

NANNO (Ourania) MARINATOS

2018

- Present Position: Department Head and Professor, Department of Classics and Mediterranean Studies, University of Illinois.
- [Education](#)
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Education

Universities attended:

University of Colorado at Boulder, B.A. 1971-73, M.A. 1975, Ph.D. 1978.

Doctoral dissertation:

Thucydides and Traditional Religion

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Teaching Positions:

Oberlin College (1978-79); University of Colorado (1981); Loyola Univ. of Chicago (1991/92); University of Illinois- (2000-2019); College Year in Athens (currently).

Courses taught:

1. Greek Myth and Religion; 2. Greek Tragedy; 3. Iliad; 4. Herodotus; 5. Thucydides; 6. Near Eastern Myth; 7. Seminar in Mediterranean Traditions.

Special Field:

Ancient Greek History and Literature. Greek religion and iconography.

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Memberships and Awards

Phi Beta Kappa

Member of Austrian Archaeological Institute.

Member of the German Archaeological Institute (Korespondierendes Mitglied)

Member of the Austrian Academy of Sciences

Member of the Athens Archaeological Society

Secretary of the Archaeological Society Foundation (USA)

Recipient of the 2017 **Felix Neubergh Lecture award**: Gothenburg, Sweden May 30, 2017.

Recipient of the College of Arts and Sciences, University of Illinois at Chicago, Distinguished **Professor Award**. Oct. 2017.

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Papers and Presentations

Scholarly papers and lectures delivered

1) in the USA:

Cornell Univ., Ithaca; Princeton Univ. N. J.; Univ. of Colorado, Boulder; Oriental Institute, Chicago; Art Institute, Chicago; Duke University; Institute of Fine Arts, New York; Univ. of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; Temple Univ., Pennsylvania; SUNY at Buffalo; Univ. of Cincinnati; the Paul Getty Museum, Malibu; Univ. of California at Los Angeles; Univ. of California at Santa Barbara; Pomona College; SIU, Univ. of Florida, etc.

2) in Europe: Yale University; NYU; Cambridge, (England); Lisbon (Portugal); Bergen, Oslo and Tromso (Norway); Göteborg and Uppsala, (Sweden); Vienna, Salzburg, (Austria); Marburg, Giessen, Saarbrücken, Freiburg, Heidelberg, Hildesheim, Ohlstadt (W. Germany); Zürich, Basel, (Switzerland)

Other Academic Activities

Austrian Archaeological Institute, Cairo. Study of Minoan paintings at the ancient city of Avaris (Tell el Dab'a), Egypt.

Member of dissertation committee at the University of Tromsø, Norway January 1966.

Member of Dissertation committee of Macquarie University Australia

Member of evaluation committee of promotion and tenure, Univ. of Bergen, Norway May 2002.

Guest Prof. at the Univ. of Zurich, May 2002. Seminar on Epiphanies in the Greek world.

Guest Professor at the University of Bergen, Norway (Spring 2004)

List of Academic Publications

Scholarly Books

1. *Thucydides and Religion*, Königstein: Hain Verlag, 1981. (Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie, 129.)
2. *Art and Religion in Thera. Reconstructing a Bronze Age Society*, Athens: Mathioulakis, 1984. (Also in German, Athens 1988.)
3. *Minoan Sacrificial Ritual: Cult Practice and Symbolism*, Stockholm: Paul Åströms Förlag, 1986. (Skrifter utg. av Svenska institutet i Athen, Series in 8:o, 9.)

4. *Minoan Religion: Ritual, Image and Symbol*, Columbia S. Carolina 1993.
5. *The Goddess and the Warrior. The Naked Goddess and Mistress of Animals in Early Greek Religion*. Routledge 2000.
6. *Taureador Scenes in Tell el Dab'a and Knossos* (with Manfred Bietak and Clairy Palyvou). Verlag der Oesterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna 2007
7. *Minoan Kingship and the Solar Goddess*. University of Illinois Press 2010.
[Reviewed by Colin Renfrew, Times Literary Supplement.](#)
8. *Sir Arthur Evans and Minoan Crete: Creating a Vision of Knossos* (London: I.B. Tauris 2015).
9. *Ακρωτήρι, Σαντορίνη. Η Βιογραφία μιας Χαμένης Πολιτείας. (Μίλητος)*
10. *Akrotiri, Thera, in the East Mediterranean*. Athens: Militos 2015.

Books Edited and Co-edited

1. *Sanctuaries and Cults in the Aegean Bronze Age*, Stockholm: Paul Aströms Förlag, 1981, ed. together with R. Hägg. (Skrifter utg. av Svenska institutet i Athen, Series in 4:o, 28.)
2. *The Minoan Thalassocracy: Myth and Reality*, Stockholm: Paul Aströms Förlag, 1984, ed. together with R. Hägg. (Skrifter utg. av Svenska institutet i Athen, Series in 4:o, 32.)
3. *The Function of the Minoan Palaces*, Stockholm: Paul Aströms Förlag, 1987, ed. together with R. Hägg. (Skrifter utg. av Svenska institutet i Athen, Series in 4:o, 35.)
4. *Early Greek Cult Practice*, Stockholm: Paul Aströms Förlag, (1988), ed. together with R. Hägg and G. Nordquist (Skrifter utg. av Svenska institutet i Athen, Series in 4o, 38.)
5. *Greek Sanctuaries: New Approaches*, ed. together with R. Hägg, London, Routledge 1993.
6. *Greece and Gender*, edited together with Brit Berggren. Published by the Norwegian Institute in Athens (Bergen 1995).
7. N. Marinatos, with Danuta Shanzer eds., [Divine Epiphanies in the Ancient World](#). ICS Monographs (2005)

8. *Spyridon Marinatos His Life and Times*. Co-edited with Eleni Matzourani. Kardamitsas Publications. Athens 2014.
9. *Minoan Religion* (co-edited with Fritz Blakolmer. In progress).

Book Reviews

1. E.S. Ramage, ed., *Atlantis: Fact or Fiction?*, Classical Journal 75 (1979-80), pp. 362-364.
2. R.J. Lenardon, *The Saga of Themistocles*, Classical Journal 75 (1979-80), pp. 364-366.
3. W.R. Biers, *The Archaeology of Greece*, Classical Journal 77 (1981-82), pp. 373-374.
4. H. Foley, *Ritual Irony. Poetry and Sacrifice in Euripides*, Classical Journal 82 (1986-87), pp. 154-156.
5. B. Rutkowski, *The Cult Places of the Aegean*, Classical Journal 83 (1987-88), pp. 170-172.
6. *Le système palatial en Orient, en Grèce et à Rome*, Classical Review N.S. 38 (1988), pp. 108-109.
7. G. Gesell, *Town Palace, and House Cult in Minoan Crete*, Bibliotheca Orientalis 44, No 3-4 1987, 535-536.
8. J. Bremmer, ed. Interpretations of Greek Mythology, Classical Journal (1989).
9. P. M. Warren, Minoan Religion as Ritual Action, Journal of Prehistoric Religion, 3-4, 1990.
10. L. Goodison, Death Women and the Sun, Journal of Hellenic Studies 1990-1991, 216-218.
11. W. Pötscher, Aspekte und Probleme der minoischen Religion, The Classical Review 42, 1992, 85-87.

11. J. Weingarten, *The Transformation of the Egyptian Taweret into the Minoan Genius* in Journal of Prehistoric Religion, 55-56.
12. Donald. W. Jones, Peak Sanctuaries and Sacred Caves in Minoan Crete, Journal of Prehistoric Religion 13_1999, 43.
13. I. Nielsen: *Greek Theatre and Ritual Drama*, *Gnomon* 72, 2004, 690-693.
14. Mark Munn, "The Mother of Gods and the Tyranny of Asia", *American Historical Review*, June 2007, p. 908.
15. Cromarty, Robert James. *Burning Bulls, Broken Bones: Sacrificial Ritual in the Context of Palace Period Minoan Religion*, *American Journal of Archaeology*, 114. 1 (Jan. 2010) <http://www.ajaonline.org/online-review-book/657>
16. Cathy Gere, *Knossos and the Prophets of Modernism*, *American Journal of Archaeology* 2010, pp. 1-3.

Scholarly Articles

1. 'Aeneas: False Dream or Messenger of the Manes? (*Aeneid* 6.893ff.)', Philologus 120, 1976, pp. 246-250 (with E.C. Kopff).
2. '*Panolethria* and Divine Punishment in Thucydides', *Parola del Passato* CLXXXII, 1978, pp. 331-337 (with H. Rawlings).
3. 'Nicias As a Wise Advisor and Tragic Warner', Philologus 124, 1980, pp. 305-310.
4. 'Thucydides and Oracles', Journal of Hellenic Studies 101, 1981, pp. 138-140.
5. 'Wahl und Schicksaal bei Herodot', Saeculum 33, 1982, pp. 258-264.
6. 'Det graeske Pompeji', Sfinx 5, 1982, pp. 131-138.
7. 'The West House at Akrotiri as a Cult Center', Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung 98, 1983, pp. 1-19.
8. 'Anthropomorphic Cult Images in Minoan Crete?', in: Minoan Society, ed. by O. Krzyszkowska and L. Nixon, Bristol 1983, pp. 185-201 (with R. Hägg).
9. 'Minoan Threskeiocracy on Thera', in: The Minoan Thalassocracy: Myth and Reality, Stockholm 1984, pp. 167-176.

10. 'The Date-palm in Minoan Iconography and Religion', Opuscula Atheniensi 15, 1984, pp. 115-122.
11. 'The Function of the Thera Frescoes', in: L'iconographie minoenne (Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique, Suppl. 11), Paris 1985, pp. 221-232.
12. 'The Miniature Fresco in the Shrine of the West House at Akrotiri', in: Proceedings of the 5th International Cretological Congress (1981), Vol. I, Herakleion 1985, pp. 206-215.
13. 'On the Ceremonial Function of the Minoan Polythyron', Opuscula Atheniensi 16, 1986, pp. 57-73 (with R. Hägg).
14. 'Public Festivals in the West Courts of the Palaces', in: The Function of the Minoan Palaces, Stockholm 1987, pp. 135-143.
15. 'An Offering of Saffron to the Minoan Goddess of Nature: The Role of the Monkey and the Importance of Saffron', in: Gifts to the Gods. Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium 1985 (Boreas 15), Uppsala 1987, pp. 123-132.
16. 'Role and Sex Division in Ritual Scenes of Aegean Art', Journal of Prehistoric Religion 1, 1987, pp. 23-34.
17. 'The Fresco from Room 31 in the Cult Centre at Mycenae. Problems of Method and Interpretation', in: Problems in Greek Prehistory. Papers Presented at the Centenary Conference of the British School of Archaeology at Athens, Manchester, April 1986, Bristol 1988, pp. 245-252.
18. 'The Monkey in the Shrine: A Fresco Fragment from Thera', in: Eilapine (Festschrift to Nikolaos Platon), Herakleion 1987, pp. 417-421.
19. 'The African in Thera Reconsidered', Opuscula Atheniensi 17, 1988, pp. 137-141.
20. 'The Imagery of Sacrifice: Minoan and Greek' in R. Hägg and N. Marinatos eds., Early Greek Cult Practice, Stockholm 1988, pp. 9-20.
21. 'The Tree as a Focal Point of Ritual Action in Minoan Glyptic Art', in: Fragen und Probleme der bronzezeitlichen Ägäischen Glyptik (Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel, Beiheft 3), Berlin 1989, pp. 127-143.
22. 'Man and Animal in Creto-Mycenaean Art', in: *Philia epe eis G.E. Mylonan*, Vol. 3, Athens 1989, pp. 19-24.

23. 'The Bull as an Adversary. Some Observations on Bull Hunting and Bull-leaping', Ariadne, Festschrift S. Alexiou, Rethymnon 1989, pp. 23-32.
24. 'The Giamalakis Model from Archanes: Between the Minoan and the Greek World ', in: *La Transizione , dal Miceneo all'Alto Arcaismo: Dal Palazzo alla Citta*, Rome 1991, pp. 301-308 (with R. Hägg).
25. 'Celebrations of Death and the Symbolism of the Lion Hunt', in: R. Hägg and G. Nordquist eds., *Celebrations of Death and Divinity in the Bronze Age Argolid*, Stockholm 1990, pp. 143-148.
26. 'The Minoan Harem: The Role of Eminent Women and the Knossos Frescoes' Dialogues d'histoire ancienne 1989, hommage a Ettore Lepore, pp. 33-62.
27. 'Minoan- Cycladic Syncretism' in Thera and the Aegean World. D. Hardy et alii eds. (London 1990) pp. 370-377.
28. 'The Tree, the Stone and the Pithos' Aegeum 6 1990, pp. 79-91.
29. 'Some reflections on the Rhetoric of Aegean and Egyptian Art', in Narrative and Event in Ancient Art, P. Holliday ed., Cambridge 1994, pp. 74-87.
30. 'The Minoan Villa: Some Special Cases of Urban and Manorial Villas' in R. Hägg ed., The Function of the Minoan Villa, Stockholm 1997, pp. 91-98.
31. 'The Export Significance of Minoan Bull-Leaping Scenes', Egypt and the Levant 4, 1994, pp. 89-93.
32. 'The Fresco Programme of the Palace of Knossos' in M. Bietak ed., Haus und Palast im Alten Agypten, Wien 1996, pp. 149-157.
33. 'Divine Kingship in Minoan Crete' in The Role of the Ruler in the Prehistoric Aegean, P. Rehak ed., Aegaeum 11, Liege 1995, pp. 37-47.
34. 'Cult by the Sea-Shore: What Happened at Amnissos?', in R. Hägg ed., The Role of Religion in the Early Greek Polis, Swedish Institute in Athens Colloquium 1992, Acta Instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae, Series in 8, XIV, Stockholm 1996, pp. 135-139.
35. 'Circe and Liminality: Ritual Background and Narrative Technique in Homer's Odyssey' in O. Andersen and M. Dickie eds. , Homer's World, Bergen 1995,

pp. 133-140.

36. 'Battle and Harmony: The Women in the Odyssey' in B. Berggren & N. Marinatos, eds, Greece and Gender, Bergen 1995, pp. 17-28.
37. Formalism and Gender Roles: A Comparison of Minoan and Egyptian art. R. Lafineur and W.-D. Niemeier eds., Aegaeum 12, Liege 1995, pp. 577-585.
38. 'The Minoan Wall Paintings from Avaris', Egypt and the Levant V, 1995, 49-62. (with M. Bietak)
39. 'The Amulet of a Naked Goddess from the Cave of Inatos on Crete', A. Karetsou and N. Stambolides eds., Crete and the East Mediterranean, (Herakleion 1998) p. 271. (In Greek).
40. 'The Tell el Dab'a paintings: A Study in Pictorial Tradition', Egypt and the Levant VIII 1998, pp. 83-100.
41. 'Goddess and Monster: An Investigation of Artemis' , in *F. Graf, ed.*, Ansichten griechischer Rituale, Festschrift W. Burkert, Stuttgart 1998, pp. 114-125.
42. 'Nature as Ideology: Landscapes on the Thera Ships' in S. Sheratt ed., The Wall Paintings of Thera II, Athens 2000, pp. 907-913.
43. 'The Maze Tableau from Tell el Dab'a' (with Cl. Palyvou and M. Bietak) in S. Sheratt ed., The Wall Paintings of Thera II, Athens 2000, pp. 77-88.
44. 'Bull Hides as Dadoes and Emblems of Prestige in Creto-Mycenaean Palaces' in Meletemata, Festschrift M. Wiener, Aegaeum 20, Liege 1999, 481-483.
45. 'Medusa on the Temple of Artemis at Corfu' in M. Bietak, ed., Archaische Griechische Tempel und Altägypten, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna 2001, pp. 83-88.
46. 'Die minoische Religion' in *Im Labyrinth des Minos*, Exhibition Catalogue, Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe 2001, pp. 151-160.
47. 'The Adventures of Odysseus and the East Mediterranean *koine*'. in Kreta und Zypern: Religion und Schrift, Ohlstadt 2001, pp. 105-125.
48. 'The Palladion across a Culture Barrier? Mycenaean and Greek' in S. Böhm

and K.-V. von Eickstedt eds., *Ithaka*, Festschrift J. Schäfer, Würzburg 2001, pp. 107-114.

49. 'The Arkteia and the Gradual Transformation of the Maiden into a Woman', in B. Gentili and F. Perusino eds., *Le Orse di Brauron*, Pisa 2002, pp. 29-42.
50. "The Cosmic Journey of Odysseus', *Numen* 48, 2002, pp. 383-416.
51. "The Adventures of Odysseus and the East Mediterranean koine", in *Kreta und Zypern: Religion und Schrift*, Ohlstadt 2001, pp. 105-125.
52. "'The Palladion across a Culture Barrier? Mycenaean and Greek' in S. Böhm and K.-V. von Eickstedt eds., *Ithaka*, Festschrift J. Schäfer, Würzburg, 2001, pp. 17-114.
53. "The Arkteia and the Gradual Transformation of the Maiden into a Woman', in B. Gentili and F. Perusino eds., *Le Orse di Brauron*, Pisa 2002, pp. 29-42.
54. "Hermes and Aphrodite as Gods of Initiation" in Ch. Faraone ed., *Initiation in Ancient Greek Rituals and Narratives: New Critical Perspectives* (Routledge 2003).
55. "The Life Cycle of the archaic Greek warrior and hero. The interplay of myth and genre in imagery' in S. des Bouvrie ed., *Myth and Symbol I. Symbolic phenomena in ancient a Greek Culture. Papers from the Norwegian Institute in Athens 5*. Bergen 2002, 153-170.
56. "Women's rituals and women's prototypes: Review article", in *Symbolae Osloenses* 78, 2003, 129-136.
57. "Minoan and Mycenaean Civilizations" in S. Iles Johnston ed., *Religions of the Ancient World. A Guide*. Cambridge, Mass. 2004, 206-209.
58. "Epiphany, Experience Elusive, Concept ambiguous." (With Dimitris Kyrtatas) in *Divine Epiphanies in the Ancient World*, *Illinois Classical Studies* 2005.
59. "Minoan Epiphanies" Minoan Epiphanies' in *Divine Epiphanies in the Ancient World. ICS 2005*.
60. "The Ideals of Manhood in Minoan Crete", in L. Morgan ed., *Aegean Wall Painting*. *BSA Studies* 13, 149-158.
61. "The Dog Pursuit Scene from Tell el Dab'a and Kea" in L. Morgan ed., *Aegean Wall Painting*. *BSA Studies* 13, 119-122 (with Lyvia Morgan)
62. "Symbolic Forms of Sacrificial Imagery in the Eastern Mediterranean" in R. Hägg ed., *Sacrifice, Olympian and Chthonic*. Stockholm 2005, 201-208.

63. "Aegean Religions" in *Encyclopedia of Religions*, Univ. of Chicago Press 2005, pp.37-44.

64. "The Minoan Mother Goddess and her Son" in S. Bickel, S. Schröer, R. Schurte and Ch. Uehlinger, eds., *Bilder as Quellen, Images as Sources*. Studies on Ancient Near Eastern artefacts and the Bible inspired by the work of Othmar Keel. Academic Press Fribourg Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht , Göttingen 2007, 349-363.

65. "Minoan Beliefs of the Afterlife" in *From the Land of the Labyrinth*. Hellenic Ministry of Culture. Onassis Foundation. New York 2008. 143-145.

66. "Proskynesis and Minoan Theocracy" in F. Lang, C. Reinhold and J. Weilharter eds., *Stephanos Aristeios, Festschrift Stephan Hiller*. Phoibos Verlag. Wien 200, 179-182.

67. "The King of the Lilies and Sacral Kingship in Minoan Crete" in Ph. Betancourt, M. C. Nelson, and H. Williams eds., *Krinoi kai Limenes. Studies in Honor of Joseph and Maria Shaw*. INSTAP Academic Press, 2007, 272-276.

68. "The So-Called Hell and Sinners in the Odyssey and Homeric Cosmology", *Numen* 56, 2009, 186-197.

69. "The Indebtedness of Minoan Religion to Egyptian Solar Religion: Was Sir Arthur Evans Right?" *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 2009, pp. 22-28.

70. "Light and Darkness and Archaic Greek Cosmography" in Menelaos Christopoulos, Efimia D. Karakantza and Olga Levaniouk, editors, *Light and Darkness in Ancient Greek Myth and Religion*, Lanham • Boulder • New York • Toronto • Plymouth, UK: Lexington Books 2010, pp. 193-200.

71. "Elysion and Egypt, [Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections](#), 2, 2010, 13-24. (with Sebastian A. Anderson).

72. "Lions from Tell el Dab'a", *Egypt and the Levant* 20, 2010, pp. 325-356.

73. "The Pseudo-Minoan Nestor Ring and Its Egyptian Iconography" [Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections](#), 2, 2011, pp. 17-27 (with Briana Jackson).

74. "Levantine, Egyptian and Greek Conceptions of the Beyond" in K. DOWDEN—N. LIVINGSTONE (eds.) *Blackwell's Companion to Greek Mythology* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2011), pp. (with Nicolas Wyatt).

75. "A Story of Lions: Palatial Ideology in Egypt, Knossos, Mycenae" *Philistor. Studies in Honor of Kostis Davaras*, E. Matzourani and Philip P. Betancourt, eds., INSTAP Academic Press, Philadelphia PA, 2012, pp. 113-118.

76. "Bull Games in Minoan Crete: Social and Symbolic Dimensions" delivered at Cambridge University, Sept. 15, 2012 (forthcoming Cambridge University Press).

77. "Minoan religion" *The Cambridge History of the Religions in the Ancient World*. v. 1, ed. Rene Michele Salzman and Marvin A. Sweeney. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2013, 237-255.

78. “The Debate over Egyptian Monotheism: Richard Wilkinson’s Perspective”, in: Pearce Paul Creasman ed., *Archaeological Research in the Valley of the Kings and Ancient Thebes. Papers Presented in Honor of Richard H. Wilkinson*. University of Arizona Egyptian Expedition. V. 1. 2013, 173-179.

79. “Κλοπή Μουσείου Ηρακλείου.” *Mentor* 106, 2014, 270-86.

80. “Σπυρίδων Μαρινάτος και Αρθουρ Εβανς» in *Spyridon Marinatos His life and Times*. Athens: Kardamitsas 2014.

81. “Σπυρίδων Ιακωβίδης και Σπυρίδων Μαρινάτος» *Mentor* 109, 2014, 161-172.

82. “Myth, Ritual, Symbolism and the Solar Goddess” in *Metaphysis* edited by R. Laffineur and F. Blakolmer. *Aegaeum*. Liege 2015 (forthcoming).

83. “On the Authenticity of the Minos Ring”. *Ein Minoer in Exil*, Festschrift W.-D. Niemeier, D. Panagiotopoulos, I. Kaiser, O. Kouka (eds), Institut für klassische Archäologie der Universität Heidelberg, Bonn 2015, 189-198.

84. “Ο Σπυρίδων Μαρινάτος και ο «άστικός άνθρωπισμός» (Spyridon Marinatos and Bourgeois Humanism), *Mentor* 111, 2015, 50-61.

85. “All Gods are our Gods. Religious Interaction”. Chapter in *Pharaoh’s land and Beyond, Egypt and its Neighbors*. In Pearce Paul Creasman and Richard H. Wilkinson (eds). Oxford University Press (in proof expected 2017).

86. “The Waz –Spirals of Xeste 3, Thera: Regeneration and Solar Symbolism” in Andreas G. Vlachopoulos (ed), *Chrosteres*. Proceedings of International Conference on Aegean Painting held on Santorini, May 2013 ().

87. Sir James Frazer and Greece of the Interwar Period (in Greek) *Themata Archaeologias* Febr. 2017.

88. “Bull Games in Minoan Crete: Social and Symbolic Dimensions” in Colin Renfrew, Iain Morley and Michael Boyd eds, *Ritual, Play and Belief, in Evolution and Early Human Societies*. Cambridge University Press (2018), 237-49.

89. “A Minoan Riddle” in *Current Approaches and New Perspectives in Aegean Iconography* Fritz Blakolmer (ed), *Aegis*, Louvain 2020, 191-203.

90. “Αόρατοι Θεοί στην Ζωφόρο του Παρθενώνος” *Ανθέμιον* 30 (*ANTHEMION* 30), 2020, 15-23.