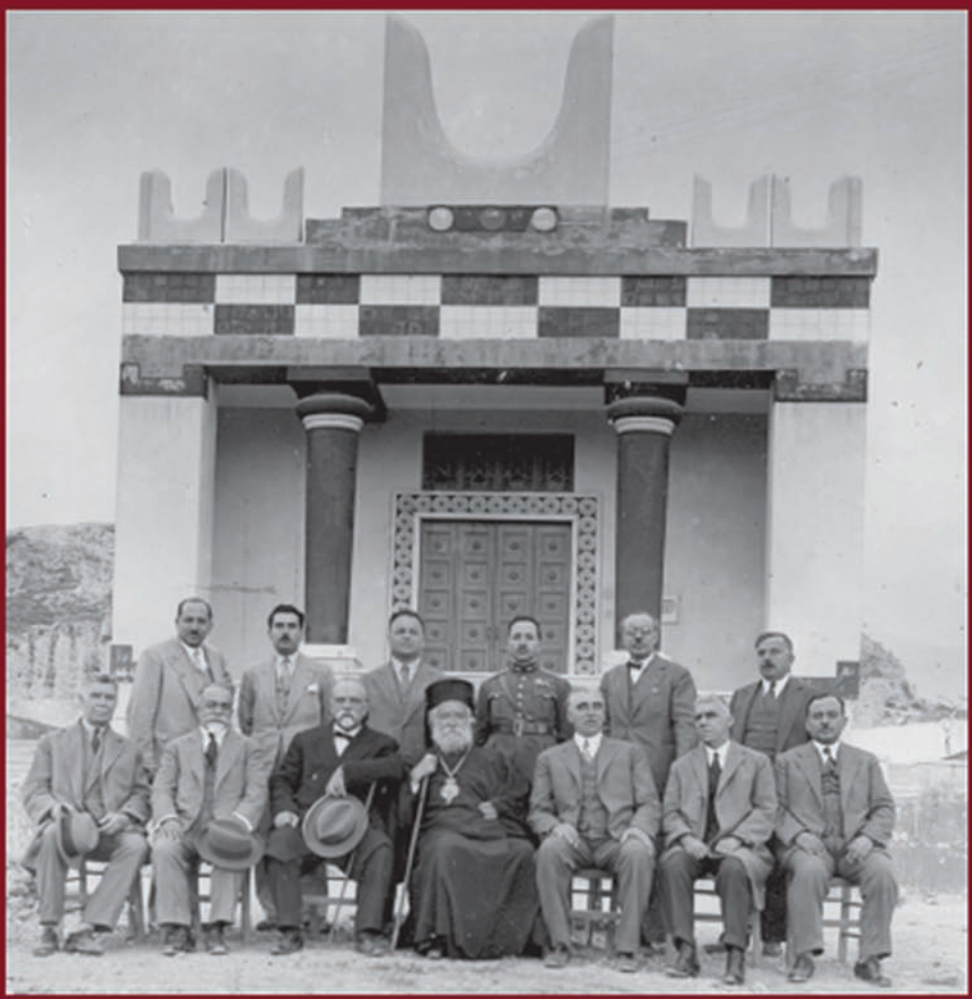
Cretomania

Modern Desires for the Minoan Past

Edited by

NICOLETTA MOMIGLIANO and ALEXANDRE FARNOUX



BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS

Modern Greek and Byzantine Studies

Cretomania

Since its rediscovery in the early 20th century, through spectacular finds such as those by Sir Arthur Evans at Knossos, Minoan Crete has captured the imagination not only of archaeologists but also of a wider public. This is shown, among other things, by its appearance and uses in a variety of modern cultural practices: from the innovative dances of Sergei Diaghilev and Ted Shawn, to public and vernacular architecture, psychoanalysis, literature, sculpture, fashion designs, and even neo-pagan movements, to mention a few examples.

Cretomania is the first volume entirely devoted to such modern responses to (and uses of) the Minoan past. Although not an exhaustive and systematic study of the reception of Minoan Crete, it offers a wide range of intriguing examples and represents an original contribution to a thus far underexplored aspect of Minoan studies: the remarkable effects of Minoan Crete beyond the narrow boundaries of recondite archaeological research.

The volume is organised in three main sections: the first deals with the conscious, unconscious, and coincidental allusions to Minoan Crete in modern architecture, and also discusses archaeological reconstructions; the second presents examples from the visual and performing arts (as well as other cultural practices) illustrating how Minoan Crete has been enlisted to explore and challenge questions of Orientalism, religion, sexuality, and gender relations; the third focuses on literature, and shows how the distant Minoan past has been used to interrogate critically more recent Greek history.

Nicoletta Momigliano is Reader in Aegean Prehistory at the University of Bristol, specialising in Minoan archaeology. She has directed archaeological projects in Crete and Turkey, and is the author of many articles and books, including *Archaeology and European Modernity: Producing and Consuming the Minoans* (2006, co-edited with Yannis Hamilakis) and *Duncan Mackenzie: a Cautious Canny Highlander and the Palace of Minos at Knossos* (1999).

Alexandre Farnoux is Professor of Archaeology and History of Art at the University of Paris IV (Sorbonne) and, since 2011, has been Director of the French School in Athens. He is an expert on the archaeology of Crete, where he has directed excavations at Malia and Dreros. His numerous publications include *Cnossos, l'archéologie d'un rêve* (1993) and *Homère, le prince des poètes* (2010).

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CRETOMANIA

MODERN DESIRES FOR THE MINOAN PAST

EDITED BY
Nicoletta Momigliano and Alexandre Farnoux

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Preface and acknowledgements

This volume is the first to emerge from a series of international colloquia organised by the École française d'Athènes in collaboration with the Institute of Greece, Rome, and the Classical Tradition (IGRCT, University of Bristol) and the British School at Athens. This series has the general title of MANIA (Mouvement d'art néo et influence archéologique) and examines the reception of archaeological discoveries and ancient material culture (Minoan, Greek, Byzantine, etc.) among modern and contemporary arts as well as other cultural practices.

Although reception studies are long-established in the study of literature (particularly in comparative literature), the same cannot be said with regard to the history of art and archaeology, where the useful but limited concept of influence still largely holds sway. Hellenism – which the École française d'Athènes has explored in all its aspects since 1846 – has provided European artists with the remains of a prestigious and much-valued material culture. In different countries and ages, these remains have provoked different responses, from passionate admiration to rejection. We now have a relatively clear understanding of the long, slow transmission and gradual reception of the great literary and philosophical texts as well as their impact on European literature since the Renaissance, and even before. Much less secure, however, is our understanding of the effects of archaeological discoveries, which are often by nature sudden and unexpected. Nevertheless, the artistic 'fortune' of Hellenism, constantly transformed by these new discoveries, appears to be particularly rich. On the one hand, archaeological discoveries have provoked many questions and passionate debates in artistic circles: thus, modern responses to Antiquity have affected all artistic domains and merit our careful consideration. On the other hand, modern aesthetics, which also vary according to country and era, have informed the understanding and reception of materials emerging from excavations. It is this encounter between past and present, this mutual exchange and its artistic, cultural and political issues, which the MANIA programme seeks to explore.

The more specific objectives of these colloquia are multiple: to analyse the historical and intellectual context of the reception of Greek material culture from various periods; to measure how the incorporation of past Greek remains into modern works of art and other cultural practices (from architecture to dance and cinema) has provoked (or not) different 'manias', and may have contributed, in turn, to new interpretations of the past; and to provide, as far as possible, a critical comparison of national reception

traditions, which have made responses to the Greek past political issues debated in the present.

Cretomania was our first colloquium in this 'mania' series, and the fruit of a new French-British collaboration – another *entente cordiale* much enjoyed by both parties. This event was held on 23 and 24 November 2013 at the École française d'Athènes, and was a highly successful, friendly and auspicious occasion. But it was also marked by a double loss: the passing away of Veit Stürmer (1957–2013) and Stylianos Alexiou (1921–2013). The former, a faithful German colleague who was a member of the École française and a devoted 'Maliot', was due to present an important paper on the Gilliérons, but he died suddenly on the boat from Crete on which he was travelling to take part in our colloquium. The latter was a tutelary figure of Cretan studies, whose expertise covered the entire history of the island from Minoan times to the present. We dedicate this volume to their memory.

Cretomania would not have been possible without the help of various institutions and individuals, and it is a great pleasure to express here our deep gratitude to our sponsors and other people who offered their help: members of staff in the École française d'Athènes (especially Joulien Fournier and Sophia Zoumboulaki); the Institute of Greece, Rome, and the Classical Tradition (IGRCT) of the University of Bristol; and Prof. Cathy Morgan, the Director of the British School at Athens, and other members of staff (especially Tania Gerousi). For chairing sessions (including the showing of the 'docudrama' *Atlantis: End of a World, Birth of a Legend*) and for their comments on various papers, we thank Gerald Cadogan, Ilaria Caloi, Michael Fotiadis, Katerina Kopaka, Colin Macdonald, Pietro Militello, Clairy Palyvou and Iris Tzachilis. Lucile Arnoux-Farnoux kindly read the Greek version presented by Beaton at the colloquium in his (unexpected) absence. Jessica Priestly (IGRCT, University of Bristol) provided invaluable help with proofreading and other tasks connected with this volume. Anne Leaver (Technical Illustrator, University of Bristol) helped with the digital illustrations. We also thank Roderick Beaton, Hayley Wood and Don Evely for their translations.

Alexandre Farnoux
Nicoletta Momigliano

Introduction: Cretomania – desiring the Minoan past in the present

Nicoletta Momigliano

> L'art crétois, mycénien, et toute leur décoration, révélée aux ateliers, vinrent bouleverser l'art viennois, animer l'art official munichois de 1905, puis les premiers peintres qui travaillèrent pour Diaghilev . . . Cette "crétomanie" devait durer jusqu'en 1914.
>
> (Morand 2011 [1960–61])

> Le passé n'éclairant plus l'avenir, l'esprit marche dans les ténèbres.
>
> (de Tocqueville 1840, Quatrième partie, Chapitre VIII)

> To articulate the past historically does not mean to recognize it 'the way it really was' (Ranke). It means to seize hold of a memory as it flashes up at a moment of danger . . . The danger affects both the content of the tradition and its receivers. The same threat hangs over both: that of becoming a tool of the ruling classes. In every era the attempt must be made anew to wrest tradition away from a conformism that is about to overpower it . . . Only that historian will have the gift of fanning the spark of hope in the past who is firmly convinced that *even the dead* will not be safe from the enemy if he wins. And this enemy has not ceased to be victorious.
>
> A historical materialist approaches a historical subject only where he encounters it as a monad. In this structure he recognizes the sign of . . . a revolutionary chance in the fight for the oppressed past. He takes cognizance of it in order to blast a specific era out of the homogeneous course of history – blasting a specific life out of the era or a specific work out of the lifework.
>
> (Benjamin 1999 [1955], Theses on the Philosophy of History VI and XVII)

This volume on *Cretomania* illustrates some examples of modern responses to the material culture of Minoan Crete. In other words, it focuses on the enthusiasm and desire for what we now call the Minoan past – enthusiasm and desire that are often manifested in the allusion to and citation of fragments from this past in various cultural practices, from literature to painting, and from architecture to religious movements. As noted by Sylvie Humbert-Mougin, the term 'Cretomania' itself, in its French version 'crétomanie', was first used by the renowned author Paul Morand in a 1960 article on Crete published in the

Revue des Voyages, which described this particular mania for things Minoan among Viennese artists and Diaghilev's Ballets Russes, especially in the period of the Belle Époque.[1]

The use of allusions to and quotations from the past in the works of modern authors and artists, and the continuous dialogue and negotiation between past and present, are, to a large extent, fundamental and essential elements in every history of scholarship and in reception studies. In the field of Minoan studies, there has been considerable previous work on the history of Minoan scholarship and, to a much lesser extent, on Minoan reception (and this volume continues a dialogue started by such work).[2] This, however, is the first publication entirely devoted to modern responses to the material culture of Minoan Crete.

Although reception theory and reception histories have now been flourishing in many fields during the last few decades,[3] archaeology appears to have shown more reluctance to adopt this kind of approach. This is, perhaps, partly because, as Martin Bernal once remarked:

> Twentieth-century archaeology has been bedevilled by [what] I shall call 'archaeological positivism'. It is the fallacy that dealing with 'objects' makes one 'objective': the belief that interpretations of archaeological evidence are as solid as the archaeological finds themselves.[4]

The solid materiality of the Minoan past is, of course, undeniable. Nevertheless, just as the Athenian Acropolis, for example, 'is a cultural product not only of the fifth century BC, but of millennia',[5] so the Minoan past is not merely what happened in Crete in the 3rd and 2nd millennia BC (i.e. in what has become the canonical chronology of the 'Minoan Age'),[6] but also the product of centuries of scholarship, including reconstructions, and of responses to this past steeped in various interpretative traditions, some of which are not merely related to archaeology and its practice. In addition, and to paraphrase Jauss, the real significance and legacy of the Minoan past have arguably been determined to a large extent by the chain of interpretations and receptions of Minoan material culture.[7] Whether it is the 'palace-temple' of Knossos,[8] the famous 'snake-goddess', the 'Taureador/Bull leaping' or the 'Prince of Lilies' frescoes, these objects are nowadays no longer products only of 2nd-millennium BC Crete, but they are experienced in the present, and have acquired multiple layers of meanings since their rediscovery in the early 20th century – in no small part also thanks to their association with famous later Greek myths (such as Theseus and the Minotaur), the bane and blessing of Aegean Bronze Age archaeology. While the structures and objects essentially remain the same,[9] their symbolism and significance have continued to change within the present, because they continue to exist and are experienced in the present: Knossos has become a Cretan 'Acropolis'; the 'snake goddess', which for Evans signified the Great Minoan Mother Goddess and a precursor of the Christian Virgin Mary,

for others reflected both the 'antiquity' and 'modernity' of Minoan culture, its Oriental and alluring nature, full of sexual promises, its feminine, matriarchal character and the possibility for a better life, especially for women (cf. various chapters in this volume and Figure I.1).

Thus, if Minoan Crete continues to fascinate and matter to us, it is not simply because of the peculiarities of its remarkable material culture, but largely because of the individual responses to it: writers, architects, politicians, and artists, as well as archaeologists and historians, give it new meanings and new importance in their own present. This, as Donald Preziosi reminds us in his contribution to this volume, recalls Walter Benjamin's ideas about snatching something from the past for its revolutionary potential to change the present. Or, to use Hannah Arendt's words, Benjamin's use of quotations represented a new way of dealing with the past, emerging not from his despair about a past that, in Tocqueville's terms, no longer threw light upon the future, but 'out of the despair of the present and the desire to destroy it'.[10]

The revolutionary function of the past in its continuous and multi-temporal dialogue with the present is also closely reminiscent of T.S. Eliot's affirmation that 'no poet, no artist of any art has his complete meaning alone. His significance, his appreciation is the appreciation of the dead poets and artists'; it also echoes Eliot's idea that the poet or artist of any art

> is not likely to know what is to be done unless he lives in what is not merely the present, but the present moment of the past, unless he is conscious not of what is dead, but of what is already living.[11]

This realisation of the Minoan past's revolutionary potential, in a broad sense, is amply illustrated in many chapters collected in this volume, which has been divided into three parts.

In Part 1 ('Cretomania and the built environment – conscious, unconscious, and coincidental allusions in modern architecture and reconstructions'), the chapters by Preziosi, Philippides and Sgouros, and Blakolmer focus on how Minoan architecture and its reconstructions interacted with the work of modern architects and artists who followed modernist trends to revolutionise their present. They also underline how responses and allusions to the Minoan world changed considerably between the two world wars: before 1914, the aesthetics of Art Nouveau clearly influenced contemporary responses to Minoan Crete and paved the way to its favourable reception, whereas after World War I, it is Minoan material culture that influences more clearly certain productions of Art Déco.[12] Most importantly, these chapters bring to the forefront a number of methodological questions concerning the nature of Minoan citations and the history of the transmission of Minoan imagery (cf. also below, pp. 7–8).

In Part 2 ('Cretomania in the visual and performing arts, and in other cultural practices'), the chapters by Caloi, Momigliano, Morris, Boucher, and Burns deal with various ways in which Minoan material culture has been

enlisted to explore and challenge questions of Orientalism, religion, sexuality, and gender relations. In particular, the themes investigated by these chapters include the dominance of females in modern dance, and the human body as an expression of identity as well as a vehicle for the transcendent, in opposition to attitudes that mortify the flesh and stress the dichotomy between body and spirit.[13] In addition, these chapters show how the first-hand encounter with Minoan Crete by artists such as Léon Bakst, Mathurin Méheut, and Yvonne Jean-Haffen influenced their trajectory towards new artistic trends and revolutionary creations; in the case of Bakst, more specifically, the Minoan past helped to enrich his palette and enhanced his appreciation of the human body in movement, while, at the same time, Bakst's own appreciation of the Minoan past gave it a new significance in the context of Early Modernism.[14]

Finally, the chapters by Beaton, Kopaka, and Galanaki in Part 3 ('Cretomania in literature – dialogues with Rhea Galanaki') illustrate how the distant Minoan past is used to interrogate critically more recent Greek history: in Galanaki's own words, 'a period that we think of conventionally as "remote" can still lay its touch upon our present, can even lead us to new narratives about the past' (μια εποχή που σχηματικά ονομάζουμε 'μακρινή', μπορεί να αγγίξει το παρόν μας, μπορεί επιπλέον να μας οδηγήσει σε καινούριες αφηγήσεις για το παρελθόν). These chapters, in particular, show how the Minoan past has been crucial in the creation of a unique modern Cretan identity,[15] how it has been incorporated in broader Mediterranean narratives, and how it has become part of challenges to current hegemonic historical narratives that try to erase non-Greek heritages (especially the Ottoman) from the long continuum of Greek history.

Like the Cretan Bronze Age and the history of its archaeological interpretations, modern receptions of the Minoan past can be the subject of historical and historicising approaches. Indeed, the aims of this volume include situating the various responses to this ancient material culture in their historical and intellectual background, and comparing, whenever possible, national and transnational traditions. As already mentioned, the various responses to Minoan material culture illustrated here show the conscious, and sometimes unconscious, projecting onto the Minoan past of specific contemporary anxieties and concerns. In particular, the rediscovery of Minoan Crete and the 'first Cretomania'[16] coincided with the Belle Époque and the artistic movement often referred to as Art Nouveau. This and other related modernist movements have often been represented as a radical rupture from the past (and especially from the classical and classicising heritages), but in fact can be seen to represent a more self-conscious revision and use of the past to confront various issues, such as the emergence of a post-Christian and more materialistic society, sexuality and the woman question, the tension between rational (Apollonian) and irrational (Dionysian) impulses, and more broadly the legacy of Enlightenment's rationalism.[17] After World War I, the Minoan past continued to be redeployed for exploring these modern concerns, but

it also became an important arena for delving into the human desires for both war and peace.[18] Seemingly idyllic representations of the Minoan world (such as the 'Saffron Gatherer', 'Grand Stand', and 'Sacred Grove' frescoes) and refined features in the architecture of the Minoan palaces (such as the presence of light-wells, toilets, and drains) could be conjured up to create an image of Minoan Crete as a lost paradise, a primeval and, at the same time, advanced peaceful civilisation – an image that a Western world, scarred by the recent conflict, was eager to embrace.[19] Late 19th- and early 20th-century utopian theories, such as those developed by William Morris in his 1890 *News from Nowhere*, also contributed to the creation of this Minoan never-never land.

And yet, and as we hope will be clear from what has been discussed so far, this historicising approach should not be seen as an end in itself and as an exercise in filling up a neat, chronologically linear narrative – let alone an exercise in removing anachronistic layers or accretions of interpretations in an attempt to reveal the past 'the way it really was'. The aim, instead, is to bring more reflexivity, more consciousness of the factors that contribute to interpretations of and responses to the Minoan past, including our own. In doing so, our goal is to offer a contribution to the history of ideas about Minoan Crete and new challenges to the present. As Elisabeth Prettejohn has eloquently written about the Venus de Milo, 'Each of the receptions of the Venus is "subjective", yet each is also a response *to* the object . . . each reception potentially has something to tell us about the Venus as well as something about the subjective perception of the receiver'.[20] *Mutatis mutandis*, each response to the Minoan past can be seen as subjective and historically contingent, but these responses are not entirely arbitrary: they all relate to specific features of Minoan culture, whether it is the exposed breasts in female imagery, the slim wasp-waisted representations of the human body, or the downward tapering Minoan columns; and we can potentially learn something from all of them. Take, for example, the responses to what have been perceived as androgynous, sexually ambiguous human representations in Minoan frescoes by Dmitri Merezhkovsky in the early 20th century and by members of the Minoan Brotherhood in the early 21st century (cf. the chapters by Momigliano and Burns). These can be historicised and evaluated in their own terms, but they can also be linked and compared to help us to reflect more generally upon some established assumptions regarding representations of sex and gender, and how these are employed to extrapolate broad generalisations about the organisation of society and gender relations.

Some responses to the Minoan past presented in this volume also remind us vividly of their political dimensions, especially if we compare them to some recent articles in the Greek press, which have stressed the 'European' character of the Minoans (against an alleged African origin) and their close links to the modern population of Lassithi.[21] These articles were, in turn, reporting on a paper on DNA analyses of modern and ancient Cretan populations published

in *Nature Communications* in May 2013.[22] In this paper, the authors claimed that they had 'finally' proved that Sir Arthur Evans was wrong – the origins of Minoan civilisation had nothing to do with Africa, because DNA analyses demonstrated that

> The Minoans show the strongest relationships with Neolithic and modern European populations and with the modern inhabitants of the Lassithi plateau. Our data are compatible with the hypothesis of an autochthonous development of the Minoan civilization by the descendants of the Neolithic settlers of the island.

This article is problematic for many reasons: to mention a few, it creates a 'straw man' argument by conveniently forgetting that nowadays nobody really takes Evans's African origins seriously and by de-contextualising, oversimplifying, and misrepresenting Evans's ideas on Minoan Crete (especially his belief in its fundamentally 'European' character); it skims over the fact that the Neolithic ancestors of the Minoans most likely came from the Near East, and that their own ancestors, in turn, ultimately came from Africa (in the Palaeolithic period); it forgets that 'European' and 'Minoans' are modern cultural constructs; finally, and most importantly, at this particular moment in the history of Greece, with attacks on migrants and ethnic minorities (and a European crisis to boot!), one may well ask whether this kind of use of the Minoan past, with its stress on the connection between DNA and culture, on the links between Crete and 'Europe' but not Africa and the Near East (recalling early 20th-century Eurocentric and racist discourses), is rather naïve or deliberately playing on current political and racial tensions.

Some readers may also recall an earlier case connecting the Minoans and racial questions that involved two Greek archaeologists working on Crete: Metaxia Tsipopoulou and Kostas Christakis.[23] During the 2009 public launch of a book by Christakis on Minoan Crete, which took place in Herakleion, Tsipopoulou and Christakis mentioned that the Minoans were not Greeks, in the sense that they did not speak a Greek language and were people of oriental origins, being largely descended from the Neolithic people, who migrated to the island from the Fertile Crescent (i.e. southern Anatolia and the Levant). This created an uproar at the time, and even led to a parliamentary question: two ministers (from parties situated at the opposite ends of the political spectrum) demanded clarifications concerning the Ministry of Culture's official view on the ethnicity of the Minoans, and there were lively exchanges in various Greek blogs and in the press, some clearly of an anti-Semitic character.[24]

These episodes remind us, once again, of the significance that the Minoans may acquire beyond narrow academic archaeological circles, of the politics of the past, and how these rest on the complex history of their reception and on the production of knowledge about their past. In other words, these current

controversies about the supposed European and Hellenic character of the Minoans are embedded in specific contemporary circumstances, but they are also part of a chain of interpretations and receptions of the Minoan material culture, which started in the early 20th century and have roots in even earlier Eurocentric and racist interpretative traditions, as some of the chapters in this volume illustrate.[25]

Some form of incorporation of the Minoans into the history of Greece is perhaps inevitable,[26] but there are different ways in which this can take shape, and they represent choices with political and ethical implications. One way is what one might call the 'Hellenisation' of the Minoans – the reluctance to accept that Greek history may embrace something that is not 'Greek' unless it is somehow 'Hellenised'.[27] Another is what one might call the 'Minoanisation' of the Hellenes – the recognition of the notion that what one may call Greek culture is so interesting and rich precisely because of its multi-racial and multi-cultural heritage over many millennia, and not the result of some essentialist notion of Greek-ness, of culture as a product of race or DNA, that must be projected back as far as possible into the past.

In addition to the 'revolutionary' potential and the political dimension of modern responses to the Minoans, this volume also raises more specific questions concerning the nature of Minoan citations or allusions, and the history of the transmission of Minoan material culture, which recall debates on allusions, citations, influence, plagiarism, and intertextuality that have bedevilled scholars working on literary subjects for decades, if not centuries.[28]

The processes and the means by which writers and artists have encountered Minoan Crete can vary considerably, and these may have affected what they chose to quote, especially in view of the relatively limited 'canon' of Minoan images that seem to have been redeployed, whether they were authentic or reconstructed. In some cases (e.g. Léon Bakst, Mathurin Méheut, and Yvonne Jean-Haffen), the encounter with Minoan material culture was direct, but in others (e.g. Fortuny), it was mediated through publications. And while the crucial role of Evans's publications in the diffusion of things Minoan to the general public should never be underestimated, some chapters in this volume indicate that the work of other scholars deserves further scrutiny and recognition (e.g. Minos Kalokairinos, Salomon Reinach, Edmond Pottier, and Christian Zervos). This becomes particularly obvious when one takes into account that Evans did not start his Cretan work from a *tabula rasa* (see, e.g., Kopaka's chapter); that in the early 20th century, Paris was the main cultural capital in the world; and that French, rather than English, was the *langue de culture*. Indeed, one could argue that Paris was, in this period, the Minoan capital par excellence, given its crucial role in the reception of Minoan Crete and its diffusion to wide audiences.[29]

Chapters in this volume also grapple with the basic methodological question of how we can detect 'Cretomania' in modern texts, objects, images,

and other media, and they illustrate several different approaches. In some cases, the focus is on citations and allusions to Minoan Crete that are obvious, easily recognisable, and can be backed up by explicit statements by artists and writers (e.g. in the chapters by Boucher, Caloi, and Momigliano). Some influences and citations, however, are not immediately apparent, even if they are the result of direct, conscious involvement with Minoan material culture, as recognised by the artists themselves (see examples in the chapters by Blakolmer and by Philippides and Sgouros).[30] In some instances, it is debatable as to whether there was a Minoan influence at all as opposed to other sources, which happen to share generic iconographic or architectural similarities with Bronze Age Crete; in other cases, the supposed Minoan influences may well be entirely unconscious; and, finally, some may even be modern fabrications (e.g. the case of Frank Lloyd Wright, as argued in Preziosi's chapter), even if these are based on perceptive observations about broad correspondences that, some would argue, can still tell us something about Minoan Crete.

To conclude, this volume obviously cannot be (and does not aim to be) an exhaustive and systematic study of the reception of Minoan Crete in modern cultural practices – this would be an impossible task, or a task that would require decades of research, even if one focused only on the 20th century, so numerous are the writers, artists, and their works. We are only too aware that our volume does not include discussions of fascinating local Cretan artists, such as Florentini Kaloutsi and her involvement with the Arts and Crafts movement,[31] Roussetos Panagiotakis,[32] Antones Markakes,[33] or the recent (2013) theatrical production for children entitled *Theseus and Ariadne in the Island of the Bulls* (*Θησέας και Αριάδνη στο Νησί των Ταύρων*) by Stratis Paschalis, with choreography by Sophia Spyratou, and very Minoan sets and costumes by Manolis Pantelidakis.[34] Other interesting 'Minoanising' works that we have not been able to include here are the cartoon series *Age of Bronze* by the well-known American artist Eric Shanower, or *La Galère d'Obélix* (English title: *Asterix and Obelix All at Sea*) in the famous *Asterix* series of René Goscinny and Albert Uderzo. Nor could we discuss the British BBC family entertainment fantasy drama series *Atlantis* (2013–) and the 2006 sculpture *Pulsar* by Albert Vardanyan, now in the grounds of the Berlin Art Hotel in Gyumri, Armenia (Figure I.2), with its citation of the Phaistos disk – one never knows where works alluding to Minoan Crete may turn up! As mentioned in our preface, the replicas created by the Gilliérons, which contributed to 'Cretomania' in no small measure, represented one crucial aspect that we had planned to include, but sadly is missing, since it was the subject dealt with by our late colleague Veit Stürmer. Despite its many gaps, we hope that this volume will offer an original contribution to what has remained, so far, an under-explored aspect of Minoan studies. We also hope it will stimulate more broadly some reflection on the scope, significance, and practice of Aegean Bronze Age archaeology, and offer some intriguing examples of the reception of its material culture.

Notes

1 See Humbert-Mougin 2006, p. 205. The terms Cretomania/crétomanie are modelled on the much older 'Egyptomania', which can be traced back to Sir John Soane's use of the phrase 'Egyptian mania' to describe the craze for things Egyptian in the visual and decorative arts occurring in the early 19th century, after Napoleon's 1798 invasion of Egypt, and the subsequent British intervention and involvement in the region (see Curran 1996, p. 79).

2 For example, Farnoux 1993, 1996; Cherry *et al.* 2005; Darcque *et al.* 2006; Hamilakis & Momigliano 2006; and Boucher & Darcque 2014.

3 See, e.g., Martindale 2006, pp. 1–2, on reception studies as one of the fastest-growing subject areas in the UK.

4 Bernal 1987, p. 9. There are signs, however, that matters are changing: for example, at the 2006 International Cretological Congress, there were only two papers devoted to the history of Minoan scholarship (out of well over 200 papers in the prehistoric section alone), whereas in 2011, there were two entire sessions devoted to these subjects in the prehistoric section, which also included papers specifically on modern receptions of the Minoans.

5 Yalouri 2001, p. 112.

6 Note, however, that in the middle of the 19th century the phrase 'Minoan Age' referred to a shorter period in the 2nd millennium BC: see Karadimas & Momigliano 2004.

7 Jauss 1982, p. 20.

8 On Knossos as palace, temple, or 'palace-temple', see Schoep 2010, with further bibliography.

9 For example, reconstructions of Knossos or Knossian frescoes may vary considerably, but the actual pieces that make them up have largely remained the same.

10 Arendt 1968, part III ('The Pearl Diver').

11 Eliot 1919, p. 55 and p. 73. For germane concepts on the relationship past/present and multi-temporalities (i.e. the presence of the past in the present, and of the present in the past), but within a more specific archaeological discourse, see Olivier 2003, especially pp. 209–212. See also Hamilakis 2013, pp. 119–124.

12 See also Farnoux 1996, stressing the importance not only of Art Nouveau, but also of the Arts and Crafts movement.

13 On contemporary modernist explorations of *Körpferkultur*, largely as a reaction against restrictive 19th-century mortification of the body, see, e.g., Jones 2013, p. 1, and especially pp. 75–76, with further references.

14 On 'Early Modernism', see Butler 1994.

15 On the Minoan past and the creation of a unique modern Cretan identity, and its 'ambivalent incorporation' in Greek identity discourses, see also Hamilakis 2006.

16 See Blakolmer, Chapter 3 of this volume.

17 On Early Modernism not as a rupture with the past but a more self-conscious use of the past to change the present, see, e.g., Prettejohn 2012, pp. 1–6, 172–181; Jones 2013, p. 228; see also Momigliano, Chapter 5 in this volume.

18 Gere 2009. See also Treuil 2006.

19 Farnoux 1993, pp. 120–121; Treuil 2006.

20 Prettejohn 2006, p. 245; 2012, pp. 89–90. See also Momigliano, Chapter 5 in this volume.

21 See, e.g., the article in *TO BHMA* of 14 May 2013 at http://www.tovima.gr/science/medicine-biology/article/?aid=512580; also available at http://www.cretalive.gr/culture/view/apogonoi-twn-minwitwn-oi-shmerinoi-krhtes/82173 (consulted on 20 November 2013 and 24 June 2014).

22 Hughey *et al.* 2013.

23 I thank Tsipopoulou and Christakis for sharing their reminiscences of this sad episode, for permission to mention it, and for providing some relevant documentation.

24 See, e.g., articles entitled "Οι Κρήτες είναι Ελληνες ή Σημίτες;" in *Patris*, 30 June 2009 (http://www.patris.gr/articles/159974/#.U60joqj9rKk) and "Έλληνες οι Μινωίτες ή Εβραίοι;" in *Patris*, 23 June 2009 (http://www.patris.gr/articles/159543#.U60ksqj9rKk); see also "Παρουσίασαν τους Μινωίτες ως . . . Εβραίους!" at http://www.thermopilai.org/content/parousiasan-tous-minoites-os . . . -ebraious (all consulted in November 2013 and June 2014). A simple Google search for Μινωίτες+ Εβραίοι will lead to many other blogs and articles on this contentious topic. Because of this public debate, Tsipopoulou and Christakis (the latter and his family in particular) were subjected not only to verbal and written abuse, but also to actual threats of physical violence.

25 On colonialist end Eurocentric interpretative traditions regarding Minoan Crete, see also Hamilakis 2002; Momigliano 2002; Hamilakis & Momigliano 2006.

26 On the incorporation of Crete in Greek discourses, cf. above and note 15.

27 On the 'Hellenisation' of the Minoan past, see Beaton 2006, 2008; Simandiraki 2006.

28 Only a few examples will be mentioned here: Ricks 1976; Lonsdale 1979; Kristeva 1986 (1966).

29 See Momigliano 2014 and Chapter 5 in this volume.

30 See also Blakolmer 2006.

31 Mitsotaki 1999; Greensted 2010.

32 http://www.roussetos-art.gr/

33 Hamilakis 2006.

34 See http://entertainment.in.gr/html/ent/196/ent.137196.asp (last consulted on 16 June 2014).

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