians* 15.4: "no greater good for you than the *eunoia* of the allies."

Besides Thucydides and Demosthenes we may note *eunoia* in Xenophon, *Anabasis*. Here *Eunoia* has a meaning significant in public diplomacy; it also signifies friendship in a diplomatic sense, the friendship of a formal alliance. *Anab.* 2.6.20: Soldiers serving under Proxenos of Boiotia are *eunoi* to him; *Anab.* 4.7.20: A guide promises to take the Greeks to the sea. He urges them to lay waste the land. This accounts for his behavior, not *eunoia* toward the Greeks; *Anab.* 7.2.31: Seuthes cites the Athenians as *filous eunous*; *Anab.* 7.7.30: (Speech of Xen. to Seuthes) Who could be more *eunous* to them than you? Aristophanes, *Knights*, 874: Demos to the Sausage Seller: No one is *eunousteros tei polei* than you.

In inscriptions after 410 the appearance of formulaic language using εὐνοία as a basis for honors conferred on a benefactor, can be seen. The epigraphical record shows that "good will" can be expressed in actions which benefit the city and is recognized by the city in the honorary decree which it confers:

IG I<sup>3</sup>, 113.17-18. Honors for Evagoras of Salamis. Ca. 410 BC.

[.....30..... ε]υνοίας καὶ πι-  
[.....32.....]  
"..... good will and tr(ust?) ....."

IG I<sup>3</sup>, 125.27-29. Honors for Epikerdes of Cyrene. 405/4 BC.

ἀνθ' ᾧ κ]-  
αὶ αὐτὸν ἔστε[φάνωσαν ἀνδραγαθίας]  
[ἔ]νεκα καὶ εὐν[οίας τῆς ἐς Ἀθηναίους τ]-  
[ὸ] δὲ Ψήφισμα τ[όδε κτλ.

"... for which they also crowned him on account of manliness and good will toward the Athenians..."

The language of IG I<sup>3</sup>, 110 (Honors for Oeniades of Palaiskiathos) is similar. Contemporary with this development of a conventional language, the historical speeches of Thucydides and Xenophon also show its use. Inscriptions after 403/2 provide many examples of this formula<sup>3</sup>.

3. I list the examples of the 4th cent, by which time εὐνοία is

*Eunoia* occurs frequently in inscriptions, as a virtue which is a basis for conferring honor. It first appears on stone (for the record) in the late 5<sup>th</sup> cent. (IG I<sup>3</sup>, 113). Examples are known from the 4<sup>th</sup> cent., proliferating in the last third, and found in different types of honorary decrees (honors for individuals; for an agonothete of the Theseia; for ephebes and their trainers; for allies; for kings, dynasts). IG II<sup>2</sup>, provides over 100 examples, in

fully established in the conventional vocabulary of honorary decrees. The asterisk (\*) designates those texts where εὐνοία or a significant portion is on the stone. Other examples vary between probable and possible. IG II<sup>2</sup>, Add. 20, l. 8 (393/2), Decree honoring Evagoras of Salamis; IG II<sup>2</sup>, 127.30 (356/5), Treaty with Ketrporis, Lyppaios, and Grabos: individual praised for εὐνοία (restored) and invited for *xenia* in the *prytaneion*; IG II<sup>2</sup>, 177.8 (before 353/2), Decree honoring Aitolians; IG II<sup>2</sup>, 212\*.32 (347/6), Decree honoring Spartokos and Pairisades, sons of Leukon; IG II<sup>2</sup>, 220.17 (344/3), Decree honoring Pellaneis; IG II<sup>2</sup>, 222\*.15 (ca. 344/3), Decree honoring Pisithides of Delos; IG II<sup>2</sup>, 229.10 (341/0), Decree honoring Theo... of Corinth; IG II<sup>2</sup>, 233.7 (340/39), Decree honoring Tenedos and Aratos of Tenedos; IG II<sup>2</sup>, 237\*.9 (338/7), Decree honoring Akarnanians; IG II<sup>2</sup>, 238\*.5 (338/7), Decree honoring Andrians; IG II<sup>2</sup>, 264\*.5 (before 336/5), Decree honoring Iatrokles, for εὐνοίαν which the *demos* has toward him; IG II<sup>2</sup>, 270.3 (before 336/5), Proxeny decree; IG II<sup>2</sup>, 283\*.11 (before 336/5), Decree honoring Ph... of Salamis; IG II<sup>2</sup>, 285.7 (before 336/5), Decree honoring a Phaselite; IG II<sup>2</sup>, 342\* (before mid. iv), Decree honoring Tyrians; IG II<sup>2</sup>, 343\* (before mid iv), Decree honoring Apollonides of Sidon; IG II<sup>2</sup>, 405.7 (ca. 335/4), Citizenship decree for Amyntor; SEG 28.103\* (332/1), Deme decree of Eleusis honoring Philokomos Philanthidou; SEG 28.102 (332/1), Deme decree of Eitea; IG II<sup>2</sup>, 344.14 (332/1), Proxeny decree for Theophantos; IG II<sup>2</sup>, 347.12 (332/1), Decree honoring Amphis, poet of Andros; IG II<sup>2</sup>, 368.10 (332/1), Decree honoring Theophantos; IG II<sup>2</sup>, 350.11 (331/0), Decree honoring an Epidamnian and an Apolloniate; IG II<sup>2</sup>, 351\*.24 (330/29), Decree honoring Eudemos of Plataia; IG II<sup>2</sup>, 407\* ll. 8,16 (ca. 330), Honorary decree; IG II<sup>2</sup>, 408.16 (ca. 330), Honorary decree; IG II<sup>2</sup>, 416\*.14 (ca. 330), Proxeny decree? Cf. SEG 26.78; IG II<sup>2</sup>, 360\*.15 (325/4), Decree honoring Herakleides of Salamis for gifts of grain; IG II<sup>2</sup>, 548, ll. 13,23(323/2), Honorary decree; IG II<sup>2</sup>, 391\*.4 (321-319), Decree honoring Alkimachos of Apollonia; IG II<sup>2</sup>, 3981 (321-319), Citizenship decree; IG II<sup>2</sup>, 394.11 (321-319), Citizenship decree; IG II<sup>2</sup>, 399\* ll. 10,11 (320/19), Decree honoring Euryloch of Kydonia; IG II<sup>2</sup>, 387.11 (319/18), Citizenship decree; IG II<sup>2</sup>, 304 + 604 l. 4 (after 319/18), Honorary decree; IG II<sup>2</sup>, 374 ll. 5,13 (after 319/18), Decree honoring Evenor of Akarnania; IG II<sup>2</sup>, 456\*.69 (307/6), Decree honoring Kolophonians; IG II<sup>2</sup>, 457.3 (307/6), Decree honoring the orator Lykourgos (εὐνοία restored, certain); IG II<sup>2</sup>, 470\*.64 (306/5), Decree honoring Kolophonians; IG II<sup>2</sup>, 479\*.21 (ca. 305/4), Decree honoring Pyr... of Heraklea; IG II<sup>2</sup>, 483\*.4 (304/3), Decree honoring Phidias, doctor, of Rhodes; IG II<sup>2</sup>, 487.2 (304/3), Decree honoring Eucharis; IG II<sup>2</sup>, 503\*.9 (304/3), Decree honoring Stratokles; IG II<sup>2</sup>, 492 ll. 4,18 (303/2), Decree honoring Apollonides; IG II<sup>2</sup>, 495\*.18 (303/2), Decree honoring Alkaaios of Ainos; IG II<sup>2</sup>, 507\*.19 (303/2), Decree honoring Solon of Bargylia; IG II<sup>2</sup>, 558\*.16 (ca. 303/2), Decree honoring Oxythelmis of Larisa; IG II<sup>2</sup>, 553\*.11 (ca. 302), Decree honoring Nearis; IG II<sup>2</sup>, 539.8 (end iv), Honorary decree; IG II<sup>2</sup>, 554\*.26 (end iv), Decree honoring Euxenides of Phaselis; IG II<sup>2</sup>, 566.5 (end iv), Citizenship decree for Prieneans.

which a formula with *eunoia* appears on the stone or can be restored with reasonable certainty. *Eunoia* in inscriptions relates mainly to individuals, not to groups, but they are of a class: recipients of honorary decrees (whose actions contribute to the well-being of the city).

Alan Henry, in *Honors and Privileges in Athenian Decrees*<sup>4</sup> notes that *eunoia* is often the basis for commendation (i. e. praise, *epainesai*) and honor by crown (*stephanosai*). It is usually presented in a *heneka* phrase and often associated with another virtue. [i. e. *eunoia kai andragathia*; *eunoia kai dikaiosyne*; *eunoia kai arete*; *eunoia kai philotimia*].

The honorary decree, which praises the honoree for his good will, recognizes his service to Athens but also encourages continued service in response to the honor. The sentiment is expanded in purpose clauses in decrees of the 4th cent. and later (ὅπως ἂν εἰδῶσι πάντες ὅτι ἐπίσταται ὁ δῆμος χάριτας ἀποδιδόναι τοῖς φιλοτιμουμένοις εἰς ἑαυτόν)<sup>5</sup>.

In the prayer which opens the speech *On the Crown* Demosthenes cites his *eunoia* to Athens and prays that the jurors might also have good will toward him.

Πρῶτον μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχομαι πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις, ὅσην εὐνοίαν ἔχων ἐγὼ διατελῶ τῇ τε πόλει καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, τοσαύτην ὑπάρξει μοι παρ' ὑμῶν εἰς τουτοῖν τὸν ἀγῶνα

"First, men of Athens, I pray to all the gods and goddesses that as much good will as I continually maintain toward the city and all of you, so much may exist from you toward me in this contest ..."

This passage shows the reciprocal nature of good will when it is applied. The speaker manifests it toward his audience because he has their interests at heart, and the audience shows it to the speaker by according him a fair hearing.

Other examples in Demosthenes<sup>6</sup> of *eunoia* as a rhetorical topos: *Against Aristokrates* [23] 4; *Against Aphobos* [27] 3; *Against Phormio* [34] 1; *Against Boiotos II* [40] 4. In all of these passages the speaker asks for the *eunoia* of the jury. In 27.3, 34.1, and 40.4 he uses the same words. Examples from other Attic orators include: Aeschines, *Emb.* 1; *Andoc.* 4.16; *Lysias* 27.13, etc.

*Eunoia*, "good will", was originally understood as "faithful intent", applying to the relationship between the speaker and his audience. It was manifested by the speaker in his aim to guide the actions of his group and could be reciprocated by his listeners, who accorded him attention. It came to embody the public virtue which the state recognized and encouraged in individuals and groups.

Finally, another quotation from Demosthenes, which cites the context in which *eunoia* can be understood, is pertinent. In the speech *Against Leptines* [20] 122, he says:

μετρίων δὲ καὶ ὧν ἂν ἐν εἰρήνῃ τις καὶ πολιτεία δύναιτ' ἐφικέσθαι, εὐνοίας, δικαιοσύνης, ἐπιμελείας, τῶν τοιούτων, καὶ συμφέρειν ἐμοίγε δοκεῖ καὶ χρῆναι διδόναι τὰς τίμας.

"Of the moderate [virtues] and those which someone might attain in time of peace and civic activity, good will, justice, care, and the like, [for these virtues] it seems to me expedient and useful to grant honors."

In this speech he argues against the law of Leptines, which proposed abolishing exemption from taxes from all who had been granted this privilege. Demosthenes contends that, beside honors for the great benefactors of the state, there is also a place for honoring those of moderate achievement. This is in fact what actually happened, especially in Hellenistic and Roman times, when all kinds of "humble virtues" are cited in the granting of honors, such as ἦθος, πραότης, ἐπιείκεια, "character, gentleness, seemliness" and the like.

4. Hildesheim: Olms, 1983. I have also used VELIGIANNI-TERZI, CH., *Wertbegriffe in den attischen Ehrendekreten der klassischen Zeit*, Stuttgart 1997.

5. The formula of "hortatory intent" is attested from the second half of the 4th cent. on. Examples in which the formula appears sufficiently on the stone include IG II<sup>2</sup>, 222, 223, 276, 360, and 448. See WOODHEAD, A.G., *The Athenian Agora*, vol. XVI. *Inscriptions: The Decrees*, Princeton 1997, index; HENRY, A.S., *ZPE* 112, 1996, 105-119.

6. There are several other examples of *eunoia* and *eunous* in Demosthenes, *On the Crown*, esp. near the end of the speech, where it has the meaning "patriotism" (Vince transl., Keaney transl.) and "the patriotic citizen" (ὁ εὐνοῦς πολίτης, 301). Cf. also *Aeschin.*, *Ctes.* 17, in reply to Demosthenes. *Eunoia* and *eunous* as "patriotism" and "patriotic" relates to the citation of this ideal in inscriptions, where the individual does what he does in behalf of the city and the city honors him with praise and thanks.

Conclusion: the rhetorical topos by which a speaker sought to win the attention of his audience bridges the gap between the world of Homer and the world of the polis. The speakers of Homer claim good will toward the audience, which justifies their right to give advice. Development of a technical, standardized expression for this convention is attested in the epigraphical record after 410,

with the advent of the Athenian empire and the conferring of honors upon benefactors. The historical speeches of Thucydides and Xenophon show awareness of the formula, but it is most fully attested in the actual speeches of active politicians, such as Demosthenes and Aeschines. *Eunoia* is generalized to signify any action which benefits the city and becomes a basis for honors conferred.<sup>7</sup>

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