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SCHRIFTFÜHRUNG

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OLIVER SCHELSKE



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VERLAG C.H.BECK MÜNCHEN

Nachschlagewerk hinaus und empfehlen sich als Essay über späthistorische Historiographie zur vertieften Lektüre. Der benutzerfreundlich und gepflegt aufgemachte Band hat sich den Rang als Standardwerk bereits gesichert.

Freiburg i. Üe.

Margarethe Billerbeck

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Diamantis Panagiotopoulos: *Das minoische Kreta*. Abriss einer bronzezeitlichen Inselkultur. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer 2021. 312 S. 24 Abb. 1 Kt. 24 €.

The author, D. Panagiotopoulos, is professor of Classical archaeology at the University of Heidelberg, well-known both for his work on Bronze Age seals and administration and for his excavations at Cretan sites such as Koumasa, Zominthos and Archanes. This combined sphragistic and archaeological experience comes clearly to the front in this remarkable introduction to Minoan Crete. Whereas often such introductions excessively pay attention to art and styles and are too generalising and oversimplified to be intellectually challenging, this book is all but. It is not only a welcome overview of Bronze Age Cretan archaeology and the basic knowledge that has been amassed in over a century of archaeological exploration but is also a presentation of current scholarship and the progress that has been made in our understanding of Minoan society that will even lure the specialist in its archaeology. The objectives of the book are clearly stated (p. 33) and include the how and when of the emergence of the Minoan palaces and their destruction, their potential function(s) and the impact of the Santorini eruption. But it also considers e.g. what languages are expressed in the scripts and what the political and social structure was. Answers (or rather tentative attempts) are provided throughout the 14 chapters of the book. A first part necessarily discusses myths, chronology, research and, importantly, cultural development while, in a second part, themes such as 'the palace', 'the mountains', 'the individual', 'social structure', 'economy', 'cult', 'funerary customs' and 'external relations' are addressed. This structure is refreshing and appropriate since it primarily focuses on archaeological inferences and, rather than being constructed around Minoan art as is usually the case, it incorporates this simply as a medium for social interaction. Each chapter is accompanied by a concise bibliography (perhaps too concise). Despite this reviewer's own long-term experience on Crete, he was pleasantly surprised to encounter many fresh ideas, candid observations and exciting new proposals of interpretation of a quality rarely encountered in works for which «ein weiterer Leserkreis» (p. 14) is the intended audience. And it is because this book is based on solid research and affords appropriate attention to consider particular details that are both interesting and provocative that one can engage in a discussion, which, rather than a review, is the intention of the present lines. Not that one would or should agree with everything P. claims but it is a major quality of his book that it challenges both traditional AND new interpretations. Unknown to this reviewer, for example, was Heinrich Brugsch's recognition of Minoan culture already in 1858 (p. 23, already Matić 2014),¹ Hazzidakis' 'archéologie enragée'

¹ Matić, U., 'Minoans', kftjw and the «Islands in the Middle of w3d wr» Beyond Ethnicity.' *Ägypten und Levante* 24 (2014), 275–292.

(p. 24), or Abu Hafs' 'land of milk and honey' (p. 49). P. is also of the opinion that P. Faure's suggestion of the existence of local copper sources in the Asterousia could well explain the richness of metal finds in the Prepalatial tombs of this region (p. 50) and he insists that the Neopalatial palace at Phaistos was under construction at the moment of its LM IB destruction (p. 73, 85). Despite the 'Inselkultur' in the book title, P. rightly stresses (p. 50, and again p. 196) the geographical introvertedness of Cretan civilisation, which was essentially a continental society, unlike e.g. the Cyclades, except for a brief moment of time in the Neopalatial period when a more outward-facing culture existed (cf. § 13). Interesting too is P.'s proposal of a new chronological frame with five Prepalatial, three Protopalatial and four Neopalatial phases (p. 40), a suggestion which, perhaps, merits a fuller treatment in an academic paper. Hence, for P., the crisis period on the island is clearly Late Minoan IB and Late Minoan II (p. 91), and he accepts that during LM IIIA1–B the island's status was reduced: having been a centre, it now became a periphery of the Aegean world (p. 96). Not all would accept such a view, at least not where LM II–IIIA2 – the period prior to the destruction of the palace at Knossos – is concerned when its palace may have formed the chief cultural example that was imitated by mainland centres such as Mycenae and Pylos. Hence, a somewhat more equilibrated position on the advanced Late Bronze Age would have been welcome, distinguishing between a Third Palatial Period and a Postpalatial phase, after 1300 BC.

Rather than stressing change, P. sees slow internal development and continuity (e.g. p. 56, 81) and rightly assumes (p. 61) that the monumentalisation of the palaces in the 20th c. BC happened to sites and buildings that already before had known a degree of complexity (cf. Driessen 2007).¹ The three main palaces – Knossos, Malia and Phaistos – are considered as having formed independent polities with different writing systems during the Protopalatial period but as dependent from Knossos in the Neopalatial period. His main argument for such a hypothesis is the scarcity of administrative documents at Neopalatial Malia and Phaistos (p. 84) but there is circular reasoning here since, following this view, Zakros palace should have formed an independent polity while it is mostly seen as an outpost of Knossos (Platon 2004).² It would have been better to include other kinds of evidence such as survey data, sealings, the Knossian pottery styles, palace architecture, symbolism etc. and to envisage alternative strategies of domination too. Some of this evidence is invoked later, in the discussion of the domestication of the mountains (p. 130 ff) which, together with the establishment of country-houses, is seen as an internal colonisation process directed by the palace centres and possibly

¹ Driessen, J., 'IIB or not IIB: On the Beginnings of Minoan Monument Building', in 'Power and Architecture: Monumental Public Architecture in the Bronze Age Near East and Aegean', edited by J. Bretschneider, J. Driessen & K. van Lerberghe, Leuven: Peeters (2007), 73–92.

² Platon, L., 'Το Υστερομινωικό Ι ανάκτορο της Ζάκρου: μια <Κνωσός> έξω από την Κνωσό', in 'Knossos: Palace, City, State: Proceedings of the Conference in Herakleion organised by the British School at Athens and the 23rd Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities of Herakleion', in November 2000, for the Centenary of Sir Arthur Evans's Excavations at Knossos, edited by G. Cadogan, E. Hatzaki & A. Vasilakis (BSA Studies 12), London: The British School at Athens (2004), 381–392.

connected to a period with milder climate (discussed now in Papadatos & Kalantzopoulou 2022).¹ The oddity is evidently that, while Knossos survives the LM IB destructions, its satellites do not, a circumstance that remains thus far unexplained and potentially could imply that these satellites were anything but. The move to the mountains, which is rather exceptional, should then perhaps be seen as a temporary, post-Santorini eruption reaction when a need arose to diversify the economic basis of the lowland communities. P. also rightly stresses how the absence of funerary data for the Neopalatial period is quite extraordinary in view of the earlier and later evidence, clearly reflecting a period of major social change (p. 87, 258). One can question the pots = people argument for a Mainland control of (part of) Crete in the later LM III period, which P. bases solely on the presence of inscribed stirrup jars from West Crete in the House of the Oil Merchant at Mycenae (i.e. outside the citadel), seeing it as tribute from a vassal to his overlord (p. 101).

Some of P.'s interpretations come across as somewhat reactionary and as special pleading. For P., for example, the palace is the main entrepreneur of the island (p. 89), something he backs up by drawing parallels with Near Eastern societies (p. 110), calling alternative proposals that defend a more bottom-up approach 'romantic' (p. 125) while neglecting important evidence such as the non-resident sealing pattern attested in the palace of Phaistos, the Tripartite Fresco from Knossos (which certainly does not show the West Court) and the increasing evidence of communal consumption and builders' deposits that have been published in recent years. If anything, the traditional top-down view seems more 'romantic' and based on flimsy evidence. And his interpretation is yet more reactionary in view of the earlier and later discussions in the book where the role of sites such as Phaistos as ceremonial centres from an early moment onwards are stressed and distinctive pottery styles as diagnostic for various, participating groups (p. 65), or the collective nature of the society (p. 155, repeated often throughout the book) or the use of specific images for specific groups (p. 192: 'Identitätstiftende Motive'; also p. 195) are discussed. As on p. 71 where some link with Near-Eastern kingdoms almost automatically leads to seals and sealings that cannot exist without a palace institution. Since P. has considerable experience on Mycenaean administrative systems, one cannot but detect some anachronistic pleading here since the use of sealings outside centralised palace administrations is well-known (Akkermans & Duistermaat 1996).² Likewise, P. somewhat exaggerates the closed and exclusive nature of the Minoan palaces (p. 114–115) because it fits his top-down interpretation but then runs into difficulties with the open nature of the palace of Zakros. All palace courts seem to have been immediately accessible from the outside and initially may have been open to the south. Hence, attention to changes within the long history of the palatial buildings would have helped to explain certain social developments that cumulated around the time of the eruption. P.'s treatment of art and the

¹ Papadatos, Y. & Kalantzopoulou, T., 'Turning the landscape into territory. Strategies of power for the exploitation of the Cretan mountains during the Neopalatial period', in 'Political Geographies of the Bronze Age Aegean', edited by G.J. van Wijngaarden & J. Driessen (Babesch Sup. 43), Leuven: Peeters (2022), 31–46.

² Akkermans, P.M.M.G. & Duistermaat, K., 'Of Storage and Nomads. The Sealings from Late Neolithic Sabi Abyad, Syria', *Paléorient* 22:2 (1996), 17–44.

relationship between form and decoration is refreshing and illuminating and he stresses how art remained aniconic for a long time and then develops into a style «[der] Bewegung feiert» (p. 181). Stimulating too is his attention to the biography of things and how some objects were seemingly only produced for funerals (p. 183). P. also underlines how, in contrast with Egypt, script and image went separate ways in Minoan Crete, with the image clearly dominating social communication (p. 188). Since much imagery is small- or miniature size, its elite connotation is stressed as is its function for internal (and relatively limited) communication (p. 189). Perhaps a greater emphasis on large-scale representations represented by plaster reliefs and their link with miniature images (as alluded to on p. 193 and later) would have somewhat weakened his non-propagandistic interpretation of Knossian-inspired imagery, something he otherwise accepts (p. 194). In contrast to certain tendencies to ascribe a warlike nature to Minoan society, P., rightly I think, swears by the agrarian and bucolic character (p. 196), even if, as he argues, all imagery may effectively represent «eine konkrete ideologische Strategie der minoischen herrschenden Eliten [...], eine gut überlegte ‘Charmeoffensive’, die die unverhüllte Darstellung von Macht durch eine visuelle Manifestation der Nähe, Partizipation der Gruppe und somit sozialer Kohärenz ersetzte» (p. 199–200). In chapter 11, daily life and economy are treated, affording more attention to iconography and generalisation. This chapter is somewhat disappointing since one looks in vain for the results of the many science-based multidisciplinary approaches that now typify our field. Chapter 12 authoritatively treats cults and religion and clearly identifies the major differences between Minoan and contemporary Near Eastern societies. While earlier in the book the existence of various Minoan gods in the Protopalatial peak sanctuaries was assumed (p. 82), the present argument is much more outspoken: no temples, no standardised attributes that allow easy distinction between humans and gods but a clear nature-focussed religious experience on peaks and in caves with shamanistic and orgiastic features in which, at least in the Neopalatial period, the epiphany of the goddess played a crucial role and in which processions and participation were essential. It also includes important notions on the role of women in ceremonial action and so it is perhaps odd that, earlier in the book, their dominating presence in iconography was explained by invoking their membership in a palatial harem (p. 149), an explanation that may betray the author’s difficulty to free himself of the oriental paradigm. Bull games as initiation rites and the role of the central court within ceremonies follow present-day interpretations. Chapter 13 goes into more detail about funerary customs, again stressing the collective aspect of Minoan society as evidenced both by the specific burial rites as well as the practices taking place within the cemeteries and the major developments happening after the Middle Bronze Age. Funerary iconography, for example, only appears late (p. 260). A final chapter discusses the Minoans and ‘the others’ and deconstructs the earlier idea of a major impact of oriental civilisations on the emergence and development of Minoan culture. From a more passive recipient in the Early Bronze Age, when the Cyclades seem to have had the initiative, Crete gradually extends its influence over a wide area, which lasted up to the Santorini eruption after which Mainland centres took over its monopoly.

I am hence enchanted by this book and the real drawbacks are minor. It is a pity that the publishing house did not try to include more illustrations, preferably in

colour that would have done justice to some remarkable artistic productions. Mistakes are very rare: Van Effenterre was, despite his ancestry, French and not Belgian (p. 28); Chania's main destruction is at the end of LM IIIB₁, not IIIB₂ (p. 40). Calling signs of what Evans called Cretan Hieroglyphic 'real Minoan Hieroglyphs' (p. 72) is no doubt an exaggeration and it is not true that larnakes do not occur in West-Crete (Armenoi, Pangelochori, Maroulas, etc.) (p. 99), nor are they a Mainland custom – on the contrary, apart from at Tanagra, larnakes are rare on the Mainland. Still, their relative rarity at Chania and in the far west of the island may betray a Mainland influence. I regret that no more attention is given to the 4.2 ka climatic event (p. 59) and labelling most LM IIIC mountain settlements as 'Fluchtsiedlungen' (p. 102) is certainly exaggerated in view of recent studies (Gaignerot-Driessen 2016).¹

These comments aside, this is an exciting book which merits a rapid translation in e.g. English and, even without additional bibliographical references and more attention to recent scientific developments of the hard sciences, I would certainly recommend it as compulsory reading for all those venturing into Minoan archaeology, laymen and academics alike. Panagiotopoulos has written a book that needed to be written and is to be congratulated on this achievement.

Louvain-la-Neuve

Jan Driessen

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Alexander von Helden: *Kinder in Etrurien*. Bonn: Habelt 2020. VIII, 319 S. 110 Taf. 4°.

Bei der vorliegenden Publikation handelt es sich um die überarbeitete Fassung der Dissertation des Autors, die 2017 von der Universität Bonn angenommen wurde (Betreuer: Martin Bentz). Es handelt sich um eine willkommene Arbeit, da sie sich zum ersten Mal in monographischer Form mit Bild und Status des Kindes im Rahmen der etruskischen Gesellschaft(en) befasst. Der Autor hält richtigerweise fest, dass hier «eine bedeutende Lücke in der Etruskologie» besteht (3). Die Rezensentin (R.) fügt hinzu, dass die etruskische Sozialgeschichte generell als untererforscht und bis heute vielfach mit Vorurteilen beladen gelten muss, weshalb Werken wie diesem durchaus eine gewisse Pionierfunktion zukommt.

Von Helden (= v.H.) ist hauptsächlich an der ikonographischen Analyse interessiert. Die drei Hauptkapitel befassen sich mit der Darstellung von Kindern im Bereich der Votivstatuetten, in der Spiegelkunst und der Grabmalerei sowie mit dem Bildmaterial auf und an Kindersarkophagen und -urnen. Nicht betrachtet wird die (etruskische und importierte griechische) Vasenmalerei. Nur am Rande finden sich Bemerkungen zum archäologischen Phänomen 'Kindergrab', was mit der «heterogenen Publikationslage» (5) begründet wird, *de facto* den Rahmen der Arbeit aber in jeder Hinsicht gesprengt hätte. Aus dieser Quellenauswahl ergibt sich ein starker Fokus auf die spätetruskische Phase des 4.–1. Jh. v. Chr.

Die Einteilung reflektiert die Unterscheidung v.H.s in drei thematische Blöcke – «sakral, Bildkontexte, sepulkral» (4–5), wobei sakral und sepulkral vergleichend einander gegenübergestellt werden sollen. Dennoch ist diese Einteilung nicht ganz

¹ Gaignerot-Driessen, F., 'De l'occupation postpalatiale à la cité-état grecque: le cas du Mirambello (Crète)', (*Aegaeum* 40), Leuven-Liège: Peeters (2016).