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Tereus, Procne, and Philomela

*An Annotated Edition of a Newly Discovered Mythological Narrative**

with four plates

E. Trapp octogenario sacrum

ABSTRACT: This article publishes an annotated edition of a previously unknown account of the myth of Procne and Philomela. It is about a relatively long scholion on Soph. El. 147–149 preserved in the Moschopulean manuscript of Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (ÖNB), Phil. gr. 161 (*Diktyon* 71275) (= Xr), copied by Konstantinos ó Κετζῆς (ho Ketzas) in 1412. The scholion will be examined in the context of the Moschopulean manuscripts of Sophocles. The narrative will be compared with other Greek and Latin accounts of the myth of Procne and Philomela, emphasizing the characteristics of the scholion. While direct parallels to other sources cannot be spotted and its origin remains unknown, Xr's scholion displays similarities to the Trikilinian scholia on Aristophanes' *Aves* 212e, α and β (HOLWERDA 1991), Tzetzes' scholion on Hesiod's *Opera et Dies* 568 Πανδιονίς (Pandionis; 566ter GAISFORD 1823), and with Eustathios' *Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam* (II 215,13 STALLBAUM 1826)

KEYWORDS: Tereus; Procne; Philomela; Greek Mythology; Sophocles, Electra, Ajax, Scholia; Ioannes Tzetzes; Palaeologan Era; Maximos Planoudes; Manuel Moschopoulos; Demetrios Triklinios; Extra-Moschopulean Scholia; Greek Palaeography

INTRODUCTION¹

This article presents a relatively long and original account of the myth of Tereus, transmitted along with the set of Thomano-Moschopulo-Planudean scholia on Sophocles' *Electra* in the manuscript *Vindobonensis*, *Philologicus Graecus* 161 (hereafter Xr), a manuscript copied by the scribe Konstantinos Ketzas (Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ Κετζῆς, *PLP* 11666) in 1412. Even though Xr is a very famous and studied manuscript, this account has been hitherto overlooked. As a result, not only was it never edited, but it was also never mentioned in any of Turyn's studies on the (Moschopulean) manuscripts of Sophocles², in Dawe's preparatory studies to his edition of Sophocles³, or in Herbert

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¹ For the sake of clarity, I will list all the Moschopulean manuscripts consulted (marked with an asterisk) and any other mss. at the end of the article. I will also quote their respective *Diktyon* number. This will help the reader find further bibliography and possibly photoproductions of the sources via Pinakes.

² See A. TURYN, *The Manuscripts of Sophocles. Traditio* 2 (1944) 1–41, esp. 1–9; IDEM, *The Sophocles Recension of Manuel Moschopoulos. TAPA* 80 (1949) 94–173; IDEM, *Studies in the Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Sophocles (Illinois Studies in Language and Literature* 35). Urbana, Ill. 1952.

³ R. DAWE, *Studies on the Text of Sophocles I. The Manuscripts and the Text*. Leiden 1973. In his work, however, Dawe edited another interesting, extra-Moschopulean scholion attributed to a certain Karbones (f. 262v). See A. M. CUOMO, *Sui Manoscritti Moschopulei di Sofocle, il Vindobonense Phil. gr. 161 di Konstantinos Ketzas e i suoi scolii all'Electra*, in: *Griechisch-byzantinische Handschriftenforschung. Traditionen, Entwicklungen, neue Wege*, ed. Ch. Brockmann – D. Harlfinger – S. Valente. Berlin – New York 2020, 397–419 (413–416, and plate 2).

Hunger's catalogue of the Viennese manuscripts⁴.

The scholion, however, deserves closer consideration as it differs from other recent scholia to Sophocles because of its (mythological) content, language, and length. My aim, then, will be to print it here, and to put it into context, first of all by examining other manuscripts that hand down the exegesis to Sophocles assembled in the circle of Maximos Planoudes, which first involves Manuel Moschopoulos and then Thomas Magister and Demetrios Triklinios. The exegesis of Sophocles, and in general, of the Greek classics developed in that milieu, is an open work in which the comments (mostly synonyms, short paraphrases, and general explanations) are continually reconsidered (added, deleted, modified), and whose purpose is to highlight the characteristics of the high-register Medieval Greek, a language at the core of the studies of Byzantine scholars.

Despite their homogeneity, this corpus of late Byzantine scholia on Sophocles presents heterogeneity in authorship and destination. Indeed, while it is true that the scholia of Moschopoulos-Planoudean origin can be used as a guide for understanding the language of Sophocles, it is also true that these notes seem to be the preparatory phase of other, larger works such as a dictionary of Attic words and expressions. This is suggested by the title of the *Collectio Vocum Atticarum* for example, whose composition is attributed to Manuel Moschopoulos: Ὀνομάτων Ἀττικῶν συλλογὴ ἐκλεγεῖσα ἀπὸ τῆς τεχνολογίας τῶν Εἰκόνων τοῦ Φιλοστράτου· ἦν ἐξέδοτο ὁ σοφώτατος κυρὸς Μανουὴλ ὁ Μοσχόπουλος· καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν βιβλίων τῶν ποιητῶν, συνετέθη δὲ ἐνταῦθα κατὰ στοιχεῖον⁵:-

THE CONTEXT

Readers who wanted to approach Sophocles' text using the comments contained in any of the Moschopouleian manuscripts of Sophocles as a guide would often find themselves lost. Although, in those manuscripts, nearly every word is given a brief comment and the grammar of many passages is explained in fairly long interpretations and metaphrases, many other aspects, even those we would today call essential to an understanding of Sophocles' tragedies, are left without notes.

Thanks to the exegesis of Maximos Planoudes, Manuel Moschopoulos, Thomas Magistros, and to a lesser extent, of Demetrios Triklinios—an exegesis that flows into marginal scholia and interlinear glossae—readers can broaden their own vocabulary of Greek, and end up managing to attribute individual terms and brief syntactic constructions to one or another register of Medieval Greek. This, in fact, was the purpose of the medieval commentaries of Planoudes and associates: to teach *how to use* the high-register Greek of the time. Since the focus of such teaching was on morphology, vocabulary, and micro-syntax, other aspects, such as mythology, were left out.

⁴ H. HUNGER, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. Codices Historici. Codices Philosophici et Philologici I*. Vienna 1961, 264–265.

⁵ This is the title we find in manuscripts: 'Collection of Attic words selected from the *Technologia* (i.e. systematic grammatical explanations) of Philostratos' *Eikones*, which the wisest sir Manuel Moschopoulos published, as well as from the books of the poets, <and> put together alphabetically'. I transcribed the title provided by mss. Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 22 (*Diktyon* 66653), f. 4r, and Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 32.11 (*Diktyon* 16276), f. 1r. The title simply says that the *Syllogé* is an alphabetically ordered (*by whom?*) collection of instances chosen from Moschopoulos' *Technologia* to Philostratos' *Images*, and from the 'books of the poets' (probably from those on which Moschopoulos commented: a few scholia to Sophocles' Ajax and Electra indeed coincide with entries in the *Syllogé*).

The relationship between scholia, epimerisms, and lexica is a subject as interesting as it is still little explored. For an approach to this theme—which I hope to cover in my forthcoming edition of Maximos Planoudes' *Attikismoi*—, see E. MIONI, Un lessico inedito di Massimo Planude. *JÖB* 32/4 (1982) 129–138 (129–132); A. GUIDA, Sui lessici sintattici di Planude e Armenopulo, con edizione della lettera A di Armenopulo. *Prometheus* 25/1 (1999) 1–34 (1–2, 5–11); N. GAUL, Moschopoulos, Lopadiotes, Phrankopulos (?), Magistros, Staphidakes: Prosopographisches und Paläographisches zur Lexicographie des 14. Jahrhunderts, in: *Lexicologica byzantina*, ed. E. Trapp – S. Schönauer. Bonn 2008, 163–196.

The scholia, however, are not a closed text. They are, on the contrary, an open and fluid work. The text of the canonic authors, specially prepared in the manuscripts to receive comments (ample interlinear space, wide margins)⁶, was accompanied by a set of scholia and glosses which, despite its characteristic homogeneity, always bears the signs of the particular context of production and reception of each manuscript. Each copyist of each manuscript modifies, moves, shortens, adds and removes comments from the exegetical set he was copying.

The myth of Procne and Philomela in Sophocles' Electra

In this study, I focus on the exegetical set preserved in the Moschopoulean manuscripts of Sophocles: it is there that I will look for other possible scholia on the myth of Tereus, to provide Xr's account with depth and context.

In his *Electra*, Sophocles refers to the myth of Procne and Philomela three times, in verses 106, 144, and 1068 respectively.

- 1: El. 107–109: μὴ οὐ τεκνολέτειρ' ὡς τις ἀηδών, (107) / ἐπὶ κωκυτῶ τῶνδε πατρώων (108) / πρὸ θυρῶν, ἦχῶ πᾶσι προφωνεῖν· (109)⁷
 2: El. 147–149: ἀλλ' ἐμέ γ' ἄ στονόεσσ' ἄραρεν⁸ φρένας, (147) / ἄ Ἴτυν αἰὲν Ἴτυν ὀλοφύρεται, (148) / ὄρνις ἀτυζομένα Διὸς ἄγγελος· (149)⁹
 3: El. 1075–1077 Ἥλέκτρα, τὸν αἰεὶ πατρός (1075)¹⁰ / δειλαία στενάχουσ' ὅπως (1076) / ἄ πάνδυρτος¹¹ ἀηδών· (1077)¹²

These passages do not receive any remarkable exegetical attention in the manuscripts: there, one only finds Sophoclean words glossed with either other more common Attic forms, or with words belonging to a lower register of Medieval Greek known as *Koiné*, and paraphrases of the Sophoclean text.

Given the general lack of mythological explanations, it is not surprising that only five manuscripts, which deserve a closer look, have tried to provide their readers with additional information on who the nightingale was.

These are:

Xz = Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 32,34 (*Diktyon* 16298)

Xu = Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 31,9 (*Diktyon* 16240)

Td = Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, phil. gr. 209 (*Diktyon* 71323)

D = Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale, II F 9 (*Diktyon* 46177)

Xr = Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Phil. gr. 161, a. 1412 (*Diktyon* 71275)

⁶ I. PROIETTI, La pagina in scena. Strategie editoriali nel libro di contenuto teatrale a Bisanzio (*Bollettino dei Classici Suppl.* 35). Rome 2022, esp. 1–172.

⁷ 'Like the nightingale that destroyed her young, I will never stop crying out in grief at my father's doors for all to hear.'

⁸ Actually, ἄραρε (arare) is what most of the Moschopoulean mss. read. See: Sophocles. *Electra*, ed. P. FINGLASS. Cambridge 2007.

⁹ 'Closer to my soul is the mourner who eternally wails, "Itys, Itys", that bird mad with grief, the messenger of Zeus.'

¹⁰ Moschopoulean manuscripts, as well as the others, read Ἥλέκτρα, τὸν (Ēlektra, ton) instead of ἄ παῖς, οἶτον, which is indeed an emendation provided by Schneidewin (ἄ παῖς—ha pais) and Mudge (οἶτον—oiton) respectively. On this passage, see Sophocles. *Electra* (FINGLASS) 431.

¹¹ πάνδυρτος (pandyrtos) is the emendation printed in the editions of Sophocles. See Sophocles. *Electra* (FINGLASS) 69. The manuscripts, almost unanimously, have πανόδυρτος.

¹² '... *Electra*, all the time bemoaning her father's fate, like the ever-wailing nightingale ...' Other mss., such as Ba (Ambr. B 97 sup. [*Diktyon* 42342]), La (Ambr. L 39 sup. [*Diktyon* 42949]), and Xh (Ven. Marc. gr. 617 [*Diktyon* 70088]), offer another colometry: πρόδοτος δὲ μόνα σαλεύει Ἥλέκτρα. τὸν αἰεὶ πατρός / δειλαία στενάχουσ' ὅπως ἄ πανόδυρτος ἀηδών. It is not unusual for manuscripts to have two verses on the same line. In these cases, copyists indicate the end of a verse by means of various signs. This is not the case with the mss. mentioned above; hence I speak about an alternative colometry. On Xh, see E. MIONI, Il codice di Sofocle Marc. gr. 617, in: Studi in onore di Aristide Colonna. Perugia 1982, 209–216. On Sophoclean colometry, see: *Scolii metrici alla tetradē sofoclea*, ed. A. TESSIER. Alessandria 2015; and *Elettra / Sofocle*, ed. F. DUNN – L. LOMIENTO, transl. B. GENTILI. Milano 2019.

The ms. Xz

The Laurentianus Plut. 32,34 (= Xv) bears the note *ἱστορία* (historia) beside verses 120ff., on fol. 70v. The scribe probably wanted to add a story explaining the myth of Procne, but for some reason did not pursue it. Or he simply wanted to point out that Sophocles was there referring to a myth.

The mss. Xu and Td

Another Laurentianus manuscript, Plut. 31,9 (= Xu) and the Viennese Phil. gr. 209 (= Td) transmit a mythological scholion on fol. 205v¹³ and 39v respectively. It refers to El. 107–109. The respective main copyists transcribe Tzetzes' scholion on Hes. Op. 568 Πανδιονίς (Pandionis) (= 566ter¹⁴ in GAISFORD's edition), with minor discrepancies. I will thus compare TdXu's version with Tzetzes' comment as it appears in Gaisford's edition¹⁵.

Ἱστορία¹⁶

Πανδίων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, θυγατέρας ἔσχε Πρόκνην καὶ Φιλομήλαν, ὧν τὴν Πρόκνην Τηρεῖ τῷ ἐκ Θράκης δίδωσι πρὸς γάμον· ὃς ἐξ ἐκείνης Ἴτυν γεννᾷ· χρόνῳ δὲ ὁ Τηρεὺς ἐκ Θράκης ἐλθὼν Ἀθήναζε λαμβάνει καὶ τὴν Φιλομήλαν ἀπαγαγεῖν πρὸς τὴν Πρόκνην εἰς Θράκην, ἐν Αὐλίδι δὲ τῆς Βοιωτίας ἀποπαρθενεὺει καὶ ταύτην· καὶ τὴν αὐτῆς γλῶτταν θερίζει· ὅπως μηδὲν ἰσχυρὰ φράσαι τῇ ἀδελφῇ· ἡ δὲ, εἰς Θράκην ἐλθοῦσα, δι' ἰστουργίας τὸ πᾶν φανεροῖ· Πρόκνη δὲ τὸν υἱὸν Ἴτυν ἀποσφάξασα, ἐστιᾷ τὸν Τηρέα· ὁ δὲ, μαθὼν ὅτι τὸν παῖδα βιβρώσκει, ἀνελεῖν ταύτας ἔμελλε·¹⁷ οἱ δὲ θεοὶ ταύτας ἐλεήσαντες, ἀπωρνήωσαν· καὶ Πρόκνη μὲν ἡ ἀηδὼν γενομένη, τὸν Ἴτυν ὀδύρεται· Φιλομήλα δὲ χελιδὼν γεγωνῖα, Τηρεὺς φησί· *με ἐβιάσατο*· ὁ δὲ Τηρεὺς ἔποψ γενόμενος, *ποῦ ποῦ*, φησὶν, *αἶ μοι τὸν παῖδα κατὰτεμοῦσαι παρέθεντο πρὸς εὐωχίαν*· μέχρι δὲ τοῦ νῦν καταδιώκει αὐτὰς¹⁸, ὁ Τηρεὺς· τοῦ ἔαρος δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ χελιδὼν ἄγγελος· καὶ ἐστὶ κεκομμένη (sic pro κεκομμένη) τὴν γλῶτταν καὶ ψελλίζει·¹⁹ TdXu

Title: Ἱστορία Xu

1 ἔσχε TdXu] ἔσχεν Gais. || 3 ἀπαγαγεῖν TdXu (e conj. Trinc.) : ἀπάγειν G (et Gais.) | τὴν Gais.] om. TdXu | Θράκην Gais.] Ἰθάκην TdXu, sic || 4 ἀποπαρθενεὺει – θερίζει] etc. ταύτη μίγεις τὴν αὐτῆς γλῶτταν ἀπέτεμεν Trinc. (ex Gais.

¹³ In Xu, another, later copyist added the note. In a few places, another hand corrects a few of Xu's mistakes. So, on f. 205v, we see three hands: Xu¹, the main copyist, responsible for the text of Sophocles, glossae and scholia; Xu², the copyist who added this scholion; and Xu³ who corrected, with black ink, the mythological tale.

¹⁴ Tzetzes' scholion on Hesiod's Op. 566ter is edited by T. GAISFORD, *Poetae minores Graeci* 2. Leipzig 1823, 334,25–335,12. The lemma Πανδιονίς, upon which Tzetzes comments, is actually in v. 568.

¹⁵ It will thus be useful to state that he employed the 9 manuscripts for his work: A: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BNF) grec 2771 (*Diktyon* 52407); B: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BNF) grec 2708 (*Diktyon* 52343); C: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BNF) grec 2833 (*Diktyon* 52471); D*: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BNF) grec 2763 (*Diktyon* 52399); E: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BNF) grec 1310 (*Diktyon* 50919); F: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BNF) grec 2773 (*Diktyon* 52409); G: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BNF) grec 2774 (*Diktyon* 52410); H: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BNF) grec 2707 (*Diktyon* 52342); K: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BNF) grec 2772 (*Diktyon* 52408). Gaisford also relied on annotations by Daniël Heinsius (1580–1655), Tiberius Hemsterhuis(ius) (1685–1766), David Ruhnken(ius) (1723–1798), and Vittore Trincavelli (1496–1568). In his apparatus to Tzetzes' scholion, Gaisford only quotes the following mss. and philologists: E, G, H, and Hein(sius), Trinc(avelli).

¹⁶ When editing scholia, I adopt the Byzantine punctuation because it is *consistent* in each individual manuscript examined. I apply this punctuation system as explained in C. M. MAZZUCCHI, *Per una punteggiatura non anacronistica, e più efficace, dei testi greci*. *BollGrott* N. S. 51–53 (1997) (= *Studi in onore di mgr Paul Canart per il LXX compleanno I–III*) I, 129–144 (135–138). Given that these sources are textbooks for the teaching of Greek, I also give an account of many scribes' orthographical peculiarities.

¹⁷ Cf. infra scholion Xr, l. 31.

¹⁸ Only when an oxytone word is followed by a *τελεία* (teleia: upper dot) does the stressed syllable then carry the acute accent.

¹⁹ As far as this last sentence and the interpretation of Hes. Op. 564–570 are concerned, see P. MONELLA, *Procne e Filomela: dal mito al simbolo letterario*. Bologna 2005, 28–46 (with bibliography therein).

apparatu) cf. Tzetzae, Chil. VII, Hist. 142, 459 | ἀποπαρθενεύει Td, ubi α² postea add. Td¹ | ἀποπαρθενεύει Xu | γλώτταν Xu, ubi τ² postea add. Xu² | γλώτταν Td, cf. infra 12–14 | ἰσχύη] ἰσχύει Xu || 6 Ἴτυν ἀποσφάξασα TdXu | ἀποσφάξασα Ἴτυν Gaisford | βιβρώσκει TdXu : ἐβεβρώκει sic E H (ed. Gais.) : βεβρώκει Bas. Heins : βέβρωκεν Trinc. (ex Gais. apparatu, ubi βέβρωκεν legitur) | ταύτας] ταύταν Xu || 7 ἔμελλε] ἔμελλεν Td | οἱ δὲ θεοὶ ταύτας TdXu | οἱ θεοὶ δὲ αὐτάς Gais. | ἀπωρνέωσαν Gais.] ἀπωρνέωσαν sic Xu : εἰς ὄρνεα μετέβαλλον sic Td | καὶ] om. Td | ἦ] om. Td | γενομένη] γεγυνοῖα Gais. || 8 ὀδύρεται] -υ- ex corr. Xu³ | γεγυνοῖα] om. Gais. | με] μὲν Td | ἐβίασατο TdXu, Trinc. Al. ex conj. (ex Gais. apparatu) | ἐβίασεν nescio quem || 9 αἶ μοι] ex ἔμοι Xu³ | κατὰτεμοῦσαι sic TdXu, ubi κατὰ- postea add. Td¹ | παρέθεντο πρὸς εὐωχίαν TdXu | πρὸς εὐωχίαν παρέθεντο Gais. (παρέθεντο scripsit Gais. confidens mss. E H G, et conjecturae Trinc. de verborum ordine nescio) || 9–10 μέχρι δὲ τοῦ νῦν καταδιώκει αὐτάς, ὁ Τηρέυς· τοῦ ἕαρος δὲ ἔστιν ἡ χελιδὼν ἄγγελος· καὶ ἔστι κεκομμένη τὴν γλώτταν καὶ ψελλίζει TdXu (ubi: καταδιώκει Td : καταδιώκει Xu et mox γλώτταν Td : γλώτταν Xu [cf. supra]) Ταῦτά εἰσι τὰ λῆρα μυθῶδρια. Γράφει δὲ περὶ τούτου Σοφοκλῆς ἐν τῷ Τηρεῖ δράματι Gais. || 10 καταδιώκει Td] καταδιώκει Xu

TRANSLATION: The Athenian Pandion had Procne and Philomela as daughters, of which he gave Procne as a wife to Tereus, who bore Itys with her. After a while, Tereus went to Athens from Thrace also collecting Philomela to bring her to Procne in Thrace. However, in the Boeotian Aulis, Tereus also deflowers her, and cuts out her tongue, so that she cannot tell <what has happened>²⁰ to her sister. Once they come back to Thrace, Philomela reveals the whole story by weaving. Then, Procne, having killed Itys, offers him to Tereus to eat. When he realized that he was eating his son, Tereus wanted to eliminate/exterminate them. However, the Gods having mercy on them, decided to transform them into birds. Procne, having become a nightingale, always cries for Itys. Philomela, having become a swallow, says ‘Tereus’ and ‘raped me’. And Tereus, having become a hoopoe, says: ‘*Pou, pou* (i.e. Where, where) are those who, having dismembered my child, offered him to me at a banquet?’ Even today, Tereus chases them. The swallow is the herald of spring, and its tongue still being cut, it also stutters.

REMARKS

According to Gaisford’s edition, instead of μέχρι δὲ τοῦ νῦν καταδιώκει αὐτάς, ὁ Τηρέυς· τοῦ ἕαρος δὲ ἔστιν ἡ χελιδὼν ἄγγελος· καὶ ἔστι κεκομμένη τὴν γλώτταν καὶ ψελλίζει, Tzetzes alternatively concludes: Ταῦτά εἰσι τὰ λῆρα μυθῶδρια. Γράφει δὲ περὶ τούτου Σοφοκλῆς ἐν τῷ Τηρεῖ δράματι. That is: ‘This is the mythological tale plain and simple²¹. Sophocles wrote on the subject in the play “Tereus”’.

We will get back to the detail of the characters of our tale still chasing each other even after the mutation into birds below. For now, it is important to focus on Tzetzes’ remark. As we will see by

²⁰ In angle brackets, I write those words that are missing from the original Greek, but which, I think, are necessary in English. The words written in parentheses correspond to the explanatory sections of the original text.

²¹ I would give a slightly less negative connotation to the adjective λῆρος (lēros) than the one proposed by the *LBG* ‘töricht’. In my understanding of the term, λῆρα μυθῶδρια (lēra mythydria) are here ‘mythological nonsenses’, or ‘silly mythological tales’, or ‘nugae’, because they have not received any explanation yet. The myth of Procne and Philomela, as reported in the scholion without further explanation, is indeed plain and simple and, if taken literally, is nonsense. In his exegetical works, Tzetzes used to define mythological tales as ‘foolish’, ‘nonsense’, ‘silly’, when they appear in the plain and simple version offered by the tradition, i.e. before having received an (e.g. allegorical) explanation (see e.g. Chil. VII, Hist. 166, 72, at the conclusion of a section of a story: ‘λῆρος τυγχάνει μυθικός ὄν ἀλληγορητέον [it happens to be a mythological nonsense that needs to be explained allegorically ...]’; Chil. II, Hist. 50, 743, at the conclusion of a story: ‘πλατύς μοι λῆρος φαίνεται καὶ ψυχρομυθοουργία [to me, it seems to be downright silly talk and a vain tale]’). If old myths were absolutely silly and nonsense because of what they tell and how they tell it, these should consequently not be worth scholars’ attention, nor interpretations. A different interpretation of the adjective λῆρος and Tzetzes’ passage is given in P. SCATTOLIN, Le notizie sul Tereo di Sofocle nei papiri, in: I papiri di Eschilo e di Sofocle. Atti del convegno internazionale di Studi. Firenze 14–15 giugno 2012, ed. G. Bastianini – A. Casanova. Florence 2013, 119–141 (127). Expanding on his interpretation of ‘λῆρα μυθῶδρια’, Scattolin interestingly states: ‘... nulla osta che questa sia proprio il brano di Tzetzes col quale Triclinio entrebbe in divertita polemica opponendo allo sprezzante λῆρα μυθῶδρια (‘favole sciocche’) la propria ammirazione per l’inventiva degli antichi (ὄρα δὲ, ὅπως εὐφρῶς τὸν μῦθον συνέθηκον ἰδόντες ὅτι τε μάχην ἔχει πρὸς ἑαυτὰ τὰ ὄρνεα καὶ ὅτι τοιαύτας ἀφίησι τὰς φωνάς—See here, how those who saw that the birds had a battle between themselves as well as produced such sounds, skillfully put the story together) [Schol. 212e.a. 38–39]’. However, a fact worth noticing is that in Triklinios’ scholion, the myth is no longer a ‘nonsense’ because the narrative is not ‘plain and simple’, it there being accompanied by a certain explanation. On the debate about the nonsense of mythological tales, see B. VAN DEN BERG, Homer the Rhetorician, Eustathios of Thessalonike on the Composition of the Iliad. Oxford 2022, Chapter 3, n. 86.

commenting on Xr's account, there have been many versions of the myth of Procne and Philomela that have followed one another over the centuries. The plain majority depend on the version popularized by Sophocles in his *Tereus*. It is clear because they (tacitly) report those details introduced by the tragedian himself. I would say tacitly because it does not seem to me that any of the sources links the narration of the myth to the Sophoclean tragedy. The Byzantine authors knew about Sophocles' *Tereus* from the information offered by (comments on) Aristophanes, Aristotle, grammarians and anthologies. The first author to link this specific plot of the myth to Sophocles' *Tereus* seems to have been Tzetzes. Where he found this information is difficult to say. Perhaps he traced the explicit reference in one of his sources (e.g. Aristotle, a scholion to Homer, Hesiod, or more probably to Aristophanes). Perhaps he put together various pieces of information and his remark 'Γράφει δὲ περὶ τούτου Σοφοκλῆς ἐν τῷ Τηρεῖ δράματι' (Sophocles writes on the subject in the play 'Tereus') would then be the fruit of a conjecture by him. After all, it would not have been the first time, that Tzetzes puts the pieces of a puzzle together and writes an account on his own²².

This addition, alongside any reference to Sophocles, is absent in TdXu. The two manuscripts replace it with a rationalization of the myth. The detail of the chase is common to the scholia in D and Xr, as we will see below.

The ms. D (plates 1 and 2)

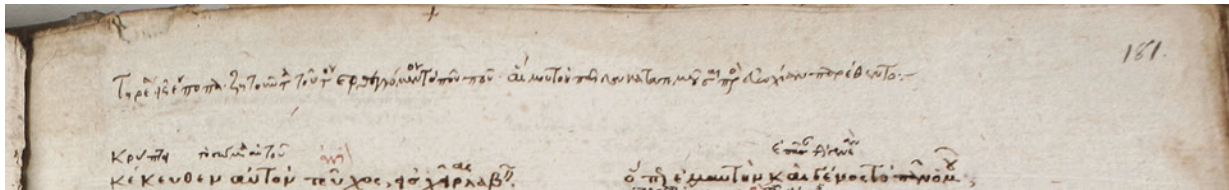
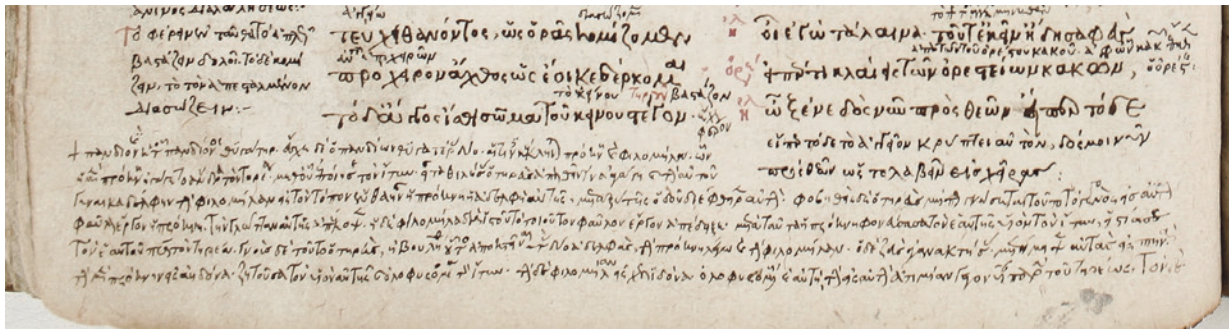
The Neapolitanus II. F. 9 (= D, first quarter of the 14th cent.), transmits an original note on Procne and Philomela. This was written by the main copyist, Gabriel the monk²³, who clearly used another ink and a more cursive handwriting, in the lower margin of fol. 180v (continuing on the top of fol. 181r). It refers to El. 1074–1080: there is no further information on the nightingale in the other two passages. This scholion belongs to the third layer of exegetical material copied by Gabriel. In that phase, he copied a large number of Thomas Magistros' comments (he mentions him as the author of many scholia on the *Ajax*). D's scholion rather seems to be a reworded version of the abovementioned comment on Hes. Op. 566 by John Tzetzes²⁴. Nevertheless, it is worth publishing here.

²² As it seems from, for example, Chil. VI, Hist. 37, 67 Ἐκ λήθης νῦν συνέμξα καὶ τὰ τοῦ Δημοσθένους 'From oblivion, I have now put together the facts around Demosthenes.'

²³ See I. PÉREZ MARTÍN, La 'escuela de Planudes': notas paleográficas a una publicación reciente sobre los escolios euripideos. *BZ* 90 (1997) 73–96.

²⁴ Gabriel had already ascribed a scholion on the beginning of the second stasimos of *Ajax* (vv. 693–700, f. 154v) to John Tzetzes, by writing: 'Τζέτζου' (Tetzou). See TURYN, *The Sophocles Recension* (see n. 2) 102, n. 33. I see that on that occasion, Gabriel also used the same handwriting as in the Procne scholion. The scholion particularly comments on the dances Νύσια (Nysia) and Κνωσία (Knōsia) (these are the readings of D). While confirming the reading Νύσια of D, the scholion adds: Πάν πάν (Aj. 694) ὁ χορὸς πρὸς τὸν Πάνα φησὶν· ὃ Πάν χοροποιεῖ ἡμῶν φάνηθι· ζυνὸν καὶ συνπάρχων ὁμῶς ἡμῶν ἐπιιδάξεις (sic)· τὰ ἐν τῷ Νυσίῳ ὄρει ὀρχήματα ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ τοῦ Διονύσου· καὶ τὰ Κνωσία· Νύσια δὲ ὄρος Ἰνδίας· ἐν ᾧ περιεπότησεν (dub.) ὁ Διόνυσος· Κνωσὸς (ubi σ¹ postea add. D¹) δὲ πόλις Κρήτης ἐνθα κατεσκεύασεν ὁ Δαίδαλος χορὸν γυναικεῖον (cf. Σ 590–594)· ὁ Πάν δὲ ἐστὶν ἔφορος ποιμνίων τῶν ὀρχήσεων· αἱ μὲν εἰσὶν Νύσια, αἱ δὲ Κνωσσία (sic)· – –)· 'Pan, Pan (Aj. 694)'. Addressing Pan, the chorus says: 'O Pan, who leads the dance, reveal yourself to us, so that since you are a friend and one who lives amongst us anyway, you can teach us the dances of the mount Nysos for the festival of Dionysus and the dances Knōsia'. Nysia is the mountains in India in which Dionysus lived, while Knossos is the city where Daedalus fashioned the feminine choros (i.e. the dancing floor for Ariadne). Pan, indeed, is the guardian of the dances, the one being the Nysia and the other the Knōsia.

De Νύσια δὲ ὄρος Ἰνδίας, cf. Chamaileonis Frag. 22 in Phainias von Eresos. Chamaileon. Praxiphanes, ed. F. WEHRLI (*Die Schule des Aristoteles* 9). Basel ²1957. De Dionysio in Nysia, cf. Suida v 618 and v 619 (Suidae lexicon, 4 vols. [*Lexicographi Graeci* 1.1–1.4], ed. A. ADLER. Leipzig 1928–1935); Scholion Musuri in Aristophanis Ranas 215d (ed. CHANTRY): Νύσιος ὁ Διόνυσος τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς ὀνομάζεται, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Ἰνδοῖς Νύσης. οὐ μόνον δὲ Ἰνδοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς πρὸς ἄκτινα ἔθνεσιν, ὡς φησι Φιλόστρατος ἐν τῷ Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Τυανέως βίῳ ('Dionysus is called "Nysios" by the Indians after Nysa in India; actually, not only by the Indians, but also by all peoples of the East, as Philostratos says in the "Life of Apollonius of Tyana"'). See Flavius Philostratus. *Vita Apollonii Tyanei*, ed. G. BOTE. Berlin 2022, chapt. 2.2). Scholia in Thesmophoriazusas, Ranas, Ecclesiazusas et Plutum (*Scholia in Aristophanem* 3.1b) ed. M. CHANTRY. Groningen 2001 (ex codice Bibliothecae Photii 241 ut vid.).

Plates 1 and 2: Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale, II F 9 (*Diktyon* 46177), ff. 180v and 181r <scribe: Gabriel the Monk>+ Πανδιονίς, ἢ τοῦ Πανδίωνος θυγάτηρ²⁵

Ἔσχε δὲ ὁ Πανδίων θυγατέρας δύο· αἵτινες κέκληνται Πρόκνη καὶ Φιλομήλα· ὧν ἡ μὲν Πρόκνη ἠγάγετο ἄνδρα τὸν Τηρέα· μεθ' οὗ ἐποίησε τὸν Ἴτυν· εἶτα θελήσας ὁ Τηρέυς ἀπελθεῖν ἵνα ἀγάγη²⁶ καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ γυναίκαδέλφην τὴν Φιλομήλαν εἰς τὸν τόπον ἔνθα ἦν ἡ Πρόκνη ἢ ἀδελφὴ αὐτῆς, μεταξύ τῆς ὁδοῦ διέφθειρεν αὐτήν· φοβηθεὶς δὲ ὁ Τηρέυς μήπως γνώσεται τοῦτο τὸ γεγονός²⁷ εἰς αὐτὴν φαῦλον ἔργον ἢ Πρόκνη, τὴν γλῶτταν αὐτῆς (scil. τῆς Φιλομήλης) ἀπέκοψεν· ἢ δὲ Φιλομήλα διὰ ἰστοῦ²⁸ τὸ τοιοῦτον φαῦλον ἔργον ἀπέδειξε· μετὰ ταῦτα ἡ Πρόκνη φονεύσασα τὸν ἑαυτῆς υἱὸν τὸν Ἴτυν, εἰστίασεν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πατέρα τὸν Τηρέα·²⁹ γνοὺς δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Τηρέυς, ἠβουλήθη οὗτος ἀποκτεῖναι τὰς δύο ἀδελφάς, τὴν Πρόκνην λέγω καὶ τὴν Φιλομήλαν· ὁ δὲ Ζεὺς ἀγανακτήσας, μετήμειπεν³⁰ αὐτάς εἰς πτηνά· τὴν μὲν Πρόκνην εἰς ἀηδόνα, ζητοῦσα τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς καὶ ὀλοφυρομένη τὸν Ἴτυν· τὴν δὲ Φιλομήλαν εἰς χελιδόνα· ὀλοφυρομένη καὶ αὐτὴ, τὴν εἰς αὐτὴν ἀτιμίαν γεγονυῖαν παρὰ τοῦ Τηρέως· τὸν δὲ Τηρέα εἰς ἔποπα· ζητοῦντα τοῦτον³¹ καὶ φθεγγόμενον τὸ ποῦ ποῦ· αἶ μου τὸν παῖδα κατατεμοῦσαι πρὸς εὐωχίαν παρέθεντο³²·-

9 ζητοῦσα sic || 10 ὀλοφυρομένη sic | αὐτὴ sic || 11 ζητοῦντα τοῦτον sic

²⁵ I consider Πανδιονίς – θυγάτηρ to be the title of the scholion, although there is no graphic distinction in the manuscript between these words and the rest of the note. It is worth noticing that Πανδιονίς (from Hes. Op. 568) is commented upon by Tzetzes by ‘ἢ τοῦ Πανδίωνος θυγάτηρ’ (the daughter of Pandion)—as far as we can see from Gaisford’s edition. This is interesting because the entire scholion depends on Tzetzes’ exegesis (see below n. 26).

²⁶ Worth noticing is that ἵνα ἀγάγη clarifies the final value of the infinitive ἀπαγαγεῖν/ἀπάγειν in Tzetzes’ scholion (as it appears in TdXu and Gaisford’s edition respectively: cf. *apparatum ad scholion TdXu – Tzetzae*). In Chil. VII, Hist. 142, 458, the same concept becomes ἀποκομίσαι βουληθεὶς τῇ ἑαυτοῦ συζύγῳ ‘aiming to escort <Philomela> to his own wife.’

²⁷ γο was added supra lineam, probably by a later hand.

²⁸ The substantive ἰστός (histos) is also found in relation to the myth of Procne and Philomela in Eustathios, ad Hom. Od. II 215, 16, and in Triclinios’ scholion on Aristophanes, *Aves*.

²⁹ See Tzetzes, Schol. Hes. Op. 566ter: ἐστιᾶ τὸν Τηρέα (<Procne> offers <him> to Tereus to eat).

³⁰ Μεταμείβω is a common verb in this context. It also occurs in Xr’s scholion below, l. 31.

³¹ Exspectaveris ταῦτας.

³² D undoubtedly reads μου, while Schol. Hes. Op. 566ter (GAISFORD), which preserves the same ending as D, has μοι.

TRANSLATION: Πανδιονίς, <that is> the daughter of Pandion. Indeed, Pandion had two daughters who bore the names Procne and Philomela, of which Procne had got married to Tereus, with whom she had borne Itys. Later, as Tereus wanted to go to also bring his wife's sister³³ Philomela to the place where the sister Procne was, he raped her during the journey. Tereus then fearing that Procne would learn what had happened—a despicable fact—to her (i.e. to Philomela), he cut out her (i.e. Philomela's) tongue. Then Philomela made such a despicable act known by means of a woven cloth. After that, Procne killed her own son Itys and set up a banquet for his father, Tereus. When Tereus learned it (i.e. that he had eaten his son), he was seized with the desire to kill the two sisters—I mean to say Procne and Philomela. However, Zeus, vexed, transformed them into birds: Procne into a nightingale that looks for her son and feels sorry for Itys; Philomela into a swallow, who also suffers the outrage endured because of Tereus; and Tereus into a hoopoe that looks for the <son> uttering: 'Pou, pou are those who, having dismembered my child, they offered <him to me> in a banquet?'

Tzetzes' scholion on Hes. Op. 566ter (GAISFORD)—along with its paraphrase, which appears in D—may depend on the scholion vetus on the same Hesiodic passage (PERTUSI)³⁴. The two scholia by Triklinios on Aristophanes' *Aves* 212e, α³⁵ and β³⁶ (HOLWERDA) also follow the same structure.

³³ The terms γυναικαδέλφη (gynaikadelphē) and γυναικάδελφος (gynaikadelphos) seem to be linked to legal jargon and canon law.

³⁴ Scholia in Hesiodi Opera et Dies, ed. A. PERTUSI. Milan 1955, ad v. 568b: Πανδιονίς: Πανδίων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος δύο ἔχων θυγατέρας Πρόκνην καὶ Φιλομήλαν, τὴν Πρόκνην ἐξέδωκε τινὶ Θρακικῷ τοῦνομα Τηρεῖ καὶ λαβὼν εἶχεν ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ· ἔσχε δὲ Πρόκνην δύο παῖδας· μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ χρόνον ἦλθεν ὁ Τηρεὺς ἐπισκέψασθαι τὸν αὐτοῦ πένθερον, τῆς δὲ Φιλομήλας ἐπιθυμησάσης θεάσασθαι τὴν ἀδελφὴν καὶ τῆς Πρόκνης πάλιν μεταπεμψαμένης αὐτήν, καταπιστοῦται αὐτὴν ἀπειρόγαμον οὖσαν ὁ Τηρεὺς, δραξάμενος δὲ ἐρημίας μεταξὺ τῆς ὁδοῦ τοῦ τρόπου οἰκείου τετόλμηκεν ἄξιον· τὴν γὰρ τῆς γυναικὸς ἀδελφὴν Φιλομήλαν ποθήσας, οὐ μόνον ἀποπαρθευεῖ, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῦτοις ἀφαιρεῖ αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν γλῶτταν, ἵνα μὴ τῇ ἀδελφῇ ἐξεῖπῃ τὸ γεγονός· ἡ δὲ μὴ δυναμένη λαλῆσαι τῇ ἀδελφῇ διὰ τὸ τῆς γλώττης πάθος κατεποίκιλε τὸ γεγονός θρήνοις τῷ ἴστῳ. ('On Pandionis. Pandion, the Athenian who had two daughters Procne and Philomela, gave Procne in marriage to a certain man from Thrace named Tereus. Having taken <her in marriage>, he held her in Thrace. Procne had two children. Shortly after, Tereus came to visit his own father-in-law. Given that Philomela desired to see <her> sister and that Procne, in turn, had summoned her, Tereus took her, who was still a virgin, into his care. He seized the opportunity offered by the remote area along the way and dared something proper to his own nature. Longing for Philomela, <his> wife's sister, he not only took her virginity, but—in addition to those things—he also cut her tongue out, so that she could not tell <her> sister what had happened. But she, despite being not able to talk to her sister because of what she had suffered in her tongue, represented in diverse modes [see frg. 6 MILO = 586 R²] what had happened with laments in a web of cloths').

³⁵ Scholia in Vespas, Pacem, Aves et Lysistratam, ed. D. HOLWERDA (*Scholia in Aristophanem* 2, 3). Groningen 1991, ad. v. 212e α: ὁδὸν ἔσχε καὶ τῶν χαρίτων τῆς κόρης ἑάλω. καὶ φθείρας ταύτην τὴν γλῶτταν αὐτῆς ἀπέτεμε, μὴ δῆλα δῆθεν τὰ πραχθέντα θήσει τῇ ἀδελφῇ. ἡ δὲ ἴστον ἐργαζομένη διὰ γραμμάτων τὰ συμβάντα δηλοῖ. ἀναγνοῦσα δὲ Πρόκνη τὰ γεγραμμένα καὶ τὴν συμφορὰν μαθοῦσα τῆς ἀδελφῆς τὸν υἱὸν Ἴτυν σφάξασα εἰς βρῶσιν παρέθηκε τῷ Τηρεῖ. ὁ δὲ γνοὺς τὰς σάρκας ἐσθίειν τοῦ παιδὸς ξίφος λαβὼν Πρόκνην καὶ Φιλομήλαν ἐδίωκε 'ποῦ ποῦ' φθειρόμενος, Φιλομήλα δὲ 'Τηρεὺς' ἦν βοῶσα τῷ φόβῳ. Πρόκνη δὲ τὸν Ἴτυν ἐθρήνει 'Ἴτυ Ἴτυ' ἐλεινωῶς φθειρομένη. Ζεὺς οὖν αὐτὰς ἐλεήσας τῆς συμφορᾶς εἰς ὄρνις μετέβαλεν. Πρόκνη μὲν οὖν εἰς ἀηδόνα μεταβληθεῖσα τὸν Ἴτυν αὐθις ὀδύρεται 'Ἴτυ Ἴτυ' βοῶσα, Φιλομήλα δὲ εἰς χελιδόνα 'Τηρεὺς Τηρεὺς' ἀεὶ φθειρομένη, ὁ δὲ Τηρεὺς εἰς τὸν ἔποπα μεταβληθεὶς 'ποῦ ποῦ' καὶ αὐθις φθέγγεται. ὄρα δέ, ὅπως εὐφρῶς τὸν μῦθον συνέθηκας ἰδόντες ὅτι τε μάχην ἔχει πρὸς ἑαυτὰ τὰ ὄρνεα καὶ ὅτι τοιαυτὰ ἀφίησι τὰς φωνάς ('He took the road and succumbed to the daughter of the Graces. And after he seduced her, he cut out her tongue, to make what had happened unclear for her sister. And she, making a loom with letters, reveals the events. And Procne, reading what was written and learning about the misfortune of her sister, killed her son, Itys, and placed him for Tereus to eat. And he, after he recognized that he ate the meat of his child and took his sword, chased Procne and Philomela, making the sound "Pou, pou", and Philomela was shouting "Tereus" out of fear. And Procne was bewailing Itys, pitifully shouting "Itys, Itys". So Zeus, because he had pity on the women for this event, transformed them into birds. Consequently, Procne on the one hand, who was transformed into a nightingale, bewails Itys again and again by crying "Itys, Itys"; Philomela on the other hand [who was transformed into] a swallow, while always shouting "Tereus, Tereus", and Tereus, after he was changed into a hoopoe, is crying "Pou, pou" again and again. See here, how those who saw that the birds had a battle between themselves as well as produced such sounds, skillfully put the story together').

³⁶ Ad. v. 212e β (as in the previous note) υἱὸν Ἴτυν εἰς βρῶσιν παρέθηκε τῷ Τηρεῖ. ὁ δὲ γνοὺς ἐδίωκεν αὐτὰς ξίφει 'ποῦ ποῦ' φθειρόμενος. Φιλομήλα μὲν δὲ 'Τηρεὺς' ἦν βοῶσα τῷ φόβῳ, Πρόκνη δὲ τὸν Ἴτυν θρηνοῦσα 'Ἴτυ Ἴτυ' ἐλεινωῶς ἐφθέγγετο. τοῦ δὲ Διὸς ἐλεοῦντος ἡ μὲν Πρόκνη εἰς ἀηδόνα, ἡ δὲ Φιλομήλα εἰς χελιδόνα μεταβληθεῖσα, ἔτι γε μὴν καὶ ὁ Τηρεὺς εἰς ἔποπα ταυτὰ φθέγγονται μέχρι καὶ νῦν ἕκαστος, ἃ γε μετὰ τὴν συμφορὰν μὲν, πρὸ τῆς ἀπορνεώσεως δὲ ('She placed the son Itys for Tereus to eat. And he, after he had become aware, chased them with a sword while uttering the sound 'pou pou'. And Philomela on the one hand was crying 'Tereus' out of fear. And Procne on the other, who was lamenting Itys, was uttering pitifully 'Itys, Itys'. Because Zeus had pity, after Procne on the one hand was transformed into a

These accounts (like the majority of the narratives of the myth), in turn, are coherent with all we know about Sophocles' *Tereus*, fragments and hypothesis, as we will point out below. Sutton (Evidence for Lost Dramatic Hypotheses. *GRBS* 29 [1988]) suggests that the hypothesis of Sophocles' *Tereus* is the source of the scholion vetus on Ar. Av. 212, on which, in turn, Tzetzes would depend for his scholion on Hesiod (*Op.* 566ter Gais.) and Chil. VII, Hist. 142. This is of course impossible, as Scattolin rightly noted³⁷. In any case, these accounts provided by Tzetzes and Triklinios belong to the 'Sophoclean line' of the myth of Procne and Philomela, to which the scholion transmitted by Xr, the fifth of the Moschopulean manuscripts commenting on the nightingale, also belongs.

The ms. Xr (plates 3 and 4)

On *El.* vv. 145–149, Konstantinos Ketzias, Xr's copyist, writes a mythological account. The scholion deserves particular attention, first because of its remarkable length and content, and second because it is solely—as far as I know—transmitted by Xr. This last point is also significant, as Xr shares most of its extra-Moschopulean scholia with other Moschopulean mss., particularly with the manuscript D, the Ambrosianus N 166 sup., mid. 14th cent. (= Na), a manuscript that also contains some notes by Michael Lygizos³⁸, and the Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, ms. 4617 (= Mc). I will now provide an annotated transcription and translation of this scholion³⁹.

nightingale, and Philomela on the other into a swallow, and even Tereus too into a hoopoe, they are still until now each making the same noises as after the event, but before the change into a bird').

³⁷ SCATTOLIN, Le notizie 127 (see n. 21): 'L'autorità dello scolio starebbe nell'essere l'anello intermedio tra il papiro e Tzetzes, almeno a dare credito a una suggestione di Sutton: purtroppo l'autore americano è stato incolpevolmente sviato dall'edizione ottocentesca di Dübner in cui egli doveva ancora leggere gli scoli agli Uccelli. Come si può vedere nell'edizione di Holwerda (...), quello che per Sutton era uno scolio vetus altro non è che una nota di Marco Musuro dalla princeps Aldina (schol. 212e.β), a sua volta rielaborazione di uno scolio di Demetrio Triclinio (schol. 212e.α).'

³⁸ See A. M. CUOMO, Sui Manoscritti Moschopulei (as n. 3) 400–401.

³⁹ Here is the list of the texts I used for the comparison. In the primary sources section of the bibliography, I have listed the editions employed. Greek sources: Hom. τ, 518–523; υ, 61–79, and scholia ad locos (including Scholion V2 in Hom. τ, 518 = Pherecydes [FGrH 3 F 124]); Hes. *Op.* 560sq. and 202–221; Id. frg. 312 preserved by Ael. VH 12, 20 (= II 128, 3 Hercher); Simonides frg. 586 PMG; Ibycus frg. 303 (b) PMG; Alcaeus: frg. 307 (1) c Voigt (= 307 I (c) L–P = 1–4 BERGK); Aeschylus *Suppl.* 57–67; Ag. 1140–1145; Sophocles' *Tereus* and Hypothesis of *Tereus*; Thucydides II 29, and scholia ad loc.; (Ps.-)Dem. 60, 28; Heraclitus, *De incredibilibus* 35; Strabo, *Geographica* 9, 3, 13, 8sq.; Agatharchides (Photios cod. 250); Conon, *Narr.* 31 (= Photios cod. 186); [Apollodoros], *Bibliotheca*. III 14, 8; Lucianus, *De Syria Dea* 40, 3–6; Zenobius III 14; Pausanias, *Graeciae Descriptio* I 5, 4; Achilles Tatius, *Leucippe et Clitophon* V 3–10; Libanius, *Progymnasmata* II 18 and 19; Procopius, *Declamatio* 1, 11; Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* 44, 265–269; Ioannis Malalae *Chronographia*; [Nonnos], *Historiae*, i.e. *Scholia mythologica* no. 39; Stephanus Byzantius, *Ethnica* IV 32 Δαυλίς (Daulis); Ioannes Geometres, *Carmen* 300, 46–54; Georgios Tornikes, *Or.* 14, p. 223; Michael Choniates, *Ep.* 52; Eustathios, ad Hom. *Od.* II 215, 13ss.; Id., in *Homeri Iliadem* I, p. 421; Ioannes Tzetzes, *Epistula* 19; Id. *Chiliades* VII, Hist. 142, vv. 451–471; Maximos Planudes' translation of *Ov. Met.* VI 424–676; *Etymologicum Symeonis* s.v. Δαυλίς; *Etymologicum Magnum* s.v. Δαυλίς; *Scholia Triclinii* in *Aristophanis Aves* 212e, α and β. *Schol.* in *Eur. Rhesum* 550; *Schol. vet.* in *Eur. Phoenissas* 1515; *Schol.* in *Oppiani Halieutica* 728; *Schol.* in *Hesiodi Opera et Dies* (vetera) 568b. Latin sources: *Fragments of the Tereus* by Accius et Pacuvius; Antoninus Liberalis; *Mythographi Vaticani*; Ovidius, *Metamorphoses* VI 242–276; Probus, in *Vergilii Ecl.* VI 78; *Scholia Bernensia* in *Vergilii Ecl.* VI 78; Servius, in *Vergilii Ecl.* VI 78. A general discussion of the passages is to be found in MONELLA, *Procne e Filomela* (see n. 19) and in G. I. MICHAJLOV, *La légende de Térée*. Sofia 1955, esp. 81–149. I thank Grigori Simeonov for providing me with copies of this book.

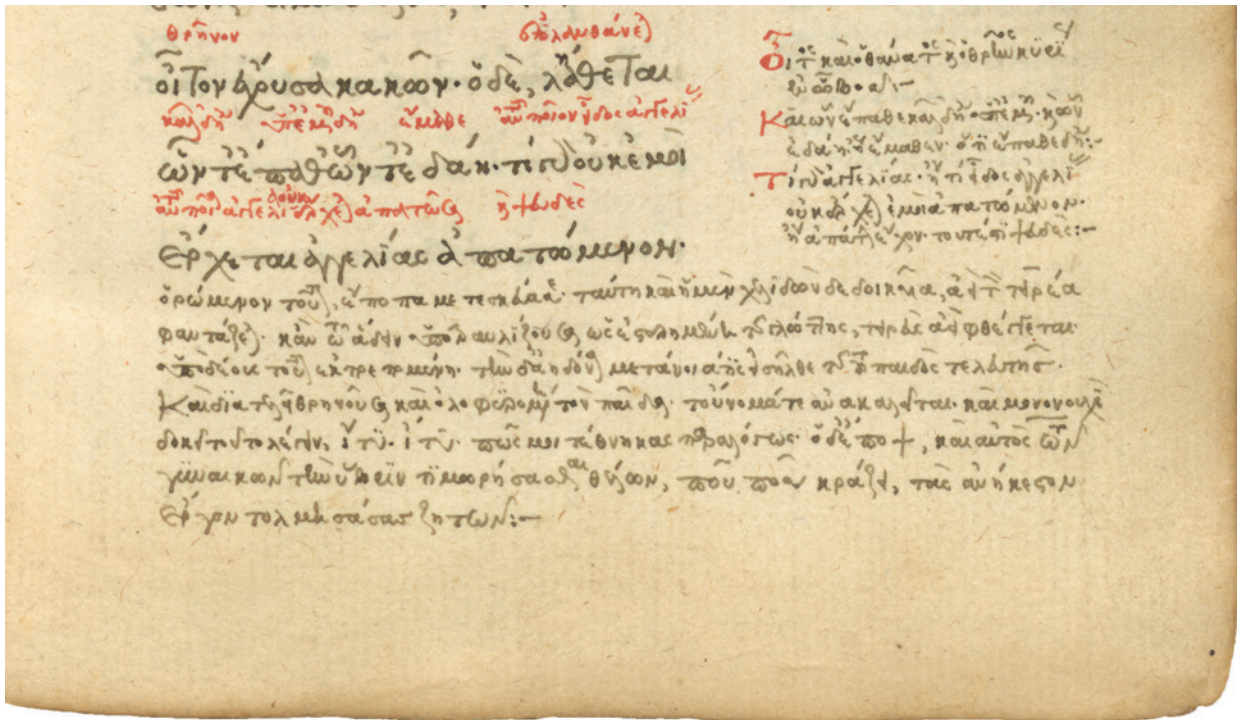


Plate 4: Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Phil. gr. 161 (*Diktyon* 71275), f. 238r <scribe: Konstantinos Ketzas>

Τὸν περὶ χελιδόνος καὶ ἀηδόνης μῦθον, ἐθέλω σοι ἐξηγήσασθαι:⁴⁰

Τηρεὺς⁴¹ ἀνὴρ Θραῶξ, ξένος ἦν τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ Πανδίονι· θυγατέρας ἔχοντι δύο· ὧν ἀτέρα μὲν⁴², ἐκαλεῖτο Πρόκνη, πρεσβυτέρα οὖσα τῷ χρόνῳ· θατέρα⁴³ δὲ ἦν ὄνομα Φιλομήλα· ὁ γοῦν Τηρεὺς, ἐπιχωριάσας ποτὲ Ἀθήναζε, κατέλυσε παρὰ Πανδίονι· εἰς ἔρωτα δὲ ἐλθὼν, Πρόκνης τῆς πρεσβυτέρας, πείθει τὸν πατέρα· καὶ ἄγεται γαμετήν· ἦν λαβὼν, ᾤχετο ἐπὶ Θράκην οἴκαδε ἄγων·
 5 μετὰ δὲ τινα χρόνον, ἔρωσ ἐμπίπτει τῇ Πρόκνῃ τῆς τε πατρίδος καὶ τῶν γονέων· καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον, τῆς ἀδελφῆς Φιλομήλης· καὶ πείθειν ἐπεχείρει τὸν ἄνδρα ἐπαναγαγεῖν αὐτὴν εἰς Ἀθήνας· συνεσομένην ἐπὶ τινα χρόνον τοῖς παιδικοῖς· ὁ δ' οὐκ ἐπέιθετο· ἠνιάτο δ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἢ Πρόκνη· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄπορα ἦν αὐτῇ τὰ πρῶτα, δευτέραν ἦει καὶ προσέκειτο λιπαροῦσα τὸν ἄνδρα· εἰ μὴ βούλοιο αὐτὴν Ἀθήναζε ἀγαγεῖν· αὐτὸν γοῦν ἐκεῖσε ἐλθόντα, κομίσαί οἱ τὴν ἀδελφήν· πείσαντα⁴⁴ τοὺς
 10 γονέας· ἐπινεύει τῇ δεήσει ταύτης Τηρεὺς· ἦκει τὲ παρ' αὐτοῦς· καὶ δεηθεὶς, λαμβάνει τὴν Φιλομήλαν· κατ' ἀνάγκην μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμην ἐκδεδωκότων αὐτήν·

⁴⁰ Here too, I punctuate according to the 'Dionysian' system, which is the system followed by the Byzantines and Ketzas. So, the upper dots are equivalent to English full stops, and the middle dots have the function of English commas. I replace the Dionysian ὑποστιγμαί and ὑποδιαστολαί with a single sign, the comma. One single sign, the comma, is used to indicate both the Dionysian *hypodiastole* and the *hypostigme*. The comma/*hypodiastole* links two words or phrases on a micro-syntactic level (as in l. 3); whereas a comma/*hypostigme* indicates that what follows is the main clause, or the element which completes the phrase. See also above, n. 16.

⁴¹ Xr constantly writes Τειρεὺς (Teireus) (in all cases). I will tacitly correct this iotacism.

⁴² Only when an oxytone word is followed by a τελεία (teleia) (α') does the stressed syllable then carry the acute. S. αὐτὰς p. 4, l. 10.

⁴³ θατέρα Xr.

⁴⁴ πείσαντα] -εί- was probably corrected by Xr¹.

καὶ ἦσαν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ, ἐν τούτῳ δὲ, ἐπιθυμία τις⁴⁵ ἐκίνει τὸν ἄνδρα, συγγενέσθαι τῇ Φιλομήλῃ· καὶ οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν,⁴⁶ τῆς ἀτοπίας περιγενέσθαι τοῦ πράγματος· ἀλλ' ἦν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ· καὶ βιασάμενος συνῆλθε τῇ κόρῃ· τὸ ἄτοπον δὲ εἰργασμένος ὢν προήχθη πρᾶξι μετέγνω· ἔδρασε τε κομῆναι τὴν γυναῖκα Πρόκνην, ὡς δι' ὄχλου μάλιστα οἱ γενησομένην, εἰ πύθοιτο παρὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς τὸ πραχθέν· καὶ δείσας, ἀποτέμνει τὴν γλώτταν⁴⁷ τῆς Φιλομήλης⁴⁸, ἀνέκπτυστον ἐλπίσας οὕτως ἔσεσθαι, τὸ περὶ αὐτὴν γερονδός· οὐκ ἔχουσαν ὅπως ἐρεῖ τὸ κατ' αὐτὴν Πρόκνη τῇ ἀδελφῇ· ἦκεν οὖν οὕτω πρᾶξας ὁ Τηρέυς, οἴκαδε σὺν τῇ Φιλομήλῃ· ἡ δὲ Πρόκνη, ἦσθη⁴⁹ μὲν ἰδοῦσα τὴν ἀδελφὴν· γνοῦσα δὲ τὸ πάθος, ἤλγησε χαλεπῶς· καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν, ἐπυνθάνετο τοῦ συμβάντος·

20 ὁ δ' ἄνθρωπος, ψευδῆ λόγον συνθεῖς, ἔλεγεν· ὡς ὑπὸ νόσου δὴ τινος, ἐνσκηψάσης τῇ γλώττῃ, τὸ πάθος τοῦτο συμβαίη, τὸ τῆς ἐκτομῆς λέγει· ἡ δὲ Πρόκνη, τέως μὲν ὡς ἀληθῆ δεξαμένη τὸν λόγον, ἠσυχίαν ἤγεν· ὅμως ἀνωμένη· τῆς δ' ἀδελφῆς γράμμασι σημηνάσης⁵⁰ τὴν πρᾶξιν⁵¹, καὶ γὰρ ἦν εἰδυῖα γράμματα, πρὸς ὀργὴν τὴν χαλεπὴν ἐκινήθη· καὶ ἀμύνασθαι, ἐπεχείρει τὸν ἄνδρα· οὐκ ἔχουσα δὲ ὅπως, ἐπὶ τὸν παῖδα τὴν ὀργὴν τρέπει τὸν Ἴτυν· τέκνον δὲ ἦν αὐτῇ ὑπομάζιον,

25 γερονδός ἐκ Τηρέως· παρατηρήσασά⁵² τε ἔξω που τῆς οἰκίας ἀποδημοῦντα τὸν ἄνδρα, θύει τὸν Ἴτυν· καὶ σκευάσασα ὄψον, ἐπανελθόντι παρατίθησι τῷ Τηρεῖ· ὁ δ' ἀγνοῶν, τῶν τοῦ παιδὸς ἐνεφορεῖτο σαρκῶν· μεταξὺ δὲ δειπνῶν, ἐζήτει καὶ τὸν υἱόν· τῆς δὲ μητρὸς οὐκ ἐχούσης, μήτε παρόντα παραστήσαι μήτε ἀπόντα ὅποι εἶη δεικνύναι, ἦσθητο τοῦ πράγματος ὁ Τηρέυς· καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς εἶη, συνῆκεν ὁ βιβρωσκόμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· καὶ μαθὼν, ἀνελεῖν ὥρμησε τὴν γυναῖκα μετὰ

30 τῆς ἀδελφῆς· αἱ δὲ, τὸν κίνδυνον φεύγουσαι, ἐδέοντο τοῦ Διὸς, σῶσαι σφᾶς ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Τηρέως χειρῶν· ὁ δὲ Ζεὺς αὐτὰς ἐλεήσας τῆς συμφορᾶς, τὴν μὲν Πρόκνην, εἰς ἀηδόνα μετήμειψε· τὴν δὲ Φιλομήλαν, χελιδόνα πεποίηκεν· οἶκτον δὲ καὶ τοῦ Τηρέως λαβὼν πάντη περιόντος, καὶ τὰς δυσμενεῖς γυναῖκας ζητοῦντος πρὸς ἄμυναν, εἰς τὸν νῦν ὀρώμενον τοῦτον, ἔποπα μετεσκεύασε· ταύτη καὶ ἡ μὲν χελιδὼν δεδοικυῖα, αἰεὶ τὸν Τηρέα φαντάζεται· κᾶν⁵³ τῷ ἄδειν⁵⁴ ὑποτραυλίζουσα

35 ὡς ἐστερημένη τῆς γλώττης, *Τηρέυς* αἰεὶ φθέγγεται· ὑπὸ δέους τοῦτον ἐκτρεπομένη· τὴν δ' ἀηδόνα μετάνοιά τις εἰσήλθε τῆς τοῦ παιδὸς τελευτῆς· καὶ διατελεῖ θρηνοῦσα καὶ ὀλοφυρομένη τὸν παῖδα· τοῦνομά τε ἀνακαλεῖται· καὶ μονονουχὶ δοκεῖ τοῦτο λέγειν, *Ἴτυ· Ἴτυ· πῶς μοι τέθνηκας παραλόγως*; ὁ δ' ἔποψ, καὶ αὐτὸς τῶν γυναικῶν τὴν ὕβριν τιμωρήσασθαι θέλων, *ποῦ· ποῦ* κρᾶζει, τὰς ἀνήκεστον ἔργον τολμησάσας ζητῶν·- Xr, fols. 237v–238r

I want to tell you the myth of the swallow and the nightingale

Tereus of Thrace was a guest of the Athenian Pandion, who had two daughters. Of the two, one was named Procne and was the elder; the other bore the name Philomela. At that time, regularly visiting Athens, Tereus lodged with Pandion. After falling in love with Procne, the elder daughter, Tereus asks her father for her hand in marriage and marries her. After the wedding, he takes her to his home in Thrace. After some time, a certain homesickness, desire for her parents and particularly for her sister Philomela, fell upon Procne. She tried to persuade her husband to bring her back to Athens, so that she could be with her loved ones for a while. However, he did not heed her; hence Procne became disheartened. Nonetheless, since the first avenue turned out to be unfeasible for her,

⁴⁵ τίς Xr

⁴⁶ ἦν] η- probably corrected by Xr¹.

⁴⁷ It seems to be written with the acute.

⁴⁸ Φιλομήλης] λ² probably corrected by Xr¹.

⁴⁹ ἦσθη Xr.

⁵⁰ συμμηνάσας Xr.

⁵¹ sic

⁵² παραπειρήσασά τε Xr.

⁵³ sic

⁵⁴ ἄδειν Xr

Procne tried a second way. She persisted in imploring her husband: If he really did not want to bring her to Athens, to at least go there himself and, after persuading her parents, to bring her sister back. Tereus agreed to her plea. He arrives at her parents and after having asked permission, takes Philomela: the parents gave her to him more out of necessity, than by will.

They were on the road, when a lustful longing moves the man to couple with Philomela. He was unable to overcome the unspeakableness of the deed. And so, he came to action. And he, doing violence, had intercourse with the girl. Having committed unspeakable acts, however, he regretted what he was led to do. He very much feared his wife, since she would certainly cause him problems if her sister told her what had happened. And so, in fear, he cuts out Philomela's tongue, hoping in this way that what had happened to her would remain undiscovered, for Philomela would not know how to tell the story to her sister Procne.

Having done so, Tereus comes back home together with Philomela. Procne rejoiced in seeing her sister. However, upon discovering the misfortune, she became bitterly sad and asked for the cause of what had happened. Her husband constructed a false story, and said that this misfortune (by which he meant the facts concerning the amputation) happened because a certain disease had struck her tongue. Having accepted the story as true, Procne was appeased for a while, but grieved nonetheless. However, when her sister revealed the facts through writing (as she knew how to write), Procne became furious, and resolved to take vengeance upon her husband.

Lacking means, she vents her rage against her child, Itys. He was her unweaned infant, engendered with Tereus. Having observed her husband going somewhere away from the house, she kills Itys. Procne prepared the child for eating and served him to Tereus, who meanwhile had returned. He unknowingly filled himself with the flesh of his child and, while dining, asked for his son. Since the mother could not produce him, nor indicate where he was, Tereus became aware of what had happened. <Tereus> realized that it was he (i.e. his own son Itys) who was being devoured by him. Having understood this, he sought to kill his wife and her sister. Fleeing from the danger, however, the two prayed to Zeus to save them from Tereus' hands. Zeus, taking pity on them for the misfortune, transformed Procne into a nightingale and Philomela into a swallow. Zeus also pitied Tereus, who was looking everywhere for the wretched sisters, in order to get revenge, and transformed him into a hoopoe, as he is now seen. Consequently, the swallow, fearing <the hoopoe>, always imagines that it sees Tereus. When it sings and stutters, being devoid of the tongue, it always utters 'Tereus' and runs away from him out of fear. A certain remorse for her son's death instilled into the nightingale (i.e. Procne), who is always crying and moaning because of the child. She constantly pronounces his name and all but seems to say: 'Itys, Itys! How could I have been so insane as to kill you!' The hoopoe, longing to take revenge on the brutality of the women, cries 'Pou, pou?' while it looks for the two women who dared to commit this cruel deed.

COMMENTARY

The scholion closely matches the version found in Triclinius' scholia on Aristophanes' *Aves* 212e (HOLWERDA), and Tzetzes' scholion on Hesiod's *Opera et Dies* 566ter (GAISFORD). With them, it places itself in line with the Sophoclean version of the myth, as it appears in the Hypothesis of *Tereus* (P. Oxy. 42, 3013* [LDAB 3938] II–III cent. CE). Linguistically, it displays an overall unusual syntax and morphology for scholia of the time (e.g. the pronoun οἱ l. 9; numerous verbs in the optative; etc.).

It is, however, impossible for me to determine the source Xr (directly) followed. In this regard, nonetheless, I find it worth mentioning the verb at line 34 ὑποτραυλίζουσα (*hypotraulizousa*).

Ὑποτραυλίζω (Hypotraulizō) is a rare verb⁵⁵ and has been used only twice in reference to the Tereus myth, exclusively by Eustathios⁵⁶: ad Hom. Od. II 215, 31 (διὸ τραχύφωνος μὲν ἔστιν ἢ χελιδὼν καὶ ἀηδὴς τὸ μέλος οἷα κολουσθεῖσα τῆς γλώττης, καὶ συχνὰ τὸν Τηρέα ὑποτραυλίζουσα κατὰ στόμα προφέρει, ἀηδὼν δὲ τὸν Ἴτυν τοῦ μέλους προβάλλεται—‘For this reason, the swallow has a rough voice and its song is unpleasant as if she is cut short of her tongue, and she, who is lisping, utters often ‘Tereus’ with her mouth, and the nightingale brings out ‘Its’ in her song’) and Ep. 10,5 (χελιδὼν... οὐδὲ μὴν τὸν Τηρέα παρατραυλίζουσα⁵⁷—‘the swallow ... nor really lisping Tereus’)⁵⁸. The verb also appears in Luc. Tim. 55,6 (no comment on it in the *Scholia* ed. RABE)⁵⁹ ... καὶ ὑποτραυλίζων (‘and lisping’); in Gregorios Nyssenos *PG* 9, 262, 8 φωνὴν ὑποτραυλιζομένην καὶ ψελλιζομένην⁶⁰; in Paraphrasis 6,41⁶¹; in Symeon the Metaphrastes 77,12⁶²; and in Pachymeres’ Commentaries on Aristotle’s *De partibus animalium* 1, 6, 62⁶³.

Title Τὸν περὶ—ἐθέλω σοι ἐξηγήσασθαι] As a title, one would have expected the more common ‘ἱστορία’. Scholia on mythological matters commonly carry this title. It happens for example in Xu, Xv (see p. 166 above), and even Xr. Commenting on v. 837 ‘οἶδα γὰρ ἄνακτ’ Ἀμφιάρεων ...’ (‘I know that the lord Amphiarus ...’), Ketzas adds a mythological scholion introduced by ‘ἱστορία’⁶⁴.

Also, the heading reminds me of John Tzetzes’ style. In his *Chiliades*, for example, he often addresses his reader by means of dialogues⁶⁵.

1 Τηρεὺς] Generally, Konstantinos Ketzas is an accurate copyist. In his manuscript, he writes the iota mutum and creates a carefully functional layout for each page. This long mythological narrative, however, does not represent Ketzas’ best work, as we come across small but numerous inaccuracies. He consistently writes the name of Tereus with the diphthong -ει- instead of the correct eta in all cases. I decided not to note his misspelling of ‘Τηρεὺς’ in the footnotes. He also confuses other /i/ sounds as, for example, in συμμηνάσας (symmēnasas), παρατειρήσασα (parateirēsasa)⁶⁶. In addition to these spelling mistakes, Ketzas’ handwriting degrades in quality. For example, some

⁵⁵ Six records in the *TLG*, as at April 14, 2022.

⁵⁶ Below, (see my comments on ll. 12–14, 14–18) two other linguistic similarities between Xr’s and Eustathios’ narratives will be discussed.

⁵⁷ Sed lege: ὑποτραυλίζουσα (hypotraulizousa). About the replacement of παρατραυλίζουσα (paratraulizousa) by ὑποτραυλίζουσα, see G. PAPAGIANNIS, Quisquilia and methodological suggestions on the occasion of the Eustathios’ Letters. *Byzantina Symmeikta* 27 (2017) 347–366 (355–356!). I owe my thanks to the anonymous reviewer who shared this reference with me.

⁵⁸ F. KOLOVOU, Die Briefe des Eustathios von Thessalonike (*Beiträge zur Altertumskunde* 239). Munich – Leipzig 2006.

⁵⁹ Scholia in Lucianum, ed. H. RABE. Leipzig 1906 (repr. 1971).

⁶⁰ ‘... stammering and inarticulately speaking tongue’. In the context of this myth, the more common verb ψελλίζω (psellizō) appears in the sentence added by Td and Xu (see above p. 166); in Wa scholion on El. 148 (see below); and in Michael Choniates’ Letter 52, ll. 9–11 (ΚΟΛΟΒΟΥ): ἀλλὰ μὴ ψελλίζομαι, οὐ λέγω παιδικῶς, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀττικὴν παρθένον ἐκείνην ἧς τὴν γλῶτταν ὁ Τηρεὺς ἀπετέμετο (‘I do not speak inarticulately; I do not speak like children, like that Attic virgin girl, whose tongue Tereus cut out’).

⁶¹ F. HALKIN, Six inédits d’hagiologie byzantine (*Subsidia hagiographica* 74). Brussels 1987.

⁶² *PG* 116, col. 77, 17.

⁶³ E. PAPPA, Georgios Pachymeres. Philosophia Buch 6. Kommentar zu De partibus animalium des Aristoteles (*Corpus Philosophorum Medii Aevi. Commentaria in Aristotelem Byzantina* 4/1). Athens 2008.

⁶⁴ See CUOMO, Sui Manoscritti Moschopulei (see n. 3) 413.

⁶⁵ See, for instance: Chil. IV, Hist. 4, 866: Ἔχεις μοι καὶ τὸν Κόρυβον. Ἄκουε τὸν Μαργίτην (‘Now you have the Korybonty from me. Now listen to the one on Margites’). Chil. X, Hist. 332, 433: Εἶπον τὴν ἱστορίαν σοι καὶ ἠλληγόρησά σοι. Chil. XII, Hist. 407, 354: Τὴν ἱστορίαν ἔχεις μὲν τῆς Ἀριστοπατεῖρης (‘Here you have the story of Aristopateira’).

⁶⁶ See footnotes nos. 50 and 52.

ligatures become ambiguous (e.g. $\tau\rho = \pi\omicron$), his ductus becomes more cursive, the number of abbreviations increases.

As **plate 3** shows, Ketzas designed the page to provide this long narrative with adequate space. He copied the mythological account first and only later returned to writing the Moschopulean scholia on El. vv. 144–156. Indeed, Ketzas writes scholia next to the Sophoclean verses and avoids *signes de renvoi*. However, on f. 237v, he could not apply his habitual format because when he resumed the copy of the Moschopulean scholia, most of the space had already been taken up by the mythological scholion. The evidence of the *mise-en-page* shows that the story of Procne and Philomela did not belong to the exegetical corpus that Ketzas was copying.

1 ἀνήρ Θραῦξ] It is then in l. 4 (ὄχρετο ἐπὶ Θράκην οἴκαδε ἄγων) that the scholion reveals that Tereus comes from Thrace and not from Daulia in Phocis.

The region where these facts are staged is not a secondary issue. We know at least four different settings for this myth: (a) Antoninus Liberalis, *Met.* 11⁶⁷ stages the story in Asia Minor. (b) Pausanias locates the myth in Megara (II 29, 3) and (c), alternatively, in Daulis (X 4, 8). The Phocian city inhabited by Thracian people is also the stage of the myth according to Thucydides (II 29, and scholia ad loc.), Conon, *Narr.* 31 (= Phot. *Bibl.*), Strabo 9, 3, 3; Zenobius, *Cent.* 3, 14; Longinus *Frg.* 18 MÄNNLEIN-ROBERT⁶⁸, and Nonnus D.4, 321 (and Pseudo-Nonnus). Aeschylus, *Suppl.* 58–76, also seems to opt for Daulis. (d) Sophocles (*Tereus and Hypothesis of Tereus* = TrGF 4, frg. 581–595 RADT⁶⁹, and P. Oxy. 42, 3013* [LDAB 3938]⁷⁰) was probably the first to locate the myth in Thrace⁷¹.

Most of the medieval versions of the myth of Procne and Philomela (indirectly) depend on the lost Sophoclean tragedy *Tereus*. To reconstruct Sophocles' *Tereus*, we, in turn, depend on the references provided by Aristophanes' *Aves* (and *Lys.* 561–564), and Euripides' *Medea*: these plays represent the terminus ante quem for *Tereus*' premiere (430–414 BC)⁷². The following authors must

⁶⁷ The *Metamorphoses* of Antoninus Liberalis, ed. F. CELORIA. London 1992. Useful considerations on the Latin versions of the myth can be found in the commentaries on Livius Andronicus' and Accius' *Tereus* by O. RIBBECK, *Die römische Tragödie im Zeitalter der Republik*. Leipzig 1875, esp. 35–43, 577–586.

⁶⁸ I. MÄNNLEIN-ROBERT, *Longin, Philologe und Philosoph: eine Interpretation der erhaltenen Zeugnisse (Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 143)*. Munich 2001.

⁶⁹ RADT² = *Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta 4: Sophocles*. Ed. correctior et addendis aucta, ed. S. RADT (F 730a–g ed. R. KANNICHT). Göttingen 1999. A more recent edition of the fragments of Sophocles' *Tereus* is now in: D. MILO, *Il 'Tereo' di Sofocle*. Naples 2008.

⁷⁰ See MP³ 1480.2 = the online updated version of R. A. PACK, *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt*. Ann Arbor ²1965 (web.philo.ulg.ac.be/cedopal/). The hypothesis was first edited by P. J. PARSONS, *P. Oxy.* 3013. *Argument of a Tereus?*, in: *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri 42*, ed. P. J. Parsons. London 1974, 46–50, and re-edited and/or commented on by scholars such as: M. VAN ROSSUM-STEENBEEK, *Greek Readers' Digests. Studies on a Selection of Subliterary Papyri (Mnemosyne Suppl. 175)*. Leiden – New York – Cologne 1998, 21–22 (no. 18) and 230–231; H. HOFMANN, *Kritische Nachlese zur Hypothesis des Sophokleischen Tereus (P. Oxy. 3013)*, in: *Syncharmata. Studies in Honour of Jan Friedrik Kindstrand*, ed. S. Eklund. Uppsala 2006, 87–112; W. LUPPE, *Die Tereus-Hypothese P.Oxy. XLII.3013. Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete 53 (2007) 1–5*, and lately by C. MECCARIELLO, *Le ipotesi narrative dei drammi euripidei (Pleiadi 16)*. Rome 2014, 118–119, 364–368. See also SCATTOLIN, *Le notizie* (see n. 21).

⁷¹ See the hypothesis (*P. Oxy.* 42, 3013 = 1480.2 MERTENS – PACK³ [P. MERTENS – R. A. PACK, *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires grecs et latin*. Liège ³1986]) l. 6 (ed. MECCARIELLO, *Le ipotesi narrative* [see n. 70] 361–362). *Ibid.* 364–365, we read: 'un riferimento alla Tracia compare nel dramma (Soph TrGF 582)'. SCATTOLIN, *Le notizie* (see n. 21) 123 wrote on the region where the myth is staged. See also frgs. 582 (and 587) RADT² (= frgs. 1 and 4 MILO). However, the frg. 582 (and 587) RADT² (= frg. 1 MILO) can be interpreted differently, depending on which emendation one accepts between the one proposed by MILO, *Il 'Tereo'* (see n. 69) 27–31 or that by F. H. BOTHE, *Sophoclis Dramatum Fragmenta*. Leipzig 1846, 50 (see RADT² 438).

⁷² See MONELLA, *Procne e Filomela* (see n. 19) 86–92; A. H. SOMMERSTEIN – D. FITZPATRICK – T. TALBOY, *Sophocles: Selected Fragmentary Plays. I. Hermione, Polyxene, The Diners, Tereus, Troilus, Phaedra*. Oxford 2006, 157–158, n. 56. See also D. F. SUTTON, *Evidence for Lost Dramatic Hypotheses. GRBS 29 (1988) 90*; J. MARCH, *Vases and Tragic Drama:*

have been alternatives to Sophocles: Philocles, who authored a tetralogy entitled Πανδιονίς (Pandionis)⁷³, and Carcinus, who also wrote a *Tereus*⁷⁴. Authors of the μέση (mesē), such as Anaxandrides (frgs. 46–48) and Phileterus (frgs. 15–17) also seem to have alluded to Sophocles' play. I will mention Sophocles' version of the myth below.

Sophocles' interpretation of the myth became the most popular, and affected later accounts⁷⁵ such as Tzetzes', Triclinius', and Xr's. Sophocles' version seemed to stress the negative connotation of Tereus, who is described as the motive for the two sisters' crime. While Aeschylus suggests that Tereus was transformed into a sparrowhawk (Suppl. 62), after Sophocles' play, Tereus is said to have become a hoopoe (ἔποψ)⁷⁶. Sophocles stages the story in Thrace, a particular that is criticized by Thucydides.

Thucydides (II 29) reports that the Athenian establishment opened diplomatic negotiations with the Odrysian Kingdom of Thrace in 431, with the aim of ruling over the Greek cities of the Thracian shore and over Perdicas, King of Macedonia. Thucydides integrated the narration of these historical events with the account of the myth of Procne and Philomela in order to (1) contest/question the relation myth-Thrace, and (2) support the Phocian origin of the myth. Thucydides' arguments are based on the facts that: (a) Tereus ruled Daulia, a city of Phocis at that time inhabited by Thracian people; (b) it is in Daulia that the two sisters committed the crime (that is why Itys is also known by poets as the 'Daulian bird'); (c) it is more sensible to believe that Pandion, King of Athens, aimed to ally with the region of Phocis rather than with the region of Thrace that was too distant. With this mythological excursion, Thucydides maybe wanted to spread a different (and older?) version of the myth that was more favorable to the negotiations between the Athenians and the Thracians than the version popularized by Sophocles (or than the version on which Sophocles later based his *Tereus*)⁷⁷. In Ov. VI 490, Tereus is called *rex Odrysius*.

Euripides' *Medea* and Sophocles' lost *Tereus*, in: Word and Image in Ancient Greece, ed. N. K. Rutter – B. A. Sparkes (*Edinburgh Leventis Studies* 1). Edinburgh 2000, 121–139; D. FITZPATRICK, Sophocles' *Tereus*. *CQ* 51 (2001) 90–101; H. LLOYD-JONES, Sophocles. Fragments. Cambridge, MA – London 2003, 290–300; V. J. LIAPIS, Achilles Tatius as a Reader of Sophocles. *CQ* 56 (2006) 220–238; IDEM, Achilles Tatius and Sophocles' 'Tereus': A Corrigendum and an Addendum. *CQ* 58 (2008) 335–336; F. T. COULSON, Procne and Philomela in the Latin Commentary Tradition of the Middle Ages and Renaissance. *Euphrosyne* 36 (2008) 181–196; L. COO, A Tale of Two Sisters: Studies in Sophocles' *Tereus*. *TAPA* 143 (2013) 349–384.

⁷³ The Τηρεὺς ἢ Ἐποψ (Tēreus ē Epops) was probably the last tragedy of the tetralogy. See RIBBECK, *Römische Tragödie* (see n. 59) 39.

⁷⁴ Both dramatists are considered to be the sources for the mythological accounts, such as Hyg. Fab. 45, which differ from the Sophoclean vulgate. See RIBBECK, *Römische Tragödie* 37–38, and A. IBÁÑEZ-CHACÓN, Conón, Narr. 31: Procne. *Maia* 65 (2013) 99.

⁷⁵ See SOMMERSTEIN – FITZPATRICK – TALBOY, Sophocles 142–149.

⁷⁶ See L. CHAZALON – J. WILGAUX, Violences et transgressions dans le mythe de Térée. *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli. Sezione di archeologia e storia antica* N. S. 15/16 (2008/2009) 167–189; MONELLA, Procne e Filomela (see n. 19) 67–68, 92–93, 120 n. 121; SOMMERSTEIN – FITZPATRICK – TALBOY, Sophocles 145. See also the *hypothesis* Col. 2, 32 (ed. MECCARIELLO, *Le hypotheseis* [see n. 70]).

⁷⁷ See I. CAZZANIGA, La saga di Itis nella tradizione letteraria e mitografica greco-romana I–II. Milan – Varese 1950, 60–63; E. HALL, Inventing the Barbarian: Greek Self-Definition through Tragedy. Oxford 1989, 104–105; F. ANGIÒ, Il Tereo di Sofocle e Tucidide II 29 3: fra mito e storia. *QS* 32 (1990) 151–152; U. FANTASIA, Tucidide. La Guerra del Peloponneso, Libro II. Pisa 2003, 343; W. D. FURLEY, Thucydides and Religion, in: Brill's Companion to Thucydides, ed. A. Tsakmakis – A. Rengakos. Leiden 2006, 415–438, 418; MONELLA, Procne e Filomela 86–89, 95–97, and also L. MOSCATI-CASTELNUOVO, ... e i Focesi? Un aspetto della riflessione tucididea sull'etnogenesi elima, in: Convivenze etniche, scontri e contatti di culture in Sicilia e Magna Grecia, ed. F. Berlincani (*Aristonothos. Scritti per il Mediterraneo antico* 7). Trento 2012, 133–153. The political implications pertaining to the location of the myth are also discussed in S. MANCUSO, Una vicenda tracia: Tereo fra tragedia e politica, in: Il teatro della 'polis' tra intrattenimento e politica. Nuove interpretazioni del dramma greco antico – Atti del convegno internazionale, Pisa 21–22 ottobre 2019, ed. A. Giannotti. Turin 2020, 1–21 and S. MANCUSO, Traces of Sophocles' *Tereus* in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 6.424–674, in: Fragmented Memory. Omission, Selection, and Loss in Ancient and Medieval Literature and History, ed. N. Bruno – M. Filosa – G. Marinelli (*Beiträge zur Altertumskunde* 404). Berlin – Boston 2022, 281–302.

The setting of the myth, whether in Asia Minor, Megara, Daulis, or Thrace no longer had a political-ideological connotation as in the times of Thucydides and Sophocles. Later accounts of the myth unanimously accept the Thracian setting of the story. The detail is sometimes the occasion to underline the barbaric origin of Tereus: e.g. by saying that only ‘a barbarian⁷⁸’ could break the marital pacts⁷⁹. It does not seem to me that the atrocities of sexual violence against Philomela and her glossotomia receive particular censure (e.g. Chil. VII, Hist. 142, 259: Ἀθέσμως ταύτη δε μυγείς [‘After having had unlawful intercourse with her ...’]).

1 ξένος] The scholion does not inform us about what caused Tereus to become Pandion’s guest, nor does it allude to any war (as in Ovid, Thucydides, and Ps. Apollodoros for instance). It just reports (ll. 3–4) that Tereus once went to Athens and lodged with the king.

1–2] Xr explicitly says that Tereus’ wife is the older of the two sisters. This is in common with Ps. Nonnos (Ὁ δὲ μὴ πρότερον συμμαχήσειεν ἔφασκεν εἰ μὴ τὴν πρεσβυτέραν αὐτῷ θυγατέρα πρὸς γάμον καθυπόσχοιτο—‘But he said he would not be an ally unless he first promised his elder daughter to him in marriage’), with Eustathios (ἡ πρεσβυτάτη Ἀηδῶν [‘the elder was transformed into a nightingale’], though in his version, Tereus marries Philomela), and the Hypothesis to Sophocles’ Tereus⁸⁰.

2–3 ὁ γοῦν Τηρεὺς – παρὰ Πανδίωνι] This phrase sounds somehow redundant, as we already know that Tereus is ξένος ‘of the Athenian Pandion’, and this phrase does not add any further piece of information to the story.

3–4 εἰς ἔρωτα – ἄγων] The scholion reports that it is Tereus who, having fallen in love with the elder of Pandion’s daughters, asks for her as a wife, marries her, and brings her to his fatherland, Thrace. Other sources (Thuc. 2, 29, 3; Ps. Apollod. Bibl. 3, 14, 8) suggest that Procne was granted to Tereus as a reward for ‘his military aid provided in the war against Labdacus’⁸¹.

Other sources, the hypothesis of Sophocles’ Tereus included, add a bit more context: ‘τὰ πισ[τὰ οὐ φ]υλάξας; per il fraseggio cfr. hyp. Phoc. rr. 23–4. A questo aspetto della vicenda allude il racconto della consegna di Filomela a Tereo da parte di Pandione in Ov. Met. 6.496–510. Se Sofocle usa già l’espressione τὸ σὸν μόνον πιστὸν φυλάσσω (OC 625–6), i primi paralleli esatti per il nesso della hypothesis sono più tardi: si tratta di Ael. Arist. Or. 12.34 e 12.68 LENZ, Nonn. D. 30.153–4 e 31.189’⁸².

5–10 μετὰ δέ τινα χρόνον – δεήσει ταύτης Τηρεὺς] This is the sequence that brings Philomela into the story. Like most of the other versions, Xr’s scholion does not specify how long after she relocated to Thrace, Procne revealed to Tereus her wish to see Philomela.

⁷⁸ See, for example: Pausanias I 5, 4 ‘λέγουσιν ὡς Τηρεὺς συνοικῶν Πρόκνη Φιλομήλαν ἤσχυνεν, οὐ κατὰ νόμον δράσας τὸν Ἑλλήνων’ (‘They say that Tereus, married to Procne, dishonored Philomela, certainly not acting according to the laws of the Hellenes’); Achilles Tatius, ‘βαρβάροις δέ, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐχ ἰκανὴ πρὸς Ἀφροδίτην μία γυνή’ (‘One wife at a time, it seems, is not enough for a barbarian’s love’); Ps. Nonnus, Scholion Mythologicum 39 ‘οἷα δὲ βάρβαρος οἰνηθεὶς διαπαρθενεύει τὴν παῖδα ...’ (‘like the barbarian he was, having got drunk, and raped the girl’)...’ Instead, the expression of Eustathios ‘γίνεται τῷ μετοικισμῷ ἐξ Ἀττικῆς γυναικὸς Θρακικῆ’ (‘Philomela sic! becomes a Thracian woman by emigration from Athens’), while reiterating that Thrace and Athens are two different states, does not give any negative connotation to the provenance of Tereus. See also above, n. 34.

⁷⁹ Or the promise made to Pandion to preserve Philomela (see MILO, II ‘Tereo’ [see n. 69] 23 n. 34).

⁸⁰ On the addition of this particular piece of information, see SCATTOLIN, Le notizie (see n. 21) 123.

⁸¹ MANCUSO, Traces 281.

⁸² MECCARIELLO, Le hypothesis [n. 70] 365.

The section has two interesting particularities. Firstly, it says that Procne misses not only Philomela but also her parents (both of them) and her fatherland⁸³. Secondly, it reveals that Procne at first tried to convince Tereus to take her to Athens, and only when her first request was turned down, did she ask Tereus to go himself to Athens and bring at least Philomela to her in Thrace. The second request is the one we also find in other accounts. Among the Latin accounts, Ovid also alludes to the two pleas by Procne, when he says: *vel me visendae mitte sorori, vel soror huc veniat*. Serv. In Verg. Ecl. VI 78: *et post aliquantum tempus ab ea rogaretur, ut sibi Philomelam sororem suam videndam accersiret, profectus est Athenas* (scil. Tereus) *dum adducit puellam*⁸⁴. = Myth. Vat. I 4⁸⁵; II 261. Likewise, there is no evidence of this section in Hyg. Fab. 45⁸⁶. The account transmitted in the Scholia Bernensia does not add any relevant piece of information⁸⁷.

I would also like to point out that in Xr's scholion, Procne's mother is present (ll. 9–10 τοὺς γονέας, and 11 ἐκδεδωκότεες), while other accounts only mention Pandion. Furthermore, introducing the particular of the first request by Procne, Xr's account contributes to casting Tereus in a bad light and depicting him as an insensitive husband.

Another interesting detail is that Xr seems to point out that the parents hand over Philomela to Tereus unwillingly.

Tereus' trip to Athens to collect Philomela and carry her to her sister Procne in Thrace appears in several sources: Mythogr. gr. Append., myth. Lat., Servius, Tzetzes. Eustathios: (ad Hom. Od. II

⁸³ The narrative does not indicate any reasons for the 'certain homesickness, desire for her parents and particularly for her sister Philomela' which 'fell upon Procne'. Frg. 583 RADT² (= frg. 2 MILO) seems to allude to an unhappy marriage.

⁸⁴ *Tereus autem rex Thracum fuit, qui cum [Atheniensibus tulisset auxilium ac] Pandionis, Athenarum regis, filiam, Procnen nomine, duxisset uxorem et post aliquantum tempus ab ea rogaretur, ut sibi Philomelam sororem [suam] videndam accersiret, profectus Athenas dum adducit puellam, eam vitiauit in itinere et ei linguam, ne facinus indicaret, abscidit, [inclusam que in stabulis reliquit, ementitus coniugi eam perisse naufragio]. illa tamen rem in veste suo cruore descriptam misit sorori: qua cognita Procne Itym filium interemit et patri epulandum adposuit. [alii Tereum finxisse socero dicunt, Procnen uxorem mortuam, et petisse Philomelam in matrimonium, et hoc dolore compulsam Procnen occidisse filium et epulandum patri apposuisse. quas cum Tereus agnito scelere insequeretur,] omnes in aves mutati sunt: Tereus in upupam, Itys in fassam, Procne in hirundinem, Philomela in lusciniam. [quidam tamen eas navibus effugisse periculum et ob celeritatem fugae aves appellatas volunt]. = Comm. in Buc. Librum VI, v. 78, Servii grammatici qui feruntur in Vergili carmina commentarii III 1, ed. G. THILO – H. HAGEN. Leipzig 1887, 80–81).*

⁸⁵ *Fabula Terei et Progne. Tereus rex Tracum fuit. Qui cum Pandionis Athenarum regis filiam Prognem nomine duxisset uxorem et post aliquantum tempus ab ea rogaretur <ut> sibi Philomelam sororem uidendam accersiret, profectus Athenas dum abducit puellam, eam uiciauit in itinere et ei linguam, ne facinus indicaret, abscidit. Illa tamen rem in ueste suo cruore descriptam misit sorori. Qua cognita Progne Ythin filium interemit et patri epulandum apposuit. Postea omnes in aves mutati sunt: Tereus in upupam, Ithis in phassam, Progne in hirundinem, Philomela in lusciniam' = Vol I,4. 'De Tereo. Tereus rex Tracum fuit. Qui cum Pandionis Athenarum regis filiam Prognem nomine duxisset uxorem et post aliquantum tempus ab ea rogaretur sibi Philomenam sororem uidendam accersere, profectus Athenas dum adducit puellam, in itinere eam uitiauit et ei linguam abscidit ne facinus indicaret. Illa tamen rem in ueste suo cruore descriptam sorori misit. Qua cognita Progne Itin filium suum interemit et patri epulandum apposuit. Postea omnes in aves mutati sunt: Tereus in upupam, Itis in fassam, Progne in hirundinem, Philomena in lusciniam = Mythographi Vaticani I–II, ed. P. KULCSÁR. Turnhout 1987, II, 261.*

⁸⁶ *Fab. XLV. Philomela. Tereus Martis filius Thrax cum Prognem Pandionis filiam in coniugium haberet, Athenas ad Pandionem socerum uenit rogatum ut Philomelam alteram filiam sibi in coniugium daret, Prognem suum diem obisse dicit. 2 Pandion ei ueniam dedit, Philomelam que et custodes cum ea misit; quos Tereus in mare iecit, Philomelam que inuentam 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. 3 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 arbitaretur Dryantem fratrem suum filio suo mortem machinari, fratrem Dryantem insontem occidit. 4 Progne autem filium Itym ex se et Tereo natum occidit, patri que in epulis apposuit et cum sorore profugit. 5 Tereus facinore cognito fugientes cum insequeretur, deorum misericordia factum est ut Progne in hirundinem commutaretur, Philomela in lusciniam; Tereum autem accipitrem factum dicunt. In: Hyginus <Mythographus>. Fabulae, ed. P. KENNETH MARSHALL. Stuttgart 1993.*

⁸⁷ Schol. Bern. on Verg. Ecl. VI 78. I was not able to consult Luca Cadili's edition: L. CADILI, Scholia Bernensia in Vergilii Bucolica et Georgica 2, 1. Amsterdam 2003.

215, 23–24). Other sources recount that Tereus, once already in Athens, tells Pandion that Procne has died, and hence that he would like to marry Philomela. In Apollodorus, the passage ‘εἰπὼν τεθνάναι Πρόκνην’ (eipōn tethanai Proknēn) is considered to be spurious. Servius says: *alii Tereum fuisse socero dicunt Procnen uxorem mortuam et petivisse Philomelam in matrimonium*. Similarly, Probus says: *postea cum forte Athenas isset et aliam Pandionis filiam Philomelam, virginem speciosam, vidisset, ementitus Procnen interisse Philomelam uxorem accepit*⁸⁸. Hyginus reports both versions. In Xr, Procne presents Tereus with two solutions: either he escorts her to Athens, so that she can spend time with her family and sister, or he goes to Athens and brings Philomela to her in Thrace.

Some sources explicitly say that Procne was longing for Philomela, and thus Tereus went to Athens⁸⁹. Other sources are more ambiguous⁹⁰. They generally mention Tereus who, having arrived in Athens (Why? In connection with the alliance? Sent by Procne?), also takes Philomela to bring her to his wife. Some accounts (e.g. Tzetzes ad Hes. Op. 566ter GAISFORD) more explicitly than others suggest that Tereus is in Athens on behalf of Procne.

This is consistent with Achilles Tatius’ version: βαρβάρους δέ, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐχ ἰκανὴ πρὸς Ἀφροδίτην μία γυνή, μάλισθ’ ὅταν αὐτῷ καιρὸς διδῶ πρὸς ὕβριν τρυφᾶν. καιρὸς οὖν γίνεται τῷ Θρακί τούτῳ χρήσασθαι τῇ φύσει Πρόκνης ἢ φιλοστοργία· πέμπει γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν Τηρέα. (One wife at a time, it seems, is not enough for a barbarian’s love, especially if an opportunity arises for him to give rein to his wantonness; and this Thracian’s opportunity came through the natural affection of Procne, who sent her husband to bring her sister to her⁹¹.) According to Achilles Tatius, Procne’s request to be able to see her sister again was the reason for Tereus’ trip to Athens.

In Eustathios, the trip to Athens and Procne’s request are differently contextualized, and seem to be two distinct things: μέλλοντα δέ ποτε Ἀθήναζε τὸν Τηρέα ἦκειν, ἰκέτευσεν ἡ γυνὴ τὴν ἀδελφὴν Πρόκνην ἐν τῷ ἐπανήκειν συνενέγκασθαι (Once when Tereus was about to come to Athens, the woman begged him to bring her sister Procne with him in returning).

10–11 ἦκει – αὐτήν] The description of Tereus’ stay in Athens is very brief. Unlike in other accounts, according to Xr, Tereus does not need Philomela’s help to convince her parents to let him bring her to Thrace, nor has he to make up the story concerning Procne’s death. This last particular would have been consistent with a narrative that alludes to an alliance between Pandion and Tere-

⁸⁸ I quote Probus’ commentary from Servii grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii carmina commentarii III 2: Appendix Serviana ceteros praeter Servium et Scholia Bernensia Vergilii commentatores continens, ed. H. HAGEN. Leipzig 1902 (repr. Hildesheim 1961) 346–347. On Valerius Probus’ quotations in the Scholia Veronensia, see Gli scolii veronesi a Virgilio, ed. C. BASCHERA. Verona 1999, 56–57. On Probus, see: H. D. JOCELYN, Ancient Scholarship and Virgil’s Use of Republican Latin Poetry I. *CQ* 14 (1964) 280–295; IDEM, Ancient Scholarship and Virgil’s Use of Republican Latin Poetry II. *CQ* 15 (1965) 126–144; IDEM, The Annotations of M. Valerius Probus III. Some Virgilian Scholia. *CQ* 35 (1985) 466–474.

⁸⁹ Tzetzes, Chil. VII, Hist. 142: Ποθούσης Φιλομήλαν δε τὴν ἀδελφὴν τῆς Πρόκνης, εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπελθὼν Τηρεὺς αὐτὴν λαμβάνει, ἀποκομίσει βουληθεὶς τῇ ἑαυτοῦ συζύγῳ. Ps. Nonnos, Χρόνου δὲ πολλοῦ παριπεύσαντος ἐπεθύμησε τὴν ἰδίαν ἀδελφὴν ἰδεῖν καὶ ἠντιβολεῖ τὸν ἑαυτῆ ἄνδρα εἰς Ἀθήνας ἐλθόντα ἀγαγεῖν αὐτῆ τὴν ἀδελφὴν. Ἐλθὼν οὖν καὶ ἀξιώσας τὸν Πανδίωνα λαμβάνει καὶ τὴν ἑτέραν ἀδελφὴν τὴν Φιλομήλαν (‘After much time had gone by, she [Procne] longed to see her own sister and asked her husband to go to Athens and bring her sister. So he went and with Pandion’s permission he took Philomela, the other sister, as well’); Libanios, Progymnasma 2, 18 χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος ἐπιθυμία λαμβάνει τὴν Πρόκνην ἰδεῖν Φιλομήλαν τὴν ἀδελφὴν καὶ διὰ Τηρέως τοῦτο ἐπράττετο (‘As time went on, a desire took Procne to see her sister Philomela and she accomplished this for herself through Tereus’); Id. 2.19 ἐρῶσα δὲ ἡ Πρόκνη τὴν ἀδελφὴν Φιλομήλαν θεάσασθαι Τηρέα ποιεῖται τῆς θεᾶς διάκονον (‘but Procne, desiring to see her sister Philomela, made Tereus a servant of the goddess’).

⁹⁰ See e.g. Scholion Procli ad Hes. Op. 566ter. GAISFORD, translated above, p. 170 (see also scholion vetus 568b PERTUSI, quoted above, n. 34).

⁹¹ Transl. in: Achilles Tatius. Leucippe and Clitophon. With an English translation by S. GASELEE. Cambridge, MA 2014 (ibid. 1917).

us, a particular missed in Xr's version. Tereus convinces both Pandion and his wife, who allow him to bring Philomela to Procne, though not without feeling somehow obliged to do so.

12–14 καὶ ἦσαν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ – μετέγνω] Tereus' violence against Philomela is staged on their way to Thrace. However, this section reveals a certain care in profiling Tereus' psychology. At first, Xr's scholion alludes to a passion, an uncontrollable desire to couple with Philomela, that overwhelms Tereus. Indirectly, we can assume that Tereus tried to resist this temptation. Furthermore, having raped Philomela, Tereus quasi returns to his old self and 'regrets what he was brought to do' (with the passive voice προήχθην πράξει). In this context, Xr employs 'μετέγνω' (metegnō): how can we fail to notice here the Christian connotation of the verb μετανοέω (metanoēō) in Medieval Greek⁹²? The attempt at providing Tereus with a conscience and illuminating his internal character is particular to Xr.

Other sources too put the violence into perspective. Ps. Nonnos, who had already pointed out that Tereus was a barbarian, says that he committed violence while he was drunk (οἷα δὴ βάρβαρος οἰνηθεὶς διαπαρθενεὺει τὴν παῖδα—'like the barbarian he was, having got drunk, and raped the girl', l. 14).

These characterizations are, however, not consistent with what follows immediately, namely the *glossotomia*. In this passage, another similarity with Eustathios' account is worth mentioning: περὶ δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν βιάζεται τὴν κόρη ('<Tereus> overpowers the girl on the way') (ad Hom. Od. II 215, 25).

Ovid seems to combine three elements that may justify Tereus' acts: Tereus was a barbarian; that was the custom among his people; Philomela was of an overwhelming beauty.

14–18 ἔδεισέ τε κομιδῇ – σὺν τῇ Φιλομήλῃ] The travel section ends with the *glossotomia*. This is quite an articulated scene. Interestingly, Xr's account indicates two motives for Tereus' act. He both fears Procne's reaction, were she to find out what had happened to Philomela, and he hopes that as a result of cutting Philomela's tongue out, the latter will not be able to reveal the violence. Here, we also find another linguistic similarity with Eustathios' account.

18–22 ἡ δὲ Πρόκνη – ὄμως ἀνωμένῃ] There is no segregation of Philomela in our account. After Tereus cuts Philomela's tongue out, he brings her to her sister. Other sources instead report that Tereus, once back in Thrace, gave Philomela accommodation far from the city⁹³ and told Procne that Philomela had died during the voyage from Athens⁹⁴.

The section 18–22 is quite original, as it describes Procne's feelings and psychology. A noteworthy particularity is that Tereus provides a pretended explanation for Philomela's fate. Other sources depict Tereus as a mendacious man, when he pretends that Procne has died in order to con-

⁹² Remorse too seems to be expressed in l. 35.

⁹³ This version is provided by Ovid VI 524, 572, 596; Apollodorus, Mythogr. 3, 14, 18 (καὶ Φιλομήλας ἐρασθεὶς ἔφθειρε καὶ ταύτην, εἰπὼν τεθνάναι Πρόκνην, κρύπτων ἐπὶ τῶν χωρίων—'fallen in love with Philomela, he seduced her too, saying that Procne was dead, concealing her out of town'); Lib. Narr. 18, 1; Servius, in Verg. Ecl. 6, 78 (*inclusamque in stabulis reliquit*); and Probus (*in abditis regni sui eam ablegavit*). See also Anthologia Palatina 9, 451, 1–2; 9, 452, 4–5. *Scribens* says the account of the Schol. Bern. (HAGEN [see n. 87] 805). Probus explicitly notes that: *in veste descripsit facinora Terei et sic sorori declaravit* (HAGEN, Servii grammatici [see n. 88] 347). The first account provided by Libanios (Progymnasma 2, 18) agrees with Ovidius'. There we find the segregation, as an alternative to the *glossotomia*, and the festivals, as the occasion for Philomela to deliver to her sister the revelatory cloth (φοβούμενος δὲ τὸν ἔλεγχον τὴν γλῶτταν περιελὼν πόρρω τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἴδρυσεν ἐν κόμῃ φυλακὴν τινα παρακαταστήσας—'and because he feared condemnation for having cut out the tongue, he placed her far from her sister, once established a kind of prison in the countryside').

⁹⁴ In Xr, where Philomela is actually brought to Procne, Tereus provides a pretended explanation for Philomela's loss of her tongue.

vince Pandion to give him Philomela as a second wife. However, mentioning an illness as a cause for Philomela's loss of the tongue is—I think—a peculiarity of Xr's scholion.

In his scholion on Hes. Op. 566ter mentioned above, Tzetzes alludes to Tereus' attempt to keep Philomela away from Procne. There, Philomela was raped and underwent the glossotomia in Aulis.

21 τὸ τῆς ἐκτομῆς λέγει] The phrase seems to be a pleonastic explanation of the previous concept. If it were an addition made up by Ketzas to the 'original' scholion, one may consider expunging it (as well as 'καὶ γὰρ ἦν εἰδυῖα γράμματα' two lines below). However, redundant phrases are common in scholia, as we have actually seen in D's scholion above (τὰς δύο ἀδελφάς, τὴν Πρόκνην λέγω καὶ τὴν Φιλομήλαν).

22–23 τῆς δ' ἀδελφῆς – ἐπεχείρει τὸν ἄνδρα] This is the scene of the ἀναγνώρισις. According to Xr, it is by the means of 'γράμματα', that Philomela explains to Procne what has happened. If one asks himself where this piece of information comes from, and what other sources tell about the 'woven cloth', he would then have to deal with a series of different questions, each open to multiple and contradictory answers. This is a challenge we should nevertheless take. We should probably tackle each question individually in turn.

1. How does the 'woven cloth' make its way into the myth?

In his *Poetica* (§ 11, 1452a, 29ff., and § 16, 1454b, 36–37), Aristotle shows Sophocles as an example of those ἀναγνωρίσεις ἀτεχνοί (anagnōriseis atechnoi) (as they do not belong to the myth but arise from the poet's invention) and writes: 'ἐν τῷ Σοφοκλέους Τηρεῖ ἡ τῆς κερκίδος φωνή (the shuttle's voice)⁹⁵.' Thus, apparently, the first to introduce 'the cloth' as a means by which Philomela learns what happened to her sister was Sophocles⁹⁶ (Frg. 6 MILO = 586 R² σπεύδουσαν αὐτήν, ἐν δὲ ποικίλῳ φάρει—'she was industrious. And in an embroidered canvas of various colors'⁹⁷). From the Hypothesis of Tereus, we know that Philomela needed a 'woven cloth' to communicate to her sister why Tereus had cut her tongue.

2. Since, probably, none of the later authors who narrated the myth of Procne and Philomela read Sophocles directly, while they knew of the presence of a 'woven cloth' in the myth (thanks to the Sophoclean invention), they did not know what or whom Procne recognized through that fabric or in what context, nor did they know if the cloth had been woven by Philomela ad hoc to communicate with her sister.

The fragment 6 MILO = 586 R² gives us some clues. If 'σπεύδουσαν' (speudousan) refers to Philomela, then two scenarios open up: Either Philomela is industrious because she herself wove a multi-colored cloth, or Philomela is industrious because she uses a particular cloth made in advance—which her sister Procne must in turn already have known—that, when seen, would enable Procne to recognize the sister who was believed lost.

If we follow the first hypothesis, then Philomela would have woven a cloth *ad hoc* to let her sister know all the events she had suffered, from violence to glossotomia. On this cloth, obviously, Philomela would have had to weave figures, with or without captions, or writing. Otherwise, how could Procne learn of Tereus' crimes?

If we follow the second hypothesis (i.e. Philomela is industrious because she chooses to wear a particular dress characterized by many colors), then Procne recognizes her sister thanks to the dress

⁹⁵ Aristotelis de arte poetica liber, ed. R. KASSEL. Oxford ²1966. In this case, of course, the recognition itself did not concern Philomela, but rather the violence perpetuated by Tereus. The phrase 'ἡ τῆς κερκίδος φωνή' ('the shuttle's voice'), together with the relative prosopopoeia, might go back to Sophocles' *Tereus* (Frg. 7 MILO = 595 R²).

⁹⁶ See MILO, II 'Tereo' [see n. 69] 68.

⁹⁷ I.e. φᾶρος, εὖρος, τό (pharos, -eos, to) = a large piece of cloth. As σπεύδουσαν (speudousan) must refer to Philomela, we must assume that she explicitly wove the cloth so as to reveal Tereus' crime to her sister.

itself and, in accordance with the papyrus and Aristotle, she realizes Tereus' crime. Now, from a simple colorful dress, Procne may have recognized Philomela⁹⁸. But recognizing Philomela is not the same as recognizing Tereus' crimes, as the Hypothesis says. The only crime that Procne could have recognized simply by seeing a 'woven cloth' would be that of lying. In this context, Tereus, after raping Philomela, cut her tongue off and segregated her, telling Procne that she was dead. Procne, recognizing her sister, would thus have understood her husband's lie and the reason for his lies. In this scenario, recognition could have taken place in two ways: Either because Procne comes into possession of the particular 'woven cloth'; or because at a (Dionysian?) festival, Procne sees Philomela wearing such a dress. Thus, for example, Ovid and Libanius recount: 'φοβούμενος δὲ τὸν ἔλεγχον τὴν γλῶτταν περιελὼν πόρρω τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἴδρυσεν ἐν κόμῃ φυλακὴν τινα παρακαταστήσας. ἄλλως μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἦν μηνύσαι τῇ Πρόκνῃ τὸ τολμηθέν, τῆς ἑορτῆς δὲ ἐπελθούσης ἐν ἧ τῇ βασιλίδι τὰς Θράττας δῶρα πέμπειν νόμος ἦν πέμπει πέπλον ἢ Φιλομήλα γράμματα ἐνυφήνασα⁹⁹.' Ovid only adds the detail that they were Dionysian feasts, while both authors specify that the dress had γράμματα embroidered on it. I shall return to the ambiguity of the term γράμμα later. In this context, through her dress, Procne would then learn that Tereus lied to her about the fate of Philomela (she is not dead, but she was segregated). Similarly, through the γράμματα, she would also learn of the violence and glossotomia.

Reconstructing Sophocles' *Tereus* is beyond the scope of this article¹⁰⁰. Aristotle's clue is certainly suggestive, which makes us imagine a 'woven cloth' that speaks as such, that is, without γράμματα¹⁰¹. A woven cloth without γράμματα would then imply that in the *Tereus* of Sophocles, Philomela also underwent segregation. However, by demonstrating the exegetical ambiguity that derives from the author's indirect knowledge of 'woven cloth', we were able to understand why so many versions of the myth mention a simple cloth, while others add details about this loom.

Eustathios says that 'Procne¹⁰² weaves the violence on a loom (ἡ Πρόκνη ἐν ἰστῷ ἐξυφαίνει τὴν βίαν)'. In the context of Eustathios' tale, ἡ βία is the sexual assault and glossotomia, not the segregation. Weaving (ἐξυφαίνειν—exyphainein) Tereus' violence evidently implies the presence of images.

Triklinios' account (ἡ δὲ ἰστὸν ἐργαζομένη διὰ γραμμάτων τὰ συμβάντα δηλοῖ. ἀναγνοῦσα δὲ Πρόκνη τὰ γεγραμμένα)¹⁰³ and Xr (καὶ γὰρ ἦν εἰδυῖα γράμματα l. 24–25) explicitly say that γράμματα are letters. In any case, the word γράμμα does not prevent the reader from imagining that a story was *written down alongside woven images on a cloth*. With γράμματα, one can arrive at the interpretation that Philomela wove on cloth her misfortune by drawing sketches/figures that had—as was the custom—captions (e.g. the proper names of the depicted figures, short descriptions of the various scenes)¹⁰⁴.

⁹⁸ In *Aristophanis Aves* 1411, the swallow is said ποικίλα. See also Tzetzes' on v. 1412a too edited by KOSTER (Jo. Tzetzae commentarii in Aristophanem. Fasc. III continens commentarium in Ranas et in Aves, argumentum Equitum, ed. W. J. W. KOSTER. Groningen – Amsterdam 1962).

⁹⁹ 'And because he feared condemnation for having cut out the tongue, he placed her far from her sister, once established a kind of prison in the countryside. Thus she could not in any way inform her sister of what she had suffered. When the festival approached in which it was the custom that the Thracian slave girls send gifts to the queen, Philomela sent a cloth, after she had woven letters on it.'

¹⁰⁰ In her edition of the *Tereus* fragments and her 2020 study (D. MILO, *Passione, conoscenza e verità: seconde considerazioni sul Tereo di Sofocle*, *Vichiana* 57/2 (2020) 95–110), Milo gives an account of the various reconstruction attempts with great precision.

¹⁰¹ SCATTOLIN, *Le notizie* 127 (see n. 21).

¹⁰² According to Eustathios, Tereus was married to Philomela and raped Procne.

¹⁰³ 'And she, making a loom with letters, reveals the events, while Procne, reading what was written...'

¹⁰⁴ See RIBBECK, *Römische Tragödie* (see n. 59) 580; MILO, *Passione, conoscenza e verità* 105–106, and recently MANCUSO, *Vicenda tracia* (see n. 69) n. 25. Accordingly, we can imagine ancient illustrations as a set of scenes describing and forming a story.

The various versions of the myth of Tereus, Procne and Philomela depend on the version of the myth renewed by Sophocles, from which they adopt the element of the ‘woven cloth’ as an expedient, a means through which Philomela communicates with her sister. None of the sources (Libanios, Ps. Nonnos, Konon, Heraclitus Paradoxographus¹⁰⁵, Eustathios and Tzetzes) seems to know directly the Sophoclean tragedy, nor to have access to its Hypothesis.

By ‘καὶ γὰρ ἦν εἰδυῖα γράμματα’ (ll. 23–24), Xr’s scholion may be stressing that Tereus, despite maiming Philomela, cannot manage to silence her given her skills¹⁰⁶.

24–26 οὐκ ἔχουσα δὲ ὅπως – τῷ Τηρεῖ] This is the scene when Procne, in order to vindicate her sister, kills Itys, prepares him as a meal, and serves him to her husband Tereus. I find the phrase ‘οὐκ ἔχουσα δὲ ὅπως’ (l. 24) interesting, as it suggests two things. Firstly, it seems that Procne thinks about the way of punishing Tereus, and that Itys’ murder is just due to Procne’s lack of other means. Secondly, it depicts Procne as a coldblooded killer, who carefully considers all her options, and is ready, just like Medea, even to sacrifice her own son—whatever may help her actuate her revenge. The expressions ‘πρὸς ὀργὴν τὴν χαλεπὴν ἐκινήθη· καὶ ἀμύνασθαι, ἐπεχείρει τὸν ἄνδρα·’ (l. 24) and ‘οὐκ ἔχουσα δὲ ὅπως’ (l. 25) in Xr can together indicate that Procne wanted in turn to maim or kill Tereus: for the language he took from her sister, she would have deprived him of something. As her husband was not close at hand, Procne kills Itys, thus depriving Tereus of a part of himself, that is, of his son. This reading of the facts would not be original to Xr. Already in Demosthenes Epitaphios, 28¹⁰⁷, we find ‘Πανδιονίδαι ... ὡς ἐτιμωρήσαντο Τηρέα διὰ τὴν εἰς αὐτὰς ὕβριν’ (‘Pandion’s daughters punished Tereus for the violence committed against them’).

Parsons was the first to speak of a Procne in the grip of the Erinyes¹⁰⁸.

The image of Itys served as a meal to Tereus belongs to the myth. Xr’s account, however, does not specify the context, whether it was an official celebration, a banquet, or similar¹⁰⁹.

26–30 ὁ δ’ ἀγνοῶν – ἀδελφῆς] Tereus understands that he ate his own son. Other narratives report that it is Procne that explains, or lets Tereus know, that he ate Itys. Here, Tereus understands it by deduction. Xr’s scholion does not say anything about Philomela’s role in the murder. Tereus however considers both sisters accountable for the murder.

The wording in the phrase ‘ὡς αὐτὸς εἶη, συνῆκεν ὁ βιβρωσκόμενος ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ’ (ll. 29–30) is uncommon. Probably, συνῆκεν was transposed by the author, perhaps to enhance the suspense. The simple order would have been: ‘συνῆκεν ὡς αὐτὸς εἶη ὁ βιβρωσκόμενος ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ.’ There, ὡς (hōs) introduces a declarative sentence with the verb in optative oblique depending on συνῆκεν (synēke).

30–33 αἱ δὲ τὸν κίνδυνον φεύγουσαι – μετεσκεύασε] In response to the sisters’ plea to be saved from Tereus’ hands, Zeus transforms the three of them into birds. Zeus’ intervention *ex machina* is defined as ‘compassionate’, even though I do not see where the two sisters’ gain is, as there is no big difference between being chased by a man and, having been transformed into a bird, being chased by another man transformed into a bird. However, according to Scattolin’s interpreta-

¹⁰⁵ See J. STERN, Heraclitus the Paradoxographer: Peri Apistōn, ‘On Unbelievable Tales’. *TAPA* 133 (2003) 51–97.

¹⁰⁶ See a parallel in *manus pro voce fuit* (Ov. VI 609); Ach. Tat. 5.5; Nonnus Dion. 4, 321. See also P. J. FINGLASS, Suffering in Silence. Victims of Rape on the Tragic Stage, in: *Female Characters in Fragmentary Greek Tragedy*, ed. P. J. Finglass – L. Coe. Cambridge 2020, 92–102.

¹⁰⁷ Demosthenis Orationes IV, ed. M. R. DILTS. Oxford 2009.

¹⁰⁸ PARSONS, P. Oxy. 3013 (see n. 69) 50. Vedi MILO, Il ‘Tereo’ (see n. 69) 23; SCATTOLIN, Le notizie (see n. 21) 128–129; MECCARIELLO, Le ipotesi 366 (see n. 70).

¹⁰⁹ See MANCUSO, Traces (see n. 69) 297, n. 59.

tion of frg. 581 RADT (= 14 MILO), v. 10, the chase stops after Zeus' intervention and the hoopoe seems to find some peace, for it dwells in solitary places¹¹⁰.

As far as the chase is concerned, Tzetzes likewise, commenting on Hesiod, does not say that the hoopoe chases the nightingale and the swallow: the detail is introduced by TdXu. This last point seems to suggest that the author of Xr's account (Ketzas himself?) has 'embellished' Tzetzes' narrative after (or independently of) the modification made by TdXu. The fact that birds chase each other can also be an allegorical interpretation of the succession of the seasons.

Latin sources (e.g. Myth. Vat., Servius) mention that Itys was also transformed into a bird, actually into a pheasant. Agatharchides (Phot. Bibl. Nr. 250) recounts that Philomela was transformed into a nightingale and not into a swallow.

Let us consider Eustathios and Schol. in Oppiani Halieuticam I 728, 4: in these sources, the role of the avenging wife and the perpetrator of the infanticide is transferred to the other sister. However, while Eustathios, agreeing with most sources, states that it is Πρόκνη (who is not Tereus' wife in his narrative) to be transformed εἰς ἀηδόνα, the scholion in Oppianus says that it is Procne who is transformed into a nightingale, together with Agatharchides¹¹¹ (Photios cod. 250 BIANCHI – SCHIANO 772, 1109), and maybe Heraclitus. I say maybe, because the information is obtained from the ambiguous opening (*De incredibilibus* 35): Περὶ Πρόκνης καὶ Φιλομήλας <καὶ Τηρέως>. Ἱστοροῦνται ὄρνιθες γενέσθαι, ἡ μὲν χελιδών, ἡ δὲ ἀηδών, ὁ δὲ ἔποψ¹¹². Similar discrepancies can be noted in the Latin sources¹¹³. The fact that the mysterious Heraclitus agrees with Latin sources is not necessarily a clue to his late dating¹¹⁴.

33–39 Xr's scholion also finishes by providing a rationalization of the myth. The story indeed gives an explanation for both the swallow's call (which is due to Philomela's injured tongue), and the behaviors of the three birds. As in other accounts, here we find the name Itys as the onomatopoeic call of the nightingale and as the expression of Procne's mourning.

The comparison with other accounts has revealed that Xr is placed, like most of the stories, in the Sophoclean line of the myth of Tereus. The rare characteristic elements of Xr's narrative fit in the rest of the story and may have been 'originally' elaborated by the author himself by inferring details suggested by the myth. The singular linguistic affinity with the stories of Triklinios, TdXu/Tzetzes and, less evidently, of Eustathios, shows once again how the same exegetical material circulated freely between and was adapted by the various grammarians.

¹¹⁰ SCATTOLIN, Le notizie (see n. 21) 133.

¹¹¹ Fozio, Biblioteca. Introduzione di L. CANFORA; nota sulla tradizione manoscritta di S. MICUNCO, ed. N. BIANCHI – C. SCHIANO. Edizione rinnovata e ampliata. Pisa 2019, 243 with comment and bibliography. See also M. K. BROWN, The Narratives of Konon. Text, Translation, and Commentary of the *Diegeseis*. Munich – Leipzig 2002, 219–220; IBÁÑEZ-CHACÓN, Conón (see n. 66) 95–119; and A. STRAMAGLIA, Ἔρωτος. Antiche trame greche d'amore. Bari 2000, 242–345. The myth was also interpreted in rationalistic terms by Ps. Heraclitus XXXV (= Mythographi Graeci III 2, p. 86), even though his version is quite peculiar. On Agatharchides, see also M. CIAPPI, La metamorfosi di Procne e Filomela in Ovidio, *Met. 6.667–770. Prometheus* 24 (1998) 141–148 (144).

¹¹² 'Procne, Philomela, [and Tereus]. It is recorded that these three turned into birds: Procne, a swallow; Philomela, a nightingale; and Tereus, a hoopoe.' Transl. by STERN, *Heraclitus the Paradoxographer* (see n. 105) 89.

¹¹³ Compare notes 84–86 above with Comm. Probi (HAGEN 1902, see n. 88) 347, 4–5: *Procne in lusciniam, Philomela in hirundinem, Tereus in upupam*. On such discrepancies, see again CIAPPI, *La metamorfosi* 143–145.

¹¹⁴ See STERN, *Heraclitus the Paradoxographer* (see n. 105) 90: 'Heraclitus follows the later Roman version in which Procne becomes the swallow and Philomela the nightingale (...); this is perhaps an indication of Heraclitus' later date'. In his comments on Homer's *Odyssey* (1504.55 STALLBAUM), Eustathios refers to a certain 'Heraclitus who proposes to render unbelievable tales believable.' Heraclitus' aim then is beyond the explanation of his peculiar version of the myth. Here as it is given in STERN's translation (p. 89) 'Procne and Philomela killed Itys and laid waste their home. They then embarked on a small boat and made a speedy escape. Tereus pursued them but failed to catch them, and so he killed himself. All three had vanished, and because of their sudden disappearance people said that they had been turned into birds.'

Who the author of the myth was, I cannot say. However, I am inclined to exclude the possibility that it was Ketzas. Elsewhere, specifically in the *Electra*, Ketzas copies two other interesting extra-Moschopoulean scholia: on Amphiarao, in the Kommos, and on ἀρχαῖον (archaeon), v. 893. In the first case, he adds a scholion which is found in other Moschopoulean manuscripts and which therefore belongs to a hermeneutic tradition. In the second case, he copies a note by a certain Karbones¹¹⁵. So, in the case of the scholion on Tereus too, I suppose, Ketzas might have again resorted to some collection. In any case, the two probable interpolations (ll. 21, 22–23), due either to Ketzas or to his source, and the planned and not improvised mise-en-page all suggest that this scholion was not added to Xr's set of scholia at a later stage.

* *

This is all I thought it was necessary to say about Xr's scholion. Maybe in the future, someone will be able to find a ms. that carries a mythological account similar to Xr's as a comment on a passage of any text alluding to the myth of Procne and Philomela¹¹⁶. This scenario is less improbable than one might think, as the following, final example shows.

The ms. Wa of Sophocles (= Milan, Bibliotheca Ambrosiana, E 103 sup.)¹¹⁷, an important witness of the Scholia Vetera to Sophocles, transmits two scholia on El. 149sq. The first scholion, recently edited¹¹⁸, ends with the same sentence as TdXu: μέχρι δὲ τοῦ νῦν καταδιώκει αὐτὰς, ὁ Τηρεὺς· τοῦ ἕαρος δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ χελιδὼν ἄγγελος· καὶ ἔστι κεκομμένη τὴν γλῶτταν καὶ ψελλίζει¹¹⁹:- The second scholion of Wa, on 'ὄρνις ἀτυζομένα', is the Scholion Vetus 149a ed. XENIS 2010 (= ScholVet). The second scholion of Wa is the Scholion Vetus 149a ed. XENIS 2010 (= ScholVet), with minor discrepancies¹²⁰.

¹¹⁵ See A. M. CUOMO, Sui Manoscritti Moschopulei (see n. 3) 413–414.

¹¹⁶ See MONELLA, Procne e Filomela (see n. 19) for the commented list of passages alluding to the myth.

¹¹⁷ Overall, for comments of Wa on El. 149 'ὄρνις ἀτυζομένα', see Scholia Vetera in Soph. El. 149a–b (XENIS) and Suid. α 651. See Sophocles. *Electra* (FINGLASS, see n. 8) 20–22.

¹¹⁸ The scholion has meanwhile been published by Mara Conti (see M. CONTI, Il ms. Parm. 3176 e la scoliastica sofoclea: nuove considerazioni. *Scripta: An International Journal of Codicology and Palaeography* 14 [2021] 61–78 [65]). Her study was also conducted within the framework of the FWF Project 30775-G25.

¹¹⁹ See TdXu scholion and its translation above, p. 169.

¹²⁰ Concerning the Fragment 136 by Sappho (Poetarum Lesbiorum fragmenta, ed. E. LOBEL – D. L. PAGE. Oxford 1955 [repr. 1968]), see now: C. NERI, Saffo – Testimonianze e frammenti. Introduzione, testo critico, traduzione e commento (*Texte und Kommentare. Eine altertumswissenschaftliche Reihe* 68). Berlin – Boston 2021, 142, and also P. SCATTOLIN, Sui meccanismi delle citazioni negli scoli antichi a Sofocle ed Euripide, in: La cultura letteraria ellenistica. Persistenza, innovazione, trasmissione. Atti del convegno COFIN 2003, Università di Roma 'Tor Vergata', 12–21 settembre 2005, ed. R. Pretagostini – E. Dettori. Roma 2007, 232–245 (234–236).

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PLATES

Plate 1: Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale, II F 9 (*Diktyon* 46177) f. 180v <Gabriel the Monk>.

Plate 2: Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale, II F 9 (*Diktyon* 46177) f. 181r <Gabriel the Monk>.

Plate 3: Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Phil. gr. 161, (*Diktyon* 71275) f. 237v <Konstantinos Ketzias>.

Plate 4: Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Phil. gr. 161, (*Diktyon* 71275) f. 238r <Konstantinos Ketzias>.