Gilbert Murray
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THE PALAIKASTRO HYMN OF THE KOURETES

BY

R. C. BOSANQUET

THE HYMN OF THE KOURETESES

BY

GILBERT MURRAY

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(PLATE XX.)

The inscribed fragments here published were discovered in the third season of the excavations at Palaikastro. We knew already that a Hellenic temple had stood on the site of the Minoan town. The building itself had been destroyed, but architectural terracottas, bronze shields, and other votive offerings were found near the surface in sufficient numbers to indicate its position, while a bed of ashes fixed that of the altar. The finding among its scattered débris of a Hymn addressed to Zeus of Dikte furnished a welcome identification. It left no doubt that our temple was the temple of Diktaean Zeus which is several times mentioned in the famous award of the Magnesian Arbitrators in the frontier dispute between Itanos and Hierapytna, and that the plain of Palaikastro was the Heleia which both cities claimed.

The Hymn was to have been published by Sir Richard Jebb, who gave the first preliminary account of it at the Annual Meeting of the Hellenic Society in 1904. His lamented death cut short his study of it, and I have to thank Prof. Gilbert Murray for his kindness in undertaking the restoration of the text and contributing the notes which follow this article.
The site of the temple, and its significant relation to a far earlier sanctuary in the buried Minoan town, have been described in *B.S.A.* xi. 298 ff. The three fragments of the inscription were found at the south­east end of the main street in a deep pocket of disturbed earth and stones, the middle and lower fragments near together on May 24, 1904, the upper one five feet away on May 28. The pit in which they lay descended into the Minoan strata and had evidently been dug in some recent search for building-stones. Only one other fragment was found—a small piece which joins the lower edge of the middle fragment and is of value as showing where the inscription on the Face finished. In the course of the excavation the whole of the adjoining ground was searched and the field-walls demolished, but no further fragment of this or any other inscription came to light. Probably the missing pieces are built into one of the older houses or churches of the Palaikastro district. We can point to two inscriptions from our site which have travelled in this way. One is the fragment of a treaty between Hierapytna and Knossos, built into the church of "Ἀγίος Νικόλαος three miles inland. The other is a slab recording the restoration of certain images in the temple of Diktaean Zeus, found in making a garden a mile to the north-west of the ancient site. The latter case is especially clear, since the stone is still encrusted with the characteristic red earth of Roussolakkos.

More than half the stele is missing, but a great part of the text is preserved, thanks to the unusual circumstance that two copies of it were engraved on the same stone. Apparently the stone-cutter made so many blunders that the authorities rejected his first attempt before it was finished, and had a fresh version executed on the other

1 See the key-plan in *B.S.A.* xi. Pl. X. The spot is almost on the line between squares Μ 6 and Ν 6.


3 The find was reported to the Candia Museum, and one of the Ephors, Mr. Xanthoudides, published the inscription with an excellent commentary in *Εφ. Ἱστ.* 1908, 197 ff. Unfortunately it did not occur to him to communicate with the British School at Athens, to which the Cretan Government had granted the right of excavation over this region, nor even to visit the spot. In consequence the opportunity for further investigation was lost. I have since questioned the finder, one of our own workmen. There was a large quantity of stone of the kinds common at Roussolakkos, especially the much-prized square μέλικα—probably the hoard of some one who intended to build a house; building was postponed and the stones buried to protect them from neighbouring collectors.
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side of the slab. I shall call the defective copy the Back, the fair
copy the Face.

Fragments, including upper and lower edge, of a stele of grey
crystalline limestone with white veins originally '49 m. broad, '053 m. thick,
and at least 1'05 m. high. Engraved on both sides. Incised guide-lines
used throughout for top and bottom of letters. Height of letters on Face,
Fragment I., varies from '017 (ll. 1-8) to '010 (ll. 9-11): on Face,
Fragment II., it is regularly '014; on Back at first '012, increasing below
to '017. On the right edge of Face and left edge of Back there is a rough
raised margin, '03 broad, which is not inscribed.

Forms ε, ζ, ζ, ω; but ε for ι several times on Back. Δ occurs
on both sides. Α is often Α, especially on Back. Μ on Back and
once (l. 1) on Face, where Μ is normal. Ε for Η. In general the
lettering is bold and careful on the Face, feeble and inaccurate on the
Back. Most of the latter's blunders are due to a carelessly written copy,
in which Α, Α, and Δ, ε and ζ, Β, Θ and Ο, ε and ρ, were much alike.
The date of the inscription is probably not earlier than 200 A.D. Dated
inscriptions of the Roman age are rare in Crete. The nearest parallels are
furnished by certain inscriptions in honour of Septimius Severus and
Caracalla. On a base found at Itanos (Mus. Ital. iii. 589, Halbherr),
which supported statues of these two emperors, the lines relating to
Severus have Σ and Ω, those to Caracalla ζ and ω. An inscription at
Gortys in honour of Septimius Severus has ζ, but retains the apices
characteristic of the second century (Mon. Ant. dei Lincei, i. 69); another
set up under Caracalla (probably between 213 and 221), has Α, ε, ζ, ω
(id. xviii. 317). Many of the late tombstones of Eastern Crete which use
the formula ΜΗΗΗΗ ΗΑΗΑΗ have forms resembling those of the Hymn, but
they cannot be dated. Α and Ε, which appear on the Back, are hardly
used on stone before Christian times but were common in cursive long
before. I have found no parallel for the use of Ε for Η; normally
of course it stands for Ε.

In the transcription which follows I have numbered the lines of Face
and Back consecutively, but have arranged the fragments so as to bring
together the corresponding parts of the text. The conjectural restorations
are for the most part Professor Murray's. See pages 357 ff. below.

3 Professor Halbherr kindly examined the stone and is of this opinion.
Face I.

Ἰωνικόν τε θεμάτι τοις ομοίωσις ἐπεκτείναμεν ὑπὸ τοῦ παραδείγματος Λαμπρίου Καλλίπολεος ἄνωθεν τοις μέσοις τῶν μεθοδευμένων καὶ τῶν διάφορων τῶν συνηθῶν τεχνικῶν. Εἰς τὸ δὲ μεταφέρειν τὰ περί τοῦ συμβάλλοντος διεργασιών, ἐτοίμαζομεν μεταξύ τῶν εἰκόνων ἡ εἰκόνα τοῦ τεχνικοῦ συνοπτικοῦ τοιαύτου τοῦ συμβάλλοντος διεργασιών, ὡς ἀναφέρεται ἐν τῷ παραδείγματι τοῦ Καλλίπολεος. Εἰς τὸ δὲ μεταφέρειν τὰ περί τοῦ συμβάλλοντος διεργασιών, ἐτοίμαζομεν μεταξύ τῶν εἰκόνων ἡ εἰκόνα τοῦ τεχνικοῦ συνοπτικοῦ τοιαύτου τοῦ συμβάλλοντος διεργασιών, ὡς ἀναφέρεται ἐν τῷ παραδείγματι τοῦ Καλλίπολεος.

Back I.

Ἀντικρεμένων παραδείγματος Καλλίπολεος καὶ τῶν περὶ τοῦ ομοίωματος διεργασιών, ἐτοίμαζομεν μεταξύ τῶν εἰκόνων ἡ εἰκόνα τοῦ τεχνικοῦ συνοπτικοῦ τοιαύτου τοῦ συμβάλλοντος διεργασιών, ὡς ἀναφέρεται ἐν τῷ παραδείγματι τοῦ Καλλίπολεος. Εἰς τὸ δὲ μεταφέρειν τὰ περί τοῦ συμβάλλοντος διεργασιών, ἐτοίμαζομεν μεταξύ τῶν εἰκόνων ἡ εἰκόνα τοῦ τεχνικοῦ συνοπτικοῦ τοιαύτου τοῦ συμβάλλοντος διεργασιών, ὡς ἀναφέρεται ἐν τῷ παραδείγματι τοῦ Καλλίπολεος.
HYMN OF THE KOURETES.

Face I.

Ἰῶ, μέγιστε Κουρή χαίρε μοι, Κρό-

νειε, πανκρατές γάνους, βέβακες

dαιμόνων ἀγάμενος· Δίκταν ἐσ

ἐνιαυτὸν ἔρπε καὶ γέγαθι μολπᾶ(ι),

5 τάν τοι κρέκομεν παγκύριοι μειξαν-

τες ἀμ' αἰλοίσιν καὶ στάντες ἀείδομεν

tεῦν ἀμφὶ βωμὸν (ἐ)δεική. Ἡ ἦ, μέγ(γ)υ-

[στε Κ]ουρή χαίρε μοι, Κρόνειε, πανκρα-

[τές γάνους, βέβακες δα]μόνων ἀγάμενος· Δίκταν ἐσ ἐνι-

10 [αὐτόν ἔρπε καὶ γέγαθι μολπᾶ(ι)]. Ἔνθα γὰρ σὲ, παίδα ἀμ-

[βροτον, ἄσπιδοροι τροφῆς] παρ' Ἐρας λαβόντε[σ πό-

da κρούνωτες ἀπέκρυψαν. Ἡ ἦ, κ.τ.λ.]

In II. 2 and 8 the engraver cut ΠΑΤΙΚΡΑΤΕϹ and afterwards corrected the ΤΙ to Ν.

Back I.

(Spaces for 3 lines ruled but left blank.)

ἀν τοι κρέκομεν παγκύριοι μειξαντες ἀμ' αἰλοίσιν

5 καὶ στάντες ἀείδομεν τεῦν ἀμφὶ βωμὸν (ἐ)δε(ρ)κη.

(Spaces for 2 lines ruled but left blank.)

[τον ἔρπτ]ε (κ)α(ι ἡ)γ(αθι μ)ολπάν.

["Ἔνθα γὰρ σῇ, παίδι ἀμ(β)ρ(ο)τον, ἄσπι[δ](φόροι τροφῆς

10 παρ' Ἐρας λαβ]ό(ν)τες πό(δ)α κρούνωτες ἀπέκρυψαν].
Back II.

κάκα σαλάκος  
ουριπάνκρατετάν  
ουτώ ῥενοσδίκταν σάραι  
πραδόμελαν  
ῥυονκαθήσκαιβρωτοσδίκακαθήσε  
πεζωφιλολοβορηνά  
πάνκρατεπίν  
εἰς

Face II.

κακά σαλάκος  
μενοσδίκτα  
γαθιμολάπα  
μνια καθορίευποκε  
ακαρπώνωθο ρεκεκέστελε  
ιωμετείκε θούρεχαίρεμοίκι  
πάνκρατεσ γανούςβεβακές  
νωναγωμένοσδίκτανέκι  
προεκαίγεθαθιμολάπα  
πολνασαμών θορέκι  
ροσκοασ θορέκεσ  
θορέκεσθεμίνκι  
θούρεχαίρεμοι  
νοτσεβέρα  
δίκτα  
μολι
Back II.

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - τὰς καλὰς ἄο(δ)ς.

Ἰῶ, μέγιστε Κοῦρε χαῖρε μοι, Κρόνειε, πανκρατείς γάνως, βέβακες δαιμόνων] ν (ἀγ)ὼ(μ)ένους· (Δ)ίκταυ ε(ἰ)ς (ἐν)ιαυτὸν ἔρπε καὶ γέγαθα(θ)ι μ(ο)λ(π)α(ν).

15 [ὁραὶ δὲ βροτοῦ ν καθῆτο καὶ βροτοῦ δίκαι καθῆκε

[πάντα τ, ἀγρι' ἀμφε]πε (ξ)ο(ἰ)’ ἀ φιλολβος Εἰρήνηα.

[Ἰῶ, μέγιστε Κοῦρε χαῖρε μοι, Κρόνειε, πανκρατείς γάνως; Δίκταυ] εἰς ἐ-

[νιαυτὸν ἔρπε καὶ γέγαθα μολπάν - - - - -]

Face II.

[Ἰῶ, μέγιστε Κοῦρε χαῖρε μοι, Κρόνειε, παν-]
κρα[τέ]ς γά[νως, βέβακες δαιμόνων ἀγών]

15 μένος· Δίκταυ ν εἰς ἐνιαυτόν ἔρπε καὶ γέ-

γαθα μολπά(ἰ). Ἰμ(ο)νθ(ό)ρ κ(έ)ς στα[-]

μνία καὶ θ(ό)ρ' ε(ῦ)πτοκ' (ἐ)[ς πούμα κ(έ)ς λή[[-]

a ἑκ(ά)[σ]τον θ(ό)ρε(κέ)ς τ(έ)λεσ[φόρους σίμβλους].

Ἰῶ, μέγιστε Κοῦρε χαῖρε μοι, Κ[ρόνειε],

20 πανκρατείς γάνως, βέβακες [δαίμον-]
νοι ἀγώμενοι· Δίκταυ ε[ς ἐνιαυτόν]

ἐρπε καὶ γέγαθα μολπά(ἰ). [Θόρε κές]

πολη(σ)α(ῖ)ς ἀμώ(ν, <θόρε> κ[ὲ]σ ποντοφό[-]

ρο(υ)ς νάας, θ(ό)ρε(κέ)ς ν[έος πολείτας],

25 θ(ό)ρε(κέ)ς Θ(έ)μων κ[αλάν]. Ἰῶ, μέγιστε

Κοῦρε χαῖρε μοι, [Κρόνειε, πανκρατείς γά-]

νοι, βέβα[κες δαιμόνων ἀγώμενος];

Δίκταυ ν εἰς ἐνιαυτόν ἔρπε καὶ γέγαθα]

μολ[παί].
The Hymn opens with an invocation, 'Ἰω, μέγιστε Καῦρε κ.τ.λ., which recurs as a refrain after each of six succeeding stanzas. The engraver of the Back set out his copy so as to cover the whole surface, beginning a fresh line for each stanza and each repetition of the refrain; the stanza usually fills two lines and is correctly divided at the end of the second dimeter, while the refrain occupies two lines and a half. But there are two blanks at the top of the stele: why were the invocation, and the first two lines of the refrain following the first stanza, never engraved? Probably the stone-cutter was working from the bottom up, as modern stone-cutters often do: the reason being that, if they worked in what a layman considers the natural way, the hand which guides the chisel would rub out the pencilling of the lines below. In the present case no doubt the whole inscription was first drawn out on the stone, and the cutting was nearly done when some responsible person noticed that the engraver was making gibberish of the refrain. There were slips in other parts of the text, but these were negligible in comparison. Probably the person who drew out the text upon the stone had written the invocation fair and clear at the
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Back III.

20  [Ἰώ, μέγιστε Κοῦρε χαίρέ μοι, Κρόνειε, πανκρα]τ(étais γά)-
    [νοὺς, βέβακες δαιμόνων ἀγώμενος]  Δ(ἰ)κ(τ)α(ν ἐ(νί)-
    [αὐτῶν ἐρπε καὶ γέγαθι μολπά]τ(ν).

    [Θάρε καὶς πόλης ἥμων, θάρε καὶς π(α)υτοφόρο(ν)ς νᾶ-
    [ας, θάρε καὶς νέους πολ(ε)τας, θάρε καὶς Θέμιν

25  [καλάν].

    [Ἰώ, μέγιστε Κοῦρε χαίρε μοι], Κρό(νε)ι(ε), π(ανκρα)τ(ε)ί(ς γά)-
    [νοὺς, βεβακες δαιμονων αγω]ν(ε)νος  Δ(ι)κ(ται(ε)ν(ε)ι(ς ἐνι)-
    [αυτων ἐρπε και γεγαθε μολτ(ε)ν.

Face III. is blank.

head, and had scribbled it more or less illegibly when it recurred, assuming
that the workman would recognise it. But he, poor fellow, too illiterate or
too hurried, began at the foot and mechanically reproduced what he saw.
ΑΓΩΜΕΝΟΣ becomes ΛΤΩΡΕΝΟΣ, and ΚΑΙ ΓΕΓΑΘΙΜΟΛΠΑΝ becomes
ΛΑΠΕΙΔΟΗΙΟΛΠΑΝ. One wonders whether he was an Eteocretan,
ignorant of Greek, or a slave unable to read at all.¹

The first attempt having been condemned, a fresh version was drawn
out on the other side, which became the Face. Bold square lettering was
adopted in place of the feeble script, often approaching cursive, of the
Back. The first eight lines were widely spaced, with about twenty-five
letters to the line. The three lines which follow are close-set and crowded,
with forty or more letters in each. We cannot say how far the crowding
continued. On the middle fragment an intermediate spacing and size of
letter, about thirty to the line, has been adopted. The abnormal crowding

¹ It is not easy to say why the first stanza was engraved while the place for the refrain below
it was left blank; possibly the stanzas were engraved first under supervision, sufficient space being
left for the refrain.
of the ninth and following lines was not due to any difficulty in getting
the document into the available space, for the engraver completed his
task with ample space in hand. On the face the Hymn ends at the foot
of the middle fragment, and the lower fragment is blank. Probably one
of the early stanzas was accidentally omitted when the text was set out,
and the central part was then drawn out afresh, three stanzas being
crowded into the space intended for two. The plaster reproduction
(Pl. XX.) has been made on this assumption, and allows room for the
six stanzas of which some trace remains on one side or other of the slab.
But the irregular spacing might be explained in some other way so as to
admit of a seventh stanza.

The Cult of Diktaean Zeus.

The Hymn was meant to be sung before an altar of Zeus at an
annual festival held somewhere on Mount Dikte. One thinks first of the
famous cave near Lyttos, the scene of the nativity-stories, which has been
identified above the village of Psychro. But this, as excavation has
shown, had ceased to be a centre of cult long before the date—
approximately 300 B.C., according to Professor Murray (p. 365)—to
which our Hymn belongs. 'With very rare and sporadic exceptions the
Diktaean antiquities do not come down lower than the Geometric period,
i.e. probably the opening of the eighth century B.C.' 1 Another possibility is
that the festival was held at Lyttos, the city with which Hesiod expressly
connects his story of the birth of Zeus in the Diktaean Cave. It was built on
an outlying north-western spur of Mount Dikte and the greater part of the
mountain-mass must have lain within its territory, extending as it did, at
any rate in the fourth century, from sea to sea (Skylax, 48, διηκει ἄμφωτερωθεν). In this case a different difficulty has to be faced. The
Hymn lays stress on a local legend of the birth on Dikte and the
hiding of the babe by the Kouretes, making it the motive of the festival—
ἐνθα γὰρ σέ, παῖδι ἄμβρωτον κ.τ.λ. But such evidence as we have goes to
show that Lyttos worshipped Zeus of Ida rather than Zeus of Dikte. Our
best sources of information about the local cults of Cretan cities are the
oath-formulae contained in their treaties. These petty states, which were
constantly making treaties and as constantly breaking them, used to bind

1 Hogarth, B.S.A. vi. 115.
one another by a form of oath which exposed the transgressor to the wrath of the chief gods of both lands. In a treaty between Lyttos and Hieraptyna Zeus is mentioned twice, with the cultus-titles Ὄπαρτριος and Μοννύτιοι.¹ Zeus Ὄπαρτριος reappears in two other documents to which Hieraptyna is a party ² and must therefore have been worshipped in that state, while Z. Μοννύτιοι is known also at Malla, the neighbour of Lyttos on the south.³ In a treaty between Lyttos and Olous the oath is incomplete, but it includes the name of Zeus Βιβάτας, that is Zeus of Ida,⁴ and he must almost certainly be regarded as the representative of Lyttos, for Olous had its own cult, that of Zeus Ταλλαῖος.⁵ In the same way the mention of Z. Κρηταγενής and Z. Ταλλαῖος in a treaty between Lato and Olous enables us to assign the cultus-title Κρηταγενής to Lato.⁶ At Dreros, a little state wedged in between Lato, Olous, and Lyttos, Z. Ταλλαῖος reappears.⁷ In none of these public documents has the name of Zeus Δικταῖος been preserved, although the states in question are those which lie closest to the mountain-group of Dikte. Taken in conjunction with the cessation of offerings at the cave, this must mean that the mountain and its legend counted for little in local worship. Further, mention of Zeus Βιβάτας in a Lyttian document implies recognition of the superior claims of Mount Ida.

There is reason, it is true, to think that the young Zeus was worshipped at Lyttos, for an inscription of Roman date mentions a festival called the Βελχανία which was celebrated there, apparently on the Kalends of May;⁸ but this name too has associations with Ida. The temple which stood in classical days near Phaistos on the site of a Minoan palace, on the hill now called 'Αγιά Τριάδα, was dedicated to Zeus.

¹ Le Bas, Rev. de Phil. i. 264 ff.; Blass, Die Kretischen Inschriften (in Collitz-Bechtel's Sammlung der Dialekt-Inschr.) 5041.
² Treaty made by Gortys and Hieraptyna with Priansos, Blass, 5024; treaty between Hieraptyna and a colony, discussed below, Blass, 5039.
³ Temple of Z. Μοννίτιος at Malla, Blass, 5184. 15; cf. 5100. 19.
⁴ C.I.A. ii. 549; Blass, 5147, side b line 5, Τῆνα Βιβάτας καὶ Τῆνα... A temple of Z. Βιβάτας seems to be mentioned in ibid. 5024, in the description of the frontier of Priansos; it may have lain in the region where Priansos marched with Lyttos. For Φίλα = Τῆν see Xanthoudides' remarks in Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1908, p. 236.
⁵ The temple of Z. Ταλλαῖος at Olous is mentioned in the inscription B.C.H. iii. 393=Blass, 5149. 14.
⁶ ibid. 5075. 73, Τῆνα τῶν Κρηταγενής. We have the same title in the fragmentary oath of a treaty between Gortys and Sybrita, ibid. 5021. 19.
⁷ ibid. 4952. 19.
⁸ B.C.H. xiii. (1889), 61.
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**Δέλος.** He is figured on the coins of Phaistos as a comely youth, a Κόημας like the god worshipped on another Minoan site at Palaikastro. Nor is it surprising that the people of Lyttos, colonists from Sparta, should have turned their eyes to Ida and the west rather than to Dikte and the east. Their neighbours on the west, the masters of Ida, were Dorians like themselves; but Dikte, as we shall see, was the sacred mountain of the old inhabitants.

Thus the cities of central Crete made little or no use of the cultus-title Δικταῖος. Its vogue seems to have been limited to the region beyond the isthmus of Hierapytana and to the three states which at one time or other claimed control of the temple at Palaikastro. The public documents in which it occurs relate to internal affairs respectively of Itanos and Hierapytana:

(1) The citizens of Itanos swear allegiance to the state ‘by Zeus Diktaios and Hera and the gods in Dikte and Athena Polias and all the gods to whom sacrifice is made in the temple of Athena and Zeus Agoraios and Apollo Pythios.’

(2) Settlers from Hierapytana, sent probably to occupy conquered territory (that of Praisos?), swear allegiance ‘by Hestia and Zeus Oratrios and Zeus Diktaios and Hera and Athena of Oleros and Athena Polias and Athena of Cape Salmonion and Apollo Pythios and Lato and Artemis and Ares and Aphrodite and Kouretes and Nymphs and Korybantes and all gods and goddesses.’

To these we must add another in which the title may be restored with confidence.

(3) The people of Praisos grant certain territory and dues to the people of Stalai, and their chief magistrate takes oath by ‘Zeus [Diktaios restored, filling the space exactly], Poseidon, Athena, Apollo Pythios, all gods and goddesses.’ Strabo’s statement that there was a temple of Diktaean Zeus at or near Praisos goes far to justify the restoration.

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1 Brit. Mus. Catalogue, Crete, xv. 10 and 12. The coins show him seated among branches. In one version of his perilous infancy Amalthea hides his cradle in a tree and the Kouretes dance about it (Hyginus, 139).

2 Halbherr, Mus. Ital. iii. 563; Dittenberger, ii. No. 462; Blass, 5058. Dittenberger is wrong in saying that it was found at Palaikastro; it was found at Itanos (Eremopoli).

3 C.I.G. 2555; Blass, 5039. The newcomers in this list are Z. Diktaios and Athena Salmonia, both worshipped in the north-eastern corner of Crete: it is plain that the colony lay in that direction.

4 Mariani, Mon. Ant. vi. 299; Dittenberger, ii. No. 427; Blass, 5120; Strabo, 475 and 478.
An excavation at Lyttos, much to be desired on many grounds, may furnish further evidence of a local cult. In the meantime we must regard the temple at Palaikastro as the chief seat in eastern Crete of the worship of the god to whom honours had been paid in the grotto on Dikte during the Bronze Age and early Iron Age. The cult at Palaikastro seems to have had a continuous existence. In the Third Late Minoan period, after the destruction of the palaces at Knossos, Phaistos, and Gournia, the town at Palaikastro became what it had not been before, the seat of a ruling prince. Here and nowhere else in Crete, so far as we know at present, a palace of the Cretan type was built anew after the general disaster. When growing insecurity drove the Eteocretan population inland, Praisos took the place of Palaikastro (Heleia) as the capital. But the cult clung to the deserted town-site, and again and again in defiance of boundaries and treaties the people of Praisos laid claim to the holy place of their forefathers.

One is tempted to conjecture that the very name Dikte had been transferred to one of the heights, possibly the cone of Modhi, near Praisos and Palaikastro. The existence of a second Dikte in this neighbourhood would go far to explain the statement of Strabo (478, cf. 475) that Dikte lay 1000 stades to the east of Ida and only 100 stades from Cape Salmonion, the north-eastern promontory of Crete, near to Praisos and the temple of Diktaean Zeus. It would also explain the emphatic mention of the Praisian tradition regarding the birth of Zeus on Dikte and the part played by the sow, in Athenaeus ix. 376 A, and enable us to claim the ἀπόρρητος θυσία as possibly a feature of the festival for which our Hymn was written. We might even see in the walls of Palaikastro, conspicuous to-day and certainly more so in antiquity, those of the city mentioned by Diodorus (v. 70) as having been founded by Zeus in the neighbourhood of his birthplace so soon as he came to manhood: 'in later times it fell into decay, but its ruins still remain.'

The Cult of the Kouretes.

In the invocation with which the Hymn opens Zeus is said to have come δαιμόνων ἄγαμον. These divine attendants are doubtless the Kouretes and Nymphs, who are named after the Olympian gods in the
oath-formulae of treaties between Hierapytna and Lyttos, and between Lato and Olous, four states whose territory lay round about the mountain-mass of Dikte. Alike from Lyttos, from Lato (Goulas) and its port Lato Proskamara (H. Nikolaos), and from Hierapytna, the snowy ridges of Dikte are the most conspicuous feature of the landscape. It was a Cretan belief, according to Diodorus (v. 65), that the Kouretes 'used to dwell upon the mountains, in wooded places and glens and in general where there was natural covering and shelter, because the art of building houses had not yet been discovered.' The treaty between Lato and Olous, referred to above, mentions a sanctuary of the Kouretes which must have lain in just such a region on the north-east flank of Dikte. This inscription traces the frontier of Lato in great detail, starting from the sea on the east and working round by south and west until it meets the frontier of Olous on the north. Now the neighbour of Lato on the south was Hierapytna, on the north Lyttos. Approximately midway in the delimitation, perhaps not far from the point where the territory of these three states met, we have the phrase (line 60) ἐπὶ τὸν Κώριτας, which must mean 'to the sanctuary of the Kouretes.' This ellipse occurs in other Cretan inscriptions. There is an exact parallel, ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀσκλαπίων, in a description of the frontier-line between Gortys and Knossos. The Lato-Olous inscription continues after an interval 'and to the Deer's Pool and to the Ridge and to the Wild-pear Wood and to the Peak of Zeus,' this last a name which carries us into the heart of Dikte. The inscription probably belongs to the early part of the first century before Christ. Thus the cult of the Kouretes still held its own, even on the eve of the Roman conquest, in the region around Dikte where we have failed to find evidence of the cult of Diktaean Zeus.

The evidence for the worship of the Kouretes in the Eteocretan country is less clear. In the oath of the Hierapytnian colonists, quoted above (p. 350) the Kouretes, Nymphs, and Korybantes are named; but it is

1 Blass, 5041. 14. The oath ends καὶ Κώριτας καὶ Νύμφας καὶ Θεος τάγρας καὶ τάς.
2 Ibid. 5075. 76.
3 The Cretan mythologist, whom Diodorus paraphrases, follows the view (cf. Hesiod, Works and Days, 120) that these δακτύλις were the first inhabitants, the men of the golden age. So Strabo, x. 473, 'Some say that the name Idaean Daktyls was given to the first inhabitants of the lower slopes of Ida.' Pashley, Travels in Crete, ii. 217, 232 quotes a modern story of male and female spirits seen by hunters on the mountains of Sphakia.
4 Ibid. 5016. 6.
probable that all three were worshipped at the mother-city. However, the Itanian oath has a striking phrase, 'the gods in Dikte,' which almost oaths is short and phrase common to Kouretes was probably st. What was the 500 years old, the recently come to the worship of the under the Roman in Mon. dei Lincei, main village situated the road to Gortys 

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38-42 Bedford Street

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but the restoration of Καππαρας in 1. 63 is highly probable. There was a reason in local legend, which said that the city was originally called Καππαρα (Steph. Byz. s.v. 'ιππάρανα) and was founded by a Καππαρας who had come with the Καππαρος from Rhodes (Strabo, 472); Καππαρα appears as a Rhodian place-name in Diod. Sic. v. 37. The inscription recently found at Palaikastro (Ερ. 'Αρχ. 1908, 199) mentions a tribe Καππαρος, clearly belonging to Hierapytna and illustrating another of its alleged earlier names, Καππαρος (Steph. Byz. l.c.). This traditional kinship no doubt facilitated the alliance between Rhodes and Hierapytna of which we have epigraphic record (Collitz-Bechtel, 3749; cf. Strabo, l.c.).
probable that all three were worshipped at the mother-city. However, the Itanian oath has a striking phrase, 'the gods in Dikte,' which almost certainly refers to these mountain spirits. The Praian oath is short and businesslike, ending with 'all gods and goddesses,' a phrase common to most of the oath-formulae.

The Palaikastro copy of the Hymn of the Kouretes was probably engraved in the second or third century after Christ. What was the motive for the resuscitation of a poem already some 500 years old, the diction of which was so unfamiliar that the engraving of it in that late age was a matter of real difficulty? Two inscriptions have recently come to light at the foot of Mount Ida which show that the worship of the Kouretes was still a reality among Cretan country-folk under the Roman Empire. One of them, published by Prof. de Sanctis in *Mon. dei Lincei*, xviii. (1908), p. 178, comes from Hagia Barbara, a mountain village situated 1800 feet above the sea on the pass through which the road to Gortys descends into the Messara plain.

'Ερταιος Ἀμνάτων Κώρης τοῖς πρῶ καρταῖπόδων (ἄριστον καὶ (χαρίσι-)τήνων.

'Ertaios, son of Amnatos, to the Kouretes the guardians of kine, fulfils his vow and makes a thank-offering.'

De Sanctis compares καρταίτων = βούς in the Gortys inscription (iv. 36 and north wall i. 13), and καρταίτων in Pindar, *Ol. xiii.* 81. The lettering is late with the same ɔ and ω as in the Palaikastro hymn. Since publishing it the same scholar has discovered a second dedication to the Kouretes in the village of Pluti, which lies on a foot-hill of Ida, 2½ miles north-west of Gortys. I am indebted to his kindness for a copy of it. The formula is almost the same, the lettering earlier in character, perhaps of the second century A.D.

For this exceptional inclusion of the Κόρητας (= Korybantes) see also the treaty between Priansos, Gortyna, and Hierapytna (Blass, 5024), where the formula is much mutilated, but the restoration of Κόρητας in l. 63 is highly probable. There was a reason in local legend, which said that the city was originally called Κόρη (Steph. Byz. i. 276, 'πόλις Κορης') and was founded by a Κόρης who had come with the Κόρηται from Rhodes (Strabo, 472); Κόρη appears as a Rhodian place-name in Diod. Sic. v. 57. The inscription recently found at Palaikastro (Εφ. Αρχ. 1908, 199) mentions a tribe Καματίς, clearly belonging to Hierapytna and illustrating another of its alleged earlier names, Κάματας (Steph. Byz. Lc.). This traditional kinship no doubt facilitated the alliance between Rhodes and Hierapytna of which we have epigraphic record (Collitz-Bechtel, 3749; cf. Strabo, Lc.).
The Kouretes then were regarded in the neighbourhood of Gortys as the special protectors of cattle. The word καρπαίτοδα may, as De Sanctis observes, be a genuine survival from archaic times; but it is perhaps more probable that the formula was supplied from some learned source and that exceptional recourse to the mountain deities was made on the occasion of some plague. A similar emergency among the sheep-farmers of the east coast may have prompted the revival of obsolescent rites at the Temple of Diktaean Zeus. The age of Severus and his successors, to which we have seen reason to refer the Palaikastro copy of the Hymn, was one in which mysteries and religious associations flourished, and probably witnessed many such revivals.

Note on Lines 20–26.

The Horai and the Age of Innocence.

For these two strophai we have only the evidence of the Back, always insecure and here incomplete. They describe the blessings which flowed from the rule of Zeus,—order in the universe, the regular succession of the seasons, the beginnings of justice and peace on earth. We may perhaps recover the thought of the mutilated stanza ending τὰς καλὰς ἄονες by comparing it with a passage which Plutarch, De esu carnium, I. 2, p. 993 ε quotes from an unnamed poet. He describes the difficulties which beset primitive man and drove him to the eating of flesh. οἴποι δ’ ἤλιος ἔδρυντο ἀπλανὸ καὶ βέβαιον ἐχον δρόμων ἦν καὶ δύσιν ἐκρενεν, πέρι δ’ ἰγκαγεν αὕθις ὀπίσσω καρποφόρωσιν ἐπιστέψας καλικοστεφάνωσιν "Ὡραις, γῇ δ’ ὑδριστό ποταμῶν ἐκθολαὶς ἀπάκταις, καὶ τολλὰ λίμναισιν ἄμορφα καὶ πηλῶς βαθέσι καὶ λόχμαις ἄφροις καὶ ὕλαις ἐξηγρίσωτο φοράς δἐ ἥμερον κορπίν καὶ τέχνης ὄργανον οὐδὲν <ἀν> οὐδὲ μηχανή σοφίας ὁ δἐ λιμὼς οὐκ ἐδίδον χρόνον οὐδὲ ὀρας ἔπησόντο σπέρος <πυρ>Ιων τὸν ἀνέμενεν. 1 Empedocles, if the lines be his, believed that the sun’s movements had for a while been irregular; our Hymn probably gave Zeus the credit for fixing them and bringing about the revolution of the seasons.

1 I follow the emended text of Diels, Vorsokratiker, i. 216. He ascribes the lines doubtfully to Empedocles, as Wytenbach did before him.
The idea that there was a time when the regular cycle of the seasons had not been established appears to be an old one. Aeschylus (Prom. 454) rationalises it into a period when men did not yet know the signs of the seasons: it was Prometheus who taught them to read the stars. In one of the mythological hand-books of which abstracts have been preserved by Diodorus, Ouranos is said to have performed this service for humanity (iii. 56, εἰσηγήσασθαι δὲ τοῖς ὀξλοῖς τὸν μὲν ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς τεῦ ἢλιον κινήσεως, τοὺς δὲ μήνας ἀπὸ τῆς σελήνης, καὶ τὰς κατ’ ἐτοὺς ἑκαστον ὥρας διδαξαι): according to another (v. 67), it was Hyperion who first studied and made known the movements of sun, moon, and stars, and the seasons which they bring about.¹ Ovid, adopting the Hesiodic cosmogony with its idea of a happier Golden Age, makes the introduction of regular seasons a change for the worse:

Jupiter antiqui contraxit tempora veris
perque hiemes aestusque et inaequales autumnos
et breve ver spatii exegit quattuor annum.

The following stanza, so happily restored by Professor Murray, tells how the Seasons, and in particular two of them, Justice and Peace, established the reign of law upon earth.² Zeus is their father, Themis their mother (Hesiod, Theog. 901):

δεύτερον ἡγάγετο λυπαρὴν Θέμιν, ἢ τέκεν Ἡρας,
Εὐνομίην τε Δίκην τε καὶ Εἰρήνην πεθαλιᾶν.

Pindar makes them responsible for the prosperity of 'wealthy Corinth' (Ol. xiii. 6 ff.):

ἐν τῷ γὰρ Εὐνομίᾳ καίει, κακιφήτα τε, βάθρον πολέων ἀσφαλῆς,
Δίκα καὶ ὄμοτρόφος Εἰρήνα, ταμιάι ἄνδράσι πλούτον,
χρύσεια παιδεῖς εὐβούλου Θέμετος.

Their rule extends over the whole animal world.³ Man, as Plato

¹ Prof. Murray calls my attention to the chorus in Eurip. Electra, 726 ff., describing how Zeus changed the movements of sun and stars as a testimony against Thyestes. In some accounts this is a temporary portent, but here and in Plato, Politic., 269, it is regarded as a permanent reversal; till then the sun had risen in the west and set in the east.

² The name of Ἐδωνία, not mentioned in the Hymn, was adopted in several Cretan cities as a collective title for the college of magistrates (Xanthoudides, Ἐφ. 1'Αρχ. 1908. 208).

³ The mention of peace in the animal world might possibly refer to the proverbial freedom of Crete from all noxious creatures—an immunity which resulted, according to one account, from the birth of Zeus in the island; others give the credit to Herakles or even to St. Paul. The passages are collected by Pashley, Travels in Crete, ii. 261.
makes Protagoras say, is the only one of the animals who has any gods; yet the gods care for all. Witness Archilochus (fr. 79):

\[ \text{"Zeú, páter Zeú, soú mèn ouoaní krátos,}
\text{soú d' ęry' ép' òuópous ór Pré}
\text{léooyá kai thémiystá, sói dè théríon}
\text{úbrios te kai diá khe múeis,} \]

and the beautiful prayer to Justice (Δικαιοσύνη) in the Orphic Hymn-book, which pleads for the welfare of all living things (Orphica, lxiii. 12-16),

\[ \text{κλóthi, theá, kakaían thyniójou thraúousa dikaiós,}
\text{ós dê isòropotíson aíl bión éstlós òdeúoi}
\text{thyniójou òuópous, oí òrðími kárto j épóusvin,}
\text{kai ýóon pántov, ópyos' ën kýlnoi úi tìdhevi}
\text{gáia theá múteth kai póntios eínáljos Zeús.} \]

Here, as in the passage of Plutarch from which we set out, the underlying idea is the brotherhood of all living things and the sinfulness of killing animals for food. The belief that primitive men—and beasts, too—had led 'Orphic lives' was familiar to Plato (Laws, 782 c); in the days of Kronos 'there was no savage beast, no eating of one another, no war, no strife' (Politicus, 271 E). But we owe the fullest statement of this Empedoclean view of our early history to Dicaearchus (ap. Porph. de Abst. iv. 2). Tired of acorns and the other fruits which earth in the Golden Age yielded unasked, men took to the pastoral life and began to eat meat; συνεισήλθεν dê ústéron kai pólémov kai eis álhllov pléonexía áma té tón ýóon aðikía. The Hymn of the Kouretes naturally transfers the period of innocence when Peace and Justice prevailed from the reign of Kronos to that of Zeus. The profession of the chorus in Euripides' Cretans, τὴν τ' émuýchoi brósiou édestovn péfulagmav, shows that the priests of Idaean Zeus maintained the primitive custom, and it may well be that the doctrine of abstinence was taught also in the Diktaean cult.

R. C. Bosanquet.
THE HYMN OF THE KOURETES.

RESTORED TEXT.

'Ιώ,
Μέγιστε Κούρε, χαϊρέ μοι,
Κρόνε, παγκράτες γάνους,
βέβακες
5 δαμόμονον ἀγώμενον:
Δίκταν ἐς ἐνιαυτὸν ἔρ-
τε καὶ γέγαβι μολπᾶ,

Τὰν τοι κρέκομεν πακτίσι
μεῖξαντες ἀμ’ αὐλοῖσιν,
10 καὶ στάντες ἀείδομεν τεῦν
ἀμφὶ βαμὸν εὐερκῆ.

'Ιώ, κ.τ.λ.
"Ενθα γὰρ σέ, παῖδ’ ἀμβροτον,
ἀσπίδα[γιάρμοι τροφῆς]
15 παρ’ Ῥέας λαβόντες πόδα’
κ[ρούοντες ἀπέκρυψαν].

'Ιώ, κ.τ.λ.

20 . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . τὰς καλὰς ᾿Αο[(ῦ)]ς . . . . .
Square brackets denote conjectural restorations. S denotes the stone; B Professor Bosanquet, to whose copies and photographs of the inscription I owe all my knowledge of it.

Translation.

Io, Kouros most Great, I give thee hail, Kronian, Lord of all that is wet and gleaming, thou art come at the head of thy Daimones. To Dikte for the year, Oh, march, and rejoice in the dance and song.

That we make to thee with harps and pipes mingled together, and sing as we come to a stand at thy well-fenced altar.

Io, etc.

For here the shielded Nurturers took thee, a babe immortal, from Rhea, and with noise of beating feet hid thee away.

Io, etc.

And the Seasons began to be fruitful year by year (?) and Justice to possess mankind; and all wild living things were held about by wealth-loving Peace.
HYMN OF THE KOURETES.

Io, etc.

To us also leap for full jars, and leap for fleecy flocks, and leap for fields of fruit, and for hives to bring increase.

Io, etc.

Leap for our Cities, and leap for our sea-borne ships, and leap for young citizens and for goodly Law.'

L. 2. No single Μέγιστος Κόυρος is known to us elsewhere, but cf. the title Νέος Κόυρος given to Epimenides (Plut. V. Sol. 12; cf. Diog. La. i. 115): also the herdsman Κορήτας, who first discovered the prophetic vapours of Delphi (Plut. Defect. Or. 42 and 46), and the Πρωτοκούρης at Ephesus. Dittenberger, Syll. I. 2 186, 1, who cites Wood, Ephesus, app. 2, p. 28. Cf. Hicks, Gk. Inscr. in Brit. Mus. 3, 2 p. 219. The Κόυρος is no doubt a god generated from the Κούρητες, like Σάτυρος, Σιλήνος, Πάν, Salius, and perhaps even Αμφικτύνων (from the Σάτυροι, etc.). Then he is identified with the young Zeus. The well-known Κούρης inscriptions on the rocks of Thera (I.G.I.M.A. iii. 354 &c.) also receive much light from this hymn.

L. 3. ΚΡΟΝΕΙΕ, S.

L. 5. δαμύνον, sc. the other Κούρητες; see Miss Harrison's article (p. 310).

L. 10. στάντες. They marched along like the Salii and then stopped and sang the hymn at the Altar. Cf. Strabo, p. 640 init. ἄρος, ἀπον στάντας φασί τοὺς Κούρητας κ.τ.λ. (at Ephesus).

τέων seems to be treated as a monosyllable; but see below on the metre.

L. 14. ἄσπίδης[ηφόροι Κούρητες] B. The sense seems certain, but the metrical license ——— for ——— is doubtful and does not occur elsewhere in the hymn. Hence I prefer τροφῆς: ἄσπίδη[εσσι] | Κούρητες would correspond neatly with μείξαντες ἄμε| αὐτο-λοίσων.

L. 16. I prefer ἀτεκνύαν to κατέκνυαν (B) both metrically and because it is the word used in similar ritual contexts by Hes. Theog. 157 of the 'hidden' children of Kronos, πάντας ἀτοκρύπτασκε, and Strabo, p. 483 of the Cretan youths (= Kouretes in another aspect), ἀτοκρύπτει μέν τῶν παιδῶν.
For the reading of this and the next stanzas I am guided partly by Diodorus v. 65, on the Kouretes:—

διενεγκόμας δ' αὐτοὺς συνήσει πολλὰ τῶν κοινὴ χρησίμων καταδείξαι
tάς τε γάρ ποίμνας τῶν προβάτων τούτους ἀθροίσαι πρώτους καὶ τὰ γένη
tῶν ἄλλων βοσκημάτων ἐξεμφάσαι καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς μελιτουργίας κατα-

dείξαι. ὀμοιός δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν τοξικὴν καὶ τὰς κυνηγίας εἰσηγήσασθαι,
καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἄλληλοις κοινῆς ὀμιλίας καὶ συμβιωσεως, ἔτι δ' ὀμοιός καὶ

tυνὸς εὐταξίας ἀρχηγοῦς γενέσθαι.

This gives the flocks of sheep, the taming of other animals, the bees (cf. Call. H. Jov. 50 ff. and Verg. Georg. iv. 151) and the arts of civilization and ordered life. As for Θέμις, Prof. Bosanquet points out that the official name for the Cretan college of magistrates was Ἐνυμοία (Xanthoudides in Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1908). Perhaps Θέμις is a poetical equivalent for this. It is curious that the most usual names for the three Horai, from Hes. Theog. 902, onward, are Δίκη, Εἰρήνη and Ἐνυμοία.

There is also the analogy of the Salii, whom Denys of Halicarnassus Antiq. Rom. ii. lxx, identifies with the Kouretes, and who were certainly connected with spring and fertility. The same connexion is shown in Euseb. Praep. Ev. iii. ii. 14 τῶν δὲ καιρῶν σύμβολα οἱ Κούρητες, τῶν χρόνων βουκολούντες ... τῶν δὲ Ὄρων αἱ μὲν κ.τ.λ.

In spite of their ἐνόπλιος ὀρχησίς the Kouretes do not seem to have been military.

23. This stanza is on the reverse only. ΥΟΝΚΑΣΗΤΟΣ is puzzling. Before the Υ are remains of Π, not Φ. Space for about eight letters. If we can suppose that κατάφετος, 'year by year,' was treated as one word, and that when the Φ dropped out a form κατάφετος was left, it would normally in Doric become κατήφος or κατής. If so, the above restoration will suit, but I can find no evidence. The forms ἐπητανός, ἐπητανός are of different origin.—The hero Κάβητος, who married Salia and was father of Salius and Latinus does not fit in well (Ps. Plut. Parall. 40=F.H.G. iii. p. 230), nor does τήτος 'dearth.'

L. 24. ΒΡΟΤΟΣ S (reverse): corr. B.

L. 25. Before the ε are remains of (probably) π. Before that, space for about thirteen letters. My restoration is merely exempli gratia.
Hymn of the Kouretes.

L. 29. ΘΟΡΠΙΣ: θόρπ' B. The command ‘Leap’ is addressed to the God, Kouros, but is acted on by the singers themselves, the Kouretes, as his representatives. Cf. limen sali; sta; berber and triumpe triumpe triumpe in the song of the Fratres Arvales. The songs of the Salii are too imperfectly preserved to be of use to us. They were vix sacerdotibus suis satis intellecta (Quint. i. 6. 40).

About seventeen letters missing before ΜΝΙΑ and ten to fourteen after ΕΥΠΟΚΕ. Cretan σταμνία were famous. The word before καρπῶν ended in a and probably had a vowel before the a, since the engraver when he divides a word divides after a vowel (with the usual exceptions, like μελκαν- τες) -λή. B.

L. 31. τελεσφόρονς ἄγροις B; ὄρας also would do. My restoration, though doubtless it would be engraved τελεσφόρος σιμβλος, is rather large for the space.

L. 31. The space on the stone would be satisfied by θόρε κες and this seems probable. But in that case we must suppose a line θόρε κες πόλης ἀμυόν θόρε, in which θόρε is by mistake written twice. Which shall we delete? On the whole the second, because (1) θόρε seems regularly to occur at the beginning of the line; (2) it is easier to understand its being inserted in the second place, so as to put a θόρε before every object mentioned.

L. 35. ν[έος πολ]έτας, a pretty certain restoration of B.

L. 36. Perhaps κ[λειτ]ήν. B.

Metre.

On the stone the poem is written continuously with no divisions except between stanzas. The metre, however, seems to me quite certain.

The refrain, Μέγιστε Κούρε, χαίρε μοι, κ.τ.λ., need scarcely detain us. It is the ordinary di-iacbic, perhaps the commonest of lyrical metres. The base is and the variants and and and once are admitted.

We may note that Ίω is found alone, not Ίω Ίω, which some metrists insist on restoring in similar places in tragedy so as to get an equivalent to Ίω. This Ίω may be an iambic or spondee extra metrum, or ——
may be equivalent to \( \text{-}\text{-}\text{-} \). Cf. Eur. *Tro.* 278 \( \text{-}\text{-}\text{-} \) extra metrum in the same metre, but \( \text{-}\text{-}\text{-} \) *Suppl.* 1127, 1134. In *Tro.* 168, 173 et antistr. we get this single spondee even in lyrical anapaests; cf. \( \text{-}\text{-}\text{-} \) *Hec.* 177; in regular anapaests it seems safer to double the spondee \( \text{-}\text{-}\text{-} \) so as to get the regular metron of two feet. *Suppl.* 1113.

But the body of the poem is of exceptional interest. It is the most complete specimen extant of recurrent strophes in a metre which may be called either Ionic *a majore* or di-trochaic, \( \text{-}\text{-}\text{-}\text{-} \text{-}\text{-} \text{-}\text{-} \). (The transition from the preceding iambics is obtained in the ordinary way, by the use of \( \text{-}\text{-}\text{-}\text{-} \) and \( \text{-}\text{-}\text{-}\text{-} \).

Each stanza consists of three dimeters followed by a dimeter catalectic.

The base is \( \text{-}\text{-}\text{-}\text{-} \), or \( \text{-}\text{-}\text{-}\text{-} \).

(1) The variations admitted are \( \text{-}\text{-}\text{-} \), as \( \text{d} \text{v} \text{l} \text{h} \text{o} \text{s} \text{t} \text{o} \text{i} \text{n} \), \( \text{-}\text{v} \text{i} \text{s} \text{n} \text{a} \text{t} \text{s} \text{t} \text{a} \) (The first syllable counts as two and is in each case a diphthong. This is common. Cf. Eur. *Hel.* 174 with my note.

(2) Also \( \text{-}\text{-}\text{-}\text{-} \) (vv. 33, 34, 35), but here the first short syllable belongs to a specially emphatic word (\( \text{t} \text{o} \text{p} \text{e} \)) and naturally tends to bear a stress. Cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 525–542, where the emphatic word \( \text{E} \text{p} \text{w} \text{o} \text{s} \) four times corresponds to a spondee.

(3) Also, once, in v. 10 we seem to get \( \text{-}\text{-}\text{-}\text{-} \) for \( \text{-}\text{-}\text{-}\text{-} \). There are parallels to this in Isyllus (D. 3, 6) and in Aristophanes (*Nub.* 805 \( \text{f} \text{r} \text{i} \text{m} \text{o} \text{s} \text{f} \text{r} \text{o} \text{o} \)) But in this very regular poem I suspect that \( \text{t} \text{e} \text{o} \text{n} \) was pronounced as one syllable. (\( \text{e} \text{o} \text{= e} \text{v} \), as in Ionic inscriptions.)

To understand the metre, let us take first a very simple form of it, where the ditrochaei are continuous, with no admixture of Ionici: the well known poem, *Anacreon*, 75 (79):

\[
\begin{align*}
Πόλε Θρηκή, τί δή με
λογίν δραμασιν βλέπουσα
ηλεός σεύγεις, δοκείς δέ μ'  \\
oúδεν εἰδέναι σοφόν;
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}

\text{ιςθι τοι, καλὸς μὲν ἄν τοι  \\
tῶν χαλινὸν ῥεμάλομεν,  \\
ἡνίας δ' ἔχων οὕρειομί σ'  \\
ἀμφὶ τέρματα δρόμον.  \\
\end{align*}
\]
This is the same as

'Ah, distinctly I remember,
It was in the bleak December,
And each several dying ember
Cast its ghost upon the floor.'

The chief difference from our hymn is that the Anacreon and the Poe admit no variants from their ditrochaei, though Poe runs a little in the direction of

Next let us take a stanza in which Ionic *a majore* and ditrochaeus are both used. The stanza is the same as that of the hymn, except that it is one syllable shorter at the end. Say λίσσου-μοι, and it is the same.

Eurip. Medea, 151:—

41 τίς σοί ποιε | τάς ἀπλάτου
42 κόιτας ἔρος, | ὁ ματαια;
43 σπεύσει βανάτου τελευτά;
44 μηδέν τάδε | λίσσου.

Cf. also Soph. O.T. 1186:—

45 Ἰω, γενεά βροτῶν, ὦς
46 ἠμάς ἐσα καὶ τὸ μηδέν
47 ζώσας ἐναριθμῷ.

But the rest of this song needs special comment, which would be out of place here.

Observe that if 45 46 47 it follows that we should stress strongly the first syllable of each line, thus generating a faint secondary stress on the third, although it is short. We go wrong if we stress the second syllable, as we usually do.

To stress the first syllable and so keep up the trochaic rhythm is the way to catch the metre of many fragments of Simonides, Sappho, and Anacreon, as well as some tragic choruses.

For instance: Simonides, 53 (25):—

48 ὃς δευρὶ πάντας
49 νίκασε νέους ὑπὲρ δι-
50 νόεντα βαλῶν Αναυρον,
51 πουλυβότρυνος ἐξ Ἰολκοῦ
52 οὗτο γάρ Ὅμηρος ἥδε
53 Στασίχορος ἀείδε λαοῖς.
Gilbert Murray

υπέρ follows Ἀναυρον in the MSS; corr. Dobree and Wilamowitz. πολυβότων, MSS., which can also be justified.

32 (46):—

"Ανθρωπος ἔδων μήποτε
φάσις ὑπὶ γένεται.
μηδ' ἀνδρα ἕως ὅλβιον
ὅσσον χρόνον ἐσσεται.
ἀκεία γάρ—οὐ ταυστερύγιοι μνήμας
οὗτος—ά μετάστασις.

In the last two lines the reading is doubtful and the metre not quite clear. Οὐδὲ ταυστερύγιον MSS. We seem to have two variations, 

Δ. Ε. Μ. (see above) and Δ. Ε. Μ. for ὑπὶ γένεται, cf. Eur. El. 432 κλεινάλ

We should observe also that the paean of Isyllus of Epidaurus, written about 300 B.C., is written in Ionic a minore mixed with ditrochaeus. Isyllus writes rudely and admits many more irregularities than our Kouretes do, but curiously enough an Ionic a majore is not one of them. See Wilamowitz, op. cit. p. 13, and especially the metrical discussion, pp. 125-157.

A typical pair of lines will show the metre of Isyllus.

ἐκ δὲ Φληγύα | γένετ' Άγυλα δ' | ὀνομάσθη |
τόδ' ἐπάνυμον τὸ κάλλος || δὲ Κορωνίς ἐπεκλήθη.||


DATE.

The inscription has, palaeographically, a very cursive character: note especially the forms of E (confused with P) M Θ Ω B. Mr. M. N. Tod would place it in the second or third century A.D. and Prof. Bosanquet independently puts it 'probably not before 200 A.D.' But the song itself is no doubt much older, as is indicated by the fact that it was first copied very faultily, and then copied again more correctly, on the other side of the stone. The errors (P for E, Π and Π for M, etc.) seem
to indicate that it was copied from a MS. rather than from another inscription; but of course that MS., in its turn, may well have been copied from a stone.

The metre, as shown above, would suit any date between the sixth and fourth centuries B.C.

The dialect is a cultured poetical Koine with a few Dorisms (ἀγόμενος, long a in many words, βῆβακες), much more polished than the language of Isyllus (ca. 300 B.C.), and certainly not earlier than 400. It is far removed from anything archaic.

The substance is characteristic. The Kouretes are conceived as founders of the arts of civilization and of ordered progress, as in Diodorus. This point of view hardly appears before Dicaearchus’s Bios Hellados and the early Stoics. The poem is therefore probably of about the same date as the paean of Isyllus, not far from the year 300 B.C.

If a historian can find us evidence of some restoration of the college of Kouretes in Crete, possibly in some connexion with Themis, about 300 B.C., we shall have the occasion for which the song was written, or perhaps re-written from some old and unintelligible form.

GILBERT MURRAY.
A—FACE.
Stone from the Temple of Diktaean Zeus. Inscribed with the Hymn of the Kourotex.