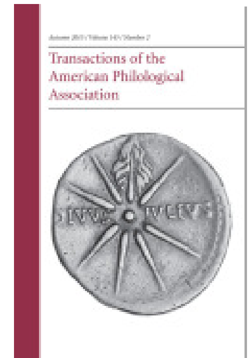
A Tale of Two Sisters: Studies in Sophocles' *Tereus*

Lyndsay Coo

Transactions of the American Philological Association, Volume 143, Number 2, Autumn 2013, pp. 349-384 (Article)

Published by Johns Hopkins University Press
DOI: *https://doi.org/10.1353/apa.2013.0016*



For additional information about this article
https://muse.jhu.edu/article/527826

Access provided by Skidmore College (24 May 2017 19:37 GMT)

Transactions of the American Philological Association 143 (2013) 349–384

A Tale of Two Sisters: Studies in Sophocles' *Tereus**

LYNDSAY COO
University of Bristol

SUMMARY: This paper aims to reassess the role of sister- and siblinghood in the fragmentary *Tereus* of Sophocles, a play unusual in its dramatization of a close and collaborative relationship between two sisters. The plot hinges on their recognition and reunion, and the all-female bond of sisterhood is shown to outweigh both wife-husband and mother-son obligations. Finally, a close reading of three fragments suggests that the play was characterized by the language and imagery of siblinghood, which reflect the thematic centrality of sisterhood to this tragedy.

SOPHOCLES' *TEREUS*, WHICH SURVIVES IN SEVENTEEN FRAGMENTS (*TrGF* 581–95b),[1] portrayed a relationship between two sisters more remarkable than any other we know of from the Greek tragic stage. The Thracian king Tereus raped Philomela, the sister of his wife Procne, and cut out her tongue. In revenge, Procne killed her own son Itys, cooked him and fed him to Tereus. In dramatizing this myth Sophocles placed a bond of sisterhood at the core of his dramatic plot. Despite this, owing to the fragmentary nature of the text, *Tereus* is very seldom invoked in discussions of Sophoclean sisterhood

* Preliminary thoughts on this material were presented to the Centre for Ancient Drama and its Reception at the University of Nottingham in February 2011, the Cambridge Philological Society in November 2011 and the Columbia University Classics Colloquium in February 2012. I am grateful to all three audiences, and to Professor Simon Goldhill, and the Editor and anonymous readers at *TAPA* for their stimulating comments and criticisms. All faults that remain are, of course, my own.

[1] Unless stated otherwise, I use the text of Radt 1999 throughout; all translations are my own. Recently, three new fragments have been proposed: see D. Kovacs *ap.* Liapis 2006: 224 with corrigendum at Liapis 2008: 335, Liapis 2008 and Sommerstein 2010: 653–58 with Sommerstein and Talboy 2012: 263–64. Additionally, Hofmann 2006 suggests that a number of expressions in *P.Oxy.* 3013 (discussed below) are taken from the text of *Tereus.*

© 2013 by the American Philological Association

other than to note cursorily that the characters of Procne and Philomela must have been similar to the model of sisters found in Sophocles' *Antigone* and *Electra*. This approach was exemplified by the comments of Post 1922: 51:

> The *Tereus* would have afforded Sophocles an opportunity for a pair of opposites, like Antigone and Ismene or Electra and Chrysothemis: it is hardly possible that he should have neglected to differentiate a strong-minded Procne, intent upon requital, from a weaker and less heroic Philomela, who had been unable to elude the lustful violence of her brother-in-law and was perhaps at first as unwilling as Ismene or Chrysothemis to coöperate with her sister in a plan for vengeance.

More recently Zacharia 2001: 110 has written that "the relationship between Prokne and Philomela may well have conformed to an established Sophoclean pattern of sisterly closeness (Antigone/Ismene; Electra/Chrysothemis)," while March 2003: 154 states that "[i]n *Tereus* the focus is on two sisters, so we think at once of *Antigone* and *Electra*, where we have the strong and positive sister—Antigone, Electra—contrasted with the weaker, more negative one—Ismene, Chrysothemis. The plot of *Tereus* would seem to demand a similar contrast, given that Philomela was a mutilated victim of aggression." In each of the two extant plays we find a pair of sisters who are ubiquitously described by critics in reductive terms as a "heroine" (Antigone, Electra) and her weaker "foil" (Ismene, Chrysothemis), setting the more forceful sister against her less impressive sibling. Such an approach is one that concentrates on the delineation of dramatic character, very often to the exclusion of any discussion of the sister-sister relationship in and of itself.[2] This interpretative model is already present in the ancient scholia (Σ Soph. *El.* 328, 162–63 Xenis):

> ἐπίτηδες τοῖς ἀγρίοις ἤθεσιν ἀντιπαρατάττουσι πρᾶα, καθάπερ νῦν τῆι Ἠλέκτραι Χρυσόθεμιν συνέζευξεν καὶ τῆι Ἀντιγόνηι τὴν Ἰσμήνην, ἕνεκα τοῦ διαποικίλλειν ταῖς ἀντιρρήσεσι τὰ δράματα.
>
> Gentle dispositions are purposefully set against fierce ones, just as now he pairs Chrysothemis with Electra, and Ismene with Antigone, for the purpose of adding variety to his plays through altercations.

We may thus discern two widespread scholarly trends as regards the sisters in *Tereus*. First is the expectation that the women must have conformed closely

[2] Recent years have, however, seen an explosion of interest in the sister relationship depicted in Sophocles' *Antigone* among scholars working in the field of feminist political theory. These readings tend to focus on a rehabilitation of Ismene: e.g., Honig 2011 develops the idea that Ismene is responsible for the first burial of Polyneices. This trend has yet to pervade the field of classics, although a notable exception is the stimulating discussion of the politics of Sophoclean sisterhood in Goldhill 2006, revised and developed in Goldhill 2012: 231–48.

to a model of sorority derived from Sophocles' extant plays. This leads to the second, which is methodological: an assumption that it is the contrast between the dramatic characters that is of critical interest, rather than the bond of sisterhood itself. Together, these have led to the play's undervaluation as a key text for the study of ancient sisterhood.

Tereus has always been one of the better-known and -studied of Sophocles' fragmentary dramas,[3] and alongside numerous interpretative essays the text has received two recent commentaries, one discursive (Fitzpatrick and Sommerstein 2006) and the other more narrowly philological (Milo 2008). However, despite its obvious centrality to the plot, sorority itself is almost never brought into discussions of *Tereus*. My argument seeks to address this lacuna in the scholarship, and is structured around the following inquiries: (1) a brief summary of the evidence for the plot of *Tereus*; (2) discussion of parallels with other tragedies, most notably Aeschylus's *Agamemnon*, and what this reveals about the play's depiction of sisterhood; (3) consideration of *Tereus* as a play of "sibling recognition and reunion"; and finally (4) a new reading of the fragments that is specifically framed by the theme of sorority. This discussion aims to demonstrate that the sister relationship in *Tereus* was unlike that in any other known tragedy by exploring how the sister bond was manifested in the play's plot, themes, language and imagery.

1. THE PLOT OF *TEREUS*

From Homer onwards, we possess numerous divergent versions of the legend of the nightingale and/or swallow. These include accounts in Hesiod (*Op.* 568, fr. 312), Sappho (fr. 135), Pherecydes (*FrGH* 3 F 124) and Aeschylus (*Supp.* 58–67, *Ag.* 1140–51), fragments of *Tereus* tragedies by Livius Andronicus (frr. 24–29 Warmington) and Accius (frr. 639–66 Warmington), the extensive account of Ovid (*Met.* 6.424–674) and the evidence of several mythographers (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.14.18; Hyg. *Fab.* 45).[4] A necessary starting point involves determining which elements of these might be representative of Sophocles' tragedy, which is widely assumed to have put the myth into its canonical form.

[3] See esp. the commentary of Fitzpatrick and Sommerstein 2006, with addenda in Sommerstein and Talboy 2012: 261–65, and the detailed discussion of Monella 2005: 79–125. For further material and varying interpretations, see Welcker 1839: 1.374–88; Pearson 1917: 2.221–38; Buchwald 1939: 33–42; Cazzaniga 1950: 45–64; Calder 1974; Sutton 1984: 127–32; Kiso 1984: 51–86; Hourmouziades 1986; Dobrov 1993 (revised in Dobrov 2001: 105–26); Burnett 1998: 177–91; March 2000 and 2003; Zacharia 2001; Fitzpatrick 2001; Casanova 2003; Curley 2003; McHardy 2005: 141–45 and Milo 2008.

[4] For recent brief surveys of the literary and artistic evidence, see March 2000: 123–34 and 2003: 143–51; Fitzpatrick and Sommerstein 2006: 141–49; Milo 2008: 7–13, 125–57 and esp. Monella 2005: 17–78.

This activity was much aided in 1974 by the publication of the second- or third-century C.E. *P.Oxy.* 3013, which appears to be a hypothesis to a *Tereus* play. The translated text runs as follows[5]:

> Tereus: the hypothesis. Pandion the ruler of the Athenians, having the daughters Procne and Philomela, yoked the elder, Procne, in marriage to Tereus king of the Thracians, who had a son by her, whom he named Itys. As time went by and Procne wished to see her sister, she asked Tereus to travel to Athens to bring her. He reached Athens and [was entrusted] with the virgin by Pandion, and having made half the journey back, [he desired] the girl. He, not keeping his pledge, deflowered her. As a precaution against her revealing it to her sister, he cut out [the girl's] tongue. When he arrived [in] Thrace, [Philomela was not] able [to speak about] her plight but [she revealed it] through weaving. Procne, learning the truth, was driven frantic [with the utmost] jealousy and [...][6] [she took] Itys and slaughtered him [and boiled him] and served him up [to Tereus. And he], being ignorant of the food, [ate it. The women] fled and [one of them turned into] a nightingale, and the other a [swallow] and Tereus [a hoopoe].

It is overwhelmingly likely that the papyrus summarizes a Greek tragedy, and the only dramatists known to have written a tragic *Tereus* are Sophocles and his contemporary Philocles (*TrGF* 1 24), a nephew of Aeschylus. The existence of Philocles' Πανδιονίς tetralogy, which included a play known as *Tereus* or *Hoopoe* (Ἔποψ), is attested by the scholiast on Aristophanes, *Birds* 281 (= Philocles T 6c). A joke in this comedy (*Av.* 279–83), where Sophocles' Hoopoe is said to be the father of Philocles' Hoopoe (or possibly of "Philocles the Hoopoe"), very strongly suggests that Sophocles' tragedy was the earlier produced.[7] It also provides the only secure evidence for the dating, giving a *terminus ante quem* for both plays of 414 B.C.E.[8] It is universally accepted that

[5] The edition used is Parsons 1974: 48–49, with the longer of his supplements marked in square brackets. Alongside the discussion of Parsons, see also Gelzer 1976; van Rossum-Steenbeek 1998: 21–22, 230–31; Luppe 2005 and 2007 and Hofmann 2006.

[6] The text at this point (line 27) is obscure: [*c.* 7 *litt.*]νηῠ̣ ̣ερεινοις Parsons (Luppe 2005: 205–6 reads]νη ἡ δ' Ἐρινύς). It is probable that this contained a reference to the Erinyes or an Erinys (Parsons 1974: 50). For lines 25–28 Luppe 2007: 4–5 suggests οἰστρηθεῖσα ζηλοτυπ[ίαι τε καὶ ὀργῆι] κα[τωνείδισεν ἐκεί]νηι. καὶ <ὥσπερ(αν)> Ἐρινὺς (*vel* Ἐρινὺς <γενομένη>) λα[βοῦσα τὸν] Ἴτυν ("driven frantic with jealousy and anger, she reproached her. And she [Procne], <like an> Erinys (*or* <becoming> an Erinys), took Itys ...").

[7] See Sommerstein 1987: 215–16 and Dunbar 1995: 234–35. This is how the lines are interpreted by Σ Ar. *Av.* 281 ὁ Σοφοκλῆς πρῶτον (-ος Γ) τὸν Τηρέα ἐποίησεν, εἶτα Φιλοκλῆς ("first Sophocles composed a *Tereus*, and then Philocles").

[8] Various suggestions for the date of *Tereus* are collected at Radt 1999: 436. On the basis of the influence of Aesch. *Ag.* (discussed below) we can certainly posit a *terminus post*

P.Oxy. 3013 is far more likely to represent the version of Sophocles than that of Philocles. Moreover, the papyrus coincides with details of Sophocles' play that are confirmed by the fragments themselves, such as the Thracian setting (suggested by fr. 582) and the device of the weaving (fr. 595).[9] I thus follow those who believe that reconstruction of *Tereus* should be guided by *P.Oxy.* 3013 rather than by texts such as Accius's *Tereus*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and the mythographers.[10] My discussion will make use of these Latin versions, but

quem of 458 B.C.E., i.e., the play did not belong to the very earliest period of Sophocles' dramatic activity. Scholars have used the similarities between *Tereus* and Eur. *Med.* (431 B.C.E.) to argue both that Euripides was imitating Sophocles (e.g., Buchwald 1939: 35–36; Calder 1974: 91; Dobrov 1993: 213 [= 2001: 117]) and vice versa (e.g., Cazzaniga 1935; March 2000 and 2003: 139–54; Milo 2008: 16–17). Such evidence is naturally inconclusive (see further Monella 2005: 89–91 and Fitzpatrick and Sommerstein 2006: 157–59), as are attempts to date the play in relation to historical Atheno-Thracian relationships or the dedication on the Acropolis in the late 430s B.C.E. of a sculptural group depicting Procne and Itys. A recently published rhetorical epideixis from the second half of the first century C.E. seems to indicate that *Tereus* was produced either after or concurrently with Eur. *Med.* (*P.Oxy.* 5093 col. iv 15–22, with Colomo 2011: 120–21); but unfortunately Colomo 2011: 121 concludes that "on the basis of the general unreliability of our author [i.e., of the papyrus], 5093 does not provide any piece of evidence to be taken seriously in chronologically placing *Tereus*."

[9] The hypothesis is also broadly consistent with the summary of the Tereus legend at Tzetz. on Hes. *Op.* 566, which includes the details that Philomela was raped at Aulis in Boeotia and that the metamorphoses were caused by the gods out of pity for the women. Tzetzes also provides aetiologies for the birds' cries: the nightingale laments for Itys, the swallow says Τηρεύς με ἐβιάσατο ("Tereus used force on me") and Tereus the hoopoe says "Where, where (ποῦ ποῦ) are the women who cut up my child and set him out for the feast?" This aetiological wordplay would have fit well into the speech of the *deus ex machina* as represented by fr. 581, which contains both an aetiology and a linguistic pun relating ἔποψ to ἐπόπτης ("a viewer"), which in turn suggests the relationship of Τηρεύς to τηρεῖν ("to watch over"). The passage is printed as a testimonium for *Tereus* by Radt 1999: 435 since it ends with the statement γράφει δὲ περὶ τούτου Σοφοκλῆς ἐν τῶι Τηρεῖ δράματι ("Sophocles wrote about this in his play *Tereus*"). However, this may be nothing more than a general statement that Sophocles treated the mythological material, and does not necessarily entail that Tzetzes' summary was intended to be an accurate representation of the tragedy, even if explanations of the cries Ἴτυ Ἴτυ and ποῦ ποῦ and the twittering of the swallow may well have featured in *Tereus*. Moreover, these three avian aetiologies are commonly included in late scholiastic summaries of the legend that do not purport to bear any relation to Sophocles (see Tzetz. *Chil.* 7.451–71 and Σ Tricl. Ar. *Av.* 212e Holwerda).

[10] This principle is espoused by Burnett 1998: 180; Fitzpatrick 2001: 91–92 and Fitzpatrick and Sommerstein 2006: 147n23. For reconstructions that principally rely upon Ovid, see Calder 1974; Dobrov 1993: 197–214 (~ 2001: 110–17); Curley 2003. For Accius,

only to explore possible aspects of their reception of Sophocles rather than as a basis for detailed reconstruction of *Tereus.*

Turning to the conception of the swallow and nightingale as sisters, there is only slight evidence for their early literary association. According to Aelian, Hesiod mentioned the wakefulness of both birds (Ael. *VH* 12.20 = Hes. fr. 312):

> λέγει Ἡσίοδος τὴν ἀηδόνα μόνην ὀρνίθων ἀμελεῖν ὕπνου καὶ διὰ τέλους ἀγρυπνεῖν· τὴν δὲ χελιδόνα οὐκ εἰς τὸ παντελὲς ἀγρυπνεῖν, καὶ ταύτην δὲ ἀπολωλέναι τοῦ ὕπνου τὸ ἥμισυ. τιμωρίαν δὲ ἄρα ταύτην ἐκτίνουσι διὰ τὸ πάθος τὸ ἐν Θράικηι κατατολμηθὲν τὸ ἐς τὸ δεῖπνον ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἄθεσμον.

> Hesiod says that the nightingale is the only bird that does not care for sleep and stays awake continuously; the swallow does not stay awake all the time, but loses half of her sleep. They pay this penalty because of the suffering they dared to cause in Thrace at that unlawful banquet.

The final sentence seems to be Aelian's own explanation and should not be attributed to Hesiod, but nonetheless his testimony suggests that Hesiod associated the swallow and nightingale in some way. In all other pre-Sophoclean literary sources the birds are not mentioned in conjunction with each other. For example, in the *Odyssey* (19.518–19) the nightingale, daughter of Pandareos, is said to mourn ceaselessly after killing her own son Itylus through folly (δι' ἀφραδίας, 523),[11] while Pherecydes (*FGrH* 3 F 124) knew of a version in which Aëdon killed Itylus by mistake. Similarly, both Hesiod (*Op.* 568) and Sappho (fr. 135) describe the swallow as the daughter of Pandion with no reference to the nightingale,[12] while Aeschylus mentions both the nightingale mourning "Itys, Itys" (*Ag.* 1140–45) and the hawk-chased swallow, wife of Tereus (*Supp.* 58–67), but never in connection with each other.

Sophocles' play is the earliest literary version we know of to give these characters the names Procne and Philomela and—crucially, for our purposes—to conceive of the myth in terms of sisterhood. Although early artistic evidence strongly suggests that Sophocles was not the first to associate both swallow

see Sutton 1984: 130–32 and Kiso 1984: 51–86 (both print the Accian fragments alongside the Sophoclean ones, with Kiso 1984: 59 even stating that Accius's play "is very likely to be a faithful translation of Sophocles' *Tereus*"). For Hyginus, see Hourmouziades 1986. For possible reflections of *Tereus* in the fifth book of Achilles Tatius, see Liapis 2006 and 2008.

[11] This may mean that she killed him in error, as stated by the ancient scholiast, or simply that the killing was senseless: see Heubeck ad loc. in Russo, Fernández-Galiano, and Heubeck 1992: 100.

[12] This Pandion is not necessarily to be identified with the Athenian king: see March 2000: 127–28.

and nightingale with the murder of Itys,[13] their familial relationship is not found in any extant literary text before *Tereus.* The representation of this myth through the lens of sisterhood is therefore likely to have been a Sophoclean innovation, closely comparable to the manner in which he introduced a sister dynamic into both *Antigone* and *Electra* through the characters of Ismene and Chrysothemis. Indeed, as Goldhill has noted, it is only in the fifth century—and particularly in tragedy—that we first find an interest in the narratives of individual mythological sisters, and, in particular, in exactly what it might mean to appeal to the bond of sisterhood.[14]

2. *TEREUS* AND *AGAMEMNON*

While many other tragedies featured pairs or groups of mythological sisters, there is no exact parallel for a woman committing such a violent and transgressive act specifically for the sake of her sister. There are a number of plays in which women kill or attempt to kill their own children but, aside from the practice of exposing infants, in most examples the mothers act while ignorant of their offspring's true identity.[15] In Euripides' *Meleager*, however, Althaea is

[13] See esp. the metope from the temple at Thermon in Aetolia, *c.* 630 B.C.E. (Athens, NM 13410; *LIMC* Prokne et Philomela 1), which depicts two women facing each other over the body of a recumbent child. The woman on the right is labelled "Chelidon"; Robert 1920: 155n1 reported a now-lost "A" of "Aëdon" near the other woman. Most scholars interpret the scene as showing both women playing a role in the murder of Itys (see Payne 1925/26: 125–26; Touloupa 1994: 527; Fitzpatrick and Sommerstein 2006: 143). The scene may also be depicted on a fragmentary Attic red-figure kylix of *c.* 500–490 B.C.E. (Basel, Cahn Coll. HC 599; *LIMC* Prokne et Philomela 3) which shows a woman apparently stabbing a young boy labelled "Itys" while he is held up by another, mostly-lost, female figure. For other possible early artistic evidence of both women's involvement in the killing, see *LIMC* Prokne et Philomela 4 and 6, and also *LIMC Suppl.* Tereus 3 and 4, which may depict Tereus chasing two women with birds on their heads. For further discussion of the artistic evidence, see Chazalon 2003 and Chazalon and Wilgaux 2008/9: 168–79; March 2000: 125–34 offers a very skeptical approach.

[14] Goldhill 2012: 236–38 (~ 2006: 146–49).

[15] It seems very likely that Aeschylus's *Pentheus* dramatized the story of Agaue and Pentheus; the plot of his *Xantriae* is unknown but may also have included kin murder (see n17 below). It is possible that Sophocles' *Mysoi* told the story of Auge and Telephus, where a timely recognition between mother and son prevented them from killing each other. For Euripidean examples of mothers killing or attempting to kill their children while ignorant of their identity, see *Bacchae* (Agaue and Pentheus), *Ion* (Creousa and Ion), *Alexander* (Hecuba and Paris), *Ino* (Themisto and her sons), *Cresphontes* (Merope and Cresphontes). For mothers acting knowingly, see Euripides' *Ino* (after her husband goes mad and kills one of their sons, Ino leaps into the sea with her other son Melicertes),

responsible for causing the death of her own son, after learning that he has killed her brothers. This provides an interesting parallel with *Tereus*, since in both cases a woman is willing to cause her child's death in order to avenge a sibling. Yet the differences are also telling: Althaea acts for the sake of brothers rather than a sister, does not carry out the actual physical act of killing and commits suicide soon after.[16] A more relevant parallel occurs in a play whose similarities to *Tereus* have been much discussed, Euripides' *Medea*. Medea deliberately murders her children in order to hurt their father after he abandons her for a new wife, a dramatic scenario that bears an obvious resemblance to that of Procne, Tereus and Philomela. However, a crucial difference is that while Medea is angered by Jason's slighting of her personal τιμή, Procne is motivated by the need to redress the injury done to the τιμή of her whole family: Tereus has insulted his marriage to Procne, horrifically abused Philomela and broken the trust of Pandion. Consequently, while Medea is a lone agent acting by and for herself, in *Tereus* the murder involves both sisters (on the collaborative nature of their revenge, see below on fr. 589).

Of course, Sophocles was not the only dramatist to put on stage sisters who deliberately commit murder.[17] During the course of Aeschylus's Danaid trilogy all but one of the daughters of Danaus slaughter their husbands on their wedding night. Yet the parallels with *Tereus* are not very close, since even though the Danaids undoubtedly act with great solidarity, they are not motivated by sisterliness *per se* but rather by an abhorrence of marriage to their cousins, and they act out of obedience to their father. Apart from *Tereus*, then, there is no extant tragedy in which a woman commits murder because of her responsibilities to a sister, and where the all-female bond of sisterhood is shown to trump male-female ones such as that between mother and son,

---

Erechtheus (Praxithea willingly offers her daughter up for sacrifice in order to save Athens). We know nothing of the attitude of Cassiepeia towards her daughter's exposure to the sea monster in Sophocles' and Euripides' *Andromeda* plays, if indeed she even appeared as a character.

[16] She either cursed him (as at Hom. *Il.* 9.566–72, where only one brother has been killed) or burned a brand that she had been keeping safe since Meleager's birth, after a prophecy that he would die when it did (as in Phrynichus's tragic *Pleuroniae* [F 6]; Aesch. *Cho.* 602–12 and Bacchyl. 5.93–154). See further Collard and Cropp 2008: 613–15. We do not know how Sophocles treated the story in his own tragedy *Meleager*.

[17] For sisters who kill without truly realising what they are doing, see Agaue, Ino and Autonöe in Euripides' *Bacchae* and the daughters of Pelias in his *Peliades*. It has been suggested that the latter story was dramatized in Sophocles' *Rizotomoi*, and that Aeschylus's *Xantriae* told of the daughters of Minyas dismembering the child of one of themselves during their Bacchic frenzy, but in each case the fragments do not provide enough evidence to confirm these hypotheses.

daughter and father, wife and husband or sister and brother.

Considered in these terms, it becomes apparent that an important model for the situation of Procne is Aeschylus's *Agamemnon*, a play that similarly depicted a wife taking revenge upon her husband for his treatment of one of her *female* relatives—in this case, Clytaemestra avenging the sacrifice of her daughter Iphigenia. Indeed, *Agamemnon* has already been recognized as an influential model for other reasons, since scholars increasingly have argued that *Tereus* must have been a *nostos* or "return" play along the lines of both *Agamemnon* and Sophocles' *Trachiniae.*[18] Consideration of the possible structural parallels among these three plays will now help to shed light on a central interpretative crux, namely the question of Philomela's introduction into the Thracian palace.[19]

Neither *P.Oxy*. 3013 nor the fragments provide any direct evidence for how this was treated by Sophocles, and later versions present numerous conflicting accounts. We can, however, outline a limited number of options:

1. Philomela was openly introduced into the household and the mere fact of her mutilation prevented her from revealing the truth to Procne. Tereus will have pretended that Philomela had somehow been made tongueless or simply mute, either in Athens or on the journey.
2. Philomela was openly introduced into the household, but under an enforced disguise (as at Ant. Lib. *Met.* 11, where she is disguised as a slave). Tereus would need to explain to Procne why he had not returned with her sister as promised, perhaps by pretending that she had died (as at Ov. *Met.* 6.563–70).
3. Philomela was introduced into the household secretly, without her sister's knowledge. This may have been in disguise. As with (2), Tereus would have presented a false account of why he had failed to bring her back to Thrace.
4. Philomela was not introduced into the household but imprisoned elsewhere, and Tereus lied about why he had not brought her from Athens. Procne eventually rescued her sister from wherever she was incarcerated (as in Ov. *Met.* 6).
5. Philomela was abandoned by Tereus on the way back to Thrace; somehow she was able to complete the weaving and send it to Procne, after which she was escorted to the palace.

To begin at the end, option 5, proposed by Burnett,[20] is extremely unlikely. The fact that Tereus cut out Philomela's tongue rather than kill her indicates

[18] See Fitzpatrick and Sommerstein 2006: 151.

[19] The production dates of both *Tereus* and *Trachiniae* are unknown (for the latter, Easterling 1982: 23 suggests: "Any date between 457 and, say, 430 would not be implausible"). I emphasize that in what follows I make no presumption as to their relative chronology.

[20] Burnett 1998: 181n13: "Neither the hypothesis nor Tzetzes suggests local imprisonment for Philomela; she simply arrives, as if she had been left for dead along the way."

that he wished both to keep her alive and prevent her from communicating his crimes to anyone. This suggests that Tereus intended to keep Philomela as his sexual partner, whether in his own house or elsewhere. Option 4 is the version found in Ovid, where Tereus imprisons Philomela in the countryside for a year until she is freed by Procne during the trieteric festival of Dionysos.[21] While it has been proposed that this temporal frame is taken wholesale from Sophocles,[22] there is now an undoubtedly correct consensus that this cannot be the case, since Ovid's structure could not fit into the conventional tragic depiction of time where a play usually represents the actions of a single day.[23] Alternatively, Dobrov suggests that Tereus's imprisonment of Philomela had already taken place before the start of the play.[24] Hourmouziades argues for option 1,[25] while March favors option 2 on the basis of Antoninus Liberalis (discussed further below).[26] Fitzpatrick and Sommerstein consider both options 1 and 2, stating that the former "has some attractions, in view of the possible thematic status of communication in the play" but also supporting the latter on the basis of fr. 583, where they interpret χωρίς as evidence of Procne's feeling "entirely isolated" (i.e., believing her sister to be dead).[27]

Here we ought to consider the evidence of *Agamemnon* and *Trachiniae*. The structural parallels between these two plays are well-documented: each opens with a household awaiting the return of its master after a long absence, while his wife displays eagerness for her husband's return, whether feigned (Clytaemestra) or genuine (Deianeira). In each case their husband returns not alone, but with a new, younger sexual partner. Agamemnon is accompa-

[21] There is no compelling evidence for the presence of such a festival in Sophocles. Scholars have detected a reference to maenad attire in the "dappled robe" (ποικίλωι φάρει) of fr. 586 (see Welcker 1839: 1.381; McHardy 2005: 143–45), perceived an expression of "Dionysiac cult" in fr. 591 (see Welcker 1839: 1.379; Jebb *ap.* Pearson 1917: 2.233; Kiso 1984: 83) and argued more generally that a Dionysian festival formed the play's backdrop (see Cazzaniga 1950: 50–51; Calder 1974: 89; Kiso 1984: 66–68, 79–80; Dobrov 1993: 200 [= 2001: 111]; Zacharia 2001: 108; Curley 2003: 176–89), but none of these arguments is conclusive. Since the story of a mother dismembering her own son with the help of a sister finds an obvious Bacchic resonance in the story of Agaue, Ino, Autonöe and Pentheus, *Tereus* would seem to have evoked a Dionysian theme even without a specific festival backdrop. For a summary of the evidence, see Ciappi 1998.

[22] E.g., Calder 1974: 89 offers the remarkable statement that "one year of dramatic time passes" during the first choral stasimon; he is followed by Kiso 1984: 66.

[23] See Burnett 1998: 180; Curley 2003: 177–78; Fitzpatrick and Sommerstein 2006: 150–51.

[24] Dobrov 1993: 201.

[25] Hourmouziades 1986: 135, followed by Fitzpatrick 2001: 96–97.

[26] March 2000: 135–36n44 and 2003: 158.

[27] Fitzpatrick and Sommerstein 2006: 152.

nied by Cassandra, while Heracles' return home is preceded by the arrival of the women captured during the sack of Oechalia, among them the target of his desire, Iole. Both Cassandra and Iole are marked by silence, the former initially refusing to speak, and the latter a wholly mute role. Both wives react with sexual jealousy, and both tragedies culminate in the wife's destruction of her husband, whether premeditated or accidental.

There are suggestive possibilities here for the plot of *Tereus*. If *Tereus* also opened with a household awaiting the return of its master, focusing in particular on the anticipation of his wife, then this would have been a clear parallel with the dramatic situation at the beginning of *Agamemnon*. It would then be reasonable to posit that the plot structure of *Tereus* may have sustained other parallels with *Agamemnon*, in particular by featuring the return of the household's master either accompanied or preceded by a silent woman. *Tereus*, like *Trachiniae*, would offer a further variant on what we might term the "*Agamemnon* model," and the mute, disfigured Philomela would act as a parallel role to both Cassandra[28] and Iole. *Agamemnon*, *Trachiniae* and *Tereus* would then provide a spectrum of models for silent female characters. Cassandra appears to be dumb but eventually offers the most perceptive speech of the tragedy, Iole is physically possessed of a voice but plays no speaking role in the action, and Philomela is physically mutilated so as to lack speech, but nonetheless gains a powerful voice through a "speaking" prop. In each tragedy, the younger woman is brought to her new household by its master, who has captured or subjugated her. A further thematic parallel is offered by the presence of significant and deadly items of woven fabric, the paradigmatic emblem of both female industry and guile: in *Agamemnon*, the purple cloth on which the king treads and the robe in which he is enveloped and struck down, in *Trachiniae* the fatal garment that Deianeira sends to Heracles and in *Tereus* Philomela's woven material, which effects the sisters' recognition.[29]

[28] Cassandra is compared to a number of birds throughout Aesch. *Ag.*, including the unintelligible swallow and the swan by Clytaemestra (*Ag.* 1050–51, 1444) and the nightingale lamenting for Itys by both the chorus and Cassandra herself (*Ag.* 1140–49). The Aeschylean Cassandra is thus associated with both birds into which Procne and Philomela will eventually be transformed. This point is noted by McNeil 2005: 14–16, but as part of an unconvincing argument that the fabric strewn on the ground in *Agamemnon* depicted the story of Tereus, Procne and Philomela.

[29] The deadly robe in Soph. *Trach.* strongly recalls that which Clytaemestra throws around her husband in *Agamemnon*: compare *Trach.* 1051–52 Ἐρινύων / ὑφαντὸν ἀμφίβληστρον ("the woven covering of the Erinyes") and *Ag.* 1382–83 ἄπειρον ἀμφίβληστρον ... / περιστιχίζω ("I throw around him ... an endless covering"), and see the note of Fraenkel 1950: 647–49.

The numerous correspondences among the three tragedies are most suggestive if, in *Tereus*, Philomela was openly introduced into the Thracian household, as in the model that we find in *Agamemnon* and *Trachiniae*. Whether Philomela was introduced as herself or in the guise of a slave, the fruitful parallels between these plays could only have been activated if the arrival was acknowledged by, and elicited a reaction from, Procne, so that the staging of both Sophoclean plays would recall that of *Agamemnon*. On the other hand, if Philomela was not brought to Tereus's household but incarcerated elsewhere, or if she was introduced into the household secretly, the play would lose these suggestive links with *Agamemnon* in terms of both structure and staging.

There are obvious dangers in any reconstruction based upon an assumption that the lost plays must have exactly mirrored aspects of the extant plays. Not only does this undervalue the dramatists' versatility, but it can accomplish the reductive act of narrowing rather than broadening our understanding of the variety of the tragic genre itself.[30] However, the text of *Tereus* provides evidence that associates the character of Procne with that of Deianeira in *Trachiniae*: in fr. 583 (discussed further below) Procne laments the miserable lot of married women in lines that resemble Deianeira's words at *Trachiniae* 141–52. Moreover, the very potency of *Agamemnon* as a paradigmatic tragic treatment, not just of the *nostos* plot, but of a wife's revenge upon her husband for his treatment of a close female relative, strengthens the case for seeing a relationship among this particular set of plays. While the evident attraction of positing these numerous structural parallels among *Agamemnon*, *Trachiniae* and *Tereus* cannot be taken as a conclusive argument for a particular reconstruction of *Tereus*, it should nonetheless be acknowledged as a plausible and suggestive possibility.

By evoking the "*Agamemnon* model," Sophocles would then have taken a familiar dramatic scenario, the introduction of a younger sexual rival into the household, but added a sibling dynamic, so that the natural jealousy a wife would feel towards her husband's mistress is pitted against the tie of sisterly affection.[31] Certainly Ovid's Philomela believes that Procne will be hostile towards her because of the rape, which has made her not just a *paelex* but rather a *paelex sororis* ("a concubine, rival to my sister"),[32] as demonstrated in her reaction to being rescued by Procne (*Met.* 6.605–6):

[30] For a statement of the obvious pitfall, see Finglass 2006: 244 (a review of Calder 2005): "C[alder] reconstructs Sophocles' *Polyxena* on the model of Sophocles' *Antigone*, and then unsurprisingly concludes that 'the tragedy seems to have been an earlier *Antigone*.'"

[31] For the jealous gloating of Clytaemestra over Cassandra's body, see *Ag.* 1438–47; for Deianeira's reaction, see *Trach.* 536–51.

[32] For this construction with the genitive of the wronged wife, see LS s.v. *paelex* 1. The phrase first occurs in reference to Philomela at *Met.* 6.537–38 *paelex ego facta sororis*, / *tu*

sed non attollere contra
sustinet haec oculos paelex sibi visa sororis.

She [Philomela] could not bear to raise her eyes towards her, since she considered herself to be the other woman, her sister's rival.

Perhaps Ovid drew on Sophocles for this element: *P.Oxy.* 3013 states that upon learning the truth Procne was "driven frantic by [the utmost] jealousy" (ζηλοτυπ[ίαι τῆι ἐσχάτῆι] οἰστρηθεῖσα, 25–26).[33] However, the word ζηλοτυπία may denote jealousy without implying anger towards Philomela *herself*, and Fitzpatrick and Sommerstein compare the jealousy of Deianeira in *Trachiniae*, who is unable to accept Heracles installing a second sexual partner in their home, but feels no personal anger towards Iole.[34] Or perhaps *P.Oxy.* 3013 presents the events the wrong way round, and Procne first learnt of her husband's sexual indiscretions with a slave-girl and was struck by jealous anger, recognizing her as Philomela only afterwards. In any case, whether or not Procne's initial reaction towards Philomela involved elements of resentment or hostility, the sisters' collaborative murder of Itys illustrates that ultimately the need for revenge was their most important motivation. Recognition of the Aeschylean backdrop to this play therefore works, as in the case of Deianeira in *Trachiniae*, to activate a series of comparisons and contrasts between Procne and Clytaemestra. Whereas the Aeschylean queen punished her husband because of his murder of their child, Procne kills her own child in order to punish her husband for his mistreatment of her sister. Here, exceptionally, the bond between two sisters is shown to override that between a mother and her child.

3. Disguise, Recognition, and Reunion

The theme of sisterhood in *Tereus* can be further illuminated by considering the question of disguise and recognition. The hypothesis makes no mention of disguise but simply states that the obstacle to Philomela revealing the truth was the removal of her tongue. The revelation is described as Procne "learning the truth" (ἐπιγνοῦσα δὲ ἡ Πρ[όκνη τὴν ἀλή]θειαν, 24–25) rather than "recognizing her sister," which might suggest that Procne had already recognized Philomela before, but did not know the true reason for her dumbness (i.e.,

geminus coniunx, hostis mihi debita Procne (Withof et al.: *poena* codd.) ("I have become a concubine, rival to my sister, you a twofold husband; Procne must be my enemy!"). However, the authenticity of these lines has been suspected: see the apparatus at Tarrant 2004: 172.

[33] Indeed, Luppe 2007: 5 restores the rest of the line as "she [Procne] reproached her [Philomela]" (see n6 above), but this is highly speculative.

[34] See Fitzpatrick and Sommerstein 2006: 154n44, 174–75.

option 1 above). However, given the concise style and format of dramatic hypotheses, we cannot use this *argumentum e silentio* as evidence that *Tereus* did not feature a disguised Philomela.

A stronger piece of evidence comes from the testimony of Aristotle. In his discussion of tragic ἀναγνώρισις at *Poet.* 1454b18–1455a20, Aristotle enumerates the five categories of recognition, beginning with the "most artless" (ἀτεχνοτάτη), recognition through tokens, and progressing to the best kind, those which arise "from the events themselves" (ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων). Philomela's device of the weaving is classed among those in the second of the five categories (*Poet.* 1454b30–37):

> δεύτεραι δὲ αἱ πεποιημέναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ, διὸ ἄτεχνοι. οἷον Ὀρέστης ἐν τῆι Ἰφιγενείαι ἀνεγνώρισεν ὅτι Ὀρέστης· ἐκείνη μὲν γὰρ διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, ἐκεῖνος δὲ αὐτὸς λέγει ἃ βούλεται ὁ ποιητὴς ἀλλ᾽ οὐχ ὁ μῦθος· διὸ ἐγγύς τι τῆς εἰρημένης ἁμαρτίας ἐστίν, ἐξῆν γὰρ ἂν ἔνια καὶ ἐνεγκεῖν. καὶ ἐν τῶι Σοφοκλέους Τηρεῖ ἡ τῆς κερκίδος φωνή.
>
> The second kind are those contrived by the poet, and therefore artless. For example, Orestes in the *Iphigenia* makes it known that he is Orestes; she [Iphigenia] reveals her identity through the letter, but he himself says what the poet and not the plot demands. Because of this, it is close to the fault that I have mentioned, for he might as well have carried some [tokens]. And in Sophocles' *Tereus*, the "voice of the shuttle" (= fr. 595).

The weaving cannot be classed among the recognition tokens, since it is not an object or physical feature acquired by Philomela at birth or in another way inherently associated with her. Rather, it is comparable to the contrived device in Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris*, where, in order to prove his identity to his sister, Orestes describes various objects found in their old home in Argos. March 2003: 157 claims that "[t]hroughout the whole of Chapter 16, Aristotle is discussing many examples of the recognitions of persons, so we must, I think, assume that he is doing so too when he refers to the *Tereus*," using this as the basis for her assumption that Philomela was disguised. By contrast Fitzpatrick 2001: 97 emphasizes, in support of an undisguised Philomela, that Aristotle's definitions of ἀναγνώρισις can include recognition of facts or circumstances as well as personal identity (cf. *Poet.* 1452a33–36). Since this is an extremely important point of reconstruction, the evidence demands examination in greater detail.

Excluding the citation of *Tereus*, Aristotle provides fifteen examples of recognition across the five categories, and in thirteen of these it is clear that the recognition involved is one of identity. The remaining two both occur in the fourth category of "recognition by reasoning" (*Poet.* 1455a8–12):

καὶ ἐν τῶι Θεοδέκτου Τυδεῖ, ὅτι ἐλθὼν ὡς εὑρήσων τὸν υἱὸν αὐτὸς ἀπόλλυται. καὶ ἡ ἐν τοῖς Φινείδαις· ἰδοῦσαι γὰρ τὸν τόπον συνελογίσαντο τὴν εἱμαρμένην ὅτι ἐν τούτωι εἵμαρτο ἀποθανεῖν αὐταῖς, καὶ γὰρ ἐξετέθησαν ἐνταῦθα.

Also in Theodectes' *Tydeus*, when [he reasoned] that, having come to find his son, he himself would die. And the example in *Phineidae*: for when the women saw the place, they reasoned that it was their fate to die in that same place where they had also been exposed.

Nothing is known of the two plays referred to, but it is clear that the recognitions involved are ones of *fact*: the characters have recognized the imminence and/or the location of their deaths. These two instances also deal with issues of *self*-recognition rather than recognition by *others*, as we find in the case of most (but not all) of the other examples, although there can also be overlap. Although Aristotle has indeed stated that recognitions can be of facts and circumstances as well as identity, the vast majority of his examples concern the latter, and the only examples of recognition of fact are restricted to the fourth category. Moreover, in each instance where the act of recognition clearly occurs between members of the same family, it is recognition of identity and not fact. Therefore, Aristotle's inclusion and categorization of the ἀναγνώρισις in *Tereus* strongly suggests that it too was recognition of identity. This must lead to the conclusion that Philomela was indeed introduced into Tereus's household in disguise, and that the woven fabric alerted Procne both to her true identity and to her shameful treatment by Tereus. Remarkably, this makes *Tereus* the only tragedy we know of in which it is certain that this pattern of recognition and reunion took place between two women.

The obvious objection is one of dramatic plausibility. It appears wholly incredible that Procne should initially fail to recognize her own sister if she were living in the same place as her, and this might seem to fly in the face of their apparently close and affectionate sisterly bond (indeed, Philomela is only sent for at all because, according to *P.Oxy.* 3013 and many other versions of the myth, Procne misses her). March 2003: 158 considers the issue in terms of theatrical costume, offering the valuable argument that Procne's failure to recognize her sister "would have been entirely believable in masked tragedy if Philomela were simply a mute slave, with slave's hair, slave's mask, and slave's clothes."[35] Yet it is also important to examine the question of recognition within

[35] Compare Euripides' *Ino*, in which Athamas appears to have secretly re-introduced his first wife Ino, whom he had previously believed to be dead, into the household, disguising her as a slave so as not to arouse the jealousy of his second wife, Themisto. This is presumably the source for Aristophanes' mockery of the Euripidean "rags of Ino" at Ar. *Ach.* 434 (see Collard and Cropp 2008: 438–41).

the wider scheme of tragic dramatic convention. Athenian tragedy is populated by numerous family members who fail to recognize each other after a period of separation. In particular, siblings who have spent time apart consistently do not recognize each other, and their eventual recognition is brought about only by the use of tokens. Most notably, in Aeschylus's *Choephori* the recognition of Orestes and Electra is mediated through tokens, two of which strongly emphasize the siblings' physical similarity (a lock of hair and a set of footprints); nonetheless, Electra is much quicker to recognize the tokens as belonging to Orestes than she is to recognize Orestes when he appears onstage. The identity of Orestes is more clearly manifested and instantly recognizable in the tokens than it is in the physical body of the character himself. Similarly, we could envisage a case in *Tereus* where Philomela's weaving is able to confirm her identity where her mute physical presence had conspicuously failed to do so.

In the numerous tragic examples of blood-relatives failing to recognize each other, this can often be attributed to chronology: the relatives in question have been separated since birth or infancy, or a significant-enough period of separation has elapsed so as to make a lack of recognition dramatically plausible. In the case of Orestes and Electra, for example, many sources state or imply that Orestes was very young at the time of his sending-away or rescue after his father's death,[36] and at *Odyssey* 3.303–6, Aegisthus is killed in the eighth year after the murder of Agamemnon. While Aeschylus's *Choephori* and Sophocles' and Euripides' *Electra* plays do not specify the length of time that has elapsed since Electra last saw her brother, it is clear that it has been sufficient for him to have grown from a child into a young adult.[37] There is no reason why we should not envisage a similar situation in the case of Procne and Philomela. Procne is a married woman with a young son; Philomela was, until her rape, an unmarried virgin living in her father's house. We could thus envisage a significant age gap between these two sisters coupled with a long-enough period of separation to render Procne's failure to recognize Philomela fully in line with tragic convention.

We do possess one later version of the Tereus myth that precisely illustrates this lack of recognition. The *Metamorphoses* of Antoninus Liberalis preserves

[36] Herodorus (*FGrH* 31 F 11 = fr. 11 *EGM*) even states that Orestes was only three at the time of his rescue; however, as noted by Finglass 2007: 96–97, given the length of the Trojan War, he must have been at least ten years old.

[37] See esp. Eur. *El.* 283–84 ΗΛ. ἀλλ᾽, ὦ ξέν᾽, οὐ γνοίην ἂν εἰσιδοῦσά νιν. / ΟΡ. νέα γάρ, οὐδὲν θαῦμ᾽, ἀπεζεύχθης νέου (Electra: "But, stranger, I would not recognize him [Orestes] if I saw him." Orestes: "No wonder, since you and he were both young when you were parted").

a bizarre account presumed to be originally from Boios's *Ornithogonia*, which features a central triangle of characters named Polytechnus, Aëdon and Chelidon. In this version, husband and wife Polytechnus and Aëdon agree that whichever of them finishes a certain task the soonest should be awarded a slave-girl by the other. After losing the competition, Polytechnus fetches his wife's sister, Chelidon, from their father Pandareos, rapes her, disguises her as a slave-girl and presents her to Aëdon (*Met.* 11.5–6):

> ὁ δὲ Πολύτεχνος παραλαβὼν τὴν κόρην ἤισχυνεν ἐν τῆι λόχμηι καὶ ἄλλοις ἠμφίεσεν αὐτὴν ἐσθήμασι κἀκ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀπέκειρε τὴν κόμην καὶ ἠπείλησε θάνατον, εἰ ἐξερεῖ ποτε ταῦτα πρὸς τὴν Ἀηδόνα. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐλθὼν εἰς τὰ οἰκία παραδίδωσι τῆι Ἀηδόνι κατὰ τὰ συγκείμενα ὡς θεράπαιναν τὴν ἀδελφήν, ἡ δὲ αὐτὴν διέφθειρε πρὸς τὰ ἔργα, μέχρις ἡ Χελιδον[ὶς] ἔχουσα κάλπιν πλεῖστα παρὰ τὴν κρηνίδα κατωδύρετο καὶ αὐτῆς ἐπηκροάσατο τὸν λόγον ἡ Ἀηδών. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀλλήλας ἔγνωσαν καὶ ἠσπάσαντο, ἐπεβούλευον τῶι Πολυτέχνωι συμφοράν.
>
> Polytechnus, after getting hold of the girl, raped her in a copse, and dressed her in other clothes and cut off the hair on her head, and he threatened her with death if she should ever reveal the matter to Aëdon. Going to his house, he handed her over to Aëdon as a servant, according to their agreement, and she wore her down with work, until one day Chelidon, holding a pitcher, lamented greatly by a spring, and Aëdon overheard what she was saying. After they had recognized one another and embraced, they plotted disaster for Polytechnus.

There is much in this account involving plot elements not found in any other known Greek or Latin version. Nonetheless, it provides an example of the Tereus-storyline revolving around a failure of recognition between the two sisters that would strain credibility in real life. Chelidon is in possession of her tongue and is disguised only by a change of clothes and a haircut, yet her sister still does not recognize her. It is certainly possible that the basic situation may have had its distant roots in the version of Sophocles.

There is a further suggestive parallel in the fifth book of Achilles Tatius's *Leucippe and Clitophon*.[38] Here, the narrator studies a painting that depicts Tereus's story and, suggestively, is said to contain "the entire tale of the *drama*" (ὁλόκληρον ... τὸ διήγημα τοῦ δράματος, 5.3.4). After being warned by his friend Menelaus that what we see in pictures can foretell what happens to us in reality (5.4.1), he recounts the narrative to his beloved Leucippe. Six months pass, and Clitophon encounters Leucippe—whom he now believes to be dead—but fails to recognize her since she is now a slave sporting fetters, filthy clothes and

[38] I am grateful to Professor Simon Goldhill for drawing this to my attention.

a shaved head. He is subsequently amazed and overjoyed when she reveals her true identity by means of a letter. If, as Liapis 2006 has argued, Achilles Tatius had direct knowledge of Sophocles' *Tereus*, then the recognition and reunion of Leucippe and Clitophon may provide another close reflection of the Sophoclean situation. As in the version of Antoninus Liberalis, the initial lack of recognition appears rather implausible: one character even remarks of Leucippe that "the transformation is solely down to her haircut!" (τοῦτο γὰρ ἡ τῶν τριχῶν αὐτῆς κουρὰ μόνον ἐνήλλαξεν, 5.19.2).

The argument can also be made by considering Ovid's account. It has been noted that the actions of his Tereus are superfluous: in order to prevent Philomela from telling anyone about her plight, he could have either mutilated or imprisoned her, but had no need to do both. Since the glossectomy had become a canonical and aetiological part of the myth, the incarceration looks more like it might be Ovid's own addition, and we could speculate that this was in reaction to certain implausible elements of the myth he inherited—such as Procne's failure to recognize her own sister, despite being in the same location as her, and the length of time it would take for Philomela to weave the complex incriminating fabric.[39] If Ovid's incarceration of Philomela was in reaction to a previous version in which the sisters' sharing of the same domestic space was simply felt to be incompatible with their lack of recognition, then the obvious candidate for this Ovidian correction must be the version that put the myth into its canonical form: Sophocles' tragedy.

It is highly likely, then, that in *Tereus* Philomela was introduced into the palace in disguise, and that Procne's recognition of both her identity and treatment by Tereus formed a central and emotional scene. Focusing upon *Tereus* as primarily a "revenge tragedy" can thus obscure the importance of the event that is often a necessary precursor to revenge: recognition. *Tereus* fits into the pattern of those plays in which it is precisely the reunion and recognition of once-separated siblings that leads to a combined effort towards revenge and/or escape, such as Aeschylus's *Choephori*, Sophocles' *Electra* and Euripides' *Electra* and *Iphigenia in Tauris*. These "reunion and revenge" tragedies emphasize the solidarity of the various sibling pairs, the great joy they display at being reunited and their strong affection for one another even after a long period of separation. Indeed, March well compares the moving scene in Sophocles' *Electra* where Electra mourns and then recognizes and is reunited with her brother, whom she had believed to be dead; the situation in *Tereus* would have been very similar.[40] Acknowledgment of *Tereus* as a play

[39] See Hourmouziades 1986: 134–35; March 2003: 158–59.

[40] See March 2003: 159.

of sibling "reunion and recognition" thus illuminates the importance in this tragedy of the sisters' solidarity and similarity of purpose.

4. *TEREUS* AND SIBLING LANGUAGE

Examination of the text's portrayal of the sibling relationship appears to be hindered by the fact that there are no fragments in which it is unambiguously evident that Procne speaks explicitly about or to her sister. It has been posited that such an address occurs in fr. 584:

> πολλά σε ζηλῶ βίου,
> μάλιστα δ' εἰ γῆς μὴ πεπείρασαι ξένης.

> I am very envious of your life, especially if you have no experience of a foreign land.

The lines are certainly to be attributed to Procne, since she is the only speaking character whom we know to be living in a land that is foreign to her, and hence able to envy those who have never left home. It has been suggested that the addressee is the absent Philomela, which would make this the play's one surviving example of a verbal address from one sister to another.[41] The line could only be spoken at a point at which Procne believed her sister to be alive and well, that is, near the beginning of the play. If εἰ (2) is taken as an expression of *uncertainty* over whether or not her addressee has experienced a foreign land, then this cannot have been spoken to Philomela, who—Procne believes (and indeed hopes)—is currently on her way to Thrace. If however, εἰ with the indicative here is equivalent to a causal clause ("especially since you have no experience of a foreign land")[42] then the possibility remains that she is addressing an absent Philomela, and is referring to the fact that, until her journey to Thrace, her sister was able to live the blissful life of an unmarried girl in her father's home (see fr. 583 below). Alternatively, Buchwald[43] suggested that Procne might be addressing Philomela before she has recognized her, but it seems unlikely that Procne would express envy of a mute slave. Sutton proposed that Procne was speaking to "a Nurse or similar figure who played the role of counselor,"[44] which is possible, even if there is no evidence

[41] Welcker 1839: 1.377, followed by Calder 1974: 89 and Kiso 1984: 64.

[42] See Moorhouse 1982: 279–80.

[43] Buchwald 1939: 39–40, comparing the sympathetic words of Deianeira to Iole in *Trachiniae* (he actually writes that Philomela spoke the words to a disguised Procne, but has evidently confused the two sisters).

[44] Sutton 1984: 129. See also Calder 1974: 87; Kiso 1984: 61; Dobrov 1993: 199 (= 2001: 110).

for the presence of such a character. Fitzpatrick and Sommerstein argue that these lines were addressed to the chorus of Thracian women.[45] We cannot know which of these options is correct.

One fragment *may* provide evidence for the close and affectionate relationship between the two sisters (fr. 585):

ἀλγεινά, Πρόκνη, δῆλον· ἀλλ' ὅμως χρεὼν
τὰ θεῖα θνητοὺς ὄντας εὐπετῶς φέρειν.

These things are painful, Procne, it is clear; but nonetheless, since we are mortal, we ought readily to bear the things sent by the gods.

These lines refer to some dreadful event suffered by Procne. As scholars have noted, the tone of these lines does not seem appropriate to refer to Philomela's rape and mutilation, nor were those acts "sent by the gods." It has therefore been conjectured that they were spoken by Tereus in a hypocritical attempt to console his wife after Philomela's supposed death.[46] While the speaker cannot be identified with certainty, the suggested topic seems very plausible. The lines thus indicate, as we would expect, that Procne found the false news of her sister's death extremely painful.

Only one fragment mentions the two women in conjunction with one another, where they appear to be criticized for the violent nature of their revenge (fr. 589):

ἄνους ἐκεῖνος· αἱ δ' ἀνουστέρως ἔτι
ἐκεῖνον ἠμύναντο <πρὸς τὸ> καρτερόν.
ὅστις γὰρ ἐν κακοῖσι θυμωθεὶς βροτῶν
μεῖζον προσάπτει τῆς νόσου τὸ φάρμακον,
ἰατρός ἐστιν οὐκ ἐπιστήμων κακῶν.

He [Tereus] was foolish, but they were more foolish still in retaliating through violence. For whoever among mortals is enraged in their misfortunes and applies a medicine that is greater than the disease is a doctor who does not understand the problem.

[45] Fitzpatrick and Sommerstein 2006: 177–78. There is no direct evidence for the identity of the chorus. If fr. 584 was indeed addressed to the chorus, then they must have been Thracian (although Bacon 1961: 88 argues for Greek women who had accompanied Procne to Thrace). The chorus was almost certainly female: the sisters' revenge plot would seem to demand complicity from the chorus, which would be inconceivable if they were male (Fitzpatrick 2001: 94–95; Fitzpatrick and Sommerstein 2006: 150, 177–79).

[46] Hourmouziades 1986: 136 notes that "a tone of perfunctoriness apparent in the passage seems to betray either the speaker's aloofness from Procne or his/her impatience to evade an unpleasant subject," which would be appropriate for the Thracian king attempting to hide his crimes. Various other contexts and speakers have been suggested, discussed by Fitzpatrick and Sommerstein 2006: 179–80.

We do not know who delivered these lines; even if the speaker were divine (cf. fr. 581 below), the audience could not be expected to accept straightforwardly this judgement of the women as more foolish than Tereus.[47] Crucially, these lines suggest that the murder of Itys was conceived as the act of *both* women. Much of the horror of the myth undoubtedly derives from the fact of a mother murdering her own child, and this point is stressed in the earliest known literary versions. However, it appears that in *Tereus* both women played a role in the killing of Itys, and the sisterly collaboration seems to have been emphasized. This may in turn have influenced Accius, who also condemned both sisters together at *Tereus* fr. 651 *struunt sorores Atticae dirum nefas* ("the Attic sisters are preparing a fearful crime"). Similarly, Ovid describes the moment of Itys's death as a gruesome collaboration at *Metamorphoses* 6.642–45:

> satis illi ad fata vel unum
> vulnus erat: iugulum ferro Philomela resolvit,
> vivaque adhuc animaeque aliquid retinentia membra
> dilaniant.

> The one blow [from Procne] was enough to dispatch him; Philomela slit the throat with a sword, and they tore apart the limbs still vital and quivering with life.

The plan to murder Itys has been Procne's, and it is she who actually kills him; yet Philomela also participates by cutting his throat. This detail conveys the strength of Philomela's impulse for violent revenge and emphasizes the fact that both sisters participated in the bloody act, even if it was Procne who dealt the fatal blow.[48] We do not know how Sophocles apportioned the murderous acts between the two sisters, but, on the evidence of fr. 589, it was evidently in such a way that another character could describe both sisters as having acted foolishly and violently. This is crucial information for our conception of their characterization. In playing some role within the revenge, Philomela becomes unusually involved in the action for a non-speaking character.[49] Despite the sharp dramatic distinction between the speaking and the silent sister, *Tereus*

[47] Audience reaction would necessarily be varied and complex. The horrendous nature of the crime is countered not only by Tereus's own atrocities, but by the sisters' status as members of the Pandionid tribe: see Burnett 1998: 190; Zacharia 2001: 101–6. At Demosthenes 60.28, which suppresses the details of the infanticide, the Pandionids are even said to draw inspiration from the sisters by aspiring to show a "courage kindred to theirs" (συγγενῆ ... θυμόν).

[48] See Rosati 2009: 347.

[49] A good parallel is the role of Pylades in Aeschylus's *Choephori*, who is completely silent except at 900–3, yet still plays a crucial role in assisting Orestes' killing of Clytaemestra and Aegisthus.

portrayed the mutilated, violated Philomela as taking some part in the bloody deeds. We should contrast this with Sophocles' *Antigone* and *Electra*, where the weaker sister of the pair is unwilling to involve herself in acts of subversion and/or violence: Ismene initially refuses to help her sister bury Polyneices, while Chrysothemis is appalled at Electra's plan to murder Aegisthus.

The fragments thus do not offer any explicit evidence for the exact nature and importance of the sister relationship in *Tereus*. However, our recognition of the crucial thematic centrality of sisterhood can alert us to hitherto neglected nuances within the text. This shift in approach moves from the fundamental concerns of reconstructing the text and plot towards tracing and interpreting the imagery of the fragments, scanty though they are and lacking in securely identifiable context. Through careful consideration of the language and imagery of three fragments I will offer a new reading of this play, one that identifies a pervasive "language of siblinghood" within the text.

The first passage (fr. 583) is preserved by Stobaeus without any indication of speaker or context. The lines must have been spoken by Procne, and here she utters a familiar tragic complaint bewailing the miserable lot of married women:

νῦν δ' οὐδέν εἰμι χωρίς. ἀλλὰ πολλάκις
ἔβλεψα ταύτηι τὴν γυναικείαν φύσιν,
ὡς οὐδέν ἐσμεν. αἳ νέαι μὲν ἐν πατρὸς
ἥδιστον, οἶμαι, ζῶμεν ἀνθρώπων βίον·
τερπνῶς γὰρ ἀεὶ παῖδας ἁνοία τρέφει. 5
ὅταν δ' ἐς ἥβην ἐξικώμεθ' ἔμφρονες,
ὠθούμεθ' ἔξω καὶ διεμπολώμεθα
θεῶν πατρώιων τῶν τε φυσάντων ἄπο,
αἱ μὲν ξένους πρὸς ἄνδρας, αἱ δὲ βαρβάρους,
αἱ δ' εἰς ἀγηθῆ δώμαθ', αἱ δ' ἐπίρροθα. 10
καὶ ταῦτ', ἐπειδὰν εὐφρόνη ζεύξηι μία,
χρεὼν ἐπαινεῖν καὶ δοκεῖν καλῶς ἔχειν.

But now, separated, I am nothing. Yet I have often regarded the female sex in this way: that we are nothing. As young girls in the home of our father, we live, I think, the happiest life of all mortals; for ignorance always rears children happily. But when we reach maturity and understanding, then we are pushed out and sold, away from our family gods and our parents, some of us to foreign husbands, some to barbarians, and some into joyless[50] homes, some to homes

[50] Ἀγηθῆ is the emendation of van Herwerden (after Scaliger) of the transmitted text ἀληθῆ ("true") SMA or ἀήθη ("unfamiliar") B, but another possibility is Bothe's ἀηδῆ ("unpleasant"), which is printed by Pearson 1917: 2.229; Diggle 1998: 73 and Milo 2008:

full of abuse. And this, once a single night has yoked us, we have to approve of and consider to be good.

The opening words νῦν δ' show that a contrast is being made with a former, happier situation, which has just been described. This cannot simply have been the general state of girlhood, since this theme is what Procne moves on to explore in the following section of the speech. Rather, Procne appears to be reacting to a specific event that has rendered her "separated" (χωρίς) from someone or something. This is not Tereus's absence: Procne speaks of marriage as causing women to be pushed out, sold, yoked and introduced into questionable households, and such a negative characterization of married life would sit uneasily within a speech that expresses eagerness for the return of her own foreign and barbarian husband. Fitzpatrick and Sommerstein argue that Procne's description of herself as "nothing" (οὐδέν) must reflect "an extreme situation and is not, as has sometimes been suggested, a simple expression of loneliness,"[51] and it has been suggested that here Procne is reacting to the false news of Philomela's death.[52]

However, such a shift from a—presumably deeply emotional—lament for her dead sister into a generalizing characterization of married life would be abrupt and odd. Similarly, the resulting equation of the pain of personal close family bereavement (οὐδέν εἰμι, 1) with the general condition of all members of the female sex (οὐδέν ἐσμεν, 3) seems unconvincing. Rather, the repetition of οὐδέν suggests a parallelism between the suffering felt by Procne, and that ascribed here to all married women. The following lines of Procne's speech identify the cause of female suffering as separation from the natal home, and, as I will go on to argue, the lines may be read both as a general meditation on the female condition, and with specific reference to the experiences of Procne and Philomela. The context must be this: Procne has been describing how formerly the sisters enjoyed a happy companionship in the house of Pandion, but now (νῦν δ') she is alone (χωρίς). The strong phrase οὐδέν εἰμι therefore expresses the great depth of Procne's unhappiness when apart from her sister—indeed, the mythical plot relies on there being

33: see further Pearson 1917: 2.229 and Fitzpatrick and Sommerstein 2006: 182, with full apparatus at Radt 1999: 439. Either way, it is clear that Procne does not outline any happy option for married women.

[51] Fitzpatrick and Sommerstein 2006: 182; see also the tragic examples of this phrase collected at Schauer 2002: 234–35.

[52] See Curley 2003: 171. Fitzpatrick and Sommerstein 2006: 181 argue that the fragment "probably belongs at a point at which Procne believes Philomela to be lost to her for ever," whether through death or muteness.

an unusually close bond between the two women. The fragment would then fit near the beginning of the play. Procne, longing for her imminent reunion with Philomela, is explaining (almost certainly to a female chorus) how the pain of separation from a sister is related to that felt by all women expelled from their natal homes.

The speech is explicitly universalizing, since it contemplates the fate of the entire race of women. Moreover, as Irwin 2007: 64 has demonstrated, it is universalizing in the sense that it elides specific recognized cultural distinctions. Through describing the selling of one's daughters into marriage, Procne assimilates into Athenian cultural practice a language and imagery which is elsewhere associated with barbarian peoples, since, according to Herodotus, it is the Thracians who customarily "sell their children for exportation" and "purchase wives from their parents for a great deal of money" (πωλεῦσι τὰ τέκνα ἐπ' ἐξαγωγῆι ... καὶ ὠνέονται τὰς γυναῖκας παρὰ τῶν γονέων χρημάτων μεγάλων, Hdt. 5.6.1). In the speech of Procne, an Athenian woman in Thrace, "this complaint finds itself couched not as a specific ethnic problem, but rather as a universal one, a consequence of γυναικεία φύσις ('woman's nature')."[53]

Elsewhere in *Tereus* Sophocles drew attention to Thracian and barbarian stereotypes: see fr. 582 Ἥλιε, φιλίπποις Θρηιξὶ πρέσβιστον σέβας ("Helios, most reverently worshipped by the horse-loving Thracians") and fr. 587 φιλάργυρον μὲν πᾶν τὸ βάρβαρον γένος ("the whole barbarian race is money-loving"). It is also evident that, through his violent, lustful and deceitful acts, the character of Tereus drew on stereotyped traits of the barbarian.[54] Additionally, it is possible that the Athenian sisters' literacy may have formed an important plot device, demonstrating their cultural superiority over Tereus.[55] And yet despite this evi-

[53] Irwin 2007: 64.

[54] On the stereotypical depiction of Thracians in *Tereus*, see Hall 1989: 103–5; Liapis 2006: 231–32.

[55] This issue—did Sophocles' Philomela weave words or pictures (or both)?—has been much debated. In favor of words (as at Ov. *Met.* 6.577), see Cazzaniga 1950: 50; Calder 1974: 89; Kiso 1984: 67; Dobrov 1993: 204, 222–23 (= 2001: 112–13); Fitzpatrick 2001: 97–98; March 2003: 160. In favor of pictures, see Liapis 2006: 235; Casanova 2003: 66–67. The prospect of a contrast between an illiterate barbarian Tereus and literate Athenian women is attractive, but one wonders then why Philomela did not simply write a letter. The fragments do not provide any secure evidence for the nature of the fabric. The evocative fr. 595 κερκίδος φωνή ("the voice of the shuttle") does not confirm the presence of either words or pictures, and while a number of scholars (from Pearson 1917: 2.230–31 onwards; most recently, Liapis 2006: 234 and Hall 2006: 115) have identified Philomela's weaving with the φάρος in fr. 586 σπεύδουσαν αὐτήν, ἐν δὲ ποικίλωι φάρει ("as she herself was hastening, and in a multi-colored robe ..."), the word ποικίλος, often

dence for a contrast in the play between Thracian and Athenian, the situation was evidently not so clear cut: Procne and Philomela exact an equally cunning and bloody revenge, and fr. 589 shows that in the judgment of at least one character the Athenian sisters behaved even more foolishly than the Thracian king. Moreover, a considerable proportion of the extant fragments display a preoccupation with generalizing maxims on the human condition (see frr. 585, 589, 590, 591, 592.4–6,[56] 593): a number of these must have been spoken by the chorus, who were probably Thracian. In *Tereus* we thus find a juxtaposition of specific racial and cultural references with the common tragic tendency towards the general and universalizing across humankind.

This tension may be read into the words of Procne in fr. 583. While the lines undoubtedly express a generalization of the situation of all women, they may also be read with specific reference to the circumstances of the two sisters. In the mouth of Procne the reference to αἳ νέαι μὲν ἐν πατρός (3) evokes not just a typical image of female childhood, but more specifically the experiences of the sisters Procne and Philomela in the house of their father Pandion. Read in this way, the lines simultaneously convey a general human message and a horribly pointed one in the case of the Athenian sisters. Both have been taken from their father's home by the same barbarian man, and have met

applied to patterned or pictorial fabrics, could also describe woven words if taken in its sense of "intricate." Moreover, if we understand σπεύδουσαν as "hurrying" (rather than "hastening [to finish the weaving]" vel sim.), then the line may describe one of the sisters fleeing from Tereus after the revelation of their crime, and the ποικίλον φάρος could be a garment prefiguring a character's avian appearance. In tragedy φάρος usually denotes a woman's robe, but at Soph. *Laocoon* fr. 373.3 it is used of Anchises' linen garment. The φάρος of fr. 586 might then belong to another Oriental king, Tereus, esp. in light of fr. 581.2 πεποικίλωκε (the god has "made [the hoopoe] many-colored"). Fitzpatrick and Sommerstein 2006: 187–89 argue in favor of Philomela, comparing the description of the swallow as ποικίλα at Ar. *Av.* 1412. Liapis 2006: 235n84 correctly states that a "molested and maimed Philomela" would not be dressed in elaborate garments, but at *Av.* 1410–17 the point is precisely that ποικίλος is also used (albeit humorously) to refer to the speaker's worn-out cloak, so that it means "patchy" (Sommerstein 1987: 292; Dunbar 1995: 675–76). If Aristophanes was drawing on Sophocles' play in some way, this might provide further support for the hypothesis that in *Tereus* Philomela was forcibly disguised in shabby slave's clothes. It seems less likely that the φάρος is Procne's, since the monochrome nightingale is hardly ποικίλος; however, the word may have been suggested by Hes. *Op.* 203, where the hawk-chased nightingale is ποικιλόδειρον ("with variegated throat"). The epithet is ornithologically incorrect, but may indicate the nightingale's particular association with changeable song (see Dunbar 1995: 462–63 on Ar. *Av.* 739; Nagy 1996).

[56] Fitzpatrick and Sommerstein 2006: 186 argue that the lines Radt prints as fr. 592.1–3 are a separate Sophoclean fragment from an unknown play.

with contrasting fates: Procne herself is married with a son, while her sister, unbeknown to her, has been raped and mutilated. The lines also look ahead to their future: Procne's innocent reference to the "ignorance" (ἀνοία, 5) of childhood will find a bitter echo in the sisters' eventual condemnation (ἄνους ... ἀνουστέρως, fr. 589.1).[57]

Indeed, the whole passage illustrates a repeated slide between the personal and the general. In her references to foreign, barbarian husbands, it is clear that Procne is drawing on her own experiences to formulate a theory of the universal. The personal reference in οὐδέν εἰμι (1) becomes an all-encompassing first person plural οὐδέν ἐσμεν (3), and she juxtaposes repeated first person plurals (ἐσμεν, ζῶμεν, ἐξικώμεθ', ὠθούμεθ', διεμπολώμεθα) and references to a plurality of women (αἵ νέαι, αἱ μέν, αἱ δέ, αἱ δ', αἱ δ') with mention of a single paternal house (ἐν πατρός). Procne seems to collapse the distinction between the house of her own father and a general "house of the father" that universalizes the female experience, so that the entire γυναικεία φύσις is absorbed ἐν πατρός.

Procne's lines are very often compared to Medea's description of marriage at Euripides, *Medea* 230–43, in particular the latter's assertions that women are a miserable race (230–31) who must purchase their husbands for vast sums of money (232–34) to be a "master of one's body" (δεσπότην ... σώματος, 233), and quickly learn to accommodate themselves to married life without complaint (238–43). Another oft-invoked comparandum for fr. 583 is the speech that Deianeira addresses to the chorus of young women at Sophocles, *Trachiniae* 141–52:

πεπυσμένη μέν, ὡς ἀπεικάσαι, πάρει
πάθημα τοὐμόν· ὡς δ' ἐγὼ θυμοφθορῶ
μήτ' ἐκμάθοις παθοῦσα, νῦν δ' ἄπειρος εἶ.
τὸ γὰρ νεάζον ἐν τοιοῖσδε βόσκεται
χώροισιν αὑτοῦ, καί νιν οὐ θάλπος θεοῦ, 145
οὐδ' ὄμβρος, οὐδὲ πνευμάτων οὐδὲν κλονεῖ,
ἀλλ' ἡδοναῖς ἄμοχθον ἐξαίρει βίον
ἐς τοῦθ', ἕως τις ἀντὶ παρθένου γυνὴ
κληθῆι, λάβηι τ' ἐν νυκτὶ φροντίδων μέρος,
ἤτοι πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ἢ τέκνων φοβουμένη. 150
τότ' ἄν τις εἰσίδοιτο, τὴν αὑτοῦ σκοπῶν
πρᾶξιν, κακοῖσιν οἷς ἐγὼ βαρύνομαι.

[57] Dobrov 1993: 203 (= 2001: 112).

It seems that you are here in the knowledge of my suffering. But the torment of the soul that I feel—may you never come to have knowledge of it through suffering; now you have no experience of it. For youth is nourished in such places of its own, and it is not harmed by the god's heat, nor rain, nor any winds, but it lifts up its life with pleasures and without trouble, until the time when one is called a wife rather than a virgin, and gets during the night a share of worries, fearing for one's husband or children. Then someone might see, by looking at their own condition, the evils with which I am weighed down.

While all three speeches dwell on the miseries of married women, the parallel is closer in the two Sophoclean versions. Both Deianeira and Procne use their own situations to reflect on the happiness of girlhood in contrast to the troubles of married life. As we find in fr. 583, Deianeira's words accomplish the same turn from the specific to the universal. Her description of female youth (τὸ ... νεάζον, 144) is presented as both generalizing and intensely evocative of her personal experiences, framed as it is by references to her own "torment of the soul" (142) and an appeal to an unspecified third person to sympathize with the "evils" which oppress her (151–52).

The specific application of Procne's words to her own situation is further illuminated by a much later parallel, since it finds a number of resonances in the words of Psyche's envious sister in Apuleius's tale of Cupid and Psyche (*Met.* 5.9):

en orba et saeva et iniqua Fortuna! hocine tibi complacuit, ut utroque parente prognatae germanae diversam sortem sustineremus? et nos quidem, quae natu maiores sumus maritis advenis ancillae deditae extorres et lare et ipsa patria degamus longe parentum velut exulantes, haec autem novissima, quam fetu satiante postremus partus effudit, tantis opibus et deo marito potita sit, quae nec uti recte tanta bonorum copia novit?

Blind, cruel and unjust Fortune—was it pleasing to you, then, that we sisters, born from the same two parents, should suffer such different fates? Indeed we, who are the elder sisters, have been given to foreign husbands as slaves, banished from our home and our country, to live like exiles far away from our parents; but this one, the youngest, who was born last of all from a worn-out womb, is to have possession of great wealth and a god for a husband, when she doesn't even know how to make proper use of such a wealth of blessings?

Both speeches emphasize the potential misery of marriage. Psyche's sisters have been "given as slaves" (*ancillae deditae*) and become "exiles" (*extorres*, *exulantes*) just as, according to Procne, women are "pushed out and sold" (ὠθούμεθ' ἔξω καὶ διεμπολώμεθα, 7). In both speeches, women are given to foreign husbands (*maritis advenis* ~ ξένους ἄνδρας, βαρβάρους, 9), and must

leave their homes and parents (*extorres et lare et ipsa patria degamus longe parentum* ~ θεῶν πατρώιων τῶν τε φυσάντων ἄπο, 8). These *topoi* are of course common in ancient literature as reflections on marriage from a female point of view. A rather more stimulating correspondence is found in the context of a sisterly perspective: Psyche's sisters are overcome with envy at her seemingly perfect marriage and complain of their own less happy condition. The overall contrast is drawn between the sisters' identical start in life, since all came from the same parents (*utroque parente*)—even if Psyche was born last of all, from a "worn-out womb" (*fetu satiante*)—and their differing eventual fates. Such a dynamic of sisterly comparison and competition may also be read into the *Tereus* passage, if we consider that Procne's words, as suggested above, may be taken with both a general and a specific application, indicating both women in general and the particular set of sisters whose varying fates are being dramatized in the tragedy.

This slide between the universal and the specific may also be found in fr. 591, and once again the transition is expressed through the imagery of siblinghood:

> ἓν φῦλον ἀνθρώπων, μί' ἔδειξε πατρὸς
> καὶ ματρὸς ἡμᾶς ἁμέρα τοὺς πάντας· οὐδεὶς
> ἔξοχος ἄλλος ἔβλαστεν ἄλλου.
> βόσκει δὲ τοὺς μὲν μοῖρα δυσαμερίας,
> τοὺς δ' ὄλβος ἡμῶν, τοὺς δὲ δουλεί- 5
> ας ζυγὸν ἔσχεν ἀνάγκας.

> There is one race of humans, and a single day produced us all from a father and a mother: no one was born standing out above another. But a fate of misfortune nurtures some, and happiness others, while the yoke of slavish necessity holds others.

These lines, certainly spoken by the chorus, express a similar sentiment to fr. 583. While united by common humanity, it is nonetheless possible for people to have greatly varying experiences of life. However, this familiar γνώμη is framed in terms of a shared human ancestry: we were all produced on a single day from a single set of parents (πατρὸς / καὶ ματρός, 1–2). Whether the allusion here is to Ouranos and Gaia or Deucalion and Pyrrha, this expression suggests that the human race is to be understood not just as family, but specifically as siblings from a single set of parents. The shared bond of human experience is thus explicitly equated to a sibling relationship. As in fr. 583, the emphasis is on the initial parity of siblings, who enjoy identical circumstances of birth, as contrasted to their eventual diversity of fate, but here the scope expands from the γυναικεία φύσις to the entire φῦλον ἀνθρώπων. The lines may be read both in generalizing terms as a common expression of universal human

experience and with specific reference to the siblings depicted in the play, whose circumstances are determined by miserable slavery—in Philomela's case, perhaps literally, and in Procne's, the unhappy slavery of marriage. The yoke of slavish necessity (fr. 591.5–6) resonates with the words of Procne in fr. 583, where she presents marriage as slavery (διεμπολώμεθα, 7), a yoke (ζεύξηι, 11) and a situation of compulsion (11–12); the yoke could also act as a powerful metaphor for loss of free speech, with evident application to the suffering of Philomela.[58] Finally, the single night (εὐφρόνη ... μία, fr. 583.11) that yokes together husband and wife is inverted in the motif of the single day (μί' ... ἁμέρα, fr. 591.1–2) that produced the human race.

What appear at first to be universalizing gnomic statements about the entirety of womankind (fr. 583) or humankind (fr. 591) may thus be reread through the prism of siblinghood to take on a specific application in the case of Procne and Philomela. Indeed, siblings are an ideal metaphor for the divergent paths that a human life can take, since, coming from the same parents, they begin life under identical circumstances. *Tereus* dramatizes this situation precisely. The fates of the two sisters, already distinguished on a theatrical level by their dramatic statuses as speaking character and κωφὸν πρόσωπον, diverge and finally converge within the text. Procne's ostensibly stable family circumstances are contrasted with the violent relationship between Philomela and Tereus; yet after the disintegration of Procne's family unit, both sisters share a common fate of metamorphosis. The commonplace tropes of frr. 583 and 591 may thus be reread as displaying a sophisticated engagement with the tragedy's wider structure and themes.

Finally, we will consider fr. 581, commonly accepted as coming from the speech of a *deus ex machina*[59]:

τοῦτον δ' ἐπόπτην ἔποπα τῶν αὑτοῦ κακῶν
πεποικίλωκε κἀποδηλώσας ἔχει
θρασὺν πετραῖον ὄρνιν ἐν παντευχίαι·
ὃς ἦρι μὲν φανέντι διαπαλεῖ πτερὸν
κίρκου λεπάργου· δύο γὰρ οὖν μορφὰς φανεῖ 5

[58] On the metaphor of the yoke as a restriction of speech, see Heath 2005: 178–79.

[59] Various speakers have been proposed: Hermes (Welcker 1839: 1.383–84; Kiso 1985: 62–63), Ares (Calder 1974: 88), Apollo/Helios (Fitzpatrick 2001: 99–100) and Dionysos (Curley 2003: 188n44). Cazzaniga 1950: 63 suggested that the play's *deus ex machina* was Zeus (implausibly, since it seems to have been tragic convention that Zeus did not appear onstage, with the possible exception of Aeschylus's *Psychostasia*) and Burnett 1998: 183n21 suggested Athena; however neither scholar accepts fr. 581 as Sophoclean.

παιδός τε χαὐτοῦ νηδύος μιᾶς ἄπο·
νέας δ' ὀπώρας ἡνίκ' ἂν ξανθῆι στάχυς,
στικτή νιν αὖθις ἀμφινωμήσει πτέρυξ·
ἀεὶ δὲ μίσει τῶνδ' †ἄπ' ἄλλον εἰς τόπον†
δρυμοὺς ἐρήμους καὶ πάγους ἀποικιεῖ. 10

But him, the hoopoe who oversees his own evils, he has made many-colored, and has revealed as a bold, rock-dwelling bird in full array. When spring appears, he will spread the wing of a white-feathered hawk, for he will reveal two forms from a single womb, his son's and his own. But when late summer is newly arrived and the grain is threshed, again a dappled wing will cover him. He will always detest (them?) ... ,[60] making his home among the deserted copses and crags.

The passage is preserved by Aristotle (*Hist. an.* 9.633a18–28), who attributes it to Aeschylus. However, as far as we know Aeschylus never wrote any play on this theme, and in his one extant reference to Tereus at *Suppliant Women* 57–62 the king is said to have been turned into a hawk rather than the hoopoe/hawk that we find in fr. 581. It has been suggested that the lines are to be attributed instead to Philocles and that Aristotle's error was due to their family connection, Philocles being Aeschylus's nephew.[61] However it seems more likely that Aeschylus is here an error for Sophocles, and from Welcker onwards this conclusion has been commonly accepted.[62] The language of the passage has been shown to be more characteristic of Sophocles than of Aeschylus,[63] and Griffith has argued that the wordplay on the name of the Hoopoe at Aristophanes, *Birds* 48, where the bird is understood to be an

[60] I follow Diggle 1998: 72 in placing the whole phrase ἄπ' ... τόπον *inter cruces*. For various suggestions and discussion, see Pearson 1917: 2.227; De Stefani 1998 and Radt 1999: 437–38. Lloyd-Jones 1996: 292 and Fitzpatrick and Sommerstein 2006: 168–69 print μίσει τῶνδ' ἀπαλλαγεὶς (Heath) τόπων ("he will always hate these regions and separate himself from them"), but it seems more likely that τῶνδ' refers to Procne and Philomela: cf. the resonances of fr. 581 at Ael. *NA* 3.26 οἱ ἔποπές εἰσιν ὀρνίθων ἀπηνέστατοι, καί μοι δοκοῦσι τῶν προτέρων τῶν ἀνθρωπικῶν ἐν μνήμηι καὶ μέντοι καὶ μίσει τοῦ γένους τοῦ τῶν γυναικῶν ὑποπλέκειν τὰς καλιὰς ἐν ταῖς ἐρήμοις καὶ τοῖς πάγοις τοῖς ὑψηλοῖς ("the hoopoes are the cruelest of birds, and it seems to me that it is because of their memory of their earlier existence as humans, and particularly from their hatred of the female sex, that they build their nests in deserted places and on lofty crags").

[61] See van Leeuwen 1902: 263–64 with 264n4.

[62] Welcker 1839: 1.384, followed by the great majority of scholars: see in addition the arguments of Oder 1888 and Fitzpatrick and Sommerstein 2006: 189–92. Burnett 1998: 183n22 and March 2003: 161n55 are unusual among modern scholars in doubting the Sophoclean attribution; neither presents a convincing justification of their position.

[63] See esp. Fitzpatrick and Sommerstein 2006: 189–90.

intruder from Sophoclean rather than Philoclean tragedy, draws on the pun of ἐπόπτην ἔποπα at fr. 581.1.[64]

Aristotle quotes the lines in order to illustrate the belief that the hoopoe and sparrow-hawk are the same bird, merely taking on different plumage according to the season.[65] At 5–6, these two forms of the transformed Tereus are said to issue from a single νηδύς, a word that can denote both "stomach" and "womb," with the former meaning playing on the gruesome fact of Itys currently being inside his father's stomach.[66] The metamorphosis of Tereus-hoopoe into Tereus-hawk is thus envisaged as a transformation into his son's avian form, which has emerged, as it were, from his own belly. In the very similar tale of Thyestes, who is also unwittingly fed his own offspring as a punishment for sexual transgression, Aeschylus portrayed him as vomiting up the human flesh once he learnt what he was eating (*Ag.* 1599), thus recalling the archetypal figure of Cronus, who both ingested and eventually vomited out his many children. Working with this model, the emergence of the hawk-form from Tereus's stomach can be envisaged as a vomiting-up, a macabre reversal of Itys's ingestion. Yet if νηδύς is considered with its alternative meaning, the two incarnations of Tereus, hawk and hoopoe, may be understood as "two forms from a single *womb*"—in other words, sibling forms. Moreover, the combination of play on the numbers one and two (δύο ... μιᾶς ἄπο, 5–6) with the idea of procreation continues the theme we have already seen in the one wedding night (εὐφρόνη ... μία, fr. 583.11) that yokes two people, and the one race produced on one day from two people (ἓν φῦλον ... μί' ... ἁμέρα, fr. 591.1–2).[67]

Ovid also understood this double meaning of νηδύς and echoed it in his own description of the king at his terrible feast (*Met.* 6.650–51):

> ipse sedens solio Tereus sublimis avito
> vescitur inque suam sua viscera congerit alvum.
>
> Tereus, sitting on his high ancestral throne, feeds and stuffs his belly with his own flesh and blood.

With characteristically grim wit, Ovid deploys two different meanings of the terms *viscera* ("flesh"/"children") and *alvus* ("belly"/"womb"). Tereus simul-

[64] Griffith 1987: 59–63.

[65] For discussion of this idea, see Dunbar 1995: 140–41.

[66] See Fitzpatrick and Sommerstein 2006: 192.

[67] For discussion of how a very similar language of doublings and duals in Soph. *Ant.* reflects various aspects of the Labdacid family, see Goldhill 2012: 240–41 (~ 2006: 151–52). Perhaps in *Tereus* this was also tied to the idea of the two sisters and their one fate.

taneously stuffs meat into his stomach and, in an allusion to the Sophoclean expression, fills up his "womb" with his own child. This idea is repeated later, when Tereus longs in vain to be able to open up his own breast in order to remove the *dapes semesaque viscera* ("feast and his half-eaten flesh and blood," 664) from within himself, again an image that depicts Itys as an object of both digestion and impossible parturition.[68] In both Sophocles and Ovid the language slips between the different meanings to activate an image of Tereus's child-eating as a macabre act of impregnation, and scholars have rightly drawn attention to the underlying metaphorical equivalence of inappropriate sexual relations with inappropriate acts of eating.[69] But there is more at work in the Sophoclean image. Because of his sins against a pair of sisters, born from the same womb and now transformed into birds, Tereus is himself fated to alternate between a pair of sibling avian forms born from his own νηδύς. The punishment matches the crime.

In recent years scholars have argued that the women in Sophocles' play act not so much to avenge Philomela as to redress Tereus's treatment of Pandion who had entrusted both of his daughters to the Thracian king, thereby minimizing the importance of sisterhood and instead emphasizing Procne's daughterly duty to her natal οἶκος.[70] Through demonstration and exploration of the importance and centrality of sisterhood to *Tereus*, this discussion has suggested that it would be wrong to see Procne as acting purely in order to restore her father's honor rather than out of sisterly love for Philomela. When faced with the common tragic clash between responsibilities to her natal and marital families, Procne, like so many women in Greek mythology, chooses the former[71]; however, it is crucial to recognize that this natal group includes Philomela as well as Pandion. The strength of the sibling bond between Procne and Philomela is what galvanizes the action, and it proves stronger than any marital relationship. Neither Procne's conjugal obligations to Tereus nor her maternal ties to Itys are prioritized above the need to avenge her sister's mistreatment. The vitality and potency of this all-female family bond seeps

[68] See the discussion of Siegel 2001: 254–55: "By forcing Tereus to take his own son into his *aluus*, Procne metaphorically impregnates her husband" (254).

[69] E.g., Forbes Irving 1990: 104–5 sees Tereus's acts of rape and eating as parallel expressions of greed, with the ingestion of Itys as a "symbolic re-enactment" of the crime of incest. See also Burnett 1998: 188–89 and Zacharia 2001: 92.

[70] See Burnett 1998: 184 and 187 (Procne's is a "legendary choice of father's honour even over son's life"); Fitzpatrick and Sommerstein 2006: 153–55.

[71] Many examples are discussed in Visser 1986.

into the very language and imagery of the play itself, which may be gleaned even from the few fragments that remain to us.

As discussed, *Tereus* finds no exact parallel for its depiction of violence motivated by sisterly love, although *Agamemnon* provides a crucial model for revenge taken on behalf of a female relative. Additionally, there are several other tragic instances of sisters committing violent acts, and of women killing their own children, of which *Medea* is the most important example. *Tereus* also finds a strong affinity with *Choephori*, the two *Electra* plays and *Iphigenia in Tauris*, since it revolves around the recognition, reunion and revenge of a pair of siblings. However, it is exceptional in that the mythical material demands that the central sibling bond be not between a brother and a sister, as we find in the plays just mentioned, but between two sisters.[72] Moreover, when placed within a wider consideration of sisters in Sophoclean drama, *Tereus* offers a radically different model to that found in the two plays most commonly cited as exemplars of Sophoclean sisterhood, *Antigone* and *Electra*. In these two plays we find a pair of sisters marked by conflict and self-conscious contrast, where the titular character is placed within a complex nexus of conflicting family values and obligations. Just as Antigone chooses to honor her dead brother Polyneices, ignoring the advice of her sister Ismene and the orders of her *kurios* Creon, Electra similarly shuns and disowns her sister Chrysothemis, instead aligning herself with her brother Orestes and the memory of their dead father Agamemnon. In each play the all-female bond of sisterhood is easily over-ridden by the competing claims of male family members, namely fathers and brothers. In *Tereus* this equation is turned on its head. Through killing Itys and serving him up to Tereus, Procne places her desire to avenge her sister above any obligation to her male marital family. Procne and Philomela are an extreme version of a collaborative model of sisterhood.[73] The fragmentary state of the text should therefore not deter us from according this pair of sisters a central place in scholarship on the family in Greek tragedy.

[72] It is thus misleading for Calder 1974: 91 to state that *Tereus* shares with *Antigone* the plot motivation of "the destructive effects of excessive sibling affection." The difference in the gender of the sibling is crucial: Antigone was prepared to die in order to honor her brother, not her sister. March 2003: 155 also compares the stance of Procne to the famous lines of Antigone at Soph. *Ant.* 904–12, where she states that she would have defied the law and faced death for a brother, but not for a husband or child. Again, sister has replaced brother in this equation in *Tereus*.

[73] In this respect, they have much more in common with Antigone and Ismene in Sophocles' posthumously produced *Oedipus at Colonus*.

WORKS CITED

Bacon, H. H. 1961. *Barbarians in Greek Tragedy*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
Buchwald, W. 1939. "Studien zur Chronologie der attischen Tragödie 455 bis 431." Diss. Königsberg.
Burnett, A. P. 1998. *Revenge in Attic and Later Tragedy*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Calder, W. M. III. 1974. "Sophocles, *Tereus*: A Thracian Tragedy." *Thracia* 2: 87–91 (= Calder 2005: 267–73).
———2005. *Theatrokratia: Collected Papers on the Politics and Staging of Greco-Roman Tragedy*. Ed. by R. S. Smith. Hildesheim: Olms.
Casanova, A. 2003. "Osservazioni sui frammenti del *Tereo*." In Avezzù, G. ed. *Il dramma sofocleo: testo, lingua, interpretazione*. Stuttgart: Metzler. 59–68.
Cazzaniga, I. 1935. "Influsso della Medea di Euripide sul Tereo di Sofocle." *RIL* 68: 433–38.
——— 1950. *La saga di Itis nella tradizione letteraria e mitografica greco-romana. Parte prima: la tradizione letteraria e mitografica greco-romana da Omero a Nonno Panopolitano*. Milan: Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino.
Chazalon, L. 2003. "Le Mythe de Térée, Procnè et Philomelè dans les images attiques." *Mètis* 1: 119–48.
Chazalon, L. and Wilgaux, J. 2008/9. "Violences et transgressions dans le mythe du Térée." *AION* 15–16: 167–89.
Ciappi, M. 1998. "Contaminazioni fra tradizioni letterarie affini di ascendenza tragica nel racconto ovidiano del mito di Procne e Filomela (*met.* VI 587–666)." *Maia* 50: 433–63.
Collard, C. and Cropp, M. 2008. *Euripides: Fragments. Aegeus-Meleager*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Colomo, D. 2011. "5093. Rhetorical Epideixeis." *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 76: 84–171.
Curley, D. 2003. "Ovid's *Tereus*: Theater and Metatheater." In Sommerstein, ed. 163–97.
De Stefani, C. 1998. "Una nota a Sofocle (fr. **581 Radt)." *Maia* 50: 427–31.
Diggle, J. 1998. *Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta selecta*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Dobrov, G. W. 1993. "The Tragic and the Comic Tereus." *AJP* 114: 189–234.
——— 2001. *Figures of Play: Greek Drama and Metafictional Poetics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Dunbar, N. 1995. *Aristophanes: Birds*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Easterling, P. E. 1982. *Sophocles: Trachiniae*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Finglass, P. J. 2006. Review of Calder 2005. *CR* 56: 243–44.
——— 2007. *Sophocles: Electra*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Fitzpatrick, D. 2001. "Sophocles' *Tereus*." *CQ* 51: 90–101.
——— and Sommerstein, A. H. 2006. "Tereus." In Sommerstein, A. H., Fitzpatrick, D., and Talboy, T. *Sophocles: Selected Fragmentary Plays*. Vol. 1. Oxford: Aris & Phillips. 141–95.
Forbes Irving, P. M. C. 1990. *Metamorphosis in Greek Myths*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Fraenkel, E. 1950. *Aeschylus: Agamemnon*. 3 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Gelzer, T. 1976. "Sophokles' *Tereus*, eine Inhaltsangabe auf Papyrus." *Jahresbericht der Schweizerischen Geisteswissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft* 1976: 183–92.
Goldhill, S. 2006. "Antigone and the Politics of Sisterhood." In Zajko, V. and Leonard,

M. eds. *Laughing with Medusa: Classical Myth and Feminist Thought*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 141–61.
——— 2012. *Sophocles and the Language of Tragedy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Griffith, R. D. 1987. "The Hoopoe's Name (A Note on *Birds* 48)." *QUCC* 26: 59–63.
Hall, E. 1989. *Inventing the Barbarian: Greek Self-Definition through Tragedy*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
——— 2006. *The Theatrical Cast of Athens: Interactions between Ancient Greek Drama and Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Heath, J. 2005. *The Talking Greeks: Speech, Animals, and the Other in Homer, Aeschylus, and Plato*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Hofman, H. 2006. "Kritische Nachlese zur Hypothesis des Sophokleischen *Tereus* (*P.Oxy.* 3013)." In Eklund, S. ed. *Συγχάρματα: Studies in Honour of Jan Fredrik Kindstrand*. Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet. 87–112.
Honig, B. 2011. "Ismene's Forced Choice: Sacrifice and Sorority in Sophocles' *Antigone*." *Arethusa* 44: 29–68.
Hourmouziades, N. C. 1986. "Sophocles' *Tereus*." In Betts, J. H., Hooker, J. T., and Green, J. R. eds. *Studies in Honour of T. B. L. Webster*. Vol. 1. Bristol: Bristol Classical Press. 134–42.
Irwin, E. 2007. "'What's in a Name?' and Exploring the Comparable: Onomastics, Ethnography and *kratos* in Thrace (5.1–2 and 3–10)." In Irwin, E. and Greenwood, E. eds. *Reading Herodotus: A Study of the Logoi in Book 5 of Herodotus' Histories*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 41–87.
Kiso, A. 1984. *The Lost Sophocles*. New York: Vantage Press.
Liapis, V. J. 2006. "Achilles Tatius as a Reader of Sophocles." *CQ* 56: 220–38.
——— 2008. "Achilles Tatius and Sophocles' *Tereus*: A Corrigendum and an Addendum." *CQ* 58: 335–36.
Lloyd-Jones, H. 1996. *Sophocles: Fragments*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Luppe, W. 2005. "Eine abweichende Sagenversion in Sophokles' Tereus-Drama? Zur Tereus-Hypothesis P.Oxy. XLII 3013." *APF* 51: 205–7.
——— 2007. "Die Tereus-Hypothesis P.Oxy. XLII 3013." *APF* 53: 1–5.
March, J. R. 2000. "Vases and Tragic Drama: Euripides' *Medea* and Sophocles' Lost *Tereus*." In Rutter, N. K. and Sparkes, B. A. eds. *Word and Image in Ancient Greece*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 119–39.
——— 2003. "Sophocles' *Tereus* and Euripides' *Medea*." In Sommerstein, ed. 139–61.
McHardy, F. 2005. "From Treacherous Wives to Murderous Mothers: Filicide in Tragic Fragments." In McHardy, F., Robson, J., and Harvey, D. eds. *Lost Dramas of Classical Athens: Greek Tragic Fragments*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press. 129–50.
McNeil, L. 2005. "Bridal Cloths, Cover-Ups, and *Kharis*: The 'Carpet Scene' in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*." *G&R* 52: 1–17.
Milo, D. 2008. *Il Tereo di Sofocle*. Naples: D'Auria.
Monella, P. 2005. *Procne e Filomela: dal mito al simbolo letterario*. Bologna: Pàtron.
Moorhouse, A. C. 1982. *The Syntax of Sophocles*. Leiden: Brill.
Nagy, G. 1996. *Poetry as Performance: Homer and Beyond*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Oder, E. 1888. "Der Wiedehopf in der griechischen Sage." *RhM* 43: 541–56.
Parsons, P. J. 1974. "3013. Argument of a *Tereus*?" *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 42: 46–50.

Pearson, A. C. 1917. *The Fragments of Sophocles.* 3 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Payne, H. G. G. 1925/26. “On the Thermon Metopes.” *ABSA* 27: 124–32.

Post, C. R. 1922. “The Dramatic Art of Sophocles as Revealed by the Fragments of the Lost Plays.” *HSCP* 33: 1–63.

Radt, S. L. 1999. *Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta. Vol. 4: Sophocles.* 2nd ed. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Robert, C. 1920. *Die griechische Heldensage.* 3 vols. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung.

Rosati, G. 2009. *Ovidio: Metamorfosi. Volume III: Libri V–VI.* Rome: Fondazione Lorenzo Valla.

Russo, J., Fernández-Galiano, M., and Heubeck, A. 1992. *A Commentary on Homer’s Odyssey. Volume III: Books XVII–XXIV*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Schauer, M. 2002. *Tragisches Klagen: Form und Funktion der Klagedarstellung bei Aischylos, Sophokles und Euripides.* Tübingen: Narr.

Siegel, J. F. 2001. “Peter Greenaway’s *The Cook, The Thief, His Wife and Her Lover*: A Cockney Procne.” In Winkler, M. M. ed. *Classical Myth and Culture in the Cinema.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. 233–57.

Sommerstein, A. H. 1987. *The Comedies of Aristophanes. Vol. 6: Birds.* Warminster: Aris & Phillips.

——— ed. 2003. *Shards from Kolonos: Studies in Sophoclean Fragments.* Bari: Levante.

——— 2010. “An Overlooked Tragic Fragment: *PMG* 960.” In Cortés Gabaudan, F. and Méndez Dosuna, J. V. eds. *Dic mihi, Musa, virum: Homenaje al profesor Antonio López Eire.* Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca. 653–58.

Sommerstein, A. H. and Talboy, T. H. 2012. *Sophocles: Selected Fragmentary Plays.* Vol. 2. Oxford: Aris & Phillips.

Sutton, D. F. 1984. *The Lost Sophocles.* Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

Tarrant, R. J. 2004. *P. Ovidi Nasonis Metamorphoses.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Touloupa, E. 1994. “Prokne et Philomela.” *LIMC* 7.1: 527–29.

van Leeuwen, J. 1902. *Aristophanis Aves.* Leiden: Sijthoff.

van Rossum-Steenbeek, M. 1998. *Greek Readers’ Digests? Studies on a Selection of Subliterary Papyri.* Leiden: Brill.

Visser, M. 1986. “Medea: Daughter, Sister, Wife and Mother. Natal Family Versus Conjugal Family in Greek and Roman Myths about Women.” In Cropp, M., Fantham, E., and Scully, S. E. eds. *Greek Tragedy and Its Legacy: Essays Presented to D. J. Conacher.* Calgary: University of Calgary Press. 149–65.

Welcker, F. G. 1839–41. *Die griechischen Tragödien mit Rücksicht auf den epischen Cyclus.* 3 vols. Bonn: Eduard Weber.

Zacharia, K. 2001. “‘The Rock of the Nightingale’: Kinship Diplomacy and Sophocles’ *Tereus*.” In Budelmann, F. and Michelakis, P. eds. *Homer, Tragedy and Beyond: Essays in Honour of P. E. Easterling.* London: Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies. 91–112.