

wealth (of the deceased's family) instead of gender during the Final Palatial period, and she points to a general lack of "female visibility" in LM II-III A2 graves, which contrasts with the recognizable LM III A2 female graves (thanks to the pyxides and the body ornaments) and shows social selectiveness through funerary practices throughout Late Bronze age Crete.

Murphy has assembled 14 chapters of uniformly high quality demonstrating well the considerable diversity of Aegean communities' attitude towards death and the afterlife during Late Bronze age, and the issues in interpreting it, as no single explanation would satisfy all circumstances. One could imagine that the diversity was greater since the surviving remains reflect just a percentage of the population and that a significant proportion was deposited in ways that may elude us. This volume will therefore have a lasting value, not just for the representativeness of these variations as well as regular and recurrent form of burial rites, but also for the high number of ground-breaking chapters on unpublished data. It deserves the attention of all those interested in issues in mortuary archaeology.

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Nicoletta Momigliano, *In Search of the Labyrinth. The Cultural Legacy of Minoan Crete*. pp. xvi +362, 83 b/w ill. London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2020. ISBN 978-1-7845-38545, hardcover £70; 978-1-350-15670-8, paperback £20; E-book 978-1-35015-672-2, £18.

Nicoletta Momigliano (henceforth M.) is not new to reception studies and to the study of the Minoan legacy in the 20th and 21st century. Her excellently crafted volumes, *Archaeology and European Modernity. Producing and Consuming the "Minoans"* (co-edited with Y. Hamilakis, 2006) and *Cretomania. Modern Desires for the Minoan Past* (co-edited with A. Farnoux, 2017), and her own articles and chapters (including Momigliano 2002, 2004 [with N. Karadimas], 2006a [with Y. Hamilakis], 2006b, 2017, 2019) set this single-authored monograph on solid scholarly grounds. Note should also be made of previous and contemporary significant scholarship in the field, not least Y. Hamilakis' edited volume *Labyrinth Revisited. Revisiting Minoan Archaeology* (2002), G.

Cadogan's "'The Minoan distance": the impact of Knossos upon the twentieth century' and A. Karetsou's 'Knossos after Evans: past interventions, present state and future solutions' chapters in C. Cadogan et al. (eds) *Knossos: Palace, City, State* (2004), J. Papadopoulos' article 'Inventing the Minoans: Archaeology, Modernity and the Quest for European Identity' in the *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* (2005) and recently C. Morris's chapter 'The Usable Past: Minoans Reimagined' in B. Davis and R. Laffineur (eds), *Νεώτερος: Studies in Bronze Age Aegean Art and Archaeology in Honor of Professor John G. Younger on the Occasion of His Retirement* (2020), as well as the much earlier revisionist study of J. Bintliff 'Structuralism and myth in Minoan Studies' in *Antiquity* (1984).

M.'s monograph is the first sole-authored study to consider the phenomenon of *Cretomania* – a term first coined by the renowned author Paul Morand in the early 1960's to describe the creative obsession with all things Minoan – in the context of material culture. It aims to 'combine a history of Minoan archaeology with a history of modern responses to its major discoveries' (p. xiii) and to 'highlight (or, at least, begin to explore) some topics pertaining to the reception of the Minoans that have not attracted much attention so far, such as the role of Minoan material culture as a catalyst for new creativity; the role of modern artists and writers in the diffusion of knowledge about the Minoan past, beyond the narrow boundaries of specialist disciplines; and, last but not least, the potential influence of artists and writers on archaeological and historical enquiry, its reception and interpretation' (pp. 5-6). In addressing the topic, M. quickly and rightly rejects the idea that Arthur Evans should be blamed for the notion of Minoan pacifism ('unquestionably, Evans's Minoans often appear too good to be true, but he does not deserve to be criticized for this. The notion of the pacifist Minoans seems to have arisen from superficial reading of his writings and, above all, from the works of others' [p. 65, with in-depth discussion in pp. 65-69]. To achieve its aim, the book discusses a broad data set of specialist and non-specialist receptions that demonstrably engage with, use, adapt and reference Minoan material culture, ranging from the familiar (e.g. M. Renault's 'Theseus' novels) to 'rather obscure and not exactly high-quality materials' (p. 16) (e.g. Elisabeth Lawton's 1977 pamphlet 'The Inevitability of Matriarchy'); receptions that have influenced considerably the production and diffusion of knowledge and have contributed to various extents to this creative process, both within and without academia: academics, excavators, travel writers, composers, novelists, poets, filmmakers, dancers,

sculptors, painters, ceramicists, designers of all sorts, architects and modern Neo-pagan groups. These multifarious forms of reception are not restricted to just the Anglophone world nor to the fine arts and 'high culture'. M.'s myriad of examples also include non-English novels (such as the Cretan author R. Galanaki's novels, the Icelandic author Kr. Guðmundsson's novel *Gyðjan og uxinn: skáldsaga*, the Finnish author M. Waltari's novel *Sinuhe egyptiläinen*), French comics (the 1950s *L'Enigme de l'Atlantide* in the series *Blake and Mortimer*, created by the Belgian author E. P. Jacobs) and erotica (e.g. *El Toro Blanco* [1989] by L. Perez-Verneti and Lo Duca, and U. Cossu's *Le Ninfe* [1989]), American post-metal albums (e.g. the 21st c. album *Minoan*, produced by the post-metal, progressive-rock band *Giant Squid*), the British sci-fi drama *Dr Who*, even advertisements of international brands, such as the Liebig Extract of Meat Company (1950) and the recent limited-edition Coca-Cola bottles and drink mats. As M.'s 'crucial criterion for the selection of material has been the evidence of actual engagement with the material culture of Crete in the creation of something new', famous examples that solely reference later, mythological elements or literary traditions related to the Minoan culture are omitted from the discussion, including Picasso's female matadors and Minotaur images 'which make no significant allusion to the imagery of Minoan Crete and are more closely inspired by classical iconography and literature, especially Ovid's *Metamorphoses*', and De Chirico's *Ariadne* and other paintings that show no clear evidence of having been inspired by Minoan archaeological discoveries (p. 12).

The book's six chapters follow a chronological division – from prehistory to the present day, starting with the 'use of Minoan elements by other groups in the second millennium BC, including the Mycenaeans, the Egyptians, and perhaps even the Hittites' and 'the conscious manipulation of surviving Minoan monuments and local memories in the form of burial and cultic activities' in the early 1st millennium BC (pp. 7-8) and ending with a dialogue between the distant past and the postmodern self in the last quarter of the 20th century and a discussion of 21st century trends and examples of Cretomania. The majority of the book, however, deals mostly with the 20th century. As the discussion in each chapter progresses, we understand how the study of modern responses to Minoan culture is historically and culturally situated, how Minoan Crete 'is also the product of interpretations, reconstructions, and complex entanglements between objects and ideas about them, which are influenced by a wide array of interpretative traditions' (not solely by ongoing archaeological excavation and analysis), and how

Cretomanic works can 'offer new provocations and opportunities to reflect on the Minoan past and its significance for past, present, and future generations' (p. 240-241).

Following an introductory overview (Chapter 1), Chapter 2 offers a snapshot of the reception (and interactions) of Bronze Age Crete from Aegean and Near Eastern sources of the third-second millennia BC to Italian epigraphist and archaeologist Federico Halbherr's explorations in the 1880's and 1890s and to Minos Kalokairinos' short-lived, but significant, excavations at Knossos in the winter of 1878 (and the failed attempt to continue them by William J. Stillman), before the start of the epoch-making excavations at Knossos and Phaistos in 1900 (p. 17-18). The early phase of the first millennium BC on the island is clearly characterised by a kind of nostalgia for a Minoan past and a conscious manipulation of local Minoan realities ignited by imposing Minoan ruins (that served as *lieux de mémoire* and became foci of rituals – 'ruin cults'), the reuse of older Minoan tombs and larnakes, especially for child burials, and the opportunity – at times – to encounter surviving Minoan material culture, e.g. pottery, wall paintings and sealstones (cf. Coldstream 1998, Prent 2003), that acted as a catalyst for new artistic creativity and new stories (p. 24), including the earliest surviving representations of the legendary Minotaur as a bull headed-man in Late Geometric art (8th c. BC). From the Classical period onwards, engagement with the Minoan past seems to focus more on literary traditions than physical remains and in the Hellenistic and Roman periods to be part of wider imperial strategies. Interestingly, in the over 1,000 years history of the island from the Arab to Ottoman conquest (c. 824-1840 AD) peoples' engagement with and responses to the physical remains of Bronze Age Crete are rather obscure (pp. 30-33). Actual Minoan antiquities may not have found their way into 16th-18th century *Wunderkammer/Cabinets of Curiosities*, with the earliest evidence for the collecting of Minoan objects being the gold signet ring, now in the British Museum, acquired by Thomas Burgon probably in the early 1800s (p. 32). It is nevertheless towards the early-mid-nineteenth century that emerging curiosity for and engagement with the Minoan culture are manifested in documented collections of Minoan artefacts and in descriptions of Minoan ruins by travel writers with references, for example, to walls of the 'first Cyclopean style' on Mt Juktas and Aptera (the latter proved to be of Classical or later date) – note, though, that the existence of Cyclopean remains on the island had already been mentioned earlier (1818 and 1823) by authors who had not travelled to Crete (Karadimas 2009, 240-1). It was also in 1823-1829 that the

Göttingen scholar Karl Hoeck coined the term *minoische* in his monumental work *Kreta*, a term that was later borrowed and translated as 'Minoan' by Sir Arthur Evans. For Hoeck the name 'Minos' did not represent merely a historical or mythical figure but encapsulated a whole period of about two hundred years that corresponded to the most glorious phase in the island's history (p. 35; Karadimas and Momigliano 2004, 245). Hoeck's 'Minoan Age' also included the so-called Minoan *thalassocracy* referred to by many ancient sources and the topic of many modern studies.

Chapter 3 covers the period from c. 1870 to the First World War. The chapter discusses in an engaging way the introduction of the 'Cretomania' creative phenomenon as a result of Sir Arthur Evans' dazzling discoveries at Knossos. These discoveries coincided conveniently with then-current developments in modernist artistic trends, such as the Art Nouveau, that paved the way for the aesthetic appreciation of Minoan imagery in the artistic circles in European capitals and in the works of Léon Bakst, Mariano Fortuny, Henri Antoine Jules Bois, František Kupka and many others. In particular, early-20th c. Paris 'became almost like a European capital of Minoan culture' (p. 69), and the reception of Minoan material culture in art, literature and fashion in this period owes much to the Parisian scholars Salomon Reinach (1852–1932) and Edmond Pottier (1855–1934) who M. describes as 'Minoan Missionaries' because of their almost religious zeal 'in spreading the Minoan gospel to *Tout Paris*, and from *Tout Paris* to other audiences' (pp. 69–71). The role of Evans' blending of Minoan material culture with familiar Greek myths continued the processes of Hellenization and Europeanization of the Aegean Bronze Age that had started at the end of the preceding century with Schliemann's explorations of 'Homeric' sites, and appealed to Eurocentric and crypto-colonial agendas (pp. 49–51, 59). Thus, despite the fact that the Minoan material culture looked rather distant from Classical Greece (as compared to the Mycenaean), 'the encounter between Minoan Crete and the late Belle Époque was like love at first sight: the Minoans were immediately accepted as desirable European ancestors' (p. 86). An inherent ambiguity is also identified in the construction of Minoan civilisation 'as primitive and modern, exotic and familiar' (p. 86), a depiction that chimed with Eurocentric, Orientalising, (crypto)colonialist, nationalist, and local Cretan political agendas. This chapter also informs the reader that many of the popular conceptions of the Minoans that developed following the rediscovery of the Minoan culture were not necessarily the result of Evans' work and publications of this period. For instance, the notion

of Minoan love of flowers and alleged pacifism of the Minoans as non-Aryan devotees of a Great Mother Goddess, that is often blamed on Evans, has in fact risen from later (post-WWII) scholarship, including from the writings of Jacquetta Hawkes and R.F. Willetts; 'there is also hardly any mention of it [*Minoan pacifism*] in many publications by other scholars, especially before the First World War', with the notable exception of the popularizing volume by Harriet Boyd Hawes and her husband Charles Henry Hawes, *Crete: The Forerunner of Greece* which was published in 1909 (p. 67).

In Chapter 4, M. treats the period framed by WWI and the Greek Civil War (c. 1915–1949), a period marked by extreme events in the political and social landscape of Greece, including the Balkan Wars (1912–13), the unification of Crete with Greece with the 1913 treaty of London, the Asia Minor Campaign (after WWI, with population exchanges between Greece and Turkey), the two World Wars and the Greek Civil War. Important archaeological explorations on Crete, such as Evans' new excavations at Knossos, the discovery of Minoan caves, cemeteries, 'villas' and the new palace at Malia, among many others, 'enhanced the achievements of Minoan Crete, by producing a fuller picture of its internal and external networks, its complex settlement patterns, road networks, the variety of its material culture and its relations with other Mediterranean regions' and by paving the way for significant future explorations within and outside Crete (p. 90–91). This period also saw the publication of influential works, not least Arthur Evans' four volumes of *The Palace of Minos* (1921–35) and the Marxist archaeologist Gordon Childe's *The Dawn of European Civilisation* (1925). It also signalled contrasting developments and polarisation in the reception of Minoan culture, very skilfully discussed by M. in this chapter. Minoan material culture continued to impress and exercise influence on artistic creations, but in a period of growing Aryanism and preoccupation with decline, the binary opposition between the peaceful, feminine, 'over-refined and decadent' Minoans and 'the taller, more vigorous and warlike northern Mycenaean/Aryans' developed (p. 99). Narratives about a 'Great Mother Goddess', the perceived importance of women in Minoan society, a mixture of bare-breasted iconography, cross-dressing and memories of later myths (e.g. of wily Pasiphae and the Bull) stimulated 'endless fantasies about the Minoans' sexual mores, which further contributed to their doom, since sexual indulgence and non-conformity have long been associated with decay and corruption in people's minds' (p. 135). The Minoans become distant and the 'other', and M. cites a host of excellent examples from literature,

travel writing, art and drama to illustrate this point, including H.G. Wells' novels *The Time Machine* (1895) and *Outline of History* (1920), O. Sprengel's section 'The soul of the City' in his pro-Aryan *Der Untergang des Abendlandes* (1922), G. Childe's *The Aryans* (1926) and N. Kazantzakis' play 'Kouros'.

The period c. 1949-74 (from the aftermath of the Greek Civil War to the end of the Colonels' junta), treated in Chapter 5, saw the enhanced Minoan/femininity/matriarchy and Mycenaean/masculinity/patriarchy dichotomy continuing in the light of M. Ventris's 1952 decipherment of Linear B as Greek and of excavations of newly discovered Minoan palaces at Kato Zakros and at Chania (ancient Kydonia), of the settlement of Akrotiri at Thera and other Minoanised sites in the Aegean (from Miletus and Iasos on the western coast of Turkey to Kastri on the island of Kythera) and of Grave Circle B at Mycenae to name but a few. These binary oppositions ('un-Hellenic/Oriental/Southern vs Hellenic/Aryan/Northern; pacifist vs. warlike, feminine vs masculine; movement and disorder vs. symmetry and rationality; inventiveness vs. imitation; decadent over-refinement vs rigorous barbarism', p. 149) are responses taking place in a Cold War environment and in the context of an increased emphasis on post-WWII gender tensions and the second-wave feminism, and of post-war movements (in which Minoan Crete's pacifism and then-supposed destruction of Minoan civilisation by external natural factors, served as a kind of 'lost paradise'). This polarization meant that 'Minoan Crete could be regarded as a distant alien culture, and a quaint episode in the march of Hellenism, or it could be experienced as a lost paradise – a nostalgic antidote to the present and blueprint for a better future' (p. 138), vividly expressed in the Cretomanic works of Mary Renault, Michael Ayrtton, Riccardo Bacchelli and Nikos Kazantzakis, in the travel writings of Jaques Lacarrière and Lawrence Durrell, in the poetry of Salvatore Quasimodo and Laurence Lee, and in the responses of the art historian Cesare Brandi and the German philosopher Martin Heidegger and others.

Responses to and the reception of Minoan material culture in the period from the fall of the Colonels' dictatorship, the re-establishment of democracy in Greece and the conclusion of the Vietnam War in the mid-1970s to the end of the Cold War (i.e. the period c. 1975-99) were multi-faceted, as M. informs us in Chapter 6. New excavations, 'New Wave' surveys and postmodernist interpretations shifted scholarly focus from palatial sites to the quest for a more comprehensive understanding of human interaction with the environment (the

complexity and diversity of Minoan settlements, population distribution and land use, inter-site interactions, the 'Minoan Roads' project, etc.) and of the interactions between the Minoans and other Bronze Age Mediterranean cultures. Through strong feminist and pacifist efforts and messages illustrated in a variety of specialist (e.g. by the Lithuanian-American archaeologist Marija Gimbutas) and popularizing archaeological publications and other cultural practices, such as the writings of the controversial German author Christa Wolf and of the American novelist Don DeLillo, the spiritual journeys in search of the Goddess organized by Carol P. Christ and Cretan artist Roussetos Panagiotakis's paintings, allowed the Minoans to regain (or maintain) their lost paradise and transformed the island into 'a feminist Garden of Eden'. On the other hand, archaeological evidence from the late 1970s for ritual cannibalism at Knossos and for human sacrifice at Anemospelia near Archanes cast a thick shadow on this otherwise idealized and utopian culture and 'revealed some of the sins that caused the Minoans' exit from paradise' (p. 188, 193-195).

The concluding chapter (Chapter 7) provides an overview of how ideas about the Minoans and their cultural legacy developed in the *longue durée* – from the Bronze Age to the 20th c. AD. M. also states that this is as an example of a Foucauldian heterotopia 'every age has the Minoans it deserves and desires' (p. 228) paraphrasing Jaquetta Hawkes' famous statement regarding Stonehenge. The final part of the chapter discusses briefly Cretomania and the several uses of the Minoans in the first two decades of the 21st century as illustrated in a remarkable variety of genres, including, among other cultural practices, novels, poetry, music, paintings, pageants, stage and other performances (including culinary events such as Jerolyn Morrison's *Minoan Tastes*), amusement parks and cultural events centres (e.g. Anna Bastaki's *Minoan Theatre*), sculpture, murals, video installations, jewellery and fashion, websites, radio plays, books and play scripts for children, comics, Neo-Pagan groups, cinematic productions, and the advertisement of global brands (pp. 233-239).

M. competently places the reception and legacy of Minoan archaeology firmly within the local, national and international socio-political and economic landscape and developments of each period covered in the book. She demonstrates not merely how representations of Minoan Crete and the myths related to the island's culture were transmitted from the second millennium BC to our times, but more importantly how the legacy of Minoan Crete is the product of a two-way conversation with

scholars and artists, influenced by a wide array of interpretative traditions and shaped by some persistent trends in the use of themes such as gender and the idea of the powerful female (cf. Morris 2020), nationhood, identity and race; ‘Cretomanic works can pose serious questions of historical and social importance, and can stimulate different ways of looking at Minoan Crete’ (p. 241).

The book is well illustrated (with links to further online images provided in the endnotes and in the Bibliography) but the black-and-white blanket is in complete contrast to the vibrancy of the Minoan art and modern responses to it; a few coloured illustrations would have been useful. The extensive endnotes form a very useful resource and provide a comprehensive guide for readers with a particular interest to explore specific topics further, although it does take some effort to scan through the notes without losing one’s place in the main text.

The result of a culmination of years of research, *In Search of the Labyrinth* is a fascinating and insightful book, accessible and appealing to academic and non-academic readers. M.’s engaging writing and the plethora of examples she cites ensure that everyone can find in its pages the Minoans one wishes to find (to paraphrase slightly the words of Rod Jones in *Prince of Lilies* [Jones 1991, 121]).

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