

## THE MINOAN AGE

*'MAGNUS AB INTEGRO SAECLORUM NASCITUR ORDO'*

THE progressive revelations, from 1900 onwards, of a high early civilization on Cretan soil entailed the urgent necessity for devising a new system and terminology for the Later Prehistoric Age in the Aegean area. The term 'Mycenaean' no longer sufficed. The great Palaces at Knossos and Phaestos, the smaller but exquisitely appointed building of the same class at Hagia Triada, the town sites of Gournià and Palaikastro, island settlements like Pseira, the archaic mansions of Vasilikì, the cave sanctuaries of Psychro and Kamares, primitive 'tholos' ossuaries like those of Messarà, the early tombs of Mochlos and a further series of discoveries, to which each season adds, have brought forth a mass of materials not only showing us a contemporary culture, parallel with that of Mycenae, in its own home, but carrying the origins of that culture, stage beyond stage to an incomparably more remote period. For the first time there has come into view a primitive European civilization, the earliest phase of which goes back even beyond the days of the First Dynasty of Egypt.

Term  
'My-  
cenaean'  
becomes  
inade-  
quate.

To this early civilization of Crete as a whole I have proposed—and the suggestion has been generally adopted by the archaeologists of this and other countries—to apply the name 'Minoan'. By the Greeks themselves the memory of the great Age that had preceded their own diffusion throughout the Aegean lands was summed up in the name of Minos.

Useful-  
ness of  
term  
'Minoan'.

It is true that very different traditions were connected with that name. On the one side we gain a vision of a beneficent ruler, patron of the arts, founder of palaces, stablisher of civilized dominion. On the other is depicted a tyrant and a destroyer. The grim aspect of the great justiciary as impressed on the minds of a later generation is already reflected in the Homeric epithet *ὀλοόφρων*. It was, however, reserved for Athenian chauvinism so to exaggerate the tyrannical side of that early sea-dominion as to convert the Palace of a long series of great rulers into an ogre's den. But the fabulous accounts of the Minotaur and his victims are themselves expressive of a childish wonder at the mighty creations of a civilization beyond the ken of the new-comers. The spade of the excavator has indeed done much to explain and confute them. The ogre's den turns out to be a peaceful abode of priest-kings, in some respects more modern in its equipments than anything produced by classical Greece. The monumental

Athenian  
calumny  
of Minos  
refuted.

reliefs within its sea-gate—visible, it would appear, to a much later date—representing bull-catching scenes and, still more, the fresco panels with feats of the bull-ring in which girls as well as youths took part, go far to explain the myth. It may even be that captive children of both sexes were trained to take part in the dangerous circus sports portrayed on the Palace walls.

Minos ‘the destroyer’ may certainly have existed. That the yoke of the more civilized ruler should at times have weighed heavily on subject peoples is probable enough. But, in the main, the result of recent discovery has been to confirm the more favourable side of Greek tradition.

Minos  
the Law-  
giver.

Until a full interpretation of the inscribed tablets is forthcoming it must remain impossible to obtain any actual excerpts from the ‘Laws of Minos’, or to ascertain how much of the later legislation of Greece may go back to a far more ancient source. But the minute bureaucratic precision revealed by these clay documents, the official sealings and docketings, their signing and countersigning, are symptoms that speak for themselves of a highly elaborated system of legislation. In view of such evidence the legendary account of Minos, like another Moses or Hammurabi, receiving the law from the hands of the divinity himself on the Sacred Mountain, may well be taken to cover the actual existence of a code associated with the name of one of the old priest-kings of Crete.

Patron of  
the Arts.

Of ordered government we have the proof, and, in a not less striking degree, the evidence of extraordinary achievements in peaceful arts. The Palace traditionally built for Minos by his great craftsman Daedalos has proved to be no baseless fabric of the imagination. The marvellous works brought to light at Knossos and on other sites show moreover that the artistic skill associated with his name fell, if anything, short of the reality. At the same time the multiplicity of technical processes already mastered, the surprising advance in hydraulic and sanitary engineering—leaving Egypt far behind—bear witness to a considerable measure of attainment in the domain of science. Almost, we are tempted to believe in Talôs ‘the mechanical man’, or that a Cretan headland was the scene of the first experiment in aviation—the fatal flight of Ikaros!

Greek  
*Minoas*.

That the word ‘Minoan’ was used by the Greeks themselves in an ethnic or dynastic as well as a personal sense is shown by the constantly recurring term *Minoa* applied to traditional settlements from prehistoric Crete. In the neighbourhood of Gaza, the cult of the Cretan ‘Zeus’ lived on into late classical times. The name attaches itself to towns, islands, and promontories not only in Crete itself but throughout the Aegean world. In Delos we find the ‘Minoid Nymphs’. On the mainland of

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Greece itself the islet that guards the port of Megara, and a headland of Laconia, bear this appellation. It recurs in Corcyra. In Sicily, where of recent years a series of finds have come to light illustrative of a late offshoot of the Minoan civilization, the 'Minoan' Herakleia bears witness to its abiding tradition. For it was said that Daedalos sought refuge on Sicilian shores, and that Minos himself, following with an ill-fated expedition, found a grave and sepulchral shrine near this Westernmost Minoa.

The dynastic use of the word 'Minos' may perhaps be compared with that of Pharaoh, originally signifying him of the 'great house' (Per-o), and 'Minoan' may thus be fairly paralleled with 'Pharaonic' as a term for the dynastic civilization of Egypt. It seems certain that we must recognize in Minos the bearer of a divine title. He is of divine parentage and himself the progenitor of divine beings. Son of Zeus by Europa, herself, perhaps, an Earth-Goddess,<sup>1</sup> wedded to Pasiphaë, 'the all-illuminating,' father of Ariadnê 'the Most Holy'—Minos, in the last two relationships at least, was coupled with alternative forms of the Mother Goddess of pre-Hellenic Crete.

But this divine element in Minos has a special significance in view of a series of analogies supplied by the great religious centres of the geographically connected Anatolian regions. In these sanctuaries the priest not only represented the God, wore his dress, and wielded his authority, but often also bore his name. A most conspicuous instance of this is found in the case of Attis<sup>2</sup> or Atys, whose chief-priest, the Archigallus, regularly took the same name.<sup>3</sup> At Pessinus he was a priest-king. The divine nature of primitive kingship is of course almost universal.<sup>4</sup> It is well illustrated indeed in the case of Egypt, whose Pharaohs took the titles of the 'Great God', 'the golden Horus', Son of the Sun-god (Ra), at times, Son of the Moon (Aah), or 'engendered of Thoth', and so forth.

In Egypt, indeed, the royal and the priestly authority were kept somewhat apart, and the Temple overshadowed the Palace. In the Anatolian centres the royal and the sacerdotal abode was one and the same, and the

<sup>1</sup> See Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, ii, p. 479.

<sup>2</sup> Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*, p. 195, points out that Attis and the Great Mother with whom he is associated belong to the pre-Phrygian element, in other words to the old Anatolian element akin to the Cretan.

<sup>3</sup> The authorities are collected by Dr. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, pp. 182-4. Sir W. M.

Ramsay refers to this practice in his recent paper 'on The Shrine of the God Mên Askaēnos at the Pisidian Antioch'. (Abstract in *Journ. of Hellenic Studies*, xxxii, 1912, pp. xlix, l.) See also his *Sketches in the Religious Antiquities of Asia Minor*; *B. School Annual*, xviii. 37, &c.

<sup>4</sup> I need only here refer to Frazer's *Lectures on the Early History of Kingship*, p. 128 seqq.

Knossian  
Palace  
also  
Sanctuary.

Palace was also a Sanctuary. It is these last conditions that seem to have most nearly corresponded with those of Minoan Crete. The cumulative results of the exploration of the great building at Knossos have served more and more to bring out the fact that it was interpenetrated with religious elements. The constant appearance of the sacred double axe or 'labrys' as a sign on its blocks, outnumbering all the other marks on the Palace walls put together, and recurring on stucco and painted pottery, on seals, and in concrete shape on the altar of a shrine, is itself of special significance in connexion with the surviving traditions of the Labyrinth on this spot and the closely related Carian cult. The wall-paintings themselves have, in almost all cases, a religious connexion direct or indirect. It is now clear that a large part of the West Wing of the Palace was little more than a conglomeration of small shrines, of pillared crypts designed for ritual use, and corresponding halls above.<sup>1</sup>

'Room of  
Throne'  
designed  
for  
Religious  
Func-  
tions.

The best preserved existing chamber, moreover, of this Quarter, the 'Room of the Throne', teems with religious suggestion. With its elaborately carved cathedral seat in the centre and stone benches round, the sacral griffins guarding on one side the entrance to an inner shrine, on the other the throne itself, and, opposite, approached by steps, its mysterious basin, it might well evoke the idea of a kind of consistory or chapter-house. A singularly dramatic touch, from the moment of final catastrophe, was here, indeed, supplied by the alabastra standing on the floor, beside the overturned oil-jar for their filling, with a view, we may infer, to some ceremony of anointing.<sup>2</sup> It is impossible to withhold the conclusion that the 'Room of the Throne' at Knossos was designed for religious functions.

Com-  
pared  
with 'Hall  
of Mên'.

The salient features in its arrangement (Fig. 1), in fact, suggest an interesting comparison with a ritual chamber recently discovered in one of the kindred Anatolian sanctuaries. This is the 'Hall of Initiation' excavated by the British explorers<sup>3</sup> in the sanctuary of Mên Askaënos and a Mother Goddess, described as Demeter, near the Pisidian Antioch. The throne itself, the stone benches round, and the 'tank' on the opposite side to the throne, find all their close analogies, and are arranged in the same relative positions. In the Galatian Sanctuary we see, on a larger scale it is true, a chamber with a throne—in this case near, not actually against, the back wall—to the right of the entrance, while, opposite it on the left side on entering the chamber,

<sup>1</sup> See my paper on 'The Restored Shrine on Central Court of the Palace at Knossos' (*Journ. of R. Inst. of British Architects*, 1911, p. 289 seqq.). For the 'Room of the Throne' see Vol. II.

<sup>2</sup> So, too, the Alabastron of Khyan stood

in connexion with the 'N. Lustral Basin'. See p. 419, below, Fig. 304 *b*.

<sup>3</sup> Miss M. M. Hardie (Mrs. Hasluck), Mr. W. M. Calder, and Sir W. M. Ramsay. See *J. H. S.*, 1912, p. 111 seqq., and *B.S.A.*, xviii (1911, 1912), p. 37 seqq.

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is an oblong tank.<sup>1</sup> Here, too, along the back wall runs a rock-cut bench or divan, and the chamber was approached by an ante-room or *pronaos*.

Cult arrangements are often handed down almost unaltered through long periods of years, and the striking analogies here presented afford a real presumption for believing that the much earlier Room of the Throne at Knossos and its adjoining tank were devised for similar rites of initiation and purification. Like him who presided over these Anatolian rites, a Minoan priest-king may have sat upon the throne at Knossos, the adopted

The  
Throne of  
Priest-  
Kings.

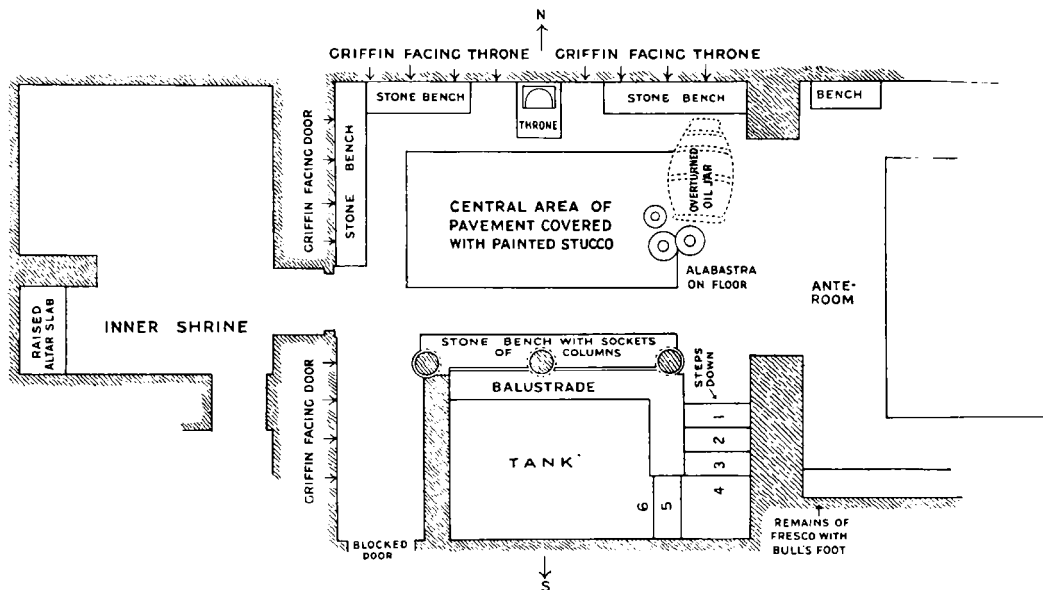


FIG. 1. PLAN OF 'ROOM OF THE THRONE' AT KNOSSOS. Scale, 1 cm. = 1 m. *circa*.

Son on earth of the Great Mother of its island mysteries. Such a personage, indeed, we may actually recognize in the Palace relief of a figure wearing a plumed lily crown and leading, we may believe, the sacral Griffin.<sup>2</sup> It is probable, indeed, that in Crete the kingly aspect was more to the fore than in the religious centres of Asia Minor. But both the actual evidence from the Palace site and the divine associations attributed to Minos lead to the conclusion that here, too, each successive dynast was 'a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedech' and 'made like unto the Son of God'.<sup>3</sup>

The names both of Minos and of Knossos, together with others bound up with the religion of the spot, connect themselves with those Asianic regions where priest-kings most thrived. The termination in *-os*, 'quite foreign to Greek nomenclature', is characteristic of a whole class of personal

<sup>1</sup> See the plan given by Sir W. M. Ramsay, *Minor. B. S. A.*, xviii, p. 41, Fig. 1. *Sketches in the Religious Antiquities of Asia* <sup>2</sup> See Vol. II, frontispiece (Pl. I). Heb. vii, 3.

Anatolian character of 'Minos', 'Knossos', &c.

names of the Carians and their kin.<sup>1</sup> The name Κνω̄ς is thrice connected with the Korykian Cave and Temple of the priestly dynasts of Olbê in Cilicia.<sup>2</sup> Τάλως the 'bronze-man' of Minos and fabled guardian of Crete bears a name of the same family. The name of Μίνως itself recurs as an element in Minassos, a Pisidian town,<sup>3</sup> whose later bishops may well have perpetuated a much earlier religious tradition. The name of Daedalos is found again in that of the town of Daédala (τὰ Δαίδαλα) on the borders of Caria and Lykia, where was his reputed tomb.

Religious connexions of Crete and Anatolia.

The most ancient features in the Cretan religion find, in fact, their closest analogies on the Anatolian side, where was another Ida and another Diktê. There too we recognize under manifold appellations the same Great Mother with a male satellite who may stand to her in various relationships—a tradition which survived in Crete, in Rhea and the infant Zeus. There too we see the same cymbal-clashing Corybantic train with names like Panamoros, showing how deeply rooted was this idea in the old Asianic stock. In both areas attendant animals, as different in their nature as lions and doves, are attributed to the Goddess. Finally, the most sacred emblem of the aniconic cult of Crete, the double axe, is equally on the Anatolian side a central object of cult, and its Lydian name *labrys* has suggested a key not only to the title of the Carian Zeus, Labraundos, but to that of the Labyrinth,<sup>4</sup> here identified with the palace sanctuary of Knossos. Throughout a wide Anatolian region very early religious traditions were taken over by peoples of more than one stock. It is also evident that more than one of the linguistic elements, which in that region often overlie one another, has left its mark in the early place-names of Crete. The Phrygian element, though it may be relatively late, clearly has its place in the island.

'Labrys' and Labyrinth.

How far there was a true ethnic relationship between Crete and the neighbouring Anatolian regions is not so well ascertained. The evidence of

<sup>1</sup> Fick, *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* (1905), pp. 26, 27; Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*, p. 357. Among names of this class are Carian Σέσκως, 'Ἐκατόμνωσ (Lykian *Ἐκατομνας*, *Ākatamna*), Lykaonian Κανζῶς, Cilician Κνω̄ς, Μῶς, Πλω̄ς, &c.

<sup>2</sup> E. L. Hicks, *Inscriptions from Western Cilicia* (*J. H. S.*, xii), pp. 230, 231, 254, 255. The name occurs both on a tomb near the Korykian Cave and on a stone of the N. anta of the temple above it. There would even seem to have been an Anatolian Knossos. (Cf. Ramsay, *J. H. S.*, 1912, p. 170.)

<sup>3</sup> Its site, still known as Minasun, was discovered by Prof. Sterrett. It is also known from coins with the alliance inscription—ΜΙΝΑΣΣΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΟΝΑΝΕΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ. For the comparison with Μίνως cf. Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

<sup>4</sup> Kretschmer, *op. cit.*, p. 104 and A. Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 6 seqq. Arkwright, on the other hand (*Lycian and Phrygian Names*, *J. H. S.*, 1918, p. 45 seqq.) does not admit the *-nd-nth* equation. Conway, *B. S. A.*, viii. p. 154 seqq., while accepting the equation, regards the *-nth* names in Crete and the Peloponnese as 'Phrygo-Cretan'.

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978-1-108-06101-8 - The Palace of Minos: A Comparative Account of the Successive Stages of the Early Cretan Civilization as Illustrated by the Discoveries at Knossos: Volume 1: The Neolithic and Early and Middle Minoan Ages

Arthur Evans

Excerpt

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early racial type supplied by such sources as the Hittite reliefs of Gods and princes points to the widespread existence in Eastern and Central Asia Minor of a race still represented by the modern Armenians and pronouncedly brachycephalic.<sup>1</sup> Corroborative materials of early date from South-West Asia Minor, where Hittite monuments fail us, are still for the most part to seek. The modern population of Lykia and adjacent islands, according to Dr. von Luschan's observations,<sup>2</sup> presents two distinct elements, hypsibrachycephalic and dolichocephalic, but what seem to be the oldest representatives of the indigenous stock belong to the former high, short-headed class, of Armenoid affinities.<sup>3</sup> The 'long heads', on the other hand, come into prominence in the maritime tracts, and comprise a considerable section of the Greek-speaking population. That dolichocephalic types, closely parallel to those of Minoan Crete, early existed on the Western shores of Asia Minor is shown by their occurrence in the Third Settlement at Hissarlik.<sup>4</sup>

Early preponderance of Brachycephals in Asia Minor.

In Crete skulls of the Neolithic Age are still wanting. From the earliest Minoan Age onwards, however, the evidence is continuous, and tends to show that, though from the beginning of it a brachycephalic element existed in the island, whether the earliest or not is uncertain, over half the skulls were dolichocephalic and about a third mesocephalic.<sup>5</sup> Towards the close of the Minoan Age the proportion of brachycephals, due probably to the

But of Dolichocephals in Crete.

<sup>1</sup> See especially Dr. Felix von Luschan's observations, summarized in his Huxley Lecture for 1911, on *The Early Inhabitants of Asia Minor* (*Anthr. Inst. Journ.*, xli). Dr. von Luschan there shows that the type formerly termed by him 'Armenoid' practically coincides with the Hittite. This type, as he had already pointed out in 1902, (*ib.* p. 242), is the basis of the later Jewish and so-called 'Semitic' type as distinguished from the pure Arab.

<sup>2</sup> 'Die Tachtadschy und andere Ueberreste der alten Bevölkerung Lykiens' (*Archiv für Anthropologie*, xix, 1891, p. 31 seqq.). The single old Lykian skull examined by Dr. Luschan from a grave at Limyra (*op. cit.*, p. 43 seqq.) resembles the Tachtadji type.

<sup>3</sup> Such as the Tachtadji or Mahometan wood-cutters and the Bektashi sectaries.

<sup>4</sup> See Prof. Boyd Dawkins, *B. School Annual*, vii, pp. 152, 153.

<sup>5</sup> Boyd Dawkins, *B. School Annual*, vii, pp. 150-5; W. L. H. Duckworth, *ib.*, ix, pp. 340-55; C. H. Hawes, *ib.*, xi, pp. 296, 297; Burrows, *Discoveries in Crete*, pp. 166, 167; Mosso *Escursioni nel Mediterraneo* (1907), pp. 275, 276. Sergi's examination of three skulls from the Sub-Minoan Cemetery at Erganos (*American Journ. of Archaeology*, v, 1901, pp. 315-18), shows a survival of similar tendencies. They were either dolichocephalic or mesocephalic. These results have now been confirmed by the comprehensive measurements of von Luschan, 'Beiträge zur Anthropologie von Kreta' (*Zeitschr. f. Ethnologie*, Heft 3, 1913, p. 307 seqq.). The percentages for the Middle Minoan skulls, for instance, are: Duckworth 65.3 dolichocephals, 26.15 mesocephals, 8.55 brachycephals; von Luschan 58.8 dolichocephals, 35.3 mesocephals, 5.9 brachycephals. The results obtained by von Luschan and Hawes with regard to the modern Cretans also show a remarkable correspondence.

intrusion of 'Alpine Man' from the North, shows a tendency to increase. To-day the long-headed type is in the minority.

These craniometrical results as well as other bodily measurements may be taken to imply that in Minoan times a large part of the population belonged to the somewhat long-headed 'Mediterranean Race'. A typical representative of this 'Mediterranean Race' has indeed been recognized in the Cupbearer of the Knossian wall-painting<sup>1</sup> with his dark eyes, ruddy brown complexion, black wavy hair, and short compact frame.<sup>2</sup> The head of this figure is shown in Fig. 2, *c*, while *d* reproduces that of the 'dancing lady' fresco from the Queen's Megaron.

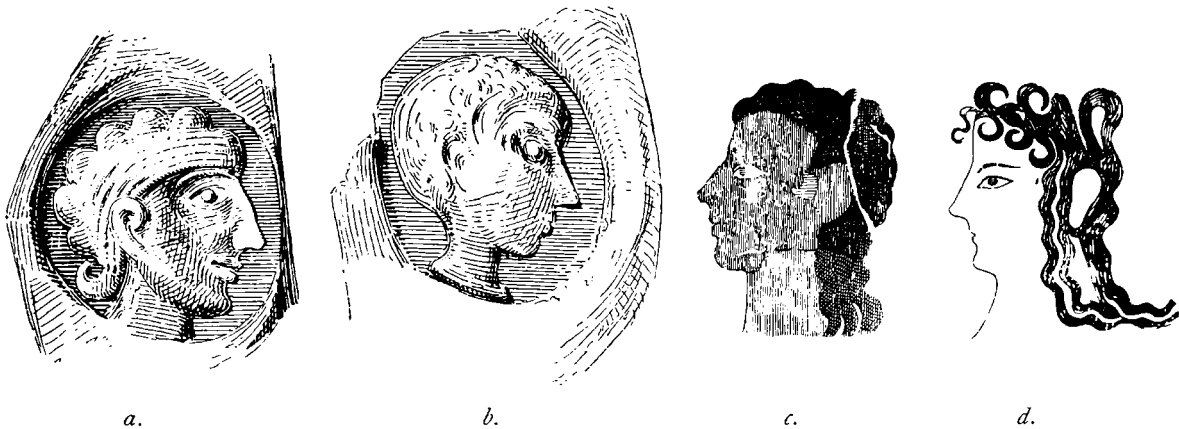


FIG. 2. *a, b.* PORTRAIT HEADS ASSOCIATED ON M.M. II SEALING ( $\frac{3}{1}$ ).  
*c.* FROM CUP-BEARER FRESCO. *d.* FROM DANCING LADY FRESCO.

'Armenoid'  
Type of  
Early  
Cretan  
Dynast.

The fine-cut nose tilted forward at the point which distinguishes the figures of the Late Minoan wall-paintings, such as *c* and *d*, has generally a straight bridge. But at other times it is decidedly aquiline, and this characteristic is well marked in the design which must be regarded as the first Minoan attempt at distinct portraiture. This is seen on a sealing, otherwise impressed by a signet bearing a hieroglyphic formula of frequent occurrence, in which I have ventured to recognize an official title of a hereditary nature since it recurs with varying personal badges on a series of prism-seals of successive periods.<sup>3</sup> Beside this, is the impression of a head of an adult male personage, with waved hair falling in a lock behind and a decidedly aquiline

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. II.

<sup>2</sup> In my first account of the Cupbearer fresco (Knossos, *Report*, 1900, pp. 15, 16; *B. S. A.*, vi; *Monthly Review*, March, 1901, p. 124) I had described the head as 'high' and brachycephalic, and compared certain existing

Cretan and Albanian types. The waving hair gives it a high appearance. But it is unsafe to draw too exact craniometrical deductions from this, in part, conventionalized wall-painting.

<sup>3</sup> *Scripta Minoa*, i, pp. 271, 272 (Figs. 124, 125), and see p. 266, Table XXII



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nose (Fig. 2, *a*). On another sealing the head of the same personage is coupled with that of a very young boy, presumably his son, and a portrait of a child would hardly have been executed except in the case of one of royal blood (Fig. 2, *b*). There is then a very strong presumption that the adult head portrayed is the actual likeness of a Minoan priest-king, whose personal badge, as we learn from a contemporary prism-seal with the hieroglyphic title in a fuller form, was a seated cat,<sup>1</sup> suggestive of Egyptian relations. The profile before us—dating from the Second Middle Minoan Period—certainly suggests that at any rate the earlier priest-kings themselves belonged to a ruling caste of the old Anatolian type, to which the name ‘Armenoid’<sup>2</sup> may be given. On the other hand the Late Minoan profiles *c* and *d* suggest the intrusion of a new dynastic element of ‘Mediterranean’ stock.

A consciousness of the essential foreignness of Minos to the Greeks comes out in a passage of the *Iliad* where he is made the son of the daughter (Europa) of Phoenix,<sup>3</sup> a version which nearly approaches the truth if we may regard the term Φοίνικες or ‘red-men’<sup>4</sup> as having been first suggested by the ruddy brown race of the Cretan frescoes. An ethnic relationship, moreover, is implied in the tradition that Minos was brother of Sarpedon, who stands for the Lykian race, which at any rate was not Hittite.

If there were any real historic warrant for the existence of more than one king of the name of Minos it would serve to corroborate the dynastic use of the term. The idea is mainly based on the genealogy of which Diodoros is the principal source,<sup>5</sup> a statement in Plutarch’s *Theseus*,<sup>6</sup> and earlier and later entries in the Parian Chronicle, in which the name of a Minos is mentioned at two different epochs.<sup>7</sup> But the accounts by no means tally. According to the tradition followed by Diodoros there were two kings of the name, the first the grandfather of the second. This would give an interval between the two of about ninety years. In the Chronicle it is over a century and a half. The whole genealogy, moreover, is involved in mythical elements.<sup>8</sup>

A too obvious intention of this interpolation of a second Minos is

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 277, Fig. 207, *a*: *op. cit.*, p. 270, Fig. 121, *a*.

<sup>2</sup> For a somewhat exaggerated example see the Armenian type from Aintab, illustrated by von Luschan, *Anthr. Inst. Journ.*, xli (1911), Pl. XXV.

<sup>3</sup> *Il.* xiv. 321.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Fick, *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen*, pp. 123, 124.

<sup>5</sup> Diod. iv. 60.

<sup>6</sup> Plut. *Thes.* 18.

<sup>7</sup> Chandler’s restoration of the first entry (*Marmora Oxoniensia*, p. 21, l. 41), ΑΦ ΟΥ ΜΙΝΩΣ [Ο] ΠΡ[ΩΤΟΣ Ε]ΒΑ[ΣΙΛΕΥΣΕ ΚΡΗΤΗΣ], still seems preferable to Π[ΡΟ-ΤΕΡΟΣ, &c.], substituted by Boeckh, as Flach (*Chronicon Parium*, p. 6) points out, ‘invito lapide.’

<sup>8</sup> Hoeck’s criticism of ‘Minos I’ and ‘Minos II’ (*Kreta*, ii, p. 50 seqq.) still holds good.

Was there  
a Second  
Minos?

Dorian  
adoption  
of Minos.

supplied by the desire to secure a lower rung for the ladder of ascent by means of which the new Dorian line of rulers might be brought into immediate relation with the representative name of the older indigenous dynasty. By the new-comers, Achaean as well as Dorian, the old hierarchical tradition attaching to the name of Minos was invoked as a sanction for their own claims. He was at the same time made more real by being brought down to the age immediately preceding the Trojan War. The 'adoption of Minos' itself finds an almost exact parallel in the adoption of Agamemnon not only by the Achaeans but by the later Spartan kings.<sup>1</sup>

Epony-  
mic  
Myths.

According to Diodoros' account<sup>2</sup> the Dorian eponymus Doros, after his arrival in Crete, weds the daughter of 'Krês' and becomes the father of Asterios. Asterios in turn takes to wife Europa, who had already, by Zeus, given birth to Minos, Rhadamanthys, and Sarpedon. Minos I marries Itonê, daughter of 'Lyktios' (eponymus of Lyktos, later the great Dorian centre), and begets the namegiver of the neighbouring Lykastos. 'Lykastos' is father by 'Ida' of Minos II, who in turn is made the establisher of the first thalassocracy among the Hellenes. The whole genealogy is pure myth of the eponymic kind, which may have a certain value in so far as it reflects the blending of the indigenous elements of Crete with the Greek new-comers, but which had the obvious aim of first, in a way, annexing the 'Minos I' and thus leading up to a 'second' who could be described as of Dorian birth.

Achaean  
Legend.

In the more usual legend, which is in fact incorporated in that given by Diodoros, we hear only of one Minos. In the *Iliad*<sup>3</sup> he belongs to the second generation before the Trojan War. He is there the father of Deukalion, who impersonates the Hellenic stock in the oldest sense of the word, and through him the grandfather of the Achaean leader Idomeneus, lord of Knossos, whose name itself seems to point to early settlement in the land round Ida. The dominion of Idomeneus, according to the catalogue of ships, included, besides Knossos, Gortyna, Lyktos, Miletos, Lykastos, Phaestos, and Rhytion,<sup>4</sup> and thus embraced the whole of Central Crete. That it represents in part at least an ethnographic break is indicated by one significant fact. The sister city of Carian Halikarnassos, the Cretan Karnêssos,<sup>5</sup> is

<sup>1</sup> Such is the implied claim of the Spartan envoy in his answer to Gelôn of Syracuse when he proposed to take command of the allied Greeks: ἦ κε μέγ' οἰμώξειεν ὁ Πελοπίδης Ἄγαμέμνων πυθόμενος Σπαρτιάτας τὴν ἡγεμονίην ἀπαραιρῆσθαι ὑπὸ Γέλωνός τε καὶ Συρηκοσίων (Herod. vii. 159).

<sup>2</sup> The account of Diodoros, iv. 60, is, as Hoeck points out (*Kreta*, ii, pp. 27, 53), largely derived through an Attic medium.

<sup>3</sup> xiii. 449-51, and cf. *Od.* xix. 178 seqq.

<sup>4</sup> *Il.* ii. 645 seqq.

<sup>5</sup> The older name of Lyktos was Καρηησό-πολις (Hesychios, s.v.: cf. Fick, *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* (1905), p. 29).