## DE ANTIPATRO ET ARCHEDICO LAMPTRENSI IG II<sup>2</sup> 402 + Agora I 4990

(Plate 56)

GORA I 4990, a small fragment of gray marble (Pl. 56) found in modern fill in the Athenian Agora (T 23-24) on July 1, 1937, joins the right side of IG II<sup>2</sup> 402, a stone first published by Wilhelm and now stored in the epigraphical collection of the National Museum in Athens, E.M. 2639. The Agora fragment, heretofore unpublished, preserves the right side and is 0.075 m. high, 0.102 m. wide, and 0.043 m. thick. It provides the final letters in lines 3 to 6. A new text of the combined fragments follows.

?a. 338 vel 337 a.?

 $\Sigma TOIX. 25$ 

not more than six lines lost

- [.... ἔδοζ]εν τῶι δήμωι: 'Α[ρχέδικ] [ος Ναυκρί]του Λαμπτρεὺ[ς εἴπεν·]
  [ὅπως ἄν ὡ]ς πλεῖστοι τῶν τ[ο]ῦ βασ-
- 4 [ιλέως φίλ]ων και 'Αντιπάτ[ρ]ου τε-[τιμημένο]ι ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ 'Αθ-[ηναίων εὐε]ργετῶσιν τὴν πόλιν
- 7 [τὴν ᾿Αθηναί]ων· ἀγαθῆι τ [ύχηι δεδ] [όχθαι τῶι δή]μω[ι κτλ.]
  uncertain number of lines lost

Line 1. Wilhelm reported xi as preserved; this appears to be a misprint, for the photograph which he published revealed no trace of it. Dotted alpha is read based on the tip of a slanting hasta at the break. Wilhelm also reported this reading in his commentary.

Line 2. Before του, Wilhelm printed rho and alpha in square brackets; Kirchner removed the brackets and dotted these letters. I can find no possible trace of alpha, and the stone is broken away at the spot where rho should appear. There was clearly never any solid evidence for these letters; they were simply a possible restoration.

Line 3. Just the left tip of the horizontal of dotted tau survives.

Line 6. The left half of dotted omikron and the tops of dotted lambda and iota are visible.

<sup>1</sup>I am indebted to Professor Homer Thompson, Director Emeritus of the excavation, for permission to study and publish this fragment. I also owe deepest thanks to Christian Habicht, Glen W. Bowersock, and the faculty of the School of Historical Studies at the Institute for Advanced Study for extending to me the privilege of summer memberships. The present join is one small part of the research which was carried out in the ideal surroundings of the Institute. Christian Habicht also kindly offered advice on the matters raised by this join.

<sup>2</sup>1908, pp. 89-92.

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It is tempting to follow Wilhelm in placing this decree in the aftermath of the Lamian War, indeed, after the meeting at Triparadeisos in 321 or 320 at which Antipatros was made sole regent for the kings. The new reading of lines 3 and 4 (πλεΐστοι τῶν τ[o]ῦ βασ[ιλέως φίλ]ων και 'Αντιπάτ[o]ου), however, seems to indicate an earlier date.4 The prominence of "the" king is impossible to reconcile with the years 321 to 319, when there were (it appears officially) two young kings, Philip III Arrhidaios and Alexander IV. Inscriptions and literary sources normally refer to them using the plural.<sup>5</sup> It must be admitted, however, that the language most similar to the new reading in surviving Attic decrees is IG II<sup>2</sup> 401: καθ[εσ]τῶτο[ς σατρά]πουύπὸ  $\beta$ ασιλ[έω]ς καl [ 'Aντιπ]άτρου καl τ $\tilde{\omega}[$ ν  $\tilde{\alpha}]$ λλων M[ακεδό]νων (lines 7–10). These words clearly refer to the settlement at Triparadeisos and thus date soon after it. They are a general phrase ascribing the authority for the appointment to the Macedonian hierarchy of power<sup>6</sup> and constitute only a rough parallel for our text. The presence of the definite article in the present inscription, in sharp contrast with a general statement, points to a particular king, who must, it appears, be either Philip or Alexander.

This decree may belong to the aftermath of Chaironeia, when Antipatros came to Athens and helped settle affairs. Contrary to Athenian expectation, Philip treated the Athenians lightly, and they responded by granting citizenship to Philip, Alexander, and Antipatros. I am inclined to think that the inscription refers, then, to King Philip and his principal general, Antipatros. It is, however, possible that it dates somewhat later, that is, after the accession of Alexander, when Antipatros was regent in Macedonia while his king was off campaigning in the East.<sup>8</sup>

The speaker is not Demades, who negotiated the peace and proposed decrees, many honoring important Macedonians, during the years 336 to 3199 but, as Leonardos saw long ago, 'Αρχέδικος Ναυκρίτου Λαμπτρεύς (PA 2336). Archedikos emerges here for the first time and, if 338 or 337 is correct, was among the earliest statesmen to promote a policy of capitalizing on the good will of Philip by honoring his friends. Archedikos later became anagrapheus in 320/19 under the oligarchy

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Diodoros 18.39.2-4; Arrian, τὰ μετὰ 'Αλεξ. 9.32 = FGrH IIB no. 156 F9 32. See also the recent discussions of the conference at Triparadeisos in Will 1984, pp. 37-39 and in Billows 1990, pp. 68-71.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Before the present join, this had been restored by Wilhelm and Kirchner (following Wilhelm) as πλεῖστοι τῶν [τε ἄλλων Μακεδόν]ων καὶ 'Αντίπατ[ρος].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Habicht 1973.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>See also Habicht's assessment of this phrase (1973, p. 373).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Osborne (1983, pp. 69-71) collects the primary sources with discussion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>A. B. Bosworth in a paper forthcoming in *Classical Quarterly* (Spring 1993) will suggest that the present measure could have been passed early in the year 322/1, just after the battle of Crannon. He argues that for the first few months of that year, the acclamation of Alexander IV as king either may not yet have taken place or was not known in Athens.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>On Demades see Davies 1971, pp. 99-102 and Mitchel 1970, pp. 14-18. For a discussion of his decrees and the epigraphical sources for his career, see Oikonomides 1956 and Hansen 1983, p. 163.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>Leonardos 1915, p. 202. Leonardos' further proposal (*ibid*.) to restore him as the chairman in *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 449 is not convincing.

promoted by Antipatros<sup>11</sup> and survived to propose a decree very early in the year 317 under the new (short-lived) democracy.<sup>12</sup> This measure honors an Herakleote who had, among other good deeds, aided the Athenian survivors in the war at sea against Antipatros in 322. These activities suggest that Archedikos was most adroit at navigating everchanging political waters.<sup>13</sup>

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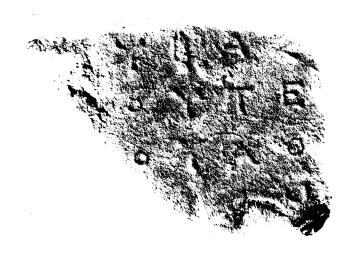
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<sup>11</sup>IG II<sup>2</sup> 380-384. For the numerous inscriptions which mention him as anagrapheus, see Dow 1963, pp. 45-47 and Errington 1977, p. 489, note 40.

<sup>12</sup> Hesperia 8, 1939, pp. 30-32 as republished by Raubitschek 1945, pp. 106-107. Wilhelm 1942 also discusses this text.

<sup>13</sup> For more on Archedikos and his political activities, see the article by Christian Habicht in this issue of *Hesperia* (1993, pp. 253–256).



Agora I 4990