same farming regime as Greeks generally (the once popular notion that they were nomadic pastoralists is rightly ignored), it seems that traditionally they lived in many small and scattered communities. There is no certain trace of prehistoric settlements of any size, and even graves are only found singly or in small groups of two to four, and these are of the latest Bronze Age phases. These are, however, notable for containing imported bronzes, especially weapons, and sometimes Mycenaean vases, and it seems likely that these were the burials of leading members of their communities. Evidently there was contact with the Mycenaean civilisation, whereas any earlier links may have been more with neighbouring regions in modern north Greece and Albania, where there is better evidence for the Neolithic and Bronze Age periods, and there may be some links with ancient Illyria in the Late Bronze Age. But whether the history of the Dodona sanctuary, which is at a site remote from the coast, goes back to Mycenaean times remains questionable, in the reviewer's opinion (see an early comment in Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, 301), although this is firmly stated on pp. 59-60 (but cf. p. 62: there seems no clear evidence for Early Iron Age cult activity at the site until the 8th century).

If the theory that 'the Dorians' originated from Epirus is ignored, as in the reviewer's opinion it should be, there is basically nothing to suggest that the collapse of Mycenaean civilisation had any major effect on Epirus, whose economy does not seem to have depended heavily on its Mycenaean contacts. Rather, it seems that the various peoples named in the historical sources began to establish themselves during the Early Iron Age, and long-lasting communities developed, like those suggested by the two well-known cemeteries of Liatovouni (which seems to have been founded in the latest Mycenaean phase) and Vitsa, in the north of the region, both of which continued in use into the 4th century and have associated settlements. The foundation of Greek 'colonies', especially Ambracia, at an early date was surely trade-oriented, and the archaeological record shows an increasing quantity of Greek goods, including bronze vessels and other valuable items, appearing in the cemeteries and settlements of the region during Archaic and Classical times, an indication of growing prosperity and surely the establishment of some kind of ruling class.

Involvements with Corinth and Athens, and also with the more developed kingdom of Macedonia, drew Epirus into the complicated politics of the major Greek states from the 5th century onwards, and the accounts of the late Classical, Hellenistic and Roman periods in the region inevitably become more like general history, as the Molossian kings led Epirus to play an increasingly prominent role, not only in Greece and its neighbourhood but also in south Italy. Substantial fortified sites and other monumental constructions like the theatre at Dodona are reflections of this evident wish to make a show in the world, but the histories of particular sites cannot always be tied into the various wars and invasions that periodically afflicted Epirus at many times during these periods. The range of archaeological finds indicates that, despite the various wars, and catastrophes like the mass slaughter or enslavement of the Molossian population in 167, the Roman punishment for backing Macedonia rather than Rome, there was still prosperity at various centres in all periods.

It must finally be said that, while in general the presentation is clear and there is a good and varied amount of illustration, identifying or harmonising references to sites may sometimes be difficult, to judge from the reviewer's experience. In trying to get more information on the tumulus cemeteries of Pogoni, he found that the placenames cited on p. 63 do not appear in the same form on p. 112, though two do seem to be intended to refer to the same places. Creating an index might have helped to sort out such potential confusions.

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Hope Simpson, R. and Dickinson, O.T.P.K. 1979. *A Gazetteer of Aegean Civilisation in the Bronze Age, Vol. I: the Mainland and Islands* (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 52). Göteborg: Paul Åströms Förlag.

J. Whitley, *Knossos. Myth, History and Archaeology*. pp. 256, 62 B/W figures. Bloomsbury Academic, 2023. ISBN 9781472527257, hardcover £45.50.

This account of the history of Knossos forms part of a wider series of *Archaeological Histories* that discusses the history of sites, buildings and towns from their construction to the present day and it is in this context that Whitley's pleasantly written

– with a style somewhere between the academic and the personal – and instructive book should be approached. Knossos, or rather its studies, are very much alive. It not only forms the core of two other, recently published books on Minoan civilization,[1] and even after the completion of this book in 2021, new studies have appeared on some of the Knossos remains, not included in this account (Oddo 2022; Knappett *et al.* 2023). Moreover, in 2005 already, C.F. Macdonald wrote an essential introduction to the site, but his account stopped at the end of the Bronze Age and the book could only be acquired as part of a package deal through the Folio Society and is no longer available. Whitley's book, also available as a pdf or eBook, may thus be an easier solution for the interested reader. His is certainly not a guide to Knossos even if considerable time is spent on the site's topographical setting. It is a history, both of its excavations and of its reception since the beginning of its occupation up to present, hence avoiding what we may call the Great Divide, the long-standing distinction between prehistorical and Classical archaeology, to some extent following Bintliff's (2012) "Longue durée" approach. Treating more than 5000 years of history of an emblematic site in a single book was a daunting task and even if some of the chapters are over-selective in their treatments, the general reader is given for the first time a true, full history of the site. Whitley should be thanked for this.

The book is divided into six chapters of which the first treats mythology, the second the history of the excavations and studies on the site of Knossos, while the third and fourth parts explore the prehistoric development of the site. A fifth part looks at the later history, with the final chapter returning to some of the issues such as identity, interpretations, languages and scripts. In general, I found myself very much in agreement with the account presented, especially where the prehistoric part is concerned. Here Whitley needs to be congratulated for the multivocality of the interpretations offered. His tracing of the gradual unveiling of the site by Kalokairinos, Evans and their successors at the same time recounts the history of excavations on Crete and partly in Greece, following the vagaries of war and international alliances. It is a history of the people involved, some of which is part of oral traditions amongst the 'Knossians' and it is good to have these written down, in an always respectful manner.

What I personally found the strongest and most refreshing insight is Whitley's clear and unconditional phrasing of how he sees the Knossos complex developing through time (p. 126-127): from a place of gathering to a courtyard complex, to a temple and finally to a palace. This is probably for the first time that a book, meant for a more general audience, affords attention to recent archaeological insights. Gathering indeed (as we have discussed Driessen & Letesson 2023) seems the keyword for the earlier phases of the palace. On p. 173, Whitley states that "ritualized feasting may have been the social glue that kept both Middle Bronze Age and Archaic forms of polity together", unknowingly repeating Stilman and Mosso's 1907 (p. 161: 'Prehistoric Socialism') interpretation of the Minoan palace. And Whitley's explanation that the palace was NOT reconstructed after the LM IIIA2 fire destruction because in its last phase, it was the palace of a monarch – that is a top-down imposed creation and not the community structure it had been in the ca. 1000 years preceding – makes more than sense. But to these four phases, he could more explicitly have added a fifth: a place of memory, since the attentive reader will notice from the site plans provided, that once the palace is destroyed, its place seems deliberately and quite surprisingly to have stayed outside the occupied zone of later habitation as if a taboo or curse hung above its site.

It is true that in the prehistoric account of Knossos, Whitley sometimes asks more questions than he provides answers and occasionally avoids issues that are too problematic: what about the potential presence of an upper story for the courtyard building during the Protopalatial period, which as we know from Quartier Mu at Malia, could have housed different types of functions besides that of storage and feast preparation? Or what to think of the end of the First Palace and the construction of the New Palace (p. 97, 101) and why MM IIIA-B pottery is, as a whole, disappointingly mediocre in comparison with earlier and later phases? What also were the functions of the structures surrounding the palace (p. 110)? "Scaled-down versions of the palace itself"? What was the impact of the Santorini eruption and how did the Mycenaean take-over of the island happen? Did the latest, LM IIIB, occupation in the palace still have a Linear B administration, if we consider that at least one of the scribes at Knossos had a writing style that was, if not identical, then very similar to one of the hands that wrote a tablet at LM IIIB Chania? The reader is left guessing what the potential processes behind

[1] L.V. Watrous, Minoan Crete: an Introduction, Cambridge University Press (2021), reviewed e.g. by N. Momigliano in *The Classical Review* 72.1 (2022):269-271; D. Panagiotopoulos, *Das minoische Kreta: Abriss einer bronzezeitlichen Inselkultur*, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2021, reviewed e.g., by G. Vavouranakis, https://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2022/2022.06.39/.

certain developments could have been. While it is scientifically entirely sound to leave questions unanswered, one may wonder whether the intended audience of undergraduate students will not be a bit at loss. But throughout also, he engages the reader in discussions. Just two examples: the absence of Prepalatial cemeteries at Knossos and in other major sites could well be related to the fact these large Prepalatial sites already had large courts for gathering during this period and hence managed to funnel attention to the living rather than to the dead (as noted p. 96); the earliest remains in the Temple Tomb are potentially explained as coming from a pre-existing MM III chamber tomb (p. 114), which would then imply that the structure only dates to the Final Palatial period. Observations as these are stimulating and elevate the book above the usual consensual academic account.

While the later, pre-Roman periods at Knossos suffer from an absence of traces of habitation and rely almost exclusively on funerary evidence, the account is put forward with less hesitation than is the case for the Bronze Age, evidently because Whitley has extensively published on this. But this causes some imbalance: Knossos' links with the wider Mediterranean were barely discussed for the Bronze Age, but its Iron Age connections receive plenty of attention and rather than discussing Knossos – where the evidence is meagre – the discourse now extends to the entire island (p. 154ff).

Some minor omissions that do not affect the contents may be mentioned. In the first chapter 'Legends and Labyrinths' for example, words that can be read as the Labyrinth and the Daidaleion already occur in the 14th c. BCE Linear B records of Knossos, which must surely mean that some mythical (?) traditions go back much earlier than the Early Iron Age. Moreover, despite the Classical association of Knossos with the Labyrinth, most post-Renaissance travellers considered the underground quarries near Gortyn to have been the famous maze. One could also underline the somewhat odd chronology. Whitley prefers a high date for the Santorini eruption (now less and less likely, see Fantuzzi 2023) but follows a mix of the high and low chronology in the first table (01), resulting in a confusing date for LM IB (1580-1490 BC) while in the low chronology the LM IA Santorini eruption is around 1520 BC. Table 4.1 should, in this regard, better be consulted. There are also a few minor inconsistences and errors: hence Knossos is written with double s but Amnisos is not; Mallia is written with double l rather than the now common Malia; MacDonald should be Macdonald; Rhadymanthus should rather be Rhadamanthus, Triandaphyllou should be Triantaphyllou; Ayia Photia but Hagia Triada; Gypsades (in the text and cf. gypsum) instead of Gipsades on the plans. There are no inscribed stirrup jars from Menidi (p. 33) and the very first Linear B tablet was found by a certain Antonios Zachyrakis at Knossos and a plaster copy was made by Charles Clermont-Ganneau in 1895. It was not the Gilliérons who named the fresco 'La Parisienne' (p. 35) but Edmond Pottier. The work by Lapatin (2002) should also have been mentioned with regard to Knossian fakes. Both Hilda Pendlebury and Dilys Powell were in fact older than their respective husbands (p. 42), Vathypetro was only excavated after WW II (p. 43). The 'cut ashlar blocks' of the West Facade (p. 82) are gypsum orthostates, i.e. the higher elevation was NOT in ashlar but a mixture of clay, rubble and wood, plastered over. The date of this façade is still under discussion (Macdonald 2023). With Thrapsano and Eleftherna as modern potter's villages, one should read Thrapsano, Kentri and Margarites. The stemmed cups on the Camp Stool Fresco are not 'Ephyraean goblets' but kylikes (p. 119). The *wanax* is not a name but a title (p. 121). Athanasia Kanta, and not Hatzaki, directed the Anetaki excavations at Knossos (p. 180). I also did miss some EIA evidence from the Knossos area, in particular a reused Phoenician cippus (Kourou & Karetsou 1998) and a very early damaged statue of a seated goddess from the University Plot cemetery, not unlike the early sculpture from Gortyn and Prinias (Stampolidis *et al.* 1998: 141).

All in all, however, this book is a must-read and not only by undergraduate students. The trajectory of the palace as described by Whitley forms a welcome and refreshing change in how to see the 'Palace of Minos', now more than 150 years after Kalokairinos revealed its first ruins.

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Juan Carlos Moreno García (ed.), *From house societies to states: early political organisation, from antiquity to the Middle Ages* (Multidisciplinary approaches to ancient societies 3). pp. 352, with b/w ills. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2022. ISBN 9781789258622, hardback £55.00.

The intention behind this volume (and others in the series) is to break compartmental divisions in the study of societies by multidisciplinary comparative approaches. By bringing together a number of chronologically-, culturally- and geographically-diverse focussed papers, the editor succeeds brilliantly in this aim and almost all of the authors have played the game by focussing on aspects of political organisation. The volume is a well-balanced overview that takes the reader from Bronze Age Mesopotamia to early Modern Southeast Asia, passing the Mediterranean but also Africa and Central America, and presenting different forms of political organisation. All this clearly shows that pre-modern forms of political organization have too long been regarded from a strictly evolutionary perspective rather than affording attention to agency, power sharing and varied historical trajectories. At the same time, this book presents a good introduction to a variety of cultures with the necessary references that will be appreciated by students and experts alike. This said, avoiding a Western perspective will always remain a challenge when approaching power and early states, but Moreno García's argumentation in the introduction (pp. 1-27) is a courageous and convincing attempt to do so. It is also wide sweeping, touching a large variety of ancient societies, but also by stressing various important features in how authority was yielded ('islands of authority', mobile societies, sharing of power etc.). He does not linger much on House Societies though, a theme that is much more the focus of the papers within the volume (e.g. Butterlin, Nakassis, Dueppen, etc.), including his own. Perhaps explicitly distinguishing between houses as domestic structures and *Houses* as social players would have made the volume somewhat easier to understand since it is not always clear whether a residential structure is meant or a larger social actor or estate in the Lévi-Straussian sense and this applies to several chapters.

The organizational structure of the volume seems largely chronological since it starts off with Pascal Butterlin's paper on "the great houses of Mesopotamia: Tripartite houses and the formation of the city-state" (28-55). He returns to the contrasting interpretations that concern the megalithic oval structures of Göbekli Tepe and the later buildings at Tepe Gawra and what they teach us about social relationships – egalitarian or not. Opinions differ considerably but the case of Tell Sabi Abyad where sealing practices were interpreted with shared storage facilities by semi-nomads is a fine example of how archaeological discoveries continue to change set ideas. Massimo Vidale next pinpoints the many problematic issues that still surround the Indus Valley civilisation (56-79) and how to interpret its social structure. He notes the different contrasting opinions that concern the absence of iconography, temples, palaces, and costly monuments and how this is mostly used to argue for the absence of a strictly hierarchical situation, as also the absence of an organised monopoly of violence. The existence of walled neighbourhoods within the few large urban centres conceivably suggests a heterarchical structure. But it is clear that the Indus Valley civilisation was not a large territorial state despite overall similarities in material culture.