

THE OTHER AESCHYLUS

A STUDY OF THE FRAGMENTS OF AESCHYLEAN SATYR PLAYS*

R. G. USSHER

THE ANCIENT THEATRE continues to attract the interest both of scholars and of laymen. These terms are not necessarily exclusive: it is highly desirable, indeed, that they should not be, since laymen (as students or amateurs of drama, without the ability to read Aeschylus's Greek) have much to teach the scholar who is capable of coping with niceties of language or of metre, but who may fail, at the same time, to recognise in the *δρᾶμα* of his lexicon a "doing." Recent years have, in fact, brought much greater understanding of the nature and conventions of Greek drama: and not just the structure and the literary quality, but also the methods of staging and production of the Greek plays have been frequently discussed. Yet amidst all the interest and discussion that have centred on tragedy and comedy at Athens, a third division of dramatic art (in its day, highly popular) has been, by comparison, neglected. Few scholars or historians of literature—and certainly not those who write in English—have thought it worth while to give time or attention to the nature of the ancient satyr-drama.¹

This neglect, up to a point, is understandable, since Aeschylus (despite his reputation in the *genre*)² and Sophocles were both unrepresented till this century by adequate remains as satyr-playwrights. The fragments and the monumental evidence, moreover, are difficult to handle. What is odder is that the *Cyclops* of Euripides—despite the lead given by Casaubon³—has attracted little comment or attention. Our only complete surviving satyr-play, it might have seemed a natural starting-point for

*Aeschylean fragments are cited from H. J. Mette, *Die Fragmente der Tragödien des Aischylos* (Berlin 1959), Sophoclean from A. C. Pearson, *The Fragments of Sophocles* (Cambridge 1917), Euripidean and other (unless a different source is stated) from A. Nauck, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*² (Leipzig 1889), repr. supp. B. Snell (Hildesheim 1964). Some further details and discussion will be found in Dana Ferrin Sutton, "A Handlist of Satyr Plays" (*HSCP* 78 [1974] 107–130).

¹There are, however, welcome signs that this is changing; recent articles on satyr-plays have come from L. E. Rossi (*Maia* N.S. 13 [1971]), F. Lasserre (*RFIC* 101 [1973]), and (a series) Dana Ferrin Sutton (below, nn. 18 and 53). Aeschylus's satyr-plays have been discussed by V. Steffen, *Eos* 42 (1942), and A. Setti, *ASNP* 17 (1948) 1–36, 21 (1952) 205–244.

²See n. 5 below.

³I. Casaubon, *De Satyrica Graecorum poesi et Romanorum satira libri 2* (Paris 1605).

study of satyr-drama as a whole. That procedure, of course, would begin from the assumption that the *Cyclops* is a typical example, and here two points perhaps should be remembered. Firstly, Euripides' distinctive marks as a tragedian may have coloured his satyr-plays as well: philosophico-theological pronouncements such as those put into the mouth of Polyphemos⁴ may not have occurred outside his work. Secondly, satyr-drama at the period of *Cyclops* may be subject more than in earlier times to the influence of contemporary comedy: certainly the play has a broad humour lacking in what remains of Sophocles' *Ichneutai*; certainly, too, it shows affinity with comedy in its use of colloquial words and phrases. These things are for consideration elsewhere. Meantime, it is Aeschylus who has first claim to attention (and not just by reason of chronology) from students of the Greek satyr-drama.

Aeschylus, to the modern educated European, is the author of the *Oresteia* and *Prometheus*. In antiquity, though, he had another, and at first sight a surprising reputation, as the most popular of satyr-playwrights. The monument in Phleios to Aristias (the local man, who, with Pratinas his father, had been a pioneer in satyr-drama), while duly noting *their* works' popularity, could place them only second in esteem.⁵ On this side of Aeschylus's art, until this century, the classicist could offer no opinion; no substantial fragment of his satyr-plays remained, and although plots and even the content of some scenes could be guessed at—from our knowledge of the myths, stray remarks in ancient writers, and, with proper precautions, from the vases—these isolated remnants (sometimes a single word) could clearly not demonstrate the qualities that made his satyr-dramas so attractive. This situation changed with the appearance of a fragment of his *Diktyoulokoí* (*Net-fishers*) in 1933.⁶

The identification of satyr-plays rests (a) on notices preserved in ancient lexicographers⁷ (b) on the knowledge (or assumption) of their contents (from ancient mythographers, or vases) (c) on the language and metre of the fragments, where the text is not incomplete or suspect. More than twenty Aeschylean dramas have at some time been regarded

⁴E. *Cyc.* 316–340.

⁵Paus. 2.13.6. Cf. D.L. 2.133: Menedemos gave second place in satyr-drama to Achaïos, Αἰσχύλῳ δὲ τὸ πρῶτεϊον ἀπεδίδου.

⁶G. Vitelli and M. Norsa (*BSAA* [1933] 115 ff., *ibid.* [1934] 247, *Mélanges Bidez* [1934] 965, *PSI* [1935] 1209a (the Florentine fragment). A further fragment (from the same hand) in Queen's College, Oxford: E. Lobel, *POxy.* 18 (1941) 9. See also *POxy.* 20 (1952) 58, Mette frs. 468–473, M. Werre-De Haas, *Aeschylus' Dictyulci* (Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava 10 [Leiden 1961]). I discuss *Diktyoulokoí* in a forthcoming edition of *Cyclops*, and thus admit only some cross-reference here.

⁷Means of citation vary widely: some common forms are (for example) Αἰσχύλος ἐν τῷ σατυρικῷ Πρωτεῖ (fr. 3), Αἰσχύλος ἐν Λέοντι σατυρικῷ (fr. 185), Αἰσχύλος Κίρκῃ σατυρικῇ (fr. 490), Αἰσχύλος ἐν Κήρυξι σατύροις (fr. 158).

as satyric. It is useful, and of interest, to glance at some (apart from *Diktyoulkoi*) which were, indubitably, satyr-plays: since these, while pointing to an unfamiliar Aeschylus, will also serve to illustrate motifs which were prevalent throughout the satyr-drama.

One such motif is the erotic. Satyrs' lasciviousness is prominent in satyr-plays: *φάλητες* (S. *Ichn.* 145) is a reference not only to their costume.⁸ They are hetero- and homosexual in appetite, displaying this last trait in the *Linos* of Achaïos,⁹ to some extent in the *Cyclops* of Euripides,¹⁰ and in Sophocles' *Achilleos Erastai*.¹¹ Sophocles' satyr-plays were perhaps the most explicitly erotic:¹² but the theme is found in Aeschylus already.

Amymone, one of the few plays firmly dateable, was first put on 'stage' in 463.¹³ The word 'first' allows for a possible revival, some twenty years later, in 440, since the story of Amymone is prominent on a series of vases from that date.¹⁴ A Vienna bell-krater¹⁵ shows a woman, who holds a water-jug, attacked by satyrs—a scene which recalls Apollodoros.¹⁶ Argos was waterless when Danaos arrived, for the springs had been dried up by Poseidon: Danaos sent his daughters out for water. Amymone, while searching, threw a weapon at a deer and struck a satyr, who started from his sleep and tried to force her. The satyr fled on the arrival of a *deus ex machina* Poseidon, who (after himself lying with her) showed Amymone the springs of Lerna. God and girl are represented on another vase, in Athens:¹⁷ Amymone is seated, with her water-jug beside her, Poseidon is leaning on his trident, and there are Maenads and satyrs round about them. The influence of a satyr-play seems certain, and if not a later re-writing of the story, it may have been the Aeschylean drama, revived by itself or along with the same trilogy (*Hiketides*, *Aigyptioi*, *Danaïdes*) to which it was attached in 463.¹⁸

⁸They are similarly characterized in (for example) E. *Cyc.* 169 ff., 187, 439, 498: cf. *Dikty.* 87 ff., 770, 806.

⁹Fr. 26 (Ath. 668a, Σ Ar. *Pax* 1244).

¹⁰Where Silenos, however, is a reluctant Ganymede (*Cyc.* 583–589). Cf. 439–440, where—despite a faulty text—there is clearly a hetero-/homosexual contrast.

¹¹Fr. 153, *παπαί, τὰ παιδίχ', ὡς ὀρέσ, ἀπώλεσας*. The satyrs were apparently treated as unsuccessful lovers of Achilles.

¹²He was himself reported to have had a son Ariston "by a Sicyonian Theoris" (*Vit. Soph.* 13). For his homosexual interests see Plut. *Per.* 8.5.

¹³See below, n. 18.

¹⁴F. Brommer, *Satyrspiele*² (Berlin 1959) 44–54.

¹⁵Brommer, fig. 15.

¹⁶2.1.4.

¹⁷Brommer, fig. 16.

¹⁸*POxy.* 2256.3, ἐπὶ Ἀρ[χεδημίδου ὀλυμπιάδι ὁ ἔτει δ] ἐνίκα [Αἰ]σχύλο[ς] Ἰκέτεσιν Αἰγυπτίοις, Δαν[αῖ]σι, Ἀμυμῶνῃ σατυρικῇ. The play has lately been interpreted (but not quite convincingly) as a parody of the preceding Danaïdes trilogy: Dana Ferrin Sutton, "Aeschylus' *Amymone*" (*GRBS* 15 [1974] 193–202). Cf. *Arethusa* 4 (1971) 55–72, *RSC* 15 (1972) 321–330, *Eos* 62 (1974) 49–53.

This play provides a good example of the value of evidence from vases; for ancient citations do not note it as satyric¹⁹ and the fragments (by themselves) forbid conclusions. In retrospect, however, *θρώσκων κνώδαλα* (fr. 133) clearly suits a satyr:²⁰ fr. 131 (*σοὶ μὲν γαμῆσθαι μόρσιμον, γαμῆν δ' ἐμοί*) attempts perhaps to justify his action (though it could have been spoken by Poseidon),²¹ while *βάκκαρις* (fr. 132, an ointment made from hazel-wort) is a rare word such as satyr-plays affected.²² But apart from confirming what Apollodoros' story would suggest—the play's satyric character—neither vases nor fragments allow us to say anything of how the dramatist approached his subject. It may be, however, that he introduced a pious note by making the girl pray to Poseidon (as Danaë prays, in *Diktyoulkoi*, and Odysseus in the *Cyclops*),²³ and that this is the source behind Hyginos, whose story differs from Apollodoros precisely in this detail of her prayer.²⁴ Poseidon's entry would require motivation, and a sudden epiphany (as in Apollodoros) is out of keeping with the Aeschylean (at least the Aeschylean tragic) manner.

Erotic themes (apart from this play and *Diktyoulkoi*) are little stressed in Aeschylus's dramas. His titles, on the other hand, suggest the popularity of themes involving animals or monsters.²⁵ *Proteus*, the satyr-play of the *Oresteia* (458),²⁶ included a scene with Eidothea (*Σ Od.* 4.366),²⁷ and the Homeric passage was presumably the basis of Aeschylus's play. The coastal setting suitable for satyr-plays (at least in later times, according to Vitruvius)²⁸ would be fitting both for this play and the *Kirke*: this latter, attested as satyric by Hesychios,²⁹ is linked with an Odyssean trilogy, *Psychagogoi*, *Penelope*, *Ostologoi*.³⁰ The role of the satyrs is far from clear in either play: it is likely, however, that in *Kirke* they are slaves (cf. *ζυγώσω*, fr. 490b), unwillingly detained by the en-

¹⁹Ammon. *Diff.* 36.13, Ath. 690c, Hsch. θ 814.

²⁰Cf. *Dikty.* 775, τ[ο]ῖς κνώδαλοις με δώσετε; and the description of the satyrs as *θήρες* (S. *Ichn.* 215, E. *Cyc.* 624).

²¹H. J. Mette, *Der verlorene Aischylos* (Berlin 1963) 54.

²²This particular word recurs in Ion, *Omphale* fr. 24. Rare words are particularly prominent in S. *Ichneutai* (*Hermathena* 118 [1974] 136); cf. *Dikty.* 769, 779, 802.

²³*Dikty.* 773 ff., E. *Cyc.* 350 ff., 599 ff.

²⁴Hyg. *Fab.* 169.

²⁵As *Kerkon*, *Kirke*, *Leon* (but see under), *Proteus*, *Sphinx*.

²⁶*Hypoth.* A. *Ag.* 19, ἐδιδάχθη τὸ δράμα, ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Φιλοκλέους Ὀλυμπιάδι {κη} (π) ἔτει β. πρῶτος Αἰσχύλος Ἀγαμέμνονι, Χορηφόροις, Εὐμένεσι, Πρωτέϊ σατυρικῶι. Cf. *IG* 2².2318.2.9.

²⁷She was mentioned by the hypocoristic form of Εἰδῶ (*Et. Gud.* 162.13).

²⁸Vitruvius 7.5.2 (of 'satyric' mural decoration): "*pinguntur enim portus, promontaria, litora . . .*" *Diktyoulkoi* is similarly set on the sea-shore (of the island of Seriphos?).

²⁹Hsch. ζ 200.

³⁰Mette (above, n. 2) 127 ff. But there are reasons (metrical and of content) for supposing *Ostologoi* satyric: metrical, fourth-foot tribrach (fr. 486.5), content, the reference to the throwing of a chamberpot (*ibid.*).

chantress on her island, till ultimately rescued by Odysseus. A Syracusan bell-krater (by the 'woolly satyrs Painter')³¹ shows satyrs metamorphosed into apes: a connection with *Kirke* is unlikely. But whether or not themselves transformed, both in *Proteus* and in *Kirke* (possibly also in *Glaukos Pontios*),³² the satyrs would hear of transformations, and would doubtless react expressively and vividly to news (or perhaps even at sight)³³ of seals and swine. We note again (in *Proteus*) the rare words φάψ and ἄμας,³⁴ and (in *Kirke*) the unique word αὐτοφόρβος.³⁵

These two plays serve to introduce and illustrate two further motifs of satyr-drama: astonished reaction of the satyrs to a *τέρας*, and satyrs in bondage to a master, a human tyrant, monster, or magician.³⁶ The *τέρας* theme (to take this first) is well seen again in the *Ichneutai*: the satyrs there are panic-stricken at the novel sound of Hermes' lyre.³⁷ Similarly, in his *Dionysiskos*, they make their first acquaintanceship with wine.³⁸ The same motif (which *may* have been seen in *Diktyoulkoi*, with the hauling-in and opening of the chest containing Danaë and Perseus), is *clearly* present in the Aeschylean *Prometheus Pyrkaeus*.

Prometheus Pyrkaeus is not listed in the *Catalogue*, which gives only δεσμώτης, πυρφόρος, λυόμενος),³⁹ but is mentioned by Pollux⁴⁰ and is probably the satyr-play (the *Hypothesis* to *Persae* speaks only of 'Prometheus') of Aeschylus's victorious production at the festival of 472. It followed *Phineus*, *Persae*, *Glaukos*.⁴¹ The metre of fr. 457 (λινᾷ δὲ πεσσὰ κώμολινου μακροὶ τόνοι, exhibiting a fourth-foot anapaest) is evidence of the play's satyric nature: and the satyrs' reaction to Prometheus's εὔρημα is shown by a reference in Plutarch: 'At the fire's first appearance, the satyr wished to kiss it and throw his arms around it. "You will grieve for your beard, then, goat," said Prometheus' (τράγος γένειον ἄρα πενθήσεις σύ γε).⁴²

³¹Brommer 128.

³²Fr. 55 (see also under). The play is not certainly satyric.

³³Cf. E. fr. 900, οἶμοι, δράκων μου γίγνεται τὸ ἥμισυ. / τέκνον, περιπλάκῃθι τῷ λοιπῷ πατρί; See Horace *AP* 187, "ne . . . in avem Progne vertatur, Cadmus in anguem."

³⁴"Dove" and "ship."

³⁵I.e., αὐτοφάγος, "self-devouring."

³⁶See P. Guggisberg, *Das Satyrspiel* (Zürich 1947) 60 ff.; I. Fischer, *Typische Motive im Satyrspiel* (Göttingen 1958) 4 ff., 10 ff.

³⁷S. *Ichn.* 125 ff., 136–138, ἀκουσον αὖ τ[ο]ῦ χρ[ή]ματ[ο]ς χρόνον τινά, / [δ]ίω 'κπ[λ]αγέντες ἐν[θ]άδ' ἐξενίσμεθα / ψόφω τὸν οὐδε[ί]ς π[ώ]ποτ' ἤκουσεν βροτῶν.

³⁸Fr. 172, πόθεν ποτ' ἄλυπον ᾧδ' / ἡῦρον ἄνθος ἀνίας;

³⁹*Cat.* 55, 56, 57.

⁴⁰10.64, ἀλλὰ καὶ Αἰσχύλος ἐν Προμηθεὶ Πυρκαεῖ. Cf. 9.156, ὁ δ' ἐμπρήσας τάχ' ἂν 'Πυρκαεὺς' ὀνομάζοιτο κατ' Αἰσχύλον καὶ Σοφοκλέα οὕτως ἐπιγράψαντας τὰ δράματα, τὸν μὲν τὸν Προμηθεά . . .

⁴¹*Hyroth. A. Pers.* 16, ἐπὶ Μένωνος τραγωιδῶν Αἰσχύλος ἐνίκα Φινεῖ, Πέρσαις, Γλαύκῳ, Προμηθεῖ.

⁴²Fr. 455.

Similarly, fr. 456 may be spoken in warning to a satyr: ἐξευλαβοῦ δὲ μὴ σε προσβάλλῃ στόμα/πέμφιξ. This was a play (or, more cautiously, a theme) much favoured, like Amymone, on vases: it appears on no fewer than fourteen of them between 430 and 410.⁴³ In all of these paintings Prometheus holds the centre, while satyrs, in astonishment, dance round him. A Berlin lekanis⁴⁴ of 425–420 shows a later scene (it may be) from the play: the satyrs have discovered (or been shown by Prometheus) the secret of lighting from his fennels: they are kindling their fennel-sticks from one another and playing, in a literal sense, with fire. The vases may derive from contemporary playwrights remodelling a long familiar story: it is pleasant, given the interest at the same time in Amymone, to see in them rather the continuing appeal (or revival) of the Aeschylean drama.⁴⁵

A special type of *τέρας* is that which has been called the “motif of the rising forms.”⁴⁶ Thus Cyllene may have appeared in the *Ichneutai* (215), in answer to the satyrs’ fierce beating on the ground,⁴⁷ or Pandora (as shown on vases)⁴⁸ in the satyr-play of Sophocles which bears her name.⁴⁹ There, too, the satyrs beat the ground (this time with hammers), as indicated both by the vases⁵⁰ and the play’s alternative title *Sphyrokopoi*. In Aeschylus, this ‘rising form’ motif is seen in *Sisyphos Drapetes*.⁵¹ Sisyphos (according to the tale in Pherecydes)⁵² was condemned to death by Zeus for reporting to Asopos that he (Zeus) had carried off Aigina. He put Death in fetters, so that people ceased to die, till Ares freed him and handed Sisyphos over. The crafty Corinthian, before his death, instructed his wife Merope not to send τὰ νενομισμένα into Hades; and the god, after some time, released him to return to chastise his wife for her neglect. Once home, he stayed there till he died in his old age, and was forced, when he did die, to keep rolling a stone πρὸς τὸ μὴ πάλιν ἀποδρᾶναι: *Sisyphos Petrokylistes* is a variant title for the play.⁵³ Under neither title is the play named as satyric, but the subject-matter (of which there is no doubt) certainly suggests it: “an Aetnaian beetle” (fr. 385)⁵⁴ recalls

⁴³Brommer 187–199a.

⁴⁴Brommer, figs. 45, 56. See further J. D. Beazley, “Prometheus Firelighter,” *AJA* 43 (1939) 618–639, 44 (1940) 212.

⁴⁵Hardly, at this date, a first production.

⁴⁶Guggisberg 72 ff., Fischer 53 ff.

⁴⁷S. *Ichn.* 212, π[η]δῆμασιν κραιπνοῖσι καὶ λακτίσμασιν. See further *Hermathena* 118 (1974) 134.

⁴⁸Brommer 15–17.

⁴⁹Frs. 482–486.

⁵⁰Brommer, fig. 49.

⁵¹*Cat.* 61.

⁵²*FGrHist* 3 F 119: cf. Apollod. 3.57.

⁵³Σ Ar. *Pax* 73, Hsch. θ 1031, Anon. in *Arist. EN* (below, n. 59). The play is most often called merely *Sisyphos* (see frs. 375–382). Mette treats the titles as belonging to two dramas (*Aischylos*, 170–172). Dana Ferrin Sutton prefers “to suspend judgement about the separate existence and nature” of this play (*HSCP* 78 [1974] 127).

⁵⁴Αἰτναῖός ἐστι κύνθαρος βίαι πόνων.

the same phrase in Sophocles' *Ichneutai*⁵⁵ (as well, of course, as in the *Peace* of Aristophanes),⁵⁶ and fr. 380 may be plausibly referred to Sisyphos's emergence from the ground (ἀλλ' ἀρουραῖός τις ἐστι σμίνθος ὧδ' ὑπερφνής;). The trochaic tetrameter in satyr-play is paralleled in Aeschylus's *Isthmianstai*, in Euripides' *Autolykos* (frs. 283, 284) and (possibly) in *Diktyoulkoi*.⁵⁷ It may be that Sisyphos, after his return, spoke over-freely of what he had seen in Hades,⁵⁸ for Aeschylus was accused of violation of the mysteries in *Sisyphos Petrokylistes*.⁵⁹

The slavery theme was familiar in Euripides (his *Cyclops* is a prominent example): it was also found in Sophocles (in his *Amykos*⁶⁰ and *Inachos*,⁶¹ more controversially in his *Ichneutai*)⁶² and in Ion's *Omphale*, where, dressed as Lydian maidens, the satyrs were in service to the queen.⁶³ It is possible to detect it, with a fair degree of confidence, in several of Aeschylus's plays.

*Lykourgos*⁶⁴ is attested as satyric by the scholiast on Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae*:⁶⁵ it appears as the fourth play of a *Lykourgeia* (*Edonoi*, *Bassarai*, *Neaniskoi*).⁶⁶ The underlying plot is traceable in Apollodoros⁶⁷ and in Nonnos.⁶⁸ Dionysos, after his discovery of the vine, was driven mad by Hera. He was ill-treated and expelled from the Edonoi by Lykourgos, and sheltered with Thetis in the sea. The satyrs attending him were imprisoned, with the Bacchanals: the latter, however, were suddenly released and Dionysos drove Lykourgos mad. He recovered his senses, after murdering his son, but was afterwards himself killed by his people. Nonnos shows him further as a murderer of strangers, whose limbs he displayed upon his gate-posts.⁶⁹ He also, however, represents

⁵⁵*Ichn.* 300, ἀλλ' ὡς κεράστ[η]ς κάρθαρος δῆτ' ἐστὶν Αἰτναῖος φυήν; Cf. S. fr. 162.

⁵⁶*Ar. Pax* 73, . . . Αἰτναῖον μέγιστον κάρθαρον.

⁵⁷*Isthm.* 18–22, *Dikty.* 18–21 (though see C. E. Fritsch, *Neue fragmente des Aischylos und Sophokles* [Hamburg 1938] 9).

⁵⁸See fr. 377, Ζαγρεῖ τε νῦν με καὶ πολυξένωι <πατρὶ>/χαίρειν . . .

⁵⁹Anon. in *Arist. EN* (20.145.23 Heylbut) mentions five plays altogether in this context: *Toxotides*, *Hieraiai*, *Sisyphos Petrokylistes*, *Iphigeneia*, *Oidipous*.

⁶⁰Frs. 111–112. The satyrs would be freed when Amykos was out-boxed by the Argonaut Polydeukes.

⁶¹*PTeb.* 3.1 (1933) 692. The satyrs appear as herdsmen in the service of Inachos. For interpretation of the play see R. Pfeiffer, *SBAW* (1938) 23–62, *id. Ein Neues Inachos-Fragment des Sophocles* (Munich 1958).

⁶²Their apparent subjection to Apollo is probably a misinterpretation: see D. L. Page, *Select Papyri* 3 (London 1941, rev. 1942) 29.

⁶³Frs. 63, 65 von Blumenthal, 63 Guggisberg.

⁶⁴*Cat.* 37.

⁶⁵Σ *Ar. Th.* 134.

⁶⁶*Ibid.* τὴν τετραλογία ν λέγει <τὴν> Λυκούργ(ε)ϊαν' Ἡδωνούς, Βασσαρίδας, Νεανίσκους, Λυκούργον τὸν σατυρικόν.

⁶⁷Apollod. 3.5.1.

⁶⁸Nonnos 20.166 ff.

⁶⁹20.166–175.

him as threatening to cut the satyrs' tails off,⁷⁰ and bidding the "old satyrs" (Σειληνοὶ γέροντες) to sing for him instead of Bacchos.⁷¹ It may be (as scholars have conjectured) that these passages derive from the Aeschylean drama, which would end (like others) with the freeing of the satyrs, after the death of the mad king. The fragments, however, tell us nothing: there is mention of κημοί ("muzzles," "gags"),⁷² which perhaps were applied at some stage to the satyrs. βρῦτος ("beer")⁷³ further illustrates the incidence of rare (and often unique) words in the language of the extant satyr-fragments.

*Kerkyon*⁷⁴ (attested as satyric by Hesychios)⁷⁵ survives in a single trimeter, along with five isolated words. They are, again, the rare words we have grown to expect: ἄμβων, "a hill-crest,"⁷⁶ ὄρον, a tool for pressing grapes.⁷⁷ εὐληματέω is found here only.⁷⁸ The play told the story of the tyrant of Eleusis who challenged strangers to a wrestling-match (there is reference to "ear-guards," ἀμφωτίδες)⁷⁹ and killed all those whom he defeated. He was finally overcome by Theseus⁸⁰ (the reference, perhaps, in the lone word ἀπεψύχη),⁸¹ who would then free his prisoners, the satyrs. It is plausibly conjectured that this theme had been treated already in Pratinas' *Palaistai*: that play was produced in 467 by Aristias (his father, presumably, by that time being dead) as the satyr-play of a tetralogy which was runner-up to Aeschylus's entry:⁸² Aeschylus may, on that occasion, have been struck by the subject's potential for himself. His own satyr-play in the winning tetralogy (with *Laios*, *Oidipous*, *Septem*) was the *Sphinx*.⁸³

*Sphinx*⁸⁴ is appropriately enigmatic. There is no clue to contents or treatment in the fragments (a dactylic tetrameter is preserved in Aristophanes),⁸⁵ and a series of vases (later than those that show Prometheus)⁸⁶ is improbably connected with the play. On a South Italian bell-krater⁸⁷ a satyr is standing, with a bird held in his hand, before the Sphinx: while another vase,⁸⁸ by the same painter, has a satyr who is showing a bird to

⁷⁰*Ibid.* 226, ἐκταδίην δὲ ταμῶν δολιχόσκιον οὐρήν/Σειλήνων . . .

⁷¹*Ibid.* 248–250.

⁷²Fr. 98.

⁷³Fr. 97, κάκ τῶνδ' ἔπινε βρῦτον.

⁷⁴*Cat.* 30.

⁷⁵Hsch. α 612, ε 6960.

⁷⁶Fr. 150.

⁷⁷Fr. 154.

⁷⁸Fr. 153.

⁷⁹Fr. 149.

⁸⁰Cf. B. 17.26, Plut. *Thes.* 11.

⁸¹Fr. 151.

⁸²*Hypoth.* A. Th. 4 (Page), ἐδιδάχθη ἐπὶ Θεαγενίδου ὀλυμπιάδι ὄν, ἐνίκᾳ Αἰσχύλος Λαίῳ, Οἰδίποδι, Ἐπτά ἐπὶ Θήβας, Σφιγγὶ σατυρικῇ, δευτέρως Ἀριστίας ταῖς τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ . . . Παλαισταῖς σατύροις. Cf. POxy. 2256 fr. 2.4.11 (fr. 169).

⁸³See last note.

⁸⁴*Cat.* 62.

⁸⁵Fr. 182, Σφίγγα δυσμεριῶν πρύτανιν κύνα (Ar. Ra. 1287).

⁸⁶Brommer 178–181a.

⁸⁷Brommer, fig. 47.

⁸⁸*Id.* fig. 48.

Dionysos. It seems that the usual role of the Sphinx is here reversed, and that not she, but the satyr, puts the riddle. He is asking if the bird he holds is dead or alive, and by closing its beak or not according to her answer, arranges that she loses either way. This interpretation follows Aesop.⁸⁹ On the second vase, he is reporting the success of his trick to Dionysos. The reversal of roles—no matter how the paintings are interpreted—suggests an element of parody, in keeping with a later stage of satyr-drama,⁹⁰ but probably alien to Aeschylus's time. It seems more likely that the satyrs here again were somehow in bondage to the monster, and were only freed (with the Thebans) from her thralldom when Oidipous arrived and guessed the riddle.

This account has been slightly over-simplified, but it shows at least how scanty is the evidence available, and how slender is the harvest to be gleaned. With these known satyr-plays papyrus finds have added very little to our knowledge. One small fragment is possibly assignable to *Sphinx* (POxy. 2255.35)⁹¹ and larger ones to *Prometheus Pyrkaeus* (POxy. 2252, 2245).⁹² This last has been given to *Pyrphoros*;⁹³ but the reference by the chorus to Naiades, nymphs, and dancing⁹⁴ must strongly suggest a satyr-drama. The satyrs are connected with the Naiades in Pratinas⁹⁵ (and probably also in the *Cyclops*):⁹⁶ the *Cyclops* is recalled again by this papyrus (fr. 12),⁹⁷ and those lines too may well be from *Pyrkaeus*. For *Leon*⁹⁸ (attested as satyric by Stephen of Byzantium)⁹⁹ the gain is somewhat greater. This play was known from a single trimeter (fr. 185),¹⁰⁰

⁸⁹Fab. 36 (Hausrath): where the tables are similarly turned upon a similar would-be trickster by Apollo.

⁹⁰The same applies to Mancini's reconstruction: the play contained a parody of the myth according to which the Theban youth fought uselessly against the Sphinx. They were parodied in the drama by the satyrs (A. Mancini, *Studi e materiali di archæologia* 1 [1899] 64 ff.). On parodic satyr-drama see L. Campo, *I drammi satireschi della Grecia antica* (Milan 1940) 242 ff.; for a possible example in Aeschylus, see above, n. 18.

⁹¹Fr. 183,] . . . ε χνόαι πο[δῶν/]ων δι[

⁹²Fr. 342, H. Lloyd-Jones in *Aeschylus* tr. H. W. Smyth 2² (1957), fr. 278.

⁹³Fr. 343. For a description and translation of this scene see E. Fraenkel, "Aeschylus: New Texts and Old Problems" (*PBA* 28 [1942] 237–258).

⁹⁴38, 40, 41: cf. Lloyd-Jones 563. A tragic context is not perhaps excluded: a reader has kindly brought to my attention E. *Hel.* 186 ff. But there the Nymph occurs only in a simile, and the atmosphere is one, not of joy and dancing (with erotic overtones, 38), but one of, literally, panic. Identification with satyr-play may also gain support from comparison of 34, ἐκου—]σία δέ μ' εὐμένης χορεύει χάρις with E. *Cyc.* 156 (Silenos), χορεύσαι παρακαλεῖ μ' ὁ Βάκχιος.

⁹⁵D. L. Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci* (1962) 708.3.

⁹⁶E. *Cyc.* 430, Δαναΐδων (mss., Ναίδων Casaubon) νυμφῶν μετά: cf. 68; S. *Ichn.* 35, 149, 222.

⁹⁷63–68; cf. E. *Cyc.* 323 ff.

⁹⁸*Cat.* 35.

⁹⁹699.7 (Meineke).

¹⁰⁰δοδοίρων δήλημα χωρίτης δράκων.

referred to the lion of Nemea (though *δράκων* is a difficult description). That difficulty is now eased by a papyrus (*POxy.* 2256)¹⁰¹ which shows us that Leon is the giant (appropriately called "a local dragon" from his habits) whom Herakles killed in single combat.¹⁰² Fr. 186 is explicable as someone (presumably the satyr-chorus, as in *Cyclops*) protesting, in a mixture of anapaests and trochees, at the cruel tactics of the monster; fr. 190 has a victory-song to Herakles¹⁰³ for his triumph over the three times-mentioned Leon.¹⁰⁴ This play—in which Herakles, presumably, in accordance with the old theme freed the satyrs—will be one of the earliest appearances of someone very popular in later satyr-drama. He also appeared in the Aeschylean *Kerykes*¹⁰⁵ (satyric, according to Pollux and Hesychios),¹⁰⁶ whose fr. 158 has reference to the lion-skin, described by the rarish word *σίτουρνα*;¹⁰⁷ and again one may recall Apollodoros.¹⁰⁸ As Herakles was returning, after killing the lion on Kithairon, he was met by heralds from Erginos, on their way to collect tribute from the Thebans. Herakles outraged them, cutting off their ears and noses, and bade them carry *that* tribute to Erginos. Erginos marched in indignation against Thebes; but Herakles, taking command with weapons from Athene, routed the Minyans, killing Erginos, and forced them to pay double tribute to the Thebans. Here, again, is Herakles the liberator: and the story receives some additions in *POxy.* 2442.29.

But the greater gains for Aeschylean satyr-drama (apart from *Diktyoulkoi*) are a hundred or so lines of *Isthmiastai*¹⁰⁹ (of which play, otherwise known as *Theoroi*, and not specifically listed as satyric only two lines—one incomplete—and two words—one the *ἄπαξ εἰρημένον*, *ιαμβίς*—had been handed down in ancient writers).¹¹⁰ The satyrs are versatile beings, as we see if we take at face-value the list of their accomplishments in *POxy.* 1083.¹¹¹ There, in an anonymous satyr-play of the fifth century, they are suitors for the hand of Deianeira, and strive to impress her father Oineus with their *τέχναι*, among which they number wrestling, running, boxing.¹¹² They do, indeed, figure as athletes on some vases,¹¹³ and it is thus that they appear in *Isthmiastai* (*POxy.* 2162).¹¹⁴

¹⁰¹*POxy.* 20 (1952) 52 ff. (fr. 186).

¹⁰²Ptolemaios Hephaistion, *Καινὴ ἱστορία* 5 (Phot. *Bibl.* 190, 150b 13).

¹⁰³Fr. 190.5, *ὦ καλλῖνικε χαῖρε*.

¹⁰⁴*Ibid.* 7, 8, 15.

¹⁰⁵*Cat.* 32.

¹⁰⁶Poll. 10.68, 186, Phot. 2.124, 12 (Naber).

¹⁰⁷Fr. 158, *καὶ τῆς σισύρνης τῆς λεοντεί(ου δορ)ᾶς*.

¹⁰⁸Apollod. 2.4. 11 ff.

¹⁰⁹*Cat.* 23.

¹¹⁰Frs. 20–23.

¹¹¹*POxy.* 8 (1911) 60–71, fr. 1.8 ff.

¹¹²Fr. 1.10, *παλῆς ἀγῶνες, ἱππικῆς, δρόμου, / πυγμῆς . . .*

¹¹³Brommer 108–115, figs. 59, 60, 67.

¹¹⁴*POxy.* 18 (1941) 14–22, 20 (1952) 167: fr. 17, fr. 276 (Lloyd-Jones).

The action of this somewhat enigmatic play takes place in front of Poseidon's temple at the Isthmos (ῥῶμα Ποντίου Σεισίχθο[νος, 18) where some group—presumably the satyrs—is bidden each to “hang” or “nail up the image of your lovely face” (19). The speaker is the coryphaeus, who is acting on permission he has earlier received from a temple-official (3–4). The images referred to are “superhuman likenesses” (εἰκὸν[s] οὐ κατ’ ἀνθρώπους ἰδεῖν, 1), and comparable to τὸ Δαιδάλου μ[ε] [ι]μῆμα (8).¹¹⁵ This might suggest that the satyrs carry portraits, or possibly (as elsewhere) Herms.¹¹⁶ More probably, they are speaking of their satyr-masks (so like themselves that their own mother, never mind a passer-by, would be afraid, 15, 20), which they wish to dispose of temporarily (as the chorus did in Kratinos's comedy *Seriphioi*),¹¹⁷ perhaps while they practise for the games. There is probably no thought of dedication in the temple (though of course they *speak* piously, 11): on the contrary, the satyrs may have *come* as sacred envoys (θεῶποι, which explains the other title), but have flouted their oath to Dionysos (37, cf. 76) and are trying τρόπους καί[νο]υς (34). Anyway, they have given him the slip (46), and he speaks to them reproachfully (28–38), noting their athletes' preparations (*ligura praeputii*, 29).¹¹⁸ The coryphaeus counters with comments on the hardships they endured with Dionysos as their master (an interesting contrast to the *Cyclops*, where they long to return to the joys of Dionysos):¹¹⁹ they will not leave the temple (51), a resolve firmly repeated (79). Meanwhile, someone (probably Silenos) backs up the coryphaeus's allegations (53–63), at one stage, apparently, going so far as to call the god a γύννις (68). Dionysos bitterly resents this denigration, at a time when the Isthmos is crowded for the plays that he, as their patron, supervises (71–74). He ends with threats which fail to move his hearers.

The satyrs make one odd accusation: that is, that Dionysos is no good at iron-working (65). This suggests that they themselves are (a) interested at the moment in the art or in its products (b) anxious to find a patron who *can* help them. The wished-for patron may be he who enters with “new playthings from adze and anvil” (85–88). Their desires would be realised if the new toys—which are useful for their new τέχνη, 92—were javelins, even if, in typical satyr-fashion, they recoil at first sight of the objects: their wishes would be doubly fulfilled if the new character turned out to be the famous smith Hephaistos. They are, indeed, his servants elsewhere.¹²⁰ And a neat conclusion would be given if the satyrs sailed

¹¹⁵Or perhaps *are* the workmanship of Daidalos (the text of 5–8 is doubtful).

¹¹⁶Brommer, *ArchAnz* 55 (1943) 124 ff., fig. 6; *Satyrspiele*, fig. 65.

¹¹⁷Cf. fr. 205 (Edmonds), αἶρε δεῦρο τοὺς βρικέλους. For fuller discussion see Fraenkel 245, R. Stark, ‘Zu den “Diktyoulokoï” und “Isthmiastai” des Aischylos,’ *RhM* N.F. 102 (1959) 7 ff.

¹¹⁸Brommer, *Satyrspiele* 74.

¹¹⁹E. *Cyc.* 63 ff., 429–430.

¹²⁰See S. *Daidalos*, *Kedalion*, *Pandora* (with Pearson).

away from the Isthmos with Hephaistos (as they sail away with Odysseus in the *Cyclops*), though this time (and it must be said, improbably) in the role of the saviours, not the saved.

This (with some additional refinements) is Lloyd-Jones's tentative solution to the problems of 85–98.¹²¹ σφυρά (97), which Lloyd-Jones does not mention, might also hide a reference to Hephaistos. But ἐμβήσεται (95) need not mean “go on board” (it would mean more probably here “enter on the contest”),¹²² and “sailing” appears only in suggested fillings for the tantalizing gap in 93.¹²³ These may be right, but are surely out of context: we expect the coryphaeus here to ask, not (very oddly and abruptly) “What will you do for me if I let you have a passage?” but rather “What can I do for you, in return for these new aids that you have brought me?” 94 is indeed a strange reply to either question, especially (from Hephaistos) to the first. I suspect dislocation of 92 and 94 (the scribe's eye slipping from τί δὴ to τί δ'), and prefer to explain ξυνισθμιάζειν as the answer to τί χρήσομαι; (91). If 93 could mean “What must I do for you? I am ready to repay you two-fold” (τί δ' [ἄ]ντιποιεῖν [δεῖ; δ]ιπλοῦν μοῦ [φ]ανδάν[ει]),¹²⁴ then 92 will make a fitting answer: “shine in the new art you have adopted.” This local improvement (if it is one) does not solve the larger question: who is the person (with knowledge of the satyrs' plans and access to a smithy) who appears (or re-appears) at 85? Hephaistos remains an attractive possibility, but the verdict must still be ‘non liquet.’¹²⁵

That *Isthmiasai* is satyric was deducible from the reference to σκῶπνευμα (fr. 20).¹²⁶ This is confirmed by the papyrus, in subject matter (cf. especially 29), in language (cf. 90, ὦγαθέ, a comic and colloquial address), and in metre (cf. 8, where Porson's Law, as frequently in *Cyclops*, is neglected).¹²⁷ We note trochaic tetrameters (18–22, probably also 39–46), as in *Sisyphos Drapetes* and in *Diktyoulokoï*.¹²⁸

These characteristic traits of satyr-drama—eroticism, comic language, and loose metre—are readily paralleled (as the notes have hoped to show) in the work of the other two tragedians. What Aeschylus added (at least in *Diktyoulokoï*, where his metre, too, shows little lack of tragic

¹²¹Lloyd-Jones, *op. cit.* (above, n. 92) 545–549.

¹²²Cf. (for example) Pl. *Phdr.* 252e, εἰν οὖν μὴ . . . ἐμβεβῶσι τῷ ἐπιτηδεύματι.

¹²³τί δ' [ἄ]ντιποιεῖν [δόντ]ι πλοῦν μοῦ [φ]ανδάνει; (Lobel), [τά]ντιπλοῦν μ'οῦ[χ] ανδάν[ον? (Mette).

¹²⁴Admitting that διπλοῦν (“to repay double”) does not recur till *Arac.* 18.6. This is not a serious objection in a satyr-play (cf. above, nn. 22, 34, 35).

¹²⁵Other suggestions: Daidalos (Lloyd-Jones 547), the temple servant (the speaker of 1–2, Mette).

¹²⁶Described as a σχῆμα σατυρικόν in Phot. 2.168.1 (Naber).

¹²⁷Cf. (for example) E. *Cyc.* 210.

¹²⁸See above, n. 26.

strictness)¹²⁹ is speech of a simple dignity, without loss of Aeschylean grandeur, and lyrics¹³⁰ of a clarity and purity unknown in *Ichneutai* or in *Cyclops*. These, we may believe, were among the qualities that raised his reputation in Pausanias's time above those of Pratinas and Aristias as a master of the art of satyr-drama.¹³¹

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¹²⁹The sole example is a fourth-foot tribrach (ἀναξ Πόσειδον Ζεῦ τ' ἐνά[λιε, 10).

¹³⁰805 ff.

¹³¹See above, n. 5.