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468 Crete: Appendix

Ken Dowden (Birmingham)

BNJ	Creta, Appendix	Crete, Appendix
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468 F 1 - DIODOROS 5.64	meta[[id="468" type="F" n="1"]]
Subject: mythology, Crete Historical Work: various <i>Kretika</i>, incl. <i>The birth and theogony of the Kouretes and Korybants?</i> Source date: c. 54-24 BC Historian's date: 4th-1st c. BC Historical period: mythological times	Translation
<p>5.64.1 ... περι δὲ Κρήτης νῦν διέξιμεν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὴν Κρήτην κατοικοῦντές φασιν ἀρχαιοτάτους γενέσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς τοὺς ὀνομαζομένους Ἐτεόκρητας αὐτόχθονας, ὧν τὸν μὲν βασιλέα Κρήτα καλοῦμενον πλείστα καὶ μέγιστα κατὰ τὴν νῆσον εὐρεῖν τὰ δυνάμενα τὸν κοινὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίον ὠφελῆσαι. 2 καὶ τῶν θεῶν δὲ τοὺς πλείστους μυθολογοῦσι παρ' ἑαυτοῖς γενέσθαι τοὺς διὰ τὰς κοινὰς εὐεργεσίας τυχόντας ἀθανάτων τιμῶν. περι ὧν ἡμεῖς ἐν κεφαλαίοις τὰ παραδεδομένα διέξιμεν, ἀκολουθῶς τοῖς ἐνδοξοτάτοις τῶν τὰς Κρητικὰς πράξεις συνταξαμένων.</p> <p>64.3 πρῶτοι τοίνυν τῶν εἰς μνήμην παραδεδομένων ὤκησαν τῆς Κρήτης περι τὴν Ἴδην οἱ προσαγορευθέντες Ἰδαῖοι Δάκτυλοι. τούτους δ' οἱ μὲν ἑκατὸν τὸν ἀριθμὸν γεγονέναι παραδεδώκασιν, οἱ δὲ δέκα φασὶν ὑπάρχοντας τυχεῖν ταύτης τῆς προσηγορίας, τοῖς ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ δακτύλοις ὄντας ἰσαριθμούς. [[4 ἔνιοι δ' ἱστοροῦσιν, ὧν ἔστι καὶ Ἔφορος, τοὺς Ἰδαίους Δακτύλους γενέσθαι μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἴδην τὴν ἐν Φρυγίαι, διαβῆναι δὲ μετὰ Μύγδονος εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην. ὑπάρξαντας δὲ γόητας ἐπιτηδεῦσαι τὰς τε ἐπωιδὰς καὶ τελετὰς καὶ μυστήρια, καὶ περι Σαμοθράικην διατρίψαντας οὐ μετρίως ἐν τούτοις ἐκπλήττειν τοὺς ἐγγωρίους· καθ' ὃν δὴ χρόνον καὶ τὸν Ὀρφέα, φύσει διαφόρῳ κεχορηγημένον πρὸς ποίησιν καὶ μελωιδίαν, μαθητὴν γενέσθαι τούτων καὶ πρῶτον εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας</p>	<p>5.64.1 ... We will now deal with Crete. The inhabitants of Crete claim that the oldest people of the island are those who are called Eteocretans and are autochthonous. Their king, called Krēs, made a very number of very important discoveries which could benefit the common life of humans on the island. 2 They also tell myths that the majority of the gods was born in their island, those who received recognition as immortals on account of their benefactions to all humans. We will present the traditions about them in summary form, in accordance with the most reputable of those who have composed works on Cretan matters.</p> <p>64.3 The so-called Idaian Daktyls are remembered in the tradition as the first inhabitants of Crete, around the area of Mount Ida. Some relate that there were a hundred of them, but others that there were ten - who were so called because they were the same number as the fingers of the hands. [[4 Others again, among them Ephoros (<i>FGrH</i> 70 F 104), record that the Idaian Daktyls were born on the Mt Ida in Phrygia and crossed over to Europe together with Mygdon. And, being sorcerers, they practised enchantments and initiatory and mystery rites, and, living around Samothrace, they had no small impact on the locals through these skills. At this time, Orpheus too, whom nature had endowed in an exceptional way with poetry and musical song, became their student and was the first to disclose initiatory and</p>

ἐξευρεῖν τελετὰς καὶ μυστήρια. **5** οἱ δ' οὖν κατὰ τὴν Κρήτην Ἰδαῖοι Δάκτυλοι]] παραδέδονται τὴν τε τοῦ πυρὸς χρῆσιν καὶ τὴν τοῦ χαλκοῦ καὶ σιδήρου φύσιν ἐξευρεῖν τῆς Ἀπτεραίων χώρας περὶ τὸν καλούμενον Βερέκυνθον, καὶ τὴν ἐργασίαν, δι' ἧς κατασκευάζεται. δόξαντας δὲ μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν ἀρχηγὸς γεγενῆσθαι τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τιμῶν τυχεῖν ἀθανάτων.

64.6 ἱστοροῦσι δ' αὐτῶν ἓνα μὲν προσαγορευθῆναι Ἡρακλέα, δόξῃ δὲ διενεγκόντα θεῖναι τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν τῶν Ὀλυμπίων· τοὺς δὲ μεταγενεστέρους ἀνθρώπους διὰ τὴν ὁμωνυμίαν δοκεῖν τὸν ἐξ Ἀλκμήνης συστήσασθαι τὴν τῶν Ὀλυμπίων θέσιν. **7** σημεῖα δὲ τούτων φασὶ διαμένειν τὸ πολλὰς τῶν γυναικῶν ἔτι καὶ νῦν λαμβάνειν ἐπωιδὰς ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ περιάμματα ποιεῖν, ὡς γεγονότος αὐτοῦ γόητος καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς τελετὰς ἐπιτετηδευκότος, ἃ δὴ πλεῖστον κεχωρίσθαι τῆς Ἡρακλέους συνηθείας τοῦ γεγονότος ἐξ Ἀλκμήνης.

65.1 μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Ἰδαίους Δακτύλους ἱστοροῦσι γενέσθαι Κούρητας ἑννέα. τούτους δὲ οἱ μὲν μυθολογοῦσι γεγονέναι γηγενεῖς, οἱ δ' ἀπογόνους τῶν Ἰδαίων Δακτύλων. κατοικεῖν δ' αὐτοὺς τῶν ὄρων τοὺς συνδένδρους καὶ φαραγγώδεις τόπους καὶ τὸ σύνολον τοὺς ἔχοντας σκέπην καὶ ὑπόδυσιν φυσικὴν, διὰ τὸ μήπω κατασκευὰς οἰκῶν εὕρησθαι. **2** διενεγκόντας δ' αὐτοὺς συνέσει πολλὰ τῶν κοινῆι χρησίμων καταδείξει· τὰς τε γὰρ ποίμνας τῶν προβάτων τούτους ἀθροῖσαι πρώτους καὶ τὰ γένη τῶν ἄλλων βοσκημάτων ἐξημερῶσαι καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς μελιττουργίας καταδείξει. **3** ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν τοξικὴν καὶ τὰς κυνηγίας εἰσηγήσασθαι· καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους κοινῆς ὁμιλίας καὶ συμβιώσεως, ἔτι δ' ὁμοιοῦσιν καὶ τινος εὐταξίας ἀρχηγὸς γενέσθαι. **4** εὐρεῖν δὲ καὶ ξίφη καὶ κράνη καὶ τὰς ἐνοπλίους ὀρχήσεις, δι' ὧν ποιοῦντας μεγάλους ψόφους ἀπατᾶν τὸν Κρόνον· φασὶ δ' αὐτοὺς τὸν Δία, λάθραι τοῦ πατρὸς Κρόνου παραδόσης Ἰδέας τῆς μητρὸς, ὑποδέξασθαι καὶ θρέψαι. περὶ οὗ τὰ κατὰ μέρος μέλλοντας ἡμᾶς δηλοῦν ἀναγκαῖον ἀναλαβεῖν μικρὸν ἀνωτέρω τὴν διήγησιν.

66.1 μυθολογοῦσι γὰρ οἱ Κρηῖτες γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν τῶν Κουρήτων ἡλικίαν τοὺς καλουμένους Τιτᾶνας. τούτους δὲ τῆς Κνωσίας χώρας ἔχειν τὴν οἴκησιν, ὅπου περ ἔτι καὶ νῦν δεῖκνυται θεμέλια Ἰδέας οἰκόπεδα καὶ κυπαρίττων ἄλσος ἐκ παλαιοῦ χρόνου

mystery rites to the Greeks. **5** At any rate, the Idaian Daktyls of Crete]] according to tradition discovered around 'Berekynthos' in the territory of Aptera the use of fire, the nature of copper and iron, and how to set up a metal workshop. Because the Idaian Daktyls were viewed as the originators of benefits for the human race, they were recognised as gods.

64.6 According to historians, one of them, was called Herakles, and excelled in fame, instituting the Olympic Games, but on account of the identical name later generations thought that the Olympic Games were instituted by the son of Alkmene. **7** They claim that evidence of this survives even to the present day in the fact that many women from this god receive their incantations and make amulets, because he was a sorcerer and practised initiatory rites, activities which set him apart from the habits of the son of Alkmene.

65.1 They relate that after the Idaian Daktyls the nine Kouretes were born. In mythology, some say the Kouretes were earth-born, others that they descended from the Idaian Daktyls. The Kouretes dwelt in densely wooded places and in ravines in the mountains, generally in places that could afford natural shelter and protection, as the building of houses had not yet been invented. **2** They excelled, however, in wisdom and so invented many of the things are generally found useful. For example, they were the first to gather sheep into flocks and domesticate other breeds of grazing animals, and they taught how to keep bees. **3** Likewise, they introduced archery and hunting, and they showed mankind how to be social and live together, and they led the way in harmony and orderliness. **4** The Kouretes were also the inventors of swords and helmets and dances in armour, by which they made a lot of noise and deceived Kronos. They say that, when Zeus' mother Rhea entrusted him to the Kouretes, without his father Kronos being aware of it, they took him under their protection and nurtured him. I am going to narrate this event in detail and should begin the narrative from a slightly earlier point.

66.1 The Cretans relate in their myths that the 'Titans' were contemporaries of the Kouretes. They lived in the territory of Knossos, where even now they show the foundations of Rhea's house and a cypress grove which has been allowed to grow freely since ancient times. **2** The Titans numbered six men and five women

ἀνειμένον. **2** ὑπάρξει δὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἕξ μὲν ἄνδρας, πέντε δὲ γυναῖκας· ὡς μὲν τινες μυθολογοῦσιν, Οὐρανοῦ καὶ Γῆς ὄντας, ὡς δὲ τινὲς φασιν, ἕκ τινος τῶν Κουρήτων καὶ μητρὸς Τιταίας, ἀφ' ἧς αὐτοὺς ταύτης τετευχέναι τῆς προσηγορίας. **3** ἄρσενας μὲν οὖν γενέσθαι τὸν τε Κρόνον καὶ Ὑπερίονα καὶ Κοῖον, ἔτι δὲ Ἰαπετὸν καὶ Κριδὸν καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον Ὠκεανόν, ἀδελφὰς δὲ τούτων τὴν τε Ῥέα καὶ Θέμιν καὶ Μνημοσύνην, ἔτι δὲ Φοίβην καὶ Τηθύ. ὧν ἕκαστόν τινων εὐρετὴν γενέσθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, καὶ διὰ τὴν εἰς ἅπαντας εὐεργεσίαν τυχεῖν τιμῶν καὶ μνήμης ἀενάου.

66.4 τὸν μὲν οὖν Κρόνον ὄντα πρεσβύτατον βασιλέα γενέσθαι, καὶ τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀνθρώπους ἐξ ἀγρίου διαίτης εἰς βίον ἡμερον μεταστῆσαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀποδοχῆς μεγάλης τυχόντα πολλοὺς ἐπελθεῖν τόπους τῆς οἰκουμένης. εἰσηγήσασθαι δ' αὐτὸν ἅπασιν τὴν τε δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὴν ἀπλότητα τῆς ψυχῆς· διὸ καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ Κρόνου γενομένους ἀνθρώπους παραδεδοῦσθαι τοῖς μεταγενεστέροις εὐήθεις καὶ ἀκάκους παντελῶς, ἔτι δ' εὐδαίμονας γεγονότας.

[[**66.5** δυναστεῦσαι δ' αὐτὸν μάλιστα τῶν πρὸς ἐσπέραν τόπων καὶ μεγίστης ἀξιωθῆναι τιμῆς· διὸ καὶ μέχρι τῶν νεωτέρων χρόνων παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Καρχηδονίοις, ὅτ' ἦν ἡ πόλις αὕτη, ἔτι δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς πλησιοχώροις ἔθνεσιν ἐπιφανεῖς ἐορτὰς καὶ θυσίας γενέσθαι τούτοις τῶν θεῶν καὶ πολλοὺς τόπους ἐπωνύμους αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι. **6** διὰ δὲ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς εὐνομίας ἀδίκημα μὲν μηδὲν ὅλως ὑπὸ μηδενὸς συντελεῖσθαι, πάντας δὲ τοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τούτου τεταγμένους μακάριον βίον ἐζήκεναι, πάσης ἡδονῆς ἀνεμποδίστως ἀπολαύοντας. περὶ δὲ τούτων καὶ τὸν ποιητὴν Ἡσίοδον ἐπιμαρτυρεῖν ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς ἔπεσιν·

οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ Κρόνου ἦσαν, ὅτ' οὐρανῶι
ἐ<μ>βασιλευεν,
ὡς τε θεοὶ δ' ἕζων, ἀκηδέα θυμὸν ἔχοντες,
νόσφιν ἄτερ τε κακῶν καὶ ἄτερ χαλεποῦ νόνοιο
νοῦσων τ' ἀργαλέων καὶ ἀπήμονες, οὐδὲ μέλεσσι
γῆρας ἐπῆν, αἰεὶ δὲ πόδας καὶ χεῖρας ὁμοῖοι
τέρποντ' ἐν θαλίησι κακῶν ἔκτοσθεν ἐόντες,
θνήσκον δ' ὡς ὕπνῳ δεδμημένοι· ἄλλα τε πολλὰ
τοῖσιν ἔην· καρπὸν δ' ἔφερε ζεῖδωρος ἄρουρα
αὐτομάτη πολλὸν τε καὶ ἀφθονον· οἱ δ' ἐπὶ γαίηι
εὐφρονες ἔργ' ἐνέμοντο σὺν ἐσθλοῖσιν πολέεσσιν,
ἀφνειοὶ μῆλοισι, φίλοι μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν]].

περὶ μὲν οὖν Κρόνου τοιαῦτα μυθολογοῦσιν.

67.1 Ὑπερίονα δὲ φασὶ τοῦ τε ἡλίου τὴν

and, as some recount the mythology, were born of Ouranos and Ge, whereas others claim that they were the children of one of the Kouretes and their mother Titaia, from whom they got their name. **3** The male Titans were Kronos, Hyperion and Koios and also Iapetos and Krios, and last Okeanos; their sisters were Rhea, Themis, Mnemosyne, and also Phoibe and Tēthys. Each one of them invented things for mankind, and because of this benefaction to all they achieved worship and eternal memory.

66.4 Kronos, then, as the eldest of the Titans became king and he changed the lives of men of his time from savage to civilized living. For this reason, he met with great favour and visited many parts of the inhabited earth. He introduced in all cases justice and straightforwardness of soul. Thus the tradition has reached later generations that mankind in Kronos' time was uncomplicated, completely guileless, and also blissful.

[[**66.5** Kronos received the greatest honours in the western parts where his reign was stronger. This is why even in recent times the Romans and the Carthaginians, while this city was still standing, and also other neighboring nations celebrated this god with prominent festivals and sacrifices and named many places after him. **6** No one ever committed an injustice, because of the complete obedience to the law and all those under his sway lived a blest life and enjoyed every pleasure unhindered. And the poet Hesiod is an additional witness to this in the following verses (Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 111-20):

And those, who lived when Kronos was reigning
in heaven,
lived like the gods, carefree in their spirit,
apart, free from ills and severe toils
and painful sicknesses, unharmed; and their limbs
were not taken over by old age, but always the
same in their feet and hands
they delighted in feastings, as they were removed
from evils,
and they died as if overtaken by sleep. Much else
they also possessed: the grain-giving earth offered
them its fruit
spontaneously in abundance and unstintingly,
whereas on earth
they shared in good spirit their deeds together with
many good things,
being rich in flocks, dear to the blessed gods.]]

Such, then, are the myths about Kronos.

67.1 As for Hyperion, they say that he was the first to understand by diligent observation the

κίνησιν καὶ σελήνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄστρον, ἔτι δὲ τὰς ὥρας τὰς συντελουμένας ὑπὸ τούτων πρῶτον ἐξ ἐπιμελείας καὶ παρατηρήσεως κατανοήσαντα τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰς γνῶσιν παραδοῦναι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸν πατέρα τούτων ὀνομασθῆναι, καθαπερὶ γεγεννηκότα τὴν τούτων θεωρίαν καὶ φύσιν. **2** καὶ Κοίου μὲν καὶ Φοίβης Λητώ γενέσθαι, Ἰαπετοῦ δὲ Προμηθέα τὸν παραδεδομένον μὲν ὑπὸ τινων μυθογράφων ὅτι τὸ πῦρ κλέψας παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἔδωκε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, πρὸς δ' ἀλήθειαν εὐρετὴν γενόμενον τῶν πυρείων, ἐξ ὧν ἐκκάεται τὸ πῦρ. **3** τῶν δὲ Τιτανίδων φασὶ Μνημοσύνην λογισμοὺς εὐρεῖν καὶ τὰς τῶν ὀνομάτων θέσεις ἐκάστωι τῶν ὄντων τάξαι, δι' ὧν καὶ δηλοῦμεν ἕκαστα καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμιλοῦμεν· ἅ τινες τὸν Ἑρμῆν φασιν εἰσηγήσασθαι. προσάπτουσι δὲ τῇ θεῷ ταύτῃ καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀνανέωσιν καὶ μνήμην γινόμενα παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἀφ' ὧν δὴ καὶ τῆς προσηγορίας τυχεῖν αὐτὴν ταύτης.

67.4 Θέμιν δὲ μυθολογοῦσι μαντείας καὶ θυσίας καὶ θεσμοὺς τοὺς περὶ τῶν θεῶν πρώτην εἰσηγήσασθαι, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν εὐνομίαν καὶ εἰρήνην καταδειξαι· διὸ καὶ θεσμοφύλακας καὶ θεσμοθέτας ὀνομάζεσθαι τοὺς τὰ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ὅσια καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων νόμους διαφυλάττοντας, καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω, καθ' ὃν δὴ χρόνον τοὺς χρησμοὺς διδόναι μέλλει, θεμιστεύειν λέγομεν ἀπὸ τοῦ τὴν Θέμιν εὐρέτριαν γεγονέναι τῶν χρησμῶν. **5** οὗτοι μὲν οὖν οἱ θεοὶ πολλὰ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον εὐεργετήσαντες οὐ μόνον ἀθανάτων τιμῶν ἠξιώθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρῶτοι τὸν Ὀλυμπον ἐνομίσθησαν οἰκεῖν μετὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων μετάστασιν.

68.1 Κρόνου δὲ καὶ Ῥέας λέγεται γενέσθαι τὴν τε Ἑστίαν καὶ Δήμητραν καὶ Ἥραν, ἔτι δὲ Δία καὶ Ποσειδῶνα καὶ Ἄϊδην. τούτων δὲ λέγεται τὴν μὲν Ἑστίαν τὴν τῶν οἰκιῶν κατασκευὴν εὐρεῖν, καὶ διὰ τὴν εὐεργεσίαν ταύτην παρὰ πᾶσι σχεδὸν ἀνθρώποις ἐν πάσαις οἰκίαις καθιδρυθῆναι, τιμῶν καὶ θυσιῶν τυγχάνουσιν· Δήμητραν δέ, τοῦ σίτου φυομένου μὲν ὡς ἔτυχε μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης βοτάνης, ἀγνοουμένου δὲ παρ' ἀνθρώποις, πρώτην συγκομίσαι καὶ τὴν κατεργασίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ φυλακὴν ἐπινοῆσαι καὶ σπεῖρειν καταδειξαι. **2** εὐρεῖν μὲν οὖν αὐτὴν τὸν σίτον πρὸ τοῦ γεννῆσαι τὴν θυγατέρα Φερσεφόνην, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ταύτης γένεσιν καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ Πλούτωνος ἀρπαγὴν ἐμπρῆσαι πάντα τὸν καρπὸν διὰ τε τὴν ἔχθραν τὴν πρὸς τὸν Δία καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ λύπην· μετὰ δὲ τὴν

movement of the sun, moon and the other stars and also the seasons which these stars bring about, and, having understood this, he handed this over to others for their knowledge. For this reason he was called the father of these stars, inasmuch as he had given birth to their observation and their nature. **2** Koios and Phoibe gave birth to Leto, and Iapetos gave birth to Prometheus who, according to traditions in some mythographers (Hesiod, *Theogony* 565-9), stole fire from the gods and gave it to mankind, but in truth discovered firesticks, from which fire is started. **3** Of the female Titans, they say that Mnemosyne invented arithmetic and that she gave the names to each thing that exists, through which we express everything and communicate with each other, although some claim that Hermes introduced this. Also to this goddess they attribute matters of recall and memory among men, which of course is why she gained her name.

67.4 The writers of myths relate that Themis was the first to introduce divination, sacrifice and laws as regards the gods, and also to demonstrate matters of good governance and peace. Accordingly, those who preserve what is holy in dealings with the gods, and the laws of men, are called 'ordinance-guardians' (*thesmophylakes*) and 'ordinance-setters' (*thesmos*). Likewise, when Apollo is about to give his oracles, we say that he is 'issuing ordinance' (*themisteuein*), since it was Themis who invented oracles. **5** So, these gods, who had benefited human life in many ways, were not only deemed worthy of worship as immortals, but people also believed that they were the first to dwell on Mount Olympus, after they left the human race.

68.1 It is said that Kronos and Rhea gave birth to Hestia, Demeter and Hera, and also to Zeus, Poseidon and Hades. It is said that of these Hestia invented the way to build houses, and on account of this benefaction she is established in almost every house of every man, thus receiving worship and sacrifices. Demeter, at a time when wheat grew wild amongst other plants and was unrecognised by man, became the first to collect it, to devise its preparation and storage, and to show how it was to be sown. **2** Demeter had discovered wheat before she gave birth to her daughter Phersephone. After the latter's birth and abduction by Plouton, Demeter burned all the wheat because of her hatred of Zeus and her

<p>εὔρεσιν τῆς Φερσεφόνης διαλλαγήναί τε τῶι Διὶ καὶ τῶι Τριπτολέμῳ ἀποδοῦναι τὸν τοῦ σίτου σπóρον, ὃν συντάξαι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις μεταδοῦναι τῆς τε δωρεᾶς καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐργασίαν τοῦ σπóρου διδάξαι. 3 λέγουσι δὲ τινες ὅτι καὶ νόμους εἰσηγήσατο, καθ' οὓς ἀλλήλοις τὸ δίκαιον διδόναι συνειθίσθησαν ἄνθρωποι, καὶ τὴν παραδοῦσαν αὐτοῖς θεᾶν θεσμοφόρον ἀπὸ τούτων προσηγόρευσαν. μεγίστων γὰρ ἀγαθῶν ἀνθρώποις αἰτία γενομένην ἐπιφανεστάτων τυχεῖν τιμῶν καὶ θυσιαῶν, ἔτι δ' ἐορτῶν καὶ πανηγύρεων μεγαλοπρεπῶν οὐ παρ' Ἑλλησι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι σχεδὸν τοῖς βαρβάροις, ὅσοι τῆς τροφῆς ταύτης ἐκοινώνησαν.</p>	<p>grief for her daughter. But once she rediscovered Phersphone, Demeter came to terms with Zeus and gave the task of sowing wheat to Triptolemos, whom she made responsible both for the transmission of the gift to all men and to teach them what could be done with wheat seeds. 3 Some say that Demeter also instituted laws, following which humans got used to exercising justice in their mutual relations. As a result they named the goddess that gave them these laws 'the Bringer of Ordinance' (<i>Thesmophoros</i>). As Demeter was responsible for men's greatest goods, she acquired the most distinguished forms of worship and sacrifices, and also magnificent festivals and feasts, not only amongst Greeks but amongst just about all barbarians who shared this food.</p>
<p>[[69.1 ἀμφισβητοῦσι δὲ περὶ τῆς εὐρέσεως τοῦ καρποῦ τούτου πολλοί, τὴν θεὸν φάμενοι παρ' αὐτοῖς πρώτοις ὀφθῆναι καὶ τὴν τούτου φύσιν τε καὶ χρῆσιν καταδείξαι. Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν γὰρ λέγουσι τὴν τε Δήμητραν καὶ τὴν Ἴσιν τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι, καὶ εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐνεγκεῖν τὸ σπέρμα πρώτην, ἀρδεύοντος μὲν εὐκαίρως τὰ πεδία τοῦ Νεῖλου ποταμοῦ, ταῖς δ' ὥραις ἄριστα τῆς χώρας ταύτης κεκραμένης. 2 τοὺς δ' Ἀθηναίους, καίπερ ἀποφαινομένους τὴν εὐρεσιν τοῦ καρποῦ τούτου γεγεννημένην παρ' αὐτοῖς, ὅμως μαρτυρεῖν αὐτὸν ἐτέρωθεν κεκομισμένον εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν· τὸν γὰρ τόπον τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δεξάμενον τὴν δωρεὰν ταύτην Ἐλευσίνα προσαγορεύειν ἀπὸ τοῦ παρ' ἐτέρων ἔλθειν τὸ σπέρμα τοῦ σίτου κομισθέν. 3 οἱ δὲ Σικελιώται, νῆσον ἱερὰν Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης οἰκοῦντες, εἰκὸς εἶναι φασὶ τὴν δωρεὰν ταύτην πρώτοις τοῖς τὴν προσφιλεστάτην χώραν νεμομένοις δοθῆναι· ἄτοπον μὲν γὰρ ὑπάρχειν εὐκαρποτάτην αὐτὴν ὡς ἰδίαν ποιῆσαι, τῆς δ' εὐεργεσίας ὡς μηδὲν προσηκούσῃ μηδ' ἐσχάτη μεταδοῦναι, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν αὐτῇ τὴν οἴκησιν ἔχουσαν, εἴπερ καὶ τῆς Κόρης τὴν ἀρπαγὴν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ταύτῃ γεγονέναι συμπεφώνηται. εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὴν χώραν οἰκειοτάτην τούτοις τοῖς καρποῖς, ἐν ἧι καὶ τὸν ποιητὴν λέγειν (<i>Od.</i> ι 109f.) ἀλλὰ τὰ γ' ἄσπαρτα καὶ ἀνήροτα πάντα φύονται, πυροὶ καὶ κριθαί]] περὶ μὲν οὖν Δήμητρος τοιαῦτα μυθολογοῦσι. 69.4 τῶν δ' ἄλλων θεῶν τῶν ἐκ Κρόνου καὶ Ῥέας γενομένων φασὶν οἱ Κρηῖτες Ποσειδῶνα μὲν πρῶτον χρήσασθαι ταῖς κατὰ θάλατταν ἐργασίαις καὶ στόλους συστήσασθαι, παραδόντος αὐτῶι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ταύτην τοῦ</p>	<p>[[69.1 Many people argue about the discovery of wheat, maintaining that <i>they</i> were the first to whom the goddess appeared and whom she taught both the nature and the use of wheat. For example, the Egyptians say that Demeter is the same as Isis, and that she first brought the seed to Egypt, as the river Nile irrigates the fields at the proper time and the seasons are best balanced in this land. 2 Also, although the Athenians maintain that the discovery of the seed took place in their land, they nevertheless attest to the fact that it was introduced into Attica from some other place. For, the Athenians call the original place which received the gift Eleusis, from the fact that the seed of wheat was imported and <i>came (elthein)</i> from others. 3 The people of Sicily, who inhabit an island sacred to Demeter and the Maid (<i>Kore</i>), claim that reason dictates that the gift of wheat was first given to the people who cultivated the land dearest to the goddess. Otherwise, it would have been absurd for the goddess to adopt as her own the most fertile land, but to benefit it last, as if it were nothing to do with her. And all this, when Demeter had her dwelling there, if indeed all agree also that the rape of Persephone happened on this island. After all, the land is most suited to these seeds, where, as the poet says (<i>Od.</i> 9.109f.): everything grows unsown and untilled, wheat and barley.]] Such are the myths about Demeter. 69.4 Of the other gods born of Kronos and Rhea the Cretans claim that Poseidon was the first to occupy himself by marine activities and to set up fleets, a leadership role given to him by Kronos.</p>

Κρόνου· διὸ καὶ παραδίδοσθαι τοῖς ἐπιγινόμενοις τοῦτον κύριον ὑπάρχειν τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν πραττομένων καὶ θυσίας ὑπὸ τῶν ναυτιλλομένων τιμᾶσθαι. προσάπτουσι δ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ τοὺς ἵππους δαμάσαι πρῶτον καὶ τὴν ἐπιστήμην καταδειξάει τὴν περὶ τὴν ἵππικὴν, ἀφ' ἧς Ἴππιον αὐτὸν ὠνομάσθαι. **5** τὸν δ' Ἴδιον λέγεται τὰ περὶ τὰς ταφὰς καὶ τὰς ἐκφορὰς καὶ τιμὰς τῶν τεθνεώτων καταδειξάει, τὸν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνον μηδεμίαν οὐσίας ἐπιμελείας περὶ αὐτούς· διὸ καὶ τῶν τετελευτηκότων ὁ θεὸς οὗτος παρείληπται κυριεύειν, ἀπονεμηθείσης τὸ παλαιὸν αὐτῷ τῆς τούτων ἀρχῆς καὶ φροντίδος.

And for this reason, according to tradition passed down to posterity, Poseidon is the lord of all marine activity and is worshipped by mariners with sacrifices. They also ascribe to him that he first tamed horses and demonstrated the art of horsemanship, from which he was given the name *Hippios* ('of horses'). **5** It is said that Hades introduced matters related to burials, funeral processions, and the honours due to the dead, whereas before Hades' time there was no particular attention to them. This created the tradition that Hades is the lord of the dead, because of old he was allotted the power over the dead and the care of them.

70.1 περὶ δὲ τῆς τοῦ Διὸς γενέσεως τε καὶ βασιλείας διαφωνεῖται· καὶ τινες μὲν φασιν αὐτὸν μετὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τοῦ Κρόνου μετάστασιν εἰς θεοὺς διαδέξασθαι τὴν βασιλείαν, οὐ βίαι κατισχύσαντα τὸν πατέρα, νομίμως δὲ καὶ δικαίως ἀξιοθέντα ταύτης τῆς τιμῆς, τινὲς δὲ μυθολογοῦσι τῷ Κρόνῳ γενέσθαι λόγιον περὶ τῆς τοῦ Διὸς γενέσεως, ὅτι παραιρήσεται τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ βιαίως ὁ γεννηθεὶς παῖς· **2** διόπερ τὸν μὲν Κρόνον τὰ γεννώμενα παιδιά πλεονάκις ἀφανίζουσιν, τὴν δὲ Ῥέαν ἀγανακτήσασαν καὶ μὴ δυναμένην μεταθεῖναι τὴν προαίρεσιν τάνδρος, τὸν Δία τεκοῦσαν ἐν τῇ προσαγορευομένῃ Δίκτῃ κλέψαι καὶ δοῦναι λάθρῃ τοῖς Κούρησιν ἐκθρέψαι, τοῖς κατοικοῦσι πλησίον ὄρους τῆς Ἰδῆς, τούτους δ' ἀπενέγκαντας εἰς τι ἄντρον παραδοῦναι ταῖς Νύμφαις, παρακελευσαμένους τὴν πᾶσαν ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτοῦ ποιῆσθαι. **3** αὐταὶ δὲ μέλι καὶ γάλα μίσγουσαι τὸ παιδίον ἔθρεψαν, καὶ τῆς αἰγὸς τῆς ὀνομαζομένης Ἀμαλθείας τὸν μαστὸν εἰς διατροφήν παρείχοντο. **4** σημεῖα δὲ πολλὰ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν διαμένειν τῆς γενέσεως καὶ διατροφῆς τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου κατὰ τὴν νῆσον. φερομένου μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν Κουρήτων αὐτοῦ νηπίου, φασιν ἀποπεσεῖν τὸν ὀμφαλὸν περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν καλούμενον Τρίτωνα, καὶ τὸ χωρίον δὲ τοῦτο καθιερωθὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ τότε συμβάντος Ὀμφαλὸν προσαγορευθῆναι, καὶ τὸ περικείμενον πεδίον ὁμοίως Ὀμφάλιον. κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰδὴν, ἐν ἧι συνέβη τραφῆναι τὸν θεόν, τό τε ἄντρον ἐν ᾧ τὴν δίαιταν εἶχε καθιέρωται, καὶ οἱ περὶ αὐτὸ λειμῶνες ὁμοίως ἀνεῖνται, περὶ τὴν ἀκρόρειαν ὄντες. **5** τὸ δὲ πάντων παραδοξότατον καὶ μυθολογούμενον περὶ τῶν μελιττῶν οὐκ ἄξιον παραλιπεῖν. τὸν γὰρ θεὸν φασιν ἀθάνατον μνήμην τῆς πρὸς αὐτὰς οἰκειότητος διαφυλάττειν βουλόμενον, ἀλλάττει μὲν τὴν χροάν αὐτῶν καὶ ποιῆσαι χαλκῶι χρυσοειδεῖ παραπλησίαν, τοῦ

70.1 There is disagreement about Zeus' birth and his kingship. Some claim that, after Kronos' left men and joined the gods, Zeus succeeded him not by overpowering his father by force, but lawfully and justly considered worthy of this honour. Others relate the myth that Kronos received an oracle about Zeus's birth, namely that the son born to him would take away his kingship by force. **2** This is why Kronos repeatedly caused the children born to him to disappear, but Rhea became indignant. As she was powerless to change her husband's mind, when she gave birth to Zeus in what is called Dikte, she stole him away and gave him to the Kouretes to bring up, who lived in the environs of Mount Ida. They took him away to a certain cave and entrusted him to the Nymphs, whom they bade take care of him in every way. **3** The Nymphs mixing honey and milk nourished the child and gave him the udder of a goat called Amaltheia to sustain him. **4** Many signs of Zeus's birth and upbringing survive on the island to this day. For example, when the Kouretes were carrying him, a baby, away, they claim that the umbilical cord (*omphalos*) fell off near the R. Triton, as it is called, and since then because of this incident the place was consecrated and called Omphalos and the plain around it was likewise called the Omphaleian. On Mt Ida, where Zeus was reared, the cave, where he lived, was consecrated, and the meadows around it, which are around the top of the mountain, were similarly dedicated to him. **5** It would not be right to pass over the thing that is most amazing of all, the mythic narrative about the bees. They say that the god wished to preserve forever the memory of his intimacy with them, and so he changed their color and made it like gilt copper. He also made these bees insensitive to, and unaffected by, the extremely

τόπου δ' ὄντος ὑψηλοῦ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν καὶ πνευμάτων τε μεγάλων ἐν αὐτῶι γινομένων καὶ χιόνος πολλῆς πιπτούσης, ἀνεπαισθήτους αὐτάς καὶ ἀπαθεῖς ποιῆσαι, δυσχειμερωτάτους τόπους νεμομένας. τῇ θρεψάσῃ δ' αἰγὶ τιμάς τέ τινας ἄλλας ἀπονεῖμαι καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἀπ' αὐτῆς λαβεῖν, Αἰγίοχον ἐπονομασθέντα. **6** ἀνδρωθέντα δ' αὐτὸν φασὶ πρῶτον πόλιν κτίσαι περὶ τὴν Δίκταν, ὅπου καὶ τὴν γένεσιν αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι μυθολογοῦσιν· ἧς ἐκλειφθείσης ἐν τοῖς ὕστερον χρόνοις, διαμένειν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἔρματα τῶν θεμελίων.

71.1 διενέγκαι δὲ τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον ἀπάντων ἀνδρεία καὶ συνέσει καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀπάσαις ἀρεταῖς· διὸ καὶ παραλαβόντα τὴν βασιλείαν παρὰ τοῦ Κρόνου, πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον εὐεργετῆσαι. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀπάντων καταδείξει περὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων τὸ δίκαιον ἀλλήλοις δίδόναι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ τοῦ βίαι τι πράττειν ἀποστῆσαι, κρίσει δὲ καὶ δικαστηρίωι τὰς ἀμφισβητήσεις διαλύειν· καθόλου δὲ τὰ περὶ τε τῆς εὐνομίας καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης προσαναπληρῶσαι, τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς πείθοντα, τοὺς δὲ φαύλους τῇ τιμωρίαι καὶ τῶι φόβωι καταπληττόμενον. **2** ἐπελθεῖν δ' αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην σχεδὸν ἅπασαν, τοὺς μὲν ληιστάς καὶ ἀσεβεῖς ἀναιροῦντα, τὴν δ' ἰσότητα καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν εἰσηγούμενον· ὅτε δὴ φασὶν αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς γίγαντας ἀνελεῖν, ἐν μὲν Κρήτηι τοὺς περὶ Μύλινον, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Φρυγίαν τοὺς περὶ Τυφῶνα. **3** πρὸ δὲ τῆς μάχης τῆς πρὸς τοὺς γίγαντας τοὺς ἐν Κρήτηι λέγεται τὸν Δία θῦσαι βοῦν Ἡλίωι καὶ Οὐρανῶι καὶ Γῆι· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀπάντων φανῆναι † τὰ περὶ τούτων ἐπικριθέντα ἃ ἐπισημαίνεται † κράτος καὶ ἀπόστασις ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων πρὸς αὐτούς. ἀκόλουθον δὲ τούτοις γενέσθαι τοῦ πολέμου τὸ τέλος· αὐτομολῆσαι μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων Μουσαῖον καὶ τυχεῖν ὄρισμένων τιμῶν, κατακοπῆναι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἀντιταξαμένους.

[[**71.4** συστήναι δὲ καὶ ἄλλους πολέμους αὐτῶι πρὸς γίγαντας, τῆς μὲν Μακεδονίας περὶ τὴν Παλλήνην, τῆς δ' Ἰταλίας κατὰ τὸ πεδῖον ὃ τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ κατακεκαυμένου τόπου Φλεγραῖον ὠνομάζετο, κατὰ δὲ τοὺς ὕστερον χρόνους Κυμαῖον προσηγόρευον. **5** κολασθῆναι δὲ τοὺς γίγαντας ὑπὸ Διὸς διὰ τὴν εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους παρανομίαν καὶ διὰ τὸ ταῖς τοῦ σώματος ὑπεροχαῖς καὶ ῥώμαις πεποιθότας καταδουλοῦσθαι μὲν τοὺς πλησιοχώρους, ἀπειθεῖν δὲ τοῖς περὶ τοῦ

harsh weather conditions of the places where the bees roamed - they are at a very high altitude, lashed by wild winds and experience heavy snowfall. Zeus also bestowed certain honours on the goat that nurtured him and he received from her the epithet *Aigiochos*. **6** They say that when Zeus reached manhood he was the first to build a city, near Dikte, where the myths relate his birthplace was. Later that city was abandoned, and only remains of the foundation blocks are still visible today.

71.1 This god, Zeus, surpassed all others in manliness, wisdom, justice, and all other virtues. Accordingly, when he succeeded Kronos as king, he became the greatest and most important benefactor of human life. Zeus was the first of all to show in relation to injustices how humans should deal one with another justly, how to refrain from using violence, and how to resolve disputes by judgment and law courts. In a word, he brought the practice of good law and peace to fulfilment by persuading good men and deterring the bad through fear of punishment. **2** He also traversed almost the entire earth, where he killed robbers and the impious and introduced equality and democracy. They claim that it was at this time that he killed the Giants, in Crete Mylinos and his group and in Phrygia Typhon and his group. **3** Before the battle with the Giants in Crete, it is said that Zeus sacrificed a bull to Helios, Uranos and Ge (*Sun, Heaven and Earth*) and all the sacrificial omens revealed †what was determined and divinely sanctioned,† namely victory and defection from the enemy to them. The outcome of the war was as the omens indicated: Musaios defected from the enemy and received specific honors, and the gods cut down all who opposed them.

[[**71.4** Zeus waged other wars as well against the Giants, in Macedonia near Pallene and in Italy in the fields which in times of old, completely burnt, were called Phlegraean ('Blazing'), but in later times Cumaean. **5** Zeus punished the Giants, because they were lawless against other humans. Because they excelled in physical power and strength, they enslaved their neighbors. They also disobeyed the laws of justice that had been instituted (*by Zeus*) and waged war against those whom all regarded as gods on account of their benefactions to all men. **6** Thus, it is said that Zeus not only totally wiped out the impious and the wicked, but also conferred appropriate honours on the best of the

δικαίου τιθεμένοις νόμοις, πόλεμον δ' ἐκφέρειν πρὸς τοὺς διὰ τὰς κοινὰς εὐεργεσίας ὑπὸ πάντων θεοῦ νομιζομένους. **6** τὸν δ' οὖν Δία λέγουσι μὴ μόνον ἄρδην ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανίσαι τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς καὶ πονηροὺς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν τε θεῶν καὶ ἡρώων, ἔτι δ' ἀνδρῶν τὰς ἀξίας ἀπονεῖμαι τιμὰς]]. διὰ δὲ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν καὶ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τῆς δυνάμεως συμφώνως αὐτῶι παρὰ πάντων συγκεχωρησθαι τὴν τε βασιλείαν εἰς τὸν αἰὶ χρόνον καὶ τὴν οἴκησιν τὴν ἐν Ὀλύμπωι.

72.1 καταδειχθῆναι δὲ καὶ θυσίας αὐτῶι συντελεῖν ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας, καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐκ γῆς μετάστασιν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐγγενέσθαι δόξας δικαίους ἐν ταῖς τῶν εὖ πεπονθότων ψυχαῖς, ὡς ἀπάντων τῶν γινομένων κατ' οὐρανὸν οὗτος εἶη κύριος, λέγω δ' ὄμβρων τε καὶ βροντῶν καὶ κεραυνῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων. **2** διόπερ αὐτὸν προσαγορευθῆναι Ζῆνα μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ δοκεῖν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις αἴτιον εἶναι τοῦ ζῆν, ταῖς ἐκ τοῦ περιέχοντος εὐκρασίαις τοὺς καρποὺς ἀνάγοντα πρὸς τέλος· πατέρα δὲ διὰ τὴν φροντίδα καὶ τὴν εὐνοίαν τὴν εἰς ἅπαντας, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ δοκεῖν ὡσπερ ἀρχηγὸν εἶναι τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων· ὕπατον δὲ καὶ βασιλέα διὰ τὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπεροχὴν· εὐβουλέα δὲ καὶ μητιέτην διὰ τὴν ἐν τῶι βουλευέσθαι καλῶς σύνεσιν.

72.3 μυθολογοῦσι δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν κατὰ τὴν Κρήτην ἐκ Διὸς ἐν ταῖς πηγαῖς τοῦ Τρίτανος ποταμοῦ γεννηθῆναι· διὸ καὶ Τριτογένειαν ἐπονομασθῆναι. ἔστι δὲ καὶ νῦν ἔτι περὶ τὰς πηγὰς ταύτας ἱερὸν ἅγιον τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης, ἐν ᾧ τόπωι τὴν γένεσιν αὐτῆς ὑπάρξει μυθολογοῦσι. **4** λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τοὺς γάμους τοῦ τε Διὸς καὶ τῆς Ἥρας ἐν τῇ Κνωσίῳ χώρῳ γενέσθαι κατὰ τινὰ τόπον πλησίον τοῦ Θήρηνος ποταμοῦ, καθ' ὃν νῦν ἱερὸν ἐστὶν ἐν ᾧ θυσίας κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀγίους ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων συντελεῖσθαι καὶ τοὺς γάμους ἀπομιμεῖσθαι, καθάπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς γενέσθαι παρεδόθησαν. **5** τοῦ δὲ Διὸς ἐκγόνους φασὶ γενέσθαι θεὰς μὲν Ἀφροδίτην καὶ Χάριτας, πρὸς δὲ ταύταις Εἰλείθυιαν καὶ τὴν ταύτης σύνεργον Ἄρτεμιν, καὶ τὰς προσαγορευομένας Ὠρας Εὐνομίαν τε καὶ Δίκην, ἔτι δ' Εἰρήνην· θεοὺς δὲ Ἥφαιστον καὶ Ἄρην καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ἑρμῆν.

73.1 τούτων δ' ἐκάστωι μυθολογοῦσι τὸν Δία τῶν εὐρεθέντων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ συντελουμένων ἔργων τὰς ἐπιστήμας καὶ τὰς τιμὰς τῆς εὐρέσεως ἀπονεῖμαι, βουλόμενον αἰώνιον

gods and heroes, and in addition on men.]] Because of the greatness of his benefactions and his supreme power, all agreed on giving him kingship for ever and residence on Mount Olympus.

72.1 In addition, it was ordained that Zeus should receive more sacrifices than all the other gods and that after his assumption from earth into heaven, all who were benefited by him should have implanted in their souls the just belief that he was the lord of all that occurred in the heavens - I mean the rain and thunder and lightning and other such phenomena. **2** On this account he received the name Zēn, because he is thought to be responsible for men *living* (*zān*), as he tempers the climate and thereby brings the fruits to maturity. And he is called 'Father' for his care and goodwill towards all, and also because he is thought to be, as it were, founder of the human race; 'Supreme' and 'King' for his supremacy in ruling; and 'Good-Counselor' and 'Wise-Planner' for his intelligence in making good decisions.

72.3 The myths relate that Athena too was born of Zeus in Crete, near the springs of the river Triton; hence her name Tritogeneia. Even today around these springs there is the holy temple of this goddess, in the place where myths tell that her birth occurred. **4** They also say that Zeus' marriage to Hera was held in the territory of Knossos, in a place near the river Thērēn, where now there is a sanctuary in which the locals yearly perform holy sacrifices and imitate the wedding ceremony just as, according to tradition, it originally happened. **5** They say that the following were offspring of Zeus: the goddesses Aphrodite and the Graces, and in addition Eileithyia and her co-worker Artemis, and the so-called Horai, namely Eunomia and Dike and Eirene; also the gods Hephaistos and Ares and Apollo and in addition Hermes.

73.1 The myths recount that to each of these divinities Zeus distributed the knowhow and the honour of his inventions and achievements, because he wanted them to be remembered for all time by all humanity. **2** Aphrodite became responsible for the maidens' stage of life, and for the time when they had to get married, and for the other arrangements which still today take place at weddings together with sacrifices and libations that humans perform in honour of this goddess. But first all humans offer preliminary sacrifices to Zeus Teleios and Hera Teleia,

<p>αὐτοῖς περιποιῆσαι μνήμην παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις. 2 παραδοθῆναι δὲ τῇ μὲν Ἄφροδίτῃ τὴν τε τῶν παρθένων ἡλικίαν, ἐν οἷς χρόνοις δεῖ γαμεῖν αὐτάς, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἐπιμέλειαν τὴν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν τοῖς γάμοις γινομένην μετὰ θυσιῶν καὶ σπονδῶν, ἃς ποιοῦσιν ἄνθρωποι τῇ θεᾷ ταύτῃ. προθύουσι δὲ πρότερον ἅπαντες τῷ Διὶ τῷ τελείῳ καὶ Ἦραι τελεία διὰ τὸ τούτους ἀρχηγούς γεγονέναι καὶ πάντων εὐρετάς, καθότι προεῖρηται.</p> <p>73.3 ταῖς δὲ Χάρισι δοθῆναι τὴν τῆς ὄψεως κόσμησιν καὶ τὸ σχηματίζειν ἕκαστον μέρος τοῦ σώματος πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον καὶ προσηγῆς τοῖς θεωροῦσι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὸ κατάρχειν εὐεργεσίας καὶ πάλιν ἀμείβεσθαι ταῖς προσηκούσαις χάρισι τοὺς εὖ ποιήσαντας. 4 Εἰλείθυιαν δὲ λαβεῖν τὴν περὶ τὰς τικτούσας ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ θεραπείαν τῶν ἐν τῷ τίκειν κακοπαθουσῶν· διὸ καὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις κινδυνεύουσας γυναῖκας ἐπικαλεῖσθαι μάλιστα τὴν θεὸν ταύτην. 5 Ἄρτεμιν δὲ φασιν εὐρεῖν τὴν τῶν νηπίων παιδίων θεραπείαν καὶ τροφάς τινὰς ἀρμοζούσας τῇ φύσει τῶν βρεφῶν· ἀφ' ἧς αἰτίας καὶ κουροτρόφον αὐτὴν ὀνομάζεσθαι. 6 τῶν δ' ὀνομαζομένων Ὀρῶν ἐκάστη δοθῆναι τὴν ἐπώνυμον τάξιν τε καὶ τοῦ βίου διακόσμησιν ἐπὶ τῇ μεγίστῃ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὠφελείᾳ· μηδὲν γὰρ εἶναι μᾶλλον δυνάμενον εὐδαίμονα βίον παρασκευάσαι τῆς εὐνομίας καὶ δίκης καὶ εἰρήνης.</p> <p>73.7 Ἀθηναῖα δὲ προσάπτουσι τὴν τε τῶν ἐλαίων ἡμέρωσιν καὶ φυτεῖαν παραδοῦναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ τὴν τοῦ καρποῦ τούτου κατεργασίαν· πρὸ γὰρ τοῦ γενέσθαι τὴν θεὸν ταύτην ὑπάρξει μὲν τὸ γένος τοῦτο τῶν δένδρων μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης ἀγρίας ὕλης, τὴν μέντοι γ' ἐπιμέλειαν ταύτης οὐκ εἶναι καὶ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν τὴν ἔτι καὶ νῦν γινομένην περὶ τούτων. 8 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὴν τῆς ἐσθῆτος κατασκευὴν, καὶ τὴν τεκτονικὴν τέχνην, ἔτι δὲ πολλὰ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπιστήμαις εἰσηγήσασθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. εὐρεῖν δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν αὐλῶν κατασκευὴν καὶ τὴν διὰ τούτων συντελουμένην μουσικὴν, καὶ τὸ σύνολον πολλὰ τῶν φιλοτέχνων ἔργων, ἀφ' ὧν Ἐργάνην αὐτὴν προσαγορεύεσθαι.</p>	<p>because they were the founders and inventors of everything as noted above.</p> <p>73.3 <i>The Graces</i> received as their privilege the decoration of personal appearance and dressing each part of the body to make it better and more pleasing to those who see it; and also the privilege of beginning benefaction and correspondingly of rewarding those who have performed benefactions with appropriate favors. 4 <i>Eileithyia</i> received concern for, and care of, pregnant women as they suffer during childbirth. On account of this women in such danger invoke this goddess especially. 5 They say that <i>Artemis</i> invented how to look after infants and foods appropriate for the nature of babies; and for this reason she was called <i>Kourotrophos</i> ('Youth-rearing'). As for those called <i>Horai</i>, each received the ordering appropriate to her name and the adornment of life for the greatest benefit of humans. For nothing is more able to prepare a blest life than <i>Eunomia</i> ('Good laws'), <i>Dike</i> ('Justice'), and <i>Nike</i> ('Peace').</p> <p>73.7 To Athena they ascribe the gift to mankind of the domestication and cultivation of olive-trees and the processing of its fruit. Before this goddess was born, this kind of tree existed together with other wild trees, whereas cultivation and the expertise, such as we still have in this department today, did not exist. 8 In addition, Athena introduced to humans clothes-making and carpentry and many things in other branches of knowledge. She also invented the making of pipes and the music they produce and, in brief, she invented many things in skill-based work, whence her name <i>Ergane</i> ('Worker').</p>
<p>74.1 ταῖς δὲ Μούσαις δοθῆναι παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τὴν τῶν γραμμάτων εὕρεσιν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐπῶν σύνθεσιν τὴν προσαγορευομένην ποιητικὴν. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς λέγοντας ὅτι Σύροι μὲν εὐρεταὶ τῶν γραμμάτων εἰσὶ, παρὰ δὲ τούτων Φοῖνικες μαθόντες τοῖς Ἑλλησι παραδεδώκασιν (οὗτοι</p>	<p>74.1 <i>The Muses</i> received from their father the invention of letters and the composition of verses which is called poetry. There are those who say that the Syrians discovered letters and from them the Phoenicians learnt them and passed them on to the Greeks, (these</p>

δ' εἰσὶν οἱ μετὰ Κάδμου πλεύσαντες εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην), καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοὺς Ἑλληνας τὰ γράμματα φοινίκεια προσαγορεύειν, φασὶ τοὺς Φοινίκας οὐκ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐρεῖν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τύπους τῶν γραμμάτων μεταθεῖναι μόνον, καὶ τῆι τε γραφῆι ταύτῃ τοὺς πλείστους τῶν ἀνθρώπων χρῆσασθαι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τυχεῖν τῆς προειρημένης προσηγορίας.

74.2 Ἡφαιστον δὲ λέγουσιν εὐρετὴν γενέσθαι τῆς περὶ τὸν σίδηρον ἐργασίας ἀπάσης καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸν χαλκὸν καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐργασίαν ἐπιδέχεται, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας δὲ χρείας τὰς τοῦ πυρὸς ἀπάσας προσεξευρεῖν καὶ παραδοῦναι τοῖς τε τὰς τέχνας ἐργαζομένοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις· **3** διόπερ οἱ [τε] τῶν τεχνῶν τούτων δημιουργοὶ τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ θυσίας τούτῳ τῶν θεῶν μάλιστα ποιοῦσι, καὶ τὸ πῦρ οὗτοι τε καὶ πάντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι προσαγορεύουσιν Ἡφαιστον, εἰς μνήμην καὶ τιμὴν ἀθάνατον τιθέμενοι τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῷ κοινῷ βίῳ δεδομένην εὐεργεσίαν. **4** τὸν Ἄρην δὲ μυθολογοῦσι πρῶτον κατασκευάσαι πανοπλίαν, καὶ στρατιώτας καθοπλίσαι, καὶ τὴν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἐναγώνιον ἐνέργειαν εἰσηγήσασθαι, φονεύοντα τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας τοῖς θεοῖς.

74.5 Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ τῆς κιθάρας εὐρετὴν ἀναγορεύουσι καὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτὴν μουσικῆς· ἔτι δὲ τὴν ἰατρικὴν ἐπιστήμην ἐξενεγκεῖν διὰ τῆς μαντικῆς τέχνης γινομένην, δι' ἧς τὸ παλαιὸν συνέβαινε θεραπείας τυγχάνειν τοὺς ἀρρωστοῦντας. εὐρετὴν δὲ καὶ τοῦ τόξου γενόμενον, διδάξει τοὺς ἐγχωρίους τὰ περὶ τὴν τοξείαν, ἀφ' ἧς αἰτίας μάλιστα παρὰ τοῖς Κρησὶν ἐξηλωσθαι τὴν τοξικὴν, καὶ τὸ τόξον Κρητικὸν ὀνομασθῆναι. **6** Ἀπόλλωνος δὲ καὶ Κορωνίδος Ἀσκληπιὸν γενηθέντα καὶ πολλὰ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν εἰς ἰατρικὴν μαθόντα, προσεξευρεῖν τὴν τε χειρουργίαν καὶ τὰς τῶν φαρμάκων σκευασίας καὶ ῥιζῶν δυνάμεις, καὶ καθόλου προβιβάσαι τὴν τέχνην ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον, ὥστε ὡς ἀρχηγὸν αὐτῆς καὶ κτίστην τιμᾶσθαι.

75.1 τῷ δ' Ἑρμῆι προσάπτουσι τὰς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις γινομένας ἐπικηρυκείας καὶ διαλλαγὰς καὶ σπονδὰς καὶ τὸ τούτων σύσσημον κηρύκειον, ὃ φορεῖν εἰώθασιν οἱ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων τοὺς λόγους ποιοῦμενοι καὶ διὰ τούτου τυγχάνοντες παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀσφαλείας· ὅθεν δὴ καὶ κοινὸν Ἑρμῆν ὀνομάσθαι, διὰ τὸ τὴν ὠφέλειαν ἀμφοτέροις εἶναι κοινὴν τοῖς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τὴν εἰρήνην μεταλαμβάνουσι. **2** φασὶ δ' αὐτὸν καὶ μέτρα

Phoenicians were the ones that sailed to Europe with Kadmos) and for this reason the Greeks called the letters 'Phoenician'. To them they reply that the Phoenicians were not the first to invent letters, but they only transformed their shapes and because most people used this way of writing, so, accordingly, the letters were called as noted above.

74.2 They say that *Hephaistos* invented all the techniques to work iron and copper and silver and gold and everything else that can be worked with fire. In addition he invented all the other uses of fire, which he passed on to skilled workers and to all other humans. **3** Therefore, the craftsmen with these skills offer prayers and sacrifices to this god especially, and both they and all humans call fire *Hephaistos*. Thus, they remember and honour eternally the original benefit that was given to our common life. **4** The myths also narrate that *Ares* was the first to fabricate a panoply ('set of armour'), to equip soldiers with arms, and to introduce the activity of confrontation in battle, himself slaughtering those disobedient to the gods.

74.5 They proclaim that *Apollo* was the inventor of the kithara and its music, and that he also made known the art of healing accomplished through the art of prophecy, as in the old days the sick used to get treatment through this art. *Apollo* also invented the bow, and he instructed the natives all about archery, for which reason in particular the Cretans have pursued archery and the bow is called 'Cretan'. **6** *Asklepios* was born of *Apollo* and *Koronis* and learnt much from his father about the art of medicine. He also invented surgery and preparations of drugs and the powers of roots. In general, he advanced the art to such a degree that he is honoured as if he were its first inventor and founder.

75.1 To *Hermes* they ascribe embassies in wars and settlements and truces, as well as the herald's staff that is a token of these activities, which is usually carried by those conducting the conversations on such matters, and which assures their safety amongst the enemy. For this reason, *Hermes* has received the name *Koinos*, because the benefit is common (*koinos*) to those on both sides, when warring parties share peace. **2** They also say that he was the first to invent measures and weights and profits from trading, and ways secretly to appropriate the property of others. According to tradition, he is the herald of the gods and also their best messenger, because

καὶ σταθμὰ καὶ τὰ διὰ τῆς ἐμπορίας κέρδη πρῶτον ἐπινοῆσαι, καὶ τὸ λάθραι τὰ τῶν ἄλλων σφετερίζεσθαι. παραδεδόσθαι δ' αὐτὸν καὶ κήρυκα τῶν θεῶν, ἔτι δ' ἄγγελον ἄριστον διὰ τὸ καλῶς αὐτὸν ἕκαστα τῶν εἰς ἐντολὴν δοθέντων ἐρμηνεύειν· ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τετευχένας τῆς προσηγορίας αὐτὸν ταύτης, οὐχ εὐρετὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ λέξεων γενόμενον, ὡς τινὲς φασιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς ἀπαγγελίας ἄριτον καὶ σαφὲς ἐκπεπονηκότα περιττότερον τῶν ἄλλων. **3** εἰσηγητὴν δ' αὐτὸν καὶ παλαιστράς γενέσθαι· καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς χελώνης λύραν ἐπινοῆσαι μετὰ τὴν Ἀπόλλωνος πρὸς Μαρσύαν σύγκρισιν, καθ' ἣν λέγεται τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα νικήσαντα καὶ τιμωρίαν ὑπὲρ τὴν ἄξιαν λαβόντα παρὰ τοῦ λειφθέντος μεταμεληθῆναι, καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῆς κιθάρας χορδὰς ἐκρήξαντα μέχρι τινὸς χρόνου τῆς ἐν αὐτῇ μουσικῆς ἀποστῆναι.

75.4 Διόνυσον δὲ μυθολογοῦσιν εὐρετὴν γενέσθαι τῆς τ' ἀμπέλου καὶ τῆς περὶ ταύτην ἐργασίας, ἔτι δ' οἰνοποιίας καὶ τοῦ πολλοὺς τῶν ἐκ τῆς ὀπώρας καρπῶν ἀποθησαυρίζεσθαι, καὶ τὰς χρεῖας καὶ τὰς τροφὰς παρέχεσθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν θεὸν γεγονέναι φασὶν ἐκ Διὸς καὶ Φερσεφόνης κατὰ τὴν Κρήτην [[ὄν Ὀρφεὺς κατὰ τὰς τελετὰς παρέδωκε διασπώμενον ὑπὸ τῶν Τιτάνων· πλείονας γὰρ Διονύσους συμβαίνει γεγονέναι, περὶ ὧν ἡμεῖς σαφέστερον τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐν οἰκειότεροις καιροῖς ἀναγεγράφαμεν]]. **5** οἱ δ' οὖν Κρήτες τῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς γενέσεως τοῦ θεοῦ πειρῶνται σημεῖα φέρειν, λέγοντες ὅτι περὶ τὴν Κρήτην δύο νήσους κτίσας ἐπὶ τῶν καλουμένων Διδύμων κόλπων Διονυσιάδας ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ προσηγόρευσεν, ὅπερ μηδαμοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης αὐτὸν ἐτέρωθι πεποιηκένας.

[[**76.1** Ἡρακλέα δὲ μυθολογοῦσιν ἐκ Διὸς γενέσθαι παμπόλλοις ἔτεσι πρότερον τοῦ γεννηθέντος ἐξ Ἀλκμήνης. τοῦτον δὲ μητρὸς μὲν μὴ παρηλειφέναι τίνος ἦν, αὐτὸ δὲ μόνον ὅτι ῥώμη σώματος πολλὴ τῶν ἀπάντων διενεγκῶν ἐπῆλθε τὴν οἰκουμένην, κολάζων μὲν τοὺς ἀδίκους, ἀναιρῶν δὲ τὰ τὴν χώραν ἀοίκητον ποιοῦντα θηρία. πᾶσι δ' ἀνθρώποις τὴν ἐλευθερίαν περιποιήσας ἀήττητος μὲν ἐγένετο καὶ ἄτρωτος, διὰ δὲ τὰς εὐεργεσίας ἀθανάτου τιμῆς ἔτυχε παρ' ἀνθρώποις. **2** τὸν δ' ἐξ Ἀλκμήνης Ἡρακλέα παντελῶς νεώτερον ὄντα καὶ ζηλωτὴν γενόμενον τῆς τοῦ παλαιοῦ προαιρέσεως διὰ τὰς αὐτὰς αἰτίας τυχεῖν τε τῆς ἀθανασίας καὶ χρόνων ἐγγενομένων διὰ τὴν ὁμωνυμίαν δόξαι τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι, καὶ τὰς τοῦ

he explains (*hermeneuein*) well each command he has been given. For this reason he acquired the name Hermes, and not because he invented names and words, as some claim, but because he, more than all others, brought to perfection the art of delivering a message in a precise and clear manner. **3** He also introduced the wrestling-school and devised the lyre made from a tortoise-shell, after the competition between Apollo and Marsyas. For it is said that Apollo won in this competition, punished his opponent excessively, but afterwards repented, tore apart the strings of the lyre, and stayed away from the lyre's music for a while.

75.4 The myths narrate that *Dionysos* was the first to discover the vine and its cultivation, and also wine-making and the storage of many autumn-fruits, and thus to provide to humans the necessary food for a long period of time. They say that Zeus and Persephone gave birth to this god in Crete. [[Orpheus passed on a tradition in the mystery rites that he was torn apart by the Titans; in fact, it happens that there are several Dionysoses, about whom we have written in detail at more appropriate moments (3.62-74)]. **5** The Cretans, however, try to present evidence that *Dionysos* was born on their island, and they claim that in the so-called Twin Bays he founded two islands named after him the *Dionysiades*, something which he has not done anywhere else in the world.

[[**76.1** The myths relate that *Herakles* was born of Zeus very many years before the *Herakles* born of Alkmene. Tradition does not name the mother of this *Herakles*, and relates only this, that, excelling all others in physical strength, he traversed the earth punishing the unjust and slaying the wild beasts that were turning the land uninhabitable. Invincible and invulnerable, he secured their freedom for all humans, and on account of these benefits he gained worship as an immortal from them. **2** *Herakles*, son of Alkmene, was born at a much later time and became a zealous admirer of the way of life of the older *Herakles*, and for the same reasons he obtained immortality. As time passed, and because they had the same name, people thought that the earlier and the later *Herakles* were the same, and the exploits of the earlier were transferred to the later, because the majority of the people are ignorant of the true story. All acknowledge, however, that the most famous exploits and honours of the earlier *Herakles*

<p>προτέρου πράξεις εἰς τοῦτον μεταπεσεῖν, ἀγνοούντων τῶν πολλῶν τάληθές. ὁμολογοῦσι δὲ τοῦ παλαιότερου θεοῦ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον πράξεις τε καὶ τιμὰς ἐπιφανεστάτας διαμένειν, καὶ πόλιν ὑπ' ἐκείνου κτισθῆναι]].</p> <p>76.3 Βριτόμαρτιν δὲ τὴν προσαγορευομένην Δίκτυνναν μυθολογοῦσι γενέσθαι μὲν ἐν Καινοῖ τῆς Κρήτης ἐκ Διὸς καὶ Κάρμης τῆς Εὐβούλου τοῦ γεννηθέντος ἐκ Δήμητρος. ταύτην δ' εὐρέτιν γενομένην δικτύων τῶν εἰς κυνηγίαν προσαγορευθῆναι Δίκτυνναν, καὶ τὰς μὲν διατριβάς ποιήσασθαι μετὰ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος (ἀφ' ἧς αἰτίας ἐνίους δοκεῖν τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι Δίκτυνναν τε καὶ Ἄρτεμιν), θυσίαις δὲ καὶ ναῶν κατασκευαῖς τετιμῆσθαι παρὰ τοῖς Κρησὶ τὴν θεὸν ταύτην. 4 τοὺς δ' ἱστοροῦντας αὐτὴν ὀνομάσθαι Δίκτυνναν ἀπὸ τοῦ συμφυγεῖν εἰς ἀλιευτικὰ δίκτυα, διωκομένην ὑπὸ Μίνω συνουσίας ἔνεκα, διημαρτηκέναι τῆς ἀληθείας· οὔτε γὰρ τὴν θεὸν εἰς τοιαύτην ἀσθένειαν ἔλθειν πιθανὸν ὑπάρχειν ὥστε προσδεηθῆναι τῆς παρ' ἀνθρώπων βοήθειας, τοῦ μεγίστου τῶν θεῶν οὔσαν θυγατέρα, οὔτε τῷ Μίνω δίκαιον προσάπτειν τοιαύτην ἀσέβειαν, παραδεδομένω συμφώνως δικαίαν προαίρεσιν καὶ βίον ἐπαινούμενον ἐζηλωκέναι.</p>	<p>persist in Egypt, as well as the city that he founded there.]]</p> <p>76.3 The myths relate that <i>Britomartis</i>, also called <i>Diktynna</i> was born at Kaino in Crete to Zeus and Karme, the daughter of Euboulos, son of Demeter. Because she invented the nets (<i>diktynna</i>) which are used in hunting, she received the name <i>Diktynna</i>. <i>Britomartis</i> spent her time in the company of Artemis - for which reason some think that <i>Diktynna</i> and Artemis are one and the same – but this is the goddess that is honoured by the Cretans with sacrifices and temples. 4 Those, who give the account that she was called <i>Diktynna</i>, because she was caught in fishermen's nets in her flight from Minos' sexual pursuit of her, are utterly wrong. It is not plausible that the goddess could have been so weak as to require human assistance, when she was the daughter of the greatest of the gods, nor is it just to accuse Minos of such impiety, when tradition is unanimous about his passionate devotion to a just course of life and to a way of living applauded by all.</p>
<p>77.1 Πλοῦτον δὲ γενέσθαι φασὶν ἐν Τριπόλῳ τῆς Κρήτης ἐκ Δήμητρος καὶ Ἰασίωνος, διττῶς ἱστορουμένης αὐτοῦ τῆς γενέσεως. οἱ μὲν γὰρ φασὶ τὴν γῆν σπαρεῖσαν ὑπὸ Ἰασίωνος καὶ τυχοῦσαν ἐπιμελείας τῆς προσηκούσης ἀνεῖναι τοσοῦτο πλῆθος καρπῶν, ὥστε τοὺς ἰδόντας ἴδιον ὄνομα θέσθαι τῷ πλήθει τῶν γενομένων καρπῶν καὶ προσαγορεῦσαι πλοῦτον· διὸ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιγενομένοις παραδόσιμον γενέσθαι τὸ τοὺς πλείω τῶν ἰκανῶν κτησαμένους ἔχειν πλοῦτον. 2 ἐνιοὶ δὲ μυθολογοῦσιν ἐκ Δήμητρος καὶ Ἰασίωνος γενέσθαι παῖδα Πλοῦτον ὀνομαζόμενον, ὃν πρῶτον ἐπιμέλειαν βίου καὶ χρημάτων ἀθροισμὸν καὶ φυλακὴν εἰσηγήσασθαι, τῶν πρὸ τοῦ πάντων ὀλιγῶρος ἐχόντων περὶ τὸ σωρεύειν καὶ τηρεῖν ἐπιμελῶς χρημάτων πλῆθος.</p> <p>77.3 περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν θεῶν οἱ Κρηῖτες τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς λεγομένων γεννηθῆναι τοιαῦτα μυθολογοῦσι· τὰς δὲ τιμὰς καὶ θυσίας καὶ τὰς περὶ τὰ μυστήρια τελετὰς ἐκ Κρήτης εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους παραδεδοσθαι λέγοντες τοῦτο φέρουσιν, ὡς οἴονται, μέγιστον τεκμήριον· τὴν τε γὰρ παρ' Ἀθηναίους ἐν Ἐλευσίῃ γινομένην τελετὴν, ἐπιφανεστάτην σχεδὸν οὔσαν ἀπασῶν, καὶ τὴν ἐν Σαμοθράκῃ καὶ τὴν ἐν Θράκῃ ἐν τοῖς Κίκοσιν [[ὅθεν ὁ</p>	<p>77.1 They say that <i>Ploutos</i> was born at Tripolos in Crete to Demeter and Iasion, and there are two accounts of his birth. Some claim that, when Iasion sowed the earth and gave it the appropriate cultivation, the earth produced such a great amount of fruit that those who saw it created a specific word for the abundant production of fruits and called it <i>ploutos</i>. For this reason, it has become traditional to later generations to speak of someone that 'he has <i>ploutos</i>', when he has amassed more than a sufficient amount. 2 Others tell a myth that Demeter and Iasion gave birth to a child named <i>Ploutos</i>. He was the first to introduce a careful approach to life and the acquisition and protection of property, whereas everyone before him neglected the accumulation and careful protection of large amounts of property.</p> <p>77.3 So then, the Cretans recount this kind of mythology about the gods who they claim were born in their island. They also maintain that they imparted to other humans the honours and the sacrifices and the mystery rites. For this statement they present what they perceive as the most crucial evidence, namely that the rite of the Athenians performed in Eleusis, the most famous of almost all such rites, and the rite</p>

καταδείξας Ὀρφεὺς ἦν]] μυστικῶς παραδίδοσθαι, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Κρήτην ἐν Κνωσῶι νόμιμον ἐξ ἀρχαίων εἶναι φανερώς τὰς τελετὰς ταύτας πᾶσι παραδίδοσθαι, καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ παραδιδόμενα παρ' αὐτοῖς μηδένα κρύπτειν τῶν βουλομένων τὰ τοιαῦτα γινώσκειν. **4** τῶν γὰρ θεῶν φασὶ τοὺς πλείστους ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης ὀρμηθέντας ἐπιέναι πολλὰ μέρη τῆς οἰκουμένης, εὐεργετοῦντας τὰ γένη τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ μεταδιδόντας ἐκάστοις τῆς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων εὐρημάτων ὠφελείας. Δήμητραν μὲν γὰρ περαιωθεῖσαν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐκείθεν εἰς Σικελίαν ἀπᾶραι, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' εἰς Αἴγυπτον· ἐν δὲ τούτοις τοῖς τόποις μάλιστα τὸν τοῦ σίτου καρπὸν παραδοῦσαν καὶ τὰ περι τὸν σπόρον διδάξασαν μεγάλων τιμῶν τυχεῖν παρὰ τοῖς εὐπαθοῦσιν. **5** ὁμοίως δ' Ἀφροδίτην ἐνδιατρῖψαι τῆς μὲν Σικελίας περι τὸν Ἔρυκα, τῶν δὲ νήσων περι Κύθηρα καὶ Πάφον τῆς Κύπρου, τῆς δὲ Ἀσίας περι τὴν Συρίαν, διὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ πλέον ἐπιδημίαν αὐτῆς τοὺς ἐγχωρίους ἐξειδιάζεσθαι τὴν θεόν, καλοῦντας Ἀφροδίτην Ἐρυκίην καὶ Κυθήρειαν καὶ Παφίαν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Συρίαν.

77.6 ὡσαύτως δὲ τὸν μὲν Ἀπόλλωνα πλείστον χρόνον φανῆναι περι Δῆλον καὶ Λυκίαν καὶ Δελφούς, τὴν δ' Ἄρτεμιν περι τὴν Ἐφεσον καὶ τὸν Πόντον, ἔτι δὲ τὴν Περσίδα [καὶ τὴν Κρήτην]. **7** διόπερ ἀπὸ τῶν τόπων ἢ πράξεων τῶν παρ' ἐκάστοις συντελεσθεισῶν τὸν μὲν Δῆλιον καὶ Λύκιον καὶ Πύθιον ὀνομάζεσθαι, τὴν δὲ Ἐφεσίαν [καὶ Κρησίαν], ἔτι δὲ Ταυροπόλον καὶ Περσίαν, ἀμφοτέρων ἐν Κρήτῃ γεγεννημένων. **8** τιμᾶται γὰρ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Πέρσαις ἡ θεὸς αὕτη διαφερόντως, καὶ μυστήρια ποιοῦσιν οἱ βάρβαροι, συντελούμενα παρ' ἑτέροις μέχρι τῶν νῦν χρόνων, Ἀρτέμιδι Περσίαι. **9** παραπλήσια δὲ μυθολογοῦσι καὶ περι τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν [[περὶ ὧν ἡμῖν ἀναγράφειν μακρὸν ἂν εἴη, τοῖς δ' ἀναγινώσκουσι παντελῶς ἀσύνοπτον]].

78.1 μετὰ δὲ τὰς τῶν θεῶν γενέσεις ὕστερον πολλαῖς γενεαῖς φασὶ γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν Κρήτην ἦρωας οὐκ ὀλίγους, ὧν ὑπάρχειν ἐπιφανεστάτους τοὺς περι Μίνω καὶ Ῥαδάμανθυν καὶ Σαρπηδόνα. τούτους γὰρ μυθολογοῦσιν ἐκ Διὸς γεγεννησθαι καὶ τῆς Ἀγήνορος Εὐρώπης, ἣν φασὶ ἐπὶ ταύρου διακομισθῆναι προνοίαι θεῶν εἰς τὴν Κρήτην. **2** Μίνω μὲν οὖν πρεσβύτατον ὄντα βασιλεῦσαι τῆς νήσου καὶ κτίσαι πόλεις οὐκ ὀλίγας ἐν αὐτῇ, τούτων δ' ἐπιφανεστάτας τρεῖς, Κνωσὸν

performed in Samothrace and the one among the Kikones in Thrace [[which is where Orpheus, who introduced them, came from]] are handed down secretly. In Crete, however, at Knossos, it is an ancient custom that these mystery rites should be performed openly in front of all, and what the other people impart as not to be disclosed, this is not concealed from anyone who wishes to be informed about such rites. **4** The Cretans assert that most of the gods started from Crete and traversed many parts of the world, benefiting the races of men, and transmitting to people in each place the benefits of their particular discoveries. For example, Demeter crossed to Attica, and from there she sailed to Sicily, and then to Egypt. In these places she gave the seed of wheat and taught how to cultivate it. She was, therefore, greatly honoured by those she benefited. **5** Similarly, Aphrodite spent time near Eryx in Sicily, near Kythera and Paphos in Cyprus among the islands, and near Syria in Asia. Because of the goddess' epiphany and her long stay in their land, the natives appropriated her to themselves, and called her accordingly *Erykine* and *Kythereia* and *Paphia* and also *Syria*.

77.6 Likewise, Apollo made his longest epiphanies in Delos and Lycia and Delphi, and Artemis in Ephesus and in Pontos, and also in Persia [and in Crete]. **7** For this reason, from the names of the places or the deeds accomplished amongst each people, Apollo received the names *Delios* and *Lykios* and *Pythios*, and Artemis the names *Ephesia* [and *Cretan*] and *Tauropolos* and *Persia*, although both of them were born in Crete. **8** For Artemis is also honoured to an exceptional extent by the Persians, and the barbarians perform mystery rites in honour of Persian Artemis which other people perform even nowadays. **9** The Cretans recount similar myths also about the other gods. [[But to write them down would be too long a narrative for us, and it would be completely impossible for our readers to assimilate.]]

78.1 After the birth of the gods, many generations later, they say there was a significant number of heroes, amongst whom the most famous were Minos, Rhadamanthys and Sarpedon. The myths relate that these heroes were born of Zeus and Europa, daughter of Agenor, who they say by the forethought of the gods was transported to Crete by a bull. **2** *Minos*, the eldest of them, became king of the

μὲν ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τὴν Ἀσίαν νεύουσι μέρεσι τῆς νήσου, Φαιστόν δ' ἐπὶ θαλάττης ἐστραμμένην ἐπὶ μεσημβρίαν, Κυδωνίαν δ' ἐν τοῖς πρὸς ἑσπέραν κεκλιμένοις τόποις καταντικρὺ τῆς Πελοποννήσου. **3** θεῖναι δὲ καὶ νόμους τοῖς Κρησὶν οὐκ ὀλίγους, προσποιούμενον παρὰ Διὸς τοῦ πατρὸς λαμβάνειν, συνερχόμενον εἰς λόγους αὐτῷ κατὰ τι σπήλαιον. **3a** κτήσασθαι δὲ καὶ δύναμιν ναυτικὴν μεγάλην, καὶ τῶν τε νήσων τὰς πλείστας καταστρέψασθαι, καὶ πρῶτον τῶν Ἑλλήνων θαλαττοκρατῆσαι. **4** μεγάλην δὲ δόξαν περιποιησάμενον ἐπ' ἀνδρείαι καὶ δικαιοσύνηι καταστρέψαι τὸν βίον ἐν Σικελίᾳ κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Κώκαλον στρατείαν, [[περὶ ἧς τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἀνεγράψαμεν, ὅτε τὰ περὶ Δαίδαλον ἀνεγράφομεν, δι' ὃν καὶ τὴν στρατείαν συνέβη γενέσθαι]].

79.1 Ῥαδάμανθον δὲ λέγουσι τὰς τε κρίσεις πάντων δικαιοτάτας πεποιῆσθαι καὶ τοῖς ληισταῖς καὶ ἀσεβέσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις κακούργοις ἀπαραίτητον <ἐπ>ενηνοχέαι τιμωρίαν. **1a** κατακτήσασθαι δὲ καὶ νήσους οὐκ ὀλίγας καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας πολλὴν τῆς παραθαλαττίου χώρας, ἀπάντων ἐκουσίως παραδιδόντων ἑαυτοὺς διὰ τὴν δικαιοσύνην. **1b** τὸν δὲ Ῥαδάμανθον Ἐρύθρωι μὲν ἐνὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ παίδων παραδοῦναι τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν δι' ἐκεῖνον Ἐρυθρῶν ὀνομασθειῶν, Οἰνοπίωνι δὲ τῷ Ἀριάδνης τῆς Μίνω Χίον ἐγχειρίσαι φασίν, ὃν ἔνιοι μυθολογοῦσι Διονύσου γενόμενον μαθεῖν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τὰ περὶ τὴν οἰνοποιίαν. **2** τῶν δ' ἄλλων τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἡγεμόνων ἐκάστῳ νῆσον ἢ πόλιν δωρήσασθαι λέγουσι τὸν Ῥαδάμανθον· Θόαντι μὲν Λῆμνον, Ἐνυεῖ δὲ Σκῦρον, Σταφύλῳ δὲ Πεπάρηθον, Εὐάνθει δὲ Μαρώνειαν, Ἀλκαίῳ δὲ Πάρον, Ἀνίῳ δὲ Δῆλον, Ἀνδρεῖ δὲ τὴν ἀπ' ἐκεῖνου κληθεῖσαν Ἄνδρον. **2a** διὰ δὲ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν δικαιοσύνης μεμυθολογήσθαι δικαστὴν αὐτὸν ἀποδεῖχθαι καθ' Ἄιδου καὶ διακρίνειν τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς καὶ τοὺς πονηροὺς. **2b** τετευχέναι δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς τιμῆς καὶ τὸν Μίνω, βεβασιλευκότα νομιμώτατα καὶ μάλιστα δικαιοσύνης πεφροντικότερα. **3** τὸν δὲ τρίτον ἀδελφὸν Σαρπηδόνα φασὶ μετὰ δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διαβάνα κατακτήσασθαι τοὺς περὶ Λυκίαν τόπους. Εὐάνδρον δὲ γενόμενον υἱὸν αὐτοῦ διαδέξασθαι τὴν ἐν Λυκίᾳ βασιλείαν, καὶ γῆμαντα Δηιδάμειαν τὴν Βελλεροφόντου τεκνώσαι Σαρπηδόνα τὸν ἐπὶ Τροίαν μὲν στρατεύσαντα [μετ' Ἀγαμέμνονος], ὑπὸ τινῶν δὲ Διὸς υἱὸν ὀνομαζόμενον. **4** Μίνωι δὲ φασίν

island and founded a good number of cities on it, of which three were most famous, Knossos in the part of the island looking toward Asia, Phaistos by the sea looking toward the South, and Kydonia in the places to the west, opposite the Peloponnese. **3** Minos instituted a number of laws for the Cretans, which he claimed that he had received from his father Zeus, he had gone to speak to him in some cave. **3a** He also acquired a great naval force, subdued most of the islands, and was the first Greek to become master of the seas (*thalassokratein*). **4** After he gained great fame for his manliness and justice, he lost his life in Sicily during his campaign against Kokalos. [[For the details of this campaign see our narrative on Daidalos (4.77-79), because he was the cause of this campaign.]]

79.1 They say that of all people *Rhadamanthys*' judgments were the most just and that he gave the necessary punishments to robbers, to the impious and to other wrong-doers. **1a** Rhadamanthys possessed both a good number of islands and the larger part of the coast of Asia, with everyone voluntarily handing themselves over to him because of his justice. **1b** Rhadamanthys handed over to Erythros, one of his sons, the kingdom of the city named after him Erythrae. They also say that Rhadamanthys gave Chios to Oinopion, the son of Ariadne, daughter of Minos, although some myths relate that Dionysos was Oinopion's father, who also taught him the art of wine-making (*oinopoiia*). **2** They also say that he gave an island or a city as a present to each of his other leaders, Lemnos to Thoas, Skyros to Enyeus, Peparethos to Staphylos, Maroneia to Euanthes, Paros to Alkaios, Delos to Anion and Andros to Andreus, who gave his name to the island. **2a** The myths also recount that because of his exceptional sense of justice he was appointed a judge in Hades, where he separates the pious and the wicked. **2b** Minos also received the same honour, since he had been the most lawful king and had given particular attention to justice. **3** They say that the third brother, *Sarpedon*, crossed over to Asia with an army and conquered the lands around Lykia. His son Euandros succeeded him as king in Lykia and married Deidameia, daughter of Bellerophon, and they gave birth to Sarpedon, who participated in the expedition to Troy [with Agamemnon], although some call Sarpedon son of Zeus. **4** They say that Deukalion and Molon

<p>υιούς γενέσθαι Δευκαλίωνα τε καὶ Μόλον καὶ Δευκαλίωνος μὲν Ἰδομενέα, Μόλου δὲ Μηριόνην ὑπάρξει. τούτους δὲ ναυσὶν ἑνεθήκοντα στρατεῦσαι μετ' Ἀγαμέμνονος εἰς Ἴλιον, καὶ διασωθέντας εἰς τὴν πατρίδα τελευτήσαι καὶ ταφῆς ἐπιφανοῦς ἀξιοθῆναι καὶ τιμῶν ἀθανάτων. καὶ τὸν τάφον αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ Κνωσῶϊ δεικνύουσιν, ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα τοιάνδε·</p> <p style="text-align: center;">« Κνωσίου Ἰδομενῆος ὄρα τάφον· αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ τοὶ πλησίον ἴδρυμαι Μηριόνης ὁ Μόλου ».</p> <p>τούτους μὲν οὖν ὡς ἥρωας ἐπιφανεῖς τιμῶσιν οἱ Κρηῖτες διαφερόντως, θύοντες καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις κινδύνους ἐπικαλούμενοι βοηθοῦς.</p>	<p>were the sons of Minos, of whom Deukalion gave birth to Idomeneus and Molos to Meriones. With ninety ships Idomeneus and Meriones joined Agamemnon in the expedition against Troy, and, after their safe return to their homeland, they died and deservedly received a prominent burial and immortal honours – and at Knossos they show their tomb, on which a text of the following type is inscribed:</p> <p style="text-align: center;">‘Behold the tomb of the Knosian Idomeneus and indeed it is I who am set up nearby, Meriones, the son of Molos.’</p> <p>These men, then, the Cretans honour preeminently as famous heroes, sacrificing to them, and, when in danger during war, invoking their help.</p>
<p>80.1 τούτων δ' ἡμῖν διευκρινημένων λείπεται περὶ τῶν ἐπιμιχθέντων ἐθνῶν τοῖς Κρησὶ διελεθεῖν. ὅτι μὲν οὖν πρῶτοι κατώκησαν τὴν νῆσον οἱ προσαγορευθέντες μὲν Ἐτεόκρητες, δοκοῦντες δ' ὑπάρχειν αὐτόχθονες, προειρήκαμεν. 1a μετὰ δὲ τούτους πολλαῖς γενεαῖς ὕστερον Πελασγοὶ πλανώμενοι διὰ τὰς συνεχεῖς στρατείας καὶ μεταναστάσεις, καταντήσαντες εἰς τὴν Κρήτην μέρος τῆς νήσου κατώκησαν. 2 τρίτον δὲ γένος φασὶ τῶν Δωριέων παραβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν νῆσον, ἡγουμένου [τοῦ ἐκγόνου τοῦ Τεκτάμου] Δώρου. τούτου δὲ τοῦ λαοῦ μέρος <τὸ> μὲν πλέον ἀθροισθῆναι λέγουσιν ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπον τόπων, τὸ δὲ τι μέρος ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Λακωνικὴν Ἀχαιῶν διὰ τὸ τὴν ἀφορμὴν τὸν Δῶρον ἐκ τῶν περὶ Μαλέαν τόπων ποιῆσαι. 2a τέταρτον δὲ γένος συμμιγῆναί φασιν εἰς τὴν Κρήτην μιγάδων βαρβάρων τῶν διὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐξομοιωθέντων τῇ διαλέκτῳ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις Ἑλλησι. 3 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς περὶ Μίνω καὶ Ῥαδάμανθυν ἰσχύσαντας ὑπὸ μίαν ἀγαγεῖν συντέλειαν τὰ ἔθνη <τὰ> κατὰ τὴν νῆσον. 3a τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον, μετὰ τὴν κάθοδον τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πέμποντες ἀποικίας ἄλλας τέ τινας νήσους ἔκτισαν καὶ ταύτης τῆς νήσου κατακτησάμενοι πόλεις τινὰς ὠίκησαν ἐν αὐταῖς [[περὶ ὧν τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις χρόνοις ἀναγράψομεν (-)]]].</p> <p>80.4 #paraphrase# ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν τὰ Κρητικὰ γεγραφότων οἱ πλεῖστοι διαφωνοῦσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οὐ χρὴ θαυμάζειν, ἐὰν μὴ πᾶσιν ὁμολογούμενα λέγωμεν· τοῖς γὰρ τὰ πιθανώτερα λέγουσι καὶ μάλιστα</p>	<p>80.1 Now we have elucidated these stories, it remains to present an account of the peoples intermixed with the Cretans. We have already noted (64.1) that the first inhabitants of the island were the so-called <i>Eteokretans</i>, thought to be an autochthonous population. 1a Later, many generations after them, the <i>Pelasgians</i>, in their wanderings because of their continuous expeditions and migrations, reached Crete and inhabited a part of the island. 2 They say that the third race that invaded the island was the <i>Dorians</i> under their leader Doros [the offspring of Tektamos]. They say that the majority of this people was gathered together from the regions around Mount Olympos, but a part of them from the Achaians in Lakonia, because Doros' base of operations for the expedition was the area near the Cape of Malea. 2a They claim that the fourth race that mixed in consisted of various barbarians, who as time passed underwent linguistic assimilation to the local Greeks. 3 After these arrivals, however, the group that came to power with Minos and Rhadamanthys brought all the races of the island into one union of communities. 3a And finally, after the Return of the Herakleidai, the Argives and the Lakedaimonians sent out colonies and in particular established foundations on certain islands and, acquiring some cities on this island, settled in them. [[We will present the details at the appropriate chronological point.]]</p> <p>80.4 #paraphrase# As the majority of the writers who have written works on Cretan matters disagree with each other, it should not come as a</p>

πιστευόμενοις ἐπηκολουθήσαμεν, ἃ μὲν Ἐπιμενίδῃ τῶι θεολόγῳ (457 T 9b) προσχόντες, ἃ δὲ Δωσιάδῃ (458) καὶ Σωσικράτει (462) καὶ Λαοσθενίδαί (461)#.

surprise if our account does not match all of them. In our narrative we have followed closely those writers whose accounts were more probable and had most general acceptance: for some matters we held to Epimenides (*BNJ* 457) the *theologos* ('writer about gods'), and for others to Dosiadas (*BNJ* 458), Sosikrates (*BNJ* 461) and Laosthenidas (*BNJ* 462)#.

468 F 1 Commentary

468 Synthesis

468 constitutes Jacoby's 'Anhang' (Appendix/Supplement) on Crete. The usual purpose of such sections is to gather together statements apparently deriving from miscellaneous unnamed authors who are not substantial, or identifiable, enough to deserve their own individual entry, though in F 1 there was an added problem of not being able to decide which authors had contributed which parts of this narrative (hence Jacoby considered the entry a 'Sammelzitat' i.e. 'Group citation'). For Jacoby's evolving conception of the *Anhang*, see K. Dowden's 'Biographical Essay' for *BNJ* 845, the *Anhang* to Skythia.

The view arrived at in this commentary is as follows. There was a tradition of writings on Crete and its antiquities, of which we catch sight at the end of F 1, but of course any earlier statement may be mediated by a later authority, like Demetrios of Skepsis in F 2.20 (see commentary). However, in that tradition a special place was occupied by the legendary figure of **Epimenides**, whose supposed output came in two forms relevant to this entry: the first was a *hexameter poem*; the second an apparently anonymous *prose report* (see on F 2.19) of the supposed mythical and antiquarian contents of Epimenides' poetry. Some of the fragments in this entry, *BNJ* 468, in my view most probably belong in *BNJ* 457.

The **poem** clearly existed and was not a fiction of Lobon of Argos as is sometimes thought: see David Toye on *BNJ* 457 T 1, section (3). A striking feature was an interest in catasterism of figures from Cretan myth, seen in F 3a to F 5 (Aratos, his scholia, and a passage of Hyginus). F 3a (see commentary) alludes to the celebrated opening line of the poem. Given that its known contents are different from the prose text (below), we cannot say for certain that it was earlier than the prose text and catasterism might drive us closer to the 3rd century world of Aratos, but it is found in the Hesiodic corpus, in the *Astronomia* (FF 288-293 MW). It could date any time from, say, 550 to 300.

The **prose text**, maybe what Lobon referred to as *The birth and theogony of the Kouretes and Korybants* (see on F 2.19), underpins Diodoros (F 1) and is very visible in Strabo (F 2). F 13 might come from its preface. The puzzles presented by the sudden interest in Crete in the mid-4th century (F 12ab) – in Plato, Ephoros, and Aristotle – look as though they are due to the emergence of Epimenides' text, i.e. its composition, shortly before that date. This date would also suggest Epimenides for F 8.

As for the remaining fragments in this collection, miscellaneous creto-centric antiquities are represented by Pausanias (F 6, F 7, F 9) and could derive from any author of *Kretika*, as must the epigraphic reference to poets and historians (F 15). Some other material is commonplace Cretan content which is being controverted by Arkadians, barely requiring any particular Cretan authority (F 10, F 11). Finally, reports of Minos in Sicily (F 14) owe less to a specific text than to the mythographic imagination and diplomatic needs of Theron of Akragas in the 480s. It is the power of such mythic creativity at the end of the archaic age that is also visible in the origins of the story,

known to Herodotos, of Lykourgos' visit to Crete, perhaps Lyktos, to acquire the rudiments of the Spartan constitution (see on F 12a).

In preparing this entry, I have been grateful to Yannis Z. Tzifopoulos (Thessaloniki) for first drafts of the translations and for some useful bibliography.

F 1 and other collections

The *last paragraph*, Diodoros 5.80.4, is also:

- *BNJ* 457 T 9b, 458 T 1, 461 T 2, 462 T 1;
- Diels-Kranz, *Vorsokratiker* 3 B 20 (Diels collected supposed fragments of Epimenides' *Kretika* at 3 B 20-25).

The *whole passage* is also:

- R.L. Fowler, *Early Greek Mythography* 1 (Oxford 2000), 83-95 (Epimenides F 4 – 'it is hard to tell how much Epimenides there is in this *farrago*', p. 83 apparatus, transl. KD), with some discussion at 2 (Oxford 2013), 650-2;
- D. Toye, Epimenides *BNJ* 457 F 17, with only brief comment;
- L. Bertelli, Dosiadas *BNJ* 458 F 1, with a brief note considering only 74.1 relevant to Dosiadas.
- and of course Jacoby, *FGrH* 468, with substantial commentary.

It is not included in Sosikrates *BNJ* 461 or La(o)sthenidas *BNJ* 462.

Commentary on F 1

Diodoros' fifth book was entitled by him 'On the Islands' (5.1.2). It deals with Sicily, with other Mediterranean and Atlantic islands, including Britain, with NW Europe as a whole, with Euhemeros' legendary island 'Panchaia' off Arabia (5.41-46), with Aegean islands and at that point also with Crete (5.64-80).

In this passage he cites as his authorities 'the inhabitants of Crete' (64.1, cf. 66.1, 77.3), and anonymous reports that may amount to the 'telling of myths' (64.2, 67.4, 73.1), typically by poets (cf. 6.1.3 = Euhemeros *BNJ* 63 F 2), or to passing on tradition (e.g. 64.3), or even history (65.1), i.e. prose. These evidently count as writers on '*Cretan matters*' (*Kretika*), generally in competition with each other ('some... others', 64.3, cf. 80.4). Amidst a sense of numerous obscure authors there surface known writers such as Ephoros (64.3) and Hesiod (67.2), but finally, at 80.4, Diodoros cites specific 'historians' of Crete: these turn out to be Epimenides, Dosiadas, Sosikrates and Laosthenidas (see above for *BNJ* numbers). Diodoros likes to give the impression of voluminous reading, though he is prone to following a single authority in the more historical parts (see K. Dowden on Poseidonios *BNJ* 87 F 58b; Jacoby *ad loc.* is kind to suppose it may on occasion be as many as two). It is quite possible that no more authors than those he enumerates actually underlie this passage: Fowler (*Mythography*, 2.650) and Toye (on *BNJ* 457 F 17) take F 1 largely to follow the prose *Kretika* attributed (*BNJ* 457 F 18) to Epimenides (cf. 468 Synthesis above and the Commentary below on F 2.19). Jacoby (on *FGrH* 462) was inclined to take Laosthenidas, the last-named, as the most recent author and Diodoros' source for the others. This may be the case, but Epimenides is at the root of this tradition (see 468 Synthesis) and, if not directly used by Diodoros, was named by his source. The whole passage corresponds to the agenda implied by the title of Epimenides' work as given by Lobon (see 468 Synthesis and Commentary on F 2.19), though it has been expanded, notably from Euhemeros (see on 66-77 below).

The contents of this passage are as follows:

64.1	Introduction
64.3	Idaian Daktyls, the original inhabitants of Crete.
65	The Kouretes
66	The Titans
68	The children of Kronos and Rhea, esp. Demeter and Poseidon.

70	Zeus: birth, rule, battles; worship; children (the Olympians) and their characteristics
77.3	Diffusion of gods/religion from Crete.
78	Cretan heroes (Minos, Rhadamanthys, Sarpedon).
80	Population mixture on Crete.
80.4	Sources.

64.1-2: The relatively lofty tone of this paragraph suggested to Jacoby that this represented a more ambitious and high-flown proem in Diodoros' source. Jacoby took as a further sign of Diodoros' dependence on a particular source that the passage sweeps on and does not pause to name its sources till finally at 5.80.

64.3: On the Idaian Daktyls, cf. *BNJ* 468 F 2.22 (Strabo).

64.4-5 [[Others again... Daktyls of Crete]]: By double brackets Jacoby indicates that Diodoros has inserted other material into the account of the authority that he is otherwise reproducing. In this case, this is suggested by 'others record' at the beginning and the resumptive 'at any rate' at the end. Double brackets also figure at 66.5, 69.1, 71.4, 75.4, 76.1, 77.9, 78.4, 80.3a. Jacoby is very ready to identify such intrusions, not always for clear or good reason. In this fragment what often worries him is points where a plurality of sources becomes apparent, though others are asides, practically footnotes. I have removed the double brackets from 77.1-2 (Ploutos).

66-77: The account of the gods and their worship is clearly Euhemerist. Euhemerus (early 3rd c., certainly after 305 BC) said that 'those considered to be gods had been certain powerful men, and, having been deified by the rest on account of this, were reputed to be gods' (*BNJ* 63 T 4b, tr. P. Christesen). See M. Winiarczyk, *The Sacred History of Euhemerus of Messene*, Eng. tr. (Berlin 2013), 136, and note his catalogue (171-5) of the many authors referring to the idea that gods were originally men.

But it is not just Euhemerist. Euhemerus himself is in fact insistent on the importance of the role of Crete in his story: Cretans are one of the principal races that settled the fictional Panchaia (*BNJ* 63 F 3 42.5); Zeus himself brought the priests of Panchaia there from Crete (*BNJ* 63 F 3.46.3, with various supporting Cretanising points); certainly the campaigning Zeus who defeats the Titans is based in Crete (*BNJ* 63 F 16); and Zeus dies in Crete (*BNJ* 63 F 24). In addition, his variant name Zēn (interpreted fancifully as from a root denoting 'life') figures both at 72.2 and in Ennius' version of Euhemerus (*BNJ* 63 F 24). At some point in the development of the material that Diodoros presents, someone has taken the account of Euhemerus' *Sacred History* and unambiguously sited its cretanising material in Crete itself, to form the antiquarian kernel of a *Kretika*.

70.5 Aigiochos: This word is used to mean 'aegis-bearing' (e.g., *Iliad* 2.375), where aegis means 'goatskin', though there is the worry that the original etymological meaning should have been 'riding a goat'.

71.3 †...†: The obeli (†...†) indicate that the Greek, as transmitted by the manuscripts, does not make much sense and is judged corrupt.

77.6-7 [and in Crete] ... [and Cretan]: (Jacoby's) brackets indicate material that manuscripts are thought wrongly to have added to the transmitted text. As the point of this discussion is to show how gods reached the world starting from Crete, it should not be necessary to state that they were also in, or associated with, Crete. The manuscripts may however be blameless: Diodoros or his source may have lost sight of this point.

79.3 Sarpedon: '[with Agamemnon]' was cut out of the text by Dindorf: Sarpedon was on the Trojan side, and the phrase seems to have crept in from a little lower down (79.4). Amongst the unnamed 'some' who call Sarpedon son of Zeus is of course Homer (*Iliad* 5.631)! It is hard to believe that this insouciance is not something carried over from his source by Diodoros.

79.4 ninety ships: The reference is to *Iliad* 2.652, where however they have 80 ships. In the same passage (2.649) the Cretans have 100 cities, though only 90 in *Odyssey* 19.174. 90 ships would then match ships to cities, unless it is a simple error of recall, as also seen, e.g., in Lemprière (J. Lemprière, *Bibliotheca Classica; or, A Classical Dictionary* (Reading 1788) and later editions, s.v. Idomeneus).

79.4 at Knossos they show their tomb: There is no evidence of an actual tomb of Idomeneus, in the sense of a place receiving offerings in classical times. According to J.N. Coldstream ('Hero-Cults in the Age of Homer', *JHS* 96 (1976), 8-17, at 13 n.43) these 'remarks of Diodorus... reflect the spurious patter purveyed to visitors to Knossos in Graeco-Roman times'. A suitable bronze age ruin would have been exhibited, maybe even decorated with this epigram. The spirit of Schliemann lives on in Arthur Evans' fleeting quest for a real tomb at 'The Palace of Minos', *ABSA* 10 (1903), 1-62, at 5-6.

<p>468 F 2 - STRABO 10.3.1-23 ed. Radt</p>	<p>meta[[id="468" type="F" n="2"]]</p>
<p>Subject: mythology, Crete Historical Work: <i>Kretika/The birth and theogony of the Kouretes and Korybants</i> Source date: c. 10 BC – AD 25 Historian's date: c. 360 BC Historical period: mythological times</p>	<p>Translation</p>
<p>10.3.1 τοὺς δὲ Κουρήτας τῶν μὲν Ἀκαρναῖσι, τῶν δ' Αἰτωλοῖς προσνεμόντων, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐκ Κρήτης, τῶν δ' ἐξ Εὐβοίας τὸ γένος εἶναι φασκόντων, ἐπειδὴ καὶ Ὅμηρος αὐτῶν μέμνηται, τὰ παρ' ἐκείνου πρῶτον ἐπισκεπτέον...</p> <p>... 6 περὶ δὲ Κουρήτων ἔτι καὶ τοιαῦτα λέγεται, τὰ μὲν ἐγγυτέρω ὄντα τῆς περὶ Αἰτωλῶν καὶ Ἀκαρνανῶν ἱστορίας, τὰ δ' ἀπωτέρω.</p> <p>ἐγγυτέρω μὲν τὰ τοιαῦτα οἷα προεῖρηται, ὅτι τὴν χώραν, ἣ νῦν Αἰτωλία καλεῖται Κουρήτες ὠκοῦν... Ἀρχέμαχος δ' ὁ Εὐβοεὺς φησι τοὺς Κουρήτας ἐν Χαλκίδι οἰκῆσαι... ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐγγυτέρω.</p> <p>7 τὰ δ' ἀπωτέρω τῆς ὑποθέσεως ταύτης, ἄλλως δὲ διὰ τὴν ὁμωνυμίαν εἰς ταῦτόν ὑπὸ τῶν ἱστορικῶν ἀγόμενα, ἅπερ Κουρητικὰ μὲν καὶ περὶ Κουρήτων λέγεται ὁμοίως ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν τὴν Αἰτωλίαν καὶ τὴν Ἀκαρνανίαν οἰκησάντων, ἐκείνων μὲν διαφέρει, ἔοικε δὲ μᾶλλον τῶι περὶ Σατύρων καὶ Σιληνῶν καὶ Βακχῶν καὶ Τιτύρων λόγῳ· τοιοῦτους γὰρ τινὰς δαίμονας ἢ προπόλους θεῶν τοὺς Κουρητάς</p> <p>#paraphrase#φασιν οἱ# [δὲ] #paraphrase# παραδόντες τὰ Κρητικὰ καὶ τὰ Φρύγια, # ἱερουργίαις τισὶν ἐμπεπλεγμένα - ταῖς μὲν μυστικαῖς, ταῖς δ' ἄλλως - περὶ τε τὴν τοῦ Διὸς</p>	<p>10.3.1 As for the Kouretes, some classify them as Akarnanians, others as Aitolians; some claim that by race they are from Crete, others from Euboeia. But, since Homer mentions them too (<i>Il.</i> 9.529-549), his narrative should be the first we examine...</p> <p>(<i>Strabo continues: Homer means that they are Aitolian; Ephoros 70 F 122 is mistaken in regarding them as Akarnanian.</i>)</p> <p>... 6 About the Kouretes there are also stories such as the following, of which some are closer to the history of the Akarnanians and Aitolians, others at some distance.</p> <p>The closer class is constituted by the type of material mentioned above, to the effect that the Kouretes inhabited the region which is now called Aitolia... Archemachos of Euboeia, however, claims (<i>BNJ</i> 424 F 9) that the Kouretes lived in Chalkis... This, then, is the material that is closer (i.e. to Akarnanian/Aitolian history).</p> <p>7 The material that is more distant from this subject has been wrongly associated with it by historians due to a coincidence of names. So, the terms 'matters Kouretic' and 'accounts of the Kouretes' are used in just the same way as 'accounts of the inhabitants of Aitolia and Akarnania'. However, the latter differ from the former, and are more like discourse about Satyrs, Silenes, Bakchai and Tityroi. For the Kouretes are claimed to be this kind of demon or divine attendant by those who have</p>

παιδοτροφίαν τὴν ἐν Κρήτῃ καὶ τοὺς τῆς Μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν ὀργιασμοὺς ἐν τῇ Φρυγίᾳ καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὴν Ἴδην τὴν Τρωικὴν τόποις. τοσαύτη δ' ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις ποικιλία, τῶν μὲν τοὺς αὐτοὺς τοῖς Κουρήσι τοὺς Κορύβαντας καὶ Καβεῖρους καὶ Ἰδαίους Δακτύλους καὶ Τελχῖνας ἀποφαινόντων, τῶν δὲ συγγενεῖς ἀλλήλων καὶ μικρὰς τινὰς αὐτῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφορὰς διαστελλομένων - ὡς δὲ τύπαι εἰπεῖν καὶ κατὰ τὸ πλεόν, ἅπαντας ἐνθουσιαστικούς τινὰς καὶ βακχικούς καὶ ἐνοπλίῳ κινήσει μετὰ θορύβου καὶ ψόφου καὶ κυμβάλων καὶ τυμπάνων καὶ ὄπλων, ἔτι δ' αὐλοῦ καὶ βοῆς ἐκπλήττοντας κατὰ τὰς ἱερουργίας ἐν σχήματι διακόνων· <ὥς> τε καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τρόπον τινὰ κοινοποιεῖσθαι ταῦτά τε καὶ <τὰ> τῶν Σαμοθράικων καὶ τὰ ἐν Λήμνῳ καὶ ἄλλα πλείω διὰ τὸ τοὺς προπόλους λέγεσθαι τοὺς αὐτούς.

ἔστι μὲν οὖν θεολογικὸς πᾶς ὁ τοιοῦτος τρόπος τῆς ἐπισκέψεως καὶ οὐκ ἀλλότριος τῆς τοῦ φιλοσόφου θεωρίας· 8 ἐπεὶ δὲ δι' ὁμωνυμίαν τῶν Κουρήτων καὶ οἱ ἱστορικοὶ συνήγαγον εἰς ἓν τὰ ἀνόμοια, οὐδ' ἂν αὐτοὺς ὀκνήσαιμ' ἂν εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πλεόν ἐν παρεκβάσει, προσθεῖς τὸν οἰκεῖον τῇ ἱστορίᾳ φυσικὸν λόγον. καίτοι τινὲς καὶ συνοικειοῦν βούλονται ταῦτ' ἐκείνοις καὶ τυχὸν ἴσως ἔχονται τινος πιθανοῦ. θηλυστολοῦντας γὰρ ὡς αἱ κόραι τοῦνομα σχεῖν τοῦτο τοὺς περὶ τὴν Αἰτωλίαν φασίν· εἶναι γὰρ καὶ τινὰ τοιοῦτον ζῆλον ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσι, καὶ Ἰάονας ἐλκεχίτωνας εἰρήσθαι <καὶ κρώβυλον καὶ τέττιγα ἐμπλέκεσθαι>, καὶ τοὺς περὶ Λεωνίδα κτενιζομένους <τὴν κόμην>, ὅτ' ἐξήιεσαν εἰς τὴν μάχην, καταφρονηθῆναι λέγουσιν ὑπὸ τῶν Περσῶν, ἐν δὲ τῇ μάχῃ θαυμασθῆναι. ἀπλῶς δὲ ἢ περὶ τὰς κόμας φιλοτεχνία συνέστηκε περὶ τε θρέψιν καὶ κουρὰν τριχός, ἅμφω δὲ κόραις καὶ κόροις ἐστὶν οἰκεῖα· ὥστε πλεοναχῶς τὸ ἐτυμολογεῖν τοὺς Κουρήτας ἐν εὐπόρῳ κεῖται.

εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐνόπλιον ὄρησιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἡσκημένων οὕτω περὶ κόμην καὶ στολὴν πρῶτον εἰσαχθεῖσαν ἐκείνων, Κουρήτων καλουμένων, παρασχῆν πρόφασιν καὶ τοῖς στρατιωτικωτέροις ἐτέρων καὶ τὸν βίον

handed down Cretan and Phrygian traditions wrapped up with certain religious rites - some of them mystic, others not - about the rearing of Zeus in Crete, and the secret rites in honour of the Mother of the Gods in Phrygia and in the area surrounding Mount Ida in the Troad. The diversity of these accounts is so great that some claim the Korybants, the Kabeiroi, the Idaian Daktyls, and the Telchines are the same as the Kouretes; whilst others allege that they are related to each other, but distinguishable one from the other by particular small differences. Speaking, however, in outline and for the most part, (*authorities state that*) all of them are inspired and bacchic types, and they make a striking impression with their dances in armour to the accompaniment of a din and noise of cymbals, drums and weapons - pipes and shrieking too - as cult officials in the rites. The result is (*they say*) that these religious rites in a way are very similar to the ones performed in Samothrace and in Lemnos and to many others, given that the attendants are said to be the same.

This sort of inquiry is entirely theological and not alien to the philosopher's approach. 8 Since then, due to the coincidence of the name Kouretes, even the historians have jumbled up disparate material, I would not myself wish to shy away from digressing to present a fuller account of the Kouretes, adding in the physical account that is appropriate to history. Indeed, some authors wish to associate one with the other (*i.e. physical accounts with history*), and perhaps they may achieve a certain plausibility. For example, they claim that the inhabitants of Aitolia received the name Kouretes, because they were wearing dresses just like the girls. They say that there was such a fashion among the Greeks, as the Ionians were also described as 'trailing their tunics' (*Il. 13.685*) and 'with a *krōbylos* (*bun of hair on the forehead*) and a *cicada* (*type of gold hair brooch*)'; and also they say that the Persians scorned Leonidas' Spartans because they were dressing their hair when they were about to enter a battle, but admired them during the battle. In simple terms, however, the art of caring for the hair is related to its tending and cutting (*koura*), and both of these are appropriate to girls (*korai*) and youths (*koroi*). So, there are many straightforward ways in which the word 'Kouretes' can be etymologised.

ἐνόπλιον ἔχουσιν, ὥσθ' ὁμωνύμως καὶ αὐτοὺς Κουρήτας λεχθῆναι - τοὺς ἐν Εὐβοίαι λέγω καὶ Αἰτωλίας καὶ Ἀκαρνανίας. καὶ Ὅμηρος δὲ τοὺς νέους στρατιώτας οὕτω προσηγόρευσε:

κρινάμενος κούρητας ἀριστήας Παναχαιῶν,
δῶρα θεῆς παρὰ νηὸς ἐνεγκεῖν, ὅσσι' Ἀχιλλεὺς
χθίζοι ὑπέστημεν

καὶ πάλιν

δῶρα φέρον κούρητες Ἀχαιοί.

περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς τῶν Κουρήτων ἐτυμολογίας ταῦτα - ἡ δὲ ἐνόπλιος ὄρχησις στρατιωτικὴ· καὶ ἡ πυρρίχη δηλοῖ καὶ ὁ Πύρρικός, ὃν φασὶν εὐρετὴν εἶναι τῆς τοιαύτης ἀσκήσεως τῶν νέων εἰς τὰ στρατιωτικά.

9 τὸ δ' εἰς ἓν συμφέρεσθαι τὰ τοσαῦτα ὀνόματα καὶ τὴν ἐνοῦσαν θεολογίαν ἐν τῇ περὶ αὐτῶν ἱστορίᾳ νῦν ἐπισκεπτέον. κοινὸν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἔστι τὸ τὰς ἱεροποιίας μετὰ ἀνέσεως ἐορταστικῆς ποιεῖσθαι, τὰς μὲν σὺν ἐνθουσιασμῶι, τὰς δὲ χωρὶς, καὶ τὰς μὲν μετὰ μουσικῆς, τὰς δὲ μὴ, καὶ τὰς μὲν μυστικῶς, τὰς δ' ἐν φανερωῖ. καὶ τοῦθ' ἡ φύσις οὕτως ὑπαγορεύει· ἢ τε γὰρ ἄνεσις, ἀπάγουσα τὸν νοῦν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρωπικῶν ἀσχολημάτων, αὐτὸν δεόντως [νοῦν] τρέπει πρὸς τὸ θεῖον· ὃ τε ἐνθουσιασμὸς ἐπίπνευσίν τινα θεῖαν ἔχειν δοκεῖ καὶ τῶι μαντικῶι γένει πλησιάζειν· ἢ τε κρύψις ἢ μυστικὴ τῶν ἱερῶν σεμνοποιεῖ τὸ θεῖον, μιμουμένη τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ φεύγουσαν ἡμῶν τὴν αἴσθησιν· ἢ τε μουσικὴ, περὶ τε ὄρχησιν οὕσα καὶ ῥυθμὸν καὶ μέλος, ἡδονῆι τε ἅμα καὶ καλλιτεχνία πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἡμᾶς συνάπτει κατὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν...

10 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μουσικὴν ἐκάλεσε Πλάτων καὶ ἔτι πρότερον οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι τὴν φιλοσοφίαν... πᾶν τὸ μουσικὸν εἶδος θεῶν ἔργον ὑπολαμβάνοντες. οὕτω δὲ καὶ αἱ Μοῦσαι θεαὶ καὶ Ἀπόλλων Μουσηγέτης, καὶ ἡ ποιητικὴ πᾶσα ὑμνητικὴ καλὴ οὕσα. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν ἡθῶν κατασκευὴν τῇ μουσικῇ προσνέμουσιν, ὡς πᾶν τὸ ἐπανορθωτικὸν τοῦ νοῦ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐγγὺς ὄν.

οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἕλληνας οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶι Διονύσῳ προσέθεσαν καὶ τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι

It is also likely that dances in armour were first introduced by those people, called Kouretes, whose activities centred in this way on hair and dress. And this practice provided the reason also to call by the same name 'Kouretes' men more warlike than others and living a martial life, viz. the inhabitants of Euboeia and Aitolia and Akarnania. Indeed, this (*kourētes*) is what Homer called young soldiers:

he chose the best *kourētes* of all Achaeans, to bring the gifts from the swift ship, which we promised to Achilles yesterday' (*Il.* 19.193-5);

and again

the *kourētes* of the Achaeans were bringing the gifts' (*Il.* 19.248).

So much, then, for the etymology of 'Kouretes' - and dancing in armour is military, as is shown by the 'pyrrhic' dance and by Pyrrhichos, who they say invented this kind of training for young males in military matters.

9 We must now proceed to examine the way in which all these names home in on the same thing, and the theology implied in the history about them. Indeed, the performance of religious ceremonies in a festive and relaxed atmosphere is something shared by Greeks and foreigners -- sometimes with inspired frenzy, sometimes without; sometimes with music, sometimes not; and sometimes in mystic secrecy, sometimes openly. Nature dictates these differences as follows. Relaxation distracts the mind from men's business and directs the real mind towards the divine; and the inspired frenzy is thought to hold some divine inspiration and to come close to the prophetic category: the mystic secrecy of the rites adds solemnity to the divine, by imitating its nature which evades our sensory perceptions. And music, which involves dance and rhythm and song, joins us together with the divine through its pleasure and its fine art for the following sort of reason...

10 For this reason, Plato (*Phaedo* 61a) and even before him the Pythagoreans called philosophy music ... and understood every kind of music as the work of the gods. Thus, the Muses are goddesses, Apollo is *Mousagetēs* ('Leader of the Muses'), and all poetry is hymnic inasmuch as it is beautiful. Likewise, music is credited with instruction in moral behaviour, on the basis that everything that is restorative for the mind is close to the gods.

καὶ τῆι Ἑκάτη καὶ ταῖς Μούσαις καὶ Διμήτρι νῆ Δία τὸ ὄργιαστικὸν πᾶν καὶ τὸ βακχικὸν καὶ τὸ χορικὸν καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰς τελετὰς μυστικόν· Ἴακχόν τε καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον καλοῦσι καὶ τὸν ἀρχηγέτην τῶν μυστηρίων τῆς Δήμητρος δαίμονα· δένδροφορῖαι τε καὶ χορεῖαι καὶ τελεταὶ κοιναὶ τῶν θεῶν εἰσι τούτων· αἱ δὲ Μοῦσαι καὶ ὁ Ἀπόλλων αἱ μὲν τῶν χορῶν προεστᾶσιν, ὁ δὲ καὶ τούτων καὶ τῶν κατὰ μαντικὴν· πρόπολοι δὲ τῶν Μουσῶν οἱ πεπαιδευμένοι πάντες καὶ ἰδίως οἱ μουσικοί, τοῦ δ' Ἀπόλλωνος οὗτοί τε καὶ οἱ περὶ μαντικὴν, Δήμητρος δὲ οἱ τε μύσται καὶ δαιδοῦχοι καὶ ἱεροφάνται· Διονύσου δὲ Σιληνοὶ τε καὶ Σάτυροι καὶ Βάκχαι - Λῆναι τε καὶ Θυῖαι καὶ Μιμαλλόνες καὶ Ναΐδες καὶ Νύμφαι προσαγορευόμεναι.

11 ἐν δὲ τῆι Κρήτηι καὶ ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοῦ Διὸς ἱερὰ ἰδίως ἐπετελεῖτο μετ' ὄργιασμοῦ καὶ τοιούτων προπόλων, οἳ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσόν εἰσιν οἱ Σάτυροι. τούτους δ' ὠνόμαζον Κουρητᾶς, νέους τινὰς ἐνόπλιον κίνησιν μετ' ὀρχήσεως ἀποδιδόντας, προστησάμενοι μῦθον τὸν περὶ τῆς τοῦ Διὸς γενέσεως, ἐν ᾧ τὸν μὲν Κρόνον εἰσάγουσιν εἰθισμένον καταπίνειν τὰ τέκνα ἀπὸ τῆς γενέσεως εὐθύς, τὴν δὲ Ῥέαν πειρωμένην ἐπικρύπτεσθαι τὰς ὠδῖνας καὶ τὸ γεννηθὲν βρέφος ἐκποδῶν ποιεῖν καὶ περισώζειν εἰς δύναμιν, πρὸς δὲ τοῦτο συνεργοὺς λαβεῖν τοὺς Κουρητᾶς, οἱ μετὰ τυμπάνων καὶ τοιούτων ἄλλων ψόφων καὶ χορείας ἐνόπλιου θορύβου τε περιέποντες τὴν θεὸν ἐκπλήξειν ἔμελλον τὸν Κρόνον καὶ λήσειν ὑποσπᾶσαντες αὐτοῦ τὸν παῖδα· τῆι δ' αὐτῆι ἐπιμελεῖται καὶ τρεφόμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν παραδιδόασιν. ὥσθ' οἱ Κουρητᾶς ἦτοι διὰ τὸ νέοι καὶ κόροι ὄντες ὑπουργεῖν ἢ διὰ τὸ κουροτροφεῖν τὸν Δία (λέγεται γὰρ ἀμφοτέρως) ταύτης ἠξιώθησαν τῆς προσηγορίας, οἷονεὶ Σάτυροί τινες ὄντες περὶ τὸν Δία. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἕλληνες τοιοῦτοι περὶ τοὺς ὄργιασμοὺς.

12 οἱ δὲ Βερέκυντες, Φρυγῶν τι φύλον, καὶ ἀπλῶς οἱ Φρύγες καὶ τῶν Τρώων οἱ περὶ τὴν Ἰδὴν κατοικοῦντες Ῥέαν μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ τιμῶσι καὶ ὀργιάζουσι ταύτηι, μητέρα καλοῦντες θεῶν καὶ Ἀγδιστιν καὶ Φρυγίαν

So, the majority of the Greeks ascribe to Dionysos and Apollo and Hekate and the Muses and, by Zeus, to Demeter all secret rites and the Bacchic rites and the choral dances and the mystic rites surrounding initiation. Iakchos is what they call Dionysos and the *daimon* that leads the mysteries of Demeter. The carrying of trees and the choral dances and the initiatory rites are features shared by these gods. The Muses preside over choral dances and Apollo both over these and prophecy. Attendants of the Muses is what all cultured people are, but in particular musicians; these, and those concerned with prophecy too, are attendants of Apollo; the *mystai* (initiates), torch-bearers, and the hierophants are attendants of Demeter. And Dionysos' attendants are those called Silenoi, Satyrs, Bakchai – referred to as Lenai, Thyiai, Mimallones, Naiads, and Nymphs.

11 In Crete, however, both these rites and particularly the rites of Zeus were performed distinctively with secret rites and with the sort of attendants that the Satyrs are in the case of Dionysos. These they called Kouretes, certain young men performing armed movements through dance. And they gave them a myth, the one about Zeus' birth, in which they present Kronos' practice of devouring his offspring straight after their birth and Rhea's attempts to conceal her birth pangs, to remove her newly born child, and to save it from death as best she could. In this she gets the support of the Kouretes, who attend the goddess with drums and other similar noise and with military dances and uproar so as to make such an impact on Kronos that they could surreptitiously get the child away from him – and they pass on the tradition that, thanks to the same attentiveness, he was also brought up by them. And so, the Kouretes received this name either because they provided this service when they were young and *koroï* ('youths') or because they reared Zeus as a child (*kourotrophein* = 'rear as a child') - both explanations are given - as they constituted Zeus's, as it were, Satyrs. This, then, is what the Greeks are like in their approach to secret rites.

12 The Berekyntes, however, a Phrygian tribe, and indeed the Phrygians in general, and the Trojans who dwell in the environs of Mount Ida, themselves too worship Rhea and perform secret rites to her. These people call Rhea Mother of the Gods and Agdistis and Great

<p>θεὸν μεγάλην, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν τόπων Ἰδαίαν καὶ Δινδυμήνην καὶ <Σι>πυλίην καὶ Πεσσινουντίδα καὶ Κυβέλην καὶ Κυβήβην. οἱ δ' Ἕλληνας τοὺς προπόλους αὐτῆς ὁμωνύμως Κουρήτας λέγουσιν, οὐ μὴν γε ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς μυθοποιίας, ἀλλ' ἑτέρους ὡς ἂν ὑπουργοὺς τινας, τοῖς Σατύροις ἀνὰ λόγον. τοὺς δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ Κορύβαντας καλοῦσι, κατὰ συγκοπὴν δὲ Κύρβαντας</p> <p>13 μάρτυρες δ' οἱ ποιηταὶ τῶν τοιούτων ὑπονοιοῦν ...</p>	<p>Phrygian Goddess, and, from the places of her worship, Idaia, Dindymene, Sipylene, Pessinountis, Kybele, and Kybebe. The Greeks call Rhea's attendants by the same name Kouretes, not from the same mythography, but as another set of attendants, analogous to the Satyrs. And they also call these same attendants Korybantēs, or, contracted, Kyrbantēs.</p> <p>13 The poets attest to ideas of this kind...</p>
<p>...19 ἔτι δ' ἂν τις καὶ ταῦτα <εὔροι> περὶ τῶν δαιμόνων τούτων καὶ τῆς τῶν ὀνομάτων ποικιλίας, καὶ ὅτι οὐ πρόπολοι θεῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ θεοὶ προσηγορεύθησαν. Ἡσίοδος μὲν γὰρ ἑκατέρω καὶ τῆς Φορωνέως θυγατρὸς πέντε γενέσθαι θυγατέρας φησὶν, ἐξ ὧν ὄρειαι Νύμφαι θεαὶ <ἐξ>εγένοντο καὶ γένος οὐτιδανῶν Σατύρων καὶ ἀμηχανοεργῶν Κουρήτες τε θεοὶ φιλοπαίγμονες ὀρχηστῆρες·</p> <p>ὁ δὲ τὴν Φορωνίδα γράψας ἀληθῆς καὶ Φρύγας τοὺς Κουρήτας λέγει· ἄλλοι δὲ γηγενεῖς καὶ χαλκάσπιδας. οἱ δ' οὐ τοὺς Κουρήτας ἀλλὰ τοὺς Κορύβαντας Φρύγας, ἐκείνους δὲ Κρήτας, περιθέσθαι δὲ ὄπλα χαλκᾶ πρώτους ἐν Εὐβοίαι (διὸ καὶ Χαλκιδέας αὐτοὺς κληθῆναι)· οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ Τιτάνων Ῥεαὶ δοθῆναι προπόλους ἐνόησαν τοὺς Κορύβαντας ἐκ τῆς Βακτριανῆς ἀφικμένους, οἱ δ' ἐκ Κόλχων φασίν.</p> <p>ἐν δὲ τοῖς Κρητικοῖς λόγοις οἱ Κουρήτες Διὸς τροφεῖς λέγονται καὶ φύλακες, εἰς Κρήτην ἐκ Φρυγίας μεταπεμφθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥεας· οἱ δὲ Τελχίνων ἐν Ῥόδῳ ἐννέα ὄντων, τοὺς Ῥεαὶ συνακολουθήσαντας εἰς Κρήτην καὶ τὸν Δία κουροτροφήσαντας Κουρήτας ὀνομασθῆναι· Κύρβαντα δὲ τούτων ἑταῖρον, Ἰεραπύτνης ὄντα κτίστην, παρὰ τοῖς Ῥοδίοις παρασχεῖν πρόφασιν τοῖς Πρα<ι>σίοις ὥστε λέγειν ὡς εἶεν Κορύβαντες δαίμονές τινες Ἀθηναῖς καὶ Ἥλιου παῖδες, ἔτι δὲ Κρόνου τινὲς τοὺς Κορύβαντας, ἄλλοι δὲ Διὸς καὶ Καλλιόπης φασὶ [τοὺς Κορύβαντας], τοὺς αὐτοὺς τοῖς Καβεῖροις ὄντας· ἀπελθεῖν δὲ τούτους εἰς Σαμοθράκην, καλουμένην πρότερον Μελίτην· τὰς δὲ πράξεις αὐτῶν μυστικὰς</p>	<p>18 (<i>reception of Thracian and Phrygian rites in Athens.</i>)</p> <p>...19 Furthermore, one might also discover this about these daimons and the miscellany of their names, namely that they were called not only attendants of the gods, but gods in their own right. For Hesiod (F 123 M.-W.) claims that ἑκατερος and the daughter of Phoroneus had five daughters, from whom the goddess mountain Nymphs were born and the race of Satyrs, worthless and unfit-for-work, and the god Kouretes, the sportive dancers.</p> <p>The author of the <i>Phoronis</i> (F 3 West) speaks of the Kouretes as pipe-players and Phrygians, others as earth-born and bronze shield-bearing. Others say it is not the Kouretes but the Korybantēs that are Phrygians, and that the former are Cretans who first donned bronze armour, in Euboea – which is why they were also called Chalkidians. Still other authors claim that the Titans gave Rhea the Korybantēs as her armed attendants, who came from the land of Baktria, but according to other authors from Kolchis.</p> <p>In the <i>Cretan discourses</i>, however, the Kouretes are the nurses and guardians of Zeus, whom Rhea had summoned from Phrygia to Crete. According to others, the nine Telchines in Rhodes accompanied Rhea to Crete and due to their bringing up (<i>kourotrophein</i>) of Zeus they were named Kouretes. Their companion Kyrbas, the founder of Hierapytna, provided the Prasians with a pretext among the Rhodians to say that the Korybantēs were particular daimons, children of Athena and Helios. Yet other authors claim that the Korybantēs were offspring of Kronos, others of Zeus and Kalliope and identical to the Kabeiroi: these left for Samothrace, previously called Melite;</p>

εἶναι.

20 ταῦτα δ' οὐκ ἀποδεξάμενος ὁ Σκήψιος ὁ τοὺς μύθους συναγαγὼν τούτους – ὡς μηδενὸς ἐν Σαμοθράκι μυστικοῦ λόγου περὶ Καβείρων λεγομένου - παρατίθησιν ὁμ[οί]ως καὶ Στησιμβρότου τοῦ Θασίου δόξαν, ὡς τὰ ἐν Σαμοθράκι ἱερὰ τοῖς Καβείροις ἐπιτελοῖτο· καλεῖσθαι δέ φησιν αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖνος ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ ἐν τῇ Βερεκυντία Καβείρου. οἱ δὲ Ἐκάτης προπόλους νομίζουσι τοὺς Κουρήτας, τοὺς αὐτοὺς τοῖς Κορύβασιν ὄντας.

φησὶ δὲ πάλιν ὁ Σκήψιος ἐν τῇ Κρήτι τὰς τῆς Ῥέας τιμὰς μὴ νομίζεσθαι μηδὲ ἐπιχωριάζειν, ὑπεναντιούμενος τῷ τοῦ Εὐριπίδου λόγῳ, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ Φρυγίᾳ μόνον καὶ τῇ Τρωάδι, τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας μυθολογεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ἱστορεῖν· πρὸς τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν τόπων ὁμωνυμίαν συμπράξει τυχὸν ἴσως αὐτοῖς· Ἴδη γὰρ τὸ ὄρος τό τε Τρωικὸν καὶ τὸ Κρητικόν, καὶ Δίκη τόπος ἐν τῇ Σκηψίᾳ καὶ ὄρος ἐν Κρήτι· τῆς δὲ Ἴδης λόφος Πύτνα ἀφ' οὗ Ἱεράπυτνα ἢ πόλις· Ἱπποκόρωνά τε τῆς Ἀδραμυττηνῆς καὶ Ἱπποκορόνιον ἐν Κρήτι· Σαμώνιον τε τὸ ἐωθινὸν ἀκρωτήριον τῆς νήσου καὶ πεδίον ἐν τῇ Νεανδρίδι καὶ τῇ Ἀλεξανδρέων.

21 ... πιθανὸν δὲ φησιν ὁ Σκήψιος, Κουρήτας μὲν καὶ Κορύβαντας εἶναι τοὺς αὐτούς ** οἱ περὶ τὰς τῆς Μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν ἀγιστείας πρὸς ἐνόπλιον ὄρχησιν ἠίθειοι καὶ κόροισι τυγχάνουσιν παρελημμένοι. καὶ Κορύβαντες δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ κορύπτοντας βαίνειν ὄρχηστικῶς, οὗς καὶ βητάρμονας λέγει ὁ ποιητὴς (*Od.* 8.250) « δεῦτ' ἄγε Φαιήκων βητάρμονες ὅσσοι ἄριστοι ». τῶν δὲ Κορυβάντων ὄρχηστικῶν καὶ ἐνθουσιαστικῶν ὄντων, καὶ τοὺς μανικῶς κινουμένους κορυβαντιᾶν φαμεν.

22 Δακτύλους δ' Ἰδαίους φασὶ τινες κεκλήσθαι τοὺς πρώτους οἰκήτορας τῆς κατὰ τὴν Ἴδην ὑπωρείας - πόδας μὲν γὰρ λέγεσθαι τὰς ὑπωρείας, κορυφὰς δὲ τὰ ἄκρα τῶν ὄρων. αἱ οὖν κατὰ μέρος ἐσχατιαὶ - καὶ πᾶσαι τῆς Μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν ἱεραὶ - περὶ τὴν Ἴδην **. Σοφοκλῆς δὲ οἶεται πέντε τοὺς πρώτους ἄρσενας γενέσθαι, οἱ σίδηρόν τε

and their activities were mystic.

20 Demetrios of Skepsis, however, (F 61 Gaede) who has collected these myths, does not accept this, on the grounds that in Samothrace there is no mystic story told about the Kabeiroi. All the same, he also adduces the opinion of Stesimbrotos of Thasos (BNJ 107 F 20), namely that the Samothracian rites were performed in honour of the Kabeiroi. Demetrios claims that their name derived from Mount Kabeiros in Berekyntia. Other authors consider the Kouretes attendants of Hekate and the same as the Korybantēs.

The Skepsian (*Demetrios*) further alleges that it was not in Crete that the rites of Rhea were observed and belonged, contradicting Euripides' statement, but only in Phrygia and the Troad - and those who claim otherwise are writing myth rather than history. The coincidences in placenames (*he claims*) have probably contributed to this. For Ida is the name of the Trojan mountain and also the Cretan, and Dikte is the name of a place in the land of Skepsis and a mountain in Crete; and a peak of Ida (*in the Troad*) is Pytna whence the city Hierapytna (*in Crete*); and there is a Hippokorōn in the land of Adramyttion and Hippokorōnion in Crete; and Samōnion is the name of the eastern promontory of the island and of a plain in the land of Neandria and of Alexandria Troas.

21 (*Akousilaos* (BNJ 2 F 20), *Pherekydes* (BNJ 3 F 48), and *Herodotos* (3.37) on the Kabeiroi and the Korybantēs.) ...It is persuasive, according to the Skepsian (*Demetrios* F 61 Gaede continues), that the Kouretes and the Korybantēs are one and the same <and Kouretēs is the name of those> who as youths and boys happened to be called upon for the armed dances in the rituals of the Mother of the Gods. Whereas Korybantēs (*get their name*) from *head-butting* movements (*koryptein*) as they do their dance steps (*bainein*) - these the Poet (Homer, *Od.* 8.250) also calls *betarmones* ('neat steppers') : 'Come forth whoever among the Phaiakians are the best *betarmones*.' Because the Korybantēs are frenzied dancers, we also say that people whose movements are manic 'korybantiate' (*korybantian*, 'behave wildly').

22 Some authors claim that 'Idaian Daktyls' is the name of the first inhabitants of the area

ἔξευρον καὶ εἰργάσαντο πρῶτοι καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ τῶν πρὸς τὸν βίον χρησίμων, πέντε δὲ καὶ ἀδελφὰς τούτων, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ δακτύλους κληθῆναι. ἄλλοι δ' ἄλλως μυθεύουσιν, ἀπόροις ἄπορα συνάπτοντες, διαφοροῖς δὲ καὶ τοῖς ὀνομάσι καὶ τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς χρῶνται, ὧν Κέλμιν ὀνομάζουσι τινα καὶ Δαμναμενέα καὶ Ἡρακλέα καὶ Ἄκμονα. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπιχωρίους τῆς Ἰδης, οἱ δὲ ἐποίκους· πάντες δὲ σίδηρον εἰργάσθαι ὑπὸ τούτων ἐν <τῇ> Ἰδῆι πρῶτον φασι, πάντες δὲ καὶ γόητας ὑπειλήφασι καὶ περὶ τὴν Μητέρα τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἐν Φρυγίᾳ ὠικηκότας περὶ τὴν Ἰδῆν - Φρυγίην τὴν Τρωάδα καλοῦντες διὰ τὸ τοὺς Φρύγας ἐπικρατῆσαι πλησιοχώρους ὄντας, τῆς Τροίας ἐκπεπορθημένης. ὑπονοοῦσι δὲ τῶν Ἰδαίων Δακτύλων ἐκγόνους εἶναι τοὺς τε Κουρήτας καὶ τοὺς Κορύβαντας· τοὺς γοῦν πρώτους γεννηθέντας ἐν Κρήτῃ ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας Ἰδαίους Δακτύλους κληθῆναι, τούτων δ' ἀπογόνους φασι Κουρήτας ἐννεὰ γενέσθαι, τούτων δ' ἕκαστον δέκα παῖδας τεκνῶσαι [τοὺς Ἰδαίους καλουμένους Δακτύλους].

23 προήχθημεν δὲ διὰ πλειόνων εἰπεῖν περὶ τούτων, καίπερ ἤκιστα φιλομυθοῦντες, ὅτι τοῦ θεολογικοῦ γένους ἐφάπτεται τὰ πράγματα ταῦτα. πᾶς δὲ ὁ περὶ τῶν θεῶν λόγος ἀρχαίας ἐξετάζει δόξας καὶ μύθους, αἰνιττομένων τῶν παλαιῶν ἃς εἶχον ἐννοίας φυσικὰς περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ προστιθέντων αἰεὶ τοῖς λόγοις τὸν μῦθον. ἅπαντα μὲν οὖν τὰ αἰνίγματα λύειν ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς οὐ ράδιον, τοῦ δὲ πλήθους τῶν μυθευομένων ἐκτεθέντος εἰς τὸ μέσον, τῶν μὲν ὁμολογούντων ἀλλήλοις, τῶν δ' ἐναντιουμένων, εὐπορώτερον ἂν τις δύναιτο εἰκάζειν ἐξ αὐτῶν τάληθές. οἷον τὰς ὀρειβασίας τῶν περὶ τὸ θεῖον σπουδαζόντων καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐνθουσιασμοὺς εἰκότως μυθεύουσι κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν, καθ' ἣν καὶ οὐρανίους νομίζουσι τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ προνοητικοὺς τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ τῶν προσημασιῶν. τῆι μὲν οὖν ὀρειβασίᾳ τὸ μεταλλευτικὸν καὶ τὸ θηρευτικὸν, ζητητικὸν τῶν πρὸς τὸν βίον χρησίμων, ἐφάνη συγγενές, τῶν δ' ἐνθουσιασμῶν καὶ θρησκευτικῶν καὶ μαντικῶν

beneath Mount Ida - places beneath mountains are the 'feet' and the mountain peaks are the 'head'. And so, the various extremities around Ida - and they are all sacred to the Mother of the Gods - <?are called daktyls ('fingers/toes')?>. Sophocles (F 366 Radt) believes that the first five were male, and were the first to discover and work iron and many other things useful in life. Their sisters numbered five too, and on the basis of their number they were called daktyls ('fingers'). Different authors, however, have their different ways of recounting these myths, heaping one obscurity on another. For example, amongst them they name a Kelmis and Damnameneus and Herakles and Akmon; and, according to some authors, these were natives of Ida, but according to others immigrants. All authorities, however, concur that they were the first workers of iron, on Ida. Likewise the view is shared that the Daktyls were wonder-men in the train of the Mother of the Gods, and that they dwelled in the environs of Mount Ida in Phrygia. They call the Troad Phrygia, because the neighbouring Phrygians took control of it after the sack of Troy. People suppose that the Kouretes and the Korybants descended from the Idaian Daktyls; that, at any rate, the first hundred men born in Crete were called Idaian Daktyls, and that their offspring were nine Kouretes; and that each of them gave birth to ten children [the so-called Idaian Daktyls].

23 We have been led to talk about these matters at length, though we are not at all predisposed to myth, because this subject touches upon theology. All discussion about the gods examines ancient opinions and myths, because the ancient authors allegorised the ideas they had about the nature of things and constantly added the mythic element to their writings. So, though it is not easy to identify accurately absolutely all the hidden meanings, we can lay out in the open the majority of the mythic accounts - some agreeing with each other, others disagreeing - and then one may be able more readily to conjecture the truth from them. For example, take mountain-roaming by religious people and by the gods themselves and their possessed state: it is reasonable that people use such myths for the same reason that they think the gods live in heaven and exhibit their providence in various ways and particularly through advance signs. Mining and hunting, which seek out things useful for

τὸ ἀγυρτικὸν καὶ <ή> γοητεία ἐγγύς.
τοιούτων δὲ καὶ τὸ φιλότεχνον <καὶ>
μάλιστα τὸ περὶ τὰς Διονυσιακὰς τελετὰς
καὶ τὰς Ὀρφικὰς. ἀλλ' ἀπόχρη περὶ αὐτῶν.

human life, seemed similar to mountain-roaming, whilst mendicant alms-seeking and exhibitionism were close to possession, religion and divination. Much the same is the love of arts and skills, and in particular that found in the Dionysiac and Orphic rites. But that is enough on this.

468 F 2 Commentary

Textual notes

BNJ follows the text of Stefan Radt (*Strabons Geographika*, 3 (Göttingen 2004), 220) with minor differences of punctuation, except as noted below.

8 <καὶ κρόβυλον καὶ τέττιγα ἐμπλέκεσθαι> ... <τὴν κόμην>: From Stephanus of Byzantium, *Ethnika* s.v. Akarnania, which seems to be quoting the text of Strabo, according to A. Berkel, in *Stephanus Byzantinus cum annotationibus L. Holstenii, A. Berkelii et Th. de Pinedo*, 3 (Leipzig 1825), 153-4. Adopted by Jacoby (but not printed by Kramer or Radt).

8 ἢ δὲ ἐνόπλιος ὄρχησις... εἰς τὰ στρατιωτικά (But dancing in armour... in military matters): εἰς Radt; καὶ mss, obelised Jacoby. The sequence of thought in §8 has troubled editors and various possibilities for correction are rehearsed by G. Kramer, *Strabonis Opera*, 2 (Berlin 1847), 376 n. It does not, however, seem obviously corrupt.

9 ἄνεσις, ἀπάγουσα τὸν νοῦν ἀπὸ ..., αὐτὸν δεόντως [νοῦν] τρέπει Dowden; ἄνεσις τὸν νοῦν, ἀπάγουσα ἀπὸ ... αὐτὸν, δεόντως τρέπει Radt; ἄνεσις ἀπά[γου]σα τὸν νοῦν ἀπὸ ... αὐτὸν δεόντως τρέπει Vatican palimpsest; ἄνεσις τὸν νοῦν ἀπάγει ἀπὸ ... τὸν δὲ ὄντως νοῦν τρέπει mss, Jacoby. See Radt's apparatus for fuller detail.

12 Φρυγίαν θεὸν μεγάλην mss, Jacoby; Φρυγίαν θεὸν <καὶ> μεγάλην ('Phrygian Goddess and Great (Goddess)') Leo, Radt.

20 ὄμ[οί]ως: ὅμως Xylander (and cf. R. Gaede, *Demetrii Scepsii quae supersunt* (diss. Greifswald 1880), 51 n.80), Radt; ὁμοίως mss, Kramer, Jacoby.

20 Πύτνα ** ἄφ' Jacoby, following Casaubon, Meineke.

21 οὗς καὶ βητάρμονας mss, Jacoby ('these the Poet ... also calls'); ὡς καὶ βητάρμονας Radt ('in this way the Poet ... refers also to').

22 - and they are all sacred to the Mother of the Gods - <?are called daktyls (fingers/toes)?>: Punctuation and supplement follow H.L Jones, *The Geography of Strabo*, Loeb Classical Library, 5 (London 1928), 116-17. αἰ <γ>οῦν κατὰ μέρος ἐσχατιαὶ καὶ πᾶσαι τῆς Μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν ἱεραὶ περὶ τὴν Ἴδην Radt ('in any event the individual outcrops of Ida are as a whole dedicated to the Mother of the Gods' – which does not seem a useful statement).

22 Κέλμιν... Δαμναμενέα Tzschucke (J.P. Siebenkees, continuing C.H. Tzschucke, *Strabonis Rerum Geographicarum Libri xvii*, 4 (Leipzig 1806), 213-14; Casaubon had already suggested the latter), Jones, obviously correctly, cf. *Phoronis* F 2 West; †σαλαμῖνον... Δαμνανέα (?) Jacoby, and this or similar in mss.

22 [τοὺς Ἰδαίους καλουμένους Δακτύλους] bracketed Dowden; marked as corrupt in various ways, Jacoby, Radt, edd.

Commentary

Strabo 10.3 deals with the Kouretes, a topic in the (Euhemerising) early history of Crete. This topic can be seen also in Diodoros' account (F 1.65-66, 70). The Kouretes are conceptualised as early inhabitants of Crete. Jacoby considered some passages from this fragment of greater significance for

understanding the tradition of writing about Crete than others, graphically depicting this through full-size font for the former, but petite for the latter. The key passages for him were:

- §7, dealing with the connection with Aitolia &c, with the Troad, and the similar discourses concerning the Kabeiroi and the Korybantes, and attributed to ‘those who have handed down Cretan and Phrygian traditions’;
- §11, on the Cretan etymology and mythological role of the Kouretes;
- the passage in §19 where reference is made to ‘Cretan discourses’ and the relationship to Rhodian discourse;
- Demetrios of Skepsis’ denial of the Cretan autochthony of the Kouretes in §20 (Jacoby attributes all the material of 19-22 to Demetrios);
- and the descent of the Kouretes from the Idaian Daktyls at §21.

Clearly Jacoby saw these passages as embedding material which Strabo had gained from historical sources but which Diodoros was reproducing wholesale. These sources were in his view Apollodoros (cf. 10.3.4) and Demetrios. Because of the uncertainty of attribution, they remain at the level of an ‘Anhang’, not a matter for assignment to particular authors. There remains a distinct possibility however that a prose *Kretika* of, or reporting, Epimenides lies at the root of both F 1 and F 2, cf. on F 2.19.

1 Akarnania, Aitolia: For Strabo’s discussion of the Kouretes in Akarnania, Aitolia, and Crete see: P. Funke, ‘Strabone, la geografia storica e la struttura etnica della Grecia nord-occidentale’, in F. Prontera (ed.), *Geografia storica della Grecia antica. Tradizioni e problemi* (Rome 1991), 174-93; C. Antonetti, ‘Strabone e il popolamento originario dell’Etolia’, in A. M. Biraschi (ed.), *Strabone e la Grecia* (Napoli 1994), 119-36; H.-J. Gehrke, ‘Strabon und Akarnanien’, in Biraschi, *Strabone*, 93-118; F. Cordano, ‘Le città cretesi in Strabone’, in Biraschi, *Strabone*, 185-98.

8 krōbyloi and cicadas: The association of the luxurious Ionians with their flowing dress and foppish hairstyle reaches definitive expression in Thucydides’ description of the Athenians of old at 1.6.3: καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι αὐτοῖς τῶν εὐδαιμόνων διὰ τὸ ἀβροδίατον οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἐπειδὴ χιτῶνάς τε λινοῦς ἐπαύσαντο φοροῦντες καὶ χρυσῶν τεττίγων ἐνέρσει κρωβύλον ἀναδούμενοι τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τριχῶν (‘and in the case of older wealthy people amongst them, it was not long since they had given up exhibiting their luxury through the wearing of linen chitons and had fastened the *krobylos* of their hair with brooches in the form of golden cicadas’).

8 etymologies of Kouretes: The word *kouros* or *koros* (a youth, originally *korwos*) has given rise to a derivative *kourētes* (‘youths’) which is used by Homer to refer to the warriors in their prime at Troy. Thus the mythic Kouretes are the ‘Young Warriors’. Hair-cutting comes from a similar, but distinct, root, *keiro* which most likely originates in an Indo-European root *kers-* (cf. P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, s.v.). A variant of that root, *sker-*, gives the English word ‘shear’. Hair-shearing is a familiar feature of initiation, cf. e.g. H. Jeanmaire, *Couroi et courètes, essai sur l’éducation spartiate et sur les rites d’adolescence dans l’antiquité hellénique* (Lille 1939), 258; A. Brelich, *Paidēs e parthenoi* (Rome 1969), indice degli argomenti s.v. capelli; K. Dowden, *Death and the Maiden* (London 1989), subject index s.v. hair-shearing.

10 Muses: For the association of the Muses/Mousike with mystery cults see A. Hardie, ‘Muses and mysteries’, in P. Murray and P. J. Wilson (eds), *Music and the Muses. The Culture of Mousike in the Classical Athenian City* (Oxford 2004), 11-37.

10 Tityroi: It is odd to find this male figure (also at §15) at the end of the list of female figures (but cf. §7). Jacoby and others have suspected it is misplaced in our text.

12 Korybants: For the possible Indo-European origin of this term, see K. Dowden on *BNJ* 707 F 1.40.

19: Ἥκατερω: The manuscripts of Strabo give this name in different forms: Hekateros, Hekateos, Hekataios. It is unclear what the correct version is and the name may simply be a local Argive one unknown to us. Phoroneus is the first man in Argive mythology, πατέρα θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων (‘father of mortal men’, *Phoronis* F 1 West); see R.L. Fowler, *Early Greek Mythography* 2 (Oxford 2013), 235-6.

19 Kouretes... Cretans... bronze armour-bearing, in Euboea... Chalkidians: Strabo's source sees *Kouretes* and *Kretes* ('Cretans') as variants of each other. Chalkis and Eretria are the two principal cities in Euboea; the word for bronze is *chalkos* and *Chalkis* must indeed mean 'Bronze (city)'. Here, however, the Kouretes become 'Chalkidian' because of their introduction of *bronze* armour.

19 In the Cretan discourses: Reading on from the previous paragraph, this seems to be an actual text and not just 'books written by Cretans' – it is a *Kretikoi logoi* or *Kretika*, like the *logoi Kretikoi* of Antenor (*BNJ* 463 F 1), referred to loosely by Ptolemy Chennos as *Kretikai historiai* (*BNJ* 463 T 1, evidently an author *not* invented by Ptolemy, cf. K. Dowden on *BNJ* 56 F 1b). As no author is cited for these *Cretan discourses*, it is quite possible that this prose version was in some sense anonymous, like those cited as *BNJ* 457 F 19 (and cf. on F 3b below). Amongst Epimenides' supposed works was a 5000-line epic on *The birth and theogony of the Kouretes and Korybantes* (issues at the heart of this discussion of Strabo's) and another 6500 lines on *The building of Argo and Jason's voyage to Kolchis* (might this explain the odd mention of Kolchis earlier in §19?). Jacoby (on *FGrH* 457 T 1) ascribes them to the imagination of Lobon of Argos, mentioned explicitly at *BNJ* 457 T 1.112. A prose work 'reporting' these poems could be represented as anonymous or as effectively by Epimenides. Thus Diodoros is able to give Epimenides pride of place at F 1.80.4. See further Fowler, *Mythography* 2, 649-52.

19 Hierapytna: Modern Hierapetra, on the S coast of Crete, slightly E of Agios Nikolaos (on the N coast). Praisos was around 50km ENE of Hierapetra.

20 Demetrios of Skepsis: Reference to the collection of these myths by Demetrios reveals his significance in the chain of sources that reaches Strabo. Demetrios was a polymath who died around 130 BC, much used by Strabo. His fragments were last edited by R. Gaede, *Demetrii Scepsii quae supersunt* (diss. Greifswald 1880). The one work we know about is the 30-book commentary on the *Catalogue of the Trojans* (*Iliad* 2.816-877). This material could have found a place there (E. Schwartz, 'Demetrios (78)', *RE* 4.2 (1901), 2807-13, at 2809). Gaede considered that the reference to the plurality of myths told by Demetrios betrayed the intermediacy of Apollodoros (*Demetrii*, 52-3).

The tendentiousness of Demetrios should be recognised. As a native of the Troad, he is attempting to maximise the significance of its culture. Thus a Mt Kabeiros is conjured up in Trojan Berekyntia and the role of the Kabeiroi at Samothrace is diminished, though Gaede (*Demetrii*, 51 n.80) is probably right in supposing that E. Maass (*De sibyllarum indicibus* (diss. Greifswald 1879), 24), despite generally characterising Demetrios' method well, went too far in supposing that Demetrios denied the existence of mysteries at Samothrace at all.

20 Stesimbrotos... Kabeiroi: On these issues see S. Dmitriev on *BNJ* 107 F 20.

20 Other authors consider the Kouretes ... the same as the Korybantes: Cf. the scholia to Aratos, *Phainomena* 34: Κούρητες καὶ Κορύβαντες καὶ Ἰδαῖοι Δάκτυλοι οἱ αὐτοὶ εἰσι ('Kouretes and Korybantes and Idaian Daktyls are one and the same').

22 Idaian Daktyls: There is no thorough account of these marginal mythical creatures (Daktyls = 'Fingers' or possibly toes), and practically nothing of any extent since O. Kern, 'Daktyloi', *RE* 4.2 (1901), 2018-20. They are attendants of Rhea/Kybele/the Mother of the Gods, specially concerned with metal-working (particularly iron) and therefore also associated with Hephaistos. Their name (cf Tom Thumb) appears to refer to their diminutive stature – they are viewed as goblins or dwarves by Germanic scholarship. They are thought to be 'Idaian' because their habitat is glens (*idai*). The name Herakles is presumably a jocular name for a dwarf with the might to hammer blazing iron on an anvil. Pausanias 5.7.6, in an obviously Cretanising version, identifies them with the Kouretes, says they came from Crete and proceeds to attribute the founding of the Olympic Games to the Daktyl Herakles! Certainly Hesiod (F 282 MW = Pliny, *HN* 7.197) is reported to have said that the working of iron began in Crete in the hands of the Idaian Daktyls.

22 Kelmis and Damnameneus: These two names of Daktyls, corrupted in the manuscripts of Strabo, are found in the *Phoronis* (F 2 West; 7th-6th c. BC), to an extent metrically guaranteed, together with Akmon ('Anvil'), but not Herakles. Kelmis is an Idaian Daktyl who had been cruel to his mother Rhea and as a result was turned into the hardest form of iron (Zenobios 4.80), namely adamant (Ovid,

Metamorphoses 4.281-2). This had figured in the *Kophoi* ('The Deaf'), a satyr-play of Sophocles (Sophocles F 337 N² = Zenobios 4.80). Kelmis and Damnameneus were the first to discover iron, on Cyprus, according to Clement, *Strom.* 1.16.75, presumably from the *Phoronis*.

22 [the so-called Idaian Daktyls]: This nonsensical addition must originate as a marginal note or heading.

23 theology... myths... ancient authors: At the heart of this conception of Strabo's lies the iconic figure, in Diodoros' words 'Epimenides the *theologos*' (F 1.80.4).

23 mountain-roaming (*oreibasia*): Mountains are the wild opposite of the civilised *polis*, as observed by R. Buxton, *Imaginary Greece: the contexts of mythology* (Cambridge 1994), 81-96: they are typically wooded and hunting may be conducted there. They are however also the site for striking religious rites. Thus Strabo himself describes (12.4.3) an *oreibasia* amongst the people of Prusa where they gather in groups (*thiasoi*) and search for Hylas, shouting his name. The textbook case, however, even if the term itself is not used, is constituted by those places in Boiotia, where married women (known in cult as the Thyiades) would don deerskins and swirl around the mountains in midwinter in honour of Dionysos, memorably reflected in Euripides' *Bakchai* complete with the ritual cry *eis oros!* ('to the mountain!'). See Plutarch, *Moralia* 249e; Pausanias 10.32.7; Eur. *Bakchai* 114-116; there is copious bibliography, e.g. A. Schachter, *Cults of Boeotia*, 1 (London 1981), s.v. 'Dionysos'; A. Henrichs, 'Greek Maenadism from Olympias to Messalina', *HSCP* 82 (1978) 121-60; J. N. Bremmer, 'Greek Maenadism Reconsidered', *ZPE* 55 (1984), 267-86; H. Jeanmaire, *Dionysos: histoire du culte de Bacchus* (Paris 1951), ch. 5.

<p>468 F 3a - ARAT. Phain. 30-37</p>	<p>meta[[id="468" type="F" n="3" n-mod="a" sourcework(level1="Aratus" level2="" level3="Phaenomena" level4="" level5="" level6="30")]]</p>
<p>Subject: mythology, Crete Historical Work: Oracles/Theogony Source date: c. 275 BC Historian's date: before 275 BC Historical period: mythological times</p>	<p>Translation</p>
<p>... εἰ ἐτεδὸν δῆ, 30 Κρήτηθεν κειναί γε Διὸς μεγάλου ἰότητι οὐρανὸν εἰσανέβησαν, ὃ μιν τότε κουρίζοντα δίκτωι ἐν εὐώδει, ὄρεος σχεδὸν Ἰδαίοιο, ἄντρῳ ἐγκατέθεντο καὶ ἔτρεφον εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν Δικταίοι Κούρητες ὅτε Κρόνον ἐψεύδοντο. 35 καὶ τὴν μὲν Κυνόσουραν ἐπὶ κλησὶν καλέουσι, τὴν δ' ἑτέρεην Ἑλίκεην.</p>	<p>If it is indeed true, it was from Crete that these (sc. the Bears, the Wains) ascended to heaven by the will of great Zeus. For then they hid him, a <i>kouros</i> ('youth', i.e. baby), in the fragrant cave <i>Dikton</i> near Mount Ida, and reared him for a year, when the Diktaian Kouretes were deceiving Kronos. One of the Bears/Carriages they call by name <i>Kynosoura</i> and the other <i>Helike</i>.</p>

468 F 3a Commentary

Where has Aratos got this mythology from? The passage is attributed by Diels-Kranz to Epimenides' *Kretika*, at *Vorsokratiker* 3 B 22 (see on F 1). Clearly Aratos must be drawing on Cretanising sources, on *Kretika* of some description. And F 3b, referring to *Cretici versus*, also on catasterism and the bear Helike, would suggest Diels' position was not unreasonable, as in effect recognised by Jacoby for the whole of F 3-4 at *FGrH* 3 B Text, 393.

When we then consider the words 'if it is indeed true' (30), we can see that Aratos alludes to the hexameter of 'a prophet' quoted in *Titus* 1.12: Κρήτες ἀεὶ ψεύσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί ('Cretans are ever liars, evil beasts, idle stomachs'), whose first three words are also cited by Aratos'

friend Kallimachos (*Hymn to Zeus* 8). This verse is usually attributed to Epimenides (*BNJ* 457 F 2; Diels-Kranz, *Vorsokratiker* 3 B 1).

Altogether, it does appear that a hexameter poem attributed to Epimenides is the source of F 3a, and indirectly but specifically of F 3b. F 4 and F 5 could easily be so attributed. The same poem appears to have opened with the Cretan liars topos and continued with mythology from the birth of Zeus and catasterisms. Jacoby was therefore wrong to separate *Oracles/Purifications* (*FGrH* 457 F 1-2) from a *Theogony/Genealogy* (*FGrH* 457 F 3-17). Cf. D. Toye on *BNJ* 457 F 2.

31, 36-37: The two constellations, Ursa Maior and Ursa Minor, were, on this account, Zeus' nurses in Crete, namely Kynosoura and Helike.

33 Dikton: The scholia (on 30-33) state: Δίκτον ἀκρωτήριον τῆς Κρήτης πλησίον τῆς Ἰδης τοῦ Κρητικοῦ ὄρους, ἔνθα ἐστὶν Ἀλσειοῦ Διὸς τέμενος, παρὰ τὸ παρακείμενον ἄλλος ('*Dikton* is a headland in Crete near the Cretan Mt Ida, where there is a shrine of Zeus *Alseios* ('of the Grove'), next to the grove that is situated alongside it'). *Dikte* itself should not be meant (though one scholion on 34 asserts it is), as *Dikte*, according to other scholia on 34, is a thousand stades from Ida and Aratos would then have committed an error. *Dikton* as opposed to the toponym *Dikte* should in fact refer to the plant dittany ('in fragrant dittany in a cave?'), according to Zenodotos (yet another scholion on 34). Views, then, differed widely.

<p>468 F 3b - HYGIN. Fab. 177</p>	<p>meta[[id="468" type="F" n="3" n-mod="b" sourcework(level1="Hyginus" level2="" level3="Genealogiae (Fabulae) (Schmidt M.)" level4="" level5="" level6="177")]]</p>
<p>Subject: mythology, Crete Historical Work: Oracles/Theogony Source date: c. 25 BC – AD 10 Historian's date: before 275 BC Historical period: mythological times</p>	<p>Translation</p>
<p>1 Callisto Lycaonis filia ursa dicitur facta esse ob iram Iunonis, quod cum Iove concubuit. postea Iovis in stellarum numero rettulit, quae Septentrio appellatur, quod signum loco non movetur neque occidit... 2 hic ergo Septentrio maior, #paraphrase#de qua in Creticis versibus:# tuque Lycaoniae mutatae semine nymphae, quam gelido raptam de vertice Nonacrino oceano prohibet semper se tinguere Tethys, ausa suae quia sit quondam succumbere alumnae. 3 haec igitur ursa a Graecis Helice appellatur.</p>	<p>1 Callisto, the daughter of Lycaon, is said to have been transformed into a bear due to Hera's wrath, because she had lain with Zeus. Afterwards, Zeus placed her among the number of the constellations under the name Septentrio. This constellation neither moves from its position nor does it set... 2 This, then, is Ursa Major, about which we read in the Cretan verses: You (sc. Septentrio) were also born when the nymph of Lycaon was transformed. When she was snatched away from the chilly summits of Nonacris, Tethys prohibited her forever from dipping into the Ocean, because she once dared to share the bed of her foster son. 3 This is the bear that the Greeks call Helike.</p>

468 F 3b Commentary

Textual note: Nonacrino B. Bunte (*Hygini Fabulae* (Leipzig 1856), 133), citing Ovid *Met.* 11.304 *vertice Cylleneo*, 14.535 *Idaeo vertice*; *Nonacrinae* mss, Jacoby.

Hyginus' major role was as librarian of the Palatine Library from 28 BC probably to his death some time after AD 10. Some scholars attribute this work, the *Fabulae*, and the *Poetic Astronomy*, due to their poor quality, to a later Hyginus whom they generally place in the 2nd century AD (C.J. Fordyce, L.A. Holford-Strevens, s.v. 'Hyginus (3)', *OCD* ⁴). Others, like the present author, consider there is one Hyginus, though his work may have suffered in transmission (e.g., P.L. Schmidt, s.v. 'Hyginus, C. Iulius', *BNP*).

2 the Cretan verses (*Cretici versus*): This reference to a verse *Kretika* suggests Epimenides (cf. *BNJ* 457 F 18, F 19), though the elegant Latin hexameters suggest a hand other than that of Hyginus (cf. Vergil, *Georgics* 2.481 = *Aeneid* 1.745) and maybe even a whole Latin version of Epimenides; a Latin writer might easily turn to Epimenides' catasterisms given the interest in translating Aratos (Cicero, and Germanicus; for the subject interest, cf. Manilius and Hyginus himself in the *Astronomy*). It looks like Hyginus' close friend Ovid (cf. the textual note; friendship: Ernst Diehl, 'Iulius (278)', *RE* 10 (1918), 628-36, at 628; Ov., *Tristia* 3.14.1-8). It may be significant that the poem of Epimenides was well known to Philodemus (*BNJ* 457 F 4b, 6ab, 8) which might suggest a route to Ovid (cf. D. Obbink, 'Vergil's *De pietate*: from *Ehoiae* to allegory in Vergil, Philodemus, and Ovid', in D. Armstrong, J. Fish, P.A. Johnson, M.B. Skinner (eds), *Vergil, Philodemus and the Augustans* (Austin, Texas 2004), 175-210, at 198-9).

Hyginus also cites anonymously (cf. on F 2.19) *qui Cretica conscripsit* ('the person who wrote the *Cretica*') at *Astr.* 2.5 (*BNJ* 311 F 2). For the poem of Epimenides as a source, see on F 3a. Tethys is mentioned by Epimenides at *BNJ* 457 F 4b. Hyginus' interest in Minos may indicate further reading of *Cretici versus*: *Fab.* 40, 41, 44, 136, 198), as may other mentions of Helike (*Astr.* 2.2.1, 2.13.3 – for which latter, see on F 4).

3 Helike: For Helike, the Great Bear, see Aratos, *Phainomena* 37-44; Manilius, *Astr.* 1.296-8. It does not set because it marks, and is just above, the heavenly Arctic (*arktikos*, 'of the bear') Circle.

468 F 4 - ARAT. Phain. 163-4	meta [[id="468" type="F" n="4" sourcework(level1="Aratus" level2="" level3="Phaenomena" level4="" level5="" level6="163")]]
Subject: mythology, Crete Historical Work: <i>Oracles/Theogony</i> Source date: c. 275 BC Historian's date: before 275 BC Historical period: mythological times	Translation
αἶξ ἱερή, τὴν μὲν τε #paraphrase#λόγος# Διὶ μαζὸν ἐπισχεῖν, ὠλενίην δέ μιν αἶγα Διὸς καλέουσ' ὕποφῆται.	The holy goat, who, as the account goes , gave her breast to Zeus to feed, and whom the interpreters of Zeus call the Olenian goat.

468 F 4 Commentary

This passage is Diels-Kranz, *Vorsokratiker* 3 B 21. See on F 1, F 3a.

The goat is Amaltheia. According to the scholia, 'Olenian' either means 'of the arm' because the stars are located on the arm of Auriga ('Charioteer') or because this goat was the daughter of Olen, a mythical poet and holy man. The former seems preferable, and indeed it is the α star of Auriga, now known more vaguely as *Capella* ('Goatlet'). Hyginus also know this mythology (cf. his knowledge of *Cretici versus* at F 3b) and presents Olen as a son of Hephaistos who begets the nymphs Aix and Helike (*Astr.* 2.13.3).

The *logos* ('account') is evidently a Cretan one and may well derive from Epimenides' *Kretika*. Epimenides, after all, might count through his poem as a *hypophetes* ('interpreter/expounder') of Zeus

and this line would then be attributing the word ὠλενίην ('Olenian') to that poem, which is known to Aratos (F 3a).

<p>468 F 5 - SCHOL. ARAT. 46 p. 349, 23 M</p>	<p>meta[[id="468" type="F" n="5" sourcework(level1="Scholia" level2="ad Aratum" level3="Phaenomena (codd. Marciani & Parisinienses) (Maass E.)" level4="" level5="" level6="46; p. 349, 23")]]</p>
<p>Subject: mythology, Crete Historical Work: Oracles/Theogony Source date: 1st c. BC ? Historian's date: before 275 BC Historical period: mythological times</p>	<p>Translation</p>
<p>τὰς δὲ δι' ἀμφοτέρων οἷη ποταμοῖο ἀπορρώξ εἰλεῖται μέγα θαῦμα δράκων]</p> <p>#paraphrase#φέρεται δὲ περὶ τοῦ Δράκοντος Κρητικὸς μῦθος#, ὡς ἄρα ἐπιόντος ποτὲ τοῦ Κρόνου, ὁ Ζεὺς εὐλαβηθεὶς ἑαυτὸν μὲν εἰς δράκοντα μετεμόρφωσε, τὰς δὲ τροφούς εἰς ἄρκτους, καὶ ἀπατήσας τὸν πατέρα μετὰ τὸ παραλαβεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν τὸ συμβᾶν ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ ταῖς τροφοῖς τῷ ἄρκτικῷ ἐνεστήριξε κύκλωι.</p>	<p>In between the two of them (sc. Kynosoura and Helike) meanders like a steep river a great marvel, the Dragon]</p> <p>There is a Cretan myth about Draco (the Dragon), to the effect that when once Kronos arrived, Zeus took the precaution of transforming himself into a dragon and his nurses into bears. And having deceived his father, after he became king he fixed in the Arctic circle the incident of his and his nurses' metamorphoses.</p>

468 F 5 Commentary

This passage is also Diels-Kranz, *Vorsokratiker* 3 B 23. See on F 1. The *Kretikos mythos* comes from a *Kretikoi logoi/Kretika* (cf. on F 3b, F 2.19). The scholiast seems to have access to the text that Aratos is working from, apparently Epimenides' verse *Kretika*. That poem was much interested in catasterism (F 3b, F 4; *BNJ* 457 F 18, F 19), which accounts for Aratos's familiarity with it – it would be a sort of 4th-century forerunner of Aratos and Eratosthenes.

The 'Arctic circle' referred to is a region of the northern sky: see K. Dowden on Poseidonios *BNJ* 87 F 76.5.

For the date of the Aratos scholia, in this case maybe 1st cent. BC, cf. Eleanor Dickey, *Ancient Greek Scholarship* (Oxford, New York 2007), esp. 57.

<p>468 F 6 - PAUSAN. 1, 18, 5</p>	<p>meta[[id="468" type="F" n="6" sourcework(level1="Pausanias" level2="" level3="Graeciae descriptio" level4="" level5="" level6="1, 18, 5")]]</p>
<p>Subject: mythology, Crete Historical Work: Kretika Source date: AD 150-180 Historian's date: 4th-1st c. BC? Historical period: mythological times</p>	<p>Translation</p>
<p>... ναὸς Εἰλειθυίας, ἣν ἐλθοῦσαν ἐξ Ἵπερβορέων ἐς Δῆλον γενέσθαι βοηθὸν</p>	<p>... the temple of Eileithyia (in Athens), who is said to have come to Delos from the</p>

<p>ταῖς Λητοῦς ὠδίσι, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους παρ' αὐτῶν φασὶ τῆς Εἰλειθυίας μαθεῖν τὸ ὄνομα, καὶ θύουσὶ τε Εἰλειθυία Δῆλιοι, καὶ ὕμνον ἄιδουσιν Ὠλῆνος.</p> <p><i>#paraphrase#</i>Κρηῆτες δὲ χώρας τῆς Κνωσσίας ἐν Ἀμνισῶι γενέσθαι νομίζουσιν Εἰλείθυιαν, καὶ παῖδα ἼΗρας εἶναι.<i>#</i> μόνους δὲ Ἀθηναίοις τῆς Εἰλειθυίας κεκάλυπται τὰ ξόανα ἐς ἄκρους τοὺς πόδας· τὰ μὲν δὴ δύο εἶναι Κρητικὰ καὶ Φαίδρας ἀναθήματα ἔλεγον αἱ γυναῖκες, τὸ δὲ ἀρχαιότατον Ἐρυσίχθονα ἐκ Δήλου κομίσαι.</p>	<p>Hyperboreans in order to assist Leto in her birthpains. And they (the Delians) claim that others learnt the name Eileithyia from them, and the Delians also sacrifice to Eileithyia singing a hymn composed by Olen. <i>The Cretans, however, think that Eileithyia was born at Amnisos in the territory of Knossos, and was a child of Hera.</i> Only by the Athenians are <i>xoana</i> of Eileithyia covered down to the tips of their feet; the women said that two of the <i>xoana</i> were Cretan, dedicated by Phaidra; but the oldest one was brought by Erysichthon from Delos.</p>
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468 F 6 Commentary

Leto's appeal to Eileithyia figures at Callimachus, *Hymn to Delos* 132, which makes clear the position of Eileithyia in Delian cult.

Xoana are antique, revered, crudely-fashioned wooden small statues. They tend to have a special power and a story of their origins/arrival. See for instance J.-P. Vernant, *Mortals and Immortals: Collected Essays*, tr. Froma I. Zeitlin (Princeton 1991), ch.8.

The Cretan tradition cited claims Cretan Amnisos as the centre of Eileithyia cult, implicitly or explicitly contesting the claim of Delos. The Cave of Eileithyia at Amnisos is known to Odysseus (*Odyssey* 19.188), to the Linear B tablets (*e-re-u-ti-ja*, Knossos Gg 702, 705; J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*² (Cambridge 1973), 127), and to archaeologists. At Delos, Eileithyia is not an independent deity but a form of Artemis (F. Graf, s.v. Eileithyia, *BNP*). The Cretan claim therefore has much to commend it.

From this passage one can see the impact of a text about Cretan traditions – myth, genealogy, cult. We cannot be more specific, though the fact that Diodoros (F 1.72.5) also mentions the birth of Eileithyia on Crete is suggestive.

<p>468 F 7 - PAUSAN. 1.27.9</p>	<p>meta[[id="468" type="F" n="7" sourcework(level1="Pausanias" level2="" level3="Graeciae descipio" level4="" level5="" level6="1, 27, 9-10")]]</p>
<p>Subject: mythology, Crete Historical Work: <i>Kretika</i> Source date: AD 150-180 Historian's date: 4th-1st c. BC? Historical period: mythological times</p>	<p>Translation</p>
<p>9 Κρησὶ τὴν τε ἄλλην γῆν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ ποταμῶι Τεθρίνι ταῦρος ἐλύμαίνετο ... <i>#paraphrase#</i>καὶ τοῦτον οἱ Κρηῆτες τὸν ταῦρον ἐς τὴν γῆν πέμψαι σφίσι Ποσειδῶνά φασιν, ὅτι θαλάσσης ἄρχων Μίνως τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς οὐδενὸς Ποσειδῶνα ἦγεν ἄλλου θεοῦ μᾶλλον ἐν τιμῇ.</p>	<p>9 The Cretans were faced with a bull ravaging their land, in particular the land by the River Tethris ... <i>The Cretans claim that this bull was sent to their land by Poseidon, because Minos, albeit lord over the Greek seas, did not honour Poseidon more than any other god.</i> 10 This bull was brought, they say, to</p>

10 κοιμισθῆναι μὲν δὴ τὸν ταῦρον τοῦτόν φασιν ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐκ Κρήτης, καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ τῶν δώδεκα καλουμένων ἓνα καὶ τοῦτον γενέσθαι τὸν ἄθλον. # ὡς δὲ ἐς τὸ πεδῖον ἀφείθη τὸ Ἀργείων, φεύγει διὰ τοῦ Κορινθίου ἰσθμοῦ, φεύγει δὲ ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐς δῆμον τῶν Μαραθωνίων, καὶ ἄλλους τε ὁπόσοις ἐπέτυχε καὶ Μίνω παῖδα Ἀνδρόγεων ἀπέκτεινε. Μίνως δὲ ναυσὶν ἐπ' Ἀθήνας πλεύσας – οὐ γὰρ ἐπέιθετο ἀναιτίους εἶναι σφᾶς τῆς Ἀνδρόγεω τελευτῆς – ἐς τοσοῦτον ἐκάκωσεν ἐς ὃ συνεχωρήθη οἱ παρθένους ἐς Κρήτην ἑπτὰ καὶ παῖδας ἴσους ἄγειν τῷ λεγομένῳ Μινωταύρῳ τὸν ἐν Κνωσσῶι λαβύρινθον οἰκῆσαι. τὸν δὲ ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι ταῦρον ὕστερον Θησεὺς ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐλάσαι καὶ θῦσαι λέγεται τῇ θεῶι, καὶ τὸ ἀνάθημά ἐστι τοῦ δήμου τῶν Μαραθωνίων.

the Peloponnese from Crete, and this was one of the 'Twelve Labours of Heracles'. When the bull was released into the Argive plain, it fled across the Corinthian Isthmos and fled into the land of Attica and, in Attica, to the deme of Marathon, killing everyone it met on the way, among them Minos' son Androgeos. Minos sailed against Athens with his ships - he was not persuaded that the Athenians were innocent of Androgeos' death - and did so much damage to the city that the Athenians reached an agreement with him: he would take seven maidens and as many boys to dwell in the labyrinth at Knossos for the so called Minotaur. Later, it is said that Theseus drove the bull from Marathon to the Acropolis and sacrificed it to the goddess, and the dedication was made by the deme of Marathon.

468 F 7 Commentary

Cretan literature, then, assigns the origin of Herakles' bull to Crete. This version was generally accepted, as we can see from Apollodoros, *Library* 2.5.7, an account which is strikingly similar to Pausanias's and suggests a common source.

The blaming of the Cretan Bull for the death of Androgeos is somewhat wayward: cf. T. Gantz, *Early Greek Myth* (Baltimore 1993), 262-3. Aigeus (Theseus' father, and King of Athens) is usually somehow responsible: he sends Androgeos against the Bull (now the bull of Marathon) according to one version in Apollodoros (3.15.7); or, worried that Minos is using him to foment rebellion, Aigeus has Androgeos assassinated (Diodoros 4.60.5). The purpose of that story is therefore to exculpate the Athenians (Athenocentric, then), sitting badly with the cretcentric account of the bull's origins, which must be why Jacoby attributed only the last sentence of §9 and the first of §10 to Cretan authors.

The Cretan Bull is in the last resort only a variant of the Minotaur itself: see C. Robert, *Die griechische Heldensage*, 2.2 (Berlin 1921), 679; E. Bethe, 'Minos', *RhM* 65 (1910), 200-232, at 231. It is also noteworthy that Attica is such a prominent site, maybe the home site, for the mythology of Minos, as observed by Bethe, 'Minos', 230-1.

9 R. Tethris: Nothing is known about a river so named. It ought to be in a significant area and therefore might be identifiable as the Thērēn (read Θήρηνη?) that runs W of Knossos (as R. Herbst, s.v. Theren, *RE* 5A (1934), 2367); this is where the Marriage of Zeus and Hera was celebrated yearly (Diodoros at F 1.72.4) and it is not impossible that a single *Kretika* might have dealt with the antiquities of this particular area, including both the sacred marriage and the Cretan Bull.

468 F 8 - PLUTARCH. Thes. 15.2

meta[[id="468" type="F" n="8" sourcework(level1="Plutarchus" level2="" level3="Theseus" level4="" level5="" level6="15, 2") sourcework(level1="Plutarchus" level2="" level3="Theseus" level4="" level5="" level6="16,

	I") II
Subject: mythology, Crete Historical Work: <i>Kretika</i> Source date: AD c. 100 Historian's date: c. 360 BC Historical period: mythological times	Translation
<p>15.2 τοὺς δὲ παῖδας εἰς Κρήτην κομιζομένους ὁ μὲν τραγικώτατος μῦθος ἀποφαίνει τὸν Μινώταυρον ἐν τῷ λαβυρίνθῳ διαφθείρειν...</p> <p>16.1 Φιλόχορος δέ φησιν #paraphrase#οὐ ταῦτα συγχωρεῖν Κρηῆτας, ἀλλὰ λέγειν# ὅτι φρουρὰ μὲν ἦν ὁ λαβύρινθος οὐθὲν ἔχων κακὸν ἀλλ' ἢ τὸ μὴ διαφυγεῖν τοὺς φυλαττομένους, ἀγῶνα δ' ὁ Μίνως ἐπ' Ἀνδρόγεω γυμνικὸν ἐποίει, καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἄθλα τοῖς νικῶσιν ἐδίδου τέως ἐν τῷ λαβυρίνθῳ φυλαττομένους· ἐνίκα δὲ τοὺς προτέρους ἀγῶνας ὁ μέγιστον παρ' αὐτῷ δυνάμενος τότε καὶ στρατηγῶν ὄνομα Ταῦρος κτλ.</p>	<p>15.2 The most tragic story declares that the Minotaur destroyed the children who were brought to Crete in the Labyrinth...</p> <p>16.1 According to Philochoros (<i>FGrH</i> 328 F 17), however, #paraphrase#the Cretans do not agree with this version, but say# that the Labyrinth was a prison with no other evil feature than that those in prison could not escape. Minos instituted gymnastic games in honour of Androgeos and gave these children, meanwhile imprisoned in the Labyrinth, as prizes to the winners. In the previous games the winner was a man of the greatest power at the time under Minos and his general, whose name was Tauros...</p>

468 F 8 Commentary

'The Cretans', with their rationalising method, must amount to a text, a *Kretika*, as Jacoby saw (commentary on *FGrH* 328 F 17). It is rather early, given that it was available to Philochoros (c. 340-270 BC), on which see my comments on F 12a.

Minos's general Tauros ('Bull') is a rationalises the Minotaur. Comparable, but different, rationalisation is found in the probably 4th century BC Palaiphatos, *About things unbelievable (peri apistōn)* 2, where a very attractive youth called Tauros is a follower of Minos and Pasiphae is smitten with him to the extent of having a child by him (and the story goes on). The purpose of these alleged Cretans is apparently to purge Cretan culture of the disfigurement of bestiality and monstrous offspring, as one might expect of a *Kretika*, given the date probably that of Epimenides (cf. on F 12a).

468 F 9 - PAUSAN. 2.30.3	meta[[id="468" type="F" n="9" sourcework(level1="Pausanias" level2="" level3="Graeciae descriptio" level4="" level5="" level6="2, 30, 3")]]
Subject: mythology, Crete Historical Work: <i>Kretika</i> Source date: AD 150-180 Historian's date: 4th-1st c. BC? Historical period: mythological times	Translation
#paraphrase# φασὶ δὲ οἱ Κρηῆτες# – τούτοις γὰρ ἔστι τὰ ἐς αὐτὴν ἐπιχώρια – Καρμάνορος τοῦ καθήραντος Ἀπόλλωνα	The Cretans claim – for the material about her (Aphaia) is indigenous to them – that Euboulos was the child of Karmanor who purified Apollo for the slaying of Pytho, and

<p>ἐπὶ φόνῳ τῷ Πύθωνος παῖδα Εὐβούλου εἶναι, Διὸς δὲ καὶ Κάρμης τῆς Εὐβούλου Βριτόμαρτιν γενέσθαι· χαίρειν δὲ αὐτὴν δρόμοις τε καὶ θήραις, καὶ Ἄρτεμιδι μάλιστα φίλην εἶναι. Μίνω δὲ ἐρασθέντα φεύγουσα ἔρριπεν ἑαυτὴν ἐς δίκτυα ἀφειμένα ἐπ' ἰχθύων θήραι. ταύτην μὲν θεὸν ἐποίησεν Ἄρτεμις, σέβουσι δὲ οὐ Κρήτες μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ Αἰγινήται, λέγοντες φαίνεσθαι σφισιν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τὴν Βριτόμαρτιν. ἐπὶ κλησὶς δὲ οἱ παρά τε Αἰγινήταις ἐστὶν Ἀφαία, καὶ Δίκτυννα ἐν Κρήτῃ.</p>	<p>that Britomartis was born to Zeus and Euboulos' daughter Karme. Britomartis enjoyed running and hunting and was dearest to Artemis. Minos, however, fell in love with her, and in trying to get away from him she threw herself into nets (<i>diktya</i>) which had been cast for catching fish. Artemis made her a goddess, and she is worshipped not only by the Cretans, but also by the Aiginetans who say that Britomartis appears to them on their island. In Aigina they call her by the epithet Aphaia and in Crete Diktynna.</p>
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468 F 9 Commentary

The name 'Britomartis' appears to mean 'sweet virgin' – see R.F. Willetts, *Cretan Cults and Festivals* (London 1962), 179; *britos*, according to Hesychios is Cretan for 'sweet' (γλυκί) and Solinus 11.8 gives the meaning *virginem dulcem* ('sweet maiden') for the whole. The Cretan form of the name, epigraphically attested, is *Britomarpis* (Willetts, *Cretan Cults*, 179), and perhaps the name should be compared with Marpessa, the daughter of Euenos, a river in Aitolia in the land of Kalydon, with some limited mythological existence as a person in Kalydonian-Aitolian mythology (cf. Apollodoros 1.7.8; *Iliad* 9.557). In any case, Britomartis appears to be a figure of central/Eastern Crete comparable with Diktynna in the West: Willetts, *Cretan Cults* 180, 184; K. Tümpel, s.v. Britomartis, *RE* 3 (1899), 880-1, at 880; M.P. Nilsson *The Minoan-Mycenaean religion and its survival in Greek religion*² (Lund 1950), 510-11.

The nets (*diktya*) figure in the story in order to account for the name 'Diktynna', which clearly in origin is 'she of Dikte' (interestingly with a Luwian-type suffix, L.R. Palmer, *The Greek Language* (London 1980), 13).

Once again the Cretan literature seeks to explain local culture and seek primacy in cases of overlap. Thus Aphaia is appropriated and Britomartis and Diktynna given their section in the account, whichever *Kretika* it was.

468 F 10 - PAUSAN. 8.38.2	<code>meta[[id="468" type="F" n="10" sourcework(level1="Pausanias" level2="" level3="Graeciae descipio" level4="" level5="" level6="8, 38, 2")]]</code>
<p>Subject: mythology, Crete Historical Work: --- Source date: AD 150-180 Historian's date: --- Historical period: mythological times</p>	Translation
<p>τραφῆναι δὲ τὸν Δία φασὶν ἐν τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ· καὶ χώρα τέ ἐστιν ἐν τῷ Λυκαίῳ Κρηταία καλουμένη... καὶ τὴν Κρήτην, #paraphrase#ἐνθα ὁ Κρητῶν ἔχει λόγος τραφῆναι Δία#, τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο εἶναι καὶ οὐ [διὰ] τὴν νῆσον ἀμφισβητοῦσιν οἱ Ἀρκάδες.</p>	<p>... and (the Arkadians) say that Zeus was reared on this mountain (Lykaion). On Lykaion there is place called Kretaia... and the Arkadians contend that the Crete #paraphrase#where according to the account of the Cretans Zeus was reared# is this place and not the island.</p>

468 F 10 Commentary

This passage also constitutes most of *BNJ* 322 F 15, where Madeleine Jost and J. Roy in the *BNJ* 322 general Commentary question the usefulness altogether of Jacoby's selection in *FGrH/BNJ* 322, designed to quote parts of Pausanias 8 on the supposition that he is excerpting a particular anonymous writer. Several of the considerations Jost and Roy adduce form a salutary warning for many of the instances where Jacoby believes he has scented out a particular lost author or tradition of writing, though equally one should not fail to recognise the literary origins of apparently oral accounts of populations (cf. K. Dowden on *BNJ* 35 F2 on what the Skythians and Issedonians 'say').

In this case, to call this passage a fragment of *Kretika* looks like exaggeration (unless we regard it as supported by F 11). The Arkadian account relates to the cult of Despoina ('Mistress') and the format of Goddess and Divine Child, doubtless inherited from the Bronze Age, is now instantiated in such a way as to displace the commonplace Crete-sited account of the birth of Zeus that prevails in the intertext. Pausanias' language naturally attributes that Crete-based story to 'the Cretans' - on the 2nd-century AD basis that localities fight each other over their heritage. But it is hard work to find in this *logos* of the Cretans a *Kretika*.

<p>468 F 11 - PAUSAN. 8.53.4</p>	<p>meta[[id="468" type="F" n="11" sourcework(level1="Pausanias" level2="" level3="Graeciae descipio" level4="" level5="" level6="8, 53, 4")]]</p>
<p>Subject: mythology, Crete Historical Work: <i>Kretika</i> Source date: AD 150-180 Historian's date: 4th-1st c. BC? Historical period: mythological times</p>	<p>Translation</p>
<p>λέγουσι δὲ καὶ ὅσοι Τεγεάτου τῶν παίδων ἐλείποντο, μετοικῆσαι σφᾶς ἐκουσίως ἐς Κρήτην, Κύδωνα καὶ †Ἀρχήδιον καὶ Γόρτυνα, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων φασὶν ὀνομασθῆναι τὰς πόλεις Κυδωνίαν καὶ Γόρτυνά τε καὶ †Κατρέα. #paraphrase#Κρηῆτες δὲ οὐχ ὁμολογοῦντες τῷ Τεγεατῶν λόγῳ # Κύδωνα μὲν Ἀκακαλλίδος θυγατρὸς Μίνω καὶ Ἑρμοῦ, Κατρέα δὲ φασὶν εἶναι Μίνω, τὸν δὲ Γόρτυνα Ῥαδαμάνθυος.</p>	<p>They also say that all the children of Tegeates, who survived, Kydon, †Archedios, and Gortys, migrated to Crete voluntarily, and they claim that the cities Kydonia, Gortyn, and †Katreus were named after them. #paraphrase#The Cretans, however, do not agree with the account of the Tegeans#. They claim instead that Kydon was the son of Hermes and Minos' daughter Akakallis, Katreus the son of Minos, and Gortys the son of Rhadamanthys.</p>

468 F 11 Commentary

Textual note: obels (†... †) Dowden – surely Κατρέα (as Berkel)... Κάτρην, with confusion creeping in from the preceding καὶ. See commentary.

Tegeates ('man of Tegea') is, rather weakly, the eponym of Tegea (Pausanias 8.3.4). The purpose of this mythology is to tie major cities of Crete to Arkadia, something which should be seen in the context of attempts to place the rearing of Zeus in a place called Crete on Mt Lykaion in Arkadia (F 10). There is perhaps some Bronze Age affinity underlying this concern with Mother Goddess and divine child, but in the historical era and certainly in the time of Pausanias this is solely a question of local pride in a place on the Greek cultural map. See further Madeleine Jost, *Sanctuaires et cultes d'Arcadie* (Paris 1985), 248-9.

‘**The Cretans**’, not unnaturally, do not subscribe to the Arkadian attempt to appropriate their culture, but which Cretans these are is less clear. There is sufficient detail here (unlike in F 10) to suggest a written authority, a *Kretika*. It could be anyone – from ‘Epimenides’ to Dosiadas (cf. on F 1).

Founders and cities. The detail of what is alleged is puzzling: that Kydon founds Kydonia (Hania) and Gortys Gortyn is obvious enough, but what of Archedios and of the foundation of Katreus? The name Archedios (‘beginnings of/from Zeus’?) does not occur elsewhere in Greek literature or in *LGPN*. And the city founded is in any case not Katreus, a personal name, but Katrē (Steph. Byz., s.v.). The text must be corrupt (I have marked it accordingly with obeli): it is Katreus (not ‘Archedios’) that founds Katrē (not Katreus), as the next sentence makes partially clear.

Katreus, son of Minos, is mentioned by, e.g., Diodoros 4.60.4, Apollodoros, *Bibl.* 3.1.2. The wife of Atreus, Aërope, is a daughter of Katreus at e.g. Apollodoros, *Epit.* 2.10; and Menelaos is attending his funeral in Crete when Paris takes Helen, *Epit.* 3.3, cf. Dictys 1.1. The marriage of Aërope with Atreus goes back to Hesiod (see F 194 MW). Another daughter of Katreus, Klymene, marries Nauplios and begets Oiax and Palamedes (Σ Eur., *Orestes* 432, Σ Lycophr. 386). For a Cretan, Katreus seems very implicated in Peloponnesian dynastic succession and it may be that in fact his supposed daughter Aërope genuinely belongs in Tegea (cf. K. Tümpel, s.v. Archedios, *RE* 2 (1896), 441).

468 F 12a - STRABO 10.4.19	meta [[id="468" type="F" n="12" n-mod="a" sourcework(level1="Strabo" level2="" level3="Geographica" level4="" level5="" level6="10, 4, 19")]]
Subject: mythology, Crete Historical Work: <i>Kretika</i> Source date: c. 10 BC – AD 25 Historian's date: c. 360 BC Historical period: mythological times	Translation
#paraphrase#λέγεσθαι δ' ὑπὸ Κρητῶν# ὡς καὶ παρ' αὐτοὺς ἀφίκοιτο Λυκοῦργος κατὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν κτλ.	#paraphrase#The Cretans say#, that Lykourgos arrived amongst them too for the following sort of reason...

468 F 12a Commentary

This passage occurs in the course of Ephoros *BNJ* 70 F 149. Already at 10.4.18 Strabo (or Ephoros) is comparing details Spartan and Cretan culture against a backcloth of claims that the Cretan is prior. The specific story of a visit of Lykourgos to Crete, from which he brought the Spartan institutions, is found as early as Herodotos (1.65) and ascribed by him to the Spartans themselves. Perlman has argued (Paula Perlman, ‘One Hundred-Citied Crete and the “Cretan ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ”’, *CPh* 87 (1992), 193-205, esp. 199-201) that the people of Lyktos in Crete are at the heart of this story, being Spartan colonists, and that it is from there that ‘Cretan’ institutions are then borrowed. The people of Lyktos would have got them, following this story, as Aristotle reports they did (*Politics* 1271b20-32), from the previous inhabitants, and these institutions would originally have been laid down by Minos.

It is extraordinary that the Spartans should choose to derive their defining institutions from colonists of theirs and shows something about the power of Minos as an ideological figure for lending antiquity and authority. This we see also in connection with Theron of Akragas in the 480s (see on F 14).

There is something of a 4th-century Athenian buzz around Crete and its laws/institutions. Plato, in one of his last works, the *Laws* (and ps.-Plato, *Minos*), Ephoros, the pupil of Plato’s rival Isokrates, and Aristotle, a pupil of Plato, all are intrigued by Crete. Perlman attributes this interest to growing reflection on the stability of the Spartan system of laws/institutions, the *eunomia* (good-lawedness, as it were) of their state (Perlman, ‘Crete’, 201). That may be so, but the speculation seems to start mid-

	philosophorum" level4="" level5="" level6="1, 111")]]
Subject: mythology, Crete Historical Work: <i>Kretika</i> Source date: 3rd c. AD ? Historian's date: c. 360 BC Historical period: mythological times	Translation
#paraphrase#ὥς δὲ Κρηῆτες λέγουσιν#, ἐνὸς δέοντα τριακόσια.	#paraphrase#But on the account of the Cretans #, (Epimenides lived) one year short of three hundred.

468 F 13 Commentary

This fragment is a snippet from Epimenides *BNJ* 457 T 1. As it forms part of a passage citing various authors for how long Epimenides lived (157, 154 years), it is not entirely unreasonable to suppose that another author's *Kretika* lies at the root of this statement. 299 is a peculiarly excessive figure in comparison with the other estimates, and would sit perhaps well in the preface of the prose report of Epimenides (cf. on F 2.19).

468 F 14 - HERODOTOS 7.170-1	meta [[id="468" type="F" n="14" sourcework(level1="Herodotus" level2="" level3="Historiae" level4="" level5="" level6="7, 170, 1-171, 2")]]
Subject: mythology, Crete Historical Work: --- Source date: c. 450-420 BC Historian's date: --- Historical period: mythological times, 480s BC	Translation
170.1 #paraphrase#λέγεται# γὰρ Μίνων κατὰ ζήτησιν Δαιδάλου ἀπικόμενον ἐς Σικανίην τὴν νῦν Σικελίην καλευμένην ἀποθανεῖν βιαίῳ θανάτῳ. ἀνὰ δὲ χρόνον Κρηῆτας θεοῦ σφέας ἐποτρύναντος πάντας πλὴν Πολιχνιτέων τε καὶ Πραισιῶν ἀπικομένους στόλῳ μεγάλῳ ἐς Σικανίην πολιορκέειν ἐπ' ἕτεα πέντε πόλιν Καμικόν, τὴν κατ' ἐμὲ Ἀκραγαντῖνοι ἐνέμοντο. 2 τέλος δὲ οὐ δυναμένους οὔτε ἐλεῖν οὔτε παραμένειν λιμῶι συνεστεῶτας, ἀπολιπόντας οἴχεσθαι. ὥς δὲ κατὰ Ἴηπυγίην γενέσθαι πλέοντας, ὑπολαβόντα σφέας χειμῶνα μέγα ἐκβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν γῆν· συναραχθέντων δὲ τῶν πλοίων (οὐδεμίαν γὰρ σφι ἔτι κοιμίδην ἐς Κρήτην φαίνεσθαι), ἐνταῦθα Ὑρίην πόλιν κτίσαντας καταμεῖναι τε καὶ μεταβαλόντας ἀντὶ μὲν Κρητῶν γενέσθαι Ἴήπυγας Μεσσαπίους, ἀντὶ δὲ	170.1 For #paraphrase# it is said# that Minos arrived in Sikania, or Sicily as it is now called, in search of Daidalos and met a violent death there. After a while, all the Cretans, except the inhabitants of Polichne and Praisos, urged by the god, arrived at Sikania with a great fleet and besieged for five years the city of Kamikos, inhabited in my time by the Akragantines. 2 As they were unable either to capture the city or to sustain the siege, because famine was pressing them hard, they left and went their way. As they were sailing off the coast of Iapygia, a great storm caught them and drove them ashore. As their ships were wrecked and there was no more any other obvious way of returning to Crete, they built the city Hyria and stayed there; and they changed from Cretans into Messapian Iapygians and from islanders into a mainland people. 3 And from the city of

<p>εἶναι νησιώτας ἠπειρώτας. 3 ἀπὸ δὲ Ὑρίης πόλιος τὰς ἄλλας οἰκίσαι ...</p> <p>171.1 ... ἐς δὲ τὴν Κρήτην ἐρημωθεῖσαν, #paraphrase#ὡς λέγουσι Πραΐσιοι#, ἐσοικίζεσθαι ἄλλους τε ἀνθρώπους καὶ μάλιστα Ἑλληνας. τρίτη δὲ γενεῇ μετὰ Μίνων τελευτήσαντα γενέσθαι τὰ Τρωικά, ἐν τοῖσι οὐ φλαυροτάτους φαίνεσθαι ἐόντας Κρηῖτας τιμωροὺς Μενέλεωι. 2 ἀπὸ τούτων δέ σφι ἀπονοστήσασι ἐκ Τροίης λιμὸν τε καὶ λοιμὸν γενέσθαι καὶ αὐτοῖσι καὶ τοῖσι προβάτοισι, ἔστε τὸ δεύτερον ἐρημωθείσης Κρήτης μετὰ τῶν ὑπολοίπων τρίτους αὐτὴν νῦν νέμεσθαι Κρηῖτας.</p>	<p>Hyria they became the founders of the other cities ...</p> <p>171.1 ... and into Crete, which was deserted, #paraphrase#so the Praisians relate#, there came other inhabitants, in particular Greeks. In the third generation after Minos' death the Trojan War took place, during which the Cretans proved themselves as no mean supporters of Menelaus. 2 After this, when they returned from Troy a famine and disease afflicted both them and their flocks, until Crete became desolate again for a second time and a third wave of Cretans together with the survivors now inhabits it.</p>
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468 F 14 Commentary

Herodotos displays an awareness of changing populations, starting from the striking period detail constituted by his choice to name the island Sikania (where the Sikanoi then lived) as opposed to Sikelia (Sicily, after the Sikeloi, who would not have arrived yet). On Crete, before the Trojan War, Greeks arrive (Mycenaean, then), and subsequently different Greeks (namely, the Dorians). These legends do have a historical basis, as does the influence of Minoan Crete on S Sicily, notably the region of Agrigento, charted in an important article by T.J. Dunbabin, 'Minos and Daidalos in Sicily', *PBSR* 16 (1948), 1-18.

Kamikos (or Inykos) was taken by Robert on the basis of this passage to be a supposed earlier name of Akragas (C. Robert, *Die griechische Heldensage*, 2.1 (Berlin 1920), 367; Stephanos of Byzantium s.v. Kamikos, Inykon). Strabo regards it as simply a lost city (6.2.6). It exists largely as the site of the murder of Minos. This story was set in Sophocles' lost *Kamikioi* ('People of Kamikos'). It would seem an obvious guess that Theron, tyrant of Akragas (Agrigento) decided that the lost Kamikos was in fact Akragas.

Jacoby included this passage in *FGrH* because of Herodotos' naming the people of Praisos as a source, evidently taking this to reflect a work about Crete. A similar, but fuller, account is given by Diodoros 4.79 ('there is no important discrepancy between Herodotus and Diodorus', Dunbabin 'Minos', 6). Because Theron exploited the tradition of Minos' pursuit of Daidalos to Sicily (Diodoros 4.79.4), the ultimate source for the story alluded to here, and told by Diodoros, would seem to antedate the 480s (Dunbabin, 'Minos', 5). But it is surprisingly hard to suggest an actual earlier source for the story. Could it be a 6th-century Sicilian poet? Stesichoros has been suggested ('the sort of poem perhaps Stesichorus of Himera wrote', A.W. Byvanck, *De Magnae Graeciae historia antiquissima* (The Hague, 1912), 15), if not too persuasively (Dunbabin, 'Minos', 7) – a poem recording such traditions does not seem to be in Stesichoros' style, let alone in our fragmentary record.

Another approach is possible. Praisos, in E Crete, was the centre of the Eteocretans (Strabo 10.4.6) whose culture was affirmed by the continuing existence of their distinctive language until the 3rd c. BC (H. Sonnabend, s.v. Praesus, *BNP*): they are distinctive and more authentic Cretans, 'Real Cretans' (*Eteocretes*). They remain according to their story (171.1) the only original Cretans in an otherwise deserted island. All other Cretans are newcomers – and speak Greek. It is the same with the Sikanoi, who belong to a time before the Greeks and Sikels arrived. This therefore constitutes a cultural blood-brotherhood between Eteocretans on the one hand and Sikanoi on the other, and Theron becomes the Minos of Sicily, but a better and more authentic one. From this bonding is preserved the concomitant mythology, to which Herodotos alludes. Maybe Messapians on a day trip to Thurii, have told Herodotos what Praisians claim, but in any case the story dates from the same period as the Persian

Wars that form his main subject. There is no Cretan historian lurking here, only a creative mythology serving political purposes in the 480s.

<p>468 F 15 - INSCR. CRET. III (Itanos 9, lines 89-94)</p>	<p>meta[[id="468" type="F" n="15"]]</p>
<p>Subject: mythology, Crete Historical Work: <i>Kretika</i> and poems Source date: 138 BC Historian's date: 6th-2nd c. BC Historical period: unknown</p>	<p>Translation</p>
<p>ἀκολούθως δὲ τούτοις οἱ μὲν αὐτοὺς [— — ]ντες Ἴτανίους παρήσαν. οἱ δὲ κατὰ πό<λε>ις ] ἐγγράφοις[.....]σπ[— — ] ἀποδεικνύντες ἄνωθεν τὰ ἀμφισβητούμενα Ἴτα[νίων] γεγονότ[α — — ]των μέχρι τοῦ δηλουμένου διὰ τοῦ δόγματος γεγονέν[αι — — #paraphrase#ποιητῶν καὶ ιστοριογράφων ἀποδείξεις#, ἃς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἡμ[ῖ]ν π[.....]σε [— — ]τους δικαιολογίαι κτλ.</p>	<p>... It is consistent with this that some persons [...]ing them [...] supported the people of Itanos, whereas the others in the cities listed [.....] demonstrating that what is in dispute had from early times belonged to the people of Itanos [.....] had been [...] until what was revealed to have happened due to the decree (of the Senate) [...] #paraphrase#the quotations of [poe]ts and writers of history# which they themselves too [...] us [.....] in justification...</p>

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This inscription recorded the decision of arbitrators from Magnesia ad Maeandrum in a dispute between the Cretan cities of Itanos and Hierapytna (which had destroyed Praisos, the original party in the dispute) over the ownership of the island Leuke (modern Kufonisi of Lasithi) and territory near the temple of Zeus Diktaios. It probably dates from 138 BC (O. Kern, *IMagnesia*, p.99; cf. *ICret* 3, p.92; 115/114 BC according to M. Cary, 'A Roman arbitration of the second century B.C.', *JRS* 16 (1926), 194-200). It exists in two copies, one at Magnesia (*IMagnesia* 105, in which these lines, however, do not survive) and one at Itanos (*ICret* 3, Itanos 9). It is also *IGRR* 1.1091.

The poets and historians – on whose identity we have no detail - may well, as Margarita Guarducci (*ICret* 3 (Rome 1942), 105) suggested, have been writing about the shrine of Zeus Diktaios that Itanos won in the arbitration; Strabo speaks of it as being at Praisos (10.4.12). To this cult, at Palaikastro, belongs the 'Hymn of the Kouretes' (*ICret* 3, Dictaeum Fanum 2), famously discussed by Jane Harrison, *Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion* (Cambridge 1912), ch.1. The shrine is discussed by M. Guarducci, *ICret* 3, pp. 5-12 (Dictaeum Fanum 1). It was venerable, but largely wooden (Guarducci, *ICret* 3, p. 5). Its statue appears to have been of a Zeus with no beard (*Etymologicum Magnum*, s.v. Dikte), i.e. youthful – matching the Youth (*Kouros*) that is invoked in the 'Hymn of the Kouretes'.

It was normal in Hellenistic times for poets and writers to be publicly esteemed (in honorific inscriptions) and to be used as evidence in arbitration. For esteem, see Anna Strataridaki on Menekles of Teos *BNJ* 466, where additionally Menekles has collated 'poets and historians' for the cycle he presents. For use in arbitration, see K. Dowden on *BNJ* 417 F 2 (= *BNJ* 418 F 1).

More generally, see A. Chaniotis, *Historie und Historiker in den griechischen Inscriften*, HABES 4 (Stuttgart 1988), and, for the role of artistic performance in diplomacy, A. Chaniotis, 'Als die Diplomaten noch tanzten und sangen. Zu zwei Dekreten kretischer Städte in Mylasa', *ZPE* 71 (1988), 154-6.

468 Bibliography

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