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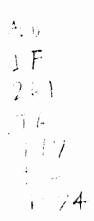
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A. N. FOL, V, I. GEORGIEV, V. TĂPKOVA-ZAIMOVA, V. VELKOV

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de Bendis pénètre à c. d'abord transporté sons politiques il deitat, mais sans rien acquis par la populaivinités aussi liées à qu'une divinité très lisparant ce culte ne

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Serdicae - 1974

WILLIAM M. CALDER III (USA)

SOPHOCLES, TEREUS: A THRACIAN TRAGEDY

Native Attic mythology was sparse and uninteresting. The tragedians were often constrained to invent and transpose. Foreigners were brought to Athens: Orestes and Oedipus; or an Athenian was sent abroad: Theseus often or Aegeus in *Medea*. As Wilamowitz long ago surmised, cleruchs enriched the *Heimatsage*. The Polymestor-story derives from the Chersonese. Lemnos provided Priloctetes and Hypsipyle; Skyros the new tale of Achilles and Deidameia. Euripides, *Syleus*² requires Athenian occupation of Amphipolis. Sophocles owed Phineus and Tereus to the northern settlements.

Ovid in his Metamorphoses (6. 424 sq), has made the Tereus-legend tamous. As often his source is a tragedy. We shall not postulate a lost epyllion. A. C. Pearson remarked 3 "No detailed account is in existence which can be traced to an earlier date than the era of Sophocles". Let us try to reconstruct this lost tragedy, perhaps the most famous Thracian tale to enter Attic literature and art. Our material is testimonia for the action, preserved fragments (some 57 verses are extant), accounts, especially Ovid, presumably deriving from Sophocles, and for dramatic technique and structure parallels from other plays. I shall try to establish dramatic time and place, dramatis personae, and to reconstruct the action.

The action takes place before the palace of Tereus, which presumably is in Thrace rather than Thracian-occupied Daulis. The dramatic time is five years after Pandion, King of Athens, had married his elder daughter, Prokne, to Tereus and so confirmed an alliance after the latter's decisive military aid in a border dispute with Thebes: Ov. M. 6. 424—438; cf. Ap. Bibl. 3.14.8. Next the characters. Prokne is attested at frag. 585P. She requires a confidente for the expository prologue. Hence the Nutrix that Sophocles used in *Trachniae* and to whom the autobiographical speech.

spiel (Zürich, 1947), 128.

* See A. C. Pearson, The Fragment of Sophocles, vol. II, Cambridge, 1917, 221.

See Ulrich von Wilamowitz Moellendorff, Euripides Herakles I³: Einleitung in die griechische Tragödie. Darmstadt, 1969, 38.
 See Wilamowitz, op. cit., 38 n. 72, and Peter Guggisberg, Das Satyr-

(frag. 583P) is delivered. Tereus is assured by the title. A female servant of the mutilated Philomela delivers the cloth to Prokne. Ovid (M. 6. 578-580) attests her existence. Philomela and Itys (cf. Eurysakes in Ajax) would be mutes. The role of Philomela would have been among the most memorable and demanding available to a parachoregema in classical drama. I wonder whether she was played by Sophocles, whose useogovia deprived him of speaking parts (VitSoph 4). The triple metamorphosis could not take place on stage (Horace, Ars 187). A messenger is required to describe the miracle — as Theseus in Oedipus Coloneus. But a messenger could only report and not explain what had occurred. Since F. G. Welcker a god has been postulated. He suggested Herms. Others have agreed. Zeus normally avoided the theater. Aeschylus' Psichostasia was the noble exception. Hermes, as in Prometheus and Inachus, might easily convey his will. Frag. 581. 2P proves that the god who caused the metamorphosis did not report it (a third person singular verb). What god would be appropriate to appear on the roof of a Thracian palace? Surely the father of the belligerent, reigning monarch, the Thracian Ares.⁵ The chorus were Thracian men rather than Athenian or Thracian women. Not merely do the philosophical sentiments of the preserved choral utterances (frags. 590P, 591P, 592P, 593P) suggest this. Prokne, Ovid carefully tells us (M. 6.581-586), with remarkable control did not reveal her reaction to Philomela's massage. She remained silent. The reason must be that she could not trust a hostile chorus (cf. Accius, frag. 647-648 Ribbeck), male retainers of her husband. That in Accius (647 Ribbeck) the chorus address her mulier confirms the view. To sum up, the characters in order of appearance would have been:

Dramatis Personae

Procne
Nutrix
Chorus senum Thraciorum
Tereus
Famula
Philomela (persona muta)
Itys (persona muta)
Nuntius
Ares (?)

The roles may be conveniently divided: Protagonist, Procne: deuteragonist, Tereus and Ares; tritagonist, Nutrix, Famula, Nuntius. Within the normal structure of prologue, four epeisodia, and exodos, divided by choral odes, the action would unfold as follows.

I. Prologue: Prokne enters from the central door of the scaenae frons followed by Nutrix, to whom, in an expository monologue, she narrates the past, her own unhappiness, and homesickness. The situation recalls Trachi-

⁵ For Tereus' paternity see Apoll. Bibl. 3, 14, 8 and for the Thracian character of the god see KIP 1 (1964) 527, 41 ff.

⁴ See F. G. Welcker, Die griechischen Tragödien mit Rücksicht auf den epischen Cyclus, vol. I, Bonn, 1839, 383—384.

· female servant vid (M. 6. 578 – s in Ajax) would the most memoclassical drama, I egogwria deprived is could not take d to describe the inger could only elckers a god has I. Zeus normally exception. Heris will. Frag. 581. id not report it opriate to appear belligerent, reignacian men rather nilosophical senti-11P, 592P, 593P) 6), with remarksage. She remaina hostile chorus husband. That in ems the view. To been:

Procne: deuteratius. Within the divided by cho-

e scaenae frons she narrates the recalls Trachi-

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niae.6 The autobiographical fragment (583P) and the apostrophe to her absent sister (584P) belong here. The women, like the two sisters that open Antigone, can speak without fear. They are alone. The chorus have not yet entered. Before the action began, Tereus had been sent to fetch Philomela. This makes his return imminent and accords with the temporal economy of Sophoclean tragedy. Compare the prologue of Oedipus Tyrannus, where Kreon returns from an earlier errand.

II. Parodos: the chorus enter from the right parodos probably to an-

nounce their king's return.

III. First Epeisodion: Tereus enters from abroad up the left parodos and falsely reports the death of Philomela (Ov. M. 6. 563-566). Because he brings nobody, the excuse probably was that she was lost at sea.8 Ovid is not specific. Prokne mourns the death, erects a cenotaph, and provides funeral offerings for a sister not dead, like Electra for a brother not dead (Ov. M. 6. 566—570).

IV. First Stasimon: during the recitation of this ode, one year of drama-

tic time passes (Ov. M. 6. 571).

V. Second Epeisodion: this contained the famous recognition scene which Aristotle criticized as "contrived by the poet" (Poetics 16. 1454b30 sq). Philomela had been imprisoned in a mountain hut, with a stone wall, a guard, and a female attendant (Ov. M. 6 572 sq.) or φολακή (Liban. 8. 45. 14F.). She decides to weave a purple inscription (Ov. M. b. 577) into a white peplos (AchTat 5, 5, 5), intended for her sister. She does not weave pictures of her misfortune, as Pearson erroneously believed.9 Ovid distinctly specifies notas (Ov. M. 6. 577) and carmen (Ov. M. 6. 582); Apollodoros (Bibl. 3. 14 8) and Libanius (8. 45. 17—18F.) γράμηστα. This is what Aristotle meant (Poetics 16. 1454b36—frag. 595P) by the "voice of the shuttle" (κερχίσος φωνή). Normally, Greek inscriptions were read aloud. Prokne receives the gift as part of a traditional Dionysiac festival (Liban. 8. 45. 14 ff. F.), unrolls and reads the text silently. A famous moment in the action (Ov. M. 6 581-586) was her ability to disguise her grief and rage. For the scene to be effective the audience must somehow divine the truth, probably from the naive tale of the illiterate famula or could they have read a large inscription? In any case Prokne cannot alert the chorus. The famula would have revealed the location of Philomela;10 and Prokne exits, dressed as a Bacchant, down the left parodos to discover her sister.

VI. Second Stasimon: a Dionysiac theme would be appropriate.

VII. Third Epeisodion: Prokne returns with her sister disguised as a Maenad (Ov. M. 6. 601 sq.). Either Prokne herself or a messenger who anticipated her relates (Accius, frag. 636-639 Ribbeck) the discovery of Philomela to the chorus. Philomela can only communicate by gesture: "pro voce manus fuit" (Ov. M. 6. 609). Revenge is anticipated. Either the enormity of Te-

⁶ Thus Welcker, op. cit., 377.

im Zeitalter der Republik². Hildesheim, 1968, 579.

8 Thus E. H. Warmington, Remains of old Latin, vol. II. Cambridge London,

⁷ Thus Welcker, op cit., 377, followed by Otto Ribbeck, Die römische Tragodie

^{1936, 542.}See Pearson, op. cit., 221: *Philomela then wove an embroidered picture of the outrage?.

Thus Ribbeck, op. cit., 581.

VIII. Third Stasimon: subject unknown.

IX. Fourth Epeisodion: here early Sophocles placed the catastrophe. Tereus enters. Prokine seduces him into the palace with the pretext that she has prepared a sacred ancestral meal which he must consume alone (Ov. M. 6, 647 sq). One recalls the carpet scene in Aeschylus, Agameinnon. The scene would conclude with the exit of Tereus and Prokine into the central door of the scaenae frons. The chorus seek to dissuade Prokine (Accius, frag. 647—648 Ribbeck) but an ominous reply silences them (Accius, frag. 646 Ribbeck).

X. Fourth Stasimon: subject unknown.

XI. Exodos: a messenger enters from a side door of the scaenae frons. The chorus urge him to tell the truth (frag. 588P). He relates the murder of Itys, the preparation of the stew, the meal of Tereus, his recognition, rage, and pursuit armed (cf. Ar. Lys. 563) of the two Athenians (Ov. M. 6. 638-669). The speech would end with the miraculous triple transformation. Thus far a mortal eye-witness. The explanation of the metamorphosis in frag. 581P (cf. Ov. M. 6. 669-674) which, with most scholars, I consider, Sophoclean, could only be spoken by a god. He also would appropriately declare the final judgement on the whole (frag. 589P). He who fixes on a remedy greater than the disease is a naive physician. The god's identity is not known. Ares, father of Tereus and a peculiarly Thracian divinity, would be involved enough in the action to justify an epiphany. One may compare Herakles, who ends *Philoctites*. The god withdraws and the chorus exit down the left parodos.

The speech of the deus may in the Aeschylean manner (cf. Oedipus Coloneus) have sought to connect the mythical past with the present through the institution of cult. Ovid reports (M. 6. 437) that the day of Itys' birth was made a festival. Tereus became a hoopoe $(\epsilon \pi o \psi)$. The cultic calendar from the deme Erchia (early IV B. C.) records¹² that on the fifth day of Boedromion a piglet was sacrificed to Epops. The subsequent worship of

the title-character is thereby attested in Attica.

Chronological data are unsatisfactory. One bit of undisputed evidence provides a terminus ante quem. There is a parody at Aristophanes, Aves 99 ff., a play produced in March, 414 B. C. (hypothesis). May anything else be adduced? Thracian historical arguments are inconclusive. The simple fact of dramatising a Thracian myth at a national festival might be presumed to indicate friendship. The brutal character of the king, his acts of rape and mutilation, and the brutalizing effect of the monarch on two Athenian princesses might as easily criticize the barbarity of despised or feared Northern neighbors.

¹¹ See Klaus Aichele and Walter Jens, Die Bauformen der griechischen Tragödie, Munich, 1971, 71.
12 See F. Sokolowski, Lois sacrées des Cités grecques. Paris, 1969 No. 18 E 12, 41.

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The play certainly has what one may casually call "Euripidean qualities." There is the nurse (ci. e. g., Hypolitus) and a child used as captatio misericordiae (cf. Alcestis, Troades). The introduction of a mutilated character recalls Hippolytus and Polymestor in Hecuba (cf. Oedipus Tyrannus). The delineation of female psychology would be familiar to Euripidean audiences. Most important is the nature of the final catastrophe. Prokne slays her child to wreak vengeance on a faithless hisband. Just so Medea kills her children to spite the faithless Jason. Ovid already drew the parallel at Amores 2, 14, 29 sq. Medea's infanticides were an Euripidean innovation. Before him she merely absconded with the children. The Tereus story contrarily was an aetiological legend to explain the nightingale's plaintive cry Ityn, Ityn. The infanticide was central and indispensable. I should not hesitate to place Tereus before Medea, dated by its hypothesis to 431 B. C. The plot motivation, the destructive effects of excessive sibling affection, recalls Antigone of March 443 B. C. I should be prepared to accept a date in the early 30's13 roughly contemporary with Trachiniae.

¹³ The Cannibalism suggests the Thyestes legend. Seneca's Atreus (Thys., 275-277) invokes the Attic sisters to inspire his soul. Sophokles' plays on this theme cannot be precisely dated.

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