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THE FAMILY OF BALAKROS SON OF NIKANOR, THE MAKEDONIAN, ON DELOS

aus: Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik 89 (1991) 151–154

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Waldemar Heckel has recently suggested that the Antipatros s. Balagros whose dedication of a golden crown of laurel appears twice in the Delian inventories was the son of Alexander's companion Balakros and of his wife Phile, the daughter of Antipatros.¹ The identification is happy and should be accepted. But Antipatros was not the only member of his family to leave traces on the island.

In the early third century the Delians honored Antipatros' brother θρασέας Βαλάγρου Μακεδών for his helpfulness to the sanctuary and the Delians. Unfortunately the decree breaks off before giving any details of his activities.² The mover of the decree, Thasynon s. Khoirylos, who served as hieropoios of the temple of Apollo in 268 B.C. and as arkhon in 261 B.C., belonged to an influential and wealthy family, befitting the rogator of a decree in honor of an important visitor.³ Despite the absence of any indications, Thraseas' family connections and Thasynon's position imply a political visit.

A laconic entry in the account for 296 B.C. notes τότε Βάλαγρος ἦλθεν. δαίδες εἰς τὸν χ[ο]ρὸν 4 dr 1.5 ob, ξύλα καὶ ῥυμὸς 1dr 2 ob (I.G. XI 2.154A41-42).⁴ Despite the absence of the father's name, his identification as another brother seems assured. The name recurs only once in the inscriptions of Delos, in an inventory recording a dedication. The identity of the dedicant is not known, though it is not impossible that he was the same person.⁵

Three brothers, sons of Alexander's general Balagros, visited Delos in the early third century. There can be no doubt that all three served Antigonos Monophthalmos and his son Demetrios afterwards; Heckel has demonstrated Antipatros' loyalty to the Antigonids.⁶ What functions were they carrying out when they stopped on Delos?

¹ "A. Grandson of Antipatros at Delos," ZPE 70 (1987) 161-162; I.G. XI 2.161B85, 287B57.

² I.G. XI 4.585, with P. Roussel's comm., p. 15 on the relationship.

³ I.G. XI 2.203B92, 94-95, 103; 204.2; 205Ba33; 114.1. Cf. Claude Vial, *Délos indépendante* = BCH Suppl. X (Paris 1984) 134 n. 42. Thasynon was probably at the beginning of his career when he proposed this decree. On political careers on Delos, cf. Vial 253-273, esp. 260.

⁴ The chorus is that of the Deliades, a female chorus which danced at major festivals and when theoroi arrived. Cf. Philippe Bruneau, *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos* = BEFAR 217 (Paris 1970) 35-37, 107.

⁵ I.D. 298A178 of 240 B.C. has κέρατα δύο ἀργυρᾶ, Βαλ[ά]γρ[ου ἀνάθημα]. Durrbach, comm. p. 51, says, "comme la double offrande de Balagros n'est nommée nulle part avant cet inventaire, il paraît probable que c'est ici un autre personnage que le Balagros qui est dit avoir passé à Délos en 296." Possibly. But objects were moved among the buildings in the temple; Balagros' dedication could have been transferred, as indeed its absence from later inventories suggests a later transfer (or loss).

⁶ Cf. n. 1.

The evidence provides little help. For Antipatros and Thraseas not even the years of their visits can be determined. The first entry for Antipatros' dedication occurs in the inventory of the prodomos of the temple of Apollo for 279 B.C., which provides a *terminus ante quem* for his visit. The dedication does not appear in the next earlier inventory for this building, I.G. XI 2.154A50-60 of 296 B.C.; he could then have stopped on Delos any time between 295 and 280 B.C. But this is hardly certain: we cannot be sure that the inventory of 296 includes every object stored there, and, more important, Antipatros' dedication need not have been housed originally in the prodomos of Apollo's temple.

The dedication itself certainly suggests an important person. Gold crowns were typical dedications of kings and high functionaries like Philokles, king of the Sidonians, who served Ptolemaios I and II in many capacities.⁷ Lower officials like the *nesiarkhoi* of the Nesiotic League typically offered *phialai* or established vase-foundations.⁸ Moreover, a one-time dedication like Antipatros' implies a brief visit or a religious offering sent with someone else, certainly not a permanent stationing on the island or a long-term relation with it.

For Thraseas, the language of his honorary decree may be suggestive. The "considerants" begin: ἐπειδὴ θρασέας Βαλάγρου Μακεδῶν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γέγονε περὶ τε τὸ ἱερόν, etc. (ll. 3-5). The wording is banal except for the verb. Most contemporary honorary decrees speak of the honorand as ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ὦν διατελεῖ περὶ τε τὸ ἱερόν καὶ τὴν πόλιν, *vel sim.*, and indeed the next clause of Thraseas' decree follows typical wording with a verb in the present: [π]οιεῖ ὃ τι δύναται ἀγα[θὸ]ν, etc. (l. 7).⁹ The perfect may then imply some kind of change in status; for example, that Thraseas was about to depart from Delos after an extended official stay. The *nesiarkhos* was one official who seems to have been stationed on Delos, but there may have been others, and it is better not to press speculation any farther.

For Balagros we have the exact date of his visit: 296 B.C. It may even be possible to infer the time of year. Unlike later accounts (cf. esp. I.G. XI 2.287), I.G. XI 2.154 does not provide month-by-month accounts. The entries may nevertheless be in roughly chronological order. Before the record of Balagros' visit, the *hieropoioi* reported expenses in connection with the application of pitch as a sealant to buildings and altars in the sanctuary (A28-36). In every year of the fourth and third centuries with monthly accounts this activity

⁷ For kings, cf. the references in Bruneau, *Recherches* 516-518, 546-552, 569-570; for Philokles, I.G. XI 2.161B56, 60, 86, H. Hauben, "Philokles, King of the Sidonians and General of the Ptolemies," in *Studia Phoenicia V. Phoenicia and the East Mediterranean in the First Millennium B.C. = Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 22 (Leuven 1987) 413-428 on his career (with further references at 413-414 n. 2).

⁸ Apollodoros, I.G. XI 2.161B14-15, 44-45, 162B11-12, 35, 188.3-4, 199B41, I.D. 296B44, 338Bb24 (*νησιάρχος*); Bakkhon, I.G. XI 2.161B12-13 (279 B.C.), 162B9-10, 164A54-56, 199B38-39, I.D. 298A171-172, 300B18-20, on all of which see K.J. Rigsby, "Bacchon the Nesiarch on Delos," *AJP* 101 (1980) 194-196 (cf. also J. Tréheux, *BCH* 109 [1985] 496 n. 47); Hermias, I.G. XI 2.287B112-119, I.D. 297B54-59, 298A79-83, 313.63-66, 320B27-30, 442B71.

⁹ Cf. I.G. XI 4.586.4-5, 562.3-5, 571.4-5, 573.5-6, etc. On the perfect in this context indicating completed activity before the award of honors, see Philippe Gauthier, *Les cités grecques et leurs bienfaiteurs (IV^e-I^{er} siècle avant J.-C.)*. Contribution à l'histoire des institutions = *BCH Suppl.* XII (Paris 1985) 166-167 with further references.

was undertaken in the summer or early fall, after the pitch was bought.¹⁰ Outlays for minor work follow, then Balagros' visit, introduced by τότε. Immediately afterwards comes an account for expenses for the Antigoneia, a festival celebrated every other year to commemorate the liberation of Delos from the Athenians in 314 B.C.¹¹ Since the liberation occurred in September, the first Antigoneia must have been celebrated in October-December of that year.¹² The end of this section of the document records expenses associated with inscription, which come naturally last in the accounting year.

It therefore seems likely, though not certain, that Balagros visited Delos in the late summer or early fall 296 B.C. He was clearly just passing through. What could have been his mission?

It is possible that Balagros was on a religious visit. As noted above,¹³ the Deliades who performed in his honor danced at major religious festivals and to celebrate theoric visits. Since the entry for Balagros immediately precedes that for the Antigoneia, he may have come to participate in that festival honoring the house of the Antigonids. A visit by a high Antigonid official might explain the Delians' solicitude.

This possibility, however, does not exclude a political background to Balagros' activities. After the defeat and death of his father at Ipsos in 301 B.C. Demetrios fled west, but after he was met on Delos by a delegation from Athens which announced a new policy of nonalignment,¹⁴ he returned to Asia. In alliance with Ephesos he fought a war against Priene that lasted from December-January 300/299 B.C. to January-February 297 B.C.¹⁵ He was appointed stephanephoros of Miletos in 295 B.C.;¹⁶ since the Milesian year began in February-March (Artemision), Demetrios remained in Ionia until the winter of 295.

Meanwhile the situation in Athens changed. Lakhares had fallen out with his compatriot Kharias, who was executed; the Peiraieus seceded and came under siege by Lakhares. In May 297 B.C. or later Kassandros, who had supported the Athenians against Demetrios but

¹⁰ I.G. XI 2.203A47-48, 204.57-58, 287A66, 290.78-79 and 80, 291b32-33, 316.97, 338Aa39-40, 354.78-79, 372A84-85.

¹¹ I.G. XI 4.1036.4-5.

¹² Jacques Tréheux, "Les dernières années de Délos sous le protectorat des amphictions," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire offerts à Charles Picard* = *Rev. Arch.* 31/32 (1948) 1008-1032; Kostas Buraselis, *Das hellenistische Makedonien und die Ägäis. Forschungen zur Politik des Kassandros und der drei ersten Antigoniden (Antigonos Monophthalmos, Demetrios Poliorketes und Antigonos Gonatas) im Ägäischen Meer und in Westkleinasien* = *Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und Antiken Rechtsgeschichte* 73 (München 1982) 41-43, 60-67, 80-93. The festival cannot have been introduced in 313 B.C., because it was celebrated every other year, and I.G. XI 2.154 guarantees that those years were even. Buraselis shows the difficulties with assuming the festival was introduced in 312, 310, or 308 B.C.

¹³ Cf. n. 4.

¹⁴ *Plut.*, *Dem.* 30.4.

¹⁵ *SIG*³ 363-364 = I.K. Ephesos VI.2001; Ia.4. David Asheri, "Leggi greche sul problema dei debiti," *Studi classici e orientali* 18 (1969) 42-43. David Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton 1956) I.90, II.919 n. 7.

¹⁶ *Milet III.124.22.* Edouard Will, *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique (323-30 av. J.-C.)*, vol. I² = *Annales de L'Est* 30 (Nancy 1979) 88-89, with bibliography.

was reluctant to act decisively against him alone, died, followed by his son Philip a few months later. Fighting continued in the summer of the following year, when Lakhares was forced to melt down the gold on Athena's cult statue. A revolt against Lakhares ensued in the winter of 295/4 B.C. When it was put down he dissolved the boule and ran new elections. Demetrios sailed west from Asia in the winter or early spring of 295 B.C., probably arriving at Athens soon after Lakhares' coup. He began operations against the city, which he finally captured after interruptions in about April 294 B.C.¹⁷

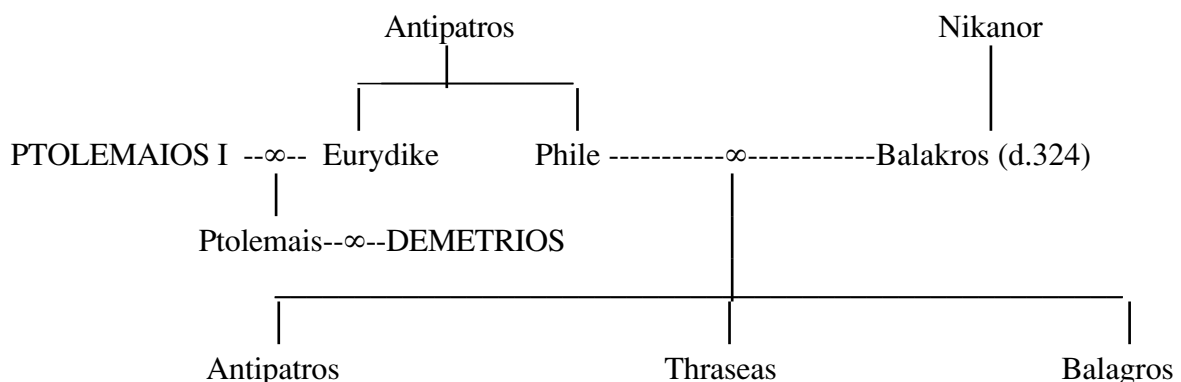
The stasis at Athens would clearly have been of great interest to Demetrios, who would have wanted frequent and reliable reports on the political situation. Balagros, we may note, touched at Delos near the end of the normal sailing season. Delos lay on the normal route for travellers passing from Athens to Asia. It is possible -- nothing more -- that Balagros was on his way to Demetrios to bring the latest political intelligence, which certainly looked grim for Lakhares. The news, and the end of Demetrios' business in Asia, may have decided the king that the moment had arrived to retake Athens.

Much of the above is speculative; I certainly do not fancy that I have identified the nature of the activities of the sons of Balakros. But it is sure that in Antipatros, Thraseas, and Balagros we have a striking example of a family loyal in its service to a dynasty, and which following their masters' inclinations did not neglect to honor the sacred island that was the center of Antigonos' and Demetrios' authority in the Aegean. I give a partial stemma.

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Stemma of the family
of Balakros s. Nikanor



¹⁷ FrGrkHist 257a F1-F2; F3 (Philip died exactly four months after his father according to the Armenian version of Eusebios, cf. F. Jacoby, comm. to FrGrkHist 257a at vol. II, 2, pp. 850-851); F4; Plut., Dem. 33-34. Throughout I follow Christian Habicht, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte Athens im 3. Jahrhundert v.Chr.* = Vestigia 30 (Munich 1979) 4-13, cf. esp. 12.