The Tourists Gaze, the Cretans Glance: Archaeology and Tourism on a Greek Island, by Philip Duke, 2007. Walnut Creek (CA): Left Coast Press; I SBN-13 978-1-598-74142-1 hardback £35 & US$65; ISBN-13 978-1-598-74143-8 paperback £15.99 & US$29.95; vi+154 pp., 9 figs., 3 tables

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> Archaeology was conceived as a middle-class enterprise and it has been-and continues to be-redolent with middle-class mores, ideologies, and interests. If archaeology is to continue down the path to becoming a more socially and politically aware discipline, it must make itself available to as wide a segment of society as possible, perhaps more than its practitioners initially feel comfortable with. (p. 121)

One of the refreshing aspects of this book is the author's willingness to bring the term 'class' to the forefront of his analysis. This phrase appears regularly from the very beginning of Duke's discussion; a term that, at least to this reviewer, seems to have been addressed but rarely used as the main focus of recent studies of archaeological heritage. This is a book about the relationship between Crete, her past and her tourists, looking at the role of the island's Minoan heritage in providing a metanarrative supporting western social inequality. Duke openly acknowledges that he was initially tempted to utilize a broadly *Foucaultian* lens to look at these different factors, yet he shies away from this approach and in this very act moves this study away from the plethora of recent publications that have leant towards Foucault's and other postmodernist theorists' work in their analysis of the world of public archaeology. This, as Duke notes, is not necessarily a negative standpoint, for these works have been valuable and influential in the field, but one cannot help but breath a sigh of relief when he opts to describe the 'Tourists Gaze' and the 'Cretans Glance' in terms of class, ethnicity and inequality, rather than as the peeps of the *flâneur* or *flâneuse* or as views solely defined by their particular historical episteme.

Beginning by placing the work in its theoretical and personal context, Duke then proceeds to detail the archaeological history of Crete, before moving on to discuss the various western characters to have fallen in love with the island's mythological prehistory — the shadow of Arthur Evans is, of course, pre-eminent throughout. Yet, he also talks in depth about the role that sites such as Knossos, Phaistos, Tylissos, Gournia, Kato Zakro, Mallia and Agia Triada (amongst others) play within the branding of Crete for a primarily western tourist market and how this marketing works to legitimise these same tourists' preconceptions of Cretan heritage and views of their own culture (and of their own social position within it). The author's personal diary entries colour the analysis throughout, providing the reader with a somewhat voyeuristic insight into Duke's thoughts as he travels around the island. Indeed, it is this deliberate foregrounding of his position as intellectual outsider that offers one of the keys to the overall success of this book. The author acknowledges that, as a successful researcher and academic, he has moved away from his working class upbringing in Liverpool. He realizes that he now leads a very privileged life: a life not so different to those of the many wealthy travellers that visit Crete each year. Duke is critical of elements of these annual inundations but is careful not to segregate himself and to patronize these groups, recognizing that his own love of the island came from similarly prejudiced, western sources.

The author adopts an interdisciplinary approach in his study, mixing archaeological discussion with elements drawn from social history, anthropology and the tourist literature inspired by the popular images and stereotypes of Cretan culture. Duke's subjective impressions drift in and out of his writing. They add colour

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and humanity to his analysis, reminding the reader that he is both archaeologist and tourist. Indeed at times there are strong elements of the travel account in the book. This act in itself anchors the work to its subject matter, emphasizing that the archaeologist has not always come as far from the privileged western traveller of previous centuries as we may at first think:

> Knossos on a cool March day. Already, despite the earliness of the season, the site is full of tourists, though nothing like the hordes that will be there by June. In small groups of two or five, clutching guidebooks like the faithful grasp their rosaries, or in dutiful processions of thirty or more as congregants in the mass, they move through the site. (p. 21)

Whether intentional or not, here we see Duke the solitary academic. Like Edward Lane, Richard Burton, Amelia Edwards or any other famous nineteenth-century scholar-traveller, he observes the tourists as an intellectual bystander. He is not quite the package tourist, yet certainly is not local either. Duke's personal view of the tourist experience is beautifully juxtaposed with a later choice of quote, an Orthodox prayer:

> Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on the cities, the islands and the villages of this Orthodox Fatherland, as well as the holy monasteries which are scourged by the worldly touristic wave. Grace with us a solution to this dramatic problem and protect our brethren who are so sorely tried by the modernistic spirit of these contemporary Western invaders. (New prayer cited in Crick, cited on p. 67)

The author's writing style, his mix of quotations whether they be personal, local, academic, tourist or religious brings the complex interplay of factors behind the Cretan experience to the fore, and in doing so the reader is made aware of the divisions and inequalities that surround the representation and the consumption of the island's archaeological heritage.

However, as good as this book is, one is left wanting more. The topic that Duke addresses is enormous and 120 pages of text seems somewhat brief for the area of study in question. Yet, as an introduction, as a *stimulus* for further research *The Tourists Gaze, the Cretans Glance* is excellent and bodes well for the entire *Heritage, Tourism and Community* series of which it is a part. Archaeology needs more books like these, and I am left feeling optimistic for the future of the discipline as result of reading this work.

Anyone involved in the burgeoning community archaeology field needs to consult this, if only to be reminded that class and inequality are essential areas of future analysis and often provide the intellectual foundations upon which to begin to address more specific questions of community identity and collaborative practices in archaeology. The impact of postmodernism has made many of us wary of meta-narratives in all their guises, yet we cannot afford to forget that class is still a crucial lens by which to view the relationship between the past and the present. Philip Duke firmly underlines this point in this refreshing, challenging and powerful little book. In the conclusion he suggests that by encouraging tourists to view different aspects of the past-to draw their gaze away from elitism-archaeologists may challenge the social divisions of the present:

> Gournia, located on the Gulf of Mirabello, can be seen as an ordinary Minoan 'working-class' town, despite the presence of a small palace vainly copying the larger palaces to the west. If Gournia were the metaphor by which tourists understood the Minoan past, then a totally different past would be known. Here the past is important for the works and lives of ordinary 'working-class' men and women. The elite fade into obscurity. A different site provides a different metaphor, which provides a different past and thereby a different understanding of the present. (Duke 2006, cited on p. 121)

I could not agree more. It is important to understand the mechanisms of power and the role of the elite but, as Duke suggests, we need to temper this with a greater understanding of the lives and the social roles of the silenced, subaltern masses of the past and of the present. The main success of this publication is that it manages to achieve just this.

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