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ΣΟΝ ΤΟ ΚΡΑΤΟΣ ΙΕΡΑΞ

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## CON TO KPATOC IEPAΞ

In ZPE 32, 1978, 1-5, I discussed the late Ptolemaic ostrakon O.Edfu 326, which bears some scraps of verse taken from more than one source. I suggested that the two lines

ἔπος δ' ἐφώνησεν τόδε·  
"cὸν τὸ κράτος βασιλεῦ"

might be a fragment from an epode of Archilochus.<sup>1</sup> The argument was partly based on an inference from the fact that the second verse is followed on the ostrakon by the unmetrical variant

cὸν τὸ κράτος ἰέραξ.<sup>2</sup>

The inference was that the 'king' addressed in the original poem was a hawk, the narrative being an animal fable. This would certainly be suitable to an Archilochean epode, as we know from two other cases.

However, I also noticed the possibility that the surplus line was added with satirical intent, to make fun of some contemporary named Hierax. 'After copying cὸν τὸ κράτος βασιλεῦ' (I wrote), 'a schoolboy might have thought it a terrific joke to replace the vocative by the name of his teacher.'

It occurs to me now that a more public figure may have been the target. Two texts are particularly suggestive.

Ath. 252e Ποσειδώνιος δ' ὁ Ἀπαμεύς, ὑστερον δὲ Ῥόδιος χρηματίας, ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν Ἰστοριῶν (FGrH 87 F 4; Posid. fr. 56 Edelstein-Kidd, 88 Theiler) Ἰέρακά φησι τὸν Ἀντιοχέα πρότερον λυσιωιδοῖς ὑπαυλοῦντα ὑστερον γενέσθαι κόλακα δεινὸν Πτολεμαίου τοῦ ἐβδόμου βασιλέως τοῦ καὶ Εὐεργέτου ἐπικληθέντος, καὶ τὰ μέγιστα δυνηθέντα παρ' αὐτῷ, καθάπερ καὶ παρὰ τῷ Φιλομήτορι, ὑστερον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διαφθαρῆναι.

Diod. 33. 22 (Posid. fr. 121 Th.) ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς Ἰέραξ ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἔργοις θαυμαστὸς ὢν καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐντεύξεις τοῖς ὄχλοις εὐθετος, ἔτι δὲ μεγάλωψυχος, συνέχευε τὴν τοῦ Πτολεμαίου βασιλείαν. τούτου γὰρ ἀπορουμένου χρημάτων, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν βουλομένων ἀφίεσθαι πρὸς Γαλαίτην διὰ τὸ μὴ κομίζεσθαι τοὺς μισθοὺς, ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας ὀψωνιάσας τὴν δύναμιν διωρθώσατο τὴν ὅλην μεταβολήν. The Ptolemy in question is Euergetes II Potbelly, and the date of the episode is about 140 BC.

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<sup>1</sup> I included the fragment in my *Delectus ex Iambis et Elegis Graecis* (OCT 1980) as Adesp. iamb. 55a, and it will appear under the same number in the second (revised and augmented) edition of *Iambi et Elegi Graeci II*, to be published in 1992.

<sup>2</sup> cov has been altered to cvv in both lines, but this makes no sense and must be ignored.

It is doubtful whether the κόλαξ of the first passage is to be identified with the στρατηγός of the second, and/or with Hierax the governor of Antioch who, with Diodotos (Tryphon), played a leading role in the turbulent affairs of Syria at the same period and at one point offered the throne to Ptolemy Philometor.<sup>3</sup> The question is not essential here. What matters is that the writer of the ostrakon might have had the κόλαξ in mind, or, even more appropriately, the στρατηγός. In either case his point was 'Hierax is the power behind the throne'.

If this hypothesis is correct, my argument proceeds along the reserve track laid down on p. 5 of my 1978 article: 'This would still leave us with what looks like a fragment of a narrative from an Archilochean epode, only without a hawk.' I suggested the fable of the fox and the monkey (fr. 185-7, cf. 225) as a possible context.

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<sup>3</sup> Diod. 32. 9c, 33. 3 ('Quelle zweifelhaft' Jacoby; Posid. fr. 85 and 98 Th.). On the problems of identification see W.Otto, RE VIII 1408 f.; Jacoby on Posid. 87 F 4.