THE SORROWS OF MEDEA

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PERHAPS owing to its importance as the first example of "psychological tragedy" in Western literature, Euripides' *Medea* is not usually regarded as a play in which the mythic element has any great prominence.[1] And yet, as recent scholarship continues to show, Euripides constantly employs themes and motifs drawn from traditional myths to enrich and illuminate, give shape to or comment ironically upon, the events of his plays.[2] If we wish to reconsider the *Medea* from this point of view, a convenient starting point is J. Fontenrose's comprehensive discussion of the Ino/Procne myth—a study from which the present paper takes its title—in which the author notes that the story of Jason and Medea in Corinth follows to a certain extent the pattern of that myth.[3] That is to say that in both the *Medea* and the Ino/Procne myth a husband takes a second wife or mistress, and the first woman retaliates by killing her own children to punish her husband. It is the argument of the present paper that the denouement of our play as well as its major events conforms to the pattern of the Ino/Procne myth as analyzed by Fontenrose, though it is a pattern transmuted into a peculiarly Euripidean form; and, further, that Euripides has combined this myth with another related one analyzed by A. H. Krappe, involving a jealous demon- or fairy-mistress who attempts to dispose of her mortal rival by means of a treacherous gift.[4] The two myths together, Ino/Procne and demon-mistress, inform the mechanism of the play's double revenge plot, relating to the child-murders and the princess' murder respectively. And the two themes, which first become differentiated in the Aegeus scene, converge once again in the exodos.

Medea's revenge plan, as T. B. L. Webster pointed out,[5] is conveyed through her series of monologues that make up the continuous thread of the plot. The monologues themselves have a lyric prelude in the series of off-

1. As A. Lesky observes in *Die tragische Dichtung der Hellenen*[3] (Göttingen, 1972), p. 310, it is virtually a cliché to speak of this play as a *Seelendrama*. Even critics who might not agree that the play represents such a "first" in Western drama cannot deny its tremendous impact on later literature: cf. ibid., p. 300 and n. 19; B. M. W. Knox, "The *Medea* of Euripides," *YCS* 25 (1977): 193. In discussing the *Medea* in this paper, I use the text and commentary of D. Page (Oxford, 1938; repr. 1952).

2. In the *Electra*, for example, three different mythic themes have been shown to be present: the obscure birth of the hero-child—M. Kubo, "The Norm of Myth: Euripides' *Electra*," *HSCP* 71 (1967): 15–31; the slaying of the Gorgon—M. J. O'Brien, "Orestes and the Gorgon," *AJP* 85 (1964): 13–39; the sacred marriage of Zeus and Hera—F. Zeitlin, "The Argive Festival of Hera and Euripides' *Electra*," *TAPA* 101 (1970): 645–69.

3. J. Fontenrose, "The Sorrows of Ino and of Procne," *TAPA* 79 (1948): 125–67. On Jason and Medea, see esp. pp. 131, 159, and 165.

4. A. H. Krappe, "La robe de Déjanire," *REG* 52 (1939): 565–72, esp. 569–71.

5. *The Tragedies of Euripides* (London, 1967), p. 56.

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stage cries heard during the prologue and parodos (96–97, 111–14, 144–47, 160–67). At this point, undone by Jason's faithlessness, Medea has no definite plan in mind, but rather wishes for death indiscriminately for herself, her husband, her children, her rival, and both their houses in general. In her first set speech to the women of Corinth Medea declares her intention to "pay back" Jason (214–70),[6] but the means for doing so are still left vague. After the interview with Creon, during which she hears that she is to be exiled as well as abandoned, she announces in her second speech the expansion of her revenge to include Creon and his daughter as well as Jason (364–409). Moreover, the plan is now made more specific: all three who have wronged Medea will die, either by poison or by the sword (390–94). Which method she will choose depends on whether or not a refuge appears for her during her last day in Corinth. The question of a refuge is solved by the arrival of Aegeus, which allows the revenge plan to take definitive shape: in the third monologue Medea declares that, armed with Aegeus' offer of asylum in Athens, she will make the method first suggested, poison, her instrument (764–810). In the manner of its administration, however, Euripides provides an unexpected twist. It is not Jason who will be the main victim, but rather the princess, who is to receive a fine robe and golden crown which will destroy her when she puts them on, and anyone who touches her as well (786–89). We might expect the speech to end here. Medea's expressed intention was to destroy her three enemies, and it seems likely that the poisoned robe may accomplish that purpose. (In the event, of course, Creon does die along with his daughter; and in at least one other version of the story, Jason perished as well.[7]) Instead, Euripides adds another and greater surprise: Medea will complete her revenge by killing Jason's (and her own) children, and so destroy him spiritually rather than physically.[8] With the revenge plan thus split into two components, Medea, who has been acted upon rather than acting up to this point, now takes the initiative for the first time in the play. She dispatches the Nurse to fetch Jason for the feigned reconciliation, and now the story marches to its inevitable and increasingly horrifying conclusion.

The Aegeus episode, beginning with the Athenian king's entrance and ending with the dispatching of the Nurse, forms the centerpiece in the formal symmetry of this play.[9] It acts as a functional, as well as formal,

6. Excising, with Page, line 262. In addition to Page's arguments, I note that the subject of Medea's whole argument has been the husband alone, and that the chorus include only Jason in their promise of silence.

7. Hyg. *Fab.* 25. In Diodorus (4. 54–55), Medea sets the palace afire, with Jason, Creon, and the princess inside, using a magic root; here, however, Jason does manage to escape.

8. Literary evidence indicates that Euripides invented Medea's deliberate murder of her children. See P. Roussel, "Médée et le meurtre de ses enfants," *REA* 22 (1920): 157–71; Knox, "The *Medea* of Euripides," p. 194 and n. 7. It may also be significant that all extant art representations of Medea's activities in Corinth postdate Euripides' play. For a list of these monuments, with dates, see T. B. L. Webster, *Monuments Illustrating Tragedy and Satyr Play*[2], BICS Suppl. 20 (London, 1967), pp. 160–61.

9. For development of this point, see T. V. Buttrey, "Accident and Design in Euripides' *Medea*," *AJP* 79 (1958): 1-17; G. Bretzigheimer, *Die "Medeia" des Euripides: Struktur und Geschehen* (Diss. Tübingen, 1968), passim. The symmetrical arrangement of episodes was remarked upon by Webster as early as 1939: T. B. L. Webster, *Greek Art and Literature, 530–400 B.C.* (Oxford, 1939), p. 119.

pivot for the action. Before Aegeus' arrival, Medea as oppressed victim is the subject of a "rescue plot"; after, she has the upper hand and is principal actor in the execution of the "revenge plot."[10] As we have seen, this episode also marks the splitting of the revenge plot into two separate actions, both of which may be said to have a genuinely mythic dimension. Let us consider these two actions in the order of their presentation.

I. MURDER OF CREON AND HIS DAUGHTER: THE DEMON MISTRESS

According to a widespread folktale or *conte* analyzed by Krappe, a fairy or demon, lover of a mortal man (who is often married), attempts to destroy her mortal rival or other person impeding her love affair (such as a parent) by means of a treacherous gift sent through the medium of the unwitting man himself. The attempt is usually unsuccessful; the gift is most often a magic belt, which is put around a tree instead of its intended wearer, the tree then dying. In some versions a dress or shirt is substituted for the belt, and an animal for the tree, with the same result.[11] The events of our play, of course, present a variation on this story. Medea is not a mistress but a first wife; the murderous nature of the gift to the rival is camouflaged even better than in the folklore version by involving in the presentation not only Jason but also the innocent children; and the attempt—which employs both forms of the gift, if the crown is interpreted as a symbolic equivalent of the belt—is devastatingly successful in destroying both persons responsible for Jason's new alliance.[12] These differences are essentially unimportant. More crucial is the question of whether Medea in this play can be seen as in some sense a supernatural or demonic figure corresponding to the fairy of the folktale. For some critics, to be sure, she is the legendary Oriental sorceress;[13] but against this view more recent students of the play have argued that she is a completely demythologized human character.[14] Certainly Euripides has brought out Medea's domestic human aspect here, probably much more than in any previous play in which she figured; and yet it may be argued that the exotic, and indeed the supernatural, element is

10. Buttrey, "Accident and Design," p. 10.

11. Krappe, "La robe de Déjanire," pp. 569–71. Krappe mentions the Medea story as a variant of this tale (p. 572). In S. Thompson's *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature* (Bloomington, Indiana, 1955–58), this is motif F 302. 5. 5.

12. Page ("*Medea*," p. xxvi) believes that the crown came from a pre-Euripidean tradition, while Euripides invented the robe himself (or borrowed it from the Heracles-Deianeira story?). The fact that the crown (=belt) is the most common feature in the folktale versions (Krappe, "La robe de Déjanire," pp. 569–71) may lend some support to this theory. On the question of the relative dates of the *Medea* and Sophocles' *Trachiniae*, see E.-R. Schwinge, *Die Stellung der "Trachinierinnen" im Werk des Sophokles*, Hypomnemata Heft 1 (Göttingen, 1962), pp. 28–34.

13. E.g., Page ("*Medea*," pp. xvii–xxi). Other critics who see Medea (to one degree or another) as a witch are noted by Knox, "The *Medea* of Euripides," p. 212, n. 60.

14. See especially H. Rohdich, *Die Euripideische Tragödie: Untersuchungen zu ihrer Tragik* (Heidelberg, 1968), pp. 47–55. Rohdich maintains that Medea is presented as a completely demythologized, ordinary human character up to the moment of her appearance in the dragon chariot. Most recently, Knox, "The *Medea* of Euripides," pp. 196–206, demonstrates that Medea is conceived as a powerful figure in the same mold as Sophocles' heroes, but agrees with Rohdich in seeing her as having "no supernatural powers or equipment" up to her appearance *ex machina* at the end of the play (pp. 211–16).

never entirely absent. For instance, the implicitly magical aid Medea gave Jason in his Colchian adventures with the fire-breathing bulls and fleece-guarding dragon is recounted in their first scene together (476–82). The murder of Pelias, which involved Medea's rejuvenation of an old ram by dismembering it and boiling it in a cauldron of magic herbs, is alluded to frequently (9–10, 486–87, 504–5, 734).[15] And Medea's origin as not merely a foreigner but as someone who entered Greece from outside the whole known world, from beyond the Symplegades, is first mentioned in the Nurse's opening words (1–2) and evoked again several times in the lyric portions of the play (210–12, 431–33, 1262–64).[16]

More important than these reminiscences of the past, however, is the immediate impact of actions which show Medea's supernatural dimension. These actions begin in the crucial Aegeus scene. First, Aegeus' eagerness to confide his oracle to Medea (677, note especially μάλιστ') and her interrogation of him as to its particulars present her for the first time in the play in her "professional" role of wise-woman.[17] Secondly, Medea's bargain with Aegeus establishes her still more as the possessor of unusual powers. When she offers to make him able to have children by means of her potions (717–18), the general skill in *pharmaka* of which she had boasted earlier (384–85) becomes specific.[18] After this preparation, it is not surprising to hear Medea say that she will send the princess a robe and crown anointed with such *pharmaka* as will destroy her (786–89). The full impact of the uncanny nature of these *pharmaka* is reserved for the messenger's descrip-

15. These allusions do not include a reference to the ram and cauldron. Yet one may argue that these elements are not necessarily excluded. The Pelias story was not only dramatized by both Sophocles and Euripides; it was also, to judge from evidence in vase painting, by far the most popular incident in Medea's career for contemporary Athenians. On most of these vases, which date from the mid-sixth century to about the time of the *Medea*'s production, the ram (and usually the cauldron as well) figures prominently. The vases are listed by J. D. Beazley in *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters* (Oxford, 1956), 321/4, 363/42, 528/43, 531/1, 551/330, 586/No. 53; and in *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*[2] (Oxford, 1963), 257/8, 297–98/1, 623/66, 864/16, 1289/25, 1313/5. To these add an Attic cup of about 430 B.C. in the Vatican, listed by Webster, *Monuments*, p. 162, as AV Vatican.

My interpretation of the dramatic effect of the Pelias references follows R. A. Browne, "*Medea*-Interpretations," in *Studies in Honor of Gilbert Norwood*, Phoenix Suppl. 1, (Toronto, 1952), pp. 77–78. Browne finds the general understatement of Medea's magical powers to be a deliberate dramatic device which ultimately heightens the impact of the messenger's description of these powers at work.

16. There is some evidence that in the popular imagination the Euxine represented not merely the unknown, but a genuine otherworld: M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* (Oxford, 1922), p. 36; cf. E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks* (Cambridge, 1913), p. 438. Of this spirit-world the Symplegades were boundary and gate: O. Jessen in Roscher, *Lex.* 3. 2. 2540, 2547–48; A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, vol. 1, part 2 (Cambridge, 1940), pp. 975–78. Thus some element of otherworldly symbolism may be attached to Medea's passage through the Symplegades. This point should perhaps not be pressed too far. It is quite possible, on the other hand, that Medea was costumed as an Oriental for the first time in this play: cf. Page, "*Medea*," p. lxxii, n. 1; Webster, *The Tragedies of Euripides*, pp. 79–80 and n. 67.

17. D. J. Conacher, *Euripidean Drama* (Toronto, 1967), p. 190.

18. This bargain suggests two other folktale motifs: the magical cure for sterility (Thompson's D 1347–1347.6 and D 2161.3.10) and the disastrous promise made to a supernatural figure in exchange for help out of a difficulty (Thompson's S 211–35). That Aegeus' promise to Medea bodes no good for Athens is hinted at in the following chorus (*Med.* 846–50).

tion of the princess' and Creon's deaths.[19] Finally, Medea's supernatural aspect is presented most strikingly in her epiphany in the magic chariot of the Sun at the end of the play. About this epiphany more will be said presently.

II. MURDER OF THE CHILDREN: INO/PROCNE

When Medea announces that she will kill her own children as well as her rival, the story begins to conform quite clearly to the Ino/Procne pattern. Here it will be most convenient to set forth those elements of the pattern as tabulated by Fontenrose[20] that can be seen to be present in our play. Fontenrose's numbering is indicated in parentheses before each relevant point; elements that are present only potentially or allusively are bracketed.

(1) *A man takes a second wife:* Jason marries the princess.
(3) [*The husband conceals or disguises the other woman:* Jason has apparently kept his affiancing to the princess a secret until the wedding has already taken place; cf. 586–87 and 910.]
(4) *One woman is jealous of the other:* Medea is jealous of the princess. While Medea's desire to avenge Jason's slight to her honor provides the most powerful incentive for her actions, jealousy is certainly present as well. Cf. 163–64; 591–92, 623–24; 957; 966–67 and 970, esp. the pointed use of *νέα*; 1366–68.

19. One point raised by Knox, "The *Medea* of Euripides," pp. 214–15, and also mentioned by M. Shaw in "The Female Intruder: Women in Fifth-Century Drama," *CP* 70 (1975): 259–60, requires discussion. This is that in her use of drugs Medea does not display any unusual or supernatural powers—recourse to potions was common practice for many Greek women. While agreeing with Knox's main criticism—that we are guilty of anachronism in projecting back upon Medea our modern ideas of what constitutes a "witch"—I would argue that the ancient world did recognize at least a difference in degree among those individuals who employed incantations and potions. For example, in the speech attributed to Demosthenes (25. 79–80) the brother of Aristogeiton is said to have procured drugs and charms from a servant of Theoris "the Lemnian *pharmakis*"; in the *Pharmaceutria*, Simaetha plans to give her faithless lover, if her attempts at folk magic fail, a deadly draught obtained from an "Assyrian *xeinos*" (Theoc. 2. 158–61); and Aristophanes' Strepsiades wishes for the services of a "Thessalian *pharmakis*" whose charms can draw down the moon (*Nub.* 749–50, cf. Pl. *Grg.* 513A). If, in other words, "amateur" may be contrasted with "professional" in this area, then surely Medea must be considered a professional.

Within the context of the play this argument is perhaps best presented using Knox's comparison of Medea to Deianeira in the *Trachiniae* and Creusa in the *Ion* (Knox, "The *Medea* of Euripides," pp. 214–15). Medea does resemble these heroines, but with one significant difference. Both Deianeira and Creusa possess a single draught of magical poison obtained long ago from no human *pharmakis* but from some fabulous source—the Centaur's blood, itself poisoned by Hydra's venom, and gorgon's blood, given by Athena as an heirloom to the Erechtheids. In our play, Euripides could have attributed the same kind of magical potency to a similarly long-held possession of Medea's: the robe and fillet of the Sun. That is, Medea could easily have been made to say something like, "I will send the princess a delicate robe and golden crown, which Helios my grandfather gave to his descendants—and which only the true children of the Sun may wear and not be consumed by immortal flames." But in fact the "virtue" of the gifts is simply that they are irresistible (*Med.* 982–83, 1156–61), and the poet goes out of his way to emphasize that their magical effect derives from Medea herself (*Med.* 789, 806, 1126, 1201).

I believe, therefore, that in our play as in myth, Medea is shown to be consummately skilled in the use of *pharmaka*, and further that some at least of these *pharmaka* are fabulous in their nature or effects.

20. Fontenrose, "The Sorrows of Ino and of Procne," pp. 132–37.

(5a) *Two children are born, to one or both women:* Medea has two children.
(6a) [*One wife plots against and tries to kill the other's children:* The princess is at least inimical to Medea's children. At first Creon, acting in his daughter's interest, commands both Medea and her children to go in exile from Corinth. Later, though the children are allowed to stay, the princess finds the sight of them repugnant when they come before her in the embassy. Cf. 1147–49, esp. μυσαχθεῖσ', with Page's note ad loc.]
(7a) *A mother kills her own child to punish her husband:* Medea kills her own children to punish Jason.
(9) [*The husband pursues and the wife flees:* Jason enters at 1293 apparently in pursuit of Medea. He demands to know where she is to be found and threatens that she will not avoid retribution for her deed (1293–98). But the impression of pursuit is dissipated when Jason goes on to say that Creon's relatives can attend to Medea and that he himself has come rather to save his children from the relatives' wrath.[21]]
(9a) *The parent pursues while the child flees:* The offstage cries of Medea's children (1271–72, 1277–78) dramatize their brief, futile attempt to flee from their mother's sword.
(10) *An offending spouse is punished by the other:* Medea has punished Jason's infidelity; he can only curse her for the wrongs she has done to him (1344–45).

So far the events of the play conform more or less obviously to the Ino/Procne pattern. The remaining important elements of the pattern are present as well. These are as follows:

(11) [*Someone, usually a woman, plunges into the sea:* Directly after Medea's murder of her children, the chorus narrate the story of Ino's child-murders (giving a version in which marital jealousy was apparently involved: cf. 1290–92) followed by her suicidal leap from a cliff into the sea (1282–89). The description of the sea-plunge may suggest that the chorus expect that Medea too will die by her own hand now; yet it is interesting that their feelings are expressed through the analogy of Ino, and this inserts one of the traditional components of the myth at the appropriate point in the drama.]
(12) *Someone is transformed into a bird:* When the enraged Jason rushes in, he claims that in order to escape the consequences of her murder of the royal family, Medea must either "bury herself beneath the earth or lift her winged body into the air" (1296–97). As Page observes ad loc., the expression is a traditional one. Yet it takes on a special irony when, twenty lines later, Medea does in fact appear "in the air" in her dragon chariot.[22] She has not, it is true, literally become a nightingale (like Procne) or a shearwater (like Ino), but she has indeed acquired wings in an equally startling metamorphosis.

21. It is interesting to note that when Medea's escape is illustrated in vase paintings, Jason is invariably portrayed approaching with a weapon as if pursuing her. These vases may be found in Webster, *Monuments*, as TV 9, p. 75; LV 5 (519), p. 129; TV (workshop of Dareios painter), p. 161.
22. On this point, see the following note.

(13) *The mother ever mourns:* Euripides has included this last element in a remarkably complex fashion. Unlike Procne or Ino, who were consumed with remorse only after the loss of their children, Medea knows in advance what she is about to do and what the cost must be to herself. This knowledge is of course the wellspring of her great inner debate, but it is revealed most starkly perhaps in the last words she speaks before entering the house: "But for this brief day forget your children, and then mourn [ever after]" (1247–49, with the implied contrast between the repeated action of *θρήνει* and one *βραχεῖαν ἡμέραν*). When we see her after the event, however, in spite of her acknowledgement that she is grieved by her deed (1361–62), this emotion appears overshadowed by her triumph over Jason. And yet the eternal sorrow which Medea had foreseen does materialize, in the form of the ritual in her children's honor which she commands Corinth to observe.

Several scholars have pointed out that in this last scene of the play Medea takes on the aspect of a *deus ex machina,* in that she not only appears in a place normally reserved for deities, but also performs functions normally assigned to deities.[23] One of these functions is the establishment of cult. Thus Medea in the role of *deus* ordains the commemorative ritual for her children, with the result that by the murderess' own dispensation her guilt and sorrow for her crime are transferred onto the city. Medea will first establish the children's tomb in the *temenos* of Hera Acraea; then, in return for this impious murder, Corinth is to observe for the rest of time a solemn festival and ritual in the children's honor:

1381–83 *γῇ δὲ τῇδε Σισύφου*
σεμνὴν ἑορτὴν καὶ τέλη προσάψομεν
τὸ λοιπὸν ἀντὶ τοῦδε δυσσεβοῦς φόνου.

The ritual referred to in these lines, involving the internment of fourteen noble Corinthian boys and girls in Hera's temple precinct to mourn for the children of Medea, was carried out from very early times until the Romans sacked the city, after which "the children no longer cut their hair for [the Medeids] or wear black clothes."[24]

As Webster has observed, the connecting of dramatic events to a holy place or cult is a virtually universal characteristic of Euripides' art.[25] In particular, the institution—usually in the presence of a bereaved parent—

23. On the significance of Medea as a *deus*-figure, see M. P. Cunningham, "Medea *ἀπὸ μηχανῆς*," *CP* 49 (1954): 151–60; N. E. Collinge, "Medea *ex Machina*," *CP* 57 (1962): 170–72; and esp. Knox, "The *Medea* of Euripides," pp. 206–11. Most scholars would now agree that Medea's airborne dragon chariot was part of Euripides' original production. In addition to the standard arguments presented by, e.g., Page, "*Medea*," p. xviii, the recent discovery of the Policoro Painter's hydria proves that the dragon chariot was part of the tradition as early as the end of the fifth century. See Webster, *Monuments,* LV 5 (519), p. 129.

24. Paus. 2. 3. 7. On the nature of the ritual itself, see E. Will, *Korinthiaka* (Paris, 1955), pp. 97–103; P. Roussel, "Médée et le meurtre de ses enfants," pp. 157–71; A. Brelich, "I Figli di Medea," *SMSR* 30 (1959): 213–54; and esp. W. Burkert, "Greek Tragedy and Sacrificial Ritual," *GRBS* 7 (1966): 117–19, with notes.

25. Webster, *The Tragedies of Euripides,* p. 290.

of a public ritual that perpetuates grief for virgin children who have died seems to have been a favorite theme with the poet. It occurs for the first time here in the *Medea;* we find it again in the extant *Hippolytus* when Artemis promises the dying youth and his father that the maidens of Troezen in years to come will cut their hair in mourning for him (1423–30).[26] In the lost *Hypsipyle* the prophet Amphiaraus foretold that Eurydice's son Opheltes would have a "famous tomb," that all men for all time would share in grief for him, and that the Nemean Games would be established in his memory.[27] In the *Erechtheus*, Athena consoled Chthonia by announcing that a common tomb would be given to her daughters, who were henceforth to be known as Hyacinthides, and that choruses of maidens would dance in their honor and sacrifices would be made to them.[28] A similar decree may have been given as part of other plays as well.[29] Thus the ritual in the Medeids' honor is not unique, but rather makes a characteristic close for a Euripidean play in which innocent lives are sacrificed. What is unusual is that here not only is the mother herself responsible for her children's loss, but also perpetual mourning for them is ordained by her own command.[30]

To sum up: by the end of the Aegeus scene, Medea's revenge plan has become two distinct actions. The first act of vengeance, the murder of Creon and his daughter with the poisoned robe and crown, casts her in the folktale role of the fairy or demon who loves a mortal man and who tries to dispose of her rival by the treacherous gift of a magic belt or robe. The second vengeance act, the murder of her own children, gives her rather the character of an Ino or a Procne who slays her son(s) to punish their father's infidelity and then, undergoing a metamorphosis, mourns their loss forever after. The two themes, which were first differentiated in the Aegeus scene, converge again in the tableau of the dragon chariot at the end of the play. This scene spectacularly affirms Medea's identity as a supernatural figure analagous to the fairy or demon of the folktale; it also completes the pattern of the Ino/Procne myth by showing a kind of avian metamorphosis and the institution of perpetual mourning for the mother's lost children.

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26. The Hippolytus cult was apparently also mentioned in the first *Hippolytus:* cf. frag. 446 N^2.

27. D. Page, *Greek Literary Papyri*, vol. 3 (Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1970), pp. 102–5 = no. 12, lines 273–88.

28. C. Austin, "De nouveaux fragments de l'*Erechthée* d'Euripide," *Recherches de Papyrologie*, vol. 4 (Travaux de l'Institut de Papyrologie de Paris, fasc. 5, 1967), pp. 11–67 and esp. lines 65–89.

29. Probably the *Phaethon:* see J. Diggle, *Euripides "Phaethon"* (Cambridge, 1970), p. 71, frag. 6, with comment ad loc. Possibly the *Cretans* and the *Ino:* see Webster, *The Tragedies of Euripides*, pp. 92 and 100.

30. In the *Hippolytus* as well the grieving father was originally responsible for his son's death. Note that Medea, by establishing the Corinthian rite, effectively denies participation in any mourning ritual to Jason; this is the true finishing touch to her revenge.