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Dissertation

TEREUS, PROCNE, AND PHILOMELA: SPEECH, SILENCE, AND THE VOICE OF GENDER

by

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DANIEL LIBATIQUE

Boston University Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, 2018

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation investigates speech, silence, and power in the Tereus, Procne, and Philomela myth in four sources: Sophocles' *Tereus*, Aristophanes' *Birds*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and the *Pervigilium Veneris*. I pose three questions about each work: 1. Whom does the author allow to speak, and whom does he silence? 2. How do speech and silence influence characterization, authority, and power? 3. How does the author's socio-cultural environment influence the construction of those power hierarchies? Each author constructs a hierarchy of agency determined by communicative and silent roles. Sophocles' Procne, Aristophanes' Tereus, Ovid's Philomela and Procne, and the *Pervigilium's* Venus and swallow possess a heightened level of narrative agency that cannot be taken away, even if the ability to speak disappears; on the other hand, conspicuous silencing by the author reduces the narrative agency of characters like Aristophanes' Procne, Ovid's Tereus, or the *Pervigilium*'s narrator.

These authorial decisions regarding speech and silence evince shifting

engagements with each author's socio-cultural environment and opportunities for artistic output. Moreover, these four authors also engage in an escalating series of mythic reversals and re-appropriations as they mold the details of the Tereus, Procne, and Philomela story into their narratives. First, Aristophanes reverses Sophocles' empowerment of Procne and Philomela by effacing the violence of Sophocles' tragedy; he mutes and objectifies Procne, erases Philomela entirely, and elevates Tereus into the bird-man-ruler paradigm that Peisetaerus hopes to emulate, thereby presenting a normative relationship of vocal man with silent woman in service of the movement of his plot. Then, in Augustan Rome, Ovid comments on the *princeps'* increasing control over artistic output by acting as an arbiter of speech and silence, as he affords Philomela and Procne eloquent voices while conspicuously silencing Tereus; he "corrects" the Aristophanic "correction" of Sophocles. Finally, in Late Antiquity, the narrator of the *Pervigilium* laments his silence caused by constraints within panegyric, a genre that lacks a personal voice, such as that possessed by the swallow. He "corrects" Ovid's presentation of the swallow's song as the result of Philomela's brutalization by casting it as a positive exemplum for his own poetry.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND NOTE ON TRANSLATIONS

The names of authors, texts, and characters are spelled and abbreviated according to the list found in the 4th edition of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (2012, xxvi - liii).

All translations are mine unless otherwise indicated. All errors are, of course, my own.

AJP	*American Journal of Philology.*
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt.*
BNJ	Ian Worthington, ed. 2006. *Brill's New Jacoby*. Leiden.
Catlow	Laurence Catlow. 1980. *Pervigilium Veneris.* Brussels.
ClAnt	*Classical Antiquity.*
CJ	*Classical Journal.*
CPh	*Classical Philology.*
CQ	*Classical Quarterly.*
CW	*Classical World.*
Dunbar	Nan Dunbar, ed. 2002. *Aristophanes: Birds*. Oxford.
G.-M.	Sander Goldberg and Gesine Manuwald, eds. and trs. 2018. *Fragmentary Republican Latin, Vol. II: Ennius, Dramatic Fragments, Minor Works. Loeb Classical Library 537. Cambridge.*
ICS	*Illinois Classical Studies.*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies.*

JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies.*
LIMC	*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae.*
NECJ	*New England Classical Journal.*
NPh	*Neophilologus.*
OLD	*Oxford Latin Dictionary.*
PCG	R. Kassel and C. Austin, eds. 1983-2001. *Poetae Comici Graeci,* 8 vols. Berlin.
PCPhS	*Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society.*
PMG	D.L. Page, ed. 1962. *Poetae Melici Graeci.* Oxford.
P. Oxy.	B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt, eds. 1869-. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri.* London.
RELO	*Revue, Informatique et Statistique dans les Sciences humaines.*
Somm. *et al.*	Alan Sommerstein, David Fitzpatrick, and Thomas Talboy, eds. 2006. *Sophocles: Selected Fragmentary Plays, Vol. 1*. Oxford.
SPh	*Studies in Philology.*
SyllClass	*Syllecta Classica.*
Radt	*TrGF* IV (see *TrGF* below).
RhM	*Rheinisches Museum für Philologie.*
Ribbeck *R.T.*	Otto Ribbeck. 1875. *Die Römische Tragödie im Zeitalter der Republik.* Leipzig.
TAPA	*Transactions of the American Philological Association.*

TLL	*Thesaurus Linguae Latinae.*
TrGF	*Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta,* 5 vols. Göttingen, 1971-. I: *Poeta Minores,* edited by B. Snell (1971, rev. R. Kannicht, 1981); II: *Adespota*, edited by R. Kannicht and B. Snell (1981); III: *Aeschylus*, edited by S. Radt (1985); IV: *Sophocles*, edited by S. Radt (1977); V. *Euripides*, edited by R. Kannicht (2006).
TrRF	*Tragicorum Romanorum Fragmenta,* 4 vols. Göttingen, 2012-. Vol. I: *Livius Andronicus, Naevius, Tragici Minores,* Adespota, edited by Markus Schauer (2012); II: *Ennius*, edited by Gesine Manuwald (2012); III: *Pacuvius*, edited by Nils Rücker and Oliver Siegl (forthcoming); IV: *Accius*, edited by Peter Kruschwitz (forthcoming).
Warm.	E.H. Warmington. 1936. *Remains of Old Latin.* 2 vols. Loeb Classical Library 314. Cambridge.
Welcker *G.T.*	F.G. Welcker. 1839. *Die Griechischen Tragödie mit Rücksicht auf den epischen Cyclus.* Bonn.
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik.*

INTRODUCTION

In December 2017, the online Classics journal *Eidolon* launched a project entitled "Philomela's Tapestry."[1] Inspired by the #MeToo movement, in which victims of sexual harassment and assault use social media to share their experiences, the project aims to make public a conversation on what until now had been discussed in whispers and shadows: the harassment and abuse, often of a sexual or gendered nature, of Classics junior faculty and graduate students, which has generated a "library—at once infinite and infinitesimal—of essays, articles, and books that will never be written because the people who would have written them were pushed out of the field by harassment and abuse."

The project's title, "Philomela's Tapestry," generates a number of associations between the victims of modern sexual harassment and abuse in Classics and the project's eponymous mythical figure who, in certain instantiations of the myth, was raped by her brother-in-law, Tereus, and then stripped of her tongue so that she could not profess what he had done to her. Philomela and these modern victims share much in common. At the most fundamental level, both have been betrayed and violated by someone who was supposed to be trustworthy. Second, the violation in both cases (often) results in

[1] Zuckerberg 2017.

a loss of speech: Philomela's literal tongue, and the lost academic voice of abused faculty or students departing the academy. The tapestry, however, is the key uniting factor. According to various versions of the myth, Philomela, deprived of her tongue, weaves a text that describes what befell her into a tapestry that she sends to her sister Procne. This act of writing sets in motion the series of events that leads to Tereus' downfall, albeit at the cost of the life of Itys, Procne and Tereus' son. The *Eidolon* project serves the same purpose of the tapestry: to expose wrongdoing and begin the path towards rectification of a serious wrong, to restore the victim's voice through the act of writing. Compelled silence does not by necessity preclude a victim's capacity for agency through communication of a non-vocal sort; indeed, the analyses in this dissertation are based upon that assertion.

This dissertation focuses on the myth of Tereus, Procne, and Philomela to investigate the ways in which playwrights and authors employ speech and silence to characterize figures and build hierarchies of power within their texts. I have chosen as case studies four noteworthy utilizations of the myth across multiple genres, locations, and time periods: Sophocles' *Tereus* of the latter half of the 5th century B.C.E.; Aristophanes' *Birds* of 414 B.C.E., a direct response to Sophocles' play, as evidenced by the comic Tereus' citation of it; Ovid's

Metamorphoses 6.424-674 of the Augustan era in Rome; and the *Pervigilium Veneris*, an anonymous poem of probably the 4th century C.E. I pose three major questions about each work: 1. Whom does the author allow to speak (i.e., who speaks directly in the given play or poem), and whom does he silence? 2. How do those attributions or withholdings of speech influence characterization and the hierarchy of power between the characters? 3. How do the forces at work in the author's socio-cultural environment influence the construction of that hierarchy? While the first two questions work within the texts, focusing philologically on such entities as verbs of speech or silence through the methodological lens of narratology,[2] the third opens inquiries into each author's cultural context which had a hand in generating the text under discussion. We may glean, from the author's allotments of speech or silence, a view into the author's view of the state of artistic freedom and, on a more basic level, the status of speech in Classical Greece, Augustan Rome, or Late Antiquity and the movement from free artistic rivalry and relatively "free" speech towards increasing artistic constraint.

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[2] Narratology is the study of a narrative's structure in terms of which entities speak, act, or watch at any given point of the story and the analysis of the ways in which those authorial choices inform characterization, relationships of power, and audience reception. See below for a longer description of narratology.

The Myth in Scholarship

Scholarship on the myth can generally be classified in one of three ways: general surveys of the myth often in diachronic fashion,[3] examinations of references to the myth in a selected work or works,[4] or analyses of full-scale versions, i.e., larger narratives that aim to depict a certain version of the myth.[5] This dissertation fills a void in the existing scholarship as the first English-language monograph on the myth. It combines diachronic analyses of its appearance in multiple time periods, crosses traditional disciplinary boundaries between the Greek and Roman cultural and linguistic spheres, and reveals continuities in the ways in which these mythical figures are mobilized for specific purposes throughout time.

Though this introduction as a whole will make reference to many important works of scholarship that inform my approach, four particular works merit special mention in relation to my project, given either their similarities to my investigation or their seeming coverage of the topics about which I write. Two

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[3] See, e.g., Suter 2004; Monella 2005; Privitera 2007; Cazzaniga 1951; Mihailov 1955.

[4] See, e.g., Holmes 2011, Compton-Engle 2007, Dobrov 1993 and 2001.

[5] See, e.g., on Sophocles' *Tereus*, Fitzpatrick 2001, Casanova 2003, Coo 2013, Milo 2008, March 2000, Curley 2003, McHardy 2005, Burnett 1998; on Ovid *Met.* 6, Gildenhard and Zissos 2007, Segal 1992, Peek 2003, Feldherr 2008, Larmour 1990, Richlin 1992 and 2014; on Accius' *Tereus*, Degl'Innocenti Pierini 2002.

works that are concerned with the trajectory of the myth and the journey of Procne and Philomela from dramatic mythological entities towards figurative abstractions of lament and twittering, respectively, are Paolo Monella's 2005 monograph *Procne e Filomela: dal mito al simbolo letterario* (Bologna) and Tiziana Privitera's 2007 monograph *Terei puella: metamorfosi latine* (Pisa). Each lists and analyzes various references to the myth, building upon foundational survey work by such authors as Ignazio Cazzaniga and Georgi Mihailov in the 1950's,[6] but each differs from my Chapter 1 in scope and focus. Monella singles out Sophocles' treatment in the *Tereus* for special analysis while setting as boundary points for his survey Homer's *Odyssey* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, while Privitera traces the progression of the myth from the Greek sources to the *Pervigilium Veneris* and the tendency of Latin authors to switch the identities of the sisters from the ones that they occupied in the Greek tradition. My Chapter 1 comprises a similar survey, albeit the first, to my knowledge, in English to include authors and passages not considered by either author; however, this survey forms the basis for close readings of four particular works through the lens of speech and silence, rather than being a *telos* in and of itself.

Two further works of scholarship engage in methodologically similar

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[6] Cazzaniga 1951, Mihailov 1955.

investigations of, first, the thematic connections between Aristophanes' *Birds* and Sophocles' *Tereus* and, second, the narratological structure of Ovid's Philomela episode. The first, Gregory Dobrov's "Tereus: Sophokles' *Tereus* and Aristophanes' *Birds*," a chapter in his 2001 *Figures of Play: Greek Drama and Metafictional Poetics* (Oxford),[7] examines the connection between *Birds* and *Tereus* on a larger, dramaturgical level with regard to comic appropriation and subversion of tragic themes. While his analysis is largely sound, mine focuses more closely on the themes of speech and silence and the transformation of Procne from Sophocles' vocal protagonist to Aristophanes' mostly mute sexual object. Other small points that require refinement, like the assertion that Sophocles' chorus was composed of men, are answered in Chapter 2 and my forthcoming note in *Classical Quarterly*.[8] Secondly, Philip Peek's 2003 article "Procne, Philomela, Tereus in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: A Narratological Approach" (*Antichthon* 37, 32-51), explores the structure of the Philomela episode by examining the speakers and viewers of the action of the narrative (i.e., a narratological approach) and offers a sensitive reading. However, his

[7] The chapter is an updated version of Dobrov 1993.

[8] "The speaker and addressee of Sophocles' *Tereus* fr. 588 Radt and the context of fr. 583," *CQ,* forthcoming 2019.

methodology requires further refinement,[9] and his conclusion regarding the *telos* of this complex narratological technique (that Ovid uses it to create a black comic tone), while perhaps not erroneous, is too simplistic. Chapter 3 attempts to provide that refinement and offer a wider contextualization of Ovid's narratological choices, especially with regard to gender, which Peek does not investigate, while exploring other surprising omissions on Peek's part in terms of narratological structure in the episode, especially the overall lack of direct speech attributed to Tereus.

Speech, Silence, and the Voice of Gender

The methodological approach of this dissertation draws from various areas, but the textual analyses and wider arguments about cultural context are rooted primarily in narratology and gender studies. Here, I will define narratology and then focus on speech and silence as constituent, necessary elements of my application of a narratological approach to these versions of the myth. This approach is inflected by considerations of gender and the agency that gender hierarchies either create or preclude, as mentioned throughout this section, which ends with a specific statement of debt to gender political readings of the

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[9] On which see below.

myth.

Mieke Bal defines narratology and divides the methodological objects of inquiry into three components:

> *Narratology* is the ensemble of theories of narratives, narrative texts, images, spectacles, events; cultural artifacts that 'tell a story.' … A *narrative text* is a text in which an agent or subject conveys to an addressee ('tells' the reader) a story in a particular medium, such as language, imagery, sound, buildings, or a combination thereof. A *story* is the content of that text, and produces a particular manifestation, inflection, and 'colouring' of a fabula; the fabula is presented in a certain manner. A *fabula* is a series of logically and chronologically related events that are caused or experienced by actors.[10]

Narratology is necessarily structuralist in origin, inasmuch as those engaging in narratological study of a given narrative text are attempting to make sense out of the structure of its composition, often in terms of its constellation of speakers and actors and the shifts in focus between them. The attribution of speech and silence to a narrative text's characters, controlled by their author, proves a productive area to begin a narratological inquiry, such as those in which I engage throughout the dissertation. Seminal works by Mieke Bal[11] and Gérard Genette[12] detail comprehensively narratology's tenets and components, and models of the methodology's application to Classical texts like Irene de Jong's study of the

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[10] Bal 2009, 3, 5, emphases original.

[11] Bal 2009.

[12] Genette 1980.

Iliad,[13] Don Fowler's treatment of the *Aeneid*,[14] and Philip Peek's investigation of the Tereus, Procne, and Philomela narrative in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*,[15] serve as useful guides for my own analyses.

Peek's analysis is particularly instructive, given both his utilization of the narratological tool of focalization, which informs the various readings in this dissertation, and the object of his case study, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 6 and the Philomela narrative. Focalization is the investigation of the different viewers and narrators in a given story and the ways in which an author shifts between them. Focalization serves to classify a swath of text in one of three ways in terms of the relationship of viewer and narrator: narrator-text, in which the narrator of the story views and narrates; character-text, in which a character in the story views and narrates (that is, directly speaks); and complex narrator-text, in which the character views the story but the narrator narrates it, as in indirect speech or narratorial description of a character's thoughts. This last category characterizes a significant amount of Tereus' "screen time" in *Met*. 6, but Peek's definition of complex narrator-text is too broad. In a previous article,[16] I have attempted to

[13] de Jong 1987.

[14] Fowler 1990.

[15] Peek 2003.

[16] Libatique 2015, 72.

add specific linguistic markers of viewing as a criterion to establish that a swath of text is complex narrator-text and not simply narrator-text; that is, the narrator is delving into the character's mind, rather than simply offering his own perspective on the situation. The act of delineating who is focalizing a scene at any given point allows us to analyze more carefully instances of speech or silence, especially in conjunction with considerations of vision, another means of interpersonal engagement that, like speech or silence in various circumstances to be investigated below, affords agency.

Indeed, despite the wide range of time periods under investigation in this dissertation, from fifth-century Greece to turn of the millennium Rome to Late Antiquity, one common thread that links all three is the fact that speech affords power. In Classical Greece, the necessity of the ability to manipulate speech in the *agora* and the popularity of the sophists, or teachers of rhetoric, proves the importance of speaking and speaking well;[17] the political and social environment encouraged an "Athenian apotheosis of the tongue."[18] The dawn of Augustan Rome initiated an obviation of the need for competitive political rhetoric, so

[17] "That words were, in the latter half of the fifth century, the most effective single instrument of political power, the means whereby the Athenian assembly could be swayed and manipulated, is a truism confirmed by both explicit testimony as well as the rise of sophistic (i.e., rhetorical) education" (Arrowsmith 1973, 144 n. 14).

[18] Arrowsmith 1973, 147.

necessary in the law courts and political jockeying of the Republic, since the burgeoning empire was an environment in which the *princeps* held all the power. Nevertheless, the ability to speak correctly became a valuable skill, requiring, as it did, special knowledge of the right things to say in certain kinds of company,[19] a requirement that continued into the later Empire.

Speech, in its capacity as an index of power, also serves to mark conspicuously those who by societal convention should not be speaking because they do not have social power. For example, Thersites in *Iliad* 2 is upbraided for speaking abusively to Agamemnon and thus exceeding his station as a subordinate; once he is silenced and struck with the scepter, the Argives celebrate: οὔ θήν μιν πάλιν αὖτις ἀνήσει θυμὸς ἀγήνωρ / νεικείειν βασιλῆας ὀνειδείοις ἐπέεσσιν, "Truly, his haughty *thumos* won't allow him to quarrel with kings with reproachful words again" (276-277).[20] The concept of speech as power pervades all time periods, reaching at least as far back as the Homeric age.

The guiding concept of this dissertation, however, works on a more basic level than that of rhetoric and persuasion: the act of communication *itself* is inherently a political statement of agency and power. It is not the fact that

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[19] Ahl 1984; Sluiter and Rosen 2004b, 1-13; Baltussen and Davis 2015b, 4-8.

[20] See Laird 1999, 6-8, on speech and power in the Thersites episode.

Thersites lambasts Agamemnon or advocates retreat that causes Odysseus to silence him: "Odysseus' verbal retort (246-64) makes scant reference to what Thersites has said. It is more concerned with the fact that Thersites has spoken it in the first place."[21] The very act of speaking gives the impression that Thersites has power that he cannot rightfully claim; it is incumbent upon Odysseus to ensure that all who witnessed Thersites' speech are aware of that fact by verbally silencing him (and in so doing exercising his own agency and power) and then striking him with the scepter, the symbol of the authority to speak. The act of using one's voice to express anything asserts one's presence and worthiness of being heard by others. Playwrights and authors, especially the four under consideration in this dissertation, I argue, use this concept to imbue certain characters with an agency that the circumstances of "real life" might not have allowed them. For example, to anticipate the discussion in Chapter 2, female Sophoclean protagonists like Deianira and Tecmessa express beautiful, eloquent sentiments that typically would never have been heard in public in Classical Greece, given Greek society's restrictions on the proper venues for the female voice, namely in religious or funerary contexts. As Laura McClure notes on a more general scale, "It is quite remarkable, given the restricted role of women's

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[21] Laird 1999, 7.

public speech in classical Athens, that tragedy contains a larger number of speaking female characters than any other Greek literary genre."[22]

Speech at its essence is the act of one entity communicating to another. This act of communication is often accomplished through the exercise of the physical voice and the reception of a willing ear through listening. But an analogous process, and one essential in some versions of the Philomela myth, is the act of communication through the exercise of writing and the reception of willing eyes through reading. This interpersonal engagement activates the same designations of a communication's sender and receiver; it is simply the means by which each sends and receives that differs, and the exigencies of, for example, geographic location can determine which pair of actions (speaking/listening or writing/reading) is appropriate for transmitting that communication. As such, writing may be equated with speech, and a letter or any medium that conveys writing may be equated with the voice. As Owen Hodkinson and Patricia Rosenmeyer write,

> Epistolary communication is justified by the separation of the writer from the receiver; one writes because one cannot speak. Absence may take several forms: it may be caused by geographical separation, psychological or emotional distance, or a chronological gap. The letter is always a sign or

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[22] McClure 2001, 5.

reminder of that absence that engenders and sustains the correspondence.[23] A physical token, like a letter or, in the case of Sophocles' and Ovid's Philomela, a tapestry embroidered with text, enables the act of communication when verbal and aural interplay is impossible. Thus, the text of the author, the substance of the author's communication, is tantamount to the voice of the author; by extension, the medium of communication (the letter, the tapestry) acts as a physical proxy for the author: "the letter stands in for the absent addressee, reminding the participants of the unbridgeable gap between writer and reader."[24] A prime example of this co-extension occurs in Ovid's *Tristia* 1.1, which conveys from Tomis to Rome his book of poetry in his stead: *parve – nec invideo – sine me, liber, ibis in Vrbem, / ei mihi, quo domino non licet ire tuo! … / vade, liber, verbisque meis loca grata saluta: / contingam certe quo licet illa pede,* "My little book (nor do I begrudge you), without me will you go into the City, oh me, where your master is not allowed to go! … Go, book, and greet those pleasing places with my words; I'll reach them on what foot I am allowed at least" (1-2, 15-16). Ovid foregrounds his physical absence from Rome at the beginning of the poem, placing the important distinction *sine me* emphatically at the line's caesura. However, he

[23] Hodkinson and Rosenmeyer 2014, 11.

[24] Hodkinson and Rosenmeyer 2014, 12.

claims presence at Rome through the coalescence of a part of his body, his physical feet, the means by which he would walk into or enter Rome, and his poem's metrical feet (*pede*), which actually *are* allowed into the city. This poem, sent in place of Ovid, communicates Ovid's words (*verbis meis*), which he cannot personally communicate to his familiar haunts (*loca grata*), given his geographic separation from them. Writing encapsulates the author's voice and communicates it when it cannot be expressed *viva voce*.

The flip side to this consideration of speech and communication is, obviously, the effects of silence. Often the marker of marginalized groups, like women and foreigners, the lack of a public voice, the lack of the ability to communicate, or even the lack of documentation of a voice through the act of writing, at the very least diminishes agency, if it does not take it away entirely. This concept as it applies to Classics is felt most acutely in the canon of texts, literary and documentary, with which we work today only after countless accidents of survival. As Amy Richlin writes, "The problems with writing women's history, or a gender-inclusive history, stemmed from the same truths that caused problems with writing the history of the poor, or slaves, or children: these groups either did not themselves write, or what writing they did was not

kept."[25] The diminution of agency caused by silence is another weapon in the playwright or author's arsenal that he can use to characterize a figure in a play or narrative as powerless or subordinate when compared to vocal figures. For example, to anticipate the discussion in Chapter 3, Ovid deliberately gives Tereus only two instances of direct speech, each less than one line of hexameter, while allowing both Philomela and Procne to deliver long set speeches to subvert the perception of Tereus as a powerful character and of Philomela and Procne as mere victims.

However, silence, like speech, contains nuances and contradictions. Both speech *and* silence may be used as indices of power; a silent figure can often project an air of agency or power over one who speaks. Context is key. For example, in Sophocles' *Philoctetes*, the eponymous hero's first speech crams four phrases of speaking or a mention of a voice within eight lines (τύχοιμ' ἂν εἰπών, 223; φωνῆς δ' ἀκοῦσαι βούλομαι, 225; φωνήσατ', 229; ἀνταμείψασθ', 230) because of a lack of response from Neoptolemus and the Chorus. Indeed, Neoptolemus' response (232-233) elicits an apostrophe on Philoctetes' part: ὦ φίλτατον φώνημα, "Oh, dearest voice!" (234). Philoctetes' desperation to hear a voice, any voice, intensifies the concentration of speech words in his address in

[25] Richlin 2014, 5.

an attempt to break Neoptolemus' and the Chorus' silence. Their voices hold the key to Philoctetes' satisfaction, and their silence leads to more desperation (and imperative forms of verbs of speech) on his part.

A more concrete example occurs in Horace's *Satire* I.6, in which both Horace and his addressee, Maecenas, are men of few words, though each for professedly different reasons. Horace, playing the part of the deferential potential client, stutters and fails to say anything of substance about himself: *singultim pauca locutus, / infans namque pudor prohibebat plura profari*, "I said a few things haltingly, because a speechless modesty kept me from saying more" (56-57). He transfers the epithet *infans* (literally, *in-* + *for, fari*, "not speaking") from himself to *pudor,* acknowledging a connection between his speechlessness and his feeling of social subordination, and the alliteration of plosive sounds "obviously mimics the sound of what the phrase describes: faltering, stuttered speech as a result of social unease."[26] Horace, cognizant of his lower status in relation to Maecenas, subconsciously checks himself from exercising his capacity for speech, so as not to project an air of power that he does not want to project; he plays an anti-Thersites by checking his tongue. Maecenas, on the other hand, speaks little because he chooses not to say much: *respondes, ut tuus est mos, / pauca*, "You say in

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[26] Laird 1999, 10.

reply, as is your custom, few things" (60-61). The enjambment of *pauca* is a clean, snippy, two-syllable punctuation on a very quick six-word description of Maecenas' action; the form harmonizes with its content. Maecenas' laconism does not stem from the same source, *pudor,* as Horace's; Maecenas knows that his social standing outranks Horace's, and there is no need for him to feel any *pudor* in relation to Horace.[27] However, this entire *mise en scène*, as it were, is dramaturgically crafted by Horace himself. He has decided how both he and Maecenas will speak or not speak in the poem, and these choices highlight the capacity of silence to disempower and empower simultaneously, depending on the silence's context. This authorial control over the presentation of speech or silence in his characters will appear again in Ovid's depiction of the Philomela myth, as investigated in Chapter 3. The differing valences of speech and silence in this Horatian episode demonstrate clearly an assertion by Andrew Laird: "speech as a token or currency of power cannot adequately be understood in terms of a crude binary system of ownership versus deprivation…it is rarely the case … that superior people have all the discourse and inferior people have none."[28]

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[27] See Laird 1999, 8-12, for a sensitive reading of Horace's *Satires* I.6 in terms of speech, silence, and relations of power.

[28] Laird 1999, 11.

An additional component that complicates the nuances of speech and silence is the consideration of gender. As mentioned above, the exercise of a public voice in antiquity was typically a masculine domain. As Mary Beard writes, "public speaking and oratory were not merely things that ancient women *didn't do*: they were exclusive practices and skills that defined masculinity as a gender…Public speech was a — if not *the* — defining attribute of maleness."[29] The analyses in this dissertation, however, attempt to identify how the poets reclaim for silenced women agency through the act of speech or communication. The plot of the most well-known versions of the myth, in which a woman loses her voice due to a man's brutality but still finds a way to expose his culpability and catalyze his comeuppance, has been fertile material for feminist readings that view Philomela's mutilated body as a *locus* for the exercise of wanton male power and agency and Philomela's act of indictment through the tapestry as her means of reclaiming power that is rightfully hers.[30] As Elissa Marder writes with specific regard to Ovid's version of the myth, though the sentiment is applicable to other versions as well, "This text invites a feminist reading not only because it recounts the story of a woman's rape, but also because it establishes a

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[29] Beard 2017, 17, emphases original.

[30] See, for example, Salzman-Mitchell 2005, 139-149; Richlin 2014, 140-143 (= 1992b, 162-165); Marder 1992, 156-162; Joplin 2002 (= 1991).

relationship between the experience of violation and access to language."[31] To communicate is to exhibit agency, and the reclamation of agency after the ability to communicate has been stolen offers much potential for feminist approaches. Another angle of viewing the myth focused on Procne underscores the radical potential of choosing a sister over a husband and son:

> To choose sisterhood over patriarchy is a radical act. … That we as readers are supposed to find this violent act unnatural, or equitable, to the rape is similar to the way in which feminism and other movements designed to combat structural oppression are portrayed as equally or more destructive than oppression itself.[32]

My dissertation supplements these feminist readings by approaching the myth from a narratological perspective, which has the capacity to analyze the agency or power of women through speech and silence. By investigating the ways in which Philomela, Procne, and Tereus are (or are not) utilized as narrators and viewers of a given narrative's action, we can ground our analyses of the interplay between gender and voice in linguistic evidence that provides a window into each author's socio-cultural atmosphere.

It is my goal in this dissertation to explore the nuances of speech and silence through this remarkable case study, the myth of Tereus, Procne, and Philomela,

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[31] Marder 1992, 157.

[32] Rajendran 2017.

and its various instantiations in Sophocles' *Tereus*, Aristophanes' *Birds*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 6, and the *Pervigilium Veneris*. The playwrights and authors who devote entire plays or significant or important portions of their poetry to the myth made specific choices when utilizing the opportunities afforded by depictions of direct or indirect speech and conspicuous silence to characterize the figures of the myth and build the relationships of power between them. These choices, I argue, were molded by the socio-cultural circumstances that generated these authors' works, from the free artistic rivalry of Classical Athens towards increasing artistic constraint in Augustan and Imperial Rome. Tereus, Procne, and Philomela thus become vivid embodiments of the ways in which speech and silence were viewed by contemporary Athens and Rome or, at least, by their authors in relation to their socio-cultural environments.

Chapter Summaries

In Chapter 1, "A Survey of the Myth," I progress from the earliest textual reference to the myth in extant Greek literature in Homer's *Odyssey* 19 to its incarnations in Late Antiquity. Each mention, whether an allusion or the foundation of a larger narrative, is utilized for a specific purpose according to the author's program, and variations from one mention to the next, in terms of

names, actions, and motivations, help elucidate the myriad of ways in which the myth was pliable enough to serve multiple purposes. In tracing the development of various aspects of the myth, I aim to set a context for the four primary texts that I am investigating to make the innovations of each author upon the tradition more apparent and more rich to analyze.

Chapter 2, "Sophocles' *Tereus* and Aristophanes' *Birds*: The Voices of the Shuttle and the Hoopoe," offers two related arguments. First, after analyzing the fragments of Sophocles' *Tereus*, I argue that Sophocles empowers his female characters, Procne and Philomela, by giving them voices or abilities to communicate that transgress Greek societal norms, in which silence was the *sine qua non* of femininity. Greek drama thus creates a tension between Greek women's lived experiences as silent observers and Greek dramatic characters' portrayal as vocal, active agents. This reading will illuminate two previously unexamined areas, namely Sophocles' dramaturgical choices about whom he allows to speak (if the theorized attributions of speech are sound) and the impact of those choices on gender, as relates to Procne as a vocal wife and mother and Philomela as a silenced rape victim, forced to communicate through letters woven into a tapestry. Second, I examine Aristophanes' *Birds* and posit that he attempts to correct the hierarchy of power constructed by Sophocles by

empowering the male character, Tereus, with speech, while muting Procne and in fact reducing her to the object of sexual advances by Euelpides and Peisetaerus. This Aristophanic flip of the hierarchy puts on display a "normative" male-female relationship, with a vocal man and a silent woman. This normative relationship will be upended in the later Aristophanic corpus in plays like *Lysistrata*, *Thesmophoriazusae*, and *Ecclesiazusae*, whose plots rely upon gender role reversal (as evidenced by, among others, the Kinsman in *Thesmophoriazusae* and the women in *Lysistrata* and *Ecclesiazusae*); this shift seems occasioned by the destruction of the Sicilian Expedition between the performance of *Birds* in 414 B.C.E. and the performance of *Lysistrata* in 411 B.C.E.

In Chapter 3, "Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 6: Silent Eloquence and the Double-Edged Tongue," I examine Ovid's Philomela narrative (*Met*. 6.424-674) and analyze the opportunities for speech and instances of conspicuous silence for each of the three principal characters, Tereus, Procne, and Philomela. With regard to Tereus, numerous references to his vocality and eloquence throughout the narrative (e.g., *facundum faciebat amor*, "Love made him eloquent," 469) belie the lack of a direct voice that he is afforded by the narrator. While he acts as the agent of nineteen verbs or phrases of speech which take direct objects, introduce indirect speech or questions, or serve as speech acts (compared to Philomela's

three or Procne's eight), he speaks directly only twice (513, 652) and each time for less than one line of hexameter. Philomela, on the other hand, is afforded for the first time in extant literature an eloquent monologue that allows her to rail against Tereus, before he rips her tongue out for fear of exposure. Nevertheless, she channels her lost voice into an act of writing on a tapestry, besting Tereus and proving that once empowered with speech, she cannot be deprived of that agency, despite Tereus' best efforts. Procne occupies a liminal space between the two; she serves as an analogue for each inasmuch as conspicuous silence deprives her of agency while the act of vocalizing her thoughts empowers her into action.

I argue that the poet's overt manipulation of the direct speech (or lack thereof) of the characters in this narrative may illustrate his artistic anxiety over a new environment of poetic production under the burgeoning principate. Poets in this era are becoming increasingly aware of the disparity of power between the princeps and the other Roman nobles, one in which speech and artistic production are increasingly important tools used to craft or combat an ideology, to grant or withhold agency. In the face of increasing constraint, Ovid uses his portrayal of Tereus and Philomela in particular to assert his concern over the principate's increasing control over speech and artistic production, a tactic that

first reduces competition from other elite males and then provides support for his policies, as seen in Horace's later poetry and Propertius 4. Ovid engages Augustus and his assumption of control over speech by drawing attention to *his* careful control over *Tereus*' speech and characterization, and he depicts Philomela as an analogue to himself through her ability to communicate through art despite the efforts of a tyrant to silence her.

In Chapter 4, "*Pervigilium Veneris: illa cantat, nos tacemus*," I investigate the narratorial intrusion at the end of the *Pervigilium Veneris*, an anonymous poem of 93 lines likely attributable to the 4th century C.E., mostly a panegyric to Venus and the rebirth of spring until the narrator's personal voice is expressed at line 89. A reference (86-88) to the sonorous swallow, the metamorphosed form of the Athenian princess Philomela, causes the narrator to lament that he has lost his own voice and that he longs to experience a rebirth and sing like the sparrow (89-92). First, I analyze the poem's verbs of speech and silence and find that the attribution of agency of each builds a hierarchy of power that situates Venus above all others and the poem's narrator at the very bottom. Second, I argue that the poem's metrical form, in trochaic tetrameter catalectic / trochaic septenarii / *versus quadratus*, emphasizes simultaneously the glorification of Venus and the relative powerlessness of the narrator by casting the narrator's voice as that of an

average, common person. Third, I claim that the *Pervigilium* is indebted generically to panegyric, and in this generic debt lies the key to the poet's paradoxical claim that he has been silent and wishes for rejuvenation like that experienced by the sonorous swallow.

Appendix 1, "The Sources of the Myth," complements Chapter 1 by listing in more or less chronological order the primary sources of the myth from Homer to Libanius in Greek and Roman authors with translations. While omissions are inevitable in a survey of this scope, I have attempted to be as comprehensive and inclusive as I could be.

CHAPTER 1 - A SURVEY OF THE MYTH

If we distill all the variants of the myth into its *ur*-mytheme, the essential kernel that links all the versions together from Homer to Late Antiquity, we are left with a mother killing her child and transforming into a bird. All other details that the various sources under investigation in this chapter have included in their particular treatments, like the sister-figure who is brutalized by her brother-in-law, deliberate intent behind the filicide to punish the father, the husband-figure's transformation into a bird, and even the names of each character, allow insight into the myriad of ways in which poets, playwrights, and prose writers have utilized the myth to further an aesthetic or didactic agenda. We must frame each instantiation of the myth as a variation on a basic mytheme, rather than divergences from a canonical version of the myth, as many scholars used to regard Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 6,[33] because any attempt to offer a "canonical" telling is necessarily doomed to failure by virtue of the breadth of variation contained within the extant sources and a lack of teleological progression towards any one "perfect" or "complete" version of the myth. Anyone who desires a "canonical" or "comprehensive" account of the myth must engage in a Sisyphean level of research:

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[33] See, e.g., Kiso 1984, 51-86, and Calder 1974 and their uses of Ovid to reconstruct Sophocles' *Tereus*.

> All the information about a myth has to be organized, the different versions evaluated for reliability and interest, the contradictory bits accounted for somehow (or smoothed over to give a better presentation), and a decision reached as to how much detail to include…that would entail an enormous amount of material [while] for other … figures there might be nothing more than a few sentences.[34]

As such, this chapter aims to take account of the various additions and modifications to the *ur*-mytheme and rationalize each author's decision to include the details germane to his work and exclude those that distract from or obfuscate the author's purpose in utilizing the myth. Though this survey aims to be comprehensive and collect as many of the references to the myth as possible from the time of Homer to the time of the *Pervigilium Veneris*, there will undoubtedly be various references that remain to be found and analyzed.

This chapter progresses diachronically through the sources. While broad generalizations about a "trajectory" for the myth are not only difficult to make but even misleading, inasmuch as "trajectory" implies "teleology," some general trends may be noted within each admittedly arbitrary temporal and geographic grouping that I make below. Strands of the myth were already clearly in place in **Archaic Greece**, in which iconographic and literary sources attest the presence of a mother-figure that kills her son and transforms into the nightingale. The iconographic representations sometimes include the depiction of a second

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[34] Smith and Trzaskoma 2007, xi.

woman, whose role in each depiction is unclear; the literary sources reference the nightingale and the swallow, the latter without any substantial contribution to our understanding of the swallow's role in the myth at the time. The best-known elements of the myth, like the glossectomy of the sister-figure and the element of revenge, appear to crystallize in **Classical Drama**, especially through the influence of Sophocles' *Tereus*, a play which seems to have set the stage for several references found in sources **from Comic and Tragic Fragments to the Alexandrian Era.** Though none of the fragments is substantial enough to make broader claims about variations in or innovations upon the myth, the Alexandrian sources evince the nightingale's connection with poetry and perhaps presage a later Latin tendency to switch the birds into which the mother-figure and sister-figure transform. In Rome, particularly in **Roman Tragedy and Comedy**, the myth forms the source of substantial dramatic treatments by Livius Andronicus and Accius with a reference by Plautus that nods at the aforementioned switch of the birds, a departure from the metamorphoses found in Greek sources. This switch is seen most clearly in the sources from the **Late Republic and Augustan Rome**, especially Vergil and Ovid. Ovid also provides

an extant literary[35] version of the myth in the *Metamorphoses*, one which serves as a clear intertextual object of emulation for later authors. Finally, versions of **the myth beyond Augustan Rome** often engage in either direct competition with previous authors or attempt to "correct" their predecessors' versions of the myth. The most notable exception is Antoninus Liberalis' *Metamorphoses* 11, whose variations on the myth's names and events are completely unique within the entire corpus of extant mythic variants.

A full list of the literary sources discussed in this chapter and their translations can be found in Appendix 1 - The Sources of the Myth.

Archaic Greece

The earliest Greek attestations to the myth, both written and iconographic,[36] are summarized and analyzed thoroughly by Ann Suter.[37] She notes that in those earliest versions, the filicide and transformation into a nightingale are the only

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[35] I here distinguish between narrative, dramatic treatments like Ovid's and mythographic ones like those of Hyginus, Ps.-Apollodorus, and Antoninus Liberalis; see Smith and Trzaskoma 2007, xiv-xv, who assert that mythographers like Hyginus and Ps.-Apollodorus aimed at "*retelling or paraphrasing* myths to capture their essential features, or at least their essential plots, and provide a reliable version without embellishment" (emphasis original).

[36] Literary: Hom. *Od.* 19.518-524, Hes. *Op.* 568-570 and fr. 312, Sappho fr. 135; see the Appendix. Iconographic: a late 7th/early 6th c. BCE metope in Aetolia and three cups; see Suter 2004, 378, and the Figures below.

[37] Suter 2004, 378-380.

details that are shared with the later versions of the myth, such as Sophocles' and Ovid's; there is no mention of a younger sister or a sexual rivalry, let alone a rape or a banquet. A representative sample of an early allusion to the myth occurs in Homer's *Odyssey*, as Penelope laments her situation without Odysseus (19.518-523):

> ὡς δ᾽ ὅτε Πανδαρέου κούρη, χλωρηὶς Ἀηδών,
> καλὸν ἀείδησιν ἔαρος νέον ἱσταμένοιο,[38]
> δενδρέων ἐν πετάλοισι καθεζομένη πυκινοῖσιν,
> ἥ τε θαμὰ τρωπῶσα χέει πολυηχέα φωνήν,
> παῖδ᾽ ὀλοφυρομένη Ἴτυλον φίλον, ὅν ποτε χαλκῷ
> κτεῖνε δι᾽ ἀφραδίας, κοῦρον Ζήθοιο ἄνακτος…
>
> Just as when the daughter of Pandareus, the greenwood Nightingale, sings beautifully when spring is newly arrived, sitting in the dense leafage of the trees, and pours out her much-resounding voice, trilling incessantly, bewailing her beloved child Itylus, whom she killed with the bronze through negligence, the son of lord Zethus…

The genealogical details like the names of Aedon's father (Pandareus), child (Itylus), and husband (Zethus) are explained in a scholion (*FGrH* 3 F 124) which fleshes out the details found in this passage from the *Odyssey*: Aedon, jealous of her sister-in-law Niobe's fertility, plots to kill Niobe's son but actually kills Itylus, her own son, by mistake. Zeus takes pity on her and changes her into the nightingale who forever mourns.[39] The key phrase in the Homeric reference is δι'

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[38] See below on Hes. *Op.* 568-569.

[39] McHardy 2005, 141-142; Suter 2004, 379.

ἀφραδίας; the context provided by the scholion indicates that the poet here means that the killing was the result of carelessness or negligence. Other instances of the noun ἀφραδία in the *Iliad*[40] and *Odyssey*[41] indicate carelessness, negligence, or thoughtlessness. The metamorphosis into a nightingale and the underlying motivation of the nightingale's plaintive song, however, are Penelope's basis for comparison: "The main focus of the simile is … on the state of mind which, according to the postulates of the myth, is expressed in the song; and it is this that is compared with the indecision and emotional torment of Penelope."[42] This version of the myth appears to be illustrated in an Attic red-figure kylix from the late 6th century B.C.E. (**Figure 1**) that depicts a woman, labeled ΑΕΔΟΝΑΙ, pushing a child, labeled ΙΤΥΣ, onto a bed and holding a sword point to his throat.[43]

Other Archaic references to the myth are made only in passing, without

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[40] ἀνδρῶν κακότητι καὶ ἀφραδίῃ πολέμοιο, about potential deserters, 2.368; ἀνέρος ἀφραδίῃσιν ἀγαυοῦ Λαομέδοντος, about Laomedon, 5.649; ἀφραδίῃσι νόοιο, about Menelaus, 10.122; ὃ δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ὦκα παρέδραμεν ἀφραδίῃσιν, about Dolon, 10.350; ποιμένος ἀφραδίῃσι, about a careless shepherd in a simile, 16.354.

[41] τρὶς δ᾽ ἔκπιεν ἀφραδίῃσιν, about the Cyclops, 9.361; αὐτῶν γὰρ ἀπωλόμεθ᾽ ἀφραδίῃσιν, about the lost sailors, 10.27; παριὼν λὰξ ἔνθορεν ἀφραδίῃσιν / ἰσχίῳ, about Melantheus, 17.233-234.

[42] Barker 2004, 188.

[43] *LIMC s.v.* Prokne et Philomela 2. See also Sparkes 1985, 29-31; March 2000, 124-125. March notes that the names Itys and Itylus appear to be interchangeable; "Aedonai" seems to be missing a final alpha, for an earlier form of "Aedon" ("Aedonaia").

Figure 1. Attic red-figure kylix, 510-500 B.C.E. (Munich, Antikensammlungen 2638).

any substantial contribution to our understanding of it. For example, Hesiod uses the swallow to qualify the beginning of spring in the *Works and Days*: τὸν δὲ μέτ᾽ ὀρθρογόη Πανδιονὶς ὦρτο χελιδὼν / ἐς φάος ἀνθρώποις, ἔαρος νέον ἱσταμένοιο, "After [Oceanus], the swallow, early-wailing daughter of Pandion, rose to the light for mankind, when spring was newly arrived" (*Op.* 568-569). The formula ἔαρος νέον ἱσταμένοιο, also used in the passage from the *Odyssey* above (19.519), serves to link together the swallow and the nightingale; both birds are harbingers of the coming spring. Aelian in the *Varia Historia* (12.20)

transmits Hesiod fr. 312, in which he describes the wakefulness of the nightingale and sparrow in indirect speech; the latter part of the passage, in which he states that the punishment is the result of the unholy meal,[44] is in direct speech and most likely Aelian's own interpretation based on later, intervening accounts of the myth, rather than Hesiod's interpretation. Then, like Hesiod in the *Works and Days*, Sappho in fr. 135 attributes paternity of the swallow to Pandion, as opposed to the Homeric Pandareus: τί με Πανδίονις, Ὤιρανα, χελίδω…, "Why, Peace, does the daughter of Pandion, the swallow, … me …". However, Jenny March, in her study of iconographic representations of Sophocles' *Tereus,* notes that the Pandion in these texts does not necessarily correspond to the Athenian Pandion familiar to us from Ovid.[45] In these three allusions, the focus is on the swallow, rather than the nightingale, but we cannot infer anything about the swallow's involvement in the myth; the Hesiodic reference in the *Works and Days* qualifies a temporal period, the Hesiodic fragment in Aelian attests only the wakefulness of the nightingale and sparrow, and the Sapphic fragment accords

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[44] τιμωρίαν δὲ ἄρα ταύτην ἐκτίνουσι διὰ τὸ πάθος ἐν Θράικηι κατατολμηθὲν τὸ ἐς τὸ δεῖπνον ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἄθεσμον, "They pay that punishment because of the suffering that they dared in Thrace at the unholy meal."

[45] In particular, there is confusion between an Athenian Pandion, who supposedly came genealogically between Erichthonius and Erechtheus (who were probably the same person), and a Megarian Pandion, who came to rule after being ousted from Athens (March 2000, 127). This confusion may anticipate the confusion over the provenance of the Tereus figure in Thucydides and Pausanias, on which see below.

with the first Hesiodic reference in the paternity of Pandion.

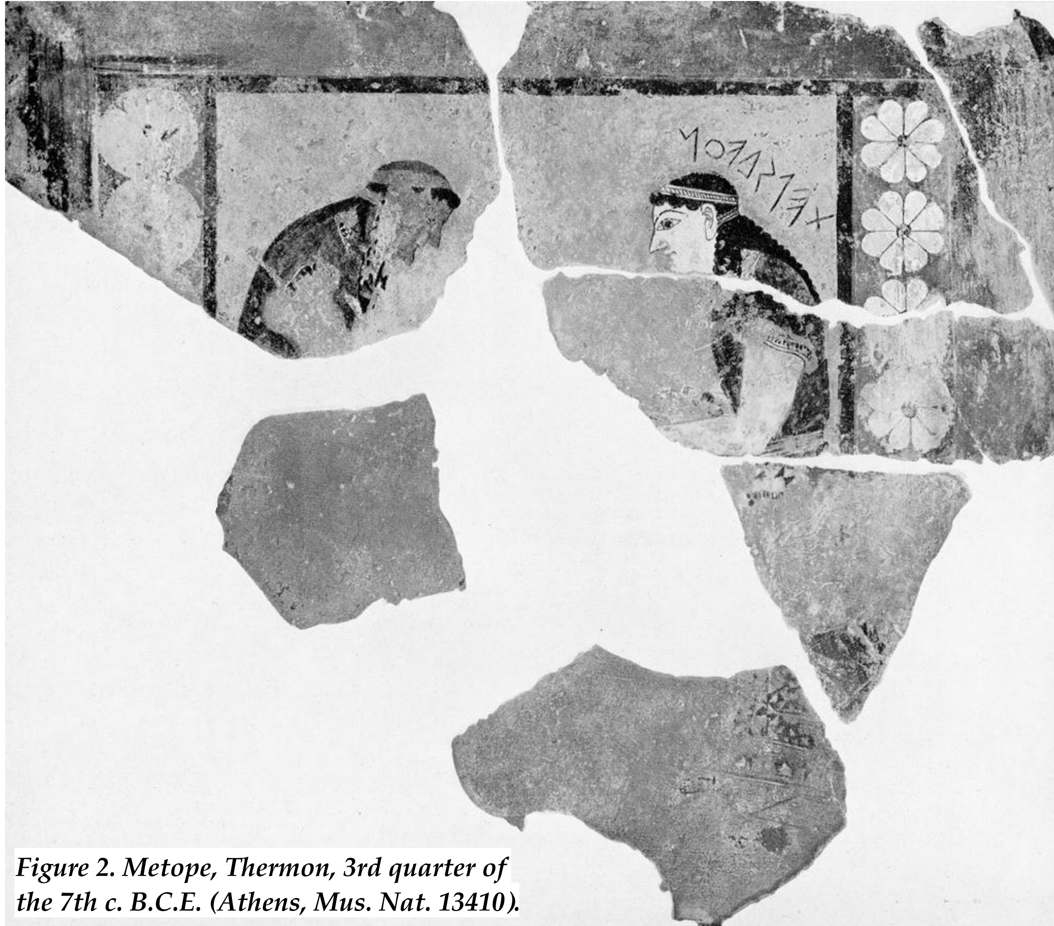

Figure 2. Metope, Thermon, 3rd quarter of the 7th c. B.C.E. (Athens, Mus. Nat. 13410).

The Archaic Greek iconographic evidence, on the other hand, depicts the two women and a child in varying permutations and acts. On a metope from a temple at Thermon in Aetolia (c. 630 B.C.E.) (**Figure 2**), two women are depicted facing one another, hunched over.[46] The righthand woman is inscribed as ΧΕΛΙΔϜΟΝ; though the lefthand woman lacks an inscription, we can probably assume she is Ἀηδών, given the pairing of the two birds in the Hesiodic fragment

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[46] *LIMC s.v.* Prokne et Philomela 1.

and the connection formed by the shared formula in Hes. *Op.* 569 and Hom. *Od.* 19.519. It is not clear what is happening in the depiction; a significant portion of the middle is missing, and Chelidon is described variously: either she holds a young boy's head[47] or "*porte une chiton brodé*," carries an embroidered chiton.[48] If the former, it is tempting to envision Itys' body in the blank space, but even then, it would be unclear what the women were about to do to it, depending on which version of the myth is here depicted: "Are they carrying him to the kitchen to cook him for Tereus? Or are they giving him a hurry-up funeral before Zethos can find out what happened?"[49]

Then, a cup fragment from Basel around the turn of the fifth century B.C.E.[50] (**Figure 3**) depicts a scene almost exactly like that on the Attic red-figure kylix described above (**Figure 1**), except that the bed is missing and traces of a second woman (namely a foot and some fingers in the main part of the fragment and the clothing of her torso in a secondary sherd) indicate that she may have been either restraining the child as the visible woman kills him or attempting to

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[47] Suter 2004, 379; March 2000, 126.

[48] *LIMC s.v.* Prokne et Philomela 1.

[49] Suter 2004, 379.

[50] *LIMC s.v.* Prokne et Philomela 3; Suter 2004, 380.

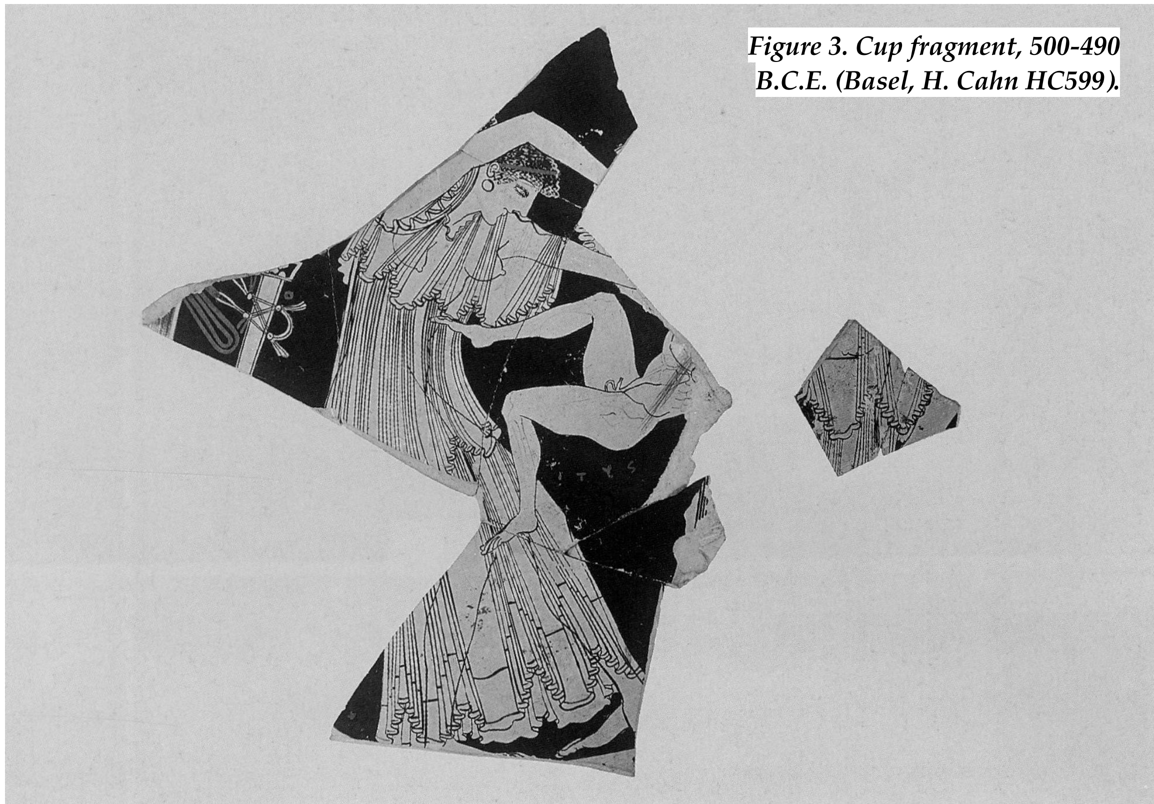

Figure 3. Cup fragment, 500-490 B.C.E. (Basel, H. Cahn HC599).

drag the child away from the visible woman’s advances.[51] Figure 3, like Figure 1, may represent the strain of the myth in *Odyssey* 19, in which the mother-figure kills her child δι’ ἀφραδίας, “through carelessness,” but in Figure 3, it is difficult to argue against the interpretation that the visible woman is deliberately intent upon killing the child in front of her; whether she recognizes the child as her own is impossible to determine.

A curious red-figure kylix by Makron from Etruria (c. 490-480 B.C.E.) (**Figure 4**) complicates the picture. A woman on the left wearing a (ritual?)

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[51] March 2000, 132-133. She neglects to include the secondary sherd, which can be seen at Figure 3.

Figure 4. Red-figure kylix, Makron, 490-480 B.C.E. (Paris, Louvre G 147).

headband and a sword at her side advances upon a woman holding a naked child; the posture seems to indicate that the latter woman is trying to protect him from the armed woman.[52] In her entry for this piece in *LIMC*, Evi Touloupa identifies the woman on the left as Philomela and the one on the right as Procne,

[52] Sparkes 1985, 31. Suter 2004, 380, posits that the woman on the right is "holding Itys by the shoulders so that he faces the first [woman]," but Sparkes notes (and March 2000, 130, agrees) that she "seems to be moving away to our right…holding her child close to her as though to protect him" (31).

a mother protecting her child Itys,[53] but as March notes, "a very real problem with this interpretation is that in extant versions of the myth, it is never the sister, Philomela, who kills Itys: she is always the victim, raped and mutilated by Tereus, and it is Procne who acts, who does the terrible murder out of anger and revenge for what her husband has done."[54] She posits either that the kylix depicts another myth entirely (like Antoninus Liberalis' version of the Minyeides myth in *Metamorphoses* 10) or an early version of the myth unattested in our extant sources, in which it is Philomela (maddened by Bacchic frenzy?) who kills Itys.[55] Far later Latin sources like Vergil and Ovid regularly switch the mother and sister figures and the birds into which they transform,[56] but no literary evidence contemporaneous with this kylix (early 5th century B.C.E.) corroborates such a switch happening at this early stage.

Such is the state of the myth by the early 5th century B.C.E. in our extant and fragmentary sources. According to Homer and the scholiast, a mother inadvertently kills her child ostensibly because of jealousy at her fertile sister-in-

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[53] *LIMC s.v.* Prokne et Philomela 4.

[54] March 2000, 130. I would modify the first part of the quote to "in extant *contemporaneous* versions of the myth"; see the following.

[55] March 2000, 130-132. See also Mihailov 1955, 150-160, for further discussion of the iconographic depictions of the myth.

[56] See below, pp. 77-81.

law, and iconography confirms the filicide as part of the myth. The presence of the second woman in the Thermon metope (**Figure 2**), the Basel cup fragment (**Figure 3**), and the Makron kylix (**Figure 4**) indicates that the sister-figure that appears in later literary sources for the myth may have existed as early as the late 7th century B.C.E., which accords with the mentions of the swallow-figure in Hesiod and Sappho, but it remains unclear what her role in the early versions of the myth was. One interpretation that explains the presence of the second woman in the iconographic sources implicates her in the act of filicide. In Figure 2, she and the mother-figure could be looming over a child who has been killed or is about to be killed; in Figures 3 and 4, she could be restraining the child to allow the mother-figure to land the killing blow. By the same token, however, the second woman could be merely an observer or, further, a protector of the child: in Figure 2, the act of inspecting the child's body does not necessarily mean that the second woman took part in his murder, and in Figures 3 and 4, the second woman could just as easily be trying to take the child away from the murderous mother-figure to protect him. Nothing can be ascertained for certain about any of these iconographic representations.

The elements that are paramount in the later versions of the myth, namely the rape of the sister, the glossectomy, intentionality behind the filicide, and the

feeding of the child to the father, are not found in these literary or iconographic sources from the Archaic period. Suter notes that "the early references suggest … that the earliest, Homeric [version], focussed on the women and their rivalry over fertility. The later one that became canonical, with the names Prokne and Philomela, introduces a husband who is a rapist. In this one, the women join forces to avenge themselves on him."[57] Suter suggests that this rivalry over fertility as a mythic theme can perhaps be traced to a larger pattern of societal conflict between indigenous and immigrant fertility deities.[58] Perhaps, more straightforwardly, the theme of maternal jealousy, prominent in other myths like that of Niobe, could have been introduced at some point into the mythic nexus of accounts and figures to rationalize the filicide. In either case, based on the sources that remain, it is difficult to account for the later shift that leads to the inclusion of the elements named above.

Classical Drama

Aeschylus mentions the myth twice in his extant works, first in the *Suppliants* (58-67) and then in the *Agamemnon* (1140-1149), but in both, the focus

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[57] Suter 2004, 381.

[58] Suter 2004, 382.

remains on the nightingale figure and her act of filicide, as in Homer. There is as yet no explicit mention of a sister, a rape, or a banquet.[59] In the *Suppliants*, the allusion occurs in the first choral song:

> εἰ δὲ κυρεῖ τις πέλας οἰωνοπόλων
> ἐγγάϊος οἶκτον {οἰκτρὸν} ἀίων,
> δοξάσει τις ἀκούειν ὄπα τᾶς Τηρεΐας
>   Μήτιδος[60] οἰκτρᾶς ἀλόχου,
> κιρκηλάτας γ' ἀηδόνος,
>
> ἅτ' ἐπὶ χλωρῶν ποταμῶν {τ'} εἰργομένα
> πενθεῖ νέον οἶκτον[61] ἠθέων,
> ξυντίθησι δὲ παιδὸς μόρον, ὡς αὐτοφόνως
>   ὤλετο πρὸς χειρὸς ἕθεν
> δυσμάτορος κότου τυχών· (58-67)

> But if someone nearby who knows how to interpret the cries of birds happens to hear this piteous wailing, he will think that he hears the voice of the pitiable wife of Tereus, the hawk-chased nightingale Metis, who, shut out from her green rivers, grieves a fresh lament for her familiar places, and she devises the fate of her child, as he perishes by her own hand, slain by his own kin, meeting with the wrath of a terrible mother.

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[59] See Johansen and Whittle 1980, 52-53: "The Aeschylean allusions here and in *Ag.* 1140-9 centre on the nightingale-figure; reference to Philomela and the paedophagy of Tereus is absent, and it is therefore impossible to know whether Aeschylus' conception of the story agrees in substance with the 'Sophoclean' version."

[60] I follow the text of M.L. West's Teubner (1990) except here in the capitalization of the name Metis, on which see n. 67, and on οἶκτον of 64, on which see n. 61.

[61] I diverge here from West's οἶτον in favor of the manuscript's οἶκτον. West's adoption of Hermann's conjecture and rejection of the manuscript reading is puzzling in light of the fact that "οἶκτον echoes the same word in the same place in the strophe (59), a common device in Aeschylean choral lyric" (Sandin 2005, 84). More puzzling is the fact that West 1990b, 129-130 (*ad* 63-64), produces οἶκτον with the manuscript reading but does not discuss his use of οἶτον in the main text.

Many details are worth noting. First, the chorus appears to claim that Tereus transforms into a hawk (κιρκηλάτας) rather than the hoopoe familiar from Aristophanes' *Birds* or Ovid's *Metamorphoses.* This detail appears here first but then disappears in favor of the hoopoe until sources that postdate Aeschylus by centuries, including Hyginus (*Fab.* 45.5),[62] who embeds the reference, intriguingly, in an Alexandrian footnote: *Tereum autem accipitrem factum dicunt*, "**They say**, moreover, that Tereus became a hawk" (*Fab.* 45.5); perhaps Hyginus is referencing Aeschylus' κιρκηλάτας. However, the assumption that the hawk of κιρκηλάτας alludes to Tereus, one made by many scholars who comment on this passage,[63] may not stand on solid ground. No explicit mention is made in this passage of a transformation for Tereus, and the hawk need not reference Tereus at all given the long-attested predatory relationship between the hawk and the nightingale, first mentioned as early as Hesiod's *Works and Days*:

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[62] See Whittle 1964, 27 n. 9: "the version of the nightingale legend in which Tereus becomes a hawk, not a hoopoe, occurs in Aeschylus (*Supp.* 62) for the first time, but does not reappear for many centuries."

[63] e.g., Johansen and Whittle 1980, 57 n. 62: "Metis continues to be pursued by Tereus after their metamorphoses into nightingale and hawk;" Gödde 2000, 154: "*Der Habicht, der sie, die Nachtigall, verfolgt, ist ihr verwandelter Gatte Tereus,*" "The hawk that pursues her, the nightingale, is her transformed husband Tereus;" Holmes 2011, 7: "in traditional mythology, Tereus had been transformed by the god into a hawk (as, for example, Aesch. *Supp.* 62) and not into a hoopoe." Natoli 2017, 196 n. 67, seems to have erroneously switched hawk and hoopoe: "In all of the Attic versions of the tale, save that of Aeschylus, Tereus is transformed into a hawk. In Aeschylus, however, he is changed into a hoopoe."

> νῦν δ᾽ αἶνον βασιλεῦσ᾽ ἐρέω, φρονέουσι καὶ αὐτοῖς.
> ὧδ᾽ ἴρηξ προσέειπεν ἀηδόνα ποικιλόδειρον,
> ὕψι μάλ᾽ ἐν νεφέεσσι φέρων, ὀνύχεσσι μεμαρπώς·
> ἡ δ᾽ ἐλεόν, γναμπτοῖσι πεπαρμένη ἀμφ᾽ ὀνύχεσσιν,
> μύρετο· τὴν δ᾽ ὅ γ᾽ ἐπικρατέως πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν·
> "δαιμονίη, τί λέληκας; ἔχει νύ σε πολλὸν ἀρείων·
> τῇ δ᾽ εἶς ᾗ σ᾽ ἂν ἐγώ περ ἄγω καὶ ἀοιδὸν ἐοῦσαν·
> δεῖπνον δ᾽ αἴ κ᾽ ἐθέλω ποιήσομαι ἠὲ μεθήσω.
> ἄφρων δ᾽ ὅς κ᾽ ἐθέλῃ πρὸς κρείσσονας ἀντιφερίζειν·
> νίκης τε στέρεται πρός τ᾽ αἴσχεσιν ἄλγεα πάσχει."
> ὣς ἔφατ᾽ ὠκυπέτης ἴρηξ, τανυσίπτερος ὄρνις. (202-212)

> Now I will tell a tale for kings who themselves understand. A hawk addressed a nightingale with dappled neck as he carried her very high up in the clouds, having caught her with his talons. She wept pitifully, pierced through by his curved talons, but he haughtily said to her: "Good lady, why are you crying? Your better by far now holds you, and you will go wherever I lead you, even if you are a songstress, and if I wish, I will make you my meal or I will let you go. He is foolish, whoever wishes to strive against his betters; he is deprived of victory and he suffers pain on top of shame." Thus spoke the swift-winged hawk, the bird with the long wings.

It seems more prudent here to focus on how "the juxtaposition between hubristic violence and justice in the Hesiodic context is directly relevant to the *Suppliants*"[64] rather than equate the hawk with a violent Tereus that may not have existed in the mythic nexus until Sophocles. It would be extraordinary if the hawk here referred to Tereus, only to disappear for centuries in favor of the hoopoe until the Augustan era. The predatory nature of the hawk is mentioned after the first choral song, when Danaus instructs his daughters to touch an altar

[64] Papadopoulou 2011, 136 n. 50.

as suppliants like doves in fear of the hawk: ἐν ἁγνῷ δ' ἑσμὸς ὡς πελειάδων / ἵζεσθε κίρκων τῶν ὁμοπτέρων φόβῳ, / ἐχθρῶν ὁμαίμων καὶ μιαινόντωον γένος. / ὄρνιθος ὄρνις πῶς ἂν ἁγνεύοι φαγών; "Sit in this holy place like a flock of doves in fear of hawks of the same feather, kindred enemies who defile their race; how could a bird remain pure if it eats a bird?" (223-226).[65] The hawk recurs as a motif for the threat that confronts the Danaids, themselves likened to the nightingale and to doves; that antagonistic relationship need not depend upon an identification of the hawk with Tereus specifically. This explanation of the utilization of the myth in this seemingly incongruous context improves upon Pär Sandin's dismissal of the utilization's thematic importance: "the Danaids imagine Procne as an exile, like themselves. This is not a vital part of the myth; but it is, besides the fact that they are both being chased by fiancés/a husband, the only way in which Procne can offer a relevant parallel to the Danaids."[66]

[65] The invocation of cannibalistic ingestion perhaps pairs with the use of the name Metis (on which see below, n. 67), who was swallowed by Zeus, to indicate that ingestion of a son was part of Aeschylus' conception of the nightingale myth. As mentioned previously, by the time of the performance of the *Suppliants* probably in the 460s B.C.E., no literary or iconographic source definitively proves that the ingestion of the son was part of the myth. However, the uniqueness of the name Metis suggests that some aspect of the myth of the Hesiodic Metis resonates with that of the nightingale, and while the parallel could work on the level of craftiness, duality, or transformation (or all of the above), the parallel may extend to the theme of ingestion of kin. In the *Theogony,* Zeus swallows Metis and, by extension, his child Athena; perhaps this aspect of the myth would be invoked in the Aeschylean audience's mind by the use of the name Metis to denote the nightingale.

[66] Sandin 2005, 83.

There is no parallel in extant literature for the name of the nightingale as Metis beyond the mention here,[67] but the name obviously invokes Hesiod's *Theogony*, in which Zeus' first marriage is to Metis, whom he swallows to preclude the fulfillment of a prophecy that a child from that marriage would be more powerful than he (886-900). The explicit reason for the swallowing, however, relates to Metis' name: ἀλλ' ἄρα μιν Ζεὺς πρόσθεν ἑὴν ἐσκάτθετο νηδύν, / ὥς οἱ συμφράσσαιτο θεὰ ἀγαθόν τε κακόν τε, "But Zeus put her in his belly first, so that the goddess would advise him on good and bad" (899-900). The second line accords well with the denotation of the word μῆτις as "cunning" or "wisdom," and the coalescence of the nightingale figure with this figure of wisdom and counsel may indicate the craftiness of the former, especially as one who "devised the fate of her child" (ξυντίθησι δὲ παιδὸς μόρον). This association of the power of the mind with "Metis" may be echoed in Ovid's much later use of *ingenium* and *sollertia* (*Met.* 6.575) when he describes Philomela's crafting of the tapestry; the transference of the power of the mind from the mother-figure here in the *Suppliants* to the sister-figure in the

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[67] See Johansen and Whittle 1980, 55-57. The capitalization of Μήτιδος (thus turning it into a proper noun, versus μῆτις, "counsel") was first suggested by Welcker and smooths out the difficulties in sense and syntax posed by the common noun. Gantz 1993, 240 and 848-849 n. 21, follows M.L. West's 1990 Teubner in making μήτιδος a common rather than a proper noun, but no argument against Welcker's suggestion is given by either Gantz or West.

Metamorphoses may also evince Ovid's deliberate obfuscation of the birds into which each sister transforms, as the Latin tradition often reverses the assignment of the nightingale to the mother-figure and the swallow to the sister-figure,[68] and the connection between the nightingale and the swallow in the *Odyssey* and the *Works and Days*. The dual nature of Metis as a threat and an aid to Zeus[69] may also speak to the dual nature of the grieving mother and filicide, though that duality does not necessitate mutual exclusion between the two poles, as evidenced in, for example, Medea's reaction to her filicide.

Furthermore, the figure of Metis was known as a shape-shifter, according to the scholiasts on the *Theogony*[70] and the *Iliad*[71] and Pseudo-Apollodorus,[72] so

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[68] On which see below, pp. 77-81.

[69] "In the myth [Metis] plays an ambivalent role: she is a threat to Zeus and at the same time an indispensable aid to Zeus" (Brown 1952, 133). See also Scully 2016, 30-49.

[70] Σ Hes. *Th.* 886: λέγεται ὅτι ἡ Μῆτις τοιαύτην εἶχε δύναμιν ὥστε μεταβάλλειν εἰς ὁποῖον ἂν ἐβούλετο. πλανήσας οὖν αὐτὴν ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ μικρὰν ποιήσας κατέπιεν· ἔγκυον δὲ αὐτὴν κατέπιεν. ὁ δὲ Οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ Γῆ αὐτῷ εἶπον καταπιεῖν αὐτήν, ἵνα μὴ ὁ γεννώμενος ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐπικρατέστερος γένηται, "It is said that Metis had the power to change into whatever she wished. Zeus deceived her, made her small, and swallowed her, but he swallowed her pregnant. Ouranos and Ge told him to swallow her so that the one born from her would not become more powerful."

[71] Σ Hom. *Il.* 8.39: Μῆτιν τὴν Ὠκεανοῦ ἀμείβουσαν εἰς πολλὰ τὴν μορφὴν Ζεὺς βουλόμενος παρ' ἑαυτῷ ἔχειν κατέπιεν ἔγκυον οὖσαν ὑπὸ Βρόντου τοῦ Κύκλωπος, "Zeus, wishing to have Metis, the daughter of Oceanus, who changed her shape many times, pregnant by Brontus the Cyclops, swallowed her."

[72] μίγνυται δὲ Ζεὺς Μήτιδι, μεταβαλλούσῃ εἰς πολλὰς ἰδέας ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ συνελθεῖν, "Zeus had intercourse with Metis, who changed into many shapes in order not to mate with him" (1.3.6).

another appropriate parallel may be drawn with the mother who transforms into the nightingale. Metis' use of her protean ability to avoid unwanted sexual advances puts her in extensive company in Greek mythology, including Nemesis (Ps.-Apollodorus 3.10.7, *Cypria* fr. 10 West) and Thetis (Ps.-Apollodorus 3.13.5, Pindar *Nemean* 4.62-68).[73] Nemesis in particular shares with Metis the propensity for an avian transformation; she becomes a goose, also to escape the advances of Zeus. Aeschylus' utilization of this Metis figure therefore operates on many registers, but the theme of a potential victim fleeing from an aggressor seems like the most direct parallel between Metis and the nightingale in the *Suppliants*, who flees the hawk.

Aeschylus uses the theme of the metamorphosed nightingale again in the *Agamemnon*:

> [Κα.] ἰὼ ἰὼ ταλαίνας κακόποτμοι τύχαι·
> τὸ γὰρ ἐμὸν θρόῶ πάθος ἐπεγχεαι.
> ποῖ δή με δεῦρο τὴν τάλαιναν ἤγαγες
> οὐδέν ποτ' εἰ μὴ ξυνθανουμένην; τί γάρ;
>
> [Χο.] φρενομανής τις εἶ, θεοφόρητος, ἀμ-
> φὶ δ' αὑτᾶς θροεῖς

[73] See Ormand 2014, 96-106, and Forbes Irving 1990, 184-187 on Metis, 171-194 for shape-shifters in general.

> νόμον ἄνομον[74] οἷά τις ξουθὰ
> ἀκόρετος βοᾶς, φεῦ, φιλοίκτοις φρεσὶν
> Ἴτυν Ἴτυν στένουσ' ἀμφιθαλῆ κακοῖς
> ἀηδὼν βίον.
>
> [Κα.] ἰὼ ἰὼ λιγείας μόρος ἀηδόνος·
> περέβαλον γάρ οἱ πτεροφόρον δέμας
> θεοὶ γλυκύν τ' αἰῶνα κλαυμάτων ἄτερ·
> ἐμοὶ δὲ μίμνει σχισμὸς ἀμφήκει δορί. (1136-1149)
>
> [CASSANDRA] Io, io, the terrible fate of wretched me; for I cry out my own suffering to pour on top of his. Why did you lead wretched me here if not so I would die with him? Why? [CHORUS] You are maddened, possessed by a god, and you cry your tuneless tune about yourself, like some nightingale, trilling, never satiate of crying, alas, "Itys, Itys" in her wretched heart, bewailing her life that abounds in evils. [CASSANDRA] Io, io, the fate of the shrill nightingale; for the gods cast around her a winged body and a sweet life free from wailing, but for me awaits a butchering by the double-edged weapon.

This allusion appears to acknowledge the existence of filicide as part of the mythic nexus of concepts and figures, but it reveals nothing about any intention behind the murder or any event following it save for the divinely-initiated transformation of the mother into the nightingale. Laura McClure highlights the nature of Cassandra's cries as lamentation: "the Procne myth…chronicles the silencing of a woman for infanticide; when transformed into a bird, her speech is restored and takes the form of a lament, a socially accepted speech genre for

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[74] The "tuneless tune" seems not quite as disordered as the oxymoron makes it seem; note, for example, the balance of Cassandra's dochmaic dimeters at 1136-1137: one double drag followed by three equal cola, each with only the first long resolved into two shorts.

women in ancient Greece."[75] Cassandra rejects this identification, however, because the metamorphosed nightingale lives, as far as she is concerned, a pleasant life without wailing. The point runs counter to the widespread conceptions about the nightingale's song: "This—particularly κλαυμάτων ἄτερ, 'without any (new) cries of distress'—is a very unusual perspective, since the nightingale's famous song was normally seen precisely as a lament."[76] Her focus here seems to be on the threat of physical harm; the nightingale's divinely granted body (δέμας) does not undergo the threat of the double-edged weapon that will kill Cassandra (ἀμφήκει δορί). As Anton Bierl explains, "The minced, dichotomous voice, which, through the theatrical medium of chants, conveys the *pathos* of corporeality in all its urgency to the audience, proleptically externalizes the imminent, and bodily concrete, cleaving."[77] In other words, Cassandra's crazed singing, which the Chorus terms a "tuneless tune" (νόμον ἄνομον), vacillating from one extreme of inarticulate raving to the other of logical questions and utterances, sonically anticipates the death by cleaving that Cassandra fears. Her valorization of the nightingale's life, however, makes

[75] McClure 1999, 95; for the larger gender context of Cassandra as the paradigm of feminine silence and lamentation, 92-97.

[76] Raeburn and Thomas 2011, 191.

[77] Bierl 2016, 189-190.

Cassandra a bad intertextual reader across to Aeschylus' *Suppliants*, in which, as mentioned above, the nightingale constantly fears the pursuit of the hawk, as much a threat to the nightingale as the δορύ is to Cassandra.

Frederick Ahl reads in 1149, the declaration of Cassandra's butchery by a weapon, a reference to Philomela: "If she is a daughter of Pandion, she is the mutilated Philomela, who, deprived of her tongue, cannot communicate in words but twitters like a barbarian swallow."[78] The identification is tempting, but we must keep in mind that we still do not have any evidence of the brutalization of the nightingale's sister being part of the myth by the time of the performance of the *Oresteia* in 458 B.C.E. The iconographic evidence simply attests the presence of a second woman in positions relative to other figures that are difficult to interpret.

Beyond Aeschylus, the figure of the nightingale in particular is ubiquitous in extant Greek tragedy as a figure of lament. Aara Suksi catalogues and analyzes mentions of the nightingale in Euripides' *Heracles*, *Phoenissae*, and *Helen* and Sophocles' *Electra* and *Oedipus at Colonus*. In each, the nightingale is invoked in the context of the Muses (that is, poetry) or lament. Suksi also briefly traces mentions of the nightingale in Homer's *Odyssey*, Theognis, and Bacchylides to

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[78] Ahl 1984, 184.

conclude that

> the nightingale, at the time that Sophocles was composing tragic drama, had become an important and complex motif in the Greek poetic tradition. The sweetness of the actual song of the nightingale made the bird an obvious choice as a symbol for the poet. Further, the myth attached to her, with all of its horrific associations, made her an ideal tragic heroine, so that her song, by nature already an apt symbol for poetry, became, through the myth associated with her, especially well-suited to represent the poetry of tragic lament.[79]

The nightingale thus stands as a symbol of poetry both in these tragic examples and in the world of myth at large. The association underlies such stories as Pliny's claim in the *Natural History* that a nightingale perched on the lips of the infant Stesichorus and sang sweetly and thereby presaged his future career as a poet (10.43.82).

I deliberately pass over a full discussion of Sophocles' *Tereus* and Aristophanes' *Birds*, as Chapter 2 treats them comprehensively, but it suffices to say at this point that Sophocles' *Tereus* marks an important inflection point. Paolo Monella writes:

> È opinione largamente diffusa tra gli studiosi che Sofocle, dedicando alla saga in questione una tragedia, il *Tereo*, a noi nota solo tramite frammenti, abbia introdotto notevoli innovazioni nella fisionomia della legenda, tanto da crearne di fatto una nuova versione, che divenne presto, grazie al successo della tragedia e all'indiscussa autorevolezza dell'autore, la 'vulgata' della leggenda stessa. Sofocle rappresenta quindi uno spartiacque importante dal punto di vista mitografico…

[79] Suksi 2001, 650.

> It is a widely-disseminated opinion among scholars that Sophocles, who dedicated to the saga in question a tragedy, the *Tereus*, known to us only through fragments, introduced novel innovations in the appearance of the legend, so much that he created, in fact, a new version, which soon became, thanks to the success of the tragedy and the unquestioned authority of the author, the 'vulgate' of the legend itself. Sophocles represents, therefore, a major watershed from a mythographic point of view…[80]

Three elements in particular that seem to have originated in Sophocles' version are the names Procne and Philomela,[81] the transformation of Tereus into a hoopoe, and the play's probable setting in Thrace.[82] The genesis of the other aspects of the myth mentioned above (the rape, the glossectomy, the deliberate filicide, and the banquet) may be found in Sophocles, barring the discovery of some other prior source that references them. If, for example, the rape and glossectomy had been an integral part of the story prior to Sophocles' *Tereus*, it would be remarkable for that aspect of the story never to have appeared in any of the sources investigated above except possibly the *Suppliants* or *Agamemnon*,

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[80] Monella 2005, 13. See also Scattolin 2013, 119: "[il] *Tereo* sofocleo, una tragedia che contribuì a fissare la sequenza di eventi del mito di Tereo, Procne e Filomela nella forma pressoché stabile e definitiva in cui compare nelle fonti mitografiche e scoliastiche," "The Sophoclean *Tereus*, a tragedy which helped to fix the sequence of events in the myth of Tereus, Procne, and Philomela in the nearly stable and definitive form in which it appears in mythographic and scholastic sources."

[81] Based on the extant sources, it would appear that before Sophocles' treatment, the name of the mother figure is Aedon, as in Homer and various iconographic representations (or Metis, as in Aeschylus' *Suppliants*), and the name of the sister figure is Chelidon.

[82] Somm. *et al.* 145-146; Dobrov 2001, 110-111.

and even then only through obscure references. With regard to the latter two, Fiona McHardy notes that "Aedon does not intend to kill her son in [the Homeric] version and there is no reference to the revenge of the sisters nor to the dreadful banquet. Indeed, the intentional filicide and cannibalism do not appear to have been part of the story before tragedy."[83] It is plausible that all of these aspects are found for the first time in Sophocles' *Tereus*, either in the fragments or in testimonia about the play, though we must keep in mind the iconographic evidence investigated at the outset of this chapter that may attest the "revenge of the sisters" at an earlier date, an interpretation that depends on what one decides is happening in those works.

Sophocles' refashioning of myth to create a novel tragic plot participates in what was undoubtedly a larger dramatic project of myth-making. As Alister Cameron writes,

> Sophocles received a great deal from the past and reshaped it to his own purposes. … If the poet was free to accept or reject what was offered him, he was also free to invent. … invention, a process in which the myth, through a new conception or a new treatment of something that is already there, is transformed essentially … Everything that [tragedy] touched was, in the nature of the enterprise, bound to be re-formed, more or less: less, if the matter was already highly formed like the *Iliad*; more, if less unified as other

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[83] McHardy 2005, 142. See also 145: "it seems that the *intentional* filicide driven by passion occurred first in tragedy, whereas in earlier versions the death of Itys was accidental" (emphasis mine).

epics of the cycle were.[84]

The fact that no extant source prior to Sophocles' *Tereus*, which was performed by 414 B.C.E. at the very latest, on the testimony of Aristophanes' *Birds* 100-101, utilizes the elements of Sophocles' plot does not conclusively prove that Sophocles invented them, but at the very least, it shows that Sophocles used these elements to specific ends. For example, the relocation of the Tereus figure to Thrace and away from mainland Greece generates and highlights a dramatically-fruitful tension between the Athenian and barbaric.[85] This innovation upon existing strands of a myth evinces an emulative atmosphere, not just within the dramatic world of playwrights jockeying for position at theatrical competitions but also within a larger project of myth-making and -remolding that causes an audience to reconfigure what they previously knew about the myth in question.[86]

From Comic and Tragic Fragments to the Alexandrian Era

Comic and tragic fragments from this period contribute little to our understanding of mythic utilizations in the 5th and 4th centuries. Cantharus,

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[84] Cameron 1965, 170-172. The larger article investigates Sophocles' invention and utilization of existing mythic elements in the creation of the *Oedipus Tyrannus*.

[85] See Hall 1989, 104-105; below, pp. 88-90.

[86] See also the end of Chapter 2.

active at the end of the 5th century B.C.E., produced a *Tereus* (possibly alternatively called the *Nightingales* according to the notice of Cantharus' titles in the Suda), of which five paltry fragments remain,[87] and none contributes to our understanding of the myth in any profound way. Athenaeus transmits three fragments of a *Tereus* (46-48 *PCG* II) by the Middle Comedian Anaxandrides (4th c. B.C.E.), but the context of each quotation, the characters involved, and the general plotline of the play are impossible to determine.[88] Similarly, the exiguous remains of a *Tereus* by another 4th c. B.C.E. comedian, Philetaerus, offer no insight into the play's structure or characters.[89]

We also have the incipit of a Pandion trilogy by Philocles, a tragedian cited in Aristophanes' *Birds* when another hoopoe appears to Peisetaerus, Euelpides, and Tereus:

> [ΠΕ.] ἕτερος αὖ λόφον κατειληφώς τις ὄρνις οὑτοσί.
> [ΕΥ.] τί τὸ τέρας τουτί ποτ᾽ ἐστίν; οὐ σὺ μόνος ἄρ' ἦσθ' ἔποψ,
> ἀλλὰ χοὖτος ἕτερος;

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[87] See the Appendix for all the fragments and their translations.

[88] Millis 2015, 245, directs his reader to consult [Pseudo-]Apollodorus (3.14.8) for "a succinct account of the story," but the details contained in that version (like Tereus' marrying [and not simply raping] Philomela, Tereus' use of an axe in his pursuit of the women, and the setting at Daulis) cannot be found in any literary source prior to the *Bibliotheca* and problematize the assertion that Anaxandrides' version corresponded with Pseudo-Apollodorus'. See Nesselrath 1990, 216-218, on fr. 45.

[89] frr. 15-16 *PCG* VII. Fr. 15 refers to the act of drinking perhaps unmixed wine (πεπωκέναι δοκεῖ τὸν κατὰ δύο / καὶ τρεῖς ἀκράτου), while fr. 16 is a single word (ἐπίπλοιον).

> [ΕΠ.] οὑτοσὶ μέν ἐστι Φιλοκλέους
> ἐξ ἔποπος, ἐγὼ δὲ τούτου πάππος, ὥσπερ εἰ λέγοις
> Ἱππόνικος Καλλίου κἀξ Ἱππονίκου Καλλίας.
> [ΠΕ.] Καλλίας ἄρ' οὗτος οὕρνις ἐστίν. ὡς πτερορρυεῖ.
> [ΕΠ.] ἅτε γὰρ ὢν γενναῖος ὑπό τε συκοφαντῶν τίλλεται,
> αἵ τε θήλειαι πρὸς ἐκτίλλουσιν αὐτοῦ τὰ πτερά. (Ar. *Av.* 279-286)[90]
>
> [PEISETAERUS] This is another bird who's taken a crest. [EUELPIDES] What is this apparition? Were you not the only hoopoe, but this is another one? [EPOPS] That is the son of Philocles' Hoopoe, and I am his grandfather, just as you might say Hipponicus, son of Callias, himself son of Hipponicus. [PE.] This bird is Callias. How he molts! [EP.] Because he's high-born and plucked by sycophants, and the females pluck at his feathers too.

Aristophanes' use of the son of Philocles' Hoopoe (Φιλοκλέους / ἐξ ἔποπος), rather than Philocles' Hoopoe himself, allows him to bring into the picture genealogical progression and the profligate spendthrift Callias, "plucked bare" by the women for whom he had a fondness.[91] Though mocked by Aristophanes ubiquitously (e.g., in *Wasps* 461-462, *Thesmophoriazusae* 168, and in a later passage in *Birds* at 1295), Philocles, the nephew of Aeschylus, actually defeated Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* at the City Dionysia. The association of Philocles' play here, however, with a molting, shoddy-looking bird and a negative exemplum like Callias aligns with Aristophanes' general inclination towards mockery of Philocles. To be fair, Tereus himself does not look any better, at least

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[90] The text and attributions are from Dunbar.

[91] Dunbar 172 *ad* 281-2.

at the start of the play; he comments self-consciously on his shabby plumage at 96-106. But, as I will explore in Chapter 2, the larger characterization of Tereus through his ability to speak and lead the birds offsets the initial negative impression created by his appearance. In any case, the scholiast provides the incipit of Philocles' *Tereus*, which, like the fragments of Cantharus' *Tereus* above, sheds no new light on the myth: †σὲ τῶν πᾶντων† δεσπότην λέγω, "I address you, the master of all."[92] Perhaps the line resonates with Soph. *Ter.* fr. 582 Radt, in which someone addresses the sun in similarly encomiastic terms: Ἥλιε, φιλίπποις Θρῃξὶ πρέσβιστον σέλας, "Sun, most august light to the horse-loving Thracians."

Plato's *Phaedo* appears to respond directly to the conception of the metamorphosed birds (the nightingale, swallow, and hoopoe) as grievers by means of the character of Socrates:

> οἱ δ᾽ ἄνθρωποι διὰ τὸ αὑτῶν δέος τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τῶν κύκνων καταψεύδονται, καί φασιν αὐτοὺς θρηνοῦντας τὸν θάνατον ὑπὸ λύπης ἐξᾴδειν, καὶ οὐ λογίζονται, ὅτι οὐδὲν ὄρνεον ᾄδει, ὅταν πεινῇ ἢ ῥιγοῖ ἤ τινα ἄλλην λύπην λυπῆται, οὐδὲ αὐτὴ ἥ τε ἀηδὼν καὶ χελιδὼν καὶ ὁ ἔποψ, ἃ δή φασι διὰ λύπην θρηνοῦντα ᾄδειν· ἀλλ᾽ οὔτε ταῦτά μοι φαίνεται λυπούμενα ᾄδειν οὔτε οἱ κύκνοι, ἀλλ᾽ ἅτε οἶμαι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ὄντες μαντικοί τέ εἰσι καὶ προειδότες τὰ ἐν Ἅιδου ἀγαθὰ ᾄδουσι καὶ τέρπονται ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν διαφερόντως ἢ ἐν τῷ ἔμπροσθεν χρόνῳ. (Plato *Phaedo* 85A-B)

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[92] *TrGF* I 24 1.

> Because of their fear of death, men lie about swans and say that they, bewailing death, sing out of grief, and they do not consider that no bird sings whenever it's hungry or cold or grieves some other pain, not even the nightingale and the swallow and the hoopoe, which they say sing in lament because of grief; but they don't seem to me to sing in grief, nor do swans, but because, I think, they are birds of Apollo, they are prophetic and sing because they foresee the joyful things in Hades and rejoice especially during that day than in time past.

The mention of the nightingale, swallow, and hoopoe and the degree to which Socrates draws attention to, groups, and negates them (οὐδὲ αὐτὴ … τε … καὶ … καὶ …) attests what must have been the common perception of the myth at the time, fostered undoubtedly by Sophocles' popular play; Plato writes against the prevailing conception of the three birds as inextricably bound to the tragic circumstances found in his mythic predecessors until that point.

From there, the writers of the Alexandrian era utilize the figures of the myth as symbols of poetry and presage the later switch of the sisters' identities that occurs in Latin authors like Vergil and Ovid. Georgi Mihailov summarizes what remains of mentions of the myth and posits that it would have been a goldmine of material for the *savants* of the Hellenistic period:

> Les témoinages relatifs à la légende de Térée et de Procné, datant de l'epoque alexandrine, sont très pauvres: deux épigrammes dans l'*Anthologie*

> *Palatine*,[93] quelques vers mutilés de l'œuvre d'Euphorion,[94] une courte phrase d'Agatharcidès, quelques vers de l'hymne homérique à Pan, une allusion chez Moschos[95] et, heureusement, un récit dans la *Bibliothèque* d'Apollodore. Et pourtant il n'y a aucun doute que ce mythe était aussi bien le sujet d'œuvres poétique que l'objet des recherches mythologiques des savants hellénistiques…il faut supposer qu'une partie des nouveaux éléments que l'on trouve chez les auteurs de la période greco-romaine proviennent d'auteurs hellénistiques.[96]

> The testimonies relating to the legend of Tereus and Procne, dating from the Alexandrian period, are very scant: two epigrams in the *Anthologia Palatina*, some mutilated verses from the work of Euphorion, a short phrase from Agatharchides, some verses of a Homeric hymn to Pan, an allusion in Moschos and, fortunately, a narrative in the *Bibliotheca* of Apollodorus. And yet there is no doubt that the myth was as much the subject of poetic works as the object of mythological research by the Hellenistic scholars…We must suppose that a part of the new elements which we find in the authors in the Greco-Roman period come from Hellenistic authors.

To these passages, we may perhaps add Callimachus' *Aetia* (fr. 113 Harder), if the conjecture Δαυ[λιάδες of the second line is correct. The fragment as a whole seems to reference the transformation of Scylla into a seabird after betraying her

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93 7.80, on which see below, and 12.136, a poem from the *Musa Puerilis* in which the speaker asks the noisy nightingales to stop bothering his moment of repose with his παῖς. See the Appendix for the epigram and translation.

94 The reference occurs in a fragment of Euphorion's *Thrax*, fr. 25.13-16 Lightfoot; the verses are indeed too mutilated to gain any understanding of how the myth was used, though one detail that appears uniquely is the possible use of a sickle to kill Itys. See the Appendix for the lines in question.

95 See below for a discussion of Agatharchides, the Homeric Hymn to Pan, and Moschos as intermediaries between the Greek ascription of nightingale to Procne and swallow to Philomela and the Latin tendency to switch the two.

96 Mihailov 1955, 117.

father;[97] the evocation of another story of familial betrayal, that of Tereus, Procne, and Philomela, would thus accord well with the theme.

Of the two epigrams in the *Anthologia Palatina* mentioned by Mihailov, the first (7.80) offers more material to analyze in terms of the myth. In it, Callimachus uses nightingales as living bywords for poetry, an illustration of the association between the nightingale and poetry first mentioned above in the context of the tragic uses of the nightingale:

> εἶπέ τις, Ἡράκλειτε, τεὸν μόρον, ἐς δέ με δάκρυ
> ἤγαγεν· ἐμνησθην δ᾽ ὁσσάκις ἀμφότεροι
> ἠέλιον λέσχῃ κατεδύσαμεν. ἀλλὰ σὺ μέν που,
> ξεῖν᾽ Ἁλικαρνησεῦ, τετράπαλαι σποδιή,
> αἱ δὲ τεαὶ ζώουσιν ἀηδόνες, ᾗσιν ὁ πάντων (5)
> ἁρπακτὴς Ἀίδης οὐκ ἐπὶ χεῖρα βαλεῖ.

> Someone told me, Heraclitus, about your death, and it brought me to tears. I remembered how often we caused the sun to set with our conversation. But you lie somewhere, my friend from Halicarnassus, ashes long, long ago, but your nightingales live, on whom Hades, thief of all, will not lay his hand.

A.S.F. Gow and D.L. Page note that ἀηδόνες (5) may refer either to poetry in general or to a specific collection of poems by this Heraclitus of Halicarnassus: "the words may mean *your poetry*…It is however somewhat tempting to suppose that Ἀηδόνες was the title of a book of poems by Heraclitus, and Stadtmüller

[97] See Clauss 2004, 86 n. 57; Stephens 2015, *ad loc.*

printed the word with an initial capital."[98] Despite Callimachus' assurances, however, only one ἀηδών seems to have survived, a funerary epitaph for a woman named Aretemias (*A.P.* 7.465), and the poet Heraclitus' few mentions in other authors serve only to connect him to Callimachus and poetry/elegy.[99] Callimachus' claim of immortality for Heraclitus' poetry, as nightingales on whom Hades cannot lay his hand (5-6), may play on the conception of the nightingale as eternally lamenting, as seen at, for example, Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* 1146, at which the nightingale is described as ἀκόρετος βοᾶς, "insatiate of crying."

Three of the other sources in Mihailov's summary may evince a purposeful Hellenistic switching of the birds into which each sister transforms, such as we see later on in Latin authors like Vergil and Ovid. In these sources, we may see an intermediary stage between the canonical connections in the Greek sources of Procne with the nightingale and Philomela with the swallow and the Latin switches to come. First, Agatharcides' *"courte phrase,"* "short phrase," is preserved in Photius' *Bibliotheca* (250.443a21-23) and ascribes the transformation

[98] Gow and Page 1965, 192, emphasis original.

[99] Diog. Laert. 9.17, as he describes five different Heracliti throughout time: τρίτος ἐλεγείας ποιητὴς Ἁλικαρνασσεύς, εἰς ὃν Καλλίμαχος πεποίηκεν οὕτως, "The third was an elegiac poet from Halicarnassus, for whom Callimachus wrote the following"; and Strabo 14.646, as he describes famous people from Halicarnassus: Ἡράκλειτος ὁ ποιητής , ὁ Καλλιμάχου ἑταῖρος, "Heraclitus the poet, Callimachus' friend."

into a nightingale explicitly to Philomela: καὶ Φιλομήλαν μὲν ἀηδόνος ἐξαλλάξαι μορφήν, Τηρέα δὲ ἔποπος, "And Philomela changed her shape into that of a nightingale, Tereus into that of a hoopoe." Second, though the dating of the Homeric Hymn to Pan is uncertain, if actually Hellenistic, the verses in question (16-18) combine identifying features of each bird to describe the actions of one: οὐκ ἂν τόν γε παραδράμοι ἐν μελέεσσιν / ὄρνις, ἥτ' ἔαρος πολυανθέος ἐν πετάλοισι / θρῆνον ἐπιπροχέουσ' ἀχέει μελίγηρυν ἀοιδήν, "not even she could outstrip [Pan] in song, the bird who pours forth her lament among the leaves of much-blooming spring and makes to resound her melodious song." Spring (ἔαρος πολυανθέος) is connected with both the figure of the swallow from the time of Hesiod (*Op.* 568-569) and nightingale from the time of Homer (*Od.* 19.519), but the mention of a lament (θρῆνον) points specifically towards the nightingale and the murderous mother from whom it transformed. Third, the writer of the *Lament for Bion*, previously thought to have been composed by Moschus but now attributed to a pupil of Bion,[100] uses both nightingales and swallows as singers of lament, yet another coalescence between the two. Nightingales are invoked on their own twice (ἀδόνες αἱ πυκινοῖσιν ὀδυρόμεναι ποτὶ φύλλοις, 9; οὐδὲ τόσον ποκ᾽ ἄεισεν ἐνὶ σκοπέλοισιν Ἀηδών,

[100] Hopkinson 2015, 443.

38), but the swallow follows closely (οὐδὲ τόσον θρήνησεν ἀν᾽ ὤρεα μακρὰ Χελιδών, 39). Indeed, the poet gathers the two together as dual subjects at 46-49, both engaging in the act of lament: ἀδονίδες πᾶσαί τε χελιδόνες, ἅς ποκ᾽ ἔτερπεν, / ἃς λαλέειν ἐδίδασκε, καθεζόμεναι ποτὶ πρέμνοις / ἀντίον ἀλλάλαισιν ἐκώκυον· αἳ δ᾽ ὑπεφώνευν / 'ὄρνιθες λυπεῖσθ᾽ αἱ πενθάδες· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς,' "The nightingales and all the swallows, whom he once delighted, whom he taught to speak, sit on the stumps and lament in response to each other. They call out in answer, 'Grieve in mourning, you birds, and we will grieve too.'" These three sources provide evidence of a shift in the Hellenistic era towards the switch of the birds into which each sister transforms, one that scholars generally think began with Latin authors who mis-etymologized "Philomela" as deriving from *philos* and *melê*, lover of song, and thus caused her to transform into the nightingale.[101]

Roman Tragedy and Comedy

The myth makes its first appearance in Roman literature in ostensibly its first literary figure, Livius Andronicus, much like the first appearance of the myth in Greek literature in Homer. However, E.H. Warmington posits that the

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[101] On which see below.

myth that Livius portrays in his *Tereus* may differ remarkably from the version found in the Greek sources:

> Nothing definite can be said about the plot of this play. Possibly Livius did not follow the normal version of the legend which appears in the frs. of Accius' play (see pp. 543 ff.), but one given by Hyginus, *Fab.,* XLV. Tereus of Thrace, married to Procne, daughter of Pandion, desired to marry his other daughter Philomela, and told him that Procne was dead. Pandion sent her under escort; Tereus outraged Philomela, and sent her to King Lynceus whose queen Laethusa, being a friend of Procne, brought the sisters together. They planned a revenge on Tereus. He, learning from soothsayer that Itys, his son by Procne, would be killed by a kinsman's hand, killed his guiltless brother Dryas. Then Procne killed Itys, served him up as a feast to Tereus, and fled with Philomela. Tereus pursued them, but Procne was changed by the gods into a swallow, Philomela into a nightingale, and Tereus into a hawk.[102]

The assertion, based as it is on Otto Ribbeck's claims of clear proleptic references to the Hyginean version of the myth, finds no support in the four actual fragments of the play transmitted by Nonius, whose lexicographical interest in the words *rarenter, limare, perbitere,* and *praestolat* results in the transmission of lines that are difficult to contextualize.[103] Ribbeck's conjectures result from willful

[102] Warm. 10-11.

[103] "because of their aims in citing material, lexicographers and grammarians often quote extracts to illustrate the meaning or use of (in their view) uncommon words and constructions…this results in a number of extant lines that do not represent complete sentences and may not be the most significant for the plot or message of the play" (Manuwald 2015, 4).

extrapolation from exiguous evidence. For example, for fr. 24 Warm.,[104] *rarenter venio*, "I come rarely," Ribbeck claims Laethusa as speaker: "Denn die Freundin Laethusa ist es **offenbar**, welche zum Besuch bei Procne erscheinend bevorwortet [*rarenter venio*]," "For it is **obviously** the friend Laethusa who, appearing for a visit with Procne, prefaces with [*rarenter venio*]."[105] That conclusion is not as obvious as Ribbeck makes it seem. François Spaltenstein, for example, conjectures that the words are most likely spoken by a servant carrying Philomela's tapestry to Procne.[106] As with the Greek fragments, we must be guided in reconstructing the play by the words that remain or testimonia relating directly to the play in question; we cannot utilize later versions of the myth, especially one as singular and unique as Hyginus',[107] to reconstruct the play's

[104] See the concordance for the relationship of the numeration of the fragments in Warm. to those of Ribbeck and *TrRF*.

[105] Ribbeck *R.T.* 40, emphasis mine.

[106] "*On pourrait penser par contre à un domestique disant qu'il se rend rarement à tel endroit, ce qui pourrait convenir au messager (ou à la messagère: chez Ovide, c'est une femme,* illa 579) *apportant au palais le tissu de Philomèle: on comprendrait qu'un domestique de l'extérieur manifeste un sentiment particulier en venant au palais, ce qui donnerait un sens à* rarenter" (Spaltenstein 2008, 115). He also offers as possibilities a speaker in the prologue giving context for his or her appearance or (less plausibly) Procne asking for leave to engage in a Bacchic rite in the woods. He discounts the possibility that Tereus speaks the phrase to Pandion as he petitions for Philomela both because *rarenter* would be ill-suited for one who has returned to Athens after a long period of time and because it is not certain that Tereus' journey to Athens to retrieve Philomela was part of the play's action. Spaltenstein also dismantles Ribbeck's reconstructions of the contexts of the other fragments based on Nonius' version: see 116-129.

[107] On which, see below, pp. 81-82.

action or *dramatis personae.*

The fragments of Accius' *Tereus* are more substantial, to the point where some scholars have attempted to use them to fill in the gaps between the fragments of Sophocles' *Tereus*.[108] The play, probably first performed in 104-103 B.C.E. (Cic. *Phil.* 1.36), seems to have been performed again mere months after the Ides of March in 44 B.C.E., as attested by Cicero in three passages throughout his *Epistulae ad Atticum* (16.2.3, 16.5.1) and *Philippics* (I.15, 36), all of which postdate the killing of Caesar.[109] Cicero casts the audience's approbation of the action of the play (namely, the punishment of its tyrannical figure) as approval for Caesar's murder; the sentiment is most clearly expressed at *Philippics* 1.15, 36, as Cicero ironically accuses Antony of misreading the applause for the play: *nisi forte Accio tum plaudi et sexagesimo post anno palmam dari, non Bruto putabatis?* "Unless you thought, perhaps, that it was Accius being applauded at that time

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[108] See, e.g., Kiso 1984, 51-86, who asserts that "Accius' Tereus…is very likely to be a faithful translation of Sophocles' Tereus" (59) and uses Accius' fragments as placeholders in her reconstruction of Sophocles' plot; see also how Calder 1974 casually sprinkles citations from Latin versions of the myth, including Accius', throughout his reconstruction of the Sophoclean play. *Contra* Kiso and Calder, see Sutton 1984, ix: "Roman playwrights were scarcely mere translators, and the possibility always exists that a Roman poet may have 'contaminated' his play by adding material from other tragedies, or by making various other alterations … while we must certainly pay attention to the Roman material, it must be kept firmly in mind that such evidence can never be put on a par with the actual Greek remains."

[109] See Boyle 2006, 133-134, on the cultural resonances of the play.

and given the prize sixty years late, and not Brutus?"[110] Vincenzo D'Antò uses Cicero's three references to speculate at large about the reception of the play: "*Che il dramma mirasse a dare risalto, non tanto all'uomo incapace di dominare le proprie passioni, quanto al re, al 'tiranno', che credeva a lui lecita qualsiasi azione, appare evidente da tre accenni di Cicerone,*" "That the drama was intended to emphasize not so much a man incapable of mastering his own passions as much as a king, a 'tyrant,' who believed any action was permissible for him, appears evident from three mentions by Cicero."[111]

It is important to note that the extant Livian and Accian fragments do not document important details of the myth found in the Greek versions, namely the aetiologies of the nightingale and swallow; there is an explicit mention of Tereus' profligacy in Accius fr. 639-642 Warm., but even the filicide receives only allusions at Livius Andronicus fr. 27-28 Warm. and Accius fr. 652-653 Warm.[112] The Accian fragments do not overlap at all with the fragments of Livius

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[110] See D'Antò 1980, 474: "*evidemente il grande oratore scorge un'affinità tale tra l'azione di Bruto e 'l'insegnamento' che veniva da Accio attraverso il castigo inflitto a Tereo, da giudicare gli applausi non rivolti al poeta ma al Cesaricida,*" "evidently, the great orator sees such an affinity between the action of Brutus and 'the teaching' which came from Accius through the punishment inflicted on Tereus, judging by the applause not addressed to the poet but to the Caesaricide." See also Degl'Innocenti Pierini 2002, 128-136.

[111] D'Antò 1980, 474.

[112] We might include Accius *Tereus* fr. 651 Warm., if the fragment is genuine: *struunt sorores Atticae dirum nefas,* "The Attic sisters set up a terrible crime." See the note on this fragment in the Concordances.

Andronicus' treatment; there are, however, multiple connections to the fragments of the Sophoclean *Tereus* and the Ovidian narrative to come.

A reading of Accius fr. 643-644 Warm., ostensibly the chorus' (?) warning to Procne about exceeding her station as a wife, against Sophocles *Ter.* fr. 583 Radt, Procne's lament about the plight of married women, reveals a common thread between the plays relating to gender politics. I reproduce both fragments here:

> 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.
> ὅταν δ' ἐς ἥβην ἐξικωμεθ' ἔμφρονες,
> ὠθούμεθ' ἔξω καὶ διεμπολώμεθα
> θεῶν πατρῴων τῶν τε φυσάντων ἄπο,
> αἱ μὲν ξένους πρὸς ἄνδρας, αἱ δὲ βαρβάρους,
> αἱ δ' ἐς ἀηθῆ[113] δωμαθ', αἱ δ' ἐπίρροθα.
> καὶ ταῦτ', ἐπειδὰν εὐφρόνη ζεύξῃ μία,
> χρεὼν ἐπαινεῖν καὶ δοκεῖν καλῶς ἔχειν. (Soph. *Ter.* fr. 583 Radt)[114]
>
> But now I am nothing on my own. But many times, I've looked in this way at the nature of women, how we are nothing. Young girls in their father's home live, I think, the sweetest life of mankind. For forever, ignorance raises children pleasantly. But whenever we, fully aware, enter the marriageable age, we are thrust out and sold off, away from our ancestral gods and parents, some to foreign men, some to barbarians, some to unaccustomed

[113] In using ἀηθῆ here rather than *TrGF*'s ἀγηθῆ, I am following the 2016 papyrus reading by S. Slattery (*P.Oxy.* 5292), supported by Finglass 2016, 64-65.

[114] Finglass 2016 examines the new lines in *P.Oxy.* 5292 and establishes how the new find changes our conception of the play and the place of fr. 583. In a forthcoming article in *Classical Quarterly* (see above, n. 8), I respond to Finglass' assertions and expand the purview to fr. 588 Radt.

homes, some to abuse. And whenever one night yokes us, we must approve of it and think that all is well.

video te, mulier, more multarum utier
ut vim contendas tuam ad maiestatem viri. (Accius *Ter.* fr. 643-644 Warm.)

I see that you, woman, like many do, are opposing your strength against the dignity of your husband.

The speaker of the Accian fragment seems to respond to the concerns voiced by Procne in the Sophoclean play. The Sophoclean Procne comments on the relative powerlessness of married women through the anaphora of οὐδέν, her casting of brides as goods to be sold (διεμπολώμεθα), and a reference to the yoke of slavery (ζεύξῃ) in comparison to the men to whom they are married. The Accian speaker then reifies that hierarchal structure in the alliterative build (***m**ulier, **m**ore **m**ultarum*) to the defining characteristic of the husband, ***m**aiestas*, a grandeur or dignity that the husband possesses but the wife does not. Though Nonius glosses *multarum* as a byword for *malarum,*[115] the pejorative connotation is not necessary; a more straightforward reading of the substantive simply groups married women together as a class, each member subject to the same hierarchy of power. While the context of the fragment is uncertain, if Warmington is correct in positing that the speaker is addressing Procne as she contemplates revenge, the

[115] Nonius 519, 1: *veterum memorabilis scientia 'paucorum' numerum pro bonis ponebat. 'multos' contra malos appellabat. Terentius … (5) Accius Tereo: 'video … viri'.*

dramatic opposition of powerless wife against powerful husband raises the stakes for Procne: the act of revenge requires the wife to transcend the *maiestas* of the husband, despite the disadvantage that the disempowered, servile wife possesses from the outset.

With regard to the Ovidian narrative, the Accian fragments include references to Tereus' genetic predisposition towards *libidinal* (as opposed to simply materialistic) excess and the god Bacchus, two elements that have not yet appeared in any of the extant sources. First, Tereus' barbaric nature is attested in frr. 639-642 Warm.: *Tereus indomito more atque animo barbaro / conspexit in eam; amore vecors flammeo, / depositus, facinus pessimum ex dementia / confingit,* "Tereus, of untameable custom and barbarous mind, looked at her; driven mad with fiery passion, overthrown, he fashions the worst deed because of his madness." This fragment simultaneously points backwards to Sophocles and forward to Ovid. Sophocles undoubtedly references the Thracian race at fr. 587 Radt: φιλάργυρον μὲν πᾶν τὸ βάρβαρον γένος, "The entire barbarian race is money-loving;" the same adjective (βάρβαρος / *barbarus*) describes the race at large in Sophocles and Tereus' personal disposition in Accius (*animo barbaro*). The description of the barbarian's avarice in Sophocles, however, is missing a libidinal component. Ovid, on the other hand, pointedly depicts Tereus' lust as a condition of his

ethnicity: *et hunc innata libido / exstimulat, pronumque genus regionibus illis / in Venerem est; flagrat uitio gentisque suoque*, "And his inborn libido goads him, and the race in those regions is inclined towards Venus; he burns with both his race's and his own vice" (Ov. *Met.* 6.458-460).[116] This characterization of Tereus creates a common thread throughout the mythic variants and forms a foundational opposition between Athenian and other,[117] itself an inheritance from Sophocles' play, in which Tereus was depicted as a Thracian (rather than a Greek) for the first time.[118]

The Bacchic element requires more unpacking. Though some treatments of Sophocles' *Tereus* want to see in fr. 586 Radt[119] a reference to a festival for Dionysus that provides an excuse for Procne to leave the palace to rescue Philomela,[120] the first explicit reference to a Dionysian or Bacchic element in the conceptions of the myth does not appear until Accius fr. 647 Warm., *deum*

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[116] See also p. 103 and pp. 194-196 for more extended discussions of Tereus' barbarity in Sophocles and Ovid respectively.

[117] See also Cazzaniga 1951, 10-14.

[118] See p. 103 for Sophocles' innovation in this regard.

[119] σπεύδουσαν αὐτήν, ἐν δὲ ποικίλῳ φάρει, "as she hurried, and in a dappled coat…."

[120] e.g., Welcker *G.T.* 381; Dobrov 2001, 113; *contra* Monella 2005, 114; Milo 2008, 62-63. The adjective ποικίλος has a range of meanings; while one could argue for its connection with Dionysian ritual, it seems dangerous to use such exiguous evidence to assert the presence of a Dionysian element in the Sophoclean play.

Cadmogena natum Semela adfare et famulanter pete, "Address the god, son of Cadmus-born Semele, and ask like a slave." Such efforts to read into the Sophoclean fragment, Somm. *et al.* argue, result from willful retrojection of the Roman sources: "The basic problem is that there is no evidence for the Dionysian element in any early source (unless this fragment itself offers such evidence), and its presence in Sophocles depends upon [Ovid and Accius]."[121] Indeed, a Bacchic pretext also forms a significant portion of Ovid's account (6.587-600). The context of the Accian fragment, however, is difficult to conceptualize. If the glossectomy and Philomela's imprisonment were part of the Accian play, the speaker of the fragment could hardly be Procne and the addressee could hardly be Philomela, due to her voiceless state. Perhaps the Chorus or another character is helping Procne plot her rescue and is instructing her in the proper actions. In any case, the dangers of a Bacchic element in Accius' play would probably have resonated with a Roman audience, a century removed from the Bacchanalia scandal in the early second century B.C.E.: "Association with Bacchic cult will have made the women more dangerous in Roman eyes, though this long after the suppression of Bacchic rites at Rome the guilt by association may not be so great."[122] The

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[121] Somm. *et al.* 188.

[122] Slater 2002, 291.

Dionysiac element would have registered as dangerous in the Greek context as well; one example is the characterization of Dionysus in Euripides' *Bacchae.*

One mention of the myth occurs in Plautus' *Rudens* in a textually corrupt passage that attributes ancestry of swallows both to Philomela and Procne: *respondeo…natas ex Philomela ac [ex] Procne esse hirundines,* "I respond … that swallows were born from Philomela and [from] Procne."[123] A line appears to have dropped out between the main verb *respondeo* and the indirect statement that follows, and the accusative and infinitive structure itself has been subjected to editorial doctoring; the second *ex* was deleted by Bothe, presumably *metri causa*, while Schoell inserts *Attica* in place of *ac [ex] Procne* to accord with the presumable assertion of Daemones' Attic citizenship in the missing line, a questionable emendation. If the appearance of both Philomela and Procne in this line is genuine, however, this mention presages the confusion over the identities of the sisters to come in Vergil and Ovid; in short, in those sources, for the most part, Philomela becomes the mother who kills her son, and Procne becomes the sister.[124] In so doing, the reference in the *Rudens* complements the Alexandrian sources and serves with them as a bridge between the Greek and the later Roman

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[123] The text is from de Melo 2012, 462. The translation is mine.

[124] See the next section.

sources by having it both ways: swallows descend from both sisters, rather than from one or the other.

The remains of the Tereus myth in Roman Republican drama seem to display some continuity with their Greek predecessors while introducing some new elements in a new language. The plays of Livius Andronicus and Accius in particular do not, to our knowledge, receive the same kinds of summaries or testimonia that Sophocles' *Tereus* does to allow any degree of reasonable certainty in reconstruction, but the fragments themselves can be mined for valuable insights into the ways in which Livius Andronicus and Accius used the myth to create their stories and engage with their predecessors. Meanwhile, Plautus' brief mention of the myth appears to be a step towards switching the sisters' identities, a switch that occurs repeatedly throughout the works of Vergil and Ovid.

Late Republic and Augustan Rome: Catullus, Vergil, Ovid, Hyginus

Catullus makes mention of the myth in poem 65, which includes in the middle a lament for his brother that he likens to the song of the nightingale lamenting her dead child: *at certe semper amabo, / semper maesta tua carmina morte canam, / qualia sub densis ramorum concinit umbris / Daulias, absumpti fata gemens*

Ityli, "But surely I will always love, always will I sing sad songs because of your death, like the Daulian [bird] who sings under the dense shadows of the branches, lamenting the fate of the dead Itylus" (11-14). The comparison is striking if we bring our knowledge of the deliberate filicide present in the dramatic versions of the myth to bear on the simile; a mother grieving the child she killed seems incongruous with a brother lamenting a lost brother. The specific appellation of the child as Itylus, however, appears to hearken back beyond Accius, Livius Andronicus, and even Aristophanes, Sophocles, and Aeschylus to Homer and his mention of the myth in *Odyssey* 19, the last literary attestation of the name Itylus, and perhaps evokes the sense of an accidental death (δι' ἀφραδίας), perhaps through negligence. Aaron Seider notes that "[Procne's] story prompts a reimagining of Catullus' relationship with his brother. Instead of siblings, they are likened to mother and son, a situation that suggests Catullus should have been nurturing his brother and that he, like Procne, may be culpable for his loved one's death."[125] Negligence or carelessness (δι' ἀφραδίας) does not necessarily absolve culpability; though Aedon acted δι' ἀφραδίας, she was still clearly to blame in the murder of her son. Just so, this negligence and culpability increases the *pathos* of the demise of Catullus' brother;

[125] Seider 2016, 292; see 292-294 for the wider discussion.

perhaps the death could have been avoided.

From there, the myth appears repeatedly in two important Augustan authors, Vergil and Ovid; the former uses the myth to enrich passages in *Georgics* 4 and *Eclogue* 6, while the latter uses the myth at least once each in all of his extant works except for the *Epistulae ex Ponto*. I will take each author in turn.

In Vergil's *Eclogue* 6, the myth is the final one of many enumerated in Silenus' song for Chromis and Mnasyllos:

> [*Quid loquar…*] (74)
> *aut ut mutatos Terei narrauerit artus,* (78)
> *quas illi Philomela dapes, quae dona pararit,*
> *quo cursu deserta petiuerit et quibus ante*
> *infelix sua tecta super uolitauerit alis?* (78-81)
>
> [Why should I say] how he told of the transformed limbs of Tereus, what feasts Philomela prepared for him, what gifts, in what way she sought deserted areas, and, before that, on what wings she, unlucky one, flitted above her home?

This mention of the myth is the first in the extant literary tradition since Sophocles' *Tereus*, which established the roles of the sisters, to switch the identities of the sisters and make Philomela, rather than Procne, the wife of Tereus who prepares the feast for him and transforms into the nightingale. As D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson notes, the Latin tradition tends to switch the

identities of the sisters.[126] Irene Peirano explains one way in which the switch has been justified by modern scholars:

> In an effort to explain this curious switch, scholars have invoked a folk etymology of Φιλομήλα as 'she who loves song' (μέλος). The folk etymology would certainly support a revised version in which the character of Philomela is transformed into a nightingale, a bird to whom poets often compare themselves, particularly in the Hellenistic period. If so, this folk etymology of the name Philomela might also invite the reader of *Eclogue* 6 to gloss the word *artus* (78) with the Greek μέλη, which means both limb and song.[127]

Such an explanation, however, begs the question why the Greeks, and Sophocles in particular, with whom the names Procne and Philomela seem to have originated, did not observe this etymology in the original attribution of roles to each sister. If anything, such a derivation of the name from φίλος and especially μέλος would accord well with the Greek term for nightingale, ἀηδών, derived ostensibly from the verb ἀείδειν, to sing. Robert Coleman shifts the onus of misinterpretation onto the Latin authors themselves: "This [switch] may be simply due to a false etymological connection between *Philomēlē* and *philoûsa mélē* 'delighting in songs' which is more appropriate to the nightingale's

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[126] Thompson 1936, 22: "Philomela and Procne are frequently confused…In Greek authors Philomela is the name of the Swallow, and Procne of the Nightingale (Ar. *Av.* 665). The Latins generally reverse this, as does Agatharchides, and also Petrarch…But Varro *L.L.* and Virg. *E.* 6 adhere to the Greek version of the story." Either Thompson read a version of *Eclogue* 6 in which an editor substituted out Philomela's name, or he has confused himself.

[127] Peirano 2009, 195.

'amorous descant' than to the swallow's twitterings."[128] In any case, this first switch of the sisters' identities is mirrored in almost every mention of the myth in Vergil and Ovid except for *Metamorphoses* 6.424-674, in which Ovid nevertheless nods slightly at the confusion in the tradition at the end of the narrative by purposefully obscuring which sister turns into which bird.[129]

The mention of Procne at *Georgics* 4.15 (*et manibus Procne pectus signata cruentis,* "And Procne, marked on her chest by bloody hands") complements the assimilation of Philomela into the nightingale role in the *Eclogues* by assimilating Procne into the swallow role, both because of the swallow's physical characteristics and ostensibly because the later mention of the myth at 4.511-515 also assimilates Philomela into the role of the nightingale who mourns her child.[130] R.A.B. Mynors asserts that "Procne was changed into a swallow, the chestnut-coloured patch on the bird's throat being a mark left by her bloodstained hand."[131] Though one may assume upon first glance that the bloodstained Procne is being depicted here as the murderer of the child Itys, ostensibly, an accomplice, like Philomela in Ovid's version of the myth in the

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128 Coleman 1977, 200-201 n. 78.

129 See below, pp. 218-220 and 223-224.

130 See below, pp. 203-204, for a fuller discussion of Verg. *G.* 4.511-515.

131 Mynors 1990, *ad loc.*

Metamorphoses, could also be "marked by bloody hands," and indeed, *Met.* 6.643 depicts Philomela as continuing to mangle Itys' body after Procne lands the killing blow: *iugulum ferro Philomela resoluit*, "Philomela slit his throat with a sword." Thus, the depiction of a bloodstained Procne in the sister- or swallow-role is not impossible, nor at odds with the depiction of Philomela in the mother- or nightingale-role at 4.511-515.

Ovid uses the particulars of the myth (i.e., not simply a general reference to a nightingale or swallow, as at *Epistulae ex Ponto* 4.14.13) in all of his extant works except for the *Epistulae.* Three references focus on the doleful nature of the nightingale's song (*Am.* 2.6.7-10, *Her.* 15.151-156, *Tr.* 5.1.59-60). One passage (*Fasti* 2.853-856) connects to Hesiod *Works and Days* 568-569 by mentioning the swallow as the harbinger of spring, while another depicts the swallow as attempting to rehabilitate or even efface the image of the murderous mother from which it descends by making nests for its young (*Tr.* 3.12.9-10). Two more mentions focus on the impious nature of the deeds of Procne and Tereus (*A.A.* 2.381-384, *Rem.* 61-62, *Fasti* 2.623-630). The only other explicit reference to the glossectomy outside of the *Metamorphoses* occurs as a wish in the *Ibis* (537-538). In three of the eight passages above (*A.A.* 2.381-384, *Fast.* 2.853-856, *Tr.* 3.12.9-10), the murderous mother figure is connected with the swallow; only in one is the figure

transformed into the nightingale (*Her.* 15.154, *Daulias ales*).

Hyginus, possibly a rough contemporary of Vergil and Ovid,[132] includes four unique details that mostly cannot be found in other tellings of the myth at *Fab.* 45:[133] first, the fact that Tereus asks Pandion to marry Philomela;[134] second, Lynceus and Laethusa's roles in the reunion of Procne and Philomela; third, the role of Dryas; fourth, the transformation of Tereus into a hawk.[135] Paolo Monella attempts to reconcile the different strands of the myth found in Hyginus and Sophocles before ultimately conceding defeat: "*la versione attestataci da Igino e dagli altri (pochi) testimoni citati ha una sua evidente fisionomia distinta da quella sofoclea, e non va assolutamente esclusa la possibilità che essa rappresenti un filone della tradizione del mito indipendente da Sofocle, e forse originatosi in un periodo anteriore*,"[136] "The version attested by Hyginus and the (few) other testimonia

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[132] On the identity and dating of Hyginus and his work, see Smith and Trzaskoma 2007, xlii-xliv.

[133] See above, p. 65, for a summary of the Hyginean version of the myth or Appendix 1 for the full context.

[134] This detail of marriage to Philomela does also appear in Ps.-Apollodorus' account (*Bibl.* 3.14.8), though in it, Pandion is missing as a middleman: Φιλομήλας ἐρασθεις ἔφθειρε καὶ ταύτην, εἰπὼν τεθνάναι Πρόκνην, κρύπτων ἐπὶ τῶν χωρίων. αὖθις δὲ γήμας Φιλομήλαν συνηυνάζετο, "Having lusted after Philomela, he seduced her too by saying that Procne had died, hiding her in the country. He then married Philomela and bedded her."

[135] See above, pp. 43-45, on the hawk's appearance in the myth's mention in Aeschylus' *Suppliants.*

[136] Monella 2005, 143-145.

cited has its own evident physiognomy distinct from the Sophoclean one, and the possibility should not be absolutely ruled out that it represents a vein of the tradition of the myth independent from Sophocles, and perhaps originating in a prior period." R. Scott Smith and Stephen Trzaskoma fill out Monella's hypothesis: "it is not possible to determine what Greek work or works Hyginus turned to [in creating his mythic accounts], not only because Hyginus is extremely reticent about his sources, but also because so many Greek mythographic works have perished."[137] Except for possibly the detail about the hawk, however, none of the other details can be found in what remains of the myth prior to Sophocles, whether in literary or iconographic sources. It remains possible, given the wide corpus of lost Hellenistic literature, that Hyginus' source or sources originated from that period, but as mentioned above, the Hellenistic traces of the myth are too exiguous to declare a dependency on Hyginus' part with any certainty.

The Myth Beyond Augustan Rome

The sources later in time than the Augustan period that utilize the myth mostly exhibit interplay with and reliance upon the preceding versions of the

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[137] Scott and Trzaskoma 2007, xlvii.

myth that appeared in authors like Sophocles, Thucydides, and Ovid. Only one, Antoninus Liberalis' *Metamorphoses* 11, presents unique (and in some respects wildly fantastic) versions of elements of the myth; the rest engage with prior tellings in an attempt to supersede them or "correct" them.

In the *Thyestes*, Seneca explicitly credits the Philomela myth as a precedent for the crimes that Atreus is going to commit in the course of the play. First, at 56-57, the Fury Megaera foretells Thyestes' ingestion of his sons: *Thracium fiat nefas / maiore numero*, "Let the Thracian crime [i.e., Procne's murder of Itys] happen in a greater number." The enjambed ablative of description *maiore numero* intensifies and magnifies Atreus' crime by comparing his killing of two sons to Procne's killing of one.[138] This theme of intensification or magnification continues at 267-277:

> *nescioquid animus maius et solito amplius*
> *supraque fines moris humani tumet*
> *instatque pigris manibus – haud quid sit scio,*
> *sed grande quiddam est. ita sit. hoc, anime, occupa* (270)
> *(dignum est Thyeste facinus et dignum Atreo,*

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[138] This magnification or intensification is a trope also utilized by Shakespeare in his *Titus Andronicus*, when the murder and feast of one child becomes the murder and feast of two (Chiron and Demetrius); the plot is complicated, of course, by Chiron and Demetrius' guilt in the rape and brutalization of Titus' daughter Lavinia. See Greenblatt *et al.* 2008, 402-403: "…there is an interesting corollary between the spiraling ferocity typical of the revenge plot and the competitive way in which the characters in Shakespeare's revenge play fit themselves into a Roman tradition by exceeding its paradigms … Like his characters, Shakespeare recycles the old stories with a difference, 'surpassing' them just as the revenger surpasses the original crime."

> *quod uterque faciat): uidit infandas domus*
> *Odrysia mensas – fateor, immane est scelus,*
> *sed occupatum: maius hoc aliquid dolor*
> *inueniat. animum Daulis inspira parens* (275)
> *sororque; causa est similis: assiste et manum*
> *impelle nostram.*

> Something greater, larger than usual, beyond normal human limits, is swelling in my spirit and jolting my sluggish hands. What it is I do not know, but it is something mighty! So be it. Seize on it, my spirit! The deed is worthy of Thyestes and worthy of Atreus: let each perform it. The Odrysian house saw an unspeakable feast —that crime is monstrous, admittedly, but already taken. My bitterness must find something greater than this. Breathe your spirit into me, you Daulian mother and sister: our cause is comparable. Stand by me, drive my hand.[139]

The anaphora of *maius* (267, 274) implies an intertextual rivalry between Seneca and his source, ostensibly Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 6, as evidenced by the use of the same adjective to describe the house of Tereus (*domus* / ***Odrysia***, 272-273) that Ovid uses to describe Tereus himself (*rex Odrysius*, *Met.* 6.490). That which Procne has done, Atreus will outdo; just so, that which Ovid has written, Seneca will out-write.

Later, in the second century C.E. novel *Leucippe and Clitophon,* Achilles Tatius embeds the myth in a long ecphrasis that serves as one of two bad omens at the start of Book 5, before Chaireas engages in his plot to steal Leucippe from Clitophon. First, a hawk clips Leucippe in the head with his wing (5.3.3), and

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[139] Translation from Fitch 2004, 252-255.

then Clitophon sees a depiction of the myth on a painting nearby, describes it in great detail (5.3), and explains the story to Leucippe (5.5). The ecphrasis of the painting focuses for a large part on the depiction of Philomela's tapestry contained within it (5.3.6), an ecphrasis within an ecphrasis, in which Tereus' rape of Philomela is detailed, down to the tears in Philomela's clothing. The ecphrasis foreshadows Leucippe's forcible abduction by Chaireas' pirates, and the shearing of Philomela's tongue undoubtedly sets up the supposed beheading that Leucippe will suffer on the sea (5.7.4).

Vayos Liapis notes that Achilles Tatius' version of the myth differs from Ovid's in two major regards: first, Tatius' version omits any mention of a Bacchic festival used by Procne to rescue Philomela; second, Tatius' Philomela weaves the story into her tapestry by means of images, rather than the letters of Ovid's Philomela.[140] That the details of a myth in a Greek novel would differ from a Latin version is *de rigueur*; the Greek novelists created the literary environments of their works such that "Rome [was] conspicuous by its absence."[141] Liapis goes too far, however, in using this lack of alignment between the Tatian and Ovidian

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[140] Liapis 2006, 234-235.

[141] Reardon 2008, xii. See also Connors 2008, 162: "The surviving Greek and Latin novels depict a world of cities, but mostly keep Rome itself out of sight…The (more-or-less) chaste, idealising and nostalgic Greek novels by Chariton, Longus, Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus are mostly set in vaguely classical times, when Greek cities were still free."

accounts to prove that Tatius used Sophocles' *Tereus* as a source instead of (or in addition to) Ovid or the Latin sources. Liapis' points require refutation. First, Achilles Tatius, like any other author, is not beholden to reproduce every detail of the mythic tradition that he utilizes. The most salient features of the Philomela myth for his purposes at this point in his narrative are the deception of someone supposedly trustworthy for the purpose of his sexual fulfillment, the shearing of the victim's tongue, and the punishment of the transgressor. Clitophon's account includes nothing about an imprisonment for Philomela or a need for a rescue by Procne who would use the pretext of a Bacchic festival because such details are not necessary and perhaps even distract from the main themes of the myth that Tatius wants to highlight. Second, Liapis asserts on the basis of Sophocles *Ter.* fr. 586 Radt (ποικίλῳ φάρει) that Philomela wove her story in images because the adjective ποικίλος "is the *uox propria* for multi-coloured patterns or images, and can hardly have been used to designate woven letters."[142] This reading, however, depends on the unsubstantiated theory that the φᾶρος in that fragment refers to Philomela's tapestry. While it is not certain that Sophocles' Philomela wove in text rather than in images, Liapis' reasoning does not conclusively prove the

[142] Liapis 2006, 235.

opposite.[143] His two direct connections between Tatius and Sophocles, however, are much more convincing: the imagery of the shuttle as a vessel for communication (Sophocles' κερκίδος φωνή [595 Radt], Tatius' τῇ κερκίδι λαλεῖ [5.5.5]) and the condemnation of Procne and Philomela's excessive vengeance (Soph. *Ter.* fr. 589 Radt, Ach. Tat. 5.5.7).[144]

The myth forms a foundation for Antoninus Liberalis' *Metamorphoses* 11, a complicated mythographic amalgam of various figures and stories, including Tereus, Procne, and Philomela; Ceyx and Alycone; and the Callimachean Erysichthon or Aethon. As Francis Celoria explains, "This story is told in a densely packed way and gathers together several folk tales. Though some of its characters and motifs are among the great commonplaces of literature, many of the features in the Antoninus version are not to be found in any other Greek or Latin writings."[145] Among the many differences between Liberalis' take on the myth and those that came before, perhaps most striking are the punishment of the Tereus figure, the carpenter Polytechnus ("much-skilled"), by Aedon's family through honey and flies (11.7) and Polytechnus' transformation into a

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[143] For the Sophoclean tapestry as text, see Cazzaniga 1950, 50-51; Calder 1974, 89; Kiso 1984, 67, 77-8; Dobrov 2001, 112-113 with 198 n. 43; Fitzpatrick 2001, 97-8 with n. 52.

[144] Liapis 2006, 235-236.

[145] Celoria 1992, 135.

woodpecker (11.9, while Aedon's brother, attested nowhere else in the tradition, is the one who becomes a hoopoe, after he and his parents attempt to kill Aedon for protecting Polytechnus from the flies [11.8]).[146]

I close this survey with analyses of three more Late Antique sources for the myth.[147] First, Pausanias of the 2nd century C.E., spurred by the sight of a statue of Pandion in Athens (1.5.4), the tomb of Tereus in Athens (1.41.8-9), and the city Daulis (10.4.8-9), explicates details of the myth that appear in most of the prior sources: Tereus marries Procne, outrages and brutalizes Philomela, the sisters kill the child Itys, and the three are transformed into birds. One passage in particular, though, contributes to a thread of dispute about Tereus' homeland. While Tereus seems to have been situated in Thrace in Sophocles (*Ter.* fr. 584, 587 Radt), Accius (frr. 639-642 Warmington), and Ovid (*Met.* 6.424, 435, 459, 490), at least, Thucydides claims that Tereus, though Thracian in heritage, ruled over an area of Boeotia northwest of Athens: ὁ μὲν ἐν Δαυλίᾳ τῆς Φωκίδος νῦν καλουμένης γῆς ὁ Τηρεὺς ᾤκει, τότε ὑπὸ Θρᾳκῶν οἰκουμένης…εἰκός τε καὶ τὸ κῆδος Πανδίονα ξυνάψασθαι τῆς θυγατρὸς διὰ τοσούτου ἐπ᾽ ὠφελίᾳ τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν ἐς Ὀδρύσας ὁδοῦ, "Tereus lived in

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[146] Celoria sees in these details connections to West African, Brazilian, and Hindu myth: see Celoria 1992, 137-139.

[147] See Milo 2008, 144-154.

Daulia in the land now called Phocis, then inhabited by Thracians…it is likely that Pandion would derive the benefit of a marriage for his daughter for the protection of one another at so close a distance [as Daulia] rather than at so many days' journey away as to Odrysia" (Thuc. 2.29.2-3). Thucydides receives support from Strabo[148] and Nonnus.[149] Pausanias further complicates the picture by asserting that the Megarians southwest of Athens laid claim to being ruled by him: ἐβασίλευσε δὲ ὁ Τηρεύς, ὡς μὲν λέγουσιν οἱ Μεγαρεῖς, περὶ τὰς Παγὰς τὰς καλουμένας τῆς Μεγαρίδος, ὡς δὲ ἐγώ τε δοκῶ καὶ τεκμήρια ἐς τόδε λείπεται, Δαυλίδος ἦρχε τῆς ὑπὲρ Χαιρωνείας, "Tereus ruled, as the Megarians say, around the area called Pagae of Megaris, but as I think and as indications remain to this conclusion, he ruled Daulis beyond Chaeronea" (Paus. 1.41.8). Despite these multiple claims to his governance, the constant factor remains Tereus' Thracian and, thus, barbarian ethnicity.

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[148] τὴν μὲν γὰρ Ἀττικὴν οἱ μετὰ Εὐμόλπου Θρᾷκες ἔσχον, τῆς δὲ Φωκίδος τὴν Δαυλίδα Τηρεύς, "The Thracians with Eumolpus occupied Attica, but Tereus occupied Daulis of Phocis" (7.7.1). See also 9.3.13: ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ μετὰ Δελφοὺς ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἕω Δαυλὶς πολίχνιον, ὅπου Τηρέα τὸν Θρᾷκά φασι δυναστεῦσαι, "Still further in the middle [geographically] after Delphi, towards the east, is the small town of Daulis, where they say Tereus the Thracian ruled."

[149] Παρνησσοῦ δὲ κάρηνα λιπὼν μετανάστιος ἀνὴρ / Δαυλίδος ἔστιχεν οὖδας ὁμούριον, ἔνθεν ἀκούω / σιγαλέης λάλον εἷμα δυσηλακάτου Φιλομήλης, / Τηρεὺς ἣν ἐμίαινεν, "Then the wanderer left the heads of Parnassos and trod the neighbouring soil of Daulis, whence comes the tale I hear of the dumb woespinner Philomela and her talking dress, whom Tereus defiled" (*Dionysiaca* 4.319-322, translation by Rouse [see Appendix 1]).

The difference in setting between the tragic and poetic versus the historiographic and encyclopedic sources results from different goals for each of the authors. Tragedy and poetry aimed not at fidelity to the historical reality but at affect and pathos. A geographic setting in Thrace would intensify Procne's feelings of desperation, loneliness, and separation from her home, as attested at Soph. *Ter.* fr. 583 Radt and Ov. *Met.* 6.438-444. A setting in Thrace would also intensify Tereus' otherness and barbarity and highlight the ethnic divide. As Gregory Dobrov writes, "It is hard not to detect an anti-Thracian sentiment in Sophokles' spectacle of two high-bred Athenian women driven to commit crimes that exceed their barbarian host's 'natural' savagery."[150] The accounts of Thucydides, Strabo, Nonnus, and Pausanias do not have the same affective elements due to the genres in which they write; their attempts to depict and rationalize the evidence before them, like statues and local testimony, produce different results than the projects of dramatic or poetic authors.

Second, Libanius of the 4th century C.E. preserves a version of the myth in *Narr.* 18 and 19,[151] rhetorical exercises that trained a student in "presenting a

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[150] Dobrov 2001, 116.

[151] *Narr.* 19 differs little from *Narr.* 18, only in that it is more concise (with fewer details) and depicts Philomela as weaving her story in Procne's presence, rather than at distance under guard.

realistic description of a real or unreal event."[152] *Narr.* 18 follows the Sophoclean skeleton of the myth in general but includes a Bacchic festival as a pretext for Philomela's sending of her tapestry, rather than the cause of Procne's rescue of her as in Ovid: τῆς ἑορτῆς δὲ ἐπελθούσης ἐν ᾗ τῇ βασιλίδι τὰς Θρᾴττας δῶρα πέμπειν νόμος ἦν πέμπει πέπλον ἡ Φιλομήλα γράμματα ἐνυφήνασα, "When there came about a feast in which it is customary for the Thracians to send gifts to the queen, Philomela wove letters into a tapestry and sent it" (*Narr.* 18.2).

Third, Ausonius references Philomela's tapestry in a letter to Paulinus of Nola (*Epistles* 22). The former is rebuking the latter for remissness in responding to his letters. Supposing Paulinus' fear of detection by his wife Therasia, he recommends that Paulinus follows Philomela's example in crafting a covert missive, the first of three such *exempla* (10-20):

> *uel si tibi proditor instat* (10)
> *aut quaesitoris grauior censura timetur,*
> *occurre ingenio, quo saepe occulta teguntur.*
> *Threicii quondam quam saeua licentia regis*
> *fecerat elinguem, per licia texta querellas*
> *edidit et tacitis mandauit crimina telis.* (15)
> *et pudibunda suos malo commisit amores*
> *uirgo nec erubuit tacituro conscia pomo.*
> *depressis scrobibus uitium regale minister*
> *credidit idque diu texit fidissima tellus:*
> *inspirata dehinc vento cantauit harundo.* (20)

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[152] Gibson 2008, 9.

> Or if there's an informant hovering over you or you fear the more serious rebuke of an inquisitor, oppose it with wit, which often covers hidden things. Once upon a time, she whom the savage licentiousness of the Thracian king made tongueless issued her complaints through woven threads and entrusted the crimes to the silent tapestry. And the bashful maiden committed her love to an apple and did not blush at sharing her knowledge with silent fruit. To deep trenches an attendant entrusted the king's vice and the earth very faithfully covered it for a long time: from here the reed sang, inspired by the wind.

Philomela serves here not as an abstraction, the swallow that is a byword for twittering or the return of spring, but as a mythological *exemplum* for a prescription of behavior. Ausonius' intertextual play with Ovid's *Metamorphoses* is undeniable:[153] the antonomasia for Tereus (*Threicii … regis*, 13) utilizes the same adjective that marks Tereus' first appearance in *Met.* 6 (*Threicius Tereus*, 424); the adjective *saeva*, here modifying Tereus' *licentia*, modifies the noun standing for Tereus himself in Ovid (*saevi … tyranni*, 581), which itself intimates the same lack of restraint as *licentia*; and most clearly, the *ingenium* (*ingenio,* 12) that will allow Paulinus to write a letter back to Ausonius is the same *ingenium* that inspires Ovid's Philomela to weave text into a tapestry (574-575). The invocation of Ovid aligns Ausonius with Ovid's persona as *praeceptor amoris*, who instructs Paulinus in the art of writing a letter while escaping the notice of his spouse, Therasia (*Tanaquil tua nesciat istud*, "Let your Tanaquil not know about it," 22.31).

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[153] Knight 2005, 380-381; Fielding 2017, 24-28; Rücker 2012, 321-324.

This remarkable instance of Ovidian reception is as thematically dissonant as seems the use of the myth in Catullus' poem for his brother. A one-to-one mapping of each character involved[154] casts Paulinus in the role of the mutilated and mute Philomela[155] and Ausonius in the role of the murderous mother Procne. A different perspective on the role of each, however, could prove a useful lens though which to examine the evocation of the myth and its larger purpose within Ausonius' letter and rhetorical strategy. The power structure inherent in the relationship between Procne and Philomela, with the former acting as the avenger of the latter, may be reflected in Ausonius' assimilation of himself and Paulinus into those roles. Gillian Knight casts this power structure in elegiac or satirical tones:

> This tack [of letters as private, secret ciphers] facilitates a focus on 'secrecy' and the introduction of an overtly satirical note, through allusions which appear to cast Paulinus rather than Ausonius in a female and / or subservient role. The satire, centring on the notion of subjugation, is rooted

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[154] The assertion of Knight 2005, 381, that "there is no straightforward one to one correspondence" and her casting of these Ovidian *exempla* as bywords for shame or secrecy unnecessarily generalizes what are specifically chosen examples that invite closer inspection.

[155] Rücker 2012, 323, offers as an alternative that the coalescence between the myth and the real-life correspondence aligns Paulinus with Tereus in terms of power, wealth, and lineage: "Der historiche Paulinus ähnelt also dem thrakischen Helden, was äußere Merkmale wie Reichtum, Macht, Einfluss, und Eheschließung betrifft, so sehr, dass der Dichter mit Hilfe der ovidischen Folie die Aussage seines eigenen Textes verändern kann." This interpretation unnecessarily complicates the *prima facie* connection between Paulinus and Philomela as letter-writers.

> in a framework which imputes to Paulinus fear of some *proditor* or *quaesitor* and which culminates in the recommendation that Therasia, *Tanaquil tua*, be kept in ignorance. Even the epistle's closing demand for reciprocity is made in markedly unequal terms, which may seem to violate the Ciceronian demand for 'parity' in friendship.[156]

This imbalance or inequality rhetorically casts Ausonius as someone with whom Paulinus would *want* to correspond, as he is both a powerful person in his own right and can protect him from figures like Therasia, cast explicitly as the husband-controlling Tanaquil at 31[157] and implicitly as a Tereus figure, as the entity whose notice Paulinus/Philomela must escape when communicating through written means.

Sophocles, Aristophanes, Ovid, and the *Pervigilium Veneris:* Narrative and the Power of the Voice

This chapter has surveyed the literary and iconographic sources of the myth in the Greco-Roman era and attempted to rationalize each author's utilization of certain details in the service of his larger project. The following list is qualified by yet another assertion that the fragmentary state of many of our sources makes it difficult to establish certainty, but it seems fair to state the

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[156] Knight 2005, 378.

[157] "The thrust of the verse-epistle as a whole suggests that the reference [to Tanaquil] offers a further means of effeminising Paulinus…" (Knight 2005, 383).

following: the filicide and the mother's transformation into a bird are attested as early as Homer, and the existence of a second woman with a role in the mythic nexus; with Sophocles comes the brutalization of the sister-figure as the cause for the filicide, the setting of the action in Thrace, the transformation of Tereus into a hoopoe, and the ingestion of the son-figure; with Accius, perhaps, the Bacchic festival and pretense that allows Procne to rescue Philomela; with Ovid, Philomela's own voice.

The question remains, then, why the versions of the myth found in Sophocles' *Tereus*, Aristophanes' *Birds*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and the *Pervigilium Veneris* have been selected as the case studies for this dissertation out of such a plethora of viable sources ripe for analysis. The chief questions that I intend to apply to each text under investigation deal mainly with narratological concerns: whom does the author or playwright allow to speak? Whom does he silence? How do those choices inform the audience's perception of these characters and the ways in which the characters relate to one another in a nexus of different levels of agency? Of the many sources, only the four mentioned above allow an in-depth analysis of the answers to those questions, whether due to the source's length (i.e., Aristophanes, Ovid, and the *Pervigilium*) or the opportunities afforded by its fragments and testimonia (i.e., Sophocles, as opposed to the

Middle Comedians, Livius Andronicus, or Accius, the fragments of whom are too exiguous and do not invite the same sort of analysis that, e.g., Soph. *Ter.* fr. 583 does). A narrative voice affords the speaker or communicator agency, and each of the authors under consideration uses that fact to build a hierarchy of power between his characters in interesting ways; the lack of narrative voices in the mentions of the myth in, e.g., Achilles Tatius or Antoninus Liberalis makes such an investigation of those passages in terms of speech, silence, and power difficult, if not impossible.

CHAPTER 2 - SOPHOCLES' *TEREUS* AND ARISTOPHANES' *BIRDS*: THE VOICES OF THE SHUTTLE AND THE HOOPOE

Among Sophocles' fragmentary plays, the *Tereus* is arguably among the better-known and better-studied due to the length and volume of its fragments, ample testimonia about the play from the generations following Sophocles, and a hypothesis preserved in *P.Oxy.* 3013. We also know for certain that Aristophanes deliberately utilized elements of Sophocles' *Tereus,* namely the avian transformations of the eponymous character and his wife Procne, to create a structure for his play *Birds* due to an explicit reference to the source material within the play itself. Though the temporal priority of Sophocles' *Tereus* to Aristophanes' *Birds* is clearly established by such a citation, both plays are situated in a common cultural context that prescribes appropriate opportunities for speech or silence for all of its members, especially women.

In this chapter, I offer two related arguments, starting with Sophocles' *Tereus*. I argue that the playwright empowers his female characters, Procne and Philomela, by giving them voices or abilities to communicate that transgress Greek societal norms, in which silence was the *sine qua non* of femininity. While scholars have noted the resonance of Procne's sentiments with other Sophoclean heroines, none to my knowledge investigates her connection with Sophocles' Tecmessa in the *Ajax* nor Philomela's capacity for agency through writing in her

tapestry after her tongue is cut out.

Then, I turn to Aristophanes' *Birds*, a clear exemplum of reception of the Sophoclean play by virtue of the explicit reference to it by Tereus, the comic counterpart to the Sophoclean villain. I posit that Aristophanes attempts to correct the hierarchy of power constructed by Sophocles by empowering the *male* character, Tereus, with speech and song while conspicuously muting Procne and in fact reducing her to the object of sexual advances by Euelpides and Peisetaerus. Throughout my discussion, I will also offer general thoughts on how the empowerment of Procne and Philomela in Sophocles and the reversal of the power hierarchy in Aristophanes situate their respective plays within their authors' canons and within the canon of Greek drama as a whole.

Sophocles' *Tereus*: Procne and the Plight of Women

Mark Griffith writes that a "characteristic associated by the Greeks more with women than with men is silence; and a silence that would be shameful or cowardly in a man might conventionally be thought to confer an ideal air of 'modesty' and 'good sense' upon a woman."[158] Josine H. Blok encapsulates the relative opportunities for speech for women a bit more bluntly: "The principal

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[158] Griffith 2001, 123-124.

rules concerning the relations between men and women…may be summarized in a brief formula: women should not be seen, nor should they speak or be spoken of."[159] This social norm of the silent woman is simultaneously upended and reaffirmed by the conventions of Greek drama, upended in the sense that women are represented as real, emotional, empowered human beings on the stage, and reaffirmed in the sense that the female characters were played by men on stage, speaking words written by men. Greek drama, like Greek culture at large, was the domain of men; even if women were present in the dramatic audience, Bella Zweig writes, "it seems not to have altered the predominant male focus… intended for a male audience in a male-privileged realm of activity."[160] Though Zweig writes about Old Comedy, in which the characterization and objectification of women was *de rigueur*, the sentiment also applies to tragedy; from the gender makeup of the actors on stage to that of the audience, from the wealth of the *choregos* to the dominance of the playwrights, ancient drama reflected Greek culture in its disproportionate favor towards men.

This aporetic, pessimistic view of the social reality, however, does not preclude an examination of the *dramatic* world in which women are allowed to

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[159] Blok 2001, 97.

[160] Zweig 1992, 76.

speak, emote, plot, and effect what they want, be it revenge, reunion, social change, or some other *telos.* More specifically, the language that the playwrights use to attribute agency to their female characters builds a community of women whose voices communicate emotions, desires, fears, condemnations, approbations, in a way that other sources do not capture. The texts of the plays allow us to hear female voices from Greek antiquity, filtered though they may be through a male playwright and male actors' voices. The act of granting speech to these dramatic figures, whose analogues in Greek society were customarily silent in public, implies an interest on the playwrights' part in their psychological motivations as elements of their dramatic plots.[161]

The two major female characters of Sophocles' *Tereus* are Procne, Tereus' wife, and Philomela, Procne's sister and the one whom Tereus rapes and brutalizes. The fragments of the play preserve either direct speech or a reference to communication for each character; an investigation of both situates Procne and Philomela among other Sophoclean heroines or anti-heroines whose speech grants them agency in the face of dramatic obstacles.

First, a newly published papyrus (*P.Oxy.* 5292), edited by S. Slattery and

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[161] For speech as an index of power, see Laird 1999, 6-12.

analyzed further by P.J. Finglass,[162] fills out the context of an already ample and rich example of Procne's direct speech, fr. 583 Radt. I reproduce the fragment and its newly-expanded context here:

> [**Πρόκνη]:** 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 ἀήθ̣ι̣η δώμαθ', αἱ δ' ἐπίρροθα. (10)
> καὶ ταῦτ', ἐπ̣ι̣ειδὰν εὐφρόνη ζεύξῃ μία,
> χρεὼν ἐπα̣ι̣νεῖν καὶ δοκεῖν καλῶς ἔχειν.
> νόμῳ μὲν [
> εἰ δ' ἐκ τοιου̣[
> ἴδοιμι και[(15)
> τὸ γὰρ ποθ̣[
>
> **Χο(ρός):** ἀλλ' εὖ τελ[
> χρηστὴν φ[
>
> **Ποιμ(ήν):** δέσποινα[.].[
> θέλων τι[(20)
>
> **(Πρόκνη):** οὐκουν δ .[
> λόγων με[
>
> (**Ποιμήν):** ὅρ̣κον γαρ .[
> φράσειν α[

[162] Finglass 2016. See also my forthcoming *CQ* note (above, n. 8).

(Πρόκνη): λέξασα . . [(25)
κοινον . . [

(Ποιμήν): εἶρπον μ[
ἀλλ᾽ ἐξ ἄγρα[σ
ὃς ἧμιν ερ̣.[
στείχων δ[(30)
ἔνθεν χοαι̣[
ἔστην ὑπο̣[
τ̣ε̣ρα̣μν᾽ ὑπ̣[
]. π̣α̣ρ̣[
...

Procne: But now I am nothing apart [from them?]. Many times I have looked at the nature of women in this way, that we are nothing. We live the sweetest life of mankind, I think, as young girls in the home of a father. For ignorance always nourishes children pleasantly. But whenever we possess our wits and reach the marriageable age, we are thrust out and sold off, away from our ancestral gods and parents, some to foreign men, others to barbarians, some into strange homes, others into abusive ones. And whenever one night yokes us, we must approve of these things and consider them good. In the way…but if from such…I would know…for the… **Chorus:** But [it will turn out?] well…useful [report?]… **Shepherd:** Mistress, … wishing [to report?] something… **Procne:** Very well … of words … **Shepherd:** For [I will swear?] an oath, that I will tell [the truth?] … **Procne:** Having spoken … common … **Shepherd:** I was walking … but from the hunting … who to us … going … from there … I stood under … a dwelling … by …

Procne laments the social condition that casts women as subordinates to their husbands, however foreign, strange, joyless, or abusive they may be, and on top of that forces them to endure and approve of it: καὶ ταῦτ(α) … χρεὼν ἐπαινεῖν καὶ δοκεῖν καλῶς ἔχειν, "We must approve of these things and consider it good"

(11-12). The sentiment that Procne expresses in this fragment accords with that in fr. 584 Radt, in which it is ostensibly Procne who expresses envy over the naïveté of presumably a young maiden: πολλά σε ζηλῶ βίου, / μάλιστα δ' εἰ γῆς μὴ πεπείρασαι ξένης, "I very much envy your life, especially if you haven't experienced a foreign land."

The theme of geographic separation appears to have been a Sophoclean innovation on the strands of the myth that existed by the time of his play. As Edith Hall notes, "[Tereus'] *ethnic* redefinition was probably a Sophoclean invention … It is … likely that the ingredients of the story—rape, mutilation, infanticide, the eating of human flesh, and possibly a Dionysiac festival—were suggestive of a barbarian context, and even amongst barbarians, the Thracians were particularly often accused of deeds of outrageous violence."[163] This choice on Sophocles' part consciously makes Tereus a barbaric other that "gives the playwright many opportunities to press home the Greek-barbarian antithesis."[164] Indeed, the diction that Procne uses (χωρίς, ὠθούμεθ' ἔξω, ξένους, ξένης) underscores the otherness of Thrace and her profound separation from her natal family which leads to her lament.

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[163] Hall 1989, 104-105, emphasis original.

[164] Holmes 2011, 6-7.

Many scholars[165] have noted the resonance of Procne's sentiments with those of Deianira in the first episode of the *Trachineae*:

> 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,
> 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·
> τότ' ἂν τις εἰσίδοιτο, τὴν αὑτοῦ σκοπῶν
> πρᾶξιν, κακοῖσιν οἷς ἐγὼ βαρύνομαι. (Soph. *Tr.* 141-152)
>
> You are here, so it seems, because you've perceived that I am suffering, but as my heart grieves, may you not learn by undergoing it, inexperienced as you are now. For youth is nourished here, in these places like these, and no warmth of the god nor rain nor any winds trouble it, but it spends an untroubled life among delights until one is called a wife instead of a maiden and takes in the night her share of worries, fearing either for her husband or for her children; then, one may understand, looking at his own state, by what troubles I am weighed down.

The diction used by both Procne and Deianira highlights the same areas of concern; both discuss young girls or youth (Procne's αἱ νέαι with Deianira's νεάζον), the act of nourishing (Procne's τρέφει with Deianira's βόσκεται), and the relative pleasure of a young girl's life (Procne's ἥδιστον βίον with Deianira's ἡδοναῖς ἄμοχθον βίον). Both also delineate a clear temporal liminality between

[165] See Finglass 2016, 76-80; Seaford 1986, 51; Milo 2008, 39-40; Monella 2005, 89-91; Coo 2013, 360.

the state of blissful girlhood and troubled womanhood or wifehood; Procne defines it as the moment when young girls come into possession of their wits and reach a marriageable age (ὅταν δ’ ἐς ἥβην ἐξικώμεθ’ ἔμφρονες), while Deianira shifts the focus from the woman onto her perception by others and the nomenclature which they use to describe her (ἐς τοῦθ’ ἕως τις ἀντὶ παρθένου γυνὴ / κληθῇ). Finglass lists the similarities of both women’s laments on marriage while also acknowledging a key difference: “For Procne, marriage is destabilising because it rips a woman away from the human ties with which she has become familiar; for Deianira, it is problematic because of the new ties that it brings, which give a wife more to be worried about.”[166]

We may also fruitfully compare Procne’s castigation of the dependence of brides on their new husbands with Tecmessa’s impassioned plea to Ajax in his eponymous play by Sophocles to stay alive for her sake, a surprisingly under-studied connection:

> ὦ δέσποτ' Αἴας, τῆς ἀναγκαίας τύχης (485)
> οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν μεῖζον ἀνθρώποις κακόν.
> ἐγὼ δ' ἐλευθέρου μὲν ἐξέφυν πατρός,
> εἴπερ τινὸς σθένοντος ἐν πλούτῳ Φρυγῶν·
> νῦν δ' εἰμὶ δούλη· θεοῖς γὰρ ὧδ' ἔδοξέ που
> καὶ σῇ μάλιστα χειρί. τοιγαροῦν, ἐπεὶ (490)
> τὸ σὸν λέχος ξυνῆλθον, εὖ φρονῶ τὰ σά·
> …

[166] Finglass 2016, 76.

> ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὐκέτ' ἔστιν εἰς ὅ τι βλέπω
> πλὴν σοῦ· σὺ γάρ μοι πατρίδ' ᾔστωσας δορί· (515)
> καὶ μητέρ' ἄλλη μοῖρα τὸν φύσαντά τε
> καθεῖλεν Ἅιδου θανασίμους οἰκήτορας·
> τίς δῆτ' ἐμοὶ γένοιτ' ἂν ἀντὶ σοῦ πατρίς;
> τίς πλοῦτος; ἐν σοὶ πᾶσ' ἔγωγε σῴζομαι. (485-491, 514-519)

> Master Ajax, there is no greater evil for mankind than the compulsion of chance. I was born from a free father; if any man were rich in Phrygia, he was. But now I am a slave, for so did it seem right to the gods and especially to your hand. Therefore, because I've come to your bed, I think kindly about you…
> For I no longer have anywhere to look except you, for you destroyed my homeland with your spear; another fate stole away my mother and father, deceased inhabitants of Hades. What homeland could there be for me besides you? What wealth? I am entirely safe in you.

Tecmessa's relationship with Ajax admittedly differs from that of Procne with Tereus inasmuch as Tecmessa is ostensibly a concubine rather than a wedded wife, but even if not strictly marriage, their relationship obviously mirrors the basic idea of a man and woman joining in love and creating a family. Tecmessa's speech reads almost like a response to Procne's speech in fr. 583. The former evokes images of enslavement (ἐλευθέρου, δούλη) similar to those invoked by the latter (διεμπολώμεθα, ζεύξη). The obvious distinction that Tecmessa is quite literally talking about enslavement as a spoil of war; Ajax' conquest of her homeland (σὺ γαρ μοι πατρίδ' ᾔστωσας δορί, 515) situates Ajax as Tecmessa's primary protector, in the absence of her parents (μητέρ', τὸν φύσαντά) and homeland (πατρίς), and Ajax' power over her is apparent even in her term of

address for him (δέσποτε, 485). However, Ajax, while ξένος, βάρβαρος, and ἀήθης, proves not to be ἐπίρροθος, abusive, as Procne claims that new husbands can be (fr. 583.9-10); Ajax has treated Tecmessa well enough that she wishes the best for his situation (εὖ φρονῶ τὰ σά, 491), a phrasing which seems almost to answer Procne's bitter condemnation of the "grin and bear it" nature of marriage (ταῦτα … χρεὼν ἐπᾳιινεῖν καὶ δοκεῖν καλῶς ἔχειν), with parallel verbs of judgment (ἐπαινεῖν / δοκεῖν, φρονῶ), adverbs of approbation (καλῶς, εὖ), and generalizing neuter plural accusative objects (ταῦτα, τὰ σά).

As Judith Mossman writes, "Women's speech acts…may…pass as normal in a way which our non-dramatic sources suggest would not generally have been the case in fifth-century Athens. Female characters may use rhetorical tropes of great sophistication in a way which not only creates an elaborate argument but also contributes to creating a character."[167] Sophocles uses speech to empower Procne, Deianira, and Tecmessa and characterize them as agents that can express emotion and use rhetoric to attempt to effect certain outcomes. Of the three, Tecmessa's objective in her speech is the clearest; she wants Ajax to remain alive for both her and her son's sakes, and she appeals to the positive relationship that she and Ajax have fostered in order to convince him to do so. Procne and

[167] Mossman 2012, 501.

Deianira, on the other hand, use their opportunities for speech to vocalize frustration at the necessity of marriage and its potential for harm to the woman. The common thread throughout each of the three speeches is the subordination of the woman to a husband in the event of marriage; while Procne and Deianira constatively[168] lament the deprivation of agency that women endure in the event of marriage, Tecmessa uses the relationship into which Ajax has forced her to enter to leverage what she wants.

Philomela and the Voice of the Shuttle

Of the 14 substantial,[169] extant fragments of Sophocles' *Tereus*, the attribution of a speaker is relatively certain in many cases. The Chorus undoubtedly sings fragments 590, 591, 592.4-6,[170] and 593, verses in anapestic

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[168] "…to issue a constative utterance…is to make a statement. To issue a performative utterance is, for example, to make a bet." That is, constative utterances are more descriptive, while performative utterances have the force of speech acts that involve some kind of action. See Austin 1975, 3-7 and 6 n. 2.

[169] I am not counting the one-word or impossible-to-contextualize fragments: *αἴγλη*, 594; λίβανος, 595a;] εις νιν εἰς φθορ[, 595b. Somm. *et al.* 193-195 offer convincing contextualizations for each of the concepts in these three fragments, but the speaker of each is impossible to ascertain.

[170] Somm. *et al.* 186 reject the first three lines of Radt's fr. 592 as part of the full context due to a lack of specific attribution to a play in the first three lines' context (Plutarch *Mor.* 21b, versus a specific attribution to Sophocles' *Tereus* of lines 4-6 in Stobaeus 4.34.39) and a mismatch in thematic content. Milo 2008, 88, mentions Somm. *et al.*'s exclusion of lines 1-3 but does not argue against their decision; nevertheless, the lines are produced in full in her fr. 12 (= 592 Radt).

(590) and dactylo-epitrite (591-593) meters with generalizing sentiments that are usually expressed by tragic choruses. Procne, as mentioned above, speaks 583 and probably 584. To these we may add 588[171] and perhaps 587; Somm. *et al.* adduce that since only a Greek could speak the disparaging sentiment about barbarians in the fragment (φιλάργυρον μὲν πᾶν τὸ βάρβαρον γένος, "The entire barbarian race is money-loving"), it was probably spoken by the only Greek character that we can be reasonably certain had a speaking role in the play: Procne.[172]

The attributions of speech for the remaining fragments are more difficult to declare with certainty, but options abound. Fr. 582[173] appears to have been the first line of the play, as it begins with a vocative, as do five of Sophocles' extant tragedies,[174] and establishes the geographic setting of the play in Thrace;[175] the line is spoken presumably by a Thracian character, given the tenor of the

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[171] On which see my forthcoming note in *CQ* (above, n. 8). The newly expanded context of fr. 583 (at *P.Oxy.* 5292 [2016]) reveals the presence of a Shepherd character, who, I argue, is the addressee of fr. 588, ostensibly spoken by Procne, encouraging him to reveal what it is he has come to say: θάρσει· λέγων τἀληθὲς οὐ σφαλῇ ποτε, "Take courage! If you speak the truth, you won't come to harm."

[172] Somm. *et al.* 187.

[173] Ἥλιε, φιλίπποις Θρῃξὶ πρέσβιστον σέλας, "Helios, most revered light to the horse-loving Thracians."

[174] *Antigone*, *Ajax*, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, *Electra*, *Oedipus Coloneus*.

[175] Somm. *et al.* 175-176.

invocation. The speaker of fr. 585[176] has been the subject of scholarly debate for centuries; various options include the chorus leader, some confidante of Procne, or Tereus himself.[177] Fr. 586[178] fits the mold of a messenger speech, which would describe events that happened offstage. The prescience of fr. 581 indicates that the speaker is perhaps a *deus ex machina,* and the value judgment in fr. 589 may have been offered by that same *deus ex machina* or perhaps the messenger of fr. 586.

The final fragment, 595, is embedded in Aristotle's discussion of inartistic, contrived recognition scenes in the *Poetics*:

> 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**. (1454b)
>
> Second are the [recognition scenes] constructed by the poet, and for that reason they are inartistic. Like when Orestes in the *Iphigenia* causes recognition that he is Orestes; for she is recognized through the letter, but he himself spoke what the poet wanted, not what the story required; so, this is almost the fault already mentioned, for he could have brought some

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[176] ἀλγεινά, Προκνή, δῆλον· ἀλλ' ὅμως χρεὼν / τὰ θεῖα θνητοὺς ὄντας εὐπετῶς φέρειν, "It is clear that these things are painful, Procne, but nevertheless those who are mortal must bear divine mandates readily."

[177] For specific attributions of the proposed possibilities, see Somm. *et al.* 179 and Milo 2008, 74.

[178] σπεύδουσαν αὐτήν, ἐν δὲ ποικίλῳ φάρει, "…as she hurried, and in a dappled cloak…."

tokens too. And in Sophocles' *Tereus*, the **"voice of the shuttle."**

The idea that the substantive words in this excerpt from Aristotle, κερκίδος φωνή, comprise a Sophoclean fragment has been accepted by scholars since its originator, Tyrwhitt of the 18th century.[179] Like the fragments that comprise one word or an unintelligible phrase, the speaker of these words is difficult if not impossible to ascertain, but its utterance would necessarily be part of or follow the revelation of Philomela's fate; as such, based on what little of a *dramatis personae* that we can construct, perhaps Procne, a messenger, or the *deus ex machina* would have mentioned the "voice of the shuttle" in a recounting of how Philomela communicated what had befallen her.

The collocation of Euripides' *Iphigenia among the Taurians* and Sophocles' *Tereus* in Aristotle's examples of inartistic recognition scenes evokes at least two thematic connections. First, a woman is relegated to a barbarous land, away from her natal family. Iphigenia herself highlights the strangeness of her surroundings in her opening monologue:

> ἀλλ' ἐξέκλεψεν ἔλαφον ἀντιδοῦσά μου
> Ἄρτεμις Ἀχαιοῖς, διὰ δὲ λαμπρὸν αἰθέρα
> πέμψασά μ' ἐς τήνδ' ᾤκισεν Ταύρων χθόνα,
> οὗ γῆς ἀνάσσει βαρβάροισι βάρβαρος
> Θόας… (28-32)

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[179] Somm. *et al.* 183.

> But Artemis stole me away, giving the Achaeans a deer in my place, and through the brilliant air she sent me and made me inhabit this land of the Taurians, where a barbarian, Thoas, rules over barbarians…

The polyptoton of βαρβάροισι βάρβαρος draws attention to Iphigenia's outsider status, so to speak, and links thematically to Sophocles' *Tereus* fr. 587, with its comment on barbarians' affinity for money.[180] The general concept of distance from one's homeland also resonates with Procne's emphasis on her loneliness and distance from Athens in fr. 583.

Second, the protagonist recognizes a sibling (a brother in the *Iphigenia* and a sister in the *Tereus*) by means of some textual communication.[181] The conceit of Iphigenia's reading her letter aloud so that Pylades would commit its contents to memory in the event that the physical letter were lost (759-790) enacts a co-extension of an author's text and that author's voice; the former communicates the latter if the physical separation between writer and addressee proves too great to bridge.[182] If, as I argue elsewhere,[183] Philomela's internment is part of the Sophoclean plot, the tapestry as a missive is necessary to communicate Philomela's message to Procne in the former's physical absence.

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[180] See also above, p. 103, on the theme of geographic separation.

[181] For Philomela's tapestry as text rather than pictures, see below.

[182] See above, pp. 13-15, and below, pp. 192-194.

[183] See my forthcoming note in *CQ* (above, n. 8).

κερκίδος φωνή is typically taken to refer to a tapestry or some sort of garment into which Philomela weaves her story in order to inform Procne of her fate. Scholarly debate abounds about whether Philomela wove in pictures or in letters, and the answer, I argue in contrast to Anne Burnett,[184] is important, at least in my discussion of the power of speech and communication. In favor of the former option are various depictions of pictorial embroidery by notable characters in Greek epic. For example, Helen weaves depictions of the battles between the Trojans and the Greeks at *Iliad* 3.125-128: τὴν δ' εὗρ' ἐν μεγάρῳ· ἣ δὲ μέγαν ἱστὸν ὕφαινε / δίπλακα πορφυρέην, πολέας δ' ἐνέπασσεν ἀέθλους / Τρώων θ' ἱπποδάμων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων, / οὕς ἕθεν εἵνεκ' ἔπασχον ὑπ' Ἄρηος παλαμάων, "She wove a great double-folded purple web, and she sprinkled in both the horse-breaking Trojans' and the bronze-clad Achaeans' many ordeals, which they suffered on her account by the devices of Ares." This level of detail is not merely mythical embellishment; Jane Cahill compares Helen's tapestry and later Classical examples, like Arachne's depiction of the gods' transgressions in Book 6 of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, with real-life examples of woven works that display remarkable and comprehensible detail, like the Bayeux tapestry, 15th century Franco-Flemish tapestries, and South American acts

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[184] "It is not clear whether Philomela's threads are supposed to have made pictures or letters (as at Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.14.8), nor does it matter" (Burnett 1998, 186 n. 34).

of weaving.[185]

A preponderance of evidence favors the latter option, however. The scholiast on Aristophanes *Birds* 212 claims that Philomela revealed her fate through writing: καὶ τὴν γλῶτταν αὐτῆς ἀπέτεμεν, μὴ δῆλα θείη τὰ πραχθέντα τῇ Πρόκνῃ. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὑφαίνουσα **διὰ γραμμάτων** ἐδήλωσε τὸ συμβάν, "…and [Tereus] cut out her tongue, so that she not make clear what had happened to Procne. It was not so, but she made clear what happened by weaving **through letters**." This detail fills out the play's hypothesis, which claims only that Philomela wove: δι' ὕφο[υς ἐμήνυσε].[186] The use of γράμματα would also anticipate Ovid's description of Philomela's markings on her tapestry as *notae.*[187] Further, David Fitzpatrick notes that "a pictorial representation risks the serious possibility of discovery by Tereus himself or one of his loyal servants."[188] The illiterate Thracian Tereus would hardly recognize Greek script as a form of communication: "The illiterate Tereus believes the removal of Philomela's tongue

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[185] Cahill 1995, 29-30 n. 8.

[186] Somm. *et al.* 184 claim that "this detail [i.e., διὰ γραμμάτων] might conceivably be due to contamination with some later (Hellenistic?) version of the story," but no such conclusion can be drawn, tantalizing as it is, from the exiguous strands of the myth from the Hellenistic era, on which see Chapter 1. See below for the full hypothesis of the play, *P.Oxy.* 3013.

[187] On which, see below, pp. 186-188.

[188] Fitzpatrick 2001, 97-98.

is sufficient to prevent the revelation of his actions. However, the literate Philomela is able to counter this by writing the event under the guise of the domestic activity of weaving."[189] If intercepted, a Greek text would more easily escape the notice of the illiterate Tereus than pictures. The use of writing also underscores the fact that it is Philomela's words that hold the capacity for doing damage to Tereus.

This contrivance, Philomela's use of a tapestry to encode her message to Procne, appears to have been necessary due to the forceful excision of her tongue, according to the hypothesis of the play:

> Τηρεύς [· ἡ ὑ]π̣ό̣θεσις. [Π]ανδίων ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δυν<άστ>ης, [ἔ]χων θυγατέρας Πρόκ<ν>ην καὶ Φιλο[μ]ήλαν, τὴν πρεσβυτέραν Π̇ρόκ<ν>ην Τηρεῖ γάμῳ ἔζευξεν [τ]ῷ [τῶ]ν Θρᾳκῶν βασιλεῖ, ὃς ἔσχεν ἐξ [αὐ]τ̣ῆς υἱὸν προσαγορεύσας Ἴτυν. χρόνου δὲ διελθόντος καὶ βουλομένης τῆς Πρόκνης θεάσασθαι τὴν ἀδελφήν, ἠξίωσε τὸν Τηρέα πορεύσασθαι εἰς Ἀθήνας ἄξειν. ὁ δὲ παραγενόμενος εἰς Ἀθήνας καὶ ἐπ̣[ιτρε]φ̣θ̣ε̣ὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Πανδίονος [τὴν πα]ρθένον καὶ μεσοπορήσας [ἠράσθ]η τ̇ῆς παιδός· ὁ δὲ τὰ πισ[τὰ οὐ φ]υ̣λάξας διεπαρθένευ[σεν, εὐλ]αβούμενος δὲ **μὴ τῇ ἀ̣[δελφῃ μηνύσῃ] ἐγλωσσοτόμη[σε** τὴν παῖδα.] παραγενάμενος [δὲ εἰς τὴν] Θρᾴκην καὶ τῆς Φ[ιλομήλας οὐ] δυναμένης [ἐκλαλεῖν τὴν] συμφοράν, δι᾽ ὕφο[υς ἐμήνυσε.] ἐπιγνοῦσα δὲ ἡ Πρ[όκνη τὴν ἀλή]θειαν ζηλοτυπ[ίᾳ ……….] οἰστρηθεῖσα καὶ [*ca. 7*] νη †υ . ερεινοις† λα[βοῦσα τὸν] Ἴτυν ἐσφαγίασε [καὶ καθεψήσα]σα παρέθηκε [τῷ Τηρεῖ, ὁ δὲ τὴν] βορὰν ἀγνοῶν [ἔφαγεν. αἱ δὲ φυγα]δευθεῖσαι ἐγέ[νοντο ἡ μὲν] ἀηδών, ἡ δὲ χ̣ε[λιδών, ἔποψ] δὲ ὁ Τηρεύς.[190]

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[189] Fitzpatrick 2001, 98.

[190] *P.Oxy.* 3013.

> *Tereus:* [the Hy]pothesis. [P]andion, the ruler of Athens, who [h]ad two daughters, Procne and Philo[m]ela, gave the elder, Procne, to be united in marriage to Tereus, [t]he king of [th]e Thracians, who had a son by [h]er whom he named Itys. After some time had passed, when Procne wanted to see her sister, she asked Tereus to travel to Athens to bring her. He came to Athens, was en[trus]ted with [the ma]iden by Pandion, and midway on his journey, he [became enamour]ed of the girl; [not k]eeping his pled[ge], he deflowe[red] her, and **as a [pr]ecaution against her [revealing it] to her s[ister] he cu[t] out [the girl's] tongue**. When he arrived [in] Thrace, Ph[ilomela was not] able [to speak about her] plight, [but she revealed it] through wea[ving]. Pr[ocne], learning [the tr]uth, was stung by [the utmost(?)] jealous[y] and [madden]ed by a Fury (?) she to[ok] Itys, slaughtered him, [boil]ed him and served him [to Tereus, and he,] not knowing what [the] food was, [ate it. The women] were forced to [flee] and [one of them] be[came] a nightingale, the other a sw[allow], and Tereus [a hoopoe.][191]

The verb used to describe Tereus' act of brutality against Philomela leaves no room for doubt: ἐγλωσσοτόμη[σε], from γλῶσσα, "tongue," and τομεύω or τέμνω, "to cut, sever." If the textual conjecture in the hypothesis is sound, Tereus' motivation is to prevent Philomela from speaking out and informing Procne what has happened: μὴ τῇ ἀ̣[δελφῃ μηνύσῃ], "so that she not inform her sister." The power of Philomela's speech frightens Tereus into taking such a radical course of action; he chops out the tongue, the vessel by which Philomela could exercise her agency and her power over him. This device, Gregory Dobrov notes, is unique in extant Greek myth: "Occurring nowhere else in Greek legend as a means of preventing communication, this 'lingual castration' is highly

[191] Translation by Somm. *et al.* 161.

marked and serves to emphasize Tereus' singular savagery. His role as violent suppressor of language is thereby dramatized in the foreground."[192]

Nevertheless, despite the excision of her tongue, Philomela still retains the capacity for communication; her tongue as a vessel of speech may be gone, but she still has the voice of the shuttle, κερκίδος φωνή, that acts as an extension of her physical voice. Through the letters on the tapestry, she is able to effect what Tereus fears most, a declaration of what he has done. The message in the tapestry sets in motion the series of events that leads to the murder of Itys as a vehicle of revenge. The tapestry enables her to communicate and exercise agency when her main mode of communication, her physical voice, is stolen away from her, and thus, she exercises power over Tereus. Indeed, if Philomela transforms into a swallow and Tereus transforms into a hoopoe at the end of the play, as the hypothesis seems to indicate,[193] nature would reflect such a hierarchy that gives Philomela power over Tereus, as Nan Dunbar notes: "in real life hoopoes are so timid that they have been observed fleeing from swallows in terror."[194]

Thus, the fragments of Sophocles' *Tereus* indicate that Procne is afforded a literal voice and Philomela is afforded a metaphorical one in the absence of her

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[192] Dobrov 2001, 122.

[193] ἡ δὲ χ̣ε[λιδών, ἔποψ] δὲ ὁ Τηρεύς.

[194] Dunbar 112.

actual one. Procne uses speech to express frustration at the social plight of married women. Philomela channels her lost voice into the act of writing, an indictment of Tereus that sets up his downfall. In both cases, the women exercise agency and power in the act of communication and, in so doing, align themselves intertextually with other empowered Sophoclean female protagonists, like Deianira and Tecmessa.

Aristophanes' *Birds:* Tereus as an Arbiter of Communication

Aristophanes' *Birds* then takes the hierarchy of power that Sophocles constructs in the *Tereus* and flips it upside-down. He establishes the male Tereus as a primary character, endowed with many opportunities for direct speech, virtuosic singing, and positive characterization, and the female Procne as a mostly mute object, whose body is intended for the visual consumption of the males both on stage and in the audience; she no longer speaks, let alone expresses any emotion or exercises any agency. In addition, the figure of Philomela is all but erased from the narrative, though the playwright's repeated mentions of the swallow raise her specter throughout the play.

As mentioned above,[195] of the fragments of Sophocles' *Tereus*, the only one

[195] See above, pp. 108-111.

that may be attributed to Tereus as a speaker is 585, but even that single identification is unclear; the fragment could just as easily be spoken by the chorus leader or some confidante of Procne. It is difficult and dangerous to make an *argumentum ex silentio* and say that the lack of clear references to direct speech for Tereus in the fragments means that he did not speak at all in the play. Barring the discovery of new fragments, however, the lines of the play that are extant do not allow us much insight into Tereus' opportunities for speech.

His counterpart in Aristophanes' *Birds*, on the other hand, is afforded numerous opportunities not only for direct speech, as a major interlocutor with Euelpides and Peisetaerus for the first half of the play, but even virtuosic lyric *qua* birdsong when he summons Procne and the birds (209-262). As Nan Dunbar notes, "As birds are nature's songsters, so Tereus is given here, to establish the note of high lyricism that permeates the play, an elegant, mellifluous invocation of his mate and a long, metrically elaborate lyric invocation of the birds which would need an actor with a good singing voice."[196] The length of Tereus' lyric run, which is ostensibly supposed to summon the birds, both delays the Chorus' arrival and showcases the vocal dexterity of its singer, with its various meters

[196] Dunbar 150-151.

intended to evoke different groups of birds.[197] Euelpides even comments meta-theatrically on the beauty of the song and the singer's voice, right after Tereus' anapests and before his melange of lyric meters: ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, τοῦ φθέγματος τοὐρνιθίου· / οἷον κατεμελίτωσε τὴν λόχμην ὅλην, "King Zeus, that avian voice! How it's turned the entire thicket into honey!" (223-224).[198]

The stagecraft of Tereus' song is difficult to envision, namely the location from which he sings. At 202-205, Tereus declares that he will enter the "thicket" (λόχμη), represented theoretically by the stage building:

> δευρὶ γὰρ ἐμβὰς αὐτίκα μάλ' εἰς τὴν λόχμην,
> ἔπειτ' ἀνεγείρας τὴν ἐμὴν ἀηδόνα,
> καλοῦμεν αὐτούς· οἱ δὲ νῷν τοῦ φθέγματος
> ἐάνπερ ἐπακούσωσι θεύσονται δρόμῳ.
>
> I will enter here immediately into the thicket and then wake up my nightingale, and we will summon them; whoever hears our voice will come at a run.

Nan Dunbar argues that "ἐμβάς strongly suggests that [Tereus] sings realistically

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[197] Dunbar 155-158.

[198] Sommerstein 1987, 41, takes τοῦ φθέγματος τοὐρνιθίου as referring to Procne's song: "Lord Zeus, what a voice that bird has! How *she* filled the whole thicket with her sweetness!" (emphasis mine). Henderson 2000, 47 ("Lord Zeus, that birdy's voice! How it turned the whole thicket to honey!"), and Roche 2005, 347 ("Zeus, King, how that bird's song has turned the whole copse into a honey glen!"), do not ascribe the φθέγμα to either Procne or Tereus explicitly. The fact that Tereus has sung from 209 to 222, but the nightingale is also singing at the same time, starting from 214 (on which see below, p. 127 with n. 212), perhaps suggests that it is better to interpret τοῦ φθέγματος τοὐρνιθίου as referring to the combined song of both. We may look to 209, νῷν τοῦ φθέγματος, a combination of the two voices, as textual support for this interpretation.

'*up* in the thicket', i.e. on the roof, probably in full view of the audience."[199] That Tereus is still visible to Peisetaerus and Euelpides (that is, not hidden inside the *skene*) is implied by Peisetaerus' observation, presumably based on visual cues, that the hoopoe was preparing to start his song again after Peisetaerus' and Euelpides' brief dialogue: "οὔποψ μελῳδεῖν αὖ παρασκευάζεται," "The hoopoe is preparing to sing again" (226). This staging, with Tereus on the roof,[200] has the benefit of allowing the singer's voice to be heard clearly, that is, not impeded by the walls of the *skene* building,[201] and of according with the natural tendency of birds to sing from high perches, if verisimilitude of this sort were necessary, as it seems to be in this play.[202] While the first benefit could just as easily have been realized if Tereus stayed on stage, the second benefit may provide the dramatic

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[199] Dunbar 149 *ad* 202-4, emphasis original.

[200] Liapis 2013, 416, opines that the Tereus on the roof would be part of a bait and switch; the actor playing Tereus would exit the stage and enter the *skene* at 208 and then onto the roof would come a "gifted member of the chorus … or a professional singer specially engaged" (Sommerstein 1987, 211-212 *ad* 202) to deliver Tereus' song, if the actor playing Tereus were not as virtuosic a singer as needed for a song as complicated as this invocation of the birds.

[201] See Liapis 2013, 415.

[202] Dunbar 149 *ad* 202-4. See also Dunbar 3 n. 3 on scholarship about Aristophanes' knowledge of birds and the accuracy with which he portrays them.

motivation that Sommerstein found lacking in this seemingly unnecessary exit.[203] Other possible reasons for the exit suggested by Dunbar include a costume change into military dress, parts of which he has the birds take away at 434-436 after his re-entrance and before Peisetaerus begins his attempt at persuasion, or the real-life nightingale's propensity for singing unseen in thickets.[204]

The power of Tereus' voice is clearly underlined at 199-200 when Tereus claims that he taught the birds how to speak and thus civilized them out of their prior barbarian state: ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτοὺς βαρβάρους ὄντας πρὸ του / ἐδίδαξα τὴν φωνὴν ξυνὼν πολὺν χρόνον, "I lived with them for a long time and taught them speech, since they were barbarians before this." The adjective βαρβάρους is particularly pointed when we consider how Tereus' race was cast, presumably pejoratively, as βάρβαρος in Sophocles' play: φιλάργυρον μὲν πᾶν τὸ βάρβαρον γένος, "The entire barbarian race is money-loving" (fr. 587 Radt). Here in *Birds*, on the other hand, the barbarian has become the civilizer. In fact, it is the act of teaching the birds Greek that enables the very plot of the play to advance:

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[203] "There is no *dramatic* reason why Tereus should go inside to sing his two songs, and from a theatrical point of view there is an actual disadvantage in that the songs might well be less clearly heard and less fully appreciated by the audience" (Sommerstein 1987, 211 *ad* 202).

[204] Dunbar 149 *ad* 202-4.

> Tereus' activities of disseminating language are catalytic for this metacomedy, allowing Peisetairos' political career to mirror, among other things, the improvisational creativity of the playwright…the comic Tereus' linguistic pedagogy opens for the Athenians a political future marked by wings that Aristophanes uses as signs of rhetorical prowess and comic freedom.[205]

Indeed, Tereus casts the birds' initial meeting with Peisetaerus as an opportunity to hear (and thus understand and interpret) his words: ἀλλ' ἴτ' εἰς λόγους ἅπαντα, "Now all attend the conference" (258),[206] but literally, λόγοι, "words" that the birds would not understand if it were not for Tereus' teaching. The act of teaching the birds Greek appears to have put Tereus in a position of power among them. For example, though they are initially angry when he reveals that he has summoned the birds to listen to two humans speak (310/11-336), he appeals to their relationship and their seeming subservience to him: καὶ δίκαιόν γ' ἐστὶ κἀμοὶ δεῖ νέμειν ὑμᾶς χάριν, "It's right, and you should tend to my good graces" (384);[207] the birds, for their part, agree that they have followed him faithfully in the past: ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' ἄλλο σοί πω πρᾶγμ' ἐνηντιώμεθα, "Well, truly, we haven't yet opposed you in any matter" (385).

While Dobrov claims that Peisetaerus mirrors Aristophanes in the quote

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[205] Dobrov 2001, 124.

[206] Translation by Henderson 2000, 49.

[207] The translation of χάριν as "good graces" comes from Henderson 2000, 71.

above, I argue that Aristophanes has a second analogue in Tereus, inasmuch as the playwright dramaturgically decides who is and is not allowed to speak in the course of the play. One thread that connects both the tragic Tereus and his comic analogue is each one's status as an *arbiter of communication*, in restrictive and permissive senses respectively. The tragic Tereus, through the glossectomy of Philomela, attempts to place an insurmountable physical block on her ability to communicate. His act of excision states clearly that he not only denies but forcefully precludes Philomela's right to exercise her own voice. The comic Tereus, on the other hand, arms the birds with the power of speech by teaching them Greek. He appears to have transferred to the birds the power of communication that he stole from Philomela when he cut out her tongue, thereby cementing his liminal position between manhood and birdhood and enabling Peisetaerus to communicate with the birds in the first place, let alone persuade them to follow along with his plan. True enough, Aristophanes clearly effaces the glossectomy of Philomela from his conception of the Tereus-Procne relationship within *Birds*,[208] but the comic Tereus' citation of Sophocles' tragedy (100-101) will have caused the audience to think about its plot and characters, especially as they relate to their comic analogues or lack thereof. So, my statement above

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[208] On which see below, pp. 137-139.

should be nuanced further: the *comic Tereus* appears to have transferred to the birds the power of communication that the *tragic Tereus* stole from Philomela when he cut out her tongue out.

Procne as a Sexy Songster (and Little Else)

The character of Procne in *Birds*, on the other hand, does not speak directly at all and sings only when commanded to do so by Tereus or the Chorus. Andrew Barker argues that Procne's lack of direct speech contributes to her passive existence, as opposed to active participation, in the play's plot: "in this play [*Birds*] she utters not a word. She offers no verbal account of herself which would help us to reconstruct her meaning, or to interpret her interactions with other characters in the drama … she not only *says* nothing, but *does* nothing to propel the action on its way."[209] While Barker is correct in that Procne never engages in direct speech, it is perhaps unfair to divest her completely of agency as far as the plot's movement is concerned. Tereus refers to her as σύννομε (209), literally "harmonizer" or one who "sings with [me]" (σύν + νόμος) in

[209] Barker 2004, 186, emphases original.

preparation for the song that will summon the birds.[210] He also spends most of the anapestic beginning to his lyric run focusing on Procne's beautiful music and its origins as a lament for their son (τὸν ἐμὸν καὶ σὸν πολύδακρυν Ἴτυν, "my son and yours, much-bewailed Itys" [212]). Indeed, Procne's voice or song receives multiple references throughout this section of the play: she and Tereus share a single voice (νῷν τοῦ φθέγματος, 204); she sings the strains of holy song (λῦσον δὲ νόμους ἱερῶν ὕμνων, 210); she laments with her divine mouth (διὰ θείου στόματος θρηνεῖς, 211); she sings elegies that Apollo hears (Φοῖβος ἀκούων τοῖς σοῖς ἐλέγοις); and before her actual entrance, the Chorus Leader calls her the harmonious nightingale (ἡδυμελῆ ξύμφωνον ἀηδόνα, 659), while after she has appeared and Peisetaerus and Euelpides have pawed at her, the Chorus sings that she shares in their hymns (πάντων ξύννομε τῶν ἐμῶν / ὕμνων, 678-679), creates sweet noise (ἡδὺν φθόγγον ἐμοὶ φέρουσ', 681), and plays on the beautiful-sounding *aulos* the strains of spring (ὦ καλλιβόαν κρέκουσ' / αὐλὸν φθέγμασιν ἠρινοῖς, 682-683).[211] Her voice is mentioned in

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[210] The appellation is somewhat picked up by the Chorus Leader at 659 when he calls Procne ἡδυμελῆ **ξύμφωνον** ἀηδόνα, "the sweetly-singing **harmonious** nightingale," though φωνή and νόμος are only thematically and not linguistically related. ξύμφωνος appears in Tereus' address to Procne (220), but it modifies ὀλολυγή, the cry that arises from the gods during the choral dances initiated by Apollo at the nightingale's song.

[211] See below, n. 212, on the relationship between Procne and the production's *auletes*. Also, see below, pp. 128-129, for a longer discussion of the beginning of the parabasis.

various ways by various entities, and her song, along with Tereus' (σύννομε, 209), causes the birds to gather, setting in motion the confrontation between the birds and the Athenians before Peisetaerus wins them over.

However, Tereus clearly acts as an arbiter of communication and evinces control over Procne's voice by issuing commands that form the impetus for Procne's song: **παῦσαι** μὲν ὕπνου, / **λῦσον** δὲ νόμους ἱερῶν ὕμνων, "**Stop** sleeping and **loosen** the strains of holy song" (209-210). She appears to fulfill his commands by beginning to sing[212] at the asyndeton in the middle of 214: "the asyndeton … is used deliberately to *prevent* the hearer from taking χωρεῖ as a generic present co-ordinate with θρηνεῖς [211], and to show that now, after the long invocation's steady flow, comes the fulfillment of the request, i.e. the Nightingale's song, which the audience will hear presently with their own ears."[213] Tereus controls the output of Procne's voice, just as he did with the birds

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[212] Her "song" was most likely played by the *auletes*, the official flute-player of the production. Considerable scholarly debate about the relationship of the *auletes* to the character of Procne abounds, with Romer 1983 advancing the theory most comprehensively that the two were one in the same. Romer is followed by Barker 2004, 200-203: "The character of the nightingale, then, is not played by an actor at all, but by the official aulete himself" (203); and, with considerable reservations and modifications, Taplin 1993, 107 and n. 6: "If Prokne *did* act as an *auletris*, I would still take it that the official *auletes* supplied the actual music…with Prokne playing at playing" (emphasis original).

[213] Dunbar 153 *ad* 213-214. I have deliberately left off the end of Dunbar's full quotation ("after 222") because it is not entirely clear what she means; the point of Tereus' praise of Procne's song (214-222) is that it happens contemporaneously with the latter part of the anapestic run, not in anticipation of some future song that will be sung afterward.

and just as his tragic counterpart did with Philomela.[214] Again, Aristophanes finds an analogue in Tereus. While Tereus dictates the commands, Aristophanes put the commands in his mouth and at the authorial and dramaturgical level decided to restrict Procne to birdsong, a marked change from the direct speech she expressed in Sophocles' *Tereus*.[215]

The Chorus also appropriates the role of an arbiter of communication and, as such, a controller of Procne's voice at the introduction to the parabasis when they address the nightingale:

> ὦ φίλη, ὦ ξουθή,
> ὦ φίλτατον ὀρνέων,
> πάντων ξύννομε τῶν ἐμῶν
> ὕμνων, ξύντροφ' ἀηδοῖ,
> ἦλθες ἦλθες ὤφθης,
> ἡδὺν φθόγγον ἐμοὶ φέρουσ'.
> ἀλλ', ὦ καλλιβόαν κρέκουσ'
> αὐλὸν φθέγμασιν ἠρινοῖς,
> ἄρχου τῶν ἀναπαίστων. (676-684)

> Oh, dear one, oh, trilling one, oh, dearest of birds, harmonizer with all of my songs, my sister nightingale, you came, you came, you've been seen, bringing me your sweet voice. But you who play the beautifully-voiced *aulos* with the voice of spring, begin our anapests.

The Chorus picks up on Tereus' appellation for Procne, ξύννομε, 678 (cf.

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[214] This framing of Procne's song as generated by the command of one with more power than her also anticipates neatly the narrator's subordination to Venus' commands in the *Pervigilium Veneris*, on which see below, pp. 244-246.

[215] For Aristophanes' engagement with Sophocles, see the final section of this chapter.

σύννομε, 209), and indeed on other aspects of his diction (ὕμνων, 210, 679; ξουθῆς, 214, with ξουθή, 676), thereby aligning themselves rhetorically with him. Another notable similarity is each one's use of imperative verbs. While Tereus begins his address with them (παῦσαι, 209; λῦσον, 210), the Chorus ends their initial address with one (ἄρχου, 684), which initiates the parabasis proper, appropriately for a verb meaning "to begin." The position of the imperatives and the anapestic meters creates a sort of Procne-based ring structure, containing within it her only physical appearance on stage. The latter boundary of the ring structure may be extended more properly, however, into the first part of epirrhematic syzygy (737-752), in which the Chorus addresses the nightingale again. Lexical similarities abound between this section and Tereus' song, namely mentions of holy songs (ἱερῶν ὕμνων, 210; νόμους ἱεροὺς, 745), trilling jaws (γένυος ξουθῆς, 214, 744), thick-leaved trees (φυλλοκόμου μίλακος, 215; μελίας … φυλλοκόμου, 742), and ritual dances (χορούς, 219; χορεύματ', 746). Procne's actual act of singing is circumscribed in both instances by the direct commands of Tereus and the Chorus; she sings within the play, but Tereus and the Chorus decide when she is allowed to do so.

Within this ring structure is contained Procne's first and only appearance on stage, in which she is cast as a sexualized object for visual consumption. The

scene may come at this point of the action as something of a surprise, given the long interlude between Procne's offstage "singing" which began at 214 and her appearance here at 667. The scene occupies a narrative space between Peisetaerus' successful persuasion of the birds to adopt his plan and the execution of it, so the question becomes why Procne is summoned to appear here and now, a demand that seems to interrupt the flow of the play. Gwendolyn Compton-Engle argues that this scene, placed at the point when the birds have become obedient and are no longer a threat to the Athenians, is a dramaturgical signpost of the transition from the Tereus section of the play to the parabasis. More specifically, Procne's beak, which Euelpides strips off (673-674), is a prop whose removal physicalizes the obviation of the threat of bodily harm and enmity from the birds.[216] Procne, as liminally situated between human and bird as Tereus, serves as a visual sign simultaneously of the anthropomorphic life that Peisetaerus and Euelpides want to reject and the avian life that they want to assume. Her appearance at this point of the play at which the transition is about to be made, then, prepares the audience for that transition.

The scene is so densely packed with visual and objectifying diction that it necessitates reproduction in full here:

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[216] See Compton-Engle 2007, esp. 124-126.

[ΧΟ.] … τὴν δ' ἡδυμελῆ σύμφωνον ἀηδόνα Μούσαις
κατάλειφ' ἡμῖν δεῦρ' **<u>ἐκβιβάσας</u>**, ἵνα **παίσωμεν** μετ' ἐκείνης. (660)
[ΠΕ.] ὢ τοῦτο μέντοι νὴ Δί' αὐτοῖσιν πιθοῦ.
<u>ἐκβίβασον</u> <u>ἐκ</u> τοῦ βουτόμου τοὐρνίθιον·
[ΕΥ.] **<u>ἐκβίβασον</u>** αὐτοῦ, πρὸς θεῶν, αὐτήν, ἵνα
καὶ νὼ **θεασώμεσθα** τὴν ἀηδόνα.
[ΕΠ.] ἀλλ' εἰ δοκεῖ σφῷν, ταῦτα χρὴ δρᾶν. ἡ Πρόκνη, (665)
ἔκβαινε καὶ **σαυτὴν ἐπιδείκνυ** τοῖς ξένοις.
[ΠΕ.] ὦ Ζεῦ πολυτίμηθ', ὡς **καλὸν** τοὐρνίθιον·
ὡς δ' **ἁπαλόν**, ὡς δὲ **λευκόν**.
[ΕΥ.] ἆρά γ' οἶσθ' ὅτι
ἐγὼ **διαμηρίζοιμ'** ἂν αὐτὴν ἡδέως;
[ΠΕ.] ὅσον δ' ἔχει τὸν **χρυσόν**, ὥσπερ παρθένος. (670)
[ΕΥ.] ἐγὼ μὲν αὐτὴν κἂν **φιλῆσαί** μοι δοκῶ.
[ΠΕ.] ἀλλ', ὦ κακόδαιμον, **ῥύγχος ὀβελίσκοιν** ἔχει.
[ΕΥ.] ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ᾠὸν νὴ Δί' ἀπολέψαντα χρὴ
ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὸ **λέμμα** κᾆθ' οὕτω **φιλεῖν**. (659-674)

[CHORUS LEADER] But bring out here and leave with us the sweetly-singing nightingale, harmonious with the Muses, so that we can **play** with her. [PEISETAERUS] Oh, by Zeus, obey them! Make the bird come out from the sedge. [EUELPIDES] Make her come here, by the gods, so that we too may **see** the nightingale. [EPOPS] If it seems right to them, we must do it. Procne, come out and **show yourself** to our guests. [PE.] Oh, much-honored Zeus, how **beautiful** this bird is; how **soft**, how **white**. [EU.] You know how sweetly I'd **split her legs**? [PE.] How much **gold** she has, like a maiden. [EU.] I think I'd like to **kiss** her too. [PE.] You wretch, she has a **beak with skewers**. [EU.] By Zeus, you have to peel off the **shell** from her head, like an egg, and **kiss** her in that way.

We are prepared for the presentation of Procne as an objectified plaything from the first mentions of the nightingale at 203 and 208, where Tereus' and Peisetaerus' choice of verbs (ἀνεγείρας, εἴσβαινε κἀνέγειρε) act as sexual double entendres. The use of double entendres continues here into the Chorus

Leader's statement of purpose at 660, κατάλειφ' ἡμῖν δεῦρ' ἐκβιβάσας ἵνα **παίσωμεν** μετ' ἐκείνης, "bring her out and leave her here so that we may play with her," where παίζειν has clear erotic undertones. The nightingale's corporeal absence until this point in the play and the necessity of her coming from obscurity into plain view is underscored by the polyptoton and anaphora of ἐκβιβάζειν, "to cause to come out (ἐκ-)," and its prefix ἐκ (ἐκβιβάσας, 660; ἐκβίβασον, ἐκ, 662; ἐκβίβασον, 663). The hypervisuality of Procne's body, even before she makes her first appearance, is evinced by the verbs of viewing (θεασώμεσθα, 664) and display (σαυτὴν ἐπιδείκνυ, 666). Then, once she appears, Peisetaerus and Euelpides place an inordinate, explicit amount of focus on her physical attributes: her softness and whiteness (ἁπαλόν, λευκόν, 668), her adornment in gold (χρυσόν, 670), her beak or whatever is covering her face (ῥύγχος ὀβελίσκοιν, 672; τὸ λέμμα, 674). The sexual component of the objectification is made quite explicit by Euelpides in his declarations of what he would like to do to her (διαμηρίζοιμι, literally "to enter through the thighs," 669; and φιλῆσαί and φιλεῖν, to kiss, 671 and 674 respectively).

As mentioned above, the poet affords Tereus and the Chorus control over Procne's voice, but here, he grants the characters dominion over her body as well. Aristophanes causes the Chorus Leader, Peisetaerus, and Euelpides to place

exorbitant focus on her physical appearance to depict Procne as possessing less agency than the others. In this scene, she is a prop for pawing, in Peisetaerus' case (ὡς … ἁπαλόν, 668),[217] or actual sexual contact, in Euelpides' case.[218] The tragic Procne and the comic Procne are now as diametrically opposed as the tragic Tereus and the comic Tereus are. The tragic Procne who used her voice to lament the plight of married girls and express emotion has lost that capacity for communication in her transition to the comic Procne; she does not say a word as Peisetaerus and Euelpides look and poke at her. All that remains for her is the ability to sing when commanded to do so and the endurance of the male gaze and touching in her capacity as a sexual object. She is the physical embodiment of the *eros* that pervades the play in almost all respects.[219]

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[217] Sommerstein 1987, *ad* 668, objects to this interpretation: "The scholia … are hardly right to suppose that Peisetaerus is touching or stroking her as he speaks; a person may be called *hapalos* on a purely visual judgement (cf. *Thesm.* 192), and amatory handling by Peisetaerus at this stage would make Euelpides' subsequent vain attempts to kiss Procne into something of an anticlimax." While the first point is certainly true in the case of *Th.* 192, it does not preclude the possibility of a tactile sense of ἁπαλός in *Birds*, as in, e.g., Hom. *Il.* 17.49: ἀντικρὺ δ' ἁπαλοῖο δι' αὐχένος ἤλυθ' ἀκωκή, "The spear point passed straight through his soft neck." With regard to the second point, if Peisetaerus and Euelpides both physically caress Procne, her role in the play as an objectified plaything becomes undeniable and concrete; the play's protagonist would validate the advances of the bomolochic Euelpides if he joined in Euelpides' attempts at tactile contact.

[218] On Euelpides' seeming success in kissing Procne after removing her facial covering, see Compton-Engle 2007, 118-120.

[219] See Arrowsmith 1973, esp. 130: "No other play of Aristophanes, not even *Lysistrata*, is so pervaded, so saturated by the language of desire. *Erōs, erastēs, epithumia, pothos* — over and over again the note of desire is struck, given constant visual dimension and the stress that only great poetry can confer."

Tereus' seeming passivity as the Athenians fondle his wife is problematic if, as I will argue later, Tereus is to be read in this half of the play as a civilizing force for good, especially in comparison to his barbaric, violent counterpart in Sophocles' tragedy. If the marriage were truly harmonious (cf. σύννομε, 209) and Tereus were a noble husband, he would not allow Peisetaerus and Euelpides to handle his wife in this way. The key appears to lie in what "civilizing" means in the context of Peisetaerus' Nephelokokkygia, which will come into being after the Procne scene. This scene, including Peisetaerus' and Euelpides' indecency and Tereus' passivity, should, I argue, be read with the parabasis that immediately follows it. In it, the avian utopia to come is billed as a place to escape the customs and restrictions that prevent humans from enjoying life: ὅσα γὰρ ἐνθάδ᾽ ἐστὶν αἰσχρὰ τοῖς νόμῳ κρατουμένοις, / ταῦτα πάντ᾽ ἐστὶν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν τοῖσιν ὄρνισιν καλά, "The things that are shameful here [in Athens] to those ruled by custom, all those things are beautiful among us, the birds" (755-756). Particularly instructive is the Chorus Leader's later glorification of the benefits of wings, which can allow any theatergoer to flaunt Athenian social norms with impunity, including those concerning adultery:

> εἴ τε μοιχεύων τις ὑμῶν ἐστιν ὅστις τυγχάνει,
> κᾆθ᾽ ὁρᾷ τὸν ἄνδρα τῆς γυναικὸς ἐν βουλευτικῷ,
> οὗτος ἂν πάλιν παρ᾽ ὑμῶν πτερυγίσας ἀνέπτατο, (795)

> εἶτα βινήσας ἐκεῖθεν αὖθις αὖ κατέπτατο.[220]
> ἆρ᾽ ὑπόπτερον γενέσθαι παντός ἐστιν ἄξιον; (793-797)
>
> And if any of you happens to be an adulterer, and he sees the woman's husband in the Council's seats, he could then take to wing and fly up and away from us, and then after having his way with her, flutter back down from there to here again. Isn't it worth it for everyone to become winged?

The play shifts from the human realm to the avian realm with the Procne scene and the parabasis. In Cloudcuckooland, the rules that governed Peisetaerus' and Euelpides' lives in Athens, including those that dictate sexual propriety and respect for others' *oikoi*, are relaxed; the new city will be "an obviously imaginary, comfortable, undemanding place free from all the physical, political, and social discomforts and restrictions of Athens."[221] Perhaps Tereus' acquiescence to Peisetaerus' and Euelpides' comments and actions with regard to his wife presages this relaxation of the rules to come in the parabasis and Cloudcuckooland.

Later in the play, Procne finds an analogue in the goddess Iris, who

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[220] I read here with Henderson 2000 κατέπτατο versus Dunbar's preferred καθέζετο. Dunbar 326 *ad* 796 contends that switching αὖθις αὖ κατέπτατο, which ended two previous lines (789, 792), with αὖθις αὖ καθέζετο may have been a deliberate surprise planted by Aristophanes. However, the switch would serve no noticeable purpose, and the antonymic balance in the two successive line-ends of ἀνέπτατο (795, literally "fly up") and κατέπτατο (796, literally "fly down") suggests that there is no need to break the comedic rule of threes and offer καθέζετο in place of κατέπτατο.

[221] Dunbar 5.

undergoes similar threats of sexual harassment.[222] The obvious difference between the two is Iris' capacity not just for direct speech but even for repartee, resistance, and threats. Both, however, are similarly objectified by the two Athenians, albeit to different ends. Euelpides is sexually aroused by the sight of Procne's body, and so he vocalizes his desire to penetrate her: ἆρά γ' οἶσθ' ὅτι / ἐγὼ διαμηρίζοιμ' ἂν αὐτὴν ἡδέως; "You know how sweetly I'd split her legs?" (668-669). Peisetaerus, on the other hand, uses the threat of forced penetration with the same verb (διαμηρίζειν) to establish dominance and power over Iris: σὺ δ' εἴ με λυπήσεις τι, τῆς διακόνου / πρώτης ἀνατείνας τὼ σκέλει διαμηριῶ / τὴν Ἶριν αὐτήν, ὥστε θαυμάζειν ὅπως / οὕτω γέρων ὢν στύομαι τριέμβολον, "And if you cause me any grief, I'll spread the servant girl's legs and fuck her first, Iris herself, such that she'll be amazed that an old man like me can keep it up for three rammings in a row" (1253-1256). Indeed, Peisetaerus sets up the bald threat in their prior conversation with a sexual double entendre that Iris clearly understands: [ΠΕ.] οὐδὲ σύμβολον / ἐπέβαλεν ὀρνίθαρχος οὐδείς σοι παρών; / [ΙΡΙΣ] μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἔμοιγ' ἐπέβαλεν οὐδείς, ὦ μέλε, "[Pe.] Was there no Bird-in-Charge there to stick the seal on you? [Iris] Mister, no one stuck

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[222] The connection between Procne and Iris as two *loci* of sexual impropriety is surprisingly under-studied. See, e.g., Riess 2012, 300-301, which juxtaposes mentions of Procne and Iris without any meaningful connection.

anything on me, by Zeus" (1214-1216). The sexual wordplay and explicit professions of desire in the Procne scene established an erotic context that led to Euelpides' (attempted) kiss. The sexual wordplay in the Iris scene, on the other hand, leads to the depiction of a despotic Peisetaerus, who uses the threat of violence to assert the power of Nephelokokkygia and, by extension, himself. In both instances, a male figure exercises some form of control over the female figure, whether in a physical or a psychological sense.

The Conspicuous Absence of Philomela

The character of Philomela is completely absent from *Birds*,[223] but the bird into which she transforms, the swallow, χελιδών, is mentioned eight times,[224] each mention occurring after the Tereus/Procne section of the play except for one: in the beginning of the parabasis, the Chorus mentions the swallow in a list of birds that herald a new season: εἶτα χελιδών / ὅτε χρὴ χλαῖναν πωλεῖν ἤδη καὶ ληδάριόν τι / πρίασθαι, "Then [comes] the swallow when you need to sell

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[223] In *Birds,* there is "*[k]ein Wort von Philomela, ihrer Schändung und Mißhandlung, ihrem Gewebe, der Entdeckung des Frevels und ihrer Verwandlung in eine Schwalbe,*" "no word of Philomela, her violation and mistreatment, her tapestry, the discovery of the crime and her transformation into a swallow" (Hofmann 1976, 75).

[224] 714, 1151 (swallows lay the bricks), 1293 ("Swallow" as Menippus' new name), 1301 (songs being sung with "swallow" or other birds in the lyrics), 1411 (Informer as swallow), 1417 (Euelpides talking about Informer), 1681 ("twittering like the swallows"), 1682 ("hand her over to the swallows").

your winter coat and buy a light jacket" (714). The use of the swallow as a herald of spring accords suitably with the quasi-Hesiodic, cosmological bent of the beginning of the parabasis, given Hesiod's mention of the swallow as the herald of spring in the *Works and Days* (*Op.* 568-569).[225] As in the *Works and Days*, however, this mention of the swallow does not necessarily evoke images of Philomela or the story of her suffering, weaving, and subsequent transformation; it merely gives a temporal context to the Chorus' list. None of the other mentions of the swallow provides any easy or direct identification with the mythical figure of Philomela; for example, at 1680-1681, Poseidon uses swallow twittering as a byword for inarticulate noise: μὰ τὸν Δί' οὐχ οὗτός γε παραδοῦναι λέγει, / εἰ μὴ βαβάζει γ' ὥσπερ αἱ χελιδόνες, "By Zeus, no, he's not saying 'hand her over,' he's merely twittering like the swallows." The deployment of the swallow in each instance is for a figurative end rather than a mythological reference.

These mentions of the swallow must, however, have evoked some memory in the audience of the mythological figure from whom the swallow sprung, Philomela, especially given the deliberate inclusion of the tragic Tereus and Procne as characters in this play. For example, in 1680-1 quoted above, the mention of swallows' inarticulate babble may have caused the audience to think

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[225] On which see above, pp. 32-35.

about how the swallow's unintelligible chatter derives from Philomela's lack of tongue. These references to the swallow stop short of invoking the specific mythological personage, but they do intimate the ghost of a Philomela that is conspicuously missing from *Birds.* Perhaps in an attempt to rehabilitate the character of Tereus further, the playwright deliberately erases her character from the action of the play; a Philomela figure would serve only to remind the audience of the tragic Tereus' profligacy. This erasure of Philomela works along the same lines as the relative silencing of Procne: "Perhaps Procne remains a silent character not for practical or financial reasons, but because, if the nightingale were given voice, the question of the past could no longer be excluded."[226]

Gender Role Reversal and the Writing or Re-Writing of Myth

The gender politics of Cloudcuckooland are a matter of debate from the very foundation of the city, when the Athenian principals and the Chorus Leader debate about which god will fulfill the role of the city's guardian. Strikingly, it is the bomolochic Euelpides who verbalizes a seeming reversal in normative gender relations when Peisetaerus suggests Athena: καὶ πῶς ἂν ἔτι γένοιτ᾽ ἂν

[226] Rutherford 2015, 67.

εὔτακτος πόλις, / ὅπου θεὸς γυνὴ γεγονυῖα πανοπλίαν / ἕστηκ’ ἔχουσα, Κλεισθένης δὲ κερκίδα; “How could a city be well-ordered, where a god born a woman stands in full panoply while Kleisthenes holds a shuttle?” (829-831). A city in which gender roles are so clearly reversed from social reality, a city in which women engage in martial activities and men discharge the duties of weaving, cannot be εὔτακτος, well-ordered; thus, Athena is rejected as the guardian deity of Cloudcuckooland.

However, the concept of gender role reversal, that is, the empowerment of women, often through speech, and the relative diminution of men, through physical and verbal emasculation, can be traced as a wider program in Aristophanes’ plays later than the *Birds* (414 B.C.E.), primarily in the “women’s plays,” *Lysistrata*, *Thesmophoriazusae* (both 411), and *Ecclesiazusae* (around 391-390), as many scholars have noted.[227] For example, Lysistrata’s mention of the silence of women relative to men and women’s deference is brought into relief by the fact that she, a woman, is not only speaking but has an exceedingly important role in the women’s rebellion: ἡμεῖς τὸν μὲν πρότερόν γε χρόνον <σιγῇ γ’> ἠνειχόμεθ’ <ὑμῶν> / ὑπὸ σωφροσύνης τῆς ἡμετέρας τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἅττ’ ἐποιεῖτε, “For quite some time before this, we put up with you men in

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[227] See, for example, Henderson 2010, 25-30; Compton-Engle 2005; Sulprizio 2007, 275-288; Rutherford 2015; McClure 1999, 205-259.

silence because of our moderation, whatever you did" (507-508).[228] Laura McClure summarizes the unorthodoxy of Lysistrata's visible, political speeches: "women are rarely portrayed as public speakers in a political context, as orators or messengers, except in comedy, a genre that frequently inverts gender roles and linguistic genres."[229] Indeed, the very plot of women barricading the Acropolis and fighting back against men is a fantastic, unrealistic story when compared against to the societal reality of feminine silence and obscurity.[230] Similarly, in *Thesmophoriazusae*, the Kinsman's diatribe against Agathon's feminine presentation (130-145) anticipates his own depilation and transvestitism (213-268) in a scene where women are again afforded public voices to lambast their alleged slanderer, Euripides (295-570). Also, the Chorus Leader's direct praise of women as the flip-side of the denigration of men (785-845) verbalizes complaints that probably would have been relevant to contemporary women. *Ecclesiazusae* builds upon the conceit of *Lysistrata*, in which women intervene in the men's sphere of war in order to return Greek affairs to normalcy, by establishing a new communist social order based on the *oikos* structure led by women newly

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[228] On the return to normalcy in gender relations by the end of the play, however, see Rutherford 2015.

[229] McClure 2001, 10.

[230] See Henderson 2010, 22-25; above, pp. 98-100.

liberated from their previous constrictive reality: "liberated from confinement in their husbands' households, they may openly associate, enjoy the sexual freedom hitherto reserved for men without need of deception, and rest assured that their household will not be damaged by the men's foolish policies."[231]

This gender reversal that empowers women and gives them a voice balances characters like Procne in *Birds* that are presented as objects who underline the social, patriarchal dominance of men: "there is no mutuality, no interaction between two active agents, and there is not even sexuality. In each scene the female is an object gazed at, lusted after, and manipulated by a subject. …She is totally dehumanized."[232] Zweig's summary applies to the mute nude women in *Lysistrata, Thesmophoriazusae, Acharnians,* and, indeed, *Birds.* However, the gender reversal in the later plays throws into sharp relief what we see in *Birds*, a portrayal of a quote-unquote "normative" man-woman relationship, with a vocal man and a silent woman. In the figure of Procne at least, since we do not have much if any notice of Tereus speaking directly in Sophocles' tragedy, we see a deliberate recasting of the power of the voice, in Procne's case from the expression of personal sentiments in *Tereus* to birdsong in *Birds*. Aristophanes has

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[231] Henderson 2002, 241.

[232] Zweig 1992, 87.

reversed Sophocles' gender reversal to depict a normative relationship according to Greek societal custom, perhaps as a nod to the contemporary socio-gender politics at play in 414 B.C.E.

With this comparison between the normative gender relationship in *Birds* and the subversions in the "women's plays," we must keep in mind chronology: *Birds* was performed at the City Dionysia in 414 B.C.E., while *Lysistrata* and *Thesmophoriazusae* were performed three years later in 411 and *Ecclesiazusae* was performed up to two decades later. At the time of *Birds*' performance, the Sicilian Expedition was barely a year from launch, and as such, the mood at Athens would not have been nearly as dire as it would have been in 411, after the destruction of the Expedition. While scholarly readings of *Birds* vary widely in terms of Aristophanes' tone and the socio-political valence of its utopian plot,[233]

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[233] On which see Dunbar 2-7; Sommerstein 1987, 1-6.

it is undeniable that there is an optimistic bent[234] to the plot and its ending, Peisetaerus' apotheosis and his assumption of Zeus' thunderbolt and Basileia as his queen. While there is no documentation of a deliberate shift on Aristophanes' part, the destruction of the Sicilian Expedition in 413 may have occasioned, at least in part, the transition from *Birds*' optimism and the normative relationship portrayed between Tereus and Procne towards the topsy-turvy social orders of *Lysistrata* and *Thesmophoriazusae*. In the former, at least, there seems to be an implication that Athenian women seemed to oppose the Expedition, when the Proboulos describes the women's lament for Adonis as the matter was brought to the Assembly:

> ἆρ᾽ ἐξέλαμψε τῶν γυναικῶν ἡ τρυφὴ
> χὠ τυμπανισμὸς χοἰ πυκνοὶ Σαβάζιοι,
> ὅ τ᾽ Ἀδωνιασμὸς οὗτος οὑπὶ τῶν τεγῶν,
> οὗ ᾽γώ ποτ᾽ ὢν ἤκουον ἐν τἠκκλησίᾳ;
> ἔλεγεν ὁ μὴ ὥρασι μὲν Δημόστρατος

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[234] Sommerstein 1987, 5, traces a demonstration of this optimistic spirit in the play's positive valuation of martial tropes: "The prevailing spirit at Athens in the spring of 414 must still have been one of boundless optimism, and with this the spirit of our play harmonizes perfectly. It is symptomatic of this that every time an allusion is made in the play to current, recent, or projected military operations, the tone adopted is one of almost cheerful bellicosity. If the war in Sicily is hanging fire, it is because of the 'shilly-shallying' of Nicias (639). A young man, full of fighting spirit in search of an outlet, is recommended to volunteer for service in the Thracian region (1360-71). And the terrible fate of Melos — an episode which was later to be seen by Athenians themselves as an indelible stain on their record as an imperial power — serves here as the theme for a joke (186). We cannot tell to what extent Aristophanes was himself affected by the public mood of the moment; but at any rate he did not this time feel it necessary or desirable to set himself in opposition to it."

> πλεῖν εἰς Σικελίαν, ἡ γυνὴ δ᾽ ὀρχουμένη
> "αἰαῖ Ἄδωνιν" φησίν. ὁ δὲ Δημόστρατος
> ἔλεγεν ὁπλίτας καταλέγειν Ζακυνθίων,
> ἡ δ᾽ ὑποπεπωκυῖ᾽ ἡ γυνὴ ᾽πὶ τοῦ τέγους
> "κόπτεσθ᾽ Ἄδωνιν" φησίν. ὁ δ᾽ ἐβιάζετο,
> ὁ θεοῖσιν ἐχθρὸς καὶ μιαρὸς Χολοζύγης.
> τοιαῦτ᾽ ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐστιν ἀκολαστάσματα. (387-398)
>
> Look, the wantonness of women has flared up, hasn't it, and the tum-tum of the drums and continual cries of "Sabazios!" and that mourning for Adonis on the rooftops, which I heard once before when I was in the Assembly. Demostratos — bad luck to him! — said that we should sail to Sicily, but his wife was dancing and said "*Aiai*, Adonis!" Then Demostratos said that we should enroll Zacynthian hoplites, but she got drunk on the rooftop and said "Beat your breast for Adonis!" He forced himself to go on, that god-hated, filthy Baron Bluster.[235] Such is the licentious behavior that you get from women!

The laments by Demostratos' wife for the youth Adonis interwoven into the Assembly's debates about sending the city's youth to war implies a malaise about the proposition. Indeed, the Proboulos casts the current occupation of the Acropolis in terms of "the women's ill-omened cries that were heard in the assembly as it was deciding to send the flower of Attic youth into battle: as if the women were responsible for the outcome."[236] This instance of hindsight (and the Proboulos' deliberate casting of the actions of women as ἀκολαστάσματα, licentious behavior, as opposed to the warnings or signs of discontent that they

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[235] "Baron Bluster" comes from Henderson 2000, 321.

[236] Henderson 1987, 119 *ad* 390-7.

were) serves to justify *Lysistrata*'s plot, in which women, who are dismissed as licentious drunks (according to the Proboulos) or were forced to be silent as plans for the Expedition took shape,[237] attempt to correct the inefficacies and missteps of men. As Lysistrata herself says, after the decisions of men resulted in the male population's decimation, women could no longer maintain their silence:

> ὅτε δὴ δ᾽ ὑμῶν ἐν ταῖσιν ὁδοῖς φανερῶς ἠκούομεν ἤδη·
> “οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνὴρ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ.”—”μὰ Δί᾽ οὐ δῆτ᾽ <ἔσθ᾽>,”ἕτερός τις,—
> μετὰ ταῦθ᾽ ἡμῖν εὐθὺς ἔδοξεν σῶσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα κοινῇ
> ταῖσι γυναιξὶν συλλεχθείσαις. ποῖ γὰρ καὶ χρῆν ἀναμεῖναι; (523-526)
>
> But when we heard you clearly in the streets, saying “There's not a man left in the land,” and someone else saying, “By Zeus, no, there's not” — after this, it seemed right for us women to band together and save all of Greece. Why should we delay?

Birds was performed before such an occasion arose. While, again, we cannot say with certainty that Aristophanes advocated for the Expedition,[238] the portrayal of Tereus and Peisetaerus as strong agents of change, pushing respectively for a civilization of previously barbarous birds and the establishment of a utopian world order; the fruition of their goals; and domination over female characters like Procne, an “Athenian” wife like Proboulos', and Iris, who represented a threat to Peisetaerus' burgeoning empire, seems to imply that Aristophanes was

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[237] Cf., e.g., Lysistrata's speech (with occasional interruptions) about the men's continual dismissals of their wives at 506-528.

[238] See above, n. 234.

on board.[239] Only with hindsight, at the time of the performance of *Lysistrata* after the Expedition came to its disastrous end, could Aristophanes present a scenario in which women gained the ability to say essentially that they were correct all along and take matters of state into their own hands.

Dobrov aptly casts Aristophanes' *Birds* as Sophocles' *Tereus* "refracted through the comic poet's metafictional prism,"[240] but I would bend the metaphor further: Aristophanes does not simply distort the plot points of Sophocles' play but he completely upends them by swinging various characters and elements from one extreme to the other. Tereus, Sophocles' illiterate, brutal barbarian, becomes Aristophanes' civilizing exemplum of leadership and good. Procne, Sophocles' empowered, vocal protagonist, becomes Aristophanes' mute, sexual object. Philomela, Sophocles' brutalized victim and catalyst for the plot of vengeance against Tereus, is completely effaced in Aristophanes' play so as to rehabilitate further Tereus' image.

This engagement with Sophocles or, cast differently, this attempt to rewrite or re-appropriate the myth as Sophocles presented it manifests in other implicit ways. For example, the deliberate choice to present Procne as a songster

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[239] Cf. Thuc. 6.24.3 on the Athenians' ἔρως for the Expedition; Aristophanes would not have been alone in an optimistic outlook at this time.

[240] Dobrov 2001, 126.

(and little else) with whom the Chorus, Peisetaerus, and Euelpides can play (ἵνα παίσωμεν μετ' ἐκείνης, 660) may operate on a metatheatrical level. The nightingale, as Aara Suksi has shown,[241] operates throughout the Greek tradition as a symbol of tragic poetry. Just as the personae in *Birds* play with the nightingale, so too does Aristophanes explicitly play with Sophocles' creation (cf. 99-100), conspicuously effacing gory elements of the myth like Tereus' infidelity and brutalization of Philomela and the Philomela figure entirely.

The Athenian theatre was a place where such emulations and engagements created excitement for an audience familiar with the mythic canon. Moreover, such rivalries were not limited to the tragic sphere of drama. As Dustin Dixon argues, "it has long been acknowledged that tragedians, at least, altered traditional myths in order to intrigue and excite audiences…the evidence indicates comedians did the same. Indeed, tragedians and comedians alike would be motivated to tell familiar stories in new ways in order to win the prestigious prizes at the dramatic competitions."[242] The very nature of the competitive medium through which these plays were performed required innovation or, at the very least, differentiation if a dramatic work treated a theme

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[241] See Suksi 2001 and pp. 51-52 above.

[242] Dixon 2015, 16.

or topic that another work had treated before it; else, a playwright would simply be copying another's work rather than creating his own or improving upon his predecessors and making an original claim for competitive supremacy.

Sophocles' *Tereus* appears, based on its fragments, to have afforded the character of Procne a capacity for emotive, expressive speech that would undoubtedly have cast her as sympathetic in an audience's eyes. A similar level of agency is afforded to Philomela, who channels her stolen voice into the κερκίδος φωνή to set in motion Tereus' downfall. Aristophanes' engagement with Sophocles' conception of the Tereus, Procne, and Philomela myth then erases both the agency that Sophocles created for Procne and the character of Philomela almost entirely while casting Tereus as a generally positive exemplum, an arbiter of communication who wields power over the birds. Aristophanes' *Birds* evinces not only citation but also active refashioning to incorporate the details of Sophocles' work that fit the narrative, an avian transformation as a prelude to the establishment of a utopia, into *Birds* while eschewing details that were at odds with it. This sort of "mythic white-washing," as it were, gives us insight into Aristophanes' modes of reception and will appear again when we investigate the *Pervigilium Veneris* and its poet's seeming revision of Ovid's

Metamorphoses or Sophocles' *Tereus*.

CHAPTER 3 - OVID'S *METAMORPHOSES* 6: SILENT ELOQUENCE AND THE DOUBLE-EDGED TONGUE

In Chapter 2, I argued that Sophocles' depiction of Procne and Philomela in *Tereus* as vocal or communicative despite social or physical restrictions imbued them with an agency and power that Classical Athenian women would not have been able to experience in the 5th century. Aristophanes then flipped that hierarchy upside down and depicted in *Birds* a normative gender relationship between a vocal, visible husband, Tereus, and a silent, objectified woman, Procne. This engagement of the comic with the tragic is the earliest extant example of the reception of Sophocles' play, which, by all accounts, was a watershed in utilizations of the mother-as-filicide *ur*-mytheme; with it came the conception of the husband-figure as a brutal rapist and barbarian, the glossectomy and weaving of the sister-figure as major plot points, and the revenge of the mother-figure as the tragic climax to a gruesome story. These threads are continued repeatedly throughout the utilizations of the myth in the later Greco-Roman canon, especially in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 6.

In this chapter, I will analyze the Philomela narrative in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (6.424-674), primarily the direct speech and the various other verbs or phrases of speech attributed to the main three actors (Tereus, Philomela, and Procne). The power and agency afforded by the ability to communicate is

purposefully withheld from Tereus, who is allowed to speak directly only twice in the entire narrative (513, 652), and meaningfully attributed to Philomela (533-548) and Procne (611-635), each afforded much greater opportunities to exercise a voice. I argue that Ovid uses the silence and voices of Tereus, Philomela, and Procne and his own conspicuous intrusions into the narrative, via exclamations, editorial comments, and first- and second-person addresses, to comment on the burgeoning principate's increasing control over artistic output. Poets in the mid-Augustan era are becoming increasingly aware of the disparity of power between the *princeps* and other Roman nobles, one in which speech and artistic production are increasingly important tools in the construction of an ideology and are therefore the subject of permission and denial by the *princeps*. Ovid responds to this atmosphere of increasing constraint with his portrayal of Tereus and Philomela; he draws attention to his careful control over Tereus' speech and characterization, and he depicts Philomela as an analogue to himself through her ability to communicate through art despite the efforts of a tyrant to silence her.

Throughout the sweeping narratives of the fifteen books of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, speech and silence play important roles. The poet calculatedly decides whom he allows to speak, whom he silences, and whom he transitions

from a vocal to a mute state. The very fact of many Ovidian metamorphoses, wherein a human is transformed into an aphonic animal or object, necessitates some acknowledgment of the border between communicative and inarticulate and the frightening speed with which that border can be irrevocably crossed. To take but a few examples, after Daphne's vocalized requests to her father to grant her everlasting virginity[243] and then change her appearance,[244] and after her transformation into the laurel tree (1.548-552), she seems to give silent assent to Apollo's intended use of her as a prize for victory: *factis modo laurea ramis / adnuit utque caput visa est agitasse cacumen*, "The laurel nodded with her newly-formed branches and seemed to have shaken her treetop like a head" (1.566-567). Io, transformed into a cow, would speak if she could but must resort to physical markers of speech (her name drawn in the dust with her hoof)[245] to communicate with her father: *si modo verba sequantur, / oret opem nomenque suum casusque loquatur; / littera pro verbis, quam pes in pulvere duxit, / corporis indicium mutati triste*

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[243] *"da mihi perpetua, genitor carissime" dixit, / "uirginitate frui; dedit hoc pater ante Dianae,"* "'Grant that I, dearest father, enjoy everlasting virginity,' she said; 'Diana's father granted her this previously'" (1.486-487).

[244] "*fer, pater" inquit, "opem, si flumina numen habetis; / qua nimium placui, mutando perde figuram,"* "'Bring help, father,' she says, 'if you streams have power; change and destroy this appearance with which I pleased him too greatly'" (1.546-547).

[245] As Barchiesi 2005, 221, notes, given the Thessalian setting of the story, Io could have written her name in Greek, thereby creating a "*gioco di parole translinguistico,"* a trans-linguistic joke; in Greek, her name, "Io," is an interjection of grief which denotes the equivalent of her father Inachus' grief expressed in Latin at 1.651 and 653: *me miserum!*

peregit, "If only words could follow, she would pray for help and speak her own name and her misfortune; in the place of words, a letter, which her hoof drew in the dust, related the sad proof of her changed body" (1.647-650).[246] Ovid acts not only as a masterful narrator and painter of vivid imagery but also as a sort of narrative playwright[247] who crafts the speeches that we receive and glosses over others left to the audience's imagination, all to create a linear, flowing narrative that gives no more than is needed yet withholds nothing necessary to our understanding of the story and the characters involved.

Ovid structures the fifteen books of the *Metamorphoses* as a "matrix narrative" that subsumes multiple "hyponarratives," or what Betty Rose Nagle terms "embedded narratives,"[248] each interconnected by a narratorial shift in focus, or pan of the camera, as it were.[249] In so doing, the poet uses a multiplicity of narrative voices that operate on several registers, from that of the omniscient

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[246] On further connections between Io and Philomela, see Natoli 2017, 75; on the loss of speech in the Io episode proper, 54-65. Io is an exceedingly important predecessor to Philomela not only because of the intratextual resonances between the victims in the *Metamorphoses* but also because of Philomela's later incarnation as Lavinia in Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*, who reveals the names of her rapists and brutalizers by drawing on the ground like Io (IV.i.68-78). The Io-Philomela connection may also point to another author under consideration in this dissertation; Sophocles may have treated the Io myth in a tragedy or satyr play, the *Inachus* (see Calder 1958).

[247] On Ovid's dramatic tendencies, see Curley 2013 and Ortega 1970.

[248] Nagle 1989, 97-98.

[249] Jahn 2005, N2.4 <http://www.uni-koeln.de/~ame02/pppn.htm#N2.4>.

narrator (what we can term a first-degree or primary narrator) to those of main characters (second-degree narrators), to those of sub-characters within stories that are being narrated by the main characters (third-degree narrators), and so on. Patricia Salzman-Mitchell counts about forty second-degree or higher narrators who narrate sixty-episodes throughout the *Metamorphoses*.[250] Gianpiero Rosati notes that this arrangement of the narrative allows for subjective characterization of the characters to whom a voice is allotted: "by delegating the narration to characters and so distancing it from himself (i.e., by transforming reality into a 'reality of stories'), [Ovid] registers their voices and their personal, partial truths."[251]

This chapter engages in a search for narratological logic at the level of an individual narrative. This analysis reveals important discoveries about the ways in which direct speech and conspicuous silence inform characterization and the relationships of power between characters. In this chapter, I add to Alessandro Barchiesi's analyses of such episodes as the Achelous, Orpheus, and Pythagoras stories[252] an examination of the Philomela myth, in which the change in the ability (or inability) to communicate vocally is crucially important and Ovid's

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[250] Salzman-Mitchell 2005, 150-151.

[251] Rosati 2002, 304.

[252] Barchiesi 2001, 49-78.

choices about whom he allows to speak and whom he silences serve a deliberate purpose.

Tereus' Direct Speech

It is striking that Tereus, a character who has such a key role in the myth, never speaks in direct discourse for more than one line at a time and, even then, only twice in the course of the roughly 250 lines that comprise the story. The first instance of direct discourse happens in the context of Procne's request for a visit from Philomela. Five years after Procne's marriage to Tereus and move to Thrace, she misses her sister so badly that she asks Tereus to go to Athens to bring her back to Thrace to visit. Notably, Tereus does not respond vocally; the narrative cuts directly from the end of Procne's request to Tereus' order that the ships be drawn into the sea: *iubet ille carinas / in freta deduci* (444-445). Upon Tereus' arrival in Athens and first sight of Philomela, he is seized with lust for her, and the narrative diverges into an extended description of Tereus' inner thoughts and

decision-making process.[253] Then, after Pandion allows Philomela to go, Tereus speaks directly for the first time in the narrative to revel in his "victory" in breaking her free of him: *"uicimus!" exclamat "mecum mea uota feruntur,"* "'We have won!' he exclaims; 'my prayers are carried along with me'" (513). Tereus' declaration (*uicimus!*) is in the perfect tense; his domination of Philomela is all but a foregone conclusion. Philomela, the object of his prayers (*mea uota*), is fully in his possession (*mecum … feruntur*). The shift from the first person plural (*uicimus*) to the first person singular (*mecum mea*) with its alliterative juxtaposition intensifies the self-obsession and self-congratulation of his utterance. Tereus mindfully turns her into an abstracted object, a fact emphasized by the passive voice and plural number of *feruntur*; no longer a person, she is merely that for which he prayed, something which he can possess and carry along with him.[254] The passive form of the verb, however, crystallizes what I will

[253] On Tereus' first sight of Philomela and how vision unlocks descriptions of his mental state, see below. On the objectification of Philomela, see Curran 1978, 229: "… transformation into the non-human is uniquely appropriate in the case of rape, for the process of dehumanization begins long before any subsequent metamorphosis of the woman's body. The transition from human to sex object and then to object pure and simple proceeds by swift and easy stages, its onset being simultaneous with the decision to commit rape. The final physical transformation of so many rape victims is only the outward ratification of an earlier metamorphosis of the woman into a mere thing in the mind of the attacker and in his treatment of her."

[254] See James 2016, 160: "In these elaborate tales of punishment, Ovid points to something fundamental about female bodies in antiquity, namely women's lack of choice when it comes to sex and control of their own lives, and to the insistent belief of mythic men that control of the female body belongs to them."

argue later, that Ovid has stripped Tereus of the agency that he enjoys in the Aristophanic version of the myth. It is not Tereus who carries Philomela; he is merely along for the ride, as it were.

Then, towards the end of the narrative comes the second instance of direct speech, as Tereus is enjoying the meal prepared for him by Procne. He commands that his son Itys be brought to him: *tantaque nox animi est, "Ityn huc accersite!" dixit*, "So great is the darkness in his mind; he said, 'Summon Itys here!'" (652). In the Oxford Classical Text, Richard Tarrant's punctuation renders Tereus' two instances of direct speech as exclamations. In the first instance, Tereus is bumptiously possessive and self-assured. In this second exclamation, however, Tereus' confident command is tempered by a direct intervention by the primary narrator in the first hemistich of the line: *tantaque nox animi est*, "So great is the darkness in his mind." The paratactic construction of the line jarringly juxtaposes a set-up for a result clause (*tanta … nox*) with an unexpected independent clause (*dixit*), throwing Tereus' direct speech in that second half of the line into relief. Unparalleled in all of the *Metamorphoses,* this construction, a hexameter composed of an editorial comment in the first hemistich followed paratactically by direct speech in the second half, allows the narrator to align his view with that of the audience, empowering both as Tereus' unfulfillable

command evokes dramatic irony.

Ovid paradoxically gives Tereus numerous opportunities to speak directly but barely any voice beyond the five words of 513 and the three words of 652. The two utterances above are each framed by speech tags (*exclamat*, 513; *dixit*, 652), here defined as a word or phrase of speaking, thinking, or perceiving that indicates direct or indirect discourse or serves as a speech act.[255] There is indeed a preponderance of such tags among the verbs that describe Tereus' actions in the narrative, but only in those two instances do they trigger direct speech; in less technical language, Tereus is described as speaking many times but speaks directly only twice. In that former category, nineteen such speech tags are associated with constructions like indirect speech, indirect questions, direct objects, or subjects (in the case of passive verbs).[256] When we compare this

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[255] Jahn 2005, N8.3 <http://www.uni-koeln.de/~ame02/pppn.htm#N8>. Tags can be further delineated as introductory or parenthetical, depending on their position in relation to the direct speech or indirect clause; the former is placed before, and the latter is placed in the middle or after. In both cases of Tereus' direct speech, the tags are parenthetical.

[256] This list notes verbs or nouns that indicate that the act of speaking or communicating verbally is being attributed to Tereus, either as a sole speaker or as a participant in a conversation: *disque ipsi* ***grates egere*** (435, with Procne); *iussere* (437); ***iubet*** *ille carinas / in freta deduci* (444); *fausto* ***committitur*** *omine* ***sermo*** (448); *coeperat aduentus causam, mandata* ***referre*** */ coniugis* (449-450); *[coeperat] celeres missae* ***spondere*** *recursus* (450); ***cupido****que reuertitur* ***ore*** (467); ***agit*** *sua uota sub illa* (468); *quotiensque* ***rogabat*** */ ulterius iusto* (469-470); *Procnen ita uelle* ***ferebat*** (470); ***fassus****que nefas* (524); ***dat*** *gemitus fictos* (565); *commentaque funera* ***narrat*** (565); *ubi sit* ***quaerit*** (656); ***quaerenti*** (656); *iterumque* ***uocanti*** (656); ***ingenti*** *mensas* ***clamore*** *repellit* (661); *uipereasque* ***ciet*** *Stygia de ualle sorores* (662); *seque* ***uocat*** *bustum miserabile nati* (665).

statistic with Philomela's three speech tags and Procne's eight that do not introduce direct speech (all investigated below) or Tereus' two speech tags that do, the sheer ratio places the focus on Tereus' inordinate amount of non-verbalized speech. Importantly, Ovid draws attention to Tereus' lack of direct speech when he claims that the ***amor*** invoked by the sight of **Philo**mela[257] made Tereus eloquent (*facundum faciebat amor*, 469),[258] an ironic assertion because as an audience, we rarely hear him speak; we never experience his eloquence first-hand. Indeed, the imperfective aspect of the verb *faciebat* implies that his speech was a continual, habitual process, one which we are informed occurs but do not experience directly.

Tereus' Gaze

If Ovid deliberately withholds direct speech from Tereus, he must characterize Tereus through alternative means and provide for the audience a

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[257] Perhaps Ovid here is punning metonymically on a possible etymology of Philomela's name. I am indebted to James Uden for this point.

[258] See Johnson 1997 on the two different types of *facundia*: "In Ovid, *facundia* and its cognates denote fluency of speech in two related areas. Least frequently, the terms refer to the persuasive speech of love either inspired by or silenced by great or excessive passion…Otherwise Ovid's uses of the terms are forensic, and describe the speech most suitable to formal pleading or argumentation" (234). She classes Tereus' speech in the former category, as Tereus attempts to convince Pandion to allow his daughter to make the journey with him (6.469-474).

way to access Tereus' thoughts; otherwise, his motivations remain obscure, and his actions are not the horrifically logical culmination of his characterization. By comparison, Ovid uses direct speech to develop such characters as Apollo in Book 1 and Arachne in Book 6; in particular, the haughtiness of each, apparent in Apollo's self-aggrandizing list of tributaries, familial connections, and deeds (1.515-524) and in Arachne's dismissal of the disguised Minerva (6.37-42), is amply attested by the direct words of each. This narratorial choice to allow these characters to define themselves through their own words rests with the poet, who has decided that the audience would better understand the character in question in their own words, rather than in his.[259]

Tereus is no Apollo or Arachne in terms of direct speech; rather, Ovid replaces the vocal with the visual and makes the gaze Tereus' primary method of exerting control. Such scholars as Garrett Jacobsen, Charles Segal, Andrew Feldherr, Patricia Salzman-Mitchell, and Amy Richlin[260] have investigated the impact of the male gaze in the *Metamorphoses*, while scholarship from areas like film and English literature have provided the theoretical foundations. For example, Laura Mulvey summarizes the gender imbalance between gaze and

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[259] See below, n. 291.

[260] Jacobsen 1984, 48-49; Segal 1992, 258-262; Feldherr 2008, 40-43; Saltzman-Mitchell 2005, *passim*, esp. 6-17, and 139-149 on the Philomela narrative; Richlin 2014, *passim*, esp. 136.

gazed-at succinctly: "In a world ordered by sexual imbalance, pleasure in looking has been split between active/male and passive/female. The determining male gaze projects its phantasy onto the female form which is styled accordingly";[261] and E. Ann Kaplan expands, "…there is the look of the men within the narrative, which is structured so as to make women objects of their gaze…But if women were simply eroticized and objectified, things might not be too bad [in terms of gender imbalance]…But…men do not simply look; their gaze carries with it the power of action and of possession that is lacking in the female gaze."[262] That power and possession is evident in Tereus' perception of Philomela; he turns her into an object that he can possess by boiling her down to her *paratus* and *forma*, her *facies* and *motus* and *manus*. Here in Book 6, there is no declaration of intent or plea that she assent like Apollo's to Daphne in Book 1; indeed, the poet disposes of Tereus' revelation of his intentions for Philomela in two words: *fassusque nefas*, "And he confessed the unspeakable" (524).[263] The power of Tereus' watchful eye replaces such declarations of intent and, in fact, any declarations beyond gloating over his "victory" and his summons of Itys.

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[261] Mulvey 1975, IIIA.

[262] Kaplan 1983, 121.

[263] Bömer 1976, *ad loc.*, notes that the collocation of *fari* and *nefas* here appears to be unique in Latin literature: *"Die Junktur* nefas fateri *scheint singulär zu sein."*

The poet repeatedly draws attention to Tereus' gaze throughout the narrative, and references to Tereus' gaze consistently cause the narrative to cut away to descriptions of Tereus' mental processes.[264] The sight of Philomela (*conspecta uirgine*, 455), the description of which is initiated by a deictic adverb (*ecce!*, 451) placed emphatically at line-start, leads to a revelation of Tereus' libido and nascent desire (455-466). Watching Philomela interact with her father causes Tereus to imagine an incestuous connection if he were in Pandion's place: ***spectat*** *eam Tereus praecontrectatque* ***uidendo*** */ osculaque et collo circumdata bracchia* ***cernens*** */ omnia pro stimulis facibusque ciboque furoris / accipit*, "Tereus **watches** her, and **by seeing her**, he feels in anticipation, and **perceiving** her kisses and her arms thrown around his neck, he takes in everything as goads and torches and fodder for his frenzy" (478-481). The coinage *praecontrectare*, a *hapax* in Latin literature according to the *TLL*, tacks the prefix *prae-* onto *contrectare*, itself already a compound of *tractare*, "to touch," and *cum*, "with." The initial prefix and the medial component of the verb, *prae* and *cum* respectively, create an oxymoron within the same word. While *cum* implies togetherness, obviously a requisite of physical touch (*tractare*), *prae* indicates that the physical act has not yet happened. The prefix makes clear that the actions occur only in Tereus' mind, and the frenzy

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[264] Libatique 2015, 71-72.

in his thought process is illustrated by the polysyndetic pile-up of disparate concepts like *stimuli, faces,* and *cibus.* As Bömer puts it, "*Die ungewöhnliche Zusammenordnung incommensurabler Begriffe entspricht dem Chaos der Gefühle im Herzen des Tereus*," "The unusual combination of incommensurate terms corresponds to the chaos in the emotions in the heart of Tereus."[265] Next, after a banquet, he envisions what he has not yet seen: ***repetens*** *faciem motusque manusque, / qualia uult fingit quae nondum* ***uidit*** *et ignes / ipse suos nutrit cura remouente soporem*, "**Seeking again** her face and movements and hands, he fashions the sorts of things that he wants which he has not yet **seen**, and he himself nourishes his own fire, his anxiety taking away his sleepiness" (491-493). The juxtaposition of the intensive pronoun and the reflexive adjective (*ipse suos*) anticipates the similar self-obsession in Tereus' direct speech at 513 (*uicimus! … mecum mea).* The breathless polysyndeton of the objects of *repetens* syntactically complements the frenzy in his mind. Then, as they sail back to Thrace, Tereus acts the part of Argus with Io as he does not allow his gaze to stray from Philomela: *nusquam* ***lumen*** *detorquet ab illa*, "He never turns his **gaze** from her" (515).[266]

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[265] Bömer 1976, *ad loc.*

[266] cf. Ov. *Met.* 1.628-629: *constiterat quocumque modo, spectabat ad Io, / ante oculos Io, quamuis auersus, habebat,* "However [Argus] stood, he kept looking at Io; he kept having her before his eyes, even though he was turned away."

Finally, the succeeding simile that likens Tereus to a bird of prey has the bird similarly watching vigilantly over its victim: *non aliter quam cum pedibus praedator obuncis / deposuit nido leporem Iouis ales in alto; / nulla fuga est capto,* ***spectat*** *sua praemia raptor,* "… just as when a predator, the bird of Jove, with its hooked talons places a hare in its nest high up; there is no escape for the captured; the abductor **watches** his prize" (516-518). The simile places Tereus and Philomela in extensive company among the characters of the *Metamorphoses* and the literary tradition as a whole. The terms *praedator* and *raptor* occur twice and six times respectively in the *Metamorphoses*,[267] while *captus* and *praemia* appear in various inflections a total of 21 and 24 times respectively.[268] The use of similar diction to describe both characters situates each figure among a continuum of aggressors and victims and characterizes them as such by drawing on vivid imagery; as Marie Louise von Glinski writes, "While in metamorphosis the transformation is permanent and locked in the physical reality of the changed body, the suggestive power of the simile affects the perception of the thing

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[267] *praedator: 6.516*; 12.306. *raptor:* 5.402 (Pluto with Proserpina); *6.518* (Tereus with Philomela), 710 (Boreas with Orithyia); 8.438 (Meleager to the suitors); 10.540 (adj. for wolves with Myrrha); 12.609 (about Paris, stealing Helen).

[268] *captus, -a, -um:* 1.678, 709; 4.62, 344; 6.465, *518*; 8.101, 124, 435; 9.511; 10.529; 11.170, 532; 12.225; 13.99, 226, 762; 14.29, 378, 578, 771. *praemia:* 2.631, 694; 4.757; 5.25; *6.518*; 7.376; 8.92, 105, 503, 767, 850; 9.257; 10.571, 581, 680; 11.27; 12.472; 13.16, 355, 370, 414, 433, 593; 14.810.

compared without physically changing it."[269] This simile constitutes a sort of pre-metamorphosis, one that takes place only in the audience's mind but prepares the audience for the actual metamorphoses into birds at the end of the episode.

The specific eagle-hare simile dates back in literature to the parados of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* (113*ff.*),[270] but the eagle as predator also appears in the *Metamorphoses* in the Hermaphroditus myth in Book 4. When the nymph Salmacis enfolds herself around Hermaphroditus, she is likened to an eagle ensnaring a serpent: *denique nitentem contra elabique uolentem / inplicat ut serpens, quam* ***regia*** *sustinet* ***ales*** */ sublimemque rapit,* "At last she winds herself around him, as he wrestles and wants to get away, like a serpent, which the **regal bird** holds and snatches on high" (4.361-363).[271] Further lexical affinities between Salmacis and Tereus are noted in part but not thoroughly analyzed by the existing scholarship.[272] Salmacis burned with desire after seeing Hermaphroditus: *nudaeque cupidine formae / Salmacis* ***exarsit;*** *flagrant quoque* ***lumina*** *nymphae,* "And Salmacis **burned** with desire for his naked shape; the

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[269] von Glinski 2012, 2.

[270] See Bömer 1976 *ad* 6.517.

[271] cf. *Iouis ales*, 6.517.

[272] For example, Nagle 1984, 250 n. 29, only briefly mentions via footnote the similarities between Tereus' "victory" line and the line that follows it.

nymph's **eyes** blazed" (4.346-347); Tereus burned similarly when he saw Philomela for the first time, ***exarsit conspecta*** *uirgine Tereus* (6.455). Salmacis makes a claim of victory over Hermaphroditus much like Tereus' declaration over Philomela in the same number and tense, qualified by the same verb of speech and with a similar obsessive focus on the self through a first-person adjective: *"**uicimus** et **meus** est," **exclamat** nais,* "'**We have won**, and he is **mine**,' **exclaims** the nymph" (4.356); compare Tereus' first instance of direct speech, *"**uicimus**!" **exclamat** "mecum **mea** uota feruntur"* (6.513). Also, the narrator describes Tereus' reaction to his success in taking Philomela away and Salmacis' delight at Hermaphroditus' nudity in almost exactly similar diction: *uix iam sua gaudia differt*, "Scarcely now does she put off her joy" (4.350); compare this with Tereus' *uix animo sua gaudia differt* (6.514). The episodes are clearly further linked by the simile comparing Philomela's beauty to that of naiads (6.452-454), given Salmacis' identity as a nymph.

The pattern is validated by the clear lexical resonances; vision leads to lust and aggression, itself leading to the satisfaction of that lust (*uicimus!*). The intratextual resonances invite comparisons between the two characters and their respective situations. Both succumb to lust activated by vision, and both rape the objects of their lust. Three differences are key, however. First, Salmacis has much

more of a direct voice in her episode than Tereus has in his; she appeals directly to Hermaphroditus for either a tryst or lawful consummation (4.320-328), feigns a departure after her first attempts to embrace him (4.337-338), declares victory (4.356), and taunts him as he tries to escape her and asks the gods to join them together forever (4.370-372). Second, that direct voice is buried two narrative levels down from the primary narrator of the poem; the story of Salmacis is narrated by Alcithoë, one of the Minyeides. Tereus' voice, however, rests only one level down; what little we hear of his voice is not filtered through a secondary narrator like Alcithoë, whose expressed purpose in telling the Salmacis story is entertainment (*dulcique animos nouitate tenebo*, "I will capture your attention with sweet novelty," 4.284). Third, just as Tereus and Salmacis occupy the same role as aggressor in their respective myths, they each transgress the expectations generated by their genders and identities. Tereus, the king and rapist, loses his voice, robbed of the agency that it affords; Salmacis, the nymph, not only exercises her direct voice (enabled by Alcithoë and, by extension, the primary narrator) and claims agency but also upends the paradigm of nymphs as victims (e.g., Daphne and Callisto) and gods as aggressors (Hermaphroditus is the son of Hermes and Aphrodite).[273] Salmacis acts as much as a foil as an

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[273] See Nagle 1984, 249-252. For Salmacis' gender transgressions especially as regards her gaze, see Salzman-Mitchell 2005, 160-163.

analogue to Tereus and highlights his relative lack of agency in his narrative.

Despite the power that the gaze affords, however, the pernicious and deceptive power of vision in the *Metamorphoses* is amply attested in such episodes as the Narcissus, Actaeon, and, indeed, Tereus narratives, in which vision leads directly to each character's destruction. For example, in Narcissus' own words, the act of seeing causes him pain: *'et placet et uideo, sed quod uideoque placetque / non tamen inuenio.' (tantus tenet error amantem!) / 'quoque magis doleam, nec nos mare separat ingens / nec uia nec montes nec clausis moenia portis; exigua prohibemur aqua,'* "'I like him and I see him, but what I see and like, I can't reach.' (So great a mistake grips the lover!) 'And so I'm aggrieved all the more, no great sea separates us, nor a road nor mountains nor walls with gates shut; we're kept apart by a little water" (3.446-450). The anaphora of *uideo* and artful chiasmus of the verbs marks the line as an important declaration of Narcissus' source of pain. Similarly, a form of *uidere* in the words of Diana sets up Actaeon's doom: *addidit haec cladis praenuntia uerba futurae: / 'nunc tibi me posito uisam uelamine narres, / si poteris narrare, licet,'* "She added these words, presagers of his future ruin: 'Now you can say that you've seen me with my veil off — if you'll be able to speak!'" (3.191-193). The collocation of *uisam* with so many nouns and verbs of speech (*uerba, narres, narrare*) invites comparisons of the ways in which

vision and speech are used to create the impression of a power hierarchy. Diana cruelly invites Actaeon to speak, knowing full well that the metamorphosis will render him unable to do so. She deprives Actaeon of speech because of his act of vision; the power that the gaze afforded him is vastly depleted by the removal of his voice and human features, evident in Ovid's presentation of his final words as imagined, not actual, speech.[274] The extreme concentration of references to Tereus' vision aligns him with such figures as Narcissus and Actaeon; his vision too will lead to his own destruction.

Final Words and Narratorial Control

Many such "victors" throughout the *Metamorphoses,* like Apollo with Daphne at 1.557-565, Agave with Pentheus at 3.728,[275] and Minerva with Arachne at 6.136-138, have the literal last words of their respective episodes, while in other cases, the victims are allowed the final direct speech of the episode, like

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[274] On which see below, n. 276. On Actaeon's transformation from a vocal member of a community toward aphonic estrangement that leads to his demise, see Natoli 2017, 41-45.

[275] *'io comites, opus hoc* ***victoria*** *nostra est*!' "Companions, this deed is our **victory**!"

Niobe at 6.299-300, Actaeon at 3.230,[276] and Hermaphroditus at 4.383-386. The narratorial choice helps shape the audience's lasting impression of the narrative; for example, Actaeon's imagined assertion of his dominance over his dogs increases the pathos of his demise: *'Actaeon ego sum: dominum cognoscite vestrum!'* "I am Actaeon; recognize your master!" With regard to Tereus, Procne, and Philomela, the privilege of the last direct words of the episode belongs not to the "victor" Tereus but to Procne, who gloats at the success of her scheme: *"intus habes quem poscis," ait*, "'You have within the one whom you seek,' she says'" (655). Further, the narrator highlights Philomela's role (and the recovery of her agency) in the plot by underscoring how sweet the words she wants to speak would be: *prosiluit Ityosque caput Philomela cruentum / misit in ora patris nec tempore maluit ullo / posse loqui et meritis testari gaudia dictis*, "Philomela leapt forward and tossed the bloody head of Itys at his father's face, and at no other time did she wish she were able to speak and proclaim her joy with deserved words" (658-660). The concentration of speech words in the span of two lines (*ora, loqui, testari, dictis*) at this point of climax calls attention to the paramount role of communication in the narrative; we would never have arrived at this

[276] The fact that this last direct speech of the episode is imagined rather than actual (*clamare libebat*, "he wished to shout" [3.229]) does not negate the narratological importance of its presentation as direct speech as opposed to, e.g., indirect statement or general description.

point without Tereus' attempt to silence Philomela and Philomela's redirection of her communicative ability into a written (*qua* woven) mode.

And yet, despite Tereus' lack of self-characterization through speech, we still are allowed access to the workings of Tereus' mind through the narrator's permission. Ovid, as poet, exerts conspicuous control over who is or is not allowed to speak, and when each is allowed or not allowed to do so, by means of such tools as speech tags and indirect characterization. His descriptions of Tereus' actions and inner thought processes are our only window into Tereus' psyche and motivations; his two bursts of direct speech shed little light on his characterization beyond what we already knew, and all other information that we receive about him comes through the narrator's description. The narrator's presence is never to be forgotten: he bursts out into personal, sententious exclamations (*usque adeo latet utilitas!* "To such an extent is usefulness hidden!" [437]; *pro superi, quantum mortalia pectora caecae / noctis habent!* "By the gods, how much blind night do mortal hearts hold!" [472-473]); he comments on the narrative's action (*neque enim minus impius esset!* "And he would be no less wicked!" [482]; *successisse duabus / id putat infelix, quod erit lugubre duabus*, "She, the unlucky one, thinks that that which will be a source of grief for both went well for them" [484-485]; *uix ausim credere*, "I hardly dare believe" [561];

miserisque uenit sollertia rebus, "And ingenuity comes in miserable circumstances" [575]; *mirum potuisse*, "It is a wonder she was able" [583]); and he establishes a direct connection with the audience through the use of first-person (*solemus,* 452; *ausim,* 561) and second-person (*des,* 454; *putares*, 667) verbs. The narrator's ubiquity and Tereus' lack of self-characterization, coupled with the narrator's control of it, disempowers Tereus and take away what little agency he had; he is under the control of the narrator's voice.[277]

This analysis of the narratorial voice might agree on its face with Joseph Solodow's assertion that "there is basically a single narrator throughout [the *Metamorphoses*], who is Ovid himself. The introduction of other speakers is more formal than consequential; the words are heard as those of the poet."[278] These narratorial intrusions remind us constantly that there is someone in charge of collecting, ordering, and presenting all of the information in a narrative in a way that furthers his aesthetic or even pedagogic interests. At first glance, Alessandro Barchiesi appeared to agree; he points out that Ovid's choices in his construction of the web of narrative voices, specifically those operating on a level below the

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[277] For a survey of the kinds and effects of narratorial intrusions into the text of the *Metamorphoses* as a whole, see Solodow 1988, 52-73; for narratorial presence in this particular episode, see Peek 2003. That narratorial voice "is notable for laying bare and making visible conventions that are formalized, taken for granted, and naturalized in the poetic genre of *epos*, or in narrative texts in general" (Barchiesi 2002, 185).

[278] Solodow 1988, 38.

first degree, seem arbitrarily determined:

> Ovid, on the contrary, works hard to de-motivate his metadiegetic [= relating to second-degree and higher narration] procedures. A flux of unstable narrative material flows through the *Metamorphoses,* a flux similar to Nature in Pythagoras' speech, and Ovid presents himself as its sole possible arbiter. The attribution of certain features of [the] narrative to individual narrators is often arbitrary, and functionalist critics might search in vain for an explanation that would account for the interchangeability of direct and of metadiegetic narrations.[279]

However, Barchiesi continues, Ovid's firm control over the narrative does not elide the importance of secondary, tertiary, or higher narrators throughout the *Metamorphoses.* To ignore the multiplicity of voices speaking in the text would remove the third dimension, as it were, from Ovid's text:

> the foregoing does not seem to me to warrant us speaking of a Single Narrator, if this implies denying the presence and the significance of the individual metadiegetic narrators … I cannot bring myself to believe that all these narrators and narratees are brought into the narrative *only* to display their singular irrelevance. On the contrary, experience of other narrative works suggests that between frames and inserted stories mutual implications may arise, interconnections only hinted at, but integral to the creation of meaning. … By ignoring the spectrum of narrative levels in the *Metamorphoses,* many Ovidian critics tend to flatten out internal narrators and conflate their voices with the voice of the primary narrator. The characters who narrate thus become transparent functions and fail to grab our attention.[280]

Gianpiero Rosati joins with Barchiesi by asserting, *contra* Solodow, that "to ignore

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[279] Barchiesi 2001, 49-50.

[280] Barchiesi 2001, 50, 55.

the poem's framework and change of voices obliterates shades of meaning important for the comprehension of the poem."[281] Undoubtedly, Ovid is the arbiter mentioned above of all the narrative material in the *Metamorphoses*, but he makes deliberate choices regarding the withholding of direct speech from Tereus, the insertion of himself into the narrative, and the affording of direct speech to Philomela, as I will investigate next, to raise a specter of concern about burgeoning Augustan control over speech and artistic production. These choices generate a nuanced structure of power between the characters of any given narrative in the *Metamorphoses*, but it is especially clear in the Tereus narrative that speech occupies an important role.

Tereus' voicelessness, coupled with the pernicious effects of his male gaze, is strictly controlled by the narrator. By comparison, Ovid allows Philomela both an audible voice, through an extended monologue in response to Tereus' brutalization of her, and a legible voice, through her act of weaving which alerts Procne to Tereus' deeds. With regard to Philomela's voice, Patricia Joplin explains, "When Philomela imagines herself free to tell her own tale to anyone who will listen, Tereus realizes for the first time what would come to light, should the woman's voice become public. In private, force is sufficient. In public,

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[281] Rosati 2002, 283.

however, Philomela's voice, if heard, would make them equal."[282] To preclude that exercise of power that would elevate Philomela to his level, perhaps above it, he excises Philomela's main conduit of communication, her tongue, in an effort to hide his actions and retain his power over Philomela. In fact, the glossectomy is aimed precisely at diminishing Philomela's agency in order to augment his own in a zero-sum game. However, "as the mythic tale, Tereus' plot, and Ovid's own text make clear, dominance can only contain, but never successfully destroy, the woman's voice."[283] How, then, is Philomela's voice, contained yet never successfully destroyed, constructed in Ovid's narrative? And how does the power that that voice affords her compare with the relative weakening of Tereus caused by his silence?

Philomela's Direct Speech

My analysis of Philomela flips the focus from silence as a means of undercutting a character's agency to speech as a means of bolstering it. Whereas Tereus lurks in the narrative, a threatening shadow with barely any voice, Ovid foregrounds Philomela's voice prominently in a blistering monologue, immediately before Tereus takes it away because of her threat to expose him.

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[282] Joplin 1991, 40.

[283] Joplin 1991, 40.

Nevertheless, Philomela then channels her lost voice through writing on a tapestry that propels the momentum of the narrative forward and catalyzes the cycle of retribution that establishes Procne and Philomela as dominant over Tereus. A thorough philological analysis of Philomela's verbs or phrases of speech or silence and their connection to her relative agency in the narrative will augment the existing scholarship that treats Philomela and this narrative in the *Metamorphoses*, which, to my knowledge, lacks such a study.

The verbal actions of Philomela, like those of Tereus, include tags that can frame direct speech but more often constitute speech acts or take other constructions. When Pandion allows her to go with Tereus to Thrace, she expresses her joy and thanks: ***gaudet agit****que / illa patri* ***grates***, "She **rejoices** and **thanks** her father" (483-484). After Tereus takes her from the ship to the hut in the woods, Philomela asks tearfully where her sister is: *cum lacrimis ubi sit germana* ***rogantem*** (523). During the rape itself, she cries out for help: *frustra* ***clamato*** *saepe parente, / saepe sorore sua, magnis super omnia diuis*, "in vain she **shouts** often for her father, often for her sister, above all for the great

gods" (525-526).[284]

Philomela's direct voice is deferred until *ait* of 534, over 100 lines into the narrative. Patricia Salzman-Mitchell attributes this deferral to the overarching portrayal of her as an object of desire and delight up until the point when the act of rape unlocks her voice and shatters Tereus' image of her.[285] Alternatively, Ovid's choice to defer Philomela's direct speech could play with the expectations of an audience familiar with the previous instantiations of the myth, none of which appear to have afforded Philomela any significant speaking role.[286] The possibility that a vocal Philomela would have been a surprise to the audience seems borne out by the fact that the greatest concentration of speech-related verbal actions with Philomela as agent is located *within* Philomela's impassioned monologue after Tereus rapes her, reproduced here in full:

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[284] Cf. Proserpina's terrified reaction to her abduction: *dea territa maesto / et matrem et comites, sed matrem saepius, ore / clamat*, "The terrified goddess calls with her pitiful mouth for her mother and her friends, but more often her mother" (5.396-398). This lexical resonance between the reactions of Proserpina and Philomela (*saepius — saepe, clamat — clamato*) is but one parallel between their situations, on which see below.

[285] Salzman-Mitchell 2005, 142.

[286] As previously acknowledged, it is difficult to assert this point about Philomela's relative silence in the preceding literary tradition with any certainty, based on the exiguous sources that remain, but Philomela's extended speech here in the *Metamorphoses* is the first extant example of direct speech by her of which we are currently aware. See Curley 2013, 136: "The *rhesis* of Ovid's Philomela is nothing less than extraordinary, for it enables her to be heard as a tragic heroine, perhaps for the first (and last) time in her literary history."

mox ubi mens rediit, passos laniata capillos,
[lugenti similis, caesis plangore lacertis,]
intendens palmas 'o diris barbare factis,
o crudelis' ait, 'nec te mandata parentis
cum lacrimis mouere piis nec cura sororis (535)
nec mea uirginitas nec coniugalia iura?
[omnia turbasti; paelex ego facta sororis,
tu geminus coniunx, hostis mihi debita poena.]
quin animam hanc, ne quod facinus tibi, perfide, restet,
eripis? atque utinam fecisses ante nefandos (540)
concubitus; uacuas habuissem criminis umbras.
si tamen haec superi cernunt, si numina diuum
sunt aliquid, si non perierunt omnia mecum,
quandocumque mihi poenas dabis. ipsa pudore
proiecto tua facta loquar. si copia detur, (545)
in populos ueniam; si siluis clausa tenebor,
implebo siluas et conscia saxa mouebo.
audiet haec aether et si deus ullus in illo est.' (531-548)

Soon, when her mental state was restored, she rent her disheveled hair [like someone grieving, her arms ripped up by the beating,] and holding out her hands, she said, "Oh barbarian of horrible deeds, oh cruel one, did not my father's orders with his dutiful tears move you? Nor care for my sister, nor my virginity, nor the bonds of marriage? [You have thrown everything into turmoil; I have become my sister's rival, you a double husband, and the punishment of an enemy is owed to me.] Why don't you take my life too, treacherous one, lest any disgraceful act remain for you? And if only you had done it before these unspeakable couplings; I would have had shades innocent of crime. Nevertheless, if the gods see these acts, if the powers of the gods are anything, if everything hasn't perished along with me, at some point you will pay a penalty to me. I'll throw away my shame and speak your deeds. If the opportunity is given, I will go among the people; if I'll be held, closed in by these woods, I will fill up the woods and I will move the stones as accomplices. The aether will hear these things too, if there is any god in it."

While many scholars analyze this speech with an eye toward gender

politics[287] and manuscript and editorial questions,[288] I will contribute to the existing body of scholarship by focusing here specifically on Philomela's verbs, particularly on the concentration of speech verbs in the latter half, a barrage of speech acts that establishes Philomela as the one who holds a sort of narrative power over Tereus that foreshadows the actual power that she will possess, along with Procne, at the narrative's end. The speech has a movement from what did not happen but should have towards what will happen, as far as Philomela is concerned, a decisiveness that threatens to destroy Tereus' reputation and social standing.

To begin, Philomela dwells for almost nine lines on the past. In the first six lines of her direct speech, the perfect tense predominates (*mouere*, 535; *turbasti, facta [sum]*, 537; *debita [est]*, 538); then, she returns briefly to the present tense (*eripis*, 540), offering Tereus a chance to fulfill his potential for cruelty. She wishes that he had killed her before raping her so that she could die without having consciously, however unwillingly, participated in the act; nevertheless, the pluperfect subjunctives (*fecisses*, 540; *habuissem*, 541) relate the impossibility of her wish.

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[287] e.g., Marder 1992; Bischoff 2003.

[288] e.g., Anderson 1972, *ad loc.*; Bömer 1976, *ad loc.*; Rosati 2004, 334-335.

Then, there is a pointed shift from the realm of contra-factual subjunctives to hard and fast indicative conditions, save one,[289] from 542 to the end of the speech at 548. She *will* exact punishment from him, in the future indicative: *quandocumque mihi poenas* ***dabis*** (544). Most importantly, however, she declares that she is going to speak out and promulgate Tereus' profligacy: *tua facta* ***loquar*** (545); ***implebo*** *siluas et conscia saxa* ***mouebo*** *[sc. uoce]* (547). She also flips the perspective and declares that the very sky and the gods in it will hear what she has to say: *audiet* (548); hearing functions as the reciprocal action of speaking. In other words, if an audience cannot be found, she will create one with the resources that she has available to her.[290]

The structure of the speech and the deliberate use of rhetorical tools make Philomela eloquent in a way that Tereus is not shown to be, despite the narrator's claim (*facundum faciebat amor,* 469). Her use of polysyndeton (***nec*** *te mandata parentis / cum lacrimis mouere piis* ***nec*** *cura sororis /* ***nec*** *mea uirginitas* ***nec*** *coniugalia iura*?, 534-536) ties together her father, her sister, herself, and the rites of

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[289] On which see below, n. 290.

[290] The odd verb out, both in verbal mood and type of action, is sandwiched in between Philomela's declarations of speech acts: *si copia* ***detur****, in populos ueniam* (545-546). Anderson 1972, *ad loc.*, attributes the use of the subjunctive to the social reality of the difficulty for women to address a public group. The subjunctive is probably owed, however, to the simple reality of the setting of the speech: Philomela is in the middle of the woods, physically far away from any such crowd that would listen to her, a fact that lessens the chance that such an opportunity will be given.

marriage into one large entity which Tereus has wronged. The asyndeton at 542-543 (*si tamen haec superi cernunt, si numina diuum / sunt aliquid, si non perierunt omnia mecum*) creates the impression of instant discovery ("if this — no, if that — no, if that!"). Her threats are contained in the apodoses of future more vivid conditions balanced by a number of protases, and her use of tools like consonance (in the multiple s sounds of 546-547 that produce a threatening, hissing, air-filling noise: *in populo**s** ueniam; **s**i **s**ilui**s** clau**s**a tenebor, / implebo **s**ilua**s** et con**s**cia **s**a**x**a mouebo*) and chiasmus (with the verb-object-object-verb structure of 547: *implebo siluas et conscia saxa mouebo*) create a notable expressiveness, remarkable for someone under such emotional duress. Philomela can extemporaneously craft a well-reasoned, balanced, and clever rhetorical tour de force; Tereus, by comparison, speaks only eight words throughout the 250 lines of the narrative. The use of direct speech rather than indirect report also adds an undoubtedly affective element to the narrative; while the narratorial voice can be seen as more objective, the character's voice engenders a sympathetic portrait

that draws the audience over to the character's side.[291]

The existence of this speech, the only one that the Philomela figure delivers in the entirety of the extant references to the myth, increases the pathos and draws into sharp relief Philomela's conspicuous and compelled silence to follow. We need this speech to gain a better understanding of Philomela's character and to raise the stakes, as it were, for Tereus' mode of response. The excision of the tongue is a direct response to Philomela's direct words, an attempt to erase her voice and her capacity for accusation; without the direct words, the effect of the silencing and the tapestry as a vessel for communication is lost.

Philomela's impassioned rebuke finds an intratextual precedent in Book 5, when the nymph Cyane attempts to bar Dis' path to the underworld after abducting Proserpina. Leslie Cahoon draws a parallel between the nymph and Philomela because Cyane, like the latter, "commits the ultimate feminine crime: she tries to speak out."[292] The two speeches occur at different points and from

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[291] See Johnson 2008, 76, in which she analyzes the beginning of Book 6, the Arachne and Minerva episode: "The narrator's voice…is here only occasionally interrupted by the direct speech of the protagonists; the account therefore has an air of greater accuracy, of being 'unfiltered' by the biases of an interlocutor"; and Curley 2013, 134-136, esp. 135 on this speech: "The narrator is still in control and is simply speaking in character. Yet he need not do so, since he is able to explicate his characters' inner thoughts, desires, and fears in his own persona as easily as he might describe a landscape or a work of art. Ovidian characters speak because the poet has decided that their emotions are best conveyed in their own words."

[292] Cahoon 1996, 54.

different perspectives on the rape timeline: Cyane attempts to prevent Dis from raping another girl, Proserpina, while Philomela, herself the victim, lambasts Tereus after the fact. Numerous similarities exist in the circumstances surrounding both speeches, however. Both take place in a secluded location,[293] a red flag that presages some depraved act;[294] both are aimed at entities who have exhibited or possessed some demonstrable power over the speaker;[295] and both speeches lead to the aggressors' anger,[296] which in turn leads to a horrific violation of the speaker.[297]

This "ultimate feminine crime" results in the punishment of a loss of voice

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[293] *silua coronat aquas cingens latus omne suisque / frondibus ut uelo Phoebeos summouet ictus,* "The wood surrounds the waters, girding the entire bank, and it keeps away Phoebus' rays with its leaves like an awning" (5.388-399); *in stabula trahit, siluis obscura uetustis,* "He drags her into a hut hidden by the ancient forest" (6.521).

[294] See Segal 1969; Bernstein 2011; Hinds 2002.

[295] Dis is more powerful than the nymph, given that he is King of the Underworld, a fact explicitly noted in the lines leading up to Cyane's speech (*rex…silentium*, "king of the silent ones" [5.356]; *inque dei pectus … / cui triplicis cessit fortuna nouissima regni*, "and into the heart of the god … to whom the final fortune of the triple kingdom went" [5.367-368]); Tereus had just established physical power over Philomela through the act of raping her.

[296] *haud ultra tenuit Saturnius **iram***, "Saturnius no longer held back his **anger**" (5.420); *talibus **ira** feri postquam commota tyranni*, "after the **anger** of the savage tyrant was stirred by such words" (6.549). Tereus, however, exhibits in addition a human trait to which Dis is not subject: *nec minor hac **metus** est*, "And his **fear** is no less than [his anger]" (6.550).

[297] Dis penetrates Cyane in language that clearly conjures images of rape: *condidit*, "he plants" (5.423); *inconsolabile uulnus*, "unsoothable wound" (5.426); *pati*, "to suffer" (5.430). Tereus, in seven lines, excises Philomela's tongue (6.551-557), an intensification and escalation of violence above the five-word description of the rape (*uirginem et unam / ui superat*, "He overpowers the virgin with force" [6.524-525]).

for each who commits it. Cyane's grief is expressed silently even before she liquefies into a pool of water: *at Cyane, raptamque deam contemptaque fontis / iura sui maerens, inconsolabile uulnus /* ***mente*** *gerit* ***tacita***, "But Cyane, grieving the stolen goddess and the spurned laws of her pool, nurses a wound that cannot be soothed **in her silent mind**" (5.425-427). It should be noted that Cyane, like Philomela, reveals the crime that was committed by means of a textile instead of her voice:

> *ea ni mutata fuisset,*
> *omnia narrasset; sed et os et lingua uolenti*
> *dicere non aderant, nec qua loqueretur habebat.*
> *signa tamen manifesta dedit notamque parenti*
> *illo forte loco delapsam in gurgite sacro*
> *Persephones zonam summis ostendit in undis*. (5.465-470)
>
> If she hadn't been transformed, she would have told everything; but though she wanted to speak, she did not have a mouth or tongue, nor had she any way to speak. Nevertheless, she gave clear signs and as an indication to the parent, she showed Persephone's girdle on top of the waves, which by chance had fallen down in that place in the sacred pool.

The mere presence of the girdle seems to alert Ceres as to what happened: *tamquam tum denique raptam / scisset*, "as if at that point finally she knew she was snatched" (5.471-472). Such an inference, however, contrasts with the immediate revelation afforded by the writing present on Philomela's textile, a new vessel for her voice that allows her to declare Tereus' violation through *legible* speech, despite the fact that she has been rendered *audibly* voiceless.

Philomela's Tapestry

The construction of Philomela's weaving takes two and a half lines: *stamina barbarica suspendit callida tela / purpureas notas filis intexuit albis, / indicium sceleris*, "She hung the ingenious warp from the barbaric loom and wove into the white threads red[298] markings, an indictment of the crime" (576-578).[299] The inference that Philomela wove her story into the tapestry in script, rather than pictures, is amply supported by the text. The more general meaning of *notae* indicates markings of some sort, but they most often refer to individual letters.[300] While collective *notae* could probably indicate some kind of drawing, Philomela's weaving is described as a "miserable poem" which Procne "unrolls" like a scroll and "reads" upon her receipt of it: *euoluit uestes saeui matrona tyranni / germanaeque suae carmen miserabile legit*, "The wife of the savage tyrant unrolled

[298] The adjective *purpureus* covers a range of possible colors, including, as I am interpreting here, red; see Pulleyn 1997, in which he interprets *purpureus* as referring to lips stained red by nectar.

[299] See Newlands 2015, 65-69.

[300] *OLD s.v.*

the tapestry and read the miserable poem of her sister" (581-582).[301] An Athenian writing in Greek for the comprehension of another Athenian and the deception of a Thracian thus renders the description of the *tela* as *barbarica* ironic; Philomela uses a foreign loom to compose a message on a tapestry in a language foreign to the culture that built the loom in the first place.[302]

In addition, the act of weaving augments Philomela's artistic achievement in gender political terms. A woman uses a symbol of her gender, the loom, to devise a text in which she speaks out and exposes a barbarous, profligate man, gaining her the upper hand. Weaving recurs throughout the *Metamorphoses* as a feminine mode of gamesmanship. The act of weaving often serves as a means of

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[301] The protestations against the tapestry as text in Saltzman-Mitchell 2005, 144-146, are not convincing, based as they are on editorial conjectures and secondary dictionary definitions. Nor are those in Pavlock 1991, 41: "Scholars generally assume that the young woman weaves red letters onto a white background as a message stating the facts of the rape and mutilation to her sister. Yet, rather than a message in words, the tapestry is more likely to be a graphic narrative, only figuratively a *carmen miserabile* (582). Ovid may indeed by deliberately ambiguous about this tapestry in order to convey the nature of a nonverbal narrative." Pavlock's direct contravention of what the text says and her appeal to figuration and ambiguity fall flat. See also Spaltenstein 2008, 111: *"Et ne serait-ce pas l'idée la plus ancienne, et qui permettait aussi une opposition entre les Grecs, qui connaissent l'écriture, et les barbares?"* "And wouldn't it be the most ancient idea, and one which would allow also an opposition between the Greeks, who knew how to write, and barbarians [if the tapestry were text rather than pictures]?"

[302] More generally, writing is an inherently feminine task in the Ovidian corpus, as Barchiesi 2005, 221, notes: *Ovidio menziona la scrittura più spesso di altri poeti epici, e tende a collegarla in modo speciale con il mondo femminile*, "Ovid mentions writing more often than other epic poets, and he tends to connect it in a special way with the feminine realm." Prime examples from the *Metamorphoses* include Philomela's weaving and Byblis' letter in Book 9, and from Ovid's corpus as a whole, the *Heroides* exhibit Ovid's epistolary predilection.

rejecting or fighting against powerful deities. For example, in Book 4, the Minyeides use weaving as a deliberate means of spurning Bacchus and the festival that is being celebrated in his honor: *solae Minyeides intus / **intempestiva** turbantes festa Minerva / aut ducunt lanas aut stamina pollice versant / aut haerent telae famulasque laboribus urguent*, "The Minyeides alone, inside, disturbing the festival with **untimely** Minerva [i.e., weaving], either draw wool or flip the threads with a thumb or cling to the loom and urging their servants to work" (32-35). Similarly, Arachne in Book 6 weaves a tapestry depicting the profligacies of the Olympians that directly challenges Minerva's very existence,[303] a tapestry generated by a contest itself generated by Arachne's boasting (6.37-42), cast provocatively in the first person; we perceive Arachne's stubbornness and pride directly through her own words.[304]

The necessity of this written mode of communication is underscored by the number of references to Philomela's muteness after the glossectomy.[305] Indeed,

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[303] See Johnson 2008, 83-88, esp. 87: "Arachne's tapestry unveils the great hypocrisy of Minerva's existence: she is a champion of virgins and virginity in an Olympian hierarchy headed up by rapists."

[304] See also below, pp. 220-223, for a more detailed discussion of the Arachne episode in relation to Philomela's.

[305] The assertion of Natoli 2017, 71, that "Ovid takes this aspect of the story [i.e., the glossectomy] directly from Apollodorus's version (καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν ἐξέτεμεν αὐτῆς)" cannot be proven given the uncertainty around the identity of "Apollodorus" and the date or even authorship of the *Bibliotheca*; see Smith and Trzaskoma 2007, xxvix-xxx.

during the poet's description of it, the participles of speaking are syntactically (and rather grotesquely) attributed to Philomela's tongue itself, rather than Philomela: *ille* ***indignantem*** *et nomen patris usque* ***uocantem*** */* ***luctantem****que* ***loqui*** *conprensam forcipe linguam / abstulit ense fero. radix micat ultima linguae, / ipsa iacet terraeque tremens* ***immurmurat*** *atrae*, "Protesting and continuously calling the name of her father and struggling to speak, gripped by the clamp — her tongue, Tereus rips out with the savage sword" (555-558). The tongue exhibits the agency that Philomela has lost but then loses its own power as it dies writhing on the ground.[306] Then, reft of its vehicle of communication, Philomela's mouth lacks the power to accuse her rapist when the narrative returns to her imprisonment in the woods under twenty lines later: ***os mutum*** *facti caret indice*, "Her **mute mouth** lacks an informant for the deed" (574).[307] When she sends the tapestry to Procne, she must instruct the servant who will carry it with a gesture rather than a verbal command: *utque ferat dominae,* ***gestu*** *rogat*, "And she asks **with a gesture** that the servant bring it to his mistress" (579). After being rescued by Procne, Philomela protests that she was an unwilling participant in Tereus' brutalization again with a gesture rather than her voice:

[306] See Richlin 2014, 140-143.

[307] For the uses of the adjective *mutus* as indicating a Roman association of voicelessness with inhumanity or extreme emotion, see Natoli 2017, 17-32.

> *sed non attollere contra*
> *sustinet haec oculos, paelex sibi uisa sororis,*
> *deiectoque in humum uultu iurare uolenti*
> *testarique deos per uim sibi dedecus illud*
> *inlatum, **pro uoce manus fuit**.* (605-609)
>
> But she dares not raise her eyes to meet Procne, seeming to herself her sister's rival, and though she wanted, with face cast down at the ground, to swear and testify by the gods that that disgrace had been inflicted upon her by force, **she used her hand instead of her voice.**[308]

Procne keeps the focus trained on Philomela's voicelessness as she compares Itys' calls with Philomela's silence: *inque uicem spectans ambo 'cur admouet' inquit / 'alter blanditias, rapta **silet** altera lingua? / quam uocat hic matrem, cur **non uocat** illa sororem?,* "Looking at both of them in turn, she says, 'Why does he ply me with flatteries, but she **stays silent**, her tongue snatched away? How does he call his mother; why **does she not call** her sister?'" (631-633). Finally, as mentioned above, the moment of Procne and Philomela's victory over Tereus is punctuated both by Procne's gloating (655) and a reference to the words that Philomela

[308] The explicit use of a hand gesture to compensate for an inability to speak connects Philomela with another famous (seeming) mute, Cassandra of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon,* before she bursts into her prophetic utterances. Clytemnestra ironically instructs Cassandra to indicate her lack of comprehension of Clytemnestra's words with a gesture: εἰ δ' ἀξυνήμων οὖσα μὴ δέχῃ λόγον — σὺ δ' ἀντὶ φωνῆς φράζε καρβάνῳ χερί, "But if you don't comprehend and don't understand my speech, indicate it with your foreign hand instead of your voice" (Aesch. *Ag.* 1060-1061). Another resonance between the stories occurs when the chorus likens Cassandra to the nightingale Procne lamenting Itys (1140-1145), an identification that she rejects in favor of likening herself to Philomela, mutilated by a weapon (1149). On this comparison, see Ahl 1984, 182-184, and above, pp. 48-51.

wishes she could say (659-660).

Philomela's loss of speech not only dehumanizes her in Aristotelian terms but even makes her less than an aphonic animal:

> Λόγον δὲ μόνον ἄνθρωπος ἔχει τῶν ζῴων· ἡ μὲν οὖν φωνὴ τοῦ λυπηροῦ καὶ ἡδέος ἐστὶ σημεῖον, διὸ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑπάρχει ζῴοις … ὁ δὲ λόγος ἐπὶ τῷ δηλοῦν ἐστι τὸ συμφέρον καὶ τὸ βλαβερόν, ὥστε καὶ τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ ἄδικον· τοῦτο γὰρ πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα ζῷα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἴδιον… (*Politics* 1253a9-16)
>
> Mankind, alone of the animals, possesses speech (λόγος). The voice indicates pain and pleasure, and so it belongs to other living beings … but speech is for explaining the useful and the harmful, and just so the just and unjust; for this [speech] is peculiar to humans, as opposed to other animals.

Speech is denoted by the term λόγος, which indicates not only an ability to speak but, further, an ability to rationalize and vocalize that rationalization. Even animals are allowed a voice (φωνή) that makes sounds that indicate pain or pleasure, but Philomela is deprived of even that basic level of communication. This marked deprivation of agency makes all the more important the tapestry as a vessel of communication, a means by which Philomela can reclaim both membership among humans who can speak[309] and her own personal agency, of which Tereus intended to deprive her when he cut out her tongue.

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[309] See Natoli 2017, 11, on writing as a means of reincorporation into society in the absence of a voice: "some of the transformed characters [in the *Metamorphoses*] are able to reconnect with their lost communities through the creation of written representations by which they communicate their true identities to members of their communities."

The transmission of Philomela's tapestry is tantamount to a direct vocal report to Procne. The writing contained in the tapestry acts as an extension of the author's voice, in this case a necessary one, as the author lacks a voice with which to expose Tereus' acts. The textile epistle solves the problem of the spatial divide between the sisters; as Thomas Jenkins notes, "When two entities are separated by a distance that cannot be traversed by sound, writing seems a miraculous panacea…a letter can do what sound cannot: its movement solves the problem of communication across great distance."[310] The space between Philomela and Procne exists on two levels, in terms of physical space and in basic communication, given that even if Procne were in the hut with Philomela, the latter would not be able to vocalize what has happened. The tapestry and its red letters (*purpureas notas*, 577), evocative of the injured dove soaked in its own blood to which Philomela was compared via simile immediately after the rape,[311] restores Philomela's ability to communicate and, thus, her agency. As Frederick Ahl writes, "the womanly skill of [Philomela's] hands restores the power torn from her mouth."[312]

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[310] Jenkins 2006, 9.

[311] *utque columba suo madefactis sanguine plumis / horret adhuc auidos timet quibus haeserat ungues*, "like a dove, feathers drenched in its own blood, still shudders and fears the greedy talons with which [the eagle] had clung to it" (529-530).

[312] Ahl 1985, 233.

The tapestry allows Philomela to make good on her promise to Tereus that she will divulge what he has done; she will communicate the story to a chosen recipient. When the speech acts contained in her monologue (*loquar,* 545; *implebo, mouebo,* 547) cannot be completed vocally due to the glossectomy, Philomela uses her ingenuity, *sollertia* (575), to channel those acts into a physical, tactile mode of communication. Instead of speaking (*loquar*), she weaves (*intexuit*, 577); instead of filling up the woods with sound (*implebo siluas*), she fills a tapestry with red letters (*purpureas notas intexuit,* 577); instead of moving the stones as accomplices (*conscia saxa mouebo)*, she moves the shuttle back and forth. The generation of the tapestry requires only its reception by Procne to complete the report and fulfill Philomela's threat; thus, it is not the gods and the sky who hear what has happened (*audiet haec aether et si deus ullus in illo est*, 548) but Procne who "hears" about it when she "reads" the tapestry (*germanaeque suae carmen miserabile legit*, 582). The actual recipient of Philomela's report, Procne, does much more harm to Tereus than the initial recipients that she enumerates in her speech, the rocks, woods, and the perhaps non-existent gods. Moreover, this direct line of communication from letter writer to reader emphasizes the sororal bond between the two to the exclusion of others. Philomela codes her message in Greek, a type

of figured language[313] decipherable only by Procne in this extra-Hellenic setting; the message is meant for Procne alone as a reader. The risk of detection by any interceptor, or what Jenkins calls an "anti-reader,"[314] of the message is thus mitigated; the narrator makes that point clear in explicitly mentioning the courier's ignorance: *nescit quid tradat in illis*, "She does not know what she carries in [the weaving]" (580).

The narrator draws attention to Tereus' Thracian heritage or, at least, non-Greek ethnicity multiple times throughout the narrative primarily through direct references (*Threicius Tereus*, 424; *Thracia*, 435; *genus regionibus illis*, 459; *rex Odrysius*, 490). Among them, however, one is key: *barbarus*, 515, its enjambed and line-initial position drawing attention to its importance for Tereus' characterization. *Barbarus* constitutes a key term in the comparison of ethnicity, especially as regards language; as Edith Hall explains, "Originally, [the Greek term *barbaros*] was simply an adjective representing the sound of incomprehensible speech…[it] evolved from a word meaning 'heterophone'…No other ancient people privileged language to such an extent in defining its own ethnicity."[315] The term or one related to it occurs four times in the narrative: in

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[313] See Ahl 1984 on the definition of figured speech.

[314] Jenkins 2006, 2.

[315] Hall 1989, 4-5.

the prelude, to describe the enemy armies attacking Athens (*barbara … agmina*, 423); the mention above, immediately after Tereus utters his first direct speech (515);[316] in Philomela's speech in the vocative case (*barbare*, 533); and, in an alternate adjectival form, to describe the loom on which Philomela weaves her tapestry (*barbarica … tela*, 576). The four uses of the term, especially the final one, can be interpreted on multiple levels. First, it refers to Athenian enemies (423); twice, it refers to Tereus and his actions (515, 533); but its final use (576) modifies the loom on which Philomela weaves her tapestry. The use of *barbarica* to modify the loom thus indirectly aligns Philomela with Tereus and presages her participation in the barbaric act of filicide to come, an act that answers the terrible deeds that caused Tereus to become *barbarus* in Philomela's own words ('*o diris barbare factis*', 533). In a sense, she is made to out-barbarian the barbarian: Philomela uses a barbaric loom to weave a text that to the barbaric Thracian Tereus would be the unintelligible equivalent of "*bar! bar!*" Thus, *barbarica tela* also presages the magnification or amplification of atrocity in the cycle of revenge. Bartolo Natoli also explains another way to read *barbarus* in terms of Philomela's accustomed manner of communication, speaking, and her new,

[316] Anderson 1972, *ad loc.*, notes that "Ovid has avoided using [*barbarus*] to describe Tereus until it is justified by his moral behavior, but has prepared us for it by his remarks on the whole nation of Thracians in 459-60."

strange, unaccustomed method of communication, weaving: "The foreignness of the web is not only because of its nationality but also because it represents a foreign method of communication for Philomela. Now she can communicate not with her accustomed speech but in a strange, new manner: weaving."[317]

Philomela's promise to expose Tereus stirred the dueling (or complementary) emotions of anger and fear in the tyrant precisely because of what exposure would do to him, both on a societal level and on this person-to-person level. The social stigma of having broken the marital bond and raped an off-limits woman, his wife's maiden sister, proved frightening enough[318] for Tereus to attempt to silence the only person who could force that stigma to attach to him. Lynn Enterline comments on this capacity of speech to overwhelm not only the one whom it aims to expose but also the one who uses it to expose: "as a rhetorical tool, language wields enormous power, although its force may, without warning, exceed the control of the one who uses it."[319] Philomela's speech generated for her a power over Tereus that he attempts to supersede through physical means; he fails, however, to destroy Philomela's ability to communicate through other means and, thus, her power over him.

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[317] Natoli 2017, 75.

[318] *metus,* 550; but also *ira*, 549.

[319] Enterline 2000, 5.

Procne's Speech and Vision

Procne provides an analogue to both Tereus and Philomela by which we can test the hypothesis that in this myth, silence diminishes a character's agency and speech empowers it. Her stunned silence upon learning what Tereus did diminishes her agency, but through speaking aloud, she resolves upon her mode of vengeance: killing her son to spite the father.

Like Tereus and Philomela, Procne is afforded multiple opportunities to express her voice through the use of speech tags, and while some tags either constitute speech acts or take other constructions, like indirect speech or questions, others introduce direct speech. When we examine the former instances, we find that the category includes an expression of thanks at the birth of Itys (*disque ipsi* ***grates egere***, 435), a command to make Itys' birthday a festival day (***iussere***, 437),[320] a question about Philomela's whereabouts (*coniuge quae uiso germanam* ***quaerit***, 564), grieving over Philomela's supposed demise (***luget***, 570), ritual shouting in the guise of a Bacchante as she rescues Philomela (***exululat****que euhoeque* ***sonat***, 597), a summons to a meal directed at Tereus (***adhibet***, 647), and a

[320] The other verbal agent in those two plural verbs (*egere*, *iussere*) is Tereus; see n. 256.

lie about a custom involved in the meal (*patrii moris sacrum* ***mentita***, 648).[321]

The ritual shouting during the rescue of Philomela in particular (597) deserves closer inspection, as the specificity of the verb *ululare* and the ritualized Bacchic context aligns Procne with other such howlers in the *Metamorphoses*, most notably Agave right before she kills Pentheus, who howls when she sees his mangled limbs (*uisis ululavit Agave*, 3.725). Procne will become a filicide like Agave, but while Agave's Bacchic possession is genuine, the narrator makes a conscious effort to point out how Procne's "possession" is feigned: *terribilis Procne furiisque agitata doloris, / Bacche, tuas* ***simulat***, "Terrible Procne, driven by the fury of her grief, **imitates** your followers, Bacchus" (595-596); the definition of *simulare*[322] makes clear that Procne is simply going through the motions rather than engaging fully in Bacchic euphoria. By comparison with Agave, Procne is

[321] Another verb of speech that can be similarly classified takes a direct object at 622 (*nec plura* ***locuta***), but its appearance and the pointed preclusion of further speech (*nec plura*) in the middle of a series of direct speeches serves to cast Procne's vocalized words, scattered throughout 611-635, into relief, on which see below. Also, if we broaden the conception of what kinds of words indicate Procne's speech, we can include such tags as the references to Procne's orders that are relayed by Tereus (*mandata*, 449-450, 467).

[322] *OLD s.v.*: "2. To simulate by one's conduct (physical or mental states, attitudes, etc.), pretend to have, make pretence of. (b) to simulate (an action), pretend to perform. (c) to pretend the existence of (a state of affairs, motive, etc.)."

fully in possession of her faculties and decision-making process,[323] which we see unfold over the next few dozen lines both through the narrator's description and Procne's own direct speech. The appearance of or references to Bacchus usually presage some terrible or gory act in the *Metamorphoses*,[324] such as the dismemberment of Pentheus in Book 3 and murder of Pelias in Book 7; his presence here in this episode similarly anticipates the murder of Itys.

In terms of direct speech, Procne appears to receive more "lines," as it were, than Tereus and Philomela combined; her direct speech appears in 22 lines throughout the narrative, as opposed to Tereus' 2 or Philomela's 16. Her voice appears at three crucial moments in the narrative, each accompanied by an appropriate speech tag: her request to Tereus to retrieve Philomela, her speech after her rescue of Philomela, and her final words to Tereus at the end of the episode. However, the narrator also draws attention to the conspicuous *absence* of

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[323] In her description of Procne's rescue of Philomela, Suter 2004 mischaracterizes Procne's Bacchic pretense as genuine possession and Ovid's use of the Bacchic theme as indicative of his unfitness as a mythic source: "Prokne … is under Bacchic influence when she discovers Philomela in the cottage (*Met.* 6.587-600), although she has apparently recovered her senses when the plot is hatched and executed … Dionysos' possession of Procne seems rather shallow … Such things lessen the value, it seems to me, of Ovid as a useful source of mythic knowledge. He seems to use the Bacchic context simply to increase the savagery and drama of his story" (383 and n. 22). She misses the fact that Ovid explicitly calls Procne's disguise and affectations a simulation. No mention is made of genuine possession or a moment of clarity, like Suter posits.

[324] See Libatique 2015, 83-85.

Procne's voice in a fourth crucial moment, the reception of Philomela's tapestry. I will examine each of these instances in the order in which they appear in the narrative.

First, Procne's speech to Tereus at 440-444 begins in a *cum inversum* clause and an adjective, *blandita*, that linguistically groups Procne proleptically with both her sister[325] and her son:[326]

> *cum blandita uiro Procne 'si gratia' dixit*
> *'ulla mea est, uel me uisendae mitte sorori,*
> *uel soror huc ueniat. redituram tempore paruo*
> *promittes socero; magni mihi muneris instar*
> *germanam uidisse dabis.'* (440-444)
>
> …when Procne, flattering her husband, said, "If any thanks is mine, either send me to visit my sister or let my sister come here. You will promise your father-in-law that she will return in a short time; you will grant me something like a great gift, to have seen my sister."

The basic concept conveyed in the *bland-* root, flattery, ties together three characters whose attempts at flattery lead to their own ruin; Procne's request to Tereus begins the series of events, Philomela's persuasion of Pandion (*patriosque lacertis* / ***blanda*** *tenens umeros*, "hanging with her arms on her father's shoulders,

[325] *quid quod idem Philomela cupid patriosque lacertis /* ***blanda*** *tenens umeros* (475-476).

[326] *paruis adduxit colla lacertis / mixtaque* ***blanditiis*** *puerilibus oscula iunxit* (625-626); *"cur admouet," inquit / "alter* ***blanditias****, rapta silet altera lingua?"* (631-632). Itys is also linked linguistically to his aunt through the combination of flatteries, kisses, and arms around his mother's neck; Philomela also kisses her father and hugs his neck (*osculaque et collo circumdata bracchia cernens*, 479).

flattering," 475-476) causes him to allow her to go with Tereus, and Itys' flatteries towards his mother (*mixtaque* ***blanditiis*** *puerilibus oscula iunxit*, "He gave her kisses mixed with boyish flatteries," 626) lead her to compare his voice with Philomela's silence, a comparison that drives her to use Itys to gain revenge on Tereus. Procne casts the act of seeing her sister after so many years as something like a great gift that Tereus will grant, *magni … muneris instar / germanam uidisse dabis* (443-444), but it is Tereus' sight of Philomela that goads him into raping her.[327] She utilizes multiple modes of persuasion, from flattery (*blandita*) to an invocation of *quid pro quo* ("*si gratia … / ulla mea est*," "If any thanks is mine," 440-441) to an appeal to Tereus' magnanimity ("*magni … muneris instar … dabis*," 443-444), and she gains what she wants, much to her own and her sister's detriment.

This request, aided by Tereus' natural and genetic proclivity towards libidinous excess (458-460), leads directly to Tereus' rape of Philomela and all the events that follow, including the transmission of Philomela's tapestry and the report of what Tereus did. As mentioned above, the tapestry is unrolled and read by Procne, after which come the following lines:

> *et (mirum potuisse) silet. dolor ora repressit,*
> *uerbaque quaerenti satis indignantia linguae*

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[327] See above, pp. 161-170.

> *defuerunt; nec flere uacat, sed fasque nefasque*
> *confusura ruit poenaeque in imagine tota est.* (583-586)
>
> and (a wonder that she was able) she is silent. Grief checked her tongue, and words sufficiently scornful failed her tongue as it searched; nor could she cry, but she rushes to commingle what is right and what is forbidden, and she is entirely engulfed in the image of punishment.

Procne's reception of the tapestry is conspicuously marked by numerous references to her silence, with three references in the space of slightly more than two lines: she is silent (*silet*, 583), a fact underscored by the narrator's parenthetical comment on its unexpected nature (*mirum potuisse,* "a wonder that she was able," 583); grief, the emotion that drives Philomela into productively creating the tapestry (*grande* ***doloris*** / *ingenium est*, "Great is the wit generated by grief," 574-575), here suppresses Procne's speech (***dolor*** *ora repressit*, 583);[328] and while Philomela's tongue is grotesquely characterized as seeking Philomela's feet (*dominae uestigia* ***quaerit,*** 560), Procne's tongue, seeking words that would express sufficient scorn, did not find them (*uerbaque* ***quaerenti*** *satis indignantia linguae / defuerunt*, 584-585). In this last reference to Procne's silence, the mention of a tongue (*linguae*) and indignation (*indignantia*) also resonate linguistically with the glossectomy of Philomela (*indignantem … linguam,* 555-557). The

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[328] Anderson 1972, *ad loc.* However, see above on 595-596: Procne's rescue of Philomela is catalyzed by the same grief, *furiis agitata* ***doloris***. *Dolor* vacillates from one extreme to the other and then back: it motivates Philomela to weave her tapestry; then, it prevents Procne from speaking; then, it motivates Procne to rescue Philomela.

physical horror of Philomela's tongue ripped out leads to the psychological block on Procne's tongue and capacity for speech. Each event follows logically upon the last: Philomela's speech leads to the glossectomy, which in turn leads to Philomela's act of weaving/writing; the missive is sent to Procne, who reads it (*germanae suae carmen miserabile legit*, "She reads the miserable poem of her sister," 582). The exercise of reading then leaves Procne speechless. Speech begets silence, which generates writing, in turn enabling reading, finally causing silence.[329]

The description of Philomela's message as *carmen miserabile* links Ovid's myth with the Orpheus narrative of Vergil's *Georgics* (4.511-515). The exact phrase *miserabile carmen* is used in a simile comparing the grieving Orpheus, who just lost Eurydice, to the grieving nightingale (*philomela* [!]),[330] who mourns her lost child, taken from the nest by a harsh plowman (*durus arator*). The three *carmina* (Philomela's, the nightingale's, and Orpheus') are generated by an irretrievable loss, Philomela of her virginity and tongue, the nightingale of her child, Orpheus of Eurydice. Also, while Philomela only threatens to fill the surrounding nature

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[329] See Natoli 2017, 75-76, on the effect of the tapestry on Procne; see also Curley 2013, 182-183, for a comparison of Procne's silence with that of Hecabe at the body of Polydorus in Book 13.

[330] The Latin poets often switch the birds into whom the sisters transform; see above, pp. 77-81, and below, pp. 218-220 and 223-224.

with her voice (***implebo*** *siluas*, 6.547) in the unfulfilled future tense before Tereus removes her ability to speak, the nightingale, sitting on a branch, actually does send her voice into the surrounding nature in the vivid present tense (*ramoque sedens miserabile carmen / integrat, et maestis late loca questibus* ***implet***, "And sitting on a branch she renews her miserable song, and she **fills up** the area far and wide with her sad complaints" [4.514-515]). The connection to the Orpheus myth via the simile, moreover, simultaneously looks back to the Vergilian precedent and forward to the Orpheus episode in Book 10 of the *Metamorphoses*, in which Ovid gives Orpheus the direct voice that he was not afforded in the Vergilian version.[331]

The diction with which the narrator describes the beginning of Procne's machination of revenge introduces a thematic distinction between *fas* and *nefas*, the divinely sanctioned and the profane, but literally the "speakable" and the "unspeakable": *fasque nefasque / confusura ruit poenaeque in imagine tota est*, "She rushes to commingle what is right and what is forbidden, and she is entirely engulfed in the image of punishment" (585-586). To punish Tereus' transgression, she will combine the unspeakable act of killing her son and feeding him to his

[331] "Ovid thus lets Orpheus sing the *miserabile carmen* about his love laments in person, which Virgil mentioned only briefly, in a cosmological wrapping, and turns the Vergilian *praeteritio* into a centrepiece" (Eigler 2012, 361). See the final section of this chapter on the casting of Orpheus and Philomela as silenced artists.

father with an invocation of divine rightness; after she summons Tereus to the meal, she lies that it is *fas* that he approach the meal alone: *patrii moris sacrum mentita, quod uni / fas sit adire uiro*, "She fabricates a rite of her ancestral custom, that it is right that the man approach alone" (648-649). The concept of *fas* appears only in these two instances in the entire narrative,[332] while *nefas* and its cognates appear five times, including the above mentioned instance: Tereus confesses his lust to Philomela (*fassusque* ***nefas***, 524); Philomela calls Tereus' rape of her an unspeakable coupling (***nefandos*** */ concubitus*, 540-541); Philomela shudders and blanches at approaching the house profaned by Tereus' act (*ut sensit tetigisse domum Philomela* ***nefandam****, / horruit infelix totoque expalluit ore*, "When Philomela sensed that she had reached the **profaned** home, the unlucky one shuddered and her entire face went white," 601-602); and Procne is ready for every kind of *nefas* in her quest for vengeance ("*in omne nefas ego me, germana, paraui*," "'I have prepared myself for every unspeakable deed, sister,'" 613). *Fas* and *nefas* are

[332] One can argue that a cognate of *fas* appears at 524, *fassusque nefas*, "[Tereus] speaks the unspeakable," but it does not come loaded with connotations of divine rightness in the way that the other two appearances of *fas* do; nevertheless, the use of this particular verb to indicate the act of confession both plays anaphorically with the object *nefas* and allows us to imagine Tereus speaking, even if the narrator does not recount his words directly.

derived from *fari* and thus grounded linguistically in the concept of speech,[333] and those two concepts mark the most important thematic elements of the narrative: Tereus' lust, the act of rape, the home destroyed by the unfaithful husband, and Procne's act of revenge. All of these unspeakable elements catalyze the characters' progression towards the narrative's end, the metamorphoses that preclude any further repetitions in the cycle of retribution.

Next, after Procne rescues Philomela from her internment in the woods, she speaks aloud the possible avenues that lead to revenge (611-619). As just mentioned, she declares that she has prepared herself for any kind of *nefas* against Tereus necessary to avenge her sister, and the list of possibilities includes burning alive, glossectomy, eye-gouging, castration, or multiple stabbings (614-618). The exact course of action, however, remains unclear to her: *"magnum quodcumque paraui; / quid sit, adhuc dubito,"* "'I am ready to do whatever is great; what it is, I am still in doubt" (618-619). Then, perfectly on cue, Itys appears: *ad*

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[333] The writer of the entry for *fas* in the *TLL* seems wary of the derivation from *for, fari*: *plerique cum antiquis a* fari *ductum esse censent. sed nescio an potius id substantivum sit, a quo derivata sunt vocabula* fanum, festus, feriae, *eadem fere significatione eademque origine, quam habet gr. ϑέ-μις. ex duabus pristinis substantivi formis fēs- et făs- inter se alternantibus compensatione quadam facillime fās nasci potuit,* "Many, with the ancients, think it was derived from *fari*. But I do not know whether it is rather a substantive, from which are derived the words *fanum, festus, feriae*, with nearly the same meaning and origin which the Greek θέμις has. From the two earliest forms, *fēs-* and *făs-*, alternating amongst themselves, *fās* could very easily have been formed with a certain [vowel] balancing." (*s.v.*). The etymologies of words possibly derived from *fas*, however, seem to have little effect on the derivation of *fas* itself.

matrem ueniebat Itys; quid possit, ab illo /admonita est oculisque tuens immitibus 'a! quam / es similis patri' dixit; nec plura locuta / triste parat facinus tacitaque exaestuat ira, "Itys approached his mother; he reminded her of what is possible, and watching him with unrelenting eyes, she said, 'Ah! How similar to your father you are;' saying no more, she plans the sorrowful deed and she rages with silent anger" (620-623). The focus on vision (*oculisque tuens immitibus*) and appearances (Itys' similarity to Tereus) aligns Procne with her husband, whose vision and perception of Philomela establishes his supposed control over his desired object. Vision not only leads Procne to plan for action (*triste parat facinus*), just as it led Tereus to do the same (461-464), but it also stokes in her a powerful emotional response (*tacitaque exaestuat ira*). Her "silent anger" (*tacita ira*) balances the vocalized anger in her direct speech about avenues of revenge. Procne gains her revenge and Tereus gains his sexual satisfaction through a sort of Pyrrhic victory, as each leads to the loss of their son.

Procne's agency, most plainly manifest in her decision to kill Itys, is generated by a combination of the two means by which Tereus and Philomela exercised theirs, respectively vision and direct speech. Andrew Feldherr notes the "extreme density of references to vision" in the depiction of Itys' interactions with his mother, and he insightfully analyzes how Procne's vision objectifies Itys,

aligns Procne with Philomela, and reveals the way in which Procne has chosen to identify, as a daughter of Pandion rather than a mother of Itys, thus making the filicide an easier choice.[334] This element, however, is combined with a vocal rationalization akin to a Shakespearean soliloquy, in which Procne convinces herself that avenging her sister and her family is paramount, even at the expense of her son:

> *ut tamen accessit natus matrique salutem*
> *attulit et paruis adduxit colla lacertis* (625)
> *mixtaque blanditiis puerilibus oscula iunxit,*
> *mota quidem est genetrix infractaque constitit ira*
> *inuitique oculi lacrimis maduere coactis.*
> *sed simul ex nimia mentem pietate labare*
> *sensit, ab hoc iterum est ad uultus uersa sororis* (630)
> *inque uicem spectans ambo, "cur admouet" inquit*
> *"alter blanditias, rapta silet altera lingua?*
> *quam uocat hic matrem, cur non uocat illa sororem?*
> *cui sis nupta uide, Pandione nata, marito:* (634)
> *degeneras; scelus est pietas in coniuge Terei."* (624-635)

> But as the son approached and greeted his mother and hugged her neck with his little arms and gave her kisses mixed with childish flatteries, the mother was indeed moved and her anger stood broken and her unwilling eyes grew wet with compelled tears. But as soon as she felt her resolve totter out of an excess of dutifulness, she again turned away from him toward her sister's face, and looking at both of them in turn, she said, "Why does this one ply me with flatteries, but the other is silent, her tongue snatched away? As this one calls his mother, why does she not call

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[334] Feldherr 2008, 35-36. See also Hardie 2002, 269: "Procne, looking at both her son and her sister (631 *ambos*), is strengthened in her resolve by the difference that she perceives between Itys and his aunt Philomela, the difference between speech and speechlessness and one that she will eliminate by reducing Itys to a dead and speechless head."

> her sister? Look at the husband to whom you've been married, daughter of Pandion; you cause dishonor; dutifulness is wickedness in the wife of Tereus."

This direct speech steels her resolve against the feelings of parental loyalty that Itys invokes with his kisses, flatteries, and hugs. The dichotomy between Itys' vocality and Philomela's silence is underscored by deliberately-placed penthemimeral caesurae at 632 and 633 that separate Itys' actions from Philomela's: *admouet blanditias* versus *silet*, *uocat* versus *non uocat*. Itys' capacity for speech and Philomela's lack of it crystallizes for Procne the reality of Philomela's brutalization and the necessity of revenge against Tereus through the murder of his son.

Just as Procne's vision aligns her with Tereus and makes her the aggressor, the description of Itys' murder (639-641) aligns him with his aunt, Philomela, underscoring his status as an innocent victim. The murder and Philomela's glossectomy (555-557) share numerous linguistic and stylistic affinities: a series of accusative participles (*tendentem, uidentem, clamantem, petentem* in the former; *indignantem, uocantem, luctantem* in the latter) leads to the strike of a sword, with each strike described in three words and two and a half metrical feet: ***ense fer****it Procne*, "Procne strikes with the sword" (641); *abstulit* ***ense fer****o*, "He ripped out [the tongue] with the savage sword" (557). The repetition of the same phonemes

(*ense fer-*) highlights the coalescence of Procne and Tereus and, by extension, that of Itys and Philomela. The narrator underscores Procne's brutality by drawing attention once again to her vision as Itys is stabbed: *nec uultum uertit,* "nor does she turn away her face" (642). Then, in this ever-escalating series of horrors, Philomela further mutilates the already-dead body: *satis illi ad fata uel unum / uulnus erat; iugulum ferro Philomela resoluit*, "Even one wound was enough to hasten him to his fate; but Philomela slit his throat with the iron" (642-643). Despite the connections drawn between nephew and aunt through the linguistic resonances mentioned above, in the end, she aligns herself more with her rapist and brutalizer, who mutilated her already-mangled body further by violating her repeatedly after the fact: *hoc quoque post facinus (uix ausim credere) fertur / saepe sua lacerum repetisse libidine corpus*, "Also after this deed (I would scarcely dare to believe) it is said that he often sought out her mangled body again because of his lust" (561-562). The first victim becomes a co-aggressor with her sister and, indeed, further defiles the latest victim when she throws his head at his father: *sicut erat sparsis furiali caede capillis, / prosiluit Ityosque caput Philomela cruentum / misit in ora patris*, "Just as she was, hair splattered with the gore of death, Philomela leapt forth and tossed the bloody head of Itys at his father's face" (657-659).

As mentioned above, Procne is afforded the last direct words of the entire narrative, as she reveals what has just happened to Tereus: *"intus habes quem poscis,"* "'You have within the one whom you seek'" (655). Her progression from petition to stunned silence to deliberation to resolution ends in this declaration of victory. Tereus has been repaid for his violation of another's body with the condign punishment of an invasion of his own body; the use of his own son's body to do so amplifies the retribution.

Procne's various bouts of speech and silence throughout the narrative reify the concept, supported by Tereus' and Philomela's instances of speech and silence, that silence diminishes agency while speech bolsters it. Just as Tereus' relative silence evinces the narrator's control of his character and his lack of agency, so too does Procne's immediate silence upon reading Philomela's tapestry reveal a passivity that surprises even the narrator; her path to action comes only after her mouth cannot find the right words and she purposefully confuses what is right and wrong. Also, just as Philomela utilizes the ability to communicate, whether vocally to Tereus or graphically to Procne, to assert her agency, Procne uses hers to steel her resolve to commit an unspeakable crime.

This attribution of agency to Procne and Philomela by Ovid appears to play in a meta-literary fashion with the versions of the myth investigated in the

previous chapter, Sophocles' *Tereus* and Aristophanes' *Birds*. I argued that Aristophanes conspicuously re-fashions elements of Sophocles' tragedy to suit his comedic narrative. In so doing, he reconstructs a gender-normative relationship between the male Tereus and his wife Procne by making Tereus a civilizing arbiter of communication; he simultaneously upends the hierarchy of power that Sophocles constructed through Procne's opportunities for speech and Philomela's utilization of the κερκίδος φωνή by reducing Procne to a sexual object who only sings, and only when commanded to do so by Tereus or the Chorus, and by erasing Philomela from the play entirely.

Ovid seems to "correct" the Aristophanic "correction" of Sophocles by giving back to Procne and Philomela the voices that Aristophanes so conspicuously took away and by taking away from Tereus the voice that Aristophanes so clearly afforded him. While Ovid's genre differs notably from Aristophanes' comedy or Sophocles' tragedy in formal and thematic considerations, all three draw on a common mythic nexus and are free to use, add, subtract, and modify as necessary for their artistic purposes. Ovid's empowerment of these female characters at the expense of the male evinces an engagement with previous versions of the myth while simultaneously furthering his own artistic agenda: to comment on the increasing power over speech and art

enjoyed by the *princeps.*

Ovid, Philomela/Procne, and Artistic Freedom in the Augustan Era

This episode portrays Philomela as generating a poetic product, a *carmen*, that defies the best efforts of a tyrant at silencing its artist.[335] The theme of silenced artists is ubiquitous in the *Metamorphoses*, primarily in the episodes of the Emathides in Book 5, Arachne in Book 6, and Orpheus in Book 10, and the implications of their silencing reach beyond the page and suggest something about the realities of artistic life in the Augustan regime, as Patricia Johnson has shown.[336] I argue that Philomela should be included among these artists, despite the fact that "Ovid only provides the barest of descriptions of [her product] (Philomela's web is purple and white)."[337] Though Augustus does not exhibit the fierce, fatal censorship that, for example, Tacitus attests in the reign of Domitian,[338] the Philomela episode and the *Metamorphoses* as a whole attest to an ever-increasing awareness, here at the beginning of the principate, of Augustus'

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[335] For weaving as a poetic metaphor in the *Metamorphoses* and Ovid's use of it in the Philomela episode, see Natoli 2017, 73-75.

[336] Johnson 2008.

[337] Johnson 2008, 26.

[338] Tac. *Ag.* 2.

increasing control over ideological messaging and the concomitant disparity of power between the *princeps* and other Roman nobles. Ovid's careful control of the Philomela narrative evinces an artist's anxiety over this new environment of poetic production.

The *Metamorphoses* appears to have been completed by the time Ovid was exiled in 8 C.E. The epic definitely followed the elegiac poems that earned Ovid widespread fame and notoriety, including the *Amores* and the *Ars Amatoria*, poems that defy the austere, monogamous, civically-minded *ethos* that Augustus was trying to recreate (or instill?) in the city of Rome. Ovid's period of poetic production spans Augustus' reign, from the 20s B.C.E. to the teens C.E., and the *Metamorphoses* seems to have been produced at a point when Augustus was fully aware of the impact of his program and the challenges to it.

The regime was shielded by the pretext of a restoration of solid Republican Roman *mores* and institutions, but it was never difficult to peek behind the curtain, as it were, and determine who truly held the power. Denis Feeney carefully outlines the capacity for free expression under Augustus and its amorphous boundaries: "What we are dealing with, then, is not straightforward repression or straightforward tolerance, but, as always, a developing and shifting relationship, without any precedents, where all the parties involved are feeling

their way; habits and patterns of behaviour firm up as time goes on, of course, but it remains an essentially provisional and improvisatory atmosphere."[339] O.S. Due places the onus on defining what is permissible on the emperor: "The strength of [Augustus'] power enabled him to permit a freedom of speech but he arbitrarily and unpredictably reserved for himself the right of determining the limits of it, and in his later years he was narrowing those limits."[340] This unpredictability is the prerogative of the man who is in charge, who has power; the same cannot be said of those who are subject to his decisions. Ioannis Ziogas, however, argues that the poets can claim *auctoritas* in determining the meaning and the scope of their own or even others' works, in spite of the machinations and status of the emperor: "Poets and prince take part in a power game that revolves around the dynamics of censorship, publication, and interpretation…In the end, Ovid may be essentially anti-Augustan not in his opposition to the prince, but in his attempt to be equal to Augustus."[341]

Of course, the clearest demonstration of Augustus' power over poetic production and its consequences comes in Ovid's exile, which the poet attributes to *duo crimina, carmen et error* (*Tr.* 2.207); a poem and a mistake caused Augustus

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[339] Feeney 1994, 9; for larger context, 7-9.

[340] Due 1974, 174 n. 92.

[341] Ziogas 2015, 130.

to banish Ovid. While the signs of intended post-exilic revision of the *Metamorphoses* that Stephen Hinds sees indicated in *Tristia* 1.7[342] do not include the stories about silenced artists, even if they were not edited in exile, they exhibit an eerie prescience, given Ovid's biography. For example, the singer Orpheus in Book 10, silenced by a hostile audience, functions proleptically as the exiled Ovid's unwitting analogue.[343] Victoria Pagán imagines (tantalizingly but fancifully) that Ovid deliberately chooses the Orpheus myth as his moment to make an allusive political comment on the increasing polarity between the *princeps* and those under him: "When [Ovid] finally turns to the myth of Orpheus, he finds an opportunity to comment upon the conditions of free speech under Augustus…Ovid's treatment of the myth of Orpheus demonstrates an awareness of the issue of speaking before one's superiors."[344] Doing so correctly allows one to continue producing art; misreading the audience or going too far precludes any future career.

The figure of the silenced Philomela works along similar lines. It would be far too simplistic to map Augustus onto the tyrannical Tereus and Ovid onto the artist Philomela, and indeed, the fact that the victims in this narrative become

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[342] Hinds 1985, 25-27.

[343] Johnson 2008, 117-122.

[344] Pagán 2004, 384-385.

more barbaric than the barbarian further makes such a coalescence problematic. While the narrator of the *Metamorphoses* does not moralize about the act of revenge in the way that the putative *deus ex machina* in Sophocles' *Tereus* does,[345] the depiction of the sisters' joy at their success (*dissimulare nequit crudelia gaudia Procne,* 653; *nec tempore maluit ullo / posse loqui et meritis testari gaudia dictis,* 659-660) and the repeated references to Itys' mangled body (*Ityos caput cruentum*, 658; *semesa uiscera*, 664) are enough to cause horror in the reader; the women have gained the upper hand in this cycle of vengeance, but the cost was immense.[346]

Nevertheless, the power dynamic in the myth resonates proleptically with Ovid's situation. Philomela's tapestry and the *carmen* contained in it communicate the message that Philomela wants to send to Procne in spite of her oppressor's attempt to silence her, just as Ovid's *Tristia* and *Epistulae ex Ponto* will later allow him to "assert and justify himself in the face of his smothering

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[345] 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 was senseless; but they were still more senseless in taking revenge on him with violence. For whoever of mortals, angered in times of trouble, applies a medicine greater than the illness is a doctor who does not know the ailments" (Soph. *Ter.* fr. 589 Radt).

[346] Fulkerson 2016, 77-80, on the movement of Philomela from victim to aggressor.

catastrophe, vindicating his right to speak, maintaining his voice."[347] Every author chooses whom he allows to speak and whom he silences when creating a narrative. Ovid's choice to allow Philomela to speak in a way that her mythic predecessors possibly did not[348] while nearly silencing the ostensible wielder of power in the myth, Tereus, suggests a special interest in the character, perhaps for what she represents: the ability to reclaim a voice in spite of attempts to take it away.

The end of the episode, the metamorphosis of Procne, Philomela, and Tereus into birds, is the culmination of a cycle of retribution that cannot be broken. The metamorphosis is conveyed in an enjambed spondaic polyptoton, artfully connected through conspicuous alliteration, that catches the readers by surprise: *corpora Cecropidum pennis pendere putares; / pendebant pennis!* "You would think the bodies of the Cecropides hung on wings; they were hanging on wings!" (667-668). The outcome of Tereus' metamorphosis is clearly defined, even without line 674, a seeming gloss on *uolucrem* that Riese probably correctly deletes; the bird with a prominent crest and exceedingly long, war-like beak can only be the hoopoe: *uolucrem, cui stant in uertice cristae, / prominet immodicum*

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[347] Feeney 1994, 18.

[348] See above, n. 286.

praelonga cuspide rostrum, "…the bird, for whom a crest stands on top of its head and an enormous beak with an exceedingly long point juts out" (673). However, interestingly, Ovid never specifies which sister turns into which bird, the nightingale or the swallow. The only attempt at differentiation occurs in the direction toward which each metamorphosed bird flees: *quarum petit altera siluas, / altera tecta subit*, "Of these, one seeks the woods, the other perches under the roof" (668-669). By itself, the description probably points to the former bird being the nightingale; the nightingale's propensity for the woods is a *topos* that even finds its way into one of Aesop's fables.[349] Also, if the description of blood-stained plumage refers to the latter bird, we can be reasonably certain that the latter bird is the swallow, as evidenced by Vergil *Georgics* 4.15 and Ovid *Ars Amatoria* 2.383-384. Even then, however, we do not know which sister turned into the nightingale and which turned into the swallow. Otherwise, the sisters are lumped together: they both act as the subject of *pendebant.* Tiziana Privitera notes, "*Ovidio insomma eredita il tratto virgiliano dell'ambiguità e la problematicità ad esso connessa, amplificandolo con l'espediente dei nomi taciuti*," "In sum, Ovid inherits the Vergilian trait of ambiguity and the problems connected with it, amplifying it

[349] See Spaltenstein 2008, 111: "*En effet, met.* 6, 669 altera tecta subit, neque adhuc de pectore caedis / excessere notae signataque sanguine pluma est *prouve qu'Ovide pense à l'hirondelle, qui habite les maisons des hommes,* tecta subit…."

with the expedience of unmentioned names."[350]

The use of the verb *pendere* creates a ring structure in Book 6, with the metamorphoses of Procne and Philomela as a latter bookend[351] and the metamorphosis of Arachne as the former. After Minerva strikes Arachne with her shuttle in frustration at the faultlessness of Arachne's work, the latter makes to hang herself:

> *non tulit infelix laqueoque animosa ligauit*
> *guttura; **pendentem** Pallas miserata leuauit*
> *atque ita 'uiue quidem, **pende** tamen, improba' dixit,*
> *'lexque eadem poenae, ne sis secura futuri,*
> *dicta tuo generi serisque nepotibus esto.'*
>
> Unlucky Arachne could not bear it and boldly tied a noose around her neck; Pallas took pity on her **as she hung** and lifted her and spoke thus: "Live indeed, but **hang**, wicked one, and let the same rule of punishment be declared for your family and later descendants, so that you not be safe in the future. (134-138)

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[350] Privitera 2007, 41.

[351] While there are almost 50 lines in Book 6 after the end of the Philomela episode proper, the narrative that they contain, that of Orithyia and Boreas, serves more as a prelude to the narrative of the Argonauts and Medea in Book 7 than as a narrative in its own right. Calais and Zetes, the Boreads, are a bridge that links Books 6 and 7 together; see Libatique 2015, 72-73. From a different perspective, the episode can also be read as a closing tag to the Tereus narrative: "If we read with the flow of Ovid's elegant and pleasant surface, the Boreas-Oreithyia episode allows us to see the murderousness of the preceding tale in comic relief. But if we read it in the light of the disjunctions and unsuccessful resolutions of the preceding tale, it appears as a strategy to smooth over the very difficult problems that the Tereus-Philomela episode has raised. The resolution that is impossible inside the Tereus story is made by a supplement from outside, as it were, in another story. But like all supplements, this one too reveals the lack and instability of what it completes" (Segal 1992, 278-279).

The book begins and ends with the act of hanging, Arachne on a spider's thread and Procne and Philomela on birds' wings. In this passage, the collocation of spondaic, metrically heavy forms of *pendere* (*pendentem, pende*) and their emphatic placements at the caesurae of their respective lines draw the reader's attention to the importance of the concept. The linguistic connection makes clear that Arachne and Philomela are linked thematically. Each is a weaver who uses the medium to promulgate the terrible deeds of entities more powerful than she. In both cases, open speech lambasting a figure with more power is dangerous. While Philomela's tapestry constitutes an instance of figured language that can escape detection by Tereus, Arachne's serves as an open indictment of Minerva's hypocritical existence. Two differences, however, are notable. First, while Arachne's metamorphosis and subsequent hanging is explicitly attributed to the goddess Minerva, there is no such divine motivation for Philomela and Procne's transformations. In Book 6, there is a movement from the dalliances and jealousies of the gods that dominated the first pentad of the work towards the realm of human brutality and indiscretion towards one another;[352] the movement from the former to the latter is crystallized by the use of the same verb (*pendere*)

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[352] Gildenhard and Zissos 2007, 6-13. See also James 2016, 159: "Until the gods transform the three principals into birds, this tale is resolutely human and political, rather than divine and magical." It should be noted, however, that no particular divine agent is ever specified in Ovid's account of the transformations.

to denote the same physical act caused in the former by a goddess but unattributed in the latter. Second, Arachne's direct confrontation of her opponent, both inadvertently through direct speech (37-42) and deliberately through the illicit subject matter of her tapestry (103-128),[353] results in her punishment and disfigurement, while Philomela's punishment and disfigurement generates the conditions under which she weaves her tapestry, a reversal of the series of events. Moreover, Philomela's textile is sent behind the back of the aggressor whom she condemns and leads to his punishment; such an outcome of "poetic justice" would not be possible in Arachne's case, in which the goddess inexorably wields more power than she and holds the right to mete out punishment. Arachne's overt act of defiance through weaving leads to her destruction; Philomela's covert act of communication through weaving leads to her rescue. As Frederick Ahl writes,

> The wordless art of weaving when used overtly against someone who knows weaving may be ruinous, as in Arachne's case. When this art is employed by Philomela it is successful: she communicates with Procne and eludes Tereus. One needs the right art at the right time. Few writers recognized how easily someone could slip than Ovid himself. His "song and error" led him into conflict with the powerful and sent him away to die in exile. It is small wonder that none of his characters seems more like him

[353] See Johnson 2008, 83-88, for the ways in which Arachne's tapestry directly challenges Minerva's ambivalent status as the goddess of virgins and the dutiful daughter of the profligate Jupiter. See also James 2016, 161-163.

than Arachne.[354]

Nevertheless, I have argued that Philomela deserves an equal footing to Arachne in terms of comparison with Ovid. She acts as Ovid's exemplum of artistic generation in the face of oppression, a model for an artist in the increasingly restrictive atmosphere of the burgeoning principate.

With regard to Procne and Philomela's transformations, the distinction between the two birds is important on its face, as each bird represents distinct traditions; the nightingale is known as a symbol of poetry for its mellifluous voice, even finding her way into Pliny's *Natural History* as a harbinger of the infant Stesichorus' future career as a poet by perching on his lips and singing sweetly (10.43.82), while the swallow was known since Hesiod (*Op.* 568-570) as the bird of returning spring and rejuvenation.[355] But perhaps the murkiness and coalescence of the two is the point, in the wider context of the myth's various permutations, in the specific point that Ovid is trying to make regarding his utilization of it, and in Ovid's predilection for nodding at confused or multiple strains of a myth,[356] apparent in such actions as conspicuously refusing to declare

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[354] Ahl 1985, 235.

[355] See Thompson 1936, 16-22 on the nightingale (ἀηδών), 314-325 on the swallow (χελιδών).

[356] See, e.g., Hinds 1993, 14-18, on Medea and Scylla.

decisively which sister becomes which bird. D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson explains: "Philomela and Procne are frequently confused…In Greek authors Philomela is the name of the Swallow, and Procne of the Nightingale (Ar. *Av.* 665). The Latins generally reverse this, as does Agatharchides, and also Petrarch…But Varro *L.L.* and Virg. *E.* 6 adhere to the Greek version of the story." Ovid's omission of names in his account of the actual metamorphoses might play with this confusion, leaving it up to the audience to figure out. More importantly, however, Procne and Philomela as allies in the quest for vengeance against Tereus turn into the birds that symbolize poetry and rejuvenation or re-empowerment, themes that connect Ovid on a personal level with the characters that he depicts. The combination of the two speaks to the message that Ovid is sending with his depiction of the myth: the poetic voice will continue to sing, despite the efforts of those putatively in power to silence it.

CHAPTER 4 - *PERVIGILIUM VENERIS*: *ILLA CANTAT, NOS TACEMUS*

In Chapters 2 and 3, I analyzed the opportunities for speech and silence afforded to the principal characters of the Tereus, Procne, and Philomela story in Sophocles' *Tereus*, Aristophanes' *Birds*, and Ovid's *Metamorphoses.* Sophocles' Procne and, to a certain extent, his Philomela, Aristophanes' Tereus, and Ovid's Philomela and Procne each exhibit agency in the act of communication and thereby demonstrate a degree of power over the other characters with whom they interact. On the other hand, conspicuous silence inflicted by the authors on characters like Aristophanes' Procne and Ovid's Tereus diminishes their agency and affords them less narrative power than others. The investigation in this chapter builds on those in Chapters 2 and 3 by examining a case of reception of the Sophoclean, Aristophanic, and Ovidian versions of the myth, a riddling allusion to the swallow at the end of the *Pervigilium Veneris*, a poem of unknown author and date,[357] and the ways in which speech elevates the goddess Venus

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[357] Current scholarly analysis favors ascribing the *PV* to the early fourth century C.E. and possibly Tiberianus as author; such readings reject the earlier belief in a Hadrianic second century date and, more specifically, Florus as author. For the second century, see Cazzaniga 1955, 54 n. 1; Schilling 1944, xxii-xxxii; Formicola 1998, 63-64. For the fourth century, see Catlow 18-21; Cameron 1984, 220-229; Cucchiarelli 2003, 26-27; Currie 1993, 214; Mandolfo 2008, 28-29. For the most comprehensive and well-cited overview of the scholarship on the questions of dating and authorship, see Mandolfo 2010, 27-31. For overviews of the ancient evidence and hypotheses about the *PV*'s dating and authorship, see Cucchiarelli 2003, 19-27; Formicola 1998, 49-64; Mandolfo 2008, 15-18; and Catlow 18-25.

and silence diminishes the poem's narrator. The chapter comprises three parts. First, I analyze the poem's verbs of speech and silence and find that the attribution of agency of each builds a hierarchy of power that situates Venus above all others and the poem's narrator at the very bottom. Second, I argue that the poem's metrical form, in trochaic tetrameter catalectic / trochaic septenarii / *versus quadratus*, emphasizes simultaneously the glorification of Venus and the relative powerlessness of the narrator by casting the narrator's voice as that of an average, common person. Third, I claim that the *Pervigilium* is indebted generically to panegyric, and in this generic debt lies the key to the poet's paradoxical claim that he has been silent and wishes for rejuvenation like that experienced by the sonorous swallow.

Before my analysis, however, I will reproduce the full text of the *Pervigilium Veneris* with translations following each stanza for those unfamiliar with the poem. I have marked each stanza with a Roman numeral for ease of identification and reference throughout this chapter.

The Poem, a Translation,[358] and a Summary

Cras amet qui numquam amavit quique amavit cras amet.

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[358] The text is from Catlow; the translation is mine.

I. *ver novum, ver iam canorum; vere natus orbis est,*
vere concordant amores, vere nubunt alites,
et nemus comam resolvit de maritis imbribus.
cras amorum copulatrix inter umbras arborum (5)
implicat casas uirentis de flagello myrteo,
cras Dione iura dicit fulta sublimi throno.

Let him who has never loved love tomorrow, and let him who has loved love tomorrow.

The spring is new, the spring is already harmonious; in spring, the world was born, in spring, loves harmonize, in spring, the birds marry, and the grove has loosened her hair from her husband's showers. Tomorrow, the one who brings together loves among the shades of the trees weaves her verdant homes out of myrtle shoots; tomorrow, Dione declares the laws, seated on a lofty throne.

cras amet qui numquam amavit quique amavit cras amet.

II. *tunc cruore de superno spumeo Pontus globo*
caerulas inter catervas inter et bipedes equos (10)
fecit undantem Dionem de marinis[359] *imbribus.*

Let him who has never loved love tomorrow, and let him who has loved love tomorrow.

Then, from a foamy ball of celestial blood, among the sea-blue bands and two-footed horses, Pontus created Dione, surging from the ocean's waters.

cras amet qui numquam amavit quique amavit cras amet.

III. *ipsa gemmis purpurantem pingit annum floridis,*
ipsa surgentes papillas de Favoni spiritu
urget in nodos tepentes; ipsa roris lucidi (15)
noctis aura quem relinquit, spargit umentis aquas.
emicant lacrimae trementes de caduco pondere;

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[359] Catlow 61 *ad* 10 explains the difficulty of the manuscript reading *de maritis imbribus*, which appears to be a scribal error that copies the ending of line 4.

gutta praeceps orbe parvo sustinet casus suos.
en! pudorem florulentae prodiderunt purpurae.
umor ille, quem serenis astra rorant noctibus, (20)
mane virgineas papillas solvit umenti peplo.
ipsa iussit mane nudae virgines nubant rosae;
facta Cypridis de cruore deque Amoris osculis
deque gemmis deque flammis deque solis purpuris,
cras ruborem, qui latebat veste tectus ignea, (25)
unico marita nodo non pudebit solvere.

Let him who has never loved love tomorrow, and let him who has loved love tomorrow.

She paints the year purple with flowery jewels, she drives the rosebuds, rising on the breath of the west wind, against their warm sheaths; she sprinkles the waters of clear dew which the breeze of the night leaves behind. Tears spring forth, trembling from the tottering weight; a drop, poised to fall, in a small orb delays its fall. Look! the purple flowers have issued their blushes. That moisture, which the stars dropped in the peaceful night, early in the morning loosens the virgin rosebuds from their wet covering. She herself ordered that the maiden roses wed in the morning, naked; the rose, born from the blood of the Cyprian and the kisses of Amor, from jewels and flames and the purple tones of the sun, will not be ashamed to free the blushing that lay hidden, covered by a fiery garment, married in a single bond.

cras amet qui numquam amauit quique amauit cras amet.

IV. *ipsa nymphas diva luco iussit ire myrteo;*
it puer comes puellis: nec tamen credi potest
esse Amorem feriatum, si sagittas vexerit. (30)
ite, nymphae, posuit arma, feriatus est Amor!
iussus est inermis ire, nudus ire iussus est,
neu quid arcu neu sagitta neu quid igne laederet.
sed tamen, nymphae, cavete, quod Cupido pulcher est;
totus est in armis idem quando nudus est Amor. (35)

Let him who has never loved love tomorrow, and let him who has loved love tomorrow.

The goddess herself has ordered the nymphs to go to the grove of myrtle. The boy goes as the girls' companion; but you can't believe that Amor is at leisure if he carries his arrows. Go, nymphs, he has set down his arms, Amor is at leisure! He has been ordered to go unarmed, he has been ordered to go nude, lest he cause any harm with his bow or arrow or flame. But still, nymphs, beware, because Cupid is handsome; the same Amor is entirely armed when he is nude.

cras amet qui numquam amauit quique amauit cras amet.

V. …………
conpari Venus pudore mittit ad te uirgines;
una res est quam rogamus: cede, uirgo Delia,
ut nemus sit incruentum de ferinis stragibus
et rigentibus virentes ducat umbras floribus. (58)[360]
ipsa vellet te rogare, si pudicam flecteret; (40)
ipsa vellet ut venires, si deceret virginem.
iam tribus choros videres feriatis noctibus
congreges inter catervas ire per saltus tuos
floreas inter coronas, myrteas inter casas.
nec Ceres, nec Bacchus absunt nec poetarum deus. (45)
detinenda tota nox est, pervigilanda canticis;
regnet in silvis Dione, tu recede Delia!

Let him who has never loved love tomorrow, and let him who has loved love tomorrow.

"Venus sends us, maidens of comparable chastity, to you. There is one thing that we ask: go, Delian maiden, so that the forest be unbloodied from your wild animal hunts and so that it cast verdant shadows on upright flowers. She would have asked you herself, if she could bend your chaste will; she would have asked

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[360] The transposition of line 58 to this position after line 39 was first suggested in 1872 by the anonymous Leipzig editor and consequently followed by major editors of the poem, including Clementi and Catlow: see Catlow 77 *ad* 40. Mandolfo 2008, 66, produces 58 in its original position and notes various scholars' attempts at transposition in the *apparatus criticus*: some versions place the line after 52 or 47, while others keep it in place but posit a lacuna of some sort after line 58.

you to come, if it were fitting for a maiden. Now, on these three nights of celebration, you might have seen dancers among the gathered groups passing through your woodlands, among crowns of flowers and homes of myrtle. Neither Ceres nor Bacchus nor the god of poets is missing. We must lengthen the whole night, we must keep watch with songs: let Dione rule in the woods! But you, Delian, depart."

cras amet qui numquam amauit quique amauit cras amet.

VI. *iussit Hyblaeis tribunal stare diva floribus;*
praeses ipsa iura dicit, adsederunt Gratiae. (50)
Hybla totos funde flores, quidquid annus adtulit,
Hybla, florum sume vestem, quantus Aetnae campus est!
ruris hic erunt puellae uel puellae montium:
quaeque silvas, quaeque lucos, quaeque fontes incolunt.
iussit omnes adsidere pueri mater alitis, (55)
iussit et nudo puellas nil Amori credere.

Let him who has never loved love tomorrow, and let him who has loved love tomorrow.

The goddess has ordered that her tribunal stand among the Hyblaean flowers. She as ruler declares the laws; the Graces have sat down. Hybla, pour forth all your flowers, whatever the year has brought; Hybla, put on your garment of flowers, as large as the plain of Aetna! Here, there will be girls of the field or girls of the mountains, those who inhabit the woods and the groves and the fountains. The mother of the winged boy has ordered them all to sit near, she has ordered that the girls not trust at all in Amor, even when he is nude.

cras amet qui numquam amauit quique amauit cras amet.

VII. *cras erit quo primus Aether copulavit nuptias;* (59)
ut pater totum creavit vernis annum nubibus,
in sinum maritus imber fluxit almae coniugis,
unde fetus mixtus omnis aleret magno corpere.
ipsa venas atque mentem permeanti spiritu
intus occultis gubernat procreatrix viribus,
perque caelum perque terras perque pontum subditum (65)

pervium sui tenorem seminali tramite
imbuit iussitque mundum nosse nascendi vias.

Let him who has never loved love tomorrow, and let him who has loved love tomorrow.

Tomorrow will be the day on which Aether first coupled in marriage; he, as father, created the entire year from springtime clouds; the husband's shower flowed into the lap of his nourishing wife, from where he, commingled with her great body, would nourish all the offspring. She as creator guides the veins and mind with her penetrating spirit, with her powers hidden within, and throughout the sky, throughout the lands, throughout the sea, all subject to her power, she has impressed a penetrating course of herself with the passage of the seed, and she has ordered that the world recognize the paths for generation.

cras amet qui numquam amauit quique amauit cras amet.

VIII. *ipsa Troianos nepotes in Latinos transtulit;*
ipsa Laurentem puellam coniugem nato dedit; (70)
moxque Marti de sacello dat pudicam virginem;
Romuleas ipsa fecit cum Sabinis nuptias;
unde Ramnes et Quirites proque prole posterum
†Romuli matrem† crearet et nepotem Caesarem.

Let him who has never loved love tomorrow, and let him who has loved love tomorrow.

She translated the descendants of the Trojans into Latins; she gave the Laurentian girl to her son as wife; and soon after, she gives the chaste maiden to Mars from the sanctuary; she created the marriages of the Romulans with the Sabines; from this, she would create the Ramnes, the Quirites, and for the offspring of those later, the mother of Romulus and Caesar, the grandson.

cras amet qui numquam amauit quique amauit cras amet. (75)

XI. *rura fecundat uoluptas, rura Venerem sentiunt;*
ipse Amor, puer Dionae, rure natus dicitur.
hunc, ager cum parturiret, ipsa suscepit sinu,

ipsa florum delicatis educavit osculis.

Let him who has never loved love tomorrow, and let him who has loved love tomorrow.

Desire makes the country fertile, the country feels Venus; Amor himself, the son of Dione, is said to have been born in the country. Him, while the land was ready for harvest, she took in her bosom, she raised him with the gentle kisses of flowers.

cras amet qui numquam amauit quique amauit cras amet. (80)

X. *ecce iam subter genestas explicant tauri latus,*
quisque tutus quo tenetur coniugali foedere;
subter umbras cum maritis ecce balantum greges;
et canoras non tacere diva iussit alites.
iam loquaces ore rauco stagna cygni perstrepunt, (85)
adsonat Terei puella subter umbram populi,
ut putes motus amoris ore dici musico,
et neges queri sororem de marito barbaro.
illa cantat, nos tacemus; quando ver venit meum?
quando fiam uti chelidon, ut tacere desinam? (90)
perdidi musam tacendo, nec me Phoebus respicit.
sic Amyclas, cum tacerent, perdidit silentium.

cras amet qui numquam amauit quique amauit cras amet.

Let him who has never loved love tomorrow, and let him who has loved love tomorrow.

Look now! Under the broom trees, the bulls lay out their sides, each one safe in the marriage bond by which he is held. In the shade, look! the flocks of sheep with their husbands, and the goddess has ordered the sonorous birds not to be silent. Now the chatty swans make a racket with their raucous mouths, and Tereus' girl resounds under the shade of the poplar tree, such that you'd think that strains of love were being sung by her musical mouth, and you'd deny that she, as a sister, complained of the barbarous husband. She sings, I am silent; when will my spring come? When will I become like the swallow, so that I cease

to be silent? I have lost my Muse through silence, and Phoebus does not regard me. Thus did silence destroy Amyclae, because they were quiet.

Let him who has never loved love tomorrow, and let him who has loved love tomorrow.

The poem begins with an establishment of spring as the temporal setting and the natural world as the physical setting of the poem (stanza **I**). The poem's primary agent, Venus, is mentioned for the first time in the final line of the stanza (7) as Dione.[361] The poet thus shifts his[362] attention to the circumstances of Venus' birth from a ball of foam (**II**) and Venus' influence on the regeneration of nature in the springtime, with the suggestive imagery of rosebuds blossoming (**III**). Next, Venus orders her nymphs and Cupid to go to a sacred grove but warns the

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[361] The appellation originates from a mythical tradition that ascribes maternity of Venus to Dione, a consort of Zeus whom Hera later ousted. Catlow 58 *ad* 7 notes that the use of "Dione" to indicate Venus is common throughout later Latin and that the appellation, per Schilling, "tells us nothing about the poet's conception of the love-goddess; it reflects metrical convenience and literary fashion." Upon first glance, the spondee naturally built into "Dione" and its inflected forms seems to lend itself to a trochaic rhythm better than the necessarily short vowels of the first syllables of inflections of "Venus" (*Vener*-), but Catlow/Schilling's point about metrical convenience is undercut by the use of *Venus* at 37 and *Venerem* at 76.

[362] Catlow 24-25, following Boyancé 1950, suggests that the author of the poem was a woman; he builds on Boyancé's suggestion by noting the poem's ubiquitous feminine imagery, the focus on Lavinia and Rhea Silvia at the expense of Aeneas and Mars, and the comparison of the author with the swallow: "I am led to conclude that the *Pervigilium* is probably the work of a fourth century poetess, possibly an African, but, knowing of no suitable figure with whom to identify her, commend this research to the patient industry of scholars more knowledgeable than myself" (25). While the hypothesis is attractive, Catlow assimilates a poetic persona with a biological reality that may or may not match, and the poet's "focus" on female characters no more necessitates that the poet be female than Vergil's "focus" on Dido in the *Aeneid* or Ovid's on female figures in the *Heroides* necessitates the same.

nymphs to beware Cupid's machinations (**IV**). After Venus addresses them, the nymphs address Diana and ask her, at Venus' bidding, to leave the forest, as it will soon be inhospitable to someone of avowed chastity like Diana (**V**). From there, the flowers of Hybla are invoked, and nymphs from all areas of nature, from the fields to bodies of water to the mountains, are invited (**VI**). The poet then describes the coupling of Sky (*Aether*) and Earth to create new life, guided by Venus (**VII**). The scene then cuts from the natural realm to the realm of civilization, as the poet describes the progression of Roman hegemony from the point when the Trojans come to Latium down to the Augustan era (**VIII**). We then cut back to nature, as the poet claims rural provenance for Cupid (**IX**). The poem appears at this point poised to end on a note of domestic tranquility for the animals, as bulls and sheep repose and the birds chatter, but this last point, namely the singing of the swallow, causes the poet to lament his own personal silence in relation to the swallow and long for the type of springtime rejuvenation that he has just described in nature throughout the poem (**X**).

Contradictions and Tensions: Vocality, the Trochaic Septenarius, and Panegyric

The *Pervigilium Veneris* contains within it a number of riddling contradictions, the negotiations of three of which will form the bulk of this

chapter: speech versus silence, form versus content, and personal versus public. On a lexical level, the tension between speech and silence is philologically emphasized not only in the ratio of verbs or phrases that indicate the former compared to the latter but also in the dispersion of each, the former throughout the first 86 lines and the latter concentrated in the final seven, as I will investigate below. The focus on Venus' agency through speech contrasts with the narrator's self-professed lack of it through silence, but the claim to a deprivation of agency is paradoxical in light of the poet's composition. I argue, however, that the poet's claim rests in the content of his poem, rather than the act of creating the poem itself.

The tension between form and content works on multiple registers. The poem defies any attempts to confine it within a single genre when we consider both its form and the themes contained within it. With regard to the former, the poem is broken into ten stanzas with a repeating refrain, written entirely in a trochaic rhythm. With regard to the latter, the poem generally exalts the power of the goddess Venus and her role in the generation of nature and civilization (excepting the poem's ending); in order to do so, the poet draws on elements from various genres, including pastoral, didactic, epic, and elegy, and molds them with panegyric overtones to create the environment of his poem. Within

this constellation of form and content, the trochaic rhythm of the meter stands out markedly as an incongruous element; the relationship of the trochaic septenarius to the *versus quadratus*, used in ribald, abusive soldiers' songs at military triumphs and children's nursery rhymes, and its longer history throughout Greco-Roman literature makes it an odd choice to use in such a poem of praise. After briefly investigating the meter's history in the Greco-Latin literary tradition, I argue that the trochaic rhythm contributes to the poet's self-characterization as one of the common people, a voice constrained to cater to the whims of those in power, not free to sing as the sonorous swallow does.

The final contradiction between personal and public is tied into the poem's use of panegyric tropes to exalt Venus. The very ideology of panegyric places focus on the deeds, character, and backstory of the honorand at the expense of the identity of the speaker. The metrical schema of the poem informs this self-effacement; the trochaic rhythm creates an impression of a common man who is subordinate to a higher power, in this case, Venus. The poet needs to maintain this self-effacement in order to assimilate fully into the persona of a panegyrist of Venus; however, he exhibits an inability to do so when he breaks that persona at the end of the poem to lament the constraints of his generic Zeitgeist which

require specific elements and points of view to fit a panegyric agenda.

Verbs of Speech and Agency: 1-86

The attribution of agency for the verbs of speech and action throughout the poem reflects the fact that Venus is an ever-present, powerful, generative force who causes the rebirth of spring and the ascendancy of the Roman empire. Venus' agency resides primarily in three sources: verbs of speech that take Venus as their agent or that are performed under the influence of Venus, direct speech with imperative commands, and verbs of action that establish Venus' roles as creator and guide of nature and civilization. Though other entities in the poem are also depicted as speaking directly or issuing commands, Venus' speech and commands overwhelm those of the others because the narrator either directly attributes the other entities' speech to Venus or makes Venus' presence felt through linguistic juxtaposition.

From lines 1 through 86, the poet uses fifteen verbs of speech, based on four verbal roots: *iubere*, *dicere*, *rogare*, and *perstrepere.* Importantly, twelve of those verbs, or 80%, take the goddess Venus as agent, and of those twelve, nine derive from *iubere*, while by comparison, only two derive from *dicere* and only one from *rogare*. First, Dietmar Najock notes the preponderance of command verbs in the

forms of *iubere*: "The logical subject of *iubeo* is always Dione, i.e., Venus, and three instances of *iubeo* (vv. 22, 67, 84) refer to Venus' power in general. The **extent** of this power seems to be underlined by the **extraordinary frequency** of *iubeo*."[363] That extraordinary frequency is spread over a range of entities commanded, from the natural to the semi-human to the divine, to highlight further Venus' power. Within these nine forms of *iubere,* Venus gives commands to roses (*ipsa* ***iussit*** *mane ut nudae uirgines nubant rosae*, "She herself ordered that the maiden roses wed in the morning, naked" [22]), nymphs (*ipsa nymphas diva luco* ***iussit*** *ire myrteo*, "The goddess herself ordered the nymphs to go to the grove of myrtle" [28]), Cupid ('***iussus est*** *inermis ire, nudus ire* ***iussus est***' [*sc. a me*], "'[Amor] has been ordered to go unarmed, he has been ordered to go nude' [by me]" [32]), more nymphs (***iussit*** *omnes adsidere pueri mater alitis, /* ***iussit*** *et nudo puellas nil Amori credere*, "The mother of the winged boy ordered all the girls to sit by, she ordered the girls not to trust in Amor even when he's nude" [55-56]), the world at large (***iussit****que mundum nosse nascendi vias*, "And she ordered that the world know the ways of creation" [67]), and birds (*et canoras non tacere diva* ***iussit*** *alites*, "And the goddess ordered the sonorous birds not to be silent" [84]). The ninth instance of *iubere* lacks an indication of the entity being commanded: ***iussit***

[363] Najock 1985, 198, emphases mine.

Hyblaeis tribunal stare diva floribus, "The goddess ordered her tribunal to stand amongst Hyblaean flowers" (49).

The thematic importance of Venus' commands is underscored in six of the nine instances of *iubere* (28, 32 x2, 49, 55, 56) by the poet's careful metrical arrangements of the lines that contain those verbs of command. Of those six, the verb is placed in line-initial position four times (32, 55, 56, and 49). The trochaic rhythm causes a coincidence of accent and ictus in these verbs and creates punchy starts to their respective lines that place focus on those verbal actions: ***ius***_sit_ / ***ius***_sus_. Two other metrical and poetic devices draw attention to forms of *iubere.* At 32, the anaphora of *iussus est* (the latter instance of which constitutes the fifth instance of metrical position as a means of emphasis) brackets the line, drawing attention to the line's construction and thus the content within it, namely the disarming of Cupid. Another repetition occurs at 55-56, where *iussit* begins both lines in succession. Metrical position also lends emphasis to *iussit* of 28, placed deliberately at the line's caesura (*ipsa nymphas diva luco* | | ***iussit*** *ire myrteo*), thereby creating a similar, though less emphatic, effect as the verbs in line-initial position. Two of the three instances of *iubere* that do not have any special metrical emphasis are nevertheless juxtaposed with explicit evocations of Venus within the same metron (*ipsa iussit*, 22; *diva iussit*, 84), keeping her in close

view.[364]

Venus takes three more verbs of speech aside from forms of *iubere* throughout the poem. Twice, she acts as the subject of a form of *dicere*, each taking as its object *iura*, "laws": *cras Dione iura* ***dicit*** *fulta sublimi throno*, "Tomorrow, Dione, seated on her lofty throne, declares the laws" (7); *praeses ipsa iura* ***dicet***, *adsidebunt Gratiae*, "She herself as guardian will declare the laws, the Graces will sit nearby" (50). The collocation of *dicere* with *iura* creates, in essence, a speech act with the force of a command, which again grants agency to Venus. The one occurrence of the verb *rogare* is paired with a polite subjunctive to put Venus, the subject, in a position of power, as she sets the rejection of chastity as a condition for Diana's continued presence in the forest: '*ipsa vellet te* ***rogare***, *si pudicam flecteret*,' "'She herself wished to invite you, if she could bend your chastity" (40).[365] The theme of Venus as a command-giver and, thus, the primary wielder of power and agency in the poem is encapsulated at line 47 when the nymphs declare Venus the ruler while banishing Diana from the woods: "*regnet*

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[364] The ninth instance of *iubere* straddles the division between its line's first and second metra: *imbuit iussitque mundum nosse nascendi vias*, 67.

[365] The speaker of this line is unclear due to a seeming lacuna before 37, first posited by Riese and followed by Catlow *ad loc.*, in which the speaker of the lines to follow would probably have been mentioned. In all likelihood, the speaker here would be the nymphs that Venus has just addressed at 31-35, as evidenced by the first-person plural verb (*rogamus*, 38) and the plural object *uirgines* (37); see below.

in siluis Dione! tu, recede, Delia!" "'Let Dione [i.e., Venus] rule in the woods! You, Delia [i.e., Diana], depart!" (47).

Three other verbs of communication attribute agency to entities other than Venus. In two of those cases, however, Venus' power and agency is nevertheless felt because of an explicit attribution of the speech act's enactment to Venus' command. First, the nymphs couch the request to Diana to leave the forest as a polite question: "*conpari Venus pudore mittit ad te virgines. / una res est quam* ***rogamus***," "'Venus sends to you maidens of comparable chastity. There is one thing which **we ask**,'" (37-38). These lines introduce a stanza, but three elements, enumerated by Laurence Catlow in his commentary, are problematic: the hanging ablative of description (*conpari pudore*) whose referent is unclear, the postponed addressee of *ad te*, and the lack of attribution of direct speech for the first-person plural *rogamus*. A lacuna after 36, first suggested by Riese and followed by Catlow, may have included lines that "would have provided an antecedent for *ad te*, would have clarified the comparative function of *conpari pudore*, and would have introduced the speech of the virgins which, beginning with what is now line 37, occupies the remainder of the stanza."[366] These missing lines, moreover, would underscore the importance of Venus as the one who

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[366] Catlow 76 *ad* 37-38.

commanded the virgins to address Diana, a fact only implied in line 37 (*Venus … mittit*): "I suspect that several lines have been lost, lines in which Venus, probably introduced as *ipsa* or *ipsa diva*, commanded the nymphs to approach Diana, the virgin goddess, and to order her departure from the forest."[367]

Second, Venus demonstrates her command over nature when she orders the birds not to be silent: *et canoras non tacere diva iussit alites: / iam loquaces ore rauco stagna cycni* ***perstrepunt***, "And the goddess has ordered the sonorous birds not to be silent: now the chatty swans **make** the pools **resound** with their raucous voices" (84-85). The poet mentions the swans in a list of animals, including bulls (*tauri*, 81) and sheep (*balantum greges*, 83). The latter includes a verbal form that indicates vocal communication (*balantum*, the genitive plural present participle from *balare*, "to bleat"), but the participle here serves more of an adjectival than a verbal function; the participle serves to identify "sheep" rather than indicating any actual acts of bleating. On the other hand, the poet conspicuously draws attention to the sonority of the birds and swans through the collocation of four sound-related words or phrases (*canoras, loquaces, ore rauco, perstrepunt*) within two verses. The birds in their liveliness contrast with the reposing bulls and sheep, an energy that sets up the shift in attention towards the vocality of the

[367] Catlow 76 *ad* 37-38.

swallow and the relative silence of the poet. The birds' liveliness stems directly from Venus' command in 84: *iussit.*

The third verb of communication that does not take Venus as a direct agent is one of only two instances in the poem of an inflected passive verb:[368] *ipse Amor, puer Dionae, rure natus* ***dicitur***, "Amor himself, the son of Dione, **is said** to have been born in the country" (77). This Alexandrian footnote of sorts reports the fact as a generally accepted truism without claiming its origin. Amor's characterization as country-born fits in with the stanza's larger focus on Venus' ubiquity in the country: *rura fecundat voluptas, rura Venerem sentiunt*, "Desire nourishes the country, the country feels Venus" (76). Indeed, Venus' appearance in two subsequent lines (*Venus … Dionae*) keeps her within the reader's mind, even as the poet describes the nourishment of Amor by the flowers (78-79).

The poet repeatedly draws attention to the power of Venus through both her own and others' verbs of speech or communication, but her agency is manifest in two other important ways. First, only three entities are afforded a direct narrative voice in the poem: Venus (31-35), her nymphs (at 37-47), and the narrator. I reproduce Venus' speech here:

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[368] To clarify, I mean passive verbs acting as the main verb of a clause, not adjectival passive participles like *facta* (23) or gerundives like *detinenda* and *pervigilanda* (46). The other is *iussus [est]* (32), which also takes Amor as its syntactic subject, but the context clearly implies Venus as the verbal agent, unlike in the case of *dicitur*.

> *ite, nymphae, posuit arma, feriatus est Amor!*
> *iussus est inermis ire, nudus ire iussus est*
> *neu quid arcu neu sagitta neu quid igne laederet.*
> *sed tamen, nymphae, cavete, quod Cupido pulcher est:*
> *totus est in armis idem quando nudus est Amor.*
>
> Go, nymphs, he has set down his arms, Amor is at leisure! He has been ordered to go unarmed, he has been ordered to go nude, so that he not do any harm with his bow or arrow or flame. But nevertheless, nymphs, beware, because Cupid is handsome: when this same Amor is nude, he is entirely in arms.

While Robert Schilling,[369] Ignazio Cazzaniga,[370] and Carmela Mandolfo[371] do not construe 31-35 as direct speech,[372] F.W. Cornish's casting of the lines as such[373] appears sound due to the imperative *ite,* which can be read as a dramatic enactment of the narrator's *iussit ire* (28). Venus also warns the nymphs to be wary of Cupid (*cavete,* 34). These two imperative verbs carry a similar force to the forms of *iubere*; they imbue Venus with a sense of imperious power.

Four other imperative verbs appear in the poem; two occur within the

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[369] Schilling 1944, 4-5.

[370] Cazzaniga 1959, 12.

[371] Mandolfo 2008, 64-65.

[372] Catlow 45, like Schilling, Cazzaniga, and Mandolfo, does not punctuate 31-35 with quotation marks, but he does not set off 37-47, undoubtedly direct speech, with quotation marks either, while Schilling, Cazzaniga, and Mandolfo do. As such, it is unclear whether Catlow construes 31-35 as direct speech or not; his translation and notes do not help clarify his position either.

[373] Cornish *et al.* 1987, 353.

direct speech of the nymphs (*cede*, 38; *recede*, 47), while the remaining two are uttered by the narrator (*funde,* 51; *sume,* 52). This even split of the six imperatives appears to place all three entities (Venus, the nymphs, and the narrator) on the same level of power; however, I argue that Venus remains the most powerful out of the three. The nymphs' commands to Diana, as indicated above, stem directly from Venus' own command. On the other hand, the narrator's imperatives follow upon the first two lines of their stanza (**VI**), in which Venus has given a command and intends to proclaim laws: *iussit Hyblaeis tribunal stare diva floribus; / praeses ipsa iura dicet, adsidebunt Gratiae*, "The goddess has ordered the tribunal to stand amongst the flowers of Hybla; she herself as guardian will declare the laws, the Graces will sit nearby" (49-50). As a result, the narrator's commands derive from Venus' commands, especially when we consider the narrator's repeated mention of the flowers that will surround Venus' tribunal (*Hyblaeis … floribus*, 49): *Hybla, totos funde flores, quidquid annus attulit; / Hybla, florum sume vestem, quantus Aetnae campus est*, "Hybla, pour forth all your flowers, whatever the year has brought; Hybla, put on your clothing made of flowers, as great as

the plain of Aetna is" (51-52). Rhetorical tools like anaphora[374] and apostrophe (*Hybla … Hybla*), alliteration (*funde flores, annus attulit*), and polyptoton (*flores … florum*) lend the narrator a sense of importance and grandeur, a fact which makes his later lament of his inability to sing all the more striking. This grandeur, however, could result from an attempt by the narrator to appropriate for himself the power that Venus has just displayed in her commands and proclamations of 49-50.

Venus' power is manifest not only in verbs of speech or direct speech but also in other verbal actions for which she is the agent. For example, in stanza VII, Venus is explicitly depicted as the guider and creator of nature:

> *ipsa venas atque mentem permeanti spiritu*
> *intus occultis gubernat procreatrix viribus,*
> *perque caelum perque terras perque pontum subditum*
> *pervium sui tenorem seminali tramite*
> *imbuit iussitque mundum nosse nascendi vias.* (63-67)
>
> She guides the veins and mind with breath that passes through, with powers hidden within, and she, as creator, has imbued her own permeating course in the passage of the seed through the sky, through the land, and through the sea underneath, and she has ordered the world to

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[374] See Mandolfo 2008, 38: "Una figura retorica ricorrente nel *Pervig. Ven.* è l'anafora, tipica delle preghiere, delle invocazioni, degli scongiuri, oltre che delle cantilene e delle filastrocche," "A rhetorical figure that recurs in the *Pervigilium Veneris* is anaphora, typical of prayers, invocations, and spells, as well as jingles and rhymes." See 37-43 for rhetorical tools and authorial style in the *Pervigilium* more generally.

know the paths to generation.[375]

Carmela Mandolfo notes that the use of the verb *gubernat* with Venus as its subject evokes Lucretius: *quae (sc. Venus) quoniam rerum naturam sola gubernas*, "since you alone guide the nature of things" (1.21). The linguistic reminiscence situates Venus firmly at the head of creation, both the macrocosm of the atomic universe of Lucretius and the relative microcosm of nature in the *Pervigilium.* Another linguistic connection to Lucretius is the evocation of *voluptas* at 76, which occurs in close connection with an explicit mention of Venus (*Venerem*); Lucretius begins the *de Rerum Natura* with an invocation of Venus as *Aeneadum genetrix, hominum divumque* ***voluptas***.

While the verb *gubernare* is attested in many authors as early as Ennius, the noun *procreatrix* on the other hand has only one Classical precedent, in Cicero's *de Oratore,* though applied to a different entity than Venus: *neque enim te*

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[375] Clementi 1936, 49, argues that *ipsa* (63) must refer to a nearby noun and points to the nearest preceding feminine noun, *almae coniugis* (61, here Earth, the sexual partner for Aether); thus, given the undeniable fact that lines 63-67 refer to Venus and not to Earth, he concludes that this stanza is out of place in the manuscript tradition and places it after line 11. Catlow 83-84 objects, rightfully, that the pronoun *ipsa* is used exclusively and unambiguously to refer to Venus throughout the poem, and the pronoun can be used as a substantive honorific like "master" or "mistress"; thus, "There is no difficulty in taking *ipsa* here as a further allusion to Venus and consequently no justification for Clementi's transpotiion." To Catlow's point, *ipsa* appears 14 times in the poem, each referring to Venus: 13, 14, 15, 22, 28, 40, 41, 50, 63, 69, 70, 72, 78, 79. The only other inflection of the intensive pronoun found in the poem is *ipse* at 77, qualifying Amor, who is presented in terms of Venus: *ipse Amor, puer Dionae*.

fugit omnium laudatarum artium procreatricem quandam et quasi parentem eam, quam φιλοσοφίαν *Graeci vocant, ab hominibus doctissimis iudicari*, "Nor does it escape your notice that that which the Greeks call philosophy is considered by the most learned men a kind of creator of all the praiseworthy skills and almost a parent" (1.9). According to *TLL*, the use of the term in Cicero is the only attestation until the *Pervigilium* and authors as late as Arnobius (late 3rd / early 4th century C.E.) and Boethius (late 5th / early 6th century C.E.).[376] The use of such a unique term, combined with verbal phrases of power and immanence like *gubernat* and *sui tenorem … imbuit*, cements Venus' position as the origin of the natural world. Further, the intertextual equation of Venus and philosophy adds a level of cultural refinement to Venus that augments her influence in the natural world with a product that mortals acquire through academic inquiry.

This lexical affinity between the *Pervigilium* and the *de Oratore* may also operate on larger thematic levels. Cicero is concerned in the *de Oratore* with delineating features that make for a good orator but also with stressing the importance of humankind's capacity for speech and eloquence. Through Crassus, he claims:

> Hoc enim uno praestamus vel maxime feris, quod colloquimur inter nos, et quod exprimere dicendo sensa possumus. Quam ob rem quis hoc non

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[376] See also Mandolfo 2008, 117, and Mandolfo 2010, 35.

> iure miretur, summeque in eo elaborandum esse arbitretur, ut, quo uno homines maxime bestiis praestent, in hoc hominibus ipsis antecellat? (1.32-33).
>
> For we most greatly surpass the wild beasts in this one respect: that we converse amongst ourselves and that we can express what we feel by speaking. Wherefore, who would not marvel rightly at this, and judge that he must work to the utmost in this endeavor: surpassing humans themselves in this one activity by which mankind most surpasses the wild beasts?

The power of speech sets humankind apart from animals in Cicero's estimation, and for that reason, speech is a valued commodity that must be cultivated. The poet of the *Pervigilium,* however, contradicts Cicero's assertion when he presents the swallow's song as encompassing multiple possibilities for interpretation: *adsonat Terei puella subter umbram populi, / ut putes motus amoris ore dici musico, / et neges queri sororem de marito barbaro,* "Tereus' girl resounds under the shade of the poplar tree, such that you'd think that strains of love were being sung by her musical mouth, and you'd deny that she, as a sister, complained of the barbarous husband" (86-88). The poet does not draw a distinction between the agency afforded to entities like Venus who exercise their power through commanding and speaking and animals like the swallow, who exercises agency through singing; both can communicate and thus possess more agency than he.

The connection between the *Pervigilium* and *de Oratore* also rests on the rhetorical subcategory of panegyric, itself a subcategory of epideictic, considered

the third branch of rhetoric alongside forensic and legislative since Aristotle (*Rhet.* 1358a36-b8) and described by Cicero himself at *de Or.* 1.141-142:

> sed causarum, quae sint a communi quaestione seiunctae, partim in iudiciis versari, partim in deliberationibus; esse etiam genus tertium, quod in laudandis aut vituperandis hominibus poneretur; certosque esse locos, quibus in iudiciis uteremur, in quibus aequitas quaereretur; alios in deliberationibus, qui omnes ad utilitatem dirigerentur eorum, quibus consilium daremus: alios item in laudationibus, in quibus ad personarum dignitatem omnia referrentur.
>
> But of these cases, which are separate from general inquisition, some deal with judicial courts, others in legislative deliberations; there is a third kind, which rests in praising or castigating men; there are sure *topoi* which we use in the courts, in which equality is at issue; others we use in legislative deliberations, which are set up for the use of those to whom we would give advice; others we use in panegyric, in which all is directed toward the dignity of the honorands.

The *Pervigilium*, as I will argue below, utilizes panegyric tropes to exalt Venus, the *procreatrix*. It is perhaps appropriate, then, for the *Pervigilium* to be lexically connected with a rhetorical treatise that outlines proper elements of panegyric (2.341-349), including the careful selection of the most outstanding or unprecedented of the honorand's deeds: s*umendae autem res erunt aut magnitudine praestabiles aut novitate primae aut genere ipso singulares; neque enim parvae neque usitatae neque vulgares admiratione aut omnino laude dignae videri solent*, "But [the orator] must choose deeds that are preeminent in magnitude or first of their kind or singular in their nature; for deeds that are small or usual or common are not

usually deemed worthy of admiration or praise in general" (2.347-348). Such deeds in the context of the *Pervigilium* undoubtedly include Venus' generation of the natural world (*procreatrix*) and the foundation of Rome.

Venus' characterization as all-powerful occupies not only the spatial realm of the natural world but also the temporal realm of mythic progression. In stanza VIII, the narrator situates Venus as the origin of Rome and the Caesars:

> *ipsa Troianos nepotes in Latinos transtulit;*
> *ipsa Laurentem puellam coniugem nato dedit,*
> *moxque Marti de sacello dat pudicam virginem;*
> *Romuleas ipsa fecit cum Sabinis nuptias,*
> *unde Ramnes et Quirites, proque prole posterum*
> *†Romuli matrem† crearet et nepotem Caesarem.* (69-74)
>
> She turned the offspring of Troy into offspring of Latium; she gave the Laurentian girl as a wife to her son, and soon afterwards she gives to Mars a chaste maiden from the temple: she created the couplings of the descendants of Romulus with the Sabines, whence she created the Ramnes and Quirites, and for the offspring afterward, [the mother of Romulus] and grandson.

The narrator traces the progression from Aeneas (*nato*, Venus' son) and Lavinia (*Laurentem puellam*) on to Rhea Silvia (*pudicam virginem*), then to the Rape of the Sabines (*Romuleas … cum Sabinis nuptias*), then to the ancient Roman tribes (*Ramnes et Quirites*), and finally to Julius Caesar and Augustus (*patrem … et nepotem Caesarem*). These lines tie in again with the Lucretian Venus, greeted in the first line of the *de Rerum Natura* as *Aeneadum genetrix*, the mother of the race

of Aeneas, the firm head of the succession that leads down to the empire.

In these lines, the poet sanitizes the unsavory reality of the rapes of Rhea Silvia and the Sabines in order to whitewash Venus' role in the profligacy of Mars and the Romans. Both acts take Venus as subject, and so they are couched in conjugal and therefore legitimizing diction: Venus gives Rhea Silvia to Mars (*Marti … dat pudicam virginem*, 71) as if to wife, especially when we consider the often nuptial connotation of the verb *dare*,[377] and the Romans' rape of the Sabine women is depicted as a match-made marriage (*ipsa fecit … nuptias*, 72). This pattern of whitewashing Venus' negative actions is apparent throughout the poem, especially in the casting of Amor / Cupid, Venus' son, as someone whom the nymphs must beware, as Venus herself warns (stanza IV). As Catlow notes, Venus comes to the *Pervigilium* with the baggage of a literary tradition that conflicts with the poet's portrayal of her as a positive force for nature's regeneration and the progression of history:

> Beyond the context of marriage Venus does not act as a moral agent but, by implication, as the Venus of adultery and passion…It is, I think, to dissociate his Venus from the traditional Venus of Roman literature that the poet now [at stanza IV] introduces Cupid, not as her servant and ally, but as a potential threat to the security of love which the festival celebrates. The technique is one of implicit contrast. The harmonious union which Venus promotes is opposed to the activity of the frivolous love-boy who, with his bow, arrows and torch, represents the habitual

[377] Catlow 86-87 *ad* 71.

torments of elegiac love.[378]

The negative portrayal of Cupid as someone whom the nymphs must avoid or beware (34-35, 56) certainly exhibits an "implicit contrast" to the depiction of Venus as a thoroughly and definitively positive force throughout the poem. In the *Pervigilium*, Cupid provides a lascivious, ludic foil to the stately, powerful Venus. The legitimization of the rapes of Rhea Silvia and the Sabines works along similar lines in that the Venus of stanza VIII, a goodly matchmaker who sets up "marriages," provides a stately, powerful foil to the Latin tradition's Venus, who inspires all sorts of lascivious and illegitimately sexual acts; the responsibility for instigating those acts has been taken away from Venus and now rests with Cupid in the poem.

Line 74 contains a notoriously difficult crux: *matrem Romuli*, as transmitted by the manuscript tradition, would create a reference to Rhea Silvia twice in four lines (cf. *pudicam virginem*, 70) and disrupt the temporal progression in the stanza.[379] Mandolfo defends the manuscript reading by claiming that the repeated mention of Rhea Silvia is not a problem; the first occurs to establish a temporal plot point, while the second establishes the boundaries of Roman

[378] Catlow 72, 74.

[379] See Catlow 87-90 *ad* 74 and Mandolfo 2008, 121-123 *ad* 74, for a summary of the arguments for and against the manuscript readings and various scholarly conjectures and justifications.

history:

> Il poeta vuole mettere in evidenza che è Venere che ha dato vita ai *Ramnes et Quirites,* ma che soprattutto ha operato a favore, a beneficio dei discendenti, generando la madre di Romolo e il nipote Cesare, i due poli che racchiudono la storia di Roma…Il poeta ribadisce il ruolo di Venere e cita nuovamente Rea Silvia, questa volta associata a Romolo e alla prole dei posteri, mentre precedentemente l'ha citata per la successione cronologica degli avvenimenti. D'altra parte la technica ripetitiva è tipica del carme. I vv. 73-74 costituiscono il compendio dell'operato di Venere.[380]

> The poet wants to highlight the fact that it is Venus who has given life to the Ramnes and the Quirites, but that she worked especially for the benefit of the descendants by creating the mother of Romulus and her descendant Caesar, the two poles that surround the history of Rome…The poet reaffirms the role of Venus and cites anew Rhea Silvia, this time associated with Romulus and with the offspring of his descendants, while previously he had cited her for the chronological succession of the events. On the other hand, the repetitive technique is typical of the poem. Verses 73-74 constitute the summary of the actions of Venus.

Mandolfo's casting of lines 73-74 as a summary (*compendio*) of Venus' work rather than plot points of a chronological progression from Aeneas to Augustus is an attractive solution for retaining the manuscript reading. However, if this interpretation is correct, it remains unclear why the poet chooses Rhea Silvia and Augustus as the "*due poli che racchiudono la storia di Roma*" and not the Trojans or Aeneas, who precede Rhea Silvia's first mention in the stanza. But whatever the true reading of the line is, Mandolfo is undoubtedly correct in highlighting the focus on Venus' power in lines 73-74. Venus' act of creation (*crearet*) concords

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[380] Mandolfo 2008, 123.

with her earlier characterization as *procreatrix* (64), and the span of time from the ancient tribes (*Ramnes et Quirites*) up to the creation of the empire under Augustus casts Venus as an immanent force propelling Roman civilization along.

In sum, Venus' agency and power is generated linguistically by three sources: the use of verbs of speech that either take Venus as agent or can be attributed directly to Venus' commands, direct speech with imperative commands, and verbs of action that depict Venus as the creator and guide of nature and civilization. That Venus is cast as powerful in a poem dedicated to the regeneration of nature and the proliferation of love is not surprising, but the various ways in which the poet generates Venus' agency, enumerated above, create an image of an all-powerful, generative deity under whose auspices the natural and civilized worlds come into being. All the more striking, then, is the end of the poem, in which the poet compares himself to the metamorphosed Philomela.

Verbs of Speech and Silence: 87-92

The final five lines of the poem include a surprising expression of the narrator's personal voice, as he laments his "silence" in relation to the polyvalent song of the swallow. His emphasis on his lack of agency is inherent in the

concentration of verbs or phrases of silence attributed to himself or to Amyclae, a mythological analogue for his situation. The lines also include a confusing allusion to the myth of Philomela which moves towards revising the brutality that Philomela experienced in the Ovidian and Sophoclean versions of the myth. Indeed, Philomela's devastation is transferred in a sense onto the narrator himself, through his professed coalescence with the exemplum of Amyclae.

All of the focus on Venus' power and vocality in the first 85 lines of the poem leads directly to the final lines, reproduced here:

> *adsonat Terei puella subter umbram populi,*
> *ut putes motus amoris ore dici musico,*
> *et neges queri sororem de marito barbaro:*
> *illa cantat, nos tacemus: quando uer uenit meum?*
> *quando fiam uti chelidon ut tacere desinam?* (90)
> *perdidi Musam tacendo, nec me Phoebus respicit.*
> *sic Amyclas, cum tacerent, perdidit silentium.* (86-92)
>
> Tereus' girl sings under the shade of the poplar, so that you think strains of love were being sung with her musical mouth, and you deny that she, as a sister, complains about the barbarous husband: she sings, I am silent; when is my spring coming? When will I become like the swallow, so that I cease to be silent? I have lost my Muse through silence, and Phoebus doesn't regard me. Thus did silence destroy Amyclae, because they remained quiet.

For the first 85 lines of the poem, sixteen verbs of sound or silence (the fifteen verbs of sound investigated in the preceding section of this chapter and *tacere* of

84[381]) occur in sixteen separate lines, or 19% of the total. By contrast, in this final section of the poem, every line from 86-92, or 100% of the lines, includes a verb of sound or silence. The attribution of verbal agency to each type of verb, those of sound or those of silence, is strictly polarized. The verbs of sound invariably take the swallow, the metamorphosed Philomela, as agent, either explicitly or by inference: *adsonat,* 86; *dici,* 87; *queri*, 88; *cantat*, 89. On the other hand, the verbs of silence invariably take as agent the poet or an analogue for the poet: *tacemus*, 89; *tacere*, 90; *tacendo*, 91; *tacerent*, 92 (with the subject Amyclae). Of these four, three (*tacemus, tacendo, tacerent*) are placed in the same metrical position of their respective lines, exactly preceding the caesura so as to emphasize the verb and draw attention to the concept contained therein.[382] This sonic dimension to the poem, as Paul Pascal writes, "does not replace the preceding visual scheme, but is rather superimposed on it … The poem has been given a new dimension, or more accurately, it has been made to appeal to another imaginary sense."[383]

The identities of the characters involved in this section of the poem has

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[381] In the wider context of the line, *tacere* pairs with the negation *non* to act essentially as a verb of sound: *et canoras non tacere diva iussit alites,* "The goddess ordered the chatty birds not to be silent [i.e., she ordered them to make noise]."

[382] Pascal 1965, 2, notes the metrical position of the three but not the weight that the caesurae give them.

[383] Pascal 1965, 2.

been a matter for scholarly debate. At issue are the identities of "Tereus' girl" (*Terei puella*, 86), the sister (*sororem*, 88), and the swallow (*chelidon*, 90). Given the Latin tradition's tendency to switch the Greek versions of the myth and ascribe transformation of the mother-figure to the swallow and the sister-figure to the nightingale, we cannot assume safely the identity of the *chelidon* without deeper analysis. The swallow's appearance, however, would not be a surprise in a poem about the rejuvenation of spring, given the swallow's connection with the arrival of spring, attested at least as early as Hesiod's *Works and Days*.[384] The swallow was also a bird beloved to Venus, as Aelian attests,[385] a fact that makes the swallow's inclusion in the *Pervigilium Veneris* even more appropriate.

We can be reasonably certain that *Terei puella* refers to Philomela; if the poet meant to refer to Procne, Tereus' wife, *puella* would make for an odd lexical choice to denote her. Further, Mandolfo contends that the reference to the poplar tree in 86 (*subter umbram populi*) evokes Vergil's *Georgics* 4.511-512 (*qualis* ***populea*** *maerens* ***<u>philomela</u>*** ***sub umbra*** / *amissos queritur fetus*) and thus makes *Terei puella*

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[384] See above, pp. 32-35.

[385] Ael. *NA* 10.34: τιμᾶται δὲ ἡ χελιδὼν θεοῖς μυχίοις καὶ Ἀφροδίτῃ, μυχίᾳ μέντοι καὶ ταύτῃ, "The swallow is revered by household gods and by Aphrodite, who is also a god of the household."

Philomela.[386] However, Mandolfo extends this allusion too far to posit that *Terei puella* thus refers to a nightingale, given the denotation of *philomela* at *Georgics* 4.511 as such, which causes Mandolfo to cast *sororem* of 88 as Procne, the sister who, in the Latin tradition, turns into the swallow, referenced in 90 (*chelidon*);[387] stated plainly, Mandolfo believes that *Terei puella* refers to Philomela and both *sororem* and *chelidon* refer to Procne. If these ascriptions are correct, the poet of the *Pervigilium* continues the Latin tradition's tendency to switch the birds into which each sister transforms compared to the myth's Greek sources. As investigated in Chapter 1, Vergil and Ovid often cast the murderous mother-figure as the swallow and the mutilated sister-figure as the nightingale.[388]

While many scholars[389] reach the same conclusion as Mandolfo, namely that *Terei puella* and *sororem*/*chelidon* refer to the two different sisters, I argue that reading the presence of both sisters in this section of the text generates a more

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[386] Mandolfo 2008, 132. She goes too far, however, in asserting that this allusion thus means that *Terei puella* refers to a nightingale, on which see below.

[387] Ciappi 1998, 144 n. 9, makes the important distinction that while the birds into which the sisters transform are switched, their actual roles in the myth largely do not, except in two very late sources insignificant for the earlier appearances of the myth (the scholiast on Oppian's *Halieutica* and Eustatius).

[388] See above, pp. 77-81.

[389] Catlow *ad* 86-90; Mandolfo 2008, *ad* 86 and 88; Cucchiarelli 2003, *ad* 88; Schilling 1944, 28. On the other hand, Formicola 1998, *ad* 88, and Clementi 1936, *ad* 89, take *sororem* as referring to Philomela; see below.

complex reading than necessary. Line 86 sets up a pair of result clauses in 87-88, each balanced with a particle (*ut, et*) and a verb (*putes, neges*) at line-start and an accusative-infinitive structure (*motus amoris … dici, queri … sororem*) for the rest of the line. Both result clauses depend on the verbal action of 86, *adsonat,* the subject of which is *Terei puella.* The action of the first result clause is a logical result of the main verb; the bird sings *in such a way that* you think the strains of love were being sung by her musical mouth. Similarly, the second result clause is syntactically dependent upon and subordinate to *adsonat*; if *sororem* referred to an agent different than *Terei puella*, the sentiment (and the introduction of a new character) would be better expressed with an independent clause. As such, I read *sororem* as what Harm Pinkster terms a *predicativum*, a word that "contain[s] more specific information concerning the entity referred to by one of the constituents in the sentence" by supplying Philomela, *Terei puella*, as the subject of the infinitive phrase: "…that you would deny that *Philomela*, *as a sister*, bewails the barbarous husband."[390] This alignment of *Terei puella*, *sororem*, and, thus, *chelidon* as the same entity generates the most straightforward reading and has the added benefit of establishing a single archetype against whom the author compares himself. Procne's presence in the text would distract from the author's focus on

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[390] Pinkster 1990, 142; for *praedicativa* in general, 142-162.

the Philomela figure as an empowered singer, whose song contrasts with his own silence. Philomela's journey from vocal to forcibly silent to re-empowered through vocalization as a swallow acts as the most apt analogue for the poet and the journey which he wants to undertake.

The selection of the swallow, the bird that twitters inarticulately, as the poet's model for empowered voice rather than the nightingale, known at least since the Archaic era in Greece for her beautiful song,[391] evinces a careful and deliberate selection on the poet's part and, in essence, a re-writing of the mythic tradition to fit its narrative into his poetic program. The Ovidian Philomela's voice was expressed so eloquently but then stolen away so violently by Tereus, but she miraculously regains her agency by communication through the written means of the tapestry. This sequence of events fits the narrator's situation, silence imposed upon him by external circumstances,[392] better than that of Procne, a mother who murders her own son to gain revenge on her husband and then transforms into a bird known for her song. The poet molds the nightingale's musical associations into those of the swallow, whose mythic past provides the most appropriate parallel for his compelled silence, to create the paragon of free,

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[391] See Suksi 2001 and above, pp. 51-52.

[392] A silence which I will later argue stems from the poet's restrictions within a panegyrical genre; see below.

rejuvenated song for which he strives.

The poet also engages in revision of a different kind: this presentation of the possible interpretations of the swallow's song revises the Ovidian description of brutality against Philomela and does explicitly what Aristophanes did implicitly through his deprivation of speech from the Sophoclean Procne. The poet turns the swallow's song into something delightful, the strains of love (*motus amoris*), and explicitly denies an interpretation of Philomela's song as the result of her brutalization: *et neges queri sororem de marito barbaro.* Aristophanes erased the violence of Sophocles' play by turning Procne into a mostly mute sexual object and depicting her relationship with Tereus as a normalized one. The poet of the *Pervigilium* essentially instructs his reader as to how to interpret the swallow's song, namely as erotic and not as complaint, a mode of interpretation that remains harmonious with the overall celebratory, revitalizing trajectory of the poem. This interpretation moreover sanitizes the swallow's mythic history in almost the same way as the poet's depiction of the rapes of Rhea Silvia and the Sabines as marriages and his utilization of Cupid whitewashes Venus' role in illegitimate sexual activity.[393]

These lines may perhaps be read through a different lens. The deliberate

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[393] On which see above, pp. 252-253.

inclusion of the second part of the result clause purposefully evokes the brutal backstory of the swallow, rather than omitting it entirely, and, when paired with the first part of the result clause, "suggests the ability of art to cover over hurt or sorrow – which the poet has potentially been doing all throughout in celebrating only the regenerative force of Venus."[394] While this interpretation is certainly correct, inasmuch as the poet has demonstrated a desire to present a positive narrative by eschewing negative characteristics of Venus throughout the poem, it does not preclude a consideration of the rhetorical force of the verbal forms and the arrangement of the lines. The power of suggestion (*putes*, "you *would* think") implies that the first of the two interpretations should be foremost in the reader's mind, almost a loaded alternative that earns its weight by virtue of its placement in relation to the other interpretation, which is presented as something that you can deny (*neges*). True enough, these interpretations can exist coterminously, and it is a matter of choice whether one ascribes to the author's preferred interpretation (*putes*) or the one which he suggests should be eschewed (*neges*).

In the poem's final line, the poet utilizes Amyclae as an analogue for himself, as an example of the destruction that silence can cause. James Uden explains the reference:

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[394] I am indebted to James Uden (*pers. comm.*) for this interpretation.

> Two ancient cities called Amyclae — one in the Peloponnese near Sparta, and the other near Caieta in Latium — had the same anecdote applied to them. Frustrated by repeated false reports of an approaching enemy, Amyclae passed a law that made it illegal to mention the subject, but when an enemy did approach this self-imposed silence led to their destruction (Serv. ad *Aen.* 10.564).[395]

Catlow posits that the latter of the two Amyclae is the one referenced here: "The fact that the silence-story is a Roman tradition and that the epithet *tacitae* is only applied by very late authors … to the Greek township, suggests that the tradition of destruction through silence belongs to the Italian *Amyclae*."[396] The mention of the Italian Amyclae that occasions Servius' commentary, at *Aeneid* 10.564, occurs in the middle of Aeneas' bloody rampage in response to the death of Pallas: *protinus Antaeum et Lucam, prima agmina Turni, / persequitur, fortemque Numam fuluumque Camertem, / magnanimo Volcente satum, ditissimus agri / qui fuit Ausonidum et tacitis regnauit Amyclis*, "From there he pursued Antaeus and Luca, Turnus' first line, and brave Numa and blonde Camers, son of the great-minded Volcens, who was the richest in land of the Ausonians and who ruled over silent Amyclae" (*Aen.* 10.561-564). The association between *tacitae Amyclae* and destruction seems wholly appropriate in this context, in which Aeneas is an enemy approaching in order to destroy as many Italians as he can.

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[395] Uden 2018, 19 n. 9.

[396] Catlow 97 *ad* 92.

The poet of the *Pervigilium* seems to play off Servius' close to his narration of the Amyclae story: *unde tacitae Amyclae dictae sunt, quod periere silentio*, "from this [series of events], Amyclae is called 'silent,' because they perished through silence." The final line of the *Pervigilium* utilizes similar diction, unsurprising if Amyclae were already proverbial for destruction through silence: *sic Amyclas, cum tacerent, perdidit silentium*. "Thus did silence destroy Amyclae, because they were silent." The syntactic formulation, however intentionally or not, switches *silentium* from an ablative of cause or means in Servius into the subject of *perdidit*, itself a strongly transitive verb, compared to the intransitive and comparatively more static *periere* of Servius. Silence in the *Pervigilium* is not merely a circumstance that causes destruction; it actively does the destroying itself. Indeed, the agency of *silentium* seems to play off the preceding line, in which the poet claims that he destroyed his Muse through silence: *perdidi Musam tacendo,* "I have destroyed my Muse by being silent." The hierarchy of power is three layers deep and yet circular: silence destroys Amyclae, which stands as an analogue for the poet, and the poet destroys his capacity for poetic generation by exercising silence.

The Trochaic Rhythm: the Long and Short of the Poem's Metrical Form[397]

The narrator's assertion of his own silence is paradoxical in light of the fact that he has "spoken" through the composition of over eighty lines of poetry. One methodological angle which further problematizes the narrator's assertion is formal, specifically the mismatch of the poem's trochaic rhythm with the poem's content. I will first establish generally the uses and associations of trochaic rhythms in Greco-Roman literature in order to underscore the rhythm's incongruity with the lofty cosmological and quasi-epic grandeur of the poem's content. Two conclusions follow: first, despite the narrator's protestations, we do hear his voice throughout the poem by virtue of the poem's meter. However, second, that voice is characterized by the use of the trochaic rhythm as a common, demotic one; the poet characterizes himself as one out of many, lacking a distinct voice. I then attempt to analyze that lack of individuality in terms of the panegyrical ideology and tenets to which the *Pervigilium* appears to ascribe.

Aristotle claims that in Greek poetry and prosody, trochaic tetrameter is linked with a comic context: ὁ δὲ τροχαῖος κορδακικώτερος, δηλοῖ δὲ τὰ τετράμετρα· ἔστι γὰρ τροχερὸς ῥυθμὸς τὰ τετράμετρα, "The trochee is too like the *cordax* (an Old Comedy dance), as tetrameters make clear, for tetrameters are

[397] This subheading is patterned after the second chapter of Morgan 2010, "Iambics: The Short and the Long of It."

a tripping rhythm" (*Rh.* 1408b36-1409a1). This characterization of the trochaic rhythm as suitable for dancing is also invoked in his history of Greek tragedy, which, he claims, grew out of choral dancing and satyr plays and used the trochaic tetrameter as the original meter: τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον τετραμέτρῳ ἐχρῶντο διὰ τὸ σατυρικὴν καὶ ὀρχηστικωτέραν εἶναι τὴν ποίησιν, λέξεως δὲ γενομένης αὐτὴ ἡ φύσις τὸ οἰκεῖον μέτρον εὗρε, "At first, they used the tetrameter because its poetry was suited for satyrs and more suitable for dancing, but when dialogue was introduced, nature herself found the suitable meter [i.e., iambic trimeter]" (*Poet.* 1449a.22-24). He also subsumes both trochaic and iambic rhythms under the heading of *iambos* in a discussion of enthymemes in Archilochus and his tendency towards vituperation: … ὡς Ἀρχίλοχος ψεγεῖ· ποιεῖ γὰρ τὸν πατέρα λέγοντα περὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς ἐν τῷ ἰάμβῳ '**χρημάτων δ' ἄελπτον οὐθέν ἐστιν οὐδ' ἀπώμοτον**,'" "… as Archilochus censures; for he makes the father speak about his daughter in the iamb 'There is nothing beyond expectation nor incapable of being sworn'" (*Rh.* 1418b27-29).[398] The Archilochean quotation may be classified by modern prosodic standards as a line of trochaic tetrameter catalectic; Aristotle's casting it as ἴαμβος suggests either that the

[398] For wider context, *Rh.* 1418b23-31. For a nuancing of the ways in which this vituperation could have been achieved in the lost parts of the poems in question, see Rotstein 2009, 63-65.

distinction between trochaic and iambic was not as clear-cut in Aristotle's time as it is in modern prosody or that the trochaic was purposefully seen as a subset of iambic. Indeed, the meters are identical but for three syllables:

> The only essential difference between the two is that the tetrameter has three extra positions at the beginning. It is customary to measure off metra from the beginning and so to call the one verse trochaic … and catalectic, the other iambic … and acatalectic, but the rhythm is fundamentally the same.[399]

In all, Aristotle's portrayal of the trochaic tetrameter attests a long-engrained role in choral or dramatic performances because of its suitability for dancing or for vituperation, the latter of which presages the meter's use in Roman soldiers' bawdy, abusive songs aimed at their commander during triumphs.

Diane Arnson Svarlien notes that the use of the trochaic tetrameter in extant Greek tragedy experiences a chronological wave, from extensive use in Aeschylus' *Persians* and a bit in the *Agamemnon*, relatively little use in Sophocles, and a resurgence of use in later Euripides.[400] The meter is used to various effects and to suit various dramatic situations in dialogue and in song. For example, Sarah Nooter notes that in Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus*, a switch into trochaic tetrameters "underscore[s] a moment during which a tragedy's final departure is

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[399] West 1982, 40.

[400] Arnson Svarlien 2012, xxix.

at issue. It does not merely signal the characters' leave-taking, but also draws attention to the leave-taking itself, with all its attendant controversies."[401] The meter also appears ubiquitously throughout Old and Middle Comedy, from Epicharmus and Aristophanes to Menander; in comedy as in tragedy, trochaic rhythms occur in both dialogic and musical contexts.

In Latin literature, the trochaic septenarius is found in its expected tragic and comic contexts, as in Greek drama,[402] but at Rome and in Latin, the meter appears to have been more readily associated with other contexts, as Llewellyn Morgan writes: "The septenarius was indeed an important metre in Republican drama, although that role seems not to have shaped its associations nearly as much as its other applications."[403] Those other applications rest primarily in popular, non-literary contexts, like soldiers' ribald, abusive songs at triumphs, children's nursery rhymes, and public expressions of joy:

> The *versus quadratus*, outside drama, is the vehicle for popular, sub–literary verse…Thus the typically irreverent, apotropaeic songs that soldiers sang at triumphs suited the measure (Suet., *Jul.* 51; Vell. Pat. 67.4:

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[401] Nooter 2012, 140.

[402] For comprehensive, if extremely technical, investigations of these meters, see Soubiran 1988 for all details concerning iambic trimeter and trochaic tetrameter across Greek and Latin sources; Gerick 1996 for the *versus quadratus* and Latin tradition of the meter primarily in Plautine comedy; and Raven 1965, 41-89, for a side-by-side discussion of Greek versus Roman versions of iambo-trochaic rhythms.

[403] Morgan 2014, 154-155.

> *de Germanis non de Gallis duo triumphant consules*), and children's nursery rhymes (Isid., *Or.* 8.3.4, cf. Hor., *Ep.* 1.1.59: *rex eris si recte facies; si non facies, non eris*), and also expressions of enthusiastic public sentiment closer to *o sol pulcher, o laudande* [Hor. *C.* 4.2.46-47] such as the joyful refrain of the people at the false news of Germanicus' recovery from illness (Suet., *Cal.* 6.1), *salua Roma, salua patria, saluus est Germanicus*.[404]

This heritage of the Latin *versus quadratus* in popular, folksy contexts appears to have been ingrained before the advent of Roman drama in the 3rd century B.C.E., developed independently and prior to the utilization of the Greek trochaic tetrameter in dramatic contexts.[405] The popularity and age of the *versus quadratus*, Udo Scholz contends, contributed to the trochaic septenarius' ease of adoption in Latin drama: "*Dies erleichterte dann seinen literarischen Gebrauch sehr, und so finden wir den Quadratvers in der beginnenden lateinischen Dramatik, in der Tragidie wie in der Komodie, gern und gewandt verwendet*," "This [legacy of the *versus quadratus*] then greatly facilitated its literary use, and so we find the *versus quadratus* in the

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[404] Morgan 2010, 236. For further examples of triumphal *versus quadrati*, see Morgan 2014, 155-156.

[405] Coleman 1998, 1089, claims that the *versus quadratus* is "in origin likely to be independent of the quantitive trochaic tetrameter imported from Greek drama." He suggests that this independent development is connected with the endemically Italian Saturnian, a meter based on word accents: "The material is scant but diverse, and supports the assumption of a native Latin tradition of accentual versification of which an accentual Saturnian metre in its various functions would be an integral and indeed important member" (1089-1090).

beginning of Latin drama, in tragedy as in comedy, applied pleasingly and dexterously.”[406]

In formal analysis, the meter of the *Pervigilium* seems to reside somewhere in between the Greek trochaic tetrameter catalectic and the Latin trochaic septenarius found in authors like Plautus. Catlow asserts the former, classifying the poem’s rhythm as trochaic tetrameter catalectic due to its lack of affinity with Plautine and Terentian precedent.[407] Jean Soubiran, however, opts for a middle road:

> Le *Pervigilium Veneris* est donc, en fait, intermédiaire entre le vieux septénaire trochaïque de la République et la tétramètre catalectique impeccable de Sénèque. Il confirme l'idée que suggérait déjà l'étude du vers iambique, avec ce passage progressif du sénaire au trimètre: entre les vers *graecanici* et leurs adaptations latines, il n'ya pas de différence essentielle.[408]
>
> The *Pervigilium Veneris* is thus, in fact, intermediate between the old trochaic septenarius of the Republic and the impeccable catalectic tetrameter of Seneca. It confirms the idea which the study of iambic verse already suggested, with the progressive passage from the senarius to trimeter: between the Greek verses and their Latin adaptations, there is no essential difference.

Metrical analysis has also been used to attempt to date the poem and attribute it

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[406] Scholz 1984, 194.

[407] Catlow 37; namely, a spondaic or anapestic substitution in the first half of the trochaic metron would be more ubiquitous than it is in the *Pervigilium* if the poet were following the rules of the septenarius.

[408] Soubiran 1988, 38.

to various authors, albeit to no definitive conclusion. Catlow analyzes the possibilities before conceding defeat: "With regard to the authorship of the *Pervigilium* the metrical argument is a negative one, pointing neither to Florus, Tiberianus or any other known user of tetrameters. As to the question of date, the metre indicates what we know already: that the poem belongs somewhere in the post-classical period."[409]

Despite all of these possible uses of the trochaic tetrameter catalectic or trochaic septenarius / *versus quadratus* in Greek and Roman literature, none of these contexts suits the content of the *Pervigilium Veneris*. It is indeed "the only extant example of an extended hymn in its meter (trochaic septenarii)."[410] In addition to its hymnic overtones, however, its pastoral imagery and occasionally cosmological or didactic bent suggest the poem would be more appropriately cast in, for example, dactylic hexameter, if we take into consideration the form of analogous works of poetry. One need only look at the hexameter's ubiquity in the Homeric Hymns, Theocritus' *Idylls* and Vergil's *Eclogues*, and even Lucretius's *de Rerum Natura* or the opening of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* to understand the incongruity of the *Pervigilium's* content and its metrical form. The

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[409] Catlow 42.

[410] Uden 2018, 19.

propriety of the dactylic hexameter to serious or weighty matters is expressed by Aristotle, who compares the appropriate applications of dactylic hexameter and iambo-trochaic rhythms in the *Poetics*:

> τὸ γὰρ ἡρωικὸν στασιμώτατον καὶ ὀγκωδέστατον τῶν μέτρων ἐστίν (διὸ καὶ γλώττας καὶ μεταφορὰς δέχεται μάλιστα· περιττὴ γὰρ καὶ ἡ διηγηματικὴ μίμησις τῶν ἄλλων), τὸ δὲ ἰαμβεῖον καὶ τετράμετρον κινητικὰ καὶ τὸ μὲν ὀρχηστικὸν τὸ δὲ πρακτικόν. (1459b34 - 1460a1)
>
> The heroic meter [dactylic hexameter] is the most stable and weightiest of meters, and for that reason it accepts rare words and metaphors most readily, for narrative poetry is elaborate beyond others. The iambic and the tetrameter are lively, the latter suitable for dancing and the former suited for practical matters.

In fact, a possible contemporary of the *Pervigilium*, Claudian, wrote imperial panegyric in dactylic hexameters, a deliberate contrast from the prose panegyric of the era exemplified by the *Panegyrici Latini.* Catherine Ware notes the liminality of Claudian's poems:

> As panegyrics they were inevitably governed to some extent by the thematic and stylistic demands of encomia. Nevertheless, by writing in hexameters, Claudian brought the amplification of epic, the tradition of *carmen heroum*, into late antique ceremonial, the flamboyance of his style casting into the shade the less vivid rhetorical techniques of the prose orators.[411]

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[411] Ware 2012, 19. Ware goes on to cite examples of prose orators comparing their meager rhetorical tool set compared to that of the poets, including *Pan. Lat.* II.4.4 and II.17.1-2. (The numbering of the *Panegyrici* is according to Nixon and Rodgers 1994.) See also below on the differences between prose and poetry in encomium as outlined by Isocrates.

The natural associations of dactylic hexameter, beginning with Homer's depictions of the *kleos* of ancient heroes, lend the meter easily to the encomiastic amplification of a subject. Indeed, as Ware continues, "Claudian's success arose from his ability to exploit the innate encomiastic element of epic."[412] If the *Pervigilium* dates later than Claudian and, as I will argue later, relies upon panegyrical tropes, the poet's metrical choice would appear more deliberate in his eschewal of a contemporaneous exemplum of verse panegyric in hexameter.

One may even look to Hellenistic encomia as another metrical comparandum.[413] As Sander Goldberg and Gesine Manuwald note, "the elegiac couplet was the established meter for encomium in the Hellenistic tradition."[414]

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[412] Ware 2012, 29.

[413] See the next section for a discussion of the encomiastic *qua* panegyrical elements in the *Pervigilium.*

[414] G.-M. 287. See also Barbantani 2001, 3-31, esp. 11: "*gli encomi composti dai* poetae docti *alessandrini dovettero essere recitati per lo più, anche se non esclusivamente, di fronte al pubblico relativamente ristretto della corte, e fatti circolare presto in forma libraria, piuttosto che essere concepiti per un'esecuzione musicale e per un pubblico coincidente con l'intera cittadinanza: la forma di questa nuova 'lirica' è spesso il distico elegiaco. Le elegie di carattere storico-politico nel III secolo non contengono più l'elogio dell'antica* πόλις *e dei suoi ideali, ma la celebrazione di vicende pubbliche e private di singoli individui: i monarchi, i membri della corte, i più illustri esponenti della gerarchia militare,*" "The encomia composed by the Alexandrian *poetae docti* had to be recited mostly, though not exclusively, in front of an audience relatively restricted to the court, and circulated early in book form, rather than being conceived for a musical performance and for an audience that coincides with the whole citizenry: the form of this new 'lyric' is often the elegiac couplet. The elegies of an historical-political character in the third century no longer contain eulogy for the ancient *polis* and its ideals, but the celebration of the public and private events of single individuals: kings, members of the court, the most illustrious representatives of the military hierarchy."

The couplet, itself an altered form of the hexameter, would concord well with the elegiac tropes of the armed, dangerous Cupid in stanza IV and the end of VI. So, the trochaic tetrameter catalectic / septenarius suits dramatic and popular contexts, while dactylic hexameter suits longer narratives and epic, pastoral, or didactic themes, and the elegiac couplet suits erotic or encomiastic contexts. The breaking of such protocols, the deliberate mismatching of the generally accepted uses of a meter to a poem's content, would have been notable; as Michael Wheeler writes with regard to Latin poetry, "A Roman author would…be quite deliberate in matching meter to theme, whether in following or consciously breaking with convention…Genre and meter are closely tied together by usage and theory, each of which feeds into the other."[415]

The only other poem in Latin literature to my knowledge that utilizes a trochaic rhythm in a poem of praise is perhaps Ennius' *Scipio*. Three fragments of the poem[416] are securely and explicitly attested by their transmitters,[417] but any

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[415] Wheeler 2015, 2 and 2 n. 7.

[416] If indeed the *Scipio* was its own poem and not a section of a larger work, on which see n. 417 below.

[417] G.-M. also include in their *Scipio* section three Ennian hexameters attested by Cicero that mention Scipio but may belong to the *Annales* (frs. 1-3). Fr. 7 G.-M., attested in the *Historia Augusta*, introduces the quotation with "*dicit Ennius de Scipione*," "Ennius says about Scipio," so it is difficult to say whether it belongs with the secure fragments of the *Scipio*, especially when we take into account fr. 7's strange meter (trochaic octonarius).

further knowledge is difficult to glean. The *Scipio*'s fragmentary state and lack of contextualizing testimonia make definitive claims about its content, date, and genre impossible to answer,[418] but Llewelyn Morgan's hypothesis, that the *Scipio* was an occasional panegyric composed entirely and deliberately in trochaic septenarii in direct contravention of the expectations of a heroic meter,[419] provides an attractive parallel for the mismatch of form and content in the *Pervigilium*. Ennius' notice in the *Suda* implies that Ennius, in a work other than the *Annales* (perhaps a *Scipio*), claimed that only Homer could appropriately

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[418] For a comprehensive narrative of the various attempts to ascribe the fragments of the *Scipio* to the third book of the *Saturae,* to a dramatic work, or to the *Annales*, see Russo 2007, 193-206. Russo summarizes the various scholarly conjectures before ultimately conceding defeat: "l'ipotesi che lo *Scipio* fosse un poema epico è ostacolata dai frammenti di attribuzione sicura (nonché dal frammento di attribuzione probabile tramandato dall'*Historia Augusta*); questi stessi frammenti si concilierebbero bene invece con l'ipotesi che lo *Scipio* fosse una pretesta, ipotesi che tuttavia è resa improbabile dalla testimonianza della *Suda* e, come abbiamo visto, solo da questa, perché tutti gli altri argomenti addotti al riguardo non sono decisivi. Ci troviamo quindi di fronte a una aporia, perché non è possibile trovare altre ipotesi alternative sul genere letterario dello *Scipio*," "The hypothesis that the *Scipio* was an epic poem is hindered by the fragments of secure attribution (as well as the fragment of probable attribution transmitted by the *Historia Augusta*); these same fragments would then be reconciled with the hypothesis that the *Scipio* was a praetexta, a hypothesis which, however, is rendered unlikely by the testimony of the *Suda* and, as we have seen, only by that testimony, because all the other arguments raised in this regard are not decisive. We find ourselves therefore faced with an *aporia*, because it is not possible to discover other alternative hypotheses on the literary genre of the *Scipio*" (206).

[419] Morgan 2014.

praise Scipio.[420] The evocation obviously invokes the specter of the epic genre and its expected dactylic hexameter. It is attractive, therefore, to envision a sort of *recusatio* on Ennius' part if this notice in the Suda refers to a work called *Scipio*: Ennius may have begun the poem by invoking Homer as the only one equal to the task of praising Scipio, only then to "adopt…a metrical form as far removed from the Homeric paradigm as it is possible to imagine."[421] This choice of meter and its jarring effect rely precisely on the Romans' general association of the trochaic septenarius or *versus quadratus* with popular, non-literary contexts like soldiers' songs or children's nursery rhymes. Ennius' possible participation as a soldier in the Ambracian campaign of his patron, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, would perhaps have given him first-hand experience of soldiers' songs in *versus quadratus* and made it a logical choice for his panegyric. Rather than adopting a lofty, grand meter suitable for an epic theme or the encomium of an epic-level hero like Scipio, Ennius chooses the *versus quadratus*, and just as dactylic

[420] Ἔννιος· Ῥωμαῖος ποιητής…Σκιπίωνα…ᾄδων καὶ ἐπὶ μέγα τὸν ἄνδρα ἐξᾶραι βουλόμενός φησι μόνον ἂν Ὅμηρον ἐπαξίους ἐπαίνους εἰπεῖν Σκιπίωνος, "Ennius: Roman poet…singing about Scipio [or perhaps singing the *Scipio*?] and wishing to praise the man greatly, he says that only Homer could speak a panegyric worthy of Scipio." The exclusion of the *Annales* as a possible source for this claim stems from Ennius' explicit self-presentation as Homer reincarnate in the *Annales*; the competing personae (Homer reincarnate versus inferior to Homer or Homeric tasks) could hardly coexist in the same work.

[421] Morgan 2014, 154.

hexameter readily invoked the image of heroes, the *versus quadratus*

> evoked equally vividly the common man. This is surely also what Ennius was aiming to achieve with the trochaic form of the *Scipio*, conveying the greatness of his subject and the universal gratitude he could command (as well as his own inadequacy to a properly Homeric task) by adopting **the metrical standpoint of the ordinary citizen**.[422]

Ennius' metrical strategy purposefully establishes a different *modus operandi* to traditional epic or panegyric in two primary ways. First, he does not try to meet Homer on Homer's terms through his metrical choice; he thus makes a claim to originality while simultaneously eschewing direct emulation with Homer. Second, his specific metrical choice filters his poetry through the voice of a common soldier or general member of the Roman populace. This alienation effect of sorts causes the reader to pay attention to the poem's content and the manner in which it is presented: "the trochaic septenarii of the *Scipio* were meant to be anomalous and eye-catching, a bold and meaningful 'abuse' of metrical propriety that forces the reader to adopt an unanticipated view of the subject."[423] He adopts a persona that casts his encomium as one on the lips of a common citizen, a sentiment shared with others of his ilk that serves to elevate the honorand even further.

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[422] Morgan 2014, 158, emphasis mine.

[423] Morgan 2014, 154.

The mismatch between the *Pervigilium*'s trochaic rhythm and hymnic, pastoral, didactic, and almost epic or elegiac content rings as noticeably as the purposeful dissonance in Ennius' *Scipio*. I argue that the poet's agenda in adopting this unconventional metrical form that is ill-suited for the task at hand works along the same lines as Ennius'. The mismatch in form and content causes the reader or listener to linger over what is being said or sung and interpret it in a different light. In particular, the trochaic septenarius takes this praise of Venus and nature out of the elevated register of the dactylic hexameter and presents it in the voice of someone from the crowd. All the more striking, then, is the emergence of the poet's *personal* voice at the end of the poem, the use of which breaks his common-man persona, despite the fact that his lament is still delivered in a trochaic rhythm.

The association of the trochaic septenarius with the voice of an ordinary citizen sets up my contention in the following section of the chapter. In order for the poet to utilize panegyric tropes in this hymn to Venus, he must ascribe to the ideology of panegyric, which requires a level of self-effacement in service of the objective: the glorification of the honorand. The deliberate self-deprivation of individuality creates the aesthetic of a group mentality in praise, thereby magnifying the honorand's achievement. This group mentality can be seen in

(probably) contemporary panegyric works like Mamertinus' panegyric of Maximian (*Panegyrici Latini* X) of possibly the last decade of the 3rd century C.E.:

> iure igitur hoc die quo immortalis ortus dominae gentium ciuitatis uestra pietate celebratur, tibi potissimum, imperator inuicte, **laudes canimus et gratias agimus**, quem similitudo ipsa stirpis tuae ac uis tacita naturae ad honorandum natalem Romae diem tam liberalem facit, ut urbem illam sic colas conditam, quasi ipse condideris.
>
> Therefore, by right, on this day on which the immortal birth of the city, the mistress of nations, is celebrated by your dutifulness, to you most of all, invincible *imperator*, **we sing praises and give thanks**, you whom the very similarity to your stock and the silent force of your nature makes so generous for honoring the birthday of Rome, so that you cultivate that founded city as if you founded it yourself.

The first person plural verb makes the acts of praising and thanksgiving group endeavors that bolsters the honorand's claim to glory. The poet of the *Pervigilium*'s deliberate choice of a meter that evokes readily the image of a member of *hoi polloi* makes the narrator one out of many, an anonymous glorifier of the honorand, a single constituent of a first person plural verb. He loses his own personal identity in service of the panegyric for most of the poem, but he cannot maintain this persona as an anonymous man-on-the-street at its end; he must vocalize his desire for personal rejuvenation and renewed individuality when his mention of the swallow's polyvalent song spurs him to do so.

The *Pervigilium* and Panegyric

That the *Pervigilium* is primarily a poem of praise to Venus is evident in the attribution of verbal and agency, positive depiction of her actions, and the effacement of her more negative aspects and actions, as I have attempted to show in the third major section of this chapter.[424] In order to engage in the act of praise, the poet draws on various genres and tropes, but I argue that the poem owes a great debt to the genre of panegyric, especially of the sort that was ubiquitous in the period of Late Antiquity, as evidenced by the *Panegyrici Latini* and rhetorical handbooks like that of Menander of Laodicaea. Catlow denies the claim that the *Pervigilium* is an allegorical work of panegyric meant to laud some contemporary political figure clearly, albeit forcefully: "the *Pervigilium* nowhere else betrays any affinity with the work of imperial propagandists. Roman panegyric, even when not absurd, is neither obscure nor allusive, and I am convinced that even a passing compliment by a poet without a position at court would have been more boldly advertised than here in the *Pervigilium.*"[425] True though that assertion may be, my contention is that the poet does not have to be a literal court panegyrist to use panegyrical tropes to create his poem. Indeed, the conspicuous intrusion of the narrator's personal voice at the end of the poem throws into sharp relief his

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[424] See above, "Verbs of Speech and Agency: 1-86."

[425] Catlow 89.

self-effacement throughout the majority of the poem, a necessary component in creating a work of praise.

The ability to communicate despite the constraints levied by those in power is precisely what is so attractive to the poet of the *Pervigilium*, given the probable atmosphere in which the poem was composed. Although the poem's dating is uncertain, it was almost definitely written in the Imperial era of Rome, probably in the fourth century C.E.[426] Undoubtedly at this time, panegyrical literature, such as the speeches of the *Panegyrici Latini* or the poetry of Optatianus Porfyrius and, later, Claudian, was utilized as an important vehicle for the eulogy and elevation of Roman emperors and elites. The poet, in his longing for the rejuvenation of spring (*quando ver venit meum?*) and his lamentation of his own silence, may be referring to the content of his poem, rather than the act of singing or writing it; the poet is producing art, but perhaps it is not the kind of art that he wants to produce.

The history of what may be termed Greek panegyric[427] can trace its literary origins to such authors as Pindar, Bacchylides, and Theocritus on to perhaps its most well-known practitioner in Greek, Isocrates, who claims to be

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[426] See above, n. 357.

[427] For a full history of the panegyrical genre, see Rees 2012b; Ware 2012, 20-23. For the development of rhetorical schools and treatises, see Russell and Wilson 1981, xviii-xxix.

the first to write praise of a real man's virtues in prose:

> οἶδα μὲν οὖν ὅτι χαλεπόν ἐστιν ὃ μέλλω ποιεῖν, ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν διὰ λόγων ἐγκωμιάζειν. σημεῖον δὲ μέγιστον· περὶ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων πολλῶν καὶ παντοδαπῶν λέγειν τολμῶσιν οἱ περὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ὄντες, περὶ δὲ τῶν τοιούτων οὐδεὶς πώποτ' αὐτῶν συγγράφειν ἐπεχείρησεν. καὶ πολλὴν αὐτῶν ἔχω συγγνώμην. (*Evagoras* 8)
>
> I know that it is difficult, what I intend to do, to praise the virtue of a man in prose. The best proof is this: those who are devoted to philosophy dare to write about many other things of all sorts, but none of them has ever endeavored to write about such things as this. And I grant them much pardon.

Isocrates subsequently comments on the difference between oratory and poetry in delivering panegyric content; poets can use crafty and ornate language in varying meters and create fanciful situations, like gods conversing with humans, while orators are confined to facts and diction currently in vogue (9-11). This distinction between poetry and prose as appropriate or inappropriate media for encomium, however, relies on the identity of the entity being praised. For example, the poets of the Homeric Hymns can expound at length on interactions between humans and gods precisely because the poem focuses on the veneration of a deity.

The genesis of Latin panegyric may perhaps be traced to Cicero's *Pro lege Manilia* of 66 B.C.E.,[428] though Cicero himself protests elsewhere through the

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[428] See Braund 2012.

mouthpiece of Antonius that panegyric is more of a Greek phenomenon, as opposed to the Roman use of oratory in more forensic contexts:

> ipsi enim Graeci magis legendi et delectationis aut hominis alicuius ornandi quam utilitatis huius forensis causa laudationes scriptitaverunt; quorum sunt libri, quibus Themistocles, Aristides, Agesilaus, Epaminondas, Philippus, Alexander aliique laudantur; nostrae laudationes, quibus in foro utimur, aut testimoni brevitatem habent nudam atque inornatam aut scribuntur ad funebrem contionem, quae ad orationis laudem minime accommodata est. (*de Or.* 2.341)
>
> For the Greeks themselves wrote more often for the sake of reading or pleasure or for praising some man than for forensic ends. They have books in which Themistocles, Aristides, Agesilaus, Epaminondas, Philippus, Alexander, and others are praised; *our* acts of praise, which we use in the forum, either exhibit a bare and unadorned brevity of proof or are written for a funereal speech, which is least accommodating to praise in an oration.

Despite (or even as evidenced by) Cicero's protestations, Roman praise-giving can be found not only in everyday events like *laudationes funebres* or *laudationes iudicales* but in high literature, such as Velleius Paterculus' *Histories*, Seneca's *de Clementia*, and, of course, the *Panegyrici Latini,* at the head of which stands Pliny's *Panegyricus*. Latin panegyrical poetry from the Republic to the early empire, such as the *Panegyricus Messallae*, the *Laus Pisonis*, or the poetry of Horace, Statius, and Martial, was widely panned by scholarly criticism until recent assertions of the poetry's potential for figured speech and implicit criticism of the eulogized

entities began with Frederick Ahl's seminal article.[429] The concept of versified encomium would continue past the early empire into the probable era of the *Pervigilium,* finding expression by such authors as Claudian (late 3rd, early 4th c. C.E.).[430] More ubiquitous, however, are works of prose encomia, exemplified by such orations as the *Panegyrici Latini.*

Until the 1970s, scholarly treatment of Late Antique Latin panegyric had fallen into two camps: those that attempted to draw direct lines of influence from contemporary Greek rhetorical handbooks, such as that of Menander of Laodicea (4th c. C.E.), and those who drew those lines directly from earlier Latin panegyric instead, like that of Cicero and Pliny. Methodologically, Edmond Vereeke has cautioned against subscribing wholesale into one or the other view.[431] The entire corpus of what may be termed panegyrical literature, from the Greek practitioners to Late Antiquity, draws on a number of tropes and ideas that are not endemic or confined to Menander or Cicero or Pliny but can be found in other panegyrical works, like Isocrates' *Agesilaos* and *Evagoras* and Tacitus' *Agricola*, or earlier rhetorical theoreticians, like Anaximenes, Hermogenes, the

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[429] Ahl 1984; for more context on scholarly reception of Latin panegyrical poetry, see Rees 2012b, 8-13.

[430] See Ware 2012, 18-31, on the concept of "panegyric-epic."

[431] Vereeke 2012.

Rhetorica ad Herennium, or Quintilian.[432]

In claiming that the *Pervigilium* draws on panegyrical tropes as a means of commenting on his own artistic agency, I am attempting to follow the middle road advocated by Vereeke. I am not claiming that the author of the *Pervigilium* deliberately crafted his poem with a copy of Menander's treatise or Pliny's *Panegyricus* as a reference, checking off boxes to ensure that he has met all the criteria that Menander prescribes or Pliny exhibits for imperial panegyric. Nor do I intend to suggest that the *Pervigilium* is the work of an imperial propagandist, crafting an allusive tribute to an emperor currently in power. Rather, I argue that the poet uses panegyrical tropes, established by the progression of authors listed above, albeit not comprehensively, to craft a unique poem in the canon of Latin literature, a hymn composed in trochaic septenarii at the end of which the poet's own voice is heard; in so doing, he paradoxically generates a new kind of poem as he laments that he lacks his own voice.

In order to praise Venus, the poet draws on commonplace *topoi* of panegyric, established through centuries of authors sharing a common purpose:

---

[432] Vereeke presents a comparison of panegyrical tropes that scholars like Kehding and Mesk claim derive from Menander with places that they may be found in other sources in tabular form in the original version of his article (Vereeke 1975, 158-160); the translation of the article in Roger Rees' edited volume (2012a) confusingly omits the tables.

to eulogize the subject. As Vereeke notes with regard to the *Panegyrici Latini*, "the duty to compose a speech on [a] subject dictates that no opportunity should be missed to vaunt the person to be addressed. Then how could they not speak of his home country, and his origins, and not follow in chronological sequence the major stages of his life? How could they not speak of his virtues and achievements? Above all, how could they not amplify on the subject?"[433] Indeed, the *Pervigilium* features a number of these important *topoi*, including amplification of the subject (Men. Rhet. 368) and mentions of the subject's family and birth (Anaximenes *Rhet. Alex.* 35.5; *Rhet. Her.* 3.13; Quintilian 3.7.10-11,15; Men. Rhet. 369-371) and deeds (Anaximenes *Rhet. Alex.* 35.12,14; *Rhet. Her.* 3.13; Quintilian 3.7.15; Men. Rhet. 372).

With regard to amplification, the poet references Venus' power and agency constantly through the attribution of verbs of speech and command, as investigated in the sections of this chapter above. With regard to birth, the narrator towards the beginning of the poem describes the circumstances of Venus' generation from a ball of foam: *tunc cruore de superno spumeo pontus globo / caeruleas inter cateruas inter et bipedes equos / fecit undantem Dionem de maritis imbribus*, "Then, from divine blood, Pontus created, in a ball of foam, among the

[433] Vereeke 2012, 263.

cerulean bands and among the two-footed horses, Dione, surging from her husband's waters" (9-11). With regard to family, Cupid and his descent from Venus are referenced constantly in the poem; he is first an antagonizer of the nymphs (28-35, 55-56) and then the nursling of the country (77-79). Finally, with regard to *res gestae,* the verbal actions expressed in the rejuvenation of spring (*pingit*, *urget*, *spargit*, 13-16) and the foundation of Rome (*transtulit*, *dedit*, *fecit*, *crearet*, 69-74) explicitly take Venus as their agent. A further *topos*, the enumeration of the subject's acts of war and battle and martial prowess (Men. Rhet. 372.14 - 374.19), seems to be purposefully eschewed by the poet in his focuses on Amor's lack of weapons (*ite, Nymphae, posuit arma, feriatus est Amor: / iussus est inermis ire, nudus ire iussus est,* 31-32) and on the removal of Diana, the goddess of hunting, from the woods lest the woods be bloodied by the slaughter of animals (*ut nemus sit incruentum de ferinis stragibus,* 39).

Perhaps this affinity between the *Pervigilium* and panegyric points towards the true meaning of the poet's "silence", a paradoxical concept in light of the length of the poem and the poet's direct narrative voice for the majority of it. The poet may feel constrained to write a certain kind of poetry that requires him to promote the agency of his subject, Venus, and he does so by attributing verbs of speech and creation to her, but at the expense of his own voice and agency. But

when the swallow enters into his poem as the symbol of the rejuvenation of springtime and the artist whose voice can never be silenced, he can no longer keep himself out of the picture; he must lament his own lack of an artistic voice.

The ideology of panegyric requires a level of self-effacement in service of the glorification of the honorand. As mentioned above, panegyrists of the era can couch their praise in terms of a group endeavor through the use of first-person plural verbs. First-person *singular* verbs, on the other hand, do appear often throughout the *Panegyrici Latini*, but most often, they occur in the context of commenting on the structure of the narration or the panegyrist's relationship to the honorand. Two examples are representative. First, in the *genethliacus*, or birthday address, to Maximian Augustus (*Pan. Lat.* XI), the panegyrist engages in extended *praeteritio* and thereby enumerates Maximian Augustus' accomplishments:

> **non commemoro** igitur uirtute uestra rem publicam dominatu saeuissimo liberatam, **non dico** exacerbatas saeculi prioris iniuriis per clementiam uestram ad obsequium redisse prouincias, **mitto** etiam dies festos uictoriis triumphisque celebratos, **taceo** trophaea Germanica in media defixa barbaria, (4) **transeo** limitem Raetiae repentina hostium clade promotum, **omitto** Sarmatiae uastationem oppressumque captiuitatis uinculis Sarracenum, etiam illa quae armorum uestrorum terrore facta sunt uelut armis gesta **praetereo**, Francos ad petendam pacem cum rege uenientes Parthumque uobis munerum miraculis blandientem: nouam mihi propono dicendi legem ut, cum omnia **uidear silere** quae summa sint, ostendam tamen inesse laudibus uestra alia maiora. (XI.5.3-4)

> **I do not bring to mind**, therefore, the state freed from the most savage tyranny by your *virtus*, **I do not speak about** how the provinces, spurred by the wrongs of a prior age, returned to obedience through your mercy, **I pass over** also the festival days celebrated with victories and triumphs, **I am silent** about the Germanic trophies planted in the middle of barbaric land, (4) **I pass over** the boundary of Raetia, extended by the sudden destruction of the enemy, **I omit** the destruction of Sarmatia and Sarracen, oppressed by the chains of captivity, also those deeds which were accomplished by fear of your arms as if by the arms themselves **I pass by**, the Franci coming with their king to seek peace and the Parthian coaxing you with the marvels of gifts. I propose for myself a new manner of speaking so that, although **I seem to be silent** about all the things which are the greatest, I will show nevertheless that there are other greater deeds of yours amongst your praises.

Of the ten first-person singular verbs packed into this passage, eight take the panegyrist as the verbal agent, but each verbal action is an explicit denial of action: *non commemoro, non dico, mitto, taceo, transeo, omitto, praetereo, uidear silere*. The focus thus shifts off the verbal action (and their actor) onto the content of the verbal objects, participial and accusative/infinitive structures that describe the very deeds of Maximian Augustus about which the panegyrist claims he will not speak. The two remaining first-person singular verbs, *propono* and *ostendam*, declare a course of action for the panegyrist, but the verbal agency that the author claims works in the service of eulogy rather than any self-expression or personal autonomy.

With regard to the second type of first-person singular verbs, the panegyric to Constantius (*Pat. Lat.* VIII) begins with a remarkable

autobiographical declaration:

> si mihi, Caesar inuicte, **post diuturnum silentium** sola esset uincenda trepidatio qua rudimenta quaedam uocis meae rursus experior, haud immerito me ultra quam aetas et quantulacumque studii mei ferret opinio perturbari confiterer, praesertim cum apud maiestatem tuam diuina uirtutum uestrarum miracula praedicarem. (VIII.1.1)
>
> If, invincible Caesar, **after long silence** I had only to conquer my trepidation at once more undergoing my rhetorical apprenticeship, as it were, I would confess that I am troubled beyond what is appropriate considering my age and my reputation for skill, however slight that may be; but this is not without reason, inasmuch as I am to proclaim the divine miracles of your valor in the presence of Your Majesty yourself.[434]

The *diuturnum silentium* that the author mentions occurs during a period of retirement[435] out of which he has come in order to write the current panegyric. The silence is a literal one, inasmuch as there was no authorial output produced during that time. This current reclamation of authorial agency, however, is couched in terms of the ultimate goal: the act of praising the deeds of Constantius.

The poet of the *Pervigilium,* on the other hand, laments a silence that seems to have afflicted him concurrently with the generation of the first 86 lines of the poem. His silence is not literal but figurative; his individual voice has been

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[434] Translation by Nixon and Rodgers 1994, 109.

[435] Mentioned at VIII.1.5: *haereo prorsus et stupeo, et praeter illam **ex otio meo** tarditatem tanta rerum mole deterreor,* "I am brought to a halt, lost for words, and on top of that sluggishness **which is the product of my retirement** I am deterred by this sheer quantity of events" (translation by Nixon and Rodgers 1994, 110).

assimilated into the voice of a group by means of the metrical choice and effaced by the conspicuous lack of first-person singular verbs directly attributable to the author until 89. The panegyrist exercises agency through verbs of speech and first-person singular verbs only inasmuch as those speech acts and verbal actions are in the service of lauding the honorand. The poet of the *Pervigilium*, who engages in an act of glorification of Venus, does not even afford himself those opportunities for agency; they belong mostly to Venus, and his domain rather is *silentium*, a loss of personal identity and an inability to write the kind of poetry that he wants to generate.

Despite the protestations of the poet of the *Pervigilium Veneris*, he has created a truly unique poem in the canon of Latin literature: a work of verse panegyric in a trochaic rhythm that functions mostly as a hymn to Venus and the regeneration of nature until his personal voice emerges at the poem's end. His attributions of the poem's verbs of speech or silence construct a hierarchy of power at the top of which stands Venus with all others below, including the poet himself at the very bottom. The trochaic rhythm casts his praise in the voice of an everyday person, further emphasizing the elevation of Venus at his own expense. He also emphasizes his relative lack of power through comparison with the

swallow, a bird with a long mythical history constructed through the efforts of such authors as Sophocles and Ovid. The *Pervigilium* serves as an instance of mythic and generic reception in a period when the circumstances of artistic production and the constructions of socio-political power are undergoing various changes and permutations occasioned by, *inter alia*, fissures in imperial governance and competing religious agendas. The poet's professed desire for rejuvenation, his own *ver*, is paradoxically realized in his own poetic output, a new kind of poem generated in a period of relative change and uncertainty.

CONCLUSION

This dissertation has examined the ways in which playwrights and authors use speech and silence to grant narrative agency to or withhold narrative agency from characters in various poetic genres. Our case study has been the myth of Tereus, Procne, and Philomela, which from the point of Sophocles' *Tereus* onward centers around the violent act of glossectomy as one character's means of depriving another character of her ability to speak and, thus, her agency. Speech and silence are important tools in an author's arsenal that contribute to characterization (and by extension, audience reactions to certain characters) and the construction of relationships between characters. Speech and silence, however, constitute only one facet of these nexuses of power within texts; other elements include vision, authorial presence (or lack thereof), and socio-cultural determinations of permissible or forbidden speakers in public.

We have traced an intertextual thread that links *Tereus*, *Birds*, *Metamorphoses* 6, and the *Pervigilium* together beyond the utilization of elements belonging to the same mythic nexus: their authors deliberately engage with their predecessors either to re-fashion or re-appropriate the predecessor's version of the myth for the dramaturgical or literary task at hand. Sophocles molds the strands of the myth in the Athenian cultural parlance, some of which are found in authors like

Homer, Hesiod, Sappho, and Aeschylus and iconographic objects, into a play that becomes an important starting point for future versions of the myth. Aristophanes takes Sophocles' characters and the agency which he affords them through the attribution of speech or communication and swings them to their respective opposite extremes; Procne is relegated to birdsong generated upon command and Philomela is erased entirely, while Tereus' violent actions which lead to his metamorphosis into a hoopoe are effaced in service of his depiction as a kind civilizer and good husband. Ovid then takes Aristophanes' reversal and re-reverses it, affording Procne and Philomela clarion voices, uniquely to the latter in the extant ancient canon of mythic versions, and depriving Tereus of many opportunities for direct speech. The poet of the *Pervigilium*, finally, moves in the direction of reversing Ovid's reversal of Aristophanes' reversal of Sophocles. His positive spin on the swallow's song (or at least the positive interpretation's prevalence over the second alternative) revises its origin in Philomela's brutalization as Ovid and Sophocles depict it. The swallow's song needs to accord with the positive portrayal of Venus and nature that dominates the poem, so the poet casts it as such; it becomes an artistic exemplum to which he aspires.

The voices from antiquity that we can hear through literature often belong

to elite males. True enough, Sophocles, Aristophanes, and Ovid participate in that club; the poet of the *Pervigilium* may have participated as well. But this dissertation has attempted to create a mode of interpretation and analysis through which we can hear marginalized voices speaking through the literary voices of those elite males. Philomela in particular serves as an exemplum of the ways in which the voice can be transmitted even in moments when it appears to be irretrievably lost. Investigations of the kind undertaken in this dissertation will hopefully serve as analytical and methodological starting points for scholars to search other kinds of ancient voices that are simply waiting to be heard.

APPENDIX 1 - THE SOURCES OF THE MYTH

In this Appendix, I will list chronologically and translate the literary references to the myth from archaic Greece to Late Antique Rome. I will not include Sophocles' *Tereus*, Aristophanes' *Birds*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 6, or the *Pervigilium Veneris*, as they each are treated extensively and with ample citation throughout the body of the dissertation.

Similar compendia may be found in discursive form (Monella 2005 in Italian, Mihailov 1955 in French) or appendix form (Suter 2004, Milo 2008 in Italian). Monella's monograph focuses largely on Sophocles and his watershed contribution to the myth's definition; Suter lists only Homer, Hesiod, and Sappho, while Milo does not list Latin sources due to the scope of her study. No secondary source to my knowledge groups together as many of the mentions of the myth in this fashion with English translations.

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Hom. *Od.* 19.518-523

ὡς δ᾽ ὅτε Πανδαρέου κούρη, χλωρηὶς Ἀηδών,
καλὸν ἀείδησιν ἔαρος νέον ἱσταμένοιο,
δενδρέων ἐν πετάλοισι καθεζομένη πυκινοῖσιν,
ἥ τε θαμὰ τρωπῶσα χέει πολυηχέα φωνήν,
παῖδ᾽ ὀλοφυρομένη Ἴτυλον φίλον, ὅν ποτε χαλκῷ
κτεῖνε δι᾽ ἀφραδίας, κοῦρον Ζήθοιο ἄνακτος…
Just as when the daughter of Pandareus, the greenwood Nightingale, sings beautifully when spring is newly arrived, sitting in the dense leafage of the trees, and pours out her much-resounding voice, trilling incessantly, bewailing her beloved child Itylus, whom she killed with the bronze through her folly, the son of lord Zethus…

Hes. *Op.* 568-569

τὸν δὲ μέτ᾽ ὀρθρογόη Πανδιονὶς ὦρτο χελιδὼν
ἐς φάος ἀνθρώποις, ἔαρος νέον ἱσταμένοιο…
After [Oceanus], the swallow, early-wailing daughter of Pandion, rose to the light for mankind, when spring was newly arrived…

Hes. fr. 312 = Aelian *Varia Historia* 12.20

λέγει Ἡσίοδος, τὴν ἀηδόνα μόνην ὀρνίθων ἀμορεῖν ὕπνου καὶ διὰ τέλους ἀγρυπνεῖν. τὴν δὲ χελιδόνα οὐκ ἐς τὸ παντελὲς ἀγρυπνεῖν καὶ ταύτην, ἀποβεβληκέναι δὲ 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, alone of birds, does not sleep and stays awake continually; and that the swallow is not entirely sleepless, but she loses half her

sleep. They pay the punishment for the suffering dared in Thrace relating to that unholy feast.

Sappho fr. 135
τί με Πανδίονις, Ὤιρανα, χελίδω…
Why, Peace, does the daughter of Pandion, the nightingale, … me …

***FGrH* 3 F 124 (= Σ Hom. *Od.* 19.518)**
Ἀντιόπηι τῆι Νυκτέως Ζεὺς μίγνυται. ἐξ ἧς Ζῆθος γίνονται καὶ Ἀμφίων. οὗτοι τὰς Θήβας οἰκοῦσι πρῶτοι, καὶ καλοῦνται Διὸς κοῦροι λευκόπωλοι, γαμεῖ δὲ Ζῆθος μὲν Ἀηδόνα τὴν τοῦ Πανδαρέου τῶν δὲ γίνεται Ἴτυλος καὶ Νηίς. Ἴτυλον δὲ ἡ μήτηρ Ἀηδὼν ἀποκτείνει διὰ νυκτός, δοκοῦσα Ἀλαλκομενέα εἶναι τὸν Ἀμφίονος παῖδα, ζηλοῦσα τὴν τοῦ προειρημένου γυναῖκα, ὅτι ταύτηι μὲν ἦσαν ἓξ παῖδες, αὐτῆι δὲ δύο. ἐφορμᾶι δὲ ταύτηι ὁ Ζεὺς Ποινήν· ἡ δὲ εὔχεται ὄρνις γενέσθαι καὶ ποιεῖ αὐτὴν ὁ Ζεὺς ἀηδόνα. θρηνεῖ δὲ ἀεί ποτε τὸν Ἴτυλον, ὥς φησι Φερεκύδης.
Zeus mated with Antiope, daughter of Nykteus. From her was born Zethos and Amphion. These men were the first to live in Thebes, and they were called the sons of Zeus with white horses (*leukopoloi*), and Zethos married Aedon, daughter of Pandareos, and to them was born Itylos and Neis. His mother Aedon killed Itylos during the night, when she believed that he was the child of Amphion and was jealous of the aforesaid's wife, because she had six children, but she had two. And Zeus stirred up Poine against this woman, but she prayed to become a bird and Zeus made her a nightingale. And from olden times she sings a song of mourning for Itylos, as Pherekydes says.[436]

Aesch. *Supp.* 58-67
εἰ δὲ κυρεῖ τις πέλας οἰωνοπόλων
ἐγγάϊος οἶκτον {οἰκτρὸν} ἀίων,
δοξάσει τις ἀκούειν ὄπα τᾶς Τηρεΐας
    Μήτιδος οἰκτρᾶς ἀλόχου,
κιρκηλάτας γ' ἀηδόνος,

ἅτ' ἐπὶ χλωρῶν ποταμῶν {τ'} εἰργομένα
πενθεῖ νέον οἶκτον ἠθέων,
ξυντίθησι δὲ παιδὸς μόρον, ὡς αὐτοφόνως

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[436] Translation from *BNJ ad loc.*

ὤλετο πρὸς χειρὸς ἕθεν
δυσμάτορος κότου τυχών·

But if someone nearby who knows how to interpret the cries of birds happens to hear this piteous wailing, he will think that he hears the voice of the pitiable wife of Tereus, the hawk-chased nightingale Metis, who, shut out from her green rivers, grieves a fresh lament for her familiar places, and she devises the fate of her child, as he perishes by her own hand, slain by his own kin, meeting with the wrath of a terrible mother.

Aesch. *Ag.* 1140-1151
[Κα.] ἰὼ ἰὼ ταλαίνας κακόποτμοι τύχαι·
τὸ γὰρ ἐμὸν θρόῶ πάθος ἐπεγχεαι.
ποῖ δή με δεῦρο τὴν τάλαιναν ἤγαγες
οὐδέν ποτ᾽ εἰ μὴ ξυνθανουμένην; τί γάρ;

[Χο.] φρενομανής τις εἶ, θεοφόρητος, ἀμ-
φὶ δ᾽ αὑτᾶς θροεῖς
νόμον ἄνομον οἷά τις ξουθὰ
ἀκόρετος βοᾶς, φεῦ, φιλοίκτοις φρεσὶν
Ἴτυν Ἴτυν στένουσ᾽ ἀμφιθαλῆ κακοῖς
ἀηδὼν βίον.

[Κα.] ἰὼ ἰὼ λιγείας μόρος ἀηδόνος·
περέβαλον γάρ οἱ πτεροφόρον δέμας
θεοὶ γλυκύν τ' αἰῶνα κλαυμάτων ἄτερ·
ἐμοὶ δὲ μίμνει σχισμὸς ἀμφήκει δορί.

[CASSANDRA] Io, io, the terrible fate of wretched me; for I cry out my own suffering to pour on top of his. Why did you lead wretched me here if not so I would die with him? Why? [CHORUS] You are maddened, possessed by a god, and you cry your tuneless tune about yourself, like some nightingale, trilling, never satiate of crying, alas, “Itys, Itys” in her wretched heart, bewailing her life that abounds in evils. [CASSANDRA] Io, io, the fate of the shrill nightingale; for the gods cast around her a winged body and a sweet life free from wailing, but for me awaits a butchering by the double-edged weapon.

Thuc. 2.29.2-3

ὁ δὲ Τήρης οὗτος ὁ τοῦ Σιτάλκου πατὴρ πρῶτος Ὀδρύσαις τὴν μεγάλην βασιλείαν ἐπὶ πλέον τῆς ἄλλης Θρᾴκης ἐποίησεν· πολὺ γὰρ μέρος καὶ αὐτόνομόν ἐστι Θρᾳκῶν. Τηρεῖ δὲ τῷ Πρόκνην τὴν Πανδίονος ἀπ᾽ Ἀθηνῶν σχόντι γυναῖκα προσήκει ὁ Τήρης οὗτος οὐδέν, οὐδὲ τῆς αὐτῆς Θρᾴκης ἐγένοντο, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν ἐν Δαυλίᾳ τῆς Φωκίδος νῦν καλουμένης γῆς ὁ Τηρεὺς ᾤκει, τότε ὑπὸ Θρᾳκῶν οἰκουμένης, καὶ τὸ ἔργον τὸ περὶ τὸν Ἴτυν αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ ἔπραξαν (πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν ἐν ἀηδόνος μνήμῃ Δαυλιὰς ἡ ὄρνις ἐπωνόμασται), εἰκός τε καὶ τὸ κῆδος Πανδίονα ξυνάψασθαι τῆς θυγατρὸς διὰ τοσούτου ἐπ᾽ ὠφελίᾳ τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν ἐς Ὀδρύσας ὁδοῦ.
This Teres, the father of Sitalcus, was the first to create the great kingdom for the Odrysians which took up a larger part than the rest of Thrace, for a great portion of the Thracians are also independent. This Teres has nothing to do with the Tereus that took as his wife Procne, daughter of Pandion, from Athens, nor were they from the same Thrace, but Tereus lived in Daulia in the land now called Phocis, then inhabited by Thracians, and in that land, the women committed the deed against Itys (and the bird has been called the Daulian by many of the poets in the mention of the nightingale), and it is likely that Pandion would derive the benefit of a marriage for his daughter for the protection of one another at so close a distance [as Daulia] rather than at so many days' journey away as to Odrysia.

Cantharus frr. 5-9 *PCG* IV[437]

5
γυναῖκ' Ἀθηναίαν καλήν τε κἀγαθήν
a fine and noble Athenian lady

6
Κυδωνίοις μήλοισιν ἴσα τὰ τιτθία
breasts like Cydonian apples

7
… καὶ πρότερον οὖσα παρθένος
ἀμφηγάπαζες αὐτόν
And before, when you were unmarried, you would embrace him warmly…

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[437] Translations are from Storey 2011; text for fr. 9 from *PCG* IV.

8
ἁμαξιαῖα κομπάσματα
inflated words the size of wagons

9
ἀναπεῖσαι
to persuade

Philocles *TrGF* I 24, p. 142
†σὲ τῶν πᾶντων† δεσπότην λέγω
I address you, the master of all.

Anaxandrides frr. 46-8 *PCG* II[438]

46
ὄρνις κεκλήσηι. (B.) διὰ τί, πρὸς τῆς Ἑστίας;
πότερον καταφαγὼν τὴν πατρώιαν οὐσίαν,
ὥσπερ Πολύευκτος ὁ κάλός; (A.) οὐ δῆτ᾽, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι
ἄρρην ὑπὸ θηλειῶν κατεκόπης
You'll be called "Bird." (B.) Why, by Hestia? Because I gobbled up the property that I inherited from my father, like the noble Polyeuktos? (A.) No, but because you're a male who's been reduced to mincemeat by females.

47
ἀλλ᾽ οἷα νύμφη βασιλὶς ὠνομασμένη
μύροις Μεγαλλείοισι σῶμ᾽ ἀλείφεται
But just like someone referred to as a royal bride, she covers her body with Megalleian perfumes.

48
ὀχευομένους δὲ τοὺς κάπρους
καὶ τὰς ἀκελκτρυόνας θεωροῦσ᾽ ἄσμενοι
They enjoy watching the boars and the *alektruones* (fem.) being mounted

Philetaerus frr. 15-16 *PCG* VII

[438] Translations for frr. 46, 47, and 48 respectively are from: Olson 2007, 301; Olson 2012, 141; Olson 2008, 225.

15
πεπωκέναι δοκεῖ τὸν κατὰ δύο / καὶ τρεῖς ἀκράτου…
It seems that he has drunk two and three [portions of?] unmixed [wine?]

16
ἐπίπλοιον
sailing

Plato *Phaedo* 85A-B
οἱ δ᾽ ἄνθρωποι διὰ τὸ αὑτῶν δέος τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τῶν κύκνων καταψεύδονται, καί φασιν αὐτοὺς θρηνοῦντας τὸν θάνατον ὑπὸ λύπης ἐξᾴδειν, καὶ οὐ λογίζονται, ὅτι οὐδὲν ὄρνεον ᾄδει, ὅταν πεινῇ ἢ ῥιγοῖ ἤ τινα ἄλλην λύπην λυπῆται, οὐδὲ αὐτὴ ἥ τε ἀηδὼν καὶ χελιδὼν καὶ ὁ ἔποψ, ἃ δή φασι διὰ λύπην θρηνοῦντα ᾄδειν· ἀλλ᾽ οὔτε ταῦτά μοι φαίνεται λυπούμενα ᾄδειν οὔτε οἱ κύκνοι, ἀλλ᾽ ἅτε οἶμαι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ὄντες μαντικοί τέ εἰσι καὶ προειδότες τὰ ἐν Ἅιδου ἀγαθὰ ᾄδουσι καὶ τέρπονται ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν διαφερόντως ἢ ἐν τῷ ἔμπροσθεν χρόνῳ.
Because of their fear of death, men lie about swans and say that they, bewailing death, sing out of grief, and they do not consider that no bird sings whenever it's hungry or cold or grieves some other pain, not even the nightingale and the swallow and the hoopoe, which they say sing in lament because of grief; but they don't seem to me to sing in grief, nor do swans, but because, I think, they are birds of Apollo, they are prophetic and sing because they foresee the joyful things in Hades and rejoice especially during that day than in time past.

Callimachus (*Anthologia Palatina* 7.80)
εἶπέ τις, Ἡράκλειτε, τεὸν μόρον, ἐς δέ με δάκρυ
    ἤγαγεν· ἐμνησθην δ’ ὁσσάκις ἀμφότεροι
ἠέλιον λέσχῃ κατεδύσαμεν. ἀλλὰ σὺ μέν που,
    ξεῖν’ Ἁλικαρνησεῦ, τετράπαλαι σποδιή,
αἱ δὲ τεαὶ ζώουσιν ἀηδόνες, ᾗσιν ὁ πάντων (5)
    ἁρπακτὴς Ἀίδης οὐκ ἐπὶ χεῖρα βαλεῖ.
Someone told me, Heraclitus, about your death, and it brought me to tears. I remembered how often we caused the sun to set with our conversation. But you lie somewhere, my friend from Halicarnassus, ashes long, long ago, but your nightingales live, on whom Hades, thief of all, will not lay his hand.

Anonymous (*A.P.* 12.136)

ὄρνιθες ψίθυροι, τί κεκράγατε; μή μ᾽ ἀνιᾶτε,
 τὸν τρυφερῇ παιδὸς σαρκὶ χλιαινόμενον,
ἑζόμεναι πετάλοισιν ἀηδόνες· εὕδε λάληθρον
 θῆλυ γένος, δέομαι, μείνατ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ἡσυχίης.

Twittering birds, why do you shriek? Don't disturb me while I'm warming myself on the delicate skin of my boy, you nightingales sitting on the leaves. Sleep, you chatty women, I beg, be at peace.

Euphorion *Thrax* 25.13-16 Lightfoot

Θρηικίου Τηρῆος ἐφ[
.].ρομεν ἀδμωλ̣η[
θ]ηγαλέηι αἱ δὲ δ̇ρεπ[
…]φ̣ας οἰωνο[..].[

Of Thracian Tereus / . . . ignorance / And they, with a sharpened sickle(?), / . . . bird.[439]

Agatharchides (Photius' *Bibliotheca* 250.443a21-23)

…καὶ Φιλομήλαν μὲν ἀηδόνος ἐξαλλάξαι μορφήν, Τηρέα δὲ ἔποπος…
And Philomela changed her shape into that of a nightingale, Tereus into that of a hoopoe.

Ps.-Apollodorus *Bibl.* 3.14.8

Πανδίων δὲ γήμας Ζευξίππην τῆς μητρὸς τὴν ἀδελφὴν θυγατέρας μὲν ἐτέκνωσε Πρόκνην καὶ Φιλομήλαν, παῖδας δὲ διδύμους Ἐρεχθέα καὶ Βούτην. πολέμου δὲ ἐξαναστάντος πρὸς Λάβδακον περὶ γῆς ὅρων ἐπεκαλέσατο βοηθὸν ἐκ Θρᾴκης Τηρέα τὸν Ἄρεος, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον σὺν αὐτῷ κατορθώσας ἔδωκε Τηρεῖ πρὸς γάμον τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα Πρόκνην. ὁ δὲ ἐκ ταύτης γεννήσας παῖδα Ἴτυν, καὶ Φιλομήλας ἐρασθεὶς ἔφθειρε καὶ ταύτην, εἰπὼν τεθνάναι Πρόκνην, κρύπτων ἐπὶ τῶν χωρίων. αὖθις δὲ γήμας Φιλομήλαν συνηυνάζετο, καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν ἐξέτεμεν αὐτῆς. ἡ δὲ ὑφήνασα ἐν πέπλῳ γράμματα διὰ τούτων ἐμήνυσε Πρόκνῃ τὰς ἰδίας συμφοράς. ἡ δὲ ἀναζητήσασα τὴν ἀδελφὴν κτείνει τὸν παῖδα Ἴτυν, καὶ καθεψήσασα Τηρεῖ δεῖπνον ἀγνοοῦντι παρατίθησι· καὶ μετὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς διὰ τάχους ἔφυγε. Τηρεὺς δὲ αἰσθόμενος, ἁρπάσας [π]έλεκυν ἐδίωκεν. αἱ δὲ ἐν Δαυλίᾳ τῆς

[439] Translation by Lightfoot 2010, 247.

Φωκίδος γινόμεναι περικατάληπτοι θεοῖς εὔχονται ἀπορνεωθῆναι, καὶ Πρόκνη μὲν γίνεται ἀηδών, Φιλομήλα δὲ χελιδών· ἀπορνεοῦται δὲ καὶ Τηρεύς, καὶ γίνεται ἔποψ.
Pandion, having married Zeuxippe, sister of his mother, fathered the daughters Procne and Philomela, and twin sons Erechtheus and Boutes. When war arose against Labdacus over boundaries, he called on Tereus of Thrace, son of Ares, to help, and after he won the war with him, he gave to Tereus in marriage his daughter Procne. By her, he fathered a child, Itys, and having lusted after Philomela, he seduced her too by saying that Procne had died, hiding her in the country. He then married Philomela and bedded her, and he cut out her tongue. She wove letters in a cloak and through them revealed to Procne her misfortune. She grew jealous of her sister and killed her son Itys and set a meal for ignorant Tereus, tricking him. She fled quickly with her sister. Once Tereus perceived [what had happened], he took an axe and gave chase. They were discovered in Phocean Daulis and prayed to the gods to be turned into birds, and Procne became the nightingale and Philomela the swallow; Tereus also turned into a bird, and he became the hoopoe.

Livius Andronicus *Tereus* (Warm.)[440]

24
rarenter venio.
I come rarely.

25-26

credito

[440] The readings of the fragments in the more recent *TrRF* (2012) are dismantled mostly convincingly by the textual analyses that preceded them in Spaltenstein 2008. In fr. 24 Warm., *TrRF*'s *venito* makes less sense and precludes more possibilities than the *venio* in a plurality of manuscripts and editors' editions (114-116); in fr. 26 Warm., the textual crux of the first three words cannot be definitively resolved, but Delrius' *cum illo soror,* though it limits the dramatic possibilities for the line, makes the most sense out of the nonsensical *cum illos soli* of *TrRF* (116-117); in fr. 27 Warm., the -d at the end of *interea,* missing in *TrRF*, is an ancient suffix for the ablative that mitigates the seeming hiatus between *interea* and *ancillae* ("*c'est une désinence usuelle d'ablatif qu'on restitue communément dans les textes anciens,*" 123). I therefore follow the readings in Warm. (used by Spaltenstein) while relying on the *apparatus critici* of *TrRF* for the history of reconstructions and emendations.

cum illo soror mea voluntate numquam limavit caput.
Believe me, my sister never rubbed heads with him with my permission.

27-28
ego puerum interead ancillae subdam lactantem meae,
ne fame perbitat.
Meanwhile, I will place the suckling boy at my slave's teat, so that he not die of hunger.

29
nimis pol inprudenter servus praestolaras
By Pollux, you had stood there as a slave with far too little foresight.

Accius *Tereus* (Warm.)

639-642
Tereus indomito more atque animo barbaro
conspexit in eam; amore vecors flammeo,
depositus, facinus pessimum ex dementia
confingit.
Tereus, of untameable custom and barbarous mind, looked at her; driven mad with fiery passion, overthrown, fashions the worst deed because of his madness.

643-644
video te, mulier, more multarum utier
ut vim contendas tuam ad maiestatem viri.
I see that you, woman, like many do, are opposing your strength against the dignity of your husband.

645-646
Atque id ego semper sic mecum agito et conparo
quo pacto magnam molem minuam.
And always do I ponder and prepare for this in my mind, in what way I would lessen this great weight.

647
deum Cadmogena natum Semela adfare et famulanter pete.
Address the god, son of Cadmus-born Semele, and ask like a slave.

648-649
…o suavem linguae sonitum! o dulcitas
conspirantum animae!
Oh, the sweet sound of the tongue! Oh, the sweetness of the breath of those breathing together!

650
alia hic sanctitudo est, aliud nomen et numen Iovis.
There is a different holiness here, a different name and power of Jove.

651
struunt sorores Atticae dirum nefas.
The Attic sisters set up a terrible crime.

652-653
set nisi clam regem auferre ab regina occupo
puerum…
But if I, without the king's knowledge, do not take the boy away…

654
nova advena animo audaci in medium proripit sese ferox.
The new guest, of bold spirit, fierce, hastens herself forth into the middle.

655
famae nam nobilitas late ex stirpe praeclara evagat.
For the nobility of reputation wanders far and wide, famous because of lineage.

Plautus *Rudens* 603-604
respondeo…natas ex Philomela ac [ex] Procne esse hirundines.
I respond … that swallows were born from Philomela and [from] Procne.[441]

Catullus 65.11-14
at certe semper amabo,
semper maesta tua carmina morte canam,
qualia sub densis ramorum concinit umbris

[441] The text is from de Melo 2012, 462. The translation is mine.

Daulias, absumpti fata gemens Ityli.
But surely I will always love, always will I sing sad songs because of your death, like the Daulian [bird] who sings under the dense shadows of the branches, lamenting the fate of the dead Itylus.

Vergil *Eclogues* 6.78-81
[*Quid loquar…*] (74)
aut ut mutatos Terei narrauerit artus,
quas illi Philomela dapes, quae dona pararit,
quo cursu deserta petiuerit et quibus ante
infelix sua tecta super uolitauerit alis?
[Why should I say] how he told of the transformed limbs of Tereus, what feasts Philomela prepared for him, what gifts, in what way she sought deserted areas, and, before that, on what wings she, unlucky one, flitted above her home?

Vergil *Georgics* 4.15, 511-515

…et manibus Procne pectus signata cruentis (15)
And Procne, marked on her chest by bloody hands.

qualis populea maerens philomela sub umbra
amissos queritur fetus, quos durus arator
obseruans nido implumis detraxit; at illa
flet noctem, ramoque sedens miserabile carmen
integrat, et maestis late loca questibus implet. (515)
Like a nightingale (*philomela*), grieving under the shade of the poplar, who bewails her lost offspring, fledglings whom the harsh plowman, watching out, dragged down from the nest; but she cries throughout the night, and sitting on a branch she renews her miserable song, and she fills up the area far and wide with her sad complaints.

Ovid *Am.* 2.6.7-10
quod scelus Ismarii quereris, Philomela, tyranni,
expleta est annis ista querela suis;
alitis in rarae miserum devertere funus –
magna, sed antiqua est causa doloris Itys.
Whatever crime of the Ismarian tyrant you bewail, Philomela, that complaint in those years is finished; turn toward the sad funeral of a rare bird — Itys is a great

but old cause for grief.

Ovid *A.A.* 2.381-384

coniugis admissum violataque iura marita est
barbara per natos Phasias ulta suos.
altera dira parens haec est, quam cernis, hirundo:
aspice, signatum sanguine pectus habet.

The barbarous Phasian [Medea] avenged the crime of her husband and the violated marriage laws through her own children. Another terrible parent is this swallow which you see; look, she has a chest marked with blood.[442]

Ovid *Rem.* 61-62

arte mea Tereus, quamvis Philomela placeret,
per facinus fieri non meruisset avis.

By my skill, Tereus, although Philomela pleased him, would not have deserved to become a bird through his outrage.

Ovid *Her.* 15.151-156

quin etiam rami positis lugere videntur
frondibus, et nullae dulce queruntur aves;
sola virum non ulta pie maestissima mater
concinit Ismarium Daulias ales Ityn.
ales Ityn, Sappho desertos cantat amores—
hactenus; ut media cetera nocte silent.

No, even the branches seem to grieve, their foliage put aside, and no birds warble sweetly; only the most sorrowful mother, the Daulian bird, who avenged herself impiously on her husband, laments Ismarian Itys. The bird sings Itys, Sappho sings abandoned love — as far as that, as the rest is silent in the middle of the night.

Ovid *Fast.* 2.623-630

innocui veniant: procul hinc, procul impius esto

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[442] But cf. the docile nature of the swallow in Ovid *A.A.* 2.147-149, *odimus accipitrem, quia vivit semper in armis, / et pavidum solitos in pecus ire lupos. / at caret insidiis hominum, quia mitis, hirundo,* "We hate the hawk, because it lives always in arms, and the wolves accustomed to entering into the fearful herd. But the swallow lacks the tricks of mankind, because it is gentle."

frater et in partus mater acerba suos,
cui pater est vivax, qui matris digerit annos,
quae premit invisam socrus iniqua nurum.
Tantalidae fratres absint et Iasonis uxor,
et quae ruricolis semina tosta dedit,
et soror et Procne Tereusque duabus iniquus
et quicumque suas per scelus auget opes.
Let the innocent come; far from here, far be the unholy brother and the mother bitter towards her own children, the one for whom his father is [too] long-lived, the one who counts up his mother's years, the unjust mother-in-law who burdens her hated daughter-in-law. Let the Tantalid brothers be away, and the wife of Jason, and she who gave the toasted seeds to the farmers, and the sister [Philomela] and Procne and Tereus, unjust to both, and whoever increases his wealth through crime.

Ovid *Fast.* 2.853-856
Fallimur, an veris praenuntia venit hirundo,
nec metuit ne qua versa recurrat hiems?
saepe tamen, Procne, nimium properasse quereris,
virque tuo Tereus frigore laetus erit.
Are we deceived, or does the swallow come as a harbinger of spring? Does she not fear that some winter may turn around and return? Yet often, Procne, you will complain that you hurried too much, and your husband, Tereus, will be happy because you are cold.

Ovid *Tr.* 3.12.9-10
utque malae matris crimen deponat, hirundo
sub trabibus cunas tectaque parva facit;
And so as to reject the crime of the evil mother [Procne], the swallow makes nests and small homes underneath the beams.

Ovid *Tr.* 5.1.59-60
est aliquid, fatale malum per verba levare:
hoc querulam Procnen Halcyonenque facit.
It's something, to lighten a fatal grief through words; this made Procne and Halcyone lament.

Ovid *Ibis* 537-538

quodque suae passa est paelex invita sororis,
excidat ante pedes lingua resecta tuos.
And that which the unwilling rival of her own sister suffered, let your tongue be chopped out and fall at your feet.

Hyginus *Fab.* 45
Tereus Martis filius Thrax cum Prognen Pandionis filiam in coniugium haberet, Athenas ad Pandionem socerum venit rogatum ut Philomelam alteram filiam sibi in coniugium daret, Prognen suum diem obisse dicit. Pandion ei veniam dedit, Philomelamque et custodes cum ea misit; quos Tereus in mare iecit, Philomelamque inventam in monte compressit. postquam autem in Thraciam redit, Philomelam mandat ad Lynceum regem, cuius uxor Lathusa, quod Progne fuit familiaris, statim pellicem ad eam deduxit. Progne cognita sorore et Terei impium facinus, pari consilio machinari coeperunt regi talem gratiam referre. interim Tereo ostendebatur in prodigiis Ity filio eius mortem a propinqua manu adesse; quo responso audito cum arbitraretur Dryantem fratrem suum filio suo mortem machinari, fratrem Dryantem insontem occidit. Progne autem filium Itym ex se et Tereo natum occidit, patrique in epulis apposuit et cum sorore profugit. Tereus facinore cognito fugientes cum insequeretur, deorum misericordia factum est ut Progne in hirundinem commutaretur, Philomela in lusciniam; Tereus autem accipitrem factum dicunt.
After Tereus, the Thracian son of Mars, took Procne, the daughter of Pandion, as his wife, he went to Athens to Pandion to ask that he give his other daughter, Philomela, to him to marry; he said that Procne had died [that day?]. Pandion granted him the favor, and he sent Philomela and guards with her, whom Tereus threw into the sea, and he violated Philomela, found [?] on a mountain. But after he returned to Thrace, he entrusted Philomela to King Lynceus, whose wife was Laethusa. Because Procne was her friend, she immediately brought the rival to her. When Procne recognized her sister and the profane deed of Tereus, they began with commensurate planning to return the favor to the king. Meanwhile, it was shown to Tereus in a dream that death by a close hand awaited his son Itys; when he heard this oracle, because he thought that his own brother Dryas was plotting death for his son, he killed his innocent brother Dryas. However, Procne killed her son Itys, born of herself and Tereus, and she set him in a feast for his father and fled with her sister. While Tereus chased them in flight, having recognized what was done, by the pity of the gods it happened that Procne was changed into a swallow, Philomela into a nightingale; they say Tereus, however, became a hawk.

Achilles Tatius *Leucippe and Clitophon* 5.3.4-8; 5.5
μεταστραφεὶς οὖν (ἔτυχον γὰρ παρεστὼς ἐργαστηρίῳ ζωγράφου) γραφὴν ὁρῶ κειμένην, ἥτις ὑπηνίττετο προσόμοιον· Φιλομήλας γὰρ εἶχε φθορὰν καὶ τὴν βίαν Τηρέως καὶ τῆς γλώττης τὴν τομήν. ἦν δὲ ὁλόκληρον τῇ γραφῇ τὸ διήγημα τοῦ δράματος, ὁ πέπλος, ὁ Τηρεύς, ἡ τράπεξα. τὸν πέπλον ἡπλωμένον είστήκει κρατοῦσα θεράπαινα· Φιλομήλα παρειστήκει καὶ ἐπετίθει τῷ πέπλῳ τὸν δάκτυλον καὶ ἐδείκνυε τῶν ὑφασμάτων τὰς γραφάς· ἡ Πρόκνη πρὸς τὴν δεῖξιν ἐνενεύκει καὶ δριμὺ ἔβλεπε καὶ ὠργίζετο τῇ γραφῇ. Θρᾷξ ὁ Τηρεὺς ἐνύφαντο Φιλομήλᾳ παλαίων πάλην Ἀφροδισίαν. ἐσπάρακτο τὰς κόμας ἡ γυνή, τὸ ζῶσμα ἐλέλυτο, τὸν χιτῶνα κατέρρηκτο, ἡμίγυμνος τὸ στέρνον ἦν, τὴν δεξιὰν ἐπ᾽ ὀφθαλμοὺς ἤρειδε τοῦ Τηρέως, τῇ λαιᾷ τὰ διερρωγότα τοῦ χιτῶνος ἐπὶ τοὺς μαστοὺς εἷλκεν. ἐν ἀγκάλαις εἶχε τὴν Φιλομήλαν ὁ Τηρεύς, ἕλκων πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ὡς ἐνῆν τὸ σῶμα καὶ σφίγγων ἐν χρῷ τὴν συμπλοκήν· ὧδε μὲν τὴν τοῦ πέπλου γραφὴν ὕφηνεν ὁ ζωγράφος. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τῆς εἰκόνος, αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν κανῷ τὰ λείψανα τοῦ δείπνου τῷ Τηρεῖ δεικνύουσι, κεφαλὴν παιδίου καὶ χεῖρας· γελῶσι δὲ ἅμα καὶ φοβοῦνται. ἀναπηδῶν ἐκ τῆς κλίνης ὁ Τηρεὺς ἐγέγραπτο, καὶ ἕλκων τὸ ξίφος ἐπὶ τὰς γυναῖκας τὸ σκέλος ἤρειδεν ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν· ἡ δὲ οὔτε ἕστηκεν, οὔτε πέπτωκεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐδείκνυε ῥοπὴν μέλλοντος πτώματος.
I turned around (for I chanced to be standing near the workshop of a painter) and see a painting lying there, which hinted at something similar, for it depicted the brutalization of Philomela and the force of Tereus and the excision of her tongue. The plot of the story was complete in the painting, the tapestry, Tereus, the table. A maid had held up and made to stand the unfolded tapestry. Philomela had stood by it and placed a finger on the tapestry and indicated the pictures on the weaving. Procne bowed her head at the display and gazed bitterly and grew angry because of the depiction. The Thracian Tereus had been woven as wrestling a lustful match with Philomela. The woman had had her hair torn, her girdle loosened, her tunic ripped, her chest was half-naked; she thrust her right hand at the eyes of Tereus, and with her left she clasped shut the tear in her tunic over her breasts. Tereus held Philomela in his arms, dragging her body towards him as she was in [his arms] and tightening his grasp on her skin. Thus the painter constructed the painting of the tapestry. As for the rest of the depiction, the women point out to Tereus the remnants of the feast in a basket, the head and hands of the child; and they laugh and fear at the same time. Tereus had been depicted as leaping up from the couch, and drawing his sword against the women, his leg pressed against the table, which neither stood nor fell, but showed a depiction of being about to fall.

Ἡ δὲ Λευκίππη λέγει πρός με (φιλόμυθον γάρ πως τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν γένος)· "Τί βούλεται τῆς εἰκόνος ὁ μῦθος; καὶ τίνες αἱ ὄρνιθες αὗται; καὶ τίνες αἱ γυναῖκες, καὶ τίς ὁ ἀναιδὴς ἐκεῖνος ἀνήρ;" κἀγὼ καταλέγειν ἄρχομαι· "Ἀηδών, καὶ χελιδών, καὶ ἔποψ, πάντες ἄνθρωποι, καὶ πάντες ὄρνιθες. ἔποψ ὁ ἀνήρ· αἱ δύο γυναῖκες, Φιλομήλα χελιδών, καὶ Πρόκνη ἀηδών. πόλις αὐταῖς Ἀθῆναι. Τηρεὺς ὁ ἀνήρ· Πρόκνη Τηρέως γυνή. βαρβάροις δέ, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐχ ἱκανὴ πρὸς Ἀφροδίτην μία γυνή, μάλιστα ὅταν αὐτῷ καιρὸς διδῷ πρὸς ὕβριν τρυφᾶν. καιρὸς οὖν γίνεται τῷ Θρᾳκὶ τούτῳ χρήσασθαι τῇ φύσει Πρόκνης ἡ φιλοστοργία· πέμπει γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν Τηρέα. ὁ δὲ ἀπῄει μὲν ἔτι Πρόκνης ἀνήρ, ἀναστρέφει δὲ Φιλομήλας ἐραστής, καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἄλλην αὑτῷ ποιεῖται τὴν Φιλομήλαν Πρόκνην. τὴν γλῶτταν τῆς Φιλομήλας φοβεῖται, καὶ ἕδνα τῶν γάμων αὐτῇ δίδωσι μηκέτι λαλεῖν, καὶ κείρει τῆς φωνῆς τὸ ἄνθος. ἀλλὰ πλέον ἤνυσεν οὐδέν· ἡ γὰρ Φιλομήλας τέχνη σιωπῶσαν ηὕρηκε φωνήν. ὑφαίνει γὰρ πέπλον ἄγγελον καὶ τὸ δρᾶμα πλέκει ταῖς κρόκαις, καὶ μιμεῖται τὴν γλῶτταν ἡ χείρ, καὶ Πρόκνης τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τὰ τῶν ὤτων μηνύει καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἃ πέπονθε τῇ κερκίδι λαλεῖ. ἡ Πρόκνη τὴν βίαν ἀκούει παρὰ τοῦ πεπλου καὶ ἀμύνασθαι καθ᾽ ὑπερβολὴν ζητεῖ τὸν ἄνδρα. ὀργαὶ δὲ δύο, καὶ δύο γυναῖκες εἰς ἓν πνέουσαι καὶ ὕβρει κεράσασαι τὴν ζηλοτυπίαν δεῖπνον ἐπινοοῦσι τῶν γάμων ἀτυχέστερον. τὸ δὲ δεῖπνον ἦν ὁ παῖς Τηρέως, οὗ μήτηρ μὲν ἦν πρὸ τῆς ὀργῆς ἡ Πρόκνη· τότε δὲ τῶν ὠδίνων ἐπελέληστο. οὕτως αἱ τῆς ζηλοτυπίας ὠδῖνες νικῶσι καὶ τὴν γαστέρα· μόνον γὰρ ἐρῶσαι αἱ γυναῖκες ἀνιᾶσαι τὸν τὴν εὐνὴν λελυπηκότα, κἂν πάσχωσιν ἐν οἷς ποιοῦσιν οὐχ ἧττον κακόν, τὴν τοῦ πάσχειν λογίζονται συμφορὰν τῇ τοῦ ποιεῖν ἡδονῇ. ἐδείπνησεν ὁ Τηρεὺς δεῖπνον Ἐρινύων, αἱ δὲ ἐν κανῷ τὰ λείψανα τοῦ παιδίου παρέφερον, γελῶσαι φόβῳ. ὁ Τηρεὺς ὁρᾷ τὰ λείψανα τοῦ παιδίου καὶ πενθεῖ τὴν τροφήν, καὶ ἐγνώρισεν ὢν τοῦ δείπνου πατήρ· γνωρίσας μαίνεται καὶ σπᾶται τὸ ξίφος καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς γυναῖκας τρέχει, ἃς δέχεται ὁ ἀήρ. καὶ ὁ Τηρεὺς αὐταῖς συναναβαίνει, καὶ ὄρνις γίνεται· καὶ τηροῦσιν ἔτι τοῦ πάθους τὴν εἰκόνα· φεύγει μὲν ἀηδών, διώκει δὲ ὁ Τηρεύς. οὕτως ἐφύλαξε τὸ μῖσος καὶ μέχρι τῶν πτερῶν."

Leucippe says to me (for womankind is fond of myths), "What does the story of this painting mean? And who are those birds? And who are the women, and who is that shameless man?" I begin to respond, "The nightingale, and the swallow, and the hoopoe, all humans, and all birds. The man is the hoopoe; the two women, Philomela the swallow and Procne the nightingale. Their city is Athens. Tereus is the man; Procne is Tereus' wife. As it seems, one wife is not enough for barbarians in matters of Aphrodite, especially whenever the right time allows

him to live licentiously and outrageously. The right time to make use of that Thracian nature in thrace was the affection of Procne, for she sends her husband Tereus to her sister. He departed as still the husband of Procne, but he returned as the lover of Philomela, and on the way he made Philomela another Procne. He fears Philomela's tongue, and he gives her the bridegroom's present of no longer speaking, and he shears the bloom of her voice. But this did him no more good, for Philomela's skill discovered a silent voice. For she weaves a tapestry as a message and entwines the deed in the threads, and her hand mimics her tongue, and she discloses matters of the ears to the eyes of Procne and speaks to her what things she has suffered through the shuttle. Procne hears the brutal force from the tapestry and seeks to pay her husband back extravagantly. Two wraths and two women breathing for one thing and mixing jealousy with hubris plot a feast more ill-fated than the wedding. The feast was the child of Tereus, whose mother was Procne before her wrath, but at that time she had forgotten her birth pains. Thus the birth pains of jealousy conquered even the womb, for women desire only to aggrieve the one who has aggrieved the bed, even if they suffer something no less evil than the evils they inflict, and they reckon the misfortune of suffering with the pleasure of inflicting suffering. Tereus feasted on the feast of the Furies, and they brought to him the remains of his child in a basket, laughing in fear. Tereus sees the remains of his child and mourns what he ate, and he recognized that he was the father of the feast; after he realized it, he grows enraged and draws his sword and runs after the women, whom the air receives. Tereus takes up into the air with them and becomes a bird. They retain the image of their suffering: the nightingale flees, and Tereus gives chase. Thus he retains his hatred, even in a winged state.

Antoninus Liberalis *Met.* 11[443]

(1) Πανδάρεως ᾤκει τῆς γῆς τῆς Ἐφεσίας, ἵν' ἐστὶ νῦν ὁ προηὼν παρὰ τὴν πόλιν· ᾧ διδοῖ Δημήτηρ δῶρον μηδέποτε βαρυνθῆναι τὴν γαστέρα ὑπὸ σιτίων, ὁπόσον ἂν πλῆθος εἰσενέγκηται. (2) ἐγένετο δὲ τῷ Πανδάρεῳ θυγάτηρ Ἀηδών· ταύτην Πολύτεχνος ὁ τέκτων ἔγημεν, ὃς ᾤκει ἐν Κολοφῶνι τῆς Λυδίας, καὶ πλεῖστον χρόνον ἐτέρποντο συνοικοῦντες ἀλλήλοις. ἐγένετο δ' αὐτοῖς παῖς μονογενὴς Ἴτυς. (3) ἄχρι μὲν οὖν θεοὺς ἐτίμων, εὐδαίμονες ἦσαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ λόγον ἀχρεῖον ἀπέρριψαν, ὅτι πλέον ἀλλήλους Ἥρας καὶ Διὸς φιλοῦσιν, καὶ Ἥρα, μεμψαμένη τὸν λόγον Ἔριν αὐτοῖς ἔπεμψεν, ἡ δὲ νεῖκος

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[443] The text is the Budé edition (Papathomopoulos 1968), and the translation is from Celoria 1992.

ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὰ ἔργα. καὶ Πολυτέχνῳ μὲν ὀλίγον ἦν ἔτι δίφρον ἁρμάτειον ἐκποιῆσαι, Ἀηδόνι δὲ τὸν ἱστὸν ἐξυφῆναι καὶ συντίθενται εἰς ἀλλήλους ὅπως, <ὁποτέρῳ> ἂν τάχιον ἀνυσθῇ τὸ ἔργον, τούτῳ θεράπαινα παρὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου γένηται. (4) καὶ ἐπειδὴ θᾶσσον ἡ Ἀηδὼν τὸν ἱστὸν ἐξύφηνεν (Ἥρα γὰρ αὐτῇ συνελάμβανεν), ὁ Πολύτεχνος ἀχθόμενος τῇ νίκῃ τῆς Ἀηδόνος ἀφίκετο πρὸς τὸν Πανδάρεων καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀηδόνος προσεποιήσατο πεμφθῆναι, ὅπως αὐτῇ Χελιδόνα τὴν ἀδελφὴν [ἂν] ἀπαγάγῃ. καὶ ὁ Πανδάρεως οὐδὲν ὑπονοήσας πονηρὸν δίδωσιν ἀπάγειν. (5) 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. (6) 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 Χελιδὼνις ἔχουσα κάλπιν πλεῖστα παρὰ τὴν κρηνίδα κατωδύρετο καὶ αὐτῆς ἐπηκροάσατο τὸν λόγον ἡ Ἀηδών. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀλλήλας ἔγνωσαν καὶ ἠσπάσαντο, ἐπεβούλευον τῷ Πολυτέχνῳ συμφοράν.

(7) καὶ τὸν παῖδα κατακόψασαι <καὶ> τὰ κρέα ἐν λέβητι συνθεῖσαι ταῦτα μὲν ἧψον, Ἀηδὼν δὲ φράσασα πρὸς ἑαυτῆς γείτονα εἰπεῖν Πολυτέχνῳ δαίσασθαι τῶν κρεῶν ἀφίκετο σὺν τῇ ἀδελφῇ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα Πανδάρεων καὶ ἐδήλωσεν οἵᾳ ἐχρήσατο συμφορᾷ· Πολύτεχνος δὲ μαθὼν ὅτι τοῦ παιδὸς ἐδαίσατο τὰ κρέα μετεδίωξεν αὐτὰς ἄχρις πρὸς τὸν πατέρα· καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ θεράποντες οἱ τοῦ Πανδάρεω συνέλαβον καὶ ἔδησαν ἀφύκτῳ δεσμῷ, ὅτι ἐνελωβᾶτο εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Πανδάρεω, καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐναλείψαντες μέλιτι κατέβαλον εἰς τὰ ποίμνια. (8) καὶ Πολύτεχνον μὲν αἱ μυῖαι προσίζουσαι ἐλυμαίνοντο, Ἀηδὼν δὲ οἰκτείρασα πρὸς τὴν παλαιὰν φιλίαν ἀπεῖργεν ἐκ τοῦ Πολυτέχνου τὰς μυίας. ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὴν κατεφράσθησαν οἱ γονεῖς τε καὶ ὁ ἀδελφός, μισήσαντες ἐνεχείρησαν ἀποκτεῖναι.

(9) Ζεὺς δὲ πρὸ τοῦ μεῖζον κακὸν ἐμπεσεῖν τῷ οἴκῳ τὸυ Πανδάρεω οἰκτείρας ἐποίησε πάντας ὄρνιθας· καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐξέπτησαν ἄχρι πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν, οἱ δὲ εἰς τὸν ἀέρα. Πανδάρεως μὲν οὖν ἐγένετο ἁλιαίετος, ἡ δὲ μήτηρ τῆς Ἀηδόνος ἀλκυών, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐβούλοντο καταβαλεῖν ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς ἐκώλυσεν. (10) οὗτοι τοῖς πλέουσιν οἱ ὄρνιθες αἴσιοι φαίνονται. Πολύτεχνος δὲ μεταβαλὼν ἐγένετο πελεκάς, ὅτι Ἥφαιστος αὐτῷ πέλεκυν ἔδωκε τεκταίνοντι· καὶ ἔστιν ἀγαθὸς οὗτος ὁ ὄρνις φανεὶς τέκτονι. ὁ δὲ τῆς Ἀηδόνος ἀδελφὸς ἐγένετο ἔποψ, <ὄρνις> αἴσιος καὶ πλέουσι καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς φανείς, σὺν ἁλιαιέτῳ δὲ ἢ ἀλκυόνι μᾶλλον. (11) Ἀηδὼν δὲ καὶ Χελιδώνις, ἡ μὲν παρὰ ποταμοὺς καὶ λόχμας τὸν παῖδα τὸν Ἴτυν θρηνεῖ,

Χελιδὼνις δ' ἐγένετο σύνοικος ἀνθρώποις Ἀρτέμιδος βουλῇ, διότι κατ' ἀνάγκας ἐκλιποῦσα τὴν παρθενίαν πλεῖστα τὴν Ἄρτεμιν ἐπεβοήσατο.

Pandareos dwelt in the territories of Ephesus, on the craggy headland next to the city. To him Demeter did grant the gift of never feeling full in the stomach after eating, whatever quantity he might take in.

Pandareos had a daughter called Aedon. Polytechnus the carpenter, who lived at Colophon in Lydia, married her. For a long time their life together was a delight for them. They had an only child, Itys.

While they honoured the gods they were happy, but one day they blurted out the needless remark that they loved each other more than did Hera and Zeus. Hera found what was said to be insupportable and sent Discord between them to create strife in their activities. Polytechnus was on the point of finishing off a standing board for a chariot and Aedon of completing the web she was weaving. They agreed that whoever of the two would finish the task more quickly would hand over a female servant to the other.

Aedon was the quicker in finishing off her web (Hera had helped her in the task). Polytechnus was infuriated by the victory of Aedon and went to Pandareos pretending that he had been sent by Aedon to fetch her sister, Chelidon. Pandareos, suspecting nothing sinister, handed her over to take back with him.

Polytechnus, when he had got hold of the girl, used her shamefully in a copse. He then gave her different clothes and cut the hair on her head short, threatening her with death if she should ever mention the incident to Aedon.

Returning to his house he handed over her sister to Aedon as a servant, according to the agreement. Aedon ground her down with work until one day Chelidonis, holding her pitcher, made many lamentations at a spring and Aedon overheard what she was saying. After they had recognized each other and embraced, they plotted vengeance against Polytechnus.

They chopped up the son of Aedon, put his flesh in a cauldron and cooked it. Then Aedon called on a neighbour of hers to bid Polytechnus feast on the meat. She then went off with her sister to her father Pandareos and described the sorrows they had undergone. When Polytechnus realized that he had eaten the

flesh of his son he set off in pursuit of them, to their father's. The servants of Pandareos took hold of him and tied him with inescapable bonds because he had committed such an outrage on the house of Pandareos. They smeared his body with honey and hurled him into a sheepfold.

Flies descended and began to do their worst with him. Aedon took pity on him because of their former love and kept the flies off Polytechnus. When her parents and her brother observed what she was doing, they were overcome by a hatred for her and set about killing her.

Zeus, before a greater evil should befall the house of Pandareos, took pity on them and turned them all into birds. Some took wing for the sea while others took wing for the sky. Pandareos became a sea eagle and the mother of Aedon an alcyon. They immediately wanted to hurl themselves into the sea, but Zeus prevented this.

These birds became propitious for those who sailed the sea. Polytechnus, when he changed, became a woodpecker because Hephaestus had given him an axe for his work as a carpenter. This bird is of good omen for carpenters. The brother of Aedon became a hoopoe, a bird of god omen when it appears, both for sailors as well as for landfarers, especially when in company with the sea eagle and more so if with the alcyon.

As to Aedon and Chelidonis, the former mourns her son Itys by streams and in copses while the latter has become by the will of Artemis a sharer of the dwelling places of mankind. For she had forcibly lost her virginity and had made many cries to Artemis for help.

Pausanias 1.5.4, 1.41.8-9, 10.4.8-9[444]

1.5.4
θυγατέρας δὲ οὐ σὺν ἀγαθῷ δαίμονι ἔθρεψεν ὁ Πανδίων, οὐδέ οἱ τιμωροὶ παῖδες ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐλείφθησαν· καίτοι δυνάμεώς γε ἕνεκα πρὸς τὸν Θρᾷκα τὸ κῆδος ἐποιήσατο. ἀλλ᾽ οὐδεὶς πόρος ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπῳ παραβῆναι τὸ καθῆκον ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ· λέγουσιν ὡς Τηρεὺς συνοικῶν Πρόκνῃ Φιλομήλαν ᾔσχυνεν, οὐ

[444] Translations from Book 1 are by Jones 1918, 26-27 and 222-225 respectively. Translation from Book 10 is by Jones 1935, 388-389.

κατὰ νόμον δράσας τὸν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἔτι λωβησάμενος τῇ παιδὶ ἤγαγεν ἐς ἀνάγκην δίκης τὰς γυναῖκας. Πανδίονι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ἀνδριάς ἐστιν ἐν ἀκροπόλει θέας ἄξιος.
But in rearing daughters Pandion was unlucky, nor did they leave any sons to avenge him. And yet it was for the sake of power that he made the marriage alliance with the king of Thrace. But there is no way for a mortal to overstep what the deity thinks fit to send. They say that Tereus, though wedded to Procne, dishonoured Philomela, thereby transgressing Greek custom, and further, having mangled the body of the damsel, constrained the women to avenge her. There is another statue, well worth seeing, of Pandion on the Acropolis.

1.41.8-9
(8) τούτου δέ ἐστιν οὐ πόρρω τάφος Τηρέως τοῦ Πρόκνην γήμαντος τὴν Πανδίονος. ἐβασίλευσε δὲ ὁ Τηρεύς, ὡς μὲν λέγουσιν οἱ Μεγαρεῖς, περὶ τὰς Παγὰς τὰς καλουμένας τῆς Μεγαρίδος, ὡς δὲ ἐγώ τε δοκῶ καὶ τεκμήρια ἐς τόδε λείπεται, Δαυλίδος ἦρχε τῆς ὑπὲρ Χαιρωνείας· πάλαι γὰρ τῆς νῦν καλουμένης Ἑλλάδος βάρβαροι τὰ πολλὰ ᾤκησαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦν καὶ Τηρεῖ τὰ ἐς Φιλομήλαν ἐξειργασμένα καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἴτυν ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν, ἑλεῖν σφᾶς ὁ Τηρεὺς οὐκ ἐδύνατο· (9) καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν τοῖς Μεγάροις αὐτοχειρίᾳ, καί οἱ τάφον αὐτίκα ἔχωσαν καὶ θύουσιν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ψηφῖσιν ἐν τῇ θυσίᾳ ἀντὶ οὐλῶν χρώμενοι καὶ τὸν ἔποπα τὸν ὄρνιθα ἐνταῦθα φανῆναι πρῶτον λέγουσιν· αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἐς μὲν Ἀθήνας ἀφίκοντο, θρηνοῦσαι δὲ οἷα ἔπαθον καὶ οἷα ἀντέδρασαν ὑπὸ δακρύων διαφθείρονται, καί σφισι τὴν ἐς ἀηδόνα καὶ χελιδόνα μεταβολὴν ἐπεφήμισαν ὅτι οἶμαι καὶ αὗται αἱ ὄρνιθες ἐλεεινὸν καὶ θρήνῳ ὅμοιον ᾄδουσιν.
Not far from this is the grave of Tereus, who married Procne the daughter of Pandion. The Megarians say that Tereus was king of the region around what is called Pagae (*Springs*) of Megaris, but my opinion, which is confirmed by extant evidence, is that he ruled over Daulis beyond Chaeronea, for in ancient times the greater part of what is now called Greece was inhabited by foreigners. When Tereus did what he did to Philomela and Itys suffered at the hands of the women, Tereus found himself unable to seize them. He committed suicide in Megara, and the Megarians forthwith raised him a barrow, and every year sacrifice to him, using in the sacrifice gravel instead of barley meal; they say that the bird called the hoopoe appeared here for the first time. The women came to Athens, and while lamenting their sufferings and their revenge, perished through their tears; their reported metamorphosis into a nightingale and a swallow is due, I think, to the fact that the note of these birds is plaintive and like

a lamentation.

10.4.8-9
(8) ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῇ Δαυλίδι παραθεῖναι τῷ Τηρεῖ τὸν παῖδα αἱ γυναῖκες λέγονται, καὶ ἀνθρώποις τῶν ἐπὶ τραπέζῃ μιασμάτων τοῦτο ἦρξεν. ὁ δὲ ἔποψ ἐς ὃν ἔχει λόγος τὸν Τηρέα ἀλλαγῆναι, οὗτος ὁ ὄρνις μέγεθος μὲν ὀλίγον ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ ὄρτυγα, ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ δέ οἱ τὰ πτερὰ ἐς λόφου σχῆμα ἐξῆρται. (9) θαυμάσαι δὲ ἄξιον ὅτι ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ χελιδόνες οὔτε τίκτουσιν οὔτε ἐκλέπουσί γε τὰ ᾠά, οὐδ᾽ ἂν ἀρχὴν πρὸς οἰκήματος ὀρόφῳ νεοσσιὰν χελιδὼν ποιήσαιτο· λέγουσι δὲ οἱ Φωκεῖς ὡς τῇ Φιλομήλᾳ καὶ ὄρνιθι οὔσῃ Τηρέως δεῖμα ἐφάνη καὶ οὕτω τῆς πατρίδος ἀπέστη τῆς Τηρέως. Δαυλιεῦσι δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν καὶ ἄγαλμά ἐστιν ἀρχαῖον· τὸ δὲ ξόανον τὸ ἔτι παλαιότερον λέγουσιν ἐπαγαγέσθαι Πρόκνην ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν.
Here in Daulis the women are said to have served up to Tereus his own son, which act was the first pollution of the dining-table among men. The hoopoe, into which the legend says Tereus was changed, is a bird a little larger than the quail, while the feathers on its head rise into the shape of a crest. It is noteworthy that in Phocis swallows neither hatch nor lay eggs; in fact no swallow would even make a nest in the roof of a house. The Phocians say that even when Philomela was a bird she had a terror of Tereus, and so kept away from his country. At Daulis is a sanctuary of Athena with an ancient image. The wooden image, of an even earlier date, the Daulians say was brought from Athens by Procne.

Nonnus *Dionysiaca* 4.319-330
Παρνησσοῦ δὲ κάρηνα λιπὼν μετανάστιος ἀνὴρ
Δαυλίδος ἔστιχεν οὖδας ὁμούριον, ἔνθεν ἀκούω (320)
σιγαλέης λάλον εἷμα δυσηλακάτου Φιλομήλης,
Τηρεὺς ἣν ἐμίαινεν, ὅτε ζυγίη φύγεν Ἥρη
συζυγίην ἀχόρευτον ὀρεσσαύλων ὑμεναίων,
κούρη δ' ἀστορέεσσιν ἐπεστενάχιζε χαμεύναις
εἰνοδίου θαλάμοιο, λιπογλώσσοιο δὲ κούρης (325)
μυρομένης Θρήισσαν ἀναγκαίην ἀφροδίτην
δάκρυσι μιμηλοῖσι λιπόθροος ἔστενεν Ἠχώ,
παρθενικὴν φυγόδεμνον ὀδυρομένη Φιλομήλην,
ὁππότε φοινήεντι μεμιγμένον αἵματος ὁλκῷ
γλώσσης ἀρτιτόμοιο συνέβλυεν αἷμα κορείης· (430)
Then the wanderer left the heads of Parnassos and trod the neighbouring soil of

Daulis, whence comes the tale I hear of the dumb woespinner Philomela and her talking dress, whom Tereus defiled, when Hera, queen of wedlock, turned her back on the wedding among the mountains with no wedding dances; how the girl mourned over the undecked pallet of the bridebed on the common road; how the girl tongue-shorn bewailed this Thracian rape; and how voiceless Echo copied her tears and groaned too, bewailing the bedshy maiden Philomela, as the blood of her maidenhood ran mingling with the red stream from her new-severed tongue.[445]

Libanius *Narr.* 18[446]
(1) Ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν Τηρεὺς Πρόκνην ἄγεται τὴν Πανδίονος, ὃς ἐβασίλευεν Ἀθηναίων, αὐτὸς δὲ Τηρεὺς ἐκράτει Θρᾴκης. χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος ἐπιθυμία λαμβάνει τὴν Πρόκνην ἰδεῖν Φιλομήλαν τὴν ἀδελφὴν καὶ διὰ Τηρέως τοῦτο ἐπράττετο, ὃς ἐλθὼν Ἀθήναζε καὶ λαβὼν ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ μίγνυται τῇ παρθένῳ βιασάμενος, οὐ πείσας. φοβούμενος δὲ τὸν ἔλεγχον τὴν γλῶτταν περιελὼν πόρρω τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἵδρυσεν ἐν κώμῃ φυλακήν τινα παρακαταστήσας. (2) ἄλλως μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἦν μηνύσαι τῇ Πρόκνῃ τὸ τολμηθέν, τῆς ἑορτῆς δὲ ἐπελθούσης ἐν ᾗ τῇ βασιλίδι τὰς Θρᾴττας δῶρα πέμπειν νόμος ἦν πέμπει πέπλον ἡ Φιλομήλα γράμματα ἐνυφήνασα. τὰ δὲ ἐδήλου τὴν βίαν. (3) ἡ δέ, ὡς ἔγνω, τὴν μὲν μεταπέμπεται, τὸν δὲ Ἴτυν ἀπέσφαξεν, ὃς ἐκ Τηρέως ἦν αὐτῇ, καὶ εἱστίασε τὸν πατέρα τῷ σώματι τοῦ παιδός. ὡς δὲ δὴ ἐκόρεσεν, ἐδίδασκεν αὐτὸν ἥτις ἦν ἡ βρῶσις τὰ ἀκρωτήρια δείξασα. ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐδίωκεν, ὡς ἀποκτείνειεν, αἱ δὲ ἔφευγον. καὶ ἐν τῇ διώξει μετεβλήθησαν εἰς ὄρνις αἵ τε γυναῖκες καὶ ὁ Τηρεύς, χελιδόνα μὲν ἡ Φιλομήλα, ἀηδόνα δὲ ἡ Πρόκνη, λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὁ τοῦ παιδὸς γευσάμενος ἔποψ γενέσθαι.
(1) From Athens, Tereus took in marriage Procne, daughter of Pandion, who was king of the Athenians, but Tereus himself ruled over Thrace. As time passed, Procne was seized with a deep longing to see her sister Philomela, and this was brought about by Tereus, who, after coming to Athens and picking her up, had sex with the girl during the return trip, by raping, not by persuading her. Fearing an inquiry, he ripped out her tongue and stationed her far from her sister in a small village, assigning a guard to her. (2) Ordinarily, then, it would have been impossible for her to reveal to Procne what he had dared to do to her, but when a

[445] Translation by Rouse 1940, 156-159.

[446] The text for both *Narr.* 18 and 19 is from R. Förster's 1915 Teubner; translations are by Gibson 2008, 25.

festival was approaching in which it was customary for Thracian women to send gifts to the queen, Philomela sent her a gown, having embroidered letters upon it. These revealed the rape. (3) When Procne learned of this, she sent for her, but she slaughtered Itys, who was her child by Tereus, and feasted the father on the body of his son. So then, when he had eaten his fill, she told him what the meat actually was, pointing out the hands and feet to him. So he began to chase them, in order to kill them, but they escaped. And during the pursuit both the women and Tereus were transformed into birds-Philomela into a swallow, Procne into a nightingale, and the man who tasted of his child is said to have become a hoopoe.

Libanius Narr. 19
Πρόκνην ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἠγάγετο Τηρεὺς τὴν Πανδίονος, ἐρῶσα δὲ ἡ Πρόκνη τὴν ἀδελφὴν Φιλομήλαν θεάσασθαι Τηρέα ποιεῖται τῆς θέας διάκονον. ὁ δὲ παραλαβὼν ἐπόθει μὲν καθ' ὁδὸν καὶ ποθῶν ἐβιάσατο καὶ βιασάμενος ἀφεῖλε τῶν πραχθέντων τὸν ἔλεγχον τὴν γλῶσσαν ἀποτεμών. ἡ δὲ ἀφικομένη παρὰ τὴν Πρόκνην εἰπεῖν μὲν οὐκ εἶχε τὸ πάθος, διηγεῖται δὲ τὸ συμβὰν τῇ χειρὶ ἱστῷ προσυφάνασα. καὶ μαθοῦσα τὸ πάθος ἡ Πρόκνη τὸν παῖδα τροφὴν τῷ πατρὶ παρατίθησιν. ὁ δὲ τρέφεται μὲν οἷς ἠγνόει τὰ φίλτατα, τραφεὶς δὲ ἀνελεῖν ἐπεχείρει τὴν θρέψασαν. θεοὶ δὲ τῆς συμφορᾶς τοῦ παιδὸς οἰκτείροντες ἀμφοτέρους εἰς ὀρνίθων μεταβεβλήκασι φύσεις.
Tereus took Procne, daughter of Pandion, from Athens as his wife, but Procne, deeply desiring to see her sister Philomela, made Tereus serve her need to see her. After picking her up, he began to long for her during the trip, and longing for her, raped her, and having raped her, removed the possibility of an inquiry into what had been done by cutting out her tongue. And she, arriving at Procne's, was unable to speak about her suffering, but explained what happened with her hand by weaving on the loom. And Procne, having learned of her sister's suffering, set her son before his father as food. But he dined on what he did not recognize as his dearest child, and after eating he tried to kill the one who had served him. But the gods, pitying the misfortune of the child, transformed both into birds.

CONCORDANCES

Sophocles' *Tereus*

Somm. *et al.*	Radt
A	582
B	584
C	585
D	591
E	583
F	595
G	588
H	593
J	592.4-6
K	587
L	586
M	581
N	589
O	590
P	594
Q	595a
R	595b

Livius Andronicus' *Tereus*

Warm., Spaltenstein 2008	Ribbeck 1898	*TrRF*
24	24	20
25-26	28-29	18
27-28	26-27	17
29	25	19

Accius' *Tereus*

Warm.	Ribbeck 1898	Dangel 1995	D'Antò 1980
639-642	636-639	I	II
643-644	647-648	V	VIII
645-646	634-635	IV	I
647	642	III	IV
648-649	640-641	II	III
650	646	VI	VII
651*	*Inc. Inc. Trag.* 240	not included	not included
652-653	*Acc.* 649-650	VII	IX
654	644-645	VIII	VI
655	643	IX	V

* Warm. *ad loc.* implies that the transmitter of this fragment, Marius Victorinus, may have invented it; caution may then explain Dangel and D'Antò's exclusions of this fragment from their editions.

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