

ON THE TERM 'MINOAN' BEFORE EVANS'S WORK IN CRETE (1894)*

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'The term "Minoan" is, of course, an invention of Sir Arthur Evans'
(Renfrew 1996, 2)

In recent times the term 'Minoan', usually employed to describe monuments, objects and people related to the Bronze Age civilization of Crete, has come under attack. Some scholars have argued that this loaded word should be abandoned and replaced with a more neutral one, because it symbolizes and perpetuates old-fashioned attitudes and ideas in Aegean prehistory, such as a culture-historical paradigm and notions of cultural (and even racial or ethnic) homogeneity¹. While sympathizing with the main thrust of these arguments, we are somewhat sceptical about replacing the term 'Minoan' with a more neutral label. Will this switch truly help to liberate Aegean prehistory from lingering culture-historical and essentialist attitudes and paradigms, which are at the heart of the matter? Moreover, is the term 'Minoan' actually more loaded than, for example, 'Prehistoric', 'Pre/Proto/Neopalatial' or 'Bronze Age'? What are the different intellectual contexts in which these labels have been produced? How do these labels affect, in turn, the way we look at the Cretan past? And does the term 'Minoan' really need to carry notions of homogeneity and cultural isomorphism? We believe that an overview of the history and uses of the term Minoan could contribute to this wider debate: in this short article we discuss what is probably the least known aspect of the word 'Minoan', i.e. its appearance and use in the period before it became closely linked with Sir

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¹ See, for example, Whitley 2003: 'the term 'Minoan' then is much more than a conventional typological tool; it is a concept which sustains a cultural-historical paradigm within Aegean prehistory. It validates Aegean prehistory as an archaeology of objects, and not as an archaeology of contexts and landscapes' (cf. Morris 1994, on the emphasis given by classical archaeologists to objects at the expense of human beings); Hamilakis 2002, 17: 'This process of de-insularization (which involves the re-drawing and reconfiguration of our imagined maps of Minoan social phenomena) makes abundantly clear how restrictive the terms 'Minoan' and 'Minoan archaeology' can be, since they carry connotations of homogeneity and cultural isomorphism throughout the island in the Bronze Age ... That is why, despite their popularity and convenience, it is worth replacing them with more 'neutral' terms'. See also Broodbank 2004, 50: '[the term Minoanization] is tarred with the same brush that makes 'Minoan' itself so deeply problematic, not only as a term referring to prehistory, but also with regard to its subsequent role in personal, regional, national and European-wide myth-making.'

Arthur Evans. More specifically, we wish to show that 1) Evans did not invent the term 'Minoan'; 2) the notions of a 'Minoan Age' and 'Minoan civilization' flourishing in the middle of the 2nd millennium BC emerged in the intellectual context of the *Altertumswissenschaft* and were well established by the mid 19th century; 3) the term 'Minoan' (applied to the Bronze Age civilization of Crete) was originally used in a way comparable to 'Victorian' or 'Edwardian', i.e. it had essentially a chronological meaning².

Starting from our first point, such is the fame of Knossos and of its principal excavator that most people, scholars and laymen alike (even a doyen of Aegean prehistory such as Colin Renfrew), erroneously believe that it was Evans who coined the term 'Minoan'.³ This widespread belief has been largely nourished by Evans's pre-eminent role in the rediscovery and representation of this civilization, by his reluctance to acknowledge his sources, especially in the works in which he first tried to (re-) introduce the term 'Minoan'⁴, and by his own brazen suggestion that he had 'minted' the term, as on the occasion of his 1931 Frazer Lecture at the University of Cambridge, when he was at the height of his fame and seemingly forgetful of what he had written more than three decades earlier:

It is now thirty-five years since, in a paper read in the Anthropological section of the British Association at Liverpool [Evans 1896], I set forth the results of my earlier researches on the primitive religion of prehistoric Greece and in 1900, in a somewhat amplified form, these were laid before the Hellenic Society, and finally published in my work on *Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult* [Evans 1901a]. Those researches, based mainly on superficial explorations and the evidence of early seal-stones collected by me on Cretan soil, antedated the epoch-making results brought to light by the excavations of the great palaces at Knossos and elsewhere. *The very term "Minoan" was as yet un-minted* [our italics]⁵.

² We hope to explore the subsequent history of the term Minoan and discuss the wider issues mentioned above in a future work.

³ The above quotation from Renfrew's 1996 article and the following ones represent a small selection taken from various periods: Seager 1912, 3: 'the first question which arose was what name should be given to this civilization and to the race who produced it. Many suggestions were made, but by tacit consent it was left for Dr. Arthur J. Evans as the *doyen* of Cretan excavators to settle the question ... he suggested that this new civilization should be called Minoan'; Chadwick 1974, 255: 'Sir Arthur Evans coined the term Minoan as a label for anything typical of the great prehistoric culture of Crete'; Bernal 1987, 385: '... Evans's coining of the name 'Minoan'...'; Mastorakis and van Effenterre 1991, 9: 'C'est un archéologue britannique, Arthur John Evans (plus tard Sir Arthur Evans), qui a utilisé pour la première fois le terme de "Minoens..."

⁴ See especially Evans 1905; 1906; 1921, esp. 1-3.

⁵ Evans 1931, 3. In view of the evidence discussed below, Evans's claim is quite striking. It is perhaps best left to the reader to speculate as to whether Evans simply forgot his original sources or deliberately suppressed any reference to them in an attempt to make 'Minoan civilization' appear even more his own creation. It is of interest, however, that John Myres (1941, 14), in an obituary of Evans, wrote that 'Milchhoefer's *Anfänge der Kunst* (1883) may have influenced him more than he would afterwards admit'.

The idea that Evans invented the term Minoan (at least in the English-speaking world) is also influentially reaffirmed by the authority of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*). Although the word 'Minoan' (and its derivatives) did not make the pertinent volume of the first *OED* edition, i.e. the 6th volume published in 1908, it was included in the first *OED* supplement of 1933. Since 1933, the *OED* has cited the following phrase, taken from an 1894 article by Evans on 'Primitive Pictographs', as the earliest occurrence of the term in the English language: '... at a time when "Minoan" Crete and Mycenaean Greece had ... evolved an independent system of writing'⁶.

Evans, however, did not coin the term 'Minoan'. As already pointed out by a few scholars⁷, he simply borrowed and translated the term 'minoisch' (f. minoische) from the German book *Kreta*⁸ published in three volumes between 1823 and 1829 by the Göttingen scholar Karl Hoeck⁹. In this monumental work, a typical product of the new rigorous source criticism of F.A. Wolf's *Altertumswissenschaft*¹⁰, Hoeck divided the history of the island into four periods. The first or 'vorminoische Zeit' represented the times before Minos's kingship¹¹. The second or 'minoische Zeit' occupied the two centuries before the Trojan War (circa 1400-1200 BC)¹². More specifically, Hoeck suggested that the name Minos represented not merely an historical or mythical figure but a whole period of about two hundred years¹³, the most brilliant in the island's history, during which a non-Hellenic people (equated

⁶ Evans 1894, 367-368.

⁷ Zois 1996, 38-39, 259 ff.; see also Driessen 1990, 16 and fn. 49; Van Effenterre and Van Effenterre 1995, 339; Momigliano 1999, xiii; MacGillivray 2000, 84 and 134-135. These scholars have not provided a thorough discussion of the term Minoan but have limited their observations to the fact that Evans borrowed it from Hoeck. Zois, however, discusses at some length Hoeck's influence on other aspects of Evans's work (1996, 38-40, 44-45, 184-185, 217-219, 341-2, 406), briefly mentions that E. Curtius also employed the term 'minoisch' (1996, 43, 63, 406), and examines Evans's use of the term Minoan after 1894 (1996, 260-280).

⁸ Hoeck 1823, 1828, 1829. One should also note that the term 'minoisch' had already been used by German classicists in the eighteenth century (and perhaps even earlier) in order to translate the ancient Greek noun μινωϊς and the adjective μινωϊός as well as the Latin adjectives Minois and Minous, which had been used by Greek and Latin writers such as the author of the Homeric Hymns, Apollonius Rhodius, Callimachus, Virgil, Ovid, Lucan, etc. For instance, Caspar Abel used the adjective 'minoisch' in 1704 in his translation of Ovid's *Heroides*. The term was also employed in the German translation of Apollonius Rhodius's *Argonautes*, published in Orell *et al.* 1779, 202: 'das minoische Meer'.

⁹ On Hoeck (b. 1794-d. 1877), who was professor of Classical Philology and Director of the Royal Library at Göttingen, see Gilbert 1880, 532-533; Bleicken 1989, 110 and 117; Classen 1989, 239; Sandys 1903-1908, vol. III, 233-235. On the importance of the University of Göttingen in the development of German classical studies and *Altertumswissenschaft* see also Bernal 1987, 215-223; Morris 1994, 18.

¹⁰ Sandys 1903-1908, vol. III, 60-61; Gooch 1913, 24-41; Pfeiffer 1976, 173-177; Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1982, vii-xii; Bernal 1987, 280-316.

¹¹ For the term 'vorminoische Zeit' see Hoeck 1828, 15, 27, 36, 39, 345.

¹² For the term 'minoische Zeit' see Hoeck 1828, xxv, 4, 5, 14, 33, 34, 35, 46, 53, 56, 84, 101, 116, 190, 191, 197, 199, 224, 238, 320, 357. Also, for the chronology of the Minoan Age see Hoeck 1823, 359 and Hoeck 1828, 4.

¹³ See, e.g., Hoeck 1828, xxxi: 'Alles bedeutsame mehrerer Jahrhunderte ward an jenen Namen (Minos) angereiht'. See also Hoeck 1828, 46: 'Auf einen berühmten Namen wird alles Rühmliche und Denkwürdige mythisch zurückgeführt, was in der Wirklichkeit einem grössern Zeitraume angehört.'

with the 'Eteocretans')¹⁴ created a splendid civilization, rich in monuments such as Daedalus's labyrinth¹⁵. The 'Minoan period' included the 'Minoan Thalassocracy' referred to by many ancient sources, from Herodotus to Eusebius. This ended around 1250 BC, and soon afterwards Minos's descendants came under a strong Hellenic influence. This third period saw the beginning of the Trojan War (around 1200 BC) and a phase of decline¹⁶. Minos's descendants continued to rule, but only for a brief period, and by the time of the Dorian invasion, dated by Hoeck at around 1040 BC and heralding his fourth or Dorian phase¹⁷, little remained of the splendid Minoan civilization.

This notion of a 'Minoan Age' appears to have been formulated by analogy with that of the 'Homeric Age', which was already established by the early 19th century¹⁸. This provided a solution to a problem that had troubled scholars for centuries, i.e. the question as to whether one or two kings by the name of Minos had existed, as suggested by some ancient sources¹⁹. Indeed, Hoeck's hypothesis can be seen as an elaboration of various ideas about the meaning of the name Minos, which were expressed in various 18th and early 19th century works and recalled much of the contemporary debates about the 'Homeric Question'²⁰. In some of these papers one can already see the idea that the name Minos represented the title of a dynasty of rulers, who also exercised supremacy in matters of religion, i.e. of 'Priest-Kings'²¹, an idea adopted by Hoeck and also borrowed by Evans together with the word 'Minoan'.

Evans himself offered the clearest clues to his borrowing from Hoeck in his 1894 article on 'Primitive Pictographs'. On pages 356 (fn. 41), 357 (fns. 42a and 43), and 361 (fn. 55) of this work, Evans cites Hoeck's work on Crete, and in particular its second volume. Moreover, on page 357 (esp. fns. 42a and 43), while discussing Hoeck's theories on pre-classical Crete, Evans uses, for the first time, the terms 'prae-Minôan' and 'Minôan', which are obviously translations of Hoeck's terms

¹⁴ Hoeck 1828, 3 ff. It may be worth noting that, at the time of Hoeck's writing, the so-called Eteocretan inscriptions, written in Greek letters but expressing a non-Greek language, and supporting Hoeck's hypothesis, had not been discovered. The first 'Eteocretan' inscription was found by Halbherr in 1884 and published by Comparetti (1888, 673-676); see also Duhoux 1982, 63-68.

¹⁵ The idea that Crete had enjoyed a period of high civilization in prehistoric times was already popular in earlier scholarship. See, e.g., Temple Stanyan 1707, 61: 'it seems probable that civility got the first footing there [Crete], and that from thence this common-wealth made a more early, if not so remarkable a figure as some of the others states of Greece'. Similarly, William Mitford (1784, 13) wrote that Crete was enjoying a superior civilization, while the rest of the Greek mainland remained in a wild and barbarous state.

¹⁶ Hoeck 1828, 395-416.

¹⁷ Hoeck 1828, 419. For the term 'dorische Zeit' see Hoeck 1828, 312 and 1829, 20.

¹⁸ As suggested, for example, by Uvarov 1819, 7: 'seitdem der Name Homer nicht mehr einen Menschen, sondern eine Epoche bezeichnet.'

¹⁹ See Ridgeway 1909 and Huxley 1968, with further references.

²⁰ On the meaning of the name Minos, see Bryant 1775, 414 ff.; Holwell 1793, 279; Jones 1794, prologue; Jones 1799, vol. I, 56 ff.; Hamilton and Langlès 1807, 92-93.

²¹ See, for example, Allwood 1799, 273 ff.; Plass 1831, 179; Mitford 1784, 65-66; Rutherford 1788, vol. I, 365; Herrmann 1801-2, vol. II, 300; Müller 1825, 248.

'vorminoisch' and 'minoisch'. A few pages later (p. 367), Evans uses the version 'Minoan' in the sentence cited in the *OED* (see above)²².

Besides Hoeck, another famous Göttingen professor and exponent of the *Altertumswissenschaft*, Karl (or Carl) Otfried Müller²³, employed the term 'minoisch' as early as 1820, in the phrase 'die Zeit der Minoischen Seeherrschaft' in the first volume of his *Geschichten Hellenischer Stämme und Städte*, entitled *Orchomenos and die Minyer* and devoted to the prehistoric times of Beotia²⁴. Moreover, in the second volume, entitled *Die Dorier* (1824), Müller suggested that 'der Name Minos eine Zeit bezeichnet'²⁵, and employed phrases such as 'minoische Knossos', 'minoische Zeit', etc²⁶.

Müller shared many of Hoeck's views on the Minoan Age, but his reconstruction presented a fundamental difference, i.e. the theory that the 'Minoan' Cretans were Greeks, and more specifically Dorians²⁷. Müller subdivided the 'Minoan Age' into three main phases. The earliest embraced the first (and very early) Dorian migration to Crete from their original homeland in Thessaly, and included the foundation of temples of Apollo at Delphi, Delos, and Crete. The second represented the zenith of Minoan civilization: in this phase, the Dorian Cretans took control of the Aegean Sea and spread their cult of Apollo to the whole region. Two or three generations before the Trojan War, however, a period of decline began²⁸. This was soon followed by the Trojan War, and by Müller's third main phase, which included the main Dorian migration of historical times.

Evans, curiously, does not appear to refer directly to Müller in any of his relevant publications, although he must have been aware of his work, if only because *Die Dorier* is frequently cited in Hoeck's *Kreta*. Müller's use of all available sources, including archaeological ones, and his approach to mythology as an historical source would have appealed to Evans, whose own original scepticism about the use of Greek myths vanished in the light of Schliemann's excavations at Mycenae and his own in Crete²⁹. In short, Evans must have been aware of Müller's ideas on 'Minoan' Crete and the 'Minoan Age', but made no direct reference to them, probably because he did not believe that the prehistoric inhabitants of Crete were Dorians, preferring Hoeck's non-Hellenic theory.

²² Evans probably became acquainted with Hoeck's volumes through the work of another Göttingen scholar, A. Milchhoefer's *Die Anfänge der Kunst in Griechenland* (1883) which had been reviewed by a close acquaintance of Evans, Salomon Reinach, in *Revue Archéologique* 1883, vol. I, 366-381. Cf. Evans 1893, 200 (fn. 12, 14 & 15) and 220 (fn. 48).

²³ On Müller (b. 1797-d. 1840) see Sandys 1903-1908, vol. III, 213-216; Kern & Kern 1908; Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1982, 127-129; Momigliano 1984; Momigliano 1987; Bernal 1987, 308-316, 317, 324-330; Nickau 1989; Döhl 1989; Unte 1990; Calder III and Schlesier (eds.) 1998; Ackermann 1998.

²⁴ Müller 1820, 146. Another contemporary Göttingen scholar, Karl Neumann, used terms such as 'Minoia Cretae' and 'Minoia Siciliae' in his book *Rerum Creticarum Specimen* 1820, xii, written in Latin.

²⁵ Müller 1824, 31-32.

²⁶ Müller 1824, 32, 206, 209, 235, 249.

²⁷ Müller 1830, vol. I, 37-38 and 227-277.

²⁸ Müller follows the version given by Herodotus (*Hist.* vii.171); see Müller 1830, vol. I, 38.

²⁹ On Evans's original scepticism about the use of Homer and Greek myths as sources, and on his change of heart see MacGillivray 2000, 65-66; Momigliano in press.

In view of the recent debate on the term 'Minoan' mentioned at the beginning of this paper, it is worth noting that the early uses of 'minoisch' by Hoeck and Müller (and of the term 'Minoan' by their translators and/or by scholars influenced by their writings, as discussed below) were not employed as some kind of ethnonym (like, e.g., 'Dorian'), but in a chronological sense, similar to 'Elizabethan' or 'Victorian', even if the expression 'minoische Zeit', as we have seen above, did not refer only to the period in which a King Minos was purported to have reigned, but to a period of up to two centuries if not more. Thus, Hoeck and Müller, whenever they referred to the prehistoric inhabitants of Crete, used phrases such as the 'Minoan Cretans' (die minoischen Kreter), or simply 'Cretans'³⁰. They avoided using the ethnonym 'Minoans' probably because such an ethnonym did not exist or has not survived in ancient Greek or Latin literature³¹. Evans, interestingly, did not use the term 'Minoan' in an ethnic sense either in his early works, for he was still following very closely the views of scholars such as Hoeck and Milchhoefer.

In the nineteenth century, after Hoeck's *Kreta* and Müller's *Die Dorier*, the term 'minoisch' and especially the concept of a 'minoische Zeit' spread to many other German scholars. For example, Friedrich Welcker, Müller's predecessor at the University of Göttingen, employed phrases such as 'Knossos der minoischen Hauptstadt' and 'die minoische Thalassocratie' in his *Ueber eine Kretische Kolonie in Theben*³². Similarly, Ludwig Ross wrote of 'Minoisch-Kretischen Niederlassungen'³³. Above all, Ernst Curtius, the famous excavator of Olympia and Müller's pupil, promoted the idea of a 'Minoan Age' in his influential *Griechische Geschichte*, which was translated into English, French, Italian and Greek, and went through several editions³⁴.

³⁰ Hoeck 1828, vi, xxiv, 187, 189, 226, 233, 236, 304, 358, 366, 369, 378, 380, 382, 390, 391; Müller 1824, 235. See, also Schoemann & Lipsius 1897, 303.

³¹ The only mention of what might at first appear to be an ethnic name related to 'Minos' in ancient Greek literature can be found in Stephanus Byzantius's *Ἐθνικά* (probably compiled between the 6th and 11th c. A.D.). According to this source, the inhabitants of the towns Minoa on the island of Paros and in Arabia respectively, used to call themselves Μινωῖται or Μινῶαι. See Stephanus Byzantius' *Ἐθνικά* (the edition published by Holstenius et al. in 1825, vol. I, 300). See also Hoeck 1828, 368-371. In addition, inscriptions with the word Μινωήτης (or Μεινωήτης) were found at the ancient site of Minoa on the island of Amorgos, dating mainly to Hellenistic and Roman times. See Ross 1842, 23 (no. 112), 24 (no. 113); Boeckh 1843, vol. II, 1034-5 (no. 2264m), 1036 (no. 2264p); Henzen 1864, 96-99. It is clear, however, that these words had only a local character and did not describe a whole 'race' or ethnic group, unlike terms such as 'Dorians' or 'Eteocretans'. They had the same meaning and use as other nouns such as Φαίστιος, Μυκηναῖος, Τυρύνθιος, Κυδωνιάτης, Γαζίτης and so on, as reported by Stephanus Byzantius. See Holstenius et al. 1825, 437, 304, 417, 258, 128-129.

³² Welcker 1824, 18, 43. On Welcker (1784 - 1868) see Kekulé 1880; Sandys 1903-1908, vol. III, 216-217; Calder III et al. 1986.

³³ Ross 1838, 408. On Ross see Petropoulou 1996; Lullies 1988, s.v.

³⁴ Curtius 1857, 60: 'Darnach konnte man die minoische Meerherrschaft ... man erkennt leicht, dass sich an das minoische Kreta die Vorstellung einer durchgreifenden Culturepoche anschliesst'. On Ernst Curtius see Chambers 1990; Wilamowitz-Moellendorf 1982, 153; Borbein 1989; Christ 1972, 68-83; Zois 1996, 260-1, 489. Other German scholars who adopted Hoeck's and Müller's ideas and terminology for Crete include Moritz Wilhelm Heffter (1829, 152: 'minoische Zeitalter'); Franz Carl Movers (1850, 265: 'nachminoische Zeit'); Ludwig Preller (1854, vol. I, 10, 490; vol. II, 77, 78, 82, 83, 88, 140, using phrases such as 'minoische Kreta' and 'minoische Vorzeit'); Georg Friedrich Schoemann (1859, 278: 'minoische Knossos').

The adjective 'minoisch' continued to be in use among German scholars, although less frequently, even after Schliemann's astonishing discoveries at Mycenae and the establishment of the more fashionable term 'mykenisch' (translated in English as 'Mycenaean' or 'Mykenaeen')³⁵. For example, in 1883, Arthur Milchhoefer (another Göttingen scholar) employed it in his work *Die Anfänge der Kunst in Griechenland*³⁶, in which he suggested that the origins of the Mycenaean civilisation should be found on the island of Crete.

Thus, it is clear that the term 'minoisch' had gained considerable popularity among nineteenth century German classicists and ancient historians, and was not entirely eclipsed by 'mykenisch' even after Schliemann's discoveries. But what was happening in other countries? What equivalent terms were employed in other European languages? When did the term 'Minoan' first appear in the English language?

Most British classicists translated the ancient Greek μινώϊος and the Latin Minous with the genitive forms 'of Minos' and 'Minos's', or with the adjective Cretan³⁷. Apollonius Rhodius's παρθενική Μινωίς or Ovid's 'Minoa virgo', were usually translated as 'Ariadne', Minos's daughter³⁸. Similarly, French scholars usually employed the genitive 'de Minos' or the adjective 'Crétois', while the Italians used the genitives 'di Minos' and 'da Creta', and translated 'Minoa virgo' as 'Arianna'³⁹.

We can observe a similar trend in translations of the historical works of the German scholars discussed above. For example, the English, French, and Greek translations of Curtius's *Griechische Geschichte* rendered his 'das minoische Kreta'

³⁵ For uses of the terms mykenisch, Mycenaean, Mykenaeen, see, e.g., Schliemann 1878; Furtwaengler and Loeschcke 1879; Furtwaengler and Loeschcke 1886; Evans 1894; Tsountas and Manatt 1897. On the pervasive use of 'Mycenaean' from Schliemann's discoveries in the 1870s until the early 1900s see also Evans 1921, 1 and Cadogan in press.

³⁶ Milchhoefer 1883, 128: 'minoische Herrschaft'; *ibid.*, 134: 'minoische Herrschaft'; *ibid.*, 200: 'das minoische Kreta'. Other scholars who continued to use the term include Adolf Holm and Karl Friedrich Hermann: see Holm 1886, 67, fn.5: 'die minoische Thalassokratie mit dem Bunde der Seevölker gegen Aegypten in Verbindung gebracht von F. Lenormant, die Anfänge der Cultur'; Hermann 1889, vol. I, 135, fn. 12: 'minoische Knossos. See also the revised and enlarged edition of Schoemann's *Griechische Alterthümer* (Schoemann & Lipsius 1897, 303: 'Schon Herod. I 173. VII 170. 171 hat die minoischen Kreter nicht für Hellenen gehalten'). Meanwhile, throughout the nineteenth century, German philologists continued to use the term 'minoisch' to translate the Greek and Latin μινώϊος/μινωίς (ιδος) and Minous/a/um: see, e.g., Passow 1830, 178; Pape 1842, s.v. Μίνωος; also Pape & Benseler 1863-70, 930; Freund 1848, s.v. Minous. Moreover, the term was employed in various Homeric Lexica. See, e.g., Crusius 1836; Jacobitz & Seiler 1850; Capelle 1889, 392.

³⁷ See, for example: Phayer 1558, VI book, verse 15; Otway 1680, 207; Dryden 1697; Rowe 1718, verse 593; Trapp 1731, book VI; Pitt 1743, 172; Barrett 1759, 114 & 202; Preston 1811; Riddle 1835, s.v. Minois; Donnegan 1837, 957; Owgan 1852, 90; White 1865, 609; Morris 1876, 150; Edgar 1891; Verrall 1894, 23; Martin 1896, 206.

³⁸ See, for example, Preston 1811; Fawkes 1795, 294; Greene 1780, 74. In only a few cases did English scholars simply avoid translating these terms: see, for example, Settle 1680, 185; Call 1842, 105.

³⁹ For French scholars, see Perrin 1648, 383; Marolles 1649, 135; Brebeuf 1657, 170; Piget 1676, 34; Segrain 1700, vol. I, 412; Catrou *et al.* 1741, vol. IV, 309; Fontaines 1743, vol. I, 63; Delille 1804, 265; Delille 1847, 476; Theil 1855-1865, 489; Villenave 1863, 410. For Italian scholars, see Caro 1603, 217; Lalli 1651, 220; Bussi & Fiorentino 1745, 45, 439; Sitillo 1784, vol. II, 203; Gotti 1858, 179; Flangini 1791-4; Solari 1810, 285; Alfieri 1804, vol. I, 210.

as 'Crete of Minos', 'la Crète de Minos', and 'την Κρήτη πρὸς τὸν Μίνωα', respectively⁴⁰. Besides, most works on ancient history by English, French, and Greek scholars do not seem to contain terms equivalent to 'minoisch' such as 'Minoan', 'minoen', 'μινωικός'⁴¹. For example, in the French version of Schoemann's *Griechische Alterthümer*, Galuski translated the phrase 'kretischen Männern aus dem minoischen Knossos' as 'les Crétois de Knossos', thus bypassing the problematic 'minoischen'⁴². Even Liddell and Scott, whose first (1843) Greek-English lexicon was mainly based on Franz Passow's Greek-German one, avoided the problem of translating the term 'minoisch' into English, by simply stating that the ancient Greek term μινώιος is an adjective from Μίνωας⁴³.

Although the general trend was to employ phrases such as 'of Minos', 'Cretan', etc. there are some interesting exceptions to the rule, showing that the history of the term 'Minoan' (or very similar forms) in the English language is in fact much longer than previously supposed.

From the beginning of the seventeenth century, English classicists had employed the term 'Minoian' to translate the ancient Greek adjective μινώιος or the Latin 'Minouius'. The first was probably the Elizabethan poet George Chapman, in his translation of the Homeric hymns into English verse, where he rendered 'μινώιος Κνωσός' as 'Minoian Cnossos'⁴⁴. Some years later, the Earl of Mulgrave and John Dryden translated the phrase 'Minoia virgo' in Ovid's *Epistles* as 'Minoian Maid'⁴⁵. The word 'Minoian' continued to be used by other 18th century authors, such as West, Davidson, Fawkes, Beresford, and Caleb, whereas Greene favoured the form 'Minoän'⁴⁶. In the nineteenth century, however, the word 'Minoan' became more popular. The research we have carried out so far shows that the adjective 'Minoan' was probably first used by H. Tufnell and G. C. Lewis in their 1830 English translation of Müller's *Die Dorier*⁴⁷, in the sentence 'here stood the Minoan town of Cnosus with its harbour Heracleum'⁴⁸.

⁴⁰ Curtius 1857, 60; Curtius 1871 (English translation), 83; Curtius 1880 (French translation), 82-83; Curtius 1898 (Greek translation), 96-97. Similarly, Holm's 'die minoische Thalassokratie' became 'the maritime supremacy of Minos' (Holm 1894, 53), while Murray too (1873, 274-278), in his *Manual of Mythology*, largely based on Preller's *Griechische Mythologie*, preferred to use the phrase 'of Minos'.

⁴¹ See, e.g., Mitford 1784; Clinton 1834; Thirlwall 1835; Grote 1846; Cox 1874; Oman 1890; Abbott 1889; Larcher 1786; Raoul-Rochette 1815; Poirson and Cayx 1825; Dreyss 1853; Duruy 1856, 1862, 1887; Xanthis 1872; Paparrigopoulos 1885; Lampros 1884 and 1886.

⁴² Schoemann 1884, vol. II, 377.

⁴³ See Liddell & Scott 1843, 862; See also Liddell & Scott 1883 (7th edn.) 969.

⁴⁴ Chapman 1624, 41.

⁴⁵ Earl of Mulgrave and John Dryden 1680, 164 (Epistle from Helen to Paris). Strangely, the word Minonian is employed in the fifth (1693) and in many other editions of the eighteenth century, such as the 7th (1705, 135) and 8th (1712, 149). This was probably due to a typographical error, since others followed the original term Minoian (for instance: Earl of Mulgrave and John Dryden 1723, 101; 1779, 63). See also Kinsley (ed.) 1958, vol. I, 95. Some years later after the translation of Ovid's *Heroides*, John Dryden employed the more common adjective Cretan for the Latin 'Minous', when he translated Virgil's *Aeneis* (Dryden 1697, Virgil's book VI).

⁴⁶ West 1749, 274; Davidson 1753, 223; Fawkes 1780, 96, verse 409, book II; Fawkes 1795, 271, verse 409; Beresford 1794, 199-200; Caleb 1796, 365; Greene 1780, 189 and 217 ('Minoän isles' and 'Minoän Minerva').

⁴⁷ Published under the title *The History and Antiquities of the Doric Race*, with a second edition in 1839. See also Calder III *et al.*, 2002.

⁴⁸ Müller 1830, vol. I, 38; cf. also Müller 1839, vol. I, 35-6. The term Minoian is used in appendix III, vol. I, 513.

Afterwards, the use of 'Minoan' or 'Minôan' increased considerably. In 1846, Henry Drisler, in the American edition of Liddell and Scott's *Greek Lexicon*, translated μινώϊος as 'of or relating to Minos, Minôan'⁴⁹; Andrews translated the Latin Minous as 'of or belonging to Minos, Minoan; poe. also for Cretan' in his 1851 Latin-English lexicon, and so did Lewis and Short in their 1879 *New Latin Dictionary*⁵⁰. Most interestingly, the eminent politician W.E. Gladstone employed the term 'Minoan' in the chapter devoted to King Minos in his *Studies on Homer and the Homeric Age* (1858), clearly writing under the influence of Hoeck's *Kreta*, to which he often referred⁵¹. Other examples of the use of the term 'Minoan' in the English language before Evans's 1894 article are as follows: in 1871, Edward Searing translated the Latin adjective Minois as 'of Minos, king of Crete, Minoan, poet. for Cretan' in his Latin dictionary for the first six books of Virgil's *Aeneid*⁵²; in 1880, R. C. Jebb wrote of 'Cretans from Minoan Cnossos'⁵³; in 1888 W.J. Stillman, in a paper on 'Prehistoric walls in Greece and Italy' delivered to the Archaeological Society of Rome, spoke of Knossos as 'the seat of the Minoan dynasty'⁵⁴; and in 1889 Edward P. Coleridge used the adjective 'Minoan' in his translation of Apollonius Rhodius's *Argonautica*⁵⁵.

As far as other European languages are concerned, we can see that, under the influence of German scholarship, and of Hoeck in particular, French and Greek historians also begun to use terms analogous to the German adjective 'minoisch'. For example in his 1853 book *Îles de la Grèce*, Lacroix wrote of an 'époque Minoïque'⁵⁶. Similarly, Psyllakis wrote of a 'Μινωϊκόν κράτος' and 'Μινωϊκό Βασίλειο' in his 1865 book *Περί τῶν παρ' Ομήρῳ πέντε τῆς νήσου Κρήτης λαῶν*⁵⁷.

To sum up, by the mid-late nineteenth century, the German term 'minoisch', its various translations in other European languages (which, by 1830, included the English 'Minoan'), and, perhaps most importantly, the concept of a brilliant Minoan Age and Minoan civilization flourishing in the middle of the second millen-

⁴⁹ Liddell, Scott & Drisler 1846, s.v. Μινώϊος.

⁵⁰ See Andrews 1851, and Lewis & Short 1879, s.v. Minous.

⁵¹ See Gladstone 1858, 181: 'now the Minoan empire was already reduced to fragments at the time of the *Troica*'; *ibid.*, 221: 'the maritime character of the Minoan empire'.

⁵² Searing 1871, 327.

⁵³ Jebb 1880, 55.

⁵⁴ Stillman 1888, 127 (also cited in Brown and Bennett 2001, 217 fn. 214). Stillman (*ibid.*) also spoke of a Cretan 'civilization of Minos' as a fusion of Pelasgic and Asian elements.

⁵⁵ Coleridge 1889, 206. Alongside the term 'Minoan/Minôan', other English writers continued to employ the genitive 'of Minos' or the adjective Cretan: e.g. Verrall 1894, 14 and 23. Others still continued to use the word 'Minoian': e.g. Crusius 1844, s.v. μινώϊος; Buckley 1851, 362; Malet 1888, 137. In addition, two other unique variants can be reported: the English architect Charles Robert Cockerell, in an article devoted to the famous labyrinth of Minos on Crete (1820, 408), translated the 'μινώϊος Κνωσσός' as 'Minosian Cnossos'; Thomas Keightley (1854, 402 and 407) coined the term Minóic in order to describe Minos's family.

⁵⁶ Lacroix 1853, 565: 'après Zeus, père et organisateur de la nature, le soleil et la lune, principes et agents de la lumière étaient à l'époque Minoïque les principales divinités de la Crète'.

⁵⁷ Psyllakis 1865, vii, viii, 15. Both Lacroix and Psyllakis were well acquainted with Hoeck's *Kreta*, and it is quite clear that their terms minoïque and μινωϊκός, respectively, were effectively translations of Hoeck's term 'minoisch'.

nium BC, had gained wide currency in Ancient Greek historiography. Interestingly, the scholars mostly responsible for this, Hoeck and Müller, usually employed the term 'minoisch' in a chronological sense, almost as an equivalent of 'Victorian' or 'Augustan', not in an ethnic sense. After Schliemann's spectacular discoveries at Mycenae, however, it was the term 'Mycenaeen' that became more popular (especially in the description of physical remains). The term 'Minoan' and its equivalents in other languages continued to be used, but sparingly. It regained popularity only in the first decade of the twentieth century, and largely but not exclusively thanks to Evans's efforts. Evans himself, in his early works on the archaeology of Knossos, alternated between the terms Minoan and Mycenaeen⁵⁸. He eventually opted for the former, but in siding with King Minos against King Agamemnon he was not coining a new term, but merely borrowing and adapting old words and ideas, which found their origins in the late eighteenth – early nineteenth century intellectual environment of *Altertumswissenschaft*.

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⁵⁸ See, for example, Evans 1901b where at p. 15 he speaks of a 'Mycenaeen King', and at p. 24 of a 'Minoan Hall'.

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