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## The Net-Haulers of Aeschylus

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## THE NET-HAULERS OF AESCHYLUS

Up to recent times we did not know anything about Aeschylus' satyric drama *Δικτυοῦλκοί* except the title — which is cited in the *κατάλογος τῶν Αἰσχύλου δραμάτων* in a corrupt form *Δικτυορῆγοί* later on corrected by G. Hermann<sup>1</sup> who has shown, against the opinion of Fr. G. Welcker,<sup>2</sup> that the right form of this title is the one, which occurs in other ancient writers — and three little fragments handed down by Pollux VII 35: τὸ δὲ εὐήτερον Αἰσχύλος ἐν Δικτυοῦλκοις, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐπὶ ἐσθῆτος, ἀλλ' οὖν εἴρηκε· 'δικτύου δ' εὐήτρια', Aelian N. A. VII 47: τῶν δὲ ὑστρίχων καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀγρίων τὰ ἔκγονα ὕβρια καλεῖται· καὶ μέμνηται γε Εὐρυπίδης ἐν Πελοπόννησσι τοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ Αἰσχύλος ἐν Ἀγαμέμνονι καὶ Δικτυοῦλκοις, and Hesychius II p. 334: θῶσθαι· δαίνυσθαι, θωνᾶσθαι, εὐωχεῖσθαι. Αἰσχύλος Δικτυοῦλκοις. A passage of Pausanias II 24, 4: Αἰσχύλος δ' ὁ Εὐφορίωνος καλεῖ Δία καὶ τὸν ἐν θαλάσῃ made G. Hermann surmise that the notice in Proclus *in Plat. Crat.* p. 83, 26 ff (ed. of Pasquali) respecting the different appearances of Zeus which are also mentioned by Pausanias: ὁ δὲ δεῦτερος δουαδικῶς καλεῖται Ζεὺς ἐνάλιος καὶ Ποσειδῶν refers to the original text of Aeschylus and consequently he recognized a further fragment of the *Δικτυοῦλκοί*<sup>3</sup> which has been confirmed now by one of the newly found papyrus-fragments.

About the contents and the character of this play nothing is known to ancient writers. But G. Hermann<sup>4</sup> has already proved that fishermen of Seriphos, a little isle among the Cyclades, appeared in this play and that a great chest containing Danaë and her little son Perseus was brought ashore by them. That is exactly the same tale which mentions in all the mythographical tradition the name of Dictys as one of those fishermen and

<sup>1</sup> G. Hermann, *Ber. über d. Verhandl. d. Sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* I p. 119 ff = *Aeschyli tragoediae* I p. 320 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Fr. G. Welcker, *Die aeschyl. Trilogie* p. 379.

<sup>3</sup> *Aeschyli tragoediae* I fr. 385 p. 402: *Fortasse ei fuit Ζεὺς ἐνάλιος.*

<sup>4</sup> G. Hermann, *Ber. über d. Verhandl. d. Sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* I p. 119 ff = *Aeschyli tragoediae* I p. 320 ff.

which has been preserved in the most ancient version that we know, independent from the Attic tragedy, by Pherecydes of Athens<sup>5</sup> in the following form: καὶ φερόμενοι (Danaë and Perseus) ἀφικνοῦνται εἰς Σέριφρον τὴν νῆσον καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐξέλκει Δίκτυς ὁ Περισθένους δικτύῳ ἀλιεύων· εἶτα ἡ Δανάη ἀνοίξει ἰκετεύει τὴν λάρνακα· ὁ δὲ ἀνοίξας καὶ μαθὼν οἴτινές εἰσιν, ἄγει εἰς τὸν οἶκον καὶ τρέφει ὡς ἄν συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ ὄντας.

New details of the play *Δικτυουλκοί* came to light in 1932 when two papyrus-fragments of the *Δικτυουλκοί*, discovered at Oxyrhynchos by the director of the Alexandrian Museum E. Breccia, were published for the first time by the Italian papyrologists M. Norsa and H. Vitelli,<sup>6</sup> and in the following years completed by some tiny scraps containing the ends of ll 15 — 21 of fragment *a*<sup>7</sup>. Both fragments, *a* and *b*, were reproduced in a complete form by the same editors in 1935 in the 11-th volume of the *Papiri greci e latini*, number 1209.<sup>8</sup> The first fragment appeared in the following form:

[A] ἐυνήχ[ας

[B] ἐυνήχα[. ]α[

[A] τί σοι φυλάσσω[

[B] εἴ που θαλάσσης[

5 [A] ἄσημα· λειός πόν[τος

[B] δέροκου νυν ἐς κευθ[μῶνα

[A] καὶ δὴ δέδορκα· τωδετ[

ἔα

τί φῶ τόδ' εἶναι· πότερα [πόντιον τέρας,

φάλαιναν ἢ ζύγαιναν ἢ κι[βότιον;

10 ἄναξ Πόσειδον Ζεῦ τ' ἐνάλιε[

[δ]ῶρον θαλάσσης πέμπετ[<sup>9</sup>

<sup>5</sup> *Die Fragmente d. griech. Historiker* v. F. Jacoby I fr. 10 p. 61.

<sup>6</sup> *Bulletin de la Soc. d'archéol. d'Alexandrie* 28 1932 p. 115 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Bulletin de la Soc. d'archéol. d'Alexandrie* 29 1933 p. 267 ff; *Mélanges Bidez* 1934 p. 955 ff.

<sup>8</sup> See also Carl-Ernst Fritsch, *Neue Fragmente des Aischylos u. Sophokles*, Diss. Hamburg, 1936 p. 7 f.

τισσαι θαλάσσης δίκτυον δ[  
 [.]εφυκ...αιδώστεδαγνο.[  
 ]εναυμονη[.]·χ...εν[  
 15 ]ερωτων νησαϊος· ὥς[  
 ] ἔστι τοῦργον οὐ χωρεῖ πρόσω  
 καὶ δὴ] βοήν ἴστημι τοῖσδ' ἰγμάσι·  
 π]άντες γεωργαί, δεῦτε κάμπελοσκάφοι  
 τ]ε ποιμήν τ' εἴ τις ἔστ' ]ε]γγώριος  
 20 ]αι τε κάλλο [...].]ρύτων ἔθνος  
 ]ἐναντιωτάτης[

This fragment has been exhaustingly dealt with by several philologists.<sup>9</sup> I do not intend to discuss all the opinions that have been taken into consideration in connexion with the explanation and reconstruction of the mutilated text. I shall limit my remarks to the most important questions. I want to emphasize that the verb ξυνιέναι (l. 1 and 2) does not mean *see* or *observe* as it is understood by Körte, its meaning is *perceive* or *hear*. In this meaning we usually find it in such expressions as ἔπος ξυνιέναι, φθόγγον ξυνιέναι, φωνήν ξυνιέναι. It is also used in a similar manner by Sophocles, *Trach.* 1129: οὐδὲν ξυνίημι, ὧν σύ μαι καλεῖς πολύ.<sup>10</sup> A word like φωνή, φθόγγος, φῶφος, βοή must be therefore restored in l. 1 as the object of ξυνιέναι. — The words τί σοι φυλάσσω (l. 3) allow us to guess that this question was preceded by an imperative of the verb φυλάσσειν. For, especially in Aeschylus and Sophocles, invitations and questions, in stichomythic parts, are usually answered by means of the same words.<sup>11</sup> — R. Pfeiffer is

<sup>9</sup> Cf. A. Körte, *Zwei Kolumnen eines Aischylos-Papyrus*, *Hermes* 68 1933 p. 267 ff; V. Steffen, *De novo Aeschyli fragmento satyrico*, *Coniectanea Seminarii Philologici Posnaniensis* 1 1934 p. 9 ff; A. Körte, *Literarische Texte mit Ausschluss der christlichen*, *Archiv für Papyrusforsch.* 11 1935 p. 249 f.; R. Goossens, *Chronique d'Égypte* 19 1935 p. 120 ff, A. Olivieri, *I Diktyoulokoï di Eschilo*, *Dion* VI 1937—38 p. 314—326; R. Pfeiffer, *Die Netzfischer des Aischylos und der Inachos des Sophokles. Zwei Satyrspiel-Funde*, *Sitzber. d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wissensch. Philosoph.-hist. Abt.* Jahrg. 1938 Heft 2 p. 1 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. R. Pfeiffer, *Die Netzfischer...* p. 5 f.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. W. Kranz, *Stasimon. Untersuchungen zu Form und Gehalt d. griech. Tragödie*, Berlin 1933 p. 23; R. Pfeiffer, *Die Netzfischer...* p. 16; V. Steffen,



entirely right when he maintains that a plural neuter substantive, to which the adjective ἄσημα referred, must have been present in l. 4. But I cannot agree with Pfeiffer as to the place of the substantive κύματα. The words λείος πόντος in l. 5 suggest rather that the sea was calm, that there were no waves, and thus it seems that in l. 4 the word χεύματα, which often occurs in Aeschylus' tragedies and denotes smooth water, is more fitting. — L. 6: δέρκου νυν ἐς κευθ[μῶνα expresses the direction to which the attention of the second fisherman should be drawn. The complements of Schadewaldt: δέρκου νυν ἐς κευθ[μῶνα τὸν παράκτιον, Vitelli-Norsa: δέρκου νυν ἐς κευθ[μῶνα τόνδε μείζονα, Körte: δέρκου νυν ἐς κευθ[μῶνα πρὸς τὰ δέξια, Pfeiffer: δέρκου νυν ἐς κευθ[μῶνας ἀκταίων πετρῶν do not agree with Aeschylus' style and manner. For the next line shows that the strange thing the fishermen looked for was hidden in the net. Therefore, it is very probable that one of the fishermen called the attention of his companion to the direction in which the net was lowered. I think therefore that Aeschylus has written: δέρκου νυν ἐς κευθ[μῶνα πρὸς τὸ δίκτυον. — The supplementary κιβώτιον in l. 9 given by Vitelli and Norsa and accepted by Körte is quite misplaced. The diminutive κιβώτιον does not fit the large chest hiding Danaë and Perseus. Moreover, mentioning the chest would anticipate the following action.<sup>12</sup> The most plausible complement of this line is that of Pfeiffer who, with regard to Hesychius' gloss, conjectured that κερράν τινα should be written at the end of l. 9. — The names Ποσειδῶν and Ζεὺς ἐνάλιος (l. 10) refer to one and the same god. The remark of Proclus in *Plat. Crat.* 83, 26 ff: *δυαδικῶς καλεῖται Ζεὺς ἐνάλιος καὶ Ποσειδῶν* concerning the play of Aeschylus and the report of Pausanias II 24, 4 prove it clearly. — As for l. 17 ff I am inclined to consider them to be iambic trimeters rather than iambic tetrameters. — In order to understand the function of ἀντιωτάτης (l. 22) see Pfeiffer, *Die Netzfischer...* p. 14, 2.

Following these remarks I quote the text reconstructed in the way I consider most plausible:

[A] ξυνῆκα[ς, εἰπέ μαι, φύφον τιν' ἢ βοήν;

[B] ξυνῆκα· [κ]α[ἰ φύλασσε τίς ποτ' ἦ βοῶν.

*De Sophoclis Indagatoribus quaestiones aliquot, Poznańskie Tow. Przyjaciół Nauk. Prace komisji filologicznej.* T. XI, zes. 4 1949, p. 94.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. R. Pfeiffer, *Die Netzfischer...* p. 7.

- [A] τί σοι φυλάσσω [μηδέν' ἐνθάδ' εἰσορῶν;  
 [B] εἶ που θαλάσσης [χεύματ' ἐπιφέρει τινά.  
 5 [A] ἄσχημα· λείος πόν[τος ἐστὶ πανταχού.  
 [B] δέρκου νυν ἐς κευθ[μῶνα πρὸς τὸ δίκτυον.  
 [A] καὶ δὴ δέδορκα τῷδε τ[ῷ τόπῳ τραπέεις.  
 ἔα·  
 τί φῶ τόδ' εἶναι; πότερ' ἀ[λός τι κήτος ἢ  
 φάλαιναν ἢ ζύγαιναν ἢ κ[ιρράν τινα;  
 10 ἄναξ Πόσειδον Ζεῦ τ' ἐνάλιε, [τοῖον οὖν  
 [δ]ῶρον θαλάσσης πέμπε[ται πονουμένοις;  
 πύσοι θαλάσσης δίκτυον δ[εξιάμειθ' ἄν;  
 ]π[εφυκ[ίωτ]αι δ', ὥστ' ἐλαύνο[τας καμεῖν.  
 ]εναυμονη[.].χ...εν[  
 15 ]γέρων νησαῖος ὡς[  
 ]ἔστι τοῦργον· οὐ χωρεῖ πρόσω.  
 καὶ γὰρ β[ροχ]ὴν ἴστημι τοῖσδ' ὑγμάσι·  
 ἰώ, ἰώ·  
 π[άν]τες γεωργοὶ δεῦτε κάμπελοσκάφοι  
 ἀγρεῦ τ[ε] ποιμήν τ' εἶ τίς ἐστ' ἐγχώριος  
 20 πάραλ[οι] τε κάλλο [πᾶν ἄλιτ]ρύτων ἔθνος  
 ἄγρας βαρείας τῆσδ'] ἐναντιωτάτης  
 [ ἡμῖν ξυνάπτεσθ' — — — — — ]

The action contained in this fragment is now quite clear: Two fishermen are busy drawing a net out of the sea. One of them has heard a strange sound, coming from the sea. He calls his companion's attention to this strange thing. After a vain search for the source of that sound the accosted fisherman notices in the net — with great amazement — a large object which seems to him a huge fish. As the tired fishermen have not enough strength to draw the heavy net out of the sea by themselves, they appeal to the local peasants, vinedressers, hunters, herdsmen and other people, living near the sea, to help them in pulling out the net.

This apostrophe inviting all kind of local workers reminds us of that part of Sophocles' *Ichneutae* (l. 32 ff), where Apollo, seeing that he is unable to find his stolen herd, appeals, too, to the neighbouring herdsmen, hunters, charcoalburners and to the mountain demons, that is to the satyrs, to come and look for the lost herd. Although it is not possible to assert whether there is

any dependence of Sophocles upon Aeschylus or *vice versa*<sup>13</sup> in this case, we can, however, assume that in both cases the effect was the same i. e. that in Sophocles' *Ichneutae* as well as in Aeschylus' *Δικτυοῦλκοί*, after a similar kind of invitation, satyrs appeared on the stage to offer their help. From the rôle carried out by the satyrs the plays got their names Ἰχνευταί and Δικτυοῦλκοί.

The net being brought ashore with the aid of Silenus and the satyrs, it became clear that instead of a gigantic fish a large chest, containing Danaë and Perseus, was found in it.

The action included in fragment *a* shows that this fragment belonged to that part of the play which preceded the parodos of the chorus, that is to the prologue. Thus the prologue in Aeschylus' *Net-haulers* — this is the right modern name given to the play by Lobel — was constructed as in Sophocles' *Ichneutae*. A ῥῆσις explaining the situation was followed by a vivid stichomythic dialogue.<sup>14</sup> One of the persons carrying on the dialogue was the mythical Dictys, whose name occurs in the very mutilated fragment *b* which may belong to the introductory ῥῆσις. The text of this fragment is as follows:

	] δ' ἄλγος εἰ[
	]ν Δίκτυ νο[
	]αντες ὦλ[
	]πολεμιο[
5	]ν ὕμνα[
	] καὶ ποταίν[
	ο]ῦ καλῶς [
	]. ἀνοπ[
	πρ]έσβυς . [
10	]σιν ἐμπ[
	]ς δ' ἀπα[

More important fragments of Aeschylus' *Net-haulers* were published in 1941 in the 18-th volume of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, number 2161. The papyrus containing parts of the drama *Δικτυοῦλκοί* consists of two columns. The first one is very mutilated

<sup>13</sup> Cf. E. Siegmann, *Untersuchungen zu Sophokles' Ichneutai*, *Hamburger Arbeiten zur Altertumswissenschaft* 3, 1941, p. 30 ff and A. v. Blumenthal, *Gnomon* 18 1942, p. 89.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. R. Pfeiffer, *Die Netzfischer...* p. 15 ff.

having lost the beginnings of the lines; the second one is more comprehensible in spite of some lacunae, which render the text difficult for complete and right understanding. I quote the fragments in the form as they were published by the first editors:

## Col. I

- 765 [Δικτ] |..[.]..αν καὶ θεοὺς μαρτύρομαι  
 |..αντι κηρύσσω στρατῶ  
 | παντάπασι μὴ φθαρῆς  
 |.ο[.]σα πρόξενόν θ' ἄμα  
 |..ου με καὶ προπράκτορα
- 770 |.ε μαίαν ὡς γερασμίαν  
 |.. ἠπίοις προφθέγμασιν  
 |...[.]...[.]ς ἐν χρόνῳ μενεῖ.
- [Δαν] |..καὶ γενέθλιοι θεοί,  
 |.ας τάσδε μοι πόνων τιθεις
- 775 |.[.]δ. κνωδάλοις με δώσετε  
 |...γοισι λυμανθήσομαι  
 αἰχ[μ]άλωτος ο.ς[.]ζω κακά  
 |.αιγῶν ἀγχόνην ἄρ' ἄφομαι  
 |αστεμῶσα κωλυτήριον
- 780 |ως μὴ ποντίση τις αἶδ' ἄλιν  
 |της ἢ πατήρ· δέδοικα γὰρ  
 |πεμπ' ἀρωγόν εἰ δοκεῖ τινα.  
 |εἶχες αἰτίας τῆς μείζονος  
 |ν' δὲ πᾶσαν ἐξέτεισ' ἐγώ.
- 785 |εὖ σ' ἔλεξα. πάντ' ἔχεις[ς] λόγον.  
 [Χορ] |.γελαῖ μου προσορῶν  
 |.ό μιχκὺς λιπαρὸν  
 |.λτ[.] πρεπτ.ν φαλακρὸν

- 790 ]εις.πάπας τις ἀρεσ-  
 ]ωσ[.]ο ποικιλονω  
 ].  
 ]... λαισμοι  
 ]... σμος  
 ].. ιδερκη  
 795 ]† ποσθοσφιλής ὁ νεοσσός  
 ]ε. κόμενος  
 ]σιον  
 ]υται

## Col. II

- [Δικτ] εἰ μή σε χαίρω π[  
 800 ἔλοιτο Δίκτυς κρ[  
 τῆσδὲ μ' ἄγρας μ[  
 ὦ Φίνθων, ἴθι δε[ῦρο.  
 ποππυσμός[  
 θάρσει δὴ· τί κινύρη;  
 805 δεῦρ', ἐς παῖδας ἴωμεν ὡς.[  
 ἴξῃ παιδοτρόφους ἐμά[ς.  
 ὦ φίλος, χέρας εὐμενῆς,  
 τέρψῃ δ' ἰκτίσι κα[ι] νεβρο[ίς  
 ὕστρίχων τ' ὀβρίχοισ[ι],  
 810 κοιμήσῃ δὲ τρίτος ξὺν  
 μητρὶ [καὶ π]ατρὶ τῶδε,  
 ὁ πάπα[ς δ]ὲ παρέξει  
 τῶ μικρῶ τὰ γελ[οῖ]α  
 καὶ τροφὰς ἀνόσους, ὅπως π[  
 815 ἀλδων αὐτὸς ἐ...[.]...[  
 χαλᾶ νεβροφάν.[.] ποδ[  
 μάρπτων θήρας ἄνευ δ[

- θῶσθαι μετρί παρέξεις  
 κ|η|δεστων τρόπον οἴσιν  
 820 .|γ|τροπος πελατεύσεις.  
 ἀλλ' εἶα, φίλοι, στείχωμεν ὅπως  
 γ|ά|μον ὀρμαίνωμεν, ἐπεὶ τέλειος  
 καιρὸς ἀναυδος τάδ' ἐπαινεῖ  
 καὶ τήνδ' [ἐ|σορῶ νόμφην ᾗ|δ|η  
 825 πανὸ βουλομένην τῆς ἡμετέρας  
 φιλότητος ἄδην κορέσασθαι.  
 καὶ θαυμ' οὐδέν· πολὺς ἦν αὐτῇ  
 χρόνος ὃν χήρα κατὰ ναῦν ὕραλος  
 τείρετο· νῦν δ' οὔν  
 830 ἐ|σορῶσ' ἦβην τὴν ἡμετέραν  
 ...|ει γάνυται νυμφ|ί|ον 'ο|ί|ον'  
 ...|σιν λαμπραῖς τῆς Ἄ|φ|ροδίτης

These fragments belong undoubtedly to the end of the drama. This is evident not only by the θ, which is added in the margin of the second column and is to be understood as the number 800, but also by the interpretation of the text. The existence of this letter proves, that the text was treated by ancient grammarians, who used to prefix letters indicating the hundreds of lines.<sup>15</sup> So we see that the drama *Δικτυουλοί* was larger than the *Cyclops* of Euripides, which contains only 708 lines.

The new Oxyrhynchian fragments have been dealt with, so far as I know, by Br. Snell<sup>16</sup> and V. Martin.<sup>17</sup> But these learned men did not contribute anything to the explanation and reconstruction of the mutilated text. They had enough to repeat generally the contents of the play according to the remarks given by the first editors, although it seems that the explanation and

<sup>15</sup> In Sophocles' *Ἰχνησαί* there are also some letters indicating the hundreds of lines.

<sup>16</sup> Br. Snell, *Neues von Aischylos, Die Antike* 17 1941 p. 187 f.

<sup>17</sup> V. Martin, *La poésie lyrique et la poésie dramatique dans les découvertes papyrologiques des trente dernières années, Museum Helveticum* 2 1947 p. 91 ff.



reconstruction of the fragments and the whole play can be enormously advanced. It is quite clear that the reconstruction of the mutilated lines will be somewhat problematic because of the great lacunae. The action, however, should come to brighter light even if not all complements will consist of the same words that were used by Aeschylus.

In the lines 765—772 there appears, according to Lobel, a certain influential person holding a high social position. It is undoubtedly Dictys whose name we find in line 800. From the extant parts of the text we can see that he is promising safety and his own protection to a certain woman who turns out to be Danaë. In order to give more weight to his assurances and his promises he swears — as we can surmise from the remnants of the word *θάλασσα* (l. 765) preserved on the papyrus<sup>18</sup> and from similar passages in Greek tragedies<sup>19</sup> — on the earth, the sea and the gods, assuring Danaë that he will issue an order to the whole nation so that no evil will befall her. For she has found in him a friendly supporter and protector as we can see from his further utterances. There is no doubt whatever that the substantives *πρόξενος* and *προπράκτωρ* must have been preceded by synonyms with which the preserved words were connected by means of the conjunctions and the adverbs *ἢ ἄμα* in l. 768 and *ὅμ[ο]ῦ... καὶ* in l. 769. The text, therefore, should be reconstructed from that point of view. In lines 770—772 Dictys wishes to stress his attitude to Danaë by alluding to his former behaviour towards her and also by assuring her of his future support. The changes of the persons of the verbs in that part of the drama (*μαρτύρομαι* — *φθαρῆς* — *μενεῖ*) prove that the action contained in lines 765—772 must have been as suggested.

The lines 873—885 belong to Danaë, as my predecessors have already proved. This section is obviously divided into two parts. In the first part, lines 873—878, we see Danaë's attitude to the assurances and promises offered by Dictys. She does not address him directly as might have been expected, but, amazed at his surprising friendliness, interprets it as the influence of the gods, and that is why under the fresh impression of Dictys' assurances promising her safety she turns first of all to the gods. It is most

<sup>18</sup> Except the final letters *αν* I see there the top of a second *α*: *θάλ[α][σσ]αν*.

<sup>19</sup> E. g. Eurip. *Phoenissae*, l. 620: *γαῖαν καὶ θεοὺς μαρτύρομαι*.



probable that she mentions Poseidon first, for he it was who let her make safely that terrible and dangerous voyage, then the domestic gods and Zeus who put an end to her sea wanderings. Relying on Dictys' assurances she says with satisfaction, that they will not deliver her to monsters or make her a prey of their persecution. Undoubtedly she means the satyrs who assaulted her in their peculiar way when she came out of the chest, before Dictys stopped them. Danaë declares, too, that she will not be insulted, she will not be made to suffer the hard lot of a slave and that she need not fear hanging any more. From her words we can surmise that these were the dangers she was threatened with on the part of the satyrs. Scientists who suppose that here Danaë expresses her fears for the future cannot be right.<sup>20</sup> Her fears would be absolutely unfounded in view of the clear and definite promises of Dictys and would only show that she did not trust them while the following text reveals that, for the present at least, Danaë feels at ease as regards her fate. It is only in the second part of her declaration that we can detect some fears for the future. For although she is sure, as I have proved, that no harm can come to her in her present surroundings, she fears yet that some of her persecutors might follow her and throw her again into the sea. Only her own father could have been this persecutor, as we know from the myth, and Danaë subtly calls attention to him as to the malefactor. That is why she appeals to Zeus, the actual author of her misfortunes as well as the deliverer from more dangerous consequences, she appeals for help and protection against her father, stressing the fact that she has already expiated her offence. Anybody well acquainted with the technique of Greek playwrights will perceive the deeper meaning of Danaë's words and will understand the aim of the poet. For Danaë will be subject to persecutions on the part of her father as long as she does not find another official protector, i. e. by marrying, which would place her under the protection of her husband, excluding any interference of her father's. In the above mentioned lines I see a hint, although a very vague one, of her marriage. Dictys soon answers that hint in a very clever and witty way before he finds the opportunity to propose to her explicitly the marriage. I suppose that the trend

<sup>20</sup> So Br. Snell and V. Martin.

of my reconstruction of the lines 773—785 is already clear: they express Danaë's feeling of security, fear, and hope. I do not intend to go into all the technical details of my reconstruction for the reader will be able to estimate it properly, when confronted with the text completed.

After Danaë's declaration there is a short intermezzo in the action. Beside her there is her little son Perseus on the stage. This is perfectly natural for he was in the chest with his mother during her voyage across the seas as well as taken ashore by the satyrs. Silenus is present, too, with the satyrs, the chorus of the drama. Their presence is natural, too, for on the whole the chorus does not leave the stage while there is any action going on. For the little boy the presence of the strange creatures must seem an extraordinary phenomenon that may evoke in him two reactions: curiosity and fear. Both feelings will come in turn. First the boy observes Silenus with curiosity and pleasure, for the latter's caricatural figure presents a striking contrast to the group of mountainous creatures. Lobel, Martin and Snell maintain that the boy is interested in the satyrs, but the text, although badly mutilated in that place, clearly points at Silenus who does not hide his satisfaction and says that the boy smiles at him, looking at his ample figure (*λιπαρόν* i. e. *σῶμα*) and splendid bald head (*πρεπτόν φαλακρόν*), which is the usual characteristic of Silenus. The word *πάπας*, too, can refer only to the old Silenus whom satyric dramas consider the father of satyrs. Silenus is fond of children and he is popular with them. We know it from the beautiful fragment 42 St. of Sophocles' drama *Διονυσίσκος* in which Silenus is nursing the little god and in which the boy is delighted when he feeds him:

ἔταν γὰρ αὐτῷ προσφέρω βρώσιν διδοῦς,  
 τὴν ῥίνα μ' εὐθύς ψηλαφᾷ κἀνω φέρει  
 τὴν χεῖρα πρὸς <τὸ> φαλακρόν ἢδὲ διαγελῶν.

Undoubtedly there is some relation between these two descriptions of children in Aeschylus and Sophocles, although for the present moment it is difficult to determine which of the two poets was the model and which the imitator.

This idyllic scene with Silenus and little Perseus, which I cannot reconstruct in full, ends the first column of the papyrus as well as the intermezzo in the action. In the next column Dictys

is speaking. In reference, probably, to Danaë's fears, expressed in the end of her speech, he offers her further assurances of the support he will give her and here he names himself quite distinctly. Unfortunately I am not able to reconstruct this passage (lines 799—801) completely, although its general contents may be guessed easily.

Then Dictys turns to little Perseus, present on the stage, with the words: ὦ Φινθῶν, ἴθι δεῖρο. The stage-manager's remark, following this line immediately, shows that he addresses the boy in baby-language, in tender words. Lobel, Martin and Snell think that it is the satyrs who want to lure little Perseus to approach them. It is, however, more probable that it is Dictys who now looks after the boy. Seeing that the latter is afraid and begins to cry he addresses him in tender words and calms him down. He encourages him to come with him to the children i. e. to the satyrs, assures him that he will be happy in his fatherly hands, he will play with weasels, fawns and young hedgehogs, he will sleep in one bed with his mother and with Dictys as his father — a clearer hint concerning the marriage of Danaë and Dictys! — while grandfather, i. e. Silenus will tell him stories (τὰ γελῶτα). Then in the lines that follow (814—820), and the reconstruction of which will be given further on without any more comments, Dictys declares to little Perseus that he will find himself his own food hunting fearlessly and providing his mother with game; he will invite guests to his home and entertain them as their host. These lines put in the form of a lyrical meter undoubtedly constitute the most beautiful part of the newly discovered fragments.

Having calmed down the boy with great promises and having won his confidence Dictys has obviously found thus his way to the mother's heart. And so already in the next lines 821—832, expressed in march-like anapaests and preserved almost intact, he turns to the whole company present on the stage proposing to go without delay to celebrate the marriage. He maintains that the time is most suitable for Danaë fell in love with him and strongly longs for his love having spent so much time in loneliness in the chest, under water. And now looking at his manly figure, she rejoices like a young maid looking forward to the moment when the torches of Aphrodite begin to burn bright.

This is the end of the papyrus-fragment and, most probably, too, that of the action of the drama. It is obvious not only from

the high number of the line 832, but also from the plot itself. At Dictys' invitation all the company, including the chorus of the satyrs, leave the stage to go to the wedding ceremony. The departure of all those present under that pretext constitutes the ἐξόδος, which is usually the end of the action. If the author intended to continue the action, one of the actors would have to remain on the stage in order to carry on the play with another, newly arrived person. For this is the way characters change in the Greek tragedy and in the satyric drama. The stage is never deserted by all the actors in order to give place to new ones, the change of actors is effected in a fixed order and way. On the other hand if anybody supposed that Aeschylus included in his drama also a fragment of the wedding ceremony in which the satyrs would have the opportunity of displaying their dances, such an addition would require a change of scene unheard of in ancient tragedies or satyric dramas, as might be inferred from the words of Dictys, l. 821—822: ἀλλ' εἶα, φίλοι, στείχωμεν, ὅπως γάμον ὀρμαίνωμεν. That is why we must assume that the action of the drama ends with the tacit acceptance of the marriage proposal. We find a similar ending in the *Wasps* of Aristophanes, in which the play ends also with an accepted proposal of marriage.

Following these remarks concerning the last part of the drama I present the text preserved in the papyrus together with the parts I have reconstructed:

## Col. I

- 765 [Δικτ.] [Γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν] καὶ θεοὺς μαρτύρομαι,  
 [ὡς σοὶ πρόθυμος παντὶ κηρύσσω στρατῶ,<sup>21</sup>  
 [αὐτὴ παρ' ἡμῖν] παντάπασιν μὴ φθαρῆς  
 [ὡς προστάτην ἐλ]ο[ῦ]σα<sup>22</sup> πρόξενόν θ' ἄμα  
 [ἐπίσκοπον θ' ὄμ]οῦ με καὶ προπράκτορα,  
 770 [ὅς σ' εὐσέβησ]ε μαῖαν ὡς γερασμαίαν  
 [καὶ σ' ἠντίωσεν] ἠπίοις προσφθέγμασιν  
 [καὶ σοὶ φύλαξ βέβαιος] ἐν χρόνῳ μενεῖ.  
 [Δαν.] [Ἄναξ Πόσειδον] καὶ γενέθλια θεοῖ  
 [καὶ Ζεῦ τελευτ]ᾶς τάσδε μοι πόνων τιθεῖς,

<sup>21</sup> παντὶ στρατῶ = παντὶ δήμῳ; cf. Soph. *Ichn.* l. 16: Θράκων δ' ἐπὶ λθον φύλα τοῦ παντός στρατοῦ.

<sup>22</sup> Not ἔχ]ο[ῦ]σα.

- 775 [οὐδ' ἄρα τοῖσ]δ[ε] κνωδάλοισ<sup>23</sup> με δώσετε  
 [οὐδ' ἀνοσίοις λό]γοισι λυμανθήσομαι  
 [οὐδ' αὖ τις αἰχ]μάλωτος ὡς ἕξω κακὰ  
 [οὐδ' ἄγχομ]αι γοῦν ἀγχόνην ἄρ' ἄψομαι.  
 [ὄμωσ πλάν]ας τεμοῦσα<sup>24</sup> κωλυτήριον
- 780 [αἰτῶ, μ' ὄπω]ς μὴ ποντίσῃ τις αὖ πάλιν  
 [κακὸς διώκτ]ης ἢ πατήρ· δέδοικα γὰρ  
 [μίν· Ζεῦ, σὺ] πέμπ' ἄρωγόν εἰ δοκεῖ τινα.  
 [σὺ γάρ μ' ἀπ]εῖγες αἰτίας τῆς μείζονος,  
 [ἀμαρτία]ν δὲ πᾶσαν ἐξέτεισ' ἐγώ.
- 785 [ὄρας, ὅτ'] εὖ σ' ἔλεξα· πάντ' ἔχει[ς] λόγον.  
 [Σιλ.] | . γελαῖ μου προσορῶν  
 | . ὁ μικκὸς λιπαρὸν  
 | . λτ[.] πρεπτ[ὸ]ν<sup>25</sup> φαλακρὸν  
 |εις [ὁ] πάπας τις ἄρεσ-
- 790 | ὦσ[τ]ε ποικιλονῶ  
 | .  
 | ... λαισμοῖ  
 | ... σμος  
 | . . ιδερκῆ
- 795 | † ποσθοσφιλής ὁ νεοσσός  
 | δ]ε[ρ]χόμενος  
 | σιον  
 γάν]υται

## Col. II

- [Δικτ.] εἰ μὴ σε χαίρω π[ροσφ]έρων σωτηρίαν,  
 800 ὄλοιτο Δίκτυς κρ[ι]  
 τῆσδε μ' ἄγρας μ[ε]  
 ὦ Φίνθων, ἴθι δε[ῦ]ρο  
 ποππυσμύς[τ]  
 θάρσει δῆ· τί κινύρη;  
 805 δεῦρ' ἐς παιδας ἴωμεν ὡς [τάχος.]

<sup>23</sup> κνωδάλα is the right name for the sons of Silenus i. e. for the satyrs; cf. Aesch. *Amymone*, fr. 7 St., where Poseidon seems to say to Silenus, that he is able generate animals: θρόσκων κνωδάλα.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. similar expressions: τὴν μεσόγαιαν τῆς ὁδοῦ τέμνειν or τὴν μέσην (ὁδὸν) τέμνειν.

<sup>25</sup> The adjective πρεπτός occurs in Soph. *Ichn.* l. 322.

- ἕξη παιδοτρόφους ἐμά[ς,  
 ὦ φίλος, χέρας εὐμενής,  
 τέρψη δ' ἰκτίσι κα[ί] νεβρο[ίς  
 ὑστρίχων τ' ὀβρίχοισ[ι].<sup>26</sup>  
 810 κοιμήση δὲ τρίτος ξὺν  
 μητρὶ [καὶ π]ατρὶ τῷδε,  
 ὁ πάπα[ς] δ' ἐπαρέξει  
 τῷ μικρῷ τὰ γελ[οί]α  
 καὶ τροφὰς ἀνόσους, ὅπως π[ρο]θεῖς,  
 815 ἀλδῶν αὐτὸς ἐ[τοιμ]άσεις  
 χαλᾶ νεβροφόν[ων] ποδ[ῶν]<sup>27</sup>.  
 μάρπτων θήρας ἄνευ δ[έ]ους  
 θῶσθαι<sup>28</sup> μητρὶ παρέξεις  
 κ[η]ῖδεςτῶν<sup>29</sup> τρόπον οἷσιν  
 820 ἐπ[ί]τροπος<sup>30</sup> πελατεύσεις  
 ἀλλ' εἶα, φίλοι, στείχωμεν ὅπως  
 γ[ά]μον ὀρμαίνωμεν, ἐπεὶ τέλος  
 καιρὸς ἄναυδος τάδ' ἐπαινεῖ  
 καὶ τήνδ' ἐ[σο]ρῶ νύμφην ἤ[δ]η  
 825 πάνυ βουλομένην τῆς ἡμετέρας  
 φιλότητος ἄδην κορέσασθαι.  
 καὶ θαῦμ' οὐδέν· πολὺς ἦν αὐτῇ  
 χρόνος ὃν χήρα κατὰ ναῦν ὑφαλος  
 τείρετο· νῦν δ' οὖν  
 830 ἐ[σο]ρῶσ' ἤβην τὴν ἡμετέραν  
 μίξ[ε]ι γάνυται νυμφ[ί]ον [ο]ῖον  
 δᾶ[σιν]<sup>31</sup> λαμπραῖς τῆς Ἀ[φ]ροδίτης.

The fragments being completed as far as it was possible I am going to sketch the disposition of the drama: An introductory

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Aelianus, *N. A.* VII 47: τῶν δὲ ὑστρίχων καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀγρίων τὰ ἔκγονα ὄβρια καλεῖται· καὶ μέμηται γὰρ Ἐδριπίδης ἐν Πελοπίδῃ τοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ Αἰσχύλος ἐν Ἀγαμέμνονι καὶ Δικτυουλοῖς.

<sup>27</sup> χαλῆ may be a substantive belonging to the verb χαλάω; cf. τιμή ~ τιμάω and others. As for νεβροφόνιοι πόδες I understand them as snares laid by game hunters.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Hesychius 2 p. 334: θῶσθαι· δαίνεσθαι, θωνᾶσθαι, εὐωχεῖσθαι. Αἰσχύλος Δικτυουλοῖς.

<sup>29</sup> κηῖδεςτῶν = καὶ ἐδεςτῶν.

<sup>30</sup> Lobel is not right reading on the papyrus .]NΤΡΟΠΟΣ. I see there .]ΙΤΡΟΠΟΣ.

<sup>31</sup> δᾶσιν (nom. δᾶδες = torches), not δαισίν.



ῥῆσις explaining the situation was followed by a vivid dialogue of two fishermen who were busy drawing a net out of the sea. As they had not enough strength to draw the net ashore by themselves they appealed to the local peasants, vinedressers, hunters, herdsmen and other people living near the sea to help them in pulling out the net. At their appeal instead of the called men satyrs appeared on the stage to offer their help. We can assume that drawing out the net was not so easy even by means of the satyrs. It can be considered almost as certain that Silenus and the satyrs had to spend a rather long time before they drew the net out of the sea. We do not know at all, what was their attitude as they had heard the strange sound coming from the great chest containing Danaë and Perseus. Was their behaviour the same as in Sophocles' *Ichneutae*, when for the first time the strange sound of Mercury's lyre was heard by them? In any case, we must assume that in a satyric drama a great deal of the action was carried on by Silenus and the satyrs. At last, the net being brought ashore and the chest being opened the satyrs made assaults upon the wretched and terrified woman and threatened her in their peculiar way, until Dictys, one of the abovementioned fishermen, came back — for he seems to have left the stage for a time — and stopped them. He promised safety and his own protection to the woman and her little son and then, after her reply and a short intermezzo with Perseus, he asked her in marriage. At Dictys' invitation all present persons leave the stage to go to the wedding ceremony. By this departure the action of the drama got its end.

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